UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

DIASPORA COMMUNITIES AND THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS IN THE 21ST CENTURY: A FOCUSED COMPARISON OF SOMALIA AND SOUTH SUDAN

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REG. NO. : R50/11580/2018

A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR REQUIREMENT FOR DEGREE OF MASTERS IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

2021

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this project is my original work and has not been presented to any university for academic credit.

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Declaration by the Supervisor.

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor.

Signature.......................... Date: 03/12/21.

DR. MUMO NZAU

SUPERVISOR

DEDICATION

TO

The Almighty God

For his enabling strength and knowledge in my everyday life.

My sons

This project is dedicated to my sons Sean and Trent. I could never have done this without your perseverance when I was away in class till late.

My husband

My special feeling of gratitude goes to you for your words of encouragement and push for tenacity. I thank God for you.

My brother

You believed in me despite all the challenges that came up in life. My eternal gratitude.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I would like to express my special gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Mumo Nzau for his guidance, ingenious knowledge and help in this project. Without his support it would have been difficult for me to prepare the paper so meaningful and interesting.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EU: European Union

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

UK: United Kingdom

US: United States

ABSTRACT

The diaspora in the 21st century is attracting significant attention due to its linkages and potential role in foreign relations among nations. As international migration continues to increase due to economic reasons or political instability, opportunities to utilize diaspora to promote host country foreign policy exists. This study investigated the active role of diaspora communities from Somalia and South Sudan residing in Kenyain diplomatic work. Its objectives were to (1)explore the extent to which diaspora communities participate in foreign policy formulation and conduct in the 21st century international system, (2) examine the role of diaspora in the conduct of foreign relations in Africa, and asses the influence of diaspora communities on the conduct of foreign relations in Africa, and (3)asses the influence of diasp[ora communities on the conduct of foreign relations comparing Somalia and South Sudan.The study used a comparative Case study method, where 73 out of targeted sample of 90 comprising 22 Somali and 24 South Sudan diaspora (nationals) and 27 foreign ministry officials completed an online questionnaire and qualitative data were analysed to identify majeor themes.Given that diasppra diplomacy involves many formal and informal actors and it's a multifaceted practice that transcends state power or control, the Assemblage theory was deemed the the appropriate theoretical framework for understanding how diaspora communities' interactions with governments has shaped foreign relation in the 21st century.With regard to the place of diaspora in foreign policy formulation and conduct, the study's major findings that the Kenyan government engages diaspora through direct pursuit of foreign policy, collaborating with influential individuals, and through the ministry of foreign affairs. The study also found that the Somali and South Sudanese diaspora plays three major roles in diplomacy: interacting directly with their homeland communities on issues affecting their kin, intervening in Security and inter-ethnic conflict, and promoting economic develop through FDI. The study also found out that compared to South Sudanese diaspora, the Somali diaspora were more engaged by the Kenyan government due to rising concerns over terrorism. Areas of engagegment of South Sudanese included human and drug trafficking, while for Somalia they were terrorism and smuggling. The conclusion made from these findings were that diaspora diplomacy is an effective soft power approach for Kenya's foreign policy in both Somalia and South Sudan, the diapora's role in foreign relations is higher among South Sudanese diaspora than among Somalis in Kenya. The study's recommendation for diaspora organizations through registration and restructuring to align them with Kenya's diplomatic priorites. Further, linking the diaspora communities to regional and international networks and building the technical competencies of the diaspora through skills training on diplomacy and communication skills are recommended for Kenya to fully exploit diaspora diplomacy for better foreign relations.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Problem

An increase in global human mobility in the 21st century has presented new realities in international cooperation and the conduct of bilateral, regional, and multilateral diplomacy. The post-Cold War era has been characterized by economic globalization and increased international migration, heralding a paradigm change in how interstate relations are conducted. 1 The cross border migration flows offer new opportunities for interstate diplomacy to shape relations within the international system.

The mass migration of ethnic groups has seen receiving states align their immigration and refugee programs with strategic foreign policy goals, primarily within the context of regional cooperation bodies such as the European Union, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development or the African Union.[1] Individual states have also formulated immigration policies and deportation laws to foster state-diaspora relations and cooperative or coercive interstate diplomacy.

Diaspora diplomacy typically entails propagating a country's policy to private diaspora leaders and civil society actors, taking into account their views on political and socioeconomic issues in their home countries, and engaging them in policy development and exchanges.[2] Additional diaspora engagement interventions may include professional training and involvement in counterterrorism measures. Some countries have created departments or agencies to engage the diaspora and propagate their diplomatic priorities. The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)

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[1] Tsourapas, G. (2017). Migration diplomacy in the global south: Cooperation coercion and issue linkage in Gaddafi's Libya. *Third World Quarterly, 38*(10), p. 2371.

[2] Trent, D. L. (2012). *American diaspora diplomacy: U.S. foreign policy and Lebanese Americans.* The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations, p. 12.

is an example of such programs that focus on collaborative engagement with the diaspora to support economic development while fostering diplomatic relations overseas.[3]

Cooperative migration diplomacy is best exemplified in the 2016 Jordan Compact, where Jordan negotiated for economic aid from international actors in return for hosting Syrian refugees.[4] On the other hand, China, has over the past three decades adopted migration policies that reflect its quest for material resources for its own economic development.[5] In Africa, the diaspora has often been considered emigrants living outside Africa.[6] Nationals of an African country working in another African nation are not regarded as diaspora but as migrants or refugees. Omeje (2007) recognizes three groups of African diaspora: descendants of slavery, migrants who left to pursue educational and economic opportunities abroad, and refugees fleeing socioeconomic problems and war.[7] This classification leaves out intra-African migrants who may include expatriates, refugees or asylum seekers. However, individuals who have moved across territorial boundaries can be considered diplomatically active actors in the practice of diasporic diplomacy.

There are many benefits to engaging with the diaspora within a country's borders. Diasporic publics, having previously lived in their country of origin, can have insightful

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[3] Johnson, B. & Sedaca, S. (2004). *Diasporas, Émigrés and development: Economic linkages and programmatic responses. A special study of the U.S. agency for international development (USAID) trade enhancement for the services sector (TESS) project*. Arlington, VA: CARANA Corporation.

[4] Stanzel, V. (2018). New realities in foreign affairs, p. 44.

[5] Thuno, M. (2018). China's new global position: Changing policies toward the Chinese diaspora in the twenty-first century. In B. Wong, & C-B. Tan (Eds.), *China's Rise and the Chinese Overseas* (pp. 184-208). New York: Routledge.

[6] Mwagiru, M. (2012). The African Union's diplomacy of the diaspora: Context, challenges and prospects. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, *12*(2), p. 7.

[7] Omeje, Kenneth 2007. The diaspora and domestic insurgencies in Africa. *African Sociological Review*, *11,* p. 9.

perspectives on bilateral relations.[8] These are groups identified as minorities living in host nations but have a heritage and material ties to their homelands.[9] Modern diaspora reunited after war or political instability related dispersal from their home countries. They profess ethnic bonds with their nation of heritage as well as to the host state. Diaspora communities exhibit a moral sense of interstate responsibility, making them useful agents of change and critical parties to foreign relations of governments.[10] Therefore, engaging the diaspora in diplomacy is an integrated sociocultural process that requires addressing cultural, socioeconomic, and political aspects of their lives.

The engagement of politically active individuals within diaspora communities can help promote inclusion of migrant ethnic minorities in mainstream foreign policy development.[11] Their political experiences and viewpoints can bolster efforts to formulate foreign policies that can be received well abroad. The 21st century has seen a heightened focus on diaspora engagement in development.[12] Diaspora diplomacy is critical to interstate relations since the political perspectives of the diaspora give a contextual background to policy interventions and mediations abroad. Involvement of diasporas in foreign policy interventions can contribute to democratic pluralism and a decline in political conflict in their country of origin and at the same time promote the socioeconomic development of these nations.

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[8] Huijgh, E. (2011). Changing tunes for public diplomacy: Exploring the domestic dimension. *Exchange: the Journal of Public Diplomacy*, *2*(1), p. 72.

[9] Sheffer, G. (1986). A new field of study: Modern diasporas in international politics. In Gabriel Sheffer (ed.), *Modern Diasporas in International Politics* (pp. 3-4). London: Croom Helm, p. 4.

[10] Melissen, J. (2011). *Beyond the new public diplomacy. Discussion Papers in Diplomacy, No. 3*. The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations, p. 7.

[11] Trent, D. L. (2012). *American diaspora diplomacy: U.S. foreign policy and Lebanese Americans.* The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations, p. 22.

[12] Brinkerhoff, J. M. (2008). *Diasporas and development: Exploring the potential.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, p. 72.

The Horn of Africa has been a hotspot of intractable conflict that has caused mass population displacement and created humanitarian crises lasting decades. As a result, refugees and economic emigrants from the two worst affected countries of Somalia and South Sudan have continued to increase. OECD (2015) statistics indicate that Sudanese diaspora are predominantly in the US (20,350), the UK (10,600), and Canada (7,490).[13] On the other hand, the estimated Somali diaspora is about 1.5 million with a large proportion being in the US (150,000), Kenya (100,000), and the UK (95,000). The potential for involvement of the diaspora communities in foreign policy programs aimed at resolving conflicts in Somalia and South Sudan exists. Governments can achieve this by building stronger relationships with diaspora-based organization and civil society to help inform them on how to improve the national image abroad.

1.2 Problem Statement

Public servants are the primary custodians of state interests. A diplomat embodies a depth of judgment and skills derived from years of service and experience to promote a country's foreign policy. However, not all foreign ministries are well equipped to navigate through the challenges of modern diplomacy. Foreign postings must learn and adapt quickly to the foreign country's culture and politics, earn trust, and create networks with multiple parties to effectively promote their nation's interests. This takes time and immense resources, which for smaller countries may be a challenge to acquire. Another potential difficulty relates to the substantial cross-border links and agendas that call for foreign policy to be conducted by other means. Furthermore, an increase in cross-border flow of arms, funds, and migrant workers as well as the emergence of contemporary global issues of global warming and terrorism mean that traditional

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[13] OECD. (2015). *Connecting with emigrants: A global profile of diasporas.* Retrieved from https://www.oecd.org/publications/connecting-with-emigrants-9789264239845-en.htm

forms of diplomacy (through consular officials) are limited. A non-traditional party that could be useful in this new diplomacy is the diaspora communities residing in a country. Diaspora business executives, journalists, trade unionists, and non-governmental organizations with foreign roots have cultivated networks that go beyond the official routes recognized by overseas embassies. The challenge is organizing and nurturing this diaspora to promote identified goals and interests. This study aims to investigate the involvement of diaspora communities in Kenya in the conduct of the 21st century foreign relations with a focus on Somalia and the Republic of South Sudan.

