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Kenya's Soft Power Status in the Eastern Africa Region

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**A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of
the Degree of Masters of Arts in International Studies.**

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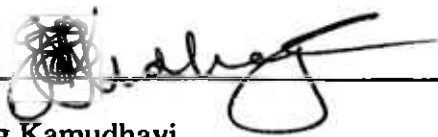
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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been submitted for the award of Masters in any other University

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

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I also thank my family for their support and encouragement throughout this tedious process. My father for being with me throughout this process, my mother for praying for me, my brothers for your perpetual encouragement and late sister Tabitha who has walked with me throughout my academic journey.

DEDICATION

To My Wife Maria
You are my true soul mate

To Esau and Fanice, My dad and mum
You are truly Vintage Kenyans

To my late sister Tabitha
You remain dear to me

This is my accolade to you.

ABSTRACT

Kenya has arguably enjoyed the position of both advantage and responsibility among its neighbours in the Eastern Africa region and has had in that regard, a significant positive influence on political and economic affairs within and among these countries. This study is an assessment of such influence as Kenya has had in the region from the conceptual and analytical stand point of Joseph Nye's notion of soft power; that is capacity to influence others through attraction rather than coercion. The study shows that Kenya's soft power hegemony stems from admirable characteristics especially non belligerent approach in external relations under the policy of good neighborliness, economic prosperity through open markets, aptness to promote peace in the region through mediation of internal and external conflicts.

The success of soft power heavily depends on the actor's reputation within the international community, as well as the flow of information between actors. Thus, soft power is often associated with the rise of globalization and regional integration theory. Kenya's leadership role in eastern Africa region through regional bodies like East Africa Community and IGAAD and Nairobi geostrategic position in the regional business and commerce are significant factors in shaping Kenya's soft power status in the region. This study attempts to investigate and demonstrate what gives the country leverage over the other countries in the region. The study investigates Kenya's hegemonic status from a soft power stand point since the country has not been engaged in any major armed conflict (hard power) with its neighbours since independence. Consequently, soft power becomes Kenya's means for the country to realize its goals in the eastern Africa region.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration	ii
Acknowledgment	iii
Dedication	iv
Abstract	v
Table of Contents	vi
List of Acronyms and Abbreviations	viii
List of Tables.....	ix
List of Figures	x
CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND TO KENYA'S SOFT	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.2 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM.....	2
1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE RESEARCH	3
1.4 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY	3
1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW	5
1.5.1 Demography	5
1.5.2 Geography	7
1.5.3 Economy.....	10
1.5.4 Natural Resources and Industrial Capabilities	12
1.5.5 Leadership	13
1.6 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.....	16
1.6.1 Hard Power.....	16
1.6.2 Soft Power	19
1.6.3 Wielding Soft power	22
1.6.4 American Foreign Policy and Soft power	24
1.6.5 Soft Power and other Theories	25
1.7 HYPOTHESIS	29
1.8 METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH	30
1.8.1 Primary Data	16
1.8.2 Secondary Data	19
1.8.3 Data Analysis	22
1.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY	34
CHAPTER TWO: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF SOFT POWER	35
2.1 INTRODUCTION	35
2.2 SOURCES OF AMERICA'S SOFT POWER.....	36
2.3 EXPERIENCES OF OTHERS SOFT POWER	38
2.4 KENYA'S COLONIAL ERA	39
2.5 POST COLONIA ERA.....	44
2.5.1 Kenyatta Era	46

2.5.2 Moi's Era.....	51
2.5.3 Kibaki's Term	58
2.6 CONCLUSION	59
CHAPTER THREE: SOURCES OF KENYA'S SOFT POWER	62
3.1 INTRODUCTION	62
3.2 POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC RESOURCES.....	63
3.2.1 Political Stability	66
3.2.2 Geostrategic Access	67
3.2.3 Financial Investment Markets	68
3.2.4 Foreign Exchange Earnings.....	72
3.3 FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICIES	75
3.3.1 Refugees in Kenya	79
3.4 SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RESOURCES.....	81
3.5 CONCLUSION	87
CHAPTER FOUR: CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS OF THE STUDY.....	88
4.1 INTRODUCTION	88
4.2 FINDINGS OF THE STUDY	88
4.2.1 Kenya's Foreign Policy as a source of its Soft Power	89
4.2.2 Other sources of soft Power	91
4.3 FACTORS THAT UNDERMINE KENYA'S SOFT POWER.....	91
4.3.1 Poor Governance	91
4.3.2 Corruption	94
4.3.3 Human Rights Violation.....	99
4.3.4 Insecurity	101
4.3.5 Post Election Violence of 2007	105
4.3 CONCLUSION	108
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATION.....	109
5.1 INTRODUCTION	109
5.2 RECOMMENDATION	112
5.3 CONCLUSION	116
BIBLIOGRAPHY	119

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
AU	African Union
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement EAC – East Africa Community
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
HDI	Human Development Index
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority of development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPO	Initial Public Offer
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KDF	Kenya Defence Forces
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
PNU	Party of National Unity
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programs
SPLA/SPLA	Sudan people’s Liberation Army/Movement
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNEP	United Nations environmental Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
USA	United States of America

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Types of Behaviour associated with soft and hard power.....	20
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CHAPTER TWO

2.1 Percentage of total value of Eastern Africa inter territorial exports made up Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania	43
2.2 Average annual growth rate in percentage between 1970 and 1980.....	52
2.3 Economic and Social development of Kenya & Tanzania from 1960 to 1984.....	60

CHAPTER THREE

3.1 Tourist arrival in Kenya between 1998 and 2002	75
3.2 Tourist arrival in Kenya between 2005 and 2007	75
3.3 Optimist versus pessimistic citizens in the world	86

CHAPTER FOUR

4.1 Effects of the Three Types of Power.....	89
4.2 Frequency of corruption offences in the judiciary	96
4.3 Corruption perception index; Eastern Africa region highlights	99

LIST OF CHARTS

1.1 Nation's hard and Soft Power	16
3.1 Refugees populations distribution in camps and urban areas	80

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO KENYA'S SOFT POWER

1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the background to the study of Kenya's influential standing in the Eastern Africa region. The country has exercised unrivaled influence in the region since independence without engaging in any armed conflict with its neighbours. Kenya has been a leader in regional economy, in politics, diplomacy and social life. Governments, groups and people in neighbouring countries have often turned to Kenya for economic opportunities, for solutions of internal and regional problems and for refuge in times of strife. The country has thus emerged as a regional hegemony due to its soft power status. Soft power is the ability to attract and persuade others to adapt to one's goals. It is getting others to want the outcomes that one wants – co-opting people rather than coercing them.¹ He supports his argument by stating that soft power is cheaper than hard power.²

This chapter is interested in establishing the factors that give Kenya its attractive power. The chapter will review soft power theory and justify the research problem. It also establishes the methodology of research that will assist in examining the hypothesis. The chapter has also reviewed Nye's book, '*Soft Power: The Means to Success in world Politics*' as the leading proponent of this concept, and developed theoretical framework necessary for this study. Moreover, this chapter has defined the scope and limitation of the research giving particular attention to the Eastern African region.

¹Nye S. Joseph, Jr. *Soft power, the Means to Success in World politics*, (New York; Public Affairs, 2004) p.5

² Nye S Joseph. *Propaganda Isn't the way: Soft Power*. The International herald tribunal.

http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/news/opeds/2003/nye_soft_power_iht_011003.htm.

The writer argues for soft power as opposed to hard power in the fight against terrorism. The argument is that it is more powerful and cheaper to attract than to coerce. Nye proposes that America should influence Iraqis through positive leadership rather than military might.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Nye has defined hard power as power that relies on military and economic means to influence the behaviour or interest of other political bodies. Historically, hard power has been the predominant and realistic measure of national power. It is power that rests on inducements and threats. This type of power has not always produced the desired outcome, as in the case of the US war with Vietnam or Iraq. Authoritarian governments tend to use hard power but in democracies politicians rely on both hard power and soft power.³

Kenya has gained a strong international image in the region as espoused by the country's leading role in the region's affairs. Mediation of Eastern Africa conflicts and involvement in peace keeping operations in other countries has been dominant in Kenya's foreign policy.⁴ The country has maintained diplomatic, consular and trade relations with over a hundred foreign countries. Leading donor agencies and Non Governmental Organizations (NGO) have their headquarters in Kenya or have their regional offices in the country. Nairobi is a regional centre and international city with representation from nearly all the nations of the world some of which serve the Eastern Africa region.

Kenya's achievements and efforts have given the country a big brother status that enables her to play an influential role in the region. This study attempts to analyze Kenya's leverage in the region and thus investigates the influential role in the regional affairs from the standpoint of possible soft power status. In particular, this study will seek to solve one problem; 'What are the sources of Kenya's soft power that give the country leverage in the Eastern Africa region?

³ *op cit.* Nye S. J, p 6.

⁴ Kenya: Dreamland to Tour and Invest, *Your Investment and Tourism Guide for Kenya*. 2007 edition. (Nairobi; Intellect Publishers, 2007) p 54.

1.3 Objectives of the Research

Kenya has maintained a special position in Eastern Africa region. The country's achievements and efforts have given Kenya a leading role that enables the country to play an influential role in the region. This study is guided by the following objectives:

General Objective

- To investigate Kenya's soft power resources that give the country leverage in the Eastern Africa region.

Specific Objectives

- To demonstrate Kenya's leverage in the Eastern Africa region as attributed by the country's soft power status.
- To analyze the factors that undermines and limits Kenya's soft power capabilities.

The study will attempt to answer a number of questions that can will help in fulfilling the objectives of this study. What are the main sources of Kenya's soft power status that give the country advantage over the others in the region? Does Kenya possess significant hard power to give the country the status it enjoys? What power does Kenya possess that enables it to play an influential role in the region? Are there factors that limit the country's soft power? Can the country's soft power be increased to give it more influence?

1.4 Justification of the Study

This study intends to fill certain gaps in the study of balance of power relations in Eastern Africa. In more particular reference, there has been little attempt to explore the relevance of soft power in Eastern Africa region. Politics consists of social relations involving power and refers to the regulation of a political unit, and to the methods and tactics used to formulate and apply policy. Regional peace an important agenda in regional and

global politics down plays the use of hard power especially the use of military power. The expensive costs inquired in executing hard power have forced international actors to seek cheaper ways to influence others. It can therefore not be gainsaid how critical the study of this phenomena will help. Soft power is a staple of daily democratic politics. The ability to establish preferences tends to be associated with intangible assets such as an attractive personality, culture, political values and institutions, and policies that are seen as legitimate or having moral authority. If a leader represents values that others want to follow, it will cost less to lead.

The information revolution and globalization are transforming and shrinking the world thus making the condition of projecting soft power transform. The information revolution is creating virtual communities and networks that cut across national borders. Trans-national corporations and nongovernmental actors will play larger roles. These organizations will have soft power of their own as they attract citizens into coalitions that cut across national boundaries. Soft power rests on the ability to shape the preferences of others.

Eastern African protracted wars and economic interdependence among other reasons will force its countries to seek other ways of influence other than hard power. Regional wars have caused problems such as; political and economic instability, the problem of refugees, corruption, terrorism among others. Countries like Rwanda, Uganda, Sudan, Somalia and DRC Congo have been affected greatly in the use of hard power. In today's Eastern Africa societies there is still unrest and volatile situations where citizens live in fear of other conflicts that will affect their lives.

It is hoped that the recommendation in this study will go along way in helping scholars, politicians and policy makers in formulating domestic and foreign policies that are attractive. Equally hoped, is that it will aid in formulating attractive leadership styles,

diplomatic practice and improving Kenya's soft power as a means to influence others international actors to achieve national goals.

1.5 Literature Review

The literature on the subject has addressed seven main themes that are associated with a country's power and influence; Demography, geography, economy, natural resources and industrial capabilities, leadership and internal organization. These factors can be used influence others either as soft power or hard power.

1.5.1 Demography

Population is a tangible element of soft power and it includes demography, distribution and the trends of that population. A state with a large number of people like India, Indonesia, China or Nigeria has potential power from the mass of its population. Regional powers attain their power predominantly from having immense populations; China in East Asia, Germany in European Union, Russia in Europe, Brazil in South America, Egypt in Middle East, North Africa and Arab world, India in South Asia and Nigeria in Africa. Population gives a country sufficient critical mass that it becomes the natural center for economic activity in the region consequently becoming a hub of communication. Brazil is a regional power with the largest state by population (183,888,841 by 2007) and area (8,514,877 km²) in South America.⁵ The country has the largest economy in the region (GDP \$1.838 trillion Purchasing Power Parity in 2007), making it the largest economy in the region and one of the largest in the world.⁶ Brazil is a member of the G8+5, a political and economic group composed of emerging economic powers and the G8. In the Arab world, Egypt's population is the largest – (80,335,036 by 2007) and the second largest in Africa after Nigeria. The country's GDP (\$431.9 billion PPP in 2007) is the third largest in the Arab

⁵ www.brazzilmag.com, www.fntg.org, 2007

⁶ CIA *World Factbook*: Brazil, 2007

world and fourth largest in Africa.⁷ Population also serves as a basis of military power. Big armies are a numerical advantage during wartime even if they are poorly trained. Egypt has the largest military in the Arab world of about half a million active army personnel.⁸ Change in the population has direct influence to the economy of a nation and hence its soft power. Population decline means a decline in manpower of a nation in comparison with its competitors. Therefore, decline of a population spells a decline of national power in the international scene.⁹

Population together with other resources such as natural resources, organization, leadership and industrial base increases a country's attractive power potential.¹⁰ China and India the two most populous countries in the world with population of 1,321,851,888¹¹ and 1,129,866,154¹² respectively, are considered growing powers compared to the United States.¹³ Large population can reduce a country's soft power if it is not in balance with resources. India has the world's second largest population yet because of its poverty (1989 per capita GNP: \$350), it spends much of its energy feeding its people¹⁴. Age distribution of a country's resources determines the productivity of the country. A country that has a large number of its population in its productive years (15-64) is considered productive. Kenya with high birth rates, 38.94 births/1,000¹⁵ population experiences economic difficulties investing in children before they reach their productive years. In contrast, Germany has

⁷ worldbank.org, 19th June 2007

⁸ www.tau.ac.il, 31st July 2007

⁹ Morgenthau Hans, *Politics among Nation: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, 5th Edition. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973) p. 132.

¹⁰ Papp S. Daniel, *Contemporary International Relation* (3rd Ed). (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1991).p 389.

¹¹ <http://geography.about.com/od/populationgeography/a/chinapopulation.htm>China Population

The population given is an estimation as of mid 2007

¹² <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/print/in.html>

The population given is an estimation as of July 2007

¹³ Shively.W.Phillips, *Power and Choice: An Introduction to Political Science*, 5th Edition. (New York: The Mc Graw-Hill Companies Inc, 1997) p 334.

¹⁴ Rourke T. John, *International Politics on The World Stage*. 4th Edition. (Connecticut: The Dushkin Publishing Group Inc, 1993) p 239.

¹⁵ <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/print/ke.html>, 2007

population growth rate -0.033%¹⁶ and experiences economic difficulties because of labor shortages and expenses in caring for the aging population.¹⁷ Population that is healthy, unified, evenly spaced, educated, loyal to the governmental authorities is likely to be more attractive than a population that is badly nourished, diseased, overcrowded, illiterate, disunited and disloyal.¹⁸ Israel is disproportionately powerful considering its small population of just 7.241 Million.¹⁹

The relation between soft power and population is determined by the country's maximization of its populace. Maximization of population potential is limited by racism, tribalism and other basis of discrimination. Blacks in USA, Catholics in Northern Ireland, Arabs in Israel, Shiites in Saudi Arabia and a host of other groups are substantially lost as a resource to their home countries. Sexism limits the full utilization of women many countries of the world. In Zaire 32% of the males aged 12-17 are enrolled in secondary school while only 16% of the equivalent females are in school.²⁰ Accordingly, it has been possible for nations with large populations to be weak but impossible for nations without large populations to be powerful.²¹

1.5.2 Geography

Geography is the most permanent position and stable factor upon which the power of a nation depends.²² National geography consists of its location, topography, size and climate. The location of a nation especially in relation to other countries determines its relations with those nations. China and Russia share a border and this affects the geopolitics of the two nations. Location comprises of natural formations which could serve as an advantage or

¹⁶ http://www.indexmundi.com/germany/population_growth_rate.html, 31st July 2007

¹⁷ *Op cit.* Rourke T. John, p 239.

¹⁸ Coloumbis Theodore & Wolfe James, *Introduction to International Relation: Power and Justice*, (New Jersey. Prentice Hall Inc. 1986). p 95.

¹⁹ http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Society_&_Culture/newpop.html, 5th September 2007

²⁰ *Op cit.* Rourke T. John, p 237.

²¹ Little Richard & Smith Michael, *Perspectives on World Politics*, 2nd Ed. (London: Routledge, 1991) p 27.

²² *Ibid*

disadvantage to its people and economy. Spain was able to avoid involvement in World Wars I & II in part because of its location, its relative isolation from the rest of Europe.²³ Great Britain being an island has always benefited from its separation from the rest of Europe by the English Channel. England's location prevented Hitler and the Nazi Germany from invading England during the World War II.²⁴ On the contrary, some countries are disadvantaged by either strategic or peripheral location in relation to their neighbors.²⁵ Germany's wide plains stretching from northern France to Russia has encountered armies that move easily on the vast land.²⁶ The position of Israel surrounded by Arab countries has always been a regional and global problem to the country since 1948.²⁷

Countries form cultures by a consciousness of common tradition and history; sharing of religion, artistic and literary roots; and informal mechanisms such as customs, ways of life and a myriad of symbols that impart specific meanings to those belonging to the entity.²⁸ European states have a strong cultural attractiveness; half of the most widely spoken languages in the world are European. European art, literature, music, design, fashion and food have long been served as global cultural magnets.²⁹ India is referred to as South Asia's natural hegemony because of its influence of the region in all aspects – political, economic, military, cultural, and demographic. India contributes 77% of South Asia's population, 75% of its GDP, 77 percent of its territory, 80% of its defense budget, and 82% of its armed forces. India is the world's most populous democracy.³⁰

²³ *Op cit.* Rourke T. John. *International Politics on The World Stage*. 4th Edition. (Connecticut. The Dushkin Publishing Group Inc. 1993)p 236.

²⁴ *Op cit.* Shively.W.Phillips. *Power and Choice: An Introduction to Political Science*, 5th Edition. (New York: The Mc Graw-Hill Companies Inc. 1997) p 334

²⁵ *Op cit.* Coloumbis Theodore & Wolfe James, *Introduction to International Relation: Power and Justice* (New Jersey: Prentice Hall Inc. 1986) p 95

²⁶ *Ibid*

²⁷ *Ibid*

²⁸ Iriye Akira, *Power and Culture: The Japanese – American War 1941 -1945*, (USA: Harvard University Press, 1981) p .vii

²⁹ Nye Joseph, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, (USA: Public Affairs, 2004) p 75.

³⁰ worldbank.org, 2007

The size of a state determines its soft power potential. Large countries are considered more attractive than small states. The immense expanse of Russia saved it from Napoleon, Kaiser Wilhelm II and Adolf Hitler. Russian armies besieged have been able to retreat into the interior and buy time with geography while they regrouped their forces. Nations' desire to have big territories has led border conflicts. Eritrean-Ethiopian border conflict with claims of several border regions including Badme, Tsorona-Zalambessa, and Bure lasted from 1998 to 2000. Other case studies are Greece-Turkey, Israel-Palestine, Northern Ireland border conflicts³¹ Border conflicts became increasingly relevant to the future of governance in the EU as the Union enlarges, making it directly involved in an increasing number of border conflicts.³²

The topography of a country is important especially during armed conflict. The Alps have helped protect Switzerland from its larger European neighbors and spared Swiss the ravages of both World Wars. The mountainous topography of Afghanistan has made it very difficult to besiege the country as it was experienced in the Soviet-Afghan War between 1978 and 1989.³³ Due to the interminable and inconclusive nature of the war, the conflict in Afghanistan has often been referred to as the Soviet equivalent of the United States' Vietnam War. Topography has been of major importance in the Middle East where such points as the Suez Canal, the Golan Heights and the Jordan River have played crucial roles. The climate of a country will either boast its attractiveness or diminish it. Tourists from Europe have always sought for sunny holiday destinations to evade the winter weather in Europe. On the other extreme, the chilling Russian winter has allied itself with Russia's geographic size to form a formidable defensive barrier.³⁴ The tropical climate of Vietnam with its heavy monsoon rains and its dense vegetation made it difficult for the US to use its superior weaponry effectively

³¹ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eritrean-Ethiopian_War, 5th September 2007

³² <http://www.euborderconf.bham.ac.uk/case/> 2007, 6th September 2007

³³ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soviet_war_in_Afghanistan, 8th August 2007

³⁴ *Op cit.* Rourke T. John, p 237

to their advantage.³⁵ Geopolitics of a nation focuses on the interrelationship of geography, power and international politics. Geopolitics has at its focal point national power and control of territory.³⁶ Geography of a nation is increasingly becoming important since environmental issues have taken the center stage in global agenda and a major determinant of a country's soft power.

1.5.3 Economy

Strong economies have been able to influence others' policies or inhibit the adoption of a policy.³⁷ Japan's policy to replace its armories with rebuilding its industries, regaining its foreign trade and reconstituting its reserves of cash and currencies become a major resource for its economic power.³⁸ The country became the first nation to be referred to as a great power because of its economy and not nuclear capacity and it was evidently more powerful than nuclear powers like Britain, France and India.³⁹ Saudi Arabia with a small army has often been able to influence other countries because it controls oil exports which are of international economic importance. Germany, until its economic problems in 1990 caused by the reunification, has had the strongest most stable economy in Europe. The country is described as a "core great regional power" in a report by the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments policy research institute.⁴⁰ It is the world's largest exporter⁴¹ and has the highest GDP in Europe.⁴² Germany central bank has dominated the European economies that and in effect set the economic policy for others countries in the region.⁴³

³⁵ *Ibid*, 2007

³⁶ Dougherty E. James & Pfaltzgraff L. Robert, Jr. *Contending Theories of International Relations (A comprehensive Survey)* 3rd Edition. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers 1990) p 58

³⁷ Reynold P.A., *An Introduction to International Relation*, 3rd edition. (London: London group UK. 1994) p.123

³⁸ Japan's policy to annihilate military power and national symbol happened in 1945.

