UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

((Governance and Cross-Cultural Practices enhancing Inter-State relations

Case study: Eritrea-Kenya Relation '\

Submitted to Dr. Patrick Maluki

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A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

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Research Project

by Zeru Kidane

DECLARATION

"I declare that this research project is my original work and also wish to confirm that it has not been presented for a degree in any other university."

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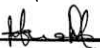
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DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to my immediate and extended family for their support and encouragement through the period of my study and for pushing me to pursue my academic endeavors. May God bless you abundantly.

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ABSTRACT

Interstate relations in Africa remain constrained, a situation that is escalated by different political systems, poor governance, weak internal institutions, cross-cultural differences, and effects of colonialism. In an effort to strengthen international relations, the African Union Constitutive Act recognizes good governance as a key pillar in strengthening and promotion of interstate relations and building of continental unity. Regional economic blocks have been established to facilitate interstate cooperation at the regional levels.

However, despite the various efforts by such bodies, states must be deliberate and willing to pursue cooperation with other states as the non-interference policy guarantees that independent states cannot be coerced to such engagements. Lack of political goodwill remains the biggest impediment to interstate relations.

The study was guided with the main objective to analyze and document the influence of governance and cross cultural practices in promotion of inter-state relations between Eritrea and Kenya. The study was guided by the institutionalism theory which examined the governance systems and cultural institutions role in strengthening interstate relations.

The study makes a conclusion from the research findings that good governance, which involves building working institutions as a key factor in promoting interstate relations. From the findings, culture can be used as a channel in enhancing people's relations since it offers a soft approach to cooperation which makes it a viable tool for interstate relations.

The study recommends that there are many areas and opportunities between Eritrea and Kenya which are not fully exploited and which can offer great opportunities for deepening interstate relations. This includes cultural exchange programs, increased trading activities, collaboration initiatives to good governance, and benchmarking on good practices at the political, socio, and economic frontiers.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AU- African Union

CAR- Central African Republic

CoK- Constitution of Kenya

COMESA- Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

DPP- Directorate of Public Prosecution

DRC- Democratic Republic of Congo

DSM- Dispute Settlement Mechanism

EA- East African

EAC- East African Community

EAP- East African Protectorate

ECA- Economic Commission for Africa

ECOWAS- Economic Community of Western African States

ELF-Eritrean Liberation Front

ELPF- Eritrean People's Liberation Front

ERP- Economic Recovery Programme

EU- European Union

GoK- Government of Kenya

HST- Hegemonic Stability Theory

IEBC- Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission

IGAD- Intergovernmental Authority for Development

IGAD- Inter-Governmental Authority on Development

IPOA- Independent Police Authority

KANU- Kenya African National Union

KCC- Kenya Cultural Centre

NGOs – Non- Governmental organizations

OAU- Organization of African Unity

RECs- Regional Economic Communities

SADC- Southern African Development Community

SDGs- Sustainable Development Goals

SG- Secretary General

SID- Society for International Development

UN- United Nations

UNESCO- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNSG- United Nations Secretary General

US- United States

WTO- World Trade Organization

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of Study

African Union Constitutive Act recognizes the influence of good governance in the promotion and strengthening of inter- relations, uniting the people, and statesof the African continent.[1] The formation of regional blocks at various levels; including the East African Community, Southern African Development Community(SADC), Economic Community of Western African States(ECOWAS) among others is geared towards consolidating these relations at regional level.

Africa is a continent with a rich and diverse historical and cultural practices that sets apart different nations in a special way. These differences range from colonial history, political situation, system of governance, religious and cultural values and practices among others. As history has revealed, if this diversity is not well managed it can be a source of conflicts both internally and at times can lead to cross border conflicts. Cognizant of this fact, the United Nations, African Union in collaboration with other regional bodies and governments have come up with programs that can assist enhance good relations among states.

To promote international relations, nations must be deliberate in the pursuit of bilateral cooperation with their neighboring countries or other nations they wish to build relations with.[2]Countries tend to cooperate more with nations that they share common values and goals and build partnershipsthat they perceive to be able to propel them in achieving their interests and for the greater good of their countries.

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[1] Akokpari, J, (2008), 'Building a unified Africa', in Akokpari, J, Ndinga-Muvumba, A, Murithi, T. (eds). The African Union and its Institutions, Jacana Media, Auckland and Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR), Cape Town
[2] Brown. W, Edith, & Harold K. (1998),'Engaging Countries: Strengthening Compliance with International Environmental Accords'. Cambridge: MIT Press.

1.1.1 Governance

Good governance is defined as the allocation and management of public resources in a transparent process which is characterized by public participation, rule of law and accountability.[3] According to Pierre, J. & Peters, governance is a process that involves administrative authority by the ruling class to control and influence the political, socio and economic direction of a nation[4] For any country to achieve economic development and prosperity, good governance must be the central pillar and this is realized by creating a democratic environment that respect the rule of law and encourage public participation including a vibrant media and an active civil society.[5]

In a research conducted by the United Nations office of the Secretary General in 2010 revealed that good governance is the key catalyst to the achievement of Sustainable Development Goals(SDGs).Countries get into cooperation with other nations or international and regional bodies not just to promote economic development but also to promote a culture of good governance. Countries with well-established governance structures are likely to attract more opportunities from collaboration requests.

1.1.2 Cross-Cultural Practices

Schwartz and Boehnke's describe culture as a set of values that a certain group or community adopts and share and in which they are identified by.[6] These values differ from one community to the other, from one region to another and if at the nation's level, there are cultural practices that define a country or countries. Hofstede in his works described culture as that which results

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[3] Museums, Peace. Democracy and Governance in the 21st Century. Commonwealth Association of Museums" Triennial Conference, Barbados, May 5-12, 1999 Papers
[4] Pierre, J. & Peters, B. G. (2000). "Governance, politics and the state. New York": St. Martin 's Press
[5] BMZ Topics 165: In partnership for a strong Africa. Cooperation in the area of good governance (2007)
[6] Schwartz, S.H. and Boehnke, K. (2004), 'Evaluating the structure of human values'. Journal of Research in Personality. vol. 38, no. 3, pp. 230-255

when a group of people are distinguished from another through collective programming of the mind.[7] Routamaa & Mohsin gave a more broad description of what is culture when they defined it as a complex system that includes beliefs, customs, knowledge, art, laws, language, social behavior, customs and other habits that a person acquires as a member of a certain society.[8] Culture differs from one group, society or region and this differences can be seen from how a person acts, thinks, relates to others and perceive different issues about life. Since culture is not universal, cross-cultural practices creates a myriad of diversity and opportunities for collaboration through cultural exchange programs, sports, fashion, inter-dialogue, and cultural diplomacy among other ways.

Culture keeps on evolving and that is why one may realize that some of the cultural practices that were in practice in a few decades ago are no longer observed in modern times. This is more prominent intraditional African societies where some cultural practices which were considered to harmful such as female genital mutilation, beauty body branding among others have been abandoned over the years. Africa comes across as the most diverse continent when it comes to cultural practices and anthropologists have given an estimate that there could be over eight hundred distinct cultures in the continent.[9]

1.1.3 Governance and Cross-Cultural Practices

The debate on the close link between governance and cross-cultural practices continue to dominate in many political and social spheres. There is a direct correlation between governance and culture as the two concepts involve a group of people, evolving processes, structures and

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[7] Hofstede, O., (1984) 'Culture's Consequences: International Differences in Work Related Values'.
[8] Routamaa, v. and Hautala, T. (2008) Understanding Cultural Differences; The Values in a Cross-Cultural Context. International Review of Business Research Papers Vol. 4 No. 5 Pp. 129-137
[9] Ibid

relationships.[10]In fact, some scholars have argued that governance of a nation is determined by its cultural interface. In traditional African societies, governance was an important aspect of culture and there were a group of prominent persons who were the leaders in their own right such as kings, religious leaders, elders, and chiefs among others. This shows the thin line between governance and culture. Even in present time, political leaders seek blessings of traditional elders and this process in most cases involve performing certain cultural practices.

However, the effect of globalization, internationalization, and colonialism cannot be ignored in impacting the political, economic and social systems in Africa.[11]The west has arguably had the greatest influence on African societies by exporting their political practices, democracy, human rights culture, legal systems, and economic practices to many countries in the continent. This is sometimes achieved in a crafted manner and in most cases it is disguised as strings and conditions attached to aid and support to instruments of political, social and economic influence. In subtler way, this culture is promoted throughinformal institutions and activities such as cultural exchange programs, music festivities, fashion, and food among others.

Different scholars have designed frameworks which can help people from different cultural backgrounds to relate together in a more acceptable manner and to ensure that their cross-cultural differences do not hinder their day to day interactions.These frameworks are used to measure how different national cultures can fit into the international spectrum and how striking differences can be neutralized especially for international institutions so that culture does not become a cause of conflict. [12]

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[10] Finnemore, M. (1996) "Norms, Culture, and World Politics: Insights from Sociology's Institutionalism." International Organization 50:325–347.
[11] Held, David (1997) "Democracy and Globalization in Africa," Global Governance 3: 251-67
[12] Barkin, Samuel J. and Cronin, Bruce (1994)" The State and the Nation: Changing Norms and the Rules of Sovereignty in International Relations," International Organization 48: 107-30

Understanding the intercultural values and differences of various groups or a society can play a big role in building relationship as one will learn to respect the culture of other groups thus avoiding any conflict that may arise.[13] This understanding is a fundamental principle in the practice of international relations.

1.1.4 Inter- Relations in Cross-Cultural Environment

Globalization, and increasing interdependence among and between states has opened up national cultures. This means that people are more aware of their differences when interacting with members from diverse cultural background at the regional or international platforms.[14] Further, it is key to note that even citizens of a similar country may share a different culture thus nationality and culture should be treated distinctly.

Every society or nation is confronted with unique needs and challenging cultural practices that it has over the years tried to solve. Therefore, it is key to recognize that each society has devised solutions to some of their fundamental needs. Different nations should therefore look at the dissimilar cultural backgrounds as a point of cooperation through which relationships between various societies should strengthen the framework of solving universal challenges and satisfying existing needs. This way nations are able to collaborate in sharing commonalities and borrowing from their cultural differences in addressing problems facing human beings globally.

In the recent past, research findings have given evidence that diverse cross-cultural practices such as different language, communication, habits, manners and behavior can affect cooperation in international ventures.[15] Culture consideration then plays an important role when creating

[13] Ibid
[14] Ndapwilapo, S. (2008),"The Impact of Culture in International Business Negotiations"*Special Reference to China and United States of America*, University of Dundee.
[15] Routamaa, V. & Rautiainen, L. 2002, "Type and Expatriate Adjustment in a New Culture". Proceedings of the Conference Working Creatively with Type and Temperament 19 - 22 September 2002, Sydney

bilateral relations with any other country and thus it is important to understand a country's values system from a political, social and economic front. Salacuse, J.W. notes that culture influence even how members conduct negotiations and play a key role on interpersonal communication.[16] This is why members representing their country in a bilateral meeting need to learn their counterparts cultures and ensure that they understand the other nations cross-cultural practices to a certain degree of proficiency.

While as culture is not universal, most cultures exhibit similarities and shared value system. According to Cojocaru, all human beings have a baseline in which they share many similarities but at the group and community levels, societies come across as very different. For instance, in some societies, norms and cultural practices are observed strictly and it is an abomination if a member goes against the set standard of behavior. While in some groups, members are more liberal in choosing which aspect of culture they want to observe and there are no consequences to their choices. This means that culture is observed at a more individualistic level in one society yet in another group culture is more complex viewed as a collective responsibility.

How two nations relate then will be determined by their cultural differences and their point of convergence. It is largely influenced on whether the two countries perceive their cross-cultural differences as a strength or as a problem. For expatriates and members of the diplomatic core, there are recommended skills that one can learn to help maneuver the challenges that come with cross-cultural interactions. Black, Mendenhall and Oddou came up with main skills that can help members in navigating a new cultural environment. This include skills related to self-maintenance, fostering relationships in a deliberate promotion of the host group or nations social

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[16] Salacuse, J.W. (2004) "Negotiating: The Top Ten Ways That Culture Can Affect Your Negotiation." IBJ Sage, Beverly Hills CA

systems.[17] In a similar study, Routamaa & Rautiainen, gave note that the ability for an expatriate to adjust in a cross-cultural environment is critical for the success on any relationships and cooperation that they may be willing to establish.[18]

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Many countries in Africa continue to experience constrained political, social, and economical constrained relations with their neighboring nations. This is constrained by border conflicts, cultural differences, different governance practices, and a perceived interference in internal governance from external parties.[19]

While as there has been notable efforts by international bodies like the United Nations as well as regional bodies including the European Union, and African Union to strengthen inter-relations between and among states, most countries still experience constrained inter-relations. It remains critical therefore, that for the attainment of sustainable inter-relations between and among states, it is paramount that countries develop a framework of cooperation with a key goal of promoting good governance and inter-cultural practices. The study uses Eritrea-Kenya as a case study and intends to analyze and compare their governance systems, cultural practices and how this factors contribute to their foreign policy.

1.3 Research Objectives

To analyze and document the influence of governance and cross-cultural practices in the promotion of inter-relations in the case of Eritrea and Kenya. The following will be the specific objectives that will guide this study:

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[17] Black, S., Mendenhall, M. & Oddou, G. 1991, "Toward a comprehensive model of international adjustment" Academy of Management Review vol.16, no. 2, pp. 291-317.
[18] Ibid
[19] Juma, M. K. (2006), "Compendium of key documents relating to peace and security in Africa". Pretoria University Law Press (PULP)

i.   To assess the influence of government regimes in promoting international relations.

ii.   To analyze the effects of cross- cultural practices in promoting inter relations among states.

iii. To examine factors contributing to constrained inter-relations between Eritrea and Kenya.

1.4 Literature Review

This section will delve into literature consulted during the research period with a key focus on important concepts such as good governance, different governance models, cultural practices, and inter- relations between states. The chapter will utilize published books, academic journals, reports from various institutions and websites that provides detailed information on the relationship between governance, cultural practices and its impact in enhancing mutual relations among states.

1.4.1 The Role of States in Promoting Interstate Relations

The view by the realists group is that international relations is a tool used by states to achieve self-interests in the power and military arena. This perspective has however been contrasted by the emergence of international organizations such as UNESCO which depicts an international arena which is not only manipulated by politics of power and self-interests for national gain exclusively.[20] On the other hand, the view of constructivists is that international politics offer an effective platform in which different states can bring in their practices and identities and share with the world in a global interaction. Despite the complexities that mark international relations, it should not be lost that human values and belief systems are of greater importance.

Through diplomacy, states aim to build, promote and disseminate a positive image and influence a country's public opinion abroad. This fosters greater harmony between states and foreign

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[20]Nye, Joseph S. "The Means to Success in World Politics". Institute of Public Affairs, 2005.

publics. Public diplomacy also provides feedback channels in order to ascertain the effectiveness of a country's foreign policy.[21] States make use of diplomacy through fostering mutual trust, cultivating favorability and shaping the public opinion through the media, cultural exchanges, and sports among others.

The former United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan, described the evolvement of diplomacy, "diplomacy has expanded its remit, moving far beyond bilateral political relations between states into a multilateral, multifaceted enterprise encompassing almost every realm of human endeavor."[22] Countries have shown a new commitment to resolve conflicts using more peaceful means as well as coercive methods which include punishing states which go against the established and acceptable international standards as stipulated in chapter 6 and 7 of the UN Charter which includes mediation, negotiation, arbitration, adjudication, diplomatic pressures, and economic sanctions and as the ultimate result, military force.

1.4.2 Cross Cultural Practices

Cultural and social differences have greatly impacted international relations between countries. The major cultural differences between cultures are some of the possible causes of conflict in international relations. Therefore, by understanding these cultural differences through a governmental approach, countries will have effectively use a cultural approach in enhancing interstate relations. This requires understanding of cultural differences in order to avoid conflict in both business and political relations.Language differences between the two cultures has also presented a major challenge between states and international relations. A concise framework of cultural diplomacy is key in understanding the primary responsibility of any given state and state

[21] Mowlana, Hamid. "Understanding Communication in International Relations". Culture and International Relations. Ed. Chay, Jongsuk. Praeger Publishers, New York, 1990
[22] Bayne, N., & Woolcock, S. The New Economic Diplomacy: Decision Making and Negotiation in International Economic Relations 2nd edition (2007). Aldershot: Ashgate.

actors in promoting social, economic, diplomatic and political relations.[23]Cultural diplomacy can be achieved ifstates were more deliberate in enhancing increased collaboration with other state actors in the design and promotion of culture as a foreign policy component that can facilitate deepening of interstate relations. It cannot be overemphasized that states need to appreciate cultural diplomacy as a channel of communication between people from other countries and the governments, and not necessary as a government- to –government interaction tool.[24] This underscores that cultural relations and cultural exchanges should be encouraged at the governmental level as it is at the non-state actors.

