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**The Impact of China's Soft Power diplomacy on Sustainable Development
in Africa: Case study of Kenya.**

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**A research submitted in partial fulfillment for the award of the degree of
Master of Arts in Diplomacy.**

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DECLARATION

DECLARATION BY THE STUDENT

I hereby declare that this research is my original work and has not been submitted to any other university for any award.

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this project to my late brother Robert Wanjau Gatere. May the good Lord grant him the grace to be with him in heaven. Till we meet again. Amen

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to say thank you and offer praise to God almighty for enabling me to complete this academic journey. It has not been easy but through His enduring grace and mercy I have gotten this far.

A big appreciation to my supervisor Prof. Amb. Maria Nzomo. Her insights, patience and advice enabled and inspired me to undertake this research. God bless you abundantly Prof.

God has blessed me with a wonderful family who have supported and have been there for me in so many ways. Were it not for them the journey would have been tumultuous. To dad and mum, I owe you eternal gratitude. My siblings Mary, Dan, Ann, Lucy and Carol God bless you all,

To any other person who I may have unintentionally omitted, God bless you wherever you are.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

FOCAC	-	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
CPC	-	Communist Party of China
BRI	-	Belt and Road Initiative
CGTN	-	China Global Television Network
FDI	-	Foreign Direct Investment
NARC	-	National Alliance Rainbow Coalition
SGR	-	Standard Gauge Railway
OBOR	-	One Belt One Road Initiative

ABSTRACT

African states are in dire need of setting up infrastructure projects to spur economic growth and development. However, most of these countries lack the requisite capital and technical know-how to undertake these projects. It is for this reason that they have turned to China, which has the financial muscle, technical expertise and has presented itself as a willing partner to assist Africa.

However, states are driven by interests and China is not an exception. It has an elaborate plan to attract Africa through its soft power diplomacy with an eye on the continent's vast reserves of natural resources. This study set out to investigate whether the partnership between China and Africa will at the expense of future generations. The study utilized dependency approach which postulates that developed or core countries impoverish periphery countries through the global economic system which is skewed in their favor. As a result, the trade balance is heavily in favor of China. The environment continues to be massively degraded due to over exploitation of natural resources and young Africans continue to be agitated as a result of unemployment as Chinese multinationals employ their own citizens and outcompete local businesses. The study used purposive sampling and a questionnaire as the instrument of data collection.

The study found out that most African governments have no policies in place to protect their natural resources and ensure the benefits trickle down to the citizens rather than the big multinationals. It also found out that most local citizens in Africa feel that China is taking away their livelihoods due to flooding the market with cheap goods. It made a raft of recommendations such as setting up a sustainable development fund to cushion its citizens and coming up with tough policies to curb importation of products that can be made locally to protect the local industries and create jobs for sustainable development to occur.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

China and Africa have a long history and their relationship can be traced to many decades ago.¹ China's initial contact on the African continent was purposively designed to build an ideological solidarity with other third world nations to prop up communism as the ideology of choice. The Chinese supported liberation movements in Africa, availing not just moral assistance, but also ammunitions and strategic mentoring. China's Africa policy then aimed at achieving two main things: first, to ensure that Taiwan was removed from the permanent seat at the United Nations, and seek support for the one China policy. Secondly, to counter not just the West's but also Soviet Union's inroads in Africa.

In that early period of competing ideologies, economic and political aid was accorded to Africa without any conditions. This notwithstanding the fact that China's economy was at best average. Judging by the standards set up by developed nations of the North, China's aid packages, in its initial contact with African countries, were negligible. For around twenty years from the mid 20th century, China extended about two and a half billion dollars to thirty six African states. In addition, China also sent ten thousand experts in various fields to fill in the technical gap in the continent's development, and embarked on various infrastructural developments, one of which was the 1860-kilometer railway linking Tanzania to Zambia, funded and constructed by China, and touted as a milestone of Soviet-Africa friendship upon its completion. Through those aid packages China gained respect and a good standing among Africans. It can be stated authoritatively that China's current success in Africa is anchored in policies formulated in those early times. The biggest coup of China's Africa policy in the mid

¹ <https://sites.google.com/site/chinapolicyinfocus/china-s-return-to-africa/the-history-of-sino-africa-relations>
[Accessed on 3 May,2019]

20th century was that the People's Republic of China replaced the Taiwan as a permanent member of the United Nations in 1971 with assistance from African countries that have a sizeable vote in the United Nations General assembly.

This was mainly achieved through the United Nations general assembly where each nation has an equal vote.² The People's Republic of China by then limited its engagement in the continent's affairs to infrastructural development e.g. construction of an occasional railway or port, anchoring African liberation movements, and declaring solidarity with the impoverished and voiceless of the continent in the spirit of socialism. In modern times Chinese multinationals, both state-owned and private, along with an influx of Chinese workers, can be seen and felt throughout Africa. This development is one of the most important geopolitical occurrences of our time.

Two major periods divide China's African strategy. From the mid 20th century, China's Africa policy had three main agendas; unchaining itself from the yoke of being a pariah state as a result of isolation, confronting the Soviet Union for prominence in the spread of the global communism ideology and dislodging Taiwan occupying the permanent seat at the United Nations security council. With that in mind, the People's Republic of China joined hands with African countries and revolutionary groups by giving support to armed group resisting colonialism, assisting independent African governments to be up on their feet economically and finally, seeking Africa's vote so as to be admitted in the United Nations and other multilateral organizations. It was during this period that China declared the eight guidelines on commercial and investment assistance in 1964 which included the hugely

² Shinn,D and Eisenmann,J.*China and Africa: A century of engagement* .Pennsylvania.Pennsylvania press, 2012

popular policy with African nations: The government of China never attaches any condition in its engagement with African governments.

This non-interference principle is wildly popular with the continent's ruling elite. Africa's ruling elite.³ Ever since China established diplomatic missions in some countries on the continent nearly half a decade ago, Chinese-African trade and Chinese presence on the continent has grown significantly.

The first Forum on China-Africa Cooperation meeting at the beginning of the 21st century brought together delegates at the ministerial level from African states, delegates drawn from the business communities, as well as various multilateral organizations. This gathering, chartered the course for the emergence of strong, stable and long-term allies.

During the annual delegates gathering, in the year 2006, the turnout was the biggest diplomatic convention in modern Chinese history with delegates from forty eight African countries. Among the agreements reached included; regular and constant updates on trade, infrastructure development , cultural exchanges, and tourism.

The increase in China's commercial and political activities in Africa has attracted a lot of commentary, particularly in the media. One of the factors that have seemingly generated a lot of criticism against China in Africa is the claim that Beijing is pursuing a politico-economic model that is radically different from the West and thus threatens to destabilize Western capitalist interests. Of interest has been the much talked about 'Beijing consensus' model. Interests from the governing elite, local political dynamics, bad governance and other inherent problems of China's development model, as well as the growing diversification of Beijing's

³ <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/china-and-africa-stronger-economic-ties-mean-more-migration/>

strategic policy objectives, all jointly serve to creeping doubts about the clarion call of a one Chinese state relentlessly spear heading a development agenda in Africa. The notion of the strategic dangling of economic benefits by Beijing as a means of achieving political ends thus needs to be examined with caution. It is imperative not to ignore the extent to which the republic of China has been able to control and dictate the development of its international economic engagements.

So, how will African nations ensure sustainable development in their dealings with China?

⁴The Forum on China-Africa cooperation is a critical avenue for China-African relations, setting out guidelines and coming up with enablers for China trade and investment in Africa. To attain the global and regional targets of sustainable development, the FOCAC framework has the opportunity to promote commitment to environmental protection and social sustainability safeguards of natural resources including investment in renewable sources of energy that will have a lasting legacy on future generations.

1.2. PROBLEM STATEMENT

Soft power diplomacy has become the new toolkit for countries wishing to pursue, protect and promote their national interests abroad. China has advanced its national interests in Africa through its various soft power initiatives. However, this has undermined sustainable development in Africa. Most of China's economic engagements are concentrated in sectors that are quite vulnerable to environmental concerns such as mining, fishing and forestry.

⁴ <http://wwf.panda.org/?334010/WWF-China-Africa-forum-should-commit-to-a-win-win-for-the-environment-and-sustainable-development-in-Africa>

Despite massive public relations exercise to sway Africans,⁵China's soft power campaign is undermined by the dichotomy between the image that it hopes to project and the country's activities especially in the exploitation of natural resources and unsustainable debts which have led to dependency and impoverishment. Chinese companies have engaged in activities that have led to environmental degradation and emission of harmful green house gases. Demand for ivory and rhino horns from China's middle class has led to a surge in poaching of African elephants and rhinos. Flooding of cheap and substandard goods from China has led to loss of jobs due to closure of industries which can't compete with Chinese companies. This has led to conflict between Chinese and Africans who feel their livelihoods are at risk.

China and Africa face the confronted by the challenge of balancing development and sustainability. China's deep pockets and technical know-how could help Africa develop its economy in a sustainable manner. The energy sector can for example shift to renewable sources such as wind and geo thermal as opposed to reliance on fossil fuels which are detrimental to the environment. Africa must come up with policies that empower her people by tackling poverty, food security and avoiding corrupt practices which lead to loss of jobs by allowing substandard imports. This will lead to benefits for both Africa and China by coming up with development initiatives that consider future generations.

⁵ <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/chinas-big-bet-soft-power> [Accessed on 31 July,2019]

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Has China's soft power diplomacy been used as a tool of economic and environmental exploitation in Africa?
2. Is there a dichotomy between sustainable development and China's national interests?
3. What has been the impact of China's Soft Power diplomacy on Kenya's sustainable development?

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To investigate whether China's soft power is a tool of economic and environmental exploitation in Africa.
2. To examine the conflict between China's national interests and sustainable development in Africa.
3. To establish the impact of China's soft power diplomacy in Kenya's sustainable development.

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

Various factors determine a country's success in the international arena.⁶ Countries that have successfully utilized their national power are able to influence and sway behavior of other states. This can be obtained through traditional hard power means, such as threats or coercion, or through soft power, which enables countries to woo or attract other states to share in their worldview and in the process achieve their interests. A country's soft power mainly relies upon its global image and reputation which makes it to be held in high esteem by other states. To achieve its global objectives, the CPC has formulated top-down strategies for amplifying

⁶ <https://chinapower.csis.org/is-china-soft-power-strategy-working>

China's soft power, which together with public diplomacy, are expected to project a positive international image of China.

1.5.1 THE CONCEPT OF SOFT POWER

So, how does soft power diplomacy work?⁷ A country can attain the results it desires in the global arena as a result of other countries looking up to its governance and ethos, and aspire to reach its level of prosperity and be associated with it. It hence becomes important to dictate the agenda and cajole others in the international political arena and not only induce compliance by deploying coercive apparatus or subjecting them to economic sanctions. This soft power which entails convincing others to look at the world view through your prism encourages cooperation rather than coercion. This strategy can only work on the condition of being able to influence the preferences of others.

A country's soft power strategy can be sourced from different thematic areas.⁸ It can be obtained from three sources: its culture, where its way of life is already appreciated, its political system, as long as it can demonstrate that it enhances good governance and its foreign policies as long as it does not interfere in the internal affairs of others. A good example is some Middle Eastern states. American music genres and movies are repulsive to the theocratic rulers due to a clash with their hard line religious views, but appealing to the youth to whom they inspire ideas and ideals of liberty and democracy. American entertainment industry promotes admiration of her values among some Middle East citizens, but not others.

⁷ .Nye ,Jr J.*Soft Power The means to success in world politics* pg 5 New York ,Public Affairs publishers, 2005

⁸ <https://foreignpolicy.com/2006/02/23/think-again-soft-power/>

The People's Republic of China leaders have been lobbying for Soft Power as the most attractive way to advance the Asian giant's interests and agendas globally.⁹China's official quest of cultural soft power began in earnest at the annual national Congress of the Communist Party of China in 2006 where it was declared that the revival and greatness of the Chinese nation would only be possible through the spread of her culture. Culture was seen as a critical component of China's soft power. The president called for the publicizing of the traditions of Chinese culture and promotion of cultural exchanges with other countries to propel the influence of Chinese culture globally. During the annual national congress of the Communist Party of China in 2014, the president called for the conception of a good Chinese narrative that would shape the perception of China by the rest of the world.

Language has been a key ingredient in advancing China's agenda.¹⁰Confucius Institutes, the language and culture programs financed by the Chinese government have been established in more than 1,500 schools worldwide since their debut in 2004. This was meant to enhance its superpower status by enhancing its global appeal. Yet Confucius Institutes have contributed to controversial and contentious public debate in host countries, where they have been both cautiously embraced as an oasis of educational funding and suspected as espionage outposts, neocolonial incursions, and obstructions to academic freedom.

1.5.2 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The world environmental commission came up with a definition of sustainable development that best captures Africa's situation. They defined sustainable development as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to

⁹ <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/chinas-soft-power-campaign>

¹⁰ Jennifer Hubbert(2019)*China in the world: An anthropology of Confucius institutes, soft power and Globalization* Hawaii Press.

meet their own needs . Different lobby groups bring to light the economic, social, and environmental angles of sustainable development due to glaring inequality and marginalization. The argument is that development has left communities vulnerable and impoverished as a result of exploitation of resources while the benefits go to big multinationals.

Governments are coming to terms with the fact that environmental disasters must be integrated as a development issue as opposed to humanitarian work, which advocates for states and non state actors to budget for disaster management as they consider development work and projects. The loss of human life and property coupled with the high cost of reconstruction, rebuilding and emotional support makes disasters to be not only an economic but also humanitarian threat. For this reason, disaster aftermaths ought to be considered key planks for sustainable development since they destroy entire livelihoods. Social protection programmes in various states have combined humanitarian and development aspects in new ways by addressing vulnerability and risk in short- and long-term approaches through various publications.

1.5. 3 CHINA'S SOFT POWER INITIATIVES IN AFRICA

China has for a long time identified Africa as an important ally in realizing its objectives.¹¹Africa's natural resources have for a long time been a magnet for China. The entry point for China has been through engagement in large development infrastructure, concessional loans and on a smaller scale grants. China has cultivated strong trade relationships with most countries on the continent. As a way of deepening ties further and to

¹¹ <https://www.country.eiu.com/article.aspx?articleid=272200811>

make its acceptability less about its ability to give out loans, China has, in modern times deliberately asserted its soft power diplomacy in Africa. China's increasing emphasis on soft power is informed by the realization that it could win its key allies in the global arena, assist its companies to win contracts, perhaps most importantly, make African countries to pay attention to China as a genuine friend, and not only a financier of their big infrastructure developments. It is not just a commercial relationship but a mutual and genuine friendship.