³⁹ Calvocoressi Peter, *World politics since 1945*. 6th Edition. (London: Longman, 1991) p 71

⁴⁰ www.csbaonline.org, 8th August 2007

⁴¹ www.cia.gov, 9th August 2007

⁴² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regional_power Regional power, February 2008

⁴³ *Op cit*. Shively.W.Phillips, p 334

South Africa has enjoyed economic and political power in the entire Southern Africa region and Africa at large since 1994. Take-over of local firms and direct investment by South African companies dominate neighboring economies dependent on Pretoria for transport links and energy supplies. South Africa has the largest GDP in Africa⁴⁴ followed by Nigeria. Nigeria's economy has been boosted by its oil reserves, 10th largest oil reserves in the world and Africa's largest and the world's 12th largest producer of Crude oil. The West African country has the 10th largest Oil reserves in the world.⁴⁵ China has become the world's economic super power contributing more to global growth than the United States in 2007, the first time another country had done so since 1930s.⁴⁶ The Asian country is the world's largest consumer, eclipsing the US in consumption of food, energy and industrial commodities.⁴⁷ In the Middle East, Iran has the second largest GDP in the region.⁴⁸ Iran is the world's fourth largest producer of oil, and fifth largest exporter of oil. It has the third largest reserves of oil in the world.⁴⁹ Iran is also the sixth largest producer of natural gas, with the second largest proven reserves.⁵⁰

Economic giants have always imposed economic sanctions to other countries to influence certain outcomes. Economic sanctions have been imposed on countries like South Africa, Cuba, Iran and Zimbabwe for the purpose of changing their political, economic and social policies. Economic sanctions by world states which simultaneously closed their economies to South Africa were successful at breaking down the South African systems of apartheid.⁵¹

⁴⁴ worldbank.org, 8th September 2007

⁴⁵ www.cia.gov, 9th September 2007

⁴⁶ Hutchings Graham, *Modern China : A Companion to a rising Power*, (England: Penguin Books, 2001) p 17

⁴⁷ *Ibid*

⁴⁸ worldbank.org, 8th September 2007

⁴⁹ www.cia.gov, 9th September 2007

⁵⁰ *Ibid*

⁵¹ *Ibid*

1.5.4 Natural Resources and Industrial Capabilities

Natural resources and industrial capabilities are potential resources for attractive power. A country with natural resources and the ability to exploit them is considered attractive for investment. The size and location of a country might determine the availability and quantity of indigenous natural resources. Mobilization of human resources is necessary for exploitation of those natural resources.⁵² Variations in natural resources and industrial capabilities may crucially affect the structure of political systems, even influencing their capacity for surviving under stress. Natural resources vary in their attractiveness depending with their demand worldwide. Gold, uranium and oil are more attractive than coal, iron, coffee and rubber though all of them are essential to industrial development making a country attractive for investment. Countries with agricultural products are considered self-sufficient and are more powerful than countries that are not self-reliant. Four levels of importance attached to natural resources; possessing the resources, exploitation, control and use of the resources. Possession of natural resources does not make a country powerful unless that country is able to make, control, exploit and use those resources. A country needs economic and industrial capabilities to maximize on its natural resources.⁵³ Arab countries in the Middle East have grown rich and have been extremely courted because of their oil deposits, but they have not become superpowers like US and China. Zambia and Sudan possess rich deposits of natural resources but they have failed to exploit, control or use them.⁵⁴ Conversely, Japan imports primary products for their massive industries since the country does not possess important natural resources like oil, uranium, aluminum or nickel.⁵⁵

⁵² *Op cit.* Dougherty E. James & Pfaltzgraff L. Robert, Jr. *Contending Theories of International Relations (A Comprehensive Survey)* 3rd Edition. New York. Harper & Row, Publishers 1990. Pg59

⁵³ Little Richard & Smith Michael. *Perspectives on World Politics*. 2nd Ed. London. Routledge 1991. p 29

⁵⁴ Papp S. Daniel. *Contemporary International Relation (3rd Ed)*. New York. Macmillan Publishing Company. 1991. P389

⁵⁵ *Op cit.* Calvocoressi Peter, P. 71

Industrialization combined with population becomes an important soft power factor. Industrialization leads to increased population which in turn may make possible further industrialization. China is expected to become the most powerful nation on earth if it fully harnesses its immense population.⁵⁶

1.5.5 Leadership

The quality of a nation's leadership and the image which it projects upon the world are important sources of attractive power. Manpower or individual and military potential will not make a nation powerful unless its leadership uses these resources with maximum effect on the international scene. Leadership alone can decide how to apply its nation's resources and capabilities.⁵⁷ Leaders also influence the societal cohesion and develop strategy of the internal organization. Leadership skills and diplomacy with other nations is crucial in determining a country's soft power. Personalities like Napoleon, Churchill, Roosevelt, Stalin, Mao, Gandhi, Nixon, Kennedy and Mandela have made a deep impact on the world history. Hitler and Mussolini led their states into disastrous over reaching wars of conquest. Former Cuban president Fidel Castro and Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe have been seen as controversial leaders globally and these has affected their countries economies. China's political leaders stand out for their governing skills considering the challenges of the most populous country in the world. If a leader represents values that others want to follow, it will cost him less to lead.⁵⁸ Leadership and internal organization also determines international connections such as alliances, foreign economic and military aid especially for developing countries. These also influences leasing and granting of strategic bases to the great powers and participation in regional and universal internal organization.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ *Op cit.* Little Richard & Smith Michael, p 27

⁵⁷ *Ibid*

⁵⁸ *Op cit.* Nye Joseph, p.6.

⁵⁹ *Op cit.* Coloumbis Theodore & Wolfe James, p 95.

Internal organization including bureaucratic organization, efficiency, type of government, national character (social cohesion) is important factor of power and influence. Government pursuing dictatorship requires coercion while democracies rest on the consent and voluntary support making them more attractive. Ideology as a source of power is largely a monopoly of totalitarianism while democracies may have goals or ideas⁶⁰ making them more attractive than dictatorship. Dictatorship governments have developed highly effective means of psychological indoctrination which also includes brainwashing. This was applied to countries like Nazi Germany, fascist Italy, the Soviet Union and the communist China. Nazi Germany enjoyed the fanatic support of most Germany population before 1941.⁶¹ Democracies don't always provide greater national strength than dictatorship. The victory of Sparta over Athens is one instance where dictatorship triumphed over democracies.

The internal dynamics of state should enable it to play a stabilizing and crucial role regionally and internationally. A government should indicate and demonstrate its willingness and its capacity to assume the role of a regional and international stable leader, peacemaker or peacekeeper for it to earn attractive power.⁶² Nations should also be willing and consistent in observing the international law. National character is highly elusive making its attractiveness indefinable. Individuals acting for the nation either in peace or war, formulating, executing or supporting its policies, electing or being elected, producing and consuming - all bear a greater or lesser degree the imprint of those intellectual and moral qualities which make up the national character.⁶³ A state with a well organized and effective administrative structure utilizes its power potential fully. Social cohesion, strong civilian moral and patriotism are key attractive power factors. National morale became an immense

⁶⁰ *Op cit.* Little Richard & Smith Michael, p 34

⁶¹ *Ibid.* p 27

⁶² Nolte Detlef, *How to compare regional powers · Analytical concepts and research topics*, (Hamburg: GIGA Germany Institute of Global and Area Studies, May 2007) p.10

⁶³ *Op cit.* Morgenthau Hans, Politics, p 132.

storehouse of little Japan during the World War II and particularly when it attacked Pearl Harbor, Hawaii on the morning of Sunday, December 7, 1941.⁶⁴ National character is highly elusive – it keeps changing from time to time.

Soft power is not merely influence and persuasion but the ability to shape what others want through the attractiveness of a country's culture, political values and foreign policies.⁶⁵ The literature above discusses the tangible and intangible factors of Soft power. The literature has narrowly addressed culture and has not tackled political values and foreign policy. There is little literature on soft power influence in Africa and the Eastern Africa region. This study will attempt to fill the gaps that this literature has left by focusing on sources of Kenya's Soft power and its limitation. In particular, the study will look at Kenya's culture, foreign policies and political values as sources of its soft power. The study will serve as a case study for other countries in Africa and developing country that possess soft power capabilities.

1.6 Conceptual Framework

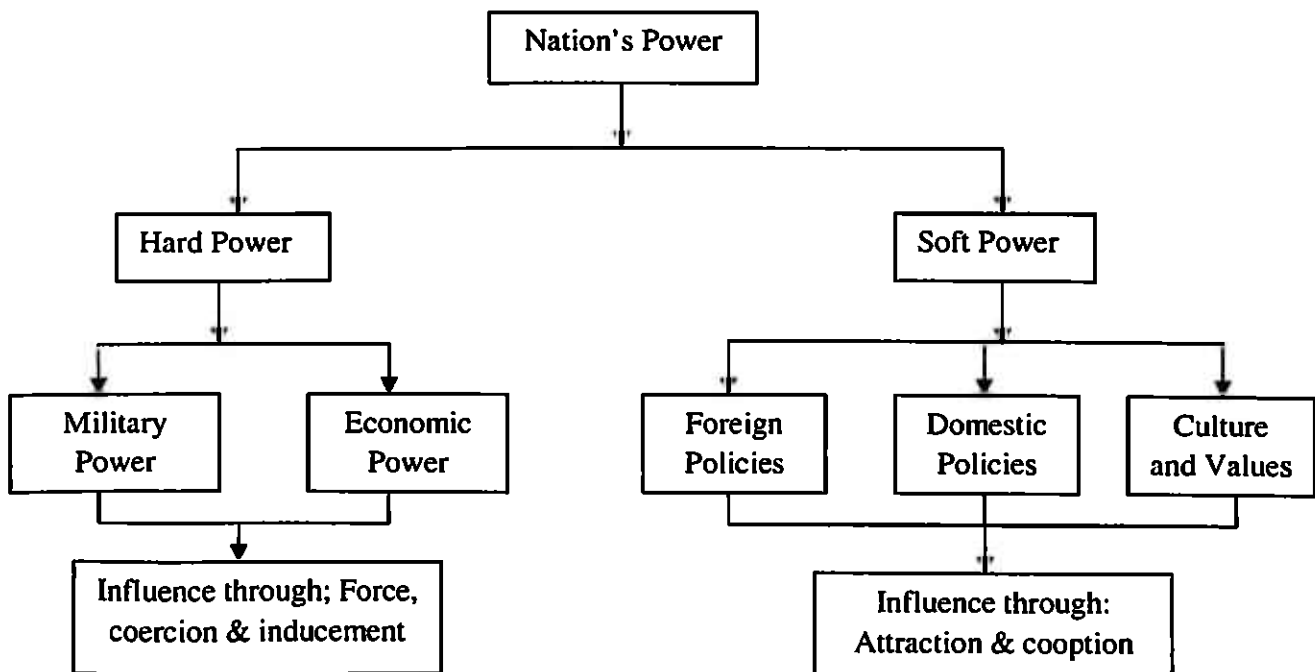
Nye has contributed to the study of foreign policy a compelling conceptual framework that is hinged on the idea that a country can employ 'soft power' rather than conventional and predominant realist instrument of 'hard military' power to influence the behavior of other states in its interests. According to Nye Soft power can be used as the means to success in the world politics today. In a world defined by information exchange and threatened by terrorism Nye suggests the ability to attract and persuade other than coerce or command.

⁶⁴ <http://www.history.navy.mil/photos/events/wwii-pac/pearlhbr/pearlhbr.htm>, February 2008

⁶⁵ *ibid.* P.6

The diagram below is a representation of a nation's hard power and soft power:

Diagram 1.1: Nation's Hard and Soft power



1.6.1 Hard Power

A nation's power can be divided into hard power which relies on possession of superior economic and military power and soft power which relies on a nation's policies and culture. The conventional and predominant realist power instrument has been the military and economical power which uses coercion with threats and inducements with payments to achieve the desired foreign policy of a nation.

Realists confront foreign policy issues in four main schools; innenpolitik theorists, offensive realists, defensive realists and neoclassical realists. Innenpolitik assumes that foreign policy is a direct outgrowth of domestic politics. Issues such as ideology, culture and economics are cited as the factors shaping states' foreign policy. Offensive realists also termed as aggressive realists argue that states seek to maximize what little security they have. Foreign policy consists of nervous states attempting for position within the world anarchic framework. Defensive realists also conceive of the system as fundamentally anarchic, but the

anarchy is more harmless. States can deal with most external threats through tweaks of the power balance; only in certain fear breeding situation or with irrational rogue states does international violence break out. Foreign policy consists of (largely peaceable) reactions to systemic factors. Neoclassical realists reject the assumption that states sole aim is security; instead, states attempt to use their power to direct the international system towards their own goals and preferences.⁶⁶

Realists agree that power politics is played by all nations be it for reasons of human nature and/or international anarchy. They contend that the process of shaping foreign policy must take advantage of international power opportunities, which remains the analytical bottom-line.⁶⁷ Realists do not concern themselves with motives and ideological preferences in one's foreign policy. They assume that a country's foreign policy must be intelligible, rational continuum, by and large consistent within itself, regardless of the different motives, preferences and intellectual and moral qualities of successive statesmen. Realism argues that the success of any foreign policy is dependent on viewing the armed forces as an instrument and not its master of foreign policy. The objective of the conduct of war and the conduct of foreign policy are to serve the national interests. They differ in their immediate objective, in the means they employ and in the modes of thought they bring to bear upon their respective tasks. The objective of war is to break the will of the enemy while the objective of foreign policy is to bend, not to break, the will of the other without hurting them. The method of foreign policy includes retreating before other nations, circumventing them, maneuvering around them, softening and dissolving them slowly by means of persuasion, negotiation and pressure.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Rose Gideon, *Neoclassical Realism and Theories of Foreign Policy*. *World Policy*. Volume 51, Issue 1 (Oct., 1998), 149

⁶⁷ Kissekka Joseph. *Globalization and Interdependence. (Africa's Responses to Globalization)* UMU. July 14th, 2002

⁶⁸ *Op cit.* Morgenthau Hans, p 590

Morgenthau advises that the conduct of foreign affairs cannot be left to the military who are bound to destroy the possibility of compromise and thus surrender the cause of peace. Nations that are conscious of the potentialities of modern war, peace must be the goal of their foreign policy. In sovereign nations, military is a necessary instrument of foreign policy but should become the master of foreign policy. Foreign policy should be conducted in a way to maintain peace. The subordination of the military under the civilian authorities is an indispensable prerequisite.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, military demonstration can be used to achieve the policy of prestige. Display of military strength is obvious measure of nation power and serves to impress others on that nation's power.

Security is a major concern and use of force is a major instrument as seen in Israel – Palestinian conflicts, the Afghanistan war and Zimbabwe.⁷⁰ In collective security, foreign policy of a nation must consider its interests in opposing the aggressor and with what power to oppose him. Governments should marshal both national public opinion and public opinion of other nations behind their domestic and foreign policies. Foreign policy is pursued not only through military might but also through diplomacy and propaganda. Morgenthau agrees with Nye that the power of nations depends not only upon the skill of its diplomacy and strength of its armed forces but also upon the attractiveness for other nations of its political philosophy, political institutions and political policies.⁷¹ Egypt's foreign policy has been influenced by geopolitics. Egypt occupies a strategic position as a land bridge between two continents and a link between two principal waterways, the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. It must therefore be strong enough to dominate its environment or risk becoming the victim of outside powers. Its security is also linked to control of the Nile, on whose waters its survival depends. It has, therefore, had historical ties with Sudan and has sought satisfactory

⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 591

⁷⁰ Kissekka Joseph. *Globalization and Interdependence. (Africa's Responses to Globalization)* UMU. July 14th, 2002

⁷¹ *Ibid.* p. 169

relations with the states on Sudan's southern borders, Uganda and Zaire. The land bridge to Asia, route of potential conquerors, had also to be secured, and Egyptian rulers traditionally tried to project their power into Syria and Arabia, often in contest with other powers in present-day Turkey, or the Euphrates River valley (present-day Iraq). In contemporary times, Israel, backed by a superpower, located on Egypt's border, and blocking its access to the East, was perceived as the greatest threat to Egyptian security. Egypt is also politically strategic and at the center of three "circles," the African, the Arab, and the Islamic. The country viewed itself as playing a major role in Africa and, beyond that, was long a leading mover in the wider Third World camp and a major advocate of neutralism and nonalignment. This geopolitical importance made the country the object of interest to the great powers, and when Egypt was strong enough, as under Nasser, allowed it to play the great powers against each other and win political support and economic and military aid from all sides. Even the weakened Egypt of Mubarak was able to play its strategic importance in the Arab Israeli conflict and as a bulwark against Islamic political activism into political support and economic aid from both the West and the Arab world.⁷²

1.6.2 Soft Power

Nye argues that the information age and propaganda has greatly influenced the characteristics of power and countries can no longer depend on hard power to achieve their foreign policy goals but also soft power through attraction and co-option. Soft power is the ability to realize outcomes through attraction rather than coercion or payments. A country's soft power is enhanced when its policies are seen to be legitimate in the eyes of others. The legitimacy of political bodies and states makes them able to influence the behavior or interests of other political bodies through cultural or ideological means. Legitimacy of a country can be achieved through a country's policies, culture and values as experienced in

⁷² The Determinants of Foreign. *Policy Egypt Table of Contents* . <http://countrystudies.us/egypt/123.htm>, 2007.

Canada, the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries as states whose political influence is greater than their hard power would permit.

Soft power is therefore about seduction and attractive leading to acquiescence often more effective than coercion.⁷³ Values like democracy and human rights, and individual opportunities are features of a country that tend to be deeply seductive. Seductive power is cheaper to the extent that it does not employ threats and inducements yet it constitutes very real and effective power.⁷⁴ The US has military and economic supremacy as did the Roman Empire, but is still unable to control some important factors and to that extent requires cooperation with other states such as in intelligence gathering and the restriction of terrorist finances. Nye has also categorized the types of behavior between command and co-option. They lie on a continuum and range along a spectrum from coercion to economic inducement, to agenda setting, to pure attraction. Soft-power resources tend to be associated with the pure attraction end of the spectrum of behavior, whereas hard power resources are usually associated with coercion behavior.⁷⁵ Table below illustrates the general association between the types of behavior and certain resources of hard and soft power:

Table 1.1 Types of behavior associated with soft and hard power

	Hard		Soft	
Spectrum of Behavior	Command ← Coercion Inducement →		Agenda Setting Attraction → Co opt	
Most Likely Resources	Force sanction	Payments bribes	Institutions	Values Culture Policies

Source: Joseph Nye's Book; *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, p 8

⁷³ Nye S. Joseph, Jr. *Soft power, the Means to Success in World politics*, (New York; Public Affairs, 2004) p.6

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* p.7. In contrast, 'hard power' is the ability to change what others do through coercion or inducement. Military and economic capabilities are important features of the power of a country but are not able to sufficiently achieve the objectives of the country. The writer argues that the role of Military power has changed in the 21st century due to science and technology.

⁷⁵ *Ibid* p.8

A country's soft power depends on its culture, its political values and its foreign policy.⁷⁶ If a country's culture and ideology are attractive, others more willingly follow. The country that shapes international rules to be consistent with its interests, values and its actions will more likely appear legitimate in the eyes of others. Culture that is universal rather than narrowly parochial is a significant source of soft power. The US has always wielded significant soft power due to its ability to inspire the dreams and desires of others through its culture. The strengthening of legal systems in such nations as China is inspired by Hollywood films. Soft power should be appropriately employed for it to accomplish the desired outcome as cultural features may be attractiveness various from one country to another. Internal policies hinged on promotion of human rights, transparency and democracy can enhance a country's influence.

Personal contacts through tourists and business people are another important channel for soft power. The half million foreign students studying in the US is a powerful resource.⁷⁷ Most of China's leaders have a son or daughter educated in the States who can portray a realistic view of the United States that is often at odds with the caricatures in official propaganda. Soft power's limitation depends more than hard power upon the existence of willing interpreters and receivers. Soft power is not controlled by government in democracies like the US. The US government cannot censor the libertine attitudes and sexuality displayed in Hollywood movies that offend Islamic nations.⁷⁸ However, this uncensored exuberance is precisely the source of the inherent attractiveness of US culture. Conversely, the continued support for Israel is the most costly policy for US soft power in the Muslim world and undermines US soft power in the Arab world despite the country's efforts.

⁷⁶ *Ibid* p.11

⁷⁷ *Ibid* p.33. 'Nye states that 'of the 1.6 million students enrolled in universities outside their countries, 28 percent are in the United States, compared to the 14 percent who study in Britain. More than 86,000 foreign scholars were in residence at American educational institutions in 2002.

⁷⁸ *Ibid* p.52

Nye points out that applicability to specific goals usually depends on hard power, while the most important influences in achieving general goals are often soft power influences. While attractive power is necessary in democracies hard power is required to deter attack, police borders and defend allies. Soft power is volatile because it depends on public perceptions which can change quickly owing to globalization. Nations that derive substantial benefits from international commerce have powerful reasons to prefer globalization and peace. Nye reviews the familiar characteristics of modern technology that facilitate terrorism. Terrorism depends on its ability to attract support from the crowd at least as much as its ability to destroy the enemy's will to fight. The soft power costs of the Iraq war are reviewed by Nye, along with the real hard power impacts of those costs.