Cross cultural practices are hinged on the tenets of cultural diplomacy. This form of diplomacy has however not attracted much attention among scholars of international relations. This can be attributed to the place of culture in the society which is seen as a natural occurrence which does not require any government effort to grow.[25] This process include transfers of artworks. tourism. migration, media access, book circulations, the movement of musicians and other artists. whereas cultural diplomacy on the other hand, involves government intervention in the support of national interest. [26] According to Keck and Sikkink, the cultural dimension and its potential impact in international relations remains the most overlooked topic in the discourse.[27]

Nonetheless, the practice of culture has an important purpose to fulfill through relationships that transcends cultural differences and encourage interactions between people from different backgrounds. Culture can also be utilized as a peacebuilding tool and as a means to conflict

[23] Ibid
[24] Nye, Joseph S. Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics. Public Affairs, 2005.
[25] Mowlana, Hamid. "Communication and International Relations". Culture and International Relations. Ed. Chay, Jongsuk. Praeger Publishers, New York, 1990
[26] Ibid
[27] Keck and Sikkink. 'Activists beyond Borders in International Politics'. Cornell University, Ithaca, 1998.

resolution since it's a soft approach to conflict management.[28] Various forms of cross cultural practices including music, arts, and languages can be used for interaction purposes to enhance relationships building. Peaceful co-existence among people of different nations can be fostered when the study of international relations is integrated with other study disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, ethnomusicology, cultural studies and the arts. This intersection offers a deeper understanding of cross-cultural differences that separates people but more importantly this knowledge can facilitate building of bridges between different cultures.

The term "Cultural diplomacy" was coined by Milton Cummings as "the exchange of ideas, information, values, systems, traditions, beliefs, and other aspects of culture, with the intention of fostering mutual understanding".[29] In the article *The Artist as Cultural Diplomat*, Joan Channick advises former Secretary of State, Condolezza Rice to "listen to artists, who have been working internationally for all these years—collaborating artist-to-artist and artist-to-audience and finding shared values, mutual respect and understanding in the midst of difference.[30] The logic espoused in this argument is that cross cultural practices reveal the true foundation of diplomacy by emphasizing on the official governmental approach on diplomacy and relegating culture to the background. Similarly, this approach reveals that cultural practices help the citizens of the two countries to appreciate the way of life of the other group which is a unique platform to acquire new knowledge and perceptions on a broader world view.[31] Within the framework of cultural diplomacy should not be a one-way street. Channick underscores cross-cultural dialogue and exchanges. To be effective in intercultural communication, listening to

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[28] Mowlana, Hamid. "Communication and International Relations". Culture and International Relations. Ed. Chay, Jongsuk. Praeger Publishers, New York, 1990
[29] Cummings, Milton. Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: a survey. Cultural Diplomacy Research Center for Arts and Culture, 2009.
[30] Channick, Joan. "The Artist as Cultural Diplomat." American Theater Magazine, May/June 2005.
[31] Channick, 2005

their counterparts in other lands, seeking common ground with curators and writers, filmmakers and theater directors, choreographers and educators, cross cultural practices enhances interstate relations.[32]

1.4.3 Economic Diplomacy

International relations have been described as interpersonal, inter-societal, and happen when two or more states interact at different levels. States are the main players in this relations and the more powerful or influential a state is; that determines how much its likely to dominate in impact at the global relations arena.Even then, the role of other players away apart from the state cannot be overlooked as this category of players has emerged as a strong player in shaping global debates on many issues. Baine and Woolcock, characterize economic diplomacy as an arrangement of activities with respect to strategies and procedures for international basic leadership that are identified with cross border monetary activities (trade, import, venture, loaning, help, relocation) sought after by state and other actors in this present reality.[33]

These methods and processes utilize political impact and connections to advance and shape international trade and investment, to enhance the performance of market sectors or potentially to showcase disappointments and to lessen expenses and dangers of cross border transactions. Thus, economic diplomacy is composed of marketable policy, but also many actions of other players such as nongovernmental organizations (NGO's).[34]

Globalization as a process of international integration plays an important function in international relations and economic growth. As a 'global village' the difference between

[32] Ibid
[33] Bayne, N., & Woolcock, S. *The New Economic Diplomacy: Decision Making and Negotiation in International Economic Relations* 2nd edition (2007). Aldershot: Ashgate.
[34] Bayne, N., & Woolcock, 2007

internal and external trade becomes less if any need be for existence of economic diplomacy. However, despite globalization, cross border effects are substantially important; non- fiscal factors such as culture, preferences, and establishments have become more pronounced obstacles to trade, therefore ensuring economic diplomacy and commercial policy endures a major role in shaping the geographical patterns of trade across countries.[35] This therefore will indicate a continued disparity for development across different nations as each has its own effectiveness and input on their commercial policy and economic diplomacy.

1.5 Justification of the Study

This study will have both policy and academic justification. At the academic level, there is lack of systemic study on the inter link between governance, cross-cultural practices and how this two concept influence inter-relations. In fact, there has been limited studies on cultural practices as a key component to inter-state relations. Academics provide a platform for interactions and building connections within persons from different nations and cultural backgrounds. The study will fill this gap by analysing the environment and factors that contribute more towards good governance, promotion of cross-cultural practices and how this can be used to build stronger inter-relations.

The study is significant at the policy level as nations become more interlinked and interdependence at the political, socio, and political facets. In a competitive international system, constrained inter relations between states remain a big impediment to international cooperation and development. Eritrea has faced a major challenge with its neighbouring country Ethiopia for decades which has led to stalled development in the two states. This has led to

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[35] Ibid

Eritrea reaching out to build bilateral relations with other countries such as Kenya.[36]This study will examine factors that have contributed to better relations as well as those that have led to constrained relations. Further, the research will identify further areas of cooperation between Eritrea and Kenya that will be of interest to both states.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

The institutionalism theory is based on the premise that functional institutions have a central function in the realization of good governance.[37] Rowan who was the main proponent of the theory argues out that when institutions are in place, it creates a conducive environment that promotes inter relations.[38] This approach was further strengthened by Tolbert and Zucker. Scholars of international relations who are the proponents of this approach have been in the forefront in giving practical realities to prove that the international system has by far and wide survived due to the existing institutional frameworks at different levels. This view can be supported by deeper integration which has been fuelled by globalization and broader opening up of borders. States which are members to certain organizations are bound by certain norms, rules and regulations and thus will find themselves cooperating on such basis. International organizations further facilitate integration and interdependence which can lead to peaceful coexistence in a globalized world. [39]

Institutionalism theory lays an emphasis on formal structures, but research has revealed that informal institutions such as culture roles and norms like the custom law still has a place in

[36] Salih O. Nur (2013). Foreign policy of Eritrea: Explained in light of 'democratic peace' proposition, International Journal of Peace and Development Studies, 4(5): 76-89.
[37]Robert Keohane and Lisa Martin. "The Promise of Institutionalists Theory" *International Security*, vol 20, no 1 (1995)
[38] Meyer, John W. and Brian Rowan. 1977. "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony." American Journal of Sociology 83:340–363.
[39] Jepperson, Ronald L. (1991) "Institutions, Institutional Effects, and Institutionalism.": University of Chicago Press.

complimenting governance processes. The field of political science has witnessed progressive over the last few decades which has led to a paradigm shift and a focus on institutions at the different levels of governance.[40] International and regional bodies like the United Nations, European Union, Africa Union, and East Africa Community among others have emerged to consolidate this relationships. Pierre P. noted that one such paradigm that has emerged is new institutionalism which has centred on the concept of governance.

Critics of this approach argue out that the international system is archaic in nature and lacks order thus no institutions can thus survive under such conditions. The debate further points that nations are driven by self-interest thus making it a competitive environment where actors lack good will in their negotiation and cooperation efforts. [41]

This study shall rely on the institutionalism theory to give a comparison and an analysis on the effect of governance and cross-cultural practices in inter-state relations between Eritrea and Kenya. The two nations in case project more differences than similarities. Whereas Kenya stands across as a more developed nation in relation to its political, economic and social institutions, Eritrea on the other hand has stalled in many facets and emerge as a new nation. Eritrea has struggled with war and cross border conflicts especially with Ethiopia for decades. Recently, the country has been pushing efforts in trying to forge new political and bilateral partners. In comparison, Kenya has established independent institutions which are enshrined in the Constitution with clear mandate which has played a key role in enhancing good governance. For Eritrea to make any reasonable progress, it is crucial that any institutions be characterized by factors such as transparency, rule of law, democratic processes, and public participation among

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[40] Alence, R. (2004). "Political institutions and developmental governance in sub-Saharan Africa". The Journal of Modern African Studies, 42(2), 163–187.
[41] Grieco, Joseph M. (1993) "Understanding the Problem of International Cooperation": The Contemporary Debate (New York: Columbia University Press).

others. Such an environment will promote citizen participation, rule of law, civil society involvement, and a free media which are factors that will enhance the building of a political culture and strengthen coexistence.

Kenya attained independence in early 1960s while Eritrea became independent in early 1990s. To this end, Eritrea not so far developed institutions can be excused on the fact that the nation is still trying to find a footing in the international system. Eritrea emerged as an ambitious nation immediately after independence and thus attracted the interest of many international partners.[42] Soon after independence, the country fast joined multilateral organizations such as the United Nations and regional community blocks including the former Organization of African Unity(OAU) and the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development(IGAD).

However, in decades that followed, Eritrea adopted an inward looking foreign policy which led to constrained relationship with its neighbouring countries with perennial conflicts experienced with Ethiopia and complicated foreign relations with Somalia and Sudan that has been marked with suspicions.[43]

This theory will seek to analyse the contributions of the different institutions in the governance interface and how these behavioural patterns help find solutions to the structural needs faced by governments at different levels.[44] For instance, countries with weak institutions breed an environment viable for corruption to thrive, insecurity, lawlessness, plundering of public resources and impunity. Despite the fact thatit's true that institutions promote good governance,

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[42] Ruth Iyob (1997). The Eritrean Struggle for Independence. Domination, Resistance, Nationalism 1941-1993. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
[43] Africa Confidential (1999). Regional Collisions: The Eritrea-Ethiopia war is helping the Islamist regime in Khartoum and further destabilizing Djibouti and Somalia, 40(10): 14 May
[44] Scott, W. R. (2007). "Institutions and organizations: Ideas and interests" (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks. CA: SAGE Publications

there is concern in the case of Kenya which has well established independent organizations which are well provided for in the 2010 Constitution, yet Kenya continues to struggle with challenges such as corruption, contempt of court, and interferences'even with well-established independent bodies which includes but not limited to the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission(IEBC), all these contributing to poor governance.

This theory is relevant to this study in that it offers an analysis on the institutions available at the governance level and how this can work in a cross- cultural environment to enhance inter-relations between Eritrea and Kenya.

1.7 Hypotheses

  i.   Good governance has contributed to Kenya-Eritreainterstate relations through bilateral trade and cultural practices.

  ii. Through cultural exchange programs Kenya and Eritrea have enhanced interstate relations.

  iii. Eritrea-Kenya relations have resulted in greater partnerships in areas of trade and infrastructure development in line with Vision 2030.

1.8 Methodology

The methodology section focused on the research methodology that the study utilized. It provided for a justification on the research design selected, with a key focus on the methods of data collection, data analysis and the research toolsused. Further, the section discussed the population of the study and how data was presented following the completion of the study.[45]

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[45] Booth, C W & Colomb, G.G., & Williams, M. J., (1995). *The craft of research.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. P.258.

1.8.1 Data Collection

The study used both structured and unstructured questions to provide for close and open ended questions.The researcher settled for questionnaires as a data collection tool as they have been proven to be effective and allowed respondents to provide information on the study.[46]The technique also allowed the researcher to gain deeper insights on the perceptions of the participants in terms of their feelings, attitudes, and behaviors on the question of governance and cross-cultural practices in enhancing interstate relations. Thus, this approach provided for more flexibility in the use of this questions with the researcher following keenly the narratives of the participants.The researcher then coded the responses under themes in capturing the responses from the participants and for easier analysis.

This study utilized both secondary and primary data. Secondary data utilized included both published, unpublished data which has been used by previous researchers. The study utilized data targeting written and documented information on governance, cross-cultural practices and the impact of both components on inter relation of states. Among the sources utilized included reports, text books, journals, news articles, workshops reports, institutional publications and relevant organizational websites.[47]

Primary data was derived from the questionnaires, whichpresented a more practical and logical sequence of data collection within a constrained time frame and in a relatively cost-effective way. This also made iteasy for the researcher to quantify the results easily using computer packages. The questionnaires targeted government officers, opinion leaders, Eritrean Embassy

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[46] Neuman, L. (2006). *Social Research Methods. Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Whitewater: University of Winsconsin, p.224.
[47] Ibid

staff in Nairobi, and officials from the ministry of foreign affairs who have extensive information on interstate relations between Kenya and Eritrea.

1.8.2 Research Design

The study took the form of a case study since it gives a clear picture of the study under investigation. Case studies are popular since they allow the researcher to collect and capture certain intricate information that would not be collected in other methods. The data collected is more broad and deeper that is the case when utilizing other experimental designs. Case studies tend to be conducted on rare cases where large samples of similar participants are not available. Within the case study, scientific experiments can be conducted. Case studies can help experimenters adapt ideas and produce novel hypotheses which can be used for later testing.

1.8.3 Sample Design

Patton identifies two general categories of sampling methods, probability and non-probability. Probability methods are those that necessitate a sample frame (or a detailed list of the cases in the population).[48] From the list, there is a random selection of the cases to include in the sample. Non-probability samples do not require a sample frame and are easier to use. This study will use non-probability sampling, specifically the purposive heterogeneity sampling.[49] Guided by the principles of non-probability sampling, cost implication and the research project schedule, the study will target 50 opinion leaders, officials from the ministry of foreign affairs, and opinion leaders.

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[48] Ibid
[49] Neuman, L. (2006). *Social Research Methods. Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches.* Whitewater: University of Winsconsin, p.224.

1.8.4 Tools / Instruments

The research instruments used in this study included existing secondary and primary data. The study also relied on published and unpublished data which other researchers have utilized. Literature analysis was used for attaining different arguments and perspectives. Primary data was derived from questionnaires with open and close ended questions.

1.8.5 Data Analysis and Interpretation Procedures

The researcher used SPSS to analyze quantitative data that was collected and the result was triangulated with qualitative data that derived from the respondents.The variables for the study were used in the formulated questionnaires to ensure content validity and guide the study in meeting the purpose and the objectives of the research.

1.8.6 Limitation of the Study

The study was limited in the spectrum of the topic. This is because governance, cross cultural relations and interstate relations is a complex topic. Respondents were a bit concerned about why they had to respond to this questions and what was the interest and intention of the researcher.The respondents feared that information shared might leak to their superiors or other officials in the government. To counter this, anonymity and confidentiality of information was assured asthe best strategy for getting information and assuring respondents of data discretion.

The researcher was not able to attain all the necessary permit to allow for data collection in some of the government offices since the time allocated for the study was limited. However, the researcher used conversational modes of questionnaires and case experience based on short personal testimonies. This of course limitedthe number of people that were sampled but was still sufficient for this study.

1.9 Chapter Outline

Chapter One: Project Proposal

The section mainly covers; the introduction which will consist of a brief background of the study, problem statement, objectives of the study, research questions sought to be answered, hypothesis, Justification of the Study, literature review, the methodology to be employed in the study and finally a chapter summary.

Chapter Two: The Influence of government regimes in promoting international relations.

This chapter will provide a review on specific objective one of the study which will analyze how different governance systems influence interstate relations. The section will also focus on the different political periods and how each period has influenced the development of domestic and foreign policies. The analysis will rely on both secondary and primary data that will examine the global dimension, regional dimensions and finally, the dimension on the Kenya-Eritrea case study.

Chapter Three: The effects of cultural practices in promoting inter-relations among states

This chapter will present the case of the Eritrea and Kenya to examine the influence, impact and approach for interstate relations within the spectrum of cross-cultural practices. This will analyze the case through a comparative approach to identify the rational for the topic of the study.

Chapter Four: Factors contributing to constrained interstate relations; an analytical evaluation of Eritrea-Kenya case study

This chapter will provide an evaluation on the third specific objective of the study. The section will particularly present the current state of relations between Kenya and Eritrea and the factors

contributing to the current inter relations with a highlight on likely implications on diplomatic relations and trade policies.

Chapter Five: Summary, recommendations, and conclusion

This chapter will contain the study findings, recommendationsconclusion. The section will also seek toprovide a comprehensive conclusion and recommendation that can be employed to help solve the identified problems in the subject of study and suggest areas for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

THE INFLUENCE OF GOVERNMENT REGIMES IN PROMOTING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an assessment on the role that government regimes play in enhancing interstate relations between countries. The section explores the different political periods in the African continent that has contributed significantly in the political, and socio-economic

developments. The section explored primary data collected provided during interviews and questionnaires as well as secondary data from published institutional reports and books.

