UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

THE ROLE OF FOREIGN POLICY IN ADVANCING ECONOMIC INTEREST IN AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA'S CULTURAL FOREIGN POLICY PILLAR

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A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTERS OF ARTS DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES AT IDIS, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.

DECLARATION

I declare to the best of my knowledge that this Research Project is my original work and that all the sources that I have used have been acknowledged.

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DR. MUSTAFA Y. ALI

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I acknowledge God for granting me the strength to do this thesis. I am equally grateful to my supervisor, Dr. Mustafa Y. Ali for his guidance throughout this study and he is responsible for the shape and colour of this work. Thank you so much and may you live long to guide others.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to Almighty God and to my family for supporting my obsession for this degree program and enduring my weekend disappearances and late-night nuisance during the period of study.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFCFTA African Continental Free Trade Area

AU African Union

CECAFA Council for East and Central African Football Association

CET Common External Tariff

CFTA Continental Free Trade Area

EAC East African Community

EU European Union

FDI Foreign Direct Investment

GDP Gross Domestic Product

ICT Information and Communication Technology

KCB Kenya Commercial Bank

KDF Kenya Defense Forces

KIA Kenya Investment Authority

KIPI Kenya Industrial Property Institute

MDA Ministries, Departments, and Agencies

OAU Organization of African Union

SEA South East Asia

TFTA Tripartite Free Trade Area

USA United States of America

ABSTRACT

Every state in the international system seeks to have an increase in Economic Development which can be defined as an increase in standards of living. In doing this the state employs various foreign policy tools. The cultural pillar is one of the main modern-day tools that is used by the state to achieve their national interest. This study aimed to examine the role of foreign policy in advancing economic interest in Africa: a case study of Kenya's cultural foreign policy pillar. The study was driven by three key objectives to investigate the role of foreign policy in advancing economic interest in Africa. To assess and evaluate the role and impact of the economic diplomacy pillar in advancing economic interest in Kenya and finally to examine the challenges of advancing Kenya's economic Interest through cultural diplomacy. This study applied the rational choice theory and soft power theory to analyze the study. In doing this, the study adopted a mixed research method of both qualitative and quantitative research designs. Further, both the primary and secondary sources of data were relied upon. The findings of the study were that economic growth, development, and sustainable trade are the keys to long-term, sustainable economic growth, and development in Africa. As such the continent has placed trade as a top interest. However, the content remains marginalized and disadvantaged in international trade. Africa is a developing country, as such economic interest is one of its main goals. Further, the findings of the study were that there are various reasons why Kenya uses cultural diplomacy to advance its economic interest. The above has a greater impact on economic development this has also enhanced Kenya's image internationally which is perfect from a business perceptive, this has made the country attractive to investors who would like to work or invest in the country for the process of economic development and growth. The findings of the study were that financial restrictions, poor coordination, lack of cultural experts, Kenya's asymmetric relations with developing countries as some of the key challenges facing the promotion of Kenya's national interest through cultural diplomacy. The study hence recommends the need for cultural collaboration and Relation building through cultural diplomacy. The study also recommends the establishment of cultural diplomacy initiative to further Kenya's economic agenda.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction and Background to the Study

The emergence of the state system coincided with the conclusion of the Treaty of Westphalia in the year 1648. Before the conclusion of this seminal agreement, frontiers existed where the political exercise of authority was rather vague since the border demarcations that exist today were non-existent then. As a consequence of the emergence of the system of states, key attendant features accompanied this fundamental change in global politics. Prominent among this is the notion of sovereignty that demarcated where the exercise of political authority of one unit of the system of states ended and where another began. According to Quincy Wright, sovereignty is a status where an entity exercises its supreme power or authority, in this instance a state which exists as subject to international law but superior to municipal law. Sovereignty enhances sacrosanct notion that states hold dear, attach a high premium, and its considered ready to defend its violation and territorial integrity.

According to Article 1 of the Montevideo Convention of 1993, a state is defined as a person of international law who possesses the following characteristics. A specified population, a clearly defined boundary, centralized authority in charge of the state's internal affairs, and the ability to engage in contacts with other entities. For sovereignty to hold meaning, it has to be accompanied by the aspect of legitimacy, which takes two dimensions. One of these dimensions is that the government running the affairs of the state has authority that is

¹ Bowmans, Intellectual Property and Consumer Protection in Kenya - Bowmans., January 8, 2020

² Article (1), Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States, 1933.

recognized internally by those whom it governs. The other dimension that enhances the legitimacy of sovereignty is recognition by other like units in the international systems that regard this entity as an equal.

The emergence of the international system meant that with every state managing its own affairs, there lacks an entity above the state system that can create order amongst states. As opposed to the clear structure that exists within the internal administration of a state which is described as hierarchical and where authority and enforcement of legal provisions are clearly defined, the international system is said to be anarchical. The absence of a supranational authority means that the international system is characterized by constant patterns of conflict, competition as well as cooperation amongst states. In such an environment, states pursue survival and self-preservation. Consequently, national interests underlie the patterns of interaction amongst state's collective aspirations that emanate from within the state and are projected outwards by those in authority. National interests fluctuate from time to time and are determined by various conditions both within and without the state. National interests are defined as the self-regarding desires that states pursue in their interaction with other units and are regarded as critical to the very sustainability of the state and vary from state to state. States pursue various interests, Key among them are national survival, economy, and security.

A state advances its national interests through various means, which include but are not limited to diplomatic/political, economic, cultural as well as military instruments. These tools

³ Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, "International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues," (3rd edn) (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992) p.1

⁴ John T. Rourke, "International Politics on the World Stage," (4th edn), (Connecticut, USA: The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc., 1993) pp.154-155

constitute part of the pillars of a nation's foreign policy framework. A nation's foreign policy acts as the interface through which a state interacts with other like entities in the effort to shape the behaviour of those entities to suit its interests. It can be safe to say that the formulation and conduct of foreign policy are as old as the existence of states, even though the conduct of diplomacy as a component of foreign policy is much older. The influence of internal dynamics on foreign policy cannot be gainsaid. Indeed, the element of national power comes to bear in full when it comes to the implementation of foreign policy.

Culture diplomacy is increasingly often employed in both nation-state foreign policy and cultural discourse. However, there is frequently a lack of clarity in how the notion is applied, in terms of what it comprises, why it is necessary, or how it works. Much of the uncertainty stems from a conflation between cultural diplomacy stricto sensu, which is essentially interest-driven government activity, and cultural relations, which are largely done by non-state actors and are motivated by ideals rather than interests.

The projection of a nation's foreign policy can be done by unilateral means, entering into alliances or joining international organizations *inter alia* in order to ensure that national interests are safeguarded. Kenya, as a unit of the international system, encoded its foreign policy in a document in the year 2014. However, since independence in 1963, Kenya has played a prominent role not just regional but internationally as well. In the course of history, the nation has been replete with intriguing developments in light of the implementation of its foreign policy. Culture is one of the main pillars of Kenya's foreign policy. Cultural diplomacy is a type of soft power that involves governments and their peoples exchanging ideas, information, art, language, and other aspects of culture in order to create mutual understanding. Cultural diplomacy aims to help inhabitants of a foreign country develop a better knowledge

of their country's values and institutions in order to advance national interests and exert influence in the international system. This study therefore aimed to analyse the pursuit of Kenya's national interest through the Cultural foreign policy pillar.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The aim of this study was to examine the implication of cultural diplomacy in the pursuit of economic interest in Kenya. The pursuit of economic interest remains a key interest of Kenya while Culture is equally a pillar of Kenya's Foreign Policy. However, for developing countries like Kenya, the Pursuit of economic interest is not as smooth. Kenya for instance faces a number of challenges in the pursuit of economic interest. Kenya being a developing country does not possess the financial or political power to effectively and efficiently pursue her economic interests. This problem has persisted in part due to the asymmetric relationship that Kenya finds itself in when pursuing her economic interest. In an anarchic world driven by competition and cooperation, every state aims to achieve its national interest and ensure its survival. Despite this, Kenya is endowed with a rich culture that can help the country achieve its economic interest.

This study, therefore, analyzed how Kenya can use Cultural diplomacy to achieve its economic interests. Kenya has not completely exploited cultural diplomacy and remains mostly unexplored despite its potential to advance Kenya's interests. The purpose of this study was to evaluate the government's strategies for promoting economic development in Kenya through cultural diplomacy, as well as to determine whether or not those strategies are effective, as well as the challenges and opportunities that exist for cultural diplomacy to benefit the country economically.

1.3 Research Questions

- 1. What is the role of foreign policy in advancing economic interest in Africa?
- 2. What are the role and impact of the Cultural diplomacy pillar in advancing economic interest in Kenya?
- 3. What are the challenges of advancing Kenya's economic Interest through cultural diplomacy?

1.4 Research Objectives

1.4.1 Broad Objectives

The Role of Foreign Policy in Advancing Economic Interest in Africa: A Case Study of Kenya's Cultural Foreign Policy Pillar.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

- 1. To investigate the role of foreign policy in advancing economic interest in Africa.
- 2. To assess and evaluate the role and impact of the cultural diplomacy pillar in advancing economic interest in Kenya.
- To examine the challenges of advancing Kenya's economic Interest through cultural diplomacy.

1.5 Literature Review

This part of the study gave an overview of the relevant literature. This was divided into Theoretical and empirical review.

1.5.1 Theoretical Review

Theories are important in analyzing and understanding various phenomena. This section therefore reviewed the relevant theories.

1.5.1.1 Rational Actor Model

The rational actor model is the most often utilized tool of foreign policy analysis. This approach assumes that the primary participant in foreign policy is a rational individual who can be relied on to make well-informed, calculated decisions that maximize the state's perceived value and benefits. Individual state-level interactions between nations and government behavior are used as analytic units in the rational actor model; it assumes that policymakers have access to full knowledge for optimum decision making and that actions taken throughout time are consistent and coherent. The rational actor model stems from the rational choice theory which holds that individuals should calculate each option available to choose the one that maximizes their benefits. Rational Choice theory is grounded on the assumption that all humans bases their decision on a rational manner where they take action after calculating the benefit against the cost. For example, in his book, Guzman claims that states act rationally to maximize their interests. 6

According to Mwagiru Rational Actor Model is the most commonly used approach when it comes to the analysis of foreign policy decision-making. Rationality in this case refers to the act of balancing cost against the benefit to arrive at action that maximizes benefit and minimizes cost or risk. This model begins with the government or state being viewed as a monolithic unitary actor capable of rational decision-making based on preference ranking and value maximization. As a result, decisions are rigidly made to achieve certain goals.

⁵ Allison, G., "Essence of decision: explaining the Cuban Missile, crisis." (Little Brown, Boston 1971)

⁶ Guzman. A, "How international law works: A Rational Choice Theory", (Oxford University Press, New York 2008)

Government conduct may be defined as action decided by a single rational decision-maker, centrally regulated, and fully informed about value maximization.⁷

1.5.1.2 Soft Power Theory

Soft Power theory was presented by Joseph Nye in the nineties at the end of the Cold War. This theory was mainly concerned with the ability of the state to persuade, attract and promote cooperation using persuasion, instead of force. The defining features of soft power are as follows; development of infrastructure, the culture of a country, political values.

1.5.2 Empirical review

Here the relevant empirical literature was reviewed as per the study's objectives.

1.5.2.1 Role of foreign policy in Advancing National Interest

According to Morgenthau, the aim or objective that should be envisaged in the foreign relations of a nation must be appreciated in terms of national interests and must be supported by an adequate power. As a consequence, diplomacy must be primed to attain or enhance national interests such as national security as irreducible minimums. The element of power becomes prominent in the pursuit of national interests becomes prominent in the works of Morgenthau. As a goal of foreign policy, the pursuit of national interests should be interlinked to the pursuit of state power. By power, Morgenthau identifies this concept as anything that establishes and maintains control by one state over another. This power can be acquired by cooperative as well

⁷Mwagiru M., "The Elusive Quest: Conflict Diplomacy and Foreign Policy in Kenya," (Jomo Kenyatta Foundation: Nairobi 1999)

⁸ Morgenthau, Hans J., "Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace," (New York: 2011) p.553

as coercive means. Cultural diplomacy presents a non-coercive means through which a country's interest can be achieved, Kenya is yet to fully explore this.

Kapper sees foreign policy as a tool vital in influencing the behaviour of other entities that a state interacts with. ¹⁰ As noted earlier, the existence of anarchy in the international system ensures that every state is driven by its own interests. Consequently, one nation's interests may run into conflict or cause friction with another nation's interests, and the potential for conflict becomes enhanced. The foreign policy ensures that this potential friction is managed properly by communicating one's nation's interests in a rather explicit manner. Kenya's foreign policy emphasizes 5 pillars among them is the cultural pillar. However, the cultural pillar remains largely underutilized.

Kegley and Wittkpof explicitly state that determinants of foreign policy and the outcomes of foreign policy behaviour, influence the impact of foreign policy. This impact has a direct correlation to the advancement of national interests. Determinants such as history, culture, geo-strategic location, military might *interest Alia*, are all instrumental in the attainment of not only immediate foreign policy objectives, but broad and long-term national interests objectives. ¹¹ Economic interest in Kenya's long-term goal, should be pursued through various means including and not limited to cultural diplomacy, Kenya has not put focus on cultural diplomacy tools.

⁹ Theodore A. Coulombis and James H. Wolfe, "Introduction to International Relations: Power and Justice," (4th edn) (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1990) p.103

¹⁰Thomas Risse-Kapper (ed), "Bringing Transnational Relations Back In: Non-state Actors, Domestic Structures and International Institutions," (Cambridge: Cambridge: University Press, 1995)p. 5

 $^{^{11}\}mathrm{Charles}$ W. Kegley Jr. and Eugene R. "International Relations: Trend and Transformation," (4th edn) (USA: McGraw-Hill, 1993) pp. 59-60

Foreign relation is an action slanted towards maintaining the nation's sway. It aims to advance the state's interest and foster better relations with the rest of the world. In such a manner, Kenya has on most occasions used her foreign relations to solidify and fortify its relations with the outside world. Given that Kenya is relatively a small power in the international system, its foreign relations have been aimed towards cooperation and advancement of her interest through diplomacy. The conduct of Kenya's foreign relations is tied to five main pillars of her foreign policy document which are Diaspora, Cultural, Environmental, Peace, and Economic. 12

The foreign policy guide is key to the conduct of foreign relations. This foreign policy guide can either be documented or in practice. This does not mean that foreign relations cannot be conducted with the foreign policy document. Kenya only documented her foreign policy in 2014. However, Kenya has been conducting its foreign relations since independence. It is worth noting that the conduct of foreign relations is subject to the government regimes. Different government regimes have different priorities, objectives, or interests hence the conduct of foreign relations is shaped to meet these objectives or goals. This, therefore, means that whenever another government comes into power, there will be a different approach to the conduct of foreign relations. In conducting foreign relations, there are some objectives that the government has to define. These objectives shape the manner in which and the approach that the conduct of foreign relations will take in pursuit of these goals and objectives. ¹³ Cultural

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¹² Howell J. "An Analysis of Kenyan Foreign Policy," (Cambridge University Press, *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 1968)

¹³ Daniel T., "Kenya African Nationalism: Nyayo Philosophy and Principles." (London, MacMillan Publishers, 1986) P.35.

diplomacy has the potential to shape Kenya's foreign relations despite this it is not often deployed as a tool of foreign relations.

Mwagiru,¹⁴ in addressing the changing realities of Kenya's foreign relations, argues that there has been a considerable change in Kenya's foreign relations. He observes that the foreign relation of Kenya in the early years of independence was characterized by continuity and constancy. This was mainly due to the cold war period where due to Kenya being a member of the non-align movement Kenya adopted a quiet diplomacy approach to her foreign relations. However in the late 1990s when the cold war had ended, Kenya developed a sound conceptual footing in terms of the conduct of foreign relations. ¹⁵ Mwagiru's views point out the changing nature of Kenya's conduct of its foreign relations based on the mood of international politics and events.