1.6.3 Wielding Soft Power

Soft power is more difficult to wield than hard power as it depends heavily on acceptance by the receiving audiences. Moreover, soft-power resources often work indirectly by shaping the environment for policy, and sometimes take years to produce desired outcomes.⁷⁹ Nye provides some prominent examples of historic propaganda campaigns by European powers and the US. In the US, there were constant disputes over the comparative effectiveness of mass media propaganda and cultural diplomacy such as art, books and cultural exchanges aimed at elites. There was a constant tension between independence and government control of information dissemination programs - between objectivity and the achievement of special purposes. The advent of information technology and the spread of democracy - over half the world's nations are now democracies - have greatly increased the scope for soft power public diplomacy. There has been a vast increase in the sources of advocacy information. Amid this cacophony, the ability to command attention and maintain

⁷⁹ *Ibid* p. 99. It is easier to use military power (such as threats and fight) and economic power (freeze foreign bank accounts, use of bribes or aid, economic sanction) with skill and luck to achieve desired outcomes within a reasonable time than to use soft power.

credibility is vital. Propaganda battles are constantly being waged over credibility.⁸⁰ The lack of coherence between the government and private entities is as disturbing as the limits of US public diplomacy. Agencies dedicated to coordinating government efforts and encouraging and coordinating private efforts are needed. Editors and other "cue givers" are also valuable elites if people rely on them to determine where to focus their attention. With the vast increase in the sources of news, increasingly the soft power may prove more effective than the hard power.

Public diplomacy involves building long-term relationships that create an enabling environment for government policies. Daily communications that explain the context of domestic and foreign policy, choosing and developing a set of simple themes, development and maintenance of elite relationships are important for Public diplomacy. Nye advises that scholarships, cultural exchanges, seminars, training, conferences, and access to media channels, should be encouraged and appreciated for they can have lasting impacts. Effective communication calls for attentive listening and understanding of the audience so that one can sensitively adjust the message and related policies. Successful strategy would need to focus not merely on broadcasting American messages but on two-way communications that engage more of the non-governmental dimensions of society. Nye goes at some length into the varied and proliferating channels available for public diplomacy. Such channels include businesses, NGOs, foundations, ethnic diasporas, and various democratic political parties. The fact that they are not completely controllable can actually increase their effectiveness. The internet provides an opportunity for narrow-casting - communications targeted at elites - sometimes despite efforts of governments to block them. Physical meetings supplemented by internet communications can create virtual communities of interest.⁸¹

⁸⁰ *Ibid* p.101

⁸¹ *Ibid.* p 105 -118

Democracy is an important ideological counter to militant religious extremists as was experienced in Japan or South Korea. However, democracy can fail when it is imposed forcing the need for appropriate civil and government institutions. The key to achieving goals lie in policies that open regional economies, reduce bureaucratic controls, speed economic growth, improve educational systems, and encourage the types of gradual political changes that are taking place in small countries like Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman, and Morocco. Nye's recommendations also include building more libraries and information centers, translating more Western books into Arabic, increasing scholarships for Arabic students, upgrading the US internet presence in Arabic, and training more Arabic speakers and public relations specialists.⁸²

1.6.4 American Foreign Policy and Soft Power

The US contained the Soviet Union and emerged victorious employing a combination of hard and soft power factors during the cold war. These were powerfully reinforced by the Soviet Union's primary soft power liability - a widespread perception of it as a mortal threat to the Western world. The terrorists also pose a widespread threat that is inducing widespread cooperation against them. In any nation where the Islamic radicals gain significant public support - as they have in Iraq - harsh measures may be required to defeat them. Nye advises that as in the Cold War, the US will have to continue to support governments involved in such conflicts. The US will have to show as much skill in the future in wielding its soft power as it has shown in the past in wielding its hard power to win the war on terrorism. The widespread unpopularity of the US greatly reduces the assistance that the US can provide the

⁸² *Ibid.* p 118-119. 'The middle East has presented a great challenge for American soft power and public diplomacy. It is the home to terrorist groups and has not responded well both to modernization and democracy. Even though half the world countries are democracies none of the 22 Arab countries had demonstrated any democratic values by 2000.'

moderates in this conflict.⁸³ Other states will cooperate up to a point out of mere self interest, but their degree of cooperation is also affected by the attractiveness of the United States.

Nye confronts the misuse of the term 'Empire' in referring to the status of the US in international relations. He argues that there is no appearance of US imperial dominance in the world of transnational relations, or even of economic commerce. The US may be the predominant military power, but EU and China now pose an equivalent power economically, and the world of transnational actors has no particular actor with preponderant power. The US can militarily remove a tyrant, but the cost may include an increased flow of recruits for Islamic terrorists.

Nye points that the US has willfully ignored the realities of the modern age and will lose if it looks at power narrowly in the light of military and economic power. He advises that Soft power must be reflected in the US foreign policy and public diplomacy otherwise America's next generation's will be lost to anti-Americanism and radical politics.

1.6.5 Soft Power and other Theories

Soft power works in tandem with other international relations theories such as interdependence and liberalism theories. Interdependence theory argues that there is hardly any territory on the globe whose inhabitants are not involved in some transactions and mostly structural links with persons and organizations in other territories. Resources of interdependence such as trade, finance, business recreation, students, scientists, fashion and music supported by structural links such as airlines, railroads, hotels, banks and communication channel flow across national boundaries. These interdependent structures have grown a great deal and hence the interdependence of the world has grown. Interdependence among states' forces influences the designing of their foreign policies.

⁸³ *Ibid.* p 127- 134. The writer advises that ignoring soft power at the expense and arrogance of the US being a super power might be lead to the decline of US influence abroad and other countries.

Commodities supplied from a few countries but in great demand elsewhere, such as oil, various metals, jet planes, and other specialized technology are objects of international trade, as well as international conflicts. Nations have been forced to align their foreign policies to accommodate interdependence and globalization. Environmental degradation has become a global concern and calls for a global effort from nations to take a stand on matters such as air pollution and soil conservation.

The range of international interdependence has increased leading to regional integration. Regional integration such as European Union and East African Community give a region a better bargaining power in the global market as opposed to a single nation trading globally. Economic power from a single market offers gains from greater specialization in a wider division of labour and often a better utilization of the comparative advantages of each region or population group. ⁸⁴Governments are forced to respond to a variety of other countries' objectives and actions in changing conditions and trends in the international system as a whole or in some of its regions to form their own foreign policies. Long range plans, such as the demands for creating international trade regime or regional markets are in response to the process of globalization. The objectives and actions of others set an agenda of foreign policy problems between governments. The type of response whether conciliatory or threatening will be stimuli for others' foreign policy action. Thus foreign policy actions tend to be reciprocal.

Economic interdependence and dependence has forced governments to adapt their domestic and foreign policies to economic trends. Global economic trends including higher fuel costs, high interest rates, unemployment and depletion of some raw materials compel governments to react in some manner. Countries that are most dependant suffer the most and have the least capacity to change or manage their systems. These trends create foreign policy

⁸⁴ *Op cit.* Deutsch W. Karl, p 289

problems but governments respond on national needs, bureaucratic practices, public opinion moods and political prioritize of a leader. The influence of system structure on foreign policy objectives and actions is also prominent when the structure is undergoing fundamental changes for example the decline of bloc cohesiveness or the rise of new powerful states.⁸⁵ Nigerian federal military government of 1989 summarized the priorities of its foreign policy with external factors; the abolition of apartheid in South Africa; the enhancement of Nigeria's relations with member countries of the European Economic Community (EEC), the United States, the Soviet Union, and with other major industrialized countries to increase the flow of foreign investments and capital into Nigeria; and continued support for international organizations, such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Organization of African Unity (OAU), and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). The Babangida Administration also insisted on relations with other African states to constitute Nigerian foreign policy.⁸⁶

Global issues such as environmental degradation have forced nations to adopt policies that address those issues. The impact of industrialization on the environment cannot be ignored anymore. The depletion of the ozone layer, increase in carbon dioxide in the atmosphere that causes global warming, earth quakes and tsunamis affects the population of the world. These and other external forces are calling for individual and collective decisions which affect the foreign policy of nations. The impact of interdependence on state objectives and instruments, prevalent international processes and actors play is clear on a nation foreign policy, its processes and strategies.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ *op cit.* Coulombus Theodore & Wolfe James, p. 350

⁸⁶ www.country-studies.com/nigeria/foreign-relations.html, March 2008

⁸⁷ Sundelius Bengt. *Interdependence and Foreign Policy*. Institute of International Studies, Bradley University, Illinois. *Cooperation and Conflict*, XV, 1980, 187-208.

Liberalism theory is the ability of the members of a society to develop their individual capacities to the fullest extent. This requires that those people be maximally responsible for their action. Liberalism is supported by democracy since people are free to make their own decisions and mistakes. Unlike realists, liberalism view power as a bad thing that should be limited as much as possible. Politics should properly consist of public choices in the making of which each person shares equally.⁸⁸ Liberals believe that there is no opposition between domestic policy and foreign policy. Liberalism is a world-embracing political concept and the same ideas that it seeks to realize within a limited area it holds to be valid also for the larger sphere of world politics. Thus, if internal affairs of a sovereign state like Zimbabwe include human rights violation and dictatorship tendencies then it should concern the global population.⁸⁹

The distinction between domestic and foreign policy is solely for purposes of convenience and classification, to subdivide the vast domain of political problems into major types. The goal of the domestic policy of liberalism is the same as that of its foreign policy: Peace.⁹⁰ It aims at peaceful cooperation just as much between nations as within each nation. The starting point of liberal thought is the recognition of the value and importance of human cooperation, and the whole policy and program of liberalism is designed to serve the purpose of maintaining the existing state of mutual cooperation among the members of the human race and of extending it still further. The ultimate ideal envisioned by liberalism is the perfect cooperation of all mankind, taking place peacefully and without friction. Liberal thinking always has the whole of humanity in view and not just parts. It does not stop at limited groups; it does not end at the border of the village, of the province, of the nation, or of the continent. Its thinking is cosmopolitan and ecumenical: it takes in all men and the whole

⁸⁸ *op cit.* Shively Philips, p 51

⁸⁹ *ibid.* p. 325

⁹⁰ <http://mises.org/liberal/ch3sec1.asp> . *The Boundaries of the State Liberal Foreign Policy.* 2007

world. Liberalism is, in this sense, humanism; and the liberal, a citizen of the world, a cosmopolite.⁹¹ Nations that were colonized seem to adopt the principles of liberalism at independence. The foreign policy of democratic South Africa emphasizes human rights and democracy considering the country's experience of apartheid. The foreign policy recognizes that the destiny of South Africa lies with cooperation with Africa, and southern Africa in particular, but will cooperate in the sphere, not dominate it. Principally, it tries to help end the terrible economic crisis that is afflicting the country and integrate itself into the global economy.⁹²

1.7 HYPOTHESIS

In investigating this problem, we shall essentially operate on the basis of one hypothesis of which this investigation should bear out:

Kenya's overriding foreign policy influence in the Eastern Africa region is due to its relatively strong soft power.

In this hypothesis soft power is the independent variable while the dependent variable is Kenya's foreign policy. The study proceeds on the presumption that Kenya is a regional super power. The assumption is that Kenya possesses soft power that enables the country to have a big brother status in the region. The country's soft power status is the means of realization of regional interests. Kenya's internal decision and actions determines her soft power status and capabilities. In turn, these actions determine the country's image and how others perceive it. Kenya's soft power is measured by the perceptions of others in the region including the public opinion of those countries, the elite and case studies. Soft power is more than influence; it is attraction that leads to compliance. Kenya's soft power is determined by

⁹¹ *ibid*

⁹² <http://www.foreignaffairs.org/19931201faessay5221/nelson-mandela/south-africa-s-future-foreign-policy.html>, February 2008

her ability to shape the preferences of others. The ability to establish preferences tends to be associated with intangible assets such as an attractive personality, culture, political values and institutions, and policies that are seen as legitimate or having moral authority.

1.8 METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

The main objective of this study is to investigate Kenya's soft power sources that make the country influential in the Eastern Africa region. The study also focuses on the factors that limit Kenya's soft power status. This study will rely on data from both primary and secondary sources.

1.8.1 Primary Data

Primary data is divided into two: the official documentary sources and interviews. The official documents include speeches by Kenya's ministers of foreign affairs especially where they portray Kenya's foreign policy on the Eastern Africa countries. The study will examine whether the country's foreign policy is legitimate and has moral authority or is it hypocritical, arrogant and indifferent to the opinion of others in the region.

East Africa Community reports and publications provide information on the relations of the member countries. They offer comparative analysis on different sectors of the member countries such as development, education and agriculture. This statistics are crucial in analyzing Kenya's special position in the region. In addition, IGAD reports and annual magazine provides data on the role of Kenya in the region. In particular, Kenya's role in mediation of regional conflicts especially the Sudan conflict. The Naivasha accord and Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) provides for Kenya's role in the Sudan peace agreement. UN agencies such as United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP), United Nations Commission for Human Settlement (UN HABITAT) and United Nations Human Commissions for Refuges UNHCR will contribute environmental and social statistics of the

regional countries. United Nations also provides quality-of-life index of countries, which includes income, education, health care and life expectancy. Annual trade reports reveal Kenya's market and trading relations in the region. They also reveal trading statistics on imports and exports volumes and annual trading patterns of Eastern Africa countries. Documents and Speeches from presidents and ministers of neighboring countries on Kenya provide an important primary source. These documents together with their foreign policy on Kenya expose their response to Kenya's objectives and actions in the region.

Political and economic journals offer current and detailed information on daily affairs of the countries in the region. This information includes politics, economics, agriculture, cultural practices and sports. Annual economic surveys provide for Kenya's annual growth rate and its effect on the country's GNP. Trade agreements and pacts between Kenya and other regional countries reveal the kind of trade (bilateral or multilateral) and the part that Kenya plays in those pacts. The type of product exported and imported is also compared across trading countries. Government documents on domestic policies will either reinforce or squander the country's soft power. The policies also provide for Kenya's potential soft power sources especially if they are universal and are admired by others.

Interviews will be conducted on officials and non officials of government ministries, Kenyans and foreigners. They will seek to establish the country's role in the region, its reputation and attractiveness. Clerks from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of East African Community and Ministry of Regional Development Authorities will provide facts of Kenya's objectives and actions in the region. They will also offer information on the current regional relation between Kenya and its regional neighbors. Former ministers in the ministries of foreign affairs will give a personal experience of their perspective on Kenya's reputation and attractiveness. The ministers will comment on Kenya's soft power sources and factors that have limited the country's attractiveness. Neighboring country ambassadors

serving in Kenya will offer an audience perspective of Kenya's soft power. The envoys perspective is important since Kenya's soft power is determined mostly by the Eastern Africa audiences. The ambassadors will provide a comparison analysis of Kenya and their countries. Kenya's reputation and attractiveness will also be tested by foreigners especially those from IGAD countries. They will provide a unique perspective and their experiences of living in the country. Foreigners living in Kenya will authenticate Kenya's attractiveness. The interview will seek to understand the motive of foreigners investing in Kenya. Foreign investors will provide the study with their experiences in investing in Kenya. Refugees and asylum seekers in Kenya will also constitute the interviewees. Refugees and asylum seekers in Kenya together with officials from UNHCR will substantiate why Kenya is the most preferred haven for refugees in the region. NGO officials particularly those operating in the region will comprise the interviewees. They will provide regional statistics that give Kenya special status.

1.8.2 Secondary Data

The study will also utilize secondary data. Publications and library research consists of relevant literature such as books, reports, articles, journals (print and electronic) and internet sources on the subject matter. Publication will give a historic perspective on Kenya's attractive power. They will supply the study with the three primary resources of a country's soft power; culture, political values and foreign policy. Information on Kenya's attractive culture whether it is high culture (art, literature and education) which appeals to the elites or popular culture such as athletics, which focuses on mass entertainment will be provided.⁹³ Books will also provide data on the values that the government has been championing at home such as democracy. They will also give the values it has been championing in

⁹³ *op cit.* Nye S. Joseph, Jr, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, (New York; PublicAffairs, 2004) p. 11

international institutions and in foreign policy. In addition, they will provide data on the values that limit Kenya's special status such as corruption, ethnic violence and human rights violations. Publications also offer facts on the country's attractive domestic policies, whether they are political, economical or social.

The internet will reinforce the publications with current statistics and figures of the region. They will also provide data on factors that limit the country's position in the region such as the 2007 post election violence. Patterns of Kenya's social indices such as the number of immigrants the country attracts are provided in the internet, UN reports and annual journal. Reports, articles and journals will provide regional information on the role of Kenya in IGAD and EAC. Data on mediation, peace keeping efforts and other leadership positions that Kenya has assumed will be provided. Journals on economic survey will provide data on economic position of the country in the region.

1.8.3 Data Analysis

The formulation of the important questions that each chapter and sub topics need to answer will guide the process of data analysis. This will facilitate the use of appropriate data in any given topic of the study. The questions will guide in extracting useful information from primary and secondary data and reveal significant patterns which comprise the final study. Generally, the data will be measured upon three main resources of a country's soft power: Firstly, Kenya's culture, in places where it is attractive regionally. Secondly, Kenya's political values, when it lives up to them at home and abroad and lastly, Kenya's foreign policy, when they are seen as legitimate and having morals authority.⁹⁴ The findings will be analyzed and put in academic perspective in tandem with the research topic.

⁹⁴ *ibid*

1.9 Chapter Summary

Chapter one introduces Kenya's soft power background in the Eastern Africa region. The chapter explores the global soft power theory and raises the gaps in the theoretical and conceptual framework. Through this, it justifies and establishes the hypothesis of the study and sets the necessary objectives to guide the study.

Chapter two provides a historical background of Kenya's soft power position. The chapter covers the period of the colonial days and the effect of colonization on the current attractive Kenya's attractive power. The chapter also analysis the post colonial epoch with emphasis on the leadership of Kenya's three presidents and their contribution to the country's unique position in the region.

Chapter three investigates Kenya's sources of soft power in the Eastern Africa region. In particular, the study points out the main sources of Kenya's attractiveness which include Kenya's economy, Kenya's foreign policy and other domestic policies, tourism and cultural practices. The country has many other minor resources of soft power which the chapter has addressed.

Chapter four is dedicated to the findings of the study. These findings are informed by the preceding chapters especially chapter three. This chapter will also highlight some factors that challenge the country's soft power position reducing the country special position. They include poor governance especially Kenya's poor corruption record in the region, insecurity, terrorism and human rights violations.

Chapter five provides the conclusion and the recommendation of the study. The recommendations of the study are focused on how to improve the country's soft power in the region in respect to the global changes.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF SOFT POWER

2.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to trace the concept of Soft power globally and subsequently focus on Eastern African region. Countries wield different measures of soft power depending with the nation's potential resources and the ability to maximize those resources and influence others to achieve national goals. The chapter will generally focus on United States soft power and other countries soft power but specifically trace Kenya's influence over the foreign policy decisions and actions of neighbouring countries in the Eastern African region. This chapter will begin with the events of pre independence Kenya that have largely informed the soft power history of Kenya.

European occupation in agricultural sector was considerably bigger in Kenya than other East Africa countries. The country was more favored than its neighbors in terms of physical and economic infrastructure since it inherited an elaborate infrastructure from the outgoing colonial system. Kenya benefited from the colonial government's desire to improve basic infrastructure for the benefit of European farming and commercial activities. In addition, the post World War II era had witnessed an upsurge in the development of industrial activity with Uganda and Tanzania rapidly falling behind. Consequently, the independence policy Kenya adopted maintained the country's leading economic position in East Africa and also reduced European and Asian dominance in favor of increased African participation. The process of introducing the Africans into the economy was carefully undertaken since majority of Africans were unqualified to replace the European and Asian counterparts. President Kenyatta had warned the Kenyans on the day of independence that *uhuru* (freedom) would

mean hard work, '*uhuru na kazi*' (freedom and work).⁹⁵ Kenya had practically become the peripheral centre of the East Africa region by the end of 1950s, exporting more manufactured products to her neighbors while importing substantial quantities of raw material from them. The resultant terms of trade were overwhelmingly in favor of Kenya and most disadvantageous to Uganda and Tanzania which lost heavily as a consequence. Since the 68 years of British rule over Kenya, the country has enjoyed a big brother status in the Eastern Africa region. Kenya of all the East African territories was destined by its climate and rich agricultural land to bear the greatest weight of European settlement and rule.

This chapter is concerned with establishing the genesis of the country's soft power position in the region. It begins by discussing the soft power capabilities of other countries and actors then covers the pre and post colonial epoch including the period served by the three Kenyan presidents; Jomo Kenyatta, Daniel Moi and Mwai Kibaki.

2.2 Sources of America's Soft Power

Nye has given considerable more attention to American's soft power compared to other countries.⁹⁶ The US sources of power can be attributed to its culture, domestic values and policies and foreign policy. The massive economic strength provides not only the hard power of money and material resources but has also bolstered the country's soft power influence. Immigration flows, Hollywood films, multinational corporations, foreign students, books, music, internet websites, Nobel laureates, scientific achievements - all are sources of attraction and influence for the US.⁹⁷ Though the US gives the least proportionately in development assistance compared to other European countries, it still enjoys significant soft power globally.

⁹⁵ Kenyatta Jomo, *Suffering without Bitterness*, (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1961, reprinted 1987) p 216.

⁹⁶ Nye S. Joseph, Jr. *Soft power, the Means to Success in World politics*, (New York; Public Affairs, 2004) p.33

⁹⁷ *ibid*

Global culture flows into the US and if successful there, it is repackaged and commercialized for the rest of the world. America's pop culture resonates widely with the majority of the people across the continent. In the cold war era, the military power and political promise were of importance in setting the foundation for American success in Europe, but it was its economic and cultural attraction that majorly influenced the people of Western Europe.⁹⁸

Liberal immigration policies that have attracted tourist, immigrants and students from abroad who can envisage themselves as Americans has been a great boast to US soft power. Moreover, connections of individuals in the diasporas such as Indian and Chinese with their countries of origin help to spread the US culture and hence strengthen its soft power. The substance and style of domestic policies has an impact on foreign perceptions. Policies that are based on broadly shared values are more likely to be attractive to foreigners and also attract cooperation. Federalism, democracy and open markets were the widely shared values upon which the Cold War alliances were built. Shared values such as international order, control of weapons of mass destruction, inhibiting terrorism and illicit drugs, and promoting trade, economic growth and environmental causes are attractive in the 21st Century.