The overriding narrative driven by¹² media and propaganda outlets of the West aver that the Chinese projects in the continent are only based on commerce and investment, natural resources exploitation, and peace keeping missions, especially in relation to UN peacekeepers, and diplomatic engagements between Beijing and African capitals. However, perhaps more emphasis should be on China's increasing application of cultural attraction in Africa, especially in the arenas of educational and technological transfer initiatives.

The South-South cooperation has come in handy for China¹³ in its effort to build firm and lasting friendship with African states, China has repeatedly touted its commonly shared heritage with African nations as a third world country rather than an industrialized nation detached from reality, this notion has clearly worked in China's favor as it has gained traction and acceptance by the ruling elite who are of the view that China is an economic miracle that needs to be emulated. The policy of non-interference in domestic affairs has been wildly popular not only from Africa's strongmen but also democratically elected leaders who abhor the West's nosy attitude. Though the applause is from the ruling class, the local citizens do

¹² <https://www.Cfr.org/blog/Chinese-soft-power-africa>

¹³ Andrzej Polus, Dominic Kopinski and Ian Taylor (2013) *China's Rise in Africa: Perspectives of a Developing Connection* Routledge, London

not necessarily share in this joy seeing that the benefits do not trickle down to them due to lack of adequate information.

As part of reforms in its foreign policy,¹⁴China's soft power offensive in Africa has been growing in leaps and bounds from the inauguration of the Forum on China Africa Cooperation at the beginning of the century. The sixth summit in Beijing in September 2018, was maximally used by China to demonstrate its heavy investment in Africa especially in infrastructural development. This year's FOCAC represented the widest array of African stakeholders ever. The policy of non-interference has been a key highlight as a sacrosanct pillar of its foreign strategy. A notable shift in its foreign policy has been the hitherto outlawed idea of creating networks outside formal government channels. However this has changed as China now engages robustly with the private sector as it has realized they are a key plank of driving its agenda by influencing policy.

As a way of winning over the continent's policy makers,¹⁵China is deliberately marketing its success on the economic front by arguing that its policies have uplifted many people from the jaws of poverty and into prosperity . The global initiative on roads, which is a key plank of its soft power attempts to create a web of continental interconnectedness. It attempts to harmonize land and sea commerce through an infrastructural program that combines land and water transportation thus enhancing global economic integration.

Several questions emerge in China's activities;¹⁶What was the economic rationale for China to support and offer short term training programs, with a view to transport thousands of

¹⁴ Africacentre.org/spotlight/grand-strategy-and-chinas-soft-power-push-in-africa

¹⁵ Cfr.org/backgrounder/chinas-big-bet-soft-power

¹⁶ Kenneth King(2013)*China's Aid and Soft Power in Africa The Case of Education and Training* Boydell and Brewer inc,New York

Africans to China between 2013 and 2015? Why does it fund over thirty Cultural centers teaching Chinese culture at Africa's top academic centers of excellence across the length and breadth of Africa? While many countries are scaling down their spending on international aid, China has gone full steam to increase the number of scholarships for African scholars in various fields. China asserts that this is nothing new as it has been engaged for more than a decade in South-South cooperation which is of mutual benefit to China and Africa. The world has certainly taken note of this but what has been mostly the talking point is the commercial aspect. There has been little or no acknowledgement of China's role in the education sector - and more so to the in the hugely important area of developing human resource by offering training. Education is hence a key pillar of Sino-Africa relations.

To promote its national interests,¹⁷ Beijing is widening its scope as far as its soft power initiatives are concerned. This is by engaging both government officials and civil society, creating awareness of its culture through the Confucius institutes and providing funds and technical expertise in large infrastructure projects. Much as these initiatives have endeared it to countries and won it respect and admiration from the West, state-sponsored activities conducted through formal government channels are not sufficient to advance a country's soft power. Successful projection of soft power depends on various players such as NGOs, entertainment industry and a robust civil society.

It has however not been a smooth sailing for China.¹⁸ Chinese efforts to be the dominant power on the continent are beginning to face resistance from both the ruling elite and local citizens. Cases of despicable Chinese behavior and unorthodox business practices are now the

¹⁷ <https://the-diplomat.com/2017/07/this-is-the-Achilles-heel-of-china's-soft-power-projection-towards-developing-countries>

¹⁸ [The-diplomat.com/2019/02/is-china-undermining-its-own-success-in-africa](https://the-diplomat.com/2019/02/is-china-undermining-its-own-success-in-africa)

norm rather than the exception. There are four critical issues that have led to escalation of tensions and reversal of gains made: racial profiling, unsustainable debt, direct competition with local businesses, and discriminative labor relations. These four factors might act as a catalyst for the rejection of China's efforts to woo Africa.

A paradigm shift has necessitated¹⁹China's leaders to become more adept and attentive to pursuing strategic goals without relying on traditional tools of conducting diplomacy. In addition, with the rise of China's global influence, Beijing is less averse to boldly promoting China's values and models than it had been in the past. In fact, most Chinese in the politburo see this as a chance to divert Africans from the established western norms. With China's elaborate plan firmly put in place, its soft power initiatives will be expected to go hand in hand with its military and economic strategies. Nowhere is this more evident than in Africa.

1.5.4 CHINA'S SOFT POWER INITIATIVES IN KENYA

When Kenya attained independence in 1963, China was among the first nations to extend recognition and establish diplomatic relations.²⁰Following the establishment of diplomatic ties, Kenya and China have had cordial and strong bilateral ties. The relationship moved a notch higher after KANU was handed an electoral defeat in 2002 and a united opposition coalition took the reigns of power. The Kibaki administration broke ranks with western nations and looked east where they felt that China's assistance was devoid of meddling. The Kenyan government has to date continued to look up to China for its infrastructure projects, an indication of strengthening bilateral relations between the two partners. However, it is not clear whether the Kenyan government has a robust strategy in place to deal with China.

¹⁹ Africacentre.org/spotlight/grand-strategy-and-chinas-soft-power-push-in-africa

²⁰ Politiceconomy.org.za/2018/09/developmental-impact-of-kenya-sino-relations

Despite several hiccups, Kenya's bilateral relations have continued to flourish as evidenced by the numerous projects being undertaken by Chinese companies and cooperation in other strategic sectors such as security and health..

China has made big imprints and inroads via its activities. ²¹In Kenya, monumental infrastructure projects such as dual carriage roads and the ongoing construction of the Standard Gauge railway speaks volumes The Thika Superhighway has certainly improved the flow of traffic and reduced the man hours spent on the road which has in turn improved the economy.

As far as education is concerned,²²a large number of scholars have been beneficiaries of China's scholarship to study in various fields at Chinese universities. Some of these scholarships are part of corporate social responsibility done by Chinese MNCs. It is expected that, Africans who have been afforded the opportunity to study in China will run into the thousands, bringing back with them sound understanding of China and her people and giving back to the community acquired skills.

Chinese companies are backing this initiative by providing scholarship. This demonstrates the correlation between soft power and commercial interests. A practical example is, China Road and Bridge Corp, which has won several large contracts in infrastructure development has been providing scholarship for students at the university. It won the contract for the construction of the Kenyan Standard Gauge Railway, the biggest and most expensive infrastructure project ever undertaken in Kenya. Away from the commercial significance of

²¹ <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001296851/what-kenyans-think-about-the-chinese-link> [Accessed on May 8,2019]

²² Chinadaily.com.cn/world/2017-10/15/content_33317370.htm

the infrastructural projects undertaken by the China Bridge, the company is now giving back to the community by sponsoring Kenyan students to pursue a career in their relevant fields.

The setting up of Cultural centers has been a significant development since soft power is not only about the commercial aspect but also cultural acceptance. This justifies the presence of Confucius Institutes in institutions of higher learning where students are afforded the chance to learn the Chinese language and have an intimate knowledge of the Chinese culture.

As a demonstration of the importance that China attaches to the country,²³ Kenya is the only recipient of China's global roads program in Africa and the largest beneficiary of China's loan packages in the construction of roads and other infrastructure. In 2014, Kenya and China inked a bilateral agreement that paved way for the construction of the standard gauge railway. This ushered in the first new railway to be constructed in Kenya in the past century, which is an achievement in the infrastructural development in East Africa.

Additionally, Chinese companies have pooled together to increase market strength. For example, in 2015, China Machinery Industry Group used monumental resources in its base construction of Kenya's wind power project.²⁴ One of the biggest obstacles to China's successful implementation of its soft power has been the discrimination and racism meted out to Kenyans by company supervisors. Local staffs complain of insults, beatings and threats of summary dismissals for minor infractions. In the recent past, a Chinese man was captured on camera uttering demeaning words towards the people and president of Kenya.

²³ <https://www.topchinatravel.com/silk-road/one-belt-one-road.htm> Accessed on May 10,2019

²⁴ <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001296851/what-kenyans-think-about-the-chinese-link> Accessed on May 10,2019

Whereas the Chinese envoy has distanced his country from these incidents and called them isolated cases, they have led to a lot of suspicion, mistrust and hostility. The Chinese are also seen as a selfish lot who import cement, steel and even foodstuff from their countries, and do nothing to promote the businesses of their host community.

1.6 JUSTIFICATION OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

1.6.1 ACADEMIC JUSTIFICATION

Many studies have been conducted regarding to China's presence on the continent. However, most of them focus on the economic partnership, ranging from trade, infrastructure development and increasingly the debt aspect that is causing concern among most African citizens.

This study seeks to explore an area that has not been exhaustively addressed; that is whether China, in pursuit of its interests has compromised sustainable development in Africa and if so, how can the situation be reversed? Soft power in this case becomes a means to an end. China has perfected the art of endearing itself to the ruling elites in Africa through various incentives which has in turn ensured that it achieves its strategic interests.

China made has made a big statement through ²⁵funding the two hundred million dollars African Union headquarters without expecting payment is one pertinent case of how Chinese soft power is used to support critical commercial objectives. This study will hence add value by shedding light and triggering debate on whether beyond the incentives and persuasion by China, will Africa's future be compromised as a result of over exploitation of its natural resources under the guise of development?

²⁵ <https://africacenter.org/spotlight/china-dream-five-elements-china-africa-strategy/>

1.6.2 POLICY JUSTIFICATION

It is a fact that²⁶China is projecting itself as a friend of Africa whose sole purpose is to see the continent develop. This is to hide the fact that its main interests in Africa is purely commercial which is to exploit the untapped natural resources for her industries Policy makers in Africa ought to ask themselves whether these incentives from the Chinese are an expression of good will or they come with strings attached.

For Africa to be a beneficiary in this set up, it will involve coming up with the right policies while those at the helm of leadership on the African continent must be proactive and future oriented; in paying keen attention to a win-win diplomacy. This will entail coming up with green laws and policies to protect the environment from over exploitation. Additionally, policy makers must avoid unsustainable debts that create dependency and impoverish their citizens leading to mass immigration. The policy makers must come with laws for posterity with future generations in mind for sustainable development.

1.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1.7.1 DEPENDENCY APPROACH

As part of the World system theory,²⁷dependency approach became popular in the 1960's .Its main proponent was Raul Prebisch. He postulated that economic growth of wealthy countries was a result of exploiting the peripheral ones. In its radical element, dependency approach is hinged on Marxism worldview, which sees globalization as a means of spreading capitalism which entails exploiting the poor who provide cheap labor and the big companies dump obsolete technologies in the underdeveloped world thereby maximizing profits. The major

²⁶ <https://www.nation.co.ke/news/Why-China-s--soft-power--approach-appeals-to-Kenya/1056-2310700-tfag3vz/index.html>

²⁷ Economicsonline.co.uk/Global_economics/Dependency-theory.html

approach of the proponents of dependency is that there is a dominant world capitalist system that controls the global economic system by advancing a different set of standards between the rich countries and poor countries. In the course of time, the core countries who control the global economy will impose their dominance over a weak and marginalized periphery.

Though it may be well intended,²⁸China's commercial activities are triggering unemployment by killing off local industries. In the course of their investments, exports, and building infrastructure, China is conveniently forgetting to fulfill its promises. Despite making promises, companies like China Nonferrous Metal Mining Group are head hunting Chinese citizens to take up the available jobs rather than giving the opportunity to Africans. In South Africa, thousands of entrepreneurial citizens have had to close down their businesses because of Chinese investment. In Nigeria, China is running the local textile companies out of business by flooding the market with attires that are way cheaper than the local industry causing a big percentage of local companies to collapse. This is a big economic debate since the struggling local industries are no match for the well oiled Chinese MNCs., The consequence is that citizens have lost their livelihoods and are thus are unable to meet their daily needs and fend for their families. This sad situation leaves Africans hopeless and desperate due to loss of livelihoods which breeds dependency rather than sustainability in Africa.

What Africa's elite should understand is that²⁹China is not in Africa for charity. China's investments, aid packages and selective lending show that she is solely driven by her

²⁸ <http://www.Wp.towson.edu/iajournal/2018/12/17/a-new-economy-for-africa-the-effects-of-chinese-infiltration>

²⁹ http://www.Researchgate.net/publication/283505023_Neo-Dependency_A_critical_Analysis_of_implications-of_sino_african_Economic-Relations

commercial interest in economic relations with Africa. The widening trade imbalance between China and Africa is a significant indicator that Sino-Afro economic relations are not of equal partners, neither is it based on interdependence; rather it is relations of dependence where one party has an upper hand. Currently, the world is witnessing neo-dependency, a variance of dependency between China and Africa that has cropped up in place of the classic dependency between industrialized countries and Africa, as a junior partner, Africa is clearly disadvantaged. Since its rise as an economic powerhouse, China is driving a major shift in the global economic system revising the earlier narrative of dependency between Africa and the developed nations to modern day dependency of Africa on China. Just like classical dependency, this modern dependency seeks to disrupt and discourage intra-African, since a united Africa will have strong negotiation skills and will avoid being taken advantage of. Since there is lack of unity, Africa has a huge trade imbalance in her commercial engagements with China thereby entrenching the problem of African unity and sustainable development.