Okumu noted that the conduct of Kenya's foreign relations has been done with a great deal of caution. ¹⁶ Kenya took a quiet diplomacy approach to many issues concerning decolonization, non-alignment in the early years of her independence. This was a low-key approach to international relations that was necessary at that time. This is because Kenya was still new to international relations and was not willing to throw herself against the great powers in the cold war period. However, after the end of the cold war, Kenya has carefully conducted her foreign relations where Kenya has continued to influence the regional geopolitics. ¹⁷ The analysis by

¹⁴Makumi Mwagiru., "The Elusive Quest: Conflict Diplomacy and Foreign Policy in Kenya," in P.G Okoth (ed) "Conflict in post-colonial Africa," (Nairobi, Jomo Kenyatta Foundation: 1999), p.1

¹⁵Njagi Karimi P., "Kenya's Foreign Policy in a changing World: Themes For a and Prospects," (Thesis, University of Nairobi Library,2008)

 $^{^{16} \}mbox{Bowmans},$ Intellectual Property and Consumer Protection in Kenya - Bowmans., January 8, 2020

¹⁷McEvoy Claire, "Shifting priorities: Kenya's changing approach to peace building and peacemaking,"

Okumu is true since the incursion into Somalia by the Kenya Defense Forces (KDF), can be viewed as Kenya's influence in the regional geopolitics as well as a way of advancing her national interest in this case state security. Kenya's proactive approach towards regional integration is also a classic example of Kenya's use of foreign relations to advance her national interest. Kenya has employed various means towards advancing its national interest, all but cultural diplomacy that remains underutilized.

According to Makinda, Kenya has carefully used its foreign relations to strengthen its economy by attracting foreign capital investments. Kenya has also used economic integration as a way to dominate the regional market. In the region, Kenya has continued to export manufactured goods to its neighbors. Thus, according to Makinda, Kenya's foreign relations since independence have been aimed towards achieving the country's national interest. Kenya since independence has focused on advancing its national interest but fails to take advantage of its cultural strength. Ochieng' in his analysis of Kenya's foreign relations observes that in the two years immediately after independence, Kenya was still adjusting politically as well as in terms of foreign relations. He argues that in these first two years Kenya aimed to build a philosophy in foreign relations. Ochieng further argues that during this period, Kenya was basically laying the foundation for its foreign relations.

Norwegian peace building Restore Centre, May 2013 Report, p.1

¹⁸ Korwa, G. A., "The significance of the Legal Principle of Territorial Integrity as the Modal determinant of Relations: A case study of Kenya's foreign policy towards Somalia 1963-1983" (Lanham: University Press of America, 1994).

¹⁹Makinda S.M., "From Quiet Diplomacy to cold War politics," *Third World Quarterly*, 5(2) 1983, pg.145

²⁰Ochieng, W. R., (Ed.), "A Modern History of Kenya, 1895-1980" (Nairobi: Evans Brothers, 1989),

Okumu, in his reflection of Kenya's foreign relations, compares the foreign relations objective of Kenya with the realities of international politics. He argues that the choice of Kenya's foreign relations has been shaped by the systemic and national variables that prompted Kenya to act in a certain way. For example, domestically the secessionist claim in the Northern frontier district forced Kenya to seek out the British military help. The insecurity by Somali's Al-Shabaab is another example where systemic factors forced Kenya to take a specific foreign relation action in order to protect her interest. ²¹ Culture is one of Kenya's main assets that are yet to be effectively used in advancing her national interest.

1.5.2.2 Cultural diplomacy Pillar and Economic interest

Cultural diplomacy is a type of international public relations form of soft power in the diplomatic world. Cultural diplomacy involves the exchange of ideas, information, art, language, values, traditions, and other cultural aspects among states and their citizens to foster mutual understanding, strengthen relationships, promote socio-cultural cooperation and national development.²² In the world today, culture is one of the key factors of the economic development of any given country in the international system, which has a greater and effective force if utilized appropriately. It is no secret internationally that cultural diversities are a fundamental pillar of any economic growth and development, this promoted by globalization and the interconnectedness, emergence of technology, making culture diplomacy a key factor in the process of international relations.

²¹Okumu John, Some Thoughts on Kenya's Foreign Policy, (*The African Review*, 1973) Vol.3, Issue no.2.

²²Waller, Michael. *Cultural Diplomacy: Political Influence and Integrated Strategy*. Washington, DC: Institute of World Politics Press, (2009), p. 74.

This being the case it is safe to say cultural diplomacy has multiple functions which range from it adding value to the domestic market, it promotes regional economic development, this is by bringing different countries together by foreign investments or through tourism, and also as a key indicator of social progress based on tolerance, creativity, and knowledge advancement. Furthermore, culture can play an important role in a country's foreign policy, where economic development blueprint can be got for the prosperity of a country. Both economics and politics of any country are connected cultural reflections on what holds that country together. Culture is as part of the economic development has earned its place and is referred to as a resource, capital and power. ²³

To accomplish national interests in the International System, states use a variety of tactics that are aligned with their foreign policies. These tactics may be classified based on their geographic position, ties with other countries, and, most importantly, the resources at their disposal. The economic development techniques used by first-world countries cannot be compared to those used by developing and least-developed countries. Berridge writes that soft power is cultural power, Cultural soft power presents ways in which a country's preferred standpoint of delicate power is measured. The author further notes that culture and thoughts can be coordinated into winning strategies that can then be used to achieve various political and economic interests. Through Cultural soft power, a country can influence how its image is broadcasted in foreign countries. However, at the same time, cultural soft power can be the

²³ Nye, J., "Soft Power. The Means to Success in World Politics", *Public affairs*, 2004, p.7

downfall of a country's foreign relations.²⁴ Kenya is yet to utilize this soft power tool in advancing its economic interests.

Radcliffe postulates that one of the issues of cultural diplomacy is the unequal relationships of soft power informed by self-interest that has been raised with regard to East-West and North-South countries. There is a huge demand for advanced education in developing countries. Owing to this, they are not willing to discourage those who wish to help either through scholarships or assistance with institutional development. These grants can develop the receiving nations in a human-building capacity. However, recipients 'nations of educational diplomacy must understand the motivations of such moves. Kenya is disadvantaged in its economic relation, however, Kenya is richly endowed with the culture that it can use to further its interest.

Oatey on the other hand states that nations and organizations use culture as a key tool of establishing and marinating relations among themselves. It has however been a matter of circumstance before the cultural aspect gain reverence like other tools commonly used in diplomacy for creating, cementing, and marinating relations between nations. Such tools include economic aid, political and trade relations. Since time immemorial, trade and Politics have been key dominants of interstate relations. The choice to embrace a matter of circumstance is a result of economics, trade, and political issues that have dominated interstate relations for too long. Even though attention has been accorded to the cultural aspect, that intensity of attention cannot be compared to the one given to trade, politics, and economic

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²⁴Berridge, G.R. Diplomacy: *Theory and Practice*. Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, (2005),

²⁵ Radcliffe, Sarah. *Culture and Development in a Globalizing World*. Geographies, actors, and paradigms, (Routledge, New York, 2006)

aspects.²⁶ Various nations are using culture as a foreign relation tool, Kenya however has been reluctant to take this path.

Cultural diplomacy relies primarily on private sector help and little government coordination in the United States, and strategy is determined by resources available. The dominant position of the Hollywood film industry as a worldwide force, in addition to the commercial and, of course, creative sectors, demonstrates the importance of the private sector in US cultural diplomacy. As a developed country, the United States employs a worldwide marketing strategy to further its cultural diplomacy and economic growth. Just like the United States, Kenya can use culture to enhance its market strategy and trade relations.

Matsuura describes culture as that which offers the environment, values, subjectivity, attitudes, and skills necessary for the growth process to occur. This concept of culture reflects the complementary character of cultures, their dynamic, and the emergence of cultural beliefs that are not mutually incompatible. ²⁷The culture was given a comprehensive role in American diplomacy at the beginning of the Cold War. Soviet Communism was seen as a systemic threat to the American way of life, as well as a military and political risk. From high art, literature, and ideology through journalism, modern music, and even interior design, America's culture has been ingrained in the global collective consciousness. Cultural diplomacy has its own aims, which include promoting and sharing one country's culture in other countries, as well as showcasing the best of visual art, performances, poetry, music, film, theater, books, dance, and craft to foster ideals and ambitions while sharing principles and beliefs. Nevertheless, culture

 $^{^{26}}$ Spencer-Oatey, H. Culturally Speaking. *Culture, Communication and Politeness Theory*. $2^{\rm nd}$ edition. (London: Continuum, 2008), pp. 101-107.

²⁷ Matsuura, Koichiro. Speech on the occasion of UNESCO's World Day of Cultural Diversity (2008), p. 12.

and cultural understanding build an atmosphere that is conducive to other state interests, whether political or economic.

Bringing it closer home, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, a political leader on the African continent, understood the value of culture and believed that (African) education and culture could contribute significantly to world society. According to Leopold Senghor, the distinctive African way of life expresses itself, especially through the arts. As an African development paradigm, former President Julius Nyerere's Ujamaa ideology had as its key feature that an individual becomes a person through the people or community, as well as the transformation of economic and cultural attitudes.

Significant effort has been placed into Africa's development on several fronts over the last five decades, ranging from economic growth to social and political stabilization. This resolve has yielded credible results and bolstered Africa's international standing. South Africa being the first African country to host the FIFA World Cup Tournament in 2010 maximized on showcasing their culture to the entire world and in return, the event helped to put an end to the Afropessimism that had dominated international media for years, earning the country the credibility that it can actually perform, which is satisfactory for potential development. Despite being a key pillar of foreign policy, Gould et al. believe that cultural diplomacy may be characterized as a country's expressive existence. This is because cultural diplomacy as a foreign policy option necessitates a significant investment of time and resources, as well as meticulous planning. Cultural diplomacy is sometimes seen as a kind of "public diplomacy," a commercial approach that combines skill, education, and feelings. As a result, it is impossible to carry out and requires the assistance of specialists. Culture is a key foreign policy pillar of

Kenya, however, it remains underutilized despite the fact that it can help Kenya further her economic interest.

According to Linton, culture and heritage are not only about the environment and its surroundings; instead, they are about identities and belongings. Cultural artefacts, which are strongly embedded in traditions, send a humane message about the importance of dialogues and tolerance, about renewing cultural identities broken by the war, and about offering inspiration for posterity.²⁸

Webber and Smith note that cultural diplomacy has traditionally been a critical social approach taken by a country when a state wants to build social extensions in foreign countries. For African states, cultural diplomacy has been used to attract tourism or through promoting strategic trade with distant countries. However, any government seeking to enforce cultural diplomacy policies will face a host of unique obstacles. Cultural diplomacy is delicate as one misrepresentation can cause a permanent dent in a country's image. 29 Kenya's culture has a positive image internationally, however, Kenya is yet to use this to its advantage.

1.5.2.3 Challenges of pursuing economic Interest

According to Morgenthau, the quality of a nation's diplomacy lies at the core of its power or rather is an element of its national power.³⁰ It follows then that, the quality of diplomatic officials serving as the emissaries of the nation to other nations that Kenya appoints to serve

²⁸ Linton, Robert. The Cultural Background of Personality, (London: Routledge, 2011) p.31

²⁹ Webber, M. and Smith, M. Foreign policy in a transformed world. (Harlow: Prentice-Hall, 2000)

³⁰Op.Cit Morgenthau (2011).p.554

in other countries, determines the extent to which Kenya achieves its foreign policy objectives. One of the major challenges that the country has faced in terms of achieving its foreign policy objectives, is the way in which the nation has undertaken the appointment of its diplomatic officials. The appointment of diplomats in Kenya has for a long time been carried out on the basis of political allegiance to the regime in power, a retirement package for senior members of the military and civil service rather than on merit. It will be interesting to examine if these challenges are what hinder Kenya from utilizing its cultural diplomacy.

According to Spitras, Classical realists hence have argued that bad foreign policy decisions are a result of bad people in decision-making positions.³¹ This explains why the nation of Kenya has at times found itself at loggerheads with partners regionally and beyond due to the people at the heart of foreign policymaking lacking incompetence. In most cases, this process has overlooked the aspect of competence and merit that should form the yardstick of having one appointed to diplomatic service. The vetting process by the Defence and Foreign Relations Committee of the National Assembly has been a mere 'rubberstamping' exercise of executive appointments.

In order for a nation to achieve its foreign policy objectives and especially informed by the pillars contained therein, there exist opportunities that the nation can exploit. In order for a nation to achieve its policy objectives, it becomes imperative for the nation as an entity to carefully analyse the global environment in order for it to be able to take advantage of the opportunities that may emerge. These include taking advantage of globalization and the

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³¹ Spirtas, Michael (1996), "A house divided: tragedy and evil in realist theory," Security Studies, 5(3))pp. 387-

attendant benefits such as increased interactions that come with this wave, World Peace amongst other conditions. At the regional level, states such as Kenya can take advantage of opportunities that come with regional integration. The joint infrastructural projects that Kenya and other countries are part of as components of regional initiatives form a critical avenue for the attainment of its economic diplomacy pillar and the related objectives. Kenya stands to gain immensely in investing seriously in the training of its diplomats and in following up through with the appointment of the same officers to the required areas where their skills can be better utilized.

This will go to a large extent to instil confidence in the diplomatic officials since they have been appointed on merit and it will be equally possible to hold them to account. Also for those with wishes of pursuing courses related to diplomacy which is the very substance of foreign policy. Kenya has also made critical discoveries of fossil fuel resources which may enhance its economic strength which shall boost the projection of its national interests. The nation has a rich history in terms of acting as a center for decision-making by hosting a large presence of diplomatic corps, international organizations as well as financial and technological establishments. As a nation, it stands to gain immensely by banking on its increasing strategic importance for purposes of exerting its influence to the benefit of its people and other actors. Kenya has a rich culture but has not used it to advance her interest. The study hence examined factors that hinder Kenya from utilizing cultural diplomacy.

1.6 Literature Gaps

The above literature has highlighted the importance of cultural diplomacy in contemporary international relations and the pursuit of National interest. However, cultural diplomacy has not been broadly concentrated on as a device of strategy; it has been viewed as one of the 19

pillars of foreign relations. Kenya has one of the richest Cultures however, Kenya has failed to utilize this in the advancement of its national interest. There exist an academic gap on how possibly cultural diplomacy can be turned into a significantly more effective device for pursuing an economic interest in Kenya. What factors hinder Kenya from utilizing its cultural prowess to advance its economic interest through economic diplomacy? This study hence aimed to fill this gap through its specific objectives.

1.7 Justification

The importance of justification in academic research cannot be overstated. As a result, the study's justification was explored on two levels which include academic and policy justification.

1.7.1 Academic Justification

Culture is an important pillar of Kenya's foreign policy. Kenya is endowed with a rich culture that is attractive to the world. However, few studies have been done to analyze the role of cultural foreign policy pillars in advancing Kenya's economic interest. Therefore, the study findings will aim to fill the gap. Culture can and has the potential to help in the pursuit of economic interest and can be used as soft power tools in order to help the country advance its interest. The aim of this study hence is to give a deep scholarly understanding of the study topic.

1.7.2 Policy Justification

Despite cultural diplomacy having being practiced since historical times, many governments have not fully grasped the importance of it as a foreign policy tool and have not deployed it to bring economic development to their countries. Similarly, it has not been fully grasped by lawmakers therefore no proper structures and strategies exist in the particular field. The role

of cultural diplomacy in foreign policy will result in recommendations that can be used to improve or influence Kenyan policies, as well as advise and inform other countries' policies. It will help in the formulation of new policies as well as the refinement of current ones.