1.3 Research Questions

The study was be guided by the following three research questions:

1. To what extent do diaspora communities participate in the formulation and conduct of foreign policy in the 21st Century international system?

2. What role do diaspora communities play in the conduct of foreign relations in Africa?

3. How does the influence of diaspora communities on the conduct of foreign relations compare between Somalia and the Republic of South Sudan?

1.4 Justification of the Study

This study investigates the diaspora communities as actors in diplomacy and how international relations work can be conducted by or through the diaspora. Its findings would have significant contributions to both academic and foreign policy practice for Kenya. First, the field of diaspora diplomacy is at its nascent stage. The available scientific information on this area focus on the conceptualizations of diaspora diplomacy and the underpinning theories. Therefore, this research is valuable in that it

bridges the theory-practice gap by investigating how the 21st century diplomacy can be actually conducted by and through the diaspora. It would fill an important gap in the applied diplomacy research. Second, diaspora communities in Kenya are expanding and it is evident that their role will become significant in the future. The foreign ministry endeavors to strengthen ties with Kenya's neighbors and build Kenya as a neutral arbiter in internal and cross-border conflicts. This study highlights how the diaspora can complement consular services as important actors in diplomatic practice. Third, the empirical aspect of this study will contribute to academic knowledge on diaspora diplomacy. The findings and information will highlight the complex ways in which diaspora are engaged internationally and in Africa, contributing to the body of knowledge on the topic.

1.5 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study investigated diaspora communities' role in the conduct of foreign relations in Somalia versus the Republic of South Sudan. Therefore, it was be limited to a comparative case study of the two countries. The geographical scope of this research was be limited to Kenya and the two diaspora communities in the country. The study parameters that fell within the scope of this study are the extent of diaspora involvement in foreign policy and their role in foreign relations. The time frame for data collection is expected to be from July 2020 onwards. The theoretical scope of this study focuses on the assemblage theory to explain the diversity of actors in diaspora diplomatic work.

The study has some potential limitations. Respondent bias may arise if the participants overestimate or underestimate the involvement of diaspora in foreign relations. Another potential limitation is language. Obtaining desired responses from linguistically diverse

groups may be a challenge. Time limitations may also affect the completeness of data collection.

1.6 Literature Review

1.6.1 Diaspora Involvement in Foreign Policy in the 21st Century International System

Diplomacy has been traditionally understood as an international system through which states communicate, resolve interstate conflicts, and pursue competitive foreign policies grounded in sovereignty. However, with the changing agenda and the increasing number of actors in a globalized diplomacy, this traditional approach to diplomacy is not only anachronistic but also impractical. With the new realities of increasing internal conflicts and human rights violations that have a transnational dimension, what is required is a collaborative strategy to address problems common to all actors beyond national interests.[14] As global affairs change, new diplomatic tools for negotiation and accommodation among nations have emerged to respond to the changes.[15] The 21st Century world affairs are highly volatile, which calls for building networks, particularly in economic, public diplomacy, and academic areas, among other parties outside the traditional consular services. As Rana (2016) notes, one such important party is the diaspora communities that can be useful partners in promoting external relations. Before the end of the Cold War, only a few states had embraced diaspora diplomacy, but by 2014, about 60% of UN member states had created a department or a division within the foreign affairs ministry dedicated to diaspora

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[14] Rana, S. K. (2016). *21st Century diplomacy: Globalized diplomacy*. Malta: DiploFoundation, p. 12.
[15] Ibid., p. 14.

engagement in foreign policy programs.[16] This shows the growing significance of the diaspora in foreign policy formulation and international relations. With the shifting nature of contemporary conflicts and sectarian divides, the diaspora's political experiences and views offer the context for foreign government's interpretation of foreign policy in a manner that resonates well with international partners.[17]

While the value of diaspora diplomacy cannot be overemphasized, the challenge is how to effectively nurture the diaspora to drive foreign policy interests and goals. Scholars have proposed many approaches to engaging the diaspora in the conduct of foreign policy. One such approach is through international non-governmental organizations working in a given state to protect home-country interests through blocking aid or economic sanctions.[18] On the other hand, a nation's industry association can initiate bilateral dialogues involving industry leaders, public officials, and diaspora groups to deliberate the relationship and give proposals for achieving better economic relations. The rationale for such mechanisms is the realization that economic collaboration is tied to political support and soft power.[19] It is a recognition that multiple parties including industry leaders and diaspora are important stakeholders in a country's foreign policy. The bottom line is that the 21st diplomacy is multifaceted and involves many actors way beyond what the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations envisioned.[20]

The involvement of diaspora in peace-building roles in their home countries is increasingly being recognized as effective mechanism for achieving sustainable peace

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[16] Ibid.,p. 17.

[17] Trent, D. L. (2012). *American diaspora diplomacy: U.S. foreign policy and Lebanese Americans.* The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations, p. 7.

[18] Kegley, C. W. & Blanton, S. L. (2014). *World politics: Trend and transformation 2014-2015*. New York, NY: Cengage Learning, p. 44.

[19] Ibid., 45.

[20] Rana, S. K. (2016). *21st Century diplomacy: Globalized diplomacy*. Malta: DiploFoundation, p. 8.

and democracy. According to Mohamoud (2006), conflicts primarily have a political cause but may arise due to resource competition and perceived injustices.[21] Civil society, owing to its apolitical stance, is critical in addressing these problems. Most diaspora communities are allied to civil society organizations and not to the political regimes in their home countries.[22] Therefore, strengthening relations with diaspora civil society with home-country networks can help address conflicts, promote activism at the grassroots, and sustain peace.

Diaspora investments and remittances support vulnerable groups in countries struggling with the effects of war. Dysfunctional structures and absence of social welfare in conflict-torn nations, such as Somalia and South Sudan, mean that livelihoods are largely dependent on diaspora remittances and humanitarian projects, which can serve as "alternatives to the war economy".[23] As a result, people in these countries become less dependent on the warring factions through essential service provision. Supporting the work of diaspora organizations is a mechanism that countries use to resolve conflicts and improve bilateral relations. Diaspora organizations also play a critical role in knowledge transfer. Educated individuals go back to their home countries and take up key roles in the public sector, academia, and businesses. This movement is especially important in post-conflict reconstruction period in countries such as Somalia and South Sudan. However, the viable modes, types, and techniques of diaspora diplomacy for these two countries have not been studied.

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[21] Mohamoud, A. A. (2006). *African diaspora and post-conflict reconstruction in Africa*. Danish Institute for International Studies (DIIS), DIIS Brief. Retrieved from https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/16905/african_diaspora.pdf, p. 3.

[22] Ibid., p. 4.

[23] Orjuela, C. (2008). Distant warriors, distant peace workers? Multiple diaspora roles in Sri Lanka's violent conflict. *Global Networks, 8*(4), p. 446.

1.6.2 The Diaspora's Role in Foreign Relations in Africa

The African diaspora participation in foreign policy is anchored on the right to take part in policies that directly affect their countries of origin.[24] In the era of dual citizenship, African diaspora have emerged as stakeholders in foreign relations by global powers. According to Norglo et al. (2016), African diaspora have unique understanding and vision for their motherland's future.[25] Politically active diaspora often influence or are influenced by the happenings in their home country. Their remittances to families back home and involvement in development projects in education and healthcare endears them to communities and grassroots leaders. Studies on African diaspora have concentrated on their economic support to less developed areas through remittances and poverty-alleviation programs.[26] However, not may researchers have explored the role of African diaspora in foreign relations and policy decisions.

In recent years, African diaspora have agitated for greater involvement in foreign relations through self-mobilization. Abels (2007) argues that African citizens abroad would want greater engagement opportunities at the national and international level through bilateral and multilateral agreements.[27] They see their participation at high levels as an approach that can yield even more fruitful outcomes than their involvement in community-level interventions. Host and home country governments have initiated outreach programs targeting the diaspora. The motivation behind these initiatives is the growing realization that the transnational activities of the diaspora groups have a

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[24] Cornwall, A. & Nyamu-Musembi. C. (2004). Putting the "rights-based approach" to development into perspective. *Third World Quarterly, 25,* p. 1424.

[25] Norglo, B. E., Goris, M., Lie, R. & Ong'ayo, A. O. (2016).The African diaspora's public participation in policy-making concerning Africa. *Diaspora Studies, 9*(2), p. 91.

[26] Ibid., p. 93.

[27] Abels, G. (2007). Citizen involvement in public policy-making: Does it improve democratic legitimacy and accountability? The case of PTA. *Interdisciplinary Information Sciences, 13,* p. 114.

positive developmental impact. However, according to Onga'yo (2014), diaspora mobilization is wrongly perceived as a self-help initiative as opposed to a movement seeking to address social and political issues in their home country.[28] In this regard, diaspora mobilization often centers on development issues. For example, the French government in 2000 initiated programs that facilitate migrant mobility from Senegal, Mali, and Morocco and encouraged remittances for development back in their home country.[29] It co-finances projects in these countries with the diaspora organizations. Thus, the possible involvement of African diaspora in diplomatic work has not been examined empirically.

Aside from development programs, the engagement of African diaspora is limited. Norglo et al. (2016) assert that the African diaspora seek for platforms to participate in negotiations for peace in troubled socio-political contexts in their countries of origin.[30] This would require their involvement in the development and execution of bilateral agreements, peace negotiations, and development policies impacting their home countries.

1.6.3 Influence of Diaspora Communities in the Conduct of Foreign Relations

Diaspora studies have examined the growing attention on diaspora strategies in diplomatic practice. Ho et al. (2015) assessed state-driven initiatives for diaspora engagement in political and development issues.[31] The sphere of influence of the

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[28] Ong'ayo, A. O. (2014). *How can the EU and member states foster development through diaspora organisations? The case of Ghanaian diaspora organisations in the Netherlands*. ECDPM Discussion Paper Series No. 162. Maastricht: ECDPM, p. 4.

[29] Pinto-Dobernig, I. (2006). *Engaging diasporas as development partners for home and destination countries: challenges for policymakers*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration, p. 16.

[30] Norglo, B. E., Goris, M., Lie, R. & Ong'ayo, A. O. (2016).The African diaspora's public participation in policy-making concerning Africa. *Diaspora Studies, 9*(2), p. 95.