The decline of US soft power has been dictated by a number of foreign policy decisions and actions that range from: The 1956 Suez Canal crisis, the Vietnam War period, the deployment of intermediate-range nuclear weapons in Germany in the early 1980s, the second Gulf War, to the support of Israel, and physical mistreatment of prisoners in the war on terror as some of the factors that are undermining US soft power. The image of the United States and its attractiveness to others is a composite of many different ideas and attitudes. It depends in part on culture, in part on domestic policies and values, and in part on the substance, tactics

⁹⁸ Reinhold Wagnleitner, *The Empire of Fun, or Talkin' Soviet Union Blues: The sound of Freedom and US Cultural Hegemony in Europe*, *Diplomacy History* 23 (summer 1999), p. 515

and style of our foreign policies. Policy substance and style are the most volatile and the most susceptible to the US government control. Soft power is dynamic and its resources change with the changing context.⁹⁹

2.3 Experiences of Other's Soft Power

Regional bodies, countries and non state actors possess enormous soft power resources and have used them effectively to achieve foreign policy goals. European art, literature, music, design, fashion, sports and food have long served as global cultural magnets. European states have a strong cultural attractiveness: they have won numerous Nobel prizes, France tourism ranks high globally, Britain and Germany attract the most applications for political asylum, half of the ten most widely spoken languages in the world are European¹⁰⁰. European countries also pride of attractive domestic policy that inform their stable economies in which governments play a greater role than America. European nations also gain credibility from its foreign policies that address global climate change, international law, and human rights treaties.¹⁰¹ The European Union soft power has been used to attract countries outside Europe and has been used to create synergy among members to meet EU requirements.

Asian ancient culture¹⁰² has also had a strong impact on other parts of the world. Japan has more soft power resources than any other Asian country; first in the world in number of patents, third in international air travel, second in book sales and music sales, second in number of internet hosts, second in high tech exports, first in development

⁹⁹ Nye S. Joseph, Jr. *Soft power, the Means to Success in World politics*, (New York; Public Affairs, 2004) p.55-68

¹⁰⁰ Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Factbook*, available online at: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/fields/2098.html>. The five most widely spoken European languages are English, Spanish, Portuguese, Russian and German. 26th March 2008

¹⁰¹ Nye S. Joseph, Jr. *Soft power, the Means to Success in World politics*, (New York; Public Affairs, 2004) p.80

¹⁰² Culture includes tradition, arts, designs, cuisine and the way of life

assistance and first for life expectancy.¹⁰³ Rapid economic growth in countries like china, Japan and the Asian tigers has increased both hard and soft power of those countries.¹⁰⁴ While culture and economy have help helped increase Asian countries attractiveness domestic policies and values have set limits. The communist China has been perceived to be dictatorial, infringing intellectual freedom and resisting outside influences. India benefits from democratic politics but still suffers from overly bureaucratic governments and together with china have a reputation for major corruption in government.¹⁰⁵ Other smaller countries in Asia such as Thailand and South Korea attract others through their economic and democratic progress.

Smaller nations and non-state actors similar to NGO's frequently wield soft power effectively enough to achieve objectives beyond their hard power capabilities. Each country in the world possesses soft power capabilities and can use it to achieve foreign policy goals in international relations. The information and communications technology revolution provides a platform for both small nations and non state actors to successfully achieve their goals. Mainstream media and internet has enabled non state actors and other groups to gain financial backing and public support, cohesion, influence and shame corporations with business malpractices.¹⁰⁶

2.4 Kenya's Colonial Era

Kenya's evolution as a nation state was effected by the metropolitan power through the British dependency from 1895 to 1963.¹⁰⁷ The primary means by which the British ruled Kenya was through the Foreign Office from (1895 to1905) and the Colonial office from 1905

¹⁰³ Economist Books, pocket World in Figures 2003 (London: Profile Books, 2003), p. 76,91

¹⁰⁴ Asia Development Bank, *Emerging Asia* (Manila: Asian Development Bank, 1997) p.11 - The bank speculates that Asia could return to its historical levels by 2025

¹⁰⁵ Nye S. Joseph, Jr. *Soft power, the Means to Success in World politics*, (New York; Public Affairs, 2004) p.89

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid* 90

¹⁰⁸ Ogot B.A & Ochieng W.R, *Kenya: The Making of a Naition1895-1995.*(Maseno :IRPS, 2000) p 33.

to 1963. Two important policies guided the metropolitan authorities while exercising their supervisory role until the 1950s; First, was the policy of maintenance of law, order and stability where they sought to create a quiet state free from political turmoil or revolts and no controversy that would attract negative criticism of the empire in parliament or among the British public. The second important policy aim was economic policy.¹⁰⁸ Britain hoped to benefit economically from Kenya but also sought to try to make the colony pay by balancing metropolitan interests and those of the indigenous groups. The metropolis also adopted the position of supervisor on behalf of the indigenous population of Kenya. The period of Foreign Office control, 1895-1905, London reviewed Kenya as significant only in that it provided route to Uganda. This period was marked by the building of Uganda railway to Lake Victoria. Colonial office shifted its attention from closer union and African dominancy to the economic survival of Kenya that had been hit hard by the impact of the great depression and World War II, but it endangered great challenges for the Colonial Office as far as Kenya was concerned. Officials of the Colonial Office as well as Kenya's governor, Sir Henry Moore seriously considered handing over control of Kenya to the settler minority.

The extensive Eastern province in Uganda, which contained a large portion of fertile highlands and the populated African areas around the Eastern shores of Lake Victoria were transferred to Kenya in April 1902. This was apparently done to place the Ugandan railway under a single administration but it brought nearly all the area suitable for colonization under one colonial government.¹⁰⁹ The shape of the East Africa protectorate was fundamentally altered by the addition the present Kisumu & Naivasha Provinces to the future Kenya.¹¹⁰ Kenya was forced to live in multicultural and multiethnic societies that would encourage diversity and interaction, promote the coexistence of communities with multiple identities,

¹⁰⁸ *ibid*

¹¹⁰ Lineberry P. William (ed). *East Africa*. Volume 40. No. 2. (New York: The H.W. Wilson Company, 1968). p 36.

¹¹¹ *Op cit* Ogot B.A & Ochieng W.R, p.25

protect minorities and emphasize intercultural dialogue and tolerance. Legislative Council was created in 1907, and the status of Crown Colony granted soon after the First World War. Eliud Mathu was nominated to the Legislative Council, the 1st African in any of 3 mainland territories to be so appointed in 1944. Kenya was unique in British East Africa in having had even before 1939, some overt African political activity directed towards the center of power. As early as 1929 an African political body, The Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), had put forward a demand for an eventual African majority on the legislative council.¹¹¹ Kenya's lead in political progress was maintained during and after the Second World War.¹¹²

Kenya was a country where technically ideal solutions were devised and tried out on a wide range of problems. For instance, the revolution in land tenure was launched in 1955 which in the space of a few years literally changed the face of countryside in the richer and more densely peopled areas. The agricultural department came up with a policy for fertile areas of Kenya dominated by white settlers based on controlled development of scientific mixed farming. A more durable factor in Kenya's prosperity was the country's rise during the 1950's to a position of economic dominance within the East African common market. Kenya's high-grade food surpluses, her favorable geographical position in relation to her neighbors and the large and enterprising non-African community meant that East Africa's commercial and financial services became increasingly to be centered in Nairobi and most secondary industry also came to be based in Kenya.¹¹³ The country raised nearly US \$8 million through long term public loans, which was a notable achievement between 1948 and 1960¹¹⁴ and followed by the lift of over 600 Kenyan students to the US between 1959 and

¹¹²Low D.A. & Smith Alison. History of East Africa. Volume 3. London. Clarendon Press. Oxford. 1976. P. 110

¹¹³Bell C.R.V. The Road to Independence. (A certificate History of East Africa. Nairobi: Longmans. 1964. P. 203

¹¹⁴*Op cit.* Low D.A. & Smith Alison, P. 256

¹¹⁴ *ibid.* p 285.

1961 which was based on Kenyan developmental priorities and objectives.¹¹⁵ Kenya's economic performance had attained an average annual growth rate of 6.4% by the 1960's. This performance was attributed to the adoption of an economic strategy that anticipated most of the key ingredients in the World Bank's currency recipe for high economic growth. This expansion which occurred in areas of commerce and industry was foreign owned and controlled. The country's increasing dependence on western countries was depicted in Kenya's trading patterns where Kenya trades more with the western industrialized countries than the rest of the world.

Elementary industrial activities were more intensively developed in Kenya than in any other part of tropical Africa except southern Rhodesia by 1960. The expansion of Kenya's industrial activity at this time was primarily to meet the needs of its domestic economy. Kenya emerged from the Second World War in a strong budgetary position and with a comfortable balance on general revenue account. In consequence, it developed the most sophisticated economy and it was compelled to wage the bitterest battle for democratic self government.¹¹⁶ The British built up Nairobi to be a center of East African, trade, and transportation with up to 50 flights a week in and out of Nairobi by 1963. White Settler farms and plantations produced most of the country's exports and the greater part of its marketed food supplies, while they were prominent perhaps dominant in commerce, industry and the professions this also attracted overseas capital and skills in 1960's. The benefits of this influx were felt in many ways: more intensive development of the mixed farming areas of the highlands; capital for the expansion of the plantation industries (particularly tea); the establishment of subsidiaries by British manufacturing companies; the development of the resources and facilities of Nairobi. The result of the settlers' presence was that economic

¹¹⁵ R.S. Singer (ed), *A partnership: Ushirikiano*, A publication of USAID/Kenya. (Nairobi: Executive Printing works, 1988). p 4.

¹¹⁶ Hughes A.J. *East Africa; Kenya, Tanzania & Uganda*. (US: Baltimore Penguin Books, 1969). p 85.

opportunities tend to be exploited more quickly in Kenya than in many other small African countries.¹¹⁷ Kenya became the food-producing center not only for East Africa but for other African countries and parts of the Middle East as well. The table below shows the proportion of the total value of the trade within East Africa contributed by each of the 3 countries concerned.

Table 2.1: Percentage of total value of Eastern Africa inter-territorial exports made up of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania

Year	Kenya	Uganda	Tanzania	Total
1945	36.2	41.0	22.8	100
1948	37.5	45.6	16.9	100
1951	50.8	33.5	15.7	100
1954	47.1	44.0	8.9	100
1957	60.7	26.9	12.4	100
1960	60.4	29.5	10.1	100
1963	63.2	26.0	10.8	100
1966	65.7	23.7	10.6	100

Uganda supplied the largest proportion of exports until 1948. This was due to East African Tobacco Company which was run from Kampala and Jinja. Kenya forged ahead exporting goods worth almost twice as those of Uganda and Tanzania combined after 1951. This was contributed by branches of overseas industrial firms established in Kenya. The country was clearly an economic hegemony in the region by 1963, Kenya's independence. There were two sources of profit for Kenya: The overall trade within East Africa was growing faster than East Africa's total overseas trade and Kenya was covering the largest proportion of the most lucrative areas of it, and the value of the country's exports to Uganda and Tanzania had multiplied by three in the same period. Kenya had become less independent on overseas markets for her growth, but Uganda and Tanzania found themselves in reverse situations. Kenya ran a positive visible trade balance for her trade in East Africa

¹¹⁷ *Op cit.* Low D.A. & Smith Alison, p 251.

since the middle fifties, unlike Uganda and Tanzania. The country managed to reduce its overall deficit. When overseas trade was taken into account, Uganda and Tanzania had been earning foreign exchange for Kenya.¹¹⁸

European settlers in Kenya formed a wealthy local market making Kenya richer than Uganda and Tanzania. Kenya became progressively more attractive to overseas companies wanting to locate to East Africa and hence became the main beneficiary of the common market was Kenya. Kenya's international companies derived the greater benefit from the common market. These industries used modern technology to their advantage and also offered the best services, the best trained personnel, the best staff accommodation and communication services. A large proportion of goods destined for Uganda were sent via Nairobi where most international trading concerns had their headquarters. These goods were repacked into smaller consignments and sent on to Uganda. Kenya was acting as a center port because the importers had sited their main offices in Nairobi and Mombasa.

2.5 Post Colonial Era

Kenya gained independence after 68 years of British rule with the country's path to independence being slower than that of Uganda and Tanzania. The British departure from Tanganyika was hasty and Uganda's transition to independence was complicated by inter-party rivalry, regional suspicion and especially by Buganda's separatism. Politics and administration in independent East African have demonstrated the great continuity that links it with the colonial past. The colonial policy frameworks were different accounting for some fundamental differences that emerged later and survived colonialism. Kenya seems to have established its legal and institution frameworks earlier than most of the other East African countries. For instance, the Kenyan science and technology Act of 1977 (Cap232) established

¹¹⁸ Zwanenberg Van R.M.A. & King Anne, *An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda 1800-1970*. (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1975) p 244.

the National Council for Science and Technology (NCST). The act was amended in 1979, permitting the creation of other autonomous research institutes. In Uganda, the main legal foundation for science and technology policymaking and implementation is the Uganda National Bureau of Standards (UNBS) statute of 1983. The existing sectoral research and development institutions were established by acts of parliament between 1979 and 1989.¹¹⁹ As in the colonial past, the independent states have placed much greater emphasis on economic growth and the promotion of exports, and the achievement of stability and order seen as the necessary prerequisite for such economic activities, than on politics.¹²⁰ In addition, political problems and changes owed much to the colonial legacy.

Kenya's less traumatic political history since independence stands in contrast to Uganda's instability that led to a variety of abrupt changes of regime. Tanzania's dependence on its ideology of 'Ujamaa Socialism' was a major driving force in its slow development strategies. Kenya was variously referred to as a capitalist state, a neo-colonial state and also as a national development state. On the other hand, Tanzania was portrayed as either a paternal socialist state, peripheral capitalist or a new formation state.¹²¹ The image of Kenya is associated with the sets of economic policies the country has pursued since independence as expressed in the Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 on African Socialism and the subsequent development plans produced since then.¹²² Imposed political authority was employed to monetarise the economy and causing it to become extroverted that it became directed to production for export. The consequent tension that developed was of colonial wealth versus indigenous poverty, which in turn gave rise to nationalistic clamors of independence. Post-

¹¹⁹ EAC Secretariat. *Science and Technology policy in East Africa. (Country Papers and Comparative Review)* EAC & Germany Agency for Technology Co-operation. Arusha, 2000. P. 6

¹²⁰ Oyugi Walter, *Politics and Administration in East Africa*. (Nairobi: EAE Publishers). p 59.

¹²¹ *Op cit.* Oyugi Walter, P. 12

Walter Oyugi argues that Kenya's capitalism was of a special kind; it was either peripheral capitalism or dependent capitalism

¹²² Republic of Kenya, Sessional Paper No.10 of 1965 on African socialism and its application on planning of Kenya. (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1965)

Colonial state in Kenya is essentially a neo-colonial state. This state was built on the liberal foundations of democracy as a concept nonetheless democracy does not mean multi-partism or pluralism. The post-colonial elite in Kenya failed to conceive the birth of the citizen as a significant step in the construction of democracy and perceive citizenship as much more than a simple attribute of constitutional declaration after Lancaster House Conference of 1960-1963. Economically, Kenya became tied to Britain economically but Kenya was an unequal member. Kenya's general economic development was tied to the needs of British economy. Kenya's economy was a good developing economy at the time of independence was by much Africa's standard, a good developing economy showing greater potential for fast development after independence. It was an economy dominated by foreign capital.

2.5.1 Kenyatta's Era

Jomo Kenyatta and other Kenyan leaders decided to maintain the economic and institutional structures inherited from the British at independence. The development strategy therefore adopted conformed to capitalist values and ideas advised by the British and the World Bank.¹²³ Kenya's dependence to the Americans and British were established as early as the 1960's due to the economic linkage. Kenya's policy aimed at providing a continuation of the conditions and relations with other countries that permit Kenya to build its mixed economy through a largely capitalist economy. Ideologically, President Kenyatta's assertion that Kenya was not pro-left or pro-right came at a time when geopolitical and strategic considerations were pursued in Africa by the US and the Soviet Union later President Kenyatta would openly shun communism. The US felt that, were the *Mau mau* to triumph, Kenya would fall to communist influence. Communism contributed an important ingredient in determining Kenya-US relations. Kenya's security concerns, particularly in the Horn of

¹²³ Khapoya B. , *Kenya (in the political economy of African foreign Policy: Comparative analysis*. Edited by TM Shaw and O.Aluko. (New York: St. Martin's press, 1984). p 146.

Africa where Somalia claimed to own former Northern Frontier District (NFD) led to the signing of Kenya-Ethiopia and Kenya-British Military agreements in 1964. The East African environment began to show signs that the equilibrium was shifting from 1967. Ideological divergence developed with most states within the region shifting to the left. Kenya's national security concerns in East Africa and the Horn of Africa influenced the country's closer relations with the west leading to her integration into the global East-West strategies. Tanzania's shift to socialism (1967), Uganda's declaration to common Man's Charter (1968-69), military coups in Somalia (1969) and Sudan (1969) which moved them ideologically toward the Soviet Union. Kenya maintained diplomatic and economic links with Uganda despite the ideological differences.

To the North, the decaying autocratic regime of Emperor Haile Selassies had been overthrown by the army which subsequently established a Socialist regime in Ethiopia. The years 1968-69 marked the beginning of greater Kenya-US relations in the 1970s-1980s due to several factors: first was a military coup in Somalia which was led by Said Barre, overthrew President Shermarke and Prime Minister Egal. The two had created a civilian leadership which had established reproachment between Somalia and her neighbors. Second, Emperor Haile Selassies, a close associate of President Kenyatta was overthrown by a socialist-leaning military in 1971 and in 1974, President Milton Obote of Uganda was overthrown by Idi Amin thereby deepening the crisis which was already emerging within the East African Community.¹²⁴ Closure of Kenya-Tanzania border in 1977 and the Ethiopia-Somalia war forced Kenya to pursue closer relations with the west, particularly the US.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ Munene Macharia, Nyunya Olewe & Korwa Adar, *The US and Africa: From independence to the end of cold War*. (Nairobi: EAEP Ltd, 1995).

¹²⁵ It should be noted here that during the 1977 -78 Ethio -Somali war, Kenya was instrumental in persuading the western industrial countries not to supply arms to Somalia. Kenya also increased her military procurement, particularly from the US and encouraged even greater relationships with Washington.

Globally, Kenya undertook to promote international peace and co-operation through the UN and to maintain enabling conditions for access to: Kenya's traditional international markets, external private capital investment, official bilateral and multilateral assistance. The British had laid deeply conditioned Kenya to operate as a capitalist both domestically and internationally. Kenya's option of going Socialist could negatively affect the country's economic, political and social structures. The country wished to be non-aligned in the burning issues of East-West rivalry by insisting on what officials termed 'positive independence'. Kenya's policy in East Africa was regional stability or maintenance of status quo which was expressed in terms of good neighborly policy. The ultimate goal was the achievement of national self-interested ends: national security, internal political stability and uninterrupted economic development as well as social cohesion.

Kenya's trading environment has undergone significant evolution since colonial times resulting to a liberalized economy, buoyed by implementation of structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) and deliberate trade promotion activities. Significant policy initiatives for market and product diversification through value addition and export development and promotion were set in motion. During the colonial period the British protected the Kenyan economy as a producer of agriculture and other raw materials for Britain's manufacturing sector and used the country as a ready market for manufactured goods from Europe. Increasing competition for the Kenyan market by relatively cheaper goods from India and Japan pushed the British administration to protect Kenya's manufacturing sector. This strategy characterized by protective trade barriers was adopted at independence to achieve significant industrial capacity and rapid integration of Kenyans in ownership management, producing and distribution systems. Buoyed by expansionary fiscal policy, Kenya achieved reasonable inward looking industrialization by regional standards. The policies were characterized by high effective rates of protection, price controls, foreign exchange controls

and import licensing, which constrained access to imported inputs, bureaucratic and difficult administrative procedures and over valued currency. Many public enterprises enjoyed monopoly status.¹²⁶

Kenyatta held back the impatient tide of envious Africans wanting the jobs that white men still held and thereby kept a modicum of efficiency that other newly independent African countries envied. In Kenya, outright nationalization was avoided through out the post-independence era while the blanket nationalization in Tanzania seriously affected production, particularly in industrial sector in 1966. This meant interruption in supply of consumer goods which meant discontentment among the urban and elite members of the society. Kenyatta also ensured that resettlement of Africans on farms that used to belong to white farmers was gradual; so that the inevitable temporary dislocations in food supply will not cause Kenyans to go hungry or serious crimp Kenya's earnings from agricultural exports. Since the First World War Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda have engaged in efforts to foster closer economic ties. More formally the three independent countries ratified a treaty for the east Africa Co-operation in 1967 and led to the establishment of the East Africa Community. The community was to control and administer certain matters of interests and to regulate commercial and industrial relations and transactions among the East African nation. Regional equilibrium favored Kenya economically in East Africa with the share of trade among Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania being in the ratio of 5:3:2 respectively. By 1968, Kenya despite the lack of fuel resources became the most important manufacturing and business center in East Africa. Manufacturing industry, which now accounts for 10% of GDP, has developed around the major cities with a concentration in the Nairobi area. Initially industries were based on the processing of agricultural commodities for export, but later plants producing consumer goods emerged. Oil refinery at Mombasa, a fertilizer factory, a

¹²⁶ *ibid*

synthetic textile plant and a plastics factory were established in Kenya. Its economy was based primarily on agriculture and livestock rearing which accounted for gross domestic product GDP and earn 80% of the country's foreign exchange. GDP was estimated at \$778 million for 1964, a 7% increase over 1963 and Kenya was the world's largest exporter of pyrethrum with other main exports being coffee, sisal and tea. Tourism was growing fast earning the country half as much foreign exchange as does coffee.¹²⁷ UK was Kenya's major trading partner accounting for about a third of total exports and imports, with countries was also increasing. UK was also the main source of foreign financial assistance with \$50 Million in grants and loans during the fiscal year ending March 1965. In addition the total US economic and technical aid amounted to \$6.4 Million in 1964.¹²⁸

Kenya therefore promoted the policy of good neighborliness by seeking to maintain the defunct East African Community as long as it served the economic interest of Kenya and settling minor border with Ethiopia, Uganda and Sudan, by forging military alliance with Ethiopia to maintain a balance of power around the Horn of Africa and by developing a moderate military capability.¹²⁹ Tanzania and Uganda were discontent with the arrangement and the EAC was dissolved in 1977. The collapse of the EAC and Tanzania's closure of her border with Kenya in 1977 blocked the latter's trade with Malawi and Zambia. In the process, Kenya turned to the Middle East for markets. Kenyatta's overriding concern with what was pragmatic as opposed to what was ideological improved the country's economic sphere. He set up an economic-development plan that stressed both public and private enterprise. This liberal investment program was designed to bring in business investors from around the world and soon Kenya became one of Africa's most stable countries and attracted investors from US companies such as Union Carbide, Colgate-palmolive, and Ward Foods.