2.1 Governance and political systems in Africa

The dream of a united Africa has been hampered by poor or constrained relations between and among African nations. Decades after the Pan Africanism spirit and the collaboration among nationalist leaders vision to see an Africa free from colonization, the reality of well knight relationship remains an illusion and a far-fetched dream.[50] This constrained inter-state relationships have been escalated by different political systems, diverse approaches to governance, instability, socio-economic underdevelopments, and leadership crisis that remains a big hurdle to any meaningful interrelations'.[51] To a greater degree, African countries are confronted with similar challenges of ethnicity, political instability, and leadership crisis at the intra levels. This challenges leave little room for building interrelations' as each country in the chase to build the best image of itself.

The African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance provides a framework that supports democratic processes that are built on values of accountability, transparency, citizens participation in free, and fair electoral processes.[52] The charter envisions the building of a political culture in the continent established on the best universal values of good governance.

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[50] Echezona, E. (1998). International Policies in the Post-Cold War Era. Awka: Meks Publishers Ltd
[51] Leaky, R. (2004). "Understanding the link between political institutions and developmental governance in Africa". Oxford Press, New York

[52] Preamble, African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, African Union Commission: Addis Ababa. on http//au. int/en/sites/default/files/African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, accessed on May 31st, 2014, p1

This has however been an uphill task as most citizens in Africa vote guided by factors such as ethnicity, religion, and region which is represented by their political party or candidates.[53]

Politics and governance in Africa can be evaluated from the period before colonialism, colonial period, at independence, and the post-colonial era since this offers a clear reflection over the different phases that were marked with notable political happenings.

2.1.1 Pre-colonial Africa

Kunz argues out that before the colonial administration, Africans had a well-structured traditional rule with key decision makers who were consulted in a participatory process. The traditional systems were distinct from one society to the other, were not universally accepted but they had shared similarities. In the same breath, so were the African political systems which were characterized by societies which were governed in hierarchical orders to those that embraced consensus building.[54] Hodder-Williams notes that although the traditional systems were influenced by the socio-cultural and economics dynamics, the rulers yielded certain powers that ensured that the society operates in a peaceful environment that was conducive for a united society.[55] The leaders in such a system were also bound by existing political and cultural values, which if they went against, the society had their own mechanisms of dealing with such transgressions.[56] In fact there existed a rich set of rules and norms that guided the operations and the complex issues in a society more like a constitution in modern days.

Colonial rule destabilized the traditional systems either by force or through absorption into a colonial system. This happened either when traditional leaders collaborated with the colonial

[53] Oyugi, W., (1998) "Ethnic Politics in Africa", in Nnoli O. (ed), Ethnic Politics in Africa, London, Russel.
[54] Kunz, F.A. (1990), "Liberalization in Africa - Some Preliminary Reflections", African Affairs, 90 (350), April, 223-235.
[55] Hodder-Williams, R. (1984), "An Introduction to the Politics of Tropical Africa". London: Unwin Hyman.
[56] Gluckman, M. (1965), "The Realities of Politics and Ritual in Tribal Society", Oxford: Blackwell.

masters in which the African masters retained their powers to a greater degree. In other instances for societies that rebelled against the colonialist, the rule was enacted by force.[57]

2.1.2 Political systems during colonialism

Political scholars have argued out that the effects of colonialism can still be felt on the socio-economic, and political disposition of most nations in Africa. The colonizers agenda was never to develop Africa but to plunder and exploit a continent that was so rich in natural resources and traditions. The looting that had taken place left many countries impoverished and weak economically, thus making it difficult for Africans to get into the global market or develop their countries.[58]

In the scramble for Africa, the colonizers adopted different approaches some of which were crude and brutal in forcing their agenda and establishing their power in whichever region they conquered. This includeduse of force in areas where Africans resisted them while in other regions, the colonizers adopted more soft lure methods such as collaboration with the native people they found. The divide and rule strategy was widely used which involved causing ethnic or regional divisions and conflicts among the indigenous people by highlighting their identity differences. Nunn notes that this made it easy for the colonial masters to manipulate an already divided group since they were more vulnerable. This marked the genesis of some communities being exalted more than others and this contributed to socio-economic developments and marginalization of certain regions or ethnicities.[59]

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[57] Ibid
[58] Alemazung, Joy Asongazoh (2010) "Post-Colonial Colonialism: An Analysis of International Factors and Actors Marring African Socio-Economic and Political Development." The Journal of Pan African Studies, vol.3, no.10.
[59] Nunn, Nathan (2003) "The Legacy of Colonialism: A Model of Africa's Underdevelopment"
Occasional Paper Series: Vol. 2, No. 1

The colonial masters once their rule had been established, ruled their colonies without any consultation on what they wanted or needed. In many instances, they collaborated with African elite leaders as a way of buying them off in a process that frustrated the fight for independence as suspicions arose among the movements that were fighting against the colonial rule. Mazrui argued out that the colonialists lasted for way longer in the African continent since some Africans were beneficiaries of the colonial rule and they sabotaged any efforts to drive away the colonizers.[60]

2.1.3 Africa in Post-Colonial Era

Fast forward from early 1960s to late 1980s by then, a time when most African countries had attained their independence and political analysts were optimistic of the development of a culture of democratic rule.[61] This emanated from the determination of self-rule which was driven by pan Africanist leaders who had a great reputation of fighting for democratic space in post-colonial nations. Coulon made an observation that in some colonies especially those that were under the British rule such as Kenya, there had been a worked out plan to hand over power from the colonial leaders to the nationalist in a transitional process.[62] To the proponents of this move, this was a great way in which the colonial masters handed over the institutions of power to the African leaders in what formed the political systems that are experienced in most countries although this has been marked by numerous changes and development. Young noted that most countries in post-colonial Africa operated on the political frameworks that they had inherited from their former colonial masters that is why you will find former British colonies using the

[60] Ibid
[61] Ottaway, M., (1999a), "Africa's New Leaders: Democracy or State Reconstruction?" Washington, DC: Carnegie Endow for Int. Peace.
[62] Coulon, C. (1988), 'The Development and Fragility of Semi democracy', in Diamond et al, Vol. II. Africa.

common wealth political systems, German colonies the same and so forth.[63] Critics of the move saw this as a tactic for the colonial masters to control the governance of their former colonies by keeping close linkages and giving support and aid for development but with binding conditions and ties. Worth noting is that this purported new systems ignored the indigenous traditional aspects of political systems and culture. Soon after the colonialist left, nationalists' movements which had inherited power from their colonial masters became the political ruling parties and in most cases yielded so much power just like the colonialist.[64]

It was not yet freedom though as most countries sooner or later plunged into economic hardships, political crisis as different leaders from political movements parties that were fighting for independence engaged in power battles that in most instances led to intra-conflicts.[65] In many countries in Sub Sahara Africa, with examples such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, South Sudan and many others were marked with political crisis and perennial conflicts which have not fully been resolved to date. The impact of this perennial conflicts and civil wars in one country in most cases, has a spillover effect that can lead or has led to constrained relations with border nations.[66] Suspicions and accusations of national government by neighboringcountries taking sides in a political conflict or supporting rebel movements have led to bitter diplomatic rows between nations. Such is the example that Burundi government had supported rebel forces to destabilize the government in Rwanda and counter accusation by the Burundian government labelled on Rwanda's government. Obviously, this has

[63] Young, C. (1981), "Ideology and Development in Africa." New Haven CT: Yale University Press.
[64] Collier, R.B. (1982), "Regimes in Tropical Africa: Changing Forms of Supremacy", 1945-1975. Berkeley and Los Angeles CA: University of California Press.
[65] Mazrui, A.A., (1970) "Post Imperial Fragmentation: The Legacy of Ethnic and Racial Conflict, Vol. 1, Study No. 2, University of Denver, Colorado, 1969-1970.
[66]Elbadawi, I. and Sambanis, N. (2000) "Why are there so many Civic Wars in Africa: Understanding and Preventing Violent Conflict," Journal of Africa Economics, 9, 3, October: 244- 269.

adversely affected the possibility of building meaningful interstate relations and enhancing bilateral or multilateral cooperation on issues of economic or social developments.

Ake noted that the nationalist leaders who were mandated with leading their respective countries after independence, lacked a strategy and a development agenda.[67] This led to internal conflicts and competing interests which eventually resulted to ethicized politics, wrangles within the ruling parties and struggle for power. Young pointed out that the lack of development blue print led to growing poverty levels and a survival struggle for most citizens. Overwhelmed by political, social and economic burdens, these nations turned for aid and assistance from the former colonizers; support which came with ties made this newly independent nations remain in a cycle of dependence.[68]

Political and governance systems have since been evolving and this is the case for most nations in Africa. Democratic governance looks like the ideal governance model that most countries and the region seeks to achieve however, elusive the reality may be. It will take time for most African states to achieve democratic governance in the spirit of the letter as even more developed and older democracies like United States are yet to realize most aspects of democracy.

2.2 Economic Development

Economic activities in pre-colonial Kenya relied heavily on agriculture both farming, livestock for pastoral communities, crafting, and fishing as the main sources of livelihood. These activities differed much depending on which part of the country or the ethnic group that one belonged to. Trade was active among the pastoralists and those from the agrarian groups an exchange of their goods in a barter trade system. Land was communally owned and was

[67]Ake, C. (1996). "Democracy and Development in Africa." Washington DC: Brookings Institution
[68] Young. C. (1986) "Africa's Colonial Legacy", Berg. R. J. and Whitaker, J. S. (Eds.), Strategies for African Development, Berkeley: University of California Press.

available and the communities had mechanisms for protecting their territories to avoid conflicts especially during the dry and famine seasons. Kenya was popular with barter trade as many countries confined along the Kenya coast to exchange items such as gold, ivory, shells from the ocean as well as slaves.

When the British had settled in Kenya, the concept of white settlers emerged and they occupied large chunks of land which had been left fallow with the assumption that the land belonged to no one thus claiming ownership.[69] This included the popular white highlands leaving large populations of Africans scrambling for small pieces of land in the lowlands which led to land degradation and reduced productivity. This situation impoverished the Africans further and created a desperation that made them more vulnerable to the British rule. Those who worked for white settlers were exploited in terms of low wages, being overworked, and working in poor conditions.[70] Unfortunately, this situation did not change much after independence as the ruling class inherited the colonial culture and this exploitative continued. Reforms in the work places have been taking places progressively over the decades and workers enjoy better employment policies and working conditions in Kenya today.[71]

Eritrea's economy largely relies on agricultural activities though the overall economic effect remains way below the average point in comparison to the regions averages. This is however barely enough to propel the country's performance to a self-reliance economy. Limited foreign exchange is exacerbated by an inward foreign policy, and unfriendly investment environment which has weakened the private sector to its knees. This is linked to political atmosphere

[69] Reid, R. (2005). Histories of the Hanged: Britain's Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire. The English Historical Review, 120(488)
[70] Zeleza, T. (1992) "The Colonial Labour System in Kenya", Ochieng, W. R. and Maxon, R. M. (Eds.) (1992) An Economoic History of Kenya, Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers.
[71] Republic of Kenya, "National Development Plan 2002-2008: Effective Management for Sustainable Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction". Nairobi: Government Printer

characterized by poor governance and lack of progressive reforms in the economic sector.[72] Eritrea further relies on imports from other nations while doing a significantly low export rates which dims any hope of developing their domestic economy. However, the renewed intestate relationship with Ethiopia may open up new opportunities for trade and economic developments. It is recommended that governments look for more ways through which they can engage with the private sector on improving the market space and creating better and favorable labor relations will have an effect in accelerating the economic progress.

On economic development, Africas' states, almost 50 plus years after independence are still struggling with the same challenges they faced at independence.[73] This includes poverty, diseases and low literacy levels. Most nations have made remarkable progress especially in the education sector with a significantly educated population of young people. The challenge however is lack of jobs for educated youths thus throwing young people in a cycle of poverty. Basic needs such as clean and safe water, affordable healthcare, proper nutrition, and security remain unattainable as the continent continue to battle with diseases, famine, and low literacy rates in some regions. Most governments have made strides only because of efforts from many international non-governmental organizations and support from developed nations which have relentlessly been supporting state agencies while working with local communities to ease the burden on some of the said challenges.

Colonialism was nevertheless all gloom as some scholars of African leadership have argued out that countries which received their independence way later such like South Africa, inherited and

[72] Doromboos, Martin and Tesfai, Alemseged (ed.), 1999, Post-Conflict Eritrea: Prospect for reconstruction and Development The Red Sea Press.
[73] Stein, H. (2000). Economic development and the anatomy of crisis in Africa: From colonialism through structural adjustment. Occasional Paper, Center for African Studies, University of Copenhagen.

benefited from more developed infrastructure.[74] In fact, the colonial period registered some significant infrastructural development such as the Kenya- Uganda railway which enhanced relationship between the two countries. Hoogvelt argues out that the alignment policy and relations with former colonial masters has been instrumental in shaping and directing the development agenda of many African nations. This has facilitated bilateral and multilateral cooperation among different nations a direction that is fueled by globalization and internationalization.[75]

2.3 Comparative analysis on governance structure and interstate relations between Eritrea and Kenya

Eritrea and Kenya have main similarities in their political and governance structures although the two nations are on a different footing when it comes to institutional developments. The differences in comparison can be attributed to the period that each country attained independence. *'Comparing Kenya and Eritrea is like comparing a developed and a developing country. Kenya attained independence more than two decades before Eritrea'*, a participant noted in an interview when responding to a question of governance systems in the two nations. (Eritrean, Male adult).

2.4 Colonial History

Kenya and Eritrea were colonized by different colonial masters and at different times. Kenya was a British colony while Eritrea was an Italian colony. The British were considered a more superior masters in comparison to the Italians who were in control of what scholars considered relatively small colonies. In a book by a former Italian soldier, Lieutenant Melli, he narrates an

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[74] Gatheru, R. M. (2005). Kenya: from colonization to independence, 1888-1970. McFarland & Company. Homewood, K. M., Chenevix Trench, P., & Brockington, D.
[75] Hoogvelt, Ankie. *Globalization and the postcolonial world: the new political economy of development* 2 ed Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001

encounter on the scramble for Italians to establish their power in Northern Africa and how they were defeated by the Ethiopians and only gained a small region called Eritrea.[76] After the Italians were defeated in the second world war, the British forces who were working closely with the Ethiopian forces to end the power of the Italians in the region. Emperor Haile Selassie seized the moment to reposes Eritrea which was part of Ethiopia before the scramble to what scholars have referred to loosely as the second colonization of Eritrea by Ethiopia. This decision was backed by the United Nations and the United States which had an interest of setting up a naval base in the region. In mid-to late 1950s, Eritreans started the fight for independence from Ethiopia and there were growing voices for session which was led by the Eritrean Liberation Front spearheaded by Muslim leaders, an action that was ruthlessly dealt with by Haile Sellassie. To neutralize the movement, Ethiopian leadership forced conversion of Muslims to Christians since this struggle was taking a religious dimension. Ethiopia's political crisis in the 1970 to late and early 1990s remains a self-defeating eventwhich gave the EPLF the golden opportunity to gain control of Eritrea which eventually led to their session and independence.[77] A referendum was held in 1993, and 99% of the votes cast were in favor of an Independent Eritrea and this followed the establishment of the first transitional government was established which was led by Isaias Afwerki, the leader of the EPLF and still the current president of Eritrea.

Kenya on the other hand was a British colony and one of the most strategic colonies when the British established power in the East African protectorate due to its geographical position.[78] Colonial conquest for East Africa region and the boundaries divided the indigenous communities which led to ethnic tensions and tribal clashes that persisted way after the colonialists had left.

[76] Agatha Ramm, "Great Britain and the Planting of Italian Power in the Red Sea, 1868-1885", *The English Historical Review,* Vol. 59, No. 234 (May. 1944), p. 214–215
[77] Ibid
[78] Lonsdale, J. and Berman, B. (1979) 'Coping with the contradictions: The Development of the Colonial State in Kenya, 1894-1914,' Journal of African History 20

The British approach was that of indirect rule where they used traditional African leaders such as chiefs to rule the people.[79] The interest remained entirely in favor of the British rulers and any administrative laws were formulated in London or Nairobi with no consultations from the Kenyan people and with the sole aim of oppressing and disempowering Africans.[80]

Calls for independence started in early 1920s with a rebellious group that sprouted among the Agikuyu who protested against unfair treatment by the British administrators. The unaddressed grievances and the growing tensions led to the formation of the Mau Mau rebellion in 1952 which marked the real fight against the British rule in Kenya. Barely a decade later in early 1960s, the British gave in to the uprising as other communities in Kenya joined in the call to an independent nation. In 1963, Kenya was declared a self-independent state with Jomo Kenyatta becoming the first president under the Kenya African National Union(KANU).