It can be confidently stated that³⁰China's presence in Africa perpetuates dependency, in that her economic growth and development as a result of engagement in commercial activities Africa will have a negative effect on Africa's own economic and social growth and development. Dependency Theory uses a model of economic and social development that explains global inequality. It also postulates that despite increased trade with undeveloped countries, the global economic system is dictated by dominant and countries which are seeking to attain their national interests as much as possible at the expense of poorer countries. Dependency theory then provides explanation of why underdeveloped countries

³⁰ Sociologicaltheorysite.wordpress.com/2018/04/20/dependency-theory-in-chinas-african-gold-rush

remain in an impoverished state while the industrialized countries become wealthier. From the Dependency Theory's perspective, the core countries have run a global economic system that they control so as to prosper and make the poor countries to play catch up and hence their economic prospects remain a mirage. As a result of gold mining in Ghana, Chinese miners and investors earned a great amount of money and left the lands destroyed which were used to grow palm oil and cocoa beans by Ghanaians as the main source of income.

There is a growing concern among some Africans.³¹ According to their argument, China is advancing a neo-colonial agenda in which it exploits natural resources for her industries and ships back finished products which are way expensive. In some countries, there is outright hostility towards Chinese companies and businessmen for outsourcing labor despite the high unemployment rates. Beijing, is trying to respond to these challenges by adjusting its policies to make sure they are more accommodative of African needs. These adjustments call for a robust focus on sustainable development in the exploitation of resources; the promotion of Chinese culture; and active participation in the security and stability of areas facing insecurity and conflict.

These modifications underscore a critical realization among Chinese ruling class that the domineering presence of China in the commercial realm is producing unintended consequences that must be sorted out. Beijing's climb down from its ivory tower will ensure a realistic engagement that will be beneficial to both parties. Closer cultural engagements and come up with inclusive economic models that will once again shore up support for China; the ensuing business climate will enable Chinese corporations to continue with their extraction business and making profits while also creating jobs and promoting sustainable development.

³¹ http://www.Rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB9760.html

1.8 HYPOTHESES

1. China's soft power diplomacy is a tool of economic and environmental exploitation in Africa.
2. There's a conflict between sustainable development and China's national interests.
3. China's soft power diplomacy has had an impact on Kenya's sustainable development.

1.9 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This part will explain the process that will be followed in collecting data, the instruments to be used and the method for analyzing the raw data. It will also articulate the sample and the sampling process.

1.9.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

Every study ought to have a design³²research design can be described as the holistic approach that one will follow to combine the various parts of the study in a sequence. This is to ensure that the research problem is adequately addressed. Research design entails the collection, measurement, and analysis of data. This is because research design is a path for investigation followed so as to find remedy for the research problem; it is a critical component for any study. This study is an in-depth analysis of how China has employed soft power diplomacy to achieve their national interests in Africa and Kenya in particular and whether it has had an impact on sustainable development. As such, descriptive research design will be employed to examine the phenomenon. The research will use both qualitative and quantitative methods for data analysis.

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1.9.2 STUDY LOCATION

This research will be conducted in Nairobi the capital city of Kenya. This is because it is also home to the embassy of the People's Republic of China as well as the Confucius institute located at the University of Nairobi. It is also a cosmopolitan city and hence sampling the views from residents will give a true feeling of Kenyans as every community is represented.

1.9.3 POPULATION

The population will consist of lecturers at the Confucius institute based at the University of Nairobi being beneficiaries of Chinese soft power diplomacy; it will also involve ordinary Kenyans to get their perception and attitude towards China. The researcher will also visit the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to understand Kenya's position on its relationship with China. Finally, it will also involve staff of the People's Republic of China embassy in Nairobi.

1.9.4 SAMPLE AND SAMPLING PROCEDURE

Kothari, 2004 explains that sampling entails choosing a representative from a population. It is imperative to select a sample due to obvious challenges that may not allow researching the entire population. In sampling, a select group represents the entire population. Purposive sampling will be used to select those to be interviewed to assist in obtaining the right data. The sample size will be 50 respondents.

Table 1.1: Target population

Respondents	Number
Officials at the embassy of the People's Republic of China	10
Officials at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs	5
Ordinary Kenyan citizens	15
IDIS students	10
Self employed (informal sector)	10
Total	50

Source: (Author) 2019

1.9.5 INSTRUMENT

The researcher will rely on questionnaires for data collection. It will have both open-ended questions which will allow the respondents to fill-in the answers in a liberal manner hence allowing them to freely express their thoughts. Some questions will also be closed in which case a likert scale will be used for respondents to choose from pre-determined responses.

1.9.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The researcher will uphold the highest level of integrity expected in academic research by presenting original work devoid of plagiarism. Moreover, the researcher will endeavor to protect the dignity of the participants by not disclosing confidential information. Full consent will be obtained from the participants. He will also present the findings honestly devoid of any bias so as to capture the true position of the study problem. Any conflict of interest will be declared.

1.10 Chapters Outline

The study examines the impact of China's soft power diplomacy on sustainable development in Africa with Kenya being the case study.

Chapter 1: Introduction.

This chapter will focus on the background of China and Africa's early contact which was ideological in nature up to the present times where the relationship is multi faceted facilitated by an aggressive soft power approach.

Chapter 2: Role of China's Soft Power approach as a tool of economic exploitation in Africa

This chapter will exhaustively examine China's benevolence vis a vis its economic activities especially in sourcing of raw materials and big infrastructure projects which have led to loss of jobs as their large state corporations drive local businesses out of business, led to environmental degradation and led to unsustainable debts in Africa.

Chapter 3: The conflict of sustainable development and China's national interests in Africa

This chapter will focus on the cultural aspect where China has invested heavily in cleaning up its image in Africa in order to have a favorable perception and acceptability and hence clear the path for its business enterprises to penetrate the African market.

Chapter 4: Impact of China's soft power diplomacy on Kenya's sustainable development

This chapter will explore the impact of China's Soft Power initiatives in Kenya especially in the realms of education, media, health and to some extent wildlife conservation. It will also explore whether these development activities have had an adverse effect on sustainable development in Kenya.

Chapter 5: Data analysis, findings and presentation

This chapter will entail processing the raw data, i.e. responses from respondents to enable the researcher make a conclusion regarding the research question.

Chapter 6: Summary of findings, Conclusion and Recommendation

This chapter will enable the researcher to summarize findings based on the analyzed data and suggest what can be done to improve the issues rising out of the conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO

ROLE OF CHINA'S SOFT POWER APPROACH AS A TOOL OF ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL EXPLOITATION IN AFRICA

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will exhaustively examine China's benevolence through its Soft Power initiatives vis a vis its economic activities especially in the exploitation of natural resources and big infrastructure projects which have led to closure of local businesses due to unfair competition, environmental degradation and unsustainable debts in Africa.

But are these soft power initiatives a case of a genuine desire to help out Africans out of poverty or is it a case of giving with one hand and taking with the other?³³In the current times, the strategy of colonialism has changed. It is no longer viable that nations, like Europeans divided up Africa during the scramble and partition of Africa. Rather, the modern imperialist strategy has now mutated from use of force to enticement. In the place of conquests and acquisition of political control through coercive apparatus, states nowadays seek to achieve their ends through creating networks that enhance trade and friendship.

This new strategy in global affairs is called soft power. It can be described as attraction instead of use of force. The key planks of soft power are known by various terminologies: foreign direct investment, infrastructural development and scholarship programs. The aim, however, remains the same: political control and exploitation of natural resources

³³ <http://www.ketagalanmedia.com/2017/10/09/how-chinas-soft-power-is-building-a-neo-colonial-system-in-africa/>

Sino-Africa relation has never been far from controversy.³⁴The divergent opinion regarding China's role in Africa are an interesting occurrence that needs to be thoroughly examined by scholars and policy makers. The different worldviews emanate from the various roles played by China on the continent. For example, critics point out that China is only interested in exploiting Africa's resources and that its lack of interest in internal affairs props up dictatorial regimes. In the opposing camp, Chinese allies boast of infrastructure development and filling in a void left by western nations hence redeeming the continent.

2.2 CHINA'S SOFT POWER INITIATIVES IN AFRICA

2.2.1 ESTABLISHING MEDIA PRESENCE

To demonstrate that its presence in Africa is not only for profit making ventures,³⁵China is getting out of its traditional thematic areas of trade and development. The investment in media organizations is a case in point. The expansion and entry of China's media on the continent commenced nearly a decade ago when the country's state media invested in more bureaus. In 2008 the news agency began its China African News Service to expand coverage on various issues, and Xinhua is now a key conveyor news in many African countries. In the year 2012 the state-owned broadcaster, Chinese Central Television, founded its African department and chose Nairobi to host its first broadcasting hub abroad, this is a clear strategy of diversifying content in Africa.

The company also set up a print media in the form of newspapers and magazines; these media outlets have changed the narrative long advanced by media organizations from Europe and America, which China views with suspicion as having the intent to establish a monopoly in

³⁴ <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/up-front/2013/04/05/chinas-increasing-interest-in-africa-benign-but-hardly-altruistic/>

³⁵ <http://country.eiu.com/article.aspx?articleid=27220081>

Africa and peddling false stories regarding Chinese commercial intentions. Interestingly to note is that the expansion of China's media presence comes at the background of many international media houses trimming down their operations on the continent. China aspires that the growing outreach of its media outlets in Africa will further advance favorable ratings of the country and generates less bad press than it has become used to.

On the digital terrestrial and satellite television front,³⁶StarTimes, a Chinese multinational corporation is working in concerted efforts with other organizations to relay new channels on digital satellite medium. Apart from the shift from analog to digital, to broaden coverage, StarTimes has been cutting a niche targeting new subscribers who have a low purchasing power. The company is making inroads in hitherto neglected regions within Africa in a strategy dubbed the 10,000 Villages Project. This is marking a departure from the free to air service that had poor signal quality and limited content.

To showcase how Chinese contemporary lifestyle, popular films are being aired as part of the enlarged content . Others are being translated to Kiswahili and have been airing in East Africa for several years, proving to be a hit among ordinary citizens. Such innovations have the ability to serve as a platform to help China to promote its culture.

³⁶ <https://thediplomat.com/2019/02/how-a-pay-tv-company-is-serving-up-a-soft-power-win-for-china-in-africa/>

2.2.2 SUPPORTING THE EDUCATION SECTOR IN AFRICA

Regarding education in Africa, several issues emerge;³⁷China embarked on an ambitious between 2013 and 2015 that entailed training Africans in China. Questions have also emerged about China's intent having founded many Confucius institutes across Africa to teach Chinese culture .While most developed nations are scaling down their scholarship packages, China is increasing scholarship opportunities for Africans. China advances the argument that for over sixty years it has been involved in South-South cooperation and as such its intention will be beneficial to both parties. While its rapid commercial success, particularly on the continent, has won it accolades globally, its activities as a key donor in the education sector have gone unreported- and more so to the important role of China's support for training so as to have a skilled workforce within Africa. It is important that it is understood why China is laying so much emphasis on education. The simple reason is that it is only through education that China can inculcate its values. ³⁸The rapid increase in of African students studying in China is impressive. In a short span of less than fifteen years the number of African scholars in Chinese universities has increased significantly. This unprecedented growth in student's numbers from Africa is because of a deliberate move by the government of China to upgrade African human resource and education development. At the beginning of the 21st century, various forums of China Africa Cooperation summits have pledged more funds in support of African education.

From the year 2006, China came up with various scholarship awards targeting African students in various disciplines. From the Chinese government's perspective, providing

³⁷ Kenneth King.2013.*China's aid and soft power in Africa* Boydell and Brewer inc New York

³⁸ <https://qz.com/africa/1017926/china-has-overtaken-the-us-and-uk-as-the-top-destination-for-anglophone-african-students/>

education to Africans is a continuation of China's soft power which entails preparing the future African academics and leaders. The know-how and perceptions that these students get in China can translate into well placed individuals ready to lobby for China's companies and government's agendas they are in positions of decision making.

2.2.3 HEALTH INITIATIVES

Though not as highly visible as western donor funded NGOs,³⁹China has been involved in the health sector in Africa especially in the area of herbal medicine. This strategy has, in turn, ushered Chinese companies to trade their pharmaceuticals and herbal products on the continent. Additionally, the Chinese government has successfully lobbied the continent on various issues it deems important in the global arena..

The assistance in the health sector that China has been providing includes seconding their health personnel overseas to populate clinics, constructing health centers and offering specialized training to health practitioners back at home. Though Africa has had request outside help to alleviate some of its dire health issues, China is among a handful of countries to send government-paid health personnel on a permanent residency.

In addition,⁴⁰the setting up of health centers and training of medical students is a key component of China's health diplomacy. Mobile clinics have come in handy especially in the marginalized areas. Each clinic consists of ten containers with various segments such as a waiting bay, medicine dispensing, triage and standby generators. These mobile clinics are

³⁹ <https://knowledge.wharton.upenn.edu/article/health-diplomacy-in-africa-chinas-soft-power-provides-a-healing-touch/>

⁴⁰ <https://www.borgenproject.org/chinese-health-diplomacy-in-africa/>

critical in solving the key challenge of accessibility and early diagnosis among the marginalized groups where cases of maternal and infant mortality are still high.

2.2.4 INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT

This is an area that has undoubtedly propelled China's presence and impact in Africa⁴¹China has for a long time sought to have an edge over her competitors. Through her concentration on infrastructure projects she has sought to portray herself as a development-oriented country with no interest in meddling in internal affairs of other countries.

This has been the official position taken by China's envoys and officials and as a result many allies have been won. One Belt One Road is an economic strategy meant to propel China on the global map, with its focus to security and booming economy along the areas being served by the roads and amongst all states involved. Since the United States is a global hegemon that dominates and dictates the political, economic and military spheres, China's rise can best be achieved by putting in place a robust soft power program. A military strategy with the U.S would be catastrophic and perhaps cause disenfranchisement and agitation within Chinese territory, leading to civil unrest and economic meltdown that will certainly hinder her ability to be a global leader. Concentrating on economic development over political activities therefore is designed to avoid the cold war scenario where the U.S and Soviet were engaged in proxy war. This is basically, one of the goals of One Belt One Road. Through this strategy, China's vision of developing a network of roads and other basic infrastructure to facilitate free flow of ideas, goods and services would be more ideal as opposed to posturing for power play. The Belt Road Initiative is a strategy that Beijing hopes would change the global order

⁴¹ <https://www.moderndiplomacy.eu/2018/03/30/belt-and-road-in-africa-opportunities-and-challenges/>

by providing a shared destiny and prosperity through opening of hitherto unreachable areas. This is the gist of China's strategy to challenge Western development models and global dominance. China starts with at the back foot when it comes to Africa compared to former colonial powers who have history and network on their side. Their languages are well spoken in the former colonies making it easy to forge ties, be they economic or political ,the United States Agency for International Development normally ties its aid to American values and democratic ideals , the Breton woods institutions have advocated for laissez-faire economic policies and imposed conditions that promote Western values, including controversial issues like gay rights. China on the other hand owes her success to an alternative approach. It does not have institutions to advance her strategies and culture in Africa. The roads initiative as a source of soft power is not on the projects themselves being implemented in Africa, but based on the Beijing consensus which offers an alternative to the American model.

