

**THE RELEVANCE OF PAN-AFRICANISM IN SHAPING KENYA'S FOREIGN
POLICY TODAY.**

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been submitted for an award of a degree in any university.

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DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to my family members especially my mother and father who encouraged me through their consistent prayers and support.

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Table of Contents

DEDICATION.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iii
LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES	vii
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	viii
ABSTRACT.....	ix
CHAPTER ONE	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.2 Background of the study	1
1.3 Problem statement.....	5
1.4 Objectives of the study	6
1.5 Hypotheses.....	7
1.6 Justification of the study/Significance of the Study	7
1.7 Scope and Limitation of the study	10
1.8 Chapter Outline.....	11
CHAPTER TWO	12
2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW	12
2.1 Introduction.....	12
2.2 The Ideology of Pan-Africanism	12
2.2.2 The concept of Pan-Africanism before the Cold War	15
2.2.3 Concept of Pan-Africanism during the Cold War	15
2.2.4 Concept of Pan-Africanism after the Cold war	16
2.3 Pan-Africanism and Foreign Policies of African States	19
2.3.2 Determinants of Foreign Policies of African States	20
2.4 Pan-Africanism and Kenya's Foreign Policy	22
2.4.2 History of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's Foreign Policy.....	24
2.4.3 Kenya's Foreign Policy goals	27
2.4.5 Kenya's Foreign Policy in East Africa	28
2.4.6 Africa's Foreign Policy.....	30

2.5 Theoretical Framework.....	32
CHAPTER THREE.....	34
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	34
3.1 Introduction.....	34
3.2 Research design	34
3.3 Sources of data.....	35
3.3.1 Type of Questionnaire to be used	35
3.3.2 Interviews.....	36
3.4 Target Population.....	36
Target population in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (Table 3.4.1).....	37
3.5 Sampling Size and Design	38
3.5.1 Snowball Sampling.....	38
3.5.2 Purposive sampling.....	38
3.6 Validity and Reliability of Data Collected	39
3.6.1 Validity and Reliability Analysis.....	39
CHAPTER FOUR.....	40
4.0 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION	40
4.1 Introduction.....	40
4.2 Response Rate.....	40
4.3 Research findings, data analysis and Interpretation.....	41
4.3.1 Evaluation of the degree to which Pan-Africanism has shaped Kenya's Foreign policy	41
Figure 4.3.1.1	41
Figure 4.3.1.2	42
Table 4.0	43
Figure 4.3.1.3	44
Figure 4.3.1.4	45
Figure 4.3.1.5 Features of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's Foreign policy	46
4.3.2.1 Kenya's Foreign Policy at the Regional level	49
Figure 4.3.2.1	49
Table 4.1	49

Figure 4.3.2.2	50
4.3.2.3 The relationship of Kenya's foreign policy and Pan-Africanism at the regional level. ...	51
Figure 4.3.2.4	52
4.3.3 Influence of the principles of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's foreign policy	53
Figure 4.3.3.1	54
Figure 4.3.3.2	55
Figure 4.3.3.3	56
Table 4.3	57
Figure 4.3.3.4	57
CHAPTER FIVE	58
5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	58
5.1 Introduction.....	58
5.2 Summary of Findings.....	58
5.3 Conclusion	59
5.4 Recommendations.....	61
References.....	64
Appendix I	67
Appendix II.....	73

List of Figures and Tables

3.4.1 Target population in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade	37
Figure 4.3.1.1	41
Figure 4.3.1.2	42
Table 4.0	43
Figure 4.3.1.3	44
Figure 4.3.1.4	45
Figure 4.3.1.5 Features of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's Foreign policy	46
4.3.2.1 Kenya's Foreign Policy at the Regional level	49
Figure 4.3.2.1	49
Table 4.1	49
Figure 4.3.2.2	50
4.3.2.3 The relationship of Kenya's foreign policy and Pan-Africanism at the regional level. ...	51
Figure 4.3.2.4	52
4.3.3 Influence of the principles of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's foreign policy	53
Figure 4.3.3.1	54
Figure 4.3.3.2	55
Figure 4.3.3.3	56
Table 4.3	57
Figure 4.3.3.4	57

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

S.S.A.....	Sub-Saharan African
S.A.P.....	Structural Adjustment Programmes
U.S.S.R.....	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
O.A.U.....	Organization of African Unity
COMESA.....	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
ECOWAS.....	Economic Community for West African States
OPEC.....	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
EAC.....	East African Community
IGAD.....	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
ACP-EU.....	African Caribbean and Pacific-European Union
ECA.....	Economics Commission for Africa
SADC.....	Southern African Development Community
REC's.....	Regional Economic Communities
UN.....	The United Nations

ABSTRACT

A number of scholars have argued that Africa today lacks a distinct Foreign Policy orientation. Despite this assertion, it is also worth noting that during Africa's struggle for independence, African countries adopted Pan-Africanism as an ideology that would unite the African continent as one in the fight against western imperialism. The struggle for Africa's independence in the early 1950's can be regarded as one of the most important eras where African countries adopted a similar policy and perhaps the only time African states demonstrated solidarity. Conversely, the concept of Pan-Africanism influenced the formation of institutions such as the African Union which acted as a platform for African States to actively engage in international relations both within and outside the African Continent. The findings indicate that Pan-Africanism is quite strong at the regional level due to the formation of regional economic blocs such as the EAC which were founded on the principles of Pan-Africanism i.e self-reliance and economic emancipation. However, national interest remains as the dominant factor in influencing Kenya's foreign policy. The paper emphasizes on the need to create stronger ties not only at the regional level with other African countries but also with Kenyans in the Diaspora.

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The orientation of foreign policy among African states has been in a state of flux especially after the Cold War. The adoption of western oriented policies such as the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) had an impact on the actions of African states in the international system especially the relationship they had with its former colonies and allies¹. Additionally, foreign policy of many African States including Kenya has been greatly influenced by its dependence on foreign aid². It is therefore possible to presume that there was a time when African states had a similar foreign policy which ultimately brought stability and uniformity on how it related to other countries before the Cold War. This similar foreign policy that was shared among African states can be extracted from the ideology of Pan-Africanism. The concept of Pan-Africanism was shared among African leaders who believed that progress of African people was highly dependent on unity and solidarity. However, Pan-Africanism has had its challenges as a relevant tool of foreign policy in the contemporary world thus various mechanisms have been put in place to tackle these challenges.

1.2 Background of the study

The concept of Pan-Africanism was first articulated during Africa's struggle for independence. The former president of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah is often referred as the father of Pan-Africanism. This was due to his strong belief that Africa could only develop and become independent if there was solidarity among African states. However, the first person to use the

¹ John, K. Akokpari. "Changing with the Tide: The Shifting Orientations of Foreign Policies in Sub-Saharan Africa". 1999 *Nordic Journal of African Studies* vol 8(1): 22-38 p 22

² S.M. Makinda. "From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics: Kenya's Foreign Policy", *Third World Quarterly*, Vol.5, No. 2, (1983): pp 300-319. Retrieved 20th May 2013 from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3991274>

term Pan-Africanism was a West Indian lawyer known as H. Sylvester Williams. According to Williams, Pan-Africanism “signifies the underlying unity of the African continent and the vision of an independent, united Africa”³. The Pan-African movement was what brought social and political changes across today’s independent states of Africa. The concept of Pan-Africanism emphasized solidarity among African states which was crucial to the achievement of both economic and social goals. However, today the ideology of Pan-Africanism has gradually become less relevant especially on how African countries conduct its international relations.⁴

Other than Kwame Nkrumah and Sylvester Williams, Marcus Garvey also played a critical role in the struggle against white imperialism. Garvey was the leader of a movement that brought together masses of African leaders in a period of imperialist instability where there was a heated debate pertaining to identity influenced by intra-imperialists who struggled for the advantage of their adversaries for instance, the large market for their products and the available raw materials. Garvey brought Africans into this debate and emphasized on the liberation and the establishment of an all African nation-state. Garvey’s movement recognized Africa as the black people’s national homeland where there was a need for organized and collective action that would ultimately lead to the unification, liberation and consolidation of an African nation-state⁵. Pan-africanism was therefore triggered by imperialism which had crippled the African population from attaining liberty or any aspect that would boost its own development.

³ Charles F. Andrain, “The Pan-African Movement: The Search for Organization and Community”. 1962. *Phylon* Vol. 23 No. 1 p 5

⁴ Charles, F. Andrain, “The Pan-African Movement: The Search for Organization and Community” *Phylon* vol.23, No. 1 (1962): 5

⁵ The African Socialist International, “Pan-Africanism was the petty bourgeoisie; Garvey led the African working class”, 2013 from <http://www.asiuhuru.org/ontheground/apsp-usa/congress5/report04.shtml> Para7-9

The concept of Pan-Africanism, “owes its origins and conceptual framework to the descendants of enslaved Africans whose, disconnection from their national and cultural identities, ignited their efforts to reconstitute their African identity”⁶. Though black Americans were known as slaves, their original identity as Africans never changed. The same fraternal solidarity that black people felt in America and the Caribbean can be related to what Africans in Africa also felt under colonial rule⁷. However, the only difference was that Africans in Africa believed that their solidarity would help them achieve freedom from their colonialist while blacks in America wanted to be reconnected back to their roots and culture. The statement that “we are all Africans” would hence be what drives African solidarity as they engage in relation with other fellow Africans⁸. Nevertheless, the new forces of globalization have undermined the ideology of Pan-Africanism especially in shaping foreign policy.

In essence, the concept of Pan-Africanism has not been able to stand the test of time. Though there might be a possibility that quite a number of African countries view the concept Pan-Africanism with great optimism, this may only be from a theoretical perspective rather than pragmatic perspective. This is probably because today we live in a highly capitalistic world compared to a few decades ago due to the forces of globalization⁹. There was a time when Pan-Africanists were perceived as revolutionaries or reactionaries. Hence, Pan-Africanists such as Nkrumah, Lumumba and Sobukwe ended up being overthrown through a coup supported by the

⁶ Mark, Ledwidge, “Du Bois and Garvey: Foreign Affairs and Two Roads to Pan- Africanism”. 2008 *Centre for International Politics working Paper series* No. 39. Retrieved 9th May 2013 from www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/.../about/.../LedwidgeCIPPaper.pdf p 3

⁷ Ibid p 2-3

⁸ Ibid p 4-5

⁹ Alexandra, Dobra, “Globalization Versus or Pro the State”. 2012. Retrieved 5th May 2013 from, http://www.uta.edu/huma/agger/fastcapitalism/9_1/dobra9_1.html

west or assassinated¹⁰. There is thus a possibility that many African leaders believe in Pan-Africanism as an ideology that can lead to development but they try not to be too radical or let it influence their policies due to the power and influence of the west. However, there are a few exemptions such as the Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and the former president of Libya, Muammar Gaddafi who is now deceased. Additionally, globalization has further accentuated the irrelevance of the Pan-Africanism concept. African countries cannot afford to ignore the influence or power of other countries and other international entities. This is because any form of ignorance of the international community is likely to impinge it from achieving its interest as a continent as well as individual states.

If one is to look at foreign policy from a conventional perspective, its primary aim is to enhance a country's ability to attain a set of objectives or a specific goal¹¹. Foreign policy is defined as “a programme (plan) designed to address some problems or pursue some goals that entail action towards foreign entities”¹². Foreign policy is used both as a means and an end. In that both the covert and overt objectives of foreign policy entail to compel and persuade other actors, to behave in a manner that facilitates the achievement of certain goals especially those that are related to a states national interest¹³. Unfortunately, many SSA (Sub-Saharan African) countries do not have the attributes that make them more influential in the international arena¹⁴. Hence, they are compelled to take strategies that will make them achieve their national interest faster.

¹⁰ The African Socialist International, “Pan-Africanism was the petty bourgeoisie; Garvey led the African working class”, 2013 Retrieved 2nd June 2013 from <http://www.asiuhuru.org/ontheground/apsp-usa/congress5/report04.shtml> para 5

¹¹ John, K. Akokpari. “Changing with the Tide: The Shifting Orientations of Foreign Policies in Sub-Saharan Africa”. 1999 *Nordic Journal of African Studies* vol 8(1): 23

¹² Ibid p 23

¹³ John, K. Akokpari. “Changing with the Tide: The Shifting Orientations of Foreign Policies in Sub-Saharan Africa”. 1999 *Nordic Journal of African Studies* vol 8(1): 24

¹⁴ Ibid 24

However, these strategies often ignore the principles of Pan-Africanism which ultimately means that the west will always have more influence in shaping Africa's foreign policy thus making the concept of Pan-Africanism more irrelevant. In the international arena western states have more influence than SSA countries this makes it easier for the latter to always have an upper hand when engaging in diplomatic practice. Many African countries including Kenya are thus compelled to behave in a manner that is compatible to the achievement of their national interests which often implies accepting conditions of western states and ignore the concept of Pan-Africanism.

1.3 Problem statement

Today African states lack a similar foreign policy that is likely to bring them together as one and even boost their capacity to meet national interests. These national interests include enhancing security, economic growth and development. Today the African continent consists of distinct and sovereign states. However, despite being independent there is still a dire need to achieve economic development. Hence, African states still have a similar economic interest that can be achieved through solidarity. If African states had a similar foreign policy such as the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM), which was borrowed from Pan-Africanism there is a probability of attaining national goals like economic growth, faster. There are a number of Pan-African institutions that have been established to boost Africa's capability in achieving economic growth and reduce the negative impact of globalization in respect to African states. However, Pan-Africanism only exists in obscurity in that African states do not regard it as vital in boosting Africa's development. Globalization has expanded the world's markets and enabled many countries to achieve faster economic growth but not necessarily for Africa. Solidarity was one of the important features of Pan-Africanism that enabled African countries to achieve

independence. However, immediately after independence this sense of solidarity was lost making it even harder for issues such as economic independence to be achieved. Foreign policies are today more directed towards national interests rather than the interest of all independent African states at large. In as much as the achievement of national interests is important, it is also equally important to create a good rapport with other African states. Given that having good relations with neighboring countries can also boost the achievement of national interests such as security. Globalization and sovereignty of states has hampered the effective implementation of Pan-Africanism in Africa's foreign policy today. This is despite the fact that having a similar foreign policy would lead to the faster achievement of national interest which revolves around economic growth and Security. The study examines whether the principles of Pan-Africanism are still relevant in Kenya's foreign policy given its challenges in the Post- Cold War era.