2.5 A Review on Governance Structure

Kenya functions under a devolved system of government with two levels of government: the national and the county government since the 2010 Constitution came into power. [81]The national government of Kenya is composed of three arms, the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. The devolved system of government operates in the with 47 counties with an executive arm and the county assembly in every county. The National government comprises of the Judiciary, the Executive, and the Legislature. The executive arm of government is headed by the president who is elected for a maximum of two five-year terms. The president, who exercises executive powers, is the head of both the state and the government. He works with a cabinet comprising of the

[79] Mamdani, M., (2000) "Indirect Rule and the Struggle for Democracy: A Response to Bridget O'Laughlin" in African Affairs, Vol. 99, No. 394.
[80] Mamdani, M. (1996) Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism, Kampala: Fountain Publishers.
[81] GoK (2010a), The Constitution, Government Printers, Nairobi

deputy president and a maximum of 22 cabinet secretaries who are in charge of various ministries.[82] The executive is in-charge of policy formulations and implementation of various government projects. The legislative powers are vested on the Senate and the National Assembly. The two houses play an oversight role as well as debating of bills before the presidential ascent. The legislative assemblies are headed by the Speakers of the two houses. The Judiciary, which is independent of the other two arms of government, is headed by the Chief Justice who also presides the Supreme Court which has the responsibility of interpreting the Constitution and whose decisions are final and cannot be challenged.[83]

Political systems keep on evolving and so does the interstate relationships between countries. In an interview with an official at the Embassy of Eritrea in Nairobi, the female participant noted, *"Eritrea is opening up to building new relationships. The current interstate relationsbetween Ethiopia and Eritrea under the stewardship of the Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and Eritrean leader Isaias Afwerki will go a long way in promoting friendship with Ethiopia as well as other neighboring states* (Eritrean,Female respondents). This move has been hailed by political scholars as a huge step in resolving conflicts in the region as the two nations which have been embroiled in one of the longest conflicts gave peace a chance. The peace agreement led to the reopening of both embassies in the two countries, access of air spaces and the withdrawal of troops from the disputed borders. *"The peace agreement is not only a win for the Eritrean and Ethiopians, but a good step in realizing security and stability in the region since one conflict has been resolved,"* (Kenyan, Female) noted during an interview.

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[82] Kimenyi, S. Mwangi & Meagher, P., 'General Introduction. In Kimenyi, S. Mwangi &Meagher,' Devolution and development: Governance Prospects in decentralizing states. Hants: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., Ch 1, (ed.), 2004
[83] Habtezion, Senay, Ibidun Adelekan, Emmanuel Aiyede, Frank Biermann, Margaret Fubara, Christopher Gordon, Kwabena Gyekye et al. "Earth System Governance in Africa: knowledge and capacity needs." Current opinion in environmental sustainability 14 (2015): 198-205.

Kenya has experienced progressive development and changes in the political landscape. This can be understood by taking a look at the different ruling regimes starting with Kenya's first president Jomo Kenyatta. Leadership under the first ruling party was an extension of what the colonial masters had established thus more autocratic and dictatorial in most aspects. The leaders inherited the culture of their colonial masters and thus continued to oppress their fellow Africans in a period that respect for human rights was a farfetched idea. This rule continued when President Jomo died and the vice president, Daniel Moi came into power and who remains the longest serving president in Kenya for 24 years rule, following in the steps of his predecessor and coining in the 'Nyayo' term which loosely translates into 'footsteps'.[84]President Moi has been credited for a smooth political transition following the sudden death of Kenya's first president. The country remained relatively peaceful especially in comparison to itsneighboring nations.[85] President Moi seemed to support systems but controlled the same in a tactical manner such as the election processes. He supported what people perceived as free and fair elections while manipulating the elections result with no prove that there had been clear interferences' with the elections.[86] Critics of the former president has described him as a dictator but there are those who praise Moi for championing for a united country under his tyrannical leadership and domestic policies that were well accepted by the people. It appeared like a new Kenya was emerging under Moi who was widely accepted across different parts of the country and gave the presidency a symbol of national unity. Free primary education earned him approval from Kenyans as well as the international community and his public attempts to fight corruption in government.

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[84] Throup, D., (1987) "The Construction and De-construction of the Kenyatta State", in Schatzberg M., (ed) The Political Economy of Africa, New York: Praeger Publishers

[85] Ibid

[86] Oyugi, W.O., (1997) "Ethnicity and the Electoral Process: The 1992 General Elections in Kenya", in African Journal of Political Science, NEW SERIES Vol. 2, No. 1, June, pp. 491-69

Kenya remained a single party country until in late 1980s and 1990s when the calls for multiparty democracy intensified and to what has been referred by political analysts as Kenya's second liberation.[87] This is a period that Kenya went through a tremulous political process in the fight for multiparty democracy and a process which was marked with ethnic tensions, arrests and detention of political leaders.[88] The path to democratic elections has been an ongoing one but Kenya with no doubt has made tremendous steps and act as a model and a case study to many other nations in Africa.

In 2002, the Moi era was brought to an end when different political parties rallied behind Mwai Kibaki in a historic general election. The people, exhausted from Moi's rule in over two decades and craving for a political change, overwhelmingly voted for Mwai Kibaki against Uhuru Kenyatta who was viewed as Moi's successor. President Moi who did not take part in the election, handed over the instruments of power to President Kibaki marking a peaceful political transition than was expected in an African State. President Kibaki engineered the country to an economic development path revamping the different sectors such as education, health, infrastructure, and security among others.[89] His first term was nevertheless devoid of any political drama since a year barely into office, his Vice President Michael Kijana Wamalwa died leaving a gap that had to be filled in without throwing the country into a political situation. Another political headache was the pre-election agreement that President Kibaki had signed, that rocked his government with accusations and counter accusations from different political divide. His decision to contest for a second term in 2007 was received with a mixed feeling with strong

[87] Jonyo, F., "Ethnicity in Multi-Party Electoral Politics", in Ludeki, C., (ed); Electoral Politics in Kenya. Nairobi, Claripress 2002.
[88] Kibwana, K., (1994) "Laying a Foundation for Democracy and Peace in Kenya: The Role of Government, Opposition and Civil Society", Paper presented at a public Symposium, organized by KHRC, LSK & CLARION.
[89] Republic of Kenya, "National Development Plan 2002-2008: Effective Management for Sustainable Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction". Nairobi: Government Printer

opposition from those he had entered a political pact with claiming he had betrayed the agreement. He was declared the President after the general elections but this was contested by Raila Odinga who was his challenger. This political situation escalated into a full blown poll violence which left over 1500 dead and thousands of internally displaced persons. The international community intervened and a few months later, the two political parties settled for a coalition government under the mediation efforts of the Former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan. The new government incorporated the different political parties' leaders with Raila Odinga as the new Prime Minister while Kibaki remained the President. Once the disputed 2007-2008 disputed elections had been resolved, the then coalition government carried on with the development agenda.

In 2013, Kenya conducted the first election under the 2010 constitution which involved a complex electoral process with over 6 positions for electorates to vote in; an electionthat ushered in the devolved system of government under President Uhuru Kenyatta.[90] The results of the election was contested by the opposition leader and former Prime Minister, under the coalition government Hon. Raila Odinga. In August 2017, President Uhuru vied to retain his position in the general elections but his win was annulled by the supreme court forcing a repeat of the presidential elections in September of the same year. The opposition leader declined to participate in the repeat elections citing an unfavorable political and elections environment that could not be trusted to deliver a free and fair elections. The elections however proceeded and without a strong opponent, Uhuru Kenyatta won and sooner was declared the elected president of Kenya by the Supreme court. This led to rising tensions in the country and political violence in the opposition areas which destabilized the country's political and economic situation. The

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[90] Republic of Kenya. (2010) "The Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Bill 2005. Nairobi: Government Printer

opposition leader was sworn in as the peoples' president but as the country held its breath on what would happen, months later the President and the opposition leader buried their differences in the famous 'golden handshake' quelling the political uncertainties' and fear of political conflicts erupting. Again, Kenya demonstrated a commitment to peace and stability, a move that has received approval from all corners of the globe.

The county government is the second tier of government under Kenya's constitution.[91]Each county is headed by a governor who is elected by the people during the general elections. There are 47 governors representing the 47 counties on a term of five years or 10 years if they are successfully re-elected back into office. Just like the president, at the national level, governors appoint county executives who are in-charge of the various county portfolios including health, infrastructure, finance, and other sectors of development.[92] The governors are responsible for the management of county resources including revenue collections and supervision of the development projects. The county assembly which comprises of the elected ward representatives together with the Senate plays an oversight role and is responsible for budgeting and approval of projects to be carried out by the county government.[93] The two levels of government are formed after every general election which is conducted every five years.

Eritrea on the other hand is governed by a single-party presidential republic, where the president is both the head of state and head of government. Eritrea's government is described as a single party presidential republic where the President serves as both the head of government and head of state. The position of the presidency in the country has been held by Isaias Afwerki Tigrinya

[91] Mutunga, W. (1999) Constitution-Making from the Middle: Civil Society and Transition Politics in Kenya, 1992-1997, Nairobi; SAREAT
[92] BosireC., Phal Ghai Y. &CotrellGhai J., (2015). 'Understanding Devolution': colourprint Limited
[93] Ibid

since 1993. National elections in the country are continuously postponed. Although the Constitution allows for multi-party politics, the People's Front for Democracy and Justice is the nation's ruling and legal party.[94]

A staff from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Nairobi, who has worked in both Kenya and Eritrea observed, *"Eritrea is where Kenya was a few decades after independence. Soon the citizens in Eritrea will be more vibrant in fighting for their constitutional rights and an environment that supports good governance".* [Kenyan, Male Respondent].

2.5.1 Constitutionalism

The conquest for constitutional reforms in post-independence Kenya especially during the multiparty eventually yielded results when Kenyans promulgated the new constitution in a referendum that was took place in 2010. Kenya is a country that is guided by a constitution that was passed in 2010 and which introduced the new system of devolved governance which brought notable changes on the political landscape as well. The governance structure of the central government in Kenya consists of the Executive, Legislature, and the Judiciary as provided for in the constitution.[95] The Executive is headed by the President, the head of the Judiciary is the Chief Justice, while the Legislative arm consists of members of parliament and the Senate who are elected by the people and is headed by a Speaker at each house.

The legal guidelines that stipulate the governance of Kenya are enshrined in the constitution, and the rule of law and democratic practices are promoted. The constitution also supports devolution of power which bring services closer to the people. Devolution is the process that involves certain functions and powers of the central government being transferred into smaller local units

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[94] Garamani, Daniele. Comparative politics. Oxford University Press, 2017.
[95] Nyanjom O., (2011). 'Devolution in Kenya's New Constitution'. Constitution working paper 4, society for international development. (SID)

called counties in the case of Kenya. There are 47 counties in Kenya, each headed by a Governor who is elected by the people. The counties are given the powers to make decisions and implement projects and in turn, the county government takes full responsibilities of the decisions undertaken. The goal of devolved government system is to decrease political and economic disparities through regional decentralization.[96]

Ideally, people should be involved in prioritizing their developmental needs and determining how county resources are spent and this process is in fact provided for in the constitution for public participation. Devolution has been an imperative process in connecting the people to their leaders and enhancing a closer working relationship. Changing the system of governance to a devolved one is not an overnight affair but an issue that requires sensitization and education of the masses and the evaluation and analysis of the merits and the demerits of the system of governance. Practical cases have shown that devolution of power can provide an end to power politics and cycles of conflicts especially in states which have repeated contestation of power between the government and its people.[97]

Devolution as a concept that can fuel good governance has been gaining prominence in the last few decades as more states are embracing this form of governance. In many states across the globe where democratization is not in tandem with devolved governance, democracy can only be synonymous with legitimizing the elites' accession to power.[98] In Kenya, a country that plays host to many ethnic groups with different political and economic interests, the country has been applauded for implementing the devolution concept fast though with many teething problems.

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[96] Ibid
[97] Habtezion, Senay, Ibidun Adelekan, Emmanuel Aiyede, Frank Biermann, Margaret Fubara, Christopher Gordon, Kwabena Gyekye et al. "Earth System Governance in Africa: knowledge and capacity needs." Current opinion in environmental sustainability 14 (2015): 198-205.
[98] Kauzya, J – M., Political Decentralization in Africa: Experiences of Kenya, Uganda, and Somalia

This has emanated from a pick on positive aspects of ethnicity and pragmatic approaches to decentralization have been recognized to contribute to stability and development at the local level.

By far and large, Kenya seems to have a constitution that is working although not in full implementation. There are independent bodies such as the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission(IEBC), Independent Police Authority(IPOA), the Judiciary, the Directorate of Public Prosecution (DPP) among others that were established following the new Constitution. On the other hand, Eritrea existing institutions do not seem to work or work under interference from political leaders with a Constitution that seems to exist only on paper. The two countries come very differently when it comes to respect of fundamental human rights. While Kenyan citizens enjoy most of the fundamental freedoms such as freedom of expression, association, participation, and worship among others, Eritreans citizens have a long way since the current political regimes remainlargely intolerant in promotingcitizens' rights to the enjoyment of fundamental human rights.

The current President of Eritrea has been in power since 1993 when the country attained its independence and he was elected by the national assembly. Critics of his administration have pointed to excess powers that the president holds which go unchecked in his operations both at the executive and legislative functions. The President is responsible for the appointment of ministers, representing the nation in international forums and receiving other heads of states when they visit Eritrea.Persons who have broadly criticized the president have faced unfair treatment including detention without trials and imprisonment, moves that have been condemned

by the international community.[99] This is a sharp contrast with Kenya's president who continues to face fierce opposition both from within the ruling party of Jubilee as well as the opposition coalition. In Kenya, the president has limited powers and in many circumstances, some of the directives he gives are not implemented as the judiciary has powers to overturn some of the president's decisions. To this end, the rule of law is upheld to a certain degree in Kenya with increased awareness by citizens on their rights, they are able to challenge the ruling class. In Eritrea on the flip side, the president enjoys almost what some participants referred to as unchallenged power. "The *president in Eritrea is so powerful. No one can contest anything he says, even his ministers are afraid. In Kenya, even a citizen can go to a court to stop a directive by the president. I am not sure if such a thing will ever happen in Eritrea.*" a participant of Eritrean nationality living in Kenya mentioned during an interview. [Elderly male respondent, Eritrean citizen].

For administration purposes, Eritrea consists of 6 regions which are further broken down into 55 districts/sub-zobas. The regions are established after consideration of an area's hydrological resources to give region autonomy over its agricultural capacity and also to quell historical intra-regional disputes. The six regions are Central, Southern Red Sea, Anseba, Northern Red Sea, Southern, and Gash-Barka.[100] The National Assembly is mandated with the establishment of policies that affect the government at the domestic and foreign levels. The State Council oversees the implementation of such policies through monitoring and evaluation. The President is elected directly by the members of the National Assembly. Corruption levels are at an extreme

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[99] Ibid
[100] Ibid

low within the Eritrean Government and more public resources are channeled towards the private sector with the hope of revitalizing the economic environment.[101]

2.6 The link between governance and interstate relations in Africa

Scholars who have studied the political situation in African countries have given evidence from failed, failing or developing or developed countries that there is a close link between stable political systems, which translates to good governance and interstate relations.[102] Countries with an agenda for political, socio and economic development are more deliberate in pursuing cooperation with other nations and in maintaining good relations with their border states. This emanates from an understanding that instability in a neighboring country or region is a threat to peace and stability for other nations around.

This study focuses on the political system of two countries; Eritrea and Kenya and makes an assessment of the impact of their governance environment to the promotion of interstate relations. In likeness to other developing nationsacross the African continent, internal political crisis has contributed to poor relations with other nations. This has in turn impacted on both economic and political interstate relations to all levels and stifled any progress to gainful cooperation. The theory of failed states is nowhere else more evidence than it is in the continent of Africa. The other major factor that has negatively impacted on interstate relations is inwardly looking foreign policies that are not friendly to interstate relations.

Elbadawi and Sambanis noted that ethnicity, scarcity and lack of economic resources are not the main causes of conflicts in Africa but rather lack of political goodwill from leaders to push for

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[101] Caramani, Daniele. Comparative politics. Oxford University Press, 2017.
[102]Chomsky, N. (2006) "Failed States: The Abuse of Power and the Assault on Democracy." Boston: Metropolitan Books.

functional institutions.[103] Former United States of America, President Barrack Obama in his first ever official tour in the Africa urged leaders to build strong institutions that will transcend strong political personalities thus enhancing an environment that creates a better political stability and promotes regional cooperation.

In the scenario in Africa and the culture of political instability and perennial conflicts, regional integration and interstate relations appear like a channel that could consolidate efforts to a united Africa. This has however remained an illusion and a dream that has been undermined by cross-border disputes and inter-state conflicts thus relegating any attempts to political and economic relations. The frustrating reality is that the interstate border wars are in most cases funded and sustained by political leaders in other countries who offer support in form of financial resource or military to one faction of the conflicting parties thus ensuring that the dispute prolongs. Such leaders use interstate conflicts as a tool that deters the development of democratic processes and establishment of institutions that promote public participation.

