UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

PERSISTING PROBLEM OF CONFLICT IN AFRICA: THE ROLE OF
KENYAN DIPLOMATIC METHOD

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R50/62907/2010

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A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

OCTOBER, 2012

DECLARATION

I, Bonface Munyao Masini, declare that this research project is my original work and that it has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Signed ....   Date .16./.11./.20.12

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SUPERVISOR

This Research Project has been submitted for examination with my approval as university supervisor;

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Prof. Maria Nzomo.

ABSTRACT

This research project is to explore the persistent problem of conflict in Africa and to establish the viability of Kenyan diplomatic method of conflict resolution. It explores the underlying causes of persistent conflicts in Africa and assesses the effectiveness of the various conflict resolution methods employed by the African states. The study noted that these underlying causes were unjust distribution of resources in African countries, poor governance in the continent, external interference by foreign states, misunderstanding and arms-race. The study recommends the use of diplomacy in conflict management and resolution for long lasting peace in the African continent.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Sincere gratitude goes to my supervisor; Prof. Maria Nzomo for her constructive criticism, resourcefulness and methodological input in this proposal.

I also acknowledge with respect the unwavering loving support from my highly esteemed family members in the realization of this dream.

I sincerely appreciate the support from the lecturers of Nairobi University and the Library Staff who have been a constant aid giving shape to this proposal.

Heartfelt gratitude to all those who have come to my aid in making sure that I realize my goal through their various contributions.

Thank you all.

DEDICATION

This work is special dedication to my grandmother for her visionary life and loving support.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CR	: Conflict Resolution
DR	: Diplomatic Relations
GoK	: Government of Kenya
IR	: International Relations
PR	: Public Relations
SPSS	: Statistical Package for Social Sciences
IGOs	: Inter-Governmental Organizations
OPEC	: The organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
WTO	: World Trade Organization
AU	: African Union
NGOs	: Non-Governmental Organizations
MNC	: Multi-National Corporations
INGOS	: International Non-Governmental Organizations

Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem Context

This study analyzes conflict in the context of its persistence in the African Continent regardless of the already accumulated knowledge on the various causes of conflict and conflict resolution mechanisms among some African countries in comparison to the Kenyan Government's approach to conflict resolution which is predominantly diplomatic.

1.2 Background to the Problem

The phenomenon of conflict is a reality that permeates all spheres of the globe ranging from Europe, Asia, South America to Africa. Kenya as a nation has had a history of internal and international conflicts. The internal conflicts have seemingly been more of driven by poor governance that has led to imbalance in the distribution of resources leaving some ethnic groups out in sharing the national cake.[1] Instances of international conflicts have also been appearing and disappearing such as attacks from Uganda, cross-border attacks from Ethiopia, Southern Sudan and Somalia. In all these instances, it can be said that Kenya has been employing diplomacy in handling majority of the conflicts. During President Moi's regime, an attempt by Ugandan Presidents Amin and Yoweri Museveni solicited immediate military responses from the Kenyan government. This has taken a different trend in which Ugandan military occupy Kenyan Islands of Ugingo and Migingo frequently bullying, injuring and killing Kenyan citizens.

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[1] Hazlewood, Arthur. *The Economy of Kenya: The Kenyatta Era.* O.U.P.N.Y: 1979, Chap. I, p.46.

While Kenya resorted to a slow laid back diplomatic resolution of the conflict by sending a delegation of Kenyan ministers, Uganda has been using military power to control the islands.[2] Similar responses have been registered when the Merile of Ethiopia attacked and killed Kenyan citizens, armed Southern Sudanese killed Kenyan citizens across the Kenya-South Sudan border[3] and even the Kenyan response in realization that Eritrea was supporting the Somali-based terrorist group Al Shaabab.

The use of diplomacy as a method in conflict resolution by the Kenyan government has consequently led to outcries by the citizens that the territorial integrity and the rights of the citizens are being trampled upon by the neighboring countries. This is against the laws of territorial integrity and the constitutional rights of the citizens to be protected by the state from any act of aggression by another state.

Kenya as a peace-loving country has highly embraced diplomacy in her international relations as a way of conflict resolution. Kenya has five neighbors; Somalia, Tanzania, Ethiopia, South Sudan and Uganda. It has eight (8) provinces and a population of estimated population of 41,070,934 of various races and ethnicities as at July 2011. It has a population growth rate of 2.462%, a birth rate of 33.54 births/1,000 population and a death rate of 8.93 deaths/1,000 population (Central Intelligence Agency, July 2011 est, pp. 1-5).

It has 38 ministries, each headed by a minister and an assistant minister. The ministry that is directly involved with diplomatic relations is the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Capital city of Kenya is Nairobi, followed by Mombasa and Kisumu as the second and third largest cities respectively.

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[2] Earnest, B. Kenya and Uganda row over Migingo: Kenya Should deal firmly with Uganda. Thinking Kenyan: Kenyan Politics, News and other musings.

[3] Peter Adwok Nyaba and Peter Otim, *Conflicts in Pastoral Areas along Borders: The Kenya, Uganda, and Sudan.* CEWARN Consultancy Report. London: FEWER, 2001.

It is from the above background that the study proceeds to the statement of the problem of this study on diplomacy as a method in conflict resolution.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The continuous increase in the number of conflicts all over the world calls for thorough investigation of the underlying causes and ways of conflict resolution that are not only viable but also capable of giving lasting solutions to such persistent conflicts. These involve precautionary and reactionary approaches towards conflict resolution. While some organizations, countries and individuals have always opted for war, fights, industrial action, sanctions, others such as Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs have constantly embraced diplomacy as a strategic tool in conflict resolution. This has led to shout-outs by citizens, some ministers and state officials as some Kenyan citizens continue to be killed due to cross-border disputes as the government prefers to go the diplomatic way. This has been the case with the borders of Uganda, Ethiopia and Somalia. With such complaints by various stakeholders on the challenges of embracing diplomacy, this study intends to explore diplomacy as a method in conflict resolution: the case of Kenyan government Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The afore-mentioned cases attest to the challenges associated with various conflict resolution mechanisms that leave us wondering whether these African states have really understood the underlying causes of conflict. This study is conducted with a view to establishing the underlying causes of persistent conflict in Africa, the various approaches to conflict, viability of diplomacy in conflict resolution and the correlating between diplomacy and other conflict resolution mechanisms to the persistence of conflicts in Africa.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 Main Objective

1. To explore the persistent problem of conflict in Africa and the establish the viability of Kenyan diplomatic method of conflict resolution

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

1. To explore the underlying causes of persistent conflict in Africa.

2. To assess the effectiveness of the various conflict resolution methods employed by the African States.

3. To establish the relationship between diplomatic conflict resolution method and persistence of the conflict.

1.5 Justification of the Research Problem

This research would add to the current body of knowledge on conflict and conflict resolution methods and international relations. Although there has been a lot of literature on conflict and conflict resolution, the findings from this research will help in establishing a paradigmatic shift by proposing instances in which the various approaches apply for greater effectiveness and the instances in which they can be integrated for effective conflict resolution.

This study would be of great significance to states and nations especially through their Ministries of Foreign Affairs/ embassies in Kenya in settling for the ways of conflict resolution that do not erode favorable international relations for growth and development such as trade. It would entice the states and nations to perceive war as the last resort to any conflict through the recommendations of this study.

The study could also be of help in the fulfillment of the dreams of peace lovers who yearn for an end to the persistent conflicts in Africa and prefer thorough analysis of conflict and means of conflict resolutions that foster long term resolutions other than short term. It would analyze the benefits and challenges of using various conflict resolution mechanisms including diplomacy as a method in conflict resolution. The study through the aforementioned benefits shall promote national, regional and international peace and stability that is favorable for development of the nations.

1.6 Literature Review

The sources that were used in this study are books, journals, newspapers, magazines, websites and any other material related to this topic. Since conflict is a reality that has been and still is a critical issue in the contemporary world, these sources are adequate in finding practical solutions to the persistent problem of conflict in Africa as well as highlighting and assessing the Kenyan diplomatic method. Although conflict and conflict resolution has commanded diverse literature, its relation to the Kenyan diplomatic method in comparison with other embassies, is a uniqueness that not many writers have been able to explore.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This study was based on the "Interest-Based Relational Approach" (IBR). Interest-Based Relational Approach respects individual differences while helping people avoid becoming too entrenched in a fixed position. This approach holds that in resolving conflict each party should; make sure that good relationships are the first priority by doing their best to make sure that they treat each other calmly, build mutual respect, be courteous to one-another and remain constructive under pressure.

The parties should keep people and problems separate by recognizing that in many cases real and valid differences can lie behind conflictive positions. By separating the problem from the person, real issues can be debated without damaging working relationships. The approach continues to propose that the parties should pay attention to the interests that are being presented by listening carefully in order to understand why the person is adopting his or her position. It proposes that listening should precede talking as a way of solving the problem effectively by understanding where the other person is coming from before defending your own position. This should be followed by setting out facts so that the two parties can agree and establish the objective, observable elements that will have an impact on the decision. Such an approach easily leads to exploration of options together and promotes openness to the idea that a third position may exist.

1.8 Hypothesis

The hypothesis of this study was that there are some instances where diplomacy as a conflict resolution method may not be effective. The outcome of this research project is to have analysis of the persistent problems of conflicts in Africa from the perspective of the diplomatic method. If diplomatic method is properly used then we are going to experience a more peaceful world where conflicts diminish and international peace and security is maintained.