1.8 Research Hypotheses

- 1. Foreign policy plays a key role in the advancement of economic interest in Africa.
- The cultural diplomacy pillar has an impact on the advancement of economic interest in Kenya.
- 3. Kenya faces many challenges in the advancement of economic interest through the cultural diplomacy pillar.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

This study was anchored on the Rational Actor Model by Allison which is based on the Rational Choice Theory and The Soft power Theory by Nye. According to the Rational Choice Theory, people are driven by a goal or wants that satisfy their interests. Since it is not possible for everyone to achieve what they want, they have to make a choice on what goals to pursue and how to achieve their goals. The theory holds that individuals should calculate each option available to choose the one that maximizes their benefits. Rational Choice theory is grounded on the assumption that all humans bases their decision in a rational manner where they take action after calculating the benefit against the cost. For example, in his book, Guzman claims that states act rationally to maximize their interests.

³² Allison, G. "Essence of decision: explaining the Cuban Missile, crisis." (Little Brown, Boston 1971)

³³Guzman,. A. "How international Law works: A Rational Choice Theory," (Oxford University Press, New York 2008)

According to Mwagiru Rational Actor Model is the most commonly used approach when it comes to the analysis of foreign policy decision-making. Rationality in this case refers to the act of balancing cost against the benefit to arrive at action that maximizes benefit and minimizes cost or risk. This model begins with the government or state being viewed as a monolithic unitary agent capable of rational decision-making based on preference ranking and value maximization. As a result, decisions are rigidly made to achieve certain goals. Government conduct may be defined as action decided by a single rational decision-maker, centrally regulated, and fully informed about value maximization. ³⁴

On the other hand, the Soft Power theory was presented by Nye in the nineties at the end of the Cold War. This theory is mainly concerned with the ability of the state to persuade, attract and promote cooperation using persuasion, instead of force. The defining features of soft power are as follows; development of Infrastructure, the culture of a country, political values. Cultural diplomacy, therefore, is a great soft power tool that can be utilized by Kenya in the pursuit of its economic interest.

1.10 Research Methodology

The section looked at the research methodology that the study used

1.10.1 Research design

A descriptive-analytical research approach was used, using a mix of qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. Using a descriptive research technique on a case study, according to Mugenda and Mugenda, provides for a thorough exploration of the issue in a short

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³⁴ Mwagiru M., "The Elusive Quest: Conflict Diplomacy and Foreign Policy in Kenya," (Jomo Kenyatta Foundation: Nairobi 1999).

period of time and on a small scale. They go on to suggest that the best method to get a comprehensive picture of a situation is to use a qualitative research approach on a case study.³⁵

1.10.2 Data collection method

Both secondary and primary data sources were used in the research. Secondary data was obtained from online sources such as scholarly literature (both published and unpublished) as well as books, journals, and reports available at libraries. The research was also employed written resources such as Kenya's Foreign policy document, newspaper stories, graduate project papers, and theses, and records from the Ministry of foreign affairs and ministry of sports and culture.

The primary sources of data was collected through a questionnaire to the officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of trade officials, officials from the Ministry of sports and culture, Ambassadors, Envoys, and Cultural diplomats. To collect information from the general population, interviews with a detailed questionnaire guide covering all research variables will be used.

1.10.3 Validity of data collection instruments

Two data collection methods were used in this study this was by the used of interviews and questionnaires. The interviews collected data on pre-existing cultural diplomacy in the pursuit of Kenya's economic interest are valid to the data that was of interest to the study was collected. The main aim was to ensure that data gathered was recent and the questions aimed at answering the study hypotheses.

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³⁵ Mugenda, op cit.

1.10.4 Reliability of data collection instruments

To achieve triangulation the study adopted mixed method of data collection which aimed at ensuring the data collected was the required data and meet the study standards. There was also need to ensure trustworthiness where the instruments used were characterized by logical and all inclusive questions. The gathered data regarding the tools used was scrutinized, crosschecked and inspected by the supervisor to ensure its consistency and accuracy.

1.10.5 Sampling size and technique

The descriptive-analytical research design provided an opportunity for the study to utilize purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is where the study has selected a sample from the participants or group of participants that are judged to be informative for the purpose of the research. The sample size of the study was 51 respondents which was arrived at using purposive sampling where the study chooses the respondents judging from who are deemed to be informative to the study.³⁶ The respondents were distributed as follows:

Table 1.1: Sample size

Target sample	Sample Size
Officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs	10
Officials from the Ministry of sports, culture, and arts	10
Officials from the Ministry of trade and industrialization	10
Ambassadors	7
Envoys	7
Cultural diplomats	7
Total	51

Source: Researcher 2021

³⁶ Yamane, T., Statistics, *An Introductory Analysis*, 2nd Ed., (New York: Harper and Row, 1967).

1.10.6 Data analysis and presentation

The collected data was analyzed in common themes and thematically presented. SPSS was used to analyses qualitative data which generated distribution through frequencies and percentages which ensured accuracy of data which helped in answering the research questions. Tables and chats helped in the presentation of descriptive data by giving means and standard deviations where applicable. Content analysis was used to analyses qualitative data where data was arranged in common themes that we easy to understand as per the responses given. The qualitative data were summarized and categorized according to the themes and presented. 37

1.10.7 Ethical Considerations

While conducting the research, all respondents was assured of the confidentiality of the information they shared and also advised on the objective of the study. No human rights was abused or overlooked while conducting this study. While conducting the study, the questionnaire was efficiently administered to the respondents. They were made aware of the intention of the study and afterward their approval was achieved assuring them that the information they give out will be confidential. For purposes of anonymity, the respondents did not write down their names on the questionnaire. The researcher and the supervisor are the only people to access that information.

³⁷ Kothari, C.R., (2008) Research Methodology. *Methods and Techniques; Second Revised Edition* New Age International Press Limited, New Delhi, India

1.10.8 Scope and Limitation of the study

The study covered The Role of Foreign Policy in Advancing Economic Interest in Africa: A Case Study of Kenya's Cultural Foreign Policy Pillar. The study was limited due to the global pandemic Covid-19 which led to restrictions that limit free movement and free interactions. The study explored internet-based data collection methods like the Googleforms as opposed to physical/ face-to-face options.

1.11 Chapter Outline

Chapter one has provided the introduction of the study. Of importance the chapter has given the background of the study, problem statement, Objective that the study investigates, the theoretical underpinning, and the methodology employed in the study.

Chapter two investigates the role of foreign policy in advancing economic interest in Africa. In this chapter, the advancement of economic interest through foreign policy will be analyzed. Being a developing continent, economics remains a key interest of Kenya and the African continent. It is therefore important to investigate how the continent pursues its economic interest through its foreign policy.

Chapter three assesses and evaluates the role and impact of the cultural diplomacy pillar in advancing economic interest in Kenya. Kenya has a rich culture that saw cultural diplomacy becoming a pillar of its foreign policy. Therefore the chapter will evaluate the impact of economic diplomacy in pursuing an economic interest.

Chapter four examines the challenges of advancing Kenya's economic interest through cultural diplomacy. Kenya remains relatively underdeveloped, this means that there are existing

challenges hindering them from achieving their economic interest. Despite the potential of cultural diplomacy in the advancement of economic interest, the country has failed to capitalize on this huge potential, hence the question of what are the challenges.

The study was concluded in Chapter five. The chapter include the study's results, summaries, and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

THE ROLE OF FOREIGN POLICY IN ADVANCING ECONOMIC INTEREST IN AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

This chapter of the study focus on the role of foreign policy in advancing the national interest in African countries. The chapter will introduce the concept of national interest, the links between foreign relations, national interest, and foreign relations decision making and determinants of foreign policy and relations. Foreign relations involve the process through which a country carries out its relations with other entities in the international system. Foreign relations involve the implementation of foreign policy which involves a multiplicity of actors and action plans that are aimed at advancing a state's relationship with other entities. The foreign policy provides a platform or interface where a state interacts with other entities in the international system.

2.2 Importance of National Interest to a State

National interest is a concept associated with political realists who take foreign policy action that is state-centric. National interest in foreign relations means that foreign relation is conducted with the purpose of advancing the goal, needs, and want of a specific state. It can be defined as a self-regarding desire that a state pursues in the international system whose main purpose is to guarantee state survival.³⁸ In an anarchic world where different states compete amongst each other for power, therefore, their survival is necessary for the international system. In this world, states must do everything to protect their security and ensure that their

Bowmans, T. Intellectual Property and Consumer Protection in Kenya - Bowmans., January 8, 2020

physical, cultural, and political identity is not interfered with by other states.³⁹ Relation between interest and state is at the center of foreign relations. For as long as the world is made up of politically organized entities called states, foreign relations remain the key to states' relations amongst each other. For a state, the basic most national interest is survival. In other words, foreign relation aims to ensure the state's survival in an anarchic world.

The realist theory of international relations identifies the state as the primary actor in international relations and consequently national security, power, and more importantly national interests form the basis upon which states anchor their survival. National interests as a term are attributed to Sir Winston Churchill and it is assumed that there are at least three fundamental interests that all nations pursue. They include ensuring the physical survival of the homeland itself which includes protection of the lives of citizens and maintenance of the territorial integrity of its borders. Secondly, national interests may constitute the promotion of the economic well-being of the people. Last but not least, national interests involve preserving national self-determination. This national self-determination is anchored on the nature of the country's governmental system and the conduct of its internal affairs. Several scholars have made attempts to define the concept of national interests in the effort towards establishing the link between this concept and foreign relations.

³⁹ Pigman, G. "Contemporary Diplomacy. Cambridge," (UK-Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2010)

⁴⁰ Winston Churchill, "Address of Winston Churchill to Parliament, Ju ne 4, 1940," in Winston S. Churchill: His Complete Speeches, 1897 -1963, ed. Robert Rhodes James, vol. 6 (Chelsea House Publishers, 1974),

⁴¹ Frederic S. Pearson and J Martin Rochester, "International Relations: The Global Condition in the Late Twentieth Century," (London: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1984) p.147

Wallerstein defines national interests as the maintenance of the core capabilities and the wellbeing of the state that seeks to establish the state as an industrial and technological leader. Sociological defines national interests as rational calculations that seek to enhance the relevance of a state's advantage in relation to other states in the face of ever-changing circumstances. However, states do not always act according to national interests because personal interests may sometimes pass as national interests especially bureaucratic interests.

2.2.1 Economic interest in Africa

Africa is categorized as a developing continent. As such economic prosperity is a core interest of the African continent. Africa's continent is underdeveloped as compared to the rest of the world. This is despite the riches and the abundant resources found in the continent. Therefore, economic prosperity and a new and just world economic order are a core interest of the continent. The African states feel that they are disadvantaged with the present economic world order. The African States remain dependent on the developed states in order to grow. This has led to poor economic conditions; this economic condition has remained the primary handicap of African states. ⁴⁴

However, the challenge for Africa today is its relatively weak economic condition. Despite the abundant natural resources and youthful population in the continent, Africa's economic condition remains its primary challenge. The Continent has not established sustainable productive economic systems to generate prosperity, and therefore soft power. The status of

⁴²Bowmans, T. *Intellectual Property and Consumer Protection in Kenya* - Bowmans., January 8, 2020

⁴³ William Wallace, *The Foreign Policy Process in Britain* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1977) p.1

⁴⁴ Carl Death. Introduction: Africa's international relations, *African Affairs*, adv041, https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adv041

the African economy remains that they are the primary producer of raw materials and a net importer of manufactured products. This is made worse by the little intra-African trade that has been unable to break the cycle of Africa importing a large chunk of manufactured goods from abroad. In the 21st century, Africa continues to lag behind because of its weak industrial strength which remains a major handicap to sufficient leverage emerging global trade opportunities. Africa hence is still unable to develop and achieve prosperity and power hence they remain disadvantaged in their relations. 45

The main paradox of the African continent is that many countries in African are underdeveloped despite most states being endowed with natural resources. Because of the poor economic development and financial weakness, their governments are weak. As a result, this strains foreign policy implementation processes in numerous ways. The most obvious and direct is that these financially weak states cannot afford to establish strategic embassies and foreign missions abroad as well as employ an adequate number of diplomatic staff, which alone limits their impact. African governments, often working under tight budgetary limitations, struggle to establish more than a handful of embassies and lack the human and financial means to become active in many areas of international contestation. Similarly, their lack of significant military forces or huge markets renders them not much attractive compared to other powerful states in other continents. ⁴⁶

⁴⁵Blaauw, S., Challenging realists international relations theory: *Soft balancing and agency in the international relations of Africa states*, (2014)

⁴⁶Herbert. R. Dependency, Instability and Shifting Global Power: *Influences and Interests in African Foreign Policy in the 21st Century*. Occasional paper no 95. (South African Foreign Policy and African Drivers Programme. 2011).

2.3 The Role of Foreign Policy

Foreign policy is intended to safeguard and advance a country's national interests in bilateral and multilateral relations with other countries. It represents a country's historical ideals, overall national policies, aspirations, and self-perception. Foreign policies are the methods, procedures, rules, and agreements that national governments frequently employ in order to carry out their activities in the international arena. Every state in today's globe establishes diplomatic, economic, trading, educational, cultural, and political links with other countries, necessitating the preservation of such ties.

Foreign policies are the methods, procedures, rules, and agreements that national governments frequently employ in order to carry out their activities in the international arena. Foreign Policy is the basic ingredient in the process by which a state turns its broadly stated aims and interests into the actual course of action to attain these objectives and sustain interests, Padelford and Lincoln said. Foreign policy, according to Krieger, is the full amount of formal external interactions performed by an autonomous actor (often a state) in international relations. It is a tool that countries develop and employ to meet their national interests through participation in international affairs. Foreign policy also seeks to transform the international system so as to make it favorable in meeting a country's national interests. Since countries are principally concerned with their own survival, foreign policy becomes a critical tool to navigate the international system which is characterized by competition for resources and influence. ⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Bowmans, T. Intellectual Property and Consumer Protection in Kenya - Bowmans., January 8, 2020

In this regard, the internal attributes of a state play a critical role in foreign policymaking as it shapes and constrains foreign policy choices. This is further circumscribed by the prevailing international environment which the realists view as anarchical. This has implications for states as the manner in which power is dispersed can affect the strategies and choices of countries. During the Cold War, for example, the prevailing global environment affected African leaders' decisions which were either aligned to Soviet communism or USA capitalism even though the majority of states claimed that they were nonaligned.