1.4 Objectives of the study

Main objective

To evaluate the extent to which Pan-Africanism has shaped Kenya's foreign policy.

Specific objectives

- a) To determine the relationship of Kenya's foreign policy and Pan-Africanism at the regional level.
- b) To examine the extent to which Kenya's foreign policy has been determined by the principles of Pan-Africanism.

1.5 Hypotheses

1. Though Kenya's foreign policy has taken various shapes in the post Cold War era close ties with other African states still remains critical for Kenya to accentuate its influence at both the regional and global level.
2. Kenya's sovereignty as a state has not hindered, cooperation with other neighboring African states.
3. The influence of the west has distorted the ideology of Pan-Africanism necessitating Kenya to adopt coping mechanism.

1.6 Justification of the study/Significance of the Study

Lumumba-Kasongo clearly postulates that, "no people, nation or continent can socially progress without building the foundation of its actions on its own history and culture"¹⁵. Royal families in Europe together with the noble families such as the bourgeoisie and the churches during mid-evil times up to the renaissance period were all in a state of conflict in regards to who should have power over Europe. However, the emergence of modern European states was as a result of a collective decision and internal process which was encapsulated in the Westphalia Peace Accord¹⁶. It is hoped that this study on the relevance of Pan-Africanism as a tool of foreign policy will outline the challenges of Pan-Africanism today and the coping mechanism or policies that ought to be implemented. Furthermore, the study will also look at how the dynamics of international politics has affected the orientation of Kenya's foreign policy today.

¹⁵Tukumi Lumumba-Kasongo, "Can a Realist Pan-Africanism Be a Relevant Tool Toward the Transformation of African and African and Diaspora Politics? Imagining a Pan-African State, *Australian Journal of International Affairs (AJIA)*, 6 no 1& 2 (2003): 91

¹⁶ Ibid p 91

Like many other African countries in the Post-Cold War era Kenya has been highly dependent on external aid from the west. This has subsequently made it adopt a foreign policy that enables it to get as much foreign aid as it can. Conversely, its relations with states within the African continent have been considerably weakened since the latter has little to offer. However, it is still possible for Kenya to adopt an idealism perspective in its intra-African relations while at the same time maintain its realism based foreign policy with the west. Kenya shares the same injustices as a result of western imperialism. Kenya's relations with other African countries especially at the regional level should thus, be nurtured so as to revive the spirit of Pan-Africanism. The ideology of Pan-Africanism should be well reflected in Kenya's foreign policy. The Process of globalization has made many African countries to focus more on their relations with western countries rather than with other African states especially in regard to international trade or economic development. Pan-Africanism is an ideology that has the potential of maintaining solidarity among African states which is crucial in the achievement of national interest¹⁷. This study will focus on how the concept of Pan-Africanism has been maintained in Kenya's foreign policy despite the prevailing forces of globalization.

Other than the dream of a liberated and independent African continent that is free from any form of manipulation from the west, Pan-Africanist's also advocated for an African government. However, this dream of an African government is far from being achieved due to separation among African countries. Today the continent of Africa consists of thirty seven independent states. Each of these African states is considered as a sovereign entity and they therefore have a

¹⁷ Antony, Otieno Onga'yo. "Pan-Africanis and African Renaissance". Retrieved 2nd June 2013 from, <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/87490> para 3

mandate to protect only its citizens. Sovereign states work for their own well being so as to avoid chaos in their own territory. It is these harsh realities that have hampered the dream behind Pan-Africanism. Conversely, the fact that each Pan-Africanist has to be concerned about the development and freedom of another African state yet they may also conflict with their own country makes Pan-Africanism far less attractive¹⁸. The study intends to look at the challenges of Pan-Africanism in the context of the realities of the modern world.

In the academia this research intends to demonstrate how the ideals of Pan-Africanism can be incorporated into Kenya's foreign policy. Despite its adoption several decades ago its full implementation is yet to be achieved. Pan-Africanism today exists as an illusion rather than an ideology to be adopted by states¹⁹. If it exists as an ideology to be adopted then it can be used by policy makers among African states to come up with uniform policies that would ultimately liberate African states from the challenges of the twenty first century. It is this uniformity of policies that will enable African states to meet its national interest faster and more effectively²⁰. After all, the independence of many African states more than fifty years ago gave further credence to the positive impact of Pan- Africanism. Hence, the study intends to contribute to the academia and policy by bringing in pertinent issues that influence the adoption of Pan-Africanism principles in Kenya's foreign policy and how they can be used to enhance the achievement of national interests.

¹⁸ Blackpost.org, Julius, Kambarage Nyerere; *The Dilemma of the Pan-Africanist*, 2011 Retrieved 2nd June 2013 from, <http://www.blackpast.org/?q=1966-julius-kambarage-nyerere-dilemma-pan-africanist>>Para 4-5

¹⁹ Antony, Otieno Onga'yo. *Pan-Africanis and African Renaissance*. Retrieved 2nd June 2013 from, <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/87490> para 4

²⁰United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (uneca). *Celebrating Success: Africa's Voice over 50 years 1963-2013*. Retrieved 2nd June 2013 from, http://www.uneca.org/sites/default/files/publications/au_compendium_eng.pdf P 2

1.7 Scope and Limitation of the study

The main purpose of the study is to find out the relevance of the ideology of Pan-Africanism in shaping Kenya's foreign policy today as perceived by the individuals who are in charge of implementing and executing Kenya's foreign policy. Hence, the study was focused on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. However, it is worth noting that due to the seniority of some officials and technocrats working within the ministry it was hard to get an appointment for an interview or ask them to participate by filling in the questionnaires. In addition to this, the level bureaucracy when seeking for an appointment with officials within the ministry was time consuming yet time was already limited. The majority of the key informants were from political offices hence some were not willing to give any information pertaining to foreign policy and Pan-Africanism since they considered such issues as confidential and thus should be kept in obscurity.

1.8 Chapter Outline

The study was organized into five Chapters. Each of these chapters begins with an introduction enlightening the reader on what the chapter intends to cover. The following presents a basic recap of each chapter.

Chapter One

This chapter gives a brief background of the study, the main purpose of the study and ends with the scope and limitation of the study.

Chapter two

This chapter is a review of literature. Arguments presented by scholars in respect to the topic of study are covered. A theoretical framework which forms the basis of the study is also included at the end of the chapter.

Chapter three

Chapter three is the research methodology which includes the methods that were used in collecting data during field work. Aspects such as the targeted population, sample size and how the data was analysed are covered.

Chapter four

Chapter four presents the data collected during field work and makes an analysis of the key findings. The mass of data collected during field work are organized in form of descriptive data for instance, through graphs and charts.

Chapter five

Chapter five is the final chapter of the research. It includes a summary of the key findings of the study and ends with recommendations which are from a more personal perspective.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

After World War I, the western world was rendered very weak. Black leaders which included Du Bois saw this as a good chance to ask the then French minister for the formation of a new independent state of Africa. This new state of Africa was to be led by an African leader. The new state would include the Belgian Congo, German Southwest Africa, Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique among others. Du Bois wanted the western nations to honor the rights of Africans by giving them independence²¹. It is these historical events that called for the emancipation of the African population which subsequently gave birth to the ideology of Pan-Africanism. The following literature review gives a historical account on the inception of Pan-Africanism that is before, during and after the Cold War. There is an in-depth analysis on the relevance of Pan-Africanism in each period and how it continues to influence Africa's foreign policies. The review ultimately narrows down to Kenya's foreign policy at the international, continental and regional level.

2.2 The Ideology of Pan-Africanism

There are those who are likely to think that since Pan-Africanism emphasizes African unity, it is a racist movement. However, Pan-Africanism is not an anti-white movement neither is it an anti-Arab movement but rather a pro-African movement. A united Africa can, only be achieved through the implementation of Pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism is also known as African

²¹ Ledwidge, Mark, "Du Bois and Garvey: Foreign Affairs and Two Roads to Pan- Africanism". 2008 *Centre for International Politics working Paper series* No. 39. Retrieved 9th May 2012 from, www.socialsciences.manchester.ac.uk/.../about/.../LedwidgeCIPPaper.pdf p 19

nationalism. Hence, Pan-Africanism can be identified as an area in international relations or in political science. This is because just like any other science it can be studied. The main institutions which offer a course on Pan-Africanism include Africa Institute of South Africa which is found in South Africa²². Other than being just an ideology that emphasized on the freedom of the African states, it defined how Africa ought to conduct its relations.

Prah argued that Pan-Africanism is today not only about the African nationalism but also encompasses a wider project than the neo colonial state formation. There are many Africans who died in order to enhance or promote African nationalism however Pan-Africanism “is made in large measure by the nameless Africans who gave of their lives so that we could be free”²³. There is strong relationship between Pan-Africanism and African nationalism. Scholars such as Shivji, asserts that there cannot be African Nationalism that is different or separate from Pan-Africanism. He also adds that one of the primary antitheses of Pan-Africanism or African Nationalism is globalization which is essentially imperialism²⁴. Anything that emphasizes or enhances globalization undermines Pan-Africanism.

It is impossible to discuss about Pan-Africanism without its geographical and racial foundation²⁵. Pan-Africanism was inspired by black people in the diaspora who felt that they could not be free if the freedom of black people in their mother land was not guaranteed. Hence, it was a calling

²² Leer, Marialbai, “Introducing Pan-Africanism “Marcus Garvey and WEB Du Bois: Founding Fathers of the Pan African Movement” 2007. Accessed 1st May 2012 from, <http://www.bankie.info/content/backup1.pdf>.

²³ Leer, Marialbai, “Introducing Pan-Africanism “Marcus Garvey and WEB Du Bois: Founding Fathers of the Pan African Movement” 2007. Accessed 1st May 2012 from, <http://www.bankie.info/content/backup1.pdf> pp 5

²⁴ Issa, G Shivji, “Pan-Africanism or Imperialism? Unity and Struggle towards a New Democratic Africa”. *Africa Sociological Review*, 10 no. 1 (2006): 208

²⁵ Tukumi Lumumba-Kasongo, “Can a Realist Pan-Africanism Be a Relevant Tool Toward the Transformation of African and African and Diaspora Politics? Imagining a Pan-African State AJIA 2003 vol. 6 no 1& 2 87-121 p 89

for blacks in the diaspora to come together and advocate for their own rights as well as other blacks across the globe. This further inspired leaders in the African continent to perceive solidarity as the only way through which they could liberate themselves from oppression by their colonialists.

Emerging African leaders such as Julius Nyerere, Sekou Toure, Haile Selassie, Kwame Nkrumah among others were greatly influenced by Du Bois on the idea of a united Africa. There were even efforts made in the establishment of Pan-African institutions such the Organization of African Unity. Nevertheless, this notion of Pan-Africanism has up to today remained as an elusive concept to implement. For instance, the formation of the African Union was a positive step taken by the African leaders. However, it was soon realized that the organization was actually weak due to the lack of political will. Since the inception of the Organization of African Unity, the institution failed to bring an end to the many conflicts in Africa that hindered both its economic growth and development²⁶. It is therefore, easy to affirm that the kind of Pan-Africanism people of African descent had dreamt about years ago is far from being achieved. States in Africa that were under colonial rule finally gained their own independence. However, independence was not the only thing that early Pan-Africanists had sought for since issues such as economic development were also imperative for the liberation of the black population. It is also worth noting that in the passage of time the dynamics of global politics and events such as the cold war had an impact on the perception of Pan-Africanism. Additionally, there were more questions raised as to how Africa would relate to other countries without undermining the philosophy of Pan-Africanism.

²⁶ Manelisi, Genge, Francis Kornegay and Stephen Rule, *African Union and Pan-African Parliament: Working Papers*, 2000 <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/idep/unpan003885.pdf>.

2.2.2 The concept of Pan-Africanism before the Cold War

The idea of Pan-Africanism had already attracted the black population before the cold war, which was immediately after World War II. This is because they were not pleased with the mode in which Stalinist Russia modified its support for the liberation of the black population in order to meet the demands of U.S.S.R's foreign policy²⁷. In essence, the black population's frustration of being used as mere pawns to satisfy the foreign policies of other countries provoked them into coming up with a movement that would shield them from such acts.

George Padmore, came up with a Pan-Africanist programme known as the "International African Service Bureau" and also launched a journal that united Africans globally. This was also thanks to the assistance of CLR James who also opposed Stalin's policy²⁸. It is therefore, worth noting that before the cold war had officially began there were already strong sentiments shared by the black population on the urgent need to form a movement that would advocate for their rights. These rights included freedom from discrimination and exploitation from the white population which had impinged on the development of the black population globally.

2.2.3 Concept of Pan-Africanism during the Cold War

The end of the World War II marked the genesis of the Cold War. Conversely, this was also an era where Pan-Africanism finally came of age. Just a few weeks after World War II a fifth Pan – Africanist was held in Manchester, England. The main agenda of the meeting was to bring all the African leaders together so that they may finally come up with a new direction and way of thinking that was independent from the European perspective. From that moment in time, people of African descent would finally be able to make decisions that were substantial for their own

²⁷ Lee, Sustar, "The Origins of Pan-Africanism ". socialistworker.org, 2012. Retrieved 5th May 2013 from, <http://socialistworker.org/2012/10/05/origins-of-pan-africanism> para 8

²⁸ Ibid para 9

development without any influence from the west. Under the ideology of Pan-Africanism, there was the need of Black self-determination that was free from any manipulation from Moscow and Washington²⁹. Pan-Africanism was therefore to be an ideology that was shared among leaders of African descent if any progress of the black population was to be achieved.

However, the appeal of Pan-Africanism was further realised when some African states finally gained independence especially Ghana. In 1957, Ghana finally gained independence from Britain. Martin Luther King was quite impressed by the progress made by Nkurumah. Furthermore, it was the success of Ghana that led to the union of black socialists and communists who had been in different opposing camps. Those regarded as anti-communists later joined Kwame Nkurumah's government³⁰. Pan-Africanism thus grew to be a viable option for the liberation and development of the black community globally.