1.9 Methodology of the Research

Using a cross-sectional descriptive survey design on a sample of 43 senior officials and staff from the Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the 8 sampled embassies selected using simple random sampling from a target population of 415, this study makes

reference to relevant library information such as desktop research and primary data from the questionnaires and interview guide to come up with objective and practical findings.

1.10 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study was limited to the analyzing persisting problem of conflict in Africa in relation to the Kenyan diplomatic method. There may be the failure of some high profile respondents to cooperate because of their busy schedules and heavy workload.

Data collection process may be labor-intensive and time consuming as the researcher may be forced to fit within the programmers of various respondents thereby spending more time and resources in conducting the research process than the already estimated.

The researcher overcame these challenges by prior planning, familiarization with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, obtaining a written permission from the University of Nairobi, Research permit from the Research Council and allocation of some extra time as well as flexibility in fitting within the programmers of those sampled for the study.

1.11 Chapter Outline

Chapter One of this study contained the context of this study, background to the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, objectives of the study, justification of the research problem, literature review, theoretical framework, hypothesis, methodology of the research and scope and limitations of the study, chapter outline, definition of significant terms employed in this study and the summary of this chapter.

Chapter Two provides an in-depth review of various literature on conflict, persisting problem of conflict in Africa, causes of conflicts, effects of conflicts, approaches to

conflict, methods of conflict resolution and the Kenyan diplomatic approach commencing with the history of Kenyan Foreign policy since 1963.

The third chapter of this chapter discusses the research design, target population, sample and sampling procedure, methods of data collection, validity and reliability of the data collection instruments, operational definition of variables and methods of data analysis.

1.12 Definitions of Significant Terms

Conflict: This is a disagreement through which the parties involved perceive a threat to their needs, interests or concerns. It is the incompatibility of goals between and among parties at individual, groups and at state level.

Conflict resolution: Conflict resolution is an attempt to provide long term solutions to conflicts by approaching and dealing with them rationally and effectively.

Foreign policy: This refers to the strategy, that is policy implementation by a government to protect its national interests.

Management: The organization and coordination of the activities of an enterprise in accordance with certain policies and in achievement of defined objectives.

Diplomacy: In this study, diplomacy shall be used to mean the process of using inspirational persuasion to win over the opponent and implement foreign policy without reverting to violence.

International relations: The relationship between and among different nations, states. and non state actors in the international system.

1.13 Summary

This chapter discusses the background to the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, objectives of the study, justification of the study problem, literature review, theoretical framework, and hypothesis, methodology of the research and scope and limitations of the study. It has also discussed the chapter outline, definition of significant terms employed in this study and the summary of this chapter.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The constant increase in conflicts owing to the gradual decrease in resources that is usually scarce by nature, globalization, changing political and economic trends call for strategic approaches to conflict resolution. Conflict resolution plays a critical role in mitigating the extreme effects of conflict that has pervaded all continents across the globe. This role has made seen conflicts spread like bushfire in various African countries thereby becoming a challenge to sustainable socio-economic development. Clear understanding of the persisting problem of conflict calls for understanding the meaning of conflict, its causes, effects, approaches to conflict, methods of conflict resolution and diplomacy as a Kenyan approach to conflict.

2.2 Kenyan Foreign Policy since 1963

Foreign policy means the substance of foreign relation. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was established in 1963 immediately after independence as Kenya attained independence for the purpose of formulating and managing her foreign policy. In 1969, the Ministry remained Ministry of State for Foreign Affairs under the Office of the President became a full-fledged Ministry headed by a Minister for Foreign Affairs. Since its establishment in 1963, the Ministry has continued to pursue a foreign policy that is based on fundamental principles of promotion of peaceful coexistence, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, and adherence to the Charters of the United Nations and the African Union.[4]

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[4] http://www.mfa.go.ke/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=126&Itemid=55.

The conduct of foreign policy in Kenya is a prerogative of the Head of State the Chief Executive (President). These powers are rested in the Presidency by section 16 of the Constitution of Kenya, Amendment Act No. 28 and in Section 23 of the Constitution. Consequently, the Chief Executive is the initiator, articulator and director of foreign policy. The Foreign Ministry's responsibility is that of advice and execution in consultation with the President.[5]

Kenya's foreign policy has since independence been designed and guided by[6] respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states and preservation of national security, good neighbourliness and peaceful co-existence, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, non-alignment and national self-interest and adherence to the Charters of the UN and OAU/AU. The following of these policies has been fuelled by various factors.

2.2.1 *Factors Influencing Kenya's Foreign Policy*

Kenya's foreign policy has since independence been guided and shaped by its own national interest. This self-interest could be grouped into three main categories:- Security/Political/Development, Geo-Political Factors and Kenya and Regional Integration. Kenya and Regional Integration includes Common Market for East and Central Africa (COMESA) East African Community (EAC), Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), Kenya-ACP/European Union Relations, Kenya and Multilateralism, Kenya and Commonwealth and Kenya and African Union (AU)[7] as discussed here-below.

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[5] http://www.mfa.go.ke/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=126&Itemid=55.
[6] Ibid
[7] Ibid

2.2.1.1 Security/Political

The Kenyan government's commitment to guarantee the security of her people, and the preservation of national integrity and sovereignty within secure borders underlies the desire to advance national interests by guaranteeing a secure political environment for development as a way of enhancing peace and stability which are a pre-requisite to social and economic development. This explains why economic development has played a dominant role in shaping Kenya's foreign policy in her balance of the need to pursue an open economic policy and the demand for foreign capital and investment flows, inter-alia FDI and ODA.[8]

2.2.1.2 Geo-Political Factors

It is also stated by the Kenyan Foreign Affairs Ministry that Kenya's foreign policy in the region has been shaped by factors such as the presence of overlapping ethnic community across borders and the fact that Kenya is a littoral state of the Indian Ocean and which influences relations with landlocked neighbors.[9]

2.2.1.3 Kenya and Regional Integration

The need for International and Regional Co-operation form a major component of the foreign policy of any country, Kenya included. This may be the basis of Kenya's active participation in various regional initiatives such as the East African Community[10], Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), ACP-EU, Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)[11], Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Co-operation, amongst others.

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[8] http://www.mfa.go.ke/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=126&Itemid=55.
[9] Ibid
[10] http://www.eachq.org
[11] http://igad.int

This co-operation is borne out of the realization that the development and prosperity of Kenya are intimately tied with her neighbors in the region. With the advent of globalization and liberalization, the country's external relations are being governed more and more by the need to promote a favorable environment for trade and investment. The Sessional Paper No. 2 of 1997 on "Industrial Transformation to the year 2020 clearly defines Kenya's approach to regional integration arrangements by identifying institutional and legal framework as pre-requisites to fostering international and regional trade which could benefit Kenya.[12]

Kenya's pro-active and participatory role in the economic and trade dynamics in the region is geared towards fighting poverty and improving the welfare of the Kenyan citizens. Other includes Kenya's support for multilateralism through the United Nations system, Kenya's relationship and membership of the alongside other 54 independent states and her membership of African Union (AU) where Kenya has a played a critical role in conflict resolution initiatives in Africa. This informs the following part on conflict.[13]

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[12] http://www.mfa.go.ke/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=126&Itemid=55.
[13] Ibid

2.3 Conflict

Conflict is a disagreement on perceptions, goals, and ideas about how to achieve them through which the parties involved perceive a threat to their needs, interests or concerns. Conflict of visions, and often an in ability or unwillingness to see the other person's point of view and incompatibility of goals defines organization, communal, international or political conflicts.[14] In any human society, misunderstandings abound but it is the approach given to a misunderstanding that may either prevent or accelerate it into a conflict.

The greater Horn of Africa that has been sampled in this study is therefore not an exception although its strategic location and resources have exposed it to several challenges. While the Horn of Africa would strictly refer to Somalia, Ethiopia and Eritrea, the Greater Horn of Africa includes Sudan, Egypt, Liberia, Tunisia, Rwanda, Burundi, and Kenya among others. Conflicts in these areas have been either centralist or regionalist as countries are caught in between demands of "nation-building" and "self-determination". Centralist conflicts are disputes over the central authority. Insurgents fight in order to replace the government or to be included in it. Governments fight back to resist being replaced or sharing power with insurgents. Regionalist conflicts aim at self determination through secession or regional autonomy[15].

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[14] Mukumu, Mwagiru. *Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management.* Nairobi: Center for Conflict Research, 2006, p. 3.
[15] Mohammed O. Maundi et.al, *Getting in mediator: Entry into the Settlement of African Conflicts,* Washington DC, 2006, p. 31.

2.3.1 Causes of Persisting Problem of Conflicts in Africa

The causes of conflict may be systemic, proximate or both. Systemic causes of conflict are structural conditions such as the legacies of colonial and Cold War policies, geophysical conditions, resource scarcity, poverty, socio-economic inequalities and ethnic divisions, poor governance, non-equity in resource distribution and poor language policies. Proximate causes refer to the political and institutional factors that influence whether systemic conditions give rise to violent reactions, including economic reform dislocations, ideologies, arms flows, military aid, militarization, competition for state power, war-making for economic gain and the problems of political liberalization.[16]

In political conflicts, the causes of conflict include poor governance displayed by the illegitimacy of governments and regimes, and conflicts in constitutionalism as regimes resist challenges to their legitimacy and authority as well as injustices in resource distribution. International conflicts have also been noted as caused by search for resources, territories, and the need for raw materials.