Furthermore, the national power of the state can determine its foreign policy. For a country to realize its goals in the international environment and to influence others, it would need to harness its resources in a manner that can generate power that is commensurate with its desired goals and objectives. In this regard, where a country is located in the globe, its terrain, neighbors, natural resources, population, technological and manufacturing capacity, and military capabilities determine the direction that the foreign policy will follow. ⁴⁸

2.3.1 Overview of Kenya's Foreign Policy

Foreign relation is an action slanted towards maintaining the nation's sway. It aims to advance the state's interest and foster better relations with the rest of the world. In such a manner, Kenya has on most occasions used her foreign relations to solidify and fortify its relations with the outside world. Given that Kenya is relatively a small power in the international system, its foreign relations have been aimed towards cooperation and advancement of her interest

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⁴⁸ Gebe, Boni Yao, Ghana's Foreign Policy at Independence and Implications for the 1966 Coup D'état, *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, Vol.2, No.3, March 2008, pp 160-186, http://www.jpanafrican.org/docs/vol2no3/GhanasForeignPolicyAtIndependenceAnd.pdf, accessed on 7/0/2021

through diplomacy. The conduct of Kenya's foreign relations is tied to five main pillars of her foreign policy document which are Diaspora, Cultural, Environmental, Peace, and Economic. 49

2.3.1.1 Peace and Security Pillar

One of the strategic pillars of national interest is state security. Security guarantees a lot since it is only in peace that can a country pursue and achieve other interests. And just like war, peace also comes at a cost and therefore must be invested in. Kenya's security, peace, and stability, however, depend on the general peace and stability in the region. Kenya cannot be peaceful if its neighbors are at war. Whenever Kenya's neighbors are at war then Kenya's borders are also at war. This, therefore, means that for security to be assured Kenya must not only invest in its defense forces but also in foreign relations with her neighbors especially when her neighbors are at war. ⁵⁰

2.3.1.2 Economic Pillar

According to Tom Amolo, the former Kenyan High Commissioner to South Africa, greater democratization aided in shifting the priorities of foreign engagement toward economic diplomacy, which became an important tool in pursuing growth; thus, government officials describe it as a primary pillar on which the country's foreign policy is based in pursuit of its development goal of becoming a middle-income and industrialized economy by 2030.⁵¹

⁴⁹Bowmans, T. *Intellectual Property and Consumer Protection in Kenya* - Bowmans., January 8, 2020

⁵⁰ Mwagiru M., "The Elusive Quest: Conflict Diplomacy and Foreign Policy in Kenya," (Jomo Kenyatta Foundation: Nairobi 1999)

⁵¹Amolo Tom. *Some Thoughts on Economic Diplomacy and its Impact on Economic Relations*, 27th May, 2009http://www.titiic.co.za/HE%20Tom%20Amolo%20-%20ECONOMIC%20DIPLOMACY.pdf. >

2.3.1.3 Diaspora Pillar

It has been demonstrated that the Kenyan diaspora has played a significant influence in national growth during the last several years through remittances to Kenya. This has become so significant that remittances have surpassed conventional sources of external capital flows, causing the Kenyan government to investigate measures to engage Kenyans in the diaspora in order to boost their contribution to national development. As a result, diaspora diplomacy was included as one of the five fundamental pillars of Kenyan foreign policy in the Kenyan Foreign Policy paper.

2.3.1.4 Environmental pillar

Kenya must cope with a cross-cutting contestation for natural resources by the numerous protagonists as part of its duty as a legitimate third party or mediator in long-running hostilities in countries like Somalia and Sudan. As a result, resolving environmental conflicts has become an important part of the country's diplomatic efforts.

2.3.1.5 Cultural pillar

Kenya has one of the richest cultures in the world. Kenya's Tourism sector attracts millions of tourists annually due to its culture and wildlife. This has made cultural promotion to be part of foreign relations in recent years. The same was reflected in the foreign policy document.

2.4 The Link between Foreign policy and economic Interests

When designing foreign policy, a state must consider how that foreign policy will be implemented. Therefore, a state must consider both the local players and the international

actors that will be involved in decision-making. Most foreign policies are implemented through foreign relations. This is because in some cases, foreign policy strategy involves competition and cooperation with other international partners. The conduct of foreign relations involves various actors and entities. This is because the conduct of foreign relations is a complex affair that involves different actors, entities, and actions. The conduct of foreign relations involves setting up diplomatic relations. ⁵²

Using Africa as an example, the early foreign relations of most African countries were influenced by the colonial masters. In the immediate post-independence era, the foreign relations of most African countries were closely associated with the West since most African countries were colonized by Western states. Most African countries attained their independence when the cold war was at its peak hence to avoid being tangled between two superpowers they chose a positive non-alignment policy where it associated with any bloc without conforming to its ideologies. However, this did not stop these African countries from being close to the colonial masters. The francophone countries for example counties to maintain their close links with the colonial master France. This is because at the time the national interest of most African states could be best achieved through remaining non-aligned and hence benefiting from both the East and West. As time went by, the foreign relations of most African countries were gradually being integrated into a system. Through the Organization of African Union (OAU) now African Union (AU) Africa slowly made its footing in foreign relations. The foreign relations of most African states were based on some key

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⁵²Munene, M, "Reflections on Kenya's national and security interests," (*Journal of Language, Technology & Entrepreneurship in Africa* Vol. 3 No. 1 2, 2011)

⁵³Okoth, P. G "Historiography of Kenya"s Foreign Policy," (*African Review Journal of Foreign Policy, volume*, 1999).

elements like sovereignty, territorial integrity, and non-interference which were also the guiding principles of OAU. 54

In terms of economic development African states showed the desire to maintain close ties with their colonial masters since that was where most of their foreign direct investments came from. This is because most of the colonial masters invested in these countries during the colonial period. Hence African states adopted friendly diplomatic relations with their colonial masters. This later led to economic dependence on the Western countries by the African states. ⁵⁵

A state can either maintain a low profile or take an aggressive approach when it came to the conduct of its foreign relations. A state can also opt for a wait-and-see kind of approach to most international relations issues. In this scenario, a state takes a calm approach to issues before reacting to them. First, it studies the situation before taking a foreign relation action on it. This often involves the use of smart power. The lack of aggression when it comes to foreign relations may make a country look weak or neutral on the outside however, this is often a foreign relation choice that is well calculated and is in line with the national interest of a state pursuing such a posture. Hence when it comes to foreign relations, some countries are more hyperactive than others. For example, the United States has diplomatic representation in almost all countries in the world. This means that the country (US) places its foreign relations realm considerably on its agenda, and pursues its national interest by deploying a number of tools— through soft, smart, and hard power. Most African countries, however, have few diplomatic representations around the world hence their foreign relations are not as aggressive as those of

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Bowmans, T. Intellectual Property and Consumer Protection in Kenya - Bowmans., January 8, 2020

the major powers like the United States. While some countries involve the use of force in foreign relations while pursuing their national interest, most countries prefer to take a peaceful and diplomatic route in their foreign relations. These sets of countries believe more in cooperation rather than conflict as the best means to achieve national interest through foreign relations. ⁵⁶

National interests lie at the core of foreign relations and are shaped by or critical to what is known as *raison d'état* or the idea of the state.⁵⁷ Hence a foreign relation exists to serve national interests and not the other way round. Henry Kissinger stated that foreign relations begin where domestic policy ends.⁵⁸ Foreign relations basically constitute a course of action within a state that seeks to project to the external environment and as well serve the same purpose which is to enhance the survival of the state in an environment characterized by anarchy. The formulators of national interests, as well as the conduct of foreign relations, are interlinked through various organizations and institutions within and without the state. This is because foreign relations aim at achieving a specific national interest at a specific time in a specific area.

2.5 The Role of foreign policy in advancing national interest in Africa

Every country has a foreign policy in place to guarantee that its needs are met in the international community. As a result, foreign policy is one of the wheels that drives the

⁵⁶Nye, J. "Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics" (New York Public Affairs, 2004).

⁵⁷ William Wallace, "Foreign Policy and the Political Process," (London: Macmillan Publishers, 1971) pp. 7-15

⁵⁸ James Barber and Michael Smith (eds), "The Nature of Foreign Policy: A Reader," (Edinburgh: The Open University, 1974) p.16

international political process, whereas domestic policy is what motivates governments to satisfy their own requirements. Foreign policy is not distinct from domestic policy; rather, it is an integral aspect of it. The main distinction is that foreign policy is concerned with advancing national interests in reference to other countries. Almost all countries set the trajectory of their foreign policy based on their strengths and the reality of their internal and external environments. The head of government creates foreign policies with the goal of accomplishing complicated home and international goals. It is widely recognized that foreign and domestic issues are now powerfully joined. Foreign policy is a product of a complex interaction between internal and external forces.

2.5.1 African interest in international Trade

Africa's goods exports totaled \$590 billion in 2019, while imports totaled \$407 billion. South Africa, Nigeria, Algeria, Egypt, Libya, and Morocco were among the top trading countries. Trade, therefore, remains a key interest of African states. This has seen a number of foreign policy decisions made towards improving trade in Africa. Upon gaining independence, African maintained a strong trade relationship with their erstwhile colonizers. As of today, African countries have strong economic ties with the EU and the US. The trade agenda on the continent is remarkable for a slew of new initiatives aimed at boosting economic growth and integration by fostering free trade among African countries. One simply needs to contemplate the Continental free trade area (CFTA) now being considered, the East African Tripartite free

trade area (TFTA), or the introduction of the Common external tariff (CET) in West Africa, to name a few. ⁵⁹

Africa is often seeking an equal world economic and trade system where they are equally gaining from a trade like the rest of the world. Trade is a key component of economic growth and development. This makes it a key issue for the continent. African mainly exports raw materials and agricultural products. In turn, they import finished goods, technology, and machinery. Despite producing the raw material, Africa still has a large trade deficit. In most cases, the continent exports raw material at a cheaper price which is then used to manufacture finished goods that are then resold to Africa at a very high price. ⁶⁰

2.5.2 Foreign policy and Economic Prosperity

Kenya has always been committed to achieving economic prosperity. Economic prosperity has been at the center of Kenya's foreign relations. Kenya's key foreign relation actions priorities are driven by strong economic diplomacy. Kenya has adopted three strategies in its foreign relations to achieve economic prosperity. First, foreign relations action is aimed at promoting the country as a favorable destination for foreign direct investment (FDI). Kenya is doing this by hosting different conferences and investment forums to appeal to investors. Second, Kenya is focusing most of its foreign relations efforts on expanding the market and demand for its export goods. On this Kenya uses foreign relations to create a market for their goods through mutually beneficial regional and international trade. Third, Kenya is also seeking to expand its relations with developed countries from Asia and the west as a means to partner with them to

⁵⁹Bowmans, Intellectual Property and Consumer Protection in Kenya - Bowmans., January 8, 2020

⁶⁰ African Export-Import Bank, *African Trade Report 2018* (Afreximbank 2019)

spur their economic growth. Kenya uses her foreign relations to secure loans and grants that in turn, they use to develop the country. These entire goals are achieved through robust engagements with other countries and entities through bilateral, multilateral, regional, and international relations.⁶¹

Kenya has for a long used its foreign relations to achieve its interest. For example in the immediate post-independence period, Kenya was keen to maintain a relationship with its colonial masters. This was despite the fact that Britain was a capitalist country while Kenya took a Non-aligned stand. At that time Kenya's economic interest could best be served through closely engaging with the British. Kenya was hence reluctant to take radical foreign relations that would compromise its relationship with one of its main partners and main foreign capital. The fear of loss of Britain which was Kenya's number one foreign capital partner made Kenya opt for a positive non-alignment policy where they engaged with the country that best serves their interest. The then Kenyan president Jomo Kenyatta signed a Foreign Protection Act that assured the British of the protection of their properties in Kenya.

2.5.3 Attracting Foreign Direct Investment

As mentioned above one of the main goals of Kenya's foreign relations is to attract foreign investment. Investment is defined as expenditure for purposes other than immediate consumption. Foreign direct investment (FDI) is one of the main forms of foreign investment. The aim of foreign investors is to bring new business opportunities, capital flow, and

61 Amolo T, "Some Thoughts on Economic Diplomacy and Its impact on Economic Relations," (2009).

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technological innovations. According to Fischer, FDI is more advantageous to a country as it can supplement and activate other forms of finance. ⁶²

The FDI is important to Kenya not only through the capital for domestic investment but also through employment opportunities, proving training and technology which are important to economic development. This recognition that FDI can contribute a lot to economic development, has made Kenya focus her foreign relations towards attracting it. This is because the world market for such investment is highly competitive hence each country must strive to ensure that they attract investments. Kenya is focusing its energy on the measures that actively facilitate it through its foreign relations. ⁶³ Kenya has often projected its soft power foreign relations towards achieving economic prosperity through economic diplomacy. This has been done through intensifying foreign relations with friendly States. Through intensified foreign relations, Kenya continues to mobilize development resources and economic opportunities. ⁶⁴

Through soft power foreign relations, Kenya has been able to advance its economic interest by hosting conferences. For example, the UNCTAD 14 conference was held in Kenya. The conference provided Kenya with opportunities to appeal to foreign investors to invest in the country. The economic diplomacy approach is one way through with Kenya advances its economic interest through persuasion rather than coercion. Economic diplomacy can be defined as the strategic use of a wide range of economic tools and opportunities to achieve a

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⁶²Bowmans, T. Intellectual Property and Consumer Protection in Kenya - Bowmans., January 8, 2020

⁶³ Howell, J. "Analysis of Kenya's Foreign Policy," (Journal of Modern African studies, 1968)

⁶⁴ Melissen, J. *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2005).

state's national interest. Kenya has adopted economic diplomacy as a way of pursuing her national interest in a hostile and anarchic world. 65

2.5.4 Foreign policy and development

Ideally, foreign policy diplomatic engagement is meant to guide development with international partners in the African context. Africa in international relations discourse is often not fully championed as a space for economic growth and development by western scholars. Mulualem propounds that some States have declaratory foreign policy diplomatic engagement towards the Africa continents. For example, the United States of America and the People's Republic of China have defined their diplomatic engagement with Africa and articulated the kind of partnerships they hope to develop with target countries in their policies.

According to Keller and Kotlerthe, the United States of America has expressed its foreign policy diplomatic engagement interests towards Africa by support for democracy and the strengthening of institutions on the continent. These include free, fair, and transparent elections, coupled with supporting Africa's economic growth and development. On the other hand, China as part of her accelerated economic development utilizes foreign policy diplomatic engagement to target Africa as part of China's economic expansion. The European Union's near-supranational foreign policy addresses worldwide political and diplomatic problems, as well as matters of security and military posture. The Union has adopted a wide set of principles to guide its foreign interactions and activities affecting Africa's development in accordance

⁶⁵ Amolo, T. "Some Thoughts on Economic Diplomacy and Its impact on Economic Relations," (2009).

with the interests of its members. This does not, however, imply that the Union's member nations have abandoned their respective foreign policy diplomatic involvement with Africa.

Foreign policy diplomatic connections between Africa and Southeast Asia (SEA) have been intermittent and unstable in the past. Indonesia is the only country in the SEA that has maintained post-independence ties with several African countries. This strategy was founded on ideological and political considerations rather than economic considerations. The Bandung Conference, held in 1955 in response to an Indonesian request, was a watershed moment in the development of Africa-Asian ties. Traub discovered that China's foreign policy diplomatic engagement in Africa has gone through three distinct phases. The first phase (1955-1978) began at Bandung (Indonesia) during an Afro-Asian conference that discussed issues such as peace, economic growth, and independence of Africa, among other things. In the years thereafter, China has backed African national liberation movements. The role of ideology in Chinese diplomacy and domestic politics waned after Mao Zedong's death in 1976, almost reaching an end in 1978.

Heng argues that States and territories such as including China, India, Japan, South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, Indonesia, Bangladesh, and Myanmar consider soft power in the promotion of their national interest. The soft power of these individual countries and territories in relating especially with Africa is seen systematically using at least two-fold analytical matrix; that is, cultural appeal and the extent to which its' political values and foreign policies are designed to align with and reflect global norms. Therefore the Asia-Pacific soft power diplomacy toward Africa is sophisticated.

2.6 Conclusion

The chapter has discussed the role of foreign policy in advancing the national interest in African countries. The findings of the study were that, economic growth, development, and sustainable trade are the keys to long-term, sustainable economic growth, and development in Africa. As such the continent has placed trade as a top interest. However, the content remains marginalized and disadvantaged in international trade. Africa is a developing country, as such economic interest is one of its main goals. In order to ensure economic development, Africa has made efforts both domestic and internally to achieve economic development. Africa has employed its foreign policy tools to achieve economic development both bilaterally and multilaterally, either as individual states or as a continent. The foreign policy objectives have been aimed towards economic growth, development as well as sustainable trade.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ROLE AND IMPACT OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY PILLAR IN ADVANCING ECONOMIC INTEREST IN KENYA

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the role and impact of cultural diplomacy pillar in advancing economic interest in Kenya. States employ different strategies that align with their foreign policy to achieve national interests in the International System. These strategies can be categorized according to their geographical location, their relations with other states, and most important the resources available at their disposal. The strategies employed by Kenya to achieve economic development cannot be compared to the ones by developed countries.