2.2.4 Concept of Pan-Africanism after the Cold war

The weakness of Pan-Africanism was greatly heightened in the post- cold war era. This is because though most African countries had achieved independence, the latter found themselves in a crisis. This crisis revolved around issues of governance and political legitimacy. Given that many African states had become sovereign states, the primary issue was how to maintain state sovereignty without the jeopardizing the development and security of its own citizens. Initially Pan-Africanism was concerned with promoting solidarity among African states and eradicating western imperialism³¹. However, after achieving autonomy and freedom other issues such as

²⁹ Lee, Sustar, "The Origins of Pan-Africanism ", socialistworker.org, 2012. Retrieved 5th May 2013 from, <http://socialistworker.org/2012/10/05/origins-of-pan-africanism> Para 11-13

³⁰ Lee, Sustar, "The Origins of Pan-Africanism" socialistworker.org, 2012. Retrieved 5th May 2013 from, <http://socialistworker.org/2012/10/05/origins-of-pan-africanism> Ibid Para 15-17

³¹ Adekeye, Adebajo and Ismail O.D. Rashid. *West Africa's Security Challenges: building Peace in a Troubled Region*, Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner, 2004. P 118

how to attain development were raised. Furthermore, the legacies of colonialism such as neo-liberalism and globalization further retarded the essential aspect of Pan-Africanism³².

In 1991 after the cold war there was the adoption of the Abuja Treaty by the majority of the member states of the African Union. Since then the idea of African Unity has taken many shapes. For instance, there was the proposal of the establishment of an African economic community. This institution was to foster economic, cultural and social integration. This shows that there was a move from a United Africa into the creation of a new prosperous Africa in terms of economic development³³. Pan-Africanism was not just restricted to the attainment of independence for all African states but also to pursue a similar agenda designed to boost development as one continent. Hence, there was an urgent need to form Pan-African institutions that would be able to fully implement the agenda of Pan-Africanism.

The formation of the African Union replaced the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U) which was proven to be ineffective. Hence, this necessitated the need for a new and different approach. This is because the conduct of international relations has changed since the cold war and the fall of the apartheid rule in South Africa. There is also the emergence of a new phenomenon known as globalization, which has changed how countries relate with each other³⁴. Scholars such as Shivji assert that globalization is the enemy of Pan-Africanism³⁵. However, external forces are not the only issues that have been an obstacle to Pan-Africanism. The failure of African unity is

³² David J Francis. *Uniting Africa Building Peace and Regional Peace and Security Systems*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2006. P 20

³³Manelisi,Genge, Francis Kornegay and Stephen Rule, *African Union and Pan-African Parliament: Working Papers*,2000. Retrieved 5th May 2013 from, <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/idep/unpan003885.pdf>. P 2

³⁴Manelisi,Genge, Francis Kornegay and Stephen Rule, "African Union and Pan-African Parliament: Working Papers"2000. Retrieved 5th May 2013 from, <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/idep/unpan003885.pdf>. p 1

³⁵ Issa, G Shivji, "Pan-Africanism or Imperialism? Unity and Struggle Towards a New Democratic Africa". *Africa Sociological Review*, 10 no. 1 (2006):1

also due to the poor African leadership³⁶. In as much as globalization and its neo-liberal features have had a negative impact on Pan-Africanism, poor intra-African relations have also equally contributed to the poor implementation of Pan-Africanism.

The founding of the African Union brought in a paradigm shift in Africa's foreign policy in today's Post-Cold War era. Given that, countries like South Africa are leaning more towards African continentalism, which is an agreement on policies that favor regional state cooperation. This is quite different from Pan-Africanism which advocates for a union of the independent African states into a bloc. In addition to this, state's create new but similar institutions, political structures and principles where the latter agree to live in harmony through adhering to similar norms³⁷. East African community can be described as an extension of Pan-Africanism. Other than being a regional trading bloc the community shares a common language and institutions such as the East African parliament and East African Court³⁸. The ideology of Pan-Africanism is thus far from being implemented. African states still shy away from forming a solid union and have put more emphasis on regionalism or state cooperation. Regionalism appears to be more attractive since it does not pressure states to give up their autonomy. It is therefore possible to conclude that the idea of Pan-Africanism in Africa's foreign policy has been diluted due the emergence of regional trading blocs.

³⁶Manelisi, Genge, Francis Kornegay and Stephen Rule. *African Union and Pan-African Parliament: Working Papers*, 2000. Retrieved 5th May 2013 from, <http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/idep/unpan003885.pdf>. P 32

³⁷ Chris, Landsberg, "Afro-Continentalism: Pan-Africanism in Post-settlement South Africa's Foreign Policy", *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 47 no.2 (2012):1 doi:10.1177/0021909612439741

³⁸ Baruti, Kantembo, "Pan Africanism and Development: The East African Community Model", *Journal of Pan-African Studies*, Vol 2 no. 4(2008): 107

2.3 Pan-Africanism and Foreign Policies of African States

Don- Nanjira argues that Africa's foreign policy is driven by its own value system. Hence, aspects such as African socialism, Ujamaa, Ubuntu, negritude ought to be reflected in Africa's foreign policy. Negritude is an African value that was once emphasized by a Haitian known as Césaire Aime. Césaire considered African Blackness as a symbol of beauty and pride. Africans should therefore be proud to be Africans. Negritude was quite similar to Pan-Africanism in that they both carried a message that black men should never be inferior to white men. Furthermore, people of African descent have their own culture which they ought to be proud of. It is said that if African leaders can unite and implement the ideology of Pan-Africanism in their foreign policy then the African nation can be reborn. This new African nation can even reach the extent of surpassing anything that the western countries have done³⁹. Regardless, of the weakened state of the concept of Pan-Africanism due to globalization, regionalism, poor intra-African relations and so forth there is still a chance of reviving it. However, African leaders must be prepared to re-introduce African values such as solidarity when relating with other African states.

Africa's Foreign Service, African diplomacy and foreign policy are essential in African international relations. Even though there are independent and sovereign states in Africa and each state's foreign policy is driven by the state's national interest. African states share a common history when it comes to the issue of Colonialism and exploitation by white man. This means that Africa can enhance its relations with African states through the ideology of Pan-Africanism⁴⁰.

³⁹ Daniel Don Nanjira. *African Foreign Policy and Diplomacy: From Antiquity to the 21 St Century*. California: ABC-CLIO 2010 452-453, 2010. P 453

⁴⁰ Daniel Don Nanjira *African Foreign Policy and Diplomacy: From Antiquity to the 21 St Century* California: ABC-CLIO 2010 452-453, 2010. P 455

2.3.2 Determinants of Foreign Policies of African States

The key determinants of Africa's foreign policy range from the national level, regional and global level. The external level is an elevation of the internal level interests. Africa's foreign policies today is as a result of the various adjustments that Africa has had to undergo especially as a continent that acted as a battlefield of Cold-War politics. As a result, Africa's foreign policy has been developed and nurtured according to the international power theory of the two conflicting ideologies during the Cold War. Though Africa had resorted into a nonalignment policy, it was greatly challenged by a state's need to survive⁴¹. A state's survival in a competitive environment depends on how it understands the nature and rules of global politics today. It is therefore, crucial for foreign policy makers to come up with policies that will boost their ability to survive and at the same time meet its national interest. Today's global economy depicts the highest form of capitalism, which is quite evident with the spread of liberalization of the world markets since the early 1990's⁴². African states have thus acted as sovereign states and make decisions that will place them in a better position, which often implies disregarding its own values of Pan-Africanism that encompasses negritude, Ujamma, Ubuntu and so forth.

Even though the concept of Pan-Africanism began outside Africa it eventually got accepted by many African leaders. The solidarity that Africans in the Diaspora had, suggests that as long as Africans are united anything can be achieved. It is however important to note that Africa also comprises of the Arabs especially in the northern part of Africa in countries such as Libya, Algeria among others. The concept of Pan-Africanism cannot be thus restricted to Africans alone

⁴¹ Ibid P 475

⁴² Daniel Don Nanjira , *African Foreign Policy and Diplomacy: From Antiquity to the 21 St Century*, California:ABC-CLIO2010 452-453, 2010. pp 475

but also the Arabs who reside in the northern part of Africa. North African countries were also victims of colonization. Former Libyan leader was not an African but he clearly expressed sentiments of Pan-Africanism through calling for the formation of a “United States of Africa”⁴³. Pan-Africanism is about bringing together the African continent together as people who share a common history and have for years lived in a world that is dominated by the western ideologies. Pan-Africanism underscores the spirit of togetherness which can ultimately be used by African countries to articulate imperative issues or agendas such as development in the international arena.

Africa’s leaders are expected to respond to Pan-Africanism by having policies that reflect Pan-Africanism for instance, through the promotion of regional integration and industrialization of Africa. This development strategy is actually meant to reduce foreign economic dependency that Africa has with its former colonials⁴⁴. Pan–Africanism today can be seen through the formation of regional economic zones such as the integration of the East African community, COMESA and ECOWAS, OPEC and so on. However, some of these regional integrations are yet to make any substantial progress. For instance, the East African Community was once a thriving regional integration system in Africa but it eventually collapsed due internal wrangle within the region. Moreover, Kenya seemed to benefit more than any other country hence this triggered suspicion from other countries in the integration.

⁴³Paul G Adogamhe, *Pan-Africanism Revisited: Vision and Reality of African Unity and Development*, Accessed 1 st May 2012 from, <http://www.africa-union.org/root/ua/Newsletter/EA/Vol2%20No2/Adogamhe.pdf>. p 2-3

⁴⁴Paul G Adogamhe, *Pan-Africanism Revisited: Vision and Reality of African Unity and Development*, Accessed 1st May 2012 from <http://www.africa-union.org/root/ua/Newsletter/EA/Vol2%20No2/Adogamhe.pdf>. p 12

2.4 Pan-Africanism and Kenya's Foreign Policy

In today's international relations aspects such as foreign policy and diplomacy have become quite crucial in the management of relations between sovereign states. Furthermore, the emphasis of diplomacy and foreign policy has been shifting from basic goals such as the maintaining peaceful relations with external entities to the development agenda. This is particularly among African states⁴⁵. Similarly, Kenya through its foreign policy has made various strides in pushing for its development agenda. The ideology of Pan-Africanism has also been used to emphasize development for instance, through being part of institutions such as the East African Community a regional economic bloc and the African Union. Together with its other partners that is Uganda and Tanzania, Kenya has absorbed other countries within the region such as Burundi and Rwanda to be part of the East African Community. Countries within the East African region seem to have realized that their development is highly dependent on the kind relationship it has with its immediate neighbors. In 1999, a treaty was signed in respect to the East African Community. The main objective of EAC is to promote cooperation that is in the political, economic and social fields⁴⁶.

Though the main objective of the East African Community was to promote economic cooperation, it would be hard to do so when there is no peace. A prosperous East African region could only be enhanced when there was peace. As a sign of cooperation a summit was held in Nairobi that would see Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania agree to support SADC's (Southern African

⁴⁵ Daniel Don Nanjira, *African Foreign Policy and Diplomacy: From Antiquity to the 21st Century*, California: ABC-CLIO 2010 452-453, 2010 475

P 456

⁴⁶ Janvier Indoha Kimenyi, "Regional Trade Facilitation in the East African Community: Costs and Benefits Analysis". *African Research and Resource Forum*, 12 No. 12(2012):1

Development Communities) efforts in bringing peace to the East African region⁴⁷. Kenya as a sovereign state has provided leadership through various prominent regional diplomatic initiatives in solving regional conflicts such as the Sudan Peace process that resulted into the creation of a new state, Southern Sudan. There was also the establishment of a transitional federal government in Somalia. On the other hand, Kenya is privileged to be a host for various international organizations and diplomatic missions. In order to maintain its legitimacy as the headquarters of important and international institutions as well as a hub for investors Kenya has strived to maintain its policy of good neighborliness in the region⁴⁸. Peace diplomacy has therefore played an important role in Kenya's foreign policy since stability in the region can guarantee the achievement of Kenya's national interest.

Baylis et al., assert that legitimacy is an aspect that all sovereign states including Kenya strive to achieve. Legitimacy is a belief that an entity or in this case a state is acting according to the values that the international community upholds. Hence, the greater a states' legitimacy, the easier time they will have in influencing others to corporate with their policies whereas, the lesser legitimacy a state has the more costly the action it will have in convincing other entities to corporate⁴⁹. Kenya therefore seeks to emphasize its legitimacy through partaking in leadership roles that encourage peace. For instance, Kenya is a member state of IGAD and A.U which have a mandate to bring stability to Africa.

⁴⁷ African Union. *East African Community*, n.d . Accessed <http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/recs/EAC.htm>> Para 32-33

⁴⁸ Leonard, Wanyama, *The economic diplomacy of Kenya's Regional Interest*, 2012. Retrieved 22nd June 2013, <http://www.safpi.org/news/article/2013/economic-diplomacy-kenya-s-regional-interests> Para 9-10

⁴⁹ John, Baylis, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens, *The Globalization of World Politics; An introduction to International Relations*, Oxford: Oxford Press University, 2010 pp 157

2.4.2 History of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's Foreign Policy

Kenya has one of the strongest foundations based on Pan-Africanism. This is because the former president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta was a pioneer and giant African Pan-africanist together with other leaders such as Patrice Lumumba, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Kwame Nkrumah. In Kenya, Kenyatta initiated the spirit of Harambee among a diverse ethnic Kenyan community⁵⁰. In this context Harambee, means solidarity or teams spirit which are also the main attributes of Pan-Africanism. In terms of Kenya's foreign relations Orwa describes Kenyatta's foreign policy as realism with prudence. From a regional perspective the relationship of Kenya and its immediate neighbours, Uganda and Tanzania was a realist one. However, Kenya's relationship with the rest of the world was based on idealism. Idealism was shared by most African leaders then, who envisaged the liberation of the south from imperialism through adopting a Pan-Africanism ideology⁵¹. In essence, Kenyatta's administration came in with a spirit of Pan-Africanism which was implemented in foreign policy. However, this implementation was quite partial, in that the spirit of Pan-Africanism was more accentuated to Kenya's relation with other African countries and the west apart from its immediate neighbours.