Conflict can also be caused by lack of fulfillment of needs that cannot be negotiated. These needs are both biological and ontological, and include for example, the need for recognition, participation, human rights and dignity. These are the heart and centre of all conflicts. The idea of needs bridges the gap between the international and other forms of conflicts. Since all international conflicts have domestic sources, the link between international and domestic conflict can be traced to the lack of fulfillment these of needs. The lack of fulfillment these needs lead to internal and external conflicts.[17]

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[16] Mukumi, Mwagiru. *Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management.* Nairobi: Center for Conflict Research, 2006, p. 80.

[17] Ibid, Pp. 4-5.

Although the recent of conflicts in the Horn of Africa have brought benefits of re-liberation and democracy, conflict has various impacts as noted below. The countries experiencing conflict creates a human toll for individuals and families, affects communities and social structures, affects national economies and political institutions. It also affects other countries in terms of regional instability and insecurity, humanitarian and reconstruction aid costs, peacekeeping cost, costs in foregone development, commerce and investment and poor international order and cooperation.[18]

One perspective that must be approached carefully by the leaders in the increasing awareness on human rights as well as the increasing demand for freedom of expression among others that most despotic leaders in the region have always used as a weapon to prolong their leadership. Analysis of the conflicts show that some have not totally failed in terms of achieving the best for their countries as in the example of Gaddafi who had a fleet of free things for the citizens. The constant greed of the leaders to block anyone else from leadership of their countries, poor governance and inequitable distribution of resources have played key roles in fueling conflicts in Africa.

2.3.2 Effects of Conflicts in Africa

Conflicts can be beneficial if they are properly managed properly, and in a timely way. There is a general tendency to see only the dysfunctional effects of conflict which leads to break down of social order and break down of social and personal relationships. Conflicts of this type lead to injury and death. Conflicts are not always negative as they may lead to positive and negative effects depending on how well they are handled.

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[18] Mukumi, Mwagiru. *Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management*. Nairobi: Center for Conflict Research. 2006, p. 80.

Positive effects arise if conflicts are handled constructively while negative effects arise if proper conflict management is not undertaken. Positive effects include positive change in the society, opportunity for newer possibilities, renewal in relationships, socio-economic development and increase in productivity of all sectors.[19]

The negative effects of conflicts increase in stress in people, decrease in production, degradation in relationships and worsening cooperation, restricted movement of goods and people, increase in the possibilities of wars or fights just to mention but a few. Conflicts dislocate valued relationship, and to cause stress on the structure on which the relationship are based. Conflicts have socio-economic, environmental psycho-social and political effects.[20]

2.3.3 Theories on Conflict

There are various theories that attempt to explain conflict based on various perspectives and views. These include:

2.3.3.1 Subjective and objectives view of conflicts

The classification of violent and structural conflicts raises the debate between subjective and objectives views of conflicts. This debate raises fundamental questions about conflicts, and has been at the center of theoretical battles. The subjectivists argue that conflict cannot exist unless there is an incompatibility of goals subjectively experienced. This implies if people cannot subjectively perceive a conflict, and hence its effects, they cannot be said to be in a situation of conflict.

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[19] Mukumi, Mwagiru. *Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management.* Nairobi: Center for Conflict Research, 2006, p. 4
[20] Ibid, p. 4.

Proponents of the objective view argue that it is possible for people to be in a state of conflict even though they do not for reality experience it. Because conflict is embedded in the social structure, it can exist independently of people's perception of it.[21]

The debate has far reaching implications for conflict and its management. For the subjective, because the parties to a conflict must experience it, conflict management must center on the efforts and inputs of the parties themselves. For the objectives, since people may be in conflict without realizing it, third parties can enter into the conflict, and be instrumental in conflict management. This sometimes might mean polarizing the conflict, so that the conflict from the perspective of negotiations and analyses, while the objective approach it from the perspective of taking action to change the structure. This is the basis of a fundamental distinction between peace research and conflict research. Because peace research is objective, it is activised in character while conflict research is objectified and avoids taking sides in a conflict.

One of the most far reaching criticisms of the objective view of conflict is that the objective imposes their own values on the conflict. The practical problems that can a rise from this, is that two observers who hold different values would interpret the same situation very directly. This should have serious consequences for the management of that conflict.[22]

[21] Mukumi, Mwagiru. *Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management.* Nairobi: Center for Conflict Research, 2006, Pp. 15-16.
[22] Ibid., Pp. 15-16.

2.3.3.2 Nature and nurture debate

Nature-nurture debate has those who argue for the nature view contend that human beings are violent and aggressive by nature, and that this drives from an innate drive in human beings for dominations. For this school of thought, violence is an inevitable since it has been in the nature of human being to be violent. On the other hand, the nurture school argues that human beings are not violent and aggressive by nature but violence and aggressions are conditioned by the environment by which people find themselves.[23]

Violence is therefore not inevitable in human society, and just as it was learned, it can be unlearned. Because it is caused by the environment, changing the environment would obviate violence. This debate has very important consequences for conflict management in that if those in authority take the nature view, their response to conflict in society would be the use of force and repression while if on the other hand they take on nurture view, their responses to conflict within society would be accommodation and negotiation.

2.3.3.3 Inherency and contingency theories

While the inherent view argues that conflict is a normal thing in a society, the contingency view argues that people get into conflict situation not because of inherent factors, but because of the circumstances they find themselves in. In this view, it is not an evitable that they will get into conflict. Indeed, conflict may be avoided by better information, less misperceptions and more rational behavior that can be checked by laws, customs and civilizations. The debate is essentially about the nature of humanity, the nature of society, and the appropriate forms of social control.[24]

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[23] K. Webb, 'Conflict: Inherent and Contingent Theories' *World Encyclopaedia* in Mukumi, Mwagiiu. *Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management.* Nairobi: Center for Conflict Research, 2006, p. 16.
[24] Mukumi, Mwagiru. *Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management.* Nairobi: Center for Conflict Research, 2006, Pp. 17-18.

The debate gives rise to two perspectives; if those in power adopt the inherency view of man nature, then social control becomes an important aspect of the exercise of the power and since in their view human desires cannot be satisfied, any concession is seen as a step toward anarchy. Their response is therefore e to repress; the second perspective is that if those in power take the contingency view, then they try to avoid the disruptions in society by trying to meet the demands of the people through negotiations and accommodation.

2.3.3.4 Psychological Theories

The two main psychological theories about conflict are the frustration aggression theories, and the theory of relative depravation. The frustration- aggression theory has two major positions: that all aggressions is the result of the frustration, and all frustration is aggression. The argument here is that while aggression is not innate in human beings, the potential for the aggressions is, and is activated by certain kinds and levels of frustrations.[25]

The classical statement of the frustration- aggression theory was modified later when it was demonstrated that there are other causes of aggression apart from frustration. Also it has been shown that whether or not frustrations leads to aggressions depends on other things, for instance the importance attached to the goal being frustrated, and whether there exist any alternatives. It has also been shown that an aggression does not always follow frustration especially in cases of instrumental aggression, and socially organized aggression.

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[25] J. Dollard et al. Frustration and Agression. London & Westpot, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980 in Mukumi, Mwagiru. *Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management.* Nairobi: Center for Conflict Research, 2006. Pp. 20-21.

These conceptual problems with the frustration- aggression theory mean that while it is useful in explaining aggression at the individual level, it does not explain it much at the social level. The theory of relative deprivation was developed to try and bridge the gap between the individual and the social level. Relative deprivation is the discrepancy between value expectations and value achievement, that is, between what people believe they are rightly entitled to, and what they are capable of getting and retaining. Relative deprivation is activated by the reference group which a person compares oneself, and one's fortune, with. It is the reference group that changes and condition people's perception of what to expect and what to believe they are entitled to.[26]

The major problem with relative deprivation as an explanatory theory for conflict is that it is highly subjective, and cannot therefore be measured by any objective criteria. Also, unless is elevated to the group level, relative deprivation still remains unsatisfactory basis on which to explain social conflict. These theories consequently determine the approaches to conflict.

2.3.4 Approaches to Conflict

There are two approaches to conflict; conflict management and conflict resolution.

2.3.4.1 Conflict Management

It is the addressing of the immediate causes of conflicts. This may not provide long term solution as it does not delve deep into the underlying causes of conflicts but merely searches for ways of keeping them under control.

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[26] Mukumi, Mwagiru. *Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management.* Nairobi: Center for Conflict Research, 2006, p. 21.

2.3.4.2 Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution is an attempt to provide long term solutions to conflicts by approaching and dealing with them rationally and effectively. It goes beyond conflict management.

2.5 Methods of Conflict Resolution

There are various methods of conflict resolution but this study will only be limited to diplomacy as a method in conflict resolution owing to its relevance to the Kenyan.

2.5.1 Diplomacy as a Method in Conflict Resolution: The role of the Kenyan Diplomatic Method

Diplomacy is the management of relations between states and between states and other actors. Diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states.[27] It captures both the micro perspective of politics and the macro system paradigms holistically.[28] The conception of diplomacy has to take into cognizance the complex nature of the modern international systems and the adaptation of the diplomatic practice to accommodate this new reality. It is the management of complex network of relations between and among states as principal actors and other actors who are increasingly becoming critical to the nature of relations within the context of a fluid and rapidly changing world.[29]

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[27] Sir Ernest Salow. *Guide to Diplomatic Practice*, 1922, I, I in Michael G. Roskin. *National Interest: From Abstraction to Strategy.* USA: Strategic Studies Institute, 1994, p. 84.
[28] Cerny P. G. *Political Agency in a Globalizing World: Toward a Structurational Approach.* UK: University of Manchester, 1998.
[29] Paul, R. Viotti & Mark, V. Kauppi. *International relations and World Politics. Security, Economy, Identity.* Third Edition, Pearson, 2010.