2.7 Interstate Relations between Eritrea and Kenya

Kenya and Eritrea have enjoyed relatively working bilateral relations owing to the facts that both countries are members of IGAD and AU.[104] Eritrea imports a significant amount of goods from Kenya, although this is not the same when it comes to exports. The relationship is more on the trading aspect but it has enhanced diplomatic relations with Eritrea embassy located in Nairobi. Kenya does not currently have a foreign mission office in Eritrea but the Kenya's embassy located in Cairo, Egypt is having accreditation to serve to Eritrea.

[103]Elbadawi, I. and Sambanis, N. (2000) "Why are there so many Civic Wars in Africa: Understanding and Preventing Violent Conflict," Journal of Africa Economics, 9, 3, October: 244- 269.
[104]Nur, Salih O. (2010) "Foreign Policy of Eritrea: Explained in the Light of Democratic Peace Proposition." International Journal of Peace and Development Studies 4(2): 23

The two nations have enjoyed mutual relationship with no major constraints apart from the diplomatic row in 2011 when Kenya accused Eritrea of supplying weapons to the Al-Shaabab terror gang which is known for carrying out attacks in different parts of Kenya especially along the northern borders. This claims were however denied by Eritrean authorities which forced the Kenyan authorities to rethink their foreign policy with Eritrea. This standoff was howeverresolved and bilateral relations maintained.

The existent of inconsistent foreign policies in many countries in Africa which are influenced by political regimes mean that whenever there is a change in leadership or ruling parties, this has an effect on the country's foreign policy.[105] This inturn has an impact on any meaningful interstate relations, cooperation on different issues as well as development. Few of the developed states have however shown a commitment to foreign policies that encourage a development agenda, political stability, peace and co-existence, and the attainment of sustainable development goals. Political leadership and internal stability is paramount for any nation that plans on engaging other states on bilateral cooperation and diplomatic relations. Most countries facing internal political crisis lack the prerequisites for any economic development, undermines any diplomatic efforts and halts regional integration.[106]

There has been remarkable progress by leading organizations including the UN, EU, AU, and IGAD among other agencies to encourage regional cooperation as a vehicle to good governance and development in most states. Lack of political goodwill from the leaders in most African countries however remains the biggest impediment to interstate relations.

[105]McCullagh, H (2007). *"Political Leadership and Interstate Relations in Sub-Saharan Africa, 1960-2010.* Global Economic Crises Tiling Africa Harder
[106]Echezona, E. (1998). International Policies in the Post-Cold War Era. Awka: Meks Publishers Ltd

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter examined and analyzed the impact of governance on interstate relations with a focus on Eritrea and Kenya. The section explored the political and governance systems in the two countries during the different political phases that massive changes were experienced. The section relied on secondary data from existing published books and reports as well as primary data collected through interviews and questionnaires from relevant respondents working in the diplomatic missions, and international organizations.

CHAPTER THREE

THE EFFECTS OF CULTURAL PRACTICES IN PROMOTING INTER RELATIONS AMONG STATES- CRITICAL EVALUATION

3.0 Introduction

The previous chapter has analyzed and assessed the influence of government regimes in promoting international relations. This chapter is a case study and analyzes the effects of cultural practices in promoting inter relations among states with a focus on Kenya and Eritrea as analyzed from the questionnaire and secondary data findings from the view of other researchers.

The study received response from staff from the ministry of foreign affairs in Kenya and nationals from both Eritrea and Kenya. The data presented aims to present the extent of diplomatic relations and foreign policy situation in light of cultural practices.

3.1 Kenya-Eritrea Cross Cultural Relations: Critical Evaluation

Kenya and Eritrea's diplomatic ties have relatively been working but at one time the two countries experienced a constrained relationship in 2011 when the Kenyan government accused the Eritrean government of aiding the Al-Shabaab militant group to launch attacks in Kenya. This claims were vehemently denied by senior government officials in Eritrea which led to sour relations between the two countries which led to a threat from the Kenyan government to rethink its bilateral relations with Asmara[107]Efforts to restore better relationship were in the pipeline when President Isaias Afwerki arrived in Kenya on a state visit in 2013 which coincided withthe Golden Jubilee celebration in Nairobi and held talks with his counterpart Uhuru Kenyatta, emphasizing on enhances interstate relations.[108]

The key pillars that characterize the interstate relations between Kenya and Eritrea is trade, diplomatic relations and cultural exchange. Eritrea and Kenya has strong trading ties with both countries being members of the IGAD trading bloc.[109] Eritrea maintains an embassy in Nairobi and in the same regard, Kenya's embassy in Cairo is accredited to Eritrea. Based on the pillar of cultural exchange, music and intermarriages are ranked first in the cultural practices that enhance interstate relations between Kenya and Eritrea. However, this was disputed by respondents as negligible because Kenya does not share a border with Eritrea and therefore, intermarriages

[107] Arshak, D. (2007). Personal consultation on the culture and practice of Ethiopians and Eritreans in general, and on the practice of resettled community members in New Zealand. Auckland.
[108] Ibid, 2007
[109] "The Process of Nation-Building in Post-War Eritrea: Created from Below or Directed from Above? "The Journal of Modern African Studies,36(3): 461–482, 1998.

cannot be used as a basis of cultural exchange and cultural practices. One elderly male Eritrea observed that: *"marriages that occur between Kenyans and Eritreans are few and as a result cannot be used as a tool to say that intermarriages promote cultural exchange and therefore good interstate relations."* [Male Respondent, Eritrea]

However, music, education and trade are components of shared culture that promote peaceful coexistence and interstate relations between Kenya and Eritrea. Kofi Annan states that through music, culture and trade, people from all corners of the globe have an opportunity to join together and work toward making the world a more harmonious place.[110] Annan further visualizes the potential of music and food to transcend geographical, cultural, economic and political barriers. A report by UNESCO pointed out that cultural education was imperative in allowing citizens of the various countries to be creative and expressive through their cultural heritage. Such an advantage was critical in creating a pathway in cultural exchange which led to the awareness of cultural pluralism as well as tolerance.[111] The respondents from the questionnaire pointed out that Eritrea's and Kenyans are active participants in the cultural exchange with nationals from both countries living comfortably in each country. An official from MOFA noted, *"the maturing cultural ties that exist in both Eritrea and Kenya promote cultural diversity and exchange programs which enhances tolerance among the citizens of the two countries."* [Male respondent, MOFA Nairobi].

The sentiments of cultural practices and exchanges implied that the type of national image. This is the basis for the principles of cultural diplomacy which present an important indicator in

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[110] Annan, Kofi, "Secretary-General underscores the Importance of Music to Humankind". Concert Celebration of the United Nations Day and the Anniversary Membership of Switzerland. United Nations Headquarters, New York City.
[111] UNESCO World Report, (2009),"Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue." UNESCO, France

understanding the role cultural exchange plays in enhance inter state relationship between Kenya and Eritrea. These two countries tend to use a blend of cultural endowment in promoting national and cultural identity and enhance their interstate relations.[112] This was corroborated with the opinion from a female official in the ministry who noted that: "*I believe that culture, art and diversity in language are important features of promoting cultural diplomacy as well as diplomatic engagement in the interstate relationships between Kenya and Eritrea.*" [Female staff at MOFA, Nairobi].

According to Robertson the most fertile ground for cultural globalization to thrive is in the local contexts.[113] This means that the cultural homogenization claim is unworkable. Nevertheless, it is indeed true that globalization does encourage the tendency for one category of people to make use of cultural content from the diverse cultures which globalization allows them to come into contact with.[114] Based on the case of Kenya and Eritrea, it is evident that despite the fact that such borrowing brings about cultures that are mixtures or amalgams of several others, it is not enough validation to categorically classify the world cultures as either similar or different as a result of globalization. This is regardless of the extent to which the amalgams seen to incorporate aspects of other cultures dress modes, dietary preferences, music, language as well as film.[115] This perspective was supported by the responses from the Eritrea citizen who noted that: "*We now have a platform for our government and people to understand each other better through cultural interactions. I think that through art, exhibition, food fairs, among many other artifacts are held in promoting inter state relations.*" [Male Respondent from Eritrea, Nairobi]. These

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[112]Berridge, G.R. Diplomacy: Theory and Practice. Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, (2005), pp. 92-95.
[113] Leonard, M. (2002). Diplomacy by other means, Foreign Policy, (132), pp. 48 – 56.
[114] Ibid, 2002
[115] Barston, Robert. Modern Diplomacy. Publisher, Pearson Longman, (2006), p. 6.

responses emphasis the reasoning that both countries use their departments of culture and sports to promote an exchange of their national cultural resources. In view of this, one can easily confirm that the cultural exchanges between Kenya and Eritrea have used this cultural endowment to the benefit of political and social relations.

3.2 Aspects of Culture

National interests for Kenya are envisioned in its foreign policy which for a long time had not been documented. This is against the background of the fact that it has used its foreign policy as the compass for pursuing its national interests in its quest for economic and cultural prosperity.[116] In addition, Kenya has used its foreign policy as a guide for its investment agenda as well as it is reference point as far as international relations are concerned.[117] Kenya's foreign policy advances national interests through innovative diplomacy and is anchored on peaceful coexistence with its neighbors.[118] This perspective correlates the views of a male respondent from the ministry of youth and sports in Kenya who stated that: *"The increasing media corporations and cultural exchanges promise a future of harmony between the development plan of Kenya and Eritrea-through photo exhibition, music, historical relevance and heritage. These features are converted into promoting the strategies for bilateral cooperation."* [Male Respondent from Eritrea, Nairobi]. This response was linked to the question, considering that Kenya is relatively stable, what lessons, can Eritrea learn and apply in respect of foreign policy formulation on interstate nations.

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[116] Ibid, 2006
[117] Berridge, G.R. Diplomacy: Theory and Practice. Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, (2005), pp. 92-95.
[118] Arshak, D. (2007). Personal consultation on the culture and practice of Ethiopians and Eritreans in general, and on the practice of resettled community members in New Zealand. Auckland.

Although the Kenyan government does not have a well spelt out policy on cultural integration between Kenya and Eritrea, the Ministry of Sports, Youth and Culture promotes the national heritage through various dimensions of sports such as dances, a wide range of sporting activities and brings together people of various walks in appreciating the unique heritage.[119] A female respondent from the Eritrea citizenship pointed out that: *"Kenya holds its culture and move conventions, which is a piece of its cultural heritage, in high regard. I believe its safeguarding and advancement as needs be raises issues which bring into sharp center, the subject of immediate and backhanded state support and support."* [Female Eritrean Respondent, Nairobi]. This believe indicate a clear pathway of integrating music, art and artists exhibition in promoting not only social development, but also political relations. The significance of culture to a nation transcends its borders through entertainment and a provision of a rich history of the two countries. The basis of this approach is leading to a structured cultural transfer that creates a context where countries release cooperation and awareness of countries.[120]

3.3 Education and Tourism

The government of Kenya has sanctioned programs that promote its cultural activities abroad. IN Eritrea, like other countries, the government through the department of Culture and Social Services for the different social celebrations sorted out in a few sections of the nation. Facilitate consolation of music and move execution by the Government is outlined by the development of the Bomas of Kenya under the support of the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife, and the giving of honoraria to entertainers of music and move on national days.[121] A respondent working Bomas Cultural Center noted that: *"The vision, at long last, would like to goad money related part*

[119] Barston, Robert. Modern Diplomacy. Publisher, Pearson Longman, (2006), p. 6.
[120] Ibid, 2006
[121] UNESCO World Report, (2009),"Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue." UNESCO, France.

methodologies to empower monstrous framework advancement and competiveness. This creates

a pathway for the integration of national values into the polics, economics and social

relationships between countries and its citizens." [Respondents from the cultural Center]. This

response shapes the understanding that cross-cultural practices because part of track two

diplomacy where respective departments use art and heritage in promoting values and tenets of

coexistence, communication and media awareness into the small groups, borders and boundaries

of the two nations of Kenya and Eritrea. Evidently, such a pathway is anchored on the inter

cultural correspondence that is supported by culture, art, language and heritage which emerge as

a valuable tool for cultural transfer.[122]

Cross cultural practices have since time immemorial used to promote various intercultural

integration initiatives through sports, cultural exchange, music and other cultural exhibition

organized by either state or non-state actors.   A unified system of cultural transfer, is

benchmarked as a critical model through which states and countries promote their trade

programs and establish a social link that leads to increased cooperation and enhance interstate

relations.[123] It should be understood that in the associations taking place contemporarily between

different cultures, the loss of certain classical cultural content, the incorporation of that borrowed

from other cultural civilizations and the eventual creation of a new amalgamated cultural

orientation by cultural group is inevitable. It however, does not mean that the globe has become

entirely similar or different culturally.[124]

[122] Ibid, 2009
[123] Ibid, 2009
[124] Annan, Kofi, "Secretary-General underscores the Importance of Music to Humankind", Concert Celebration of the United Nations Day and the Anniversary Membership of Switzerland. United Nations Headquarters, New York City.

Despite the fact that there exist several models, Tomlinson states that the most widely recognised model of cultural globalization is the theory of cultural imperialism. This theory presupposes that the political administrations of nations, in collaboration with affiliated multi and transnational organisations play very significant roles in the propagation of international culture. The flow of such culture is usually from the rich and influential states like Kenya to a perceived less influential state like Eritrea.[125] This is done through the emphasizing of consumerism and mass media models that have proved to be very efficient in culture transmission from one civilization to the other. A respondent from the members of the public noted that: "*the role that culture plays in regard to globalization is brought out clearly by the global ramifications that cultural decisions may have for those that make them.*" [Respondent from the public]. A good example cultural practice between Eritrea and Kenya is that brought out by trends in consumer activity. This is because the patterns reflect an international connectivity of commercial endeavours. The acceptance of the Eritrea meals in Nairobi and other parts of Kenya has had effects on the cultural and social orientation of Eritrea in Kenya. With regard to this, it is evident to note that the most effect of cultural globalization is the fact that the processes of cultural borrowing relies heavily on the dynamic of authentic civilizations as opposed to separated ones. As such cultural globalization is not a fixed but a dynamic process.[126]

3.4 Cultural Aspects of Exchanging Culture through Sports Diplomacy

Politics is a means to fostering activities that depict the use of key and strategic mechanisms in order to grow and impact the geopolitical, and social relations. The basis of this argument shapes the understanding that sports diplomacy plays a critical role in promoting social harmony,

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[125] Ibid, 2003
[126] Annan, Kofi, "Secretary-General underscores the Importance of Music to Humankind". Concert Celebration of the United Nations Day and the Anniversary Membership of Switzerland. United Nations Headquarters, New York City.

uniting parties that are involved and enhancing cooperation's. This leads to the conclusion that the use of sports through legislative and structured frameworks promotes cultural diversity, harmony and exchange.[127] An official from the ministry of foreign affairs noted that: *"sports rivalries or exercises have had the goal to achieve change in specific cases."* [Official from the Ministry of the Foreign Affairs]. This response indicate that nationalistic enthusiasm is in some cases connected to triumphs misfortunes to some sport on sport field. On the one side of the open deliberation, sports-tact is commended as a panacea by government, a to a great extent undiscovered yet effective strategic instrument that can decrease estrangement and promote sustainability, development and dialogue.[128]

There any customary, religious law or common law principles/provisions that promote cultural practices and exchange programs between Kenya and Eritrea. This forms part of the cultural globalization because Tomlinson states that while the homogenization of the globe's political and economic systems has not been cumbered with many conflicts or oppositions, attempts at cultural globalizations have a propensity to make the differences between cultures more pronounced and consequently lead to a clash of civilizations.[129] The respondent from the ministry of culture and sports noted that: *"the establishments of sport and diplomacy are all inclusive in degree and nature, and working couple can spread positive wearing qualities, for example, common respect, tolerance, discipline and empathy among caustic political connections."* [Official from the Ministry of Culture, Nairobi]. On the other hand, according to Appadurai there are those who have welcomed the issue of cultural globalization with both hands

[127] The Process of Nation-Building in Post-War Eritrea: Created from Below or Directed from Above? "The Journal of Modern African Studies,36(3): 461–482, 1998.
[128] Ibid, 1988
[129] UNESCO World Report, (2009),"Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue." UNESCO, France

and focussed only on the good and benefits that come with it.[130] The supporters, and campaigners, for cultural globalization are convinced that the adoption of a universal culture in the globe will bring with it a myriad of benefits and advantages. One of the major advantages is the fact that the elimination of the cultural diversities that exist between peoples of the world will result in a peaceable atmosphere where the different people of the world can coexist in harmony without the societal, religious and political strife that characterises most of the world's civilizations. Global acculturalisation is believed to have the power to eradicate cultural frontiers that act as points of conflicts between the different civilizations of the world.[131] The removal of such negative cultural dynamics is a great move in ensuring that there is increased stability in modern societies. There will also be higher degrees of accord, compromise and harmony when it comes the formulation of human rights since no cultural community would feel left out.