Under Moi's regime there was no perceptible change in Kenya's foreign policy. Nevertheless, in the passage of time there were emerging issues that needed immediate attention especially in regards to Kenya's relation with its neighbors. For instance, there was the collapse of Somalia and change of Ethiopia's system of governance into a looser federation from a rigid centralized Marxist state. Such scenarios had an impact on Kenya since they led to ethnic tensions along the regions bordering Somalia and Ethiopia. All these issues put Kenya in a very delicate position

⁵⁰K.O Nyagena, " Jomo Kenyatta: An Epitome of indigenous Pan-Africanism, Nationalism and Intellectual Production in Kenya" 2003 *African journal of International Affairs* Vol.6, no.1-2

⁵¹ Robert, Pinkney, *The International Politics of East Africa*. New York: Manchester University Press, 2001. P 197

since it questioned its legitimacy over its own territory. Hence, in order to enhance its legitimacy and provision of services, it became imperative for Kenya to bring stability both between and within its neighbouring countries. As a result, Kenya became a member of IGAD and also chaired a committee that sought to bring peace in the Sudan⁵². Moi's regime had a realist approach in regards to foreign policy but the growing instability in the Horn of Africa and the threat it posed to Kenya's Government, necessitated Kenya to act with greater prudence by being active members of institutions that had a mandate to bring regional stability.

This cautious approach of foreign policy was later highlighted by the former minister of foreign affairs, Dr Mungai who affirmed that,

*“The Government of Kenya does not set for itself hastily exaggerated objectives in foreign policy which are unrealistic and incapable of being fulfilled. Political fulmination and adoption of extreme policies which are later abandoned or withdrawn or reversed by force of circumstances is not Kenya Government practice in foreign policy”*⁵³

Dr. Mungai went on to outline the four principles which made up Kenya's foreign policy. These include cooperation, independence, nonalignment, promotion of African Unity, disarmament and upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter. Kenya does not therefore seek, for a radical way of restructuring the current world order, but seeks the limited objectives in advancing its own national interest⁵⁴. In essence Kenya seeks to advance its national interest by constantly maintaining good neighborliness with its immediate neighbours. Furthermore, the

⁵² Robert, Pinkney, *The International Politics of East Africa*, New York: Manchester University Press, 2001. P 197-198

⁵³ Donald, S Rothchild and Curry, L Robert, *Scarcity, Choice and Public Policy in Middle Africa*, Berkley :University of California, 1978. P 133

⁵⁴ Donald, S Rothchild and Curry, L Robert, *Scarcity, Choice and Public Policy in Middle Africa*, Berkley :University of California 1978. Ibid 133

relationship of Kenya with its immediate neighbors especially those within the Horn Africa has been based on idealism. However, with its other immediate neighbours such as Tanzania and Uganda the relationship was founded on realism due to its previous economic integration which eventually collapsed.

When President Kibaki came into power there was not only a change in the Kenyan political scenario but also a change in Kenya's foreign policy. This is particularly in regards to foreign investment and trade relations with the west. Unlike his predecessor, Kibaki did not take direct charge of foreign affairs⁵⁵. Those in charge of the ministry of foreign affairs were left to deal with external entities⁵⁶. Under Kibaki's regime there was an open-door policy in respect to its western donors especially the United States and Britain. It is this kind of trend that facilitated the west to literally use Kenya as a playground to achieve its own security and economic goals given Kenya's strategic location. Kibaki's administration also further expanded trading partners by including Libya and China. Additionally, Kenya started to actively partake in the war against terror by cooperating with the Bush's administration⁵⁷. Foreign policy was therefore directed towards economic development by including more trading partners. Under Kibaki's regime Kenya's national interests could be achieved by cooperating with its main donors and expanding trade with the East and other potential trading partners. Hence, there was an adoption of a look East Strategy though it did not please the west and its allies.

⁵⁵ Herman, R et al. *Defending Democracy: A Global Survey of Foreign Policy Trends 1992-2002*. California:Democracy Coalition Project , 2008 P 3

⁵⁶ David, Goldman, " Intelligence on President Kibaki of Kenya, shift in Kenyan Foreign Policy,2011. Retrieved 22nd May 2013 <<http://intelligencebriefs.com/?p=2071> > Para 3

⁵⁷ Abdul,Bangura, "Assessing George W Bush's Africa Policy and Suggestions for Barack Obama and African leader", :Political science, 2009. P 195-196

On matters concerning regional security Kibaki's government has made various steps in safeguarding East Africa from being affected by conflict in the Horn of Africa which may eventually have a spillover effect on its neighbours if it is not contained. Kenya has used institutions like IGAD in enhancing security in the region and to facilitate regional integration. In addition to this regional integration is regarded as an essential aspect in promoting trade and ultimately meeting the objectives and goals of Kenya's national interests⁵⁸. Kibaki's foreign policy was therefore quite open given its willingness to cooperate with its western donors. Conversely, it was quite aware on the risks of being too dependent on the west and therefore sought for other alternatives. Additionally, there was a growing need to enhance security in East Africa if any substantial progress was to be made especially in terms regional integration.

2.4.3 Kenya's Foreign Policy goals

Just like any other sovereign state, Kenya has always defined its foreign policy in respect to its own national interest. Since Kenya's independence in 1963 the achievement of the objectives and goals of national interests have been highly dependent on foreign aid that is both militarily and economically speaking. This has also subsequently led to the gradual expansion and maintenance of its network and relations with the more industrialized countries especially the United States and its European countries⁵⁹. However, it is also worth noting that the rise of eastern economies such as China has had an impact on Kenya's relation with the east. For instance, there has been more effort to improve Kenya's relationship with China through diplomacy. Furthermore, China seems to be a more viable option since they do not interfere with

⁵⁸ Office of Public communications. Ministry 's Policy Objectives. Retrieved 18th May 2013
<<http://www.communication.go.ke/ministry.asp?ministryid=10>>Para 1-2

⁵⁹ G. Macharia Munene, J.D. Olewe Nyunya and Korwa Gombe Adar. *The United States and Africa: From Independence to the End of the Cold War*, : East African Publishers, 1995. P 89

another country's internal affair thus making it a good business partner than the west which cling on to aspects such as democracy, respect to human rights and so forth. This is especially after Kenya's difficulty in becoming a fully democratic state and alleged violation of human rights by the international community. However, amidst all these global trends the concept of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's foreign policy still lingers given the efforts made to reinstate former regional economic bloc like the East African Community.

When it comes to the issues of foreign affairs Kenya present various faces to the international community. A country's foreign policy is radical in nature and also has attributes of morality and idealism. Kenya's Foreign policy is connected to its national interest, which tends to overt the radicalism of Kenya's broad policy making it subject to considerable restraint. It is imperative to analyze Kenya's foreign policy through looking at the domestic pressure towards a more cautious conservatism in the East African region and a widely radical policy internationally. There is also another aspect of Kenya's foreign policy that can be looked into that is, its intra-African affairs. In its intra- Africa affairs one can say that Kenya has to be neutral, taking sides with a particular African state, would go against the ideology of Pan-Africanism⁶⁰.

2.4.5 Kenya's Foreign Policy in East Africa

The East African community collapsed in 1977 due to political differences which were further heightened by the on-going Cold-War⁶¹. For instance, the Ujamma policies of Tanzania which was leaning towards socialism conflicted with Kenya's pro-western/capitalist economic policies⁶². The collapse of the community subsequently led to the member states mediation

⁶⁰ John Howell, "An Analysis of Kenyan Foreign Policy" *The journal of Modern African studies*, 6. no.1 (1968): pp 29-48

⁶¹ African Union ."East African Community". Retrieved 22nd June 2013 <http://www.africa-union.org/root/au/recs/EAC.htm> para 1

⁶² Ibid para 28-29

agreement that would lead to the equal division of assets and liabilities which was signed in 1984. However, it is worth noting that there were provisions of the mediation agreement that gave room for the member states to exploit opportunities for future cooperation⁶³. Hence, the spirit of cooperation among the East African Community member states was not completely extinguished.

The early 1990's was not only the end of the cold war but also the revival of cooperation within the East African region. This is because Kenya's foreign policy began to focus on East Africa. The priority of building and establishing a new East African Community founded on cooperation was to maintain peaceful co-existence with its neighbors while at the same time advance regionalism. Kenya wanted to advance its economic prosperity within the framework of multilateralism and international cooperation. Kenya's economic development through the expansion of the market and advanced technology has become fundamental⁶⁴. Regional integration through various regional initiatives such as, the EAC, IGAD, ACP-EU, COMESA and Indian Ocean Rim-Association for regional cooperation is a clear indication that regional integration plays a crucial role in Kenya's foreign policy⁶⁵. Kenya uses such regional initiatives as a platform for its economic diplomacy. Juma Mwapachu the former ambassador of the East African Community once asserted that Regional Economic Communities (REC's) are an ideal and attractive path to boost Kenya's economy. In addition to this, EAC is a feasible scheme due to the shared boundaries of the EAC member states, their common colonial history, cultural

⁶³ Ibid para 1

⁶⁴ Leonard, Wanyama, "The economic diplomacy of Kenya's Regional Interest". Retrieved 22nd June 2013, <http://www.safpi.org/news/article/2013/economic-diplomacy-kenya-s-regional-interests> Para 5-

⁶⁵ Leonard, Wanyama, "The economic diplomacy of Kenya's Regional Interest". Retrieved 22nd June 2013, <http://www.safpi.org/news/article/2013/economic-diplomacy-kenya-s-regional-interests> para 6

affinity, interdependence and the potential market of approximately 130 million people⁶⁶. The essential need for cooperation and the common history shared among the East African member states can be related to the ideology of Pan-africanism. This is because Pan-Africanism advocated for teamwork and solidarity among the African people who shared common African values and heritage. Pan-Africanism was a sense of nationhood felt globally by the black people which is also quite similar to the East African Community which brought together people from Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania as one entity.

What greatly distinguishes regional integration in Africa from other parts of the developing world is its expression of coherence and continental identity⁶⁷. Regional integration was proposed by the ECA (the Economic Commission of Africa) in the 1960's. Africa was to be divided into different regions so as to enhance economic growth⁶⁸. It is therefore, possible to conclude that after most African countries gained independence from their colonial powers the next agenda which would follow was one that would facilitate the development of African countries. Despite having diverse backgrounds the ideal step was seen in form of regional integration. Additionally, what the neighboring African states shared in common was more than the differences that they had.

2.4.6 Africa's Foreign Policy

According to Modelski, foreign policy is the process through which sovereign states adjust its actions in order to match the actions of other states and minimize undesirable action and also be able to maximize the favorable actions by other states. A policy is therefore, a continuous

⁶⁶ Ibid para 7-8

⁶⁷ Food and Agricultural Organization, "Chapter 6: Regional Integration In Africa".n.d Retrieved 22nd June 2013 from <<http://www.fao.org/docrep/004/y4793e/y4793e0a.htm>> para 1

⁶⁸ Ibid para 2

process, because states have to review their policies so as to ensure that they achieve maximum benefits.⁶⁹ The formulation of a foreign policy is dependent on five factors. These five factors include the leadership, the state system, contingency or situational factors which may include economic and political crises, the structure of the society and the natural-material basics of a state⁷⁰. In general one can say that Africa particularly sub-Saharan Africa have the same challenges when it comes to gaining economic independence. Such challenges can only be tackled well when African states come up with similar policies which first deal with African issues. Foreign policies that are formulated within African states should therefore be similar to other African states. African states have rich resources that are yet to be exploited. The way it conducts its relations with others can actually determine how African states can benefit from each other which can be through international trade or regional integration.

In Kenya's foreign policy there has been the adoption of the concept of neighborliness especially in regard to the East African community. Kenya has been greatly involved in the building of Pan African institutions which enhance security, peace and economic integration. The revival of the Eastern African Community is a good indicator of the existence of the notion of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's foreign policy⁷¹. Kenya's foreign policy is based on four interrelated pillars these include environmental, economic, diaspora and peace diplomacy⁷². The overall achievement of Kenya's national interest is highly dependent on how well these four pillars are executed. Nevertheless, peace can be perceived as the most fundamental aspect since its implementation

⁶⁹ Olatunde, J.C.B Ojo, D.K. Orwa and C.M.B. Utete, "Africa International Relations" London: Longman, 1985 P 43

⁷⁰ Olatunde, J.C.B Ojo, D.K. Orwa and C.M.B. Utete, "Africa International Relations" London: Longman, 1985 Ibid p 45

⁷¹ Ministry of foreign affairs "the foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya", 2007 p 13

⁷² Embassy of Kenya. Foreign diplomacy. 2012. Retrieved 25th May 2013 <http://www.kenyaembassy-paris.org/government/foreign-policies> Para 2

would be automatically followed by prosperity within the region. The spirit of Pan-Africanism that was founded on cooperation and solidarity among Africans who had a similar background in terms of the suffering and exploitation under the colonial era can be revived through regional blocs. Though these regional blocs may today be perceived as blocs that revolve around economic empowerment and development for member states, good neighborliness and stability is inevitable.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

In the field of international relations, idealism has often been used to explain the relationship between states. This theory is embedded in the western liberal tradition that strongly advocates for the inherent good in man. States can be regarded as a group of individuals who have the potential of presenting the positive aspect of man. Hence, states can co-exist in an anarchic system through the establishment of an international system of agreement, law, and morality and so on⁷³. It is these international systems that structurally constrain the behavior of states by shaping the foundation of their foreign policies⁷⁴. Unlike idealism, other theories like realism is founded on the argument that since all states want to survive it is impossible to cooperate. This is because states may view other states as a threat to their own survival. Hence, idealism and realism are completely parallel to each other; in that there is no way that the two can be reconciled⁷⁵. Idealism is more accommodative to current circumstances and engages in activities that would ultimately bring a long-term solution. However, realism does not seek to change

⁷³ Political Realism. "Political Realism versus Political idealism". n.d. Retrieved 25th May 2013 < <http://faculty.valenciacollege.edu/scrosby/realismidealism.htm>> Para 7-8

⁷⁴ Andrew, Moravesick, *Liberalism and International Relations Theory*. n.d. Paper No.92-96<http://www.princeton.edu/~amoravcs/library/liberalism_working.pdf> P 2

⁷⁵ Robert, M.A Crawford, *Idealism and Realism in International Relations*, London; Routledge, 2013.

given its principle on the states essential need to survive and that no institution that can change this nature of states. Idealism therefore remains a relevant theory on the study of the relevance of Pan-Africanism and foreign policy. This is because today there is an urgent need for corporation and unity among African states if they are to survive in a world where the forces of globalization continue to dominate. In order to cope with these western ideals African states have to maintain their strength through cooperation.