The wave of globalization has not only brought in new actors but also has introduced new issues in interstate relations which has impact for the conduct of modern diplomacy. This increases the complexity of relations and the possibility of conflict. This makes diplomacy a lot more complex and widens the scope of diplomacy. There has been cross border relevance of many issue areas in international politics.[30]

Climate change politics therefore has human rights implications, regional security policy has implication for democracy, good governance have implications for peace and stability. The new issues brought up by globalization include but are not limited to, climate change, Spread of Diseases, increased linkages in international political economy, refugee crisis, terrorism and resistance, instantaneous international communication and travel, regionalism and the growing population of knowledgeable and actively interested public. We have noticed the specter of intrastate conflict in Africa that has serious implications for diplomatic practice. This challenged the traditional dominance of concepts like non-interference and the inevitable direction of state security strategies towards external threats.[31]

Diplomatic efforts have been rather ineffective in ending African intrastate conflict and this calls for need for diplomacy to rapidly evolve to develop the capacity of states to confront new and emerging issues in the international system. Modern diplomacy has to take on new tasks like nation building, political engineering, infrastructure development and humanitarian interventions. There are new actors that have emerged to confront the new issues.

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[30] Cerny P. G. *Political Agency in a Globalizing World: Toward a Structurational Approach.* UK: University of Manchester, 1998.
[31] Cerny, P. G., Ibid.

These new actors include transnational non-governmental organizations, multinational corporations, international organizations and regional organizations. Their relevance has been enhanced by the very character of globalization and their multiplicity intensified by the growing complex nature of international exchange and intercourse.[32]

Globalization is undermining the relevance of traditional actors like the state to the extent that it erodes spatial sovereignty and tends to promote pressure from both above and below that threaten the dominance of the state in the conduct of diplomacy.[33] From above, International institutions, international law, transnational nongovernmental organizations and of course multinational corporations put intense pressure on even the most powerful of states, and therefore easily shape its diplomacy. From below, grass root organizations, local civil society, labor movements, public opinion, the press, students' unions and indeed the endemic tensions between and among these social formations tend to undermine the dominance of the state in diplomacy.

Diplomacy as a set of norms and rules regulating relations between states, embedded in organizational structures, procedures, routines and habits of foreign ministries, emphasizes professional norms of the diplomatic community including protocols and secrecy. These are essential in understanding the character of the newly evolving diplomatic environment in which soft power and behavior associated with it play a central role in seduction through democracy, human rights and individual opportunities[34].

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[32] Karin Ahonen Ström; Pontus Andgren. *Changing Diplomacy - Actors or structures?* University Essay from Lunds Universitet/Statsvetenskapliga Institutionen, 2006.
[33] Cerny P. G. *Political Agency in a Globalizing World: Toward a Structurational Approach.* UK: University of Manchester, 1998.
[34] Batora, J., Ibid, 44-46.

The central goal of diplomacy is the advancement of national interest. The state interest remains central to the conduct of diplomacy. The heads of states remains the key foreign policy makers and states are still dominant in diplomatic conduct.[35] Elements of change include increased relevance of the public in the conduct of diplomacy. Public opinion has become critical determinant of foreign policy. Another element of change in the practice and conduct of diplomacy is the role of non-state actors.[36] They have established complex network of linkages and control that make their interests increasingly central to policy formulation and at times act as agents of states in their relations with one another.

In embracing diplomacy, it is important to note that there are some factors that are sine qua non for the understanding of various actors in terms of their actions, character and intentions. These signals and indices may be regarded as key strategic tools in signaling. Signaling refers to the sending of both indices and signals. The synergies between organs and actors of cultural diplomacy in the process of formulation and implementation of the cultural relations policies of a number of countries can also be well understood through signals and indices.[37] This information is the determinant of the use of diplomatic carrots and sticks. Carrots are used to refer to diplomatic incentives that are used in international bargaining.[38] These carrots include foreign aid, whether monetary, military, or social which are used as incentives in persuading other actors in international relations to take a certain position.

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[35] Paul, R. Viotti & Mark, V. Kauppi. *International relations and World Politics. Security, Economy, Identity*. Third Edition, Pearson, 2010.

[36] Henry H. P. *Deciding to Decide: Agenda Setting in the United States Supreme Court*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991, 316.

[37] Karin Ahonen Ström; Pontus Andgren. *Changing Diplomacy - Actors or structures?* University Essay from Lunds universitet/Statsvetenskapliga institutionen, 2006.

[38] Belanger L. Redefining Cultural Diplomacy: Cultural Security and Foreign Policy in Canada. *Political Psychology, Vol. 20, No. 4.* (Dec., 1999), pp. 683.

Sticks, on the other hand, refer to coercive tools used in diplomacy such as economic sanctions, boycotts, embargoes, and blockades that can be used to persuade another actor to do something you desire. In order for sticks to be effective, the state issuing the threats must be considered credible.[39] Appreciation of the diplomatic behavior of actors in the diplomatic environment requires an understanding of their underlying driving factors, characters, actions and intentions most of which are metaphysical in nature[40]. This depends on whether the actors are state or non-state actors.

2.5.1.1 State actors

The state is a territorial entity controlled by government and inhabited by a population[41]. A state government answers no higher authority, it exercises sovereignty over its territory. Sovereignty is recognized by other states through diplomatic relations and usually by memberships in the United Nations (UN).[42]

2.5.1.2 Non-state actors

The importance of National governments in the international system has been challenged by the influential non-state actors that operate internationally.[43] States often take action through, within, or in the context international organizations (IGOs) organization whose members are national governments like the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), World Trade Organization (WTO), military alliance like NATO and political grouping like the AU and transnational actors like NGOs.[44]

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[39] Paul, R. Viotti & Mark, V. Kauppi. *International relations and World Politics. Security, Economy, Identity.* Third Edition, Pearson, 2010.

[40] Cerny, P.G. 'The New Security Dilemma: Divisibility, Defection and Disorder in the Global Era', *Review of International Studies, 2000. 26* (4).

[41] Joshua S. Goldstein, *International Relations*, Ninth Edition, Washington D.C, 2009, p. 12.

[42] Cerny P. G. *Political Agency in a Globalizing World: Toward a Structurational Approach.* UK: University of Manchester.

[43] Bolewski, W. Diplomacy and International Law in Globalized Relations, New York: Springer, 2007, 53.

[44] Batora, J. "Does the European Union Transform the institution of Diplomacy?' Journal of European Public Policy, 2005 2(1). 44-46.

The non-state actors include religious actors, sub-state units and international organizations, terrorist/rebel groups, multinational corporations, non-governmental organisations and individuals. Despite the presence of many non-state actors in diplomacy, the last three appear to be behind the radical changes in diplomacy. These actors are crucial in raising awareness regarding critical issues in the society and are thus more credible and enjoy great public support.[45]

2.5.2 Types of Diplomacy

2.5.2.1 Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy or impolitely propaganda is the manipulation of foreign public opinion through the mass media by being more or less honest and subtle in order to achieve long term rather than short term changes in opinion.[46] Public diplomacy aims at indirectly exerting influence on foreign governments by appealing over the heads of the governments to the people with influence upon them.[47]

Soft power of a state is created through activities of mutual actors and organizations with impact on foreign publics, states, INGOS, NGOS, Political parties and political philosophers, journalist and media groups, multinational companies. This involves a broader group of people and broader set of interests that go beyond those governments of the day. Public diplomacy comprises all activities by state and non-state actors that contribute to the maintenance and promotion of country's soft power.

[45] Bolewski, W. Diplomacy and International Law in Globalized Relations, New York: Springer, 2007, 53.
[46] Berrige, G. R. Diplomacy: Theory and Practice. Fourth Edition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, p. 179.
[47] Ibid., p. 182.

Positive images of a country and negative images can create positive perception in the minds of foreign audience.[48] The challenge of the state actor in such an environment is to make themselves attractive and relevant as source of soft power. Foreign ministries try to harness the potential of the positive images and values associated with any state; be it where they are located or another one.

Governments and notably foreign ministries are trying to find issue areas of common concern, shared values and common images that would enable cooperation and mutual support between government activities and activities of societal actors which would provide mutual benefit in terms of soft power. What hence eventually evolve between foreign ministries and non-state actors are essentially network relationships. The promotion of soft power of state therefore necessarily involves interactions of governments with multiple stakeholders at home. Such interactions benefit not only the state but also the non-state actors because values, images and other assets associated with the state might have enabling effects of the activities of these actors.[49]

A precondition for a successful public diplomacy is the attractiveness of the ideas and values that a state represents to the actors inside the state. Association of non-state actors with the state is primarily a means through which the state can harness the image and value resources of non-state actors. Identification of images and values with potential to foster synergies between activities of government and societal actors is central to the development of any public diplomacy strategy.

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[48] Leonard, Mark, Catherine Stead, and Conrad Smewing. *Public Diplomacy*. London: Foreign Policy Centre, 2002.

[49] Ibid.