3.5 Use of Sports to Advance Relations

Sports have risen as an essential part of the endeavours to fabricate and reinforce relations between countries. Countries utilize the all-inclusive energy for sports as a way to rise above socio social boundaries, and semantic contrasts and unite individuals in festivity of sport action.[132] Thus, the host countries get the chance to look into to the way of life and lives of the foreign country. Customary sports and recreations as a particular part of the worldwide sport framework may incite the idea of old, extraordinary and imperilled social signs, yet to some degree that is just the outcast's view on a greatly across the board and intriguing sub-gathering of sports, which can be broke down from alternate points of view identifying with sociological,

[130] Ibid, 2009
[131] Ibid, 2009
[132] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, UNESCO World Report Investing in Cultural Diversity and Intercultural Dialogue: UNESCO, France, 2009.

anthropological or cultural sciences.[133] In responding to the question whether current foreign policy strategies of both Kenya and Eritrea are adequate to respond to cultural integration in both countries, a respondent noted that: *"customary sport and recreations are either a greater zone of research as social studies or human studies of sports, or they are specific ideas and models like habitus, collective memory or sites of memory."* [Respondent in Nairobi].Sports and sporting conduct have complex connections to the ways of life of individuals and to individual manners with respect to investment and utilization of sports.A field is a particular and self-ruling range of social practice, which is impacted by and affecting whatever remains of society.[134]

Sport is unquestionably one of the world's most well-known recreation exercises and it portrays a captivating wonder: individuals from everywhere throughout the world play, go to, watch, listen to, discuss and experience wear at all levels of execution from beginner to first class.[135] Sport is regularly portrayed as a dialect that everybody on the planet can comprehend and without a doubt sport can unite and join groups and communities.[136] On an individual level, sports have the ability to build up relationship building abilities' and resources.

Across the world, governments have come up with sporting initiatives and programs to impact on the political relations of such countries. With the information revolutions, individuals across the world have been networked and take part in all sporting activities organized by the states either through active participation or spectating.[137]From this perspective, it is important to note that worldwide sports and other amusement centers provide states with a clear approach and strategic initiative to promote national values. Sports and sports diplomacy is therefore used as a

[133] Kissinger, Henry A., Diplomacy, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994
[134] Ibid, 1994
[135] John Bunzl and Ken Wilber, Building a Global Democracy, 15 September 2012
[136] Ibid, 2012
[137] Ibid, 2003

tool for ideological and political publicity which impacts the individual countries international image as well as relations.[138]

3.6 Cultural Transformation as a Tool for Inter State Relations

The World Citizens System also seeks to address the cultural dimensions if global governance is to be achieved. It complements the UN SDG goal on cultural transformation in the digital age by the year 2030. To ensure that this goal is realized, a movement of global citizens, digital activism, citizens without borders, a supranational identity, are some of the factors that will contribute to cultural transformation.[139] Promotion of cultural practices is supported by existing international agreements such as the UN Declaration of Human Rights, and the Great Transition among others. Cross cultural practices can play an integral part in creating a culture of non-violence, peaceful co-existence, promoting principal values that enhance unity, and good human relations.[140]

The SDGs approach to development focuses on a people's resilience, worldviews, beliefs systems and their driving force when it comes to the implementation of the various facets. The process seeks to wade away structural and cultural processes that drive inequality and thus hamper sustainable development. This include transforming culture practices that exclude women and girls from formal education, empowerment opportunities among others.[141]

[138] Agenda 21. (2014). Culture as a Goal in the Post- 2015 Development Agenda. Retrieved from The Future We Want Includes Culture.
[139] Castells, M. (2000): "The Rise of the Network Society". (2nd ed). Oxford: Blackwell.
[140] Bigio, A. G., Amirtahmasebi, R., and Licciardi, G. (2013). Culture Counts. Washington DC: World Bank.
[141] Bamberger, M., Segone, M., and Reddy, S. (2015). National evaluation policies for sustainable and equitable development: How to integrate gender equality and social equity in national evaluation policies and systems. New York: UN Women

3.6.1 UNESCO'S role in Global governance and Cultural promotion

Kenya and Eritrea are members of UNESCO. This is the UN agency mandated with the promotion of cultural diversity and therefore the body has the mandate to promote cross-cultural practices in the global space by promoting free sharing of information and the freedom of expression for all persons. The promotion of basic human rights such as the freedom of association is paramount in building open societies an environment that can accelerate transparency, public participation and democratic processes. Education is key for sustainable development and for greater global good. UNESCO is the leading body in ensuring that all children, youth and adults' access, free or affordable quality education. an educated population is an empowered society and such a group of individuals are likely better to come up with solutions for problems and challenges facing them at the local and nations' level. There is evidence to show that poverty levels have been drastically reduced among educated populations than those with no education at all.

UNESCO's functions can contribute in bridging gaps that exist at the global network in relation to global governance. Of greater importance is that at the core of education, people get to learn about values and cultural practices which helps in the promotion of cultural diversity and building of more open societies.[142] People learn to respect different cultures, appreciate diversity and build a power point of consensus building amidst myriad of differences. Education should therefore be encouraged as a catalyst to good governance, sustainable development, and a bridge to inter-state relations.

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[142] Agenda 21. (2014). Culture as a Goal in the Post- 2015 Development Agenda. Retrieved from The Future We Want Includes Culture

The emergence of the concept of global village is a reflection that culture has a greater place in global governance. People from different nations and cultural backgrounds are brought together during international trade, and other exchange forums as a way of creating deeper relations among people. New trends in the field of technological developments and innovations such as social media, and digital communications have created global channels for deepening conversations and discussions on challenges and issues of global importance. UNESCO promotes this relationship by creating opportunities that strengthen cultural diversity through international agreements and conventions as the bed rock of cultural heritage. Culture can be used as an avenue for reconciliation and peacebuilding in conflicting societies as shared values that bind people together are enhanced as a point of reference for future generations.

In an international conference that was in Shanghai, the members present argued out that global organizations can work collaboratively with UNESCO as cultural bridges to understanding different cultural systems and values.[143] Many communities and nations have experienced social challenges such as exclusion and marginalization both at the domestic interface and at the international sphere. UNESCO has initiated programs and initiatives aimed at promoting cultural diversity and safeguarding cultural practices of indigenous communities from extinction. Global citizens have the opportunity to integrate their different backgrounds by working together and exchanging ideas which can facilitate cultural diversity thus creating inter-cultural, supranational societies.

UNESCO uses multi-cultural diversity as the software to global governance and development in a global space. This is achieved under the precepts of culture, education, science, and technology

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[143] Cultural Economy Network. (2013). 'Statement', resulting from the international workshop 'Cultural Economy, Sustainable Development and the Diversity of Cultural Expressions: Towards A New Global Policy Agenda', Shanghai, 21-22 October 2013.

and the ability to change nations by bringing international actors towards common goals which makes for a good interface for global governance.[144]

3.7 The Linkage between Governance, Cross- Cultural Practices in Interstate Relations

There has been a close linkage between democracy and the place of culture in the political science discourse. In cultural analysis using the contemporary approach, the aspect of values and norms remains a fundamental foundation for cultural practices. There has been enormous research examining the impact of different democratic practices and the cultural values and the interlink between the two concepts.[145] Nevertheless, there is still a gap in research to show for the relationship between different democratic systems and cultural models in different countries. Various nations use different models and approaches to democracy and have different cultural patterns which they use in the pursuit of interstate relations.

The concept of territorial state has shaped debates in modern world in suggesting that political rule is territorial. This however is not an indication that political territoriality is ultimately and exclusively translated to mean that political rule is territorial. Theorists in international relations when raising arguments on state territoriality focus more on the unchanging nature of the state as an entity. Such debates ignore the analysis of a state from a historical background and geopolitical environment. This is a position that remains challenged by contemporary thinkers in modern world. For instance, in the case of Kenya and Eritrea, the changing dynamics in regional economic activities and the changing political alignments outside territorial states bring to light the importance of evaluating the pursuit of interstate relations against a country's cultural backgrounds and historical context. Conservative arguments relies on three common outlook of a

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[144] Hosagrahar, J. (2012). Integrating Culture and Development: Framing UNESCO's Engagement with Culture and Development. Paris, France: UNESCO.
[145] Almond, Gabriel Abraham, and Sidney Verba. The civic culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations. Princeton university press, 2015.

state as a sovereign entity, domestic and foreign polarity, as well as the state as a collection of societies that have shared cultural and value systems.[146]

3.7.1 Kenya Cultural Practices

The concept of cultural diplomacy has been gaining prominence in the discourse of international relations as practiced by different actors such as states, prominent individuals, and organizations.[147] Many organizations and states within the African continent has been adopting the use of diplomacy to embrace cultural diversity and resolve intra and inter-state conflicts.

The use of culture to deepen dialogue and relationships take place when people from different cultural backgrounds come into contact through programs and activities such as sports, arts, educational programs, international conferences, and cultural exchange initiatives. Most cultures represent many similarities as well as differences, which define the different values systems. Scholars have argued out that culture is not universal but there are many components of culture that are universally accepted.[148] Respondents noted that: *"Kenya is a multicultural nation with over 50 ethnic groups with some communities representing a higher population while other ethnicities accounting for very small populations."* [Respondent X, Nairobi]. The government of Kenya developed a cultural policy that seeks to promote cultural diversity for the attainment of sustainable development and unity among the different communities.[149] The government understands the importance of culture in bringing reconciliation and quelling ethnically motivated tensions. In addressing perennial political conflicts which always take an ethnic twist

[146]Graham, Brian, Greg Ashworth, and John Tunbridge. A geography of heritage: Power, culture and economy. Routledge, 2016.
[147] Holden, J. (2004). Capturing Cultural Value. How culture has become a tool of government policy. London: Demos.
[148] Boyd, R., and P. J. Richardson. 1985. "Culture and the Evolutionary Process", Chicago Univ. Press, Chicago.
[149] The Kenyan Ministry of State for National Heritage and Culture's National Policy on Culture and Heritage (2009): Introduction

especially after general elections, the government has designed multiculturalist policies that are aimed at enhancing that all communities are included in issues of national importance. This approach to have citizens participate and interact at different levels is a deliberate effort to build a strong national identity and national pride among the Kenyan people.

The Kenyan government has been at the fore front to foster cross- cultural programmes with other nations as a method of promoting inter-African relations and building cooperation on economic, socio and cultural issues. The cultural policy further work towards preserving national cultural heritage and preserving indigenous cultural practices from the potential extinction or absorption into other dominating cultures. This serves as a point of convergence for future generations to respect cultural diversity and also promote dialogue on nationhood.

The world today requires public diplomacy to be able to discuss and find solutions to issues of global importance and this can be promoted through cultural activities such as sports, arts, tourist and other forms of exchanges. This form of interaction can lead to increased intercultural dialogue and strengthened cooperation among states. This is in fact not a new happening since time immemorial, traders and travelers transverse across the globe promoting the interests of their masters but while at it, leaving behind and picking aspects of cultural practices of the places they visited.[150] Missionaries who were sent to Africa to represent their churches and get new converts have been deemed to be the most successful agents of change. This has been argued out that it is because whenever they landed in a new place or country, they took interest in the culture and traditional systems of their hosts and tried to assimilate within. In the process, they were able to use a soft approach to pass on their agenda to the host communities. This introduced

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[150] Sen, A. (2008). Culture & Development. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

a new culture while promoting the existing cultural practices which was of mutual benefits and growth for all parties.

The National Museum of Kenya is a state organization that is mandated with the preservation and promotion of cultural and natural heritage. The institution works with other actors in the study, collecting, documentation and presentation of information on cultural practices and heritage sites. This information is shared with the public to create more awareness through exhibitions, multimedia channels as well as other through educational programmes. Culture has been relevance in resolving conflicts and encourage peaceful coexistence through festivals such as Maralal camel derby, Lake Turkana Festival, and the Lola Kenya Screen initiative. This projects objective is to promote cultural diversity, break down cross cultural barriers, ease ethnic tensions, and strengthen national unity.

3.7.2 Eritrea Cultural Practices

Eritrea developed into a country while closely linked to Ethiopia and other neighboring border countries to the south which reflects a great influence on their culture particularly from Ethiopia.[151] Eritrea has around nine ethnic groups which is way lower than that you find in Kenya. The larger population in Eritrea is dominantly Christian Orthodox with the populace in the lowlands with a majority Muslims. In the quest for an independent nation, Eritrea has by far and wide been able to bridge the linguistic and cultural differences between the two main populations and strive more on building a nation as noted in a Report of a study by the United Nations.[152]

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[151] Arshak. D. (2007). Personal consultation on the culture and practice of Ethiopians and Eritreans in general, and on the practice of resettled community members in New Zealand. Auckland.
[152] "Borders of Violence—Boundaries of Identity: Demarcating the Eritrean Nation-State. "Ethnic and Racial Studies,22(6): 1037–1060, 1999. United Nations. The United Nations and the Independence of Eritrea,1996

The Eritrean Constitution acknowledges that all the ethnic groups and languages are equal although there are only two administrative languages in use, which are Arabic and Tigrinya, with English as the second language. Tigrinya is the dominant language and is the language most used within the government state agencies and in the general population. This is similar in the case of Kenya where although the country has many ethnic languages, Swahili is the language widely used since it has been accepted as the national language while English is used as the formal and official language.

Cultural practices and art symbols in Eritrea represents a long struggle in their liberation war for independence and this is commemorated in the national public holidays and artifacts in the country. The Eritrean flag is symbolic and represents the liberation movements and the freedom from the Ethiopian government.[153] This is a similarity with the Kenyan flag, whose colors and symbols represent the country's struggle from colonialism, its independence, and the determination of rebuilding their nation post-colonial period.

The society in Eritrea was largely defined on social classes as well as further divided based on one's ethnic and religious belonging. An influence from the culture of slavery during the pre-colonial days is reflected in the social status thus widening the already huge gap between the haves and the have nots. Eritrean people are more accustomed to their cultural traditions and ethnic norms within their family units as well at the society level. In comparison to Kenya, where the influence of western nations has left most people in a more liberal state with most cultural practices relegated at the bottom in most cases, Eritrea can be said to hold more to cultural practices than Kenya.

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[153] "The Process of Nation-Building in Post-War Eritrea: Created from Below or Directed from Above? "The Journal of Modern African Studies,36(3): 461–482, 1998.

3.7.3 The Linkage between Governance, cross- Cultural Practices in Interstate Relations

Diplomacy is defined as the art of negotiating between two or more states and to achieve this. communication plays a critical role.[154] Therefore, public diplomacy forms the basis of intercultural dialogue with the aim of fostering international relations and cooperation between people from different cultural backgrounds.

Traditionally, governments were almost the exclusive actors in diplomacy, but this has been changing gradually as cultural diplomacy receives more appreciation for its encompassing role in bringing in other actors such as prominent individuals, media, private sector players, and civil society organizations to the dialogue. This does not only deepen conversations, but it enriches interactions on a bold issue of both domestic and foreign importance. Governance and culture can be intertwined in the practice of diplomacy.

As the world become more interdependent and interconnected, there is no doubt that governance will be influenced by other social aspects such as culture. Culture has been proven to work as the catalyst for transformation and fulfilling a big agenda ofbringing all people together for public participation.

3.8 Conclusion

The chapter has reviewed questionnaires and secondary data findings and also some of the scholarly works on the effect of cultural practices in promoting interstate relations. From the chapter some issues have emerged that influence the politics, sports, music and culture which contribute to interstate relations. factors contributing to constrained inter-relations between states will be analyzed in the next chapter.

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[154] Kissinger, Henry A., Diplomacy, New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994

CHAPTER FOUR

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO CONSTRAINED INTER-RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES: ANALYTICAL EVALUATION OF ERITREA AND KENYA

4.0 Introduction

Chapter three has discussed the effects of cultural practices in promoting inter relations among states as collected from the questionnaires and interview guides at the boarder point. This chapter sets stage in order to examine factors contributing to constrained inter-relations between states, likely implications and liberalization policies on cooperation in security and trade are the emerging issues which will be looked at in this chapter.