[31] Ho, E., Hickey, M., & Yeoh, B. S. (2015) Special issue introduction: New research directions and critical perspectives on diaspora strategies. *Geoforum, 59*, p. 155.

diaspora is not only limited to economic development but also in diplomatic negotiations. They can be called upon to take part in bilateral agreements as well as promote the image of their country of origin through their interactions with citizens of the host countries.[32]

The diaspora may also sway local and foreign policy programs through different approaches. They can lobby state organs or international agencies on establishment of a new state, for example, the Republic of South Sudan and Hongkong province.[33] In this case, the diaspora act as an addressee or a participant in the diplomatic prcess.[34] As diplomatic actors, the diaspora has sought to participate in the political processes of their home countries. They engage in external voting and give political remittances to influence political outcomes.[35] Their political influence shapes the conduct of diplomatic affairs of representation, communication, and mediation in their home countries. This study compared the influence of diaspora communities on the conduct of foreign relations in Somalia and the Republic of South Sudan.

1.7 Research Gap

The essence and conduct of diplomacy has attracted significant research attention. From the literature reviewed, multiple contextual factors and actors have shaped the conduct of the 21st century diplomacy. In particular, the diaspora has emerged as a potent tool for nurturing foreign policy in a transnational context. However, there is a dearth of

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[32] Dickinson, J. (2014). Making space for India in post-apartheid South Africa: Narrating diasporic subjectivities through classical song and dance. *Emotion, Space and Society, 13,* p. 34.
[33] Berkowitz, L. & Mugge, L. M. (2014). Transnational diaspora lobbying: Europeanization and the Kurdish question. *Journal of Intercultural Studies 35*(1), p. 87.
[34] Mwagiru, M. (2012). The African Union's diplomacy of the diaspora: Context, challenges and prospects. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, *12*(2) p. 7.
[35] Berkowitz, L. & Mugge, L. M. (2014). Transnational diaspora lobbying: Europeanization and the Kurdish question. *Journal of Intercultural Studies 35*(1), p. 87.

knowledge on the techniques and modes of diaspora diplomacy in the African context. Specifically, effective programs for nurturing the diplomatic role of diaspora communities residing in Kenya to drive the country's foreign policy in Somali and South Sudan have not been examined empirically. This study attempted to bridge this theory-practice gap by investigating the extent of engagement of diaspora in diplomatic work and foreign policy programs.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

International relations effort involves multiple stakeholders and operations. Understanding how diaspora interact with host and home country governments and their influence diplomacy within the sphere of international relations would require a theoretical approach that regards all the social actors in diaspora strategies as assemblages. The assemblage theory was used to analyze the social complexity and multiple functionalities in diaspora diplomacy.[36] In this theory, the host or home nation is among the many components of an assemblage of interactions within an international system.[37] The study's focus was on the diplomatic tactics engaged by diaspora associations, governments, and supranational organizations in international relations. Given the multiple stakeholders involved in diaspora diplomacy and the multifaceted nature of the practice that goes beyond state power or control, the assemblage theory is deemed the best theoretical framework for analyzing how diaspora communities interact with governments and other stakeholders to shape foreign relations in the 21st century.

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[36] DeLanda, M. (2016). *Assemblage theory*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, p. 23.

[37] Dittmer, J. (2014). Geopolitical assemblages and complexity. *Progress in Human Geography, 38*(3), p. 496.

In examining the relationship between the independent variable (Kenya's legal and political frameworks/programs for diaspora diplomacy) and dependent variables (diaspora involvement in foreign policy and role in foreign relations), the assemblage theory can help illuminate the diversity of formal and informal aspects of diaspora diplomatic practices in South Sudan and Somalia. Further, this theory would help understand how diaspora use diplomatic tactics to engage and relate with multiple stakeholders in their home countries as components of assemblages. Addressing the research questions within the framework of the assemblage theory would be consistent with new developments in diaspora studies that advocate for a shift from viewing diplomacy as a preserve of consular services to a paradigm that considers the multiplicity of social actors in diplomatic work.

1.9 Study Hypotheses

1. Country of origin determines the extent to which diaspora communities participate in the formulation and conduct of foreign relations.

2. Engagement of diaspora in foreign relations in Africa depend on their social, economic, and political linkages to African country of origin.

3. Distinct political attitudes between Somali and South Sudan diaspora communities are connected with differences in their influence in their respective countries.

1.10 Methodology

1.10.1 Research Design

This study employed a comparative case study method to investigate the complex and multifaceted issue of diaspora diplomacy and the social processes involved. Przeworski

et al. (2000) regards comparative case studies as appropriate for studying phenomena involving several factors that impact each other[38]. As the study examines diaspora diplomacy in practice, multiple sources of data (Somali and South Sudan) are necessary to analyze the relationship between diaspora diplomacy and host-country programs.[39]

A comparative case study design can help analyze systematically novel concepts such as diaspora diplomacy that require in-depth investigation. Comparative analysis has three objectives; first, to systematically examine the co-variation between the cases to determine the cause, second, to investigate multiple cases to demonstrate that specific concepts are supported by these cases, and third, to demonstrate differences between the cases.[40] Thus, using a comparative case study method, this study aims to make valid inferences about Kenya's diaspora diplomatic efforts in South Sudan and Somalia.

1.10.2 Research Methods

The study used a qualitative approach to research the phenomenon. The comparative case study was combined with qualitative questionnaire based on open-ended questions to understand the respondents' experiences, interactions, and their motivations for diplomatic work.[41] Thus, the qualitative method allowed a deeper understanding of the two cases and at the same time provide a triangulation of the findings.[42] Open-ended questionnaires with representatives of Kenyan-South Sudan and Kenyan-Somali

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[38] Przeworski, A.,.Alvarez, M. E., Cheibub, J. & Limongi, F. (2000). *Democracy and development. Political institutions and well-being in the world, 1950-1960*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 89.

[39] Yin, K. (2000). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, p. 34.

[40] Skocpol, T. (1996). Unravelling from above. *American Prospect, 20*, p. 5.

[41] Dhesi, S. (2010). Diaspora, social entrepreneurs and community development. *International Journal of Social Economics, 37(*9), p. 707.

[42] Creswell, J. W. (2002). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches (*2nd ed*.)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, p. 64.

diaspora civil society and foreign ministry officials were used in the qualitative component of the study.

1.10.3 Research Instrument

In-depth questionnaire instrument was made with subjects drawn from diaspora organizations and Kenyan foreign ministry officials. The questionnaire (Appendix 1) was the primary instrument that used in data collection on the three research questions: (1) diplomatic participation of the diaspora in Kenya's foreign policy, (2) roles taken on by diaspora communities in the conduct of foreign relations, and (3) differences between Kenyan-Somali and Kenyan-South Sudan diaspora diplomatic practice.

1.10.4 Population and Sampling

The first target population was representatives or staff of Kenyan-South Sudan and Kenyan-Somali diaspora organizations. They included people with political or entrepreneurial networks in their country of origin. Individuals lobbying for the home-country governments to work with the Kenyan government. The second group was the officials from the foreign ministry currently involved in diplomatic work in Somali and South Sudan.

Sampling is the process of choosing representative units (e.g., people) from a target or accessible population so that by studying them the conclusions can be fairly generalized to the entire population.[43] The total sample size of the target population for this study is 90. This sample size was obtained using convenience sampling and is deemed adequate to achieve data saturation. It included only respondents from the three

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[43] Ibid., p. 102.

categories: South Sudanese diaspora, Somali diaspora, and foreign ministry officials in the ratio of 30:30:30.

1.10.5 Data Analysis

Recorded responses were first coded and contextualized before being verified. The information was entered into tables for each question for thematic analysis. The first step entailed coding to organize the data into meaningful categories.[44] Then, patterns and recurring themes were identified and used to analyse the dependent variables.

1.11 Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided background information on the subject of diaspora diplomacy that is the basis for the problem statement, which is that not all foreign ministries are well equipped to navigate the challenges of 21st century diplomacy. High resource requirements and limited cross-border links call for informal, diaspora diplomacy. The chapter also includes an in-depth review of existing literature on diaspora involvement in diplomacy, its role in foreign relations, and level of influence. The research gap and theoretical framework, which is the assemblage theory, are explained. Three related research questions and hypothesis are stated to guide the study. Finally, the research methodology used, including the research designs, data collection methods, the instrument used, and sampling procedures are described.

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[44] Ibid., p. 84.

CHAPTER TWO: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE PLACE OF DIASPORA COMMUNITIES IN THE FORMULATION AND CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY IN THE 21ST CENTURY INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

2.1 Demographic Data of the Respondents

The study used primary data obtained using questionnaires. Responses were obtained from 47 respondents comprising 22 and 24 representatives from Somalia and South Sudan Diaspora organizations using an online questionnaire. As aforementioned, this study targeted a purposive or convenience sample size of 90 respondents, but 73 responses were obtained (81.1% response rate) that included 47 diaspora representatives and 26 foreign ministry official. Most of the respondents sampled were aged 25-34 years (36/73 [49.3%]) followed by those from the 35-44 and 18-24 age brackets, at 20/73 [27.4%] and 17/73 [23.3%], respectively. In terms of gender, 58/90 [64%] of those surveyed were male. The level of education of the respondents varied from secondary education to university/college education. In total, 46/73 [63%] had secondary education, while 27/73 [37%] were college/university graduates.

2.2 Diplomatic Participation of the Diaspora in Kenya in Foreign Policy

The following research question was asked: to what extent do diaspora communities participate in the formulation and conduct of foreign policy in the 21st Century international system? Literature on diaspora diplomacy has focused on the use of diaspora by sending states to advocate for their interests, participate in bilateral relations, and serve as intelligence agents.[45] They are also crucial in cultural diplomacy

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[45] Rana, S. K. (2016). *21st Century diplomacy: Globalized diplomacy*. Malta: DiploFoundation, p. 8.

– in promoting cross-community relations across borders. Sending states can enlist diasporas to promote a good national image in the receiving states. However, this section discusses how the receiving state (Kenya) enrolls diaspora from Somalia and South Sudan to grow its influence in these countries. The discussion is based on responses of 47 representatives of diaspora organizations who included lobbyists, students, and activists. The participants were asked overarching questions on foreign policy participation. Nine sub-questions were used to explore this theme and are analyzed below.