2.5.2.2 Preventive Diplomacy

Preventive diplomacy involves proper response to early warning signs of conflicts through taking appropriate preventive measures and addressing conflicts before they erupt, and before they become dysfunctional. The whole essence of preventive diplomacy is not only to read the signs of emerging conflicts, but also to put in place measures that can arrest the symptoms just as it is the case in the world of medicine. In many cases, diplomacy always comes after the conflict has done their course, or after they have caused harm to society, or between societies while in other cases diplomacy has been able to address conflict before they become dysfunctional thereby hailing and celebrating the triumph of diplomacy.[50]

The notion of preventive diplomacy is based in the belief that effective conflict management mechanism and strategies can work during the early stages of the life cycle of a conflict, and especially before the conflict become manifest. It is also based on the belief that it is possible to read the conflict before it erupts and take proper measures for its early management. The idea and the context of preventive diplomacy which is currently in fashion is not new. Preventive diplomacy is an integral part of the whole conflict management process. After conflict, preventive diplomacy should step in immediately and form an integral part of post-conflict, and post-conflict management structures of peace for the purpose of peace-building.[51]

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[50] Mukumu, Mwagiru. *Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management.* Nairobi: Center for Conflict Research, 2006, p. 11.
[51] Ibid, p. 11.

Preventive diplomacy is part of the process of consolidating peace as it involves activities such as designing confidence building measures, trust and confidence between those parties who were earlier in conflict, and who are trying to consolidate the outcome that they reached. Preventive diplomacy should be key to conciliatory gestures which are necessary when some positive actions are required from the parties in a conflict and in situations where something positive, such as a gesture of peace needs to be demonstrated in order to stop escalation of a conflict. The role of preventive diplomacy is facilitating the continuation of dialogue and to ensure that the conflict does not exacerbate.[52]

Preventive diplomacy, while important, must take into account cultures, and culture symbols, these symbols defines what gestures are acceptable, and what confidence building measures are likely to have an impact on the parties. In this sense, preventive diplomacy should be home grown, and should have its roots deep in the cultural environment of the theatre of the conflict.[53] These perspectives make effective preventive diplomacy to be an effective tool for conflict management.[54]

Other types of diplomacy include open diplomacy, secret diplomacy, economic diplomacy, totalitarian diplomacy, diplomacy by conference and personal diplomacy.[55]

2.5.3 The benefits of Diplomacy as a method in Conflict Resolution

The benefits of diplomacy include retaining of harmonious relationships, continued trading and movement of people, non-interference with socio-economic development, controlling situations before they cause destructions arising from fights and wars.

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[52] Mukumu, Mwagiru. *Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management.* Nairobi: Center for Conflict Research, 2006, p. 12.

[53] Ibid., p. 12.

[54] Michael G. Roskin. *National Interest: From Abstraction to Strategy.* USA: Strategic Studies Institute, 1994, Pp. 96-103.

[55] Ibid, Pp. 96-103.

2.5.4 Challenges in using Diplomacy as a method in Conflict Resolution

According to most scholars, although diplomacy is good as a conflict resolution method, it may be slow and consequently solve the problem when some damage has already been done. It also requires a lot of patience and maturity from the parties involved and may also demand a high amount of financial resources to facilitate talks in secure neutral locations for the two parties.

2.5.5 The Relationship between National and International stability and the use of Diplomacy in Conflict Resolution

Although diplomacy faces various challenges, it has so far remained the most viable approach to conflict resolution. Some empirical evidence shows that most nations and parties that employ diplomacy in conflict resolution are more stable than those who engage in fights and wars.

2.6 Summary

This chapter has reviewed various literature on the history of Kenyan Foreign Policy since independence, conflict, causes of conflict, effects of conflict, approaches to conflict, methods of conflict resolution and diplomacy under different sub-divisions in accordance with the research questions that guides this study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research design, target population, sample and sampling procedure, methods of data collection, validity and reliability of the data collection instruments, operational definition of variables and methods of data analysis.

3.2 Research Design

This study employed cross-sectional descriptive survey design in analyzing persistent problem of conflict in Africa: The role of Kenyan diplomatic method. Kerlinger states that a descriptive survey research method is used in order to obtain accurate information for large numbers of people with a small sample to explore relationships between variables because it allows generalizations across the population.[56] The study collected data from the government especially, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Immigration through their employees and analyze documents related to policies in conflict resolution. Their knowledge and attitudes on the success level of the use of diplomacy to solve conflicts was of value in analyzing persistent problem of conflict in Africa: The role of Kenyan diplomatic method.

3.3 Target Population

The target population was Kenyan Government's Ministry of Foreign Affairs employees, Sudanese embassy, Southern Sudan embassy, Somalia embassy, Rwandese embassy, Ethiopian embassy, Eritrean embassy, Libyan embassy and Egyptian embassy. Kenya has been chosen because of her use of diplomacy in conflict resolution with her neighbors.

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[56] Kerlinger, F. *Foundations of Behavioural Research*. New Delhi: Surjeet Publications, 1973.

The choice was also based on accessibility reasons as well as the fact that the researcher is a Kenyan citizen with good understanding of the government policies and way of doing things. The choice of the Foreign Affairs Ministry is because it is directly involved in diplomatic relations. The selected African countries have been based on their having experienced conflict in the past few years or presently.

The target population of 415 consists of all the senior officials and senior staff at the Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Nairobi and the afore-mentioned embassies. They are targeted because being in a ministry that embraces diplomacy in conflict resolution and internationals relations, they may be able to provide an overall understanding of diplomacy in conflict resolution and international relations as well as the challenges facing diplomacy as a method in conflict resolution.

3.4 Sample and Sampling Procedure

The Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs has 97 senior officials and senior staff consisting of 13 senior government officials and 84 senior staff. Due to time and financial resource limitations, only 10% of the total population of senior officials and senior staff in the Ministry and embassies will be selected in line with Kothari[57] who recommends that 10% is representative enough for descriptive study. Through simple random sampling and purposive sampling (in the case of those who are directly engaged in diplomatic relations for high quality information due to their possibly high level of knowledge of the topic under study), the study will explore diplomacy as a method in conflict resolution. A 10% representation gives 43 senior government officials and senior staff in the Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the 8 sampled embassies as tabulated in the sampling matrix below.

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[57] Kothari, C. *Research Methodology Methods and Techniques*. New Delhi: New Age International Publishers, 2004.

Table 3.1: Sampling Frame

Ministry	Population of Senior Officials and Senior Staff	Sampled Percentage (%)	Sampled No.
Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs	97	10	10
Southern Sudanese Embassy	30	10	3
Sudanese Embassy	50	10	5
Ethiopian Embassy	40	10	4
Eritrean Embassy	28	10	3
Somali Embassy	25	10	3
Rwandese Embassy	45	10	5
Libyan Embassy	47	10	5
Egyptian Embassy	53	10	5
Total Sample	**415**	**10**	**43**

3.5 Methods of Data Collection

In this study, two types of data that were collected. There were primary data and secondary data as illustrated here below:

3.5.1 Primary Data

The primary data was collected using questionnaires, interviews and document analysis.

(a) The Questionnaire

The designed questionnaires was self-administered to each member of the sampled management staff in the Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the 8 embassies with the exception of some senior officials who will be interviewed instead. This method was preferred because it saves time, easy to administer, standardized, ensures anonymity, helps in reach many respondents[58] and can be left with the respondents to fill at will and be collected afterwards.

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[58] Creswell, J. W. *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches (2nd ed.)*. London: Sage, 2003.

(b)   Interview Schedule

Interviews were very challenging but questionnaires administered to some senior government and embassy officials/employees directly involved in diplomatic relations in order to obtain information directly from individuals were handy. They responded to pre-determined set of questions asked by the researcher. The structured interview guide was systematically developed and pre-tested on 3 employees at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the 8 sampled embassies so that any ambiguities or biases in the way questions shall be identified and corrected in advance. Because this was not a very sensitive area of study, it is hoped that interviewees will willingly give accurate and reliable information as they have first hand knowledge of persistent conflict in Africa and diplomacy as a method in conflict resolution. In line with Byrne, ambiguous areas were clarified and eye contact maintained during the interviews.[59]

3.5.2   Secondary Data

These data was collected from past records in the published government policies and embassy records of how internal and international conflicts have been resolved, textbooks, quarterly and annual reports and the internet. The researcher found secondary data fairly readily available from the aforementioned resources from the Nairobi University library, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Education library and other Libraries.

3.6 Validity and Reliability

The researcher used the split-half method in line with Coolican and gave the research instruments to three experts in research department to ascertain their content and construct validity[60]. Their suggestions will then be included to improve the research instruments.

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[59] Byrne, M. Interviewing as a data collection method. *AORN Journal*, pp. 1-3, 2001.
[60] Coolican, H. *Introduction to research methods and statistics in psychology* (2nd ed.). London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1996.

Internal consistency for scaled items was tested using Cronchbach's alpha (α) where an alpha

score of 0.6 or higher was considered adequate.