4.1 Factors that Challenges Inter State Relations

The relationship between Eritrea and Kenya has in various analyst reports been characterized as being complex and multifaceted. The two countries in this relationship cannot be suggested to be allies or enemies. However, the relationship has been characterized by tensions emanating from different factors.[155] Tensions between the Kenya and Eritrea are argued to have increased in the recent past. The main factor behind the increase in this tension is the issue of the fight against terrorism, among other economic issues. The cultural and political position of terrorism has remained a complicated issue in Eritrea-Kenya relations. Necessary actions by the Kenya have continued to be controversial among the policy makers and continue to shape the relationship between Kenya and the Eritrea.[156]Foreign policy in Eritrea has been marked by controversies

[155] David Shinn, "Eritrea's Regional Relations," The International Policy Digest, August 17, 2012
http://www.internationalpolicydigest.org /2012/08/17/Eritrea's-regional-relations/.
[156] Margaret K. and Karen M, (2010), "International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance" (New York: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010),5.

from different quarters of the country. Actions by the Eritrea have frequently been criticized by the government of Kenya.[157]

Various areas are recognized as including the main elements of a 21st century policy agenda. Even if the situation bilaterally has continued to be somewhat favourable, most of the long-term policy objectives have not been achieved. This has not been achieved as the relationship between the two nations has continued to get worse. The exceptional regularity and range of communications between the two governments (such as many telephone communications and meetings between the leaders at various levels) have failed to realize legitimate strategic trust between Eritrea and Kenya. What is coming out clearly is that the bilateral relationship between the two is not zero-sum or confrontational. But the lack of trust between the two nations has continued to hinder the possibility of good relations. [158]

Depending on border specificities, regional and local circumstances, there are confirmed reasons that explains escalating factors that can enhance peace, conflict, and cooperation at the regional levels. The view of the neorealistis focused on the challenges that exist in the international system and the deliberate efforts by states to achieve a form of cooperation in such an anarchic environment.[159]This is a neorealist view that allows countries to relate with others through a clear distribution of power, regional integration and cultural partnerships. Fundamentally the balance of power is evidenced in the constitutionalism whereby countries attract allies and

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[157] The six founding states of the IGADD are Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda. Conway Henderson, International Relations; Conflict and Cooperation at the Turn of 21stCentury (Boston: Mc-Graw Hill, 1998), 24.
[158] Marijke B, "Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction." (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).
[159] K.J. Holsti, International Politics; A Framework for Analysis (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1995), 18.

partners because of the existence of the rule of law.[160]This explanation is frequently used to account for problems between Kenya and Eritrea on the basis of peace and security.

Interviewees responded to the question on to which extent the governance systems and cultural practices in Eritrea and Kenya pose any threat to Eritrea and Kenya's inter-state relations. Majority as shown by 75% in figure 4.2 below indicated that to some extent the systems in both countries pose a threat to the inter-state relations.

Fig 4.2 Threats posed by governance systems and cultural practices in interstate relations.
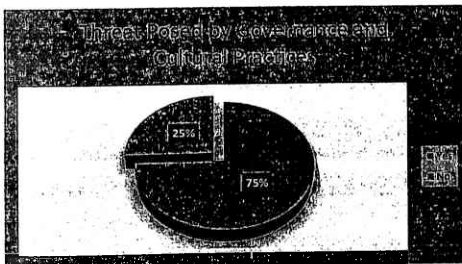
In support of the above findings, respondents indicated that officials or persons who are expected to be conversant with the subject matter did not provide much information. The researcher did not find evidence of official governance structures or cultural practices that constrain the relationship between Kenya and Eritrea. Nonetheless, the findings from the interview indicated that the domestic and external interface of a country by far determines its

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[160] Karns and Mingst, International Organizations, 5-7.

foreign policy.[161] According to the bests practices in global governance, it follows that security within the country affects greatly the effectiveness and interrelations and cooperation. Political stability within a country as well as its foreign policy has an impact on peace initiatives and cooperation between states. For instance, when looking at organizations, investors will shy away from investing in nations that are politically unstable, while there will be greater investment and thus productivity in organizations that operate within politically stable environments. Besides political stability other aspects of political governance that attract investment and contribute to productivity in organizations are sound foreign policy, defence and military policy, as well as the general image of the country both within and without. Intervention of the government in the economy of a country is central in the productivity of organizations. Under a stable political environment domestic lives of citizens will feel secure attracting more immigrants from other countries.[162]

4.2 Peace and Security

Diverse terror activities were reported to be supported by Eritrea. Kenya considered the need to review its relationship with Eritrea because of the profound allegation that Eritrea was supporting the terrorist's groups especially arming Al Shabaab in Somalia.[163]. During the questionnaire, one male respondent observed that: *"By looking at ways of severing diplomatic ties with Eritrea, Kenya could stamp its believe in governance, law and order, international support, pursuit for building sustainable peace and attaining security in the region."* [Official from MOFA Nairobi].

[161] Breuning, Foreign Policy Analysis, 12-13
[162] Holsti, International Politics; Breuning, Foreign Policy Analysis; Alex Mintz and Karl DeRouen, "Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making" Cambridge University Press, 2010.
[163] David S., "The Level of Analysis Problem in International Relations," in The International System: Theoretical Essays, eds. Klaur Knorr and Sidney Verba (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961), 85. Breuning, Foreign Policy Analysis,13.

Respondents were asked the likelihood that the cultural practices and governance practices are likely to impact on good interstate relations between Eritrea and Kenya. As indicated in figure 4.2 below, it is evident that various governance systems, diplomatic remarks and protests characterize an impact on good relations. These findings embody the principle that in spite of political stability, The organizations with political connections benefits in such an environment at the expense of others. In such a case, organizations and firms that are sustains are inefficient, with the ripple effect going to the entire economy. This effect can be seen in organizations that operate in nations with bad political governance. The lack of development within these organizations and in the economy largely is as a result of lack of sound political governance. For instance, this is what causes a difference in terms of economic development between nations in Africa and those in Asia.

Fig 4.2 Impact on Inter State Relations

Impact of Governance on Good Interstate Relations

- Most Likely
- Likely
- Neutral
- Not likely
- Less likely

50%, 13%, 13%, 10%, 14%
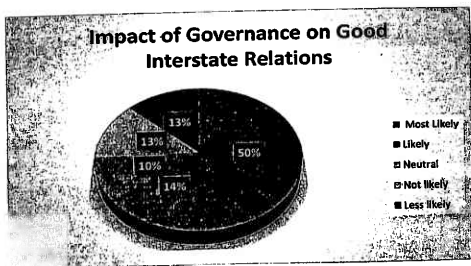
Kenya has had an increasingly tough stand toward the state behavior of Eritrea based on the international norms and values of governance. The war on terrorisms and allegation that Eritrea

arms the terrorist group has put the two countries on collision with Kenya invoking the international governance statues and severe relations or threaten to severe relations. Accordingly, it is worth to note that the focus of Kenya was to dissociate itself from a country that engages in activities that attempts to destabilize the region.[164]

Granting the existing hypothesis that inverse relations between cooperation, power symmetries and hegemony present a look at the role of governance in promoting inter state relations, it is evident to note that power and governance points to a precondition for inter -state relationships.[165]The implications of this argument shapes the understanding that states exist on the framework of governance so as to promote the compliance of law. This framework is what promotes law and order and punishes defiance through sanctions and withdrawal of commitment from the relational framework. As a result, the governance system helps states in serving to ease tension and promote relationships from the gains distributed from regional cooperation.[166]In essence, it is therefore plausible to note that the decline of Kenya'shegemonic power in the region is attributed to the deterioration of its relations with some of its neighbors. This understanding however, it defeated by the political stability, peace and security that exists. As a result, it is from this framework that Kenya reprimands Eritrea over the allegations of its perceived support of terrorist groups. This explains the forces of peace and security which led to Kenya to reprimand Eritrea over its perceived association with terrorist groups as one of the key information has this to say; *"not only clear any misunderstanding but (also) enhance bilateral cooperation for the beneficial of both states."* [Eritrean Embassy official].

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[164] Holsti, International Politics; Mark Webber and Michael Smith, "Foreign Policy in a Transformed World" (Harlow, UK: Pearson Education Limited, 2002)
[165] Kibreab Gaim, "Eritrean-Sudanese Relations in Historical Perspectives," in Eritrea's External Relations; Understanding ItsRegional Role and Foreign Policy, ed. Richard Reid (London: Chatham House, 2009).
[166] Tanja Muller, "Understanding the Dynamics of Foreign Policy-Making in a New State: The Case of Eritrea," in Globalization and Emerging Trends in African Foreign Policy; A Comparative Perspective of Eastern Africa, eds. Korwa Adar and Peter Schrader (Maryland: University Press of America, 2007), 33.

4.3 The Linkage between Governance, cross- Cultural Practices in Interstate Relations

There has been a close linkage between democracy and the place of culture in the political science discourse. In cultural analysis using the contemporary approach, the aspect of values and norms remains a fundamental foundation for cultural practices. There has been enormous research examining the impact of different democratic practices and the cultural values and the interlink between the two concepts.[167] Nevertheless, there is still a gap in research to show for the relationship between different democratic systems and cultural models in different countries. Various nations use different models and approaches to democracy and have different cultural patterns which they use in the pursuit of interstate relations.

The concept of territorial state has shaped debates in modern world in suggesting that political rule is territorial. This however is not an indication that political territoriality is ultimately and exclusively translated to mean that political rule is territorial. Theorists in international relations when raising arguments on state territoriality focus more on the unchanging nature of the state as an entity. Such debates ignore the analysis of a state from a historical background and geopolitical environment. This is a position that remains challenged by contemporary thinkers in modern world. For instance, in the case of Kenya and Eritrea, the changing dynamics in regional economic activities and the changing political alignments outside territorial states bring to light the importance of evaluating the pursuit of interstate relations against a country's cultural backgrounds and historical context. Conservative arguments relies on three common outlook of a

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[167]Almond, Gabriel Abraham, and Sidney Verba. The civic culture: Political attitudes and democracy in five nations. Princeton university press, 2015.

state as a sovereign entity, domestic and foreign polarity, as well as the state as a collection of societies that have shared cultural and value systems.[168]

The world will continue to feel the impact of culture and globalization as these concepts shape the relationships not only among states but also in business circles and people relations. The world has become more interlinked and interdependent and despite the turbulent situation, issues of international relations still dominate the public debates and round table discussions. While there is a significant amount of literature devoted to the cultural policy of individual states, little has been cloned on a broader theoretical or comparative basis.[169] Therefore, the democratization of culture is the critical linkage between governance and cross-cultural practices.

Traditionally, the state is responsible for the generation and preservation of cultural works whether its arts, artifacts to the general public. On the other side, cultural diplomacy is more of a regulatory function by ensuring that cultural erosion and dilution does not happen by protecting the sector from outside intrusion. States have been operating like this for centuries but constrained with the opening up of the world through globalization, cultural civilization, online innovations and new trends in the information and technological field have forced a wave of change.[170]

4.4 Informal Trade

The fast-growing trade and the rapid expansion of the trade deficit between the two countries has resulted in serious political economic issues. Although this trade tie is beneficial to the two countries, the trade relation is continuously getting complex. The Kenyan manufacturers have

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[168] Graham, Brian, Greg Ashworth, and John Tunbridge. A geography of heritage: Power, culture and economy. Routledge, 2016.
[169] Inglehart, Ronald. "Culture shift in advanced industrial society." Princeton University Press, 2018.
[170] Forsyth, M. (2012). 'Lifting the Lid on "The Community": Who Has the Right to Control Access to Traditional Knowledge and Expressions of Culture?' in the International Journal of Cultural Property Vol 19., pp. 1–31.

continuously enjoyed the market provided by the Eritrean population. Cultural and social differences have greatly impacted international relations between Eritrea and Kenya. The major cultural differences are some of the possible causes of conflict in international relations. The Eritrea formal and hierarchical social structure contrasts the Kenya free and informal social structures. These social structures govern interactions among people from the two states and are therefore likely to bring a lot of conflict when the two cultures meet in business and political activities.

4.5 Eritrea's Approach to Inter State Relations

Looking at Eritrea, one notices that it is likely to be isolated from the world and this has affected its international relations. Historically, Eritrea has only come to the limelight when negative things affect the country. Kenya is the chief country that has had and still maintains strong relationship with Eritrea. For instance, Kenya is the greatest partner of Eritrea in economic endeavors of the country.[171] Imports and exports between the two countries are said to be high and the biggest chunk of Eritrea regional support comes from the Kenya. There is also a lot of exchange of manpower with the Eritrean immigration agencies reporting high emigrations of Kenyans to Eritrea and the number is ever up-trending.[172]

In governance, the Kenyan government has been regulating regional politics and has gained much influence because of the mammoth aid that they receive. In case of political problems, Kenya withdraws from giving Eritrea regional support.

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[171] Gaim, "Eritrean-Sudanese Relations," 91; Mesfin Berouk, "The Horn of Africa Security Complex," in Regional Security in Post-Cold War Horn of Africa, eds. Roba Sharamo and Mesfin Berouk (Pretoria: ISS, 2011), 18.
[172] Bereketeab Redie, "The Eritrea-Ethiopia Conflict and the Algiers Agreement: Eritrea's Road to Isolation," in Eritrea's External Relations; Understanding Its Regional Role and Foreign Policy, ed. Richard Reid (London: Chatham House, 2009), 111.

4.6 Economic Issue

Kenya's foreign policy strategy of creating a stable political environment emanates from a long history of fighting for reforms in the public space and a desire to create an environment that promotes prosperity and development for the country and for its citizens. is linked to the need to pave way for social economic development and prosperity. This process has involved deliberate efforts and investment in time and money resource to building the Kenyan brand as an economic hub in the region. Kenya's foreign policy regards economic diplomacy as a tool of advancing its goals of creating employment and wealth for Kenyans in a prosperous East Africa region. Kenya's economy since the time she attained independence has undergone major economic crisis and it is in this sense that a move towards economic diplomacy has been forged. [173] This form of diplomacy was set out to attain the following; Increase in capital flows to Kenya and by extension to the East Africa region by exploring other sources of developmental aid and direct foreign investment. Economic diplomacy promotes the state as a favorite destination for direct foreign investment and tourism. Also, it expands access to traditional markets and explores new market and opportunities for its products in emerging destinations such as Latin America, Asia and the Middle East. The Economic diplomacy further enhances and adopts new technologies in the market which is more accessible and affordable. Regional economic organizations especially the East Africa Community (EAC) will need support from its member states if it will remain relevant in the competitive global markets. A well-crafted strategy has been designed to ensure a robust transformation of the regional body. [174] For a country to succeed in marketing its products and services, it needs to do market screening, which will further enhance the bargaining power.

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[173] Margaret K. and Karen M, "International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance." (New York: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010), 5.
[174] Holsti, International Politics; Mark Webber and Michael Smith, Foreign Policy in a Transformed World (Harlow, UK: Pearson Education Limited, 2002)

With the strongest economy in the region, Kenya is cognizant of the need to ensure an equitable and mutually beneficial cooperation. This calls for measures to support developing and growing nations which may be weaker and struggling with their economies for different reasons as per with the IGAD agreement (1996) and the East African Treaty (1999). This includes offering a conducive trading environment when it comes to exports and imports and opening up their borders by loosening the boundaries restrictions. Kenya is committed to its obligations towards regional cooperation frameworks and has encouraged other members of the EAC, IGAD and COMESA to ratify existing treaties and adhere to their provisions. Traditional markets in North America and Europe still matter to Kenya. Nonetheless it is also strengthening strategic ties with emerging economies in the Middle East, Asia, and Latin America to add into the traditional partners in Western and Eastern Europe.[175] Through active participation in the World Trade Organization (WTO), Kenya's economic diplomacy has continued to advocate for fair trading practices and rules that favorsespecially for weaker African economies. A forceful and effective economic diplomacy requires an effective foreign policy machine. This is one of the reasons for a comprehensive re-engineering of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and foreign missions to meet the challenges of a competitive globalized economy.

It's important that states have developed a concise framework for political thinking through an innovative program. This offers the tool to depend the understanding of American politics within the democratic space. The democratic consolidations of governance and constitutional frameworks demonstrates the need for a system of political governance that establishes the mechanism of economic and political restructure, economic markets and institutions. Constitutionalism in America shapes the liberal political ideas. The architects of this constitution

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[175] Breuning, Foreign Policy Analysis, 12-13

check on the power of each arm of government. Petersons understanding formulate the interpretation of institutional dispensation of comparative politics that guides the form, shape and direction of economic and social democracy.[176]

Constitutional liberalism is dangerous and inadequate eroding the values of liberty, fostering abuse of power, instigating war and ethnic division. The common practices across the world show that in most parliamentary systems, the power of the executive is anchored on the management of bureaucracy as well as conducting interstate relation. This paradigm captures the philosophy that the parliamentary system is charged with the role of keeping the checks and balances in the executive power.[177]For African countries to develop better, they ought to avoid problems related with International Trade.[178]Therefore, the unified political parties allow for the coordination of the President. This shapes the belief that the president has the leeway to coordinate with coalition of parties to support the manifesto of the ruling party and advance the social economic and political trajectory of the government of the day. This borrows from the perspectives of states to address the foundational principle of the executive by pointing out its nature and function. The foundational tenets of the parliamentary system of governance are evidenced by the members of parliament elected by the citizen. This means that the legislature in this system becomes the only elected body in the states and mandated with the passage of bills and laws.