As earlier noted in the literature review African states generally have little to share and threaten. They are therefore in no position to enforce or win long term commitments. This leaves African states such as Kenya to command only temporary advantages given the limited resources.

Additionally, the massive size of the continent of Africa and the needs of each state can be quite overwhelming⁷⁶. The concept of Pan-Africanism strongly advocated for continental leadership which eventually resulted into the independence of African states. However, many of these African states are still recuperating from the impact of colonialism such as neo-colonialism. The ideology of Pan-Africanism maybe challenged by aspects such as neo-colonialism but it cannot be easily dismissed as something irrelevant in the formulation of foreign policy. Pan-Africanism puts emphasis on self-reliance as the solution to Africa's development, but this self-reliance cannot be achieved without unity. Furthermore, Africa's lacks continental leadership. However, it is still possible pursue the ideology of Pan-Africanism through regional integration leadership⁷⁷. The tenets of idealism will be used throughout the study due to its emphasis on cooperation, which is a primary feature of Pan-Africanism.

⁷⁶ W. Zartman , “ Africa, World Politics: An Introduction, J.N. Rosenau et al. (eds.) New York: Collier Macmillian, 1976. P. 569-594

⁷⁷ W. Zartman , “ Africa, World Politics: An Introduction, J.N. Rosenau et al. (eds.) New York: Collier Macmillian, 1976.Ibid p569-594s

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This Chapter essentially deals with the methods and all the procedures that were applied in conducting the study. The kind of sources used such as secondary and primary sources are discussed giving relevant examples. In addition to this, chapter three explains the design of the study, the target population, sampling design and size, site of the study, the data collection methods and the procedures of analysis of data that were collected during the field work. The scope and limitations of the study will also be provided at the end of the chapter. More information is given on how certain constraints were dealt with and how the validity and reliability of the data collection instruments were further promoted.

3.2 Research design

This study employed the survey design of research. It is the most appropriate way to gather as much information as possible to enable valid conclusions. In order to have first-hand information on the dynamics and complexities of foreign policy, primary investigations were conducted through interviews. A selective quantitative assessment, using questionnaires were administered in a span of two weeks. Questions related to the relevance of Pan-Africanism in foreign policy formulation were asked. Quantitative data collection methods were employed through administering structured questionnaires to respondents and using relevant computer programme such as excel shall be used for giving a descriptive approach in the presentation of data.

A qualitative component of analyzing detailed issues shall be considered. In this light formal and informal interview with key government actors in foreign policy execution and implementation were conducted

Questions on specific issues that were not mentioned in the questionnaires were posed to individuals while the detailed responses were recorded. The quantitative, qualitative and desk research would therefore provide a triangulation which would generate relevant research findings on the study.

3.3 Sources of data

Two major sources of data were be used in this study these include primary and secondary sources of data. The primary sources of data included all the information received and recorded after administering questionnaires and conducting interviews. The collection of primary data took two weeks and involved those who play a crucial role in the making and execution of foreign policy.

Secondary sources of data included an in-depth analysis of relevant information relating to the study. The sources will include both published and unpublished books, reports, journals, and the internet.

3.3.1 Type of Questionnaire to be used

The majority of questions asked through questionnaires shall be open-ended (unstructured questionnaires). Open ended gave respondents freedom to write what they want rather than limit them for instance, through administering closed ended questions that required a simple yes or no answer. However, on questions that seek to determine the relationship between two variables close ended questions were administered so as to make it easier for analysis. Hence, the questionnaires administered contained both open-ended and closed-ended questions. This is because having both kinds of questions helped in coming up with conclusive answers that answer the research questions and thus meet the main objectives of the study. Furthermore, having both

open-ended and closed-ended was meant to deal with any disadvantage that may emerge from using one kind of question. For instance, closed-ended questions normally have responses such as yes or no. Hence, it limits the respondent from giving any other information that might be imperative for the findings of the study. In this case, more open ended questions were introduced so that the respondents would not feel that they are leaving out any information pertaining to the study.

3.3.2 Interviews

Unlike the questionnaires that were distributed to a large sample of the targeted population, interviews were conducted to a smaller sample of the population. This is because interviews tend to be quite time consuming. Hence, it was prudent to have very few interviews especially with interviewees who are more involved with the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy or work under institutions or divisions that involve regional diplomacy or integration for instance, the East African Community, the Great Lakes Region, African Directorate, African Union (AU) and so on. Due to the seniority of some of the interviewees within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade an appointment was sought made prior to the interview.

3.4 Target Population

According to Strydom & Venter a universe is a representation of all the potential subjects that a researcher is interested in whereas a population tends to limit the boundaries of study⁷⁸. The study targets individuals working within the ministry of foreign affairs given their contribution in the execution and making of Kenya's foreign policy. Additionally, they had a firsthand

⁷⁸ H. Strydom, & Venter, L. "Sampling and sampling methods in de Vos, A.S (ed)". 2002 .*Research at Grass Roots (2nd ed)*. Pretoria: Van Schaik. pp 198

experience on what shapes or influences foreign policy which may included both internal and external factors. The population within the Ministry of foreign Affairs and International trade were thus in a better position to answer the questions consistently. This would also ultimately increase the validity of the information collected. Aspects such as gender or sex of the respondent will not be included since it does not fall under the main objective of the study.

Target population in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (Table 3.4.1)

	Division/Department	Population	Sample size
1	East African Community	6	5
2	Diaspora and Consular Relations	5	5
3	African Directorate & African Union	5	3
4	Horn of Africa	5	3
5	Americas	5	5
6	European and Commonwealth	5	3
7	Political Diplomatic Secretary	8	4
8	Economics and International Trade	6	5
9	The Great Lakes Region	7	5
	Total	51	40

3.5 Sampling Size and Design

The sample of this study included those who work within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade given the high level of interaction that the officers had in respect to international affairs and so on. Focusing on this ministry improved the chances of coming up with relevant and valid information. The sampling techniques used included purposive sampling, snowball sampling and simple random sampling.

3.5.1 Snowball Sampling

Snowball sampling was used so as to enable the researcher to meet the specific target population which is 40. This number could not be easily reached without a sampling technique that can help in identifying other people. Snowball sampling was therefore appropriate used due to its ability to bring in more informants. Once an individual was selected they were able to suggest or point out other potential informants for the study. This helped in increasing the chances of reaching the overall target population.

3.5.2 Purposive sampling

The study is quite specific on the contribution of Pan-Africanism to Kenya's foreign policy today. Hence, it was ideal to use purposive sampling since it enabled the researcher to identify those with the relevant information. The Ministry of Foreign affairs and International Trade encompasses several divisions directed by technocrats. It was therefore be crucial to identify divisions or departments that are constructive to the study especially in terms of the information given.

3.6 Validity and Reliability of Data Collected

In the process of collecting data, various techniques were used to give further credence of the data collected that is in terms of its validity and reliability.

3.6.1 Validity and Reliability Analysis

Each questionnaire administered was divided into three sections, with each seeking to meet the main objectives of the study. This increased the validity of the study by ensuring that each question is compatible to the main objectives of the study. Furthermore, interviews were carried out among head of departments who have at least some level of expertise in Kenya's foreign policy for example, the East African Community (EAC), The Great lakes Region, African Directorate, Horn of Africa and to some extent the Economics and International Trade division. Similarly, the questionnaires that were administered targeted individuals who were familiar to the concept of Pan-Africanism and hence could apply it to Kenya's foreign policy. This ensured that the flow of data remained consistent and thus increased reliability of the information given by respondents. However, other willing respondents who did not necessarily belong to relevant divisions to this particular study still participated as long as they were familiar to the subject matter which is Pan-Africanism and Kenya's foreign policy. Though they were not necessarily experts in Kenya's foreign policy, they facilitated the elimination of any form of bias that was likely to be depicted by experts due to their political inclination and so forth.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the major findings of the study through analyzing the primary data collected from field work. The analysis of data shall be a combination of both qualitative and quantitative techniques. Using both techniques add more value and credibility to the findings of the study. Furthermore, it will also give more comprehensive findings. For instance, the few interviews conducted will be analyzed qualitatively or in form of a narrative so as to give more information on an aspect that may not have been mentioned or illustrated well through quantitative form analysis yet they might be quite important in contributing to the major findings of the study. This chapter is divided into three main sections with each dedicated to the objectives of the study as well as the questions posed in the questionnaires. Any information that emerged through interviews or questionnaires will also be presented and discussed.

4.2 Response Rate

The sample size of the study was 40 but only 30 participated by completing the questionnaires. This resulted into a 75% response rate which is fairly good for the evaluation of the study findings. Fincham confirms that lack of response from the questionnaires administered results into non-response bias. Consequently, there is a high probability of undermining the validity and reliability of the key findings of the study. If there is an overall response rate of 30 or 20% there is a great risk of non-response bias⁷⁹. Hence, a response of 75% is good enough to make a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the findings of the survey conducted.

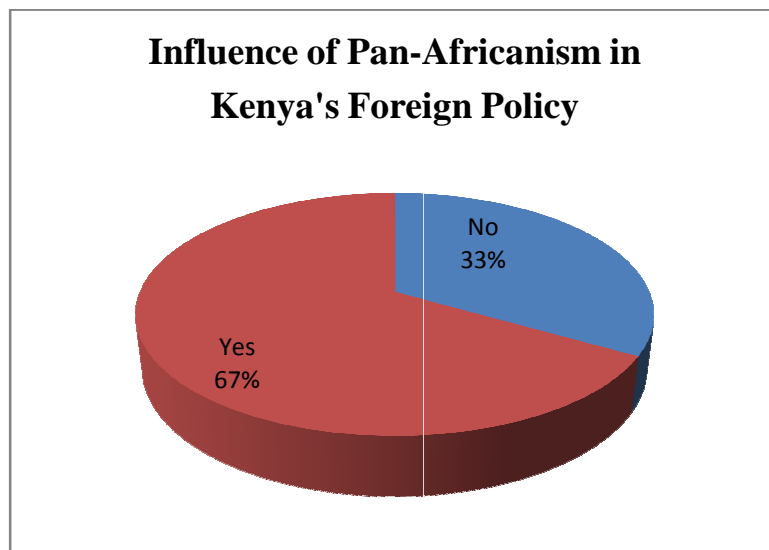
⁷⁹ Jack, Fincham, "Response Rates and Responsiveness for Surveys, Standards, and the Journal". 2008. *American Journal Pharmaceutical Education* vol 72 no. 2 p 43

4.3 Research findings, data analysis and Interpretation

4.3.1 Evaluation of the degree to which Pan-Africanism has shaped Kenya's Foreign policy

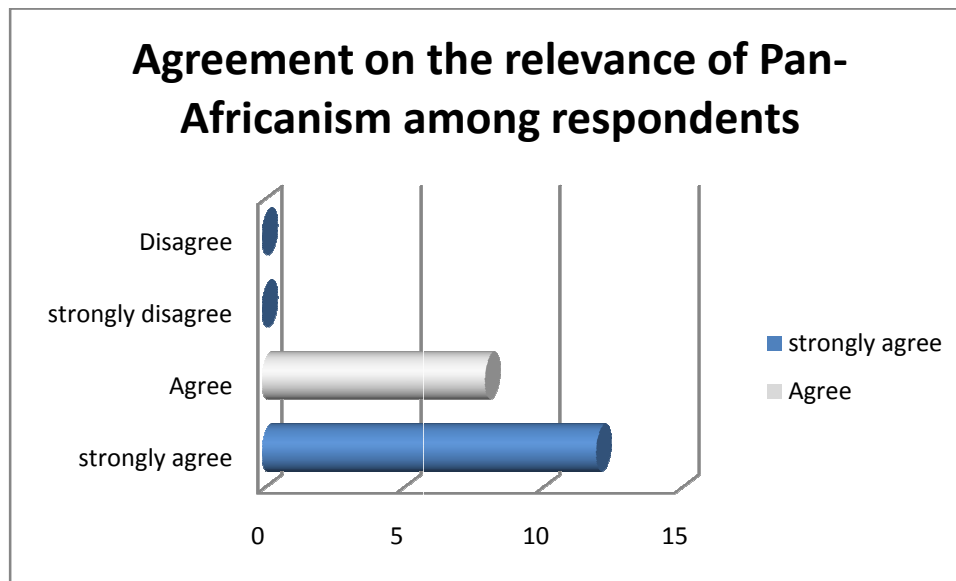
The main objective of the study was to find out the relevance of Pan-Africanism in shaping Kenya's Foreign Policy today. Hence, the respondents of the questionnaires were asked whether the ideology of Pan-Africanism was important in Kenya's foreign policy. 20 out of 30 people which makes up 66.6% (approximately 67%) of the number of respondents in the study perceived Pan-Africanism as an important issue in shaping Kenya's foreign policy while 33.3 % (Approximately 33%) disagreed as illustrated in the figure 4.3.1.1 below.

Figure 4.3.1.1



Twenty of the respondents (approximately 67% of the Population) who admitted that Pan-Africanism was important were further asked if Pan-Africanism is still relevant in shaping Kenya's Foreign policy. Twelve out of the twenty respondents strongly agreed while the other 8 respondents agreed. Hence, the relevance of the concept of Pan-Africanism was affirmed as illustrated in the figure 4.3.1.2 below.

Figure 4.3.1.2



Though more than 50% of the population perceived Pan-Africanism as important there was still a level of disagreement on how relevant it really was. This can be attributed to the fact that there are perhaps other fundamental factors that play a more critical role in influencing Kenya's foreign policy. The formulation of Kenya's foreign policy is not totally dependent on the ideals of Pan-Africanism. The ideals of Pan-Africanism include mutual cooperation and unity among African states which are more related to the theory of idealism. Two respondents during an interview admitted that the ideals of Pan-Africanism played a role in shaping Kenya's foreign policy especially in respect to regional integration. However, there were also other factors such as Kenya's national interest. Kenya has to pursue its national interest in order to survive in society that is becoming more competitive and this may hinder it from cooperating despite the fact that it has similarities with its African neighboring countries.