2.3 A DOUBLE EDGED SWORD? CHINA'S SOFT POWER APPROACH AS A MEANS TO REALIZE COMMERCIAL INTERESTS IN AFRICA

Despite the cooperation and development projects initiated by China to help African countries, the relationship continues to be strained by several factors; ⁴²The contracts are determined by political actors who have vested interests. There is normally no transparency in advertising and awarding the tenders, and to further muddy the waters most of the employees are outsourced from China, worsening the unemployment crisis. Moreover, when Africans are hired, discrimination and double standards are applied in form of salaries and safety equipment.

⁴² <http://theconversation.com/what-does-chinas-role-in-africa-say-about-its-growing-global-footprint-49474>

China has been a source of the much needed FDI for most African countries but at the expense of sustainable development.⁴³ Like most global multinational corporations, Chinese FDI is concentrated in fragile ecosystems that are prone to environmental abuse through over exploitation. Mining companies are sometimes located in ecologically fragile areas where there is a higher risk of environmental pollution and accidents. Harmful environmental gases, solid and liquid waste, including dangerous products such as cyanide and mercury are some of the dangerous products emanating from these firms. Additionally, Chinese vessels have been accused of destroying the livelihoods of small scale fishermen leading to impoverishment because they catch immature fish that are not yet ready for harvesting leading to dwindling population.

A case study of discrimination can be cited in the copper belt of Zambia, where laborers must work for at least two years before they are given protective gear. Ventilation below ground is poor, and work related injuries and deaths are a regular occurrence. This has made Chinese enterprises to be negatively perceived by locals as the picture coming out is one of exploitation.

Worryingly, the few job opportunities are given to Chinese immigrant employees, who are given even the menial jobs that can be done by Africans. A case in point is the growing Chinese immigrant population in South Africa may have cost the country many job opportunities especially in the first decade of the 21st century. In Nigeria, the flooding of low quality but cheap clothes and goods in the market has caused a big percentage of Nigerian companies to go under as they lack the wherewithal to compete and stay afloat.

⁴³ <https://intpolicydigest.org/2015/04/08/the-environmental-impact-of-china-s-investment-in-africa/>

Important issues have emerged in analyzing China's activities in Africa.⁴⁴ Is China exploiting the poor African countries by blackmailing them with loans, as some observers have opined? Or is China assisting the developing countries to stand on their feet, as they would want the world to believe? In the recent past, China's aid strategy has taken shape. Media reports about large loan advancements negotiated in an opaque manner, support for murderous dictatorial regimes, and discrimination of laborers based on race, and the blatant abuse of workers' rights and exploitation of natural resources in some of the poorest countries in the world have raised serious human rights debate. These discourses, however, took place without adequate information. China's tradition of secrecy about its foreign policy has triggered speculation, making it difficult to assess the threats and opportunities provided by China's growing influence.

China has actively focused on the ball as far as meeting its goals in Africa is concerned.⁴⁵ The Chinese arrived in Africa as underdogs, yet they achieved an active presence that was more realistic bearing in mind the limited resources. Though often described in ideological terms, Chinese goals in Africa were those of an aspiring world power. China has used tact, and economic strategies to shape events and to exploit its relationships to gain lasting influence in Africa. It is imperative to trace the historical factors to understand China's intention. Do its interests marry with those of the continent? Where will the current relationship leave future generations?

⁴⁴Deborah, B..*THE DRAGON'S GIFT: The Real Story of China In Africa*: Oxford University Press. New York, 2011

⁴⁵ Chau, D..*Exploiting Africa: The influence of Maoist China in Algeria, Ghana and Tanzania*: Naval Institute Press. Maryland 2014

China is currently way ahead of other countries when it comes to investment in Africa.⁴⁶The level of her commercial activities in Africa is unmatched. At the beginning of the 21st century, the CPC and Chinese firms have promised to donate funds worth sixty seven billion dollars in Foreign Direct Investments, loan facilities, and infrastructure development. This is a staggering twelve billion dollars more than what the Breton woods institutions lent out. China has financially supported mega development projects such as the imposing African Union Headquarters in Ethiopia. The People's Republic of China has financed infrastructure projects in nearly all countries in Africa, including construction of urban centers, upgrading railway systems, building highways, and recently even a subway system. These mega infrastructure projects, are a clear sign of China's involvement on the continent. The availability of credit facilities attract countries to the CPC, and then it blackmails them into submission through massive amounts of unsustainable debt under the guise of development

As Kwame Insaideo argues,⁴⁷Chinese citizens are incurable racists who despise Africans. But they still come in their numbers to the continent. The big question thus is, what is motivating to come in their droves to the African continent? The elephant in the room is, are the Chinese in Africa to assist them develop and escape poverty? Put in another way; the only reason the Chinese are in Africa is to obtain raw materials for their industries and find a market for their products most of which are sub standard. It is not in dispute that the Chinese are currently building stadiums, presidential palaces, and roads, but as much as Africans are grateful for these projects,they do not represent economic progress for Africa. They are but white elephants to hoodwink gullible masses. The reality is that the Chinese are burdening Africans

⁴⁶ <http://www.ketagalanmedia.com/2017/10/09/how-chinas-soft-power-is-building-a-neo-colonial-system-in-africa/>

⁴⁷ Insaideo,K.*China:The new imperialists and Neo-Colonialists in Africa:* AuthorHouse publishers. Indiana, 2016

with huge and unsustainable loans to governments that are ridiculously expensive to maintain. In the end African governments are left with huge loans to repay with little benefit. Moreover, some, if not, many of the infrastructure are often below par, and they don't offer value for money as many roads in Africa have demonstrated.

Regrettably, Chinese also support strongmen who have little regard for human rights such as, Omar Bashir of Sudan with deadly weaponry to oppress African citizens in exchange of a free hand to plunder the resources. Finally, the Beijing Consensus despite the fact that it has been key in alleviating poverty in China cannot be replicated in Africa, largely because the conditions are different.

2.4 CONCLUSION

It is a fact that China has maximized its persuasive strategy on the continent as a bridge to attaining its national interests.⁴⁸China's campaign is undermined by the dichotomy between the utterances made by its envoys and bureaucrats and its actions back at home. Untamed nationalism, aggressiveness as demonstrated in the Uighur crackdown aggressiveness against neighbors in the South China sea, crackdown on nongovernmental organizations, tight control of the content domestic and international media, limits to the entry and political repression undermine China's soft power. Elizabeth Economy argues that if China's actions don't match the narrative she is advancing, it becomes very hard to sell the idea of China as a transmitter of attractive values. Chinese culture can potentially have a global appeal, but only when there is honesty in the deeds and words.

⁴⁸ <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/chinas-big-bet-soft-power>

There is a paradox as to whether Africa is a beneficiary in this set up.⁴⁹In China's engagement with the continent, its foreign policy has become more pragmatic, or of mutual benefits, as Chinese officials prefer to point out. An obsession on natural resources and no strings attached loans make Chinese aid most sought after by African leaders. The reality on the ground is however different, in that the impact is multi-faceted and complicated. Undeniably, China has become a key player in the donor community, but whether they do more good or harm is a question that has no immediate answer especially in the area of sustainable development.

⁴⁹ <http://gppreview.com/2018/02/25/dragons-gift-poison-chinese-aid-africa/>

CHAPTER THREE

THE CONFLICT OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND CHINA'S NATIONAL INTERESTS IN AFRICA.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

It is a fact that ⁵⁰China is highly regarded by the governing elite in Africa, embracing China's preference of single source contracts with few, if any conditions attached such as transparency, accountability and human rights. Many African leaders are of the opinion that as an ally who has only recently become a global leader, China is more genuine in its approach as opposed to Western countries. Leaders on the continent never tire of articulating China's support, both financially and technical to their nations' infrastructure, arguing that she has improved their infrastructure network, created jobs for their citizens, and significant upgrades of roads, rails, bridges, and other projects especially in the energy sector — these are necessary for creating an enabling environment to boost the economy.

Some critics however remain deeply unconvinced about the true intentions of China. Labour unions, environmental lobbyists, human rights groups and the general public call out Chinese corporations for brutal and discriminatory human resource practice, destructive environmental practices, and loss of livelihoods. Human rights and good-governance and lobbies caution that China takes advantage of its position as a global power to blackmail and manipulate African governments into signing deals that favour her. In their opinion, China advances a skewed relationship in which Africa surrenders its raw materials cheaply to China in exchange for expensive manufactured goods. In some countries, Chinese are loathed for vices such as

⁵⁰ https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB9760.html

racism and outsourcing of labor has led to outright hostility and protests against Chinese investors and immigrants.

Despite the challenges, China's initiatives seem to be paying off.⁵¹ According to a survey by the Pew Research Center, China is rated favorably in the continent more than any other place in the world. This is for sentimental reasons in that China has been there to assist Africa at a time the western nations had shunned her. More importantly, the continent's own economic agenda is in tandem with Africa's economic transformation agenda.

China's growing commercial ties with Africa has, however, raised serious questions about sustainable development in Africa. For instance, there have been concerns about violations of labor rights, investments that are hazardous to the environment and lack of transparency with respect to loans advanced to African countries (especially when they are in exchange for natural resources) This has caused impoverishment and dependency..

China has had to play catch up since⁵² compared with the Western nations who have influence and network being former colonies or Anglo-phone countries like America or India, China has the distinct disadvantage of having a language that is rarely spoken in Africa. Neither are Chinese values as well embraced as that of the U.S., which is unrivalled as it is felt in every corner of the world courtesy of Hollywood entertainment. However, China's growing role in Africa been appreciated in a significant majority of African countries.

⁵¹ <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2015/05/27/other-perceptions-of-china-views-from-africa-latin-america-and-europe/>

⁵² <https://wenr.wes.org/2019/04/how-china-and-india-are-influencing-education-in-africa>

Contrary to the commonly held belief that Chinese assistance is mostly a means for advancing its commercial interests, there is a negligible but rapidly rising segment of Chinese citizens volunteering as teachers in remote African schools, and Chinese NGOs building schools in informal settlements, or paying tuition fees and providing accommodation for intern teachers. However, much of China's aid is tied to commercial interests. For example, more than forty five thousand local staff benefitted from basic engineering training during the construction of the standard gauge I railway, Kenya's largest infrastructure project since independence. Chinese firms like telecommunications industry giant Huawei are coming up with information technology training hubs at Kenyan universities to equip the local workforce with the latest technology skills. This kind of involvement helps to not only transfer knowledge to Africans but also serve to advance Chinese business interests.

One important point to note is that ⁵³the reasons of China's entry into Africa may be well intentioned but it seeks to put the interests of China first which might be detrimental to Africa's sustainable development. China has no intention of blackmailing citizens with regard to the local politics of African states or influence policies. It has always maintained that it does not engage in internal issues of countries which augurs well to most African leaders. However on the other hand, China is not assisting Africa pro bono. Chinese investments are geared towards exploiting Africa's raw materials, creating business opportunities for her multinationals and job opportunities for Chinese workers. When Chinese envoys argue that China also offers assistance to countries that are not endowed with oil and minerals, they conveniently forget to mention that China may still want their support of the one China policy, or other supporting her agendas at international forums, as well as projection of China

⁵³ <https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/chinas-aid-to-africa-monster-or-messiah/>

as a responsible global leader. In this sense, China's comprehensive, multi-pronged aspirations of its aid to Africa cannot be explained in simple terms.

3.2 WHAT FUELS THE NEGATIVE PERCEPTION OF CHINESE BY AFRICANS?

There have been major issues of late despite the seemingly flawless interaction.⁵⁴ Massive Chinese investment and flooding of Chinese immigrants on the continent have resulted in the rise of xenophobia and anti-Chinese sentiment in many African states. Many, including populist politicians, have campaigned against the presence of Chinese in their countries terming it as neo-colonialism. Harsh rhetoric and tirade against Chinese mining firms, on the grounds of slave-like and discriminatory labour practices as well as lack of safety gears, helped former Zambian President Michael Sata win the presidential election in 2011, although he scaled down his rhetoric against Chinese multinationals after assuming the presidency.

To achieve its objectives,⁵⁵ creating cordial networks between Chinese and African nationals are critical for the success of China's strategy. The practice among corporations from Europe and America when they undertake infrastructural projects is that they only send a few expatriates, mostly in senior cadres, resulting in minimal conflict with the locals as the junior positions are left to them. Unlike other developed nations, China sends large numbers of laborers to host countries to undertake tasks that could comfortably be undertaken by locals which is a contentious issue in itself. Chinese workers, both at managerial and low cadres become by default China's goodwill envoys and play a critical role in marketing China as the country of choice. Evidence suggests that Beijing has not fully exploited the important role

⁵⁴ <https://sputniknews.com/africa/201706081054445522-china-immigrants-africa-acceptance/>

⁵⁵ <https://www.thediplomat.com/2017/07/this-is-the-achilles-heel-of-chinas-soft-power-projection-towards-developing-countries/>

that people-to-people networks play in projecting China's image and influence. Basically, poor people-to-people skills are the bane of China's efforts, resulting in Africans perceiving China and her people with hatred, suspicion and bad attitude.

So how do Africans perceive China's aid and commercial activities? ⁵⁶ Most people in Africa are becoming skeptical about the real intentions of China; from skewed trade to unsustainable debt, from sub standard goods to perpetuating corruption. Africans are aware that most Chinese investors are not interested about sustainable debt in Africa and that some business practices are in most cases in conflict with the environmental conservation efforts of African countries. Furthermore, Africans recognize that Chinese businessmen do engage in corruption since it is through the vice that they manipulate officials to reward them conflict.

Many people on the continent expect China to change tack in order to address some of these challenges, but are also aware that the inefficiency of the legal regime as well as complacency by government officials, and corrupt and dictatorial regimes, are the key hindrances. They are well aware that Chinese companies, who have an eye on maximizing profits, take full advantage of the loopholes of African states to their advantage. They assert that it is their own leaders, and not China that need to make sure Africa gets its fair share of the deal.