[176] Tanja Muller, "Understanding the Dynamics of Foreign Policy-Making in a New State: The Case of Eritrea," in Globalization and Emerging Trends in African Foreign Policy: A Comparative Perspective of Eastern Africa, eds. Korwa Adar and Peter Schrader (Maryland: University Press of America, 2007), 33.

[178] Margaret Karns and Karen Mingst, International Organizations: The Politics and Processes of Global Governance (New York: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010), 5.

4.7 Power and National Interest

Power as an imperative refers to the situation where a regional hegemon forces the neighborhood into an integration arrangement.[179] In IGAD Kenya can be said to be the hegemon since it is the most powerful in the region. Yet Kenya for its own national interests is reluctant to act as one. Scholars have argued that for regional integration to be successful effective leadership is necessary. Leadership may take different forms such as more developed countries taking a more prominent lead in advocating for reduction of tariffs which other smaller countries are much likely to follow through. Respondents noted that: *"From the past experiences, Kenya has not openly taken the lead in this form and Eritrea's chances for modeling the talk and walk has been tainted by a number of events. Lack of effective leadership in IGAD has constrained the integration process hence challenging the interstate relations.* [Official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs].

This is especially so when it comes to making and implementing collective decisions and resolutions. Closely related to power is the imperative of sovereignty. Kenya, which is the most powerful country in IGAD, passionately guards her sovereignty. He added that it is only through respect for national sovereignty and strict observance of the treaty's provisions that confidence building and commitment will be sustained in the integration process.[180] The fear of loss of sovereignty especially in the Political Federation as states are afraid to lose their political power which will in turn affect their power in decision making. The failure of the federal project in the defunct EAC has been partly attributed to the issue of sovereignty.

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[179] Holsti, International Politics; Mark Webber and Michael Smith, Foreign Policy in a Transformed World (Harlow, UK: Pearson Education Limited, 2002)
[180] Breuning, Foreign Policy Analysis, 12-13

The underlying principles that makes the constitutional ideal and favorable for democratic success the characteristic coordination between the legislature and the executive arms of government. This reinforces the argument that the coequal nature of the two arms of government in the constitution organizes the functional advantage of the legislature and the executive to advance the success of the political agenda of the ruling parties. As a result, the presidential system offers a coherent policy leadership that is evidently absent in the parliamentary system leading to the governance stability in the democratic space.

The basic principle of constitutionalism is the political structure of governance. This underscores that most of the democracies in European states takes the parliamentary form based on their representative election by the citizens of the state. According to Shively, the critical foundation of the presidential system is captured on the functional interplay between the legislature and the executive; whose election is conducted separately. The legislature composite of the Congress is elected on the same day as the president; a fact that is different in the parliamentary system where the electorate vote for members of the parliament. The nature of decision-making reduces the bureaucracies. This allows the president little barriers in the execution of the political functions. Nonetheless, it is important to underscore that the responsibility of the policy making is clear. For example, election allows voters to take part in shaping the political powers. However, it emerges that once the results of the elections are out, political parties have little control in following up on the election promises made.

The challenge that make the parliamentary system ineffective for democracy is pegged on the lack of protection for the minority which may genuinely feel wronged. According to Shively, it is evident that the presidential system accords respect and protection to the minority with the hope that either the legislature or the president can independently address genuine grievances

and constitutional concerns.[181] Governments in parliamentary systems can be reduced to being unstable based on the coalition agreements. In view of this, the strict marriage of convenience that characterize coalitions may fail to agree in the event of political betrayal. From this perspective, the numerical strength that establishes the parliamentary system fosters a relationship of mistrust making it possible to paralyze the governmental functions. This is consistent with the neo-capitalist intent of representation.

The constitutional constraint captures the ideals of democracy by allowing both the legislature and the executive to independently exist from each other. This notion paints a suitable picture of governance established from the perspective of autonomy and responsible for the corporation for government operations.[182] The case of the US clearly illustrates the efficiency of constitution whereby the political parties get the dimension where the Congress and the executive working in intimate cooperation for the greater good of the country. It is plausible to note that the natural competition between the legislature and the executive can be neutralized through compromise and bipartisan approaches. This allows the president a good deal of cooperation and coordination.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has indicated the emerging issues of the factors that constraint interstate relation. These factors focus on trade, culture, regional interests as well as national interests. Analysis of international relations between Kenya and Eritrea has proved that the relationship is strong and

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[181]Bereketeab Redie, "The Eritrea-Ethiopia Conflict and the Algiers Agreement: Eritrea's Road to Isolation," in Eritrea's External Relations; Understanding its Regional Role and Foreign Policy, ed. Richard Reid (London: Chatham House, 2009), 111
[182]Bereketeab Redie, "The Eritrea-Ethiopia Conflict and the Algiers Agreement: Eritrea's Road to Isolation," in Eritrea's External Relations; Understanding its Regional Role and Foreign Policy, ed. Richard Reid (London: Chatham House, 2009), 111

friendly on economic areas and weak on political fields. Several conflicts exist on various policies and practices in interstate relations. Cooperation between the two countries is poorly developed and fluctuates with changing common-enemy interests. These issues have been discussed widely. The next chapter will contain the summary, key findings and recommendation of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter will present the summary, conclusion, and recommendations on the linkage between governance, cross-cultural practices in promoting interstate relations between Eritrea and Kenya. The section will provide study findings that emerged from data analyzed through an extensive literature review using academic journals, reports from governmental and non-governmental institutions, government agencies and books published by authors who are an authority in the subject matter. Further, the study analyzed primary data collected through interviews and questionnaires. The study has analyzed the diverse data to bring out new insights and offer recommendations to policy makers and to propel for further research on the area.

5.1 Summary

Every nation has internal dynamics whether politically or culturally which has an effect on how a nation is governed. To this end, it is the important for a country to customize both domestic and foreign policies in a way that will deepen cooperation in an environment that encourages peoples' relations and promotes the interest of both countries.

The world is in the process of adopting the concept of global governance with increased globalization, internationalization and collaboration among different actors. This move will enhance will increase the contribution of civil organizations, non-governmental organizations, private sectors, and private citizens to public debates. In return citizen activism will increase and the new trends and innovations in digital communication will further open up the online space.

5.2 Key Findings

Good governance is paramount if states are to succeed in the pursuit for interstate relations and regional integration. A country that is struggling internally with political stability lacks the resources and goodwill to reach out for cooperation with other nations if it cannot first put its house in order. Building working institutions that are independent and committed can influence the promotion of human rights, rule of law, citizen participation, media freedoms, and civil society engagement are prerequisite factors for democratic processes that promote good governance.

In the study, Kenya emerged as a more stable country politically and to a larger extent economically in comparison to Eritrea. Respondents interviewed indicated that Kenya was in a better position to seek out other nations for bilateral cooperation since as a country than it would be the case for Eritrea. Eritrea on the hand is a young democracy that is showing promising progress in the growth and development its political, socio- and economic infrastructure.

The two nations have enjoyed good but limited cooperation however with no major hurdles or conflicts on their foreign policies. The different levels of development on the political, socio-and economic interface hinders dialogue and any significance bilateral cooperation. The study established an aspect of overreliance by Eritrea on trade where they export too much from Kenya while their economy currently does not support Kenya to import as such. This can however be

viewed as an opportunity rather than a hurdle as the two nations collaborate to the realization their development agenda.

Colonial legacy and colonialism has influenced the state in which most countries currently operate in terms of governance and political structures. Most African states inherited their colonial masters' system of administration which had been designed to exploit the Africans. The leaders of national movements and political parties unfortunately after independence continued with that same rule which included oppression their citizens. While as, most countries have been trying for decades to shake off the shadow of their former masters, overdependence on aid from former colonizers mean that it is not easy charting one's own political path with ease.

International organizations such as the UN through their agencies such as UNESCO and regional bodies including the AU, in collaboration of intergovernmental bodies such as IGAD can take lead in the realization of global goals such as the sustainable development goals.[183] This will ensure that no countries are left behind. The UN has particularly been successful as a global body in uniting the world to rally behind certain agendas which can be of global good to all humanities. Regional bodies should also play a critical role in creating an impact in the places of jurisdiction. For instance, it is crucial for regional agencies to ensure that countries within the same block maintain peaceful coexistence as this has an overall effect on peace and stability within the region.

Opportunities for cultural exchange programs are not fully exploited between the two countries. This provides many opportunities for both Kenya and Eritrea to explore be it in sports, arts, educational exchange programs and so on in areas that will enhance cross-cultural promotions.

[183] Meyer J. and Brian R.(1977). "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony." American Journal of Sociology 83:340–363.

Such initiatives will bring persons from different backgrounds together thus encouraging interactions, creating awareness on the different cultural practices. Persons of groups of communities are likely to respect and embrace those from different cultures when they understand why they act and behave differently from them. People need to develop a culture of tolerance and accommodating different world views as globalization and new trends and innovations in digital media opens up the world further.

Lack of political goodwill remains the biggest obstacle to good interstate relations for many nations. This may stem from insecurity by some leaders who are so focused on consolidating power within their state that they miss out on cooperation opportunities with other nations. The study found out that when a country is undergoing a political crisis internally, most resources whether financially or time is dedicating to resolving intra-disputes and at such point interstate relations is not even a priority. State leaders can be more deliberate in reaching out to other nations especially those within the same regional blocks as there are many things in common not only for the betterment of the two states but for the common progress of the whole region at large.

5.3 Recommendations

5.3.1 Invest in institutions that support good governance

The study suggests the need for countries to build and establish institutions that facilitate the promotion of good governance which is anchored on democratic principles. This include the respect for rule of law, transparency, integrity, citizen participation, respect for fundamental human rights, free press, and civil society engagement among others. This recommendation is against the background that states which have good governance structures is more likely to pursue more meaningful interstate relations. States with functional institutions presents better

environment for the development of well thought out domestic and foreign policies that can be focused at building stronger interstate relationships.

5.3.2 Prioritize on deepening existing interstate relations

Both countries must be more deliberate in growing the existing interstate relations to levels that will yield more results in their cooperation efforts. Since Kenya, is fairly a more developed country, Eritrea should take advantage to learn and implement good practices that have worked out in Kenya in the political, social, and economic sectors. Kenya can also exploit the economic opportunities that are available in Eritrea as the young nation tries to catch up with most other countries in the continent.

This is in line with the notion that developed countries should help developing countries in building working institutions so that these young countries do not become a liability and develop an overdependence syndrome. Collier observed on the debate on why countries emerging from conflicts or are underdeveloped keep on spiraling in the same cycle has been attributed to a lack of a support systems by developed nations or neighboring countries.[184] Eritrea is ranks among the most poorest countries in the continent thus Kenya should have a burden to assist the country in creating programs and initiatives that can aid in improving the lives of the population and in promoting economic reforms that will help propel the nation of Eritrea in a development path.[185]

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[184]Collier. P. (2008). *The bottom billion: Why the poorest countries are failing and what can be done about it.* USA: Oxford University Press.
[185]Ferreira, F. H., Chen, (2015). *A Global Count of the Extreme Poor In 2012: Data Issues, Methodology and Initial Results*, Washington, DC: World Bank Policy Research Working Paper, (7432).

5.3.3 Support for developing nations by international, regional, and intergovernmental organizations

Organizations with a global and regional appeal such as the United Nations, European Union, African Union, regional communities such as the East African Community and intergovernmental bodies such as New Partnership for Africa's Development, and Intergovernmental Authority on Development, among others should take lead in facilitating nations emerging from conflicts or civil wars to rebuild. Cruz argues out that this efforts will lead to peace and prosperity not only for underdeveloped countries such as Eritrea but also for the region at large.[186] Other governments which are more stable politically and economically have a responsibility to assist less developed and struggling nations in dealing with their challenges. This will contribute in the realization of global goals such as the sustainable development goals. Eritrea represents many other young nations in Africa such as South Sudan which are still struggling with a lack of working institutions and a hungover on power after independence.[187] Such countries require a surmountable amount of support from the neighboring states and developed nations.

5.3.4 Design foreign policies that support interstate relations

Building a foreign policy that aligns to the needs and interests of countries seeking to engage in bilateral cooperation is central to fundamental in promoting interstate relations. The study noted that when Kenya had a diplomatic row with Eritrea over accusations that Eritrea was supposedly providing arms to the Al-shaabab terror group, Kenya threatened to rethink and reconsider its foreign policy with Eritrea. This event served as a lesson to both countries on how certain

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[186]Cruz. M., and Schellekens, P. (2015). "Ending extreme poverty and sharing prosperity" progress and policies. Washington, DC: World Bank Policy Research Note
[187]Meyer. John W. and Brian Rowan. 1977. "Institutionalized Organizations: Formal Structure as Myth and Ceremony." American Journal of Sociology 83:340–363.

domestic policies can have a negative implication on the interstate relations and the effects of such a move. Though that incident strained the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Eritrea, efforts were put in place to ensure that the spat did not break or affect the bilateral agreements on trade. The study found out that the two nations have however retained relatively mutual relationships over the years with no major rows experienced.

5.3.5 Leveraging in cultural diversity as a strength

Finnemore noted that culture is a powerful channel that can be used to influence governance and promote international relations.[188] This fact has been over stated in international agreements and given such prominence in UNESCO, the United Nations agency mandated with the promotion and preservation of cultural heritage.[189] Similarly, findings from the study noted that culture can be used as a channel and a soft approach to matters affecting both nations. Experience has proven that countries that are more receptive to people from different cultural backgrounds attract different talents and development from across the globe. In fact, nations which are more accommodating to different ideas find it easier to get solutions to their problems. Thus Eritrea and Kenya can find more ways to encourage cultural exchange through art, sports, educational programs, and cultural diplomatic programmes as a way of strengthening the interstate relationship. The Eritrea Embassy in Nairobi has an opportunity to showcase Eritrea's cultural practices through forums and events that can attract artists such as musicians, actors, comedians, among others to participate as a way of creating more awareness on their cultural activities. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kenya or the National Museums can also sponsor groups of Kenyans to do regular visits to Eritrea as a way of learning more about each other's cultures.

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188 Finnemore, M. (1993). "International organizations as teachers of norms": UNESCO Policy. *International Organization, 47*(04), 565–597
189 Ibid

5.3.6 Economic Opportunities

The economic sector offers a wider arena for bilateral cooperation that in most cases is left not fully exploited. Eritrea and Kenya can increase their trade net worth in terms of exports and imports by taking advantage of the trade opportunities. Eritrea imports a lot of goods from Kenya but still there is still a massive and diverse market that is left untouched. More market research is needed to identify new areas of cooperation.

5.4 Further Research Areas

The study proposes further research and in depth discussion on the role of cross-cultural practices in the promotion of interstate relations. Researchers can carry out a study on specific cross- cultural practices to determine the extent to which culture does influence interstate relations.

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Appendices I: Questionnaire

QUESTIONNAIRE

Topic: Governance and Cross-Cultural Practices enhancing Inter-State Relations Case study: Eritrea-Kenya Relations

This questionnaire seeks to examine the theme of the Eritrea and Kenya governance and cross-cultural practices in promoting inter-state relations.

SECTION 1 STRUCTURED QUESTIONS

1. There are principles of good governance that are adhered to in the political, social and economic admiration in your country.
   1) Highly Agree
   2) Agree
   3) Do not Know
   4) Disagree
   5) Highly Disagree
2. Have there been any recent legal reforms in your State to promote good governance through regional integration and peer review mechanism?
   1) Yes.
   2) No

3. There any customary, religious law or common law principles/provisions that promote cultural practices and exchange programs between Kenya and Eritrea.
   1) Highly Agree
   2) Agree
   3) Do not Know
   4) Disagree
   5) Highly Disagree
4. Do you think the cultural practices and governance practices are likely to impact on good interstate relations between Eritrea and Kenya?
   1) Most Likely
   2) Likely
   3) Neutral
   4) Not likely
   5) Less likely
5. Do you think there has been the impact of the good governance or lack of it in the region to Eritrea and Kenya interstate relations policy formulation?
   1) Yes
   2) No
6. Do the cultural practices in Eritrea and Kenya pose any threat to Eritrea and Kenya's National interests?
   1) Yes
   2) No

7. The current foreign policy strategies of both Kenya and Eritrea are adequate to respond to cultural integration in both countries.
   1) Highly Agree
   2) Agree
   3) Do not Know
   4) Disagree
   5) Highly Disagree

SECTION II: UNSTRUCTURED QUESTIONS

8. In your opinion, how can the policies on governance and cultural practices of both states be formulated to respond better to challenges of interstate relations?

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9. Considering that Kenya is relatively stable, what lessons, if any, can Eritrea learn and

apply in respect of foreign policy formulation on interstate nations? Kindly explain.

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10. In your view, what are the pillars of Eritrea-Kenya's policy on good governance and cultural diplomacy?

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THANK YOU FOR YOU TIME

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