2.2.1 Ways the Kenyan Government Connects with Diaspora Organizations

Members of the Somalia and South Sudanese diaspora in Kenya are conflict-generated. They have organized themselves into groups with different objectives, ranging from entrepreneurship to socialization. These groupings include diaspora networks, development-oriented agencies, information platforms, and volunteer entities. Most of the respondents (75%) indicated that they belonged to diaspora networks with a goal of rebuilding their home countries after years of civil strife. Typically, the diaspora networks are social organizations that bring compatriots together to socialize and identify development opportunities in their home countries.[46] Membership of the Somalia and South Sudanese diaspora organizations included students and first- and second-generation Somali or South Sudan nationals, respectively, though not exclusive. This highlights the poly-lateral and multi-directional nature of diaspora diplomacy consistent with the assemblage theory adopted in this study.[47] The diaspora

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[46] Aikins, K., & White, N. (2011). *Global diaspora strategies toolkit*. Retrieved from http://thenetworkinginstitute.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Diaspora-Toolkit-Book.pdf, p. 3.
[47] Ho, L. E., & McConnell, F. (2017). Conceptualizing 'diaspora diplomacy': Territory and populations betwixt the domestic and foreign. *Progress in Human Geography*, *43*(2), p. 6.

organizations examined were primarily formed to address the needs of the specific diaspora populations in Kenya.

Analysis of the responses reveals that opportunities for engagement between Kenyan government and diaspora organizations are limited. Only 15% of the respondents (or 7 diaspora organization representatives) mentioned three main channels that they link up with the Kenyan government: through pursuing foreign policy directly with them, using collaboration with influential individuals in Kenya, and through the ministry of foreign affairs. Notably, the collaborative means arrangement was mentioned only by the Somalia diaspora surveyed. The difference could be explained by the fact that Somali diaspora are more integrated into the local host community than South Sudanese are and therefore, can form coalitions with Somalis who have a well-founded claim to Kenyan citizenship as well as institutions interested in a sovereignty goal or stability in Somalia to reach the host government. Somalia refugees in Kenya number about 285,000 and have extensive inter-linkages with Kenyan Somali people.[48] Affluent Somali returnees who had migrated to Europe and later settled in Kenya also provide diaspora channels for reaching the government on homeland-oriented diplomacy goals. Consistent with the assemblage theory the multiplicity of actors in diaspora diplomacy is evident in the diverse agents, organizations, and people involved in the Somalia case.

On the other hand, South Sudanese diaspora identified only official channels the Kenyan government uses to engage them. Thus, a combination of closed foreign policy and direct diaspora engagement is adopted for Somali diaspora while the South Sudanese exclusively use official channels. One representative from the South

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[48] UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). *Fact Sheet, Kenya* (01-31 December 2017). Accessed September 12, 2020.http://www.unhcr.org/ke/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2018/01/Kenya-Operation-Factsheet-December-2017-.pdf, p. 2.

Sudanese diaspora indicated that they target the media to raise humanitarian awareness in their home country and inform the host government of their plight. They use social media to communicate amongst themselves and engage the host government on genocide and foreign policy issues but the success of this strategy is low, as it has not increased engagement with the government.

In diplomatic practice, the internet is a commonly used channel by countries to reach Diasporas abroad. The Armenian government runs a website that includes job postings, business support, and information on citizenship for migrant populations.[49] The Moroccan government also has a website that communicates its foreign policy to reach out to expatriates as well as cultural and economic information.[50] Thus, the internet provides an effective channel that host-country governments can use to reach out to diaspora organizations.

2.2.2 Expected Deliverables from Engagement in Diplomatic Work

A sub-question on what the expected deliverables are from the participants' engagement in diplomatic work was asked to explore the diaspora's involvement in foreign policy. From the responses, three sub-themes can be identified: projecting the national image, promoting national interests, and protecting corporate/business interests. The participants indicated that protecting national interests applies for both Kenya and the home countries of Somalia and South Sudan. This implies that although often assimilated into the host-country's culture and society, the diaspora have strong links with communities and political processes in their country of origin, a useful tool

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[49] IOM. (2006). *Engaging diasporas as development partners for home and destination countries: challenges for policymakers*. Accessed September 12, 2020.
https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/our_work/ICP/IDM/MRS26.pdf, p. 17.
[50] Ibid., p. 21.

in strengthening bilateral relations.[51] Kenya has a number of first- and second-generation non-Kenyan Somalis and Sudanese nationals who are in the country as refugees or as expatriates. From the results, these people take pride of their home-country citizenship despite staying in the country for decades. They attended Kenyan schools, speak local dialects, and know local customs and traditions. An opportunity to include them in diaspora strategy as liaison with Somalia or South Sudan contacts exists to protect Kenyan interests in their home countries. This also applies to protecting interests of individuals and corporates in Somalia, South Sudan, and Kenya within the limits of international law.

Another expected deliverable is providing consular services. The respondents emphasized the difficulties faced when seeking services such as processing of passports and travel documents to nationals. Facilitating consular services by providing a public notary or civil registrar to provide the assistance is required. As part of raining the level of consular responsiveness, opening consular services or appointing honorary consuls – who are not diplomats by profession – in areas dominated by South Sudanese or Somalia residents such as Northern Kenya will ensure access to services for the diaspora by decreasing travel time to the capital city. The appointment of honorary consuls is a way to ensure availability of consular services in areas lacking permanent missions.[52]

Safeguarding the interests of minors in the country was another expected deliverable identified. The respondents required the Kenyan government to support education for Somali and South Sudanese children in Kenya. The other goals of the engagement

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[51] Cooper, A. F., Heine, J., & Thakur, R. C. (2013). *The Oxford handbook of modern diplomacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 77.
[52] Ibid., p. 78.

include ensuring fair and equal treatment of diaspora communities in Kenya and transmitting extra-judicial documents and letters according to the laws of Kenya. The aim is to promote greater economic participation of the diaspora entrepreneurs locally and in their home countries.

2.2.3 Steps Taken to Promote Greater Diaspora Participation in Diplomatic Work

Another sub-theme explored in this study was the steps taken by the Kenyan government to foster diaspora diplomacy in Somalia and South Sudan. The sub-theme was examined from three fronts: regulations supporting diaspora diplomacy, mechanisms of engaging stakeholders abroad, and effective utilization of networks and resources to drive foreign policy abroad.

A legislative framework establishes a conducive environment, which is an important step in diaspora engagement.[53] Therefore, policymakers must enact laws that promote diaspora involvement. The qualitative responses from the participants indicated various legislative/regulatory steps that the Kenyan government has taken to support greater diaspora engagement. First, the recent formulation of a diaspora policy though primarily focused on Kenyan diaspora abroad has a significant developmental impact if extended to include diaspora living in Kenya. The objective of this policy is empower Kenyan diaspora to make a significant contribution to the local socioeconomic development.[54] It seeks to mobilize diaspora into umbrella organizations, empower them, protect their interests, and promote dialogue and administration of issues. The

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[53] Constantinou, C. M., & Sharp, P. (2016). *Theoretical Perspectives in Diplomacy.* The SAGE Handbook of Diplomacy, p. 18.
[54] Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2014). *Kenya Diaspora Policy*. Accessed September 12, 2020. http://www.mfa.go.ke/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Kenya-Diaspora-Policy.pdf, p. 10.

Somalia and South Sudanese diaspora that were surveyed in this study felt that their contributions to good cross-border relations would be recognized if the policy was extended to include diaspora living in Kenya. Additionally, the respondents felt that the formal registration of Somali Diaspora Association in Kenya is a positive legislative step that will expand the voice in home-country affairs and participate in democratic processes back home.

Aside from the two legislative milestones, the participants suggested several legal provisions that would promote diaspora engagement further. A majority of them (90% or 42 representatives surveyed) proposed flexible travel requirements when visiting home and returning from their home countries. Others required provisions for special property rights, including right to buy land and own assets that are otherwise off-limits to foreigners. They also recommended the introduction of a legislation that recognizes diaspora as an integral part of Kenya's foreign policy for Somalia and South Sudan.

On the mechanisms of working with stakeholders both locally and abroad, the respondents noted that facilitating investment forums is an important step towards diaspora engagement in diplomacy. One participant stated, "Strengthening formal remittance channels will increase cross-border trade flows and give me a bigger voice in issues happening at home." Other mechanisms that the government uses to promote diaspora networks and influence in Somalia and South Sudan are workshops, conferences, and student exchange programs.

Some steps were identified for ensuring effective utilization of diaspora resources and networks to drive foreign policy goals in Somalia and South Sudan. One approach suggested by respondents was the "planning and budgeting for such diplomatic initiatives such as involving elders with influential relatives or links with policymakers"

in his home country. Meetings with stakeholders from diaspora organizations ensure that resources (individuals and organizations) and networks back home are identified and utilized in diplomatic work.

2.2.4 Challenges Encountered in Diaspora Engagement in Diplomacy

Somalis in Kenya all speak the Somali language but the South Sudanese diaspora have different ethnicities and therefore speak different native languages. The respondents from the South Sudanese diaspora surveyed noted that communicating effectively with Kenyan officials (who predominantly use Swahili or English language) is a challenge due to language differences, while the Somali respondents did not see this as a challenge. Nevinskaitė also writes about this problem noting, "generalizations about Diaspora are perilous, given the tremendous variation in historical experience, relations with authorities at home country, levels of education and prosperity, religious and ethnicity among diaspora communities".[55] Therefore, a flexible, integrated approach is required to accommodate the diversity of needs, religious, and socioeconomic differences of the diaspora when formulating diplomatic strategy.

Another challenge noted in the survey is encouraging Somali and South Sudan diaspora enlisted in diaspora diplomacy to return to their respective countries. The respondents noted that the political instability and civil strife in Somali and South Sudan discourage them from going back to their countries and promote foreign relations with Kenya. Additionally, economic and security challenges, including extremist groups, lack of attractive offers and career opportunities due to economic mismanagement in both Somali and South Sudan dissuade the diaspora from going back to their countries. Some

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[55] Nevinskaitė, L. (2016). Social remittances from the professional diaspora: The issue of home country receptivity. *Central and Eastern European Migration Review, 5*(2), p. 148.

of the diaspora communities have stayed in Kenya for decades and have lost touch with their relatives and influential figures back home. This complicates the decision to return.

There is also a challenge of illegal immigrants in Kenya. Some respondents stated that they are not registered with Somali or South Sudanese embassies or consulates in Kenya. The reason for this is the lack of consular services nearest to where they stay. Some even support rebel groups fighting internationally recognized governments in Somalia and South Sudan. A case in point is one South Sudanese respondent who stated, "I support Riek Machar as the national leader of the country, not president Salva Kiir." The resentment against the government, factional views, and conflicts are a challenge to diaspora diplomacy in these countries.