Some practices by Chinese supervisors have led to despondency and loathing from Africans.⁵⁷ On the human rights aspect, the labor conditions of Africans working in Chinese firms have been dehumanizing to say the least. There is a well known joke among African workers that if you work with the Chinese you lose your manhood. This is based on

⁵⁶ <https://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/africa-loves-china-190103121552367.html>

⁵⁷ <https://www.friendsofeurope.org/security-europe/china-really-africa>

allegations that Chinese employers often hit those that don't submit to their whims in the testicles: A case in point is the story of a former employee of China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation, who was left potentially impotent due to injuries he suffered during the construction of railway tracks in Nigeria's capital, Abuja. There are other gut wrenching tales of the horrible working conditions of Chinese corporations in the width and breadth of Africa. These kinds of actions have the unintended consequences of breeding hatred for China. They advance a belief that China is in the continent only to source for raw materials, and is in no way different from the former imperialists.

3.3 A DEVELOPMENT MODEL THAT IS SENSITIVE TO LOCAL CULTURE FOR SUSTAINABILITY

China needs to undertake several reforms if the cultural diplomacy it has invested heavily on is to help it realize its national interests in Africa.⁵⁸To ensure that poor networking and socialization skills stand in the way of an aggressive projection of soft power, the China must make a invest in civic education to sensitize her citizens on how to create lasting networks based on mutual respect. This can be achieved, by for example emphasizing the need to be sensitive and respectful of other culture to project managers based in pilot countries, emphasizing respect of local norms and traditions. Moreover, to avoid hostility and expensive litigation processes, it is necessary to encourage project supervisors to solve disputes amicably at the sites.

⁵⁸ <https://thediplomat.com/2017/07/this-is-the-achilles-heel-of-chinas-soft-power-projection-towards-developing-countries/>

A respectful working relationship between Chinese and Africans can go a long way in marketing Chinese values, and create harmony which is important for China's standing and image in the global arena.

It is a fact that China has invested greatly in cultural diplomacy and has reformed its African foreign policy but ⁵⁹to create a more conducive business environment, the Chinese government could make strides by persuading Chinese firms and state-owned enterprises on the continent to hire a sizeable percent of their workforce locally. It would also negate the stereotype that Chinese view Africans as unskilled and lazy workers who can't undertake technical work.

This would revive the local livelihoods and scale down complaints of recruitment laced with racial profiling; that is the prevalent policy amongst Chinese companies in Africa that prefer to outsource Chinese labor under the guise of African laborers are lazy. China could also initiate a policy of residency for African entrepreneurs based in China who have married Chinese nationals, contribute to their local economies, and who have not violated the law. China, having felt the impact of colonialism is in a better position to educate its citizens against discrimination.

Going into the future, China and its people will have to adopt new approaches.⁶⁰ It is important for Chinese to acquaint themselves with Africa, her diverse cultures and most importantly the environment. Chinese corporate are increasingly focusing on Africa's growing youthful

⁵⁹ <https://thediplomat.com/2015/01/china-embracing-africa-but-not-africans/> Accessed on July 7,2019

⁶⁰ <https://qz.com/africa/1110191/africans-in-china-an-exhibit-comparing-africans-to-animals-shows-the-chinese-problematic-racial-attitudes/> Accessed on July 7,2019

population and consumer trends to be competitive. Alibaba's founder Jack Ma recently paid a courtesy call to Africa with a delegation of investors to scout for opportunities.

Faced with a prospect of a slowing economy and cut throat competition at home, China's corporations have turned their attention abroad and specifically Africa for growing, dynamic markets where their services can be consumed. For Chinese companies to be competitive in Africa and for China's values to be projected, there is an urgent need to avoid such blatant racism, to understand historical contexts, respect human rights and dignify those who are different so as to create a respectable, favorable image.

3.4 CONCLUSION

It is not in doubt that ⁶¹culture is a key facilitator of China's foreign policy. Initiatives, such as the global set-up of Cultural centers are designed to expose China's culture and enhance the global community's knowledge of China. There is no doubt that Beijing's soft power approach has come under increasing scrutiny in recent times.

So what lies ahead for China and Africa?⁶²China must engage more with the citizens as opposed to limiting herself to government functionaries only. It must actively engage the civil society and influential opinion leaders. If China is interested in boosting its commercial ties on the African continent, it must seriously address people-to-people relations. Part of this must be to start giving job opportunities to the majority of workforces locally, which is likely to thaw relations and smoothen the path for their commercial activities.

⁶¹ <https://www.carnegietsinghua.org/2015/04/17/china-s-cultural-diplomacy-strategy-policy-and-implementation-event-4807> Accessed on July 12,2019

⁶² <https://www.friendsofeurope.org/security-europe/china-really-africa> Accessed on July 12,2019

CHAPTER FOUR

IMPACT OF CHINA'S SOFT POWER DIPLOMACY ON KENYA'S SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The republic of China was among the first countries to extend recognition to Kenya when she attained independence in 1963. She was also among the first countries to open a diplomatic mission in Nairobi. When the NARC government assumed power in the historic general elections of 2002, President Mwai Kibaki adopted the 'Look East policy'. This took the bilateral relations between China and Kenya a notch higher. It allowed Chinese companies to compete for business in Kenya. The Jubilee government has continued with the same path ensuring that the relationship between the two countries grow leap and bounds.

The Chinese were focused on government contracts and rarely ventured into private business⁶³ The only Chinese doing business were those in contracts won by their Multinationals, it was unheard of for Chinese nationals to engage in private business. Nowadays it is becoming a more common sight to find Chinese hawking their wares, a development that is causing friction with small-scale traders who are of the opinion that their livelihoods are being taken away. The situation came to a head early in 2019 when one of the dailies ran an investigative piece exposing how Chinese businessmen had set up shop in Gikomba, one of the largest open-air markets in the capital, Nairobi. The government had to act by deporting some to assuage an angry business community.

⁶³ <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-48743876> Retrieved on August 23,2019

4.2 POSITIVE ASPECTS OF CHINA'S SOFT POWER DIPLOMACY IN KENYA

In pursuit of partners to support its agenda in international forums,⁶⁴Kenya is one of the African countries that China has invested heavily. The overriding aim is to project soft power which will act as a conduit for realizing commercial interests. A foreign policy that is designed to hoodwink Kenyan government by easily offering loans without attaching many conditions which is strategically aimed at curtailing the influence that the western nations , and the Breton woods institutions wield over decision making within Kenya. China is now an indispensable ally that the Kenyan leaders and government are indebted to politically and economically. It is clear that one of the roles for this soft power is to garner international support by rallying countries to jealously guard their sovereignty from western countries. China emphasizes that it is not interfering in Kenya's internal affairs, although that claim will be put to test the moment that Kenya falls behind on debt payments, China surely benefits from convincing other countries that they have no business looking elsewhere other than Beijing.

The West, especially former colonial powers have continued holding sway in most African states.⁶⁵One of the lasting impacts of colonialism was that Africans were made to believe that all good things came from the West. However, this narrative is fast changing, as China increasingly gains a foothold in Africa. It is a fact that China's growing commercial interests on the continent are being propelled by its soft power strategy. In Kenya, just like many other African countries, China is on everyone's lips.

⁶⁴ <https://realistreview.org/2018/09/22/kenya-and-chinas-one-belt-one-road/> Accessed on August 5, 2019

⁶⁵ <http://www.ctwkenya.com/news/show-1716.aspx> Accessed on August 5, 2019

It is a well known fact that China has forged a strong commercial and political relationship with Kenya especially over the last decade. This has been facilitated by soft power whereby African countries want to imitate the model that has propelled China from an average economy to the second biggest in the world within a short span.

It is noteworthy that, even though the main agenda of China in Kenya is commercial investments that involve trade, infrastructure development, minerals exploration and tourism, China's soft power has played a key role as a facilitator. The bilateral relationship has been on multiple fronts as China's engagements with Kenya becomes multi faceted, in areas such as education, health, specifically herbal products, media, culture and infrastructure construction.

The setting up of cultural centers in Kenya has also been a good strategy towards disseminating Chinese values and culture. Therefore, the setting up of cultural centers in Kenyan institutions of higher learning where students learn the Chinese language and thereby get acquainted with Chinese culture - has facilitated the acceptance of Chinese in the country.⁶⁶ Humanitarian work is also a key plank of China's soft power. During the famine in 2011 which was among the worst and, where there some Kenyans lost their lives, the Chinese government was at hand to offer donations, both foodstuffs and monetary assistance. Chinese expatriates have constructed shelters to resettle IDPs, donated anti-malaria medicines and constructed health centers.

In conclusion, as a natural home of wildlife, Kenya is at the center of China's strategy to counter a damaging public relations campaign by animal lobby groups over accusations that, as the world's most populous nation with a big market for elephant tusks, it is still propelling

⁶⁶ <https://www.nation.co.ke/news/Why-China-s--soft-power--approach-appeals-to-Kenya/1056-2310700-tfag3vz/index.html> Accessed on August 7,2019

the world ivory market and has become an existential threat to elephants and rhinos in the world.

When he toured Africa, former Prime Minister Li pledged one million dollars in aid of wildlife conservation projects in Africa. In Kenya, officials from the republic of China concluded agreements on providing game rangers with adequate gear to protect the animals from poachers. The final deal was to be signed by the two governments after agreeing on the texts.

China has been a key stakeholder in advancing scholarship opportunities to master's and doctoral Kenyan students. ⁶⁷China has played a key role in the education sector by offering scholarships in the higher education realm. In a few years time, African graduates who studied in China will be receptive to China's policies when they assume decision making positions, they will also have an extensive knowledge of China and most importantly filling the much needed skills gap.

Chinese corporations have also joined the bandwagon and are offering full scholarships to students in their area of operations. This demonstrates the symbiosis between cultural attraction and commercial investments. Most firms that have been awarded contracts to build roads in Kenya are sponsoring students especially those taking engineering courses to advance their skills. A case in point is that in addition to the business aspect of the infrastructure projects by China Road, the company is now giving back to the community by offering full scholarships to Kenyan students to further their studies in the area of interests.

⁶⁷ http://africa.chinadaily.com.cn/weekly/2017-10/13/content_33194760.htm Accessed on August 8, 2019

Chinese companies have been making significant ventures into the Kenyan economy's construction and infrastructure sectors. Though seemingly in the ascendant, China's pursuit of deep and wide scale involvement in Kenya, particularly in transport development sector, is becoming increasingly problematic. Despite growing economic and political ties between Kenya and China, the overall effects are mixed, with possible gains and losses. Several Chinese business practices, including outsourcing labour and materials from China despite generally high unemployment level local populations, abuse of worker's human rights, little or no knowledge transfer, local corruption, support and collusion with corrupt and dictatorial regimes, are fostering grassroots resentment, which may significantly undermine China's popularity, hence weakening her ability to continue with business in Kenya in the future.

4.3 NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF CHINA'S PRESENCE IN KENYA

Despite the numerous projects being undertaken by China to assist local communities, there are some areas of concern; ⁶⁸Wild animals especially elephants and rhinos' numbers have been declining to worrying levels as a result of poaching which is a transnational crime. The global demand for animal trophies especially elephant and rhino horns are driving elephants and rhinos to near extinction in Kenya, and throughout African continent. In Kenya, as elsewhere on the continent, poaching has mutated into a transnational crime over time and poses as an existential threat to wildlife conservation. Kenya's estimated thirty three thousand elephants and slightly more than a thousand rhinos, in addition to a variety of other wildlife, are found not only in game reserves and national parks, but are also spread out across officially protected areas, private ranches, and both communal and private lands.

⁶⁸ <https://www.unchronicle.un.org/article/fighting-wildlife-trade-kenya> Accessed on August 21, 2019

To demonstrate the extent of China's involvement in poaching,⁶⁹ the majority of suspects who are being apprehended with game trophy at Kenya's major ports of entry are of Asian origin, particularly Chinese and Vietnamese nationals, who collude with locals that live near the parks to temporarily hide the trophy while they look for market and transportation means. This transnational crime is being propelled by China's super rich.. The main customers are men who have just made it into the middle class and want to show off their ability to make expensive purchases. Game trophies and carvings are traditional symbols of wealth and higher social status in China. This sad state of affairs has undermined the trust and with it effectiveness of China's charm offensive in Kenya.

Another issue that has caused tension between Kenya and China is racism.⁷⁰ As Kenyans come to terms with the influx of Chinese in the country, many are wondering whether the nation has by default opened its doors to foreigners who are threatening the harmony in the society by advancing racism. It has become the elephant in the room, and one that many Kenyans, especially the young generation did not envisage in contemporary times.

⁷¹Further, another area of concern that has negatively affected the image of China in Kenya is the proliferation of fake goods that pose a grave threat to local industry and jobs, at a time when the country is reeling under an acute unemployment crisis. Economists see a damning connection between the illicit trade and the slow economic growth, poor development of the local industry and high unemployment rates.

⁶⁹ <https://www.chinadigitaltimes.net/2011/07/agonny-ivory-how-china-fuels-elephant-poaching/>
Accessed on August 21, 2019

⁷⁰ <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/15/world/africa/kenya-china-racism.html>

⁷¹ <https://www.mobile.nation.co.ke/blogs/editorial/Step-up-war-on-fake-goods/3112610-5168152-batpguz/index.html>
Accessed on August 25, 2019

This illicit trade is also linked to crimes such as bribery, money laundering, terrorism and tax evasion. Fake products have a low life span and can harm the user. In a strong warning to the culprits, a government agency destroyed some seized counterfeit goods worth Sh32.8 million in Athi River in the recent past. Such goods valued at Sh125 million have been impounded in the past one month across the country.

Most of the counterfeits are from the Far East, with China being the major source of the fake merchandise flooding the Kenyan market and the other East African countries. The goods include electronics, electrical appliances, sportswear and equipment, motor vehicle spare parts, and digital TV antennae. Last year, Kenyan traders lost 40 per cent of the local market to the counterfeiters.

4.4 CONCLUSION

Chinese companies are making significant inroads into the Kenyan economy's construction, hospitality and infrastructure sectors. Though seemingly in the ascendant, China's pursuit of deep and wide scale involvement in Kenya, particularly in transport development sector, is becoming increasingly problematic. Despite growing economic engagement between Kenya and China, the overall effects are mixed, with possible gains and losses. Several Chinese economic practices, including outsourcing Chinese labor despite the desperate unemployment situation level among the young people, trampling of workers' rights, little or no knowledge transfer, local corruption, support and collusion with corrupt and dictatorial regimes, are causing grassroots resentment, which may significantly undermine China's popularity, hence weakening her ability to continue with business in Kenya in the

long run. It is also posing a challenge to Kenya's sustainable development by causing environmental degradation, impoverishment and diminishing tourism returns due to poaching.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on analysis of data and presenting the findings . The data to be analyzed included response rate, background information of the respondents and a presentation of findings against each individual objective of the study. The data analyzed and presented was based on the response to the items in the questionnaires schedules. The study utilized frequency tables, percentages, mean and standard deviations, pie charts and bar graphs to present data.