3.2 Cultural Diplomacy promotes Foreign Direct Investments

Kenya has one of the most diverse economies in East Africa, however, they have consistently reported lower Foreign Direct Investments than their counterparts. In 2012, a total of US\$ 1.70 billion was channeled through Tanzania from its offshore gas and oil mining. Similarly, Tanzania's investment inflows, as evidenced in the data from UNCTAD. As such, Kenya has looked at diplomatic options with the key aim being to enhance and strengthen its trade with other countries at the international level. Foreign Policies have taken the greatest part in the economic development of many countries moreover, countries who have implemented foreign policy effectively have attracted foreign direct investments. This has led to great economic development because of positive competition, an investor will only settle for a

⁶⁶Yakop, M. and Bergeijk, P.A.G. 'Economic diplomacy, trade and developing countries', *Cambridge Journal of Region, Economies and Society*, Vol. 4,(2016), pp.253–267

⁶⁷ Fosu, Augustin K. ''Exports and Economic growth: The African case,'' World Development 18, no 6 (2010),

country whose terms of trading are favorable to them and losses can be minimized and profits maximized. Foreign direct investments can directly improve economic performance by providing more external resources. Foreign Direct Investment is significant because it contributes to capacity building through technology transfers, for example, external firms train local employees on how to perform specific activities related to their operations. ⁶⁸ This has been promoted by cultural diplomacy in Kenya, where Kenya's culture has been promoted in other countries, with the government allocating budget for the activities.

Kenya- China inter-cultural exchanges is one program that has to boost the talent of the youth in Kenya, under the program the youth are given a platform to showcase their talent and travel to China for capacity building, hence this also helps the country to grow economically. This is according to the speech made by Dr. Kiprop Lagat, the director of Culture in the Ministry of Sports, Kenya expects foreign direct investment to exceed Sh200 billion, thanks to increasing investor interest and confidence in the country's economic environment. Kenya Investment Authority (KIA) managing director Moses Ikiara said the improved business environment, along with scheduled, high-profile investment forums, continues to draw investors from across the world. Foreign direct investment (FDI) is rapidly increasing because of the better business climate, hence it is estimated that the FDI inflows to increase in coming years. ⁶⁹ This is mainly due to increased political and cultural exchange between Kenya and China. The Chinese government has promoted capacity building in Kenya it is a form of investing in the country hence the culture sector develops, in the long run, the economy develops as well. At the end

⁸³¹⁻⁸³⁵

 $^{^{68}}$ Bowmans, T. Intellectual Property and Consumer Protection in Kenya - Bowmans., January 8, 2020

⁶⁹https://www.kenyachamber.or.ke/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/why_kenya_needs_economic_diplomacy.pdf

of the program, some of the youths get employed both in Kenya and China. Foreign Investment has the industrial effect of lowering overall production levels and increasing the competitiveness of country products in the international market, as well as facilitating the transfer of cost-effective technologies. Through direct and indirect technical transfer, Foreign Direct Investment is thought to close the technological gap that exists in the developing nations.

Kenya has also used the hosting of mega events to promote its economic interest through cultural diplomacy. Because mega events promote investment, tourism, and trade, harnessing nation branding possibilities through such events has become a strategy for improving nation brands, and Kenya is leading the way in Africa in this respect. ⁷¹During such events, the promotion of Kenyan cultural products that are done through gifting and marketing of Kenyan products. Kenya has a variety of products that are recognized internationally like Kenyan Coffee and Tea. Giving cultural gifts such as tea, jewelry, coffee, and textiles at international events such as athletics competitions, sports, and international conferences is one of the strategies considered to provide local businesses more market exposure that will influence economic development in the country by attracting Foreign Direct Investments (FDI). A few of the country's products have found their way to the global market. Enda shoes, running shoes made in Kenya for instance, are recognized on the international sporting world. ⁷²

 $\overline{70}$ Ibid

⁷¹ Mary Luseka,, *Brand Kenya Board*, *TICAD*, *UNCTAD enhancing Kenya's brand*. The Exchange. Published July 4, 2016.

⁷² Ross W. *Introducing Enda: Kenyan-made Running Shoes* | Zafiri. Published December 2, 2020.

National economic prosperity is fueled by hosting sporting mega-events. This has become increasingly significant to governments' diplomatic strategies. Bidding and hosting are mainly influenced by the economic rewards to the hosting country. Developing countries have gradually begun to assert their right to host international competitions and so gain monetary rewards. Hosting these international competition entails considerable expenditures as well as the potential for major rewards in terms of industry relocation, tourism, and inward investment.⁷³ Apart from giving spotlight to the hosting country, sports activities stimulate trade.

The decision to host conferences in Kenya strengthens Kenya's status as the region's economic hub. Kenya is considered as the suitable venue because of its leadership position in East Africa's socioeconomic development, as well as its vitality and innovative creativity. The government not only creates an opportunity for the sharing of experiences and ideas by holding these conferences, but it also helps to promote Kenya as a desirable tourism and conferencing location. The additional revenue that comes with hosting local and international delegations benefits the local hospitality industry as well.

According to the study's findings, cultural diplomacy facilitates state-to-state cooperation and encouragement to learn more about various cultures. As a result, it is beneficial to build an emotional bond, which is cultural exchanges, to achieve successful cultural diplomacy between nations. Emotional attachments are an important fact in promoting cultural diplomacy.⁷⁴ Once nations have formed the bond of togetherness through various cultural exchanges then they

73 Bowmans, T. Intellectual Property and Consumer Protection in Kenya - Bowmans., January 8, 2020

⁷⁴ Mans, Minette. *Living in Words of Music: A view of Education and Values, Springers*, USA (2009).p. 45

tend to do activities together which range from trading to voting. This also explains why up to date the African continent is still divided into the francophone and the Anglophone, this has been witnessed severally when voting is done, and hence the voting is attributed to the shared way of doing activities.

According to Ramasamy and Yeung, ⁷⁵ states that the importance of diplomatic relations to the provision of foreign direct investment in developing nations. According to popular belief, good diplomatic connections have a positive impact on foreign direct investment in developing countries. Furthermore, it is stated that economic cooperation between foreign direct investments partners and the host countries is facilitated by improved diplomatic relations, as this has been evident through the signing of international trade agreements. Cultural diplomacy has played an important role in the promotion of foreign direct investment in terms of good diplomatic relations Kenya is one country that has a cultural center for various countries, and this has also been included in the learning institutions, where students are taught French, Chinese, South Korea, Germany, Spanish, and vice versa Kiswahili which is an official language in Kenya is also being taught in other countries. This is one way that the respective countries have engaged with one another, in promoting foreign direct investments.

Branding is another form of cultural diplomacy strategy that has been used by Kenya. The Cultural Diplomacy dimension of branding entails schematization to obtain a profitable product. The business motivation of branding distinguishes it from other forms of cultural diplomacy. ⁷⁶ For business purposes, culture and branding are two sides of the same coin,

75 Ibid

⁷⁶ Glade, William. Enhancing International Dialogue. *Unpublished paper on file at the Center for Arts and Culture*, Washington, D.C., (2000), p.89

cultural diplomacy is an effective tool that has been used over the years to promote the branding or the national image of any country. Perfecting the art of branding equals more business opportunities for the country, hence the economic growth and development. Taking Kenya for instance she has promoted its culture to perfections that many foreigners have invested into the country. Kenya's athletics is one part of the culture that has enhanced the country's national image internationally, hence investors have sponsored some of the teams for international competitions. Investors also coming to Kenya to learn why Kenya is known worldwide for perfecting the art of running.

Cultural diplomacy has brought to the Kenyan economy foreign direct investments which go directly to the country, with this comes the development and growth of the country's economy. The economic development of the country is attributed to the numerous cultures the country has to offer, a variety of cultures noting that currently, Kenya has 42 tribes each tribe has its way of doing activities which form the uniqueness of Kenya. Generally, cultural diplomacy has impacted the economic development of Kenya and cultural diplomacy is one of the key pillars of her foreign policy. Culture has been placed at the center of Kenya attaining its vision 2030, in clear terms without the aspect of cultural diplomacy much of the economic development can be attained so economic and cultural diplomacy goes hand in hand.

3.3 National Development through Cultural Diplomacy

For any nation's growth and survival are dependent on development. This is most of the time associated with positive growth and variations. Changes in people's physical, economic, political, and social components produce quantitative and qualitative variations, which are

referred to as development. ⁷⁷ National development is defined as a scenario in which individuals make sufficient use of diverse resources, both natural and human, to benefit from them. People use development to reclaim the resources that were once freely available to live a fulfilling life. ⁷⁸ The human resource under cultural diplomacy is what an individual can make out of it, in the case of Kenya it has created avenues where one can make a decent living out of culture. Arts is one way of promoting the country's culture and in return, it collects revenue to develop the country. People respect growth as a concept that liberates people from economic stagnation, natural ties, physical and cultural alienation, repressive technical bodies, political exploiters, and unequal class system. As a result, national development can be defined as the overall growth of a nation's collective political, religious, and socioeconomic advancement. As a multi-dimensional series of steps, development necessitates the participation of many people, across the board which varies from economic, social and political. For National Development to occur it must be ready for the changes from the cultural, economic, technological, social, educational and political sectors.

According to e Cuellar, he defines National Development is the method by which a community or a nation improves its standards of living both materially and in terms of its national values.⁷⁹ Development advocated for the societal type of welfare, where an individual's advancement is based on the kind of relations the person creates which should be good in all sectors of the economy. As a result, it is important to recognize that progress is an economic strategy that incorporates both political and socio-economic difficulties, as well as other aspects of social

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⁷⁷ Bowmans, T. *Intellectual Property and Consumer Protection in Kenya* - Bowmans., January 8, 2020

⁷⁸ William Wallace, *The Foreign Policy Process in Britain* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1977) p.1

⁷⁹Bowmans, T. Intellectual Property and Consumer Protection in Kenya - Bowmans., January 8, 2020

life. ⁸⁰ Cultural diplomacy in Kenya is one part of the economy that has promoted the social aspect of human life. It has given individuals a platform to showcase their talents and at the same time make a living for themselves, hence reducing the level of unemployment in Kenya. The creation of many job opportunities reduces the rate of illegal activities such as crimes, robbery with violence, drug trafficking. A country with a low crime rate has created an enabling environment for a foreign investor to invest in the respective country as opposed to a country with a high crime rate. Cultural diplomacy is an alternative to prevent such activities as selling Kenya's cultures to other countries has put it on the globe map as an international destination for cultural exchange.

Sen defines development as the constant qualitative and quantitative expansion of existing resources and facilities to achieve a bigger and efficient state. ⁸¹ This signifies that there has been progress from one stage to the next, as seen by improved resource allocation and use and increased efficiency. Development is defined as a multi-faceted process in which non-monetary factors are at least as important as monetary factors, and it entails achieving multiple goals at the same time, such as equity and growth. Freedom must be prioritized to achieve the development goal. People must be allowed to be seen and heard in this instance, which means they must be actively involved and allowed to define and shape their destiny without any form of interference. They should not be viewed as beneficiaries who are oblivious to the effect of development planning. On understanding development, it is safe to say for a nation to achieve total national development and growth, its citizens must be able to break through from

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⁸⁰ Tolu, Lawal, and Abe Oluwatoyin. "National Development in Nigeria: Issues, challenges and prospects." *Journal of Public Administration and Policy Research* 3, no 9 (2011),p 239

⁸¹ Amartya Kumar, S. *Development as Freedom*. New York: Alfred A . Knopf, 2000 p.50

repressive environmental actors and rely on feelings and the structures- political, social, economic, and cultural to revitalize and transform their value system. When the freedom of an individual is attained then one can't be dependent on one part of the economy it gives the space to venture into the cultural aspect as a way of making ends meet.

3.4 Tourism promotion under Cultural Diplomacy

According to the World Travel and Tourism Council, the tourism sector accounts for roughly eight percent of worldwide gross domestic product, six percent global exports, and about eight percent of global employment. ⁸² World Tourism Organization states that the tourism sector is one of the key contributors of up to the world's export of eighty - three percent, as indicated in all the nations in the international system. ⁸³ The function of tourism to the economy is divided into three parts as the indirect, and direct role, and induced impact. Tourism spending their money on traditional tourism products such as paying an entry fee at a tourist attraction site like the Nairobi National Park reflect the direct impacts. The indirect impact is when a tourist buys goods that got locally in the market, for example buying vegetables and fruits from a local market, when they purchase the locally available raw products and use it for their end product which is the cooked food. The induced impact is when the employed nationals purchase locally produced goods.

The tourism sector accounts for a total of three percent of the world's total employment rate. In Kenya, the Kenya Wildlife Center has accounted for over two percent of the total employed

 82 William Wallace, The Foreign Policy Process in Britain (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1977) p.1

⁸³ World Tourism Organization, '*The Least Developed countries and International Tourism*', in tourism in the least developed countries, edited by the World Tourism Organization. Madrid; World Tourism Organization.

persons not forgetting the private sectors who have ventured into the hospitality industry. Tourism is an elaboration of other sectors of the economy and an increase in the returns got from tourism will impact other sectors positively. In Kenya, the tourism sector is a sub pillar in the economic pillar, which has been given the mandate for the transformation of the country for the better in the realization of her vision 2030. 84 The tourism sector is part of the culture of Kenya as a nation, Kenya is the only country in the world that has a national park in the middle of the capital city of Nairobi, this has been a selling point for the country as many foreigners come to Kenya to see the national park that is located in the middle of the city. In the process various animals have been adopted by foreigners, hence they cater to all the needs of the animals, some of them have also invested in the tourism sector and also partnered with the animal conservation sanctuaries. Just by sharing the culture of Kenya with the rest of the world, it has promoted so many investments coming in the country some have been a long time while others short term.

Cultural tourism is a valuable instrument for recognizing, conserving, and showcasing a state's distinct heritage. It's also a viable strategy to boost a state's economy since it expands artist opportunities, stimulates public involvement in the arts, and enables cultural trade. During such activities, it is expected that a strengthened cultural diplomacy would boost to increasing visitor numbers and economic activity. Kenya has hosted several cultural mega-events that have attracted tourists into the country, hence returns for the country's economy, for example in 2003 Kenya hosted Cricket World Cup, in the 2007 IAAF World Cross Country

⁸⁴ Akama, J. *The efficacy of tourism as a tool for economic development in Kenya*. (2000) In A. Bujra (Eds), Development policy management in Sub-Saharan Africa: Tourism and African development – Trends and critical issues. DPMN Bulletin. 7 (1). Addis Ababa: Commercial Printing Enterprise.

⁸⁵William Wallace, *The Foreign Policy Process in Britain* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1977) p.1

Championship, also hosted CECAFA. Annually Kenya hosts Kenya Commercial Bank (KCB) Safari Rally, which attracts players across the globe, Kenya Open Golf Tournament, Rhino Charge. Kenya is home to a variety of cultural events such as Koroga Festivals, Blanket and Wines festivals, Lamu Cultural festival, *Story Moja* festival, Lamu Yoga festivals. The above events have put Kenya on the international platform as a key destination for tourism, cultural events have promoted the economic interests of Kenya as one of the factors to the growth and development of her economy.