Engaging the diasporic communities in diplomacy is also a challenge due to resource constraints and limited capacity to reach out to all South Sudanese and Somali diaspora communities in Kenya. The respondents noted that there is no specific fund set aside for diaspora diplomacy. The ministry of foreign affairs does not engage the diaspora effectively in diplomatic issues due to the operational constraints and the complex process of mobilizing diaspora for diplomatic purposes.[56]

2.2.5 Successes Realized from Engaging Diaspora in Diplomatic Practice

A successful execution of diaspora diplomacy is important in conducting the 21st Century diplomacy. In this research, respondents listed a number of successes realized from engaging diaspora in diplomatic work. The first one noted is creation of expatriate

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[56] IOM. (2006). *Engaging diasporas as development partners for home and destination countries: challenges for policymakers*. Accessed September 12, 2020.
https://www.iom.int/sites/default/files/our_work/ICP/IDM/MRS26.pdf, p. 9.

networks whose primary purpose is to promote peace and economic development in their home countries. Scholars have highlighted the significance of diaspora networks, which is a useful resource because of their linkages with country of origin.[57] Cooper et al.[58] write that a networked diplomacy involving non-state actors is critical to a successful foreign policy. In this research, the diaspora respondents indicated that the Kenyan ministry of foreign affairs reaches and engages them in diplomatic initiatives through these networks.

The Kenyan Diaspora Policy was also pointed out as a milestone in diaspora diplomacy. The participants noted that the policy would open up avenues for knowledge sharing and access to networks by the Kenyan government. Increased remittances and support for cross-border trade have also been seen as a milestone in promoting ties between the diaspora in Kenya and their contacts in Somalia or South Sudan. Additionally, owing to the increased recognition of diaspora diplomacy by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there has been enhanced ownership of activities of the embassies and consular services by the diaspora in the country.

2.3 Chapter Summary

This chapter assessed the place of diaspora communities in the formulation and conduct of foreign policy in the 21st century international system. Based on data from 47 respondents (22 Somali and 24 South Sudan diaspora members living in Kenya), the study found that diaspora engagement by the Kenyan government was limited and involved three main channels: a direct persuit of foreign policy with the diaspora, collaboration with influential governments officials, and through the foreign ministry.

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[57] Labrianidis, L. & M. Pratsinakis (2017). *Crisis Brain drain: short-term pain/long term gain? Greece in Crisis: The Cultural Politics of Austerity*,D. Tziovas. I.B. Tauris (eds), p. 81.
[58] Cooper, A. F., Heine, J., & Thakur, R. C. (2013). *The Oxford handbook of modern diplomacy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 56.

Expected deliverables from this diasporic engagement included project Kenya's national image, promote national interests, and protect business interests. However, language differences, economic and security challenges, illegal immigrants, and resource constraints were identified as challenges to effective diaspora diplomacy involving Somalia and South Sudan diaspora.

CHAPTER THREE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE ROLE OF DIASPORA COMMUNITIES IN THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS IN AFRICA

Diasporas influence homeland politics, especially when the domestic policymakers are weak. They are important actors linking foreign and domestic political domains but their influence depends on permeability of homeland state, how the diaspora perceive the homeland, and cohesion among diasporic communities concerning homeland foreign policy.[59] They can be called upon and mobilized to take part in homeland-related affairs. In analysing diaspora's role in the conduct of foreign relations, three types of members must be distinguished: the core members, passive members, and silent members. The core members are the elites involved in organizing the diaspora for collective action (they are the leaders), while passive ones' involvement in diasporic affairs is limited.[60] The silent members are not involved in such activities and only do so when there is a crisis.

Diasporas are an important independent actors that Kenya can use to influence foreign policies in Somalia and South Sudan. This chapter analyses Kenya's relations with its Somali and South Sudan diaspora voices and their respective engagement in influencing homeland foreign relations in favour of Kenya. Four subthemes derived from the results of the study survey are used to help analyse this issue: role in host government diplomatic initiatives, purpose of engagement, recent changes in diasporic role in foreign relations, and relationships with homeland political networks

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[59] Norglo, B. D. F., Goris, M., Lie, R., & Ong'ayo, A. (2016). The African diaspora's public participation in policy-making concerning Africa. *Diaspora Studies, 9*(2), p. 86.
[60] Ibid., 91.

3.1 Diplomatic Role of Diaspora Communities in Kenya

Migrant-receiving states may engage foreign-born communities settled in their countries to promote their national soft power and foreign relations. This can happen in two ways. First, the receiving states may use their economic advantages to encourage the returning diaspora with strong influence on homeland politics to vouch for their interests. For example, Canada employs cultural and professional networks to link with professionals who have returned to China.[61] Such diaspora are a useful resource for influencing economic and political goals of the host country. Second, diaspora-centred development initiatives in their homelands can be effective soft power approach to entrenching certain policies or Western economic models.[62] The migrants returning to their homelands are culturally proximate and more accessible than actors resident in migrant-sending states.

The diasporic roles connected to the conduct of foreign relations identified through this study fall into three categories. First, the diaspora interacts with the homeland government (Somalia and South Sudan) on multiple issues and concerns that affect their kin community. The respondents indicated being involved in Kenya-initiated peace/security activities, fighting famine through donations channelled via homeland government programs, and highlighting the plight of their people outside and inside their respective home countries. This diaspora-homeland government interface over specific areas is related to identity and feelings of solidarity with affected kin. Examples can be seen in the Soviet Jewish diaspora's struggle for better migration policies in the

[61] Ho, E., & Ley, D. (2014). 'Middling' Chinese returnees or immigrants from Canada? The ambiguity of return migration and claims to modernity. *Asian Studies Review 38*(1), p. 47.
[62] Sinnati, G., & Horst, C. (2014). Migrants as agents of development: Diaspora engagement discourse and practice in Europe. *Ethnicities, 15*(1), p. 67.

1970s and the push by host governments to have Holocaust victims compensated as a starting point to influencing foreign relations with migrant-sending states.[63] In sum, the diaspora identifying with homeland national identity and kinship are used by Kenya to influence policies and interests related to border security and seek for justice for refugees and returnees. They are the ambassadors of peace and channel material support from Kenya to national programs in their homelands.

Second, diaspora is used to directly intervene in security domain in their homelands. The respondents indicated being sent to talk or mediate inter-clan disputes along the Kenya-Somalia and Kenya-South Sudan borders. As informal emissaries, their roles include listening to voices on either side of the conflict and informing the host government the existential reasons for the dispute. Additionally, they act as mediators between the warring groups in a bid to find lasting peace. The diaspora have a strong stake in their homeland's stability and have interest in any policies that threatens peace. Although the formation of cross-border alliances is in the domain of homeland governments, the Somali and South Sudan diaspora feel obligated to respond to acts that may jeopardize peace in their respective countries – an important link to their national and ethnic identity.[64] Their criticism or endorsement of homeland security policies is also solicited by Kenyan authorities and border country political leaders. The goal is to influence favourable policy on critical issues of national security and border integrity.

Third, the diaspora's role in homeland policies extends to material interests. The respondents in this study indicated trying to influence homeland policy with their own priorities. They send remittances and initiate development projects in their home

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[63] Ibid., 69.
[64] Ibid., 72.

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country, initiatives facilitated by Kenyan government financial and trade policies and corporate platforms such as Mpesa and Equity. The diasporic development projects seek to prioritize economic development over political interests that has caused instability and wars. In this case, the South Sudan and Somali diaspora communities have promote development-oriented foreign policy backed by the Kenyan government, going as far as calling for non-interference from homeland governments in the development projects. Given that diasporic organizations focus on homeland issues, any home country policy restricting their involvement in such initiatives will cripple their activities.[65] Thus, the diaspora surveyed in this study indicated that they maintain close alliances with homeland government agencies and comply with financial regulations.

3.2 Purpose for Diaspora Engagement in Kenya's Foreign Relations and Its Effectiveness in Somalia and South Sudan

Based on the results of the survey, the diaspora are engaged in many foreign economic, political, and nation-building activities. The purpose is to influence Kenya's standing in the broader political-economic sphere. Economic motivations relate to trade opportunities. South Sudan and Somalia grapple with economic challenges and require greater trade connections with their neighbours as is the case with other developing countries in an increasingly interdependent global economy.[66] Thus, Kenya reinforces its links with diaspora returnees to South Sudan and Somali through economically motivated programs, such as export of Khat to Somalia and horticultural goods to South Sudan.

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[65] Brubaker, R. (2005). The 'diaspora' diaspora. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 28*, p. 5.
[66] Levitt, P. & De la Dehesa, R. (2003). Transnational migration and the redefinition of the state: Variations and explanations. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 26* (4), p. 605.

In both cases, the diaspora are informally engaged and incentivized to identify trade opportunities and markets for host country exports. While the economic engagement strategy is less visible, it is significant in the improving relations between nations.[67] The economic rationale for diaspora engagement is not limited to unidirectional flow of foreign income but also benefits Somalia and South Sudan too. The respondents indicated importing goods from these two countries, including textile products and electronics, to sell in Kenya. Labour market opportunities and work permits for Kenyans to work in South Sudan and Somali were indicated as the purpose for engaging the diaspora in economically motivated diplomatic roles. Therefore, Kenya's economic interests – seeking trade opportunities in certain sectors and labour/skill export – are taken into account in developing diaspora engagement.

Political motivations also underlie host nation's diaspora engagement strategy. In this case, the diaspora are exploited as a political influence instrument in their homelands.[68] The diaspora are expected to exert pro-host country influence on their homeland politics. Both the South Sudan and Somali diaspora are seen as powerful and privileged elite in their respective home countries and are critical ethnic lobbies. Kenya uses them to actively lobby homeland authorities through diaspora organizations. Their portrayal as privileged elite makes their lobbying quite effective in providing further political influence in their homelands.[69] Their great capacity to complete this role is the reason for incorporating them in the diaspora engagement.

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[67] Larner, W. (2007). Expatriate experts and globalising governmentalities: The NewZealand diaspora strategy. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 32*(3), p. 333.

[68] Brand, L. A. (2006). *Citizens abroad: emigration and the state in the Middle East and North Africa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 6.

[69] Ibid., p. 9.