¹²⁷ Lineberry p. William (ed). *East Africa*. Volume 40. No. 2. (New York: The H.W. Wilson Company, 1968). p 103.

¹²⁸ *ibid*

¹²⁹ *Op cit*. Oyugi, p 309

There were nearly 70 US companies with offices or plants in the country by 1968.¹³⁰ The economy's performance during the mid-1970 was disappointing because of the disorder in the international economy that occurred starting in 1973. There were sharp increases in oil, plus recession and inflation abroad. The rate of increase in GDP in 1976 and 1977 was restored to levels above the post Independence average. In 1968, non citizens made up over 7% of modern sector employment. In 1977 this proportion was reduced to only 1.7%. More and more trained Kenyans started taking leading roles in the nation's economy. Between 1979 and 1983 there was uncertainty in the international economic scene. The prices of Kenya's major exports had fallen and their imports had risen. The rate of economic growth was highest in the years immediately following independence, averaging 6.5% per year through 1972.

2.5.2 Moi Era

Kenya experience rapid growth in social and economic sectors in the period between 1970 and 1980. The country's basic indicators such as 99 per cent primary school enrolment rate, 48 per cent of it being girls and an adult literacy rate of 60 per cent men and 40 per cent women, were some of the Africa's best. Public expenditure on education was amongst the highest in Africa with 6 per cent of the GDP. Health indicators improved after independence with life expectancy increasing from 42 years to 58 years, the highest in the region, mortality rate declined from 20 to 11 per 1000 of the population, and infant mortality declined from more than 200 to 110 per 1000 live births.¹³¹ The number of hospital beds went up by 2.5 times from 11,500 in 1964 to 28,700 in 1981. The number of doctors also went up by 3.5 times from only 710 in 1964 to 2500 in 1981.¹³² In tourism, 120,000 tourists visited the country in 1964 compared to 352,000 tourists in 1981. The peak of tourism was 1972 with

¹³⁰ *Op cit.* Lineberry p. William, p 104

¹³¹ *What hope for the economy after 30 years of stagnation?* Sunday Nation November 27, 1994. P. 10

¹³² *ibid*

550,000 tourists visiting Kenya. The country earned 188 million from tourism in 1964 compared to 2,120 million in 1981.¹³³ The average increase for welfare services was 17.1 per cent, while economic services saw an 18.6 per cent average raise in the budget to a new International Labour Organization.¹³⁴ Kenya's enviable economic record was shown by World Development Report of 1982.¹³⁵ The table below highlights how Kenya has fared in the decade between 1970 and 1980 as compared to other Eastern Africa nations.

Table 2.2: Average annual growth rate in per cent 1970 – 1980

Growth of Production

	Ethiopia	Somalia	Tanzania	Uganda	Kenya
GDP	2.0	3.4	4.9	-1.7	6.5
Agriculture	0.7	3.0	4.9	-0.9	5.4
Industry	1.4	-2.6	1.9	-9.6	10.2
Manufacturing	2.4	-3.8	3.6	-9.1	11.4
Services	4.2	6.9	5.9	-0.8	5.8

Source: World Development report 1982

Kenya was included in 'middle-income countries with a per capita income of \$1400 per year. Ethiopia, Somalia, Tanzania and Uganda were all below income group of countries with an average per capita of \$260 per year. Kenya's growth rates for all the key sectors were in the positive figures while Uganda was registering negative rates in all sectors and Somalia showing negative growth rates in industry and manufacturing. Kenya's GDP of 6.5 annually was the highest followed by Tanzania with 4.9 per cent, Somalia at 3.4 per cent. Uganda's population rate of 2.6 per cent recorded a negative growth rate of 1.7 per cent due to the

¹³³ Bhushan Kul. *A Record to be proud of*. The Sunday Standard. December 12, 1982. P 18.

¹³⁴ *Kenya Praised and Criticized*. The Standard Newspaper. May 10, 1983.

¹³⁵ The world Development Report 1982 was published by the World Bank and gives an electrocardiogram of the global economy and the conditions of each country's economic health, the average for each group of countries and the planet as a whole.

political instabilities caused by the President Idi Amin's regime.¹³⁶ Moi was praised for Kenya's economic growth, political stability and constructive role in international affairs by President Reagan who saw Kenya as a success story for all of Africa to emulate.¹³⁷

Kenya's economy faltered in the decade that followed, that is between 1980 and 1990 with the country witnessing a decade of falling per capita incomes, increase in hunger, social development erosion, accelerating ecological degradation and Human Rights violation. The collapse of the Soviet Union cold war strategies gradually gave way to the emergence of a New World Order. Kenya, one of the long time allies of the US also became a victim of the wind of change towards democracy. During the reign of Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya was a showcase of a political and economic system that the west wanted to see in most third world countries. While Kenyatta enjoyed the full support of the west during the cold war, Moi was faced with numerous challenges tied to his autocratic governance. Human rights violation, ethnic violence, poor governance and corruption resulted to decrease in disbursement of aid to Kenya. President Moi reverted to regional integration since KANU government experienced a lot of pressure from internal and external forces to democratize and account for government resources. Unlike his predecessor, Moi was aggressive with personal diplomacy and involved in the management of Kenya's domestic and foreign policies.

Like Kenyatta, Moi was uncompromising on the issue of territorial integrity, national security and national sovereignty – policy of good neighborliness – defense policy and closer relations with Western European countries. Kenya provided access facility to US Rapid Deployment Force. He played an active role in Africa in both OAU and AU, notwithstanding its important role in EAC and regional integration. Moi also took a personal challenge to create regional unity. Kenya through Moi also played a pivotal role in mediation of different

¹³⁶ *Kenya's enviable record in the economic field*. The Sunday Standard Newspaper. October 10, 1982

¹³⁷ Sunday Times. March 15, 1987. President Reagan praised Moi and Kenya for its success story and asked other African countries to learn from Kenya. This was during Moi's visit to the Washington on Saturday March 14th, 1987.

conflicts in the region including Moi's mediation of the civil war between Basilio Okello and President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, he brokered Somali truce between rival factions and spearheaded mediation in the Sudan conflict between the Khartoum government and SPLA/SPLM. He also encouraged hosting of refugee from different parts of Eastern Africa. Moi emphasized peace and regional unity¹³⁸ as a precursor to creating regional development and through this Kenya emerged as a regional leader in peace keeping and mediation.

The instability of Uganda led to a variety of abrupt changes of regime in which military and traditional leaders were prominent actors. Tanzania saw its ideology of Ujamaa-socialism¹³⁹ as a driving force behind its various development states. Kenya had a less traumatic political history since independence. The relations between Central-local have been more gradual, at times indiscernible. The few changes experienced have taken place within a political context which has been largely stable; major disruption has not occurred until during the Moi era. Kenya had been in advance of its neighbors in political growth. Except for Kenya, all the countries of the Horn of Africa; Somalia Ethiopia, Sudan can be regarded as falling within the group of Africa's least developed countries.¹⁴⁰ These countries are almost all net food importers, are frequently susceptible to famines and other natural disasters and have very low per capita incomes. Indeed, with a per capita income of US\$110 in 1986, Ethiopia is now reckoned to be the poorest state on earth. Thus civil wars and civil strife have visited the most poverty-stricken peoples of the continent. Kenya unlike its northern and western neighbors has only 13% of its land surface as potential agricultural land; in physical features, climate, human types, economic development and political evolution alike.

¹³⁸ *Moi Pleads for Regional peace.* Daily Nation March 24, 1981. P. 1

¹³⁹ *Op cit.* Oyugi Walter, p 123.

¹⁴⁰ Nzungu (ed) – Ntalaja Georges. *Conflict in the Horn of Africa.* (Atlanta, Georgia: Africa Studies Associations. 1991). p 27.

The goals of education in an independent Kenya were 1st articulated by KANU in its 1963 manifesto: The aim of education was to produce good citizens inspired with the desire to serve their fellow men. In addition, it aimed at setting young people to be the builders of the new nation of Kenya. ¹⁴¹ In general, the recurrent theme in several other government documents has been that education would be the principal means by which Kenya would seek to disperse knowledge and develop skills necessary in modernizing the economy. Kenyatta and Moi took education recognized as a central element in socio-economic development of people, without education Kenyan development process would have been slow in the global perspective. Education was seen as an investment in human capital which yields economic benefit by increasing production capacity of its people. In recognition of the importance of human resource development, the Kenyan government has been investing in education since independence. Primary school enrollment rose from 50% of school age children to 85% between 1963 and 1978. There was also an increase in secondary schools and the establishment of Kenyatta University College which provided basic teacher training courses. The ministry of Education had been investing a lot of money in the education sector since independence. ¹⁴²

President Moi introduced the 8-4-4 Curriculum in primary schools in 1985 and in secondary schools in 1986. Its main aim was to give a broad based education and to introduce pre-vocational skills that would prepare students for the world of work. The curriculum was revised in 1990 and in January 1992 the revised syllabuses introduced in schools. The number of subjects was reduced from minimum of 10 to 8. The number was further reduced from minimum 8 to 7 at KCSE level in 2001. The government's policy measures and investments in education were designed to provide sufficient funding to

¹⁴¹ *op cit*, Ogot B.A. & Ochieng W.R, p.133

¹⁴² Fourth National Development Plan 1979 -1982. Government of Government 1979

primary education in order to alleviate household costs to ensure adequate teaching learning inputs and ensure internal efficiency. This was in harmony with the world education forum and the UN millennium declaration in 2000 that had set again the universal primary education (UPE) as a goal for 2015 as it had previously been proposed at the Jomtiem Conference in 1990.¹⁴³

The break up of the East African Community in 1977 adversely affected most of the import substitution enterprises. The government shifted from an import substitution strategy to a more outward orientation growth strategy. Trade policy objectives included movement towards trade regime, strengthening and increasing overseas market access for Kenyan exports and further integrating Kenya into the global economy.¹⁴⁴ Trade liberalization led to reduction of average tariffs, narrowing of variances in tariff rates and removal of quantitative restrictions by replacing import quotas with import duties.¹⁴⁵ These policy objectives have been pursued through multilateral, regional and bilateral trade negotiations in particular within Africa. The government established several export promotion schemes to strengthen new trade policy orientation. These include EPZs Export processing Zones which offer tax holidays and other facilitation to EPZ companies, manufacturing under bond (MUB) Scheme exempts exports from paying duty/value added tax on imported machinery and raw materials used in the manufacture of export goods and tax remission for export office (TREO) administered by the treasury changing policy environment, regional integration and other related initiatives providing access to key trading blocks and markets have resulted in diversification of export markets. East African community (EAC), The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Cotonou ACP/EU Partnership Agreement and the AGOA initiative among others.

¹⁴³ Kenya and UNESCO 2003/04. *Annual Report*. Kenya National Commission for UNESCO. 2004. P. 56

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p 169.

¹⁴⁵ *ibid.* p 171.

Kenya stands out among developing countries for emphasizing regional trade with her neighbors, within the spirit of the G15 countries of enhancing South-South trade. This strategy differs from most countries whose key markets tend to be their former colonies in the North. COMESA market with up to 300million people is Kenya's Key export market accounting for about 34.91% of total exports in 2002. E.U is the second most important absorbing 27.54% of the total exports; other export markets include the rest of Africa 13.97, Middle East 4.17%, Far East and Australia 11.46%. Kenya's exports to the EAC increased from 7.4% in 1990 to 28.5% in 1999, representing an impressive rate of growth of 14.4% per annum over the period.

The imports from Tanzania and Uganda combined relatively stable since 1990, never exceeding 1.0% to total imports. The rest of COMESA is also an insignificant source of imports for Kenya.¹⁴⁶ By 1993 Kenya's income per capita was more than twice as high as Uganda which is higher than Tanzania's. This means Kenya could create more investment and would be a stronger exporter within the EAC as compared to Uganda and Tanzania. Kenya was also considered to have a surplus of human labour and therefore they travel regionally in search of jobs.¹⁴⁷ This scenario is significantly different from one obtained before and immediately after independence where the UK market dominated all Kenyan exports. Tax modernization program, infrastructure and political instability have also played an important role in facilitating the development of export trade. Kenya also exports considerable services to the region covering such important sectors as financial and professional services, travel and tourism related services, telecommunication and information services. Nairobi is easily the financial and business hub of east and central Africa.

¹⁴⁶ Ngeno k. Nehemiah. Regional Intergration Study of East Africa. (the case of Kenya) Kenya Institute for Policy Research and Analysis. KIPPRA: November 2001) p.30

¹⁴⁷ The Standard. 27/12/1993. P.8

Efforts for the re-introduction of multi-party democracy had grown through the efforts of the civil society, individual politicians and western donor countries and agencies. Diplomatic missions in Nairobi tied foreign aid to political reforms. A Multi-party political system was re-established in 1991 following amendment of the constitution to provide for formation of other political parties to function alongside the then incumbent Kenya African National Union (KANU) subsequently, many political parties were formed.¹⁴⁸

2.5.3 Kibaki's Term

The successful general elections held in December 2002 marked the smooth transition of power from KANU to the National Rainbow Coalition. President Kibaki diverted Kenya's attention from regional matters to economic growth. Kenya's population of 30 million constituted an attractive market for investors who were captivated by the political proceedings in the country.¹⁴⁹ The economy grew by about 1.3% in 2003 which was attributed to changes in the political scene where a new government took over the reigns of power and moved to seal loopholes through which loses were being made. Specifically, President Kibaki government moved to consolidate all tax collections through the KRA by optimizing the PIN and VAT registration systems. It also enacted new laws to check corruption, streamline public procurement and install audits in the public sector. The change of government also saw a renewed interest by donors and foreign investors in Kenya and this stimulated economic activities resulting into some earnings.¹⁵⁰

Kibaki government set up policies in almost all the sectors of the government in an attempt to revive the economy and thereby the standard of living amongst Kenyans. For instance he revived some industries including Kenya meat commission. In recognition of education as a basic human right the government of Kenya declared free primary education in

¹⁴⁸ Wanyande Peter, Omosa Mary & chyweya Ludeki. (editors) *Governance and Transition Politics in Kenya*. (Nairobi: University of Nairobi Press, 2007). p 82.

¹⁴⁹ Kenya and UNESCO 2003/04. *Annual Report*. Kenya National Commission for unesco. 2004. P.172

¹⁵⁰ *ibid*

January 2003. Enhanced access to primary education to primary schooling is of fundamental importance to government strategy of poverty reduction. The government targets were on; Achievement of universal primary education by 2005, Attainment of education for all by 2015, raising transition rate from primary to secondary by 70% by 2008 and improving access participation, retention and completion rates by reducing drop out rates in some parts of the country among girls and learner with special needs.¹⁵¹ These and other factors increased the country's attractive power in the region.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the soft power that other countries possess and either utilize it or not to attain their foreign policy goals. Historically most countries have failed to exploit their soft power to influence others in the regional or global scene. Countries with preponderant hard power have significant soft power that they can exploit to achieve their foreign policy goals. Soft power in most countries can be traced from Pre and post independence era. In Kenya, the social, political and economy colonial environment set precedence for Kenya against the other Eastern Africa countries. At the country's independence, there was a wide gap in GNP per capita between Kenya and her East African neighbours, with Tanzania resting at US\$200 against Kenya's US\$250 in 1963.

Kenya manifested a more favourable position in practically every respect as seen in the table below:

¹⁵¹ *ibid.* p 55.

Table 2.3: Economic and Social development of Kenya and Tanzania from 1960 to 1984

Country Year	Kenya			Tanzania		
	1960	1977	1984	1960	1977	1984
Socio- economic Indicators						
GNP per Capita in US \$	250	330	310	200	230	210
Percentage of labour force in agriculture	86	97	81b	89	84	86b
Urban Population as percentage of total population	7	12	18	5	9	14
Primary school enrolment as percentage of age group	47	105a	100	28	70a	87
Adult Literacy	20	40a	...	10	66a	...
Population per physician	10000	8840a		21000	18490a	...
Population per nursing person	7540c			8300	1070a	...
Child death rate (age 1-4)	2320	3300a		32	20	22
Life Expectancy at Birth	990c			42	51	52
	25	14	16			
	47	53	54			

Key: a = 1976 b = 1980 c = 1981

Source: IBRD World Development, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1986

Kenya was clearly advantaged in terms of a superior development base right from the beginning. This position was probably the most important factor in Kenya's subsequent better performance. The economic advantage enabled post independence Kenya to perform better in areas requiring heavy investment, including the construction of such facilities as health centers, schools, training institutions and urban improvements, all which have a bearing on the results reflected in the table above. It was therefore inevitable that the East African countries would start their independence era on a competitive note. Kenya placed a greater weight on economic progress and Tanzania on political and social goals. President Nyerere appealed for self-reliance in the exploitation of the abundant national resources – land and labour – for development. This was the only sure way of preserving national independence and integrity.¹⁵² This element of Ujamaa (Socialism) was achieved through the collectivized agriculture in the hands of peasants producers organized in communal village co-operatives.

Kenyan leaders sought to institute measures to prevent the flight of capital as well as to reassure investors. The country was characterized by issues of political stability and the

¹⁵² Oyugi W.O & Gitonga A. Democratic Theory and practice in Africa. Nairobi. EAEP. 1987. P. 185

security of foreign investments. Foreign investors were availed of generous depreciation allowances, tariff incentives, firm investments guarantees against nationalization on top of existing constitutional guarantees under the bill of rights, and freedom to remit profits as well as repatriate capital. These incentives were not different from those in Tanzania but Kenya was predisposed to win more investors in industrial and commercial sector on account of the more developed infrastructure base as well as other economic advantages. Most of the industries were set up between 1945 – 1963 and the period of post election was purely for expansion or take over of existing firm and entry of new firms which sought to gain a foothold in Kenyan and east African market. As a result, there was been a few shortages of consumer goods in Kenya as compared to the other countries in the region. These may explain the relative tolerance and peacefulness of a wide section of the Kenyan public even when it is as odds with the government of the day.¹⁵³ Kenya's economic boom of the 1950s had led to the country's rapid economic growth. This boom was due to historical and geographical factors. As a result Kenya has been able to take undue advantage in social political and economical scenes of the Eastern Africa region.

¹⁵³ *ibid.* p 186.

CHAPTER THREE

SOURCES OF KENYA'S SOFT POWER

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will demonstrate Kenya's soft power capabilities that have given the country leverage in the Eastern African region. The chapter's objective is to display the country's preponderant soft powers in relation to its foreign policy decisions and actions. It will also display Kenya's leadership role and the overriding influence the country possess in the region. The chapter will equally focus on other sources of the nation's soft power namely; 'culture (in places where it is attractive), its political values (when it lives up to them at home and abroad), and its foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority).'¹⁵⁴ This study will go beyond the three sources that Nye has suggested in attempting to discover the sources of Kenya's soft power. Kenya's resources of attractive power in the Eastern Africa region will be discussed under the following main themes: economic sources, tourism, foreign policies and, social and cultural sources.

Kenya viewed as the focal point of East Africa as is Nigeria for West Africa and Egypt for North Africa. NGO, UN and other non state actors with interest in east Africa will often set their headquarters in Kenya. This country is only developing country having two United Nation agencies namely United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) and United Nations Commission for Human Settlement (UN HABITAT). These UN agencies, funds and programs in Nairobi have made Nairobi to be considered the UN's fourth city that is after New York, Geneva, Vienna and Paris.¹⁵⁵ The country has hosted internally displaced persons and many refugees from the region. Human Rights Watch and other organizations have

¹⁵⁴ Nye s. Joseph, *Soft power: the means to success in world politics*, (USA: PublicAffairs, 2004) p.11.

¹⁵⁵ IGAD News, *A Newsletter of the Intergovernmental Authority of development*, (Djibouti; IGAD Secretariat. October – November 2006) p. 1

Speech by Outgoing UN Secretary General Koffi Annan when he was bestowed the highest honour in Kenya, Order of the Golden Heart (OGH) by President Kibaki in Nairobi on 14th November 2006.

documented the problems of political repressions, armed conflict and other human rights abuses in Burundi, DRC, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Somalia and Sudan as the reasons why refugees come to Kenya.¹⁵⁶ United Nations Human Commission for Refugees have registered 240,000 refugees based in Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps in 2006. They registered over 24,000 Somali refugees in Daadab camp in Kenya since January 2006.¹⁵⁷

Kenya's President Moi took the leading role to revive the East Africa Cooperation. His efforts bore fruits and saw the signing of the renewed East Africa Cooperation accord in Arusha on the month of November 1983.¹⁵⁸ President Museveni described Moi and Kenya as; 'The leading force in the revival of East Africa Community and in the same manner he has helped Uganda fight injustices in their country.'¹⁵⁹

3.2 Political and Economic Resources

The country is regarded as an economic hegemony in the East Africa Community. Kenya leads East Africa in industrialization due to its private-sector activity and a comparatively well developed infrastructure that included extensive transport facilities. The expansion of Kenyan industries proceeded rapidly after independence with the government's official policy had been to encourage import substitution. Kenya quickly developed a number of industries providing consumer goods like beverages and tobacco, textiles, food products, petroleum products, electrical appliances and machinery, printing, paper products, sugar and confectionery. Intra regional trade between the three countries is heavily skewed in Kenya's favor. Kenya continues to accumulate trade surpluses against its regional partners due to its

¹⁵⁶ Human Rights Watch, *Hidden in Plain View: Refugees Living Without Protection in Nairobi and Kampala*, (USA; Human Rights Watch. 2002) p. 27

¹⁵⁷ <http://www.irinnews.org/report.aspx?reportid=61289>, 4th April 2008

¹⁵⁸ The Kenya Times. May, 12. 1984

¹⁵⁹ The Standard Newspaper, December 12, 1993

more industrialized society.¹⁶⁰ The country has a stronger currency than its neighbors with Kenyan shilling being used in the region.