Through cultural diplomacy, for economic development in Kenya Mechanisms have been developed to cater for this. This includes promoting the Kiswahili language, gifting and marketing the Kenyan cultural products, the face of Kenya Abroad, Leveraging Athletics and sports, Identification and appointments of Cultural Ambassadors, and the promotion and protection of Kenya's Cultural Heritage. Kenyan antiquities and artworks have been undervalued in the Kenyan market, resulting in them being sold locally at a lower cost as opposed to how they are been sold outside of the Kenyan market. This is largely attributed to the dominance of international brands in the home market, which is not good for domestic products. Some of Kenya's homemade products have found their way to the international market. Enda shoes, for example, are sold on the international sports market. ⁸⁶ This being an isolated case for a Kenyan's products there is more need to distribute cultural products to the international market as this is key in promoting economic development and growth.

According to the Ministry for culture one of the initiatives, it has been working on to give the local market exposure to the international market is by giving cultural gifts, for example, what

 $^{^{86} \}mbox{Bowmans}, \mbox{T.}$ Intellectual Property and Consumer Protection in Kenya - Bowmans., January 8, 2020

Kenya is best known for to producing tea, coffee, artworks on international events such as the Olympics. By taking such initiatives it will open doors for the local markets to an international platform. According to Hellen and Spencer, they state that reinforced cultural diplomacy will promote a large number of visits into a country, hence an increase in economic activities during cultural events. This in return will promote the economic development of and country. Kiswahili language is one key part of the Kenyan culture and is one of the official languages. Kiswahili is also one of the official languages for the African Union, this shows the importance for the language to be promoted at the international level to enhance Kenya's cultural diplomacy as a way of improving the economy because it is very crucial.

Cultural Diplomacy has had an impact on Kenya. Sports, for example, have undoubtedly contributed significantly to Kenya's economic development. The fact that sport is one of the country's most economic sectors is undeniable. Sport, like other commodities, has been created, marketed, and sold to the general population who intern have embraced it as a key element on how to spend their leisure time. Sports have created so many job opportunities from policymakers, the sportspeople, government officials who are in charge of sporting activities in the country, this has also impacted the development and growth of Kenya's economic sector.

⁸⁷Hellen, Spencer-Oatey, Cultural Speaking, p.102

⁸⁸UN system-wide web platform "Sport for Development and Peace- The UN System in Action" (2012)

3.5 Cultural Exchange through Cultural Diplomacy and the impact on Economic Development

Most of the conflicts in a given society normally occur when a group of individuals put an effort into trying to impose its specific culture on others who may not be interested in getting to know the culture. Cultural diplomacy comes to play as a significant component of every government's diplomatic events to resolve or avoid cultural conflicts and regulate cultural institutions to promote state culture. Culture, according to Linton, refers to clearly defined sets of phenomena, objects, and activities, as well as distinct behavioral categories. ⁸⁹ Culture is described as anything that doesn't change from its natural state, but is derived from man's conscious effort, and is the result of separate laws that are not written.

According to Lederach, the interchange of culture dates back to ancient times; it involves the sharing of literature, music, art, studies, sports, and publications, among other things, The impact of one culture on another grows as a result of the exchanges, resulting in a beneficial outcome. As a result, cultural exchange is helpful since it improves inter-state connection and encourages people to people to learn more about other people's cultures. ⁹¹ Cultural exchange is one avenue that a country can utilize to advance its economic interests. Cultural diplomacy to be effective a country must make sure it promotes an emotional attachment to it as this will make the engagement to be fruitful. Oche notes that individuals tend to recognize if and when repeatedly and frequently exposed to the culture of another country favorably. ⁹² The ability to

⁸⁹ Robert, Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality*, London: Routledge and K.Paul, (1952) p.31

⁹⁰ Ibid

⁹¹ John Paul, Lederach, *The Moral Imagination*, Oxford University Press (2005), p. 102-103

⁹² Oche," Principles of International Relations" in R.A. Akindele and B.E. Ete (ed) Selected reading on Nigerian

embrace any existing distinctions among communities or states, as well as build a shared understanding of each group, is required for cultural interchange across nations. It is intertwined with many facets of society, including the environment, politics, and economics among others.

Cultural exchange has created employment both in the country and out of the country. In the case of Kenya in partnership with other entities, an example is International Cultural Youth Exchange, which is a Non-Governmental Organization started in 1989, the main aim of the organization is to create employment opportunities for Kenya's population this done by volunteer positions and is promoted by the diversity of culture in Kenya, the youths are involved in also working with those who are financially incapable by making Kenya's artwork, for example, beading, tailoring which are then sold to the international market as supported by the NGO. This has enhanced the economic development of Kenya as it gets taxes from the end products moreover the raw material is got locally. Kenya has also partnered with states such as the United States of America, China. To promote the culture of both countries, this has been very productive for the Kenyan economy as domestic cultural products are sold in the United States of America, with the removal of some of the trading barriers is beneficial to the cultural exchange activities. To promote the study of the Chinese Language and culture, China is pushing the creation of Confucius Institutes on universities campuses across the world, for example at the University of Nairobi Chinese is taught as one of the foreign languages, and also at Kenyatta University.

Institute of International Affairs (NIIA) Course series, vol 1, no 1. Ibadan: Vantage Publishers International Limited, O. (2000)

Cultural exchange between Kenya and China has nourished the relationship between two countries, Sino-Kenya cultural exchange program was established fifty years ago. China has awarded multiple scholarships to policymakers, scholars, students to visit the country and learn about its unique culture. The cultivated friendship between the countries has made significant inroads to Kenya's economic cooperation with China, to further the relationship it has ventured into education, culture, and arts. ⁹³ The impact of cultural exchange is that it creates room for more foreign investors who come to invest in the cultural sector as a way of growing the economy.

Cultural diplomacy, on the other hand, is an important tool for collecting civilizations and encouraging cultural variety. According to Susanne et al, human needs to understand distinct cultures and what they mean for each state to avoid war. ⁹⁴ This is an important aspect of the international system to understand different cultures as this will prevent culture clashes. In the African context for example culture is no longer just for entertainment among countries but it has developed into an important tool that can be utilized to promote the development agenda in Africa, ⁹⁵ the majority of countries are now engaging in cultural exchange to promote economic interests across the continent.

This study contends that little effort has been made to comprehend the value of cultural interaction between two or more countries. As a result, the embassy will continue to engage in

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⁹³ Cultural exchanges nourish Sino-Kenya friendship. http://www.china.org.cn

⁹⁴ Schech, Susanne and Haggis, Jane; *Culture and Development*. A critical introduction, Blacwell Publishing, (2000), p.19

⁹⁵ Radcliffe, Sarah. *Cultural Development in a Globalizing World*. Geographies, actors, and paradigms, Routledge, New York, (2006), pp. 36-37

the culture to send a social message in addition to using art. Kenya needs to put into place policies that tackle cultural exchange to benefit from what is available on the international stage. Sports is one of the greatest strengths for Kenya, which forms the concept of public policy and with such capabilities, Kenya should employ the necessary policy to promote it to the maximum. The long-term goal of cultural diplomacy is to significantly improve a country's image and expand the number of potential targets for direct diplomatic dialogue. A country with a good image in the international system will encourage investors to invest in a specific country, which should be the objective of every nation.

Berridge goes on to say that global information distribution is critical for development and that it is not limited to emerging technologies like the internet and real-time news that allow people to send messages throughout the world in a short amount of time. To improve development, public diplomacy supports both global and bilateral diplomacy by promoting national interests such as international tourism and commerce promotion, as well as the search for knowledge, which leads to interaction and collaboration in the long run. Countries will collaborate on many issues affecting individual states in the International system, especially in the economic sector as this will promote growth and development. Cultural exchange concerning economic interests has promoted the development of a variety of sectors which include the tourism sectors, sports among others. ⁹⁶

⁹⁶Berridge, G.R. Diplomacy. *Theory and Practice. Basingstoke*, New York: Palgrave Macmillian, (2005).

3.6 Cultural Diplomacy Creates Enabling Environment for Economic Development

Understanding, prevention, mitigation, and recovery from conflict and disagreements are all aided by cultural awareness. The importance of culture in achieving peace and reconciliation cannot be overstated. Peace in most cases can only be achieved through cultural understanding and awareness of other people's way of doing things, which is always nonviolence. In the international system, we have lots of challenges which affect every country in the world, which include the unpredicted rise in the ocean level, the economic crisis which occurs more often than not, especially during this global pandemic covid-19 which has messed all economies in the world even the developed nations are on the receiving end of the economic crisis, no country is spared, all the above are a reminder to the threats to unsustainable development.

The increase in inequalities in society has contributed to the high level of poverty in the underdeveloped nations including Kenya which the level of unemployment is very high, the lack of future perceptive from the youth has been attributed to the high crime rates in Kenya. However, amid these difficulties, there is a desire for peace, which indicates the need to find a better way to live together in this world of uncertainty, which is all too often witnessed in the birth of various forms of violence. The most difficult question is how to best approach global unity while fully appreciating the diversity of various cultures and avoiding the fear response when confronted with otherness. ⁹⁷ Peace is a necessity and a responsibility that has always been and will continue to be a permanent ideal and aspiration. However, in today's world,

 $^{^{97}\,}$ Bowmans, T. Intellectual Property and Consumer Protection in Kenya - Bowmans., January 8, 2020

global peace is in jeopardy. While wars are growing more common, violence, civil turmoil, and conflict may continue to characterize many people's lives.

Peace demands regular mediations attentions, and active participation as a process of political, economic, and cultural negotiation. It necessitates commitment and a long-term vision, which includes a blend of traditional and contemporary approaches to understanding the origins of disputes, preventing violence, and paving the way to reconciliation and healing. Peace and long-term growth are mutually beneficial. Culture emerges as a critical component of long-term peace and development. The way to inclusive social, economic development, environmental sustainability, peace, and security, on the other hand, is firmly rooted in a culture that is understood in its spiritual, material, intellectual, and emotional dimension and encompasses a wide range of value systems, traditional, and beliefs. In a distinct but direct way, culture informs and shapes people's attitudes about sustainable development in states, conflict, and reconciliation. It finds and builds routes to long-term conflict resolution and healing. Culture also influences how people interact with one another in a very peaceful and understanding manner in a given society. On the topmost of Kenya's foreign policy, the key to achieving all that the country has put in place is peace and security is a priority to the country as stated on its foreign policy as a national interest.

Cultural diplomacy has created peace and enabled an environment for business to take place in Kenya. The majority of countries investing in Kenya do solely so because of its political and economic stability. For instance, the East African Community (EAC), do business together because of the shared similarities and culture, which makes them understand each other better as they are from a similar block this is promoted great cooperation among the countries in the East African Community. Kenya has maintained several diplomatic multi-lateral diplomatic

engagements with her neighboring countries, having signed multiple economic trade agreements.

With Kenya's key trading partners being Uganda and Tanzania, the countries have embraced each other's culture. ⁹⁸ Making Kiswahili one of the official languages at the Africa Union is one way of inclusivity as the majority of countries in Africa speak Kiswahili, which also enables easy communication, hence promoting trading within the region which so far has been very successful. During the 2007 and 2008 post-election violence Kenya used its culture to change the perspective of Kenya abroad using renowned Kenya's athletic to promote peace and to encourage investment in the country. This is a situation that where cultural diplomacy was used to send a diplomatic message to the rest of the world and to create awareness that Kenya is a safe country for investment.

According to Michelle LeBaron, culture is an important aspect of conflict and conflict resolution. Cultures are like underground rivers that flow through our lives and relationships, sending us messages that form our self-perceptions, attributions, judgments, and notions about the other. Culture may both aid social cohesion and explain social exclusion and xenophobia as a source of identity, meaning, and belonging. ⁹⁹ In South Africa xenophobia has been very rampant, the most recent was in 2019 which was targeted to the non-South African, this lead

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 $^{^{98}}$ Yakop, M. and Bergeijk, P.A.G. 'Economic diplomacy, trade and developing countries', *Cambridge Journal of Region, Economies and Society*, Vol. 4,(2016), pp.253–267

⁹⁹Michelle. L. *Bridging cultural conflicts: A new approach for a changing world*: Vancouver; British Columbia (2003).

to the loss of lives destruction of property, making the economy to be at its worse as so many businesses were burnt down. 100

Sen adds that a sense of identity can be a source not merely of pride and joy, but also strength and confidence. ¹⁰¹ In abandonment, though, identity can kill. A strong sense of self can have a significant impact on interpersonal relationships. At the same time, it's critical to acknowledge that a strong sense of self may both exclude and embrace individuals. Identity is a key source of wealth on the same light it can create conflict as one culture would want to empower the other, but in the essence of cultural diplomacy, it promotes the aspect of embracing each other's cultures and learning as much as possible concerning the other person's way of doing things for the interest of every country in the world as this will promote economic advancement. According to Mulcahy, the goal of cultural diplomacy at its most effective is to foster understanding and cooperation between national governments for mutual benefits. ¹⁰²,

It is no secret that Cultural diplomacy has promoted peace and security in Kenya, hence this has impacted a lot in terms of the economic advancement of the country. In the international system, no state can develop economically when the state is politically unstable, which in most cases results in conflict, this will create an environment of economic stabilities. No investor can opt for a country with continuous conflict. Most countries that are in constant conflict don't develop economically over time. This is what cultural diplomacy has done to the Kenyan

¹⁰⁰ South African: Widespread Xenophobic Violence. www.hrw.org

¹⁰¹ Amartya Sen, Identity and violence: *The Illusion and violence*, Penguin, USA (2007)

¹⁰²Yakop, M. and Bergeijk, P.A.G. 'Economic diplomacy, trade and developing countries', *Cambridge Journal of Region, Economies and Society*, Vol. 4,(2016), pp.253–267

economy it has created a conducive environment to promote economic development and growth.

3.7 Conclusion

The chapter has discussed the role and impact of cultural diplomacy pillar in advancing economic interest in Kenya. The findings of the chapter were that there are various reasons why Kenya uses cultural diplomacy to advance its economic interest. The above has a greater impact on economic development this has also enhanced Kenya's image internationally which is perfect from a business perceptive, this has made the country attractive to investors who would like to work or invest in the country for the process of economic development and growth. As such cultural diplomacy has been used to advance Kenya's economic interest by making Kenya attractive and bringing in more foreign direct investment. Similarly, cultural diplomacy has helped Kenya promote itself as the preferred tourism destination in Africa. Kenya has used cultural diplomacy to advance its trade agenda by enhancing its relations with China, Japan, and other major trading partners thereby improving its trade relations with the rest of the world.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CHALLENGES OF ADVANCING KENYA'S ECONOMIC INTEREST THROUGH CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the study has looked at the role and impact of the cultural diplomacy pillar in advancing economic interest in Kenya. This fourth chapter will analyze the challenges of advancing Kenya's economic interest through cultural diplomacy. This chapter will investigate the challenges facing cultural diplomacy in promoting economic interest in Kenya. Cultural activities have a significant role in economic development through a variety of avenues; these opportunities provide an outlet for the growth and expression of cultural diplomacy, with the goal of achieving economic development. There are both internal and external difficulties to cultural diplomacy that impede it and explain why it is not being used to its full potential to promote economic growth.

4.2 Demographic Characteristic of the Respondent

This section presents the key demographic characteristics adopted by the study which include the response rate, gender of the respondents

4.2.1 Response Rate

The data was collected by administering questionnaires and Interviews to the officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of trade officials, officials from the Ministry of sports and culture, Ambassadors, Envoys, and Cultural diplomats. A total of 51 questionnaires was

given out, and all were returned. This represented a response rate of 100% which provided a very reliable conclusion for this study.