5.2 Questionnaire return rate

The study sampled 50 respondents whom were purposively selected as they seemed to be knowledgeable about the area under study. The results were as shown in Table 4.1

Table 5.1: Response rate

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Responded	46	92
Non response	4	8
Total	50	100

From the study, 46 out of the targeted 50 respondents filled in the questionnaires. This contributed to a 92% response rate. This response rate was an excellent representative which conforms to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) stipulation that a response rate of 50% is adequate for analysis and reporting; a rate of 60% is good and a response rate of over 70% is an excellent one. Some of the respondents were not available to fill in the questionnaire and even

after various follow-ups there was no positive feedback from them thus some of the questionnaires were not returned. The response rate demonstrated the willingness of the respondents to participate in the study.

5.3 Demographic characteristics of the respondents.

As part of the general information, the respondents were requested to indicate their gender, level of education, where they work and years of service in their organization.

5.3.1 The gender of the respondents

The researcher wished to get a balanced perspective and this would be achieved by getting the views of both genders. The results were as shown in Table 4.2

Table 5.2: Soft power diplomacy has brought substandard goods to Africa

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	21	46
Female	25	54
Total	46	100

The results indicates that 54.3% of the respondents were female while the rest 45.7% were females. This means that majority of targeted population which were from the China Embassy staff, Ministry of foreign affairs, IDIF Students and Self-employed citizens were female. It also implied that both genders were adequately represented.

5.3.2 Education level of the respondents.

The level of education of the respondents influences how well the respondents can execute the job and further provide feedback. The results were summarized by Table 4.3.

Table 5.3: Education Level of the respondent.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Primary	2	4.3	4.3	4.3
Secondary	7	15.2	15.2	19.6
College	13	28.3	28.3	47.8
Valid Graduate	18	39.1	39.1	87.0
Post Graduate	6	13.0	13.0	100.0
Total	46	100.0	100.0	

The results indicated that 39.1% of the respondents had finished their studies in higher learning institutions while 28.3% of the respondents were college holders, 15.2% of the respondents attained secondary education and 13% of the respondents were post graduates. The rest 4% of the respondents reached primary level education. The researcher concluded that most of the respondents interviewed were able to read and understand the questions and also to respond to the questionnaire in the manner intended.

5.3.3 Area of work.

The researcher wanted to get an idea of where the respondents work. The results are as shown in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4: Where do you work

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Ministry of foreign affairs	4	8.7	8.7	8.7
Valid Staff from China Embassy	8	17.4	17.4	26.1
Valid IDIS Students	7	15.2	15.2	41.3
Valid Self employed	11	23.9	23.9	65.2
Valid Others	16	34.8	34.8	100.0
Total	46	100.0	100.0	

The findings indicated that 34.8% of the respondents were working in other organizations which were not listed in the above table. Most of the respondents who indicated others were from the informal sector. 23.9% of the respondents were self-employed. The researcher wanted to also have a glimpse of their thoughts and ideas in the area under study since some of them have businesses with them. This implied that the entire targeted department by the study was involved in the study and the findings were not biased.

5.3.4 Years worked in the organization

The respondents were asked to indicate the year of service they have had worked in their respective organization. The results are shown in Table 4.5 below.

Table 5.5: Years of service

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Less than 5 years	17	37.0	40.5	40.5
Valid 6-10 years	14	30.4	33.3	73.8
Valid 11-15 years	9	19.6	21.4	95.2
Valid 16-20 years	2	4.3	4.8	100.0
Valid Total	42	91.3	100.0	
Missing System	4	8.7		
Total	46	100.0		

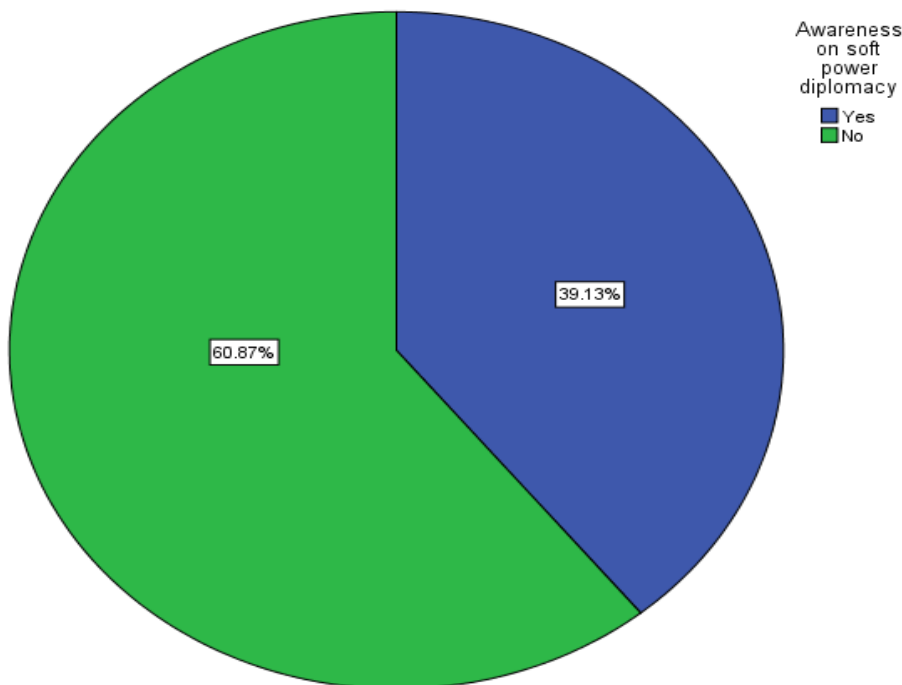
The results shows that 37% of the respondents have worked in a period of less than 5 years while 30.4% have worked in a period of 6-10 years.19.6% have worked for a period of 11-15 years and the rest 4.3 % have worked for a period of 16-20 years. This implied that most of the respondents had worked for longer period in their place of work hence the ability to provide feedback on the area under study.

5.4 Awareness on soft power diplomacy

In order to understand what soft power diplomacy is, the researcher first sought to find out if the targeted population were aware of soft power diplomacy. Therefore, the researcher asked the question in order to understand if the respondents knew about soft power diplomacy. The results were in Figure 5.1

Figure 5.1:

Figure 5.1: Awareness on soft power diplomacy



The findings showed that 60.87% of the respondents have heard of soft power diplomacy while the rest 39.13% have never heard of soft power diplomacy. This implied that more than 50% of the respondents are aware of soft power diplomacy and know what it is.

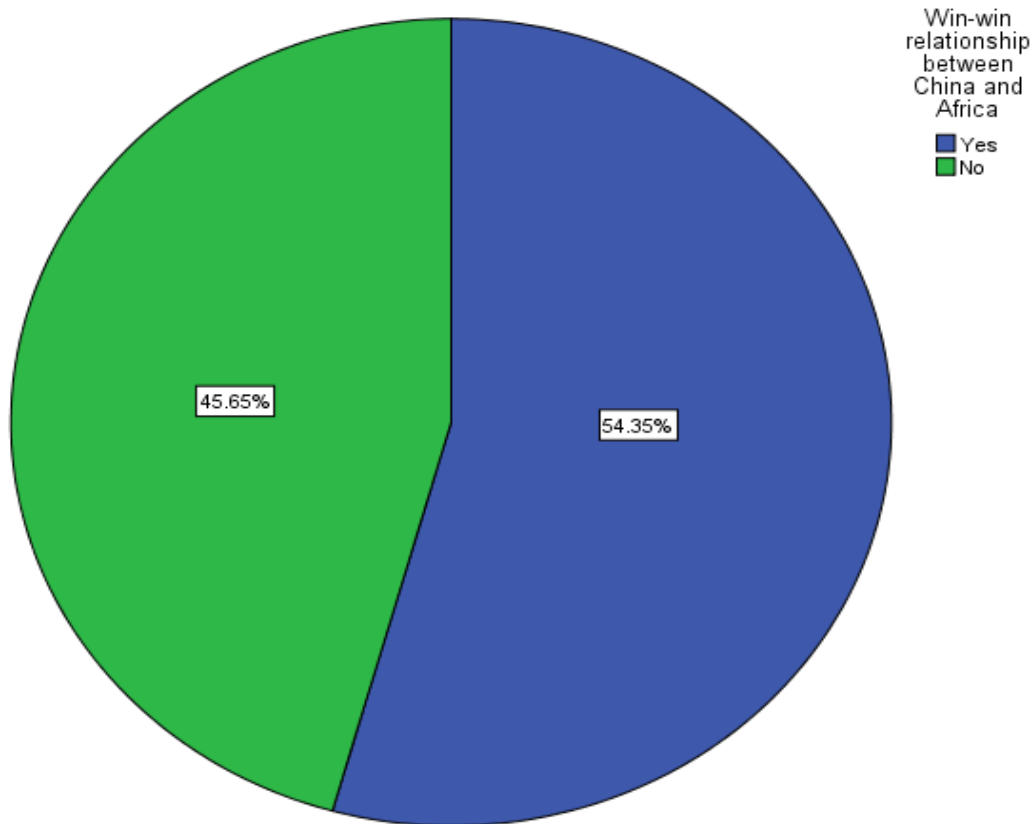
In addition, the respondents were asked to explain what soft power diplomacy is. One of the respondents from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs indicated that soft power diplomacy is the use of aid for economic and political support. The respondent went further and explained that a country may attain what it wants through soft power diplomacy especially if the country admires its values and policies. The researcher also engaged with local citizens to have an idea if they know or have heard of soft power diplomacy. Most of the citizens that the researcher interacted with described soft power diplomacy as a type of diplomacy aimed at promoting the image of a country through various platforms or activities. A respondent from Confucius Institute at The University of Nairobi explained that soft power diplomacy as a scenario where countries use aid to advance their interest. From the above explanations, it was clear that most of the respondents had an idea of what soft power diplomacy is. It can therefore be concluded that soft power diplomacy is the ability of a country to affect other countries to obtain the outcomes it wants through attraction rather than force.

5.5 Relationship between china and Africa

The researcher wanted to know if the relationship between China and Africa is a win-win.

The results were as shown below in **Figure 5.2**

Figure 5.2: Relationship between china and Africa



54.35% of the respondents indicated that the relationship between China and Africa is a win-win. One of the respondent indicated that the relationship is a win-win through the grants that the Chinese government gives to African countries for development. This helps most of African countries in their development projects such as infrastructures. A respondent from

The Embassy of China explained that both nations are able to influence each other positively to bring change in cultures and abilities.

The rest 45.65% indicated that the relationship between China and Africa is not a win-win. From the respondents the researcher interacted with, they claimed that China is exploiting Africa at the expense of our natural resources. Some of the respondents went ahead and explained that China by virtue of having a big economy bullies African nations to achieve its objectives leaving them with lots of debts.

It can therefore be concluded that the relationship between China and Africa is a win-win.

5.6 China's Aid

The study sought to establish if China's aid to Africa is but a camouflage of advancing its national interests. Their responses were as shown below in **Figure 5.3**

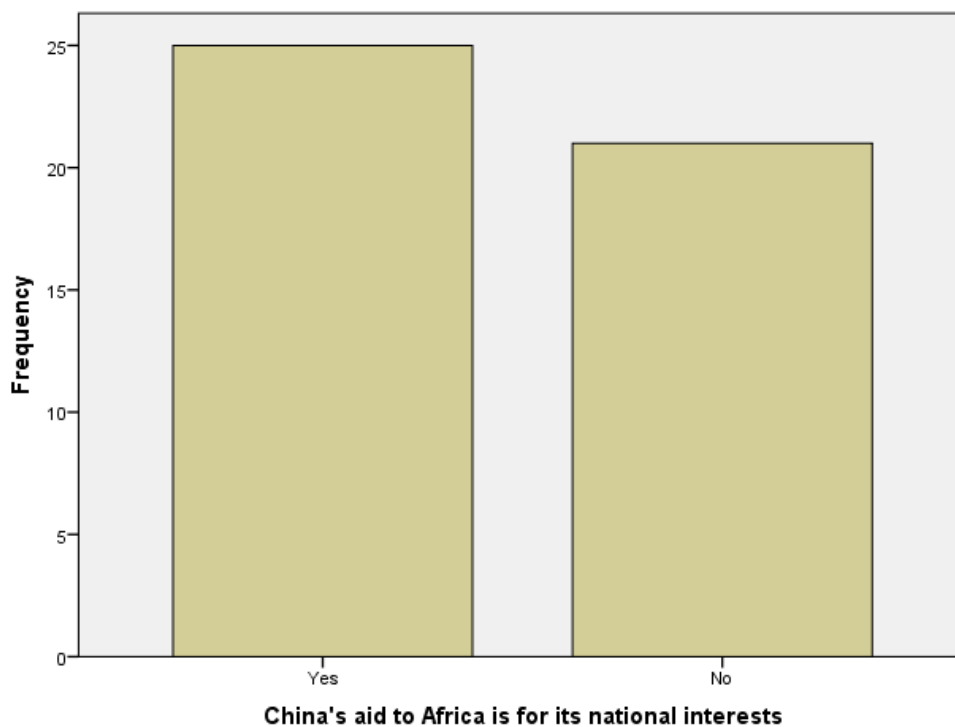


Figure 5.3: China's aid to Africa

The findings indicated that 25 out of the 46 respondents were for the idea that China’s aid is for advancing its national interests which was represented by 54.3%.The respondents who felt that China’s aid is for its national interests explained that China have a competitive advantage through its machinery and capital. African countries benefit from technical aid while China benefit from raw materials and market .A respondent from Ministry of foreign affairs reported that most of China’s aid is “tied aid” which leads to perpetual dependency.

The rest 21 out of 46 respondents represented by 45.7% indicated that China’s aid is not for its national interests. One of the respondents whom were for the idea that China’s aid was not for its national interest reported that even during the Silk Road trade all China wanted to maintain was never power only but to influence and better other nations. Another IDIF Student indicated that China’s aid was not for advancing its national interests but rather, it was about developing the African countries. From the above findings from the respondents, it can therefore be concluded that China’s aid is for advancing its national interests.