Nation-building motivations were another sub-theme identified from the survey responses. The respondents indicated being engaged in trans-border economic and pro-democracy groups. They were nominated by the Kenyan authorities to play a role in democratizing and expand the range of citizen's rights in their homelands. The diaspora are the homeland state elites and can provide financial and electoral resources to support democratic development in their homelands.[70] The respondents indicated being consulted informally on political processes in their home countries and propagating a narrative of democracy and vibrant civil activism to in Kenya to project the country as a political and economic power in the region among domestic and international audiences.

3.3 Changing Diaspora Roles in Foreign Relations in Somalia and South Sudan

The respondents were asked if their role in the conduct of foreign relations has changed over the past year. The responses obtained were organized into two categories: increased engagements and technology use. More host countries have recognized the strategic importance of diaspora as an international relations resource. According to Brand (2006), the diaspora have an influence in domestic political landscape of their homelands and host nations. In the domain of IR, they have the power to shape foreign policies of national and international agencies. It is no doubt diaspora diplomacy is gaining popularity as an effective soft power approach to international relations.

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[70] Ibid., p. 17.

Increased engagements of the diaspora in diplomatic roles is due to rising security concerns and tensions between governments. The South Sudan respondents indicated being routinely engaged in inter-ethnic mediation in their homeland, while the Somali diaspora increasingly play a role in cross-border conflicts and anti-terrorism efforts.

As the civil strife and terror threats continue to increase in the region, the number of such engagements have also increased. In recent years, the diaspora has been increasingly engaged in ethnic or international conflict resolution. However, according to Sheffer (2006), diasporic communities can also fuel conflict if they do not resolve their differences within a neutral state where they reside.[71] An example is Cyprus where the Greek and Turkish Cypriots are in conflict in their homeland but coexist peacefully in London.[72] As a result, they have been used to resolve the conflict in Cyprus.

In some historical cases, the diaspora have fuelled the conflict through their support for either of the warring parties. For example, in Kosovo, the Kosovo Liberation Army, which has committed many atrocities in this country, was funded by the Albanian diaspora in America.[73] The leading role of diasporic communities in influencing international policy is exemplified by the diaspora Zionist organizations that supported the establishment of the state of Israel.[74] However, these organizations later supported different sides, leading to a never-ending intractable conflict.

Despite the diaspora's direct role in conflict, they can be a useful resource in ending it. The South Sudanese and Somali diaspora have been used in similar ways. With their varied skills, connections, and social standing, they are better placed at thawing political

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[71] Sheffer, G. (2003). *Diaspora politics: At home abroad.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 45.
[72] Ibid., p. 47.
[73] Ibid., p. 48.
[74] Ibid., p. 49.

tensions and promoting peace in their native countries.[75] As a mobilized group with a national identity, they are important actors in the social and economic development of their countries. The increasing engagement of the diaspora by the Kenyan government reflects its standing as a regional power to mediate the rising number of intra-state and cross-border conflicts.

Besides increasing engagements, respondents identified greater technology use as a trend characterizing contemporary diaspora diplomacy efforts. They noted using social media platforms – Facebook, Twitter, and Whatsapp – to promote a positive outlook of Kenya among homeland audiences. The diaspora organizations they belong to also have websites, which the respondents indicated using to engage homeland kin on various issues, share opportunities, and advocate for economic and political change. The increasing number of cell phone users in Somalia and South Sudan has provided opportunities for diaspora to link up with their home country kin and share information promoting Kenya's image. As Grant (2004) observes, Twitter has been a transformative tool in foreign policy because it supports access to first-hand information across borders.[76] Greater information sharing through these tools has empowered people to demand accountability from governments and agitate for good policies.

The main area of focus by the diaspora surveyed is homeland policy-making. Notably, most respondents indicated using technology (social media platforms) to voice their support or opposition to government policies that infringe on fundamental rights. One respondent stated, "Technology has made everything easy and citizens are able to access needed services easily as they are online". This shows that the greater use of

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[75] Mahroum, Sami and De Guchteneire, Paul. 2006. "Editorial" in *International Journal on Multicultural Societies (IJMS), 1*(1), p. 2.
[76] Grant, R. (2004). *The democratisation of diplomacy: Negotiating with the Internet*. Oxford: Oxford Internet Institute, p. 2.

technology has transformed traditional diplomatic services ensuring speedy and cost-effective services by diaspora organizations. As a result, digital diplomacy is increasingly exploited by Kenya to influence its relations with Somalia and South Sudan and vouch for salient political interests through influential diasporic figures using the internet.

3.4 Diaspora Relationship with Networks in Home Country

Most respondents described the relationship with their homeland networks as a mutual working relationship in economic, social, and political domains. According to Mohan and Zack-Williams (2002, p. 218), active diaspora display a strong sense of identity and are generally concerned about the welfare of their homeland kinship.[77] However, the feelings of belonging may change across generations, with those born in the host country identifying less with their native culture or nationality. The respondents surveyed were all first-generation immigrants with a recent migration history from Somalia and South Sudan.

As expected, they maintained strong networks back home and feel obligated to help the families and friends financially. The respondents were members of development-oriented diaspora organizations formed to mobilize resources to support homeland communities through different projects. Accordingly, the idealized view of the home country is the impetus for diasporic unity.[78] The diaspora have the advantage of education and language to play an active role in the organizations. The respondents indicated being multilingual as an advantage allowing to network with people both in

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[77] Mohan, G. & Zack-Williams, B., A. (2002). Globalisation from Below: Conceptualising the role of the African Diasporas in Africa's Development. *Review of African Political Economy*, *29*(92), p. 214.
[78] Mohan, G. (2007). Diaspora and Development. In: Robinson, J. (Ed). (2002). *Development and Displacement*. Open University Press, p. 99.

their homeland and the host country. This explains their engagement by the Kenyan foreign ministry to improve transnational relations.

In the era of globalization, the role of diaspora in homeland affairs is increasing. The respondents identified three ways they use to maintain strong networks back home. First, they form social ties among themselves through material support for members. This approach, besides strengthening their sustenance, enhances the social bond between them. Second, the diaspora utilize their social networks in Kenya to promote the economic development of their home countries through foreign direct investment.

According to Mohan (2007), migrant diaspora organizations are formed to harness their social networks globally for economic gains that benefit their homeland.[79] Third, the collective desire to maintain their roots motivates some to take part in political processes back at home. The respondents indicated that Somalia and South Sudan returnees occupy government positions but are still in touch with the diaspora organizations. Thus, the present diaspora have strong networks inside and outside government, which makes these communities a useful resource for diplomacy.

3.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter analyzed the role of diaspora communities in the conduct of foreign relations in South Sudan and Somalia. Based on qualitative responses from Somali and South Sudanese diaspora, three fundamental roles were revealed: spearheading Kenya-initiated informal peace/security activities and fighting famine, intervening in inter-clan disputes in their homeland as mediators, and influencing homeland policy through remittances and development projects. The purpose for their involvement in foreign relations is primarily due to political reasons and economic motivations – export market

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[79] Ibid., 107.

for Khat (Somalia) and horticultural produce (South Sudan). However, these roles are changing owing to increased adoption of technology and internet, transforming how diaspora interact with homeland networks.

CHAPTER FOUR: A CRITICAL COMPARISON OF THE INFLUENCE OF DIASPORA COMMUNITIES ON THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS IN SOMALIA AND THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH SUDAN

Diaspora diplomacy can sustain, strengthen, and even establish state trust, but the effectiveness of this process can influence state trust-building and the associated outcomes. This chapter gives an in-depth analysis comparing Kenya's diaspora diplomacy for South Sudan versus Somalia. The aim is to explore its effectiveness, challenges, and successes in using diaspora diplomacy to strengthen relations between Kenya and Somalia vs. Kenya and South Sudan. The analysis is structured around three themes: (1) a comparison of the effectiveness of diaspora diplomacy; (2) a comparison of the challenges encountered in conduct of foreign relations; and (3) the success achieved in the conduct of the foreign relations.

4.1 A critical comparison of the level of Engagement of Diaspora in Diplomacy

From the results, most respondents from both South Sudan and Somalia indicated that they are well engaged (38.5%) or very well engaged (26.9%). A significant number of the remainder reported either engaged (7.7%) or moderately engaged (26.9%) and none reported being disengaged. This illustrates that the level of diaspora engagement by the Kenyan government in foreign relations is relatively high. High-level engagement reflects greater effectiveness of the processes that drive diaspora strategy. Comparing the two countries, the Somali diaspora were more engaged than its South Sudan counterparts, with 67% of them vs. 33% stating that they were either well engaged or very well engaged, respectively.

One area of diplomatic engagement reported was in travel policies. While both the Somali and South Sudanese diaspora communities indicated being consulted in visa regimes, the Somali refugees were more engaged by the Kenyan authorities on this matter, especially after the refugee repatriation program was launched. Legitimate travellers contended with lengthy visa procedures to travel back and from Somalia or South Sudan. A cultural diplomatic program initiated at the respective border post involving the diaspora communities saw these hurdles reduced significantly. Nowadays, business or leisure travel to and from Kenya to the two countries has improved. According to Taylor (2015), foreign policy regimes that promote cultural exchange (import and export) strengthen the national image and soft power.[80] Kenya's diaspora engagement in cross-border travel has also led to reciprocal actions by Somalia and South Sudan, strengthening the trust relationships between these countries.

The Somali diaspora also stated being effectively used in fighting regional terrorism and extremist groups like Al Shabaab. This explains why their reported level of engagement exceeds that of the South Sudanese diaspora. No doubt the presence of Kenyan troops in Somalia under AMISOM to fight terror groups has increased the need for cultural diplomacy to complement the military efforts. The Somali diaspora residing at the border areas are a useful source of intelligence about the activities of the terror group that the law enforcement uses to thwart planned terror attacks. On the other hand, the internal strife in South Sudan has not spilled across the common border. As such, the Somali diaspora have been more engaged in cultural diplomacy than the South Sudanese diaspora.

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[80] Taylor, R. T. (2013). Cultural Diplomacy-The Future. *Biopolitics*, p. 5.

The effectiveness of diaspora diplomacy was measured based on the level of mutual cooperation between countries as a result of the diaspora diplomatic activity. Respondents were asked to rate the level of cooperation between their country and Kenya following diaspora engagement in diplomatic work. Most members of South Sudanese diaspora indicated a high level of cooperation between their country and Kenya in policy areas, while those from Somalia indicated lower to medium levels of reciprocal collaboration. Cooperation is a sign of growing trust between states, therefore, collaborative achievements indicate some level of trust.[81] Shared interest in areas of economics and politics may be mediated through cultural exchange. Thus, the level cooperation in policy and the economy is a good indicator of the effectiveness of diaspora diplomacy, especially after hostilities.