Table 4.1: Response rate

Target group	Sample (n)	Returned Questionnaires
Officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs	10	10
Ministry of trade and industry officials	10	10
Officials from the Ministry of sports and culture	10	10
Ambassadors	7	7
Envoys	7	7
Cultural diplomats	7	7

Source: Author (2021)

4.2.2 Gender

The majority of respondents were males at 57%, while the females were 43%, as presented in figure 2.1. The gender dynamics was important to this study because different social-economic activities affect gender differently.

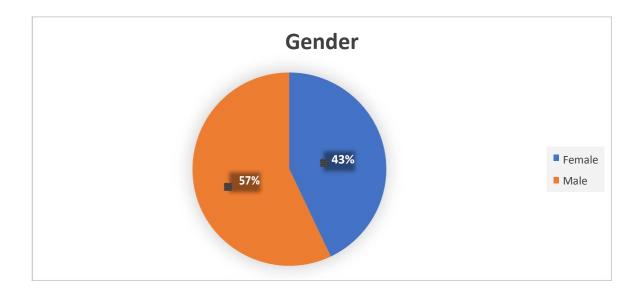


Figure 4.1: Gender of the respondents

4.2.3 Age of the Respondents

A total of 51 respondents were interviewed which was a success, as they ranged from various respective Ministries from trade and foreign affairs, the embassy, Cultural diplomats. The respondent's ages ranged from 20 to 62 years as indicated below. The age between 20 - 33 years comprised 23% of the respondents, with the 34 - 42 years age bracket being the majority number of respondents at 41%, 43 - 58 were represented by 21%, and finally, 59 - 62% were represented by 15%.

It was critical to assess the respondents' educational level to determine whether or not they grasped the research study. Post-graduate made up the majority of the responders, accounting for 83% of the total. The remaining respondents had a bachelor's degree. This demonstrated the correspondents' ability to comprehend, the subject of the research study. While 40% of respondents were senior management at their respective workplaces, the majority which was 60% were in junior management. This goes to show that the respondents were reliable in responding to the research study. The age of the respondents was important to the study since different sets of age are affected differently by human trafficking.

Table 4.2: Age bracket of the respondents

Age Bracket	Frequency	Percentage
20–33	12	23
34–42	21	41
43–58	11	21
59–62	8	15
Total	51	100.0

Source: Field Data, 2021

4.3 Challenges to Kenya's Foreign Relations

Under Vision 2030, the social pillar identifies culture as a critical facilitator for the country's socioeconomic, political, and cultural progress. It is acknowledging Kenya's cultural history has great promise, and it is critical that we take use of it for the benefit of the country. One of Vision 2030's main flagship objectives is the formation of an international arts and cultural center for the development of young talents and cross-cultural dialogue. This initiative is crucially significant for Kenya's creative and cultural sector development. Once finalized, the venture will create a national arena for cultural representation discourse as well as public places to promote cultural appreciation, as well as facilities for the development, creation, and distribution of cultural products and services. ¹⁰³

Kenya's Foreign policy compromises of five interconnected diplomacy pillars set to aid in achieving its national interests. The pillars include peace, culture, environment, economic and the diaspora pillar. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) undertook to create a roadmap for the application and actualization of the cultural diplomacy pillar by formulating the Kenya's 2018-2022 Cultural Diplomacy strategy. There also exits a national policy on culture and heritage that was developed to guarantee that the country's cultural heritage is protected and fostered. These initiatives demonstrate that Kenya considers culture and cultural diplomacy as vital tools for achieving national goals and boosting economic growth and development. However there exist a number of challenges hindering the promotion of economic interest through cultural diplomacy.

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¹⁰³Kenya Vision 2030. Kenya Vision 2030. *Diversity of Cultural Expressions*. Published July 22, 2020.

4.3.1 Lack of resources

According to respondents from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the conduct of foreign relations is not a cheap affair. Compared to other developed countries of the north, Kenya is still categorized as a developing country of the third world. Kenya is not fully economically developed and has a financial weakness. Due to this, the conduct of foreign relations is strained in numerous ways. The obvious is that since Kenya is financially weak, it cannot establish strategic embassies and foreign missions around the world. Lack of finances also limits Kenya from employing an adequate number of diplomatic staff to carry out foreign relations. This in turn limits it from achieving its national interest.

Kenya is also struggling with the debt crisis. Kenya's debt is rising to dangerous levels. As it stands now Kenya's debt is at around 4trillion which is 56% of the country's GDP. This means that Kenya owes more than half of its GDP. This swelling debt has a negative impact on Kenya's foreign relations as it not only hinders the conduct of foreign relations but also dents the country's image. The state's Image is important in the conduct of foreign relations. 104 Financial weakness also impacts the conduct of foreign relations given that Kenya depends on financially stable countries for financial loans and aid. Therefore, whenever the interest of Kenya and the donor nation clashes, Kenya is disadvantaged in terms of advancing its interest. 105

 $^{^{104} \}text{Kagwanja, P.} \textit{``Economic diplomacy transforming Kenya into a global soft power'', Sunday nation September}$ 4 2016

¹⁰⁵Odipo L." sharpening foreign policy for prosperity," Daily nation MAY 29th 2017

Kenya faces the challenge of inadequate human and financial resources to promote cultural diplomacy. Because many African and developing nations do not understand the value of cultural diplomacy as a tool for advancing national interests and achieving economic development, limited financing is allocated to the creative and cultural sector. Agriculture and manufacturing industries receive special attention during budget development and allocation, resulting in a dependency on donors. Different donors have taken a variety of financial initiatives, which have prompted acclaim and criticism from the sector as a whole. Artists, sportspersons, and people from the creative sector who contribute to cultural diplomacy have long complained about a lack of support, inadequate or non-existent infrastructure, expertise, and funding to further their careers and craft. ¹⁰⁶

Donors have been stepping in for years to help with some of these issues. Concerns have been expressed that donor funding for the industry has generated dependency, inhibited creativity, and stunted creative artists' economic development. The majority of financiers come in to advertise and promote things. Potential funders are also looking for trade volumes to serve as security and an assurance that their investment will be repaid. Governments, on the other hand, must deal with "more significant" concerns such as poverty, natural and manmade disasters, education and health care, and physical infrastructure development. ¹⁰⁷

Sports financing has always been a source of contention in the country. In a study of athletics coach training in Kenya, insufficient financing, corruption, and misappropriation of funds were shown to be major factors in poor program execution. In addition, due to a lack of funding,

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¹⁰⁶Roberts A. *Always Behind: Kenya's Languishing Creative Industry*. The Elephant. Published January 10, 2019.

¹⁰⁷ Challenges of funding creative industries in Africa. The East African. Published December 2, 2010.

teams intended for international events would be reduced to a bare minimum. Inadequate financing also has an impact on the number and diversity of incentives offered to athletes. This destroys their enthusiasm and prevents them from achieving higher levels of performance.

In sports federations, leadership wrangling and chances to control funds and resources are frequent conflicts and squabbles. This draws focus away from sports growth, sponsorship deals withdrawal, court cases, the mistreatment of athletes, and worldwide censure by sports federations. Many excellent Kenyan athletes have transferred to other nations and changed nationalities due to the lucrative offers to further their careers in foreign countries. This is a strong indication that athletics are not well-represented in the regional sports industry. Other countries have recruited footballers, leading to the loss of talent in the country.

4.3.2 Poor coordination

The majority of the respondents noted that coordination is required at both the national and local levels, as well as among all stakeholders, throughout the processes in order to achieve the goals of economic interest through cultural diplomacy. A fundamental concern is the lack of industry cohesiveness and weak collective bargaining arrangements. Kenya's creative sector needs structure, leadership, and forums for involvement to encourage inclusive advocacy. Because one cannot function without the other, the Ministries, Departments, and Agencies (MDAs) that are required to collaborate for the efficiency and implementation of the cultural diplomacy strategy are lax. The Kenyan government's MDAs are highly interconnected, and collaboration is critical to the success of strategy and policy execution therefore within the sectors, there are weak links and inadequate coordination and involvement in the implementation, monitoring, and reporting.

4.3.3. Asymmetric relation between Kenya and developed countries

In terms of its foreign relations, Kenya is seen to easily adapt to new realities and threats. Kenya is a developing country belonging to the state of the Third World, lacks the capability to influence or shape the international agenda. This, therefore, means that Kenya often responds to international issues rather than being at the center of them. In terms of foreign relations hence, Kenya has to set its foreign relations to respond to international events and happenings. This often affects foreign relations decision making since Kenya has to make decisions based not only on its national interest but also in line with the events and happenings of the international system at the time. ¹⁰⁸

The asymmetric nature of the relation between Kenya and developed states has often presented another challenge of intellectual Property rights. Intellectual Property rights are a sort of property supplied by, among other things, trademarks, patents, industrial designs, copyrights, and geographical indications that permit the owner to exercise a monopoly over the subject of the IP rights. They are concerned with the well-being of the consumers of the products and services to which they apply, as well as the imaginative and creative abilities of IP owners and the promotion of competition in a variety of industries. IP rights grant proprietors exclusive rights and serve as a link between the consumer and the producer, allowing the customer to identify and associate things with their owners. ¹⁰⁹

Akinyemi B., "Africa- challenges and response- a foreign policy perspective" (THE MIT press, 2002)

¹⁰⁹Bowmans, T. *Intellectual Property and Consumer Protection in Kenya* - Bowmans., January 8, 2020.

4.3.4 Limited cultural experts and cultural diplomats

Cultural diplomacy necessitates the development of teams comprised of cultural experts with advanced academic expertise. Similarly, diplomats who engage in it must improve their understanding of their own country's culture and understand how to correctly link it to the cultural traits of other nations with which they aim to establish trust ties. As a result of Kenya's diplomatic relations and alliances, foreign cultural institutions play a role in developing cultural diplomacy. Despite the fact that their primary aim is to promote and teach their respective cultures, these organizations contribute to Kenya's cultural landscape. Two of these institutes are the Alliance Française de Nairobi and the Goethe-Institut. These cultural groups provide a platform for Kenyan artists to exhibit their work and conduct music performances on a regular basis to encourage Kenyan musicians. Art and culture are presented and monetized through music on this platform.

According to Sihanya et al., study on intellectual property in Kenya, inadequate knowledge of intellectual property rights (IPRs) within the sector. There is a lack of awareness of copyright rules and how creative sector entrepreneurs may utilize them to safeguard their original work from rampant piracy. ¹¹⁰New advancements, particularly in the Information and Communications Technology (ICT) sector, have made the struggle against piracy much more, for example, it has had a significant impact on the copyright owners' economic and moral rights. The ease with which music may be produced, published, transferred, and duplicated through the internet has generated significant copyright protection and promotion difficulties.

¹¹⁰Dr Ben Sihanya and Dr Hellen OmmehNattu, Challenges to intra-EAC trade from the perspective of EAC Intellectual Property Rights and Rules of Origin (2010).

Intellectual property ownership rights are a problem since the issue of patents has not been taken seriously across Africa. In Kenya, patents are issued by the Kenya Industrial Property Institute (KIPI) under the Industrial Property Act (2001).

It enables companies to invest in talent while still ensuring a financial return. The law makes it possible for artists, authors, designers, craftsmen, filmmakers, and songwriters to make a livelihood from their skills. It serves as the foundation for financial flows that support investment in the whole creative economy, from studios to performance venues, fashion collections, and movies, as well as music streaming services that build new technologies to distribute content and goods to customers. Licensing agreements in which the licensee is required to pay royalties for both the patented product and unpatented information related to the patent.

This, however, has not been done very effectively. Kenya's *kiondo*, for instance, was patented and modified with leather and hooks by the Japanese without any benefits accruing to Kenya, and this patent has not been revoked to date. ¹¹¹In Kenya, where American studio Disney opted to trademark the terms *'Hakuna Matata and'* Simba for the film The Lion King,' infringement has been rampant. There was outrage from the people, which was voiced through numerous internet petitions to remove Disney's trademarks, with headlines reading "Disney robs Kenya of renowned Hakuna Matata slogan."

¹¹¹Wekundah JM. Why Protect Traditional Knowledge? Africa Portal. Published 2012.

¹¹²Janeirene Maina, Saida Thuo. *Intellectual Property in Kenya*: Challenges in character and celebrity merchandising Wamae & Allen. Wamaeallen.com. Published 2020

4.3.5 Lack of Culture Preservation

Another Key challenge to cultural diplomacy in Kenya is that national cultural institutes are not equally developed nor equally resourced hence poor culture preservation. This has hindered the efforts to promote economic interest through cultural diplomacy. Every culture has a propensity toward stability as well as an inclination toward change. Globalization is a two-edged sword since it has both positive and negative aspects in terms of societal development and welfare. People move across the world more easily and frequently as a result of globalization, and advancements in communications and worldwide marketing of styles, locations, and images can contribute to a cultural supermarket effect. People are no longer limited to creating identities depending on where they reside, but can instead select from a variety of identities. They now replicate the clothing, speech patterns, attitudes, and lifestyles of whatever group they like. 113

According to Gergen, when individuals are overloaded with a multitude of media, their reality, as well as their value system, constantly shifts. One's sense of self is in a state of change. Such people frequently have no idea what they believe in or what they stand for. ¹¹⁴For example, the media has been a powerful tool for influencing, validating and shaping the world. Africans are overwhelmed with ideas that are regrettably not reflective of themselves through media representations. People are, unfortunately, striving to build their identities through these channels. This tendency may explain why Kenyan youth are so fixated with changing themselves into "American representations." Young people in the country are catching on to

¹¹³E. O. Wahab, S. O. Odunsi, O. E. Ajiboye, "Causes and Consequences of Rapid Erosion of Cultural Values in a Traditional African Society", *Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 2012,

¹¹⁴Gergen, K.J, The Saturated Self: Dilemmas of Identity in Contemporary Life. New York: Basic Books (1991)

the trends, symbols, and vocabulary of foreign music, television, and cinema as a result of media exposure. 115

What is required is an innovation that is customized to Kenya's specific needs and beliefs while also ensuring that the cultural legacy is neither harmed nor become obsolete. Kenyans are accused of being blatant, if not blind, followers of the West. Kenyans, like Westerners, have become first-rate worshipers of consumerism, but with a variation confusing westernization with progress. Kenyans, unlike the Westerners they idolize, spend time attempting to imitate western culture others, therefore, limiting innovation and creativity as well as originality. ¹¹⁶In terms of cultural transmission systems, there is a disproportion between developing and developed countries, with the former being cultural consumers and the latter propagating their culture. This has led to an identity crisis among the Kenyan youth who are expected to carry on the mantle for future generations on culture and be cultural ambassadors.

4.3.6 Regime Change

The conduct of foreign relations in Kenya is shaped by the regime in power. Regime change in Kenya means changes in the conduct of Kenya's foreign relations. This is largely due to the fact that each regime faced a different set of variables that affected the country's relations with the rest of the world, and also because each leader pursued a different goal for the state. In Kenya, the head of the state play a key role in foreign relations. The president is the chief most diplomat in the country. For example the first two Kenyan presidents Kenyatta and Moi opted

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¹¹⁵Gakahu, Nancy, Ruth Joyce, and Nyawira Kaguta. "The Social Implications of a Global Culture to Africa: Kenya's Case, Vol.2, No.4, 2011

¹¹⁶Were, Gideon S. "Cultural Renaissance and National Development: Some Reflections on the Kenyan Cultural Problem." *Journal of Eastern African Research & Development* (1982): 1-12

for a quiet approach in foreign relations while Kibaki and Uhuru Kenyatta have adopted vibrant foreign relations in terms of cultural diplomacy. 117

For instance, during President Uhuru Kenyatta's regime, Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs established a cultural diplomacy plan for the period 2018-2022 in order to support the implementation of the foreign policy pillar of cultural diplomacy and to act as a cultural contribution to socioeconomic development. Promotion and recognition of Kiswahili as a continental and worldwide language is one of the efforts. Language is one of the most significant soft power tools. Traditionally, language was thought to be the most effective means of propagating national culture in distant places. Kiswahili is not only one of Kenya's official languages, but it is also a recognized language in the African Union and extensively spoken throughout East Africa. With the term of President Uhuru expiring in 2022, it will be upon the new regime to continue with trends of cultural diplomacy to promote economic interest.