3.7 Operational Definition of Variables

Table 3.2 Operational Definition of Variables

VARIABLE	TYPE OF VARIABLE	INDICATORS	MEASURE	SCALE OF MEASUREMENT	TOOL OF ANALYSIS
Diplomacy as a method in conflict resolution	Dependent	- Stability - Socio-economic development - Relationship with neighbours	Dimension of viability	Nominal	Descriptive
Leadership style	Independent	- Competence and commitment of President and staff at Ministry of Foreign Affairs - Staffing	Level of competence How many	Nominal ordinal	Descriptive
Resource requirements	Independent	- Availability of time to employ diplomacy without much damage - Availability of financial resources for diplomacy	Efficiency and effectiveness of the structures Cost-benefit analysis	Nominal ordinal	Descriptive
Stability	Independent	- Relationship with neighbors and International Community - Territorial integrity - Time actually taken to solve the conflict - Permanency/ How long the solution lasts Socio-economic development	Percentage contribution How many	Nominal	Descriptive
Sensitivity of the issue in question	Moderating	- Level of secrecy - Gravity of the consequences	Percentage	Nominal Ordinal	Descriptive
Constitution/ International Law	Intervening	- Adherence to stipulations of the Constitution and International Law	Level of adherence	Nominal	Descriptive

3.8 Methods of Data Analysis

The raw data collected from the questionnaires was cleaned and edited before coding to eliminate errors and any omissions. This was then be coded and keyed into Statistical Package for Social Sciences software version 16 for analysis. The output was presented using descriptive statistics and the data summarized in form of frequency tables, graphs and charts. Linear regression was conducted to establish the relationship between national and international stability and the use of conflict as a method in diplomacy.

The qualitative data was recorded in note books and thematically analyzed in line with the research questions for content analysis to determine the adequacy of the information and presented in narration form.[61]

3.9 Summary

The study of persistent problem of conflict in Africa: the role of Kenyan diplomatic method targeting employees of the Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and 8 embassies will be ideal in bringing out the viability of diplomacy as a method in conflict resolution. Using 10% of the population, the study will employ questionnaires and interview guide in obtaining data from the respondents. The respondents were all the government employees at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the 8 embassies (Sudan, South Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Libya, Egypt and Rwanda) across their various management levels. Simple random sampling except in instances where individuals who have directly engaged in diplomatic cases will be used to select the sample. The data that was collected was analyzed using SPSS and the resulting frequencies and percentages presented through descriptive statistics and correlated.

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[61] Mugenda, M. & Mugenda, G. *Research Methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches.* Nairobi: Acts Press, 2003.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION, DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

Introduction

This section of the study presents the findings of the study in frequency tables, pie charts and bar charts, discusses and interprets them in line with the objectives of the study. This includes conflict, conflict, causes of conflict, effects of conflict, approaches to conflict, methods of conflict resolution and diplomacy under different sub-divisions in accordance with the research questions that guides this study. The response rate for the embassies was 5 out of the 8 embassies that cooperated in the study resulting to a questionnaire return rate of 62.5%. Some respondents declined participating in the study due to the framing of the letter specifically to the Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, others needed a note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, others had very lengthy protocols and due to their freedom to participate or not, the researcher could not force them to be part of this study. The analysis commenced with the demographic information.

4.1 Presentation of the Research Findings

4.1.1 Demographic Information
The demographic information of the respondents included their embassy, rank/ designation, level of education and gender of the respondents.

Table 4.1: Embassy of the Respondents

Country	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Sudan	16	34.8
Somalia	11	23.9
South Sudan	7	15.2
Kenya	5	10.8
Rwanda	7	15.2
Total	46	100.0

The study noted in its findings that the embassy that highly cooperated in the study was the Sudan embassy which was the leading with 34.8%. This was followed by Somalia, South Sudan, Rwanda and finally Kenya which was even the home country at 23.9%, 15.2%, 15.2% and 10.8% respectively. This was due to difference in protocols and preference in terms of clientele.

Figure 4.1: Highest level of education of the Respondents
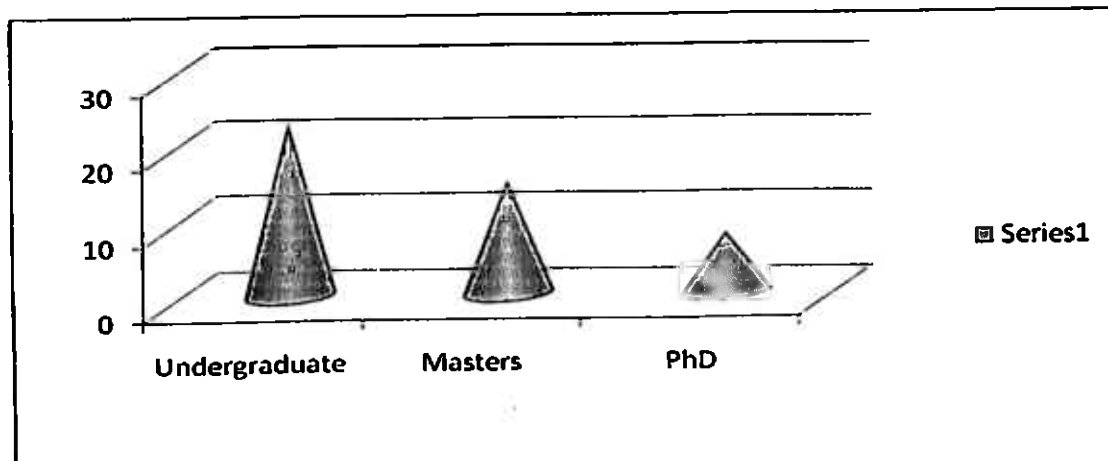
The levels of education of the embassy representatives was quite representative as 50% had undergraduate, 32.6% had masters and 17.4% had doctoral levels of education n as shown in the figure above. This was important in their understanding of conflict, its causes, conflict resolution method and diplomacy as a method in conflict resolution.

Table 4.2: Designation of the Respondents

Position	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Trade attaché	17	37.0
Ambassadors	2	4.4
Deputy Trade attaché	7	15.2
Foreign Representative	15	32.6
Regional Representative	4	8.7
Missing	1	2.2
Total	46	100.0

The highest percentage of the respondents were trade attachés and foreign representatives at 37% and 32.6% respectively.

Other embassy officials who participated in the study included deputy trade attachés (15.2%), regional representatives (8.7%) and ambassadors (4.4%). One respondent constituting 2.2% did not respond to this item of the questionnaire. This was fairly representative of the various officials.

Figure 4.2: Gender of the Respondents

Gender of the Respondents
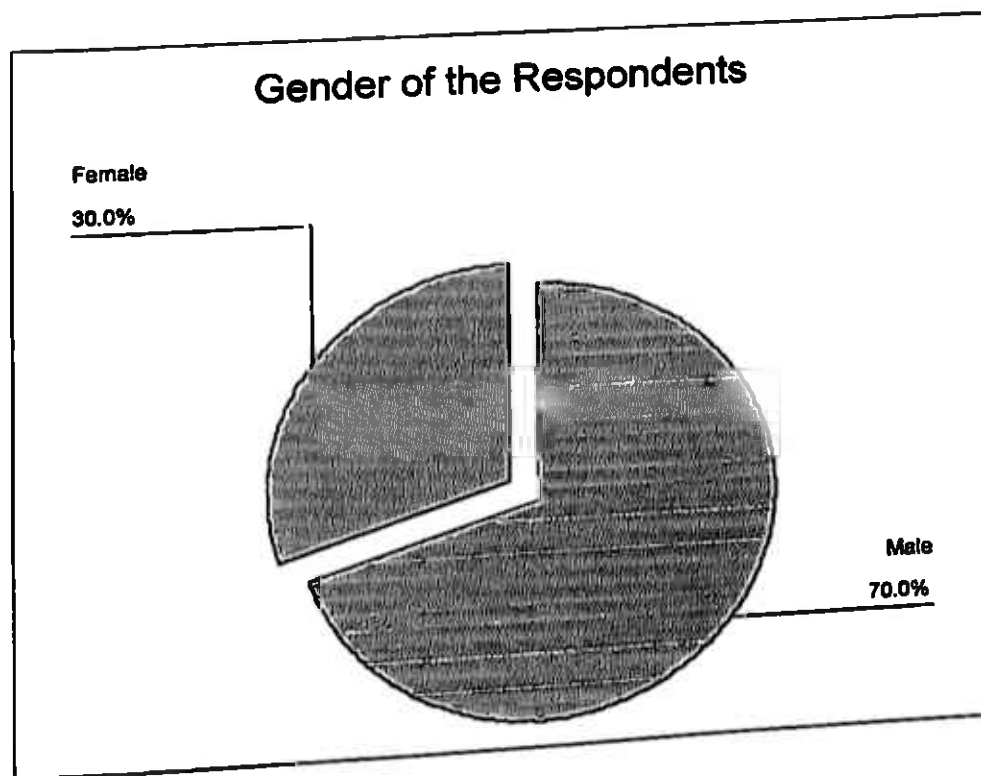
Female
30.0%

Male
70.0%

The study found that most of the senior officials in the various embassies involved in this study were male 70% and female 30%. This showed a male gender domination of the African embassies that were included in this study.

4.1.2 Causes of Persistent Conflicts in Africa

Table 4.2: Causes of Persistent Conflicts in Africa

Position	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Unjust distribution of resources is the cause of persistent conflicts in Africa	21	45.7
Poor governance is the cause of persistent conflicts in Africa	18	39.1
External interference by foreign countries is the cause of persistent conflict in Africa	5	10.9
Misunderstanding	1	2.2
Arms-race	1	2.2
Total	46	100.0

The respondents in the sample had clear understanding of the causes of the problem of persistent conflict in Africa as attested to by the realistic nature of the findings presented in the table above. Majority (45.7%) of the respondents cited unjust distribution of resources in African countries as the major cause of conflict as well as poor governance in the continent (39.1%). From the respondents' view, other causes of conflicts such as external interference by foreign states, misunderstanding and arms-race were insignificant at 10.9%, 2.2% and 2.2% respectively.