Uganda's business environment has suffered greatly beginning with the ousting of the President Obote government in 1971, the expulsion of Asians by General Amin and the civil war between Tito and Brazillio Okello of NLA and Yoweri Museveni of NRM from 1980 to 1985. The country lost among other things, much of its intellectual property through a massive brain drain to Europe, North America and other parts of Africa.¹⁶¹ Tanzania's economy has been damaged by the effects of socialism. The culture of socialism was ingrained in the society against profit making and individual enterprise. This resulted to Tanzania's business community being relatively small and underdeveloped in comparison to Kenya's diversified economic structure. Tanzania has been reluctant on regional integration. On debating on regional cooperation the Tanzania's focus group commented, 'Kenya is miles ahead. If we simply plunge into regional integration, there will be serious problems.'¹⁶²

Kenya's economy is the most open economy in the region making the country desirable for investment and best positioned to compete in the region.¹⁶³ Nairobi is a regional business center. The country's Real Gross Domestic Product-expanded by 6.1 per cent in 2006 compared to Tanzania's 5.9 per cent, Uganda's 5.5 per cent, and Ethiopia's 5.4 per cent.¹⁶⁴ The Nairobi Stock Exchange Ltd, (NSE) is the largest securities exchange in East and Central Africa region. Its stock exchange is expanding into a capital market to serve the region. This has increased the country's potential as a dynamic business destination nation.¹⁶⁵ The port of

¹⁶⁰ Kimemia Peter, *An Overview of the Performance of East Africa Economies since 1985. (Implications for the New Initiative of East Africa Cooperation.* Africa Sociological Review. 4 (1), 2000,pp. 119 - 137

¹⁶¹ *Dialogue on the East Africa Private Sector Development Strategy. Proceedings of an East Africa Workshop in Zanzibar 22 – 23 June, 2000.* (Arusha; East Africa Community, 2001) p. 26

¹⁶² *ibid* . p. 38

¹⁶³ Ngeno K. Nehemiah, *Regional Integration Study of East Africa: The Case of Kenya*, (Kenya Institute for Policy Research and Analysis KIPPRA; November 2001) p.30

¹⁶⁴ Republic of Kenya. *Economic Survey 2007.* Kenya National Bureau Of Statistics. (Nairobi; Ministry of Planning & National Development, 2007) p 1.

¹⁶⁵ *op cit*, Kenya :Dreamland to Tour and Invest, p 57.

Mombasa is the largest in Eastern Africa consisting of Kilindini Harbour, Port reitz, Old port and Port Tudor all handling approximately 500,000 Twenty Foot Equivalent Units (TEUs) of container cargo.¹⁶⁶ The port serves the needs of Kenya and countries like Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and Democratic republic of Congo, parts of Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and Tanzania. Jomo Kenyatta International Airport is the biggest and the busiest airport in the East and Central Africa region.¹⁶⁷ JKIA recorded 4,449.0 thousands passengers through the port in 2006. Kenya Airways has expanded its existing routes, opened new ones and deployed three boeing 777aircrafts in 2006, to carter for the increase in passengers.¹⁶⁸

Kenya's leading economic position in the region has also been encouraged by a number of factors including: political stability, a relatively well developed infrastructure and a deep pool of educated and skilled manpower that have made the country the manufacturing, commercial and financial hub in Eastern and Central Africa regions. The country's economy grew by 6.1 percent in 2006 compared with 5.7 percent in 2005. The economy had grown by 6.3 percent in the first quarter of 2007 a clear indicator that the country had favorably economic growth. Kenya is an attractive investment destination in the region due to a number of factors including: uninterrupted political stability, abundant and well trained mobile labor, strategic location that is easily accessible to regional and world markets, well developed social and physical infrastructure, Investment Promotion Center (IPC)'s one stop facilitation service and a liberalized market that is conducive for business. Incentives are available to investors through investment and capital allowance, remission from customs duty in specific cases, manufacturing under bond status, export processing zone status and double taxation agreement. The government offers attractive and comprehensive package of incentives to

¹⁶⁶ *ibid.* p.69

¹⁶⁷ *ibid.* p.69

¹⁶⁸ Republic of Kenya. *Economic Survey 2007*. Kenya National Bureau Of Statistics, (Nairobi; Ministry of Planning & National Development. 2007) p 245.

investors which includes lifting of restrictions on both domestic and foreign borrowing by residents and non residents.

3.2.1 Political Stability

The country has a tradition of political stability since 1963 which creates a positive environment for business growth thus gives the country economic leverage over the country's neighbours. Foreign investors have injected more capital in the country than its neighbours because of Kenya's relatively peaceful environment since its independence. Western foreign capital rather than ideological aid from Moscow facilitated in boosting the country's economy by starting new industries in Kenya in the cold war era. Two major transitions in the democratization process of Kenya: the first comprised change from one party state to multiparty political dispensation. The government was hesitant to accept demands for political and human rights but persistent in growing domestic and international pressure, it agreed to repeal the relevant sections of the constitution to allow for multiparty democracy. Moi's era that was characterized by nepotism corruption, arrests of dissidents, censorship was considered stable compared to the armed conflict experienced in Uganda, Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and Rwanda.

The second transition occurred when KANU, the ruling party since independence was defeated by a coalition of opposition political parties, the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) in the December 2002 general elections.¹⁶⁹ Against the expectation of the international observers who were braced for violence and electoral irregularities the election of 27 December 2002 was peaceful, fair and the results were dramatic with a landslide of two thirds majority for President Mwai Kibaki and NARC. This transition was peaceful against all odds and attracted many investors in the country creating new wealth and job

¹⁶⁹ See *'Participatory Governance for Human Development. Kenyan Human Development Report.* (Nairobi:UNDP, 2003) p 23.

opportunities for the country. The economy started growing with 2.8 percent in 2003, 4.3 percent in 2004 and 5.8 percent in 2005,¹⁷⁰ despite the fact that the NARC government had inherited an economy on the decline in 2002. Kenya's membership to regional trading blocs like COMESA and the EAC and a beneficiary country under preferential trade and investment benefits offered by the AGOA Legislation of the USA and the ACP –Cotonou agreements with the EU increases the country's attractiveness to foreign investors.

3.2.2. Geostrategic Access

The country is notably among the few Sub-Saharan Africa countries with well developed infrastructure facilities. Most urban and rural areas are connected by about 70,000 km of classified roads with the road network providing vital trade links within the Eastern and Central Africa region. The coastline's of 536 km is ideally situated astride major international shipping routes to Europe via Suez and to India and South East Asia. Kilindini port at Mombasa is the gateway to Eastern and Central African region including the great lakes region, southern Sudan and Ethiopia. The port facilitates trade and key communication links to the Eastern Africa region and the rest of the international markets. The port facilities are further supported by inland container depots in Nairobi, Eldoret and Kisumu.¹⁷¹

The country is the leading aviation and air travel hub in the region through the international airports in Nairobi (JKIA) and Mombasa. Airports in Nairobi, Mombasa and Eldoret are well equipped to handle both passenger and freight traffic to and from the rest of the world. Railway line is built to serve major production and trading areas in the country including major towns and neighbouring countries. In addition, Nairobi Stock Exchange is the best stock exchange in the region gives the country sound back up to economic growth.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ See Speech by Hon. Henry Obwocha, EGH, MP, Minister for Planning and National Development at the launch of 2006 National Human Development Report, (Tuesday, 27th February, 2007) at Hilton hotel Nairobi.

¹⁷¹ Export Directory 95-96, Kenya. Export promotion council. 1995. P. vii

¹⁷² Kenya 2004, *International Investment Conference Report 23rd – 26th March*. (KICC Nairobi: Republic of Kenya, 2004) pp 18 -21

The government commitment to education has seen the literacy rate rise from a small minority of the population to the vast majority in less than 19 years after the independence. Kenya is ranked 131 globally with adults literacy rate of 73.6 ahead of all its neighbors; Tanzania ranked 136 with 69.4, Uganda at 144 with 66.4, Rwanda at 145 with 64.9, Sudan at 148 with 60.9 and Ethiopia at 170 with 35.9¹⁷³. National goals of education are national unity, national development through fulfilling economic and social needs, social equality, development of cultural heritage, and international consciousness.¹⁷⁴ Kenya's literacy rate and manpower base are solid items of capital without which there would not be economic expansion. The country's manpower base has steadily built from independence and the country has one of the most highly skilled manpower and advanced on the continent. It has the largest net exporter of skilled manpower in the region with many Kenya expatriates engaged in senior positions in southern Africa, EU and North Africa.¹⁷⁵ Kenya has a young population that is well educated with the largest number of students in sub Saharan Africa enrolling for studies and higher education in the USA since 2001.¹⁷⁶

3.2.3. Financial Investment Markets

Kenya's financial and insurance institutions are perhaps the largest and most development and sophisticated in the region. With more than 45 commercial banks, 10 developmental financial institutions, 45 non-bank financial institutions, 10 forex bureaus and 40 insurance companies by August 2002, the country is capable to handle international business. The banking system's growth has been aided by few successful parastatals. Kenya Commercial Bank, Equity and other banks are extending banking services to every rural community in Kenya. The Kenya shilling remains the strongest currency in the region

¹⁷³ United Nations Development Programme *Report 2007/2008*, List of countries by literacy rate, (UNDP), p 226.

¹⁷⁴ Eshiwani George, *Education in Kenya since Independence*. (Nairobi: EAEP, 1993), pp 31-32.

¹⁷⁵ Kenya 2004. *International Investment Conference Report 23rd – 26th March*. (KICC Nairobi. Republic of Kenya, 2004), pp 18 -21

¹⁷⁶ *op cit*, Kenya 2004, pp 18 -21

exchanging at 23 Ugandan shilling and 16 Tanzanian shilling.¹⁷⁷ Property development in building and construction sector has improved significantly due to funding from constituency development funds (CDF). Esso House with six odd floors¹⁷⁸ was the largest building in the colonial era but today the country has many buildings with more than 20 floors including Kenyatta Conference centre with 28 floors. Cement consumption rose by 12.3 percent in 2006, from 1,572.5 metric tones in 2005 to 1,765.8 metric tones in 2006. In the first three months of 2007, cement consumption increased further by 2.7 percent, from 412,216 metric tonnes in the first quarter of 2006 to 423,178 metric tonnes.¹⁷⁹

Kenya offers attractive investment opportunities in areas such as Agro – processing and value addition for exports especially tea, coffee, pyrethrum, cotton and horticultural. Merchandise exports rose by US\$492 million to US\$3,805 million in the year to May 2007, due mainly to increased exports of tea, manufactured goods, horticulture, oil and raw materials. 365,072 tones of tea was exported during the year 2006 to May 2007 totaling US\$725 million in value compared with 338,866 tones of tea exported in the previous year valued at US\$598 million. The increase in the value of tea exports during the year to May 2007 also reflected improved export prices. Exports of manufactured goods rose during the year to May 2007 following increased exports of iron and steel valued at US\$129 million, cement worth US\$68 million and other miscellaneous metal manufactures. The value of oil exported also rose by US\$68 million reflecting increased exports of lubrication oils and grease while raw exports increased on account of increased exports of crude animal and vegetable materials. Other miscellaneous exports, which rose to US\$1,363 million during the review period, mainly comprised exports of clothing accessories valued at US\$ 241 million, tobacco manufactures valued at US\$116 million and other inorganic products valued at

¹⁷⁷ This is according to Foreign exchange market September 17th, 2008

¹⁷⁸ Adalja K Shailesh. *Kenya's Unrivalled economic Potential*. (The Standard Newspaper. July 11, 1982) p 10.

¹⁷⁹ Central Bank of Kenya. *Monthly Economic Review*. July 2008. P 20

US\$1, 238.¹⁸⁰ Traditionally, the country's black tea and coffee and now roses are rated as some of the best in the world. The country is the 4th largest grower in the world and the 2nd largest tea exporter with output of US\$ 298,000 in 2003 and exports of US\$ 340 Million. The Mombasa auction is the second largest tea trade centre in the world, second from Colombo in Sri Lanka.

The Kenya Tea Development Agency (KTDA) remains the largest single tea producer and marketing agent in the world, representing 400,000 small holder growers. Cumulative tea output increased by 61.3 percent over the first five months compared with a decline of 25.5 percent in a similar period of 2006. Tea production stood at 171,448.6 metric tones in the January – May 2007 period, up from 106,339.3 metric tones in the same period 2006. Kenya is a major producer of high quality coffee, the world's second most traded commodity after oil. The country's Arabica coffee is consistently rated as one of the world's best and is used extensively by importers, roasters and blenders to upgrade coffees from other origins.

The country has built a dominant position in horticulture to become the world's 4th exporter and leading exporter of cut flowers to the EU with 36 percent of Europe's cut flowers.¹⁸¹ Horticulture production in the first five months of 2006 period was 72,703 tones and it rose to 73,991 tones in a similar period of 2007 leading to increased output of 1.8 percent in the period between January and May of 2007. Production of flowers and fruits edged up by 4.1 percent and 0.4 percent respectively. Kenya is also the world's leading producer of pyrethrum and Soda Ash. There are opportunities in leveraging the nation's natural resources advantages such as fish processing, meat and dairy. In mining and natural resources extraction and processing the country is a leading producer and exporter in soda ash and has significant deposits of commercially exploitable Titanium at Kwale district. In

¹⁸⁰ *ibid*, p 22.

¹⁸¹ *op cit*. Kenya 2004, pp 18 -21

addition, there are investment opportunities in the Export Processing Zones (EPZs) which is the largest in the region and the leading of textiles and garments to the USA in the sub-Saharan Africa under the AGOA program.¹⁸²

The country service industry is vibrant with mobile telephony and tourism the most attractive to foreign investors. Mobile telephony in Kenya is leading in the telephony market in the region with rising subscribers from 7,340,317 (20.4 percent) by December 2006 to 8,839,422 in May 2007 exceeding the rest of EAC nations combined. Similarly, fixed lines rose from 286, 729 in June 2006 to 297,888 by March 2007, an increase of 3.9 per cent.¹⁸³ The Initial Public offering (IPO), Safaricom offered 10 billion shares, with foreigners paying a 10 percent premium in March 2008. The IPO produced a staggering US\$839 million with 860,000 new investors making it the largest ever in sub-Saharan Africa. The rush for Safaricom shares attracted US\$3.09 billion from both local and foreign investors making it one of Africa's largest ever IPO. The government disposed off a 25 percent stake in Safaricom making it East Africa most profitable company and the largest mobile phone operator. The sale of Safaricom shares to international investors raises Kenya's profile as a favorable international investment destination and paves the way for the flotation of a Eurobond infrastructure issue. Regional states, particularly Uganda and Rwanda also participated in the IPO.¹⁸⁴

Kenya hosts the global headquarters for UNEP and HABITAT and many regional offices for United Nations at the UN complex in Nairobi. Uniquely, Kenya is the only UN designated centre located in the developing world outside the two main centers in New York and Geneva. Many organizations, leading AID agencies and NGOs are headquartered in Kenya or have regional offices based in Kenya including the biggest US embassy in Africa.

¹⁸² *ibid*, pp 11-12

¹⁸³ Central Bank of Kenya. *Monthly Economic Review*. July 2008, p 20.

¹⁸⁴ Dennis Onyango, *Safaricom float beats all records*, *African Business*, July 2008 No. 344. (IC Publication. 42nd Year. 2008), pp 34-35.

Leading multinational with regional and sales offices in Kenya including coca cola, Unilever, General Motors, firestone, standard Chartered Bank and Barclays Bank operate from Kenya.

3.2.4 Foreign Exchange Earnings

Kenya derives a lot of its attraction from its geography and natural resources which attract tourists from all over the world. The country is the main tourist destination in Eastern Africa region with tourism being the leading foreign exchange earner. The two major tourism products are the expansive beaches and wildlife in its natural habitat in the several game parks and reserves maintained by the government. There are also hotels and other leisure investments in the game parks and coastal beaches. Kenya tourism industry depends on wildlife, the natural diverse geographical and physical landscape attraction include the snow capped mountains; Mt Kenya and Mt Kilimanjaro, lakes; Victoria, Bogoria, Nakuru and the scenic Rift Valley and warm beaches.

The country is a world in miniature with landscapes that are characterized by their diversity with almost every known type of landform, from snow mounting and glacier to true desert, mountain, plateaus, forests and valleys exists within its boundaries. There are 20 mountain peaks above 2,000 metres (6,500 feet) and five great massifs rising more than 3000 metres (10,000 feet), lakes, rivers, plains, desert and the ocean. The low lying beaches at the coast, great heights in central Kenya, the Great Rift Valley and lower levels at the Lake Victoria – provides fascinating sites for tourists and visitors. Indigenous plants and diverse animal species most of which live in national parks and game reserves occupy about 7.5% of the Kenyan land surface.¹⁸⁵ Kenya's national parks and reserves rate among the best in Africa and easily accessible with a wide variety of birds and mammals in the parks. Kenya's wildlife and game reserves are home to all the 'Big Five' – lion, leopard, elephant, rhino and Buffalo. The Maasai Mara and Amboseli are world famous game reserves while Rhuma National Park

¹⁸⁵ Kenya and UNESCO 2003/04. *Annual Report*. (Kenya National Commission for UNESCO, 2004), p 145.

in Lambwe Valley is the native home of the rare Roan Antelope.¹⁸⁶ Going on safari is an integral part of the Kenyan experience and more popular parks such as Maasai Mara National Reserve and Amboseli National Park.

Lakes Nakuru, Baringo and Bogoria host the largest flock of flamingoes in the world. The annual wildebeest migration and from the Mara to the Serengeti in northern Tanzania is the largest migration of large mammals in the world and is considered the seventh wonder of the world. The mamba village in Mombasa hosts one of the largest manmade artificial crocodile farms in the world. The Carnivore restaurant in Nairobi ranks among the world's top 50 hotels and has successfully exported its unique concept¹⁸⁷ to South Africa and other markets.¹⁸⁸

The Rift Valley that runs through the center of Kenya has been established as the cradle of humanity. Historians Richard Leakey and his family made discoveries of several hominids skulls at Olduvai Gorge and Lake Turkana. One of these skulls is estimated to be two and a half million years old, radically altering the accepted theories on the origin of man. Before the Leakey's discovery the generally accepted theory was that there were two species of proto-humans: The robust hominids and the gracile hominids which eventually evolved to *Homo Sapiens*. Leakey's' discoveries suggested that there was a third species *Homo Habilis* which gave rise to modern humans. These gave rise to many branches in the human family tree including new species, *Kenyanthropus platyops* discovered in 2002 at Lake Turkana by the Leakey Family.¹⁸⁹ There is a lot of archaeological discoveries that dates back to pre historical period. Kenya's cultural development goes back to Stone Age period dating from about 2 million years ago and the Neolithic period which can be traced from about 10,000 years ago. *Homo Habilis*' crude tools that were used for cutting, digging or breaking date

¹⁸⁶ *op cit.* Kenya 2004, pp 18 -21.

¹⁸⁷ They provide all kinds of meat including game meat

¹⁸⁸ Central Bank of Kenya. *Monthly Economic Review*. July 2007. P.18

¹⁸⁹ Bingloss J. P. & Fletcher M. *Kenya*. (Paris:Lonely Planet Publications, 2003). p 11.

back to 2 million years have been found at Koobi Fora, east of Lake Turkana and were. Neolithic period is evidenced by all-purpose tools like hand axes and cleaves that were used by *Homo erectus* for cutting and skinning meat. These have been found at Olorgesailie, near Lake Magadi; Kariandusi near Lake Elementaita; Kilombe, near Eldama Ravine; Lewa Downs, near Isiolo; Isinya, near Kajiado; Mtongwe, near Mombasa and around Lake Victoria and Lake Turkana.¹⁹⁰

Performance of the tourism sector improved in the first five months of 2007 as stepped up marketing and improved security resulted in higher tourist arrivals.

Table 3.1: Tourist arrival in Kenya between 1998 and 2002

Tourism	1998	2001	2002
Visitors arriving ('000)	8943	993.6	1,001.3
Tourism earnings Ksh billion	17.5	24.3	21.7
Hotel bed nights available ('000)	7,975.7	8,327.8	8,182.7
Hotel bed nights occupied ('000)	2,813.0	2,764.1	3,436.8

Table 3.2: Tourist arrival in the Kenya between 2005 and 2007

	2005	2006	Jan –may 2006	Jan-May 2007	Share in Jan-May06	Share in Jan-May07	% Growth Jan-May07
CRUISE	4,533	6,161	2,786	1,723	0.8%	0.4%	-38.2%
MIAM	231,979	263,699	108,606	117,154	30.2%	29.1%	7.9%
JKIA	615,268	684,475	248,763	283,167	69.1%	70.4%	13.8%
TOTAL	851,780	954,335	360,155	402,044	100%	100%	11.6%

Source: Kenya Tourism Board

CRUISE SHIPS –Entry through Port of Mombasa.

JKIA –Entry through Jomo Kenyatta International Airport

MIAM – Entry through Moi International Airport Mombasa

¹⁹⁰ Kenya: *Land of Contrasts*. (Nairobi: Ministry of information and Broadcasting, Department of information, 1993), p 5.

Tourist arrivals went up by 11.6 percent to 402,044 visitors in the January – May 2007 period compared with 360,115 visitors over a similar period in 2006. Visitors' arrivals from all continents increased during the period under review. The highest increase of 20.4 percent was in visitors from America which accounted for 11.7 percent. Visitors from Europe, which accounted for 56.1 percent of all arrivals in January – May 2007 period, increased by 9.9 percent. Visitors from Africa also rose by 18.0 percent and accounted for 21.0 percent of total visitors arrivals during the period.¹⁹¹

3.3 Foreign and Domestic Policies

Kenya's foreign policy decision making has been influenced by pragmatic, tactical and crisis. Orwa Katete has defined foreign policy of a state as 'a the sum total of its arrived intentions vis-à-vis its relations with other states and non state actors in the international arena.'¹⁹² The country's foreign policy has been influenced by domestic and systematic variables and elements. Its status as a liberal state off the Indian Ocean is a stabilizing factor and has influenced its relations with landlocked neighbors. Kenyans foreign policy is broadly defined; non interference in other countries' internal affairs, good neighbourliness, peaceful co-existence and pan-Africanism.