4.4 Conclusion

The chapter investigated the obstacles and potential of cultural diplomacy in fostering economic growth in Kenya, which was the study's third goal. The findings of this chapter were that financial restrictions, poor coordination, lack of cultural experts, Kenya asymmetric relations with developing countries as some of the key challenges facing the promotion of Kenya's national interest through cultural diplomacy. The chapter affirms the assumption that as there are indeed challenges and gaps that undermine the achievement of economic development through cultural diplomacy in Kenya.

¹¹⁷Clarke M., "Foreign policy Implementation, Problems and Approaches," (*British journal of international studies*, 2007)

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary of Key Findings

Chapter one of the study introduced the research problem, which indicated the gap in literature use of Kenya's foreign relations to advance its national interest. This gap was due to the lack of enough literature on the conduct of Kenya's foreign relations. This chapter also sets the key objectives that the study seeks to meet. Among these were to assess the links between national interest and foreign relations. To analyse how Kenya uses its foreign relations to achieve promote its national interest and finally to identify opportunities and challenges in the promotion of Kenya's national interest through its foreign relations. The study also set out the hypothesis that would be tested in the study. The objectives of the study were met. Each objective was discussed in different chapters with chapter two discussing objective one, chapter three explaining objective two and finally, objective three was well tackled in chapter four.

Based on the first objective was to investigate the role of foreign policy in advancing economic interest in Africa.

The findings of the study were that economic growth, development, and sustainable trade are the keys to long-term, sustainable economic growth, and development in Africa. As such the continent has placed trade as a top interest. However, the content remains marginalized and disadvantaged in international trade. Africa is a developing country, as such economic interest is one of its main goals. In order to ensure economic development, Africa has made efforts

both domestic and internally to achieve economic development. Africa has employed its foreign policy tools to achieve economic development both bilaterally and multilaterally, either as individual states or as a continent. The foreign policy objectives have been aimed towards economic growth, development as well as sustainable trade.

Based on the second objective was to assess and evaluate the role and impact of the cultural diplomacy pillar in advancing economic interest in Kenya.

The findings of the study were that there are various reasons why Kenya uses cultural diplomacy to advance its economic interest. The above has a greater impact on economic development this has also enhanced Kenya's image internationally which is perfect from a business perceptive, this has made the country attractive to investors who would like to work or invest in the country for the process of economic development and growth. As such cultural diplomacy has been used to advance Kenya's economic interest by making Kenya attractive and bringing in more foreign direct investment. Similarly, cultural diplomacy has helped Kenya promote itself as the preferred tourism destination in Africa. Kenya has used cultural diplomacy to advance its trade agenda by enhancing its relations with China, Japan, and other major trading partners thereby improving its trade relations with the rest of the world.

On the third, to examine the challenges of advancing Kenya's economic Interest through cultural diplomacy

The study investigated the obstacles and potential of cultural diplomacy in fostering economic growth in Kenya, which was the study's third goal. The findings of the study were that financial restrictions, poor coordination, lack of cultural experts, Kenya's asymmetric relations with developing countries as some of the key challenges facing the promotion of

interest through cultural diplomacy. The chapter affirms the assumption that as there are indeed challenges and gaps that undermine the achievement of economic development through cultural diplomacy in Kenya.

5.2 Conclusion

This study found out that, the conduct of foreign relations and national interests are concepts that are intricately related in terms of their objectives. Foreign relations are mostly a means through which national interests are achieved. Foreign relations are conducted with national interest in mind. For a state to advance a certain national interest, it must do so by conduction foreign relations with other entities in the international system.

The Soft power theory and The Rational Actor Model which was stemmed from the Rational Choice Theory fitted the study well. According to the findings of the study, the conduct of foreign relations is aimed at achieving a state's national interest. In order to achieve these interests, a state must take a decision that best maximizes its benefit. It can therefore be said that the choice of Kenya to conduct her foreign relations is done from a cost-benefit analysis. Kenya makes foreign relations decisions based on what they perceive would benefit them while incurring minimal or no costs. The decision of Kenya to conduct foreign relations is in line with her national interest. At any given time that Kenya is taking a foreign relation action, it must do so in line with its national self-interest. Survival, territorial integrity, and independence are key to Kenya's national interests. The pursuit or threats to these national interests prompts Kenya to take a foreign relation decision that is aimed at achieving or defending her interest. Kenya, therefore, makes a rational choice at any time before conducting foreign relations. The

cultural diplomacy pillar is a soft power tool that Kenya continues to pursue despite the existing challenges as discussed in chapter four.

The research hypotheses were confirmed. The first Hypothesis was foreign policy plays a key role in the advancement of economic interest in Africa. As discussed in the study national interest is advanced through its foreign relations. This was discussed in the second chapter of the study which discussed the links between foreign relations and national interest. Foreign policy was found to be the tool through which national interest is advanced.

The second hypothesis was similarly confirmed. The cultural diplomacy pillar has an impact on the advancement of economic interest in Kenya. As explained in the study Kenya's foreign relations are shaped by both domestic and systemic national interest. The study in its third chapter has discussed how cultural diplomacy has impacted the advancement of economic interest. From economic development, FDI, Tourism Promotion, trade expansion cultural diplomacy has been used to achieve the country's economic interest.

The third hypothesis Kenya faces many challenges in the advancement of economic interest through the cultural diplomacy pillar was confirmed by looking at the challenges in Kenya's foreign relations through cultural diplomacy. The challenges that exist in the conduct of Kenya's foreign relations characterize either its continuity or change.

In conclusion, Kenya regards cultural diplomacy as an important diplomatic tool that, when properly understood and applied, can assist a country in improving cooperation and coordination, as well as promoting and projecting its image and reputation and achieving national goals as one of the pillars of foreign policy. According to Kenya's Constitution, culture is acknowledged as the foundation of the country, the development roadmap, and the people's

and nations shared civilization. The incorporation of culture in the constitution is a significant milestone since issues concerning cultural development now have a legal base.

The ultimate goal of foreign relations is to deliver and advance Kenya's interest regionally and internationally. The overarching aims of foreign relations safeguard its national interests. For national interest to be fully achieved Kenya must continue to engage foreign governments and the international community. In doing this Kenya must utilize its unique cultural diplomacy as a soft power tool to achieve economic interests.

Economic prosperity has been at the center of Kenya's foreign relations. Kenya's key foreign relation actions priorities are driven by strong economic diplomacy. Kenya has adopted three strategies in its foreign relations to achieve economic prosperity. First, foreign relations action is aimed at promoting the country as a favourable destination for foreign direct investment (FDI). Kenya is doing this by hosting different conferences and investment forums to appeal to investors. Second, Kenya is focusing most of its foreign relations efforts on expanding the market and demand for its export goods. On this Kenya uses foreign relations to create a market for their goods through mutually beneficial regional and international trade. Third, Kenya is also seeking to expand its relations with developed countries from Asia and the west as a means to partner with them to spur their economic growth.

Kenya's foreign relation is dynamic and indicative of the multiplicity of the country's national interest. Therefore the Pragmatism of Kenya's foreign relations can be seen in the country's smooth relations with the rest of the world as Kenya pursues its national interest. Kenya adapts new diplomatic techniques as the need has arisen. This led to the adoption of written and consistent foreign policy to guide the country's foreign relations. In the conduct of its foreign

relations, Kenya always adhered to the basic universally recognized principles set at independence which also forms part of its national interests.

5.3 Recommendations

The study recommends the need for the Initiative for Cultural Diplomacy. Before embarking on a cultural diplomacy initiative, the legislature, significant offices, specialists, and other on-screen characters must fully know the country's social personality. It is absurd for Kenya to measure the success of social crusades and branding initiatives unless specific goals are clearly stated. Furthermore, because of the prevalence of the internet, people from other countries are likely to have access to information on Kenya. It is also critical that cultural diplomacy disseminates information in a persuasive, one-of-a-kind, and symbolic manner that reflects Kenya's cultural interests. It is therefore recommended that there is need for the Kenya policy makers to comprehend the interests of the stakeholders groups. Potential onlookers need to be listed to in order to achieve the cultural diplomacy which can be attained through collaborations and liberal research. Therefore cultural imperialism can be misjudged if the practices is avoided.

Kenya should also focus on Relations-building through cultural diplomacy. Kenya should prioritize relationship-building with the countries it hopes to attract through cultural diplomacy: The finest cultural diplomacy projects arrange relationship-building between the acting and target nations, as well as within each country individually. The deep institutional and human linkages best exemplify this. Connections make culture feel more human, and so more solid and persuasive, than separate cultural experiences. Kenya must reach out to its large

Diaspora. Nationals residing abroad are an important cultural diplomacy asset, and they should be active in introducing Kenya's way of life to their current group.

Kenya should also focus on Cultural collaborations. The ministry of foreign affairs has had the critical responsibility of arranging diplomatic missions. To meet these difficulties, governments have been concentrating on new procedures, for example, including services and non-state performers and institutions, giving more prominent transparency, and acting all things considered as often as could be possible under the circumstances.

The study prescribes that members in the cultural diplomatic process must will to trade-off; if not, political endeavors are bound to fall flat. The eagerness to locate a worthy bargain by all onscreen characters included will ensure agreements on a conceivable arrangement since it is self-rushing to make the fancied aftereffect of transactions their precondition. For that reason, members ought to know about their individual liabilities and resources while perceiving the standard power of universal agreement. The consequence of arrangements should dependably be to distinguish regular interests and to work out satisfactory answers for a wide extent of familiar concerns.

Areas of further studies

Further study should be conducted on Culture and technology. There is a need to conduct a study around the world that is not confined because of new technology that can transmit messages far and wide in seconds like battling psychological warfare during a time of worldwide continuous TV and the web. Cultural diplomacy additionally serves both respective and multilateral diplomacy as they are planned for national premium like in the journey of

speculation, advancement of exchange, and worldwide tourism which is likewise alluded to as branding furthermore makes collaboration and association.

Further study should be done on Cultural diplomacy and Language. This is because dialect is more than only a method for correspondence; dialect is an apparatus for strengthening. Since correspondence and culture are procured all the while, dialect can be viewed as the way to culture. Each dialect profoundly established in a specific culture passes on an interesting representation of the entire world. Great contentious focuses and diplomatic systems are futile without the capacity to impart them. Since there are solid contrasts in verbal and nonverbal correspondence crosswise over societies and subcultures, language can likewise be an obstruction to effective and successful diplomacy.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Questionnaire

This study is aimed at understanding the ROLE OF FOREIGN POLICY IN ADVANCING

ECONOMIC INTEREST IN AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA'S CULTURAL

FOREIGN POLICY PILLAR . The findings and recommendations of this study are aimed at

contributing to policy formulation, knowledge, and a deeper understanding of the role of cultural

foreign policy pillar and how it can enhance economic development in Africa and more

specifically in Kenya.

The information collected in this study will be specifically for academic purposes only and as

such will be treated with top confidentiality.

Kindly note that participation is voluntary therefore answer the following questions as honestly as

possible to the best of your knowledge

Thank you.

SECTION ONE: PERSONAL DATA

1. Gender

Male [] Female []

2. Age

18-24[]46-55[]

25–35[]56–65[]

36 – 45 [] Over 66 []

3. Education Level

No Formal education []

Below KCPE []

94

Below KCSE []
Form 4 Certificate []
Diploma []
Degree []
Other (Please Specify)
SECTION TWO: THE ROLE OF FOREIGN POLICY IN ADVANCING
ECONOMIC INTEREST IN AFRICA
4. How best can you explain the economic interest of Africa?
6. "What is the role of foreign policy in advancing economic interest in Africa?
7. Has Africa achieved its economic interest through foreign policy?
SECTION THREE: THE ROLE AND IMPACT OF THE CULTURAL
DIPLOMACY PILLAR IN ADVANCING ECONOMIC INTEREST IN KENYA .
8. What are Kenya's economic interests?

9. Is there a connection between cultural diplomacy and economic interest?
10. In your views, Can cultural diplomacy be used to achieve Kenya's economic interest?
10b, If yes how has cultural diplomacy impacted the economic interest of Kenya?
11. What are the opportunities of cultural diplomacy in advancing economic interest?
12. How best can Kenya use its culture to advance its economic interest?
SECTION FOUR: THE CHALLENGES OF ADVANCING KENYA'S ECONOMIC
INTEREST THROUGH CULTURAL DIPLOMACY.
13. What are the challenges of advancing Kenya's Economic interest through cultural diplomacy
14. How can these challenges be addressed

15.																						
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Appendix II: Introduction Letter from IDIS, University of Nairobi



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

Faculty of Social Sciences
Department of Diplomacy and International Studies

Tel : (02) 318262 Telefas: : 254-2-245566 Fas: : 254-2-245506 Website : www.uonblac.iu

Tolicx : 22095 Varsity No Nairobi, Kony Ernell : director idis@uontsi.ac.ke P.O. Box 30197 Nairobi Konya

October 04, 2021

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: LEAH NJOKI MUNGAI - R50/35584/2019.

This is to confirm that the above-mentioned person is a bona fide student at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS), University of Nairobi pursuing a Master of Arts Degree in International Studies. She is working on a research project titled, "THE ROLE OF FOREIGN POLICY IN ADVANCING ECONOMIC INTEREST IN AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA'S CULTURAL FOREIGN POLICY PILLAR".

The research project is a requirement for students undertaking Masters programme at the University of Nairobi, whose results will inform policy and learning.

Any assistance given to her to facilitate data collection for her research project will be highly appreciated.

Thank you in advance for your consideration.

SITY OF NA

Professor Maria Nzomo,

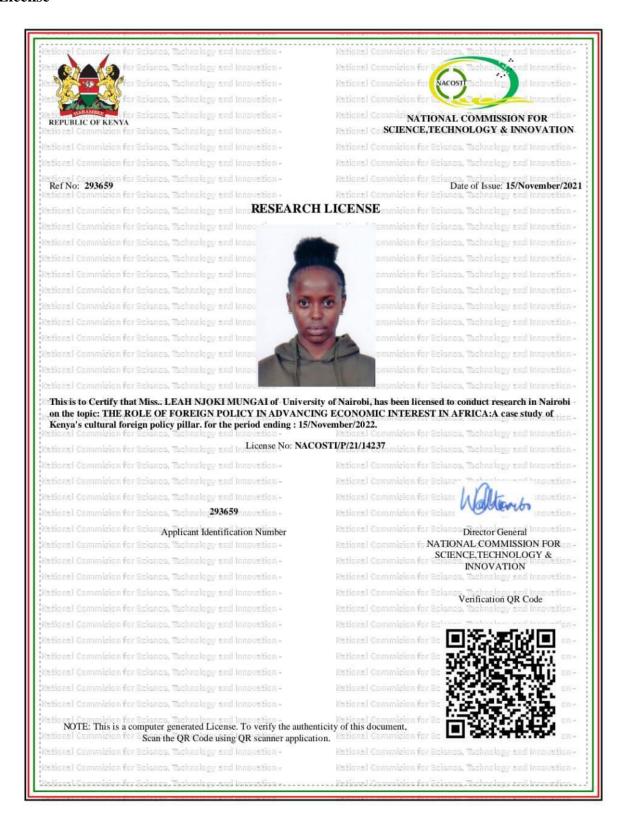
Chair, DDIS

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Professor of International Relations and Governance

Appendix III: National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation Research

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