4.2 Challenges Encountered in the Conduct of Foreign Relations

4.2.1 Terrorism

There are several diplomatic challenges to diaspora diplomacy practice. Most countries have to be sensitive to the foreign policy impact of historical and contemporary forces shaping relations between neighboring communities. In this study, one challenge to diaspora diplomacy identified was terrorism, specifically the involvement of the diaspora in terror activities. One respondent said, "Terrorism is a major hindrance due to the attacks that have rendered Somalia stable". Interestingly, the threat of terrorism on diaspora diplomacy only applied to Somalia. For South Sudan, the main concern was the civil war that has led to economic instability. Diaspora involvement in terrorist or extremist endeavors is not new; however, according to Hoffman et al. (2007), new

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[81] Hoffman, B., Rosenau, W., Curiel, A. J., & Zimmermann, D. (2007). *The radicalization of diasporas and terrorism: A joint conference by the RAND Corporation and center for security studies*. RAND Corporation, p. 400.

trends emerged with the emergence of a worldwide jihadist movement.[82] Increasingly, some elements of the diaspora communities have been implicated in terrorist attacks against the host country citizens and government installations. They directly participate in funding, recruiting, training, and hiding terror operatives. As a result, the diaspora involvement in terrorist activities creates mistrust between the diaspora communities on one hand and the host government and its citizens on the other, which hampers diaspora diplomacy. They are seen as an internal threat and rarely involved in diplomatic work. This appears to be the case for Somalia, which is regarded the origin of the Al Shabab terrorist group.

4.2.2 Cultural Barriers

Another challenge to the Somali diaspora diplomacy includes cultural barriers. As one respondent stated, "Most Somali citizens cannot communicate in English and therefore, there has to be translation, which distorts the message". It is evident that effective diaspora diplomacy to Somalia is hampered by language barrier – they speak neither English nor Swahili, making effective communication a challenge. As Kurbalija and Slavik (2001) write, language (written and oral) in diplomacy is important; it is a means to transmit thoughts or a communication tool that is the very essence of diplomatic practice.[83] Historically, Roman legates had to learn to speak native languages to be effective in their diplomatic work as envoys. Therefore, language problems can hamper effective communication, affecting the success of diaspora diplomacy.

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[82] Ibid., p. 54.
[83] Kurbalija, J., & Slavik, H. (2001). *Language and diplomacy: The challenges of 21st-Century diplomacy.* The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy, p. 34.

4.2.3 Economic Instability

Unstable economy in Somalia due to prolonged civil strife and internal wars is another impediment to the conduct of foreign relations that was identified through this study. Economics is connected to diplomacy, as socioeconomic alienation or repressive policies can constrain the political system and diplomatic activity channelled to advance national interests.[84] Diaspora diplomacy is connected to the economic, social, and political systems in a community. Therefore, economic instability is a major challenge to diaspora diplomacy efforts for Somalia due to limited investment in cultural and social capital arising from poor governance, drought, and civil war ravaging the country. This constraint also applies to South Sudan diaspora living in Kenya. Homeland political turmoil and strife over resources makes the conduct of diaspora diplomacy a challenge for Kenyan foreign ministry officials.

4.2.4 Illegal Activities

Illegal activities including human and drug trafficking was also identified as a challenge constraining Kenya-South Sudan and Kenya-Somalia diaspora diplomacy. Respondents decried the pervasive cross-border contraband trade and drug smuggling involving diaspora networks, which creates suspicion and mistrust between Kenyan authorities and the diaspora. A similar scenario has been seen in Lebanon, where the Hizbullah involves the diaspora in Syriah and Iran to smuggle drugs and weaponry to drive its political and sectarian conflict.[85] Thus, illegal activities incriminating elements with the diaspora communities may hamper efforts to involve them in diplomatic work,

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[84] Valiyev, A. (2017). Connection between economics, culture and cultural diplomacy. *Annals of Spiru Haret University, 3*, p. 5.
[85] Trent, D. L. (2012). *American diaspora diplomacy: U.S. foreign policy and Lebanese Americans.* The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Relations, p. 76.

especially for Somalia, which has a terrorist Al shabaab network operating along the common border with Kenya. In contrast, human trafficking was associated with the South Sudan diaspora in Kenya in this study.

4.2.5 Undocumented Immigrants

Lack of proper documentation and illegal immigrants in Kenya constituted another impediment to diaspora engagement in diplomacy. The respondents stated that some diaspora individuals were in the country illegally, and thus, cannot present to the authorities for involvement in broad, effective diplomatic programs. The undocumented immigrants were mostly Somali citizens who cross the porous border and settle in North Eastern Kenya. The response policies are usually restrictive, which hampers diaspora diplomacy. Mexico's public diplomacy efforts involving the diaspora in the US has been hurt by restrictive immigration policies meant to curb illegal migrants.[86] Similarly, Kenya's diaspora diplomacy is constrained by anti-immigration policies to stop the influx of undocumented migrants from Somalia and South Sudan. An example is the involuntary return of refugee program and close down of refugee camps in North Eastern Kenya. The program was carried hurriedly with due consideration to reintegration goals, which hampers diaspora diplomacy.[87]

4.2.6 Lack of Information

Ignorance of policies and procedures set for the diaspora community was another challenge identified through this study. The high illiteracy level among South Sudan diaspora meant that they cannot participate effectively in cultural diplomacy programs.

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[86] Ang, I., Isar, Y. R., & Mar, P. (2015). Cultural diplomacy: Beyond the national interest? *International Journal of Cultural Policy, 21*(4), p. 267.

[87] Majidi, N. (2017). Uninformed decisions and missing networks: The return of refugee from Kenya to Somalia. Retrieved from https://journals.openedition.org/eps/7098, para. 4.

In contrast, Somalia diaspora did not have adequate information on diaspora engagement in diplomatic work. Communication was a common challenge to dealing with Somali and South Sudanese diaspora, as most of them speak neither English nor Swahili. Attitude problems, including arrogance from South Sudanese diaspora, were a challenge to effective diaspora diplomacy. Investing in cultural exchange and dialogue can improve attitudes to peace, violence, and cooperation.[88] Lingering tensions between Kenya and South Sudan may breed the attitudinal problems reported in these diaspora communities. Pro-active diplomacy to address illiteracy and improve knowledge of approaches to diplomacy is required.

4.3 Successes Achieved in the Conduct of Foreign Relations

4.3.1 Enhanced Cooperation

Within the Kenya-Somalia and Kenya-South Sudan diaspora diplomacy, the network of communication is clearly valued. The efforts have to a large extent been formalized, strengthening ties between the diaspora communities and their motherland. The realm of cooperation has expanded to include proactive assistance in the acquisition of proper immigration documentation. The respondents indicated that organizing trips to homeland, facilitating visa or trade permits, providing scholarship and grants, and participating in diaspora cultural fairs are some of the ways the Kenyan government has strengthened cooperation in spite of lack of formal agreements with the Somali or South Sudanese government. The realm of cooperation also extends to ethno-cultural aspects to promote cultural partnerships, which has strengthened diaspora diplomacy with the neighboring countries – Somalia and South Sudan. German, Lithuanian, and Bulgarian diaspora also cooperate with learning institutions in Kazakhstan on areas of

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[88] Ibid., para. 7.

language and culture.[89] This has helped strengthen the educational and cultural ties that have been instrumental in diaspora diplomacy for these countries. Cooperation with the diaspora in the Kenya-Somalia context is seen in efforts to fight terrorism, where diaspora communities privy to planned terrorist attacks inform the police for action. In the Kenya-South Sudan context, cooperation with the diaspora has led enhanced efforts to curb human trafficking and smuggling across the common border.

4.3.2 Diaspora Capacity Building Enhanced Cooperation

Another area of progress in diaspora diplomacy so far as identified through this study has been diaspora capacity building in matters of foreign affairs and policies as well as procedures for acquiring proper documentation. The respondents stated that informal workshops and outreach events have been organized by Kenyan authorities to enlighten them on how work permits are acquired and diaspora policies and guidelines. As a result, the number of people classified as illegal immigrants from Somalia has dropped as support for acquiring proper documentation is available. The confidence of the Somali diaspora has also grown in the Kenyan embassies. They can visit the embassy for immigration issues without fear of being victimized or arrested and deported to their countries. In contrast, the adherence to the laid down requirements by South Sudanese diaspora has also increased following the capacity building efforts. The respondents also noted that the rate and quality of information sharing has also improved due to these efforts, which has helped curb illegal activities and thwart terrorist threats. Most South Sudanese have acquired the necessary documentation to live, study, and work in Kenya.

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[89] Collins, N., & Bekenova, K. (2017). European cultural diplomacy: Diaspora relations with Kazakhstan. *International Journal of Cultural Policy, 23(*6), p. 736.

4.3.3 Education and Trade Diaspora Capacity Building Enhanced Cooperation

The South Sudanese were reported to have embraced education more than the Somali diaspora do. They have been integrated into the Kenyan education system and established cultural centers that promote their cultural values through music and dance. As Collins and Bekenova (2017) note, the diaspora can cooperate with schools and universities to promote their language and culture.[90] The educational engagements and partnership projects center on events that unite the diaspora communities and disseminate knowledge about the culture. Educational opportunities for South Sudanese students in Kenyan universities build the human resource capacity of the country. Most of the elite in government were educated in Kenya, making them useful actors in diaspora diplomacy. The educational institutions in both Somalia and South Sudan are poorly funded. Grants from various organization and enthusiastic members of the community sponsor South Sudanese students through their education in Kenya. They are eager to build the human resource needed to drive the South Sudanese economy. In contrast, from this study, investment in education by Somali diaspora is limited compared to investment in cross-border trade. The respondents indicated that cross-border processes are well developed across the Kenyan-Somali border.