4.1.3 Effect of Conflict in Africa

Figure 4.3: Conflict has led to Poverty
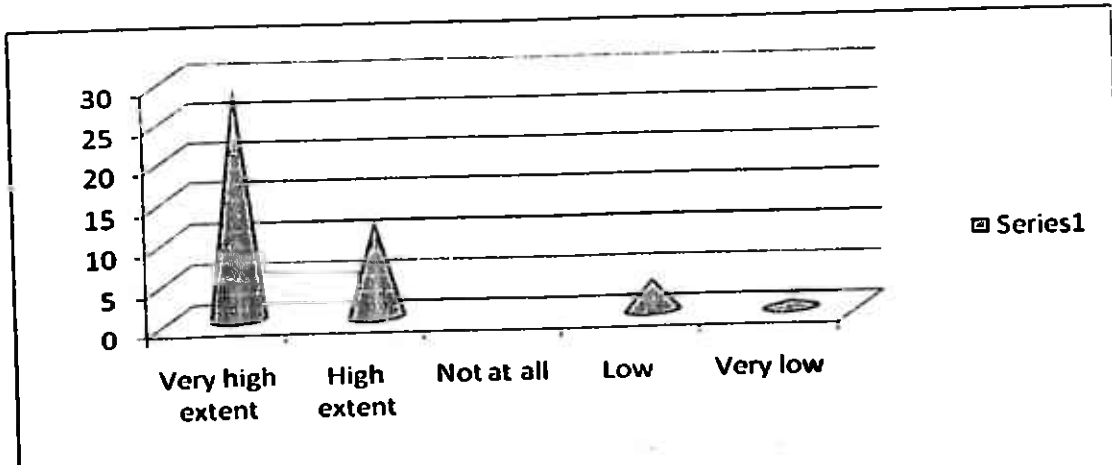
Most of the respondents had the conviction that if it were not for conflict, most of the African countries would not be suffering from poverty. More than 90% of them believed that conflict was responsible to a very high extent and to a high extent for the high rate of poverty in Africa and various solutions to conflict could lead to poverty reduction and eventually eradication in the continent.

Figure 4.4: Conflict has led to under-development
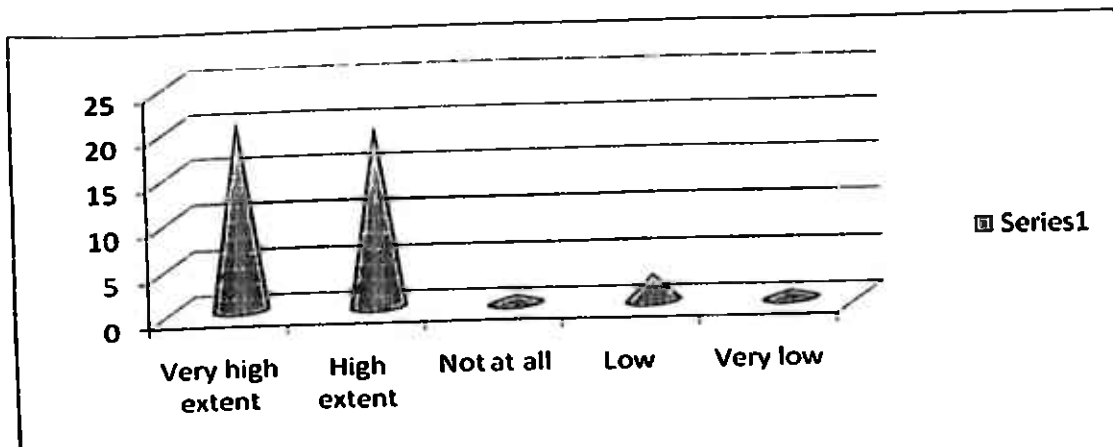
There was strong evidence from the findings that conflict has led to under-development in the different African countries that have experienced conflict over time.

A whopping majority of over 89.1% accepted this was true. An insignificant 10.9% perceived the relationship between conflict and under-development as non-existent, low and very low at different percentages.

Figure 4.5: Conflict has lowered the dignity of African Continent
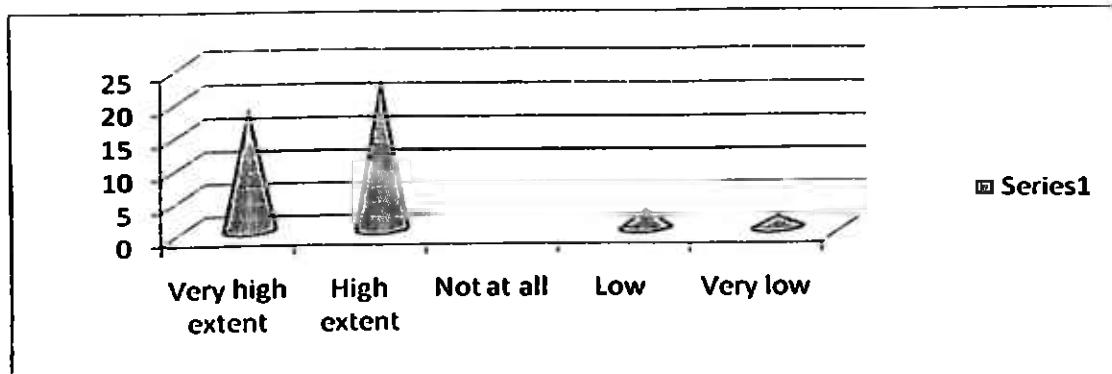
From the responses, it was clear that conflict has to a very high extent and to a high extent determined the poor image of African continent in the face of the world. This was deduced from the 91.3% of the respondents who asserted that the problem of persisting conflict has to a very high and high extent lowered the dignity of African continent.

Figure 4.6: Conflict has made African Countries to learn lessons from each other's suffering
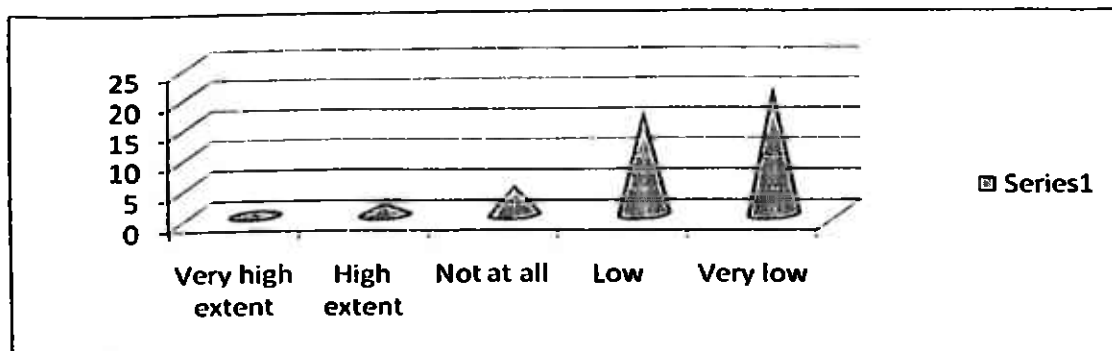
The fact that African countries had not learn from the experience of their counterparts who had or were going through conflict was almost given due to persistent poor governance and wealth distribution. This was confirmed by 82.6% of the respondents who said that African states were hesitant to learn from each other with regard to the impact of conflict.

4.1.4 The Relationship between Diplomatic Conflict Resolution Method and Persistence of the Conflict

Conflict resolution methods highly utilized by various governments

Country	Method	Stability
Sudan	Conflict management and Diplomacy	Average
Somalia	Conflict management/war	Unstable
South Sudan	Conflict management and Diplomacy	Average
Kenya	Diplomacy	Stable
Rwanda	Diplomacy	Stable

Among the countries sampled for the study respondents from both the Republic of Sudan and South Sudan utilized both conflict management and diplomacy as a conflict resolution method and were found to be averagely stable after the long period of war between them. Somalia which has and is still using conflict management/war was presented as still unstable while Kenya and Rwanda which have employed the diplomatic approach have been rated as stable over a period of time. This implies the use of conflict resolution rather that conflict management has a correlation with a country's pace and stability.

Whether diplomacy is viable in conflict resolution
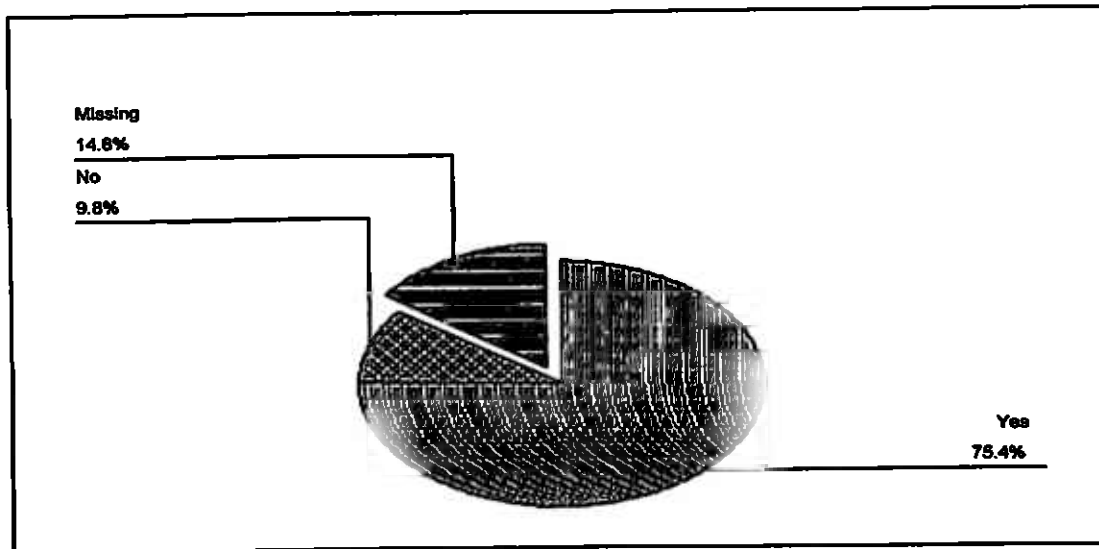
The advantages of diplomacy were perceived as out-doing the disadvantages as attested to by the 75.4% of the respondents who accepted that diplomacy was viable as a conflict resolution method. This might have been against the various conflict resolution and management methods that had been witnessed or scrutinized by the respondents sampled in this study. Thus diplomacy should be embraced against war among other options.