The country's efforts to develop the philosophy and objectives of foreign policy, to outline national interests and set up system for foreign policy decision making and implementation were experienced in the period between 1963 and 1966. The country's foreign policy was characterized by conflicting perceptions of realism and idealism and Kenya's position in international politics. The government seems to have adopted the policy of realism when operating within the Eastern Africa region and idealism and dependency theory internationally. Kenya was faced with many security challenges at independence;

¹⁹¹ *op cit*, Central Bank of Kenya, p 18.

¹⁹² Orwa Katete. *Change and continuity in Kenya's Foreign Policy from Kenyatta to Moi*. In Oyugi O. Walter. *Politics and Administration in East Africa* (Nairobi; EAEP Ltd, 1994), p 307.

economic relations with capitalist economies especially those of Western Europe and Northern America.¹⁹⁴

Kenya's geopolitical factors also played a major role in shaping foreign policy in Kenyatta's regime. Proximity to the Indian Ocean determined the country's influences to its landlocked neighbours. Regional equilibrium favoured Kenya economically and Kenya would continue to maintain and promote this status as long as it benefited economically since Kenya wanted to sustain a special economic position in East Africa. Kenya also encouraged inflow of foreign investment and support capital by forging closer economic political and military relations with western European countries and USA. The country could not formulate a radical foreign policy since it did not have an experienced Foreign Service personnel and enormous resources. Kenyatta was ailing and could not engage in personal diplomacy that such a foreign policy demanded.

In seeking continuity, Moi's government drafted and issued Sessional paper No.1 of 1986 which outlined Kenya's development goals and strategy to the year 2000¹⁹⁵. The paper highlighted that Kenya was non-aligned and would support African liberation movements. Moi took a personal approach to diplomacy and involvement in management of foreign policy. He strengthened relations with Washington and Western Europe through economic and military ties. The president also signed economic and cultural agreements with Soviet Union and China.

Collapse of former East Africa Community forced Kenya to broaden her trade connections especially with countries like Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire. The August 1 1982 attempted coup d'état in Kenya and similar plans in Tanzania meant that internal security and economic development of Kenya required regional stability. President Moi

¹⁹⁴ *op cit*, Orwa Katete, p 307.

¹⁹⁵ *op cit*, Orwa Katete, pp316 – 323.

Somalia cited historical, cultural and racial reasons to claim the northern region of Kenya. President Idi Amin of Uganda claimed the west of Rift Valley for the same reasons and there was the potential of Tanzania reacting about the Maasai in Kenya. The existence of nomadic people across Kenya-Ethiopia border was also posed a challenge to the country. These were compounded with internal ethnic problems which forced Kenyatta to adopt a national security and defense of territorial integrity foreign policy. To achieve these Kenya formed a defense pact with Ethiopia so as to monitor Somalia policy of territorial expansion and the defense arrangement between Tanzania and Uganda. The desire to protect her borders shaped Kenya's policies of peaceful settlement of disputes and harmony with her neighbors. As a result Kenya has not engaged itself in any major armed conflict with its neighbours making the country's non interference foreign policy legitimate to other African countries.

The country's post independence foreign policy was also shaped by self interest to survive and the external developmental triggered by the cold war. In theory, Kenya's desire to survive in the tension packed cold war objected the non-aligned policy ('Wait and see' policy). This way the country was secure from threats for physical, political or ideological that originated from either bloc. This also meant that the government had a greater international bargaining power which was good for Kenya's economic growth. In reality, Kenya unlike its neighbors had tendencies to support the west with Kenyatta encouraging diplomatic relations with western ambassadors and economic and military western aid. The country's diplomatic thrust has always been within regional integration. Kenya signed the East African Cooperation binding the three Eastern Africa countries with common services and a common market in 1967.¹⁹³ Economic self interest was as important as territorial integrity, internal security, political independence and stability. Kenya intensified its

¹⁹³ Kenya: Land of Contrasts. (Nairobi: Ministry of information and Broadcasting, Department of information, 1993), p 26.

economic relations with capitalist economies especially those of Western Europe and Northern America.¹⁹⁴

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¹⁹⁴ *op cit*, Orwa Katete, p 307.

¹⁹⁵ *op cit*, Orwa Katete, pp316 – 323.

remarked that Kenya's foreign policy continued to be guided by good neighborliness, non-alignment and non interference in internal affairs of other countries in December 12 1983.¹⁹⁶

Moi mediated in internal conflicts in the African sub-region including Congo, Somalia, Chad, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Sudan and Somalia. He mediated the civil war between Tito and Brazilio Okello of Uganda National Liberation Army and Yoweri Museveni of National Resistance Movement. The talks produced a peace agreement in Nairobi on December, 17 1985, though none of the parties was interested in implementing it.

Kenya has succeeded in mediating where other mediators have failed. Nigeria, USA and Norway made attempts in mediating the conflict between the northern and southern Sudan with no success. Egypt and Italy attempted to unite the warring clans of Somalia but to no avail. The failures of these countries to mediate increased the need for a regional solution to regional conflicts. Kenya has emerged as a leader in peace keeping and mediation of Eastern Africa conflicts. The country through IGAD was successful in mediating the conflict between Sudan and Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) which led to the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) during the Nairobi Declaration in 2005.¹⁹⁷ Kenya valued the principle of good neighborliness and was committed to the spirit of regional co-operation and saw itself as a leader in peace and an active member of IGAAD, COMESA, AU and UN. Moi served as chairman of OAU for two consecutive terms 1981 and 1982, chairman of PTA (1989 -1990), IGAD (1993 – 1993), COMESA (1999 - 2000) and EAC (1996 – 2002).¹⁹⁸

Kenya's objectives in Eastern Africa have remained the same creation of regional co-operation and preservation of territorial integrity that would enhance national economic and political stability. The country has been an active member of regional and global

¹⁹⁶ See Moi's speech during the Jamhuri celebrations of December 12, 1983.

¹⁹⁷ Woodward Peter, *The Horn of Africa (Politics and International Relations)*, (London: Tauris Academic Studies. 1996) p 187.

¹⁹⁸ www.statehousekenya.go.ke/president/Moi/Profile.htm, 2007

organizations such as UN, AU, Commonwealth, COMESA, EAC, IMF, ADB (African Development Bank), IBRD (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development), IDA, IFC, EEC/ACP Lome Convention.¹⁹⁹ It is party to regional and international environmental agreements: biodiversity, climate change, climate change-Kyoto protocol, desertification, endangered species, hazardous wastes, law of the sea, marine dumping, marine life conservation, ozone layer protection, ship pollution, wetlands and whaling. Kenya's policies of good neighborliness, non-interference and the country's role as a peace maker and peace keeper in the region are attractive aspects that have created a political stable country conducive for business enabling the country to become a business hub in the region.

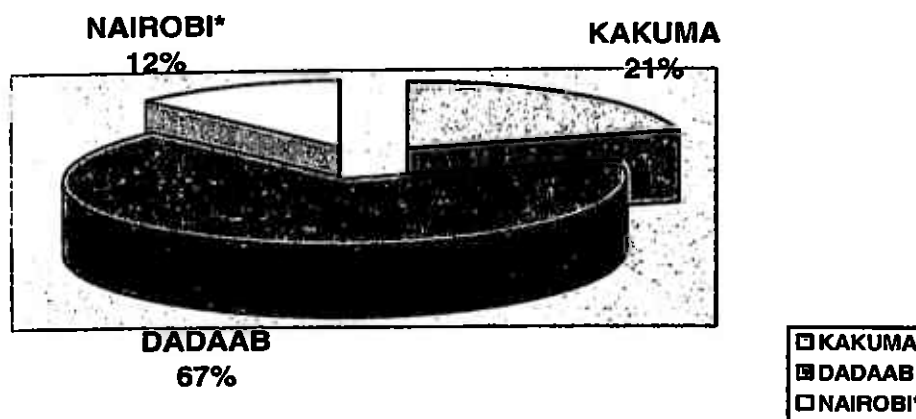
3.3.1 Refugees in Kenya

The protracted wars in Eastern African countries like Somalia, Ethiopia, Sudan and Uganda account for massive number of African refugees. As a result, there has been a huge influx of refugees from the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa who seek asylum in Kenya and Tanzania who are considered relatively peaceful countries. Since 1970s, Kenya has attracted refugees from the Sudan, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi. The collapse of the military dictatorships of Said Barre in Somalia and Mengistu Haile Mariam in Ethiopia in 1991 saw a tremendous influx of refugees in Kenya. This was accompanied by a shift in government policy in favour of confining asylum seekers in camps in the semi arid areas of Northern Kenya away from the economic activities in urban centers. There are two main refugee camps that are operational: Kakuma in Turkana District, Northwest Kenya which is predominantly occupied by Sudanese refugees together with Ethiopians, Somalis, Rwandese and Burundis, with a population of 57,874. Daadab which has 3 camps: Ifo, Dagahaley and Hagadera, having a population of 186,300. It was established in 1991 and has about 97 percent of refugees from Somalia while the remaining is from Uganda, Ethiopia, Eritrea,

¹⁹⁹ *op cit.* Export Directory 95-96 p. iii

Sudan and Congo. 33,309 refugees reside in urban areas in various parts of Kenya and are granted refugee status by the government.²⁰⁰

Chart 3.1: Refugee Population Distributions in Camps and Urban Areas²⁰¹



Source: The UNHCR Office in Kenya. Fact Sheet 2008

Dadaab – 186,300
Kakuma – 57,874
Nairobi – 33,309

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees in Nairobi is charged with the responsibility of ensuring safe and dignified asylum for refugees and internally displaced persons. UNHCR has spent over Ksh 1,291,009,231 to improve infrastructure. In Dadaab, UNHCR maintains 29 boreholes, while in Kakuma, the UN refugee agency supports 5 boreholes. The average amount spent on water provision per year is US\$150,000 in Dadaab and US\$ 60,000 in Kakuma. UNHCR constructed camp hospitals in Dadaab and Kakuma with a combined bed capacity of 355 at a cost of US\$ 53,949. The UN refugee agency rehabilitated and bought equipment for the Dadaab health centre at a cost of US\$10,750.

²⁰⁰ Ikanda Nyongesa Fred. *Factors that influence local attitudes towards refugees in Kenya*. (UoN. April 2004. MA in Anthropology), pp 2 – 3.

²⁰¹ Op cit, UNHCR Fact Sheet, pp 1- 2.

According to UNHCR there are approximated 224,469 Somali refugees, 31,477 Sudanese refugees, 19,671 Ethiopian refugees, 370 Rwandese refugees, 411 Uganda, 892 Cote d' Ivoire refugees, 209 Burundi refugees, 605 Eritrean refugees, 3 Tanzanian refugees, and 1 Namibian refugee totaling to 278,278.

UNHCR constructed a maternity facility in Liboi at a cost of US\$ 58,422. Over the years, the agency has supported Garissa Provincial Hospital with equipment and medical needs at a cost of US\$ 5,288. UNHCR also donated a vehicle to Dadaab Health Centre which has improved outreach services for the host community. More than US\$ 100,000 has been allocated to address HIV in the host community around the Dadaab camp. The agency works together with the government and more than ten other organizations to improve the lives of the locals and refugees.²⁰²

Organizations such as International Rescue Committee Care International, Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), work together UNHCR to address different needs of the refugees including healthcare, protection, advocacy, education, livelihoods and emergency relief. Others like Lutheran World Federation have set up projects that cover refugee camp areas while FilmAid uses the unique power of film to reach large numbers of refugees and members of the host community with critical information in a compelling visual format, overcoming language and illiteracy barriers. Refugee Act in Kenya introduced an 'Encampment policy' which creates urban refugees the rights to education, security and economic opportunities. The refugees are also entitled to alien identification cards as part of the long term process to naturalize them. Refugees prefer Kenya to other countries in the region since Kenyans integrate with foreigners easily and there are no xenophobic tendencies in the country.²⁰³

3.4 Social and Cultural Resources

Kenya has higher literacy rates of men (90%) and women (78.5%) followed by Tanzania's 85.2% for men and 69.2% for women and Uganda's literacy rate for men is at

²⁰² *op cit*, UNHCR, pp 1- 2.

²⁰³ Interview with Janet Adongo (An Officer at UNHCR) August 28, 2008.

78.9% and 59.2% for women.²⁰⁴ Kenya has the largest number of students in sub – Saharan Africa enrolling for studies and higher education in the USA since 2001. Kenyan students attending American colleges and Universities numbered 7,862 during the 2002-2003 academic year. The Institute of International Education report ranks Kenya 16th worldwide as a source of international students on American campuses.²⁰⁵ Kenya sends far more students to the United States than does any other African nation, surpassing number-two, Nigeria, by more than 2000 students. Kenya is the largest net exporter of skilled manpower in the region and has a surplus of human labor.²⁰⁶ Kenya expatriates are engaged in senior positions within the region and abroad.²⁰⁷ Kenya is also a leading tourism, wildlife and safari destination.²⁰⁸ The country recorded 1,600.6 thousand tourists with the number of hotel bed – nights occupied to 5,922.1 thousand in 2006 compared to Tanzania's 582, 807 international tourists with the number of hotel bed used 562,332.²⁰⁹ Kenyans traveling to Uganda account for 50 per cent of tourists arrivals in Uganda. The recognition of the Maasai Mara Game Reserve as one of the Seven Wonders of the World in November 2006 is a major boast to the industry.²¹⁰

Kenya's Human Development Index (HDI) value in The Global Human Development report 2002 was 0.513. The country was ranked at position 134, above Cameroon (0.512), Republic of Congo (0.417) and Comoros. The same year the Central Bureau of Statistics estimates the country's HDI at 0.550, placing Kenya among the countries in the medium human development category. Kenya accounts for 0.0 percent of global emissions, an

²⁰⁴ <http://www.africanexecutive.com/modules/magazines/articles/php?article=751&magazine=75>, March 2008

²⁰⁵ <http://opendoors.iienetwork.org/?p=36989>. The Daily Nation on the Web, Nation Media Group (Kenya) Monday, November 3, 2003

²⁰⁶ *ibid.* p. 8

²⁰⁷ *ibid.*

²⁰⁸ *ibid.* p. 57

²⁰⁹ <http://myafrica.wordpress.com/2006/09/29/more-tourists-are-coming-to-tanzania>, august 2006

²¹⁰ Republic of Kenya. *Economic Survey 2007*: Kenya National Bureau Of Statistics. (Nairobi: Ministry of Planning & National Development, 2007) p. 8

average of 0.3 tones of CO₂ per person and the country has signed and ratified the Kyoto Protocol. As a non-Annex I Party to the Protocol, Kenya is not bound by specific targets for greenhouse gas emissions.²¹¹ The country's performance is greatly influenced by its life expectancy of 56.6 years compared to the global average of 85 years, per capita income of US\$ 1,022 in purchasing power parity compared to the global set maximum US\$40,000 and a literacy rate of 70.9 percent compared to a maximum of 100 percent.²¹² The country is on the positive track in the task of national development according to the 2006 National Human Development Report. Human development in Kenya has continued to improve marginally with the human development index recording an increase from 0.520 in 2004 to 0.532 in 2005. The country has thus maintained a medium human development level underscoring the fact that Kenyans lifestyle has been influenced the revitalized economy that has recorded impressive growth rates in recent years. This affirms that the economy had recovered and was in firmly on the path to sustained growth the first term of president Kibaki.²¹³ Kenya continues to lead the region in life expectancy at 52 years, with Tanzania at 51 years and Uganda 49.

Kenya made progress on the Human Development Index, moving four places from 152 in 2005 to 148 in 2006, while Uganda slipped 9 places from 145 to 154. Tanzania improved three places moving from 162 to 159, Burundi 169 to 167 and Rwanda from 158 to 161. The Kenya National Human Development Report (KNHDR) for 2006 published by the UN Development Programme (UNDP) indicated that Kenya's Human Development Index increased marginally from 0.52 in 2004 to 0.532 in 2005.²¹⁴ Kenya has made the most gains in access to improved sanitation at 3 percent while all three East Africa countries scored 16

²¹¹ Kenya's human development index improves: UNDP

²¹² See 'Participatory Governance for Human Development. *Kenyan Human Development Report*. (Nairobi:UNDP, 2003) p 9.

²¹³ *op cit*, Hon. Henry Obwocha

²¹⁴ Eve Mashoo, *The East African* (Nairobi) 10 December 2007

percent on water sources. Tanzania's access to improved sanitation stagnated at 47 percent while a 16 percent gain was posted in access to better water sources.

Tangible and intangible culture heritage are part of Kenya's attractive power source. Kenya is multi lingua country with over fifty indigenous languages, numerous dialects and several other languages marking the country diverse in culture and people. Kiswahili is becoming a lingua franca in east and central Africa and the great lakes region. The country has sites and monuments ranging from paleontological, archaeological, and historical to rock art sites and sacred landscapes. In sports, athletics, cricket, rugby and other sports have been crucial to the national image.

Kenya's has a global reputation in track and field athletes. The country has produced more world class athletes, more world record holders and more Olympic Medalists in long distance running than any other country since 1960. The Kenya Amateur Athletics Association was formed in 1951 and was track and field. Soon it became apparent that Kenya had a reservoir of talent which if tapped could produce several world class runners. Kenya is the world's greatest sports power in long distance running especially cross country races and the marathon Olympic and world champions in long distance running hail in Kenya. The Beijing Olympics of 2008 Kenya won a total of 15 medals, 5 gold of which one was in the men's marathon race. The country was ranked 15 globally and first in Africa. The country has also won the world team cross country title (men, women and juniors) over 25 times in the last 25 years. The nation's elite athletes have won almost all the leading marathon races including New York, Boston, London, Rotterdam and Milan marathon. The nation is an emerging African power house in cricket, ladies volleyball and rugby. The ladies volleyball

are the African champs and the rugby sevens team ranked 7th globally by International Rugby Board (IRB) by 2008.²¹⁵

Kenyan personalities have also earned the country global recognition in their achievements in different professions ranging from athletics, literature and sciences. Professor Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Professor Ali Mazrui are among other renowned Kenyan authors with global appeal. Professor Wangari Maathai and her Green Belt Movement have seen more than 20 million trees planted in Kenya and the movement expanded in more than 30 African countries. Maathai has worked extensively with international organizations to exert leverage on the Kenyan government. She has been awarded Sweden's Right Livelihood Award in 1984, Golden Ark Award and Nobel Peace Prize. The spirit of Kenya is exemplified by its tradition of hospitality. 'The poorer the home, the poorer the person, the richer the welcome.'²¹⁶ Kenyans are economically and socially more aggressive than Tanzanians and Ugandans. Ugandan women experience cultural pressure to become introverts as opposed to Kenyan women who are free to pursue economic and social goals.²¹⁷ 95 percent of Kenyans demonstrate an open – handedness and willingness to help that is hard to find elsewhere.²¹⁸ The diversity of language and cultures prepare Kenyans in a special way to be tolerant to what is different. Kenyans were ranked to be the most optimistic citizens in the world in 2003 as seen in the table below.

²¹⁵ Kenya 2004. International Investment Conference Report 23rd – 26th March. (KICC Nairobi: Republic of Kenya, 2004), pp 18 -21

²¹⁶ Interviewer Samali Kereka (A Ugandan business woman) 21st September 2008.

She explains that most Eastern Africa countries won't welcome foreign to business freely like the way Kenyans do. she also considers Nairobi as one of the best constructed and maintained city's in Africa ahead of all in the region and others like Lagos.

²¹⁷ *ibid.* Samali thinks that only introvert women can fit in the Ugandan society because of the social pressure.

²¹⁸ Kenya. (ed) Camerapix. (Nairobi:camerapix, 1993) p 26

Table 3.2: The table below shows the five most optimistic and pessimistic citizens in the world.²¹⁹

Optimists		Pessimists	
2003 will be better than 2002		2003 will be worse than 2002	
Kenya	77	Zimbabwe	72
Kosovo	74	Portugal	65
Nigeria	68	Guatemala	57
Turkey	67	Ecuador	52
USA	64	Greece/Ireland/Dom. Rep.	43

Source: Gallup International End of Year Poll 2002

The people of Kenya do not share a single world view. The vast majority of Kenyans are Christian, Muslims or traditional believers. They take different world views within the context of a particular cultural or ethnic community for instance a Swahili Muslim has a different worldview from a Mijikenda Muslim even though both are from the coast. In a globalizing world, this is an advantage to be exploited – Kenyans already live in a global set up²²⁰ with over fifty languages with the official national language English and Kiswahili respectively, cooperating with different persons is hardly a problem for Kenya's. The languages and culture are cross pollinating as they create a common Kenyan base for the individual languages. The growth of that common base though slow, gives hope. As a reality, the languages are a resource to be tapped. They challenge Kenyans to create models of communication and life patterns as survival resource.

²¹⁹ Figures of the Gallup International End of Year Poll 2002, <http://www.gallup-international.com/>, 2002 Gallup International annual End of Year Survey, which interviewed more than 67,500 people in 65 countries during November and December 2002.

²²⁰ Across Borders: Benefiting from cultural Differences. Conference Proceedings at University of Nairobi. (Kenya: DAAD, 17th -18th March 2005)

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed Kenya's soft power resources under economic and political resources, foreign and domestic policies and social and cultural resources. Kenya's open financial markets, foreign exchange earnings and a pre independence economic advantage over the neighbouring countries have given the country soft power capabilities. In addition, the geostrategic position of the country and the reasonable stable political environment compared to the others in the region has made the country more attractive than the others. The non-aligned and good neighbourliness policies have been backed with the country's leading mediation role and hosting of its neighbours be they visitors, refugees or investors. Equally attractive, is the social and culture of the Kenya people that has increased the soft power capabilities of the country.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

4.1. Introduction

This chapter establishes the findings of the study and examines the factors that undermine Kenya's soft power. It will also seek to test the hypothesis and ascertain the effect of Kenya's foreign policy on the country's soft power. The findings are informed by the demonstration of Kenya's soft power as discussed in chapter three.