Another, respondent in an interview added that in as much as the pursuit of Kenya's national interest abroad took precedence over mutual corporation and unity this national interest could not be achieved without collaboration. Pan-African institutions such as NEPAD, African Union and

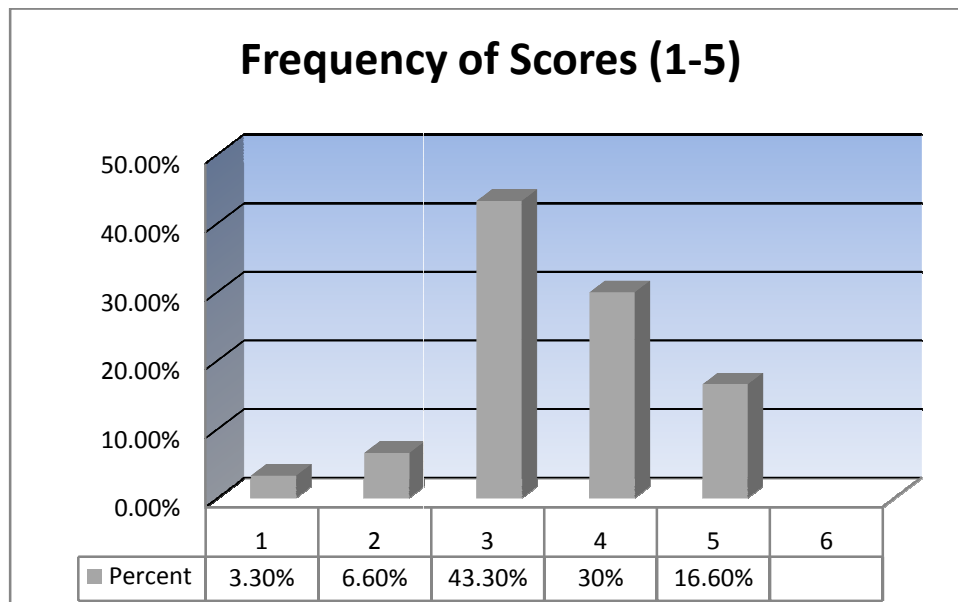
IGAD were therefore platforms that could be used by Kenya to achieve its national interest through engaging more in economic and peace diplomacy. Kenya has thus been able to promote its national interest by contributing to Pan-African institutions. These institutions have enabled Kenya to come close to its National Interest. In this case one may easily deduce that the concept of Pan-Africanism is used as means through which Kenya's national interest can be achieved. States need to survive but this may not be possible without diplomacy with other international entities.

In order to measure the extent to which Pan-Africanism shaped Kenya's foreign policy, all respondents regardless of whether they thought Pan-africanism was important or not were asked to estimate the influence of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's foreign policy. Respondents were given a scale of 1-5, and told to estimate the influence of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's foreign policy. Table 4.0 displays the result which is subsequently displayed in a graph (see Figure 4.3.1.3).

Table 4.0

Score	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Frequency	1	2	13	9	5	30
Percent	3.3%	6.6%	43.3%	30%	16.6%	100.0

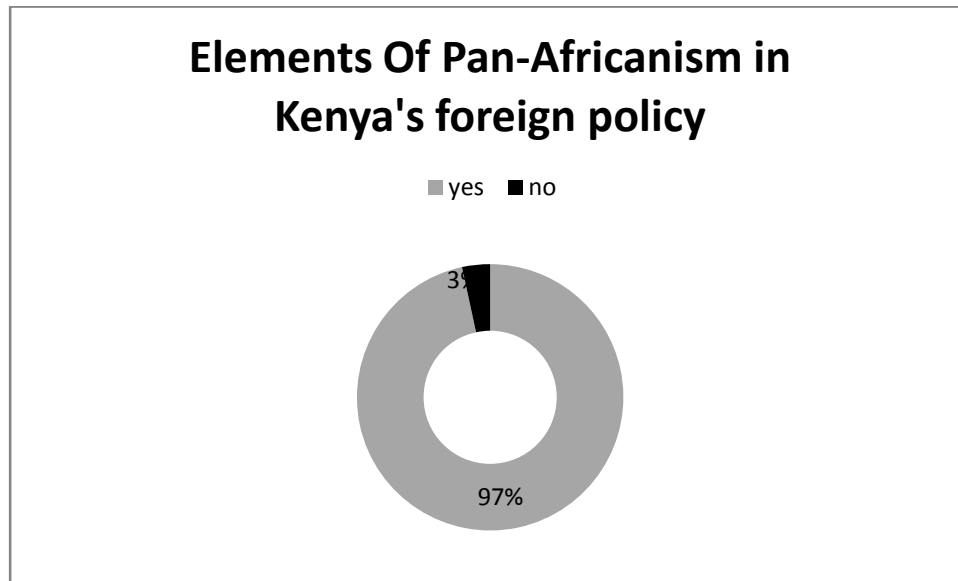
Figure 4.3.1.3



From the findings reflected in Figure 4.3.1.3., between the scores one to five, three is recorded as the most frequently stated score among the respondents followed by four and five. The scores above three were mentioned the most. These findings indicate that the ideology Pan-Africanism has a moderate influence in shaping Kenya's foreign policy given that five was indicated as the highest score that an individual could use in ranking the influence of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's foreign policy.

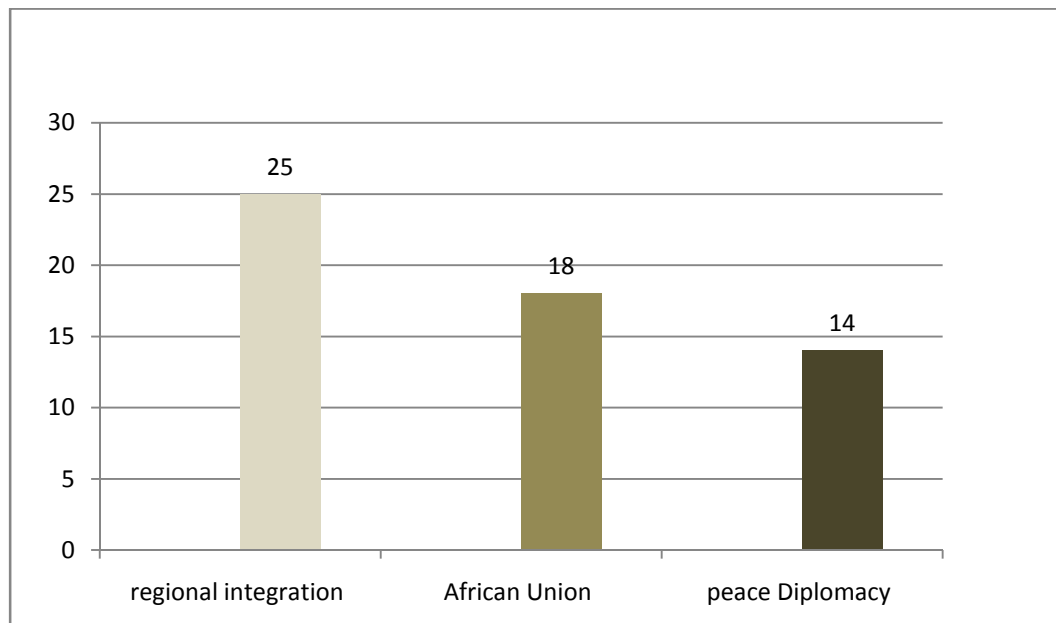
All respondents may not have been in agreement in terms of the level of influence of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's foreign policy as featured in figure 4.3.1.1. However, when asked whether there were any elements in Kenya's foreign policy that depicted the principles of Pan-Africanism twenty nine out of thirty which makes up 97% said yes, as illustrated in figure 4.3.1.2 below. This includes those who had earlier dismissed Pan-Africanism as an important issue in shaping Kenya's foreign policy which made up of 33% of the population.

Figure 4.3.1.4



More than 20 of the respondents mentioned regional integration or blocs such as EAC, intra-Africa trade partnerships and peaceful co-existence as the principles of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's foreign policy. The tenets of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's foreign policy today are thus featured through regional economic and political blocs.

Figure 4.3.1.5 Features of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's Foreign policy



Regional integration was perceived as the most important aspect that reflected the principles of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's Foreign policy (4.3.2.2). Regional integration includes economic communities such as the EAC and COMESA. These economic blocs are used by Kenya as platforms to secure Kenya's economic interests. However, when those interviewed were asked about features that portrayed Pan-Africanism more than half emphasized good neighborliness and peace. As a member of peace and security institutions such as IGAD Kenya is able to actively participate in peaceful negotiations. Regional integration can only occur when there is stability in the region. Kenya can act as a sovereign state but it cannot ignore insecurity issues in its own environs.

There are thus various elements of Pan-Africanism that are featured in Kenya's foreign policy especially in respect to economic and peace diplomacy. These findings are quite consistent with Sustar's argument that after attaining political independence primary issues that emerged were

how to maintain independence without jeopardizing the security and development of its own citizens⁸⁰. Hence, economic and peace diplomacy through regional integration became the ideal way African states including Kenya could advocate for its national interest. The concept of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's foreign policy is reflected in Kenya's idealist approach in relating with other African countries especially those it shares common boundaries, languages and culture. Hence, economic independence which is represented through Kenya's membership in regional economic blocs such as EAC and COMESA is a subset or extension of the ideology of Pan-Africanism. The fact that Kenya is a member of the African Union displays Kenya's commitment in maintaining good relations with other African countries through diplomacy. By being a member of such regional groupings Kenya is able to foster cooperation so that it can achieve its National Interest.

The findings presented in figure 4.3.2.1 are an indication of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's foreign policy today due to the existence of regional groups that are founded on the principles of Pan-Africanism such as unity and cooperation. The findings also confirms one of the hypotheses made which states that, though Kenya's foreign policy has taken many shapes since the end of the Cold War it still has close ties with other African countries especially through regional integration. Hence, the end of the cold war did not completely annihilate the spirit of Pan-Africanism. As a sovereign state, Kenya has strived to maintain its legitimacy by taking a leading role in bringing harmony among its neighboring countries. Through this Kenya is able to stress its influence at both the regional and global level. In addition to this, Kenya's sovereignty as a state has not prevented it from collaborating with other African trades especially through

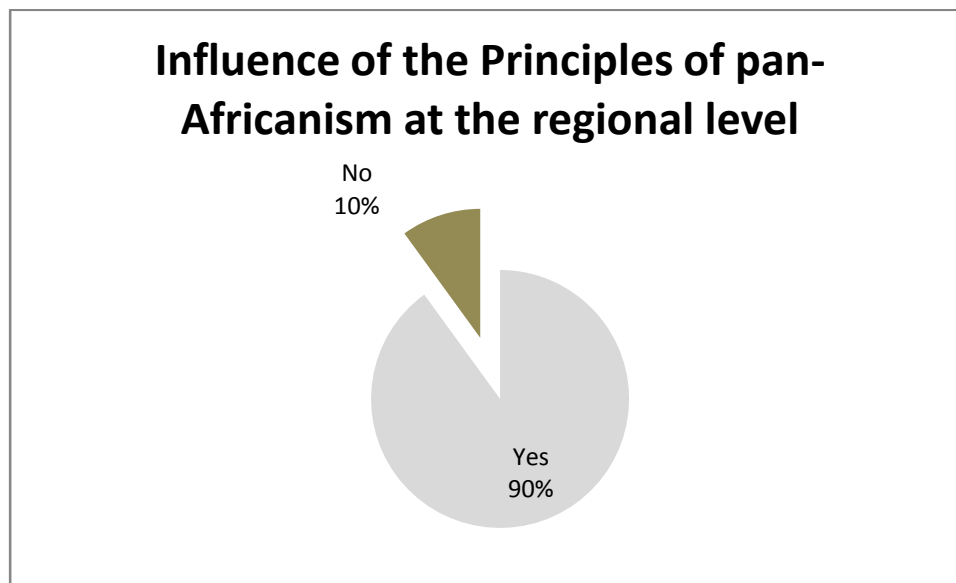
⁸⁰ Sustar, Lee , " The Origins of Pan-Africanism". *socialistworker.org*, 2012. Retrieved 5th May 2013 from <http://socialistworker.org/2012/10/05/origins-of-pan-africanism>

trade partnerships. 90% of the respondents perceived Pan-Africanism as more evident and stronger at the regional level. Between figure 4.3.2.1 (below) and 4.3.1.1 (page 45), figure 4.3.2.1 has the highest number of respondents who concur that Pan-Africanism is more emphasized at the regional level. This was mainly attributed to regional integration such as EAC which was influenced by the principles of Pan-Africanism. As one respondent strongly articulated during an interview, before the height of the Cold War the East African Community was quite prosperous due to its Pan-Africanist's ideals that were founded on unity. However, it eventually collapsed due to the ideological differences and suspicion among the member states. The revival of such economic communities is thus a spirit of Pan-Africanism. The respondent further added that regional integration is not only meant to promote economic development but also, to influence social and cultural integration that may ultimately bring about peace and political stability. This is compatible to Genge et. al argument on how there was a move from a United Africa to a new Africa that was prosperous economically⁸¹.

⁸¹ Manelisi, Genge, Francis Kornegay and Stephen Rule, African Union and Pan-African Parliament: Working Papers" 2000

4.3.2.1 Kenya's Foreign Policy at the Regional level

Figure 4.3.2.1

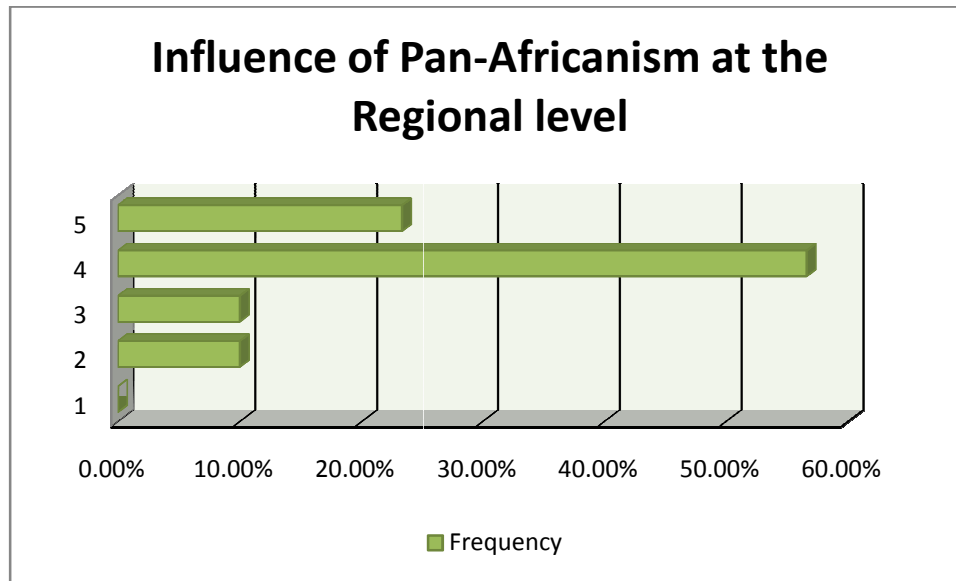


More evidence was gathered on the level of influence that Pan-Africanism had at the regional by asking respondents to give a score between 1 and 5, five being the highest score as illustrated in table 4.1 below. The most frequently mentioned score was 4, with an overall percentage of 56.6% (about 57%). This is quite high compared to table 4.0 (47), where three had a percentage of 43.3% yet it was presenting the findings of the same inquiry but at the regional level. Hence, the concept of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's foreign policy is more influential at the regional level as illustrated in figure 4.3.2.2.