Benefits of the diplomatic approach to the problem of persistent conflict in Africa

Benefit	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Peace and stability	33	71.7
Trade and economic development	13	28.3
Total	46	100.0

The key benefits of diplomacy that were noted by the respondents were peace and stability (71.7%) and trade and economic development (28.3%). This meant that there could be a correlation between peace, stability, trade and economic growth and practice of diplomacy.

The challenges that face diplomacy in solving the persistent conflict in Africa

Challenge	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Lack of understanding	23	50.0
Greed and selfishness	13	28.3
Being used by external countries	7	15.2
Arrogance	3	6.5
Total	46	100.0

The major challenges that face diplomacy in solving the persistent conflict in Africa as cited by the respondents included lack of understanding, greed and selfishness, being used by eternal countries and arrogance of leaders at 50%, 28.3%, 15.2% and arrogance of leaders (6.5%) respectively.

Ways in which challenges facing the diplomatic method can be resolved or controlled to bring an end to the persistent conflicts

Table 4.7: Ways in which challenges facing the diplomatic method can be resolved

Solution	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Just distribution of resources	26	56.5
Good governance	18	39.1
Promotion of democracy	3	6.5
Agitation by civil society, NGOs and CBOs	1	2.2
Total	46	100.0

The respondents had various suggestion of how the challenges aforementioned could be solved as a way of controlling the persisting problem of conflicts in Africa.

While 56.5% proposed just distribution of resources, 39.1% suggested good governance 6.5% suggested promotion of democracy and 2.2% suggested agitation by civil society, Non Governmental Organizations and Community Based Organizations to control the tame the governments and political leadership in cases of poor governance and breach of human rights of the citizens. These are strategic, viable and acceptable ways of enhancing democracy, good governance and diplomacy.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the study findings, the conclusion and gives various recommendations based on the findings of the study and the conclusion of the study.

5.1 Summary of the Findings

The objective of this study was to explore the persistent problem of conflict in Africa and establish the viability of Kenyan diplomatic method of conflict resolution. It analyzed this in line with the specific objectives that guided the study by comparing the literature review and the findings from the sampled respondents.

In line with the first objective on the underlying causes of persistent conflict in Africa, the study noted that these underlying causes were unjust distribution of resources in African countries, poor governance in the continent, external interference by foreign states, misunderstanding and arms-race.

In relation to the second objective on the assessment of the effectiveness of the various conflict resolution methods employed by the African States, it was found that various conflict resolution methods scored differently for different countries and were consequently valued differently by the various countries under this study. Preventive diplomacy, public diplomacy, secret diplomacy and war seemed more proffered to other choices that were offered to the respondents in this study.

In response to the third objective of the study, it was noted that there is a direct negative relationship between the use of diplomacy in conflict resolution and the problem of persistent conflict in Africa. If diplomacy could be given a chance, good governance practiced and resources could be justly distributed the conflict could diminish in Africa.

5.2 Conclusion

This research project has analyzed deeply the persistent problems of conflicts in Africa focusing on various countries were conflicts has been evident in a search for conflict resolution methods that provides immediate and long lasting solution to conflicts. Conflict has been witnessed in Rwanda, South Sudan, Sudan, Somalia, Egypt, Libya just to mention but a few. The major causes of conflicts narrows down to the problem of unjust distribution of resources and the poor governance. There arises conflicts in the access, the control and usage of the countries resources, this occurs when one group in Africa a tribal group prevents another tribal group from fair sharing of the resources. These resources are the basic necessities for human survival such as food, land for cultivation or for gazing fields, oil fields which are a great source of financial support. These are practically non negotiable factors because they are the fundamentals of human survival, they touch the very core of peoples existence. Poor governance has to be addressed; the government has the responsibility of providing its citizens with the basics of survival, ensure that it provides an environment whereby the citizen are assured of their basic rights, the right to good health, good security and the freedom of people as individuals and groups to determine their own destiny.. This call for concerted efforts from all stakeholders including the international community, through the use diplomatic means prior to reverting to other means of conflict management and resolution.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the literature review and the findings of this study, this study recommends that:

- Conflicts need a very integrated approach of solving them when they arise which may involve various conflict resolution methods and diplomacy should take precedence.

- The International community, United Nations (UN) and African Union (AU) must play a critical role in the realization of good governance and just distribution of resources in Africa. This will address the underlying causes of conflict hence reducing the negative effects.

- The conflicts should be speedily addressed before they cause adverse effects on the countries and people affected.

- The principal of non interference in other states affairs by a country or countries, should not arise in countries where human rights are being violated.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Introduction Letter

University of Nairobi

P.O Box 30197-00100

Nairobi, Kenya

Dear Respondent,

RE: DATA COLLECTION FOR ACADEMIC RESEARCH

I am a student at the Nairobi University, pursuing Master of Arts Degree in International Studies. I am required to submit a Research Project in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree and this is why I am seeking your assistance in furnishing me with information regarding this area of study. I am conducting a study on "Persistent problem of conflict in Africa: The Role of the Kenyan Diplomatic method. This will be done with a with a view to underlying causes of conflicts and establishing the viability of diplomacy in conflict resolution and correlating diplomacy to the duration it takes to solve conflicts and how permanent the resolution is.

Please kindly cooperate by filling in the attached questionnaire with the most appropriate responses for all the questions and in the interviews to the best of your knowledge. The information you provide will be held as confidential and only used for purely academic purpose. Names will not be disclosed unless you feel comfortable with that.

Thank you in advance and I am looking forward to your cooperation and assistance.

Yours sincerely,

Mr. Boniface Munyao Masini

. . . .

International Studies Student.

Appendix I: Questionnaire on Persistent Problem of Conflict in Africa

This questionnaire is to facilitate the researcher to collect data of the above mentioned topic in partial fulfillment of his study. The information acquired here will be used for research purposes only and will be treated with utmost confidence. The researcher is requesting you to fill the questionnaire with honesty and objectivity. Your participation in facilitating the study is highly appreciated.

Section A: Demographic Information

1. County of Origin: Kenya ( )   Ethiopia ( )   Eritrea ( )
   Sudan ( ) South Sudan ( ) Somalia ( ) Egypt ( )
   Libya ( ) Rwanda ( )

2. Position...

3. Level of Education:...

4. Gender: Male   ( )   Female   ( )

Section B: Underlying Causes of Persistent Conflict in Africa

a) Causes of Persistent Conflicts in Africa

In reference to causes of persistent conflict in African Countries, please answer the following questions by ticking appropriately your level of agreement with the following statements:

	Cause of Persistent Conflict	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Satisfactory (3)	Disagree (4)	Strongly disagree (5)
5	Unjust distribution of resources is the cause of persistent conflicts in Africa					
6	Poor governance is the cause of persistent conflicts in Africa					
7	External interference by foreign countries is the cause of persistent conflict in Africa					
8	Misunderstanding					
9	Arms race					

b) Effects of Conflict On Africa

In your own opinion, indicate the extent at which you agree with the following statements as a diplomat/ employee of the embassy by ticking appropriately your level of agreement with the following statements:

	Effect	Very High extent (5)	High extent (4)	Not at all (3)	Low extent (2)	Very low extent (1)
10.	Conflict has led to poverty in Africa					
11.	Conflict has led to under-development of African Countries					
12.	Conflict has lowered the dignity of African Countries					
13.	Conflict has made African Countries to learn lessons from each other's suffering					

Section C: Effectiveness of the various Conflict Resolution Methods Employed by the African States

In your own opinion, tick the level of effectiveness of the various items listed in the table below.

	Conflict Resolution Method	Very effective (5)	Effective (4)	Satisfactory (3)	Ineffective (2)	Very Ineffective (1)
14.	Conflict management					
15.	Conflict resolution					
16.	War					
17.	Preventive diplomacy					
18.	Public diplomacy					
19.	Open diplomacy					
20.	Secret diplomacy					
21.	Utilitarian diplomacy					
22.	Economic diplomacy					
23	Diplomacy by conference					
24	Personal diplomacy					

Section D: The Relationship between Diplomatic Conflict Resolution Method and Persistence of the Conflict

25. What conflict resolution method is highly utilized by your government/Country?

....

26. From your experience and knowledge, is diplomacy viable in conflict resolution?

Yes (   )   No (   )

27. What would you say are the benefits of the diplomatic approach to the problem of persistent conflict in Africa?...

....

....

....

28. What are the challenges that face diplomacy in solving the persistent conflict in Africa?...

....

....

....

29. In your view, how can these challenges facing the diplomatic method be resolved or controlled to bring an end to the persistent conflicts?

....

....

....

....

Thank you for your time and cooperation

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