4.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter critically compared the influence of diaspora communities in the conduct of foreign relations between Somalia and South Sudan. The level of engagement for Somali diaspora was found to be higher than that of South Sudanese diaspora. 67% of Somali diaspora vs. 33% of South Sudanese diaspora indicated being engaged in visa travel and fighting terrorism. However, some challenges were identified that affect the

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[90] Ibid., p. 738.

diaspora engagement in foreign relations in Kenya-Somalia and Kenya-South Sudan contexts, among them terrorism, cultural barriers, illegal activities, and economic instability. Nonetheless, significant milestones have been made in diaspora diplomacy. Some of the successes identified are in the areas of education and trade, capacity building of diaspora, and enhanced cooperation.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This study sought to investigate the diaspora communities and their involvement in the conduct of foreign relations in the 21st century, comparing Somalia and South Sudan diaspora in Kenya. Specifically, the research looked at the extent to which diaspora communities participate in foreign policy formulation and their role in the conduct of foreign relations. Finally, the diaspora's influence on the conduct of foreign relations was explored comparing Somalia and South Sudan. The challenge for policymakers in host states is to develop policies that will strengthen diaspora engagement in diaspora diplomacy with their homelands.

This chapter provides a summary of the main findings of the study, the conclusions deduced from the findings, and policy recommendations that the Kenyan government could consider to strengthen the engagement of Somali and South Sudanese diaspora in diplomatic programs.

5.2 Summary of Findings

Nationals of Somalia and South Sudan residing in Kenya support positive causes in their homelands through investment, trade, and influencing macroeconomic policy and politics. This reinforces their usefulness as actors in diaspora diplomacy to drive Kenya's foreign relations in the region. Through their networks and business contacts they have a significant influence on homeland policies, politics, peace, and cross-border relations. The main findings of this research are summarized under the following sub-sections.

5.2.1 Place of Diaspora Communities in the Formulation and Conduct of Foreign Policy

Substantial strides have been made in diaspora diplomatic participation but the area is at its inception stage. The study found that only a small percentage (15%) of diaspora communities (mainly student networks, development-oriented agencies, and individuals) from Somalia and South Sudan are engaged in informal diplomacy. Another finding is that the Kenyan government connects with the diaspora in three ways: through pursuing foreign policy directly with them, collaborating with influential individuals in Kenya, and through the ministry affairs. Notably, most Somalia diaspora use unofficial channels (direct contact and use of influential community figures) while the South Sudanese predominantly use the foreign affairs ministry and sometimes social media.

The expected deliverables from the engagement in diplomatic work found in this study included projecting a positive national image in their homelands, promoting Kenya's interests, and protecting corporate interests. Other expected deliverables are the provision of consular services – ensuring speedy processing passports and travel documents in areas inhabited by the diaspora – and supporting education for the diaspora and upholding their rights related to property ownership. Three steps have been taken by the Kenyan government to strengthen diaspora participation in diplomacy: enactment of regulations supporting diaspora diplomatic involvement, engaging stakeholders abroad, and allocation of resource to drive foreign policy abroad.

In this study, some challenges encountered in diaspora diplomacy in the Kenyan context included language/communication barrier, especially for Somalia diaspora who cannot communicate effectively in English or Swahili, economic and political instability in

their homelands, illegal immigrants/undocumented diaspora due to limited consular services, and resource constraints to fund diaspora diplomatic activities. However, some successes have been realized from engaging the diaspora in the 21st century diplomatic practice. They include creation of expatriate networks that the Kenyan ministry uses to reach diaspora and the establishment of the Kenyan Diaspora Policy.

5.2.2 Role of Diaspora in the Conduct of Foreign Relations in Africa

Three main diaspora's roles in Kenyan government diplomatic initiatives were found in this study. The first one is interaction with homeland government (Somalia and South Sudan) on issues affecting their kin communities back home. The issues may include peace/security, famine, terrorism, etc. The second role is direct intervention in the security domain in their home countries. The diaspora mediate inter-clan disputes across the borders, ensuring sustainable peace. The third role relates to economic interests. The diaspora initiate development projects facilitated by Kenyan financial institutions, favourable trade policy, and foreign direct investment.

The purpose for diaspora engagement in foreign relations is both economic and political. Economically motivated programs help expand import/export trade with Somalia (khat) and South Sudan (horticultural produce and labor export). Diaspora roles are changing (increasing) as soft power approaches is gaining popularity in the international sphere. Due to their varied experiences, connections, and social standing the diaspora have been engaged to thaw political tensions in Somalia and South Sudan. They form ties with homeland individuals through material support for members, social networking sites, and participation in political processes back home.

5.2.3 Comparison of Diaspora Community Influence on Foreign Relations

The study found Somali diaspora were more engaged than South Sudan diaspora by the Kenyan government. This could be due to the multiplicity of issues that require diplomatic intervention, including terrorist group (Al Shabaab) and refugee influx from Somalia. Engagement areas for both countries included travel policies (business/leisure travel), fighting regional terrorism (for Somalia), and intervening in civil strife (South Sudan).

The study identified six challenges encountered in the conduct of foreign relations using the diaspora by Kenya. They include terrorism (for Somalia), cultural or language barriers (both Somalia and South Sudan), economic instability (Somalia), illegal cross-border activities – human and trafficking (South Sudan) and contraband goods (Somalia) – undocumented immigrants (both countries), and lack of information diaspora engagement opportunities. Three successes have been achieved thus far in the conduct of foreign relations between Kenya and South Sudan versus Somalia. They include enhanced cooperation in visa issuance and fighting terrorism, capacity building of the diaspora on diaspora documentation guidelines and work permit policies, and educational and cultural exchange in higher education by South Sudanese students.

5.3 Conclusion

Based on the findings of this study, three conclusions can be made. First, diaspora diplomacy is an effective approach to soft power that can drive the foreign policy priorities of Kenya in both Somalia and South Sudan. To some extent, Kenya has exploited student networks, development-oriented diaspora organizations, and active diaspora individuals, to improve its image in the region and position itself as a regional

trade hub. However, challenges such as terrorism, language, illicit cross-border trade, remain.

Second, it can also be concluded that the diaspora's role in foreign relations is limited to informal interventions in inter-clan disputes across common borders but great opportunities to extend this role to trade policy exist. Third, the diaspora's influence on foreign relation is high among South Sudanese diaspora compared to the Somali diaspora in Kenya. The reasons for this variance could be that South Sudan is a young nation that enjoys strong ties with Kenya, while Somalia has had frosty relations with Kenya due to terrorism and dispute over marine boundaries.

5.4 Recommendations

Based on the findings, capacity building of diaspora communities is one area that can strengthen diaspora involvement in diplomacy. Therefore, institutional reinforcement of diaspora organizations is recommended to establish associations with clear objectives, vision, and mission. The organizational restructuring will enhance their functioning and capacity to mobilize diaspora in Kenya and engage them in clear activities aligned with Kenya's foreign relations priorities for South Sudan and Somalia.

A second recommendation is linking the diaspora organizations to the larger regional and international networks, both formal and informal. The relations will be crucial in exploiting their potential in development and lobbying power. The Kenyan government should formally register these organizations and facilitate exchanges with similar Somali or South Sudanese diaspora associations in neighboring countries. The integration of various sectors will expand their voice and recognition – enhanced relations with local authorities in Kenya. The recommended enlarging of networks will

also reinforce their capacities, hence, a rewarding intervention for Kenya's diaspora diplomacy efforts.

The third recommendation is reinforcement of technical competencies through educational support for the diaspora. Among the challenges Kenya encountered in diaspora included language or communication barriers. Training of active diaspora on resource mobilization skills or fund raising, communication skills, and administration would reinforce their capacities to do diplomatic work. The recommended capacity-building package can be very effective if implemented in consultation with the Kenyan envoys in Somalia and South Sudan.

The fourth recommendation is to support young organizations, including student organizations by diaspora students. Second-generation migrants have the advantage of having Kenyan experience and serve as an important bridge between the Kenyan society and their homelands. With investments in educational support through scholarships, Kenya can develop competent elites that will take up leadership positions in their homelands upon returning and support its foreign relations agenda for the region. Technology use can be a cost-effective way of conducting diaspora diplomacy. Young diaspora in contact with kin at their home countries can be useful in influencing Kenya's image abroad via social media. Finally, the researcher recommends complementing diaspora diplomacy with other formal diplomatic efforts (foreign affairs ministry officials) for its efforts in the 21st century foreign relations to be effective.

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    Publications.

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

My name is Everlyn Moraa, a Masters student in International Relations at the University of Nairobi. In order to achieve my degree, I'm currently conducting a research field investigation on this topic: ***Diaspora Communities and the Conduct of Foreign Relations in the 21st Century: A Focused Comparison of Somalia and South Sudan.*** This research aims at analyzing the involvement of diaspora communities in diplomatic practice. Your input today is highly appreciated and will be used for academic purposes only.

    A. Demographic data
1. Age of respondent

    (i)18-24 (ii)25-34   (iii)35-44   (iv)45-54   (v)over 55

  2. Gender

     i. Male   ii. Female

  3. Level of education

   i. Primary   ii. Secondary   iii. College/University   iv. None

B. Diplomatic Participation of the Diaspora in Kenya's Foreign Policy (Representatives from diaspora organizations)

1. How does the Kenyan government connect to you or the organizations you are affiliated to in diplomatic work in your country?

2. From your observations, what are the expected deliverables from your engagement in diplomatic work?

3. Since the onset of your engagement in the conduct of foreign policy, what steps have been taken to:

a. establish regulations that support greater participation of diaspora from your country in diplomatic work back home?

b. create mechanisms for working with stakeholders abroad and locally?

c. more effectively utilize the resources and networks in your home country to drive foreign policy goals?

4. In your view, what challenges have been encountered in:

a. engaging diaspora in diplomatic practice in your country of origin?

b. utilizing outstanding diasporic groups and entities in foreign policy?

5. In your view, what successes have been realized in:

a. engaging diaspora in diplomatic practice in your country?

b. utilizing outstanding diasporic groups and entities in foreign policy?

C. The Role of Diaspora Communities in the Conduct of Foreign Relations (Representatives from diaspora organizations)

a. What role do you serve in the diplomatic initiatives by the Kenyan foreign ministry in your home country?

b. For what purpose have you been engaged in foreign relations agenda and how effectively?

c. How/what has changed in your role in the conduct of foreign relations over the past year?

d. What kind of relationships exist between you and networks back home?

D. Kenyan-Somali vs. Kenyan-South Sudan Diaspora Diplomatic Practice (Foreign Ministry Officials)

1. How effectively has outstanding diaspora from South Sudan been engaged in the conduct of foreign relations compared to Somali diaspora?

2. What challenges have been encountered in the conduct of foreign relations when working with diaspora from:

a. South Sudan

b. Somali

3. What successes have been achieved in the conduct of foreign relations when working with diaspora from:

a. South Sudan

b. Somali

Your time and input is highly appreciated. Thank you.