Table 4.1

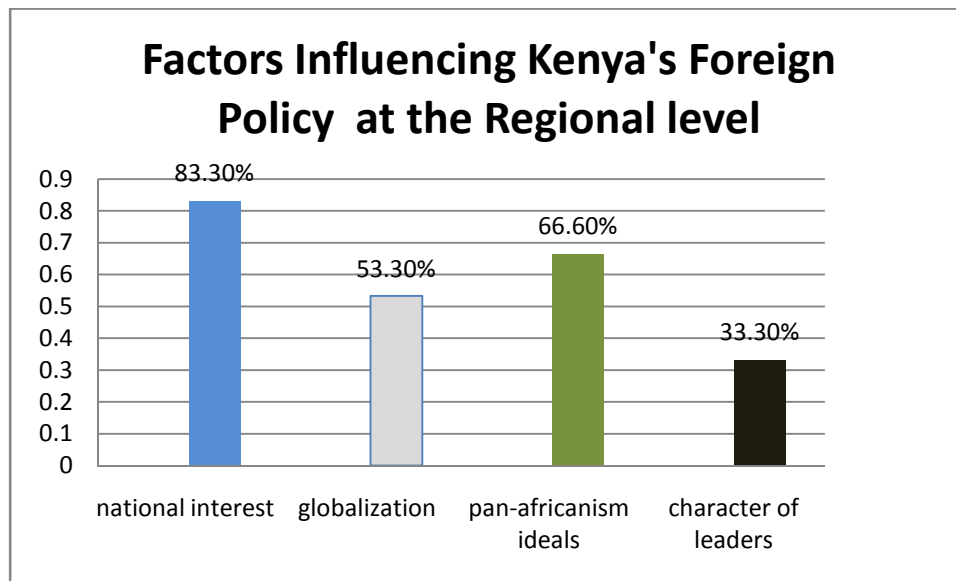
Score	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Frequency	0	3	3	17	7	30
Percent	0.00%	10.0%	10.0%	56.6%	23.3%	100.0

Figure 4.3.2.2



There were also more interesting findings that emerged particularly in relation to the features that shape Kenya's foreign policy at the regional level. The features that were mentioned include the ideals of Pan-Africanism, National Interests, Globalisation and character of leaders which are illustrated in figure 4.3.2.3.

4.3.2.3 The relationship of Kenya's foreign policy and Pan-Africanism at the regional level.



The findings presented in the graph above portrays that national interest override factors such as Pan-Africanism ideals, character of leaders and globalization in influencing Kenya's foreign policy at the regional level. National interest was immediately followed by Pan-Africanism, globalization and lastly by the character of leader's. However, through further probing in the interviews all respondents concurred that Kenya's national interests which include economic development could not occur without regional stability. This made good neighborliness and unity which happen to fall under the tenets Pan-Africanism as fundamental aspects in Kenya's foreign diplomacy at the regional, continental and global level.

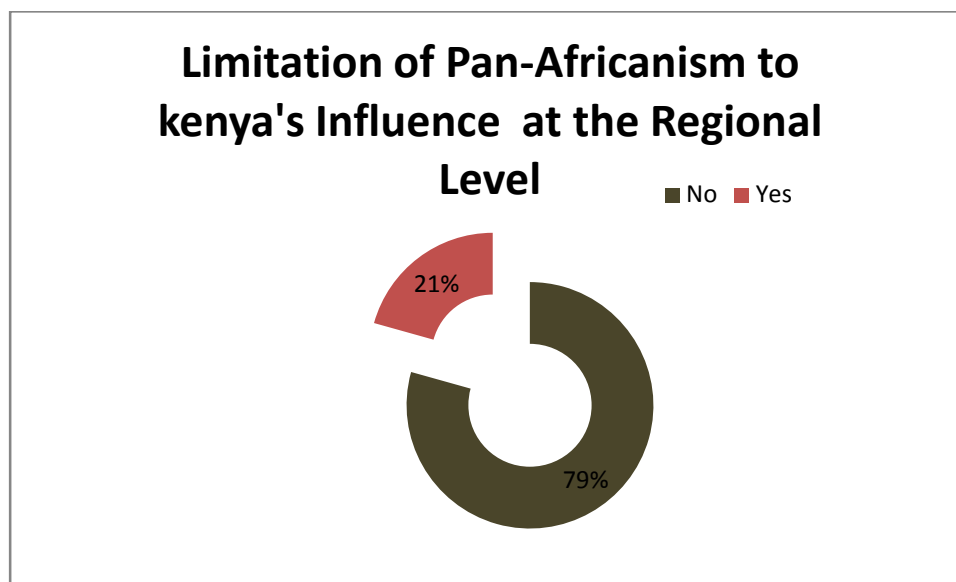
It is also worth noting that the dominance of national interest in shaping Kenya's foreign policy is an indication of the influence of realism which is contrary to idealism, a theory that is more associated to the ideology of Pan-Africanism. Realism is more about a state's need to survive by solely pursuing its own national interest⁸². However, today we live in a global village where states are expected to conform to international norms and corporate through using international

⁸² Robert, M.A Crawford, *Idealism and Realism in International relations*, London: Routledge, 2013.

institutions as a means of mediation and so forth. The pursuit of a state's national interest should therefore not in any way undermine the values that the international community upholds. This explains why the ideals of Pan-Africanism ideals come in as the second most influential factor. In as much as State's are sovereign they are expected maintain peaceful co-existence with other states and corporate on development issues such as international trade and so on.

On the issue concerning the limitation of Pan-Africanism at the regional level, respondents were asked if the concept of Pan-Africanism was limited to Kenya's influence at the regional level. Twenty nine people responded and the results are presented in figure 4.3.2.4.

Figure 4.3.2.4



79% of the respondents indicated that the concept of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's foreign policy is not limited to Kenya's influence at the regional level, while 29% did not agree. The only respondent, who neither said yes or no, clearly stated that the question on whether Pan-Africanism is limited to Kenya's foreign policy at the regional level or not actually depends on who Kenya is dealing with. The respondent further added that the forces of globalization which

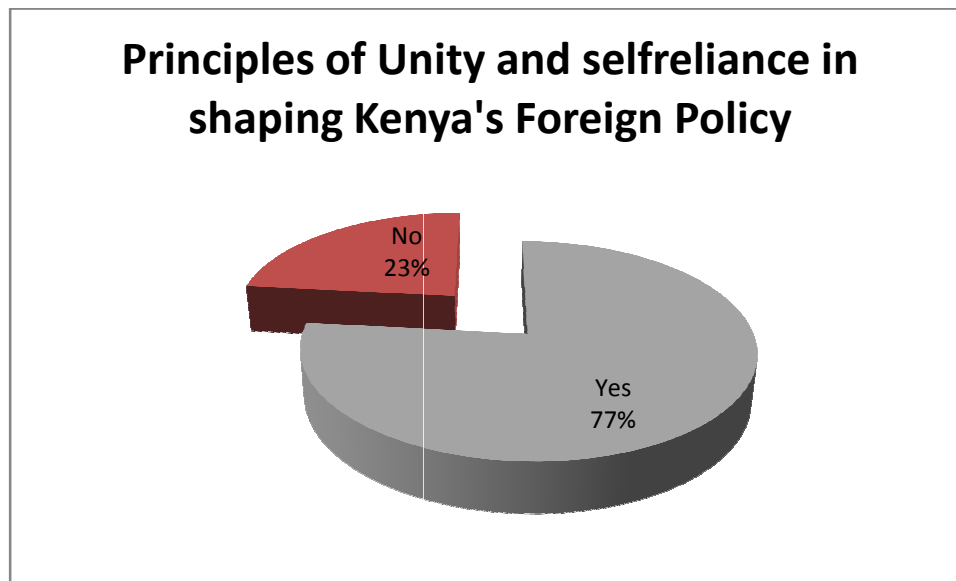
are characterized by a high level of capitalism and neo-colonialism have greatly undermined Pan-Africanism. However, Kenya has been reacting to these forces by forming regional economic blocs so as to counter the negative forces of globalization.

All the respondents who were interviewed seemed to agree that the concept of Pan-Africanism is not only limited at the regional level. This is because by maintaining the principles of Pan-Africanism at the regional level, Kenya would have more influential at the global level. Three respondents also added that in order for Kenya to gain more influence at the international arena it had to get support from its neighboring countries or other African countries through Pan-African institutions like EAC or the AU (African Union). Hence, the concept of Pan-Africanism was not limited to Kenya's influence at the regional level.

4.3.3 Influence of the principles of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's foreign policy

In order to assess whether the principles of Pan-Africanism such as unity and self reliance still shape Kenya's foreign policy, respondents were asked their opinion. The results are illustrated in figure 4.3.3.1, below.

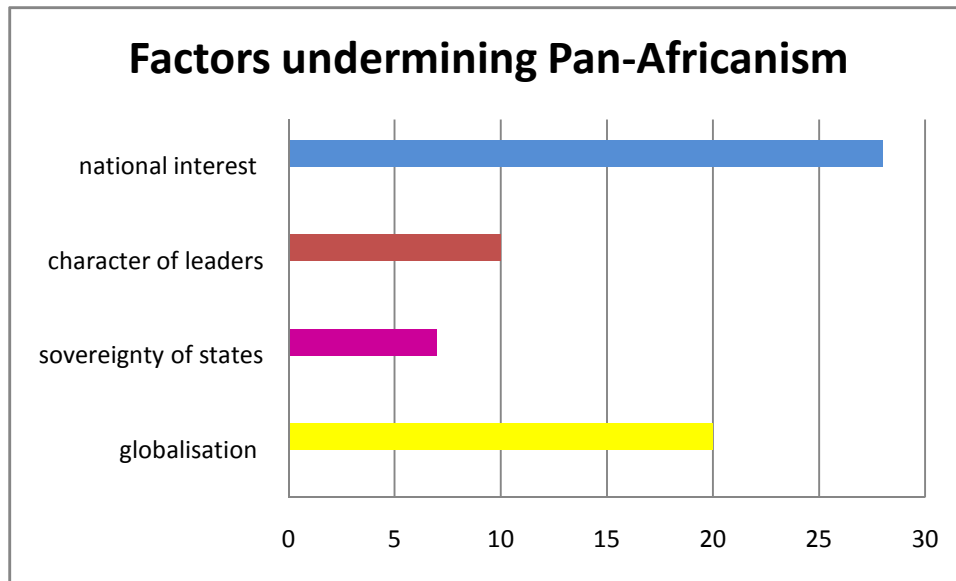
Figure 4.3.3.1



According to the figure above 77% of the respondents said yes, while 23% said no.

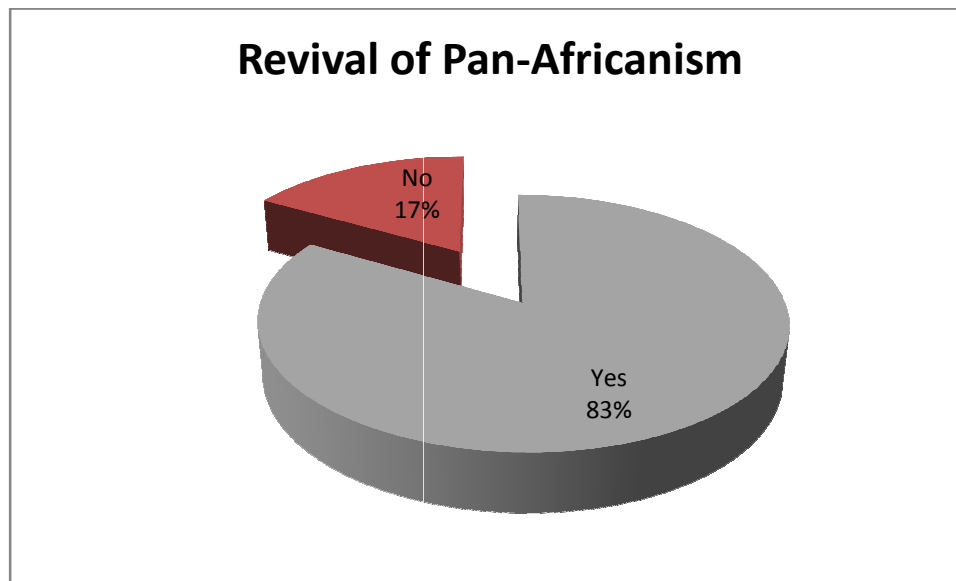
Many respondents perceived globalization and national interest as the factors that had undermined the influence of Pan-Africanism at the regional levels. However, sovereignty was the least influential factor as illustrated in figure 4.3.3.2. One respondent during an interview asserted that though Kenya is a sovereign state, this sovereignty cannot be safeguarded when there was relative peace within the region. The government of Kenya cannot allow conflicts in its neighboring countries to spill over its own territory for instance insurgent group from Somalia. Such an event would question the legitimacy of Kenya. Hence, Kenya has had to take an active role in bringing peace in the region which cannot be achieved without cooperation. The sovereignty of Kenya has not therefore hindered Kenya from the tenets of Pan-Africanism especially cooperation and peace diplomacy.