5.7 Substandard goods

The study sought to find out if China’s corporate and businessmen have taken advantage of soft power diplomacy to bring substandard goods to Africa. The results were as shown below in Table 5.6

Table 5.6: Soft power diplomacy has brought substandard goods to Africa

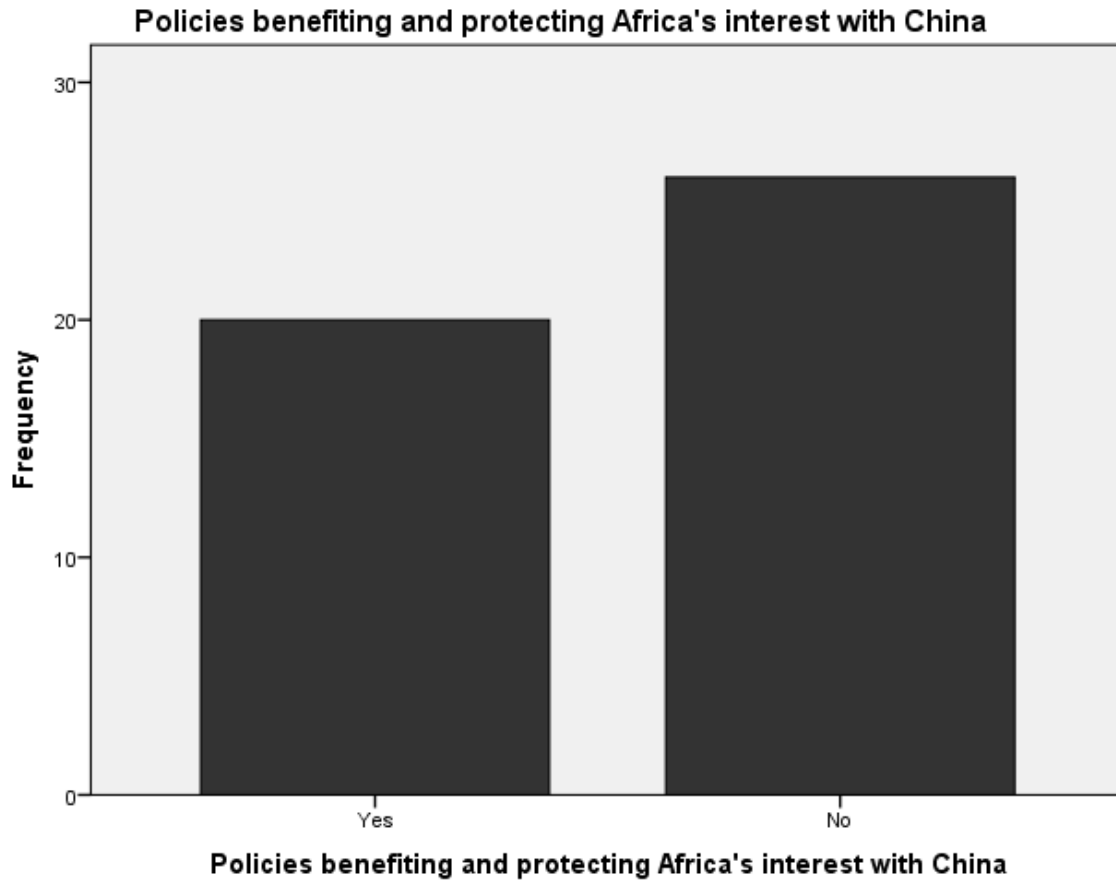
Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	29	63
No	17	37
Total	46	100

63% of the respondents indicated that China's businessmen have taken advantage of soft power diplomacy to bring substandard goods to Africa. An anonymous respondent indicated that this is a scenario that has come up and led to negative ideas about China and its goods and services. In addition, another respondent reported that China's corporate and businessmen have escalated legal loopholes and corruption among government officials to bring counterfeits and fake goods. 37% of the respondents felt that China's businessmen have not taken advantage of soft power diplomacy to bring substandard goods to Africa. 5 respondents reported that it is not about substandard goods but affordable goods because China has cheap labor.

It can therefore be concluded that China's businessmen have taken advantage of soft power diplomacy to bring substandard goods to Africa.

5.8 African Policies advancing sustainable development.

Good policies are a blueprint for every country. However the right policies are very important for a county's development. The study sought to find out if African countries have the right policies to enable them benefit and protect their interest with China. The results are as shown in **Figure 5.4**



The results indicated that 20 out of the 46 respondents which was presented by 43.5% concurred with the idea that African countries have the right policies to enable them benefit and protect their interests with China while 26 out of the 46 respondents which was presented by 56.5% felt that African countries did not have the right policies to protect their interest with China. This implied that majority of the respondents felt that African countries do not have the right policies to protect their interests with China.

5.9 Impoverishment of African countries through unsustainable debts

The study sought to find out if China’s soft power diplomacy has led to impoverishment of African countries through unsustainable debts. The results were as shown in **Figure 5.6**

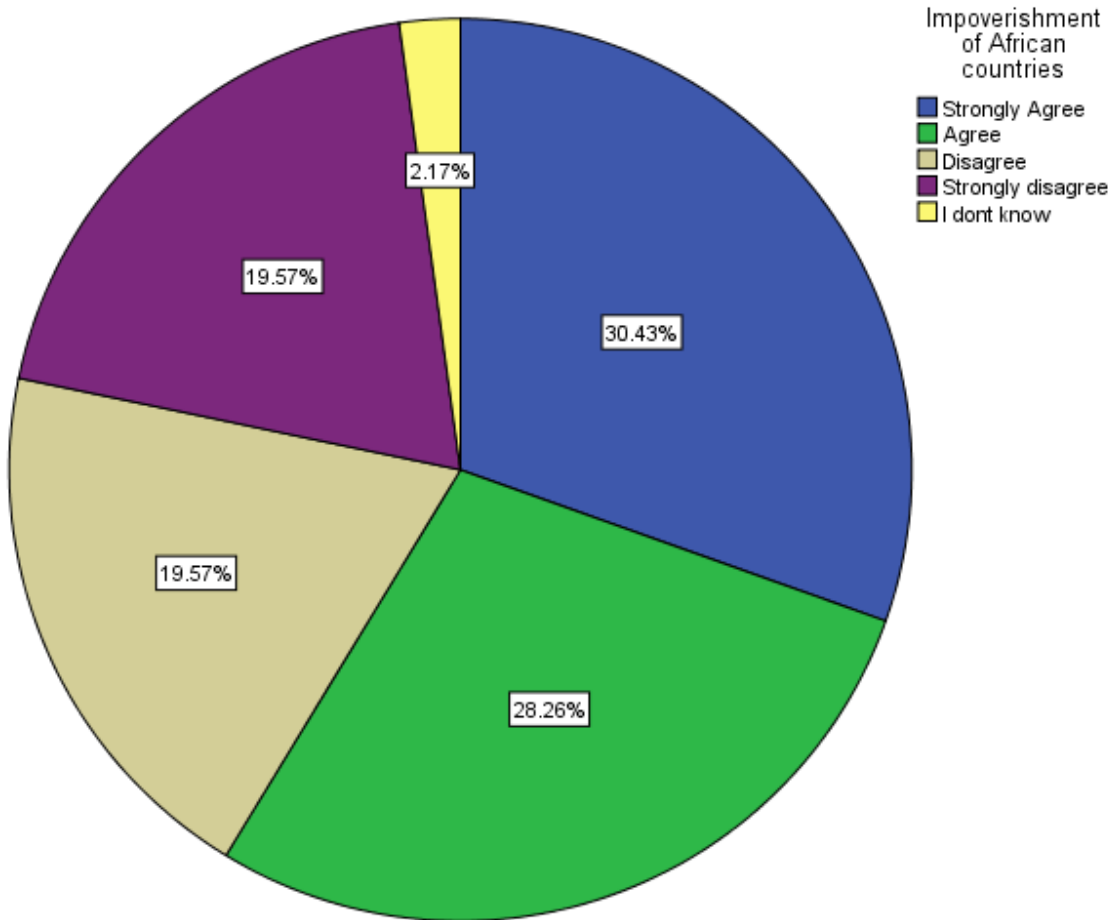


Figure 5.4: Impoverishment of African countries through unsustainable debts

The results indicated that 30.43% of the respondents strongly agreed that China’s soft power has led to impoverishment of African countries while 28.26% of the respondents agreed that China’s soft power diplomacy has led to impoverishment of African countries though unsustainable debts. 19.57% disagreed on the fact that China’s soft power diplomacy has led to impoverishment of African countries. This implies that 58% of the respondents felt that

China's soft power diplomacy has led to impoverishment of African countries through unsustainable debts.

5.10 Bilateral engagement with China.

The researcher sought to find out whether Kenya has instituted the right policies to maximize benefits through its bilateral engagements with China. The findings were as shown in Table 5.7

Table 5.7: Bilateral engagements with China

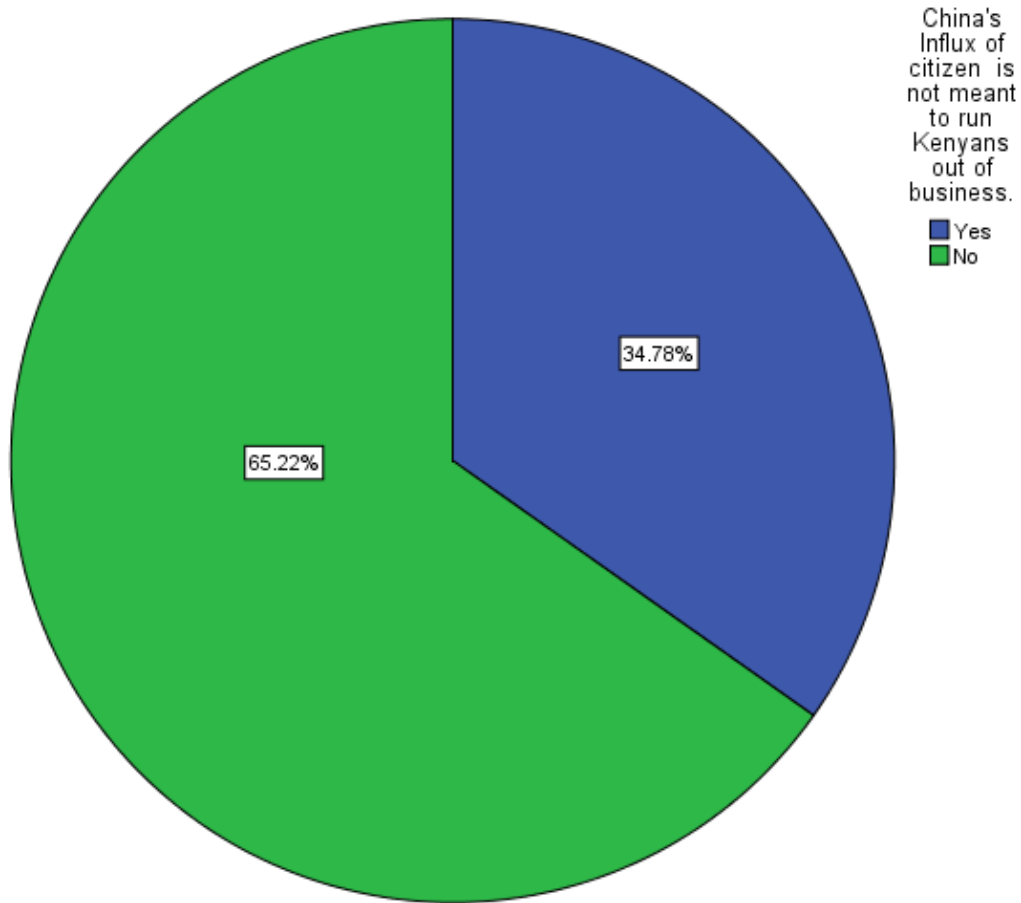
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	21	45.7	46.7	46.7
Valid No	24	52.2	53.3	100.0
Total	45	97.8	100.0	
Missing System	1	2.2		
Total	46	100.0		

The results indicated that 52.2% of the respondents felt that Kenya has not instituted the right policies to maximize benefits through its bilateral engagements with China. While 45.7% of the respondents felt that Kenya has the right policies to maximize benefits through its bilateral engagements with China.

5.11 Influx citizens.

According to Oxford dictionary, influx refers to an arrival or entry of large numbers of people or things. The study sought to find out if China had done enough to convince its people in Kenya that the influx of its citizens is not meant to run them out of business. The results are as shown below in Figure 5.7

Figure 5.5: Influx citizens.



From the findings, 65.22% of the respondents reported that China has done enough to convince the local population in Kenya that the influx of its citizens is not meant to run them out of business while 34.78% of the respondents felt that China has not done enough to convince its people in Kenya that the influx of its citizens is not meant to run them out of business. This indicates that China as a country has done enough to convince Kenyans that its citizens who have occupied Kenya are not meant to run them out of business. Even so, some of the respondents indicated that China's citizens have run local Kenyans out of their business as they are more experienced and have the power.

5.12 Political and economic objectives met by China in Kenya

This question was meant to find out if soft power diplomacy has enabled China to meet its political and economic objectives in Kenya. The results are as shown below in **Figure 5.8**

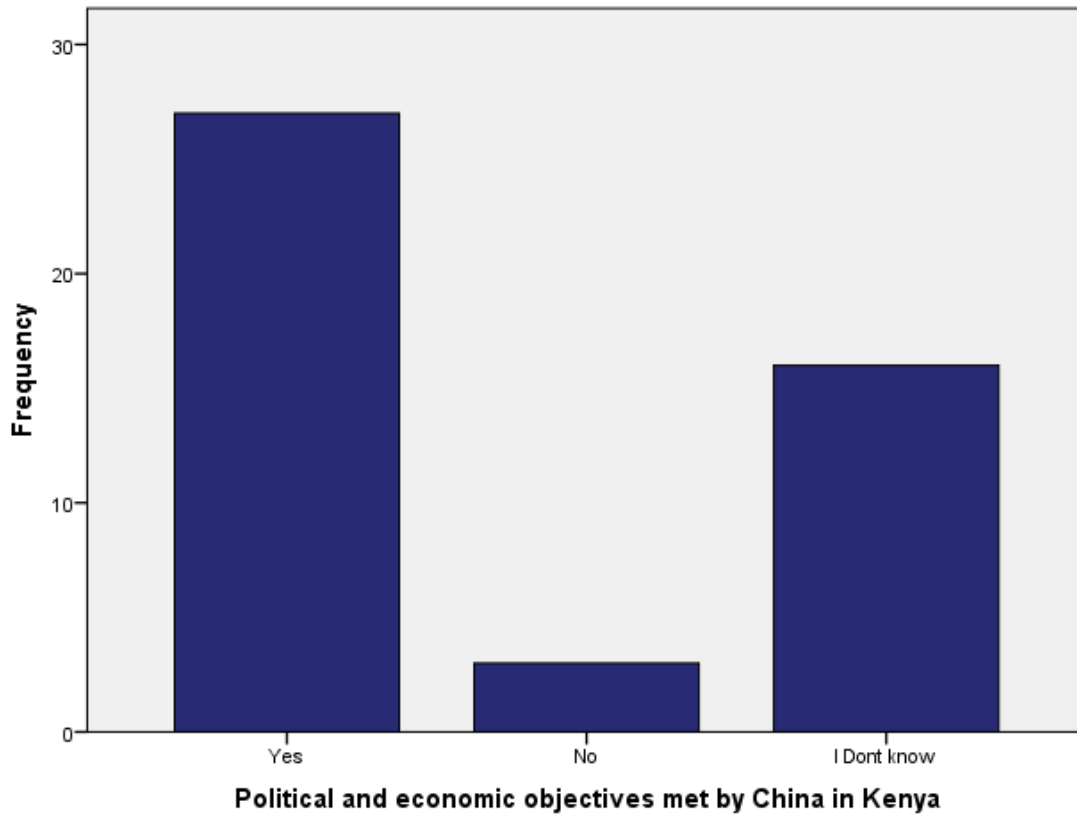


Figure 5.6: Political and economic objectives met by China in Kenya

The findings indicated that 27 out 46 of the respondents reported that soft power diplomacy has enabled China to meet its political and economic objectives in Kenya which represents 58.7%.In addition, the respondents were asked to elaborate their answer. One of the respondents reported that most of the commodities in the market are made in China and their corporate get lucrative tenders from Kenyan government thus enabling China to meet its political and economic objectives in Kenya. Another respondent went ahead and claimed that

through soft power diplomacy, it has provided a win-win situation for China to meet its objectives in Kenya.