Figure 4.3.3.2



In the figure above national interest is followed by globalization as one of the major factors that has greatly undermined Pan-Africanism. Globalization is an ideology brought by the west. Globalization has encouraged western ideals such as capitalism leading to the distortion of the values Pan-Africanism. Nonetheless, 25 (83%) respondents out of 30 admitted that Pan-Africanism could still be revived despite the thriving forces of globalization as demonstrated in 4.3.3.3 .

Figure 4.3.3.3



Among 83.3% of the respondents who positively responded to the revival of the concept of Pan-Africanism mentioned economic diplomacy as one of the major scheme that could be used by Kenya. One respondent added that there was a common goal of self-independence among African countries. Hence, this common goal could be used to foster economic diplomacy especially through regional integration. The respondent further stated that though the forces of globalization are hard to change there are still benefits of globalization and international trade that could serve as an opportunity for economic development. Two respondents who gave their views through formal interviews mentioned that Kenya's foreign policy has embraced economic diplomacy as its main agenda. This has deepened south-south relations especially in areas of trade and investment. Hence, there is still a lot of room for the revival of the spirit of Pan-Africanism.

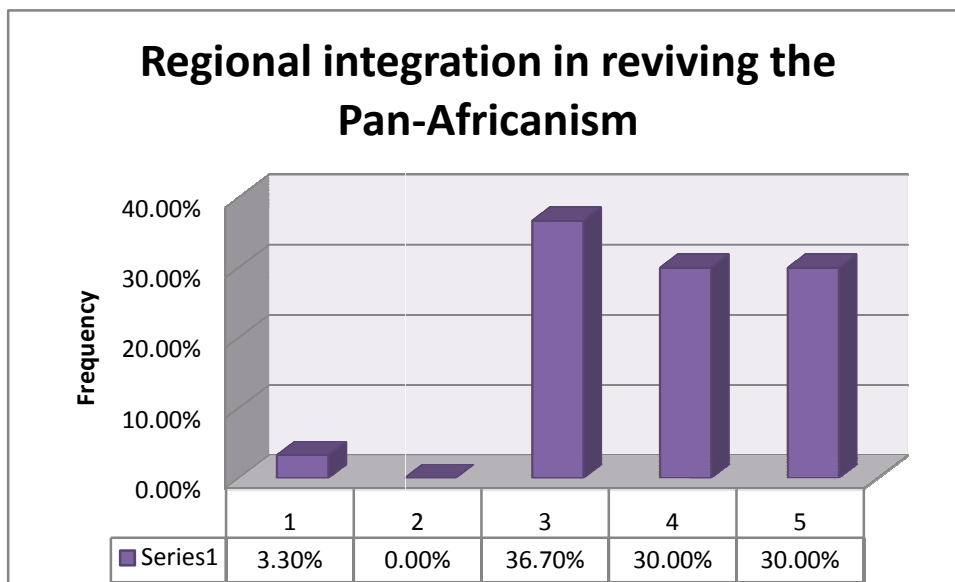
Regional integration was the most common factor mentioned by respondents as a potential factor in Kenya's foreign policy that could revive Pan-Africanism. Hence, in order to measure the extent to regional integration can boost Pan-Africanism and ultimately shape Kenya's foreign

policy respondents were asked to give a value between 1 and five, where five was the highest. The results are presented in Table 4.2 below which is the illustrated in a frequency graph in figure 4.3.3.4.

Table 4.3

Score	1	2	3	4	5	Total
Frequency	1	0	11	9	9	30
Percent	3.3%	0.0%	36.7%	30.0%	30.0%	100.0

Figure 4.3.3.4



The majority of the respondents mentioned three. This meant that regional integration has created a path where the tenets of Pan-Africanism can thrive particularly in areas of economic development.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a summary and conclusion of the study undertaken. There are also recommendations provided based on the specific objectives of the study. The chapter gives a more personal perspective of the study in general. Various suggestions are made on aspects that need to be studied in the near future especially those that emerged during the process of primary data collection. Some of these aspects may shed more light on the orientation of Kenya's foreign policy today and thus play a fundamental role in both the implementation and execution of foreign policy.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The concept of Pan-Africanism has played a moderate role in shaping Kenya's foreign policy especially at the regional level. However, national interest emerged as the overriding factor. The high level of influence of the concept of Pan-Africanism at the regional level is mainly attributed to the need to maintain good neighborliness which is critical in deepening regional integration. Regional integration is an aspect that has been linked to economic development through the market expansion in the East African region. Hence, the main pillar of Kenya's foreign policy particularly economic and peace diplomacy has heightened the influence of Pan-Africanism at the regional level. In addition to this, there was also a strong correlation between peace and economic diplomacy. This is because as Kenya strives to remain one of the most powerful economies in East Africa it cannot be able to do so in an unstable environment.

National interest and globalization emerged as the primary factors that have undermined the relevance of Pan-Africanism today then followed by the character of leaders. However, there

was a positive response on the revival of the spirit of Pan–Africanism through regional integration, which was articulated as crucial in boosting Intra-African trade. Moreover, being a member of Pan-African institutions such as EAC (East African Community) and the A.U (African Union) has enabled many African states including Kenya to become a powerful interest group or lobby group in advocating for its interests especially in international forums and so forth.

5.3 Conclusion

As a sovereign state Kenya has used its foreign policy to pursue its national interest at the regional, continental and global level. Kenya's foreign policy is flexible due to its ability to pursue its national interest while at the same time maintain peace and security which is crucial for its own economic development particularly at the regional level. According to the primary data collected in regard to the factors that influence Kenya' foreign policy, national interest emerges as the most influential then followed by Pan-Africanism ideals (see figure 4.3.2). However, it is these Pan-Africanism ideals such as unity, self reliance and good neighborliness that can be used to deepen regional integration, an essential factor that has a great potential in boosting Kenya's ability to achieve its overall national interest of economic development and empowerment. Hence, being a member of institutions that support Pan-Africanism ideals such as EAC, IGAD, NEPAD, COMESA and A.U has given Kenya an international platform to carry out its agenda. Other Pan-Africanism ideals of peace diplomacy have not only enabled Kenya to gain influence over the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa, but also provide leadership in areas that are prone to conflict. Peace diplomacy is essentially used as a means through which Kenya national interests can be achieved more efficiently. Peace among neighboring countries is therefore indispensable. Kenya's foreign policies are founded on peace and economic

development. There is a strong link between peace and economic diplomacy given that economic development cannot be achieved when there is no security. Any level of insecurity within the East African region is likely to jeopardize Kenya's national interest and also portray Kenya as a government that lacks the ability to maintain order. However, by adopting Pan-Africanism ideals Kenya is more likely to be influential in the international arena. Kenya may lack economic power that gives it more influence globally but its ability to bring unity among its neighboring East African countries through taking a leading role in regional integration may heighten Kenya's recognition in the international scene.

Regional integration is also perceived as one the coping mechanism that Kenya can be used to deal with the forces of globalization which have rendered Kenya more dependent and vulnerable to exploitation from the west. By deepening regional integration the spirit of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's foreign policy can be awakened. African states may have achieved independence however there is still a common goal of economic emancipation. The "look in" strategy which encourages closer ties with neighboring countries has created an avenue for the ideals of Pan-Africanism while at the same time given an opportunity for Kenya promote its own national interest.

Kenya's foreign policy since independence has grown to be quite dynamic and flexible given its ability to adjust to changes that occur. Moreover, in this era of globalization Kenya's foreign policy has enabled Kenya to take advantage of the benefits of globalization such as international trade while at the same time cope with neo-colonialism through regional integration. There are therefore aspects of idealism through the implementation of the ideals of Pan-africanism and realism due to the emphasis placed on national interest. Kenya's foreign policy has incorporated the philosophy of idealism by being a member of international institutions such as the African

union (AU) and the United Nations (UN). These institutions have given Kenya a platform to conduct its economic and peace diplomacy which are the main pillars of Kenya's foreign policy.

5.4 Recommendations

The concept of Pan-Africanism paved way for the independence of several African countries including Kenya. However, independence was not the only agenda advocated by the founders of Pan-Africanism but also self-reliance and economic independence. The goal of Pan-Africanism which was to bring both political and economic emancipation in the continent of Africa has therefore not been fully achieved. This is because many African countries are still dependent on aid from the west in order to boost its economy. This form of economic dependence has made Kenya vulnerable in the international scene and thus pushed it to conform to the rules of west despite their long term negative implications. In an attempt to reduce the impact of these implications which are often depicted in the form of neo-colonialism Kenya must try and increase its influence at the regional level. For instance, Kenya can take leadership roles in uniting countries in the East African region so that it may gain more respect in the international arena and thus be in a better position to achieve its national goals.

The concept of Pan-Africanism is manifested through the revival of regional economic blocs such as the EAC and COMESA. This step is quite positive since it has the potential of reducing aid from the west by opening up the large market through out East Africa. Nevertheless, there is still a lot to be done in order to realize the greater benefits of unity among people of African descent who have shared similar forms of exploitation from the west. The spirit of Pan-Africanism was not initiated by African citizens but by people of African descent who lived in the diaspora such as the Americas and the Caribbeans. Key personalities associated with Pan-African movement such as Marcus Garvey and W.E.B Dubois inspired African leaders such as

Kwame Nkuruma. Hence, there is a great need to strengthen the role of Africans in the diaspora especially in regard to Africa's economic development. The collective support of Africans in the diaspora can serve as a means in reviving Pan-Africanism not only at the regional level but also globally. Pan-Africanism should not be narrowed at regional levels since it has the potential of benefitting all Africans especially those who intend to invest in business opportunities back at home. Strengthening the role of those in the diaspora may include giving more opportunities to African investors especially those who intend to invest in EAC. Africans in the diaspora must be able to feel part of the African continent by engaging them more in development issues. Unity of Africans does not just encompass those living in the African continent or African countries that share common boundaries but also those living in the Diaspora. The government of Kenya can create avenues where Kenyans living abroad can come together to interact and also talk about issues pertaining to Kenyans development and so on. Once the solidarity of Kenyans living abroad is maintained there is a high probability of forming business partnerships that will benefit their home country. This kind of step would make Pan-Africanism a positive and ideal step that other countries within the region would implement. The positive impact of Pan-Africanism has to be highlighted at home so that other countries can follow similar policies. Though the movement of Pan-Africanism may seem to be more convenient at the regional level through the formation of regional economic blocs, it is also important to value how it relates to Kenyans living abroad who have the potential of making significant contributions to the economy. Promoting the interests of those living abroad can create more opportunities for stronger ties which can ultimately increase their enthusiasm in contributing more to the economy.

It is also worth noting that the concept of Pan-Africanism has been challenged by globalization and the national interest of many African countries. However, there are still aspects of

globalization such as international trade that can enable Kenya to achieve its national goals. Kenya can use the influence it has at the regional level to advocate for its own agenda in international platforms. There is therefore an urgent need to maintain good relations with other countries such as Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi so that Kenya can get good support in forums. These forums might concern current issues that affect the emancipation of the continent of Africa such as climate change, international trade and so on.

According, to the study Kenya's foreign policy has been moderately influenced by Pan-Africanism because of its good principles of good neighborliness, self-reliance and stability. However, Kenya can still boost its ties with east African countries by taking leadership roles in matters concerning security within the region. Peace diplomacy is also important because it is hard to achieve economic development in an area that is prone to conflict. It is therefore, possible for Kenya to have a foreign policy that follows the principles of idealism through incorporating the tenets Pan-Africanism.

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Appendix I

Sample Questionnaire

Introduction and Consent

Dear respondent,

I am a post-graduate student at the University of Nairobi conducting a research on the influence of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's foreign policy today. Please take note that whatever information you provide will be kept confidential. Hence, your name or any other personal information will not be written on the questionnaire neither will it be presented in other records. Your participation in this questionnaire is voluntary you may therefore refuse to answer any question that you feel you are not obliged to answer. However, I hope that you will participate by completing the questionnaire since your views are important for this research. As a sign of your approval to participate, please sign below.

Thank you in advance

.....

Signature of participate

.....

Date

.....

Signature of researcher

.....

Date

Section A

To evaluate the extent to which Pan-Africanism has shaped Kenya's foreign policy

1. Is Pan-Africanism an important issue in Kenya's foreign policy?

Yes	No

2. If yes do you think Pan-Africanism is still relevant in shaping Kenya's foreign policy?

Strongly Agree	Agree	Strongly disagree	Disagree

3. On a scale of 1 to 5, 5 being the highest. How would you estimate the influence of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's foreign policy? (Tick beside the figures below)

5

4

3

2

1

4. Are there any elements of Kenya's foreign policy that depict the principles of Pan-Africanism? (Tick yes or no in the)

Yes	No

5. If your answer is yes in the question above please mention these

elements.....

Section B

Relationship between Kenya's foreign policy and Pan-Africanism at the regional level.

1. In your opinion how can you describe the relationship of Kenya's foreign policy and Pan-Africanism at the regional level?

.....

2. Are current trends such as regional integration like the East African Community (EAC) influenced by the principles of Pan-Africanism?

Yes	
No	

3. Tick the features in the boxes below which you think have shaped Kenya's foreign policy at the regional level.

Pan-africanism ideals	National Interest	Globalisation	Character of leaders

4. On a scale of 1 to 5, 5 being the highest. How would you estimate the influence of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's foreign policy at the regional level

5

4

3

2

1

5. Is Pan-Africanism a concept that is only limited to Kenya's influence at the regional level?

Yes	
No	

Section C

Influence of the principles of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's foreign policy

1. Tick any elements in the boxes below that depict the principles of Pan-Africanism in Kenya's foreign policy

Self-reliance	Good neighborliness	Regional integration	Unity

2. Do you think that the main principles of Pan-Africanism such as unity and self reliance still shape Kenya's foreign policy?

Yes	
No	

3. Tick the aspects below which you think have made Pan-Africanism irrelevant

Sovereignty of Kenya	National Interest	Globalisation	Character of leaders

4. Can Pan-Africanism still be revived in the contemporary world today where trends like globalization have taken over (Tick either yes or no)

Yes	
No	

6. If yes in the question 4 above mention how Pan-africanism can still play a critical role in determining foreign policy

.....

7. On a scale of 1-5, 5 being the highest. How would you estimate the extent to which regional integration has helped in reviving the spirit of Pan-Africanism and hence shape Kenya's foreign policy. Tick or mark inside the circles beside the figures below.

5 ☐

4 ☐

3 ☐

2 ☐

1 ☐

Appendix II