5.13 Is China a genuine development partner or a bully?

The study sought to understand if China is a genuine development partner or a bully in exploiting Africa and her people. The results are as shown below in **Figure 5.9**

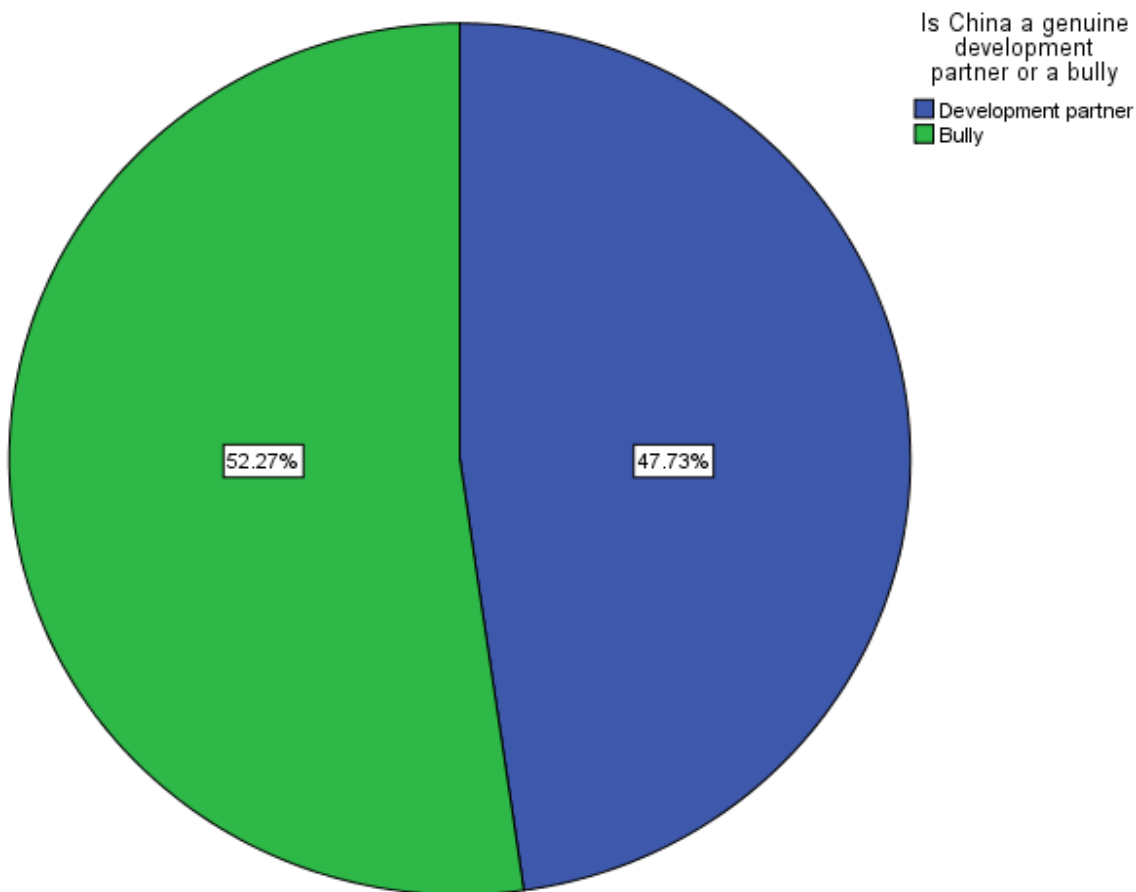


Figure 5.7: China a genuine development partner or a bully?

The results indicated that 52.27% of the respondents argued that China is not a genuine development partner. They went ahead and explained that China has brought expertise in African nations but has left them with unsustainable debts thereby controlling

them. However, 47.73% of the respondents indicated that China is not a bully but it's a genuine development partner. A self-employed respondent reported that she believes that China is a genuine development partner through its actions; it has filled the gaps in African countries thus promoting their growth. We can therefore conclude that most of the respondents felt that China is not a genuine development partner.

CHAPTER SIX

This chapter will focus on summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations based on the outcome of the research.

6.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The first objective examined China soft power as a tool of economic and environmental exploitation in Africa. Based on the findings, China has spent a lot of resources on various initiatives as part of its soft power campaign to endear itself to African elite. This has been effective since most of the contracts have been awarded to Chinese companies. However the impact has been huge on the environmental front since most companies engaged in exploitation of natural resources have led to destruction of entire ecosystems. Infrastructure development has come at a great cost since most of the employees have been outsourced from China even for menial jobs that can be done by locals.

Additionally, most of these infrastructure projects have come at a great cost because of over inflated figures. China's contractors don't care about transparency as long as they get the contracts. Corrupt government officials have taken advantage of this to make themselves wealthy. This has further worsened the debt crisis thereby jeopardizing sustainable development in Africa. It is also noteworthy to point out that most citizens have never heard of the term soft power diplomacy. However, they have felt and seen the presence of Chinese companies and it's people in most sectors of the economy.

The second objective looked at the dichotomy of China's national interests and sustainable development in Africa. China's primary goal is to exploit natural resources from the continent for her industries. However, this has come with its own challenges since most companies

from China are unwilling to transfer knowledge to Africans. Consequently, the aspect of outsourcing has led to agitation by young people who feel they should take up those jobs. This has led to a setback in China's soft power diplomacy since though the elite are comfortable with Chinese companies, the local population feels exploited and cheated by the Chinese. The flooding of cheap and substandard goods from China has led to outright hostility from local traders who can't keep up/compete with their counterparts from China. This has led to loss of livelihoods therefore exacerbating poverty and jeopardizing sustainable development.

The study also found out that Kenya continues to receive assistance from China for various government initiatives ranging from agriculture, wildlife conservation and disaster management. However the presence of China in Kenya has not been without controversy since some of their projects such as the Lamu coal project have proved to be disaster in waiting. Apart from the economic viability been vague, the environmental impact especially on the marine wildlife would have been catastrophic. Additionally, Chinese have been suspected of been involved in dwindling wildlife especially elephants and rhinos. But the greatest accusations of Chinese in Kenya have come from the local business community who feel that Chinese companies are invading their space. This has led to loss of livelihoods and hence poverty. Additionally the government of Kenya continues to borrow expensive loans from China for projects which are either not economically viable or whose benefits do not trickle down to the ordinary citizen. Little wonder then that a large number of respondents perceive China as a bully rather than a genuine development partner.

6.2 CONCLUSION

Based on the research findings, it can be concluded that the opinion is almost evenly divided on whether the relationship between China and Africa is a win-win. Those who argued in the affirmative were of the opinion that though the relationship has led to debts and loss of jobs due to flooding of cheap goods from China, Africa has also benefitted from China's technical expertise especially on infrastructure development. Those of the contrary opinion argued that the relationship was one sided in favor of China and reinforced their argument by looking at the balance of trade as well as the huge debts owed to China. This will continue being a heated debate among policy makers and local population.

A majority of the respondents also felt that China's aid to Africa is a camouflage of advancing its interests. This is not surprising since most of the aid advanced by China is tied aid where conditions are placed by the 'donor'. For example nearly all the materials used in the construction of the SGR and other roads in Kenya come from China. This creates dependency since local manufacturers don't benefit and also there is little knowledge transfer. A majority also felt that Chinese businessmen have taken advantage of corruption and legal loopholes to export substandard goods to Africa. Nearly every good in the market from simple tooth picks to motor vehicle spare parts are inscribed with 'made in China'. Most do not last long as they are of poor quality but since they are cheap they retain the competitive edge.

A majority of the respondents also felt that African countries have not instituted the right policies in the engagement with China. This can be seen in the various negotiation platforms where China always emerges with better deals at the expense of Africa. Additionally, African countries have not put in place the right legal regimes and policies to protect their cottage

industries which have collapsed as a result of the flooding of the market by cheap goods from China.

As a result of poor policies, most countries in Africa have to cope with huge debts from China due to projects that are not sustainable economically. An overwhelming number of respondents agreed that engagement with China has led to unsustainable debts.

On the question of the influx of China's citizen in Kenya, 65% of the respondents were of the opinion that it has a negative consequence. Indeed today, the Chinese are in almost all the sectors of the Kenyan economy. Manufacturing, agriculture, tourism, media etc. However, the major problem is being caused by those in the informal sector. It is no longer a surprise to encounter Chinese vendors hawking Huawei phones in the streets of Nairobi. Recently there was uproar over the invasion of Chinese in Gikomba, the largest open air market in Nairobi.

This is causing a lot of friction with the local population who feel that the Chinese are invading the livelihoods. It hence becomes very difficult for China to project its soft power diplomacy since its image is already dented by its citizens, some of who have exhibited outright racism towards Kenyans. For soft power to succeed, a country's projection of its image must be consistent with its actions. While China is projecting an image of being Africa's friend and partner and some of its citizens are negating that by being hostile and racists towards Africans hence the failure to be fully embraced by the Africans.

Finally, soft power diplomacy has enabled China to meet its political and economic objectives in Kenya. The ruling party Jubilee has established a liaison with the Communist party of China and the Chinese companies regularly get awarded major contracts by the Kenyan government. This can be attributed to the policy of non-interference in internal matters which

is attractive to most ruling elite in Africa. However despite those wins, a majority of Kenyans and by extension Africans still view China as a bully as opposed to a genuine development partner. This shows the disconnect between Africa's ruling elite who exalt China and the local population who view them suspiciously.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

For the relationship between China and Africa to be a win-win, the study recommends that African countries must institute the right policies to safeguard their industries against domination by the big corporate from China. This will entail having protectionist policies for example on agricultural commodities e.g. fish to protect the local fishermen and farmers.

Related to the first recommendation, African countries will have to enforce strict standards at their ports of entry to prevent substandard goods from flooding the markets. This is to protect the local industries which cannot compete with these cheap goods from China leading to job losses and poverty among its citizens. For this to succeed corruption will have to be eradicated since it acts as a facilitator for entry of substandard goods.

African countries ought to take advantage of the scholarships availed by China to equip their sons and daughters with the requisite technical skills especially in engineering to enable them undertake complex infrastructural projects in the future. This will enhance self reliance and reduce on the cost of hiring expatriates.

If China is to succeed in attaining its goals through attraction, which is what soft power entails, then it will have to equip to citizens with adequate knowledge of Africa and her people. This will ensure they act as unofficial ambassadors in their interaction with the local

population. The perpetuation of racism by some Chinese nationals has become by default the largest stumbling block to the success of China's soft power diplomacy.

Finally, governments in Africa should come up with sustainable development funds to assist their vulnerable citizens especially in the rural areas against the effects of climate change and environmental hazards brought about by development projects. There should also be serious investment in renewable sources of energy such as wind.

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APPENDIX A: SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

This study aims to establish what impact soft power diplomacy plays in advancing the interests of China in Africa and Kenya and the effect it has on sustainable development. The study is for academic purposes only and the researcher will endeavor to maintain the highest ethical standards. Thank you.

SECTION A: Demographic information

1. Gender of respondent

Male [] Female []

2. Age of respondent

18-30 [] 31-40 [] 41-50 [] 51-59 [] Above 60 []

3. Highest level of education

Primary []

Secondary []

College []

Graduate []

Post graduate []

4. For how long have you worked with your organization? (**Where applicable**)

Less than 5 yrs	6-10 yrs	11-15 yrs	16-20 yrs	Over 20 yrs
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5. Where do you work?

Ministry of Foreign Affairs [] Embassy of the People's Rep.of China [] Others []

SECTION B: Variables information

6. Have you ever heard of Soft power diplomacy?

Yes [] No []

If yes, please explain

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

7. In your opinion, is the relationship between China and Africa a win-win?

Yes [] No []

Elaborate.....
.....
.....

8. China's aid to Africa is but a camouflage of advancing its national interests. Do you agree?

Yes [] No []

Kindly
expound.....
.....
.....

9. China's corporate and businessmen have taken advantage of soft power diplomacy to bring substandard goods to Africa.

Yes [] No []

Elaborate.....
.....
.....

10. Do you think African countries have the right policies to cushion their resources from over exploitation and advance sustainable development?

Yes [] No []

11. As a foreign policy tool, China's soft power diplomacy has led to impoverishment of African countries through unsustainable debts

Strongly Agree []

Agree []

Disagree []

Strongly disagree []

I don't know []

12. Do you think Kenya has instituted the right policies to maximize benefits through its bilateral engagements with China?

Yes [] No []

13. Do you think that China has done enough to convince the local population in Kenya that the influx of its citizens is not meant to run them out of business?

Yes [] No []

14. In your opinion has soft power diplomacy enabled China to meet its political and economic objectives in Kenya?


Yes [] No [] I don't know []


Elaborate.....
.....
.....

15. In your opinion, is China a genuine development partner or a bully exploiting Africa and her people?

.....
.....


APPENDIX B: NACOSTI PERMIT


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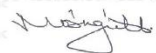
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APPENDIX C: TURNITIN REPORT

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