Kenya has enormous resources that can potentially provide soft power. The resources are wider than those traditionally proposed as culture, domestic policies and values and foreign policy. Soft power resources are difficult to control since most of its crucial resources are outside the control of governments, and their effects depend heavily on perception of the people. Moreover, soft power resources often work indirectly by shaping the environment for policy, and sometimes take a long time to produce the desired outcomes. Soft power resources are slower, more diffuse, and more cumbersome to wield than hard power resources.²²¹

4.2 Findings of the Study

The tangibility of power has lessened with the expansion of democracy globally. Power has become less coercive and without democracies it is difficult to transform power globally with hard power alone. The diversity in economies, leadership styles, theories, cultures and policies have made all three sources of power to remain relevant; military, economic and soft power.²²² This is necessary for options and effects provided by each power as provided in table bellow;

²²¹ Equally, hard power actions do not always promptly produce desired outcomes as witnessed the length and ultimate failure of the Sudan war and other conflicts in the region. Economic sanctions have historically failed to produce their intended outcomes in more than half the cases where they were tried.

²²² *op cit.* Nye S. J, p 30.

Table 4.1 Effects Three Types of Power

	Behaviours	Primary Currencies	Government Policies
Military Power	Coercion Deterrence Protection	Threats force	Coercive diplomacy War Alliance
Economic Power	Inducement Coercion	Payments sanctions	Aid Bribe Sanctions
Soft Power	Attraction Agenda setting	Values Culture Policies Institutions	Public diplomacy Bilateral & multilateral diplomacy

Source: Joseph Nye's Book: *Soft Power; The Means to Success in World Politics*, p 33

4.2.1 Kenya's Foreign policy as a Source of its Soft Power

Kenya's foreign policy has been shaped largely by the regional events dating back to pre colonial era. The policies were intentionally drafted to give Kenya leverage in the East African community.²²³ Domestic events, strategic position and other systematic variables have also influenced Kenya's foreign policy. These factors have influenced Kenyans foreign policy as broadly defined; non interference in other countries' internal affairs, good neighbourliness, peaceful co-existence and pan-Africanism.

Post independent Kenya was faced with many security challenges; Somalia on the east, Uganda in the west, Tanzania in north all claimed some parts of Kenya. The country had to take a firm stand to rescue its territory. The regional conflicts that emerged in the 80s and 90s in countries like Sudan and Ethiopia, forced Kenya to take on the leading mediator's position regionally. This foreign policy decision made Kenya very attractive regionally and thereby wielding soft power though the reasons might have been to redeem authoritarian regime image or to safe guard the country's image.

²²³ Orwa Katete. Change and continuity in Kenya's Foreign Policy from Kenyatta to Moi. In Oyugi O. Walter. *Politics and Administration in East Africa* (Nairobi; EAEP Ltd, 1994), p 307.

The country's post independence foreign policy was also shaped by self interest to survive from tension packed environment and later the regional conflicts. Kenya adopted a 'Wait and see' policy. As a result Kenya gained security and had a greater international bargaining power which was good for Kenya's economic growth.²²⁴ Economic self interest was as important as territorial integrity, internal security, political independence and stability. Kenya intensified its economic relations with capitalist economies especially those of Western Europe and Northern America.²²⁵

Kenya's geopolitical factors and regional equilibrium such as proximity to the Indian Ocean have played a major role in shaping Kenya foreign policy. Kenya has encouraged inflow of foreign investment and support capital by forging closer economic political and military relations with western European countries and USA. Moi's Sessional paper No.1 of 1986 which outlined Kenya was non-aligned and would support African liberation movements 2000²²⁶. This was followed by Moi personal approach to diplomacy and involvement in management of foreign policy. He strengthened relations with Washington and Western Europe through economics and military ties and signed economic and cultural agreements with Soviet Union and China. His actions gained the country more soft power in the region as the recognized east African country by the West countries.

The foreign policy of good neighbourliness, peaceful co-existence has been experienced with Kenya's relations with neighbouring countries and its treatment of not only refugees but also visitors. Until the post election violence of 2007, Kenya had been deemed as a safe country by the neighbouring country citizens. Despite the violence experienced then, the country is still viewed as a land of contrasts and a multiracial society that is home not only to indigenous Africans but also Indians, Asians, Somalis, Sudanese and Europeans.

²²⁴ Kenya: Land of Contrasts. (Nairobi: Ministry of information and Broadcasting, Department of information, 1993), p 26.

²²⁵ *op cit*, Orwa Katete, p 307.

²²⁶ *op cit*, Orwa Katete, pp316 – 323.

Unlike other countries where there is fear of xenophobia, Kenyans are seen to be a friendly people who embrace the policy of good neighbourliness. The open economy has provided opportunities not only for Kenyans but investors in the neighbouring countries. This policy has created access to property leading to prosperity.

4.2.2 Other Sources of Soft Power

Kenya's domestic policies and values and culture have equally played a major role in wielding its soft power. Political and social values have become important resources for Kenya's soft power. The country is known for its people's optimistic attitude, aggressiveness, social and educated. Its cuisine, beautiful flora and fauna, wildlife, and athletics have increased the country's attractiveness in the region and abroad.²²⁷ Kenya's personalities such as Nobel winner Professor Wangari Mathai and US President with Kenyan origin Barack Obama have increased Kenya's attractiveness. These factors have been in one way or another been influenced by Kenya domestic values and policies.

4.3 Factors that Undermine Kenya's Soft Power

4.3.1. Poor Governance

Kenya's poor governance can be traced mainly to leadership that lacks the requisite vision, discipline, determination and perseverance. Kenyan presidency has been captive of particularistic interest and sought solutions in repression. The Kenyatta presidency did not put in place and submit itself to institutions aimed at facilitating acceptability, predictability, consistency and probity. The authoritarian tendency of the state under Kenyatta continued into the second post-colonial regime of President Moi who consolidated political power through the provincial administration thereby perpetuating the suppression of the civil society

²²⁷ Republic of Kenya. *Economic Survey 2007*: Kenya National Bureau Of Statistics. (Nairobi: Ministry of Planning & National Development, 2007) p. 8

and opposition politics in general.²²⁸ Moi's inability to secure political stability and continuity, socioeconomic development and national integration for the benefit of Kenyans led to failure in building a governance realm.²²⁹ In the economic realm, the independence leadership sought to pursue the philosophy of growth as articulated in Sessional paper No. 10 of 1965 of African socialism and its application to planning in Kenya. Essentially, instead of addressing regional disparities, the Kenyatta leadership added ethnic and class orientation to expand these disparities. Selected areas of the country received preferential treatment to the detriment of others and in the process there developed the basis for polarized ethnic identities and obvious disparity.²³⁰ The desire of personal accumulation brought about the need to amend the constitution so as to entrench patrimonial rule in which there was succession of the president and vice president. The 1968 Amendment was followed by the assassination of Tom Mboya in 1969 which transformed Kenya into a de facto one-party state.²³¹ This marked the end of serious national building and concentration of wealth accumulation. A section of Kenyans acquired as much as 200,000 acres of land when majority had none.²³² In the seventies Kenya's soft power was strongest attracting aid and investors since the countries was surrounded by pro communist countries. Opposition to good governance in the Moi government weakened Kenya's economy and hence Kenya's soft power. The government was reluctant to take political reforms to reinforce the benefits of economic structural change consequently donors despairing and quitting. Inflation rates increased to a

²²⁸ Wanyande Peter, Omosa Mary & chyweya Ludeki. (ed), *Governance and Transition Politics in Kenya*. (Nairobi: University of Nairobi Press, 2007) p.88

²²⁹ *ibid.* P.65

²³⁰ Omosa Mary, *Rural – Rural Development Disparities in Kenya*. Wajibu Vol.8, (1993) No. 3

²³¹ *op cit.* Wanyande Peter, Omosa Mary & chyweya Ludeki. (eds) 2007. P.67

²³² Hunt, D., *The Impending Crisis in Kenya: the Case for Land reform*. (Aldershot: Gower, 1994) p. 288
The articles talks about inequality in resource distribution in Kenya.

record of over 22% in 1983. The foreign exchange shortage persisted and was relieved only by borrowing heavily from IMF and strict import control.²³³

Moi like his predecessor employed repression and constitution amendments to maintain political power. The constitutional amendment act No. 7 of 1982 introduced section 2A that transformed Kenya into a de jure one party state. This amendment was followed by amendments that removed the security tenure of judges, the controller and Auditor general and Attorney General. Repression endangered a coup attempt on August 1st, 1982 which the Moi regime used to re-work state institutions to meet its objectives. While Kenyatta elite used national rhetoric to drive accumulation, Moi resorted to populism in its search for legitimacy. Through a series of constitutional amendments, Moi transformed the authoritarian Kenyatta state into an autocratic regime characterized by detentions and severe press censorship thereby exacerbating the sowing of seeds of discord and political instability.²³⁴

Kenyatta's ruling elite acquired wealth especially land through state clientelism where state resources jobs and contracts went to Kikuyu bourgeoisie and technocracy, Moi's ruling elite resorted to outright plunder of state resources. Moi removed most of Kenyatta's appointees from Key public sector positions, recasting the state in his own image between 1978 and 1982. Moi dismantled the Kikuyu hegemony over the state which significantly strengthened Moi's hand against his principal adversaries. Moi was unable to erect a Kalenjin-centered state since the Kalenjin group was much less numerous than the Kikuyu.²³⁵ Kenyan minorities who had been excluded by both the colonialist and Kenyatta administrations had their time to bite the national cake. Over time, Moi got rid of all his closest Kikuyu confidants including Charles Njonjo and G.G Kariuki in 1983. Later he

²³³ The Standard Newspaper (Nairobi). Saturday, December 31, 1983.

²³⁴ Masinde Eric Aseka, *Transformational Leadership in East Africa: Politics, ideology and Continuity*. (Kampala; Fountain Publishers Ltd. 2005) p 345

²³⁵ The Kalenjin tribe is composed of numerous sub-groups of which Moi's Tugen is the smallest.

appointed Professor George Saitoti as vice president²³⁶ to further the alliance of the KAMATUSA (Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana, and Samburu) group that was the bedrock of the regime.²³⁷ Moi's Kalenjin based group of advisors and confidants led by Nicholas Biwott retreated to Kabarnet, Moi's home town, the equivalent of Kenyatta's Gatundu group: a government within a government.

This led to gigantic corrupt bureaucratic culture that has been inherited by the Kibaki government. Donor countries introduced conditionalities attached to governance of Kenya. The Breton Woods institution deferred six months aid loans to Kenya demanding that Kenya should stop high level corruption in November 26th, 1991. They cited lack of progress, transparency and accountability in economic, political and social reforms.²³⁸ Denmark made it clear that they regarded good governance, democracy and respect for Human Rights as preconditions for economic development. Belgium announced its discontinuation of development assistance because of corruption in Kenya.²³⁹ The leadership of the two presidents in governing the country negatively affected the image of the country.

4.3.2 Corruption

Corruption, be it high level corruption and personal corruption, has been one of the biggest impediment to Kenya attractiveness in the region. The malpractice of corruption whether through inducements or fraud is not only found in the Kenya public service but also in the private sector. It is a cultural problem with a magnitude and effect that Kenya would want to do away with. The prevalence of corruption in Kenya can be traced in the colonial era when the colonial chief presented the corruption Bill to the legislative Council (legCo) in

²³⁶ Daily Nation on April 28, 1989

²³⁷ Glickman Harvey (ed), *Ethnic Conflict and Democratization in Africa*. (Atlanta, Georgia: African Studies Association Press, 1995) p 175.

²³⁸ Mute M. Lawrence, Kioko Wanza & Akiyaga Kichama. *Building an Open Society: The Politics of Transition in Kenya*. (Nairobi: Claripress, 2002) p. 247

²³⁹ *ibid.* p 251

June 1956. The KANU government made poor anti corruption changes making the vice part of the survival strategy of the government – a means for distribution of political patronage. Though KANU acknowledged the problem they never made serious attempts to curb it. Government would form anti corruption committees but later ignore the committees' recommendation. Government was tied between showing attempts of good governance and having rested interests in corruption. Since then squandering of public property for personal advantage, fraudulent deals for kickbacks, in tendering contracts and procurement are rampant in Kenya. Use of political banks to defraud the unsuspecting public has been a major dent in the Kenyan economy. Bribery in rendering official services for which one is employed and earning taxpayer money is common in Kenya. Many institutions in Kenya are perceived to be corrupt.

Transparency International (TI) institution research on most corrupt institutions in Kenya has shown that the police department has remained the most corrupt institution in Kenya. Police corruption in Kenya is widespread and open taking various forms and degrees such as bribery and extortion, favouritism, kick backs, misapplication of police resources, deception practices, theft and pre-meditated criminal activity.²⁴⁰ The reasons for police corruption can be attributed to poor recruitment and training, lack of resources in government to pay decent salaries to police officers and law and lack of accountability. The judiciary is one of the public service institutions that have been corrupt and bias both internally within the judicial service itself and externally by members of the public. The transition from KANU to NARC in the December 2002 elections promised the end of the dark age of corruption in the judiciary at least for the inherited KANU – era judges. The NARC government established the Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs to function side-by-side with the office of the Attorney General. President Kibaki appointed a tribunal to

²⁴⁰ *ibid.* p 23

investigate allegations of human rights violations against Chief Justice Chunga,²⁴¹ who resigned preempting the tribunal and was replaced with Justice Evans Gicheru. The newly appointed Chief Justice Evans Gicheru appointed the Integrity and Anti-Corruption Committee to investigate different aspects of corruption in the Judiciary: forms and magnitude, nature, impact on performance of functions, strategies for detection and prevention, an identification of culprits. The section of the findings from the report was published by Daily Nation. The table below reveals the categories of corruption and their frequencies.

Table 4.2: Frequency of Corruption offences in the Judiciary

Frequency among the 3 levels of Judiciary

	Offences	Appeal Court Judges	High Court Judge	Magistrate's Court	Total
1	Soliciting bribes	2	12	28	42
2	Undue delays	1	-	2	3
3	Sexual harassment	2	1	-	3
4	Intimidation	-	5	2	7
5	Assisting in drafting of pleas	2	2	-	4
6	Misconduct/misbehavior	3	13	22	38
7	Dishonesty and theft	-	-	2	2

Source: Compiled from the Daily Nation-(Nairobi), September-October 2003.

Billions of shillings embezzled in Kenya and a shocking display of waste and neglect in the public sector leaving public projects in a state of disrepair. Government corruption was valued at Ksh 127.4 billion between 1990 and 1999. Corruption led to political polarization, collapsed infrastructure and an annual economic growth that averaged about 1%. Poverty rose from 11.5 million in 1994 to reach 12.6 million in 1997.²⁴² Rural bandits led to the loss of 300,000 herds of cattle valued at Kshs 3 billion between 1992 and 2002 while urban areas,

²⁴¹ The tribunal consisted of Francis ole Kaparo (Speaker of the National Assembly), Justice (retired) Majid Cockar, Abdullah Sharawi (Chairman of Public Service Commission), Lawyer Gibson Kamau Kuria, and Justice Richard Kwach.

²⁴² Ayako A and Katumanga M, *Review of Poverty in Kenya*, Special report Series, (Nairobi: IPAR, 1997) p 12.

bandits racked Kshs 1.5 billion a year in vehicle thefts and predation on forests generated Kshs 6.2 billion between 1990 and 1998.²⁴³

Internal and external forces forced the reluctant government to enact some measures; the re-establishment of special anti – corruption agency, Kenya Anti- corruption commission (KACC). This remained the same until the 1990's when democratization had hit Kenya and Kenya Anti-corruption Authority was disbanded in 2000. A number of reforms were made to curb corruption; enactment of public Officer Act; establishment of commission of Inquiry into Goldenberg scandal; implementation of anti-corruption reforms in the judiciary; implementation of the Public Sector Expenditure Management Reforms programme; and initiation of a set of miscellaneous reforms in different quarters of public life.²⁴⁴In addition, the prevention of corruption Act, cap 65 of 1956 was repealed by the Anti-corruption and Economic Crimes Act in 2003.

International Monetary Fund (IMF) suspended Kenya's Enhanced Structural Adjustment Program due to the government's failure to maintain reforms and curb corruption in 1997. The IMF, which had resumed loans in 2000 to help Kenya through the drought, again halted lending in 2001 when the government failed to institute several anticorruption measures. Despite the return of strong rains in 2001, weak commodity prices, endemic corruption, and low investment limited Kenya's economic growth to 1.2 percent. Growth lagged at 1.1 percent in 2002 because of erratic rains, low investor confidence, meager donor support, and political infighting up to the elections. The Kibaki government was rocked by high-level graft scandals in 2005 and 2006 in spite of progress in rooting out corruption and encouraging donor support in his first few years of his term. The World Bank and IMF delayed loans pending action by the government on corruption in 2006. The international

²⁴³ *op cit.* Wanyande Peter, Omosa Mary & Chweya Ludeki. (editors) p 71.

²⁴⁴ Chweya, Kithome & Kichamu. *Control of corruption in Kenya; legal- political dimensions 2001 -2004.* (Nairobi; Claripress, 2005) p 18.

financial institutions and donors have since resumed lending, despite little action on the government's part to deal with corruption.

High level corruption in Kenya has been exhibited through Goldenberg export compensation payments in which Goldenberg International Limited requested the Ministry of finance for sole rights to export diamond jewelry and gold of Kenya in October 1990. Government lost Ksh 64 billion in fraudulent central Bank payments to Goldenberg International. There was no evidence to confirm that gold and other precious metals claimed to have been exported and for which compensation was paid, originated and were processed in Kenya. The Kisumu Molasses project has been described as Kenya's most celebrated white elephant and the most questionable joint venture ever entered into by the government. Turkwell Gorge Multi-purpose project and Anglo leasing scandal that involved ksh7.2 billion²⁴⁵ are among corruption scandals in Kenya that have elicited widespread disapproval both internally from Members of parliament and civil society organizations as well as externally from multilateral and bilateral donors.²⁴⁶ Actors in both categories have demanded thorough investigation to find and punish the culprits in the scandal and to recover the loss either in the form of money or physical assets. Kenya was ranked 144th out of 159 countries for corruption and the most corrupt country among the three east African countries according to the Corruption Perceptions Index 2005.²⁴⁷ In Africa it was ranked 40th out of 52 countries in 2007. The table below illustrates the Eastern Africa corruption perception index of 2007.

²⁴⁵ The People's Daily. (Nairobi) July 29, 2004

²⁴⁶ Studies by Centre for Law and Research International (CLARION) conducted showed that corruption was still a menace to Kenyan society and that government initiatives to curb this vice has been at best a ploy. Transparency International (TI) studies have shown over the years that corruption perception index and the incidence of corruption have been high in government ministries, departments and parastatals. TI rankings have also placed Kenya as the most corrupt country in east African countries.

²⁴⁷ Corruption Perceptions Index 2005

Table 4.3: 2007 Corruption Perception Index: Eastern Africa region Highlights

Global Country Rank	Regional Country Rank	Country	CPI Score 2007	Confidence Intervals	Surveys used
94	1	Tanzania	3.2	2.9 – 3.4	8
111	2	Rwanda	2.8	2.3 – 3.3	5
111	2	Uganda	2.8	2.5 – 3.0	8
138	4	Ethiopia	2.4	2.1 – 2.7	8
150	5	Kenya	2.1	1.9 – 2.3	8
172	6	Sudan	1.8	1.6 – 1.9	6
179	7	Somalia	1.4	1.1 – 1.7	4

Source: Transparency International 2007

4.3.3 Human Rights Violation

Independence from colonialism was about rehabilitation of human rights for the Kenyan people. Political and civil rights which sought to tame state capriciousness was the original emphasis of human rights in Kenya. Human rights are authoritatively expressed in both national and international law. Nationally, they are expressed in the constitution, ordinary law, customs and administrative regulations. Political repressions, political prisoners detained, police brutality, corporal punishment, violence against women and poor working conditions are forms of human rights violations that have been expressed in Kenya since independence. Opposition leaders who were detained came back virtually maimed, a state of affairs which is indicative of the inhumane conditions to which prisoners and detainees were subjected to.

Moi's government encouraged informal repression as a means of intimidating and denying citizens their rights. Opposition political parties were not allowed to exercise their political and civil rights. Insecurity reports were high with two people dying in the hands of trigger happy police every week in 1996 and three people in 1997.²⁴⁸ Fourteen people were shot dead by the police in an opposition party meeting dubbed *saba saba* (seventh of July) in 1997. Historically the police have been a coercive government tool and not a tool to serve the

²⁴⁸ *Human Rights as Politics*, (Nairobi: A Kenya Human Rights Publication, 2003) pp 2-3

citizens (*Utumishi kwa wote*). The military and police raided an opposition demonstration in Nairobi killing 20 and arresting politicians, human rights activists and journalists. This rally known as *saba saba* (7th of July) was a pivotal event in the push for a multiparty Kenya.²⁴⁹

Police's failure to deliver social services and its political repression, blatant violations of law and the constitution, torture, murder, rape, insecurity, a collapsing economy, a cowed and dependent judiciary, corruption and compromised security apparatus all made Moi-KANU regime insecure, frightened and dangerous. Human Rights defenders were also abused and if they persisted they were prone to die. The Nyayo hegemony concentrated on narrowing of space of civil society activism, increased political repression that bordered on tyranny, constriction of popular participation in political process and intensified corruption. Dissatisfaction was culminated in famous *saba saba* riots in events that followed the arrests of the detention of opposition political leaders like Kenneth Matiba and Charles Rubia. Political transition has always nurtured insecurities in Kenya marked with tribal and land clashes *saba saba* riots, murder of Dr. Robert Ouko in July 1990 and ethnic cleansing.

Kenya's constitution has been restrictive to guarantees of enjoyment, respect, protection and promotion of human rights of all its citizens. Threats of constitutionalism in Kenya as regards the human resources include Moi's dictatorial leadership style, impunity on the KANU ruling class even when it was obvious of their crimes; disrespect and discriminative application of the law to suit ones tribe or the ruling class and failure to engage citizens in healthy public debates.²⁵⁰ US congress introduced precondition to economic and military support in which president Moi was to make steps to: charge and try or release all political prisoners and detainees; stop mistreatment and physical abuse of the prisoners, restore the independence of the judiciary and freedoms of expressions in the 1990's.

²⁴⁹ Bingloss J. P. & Fletcher M. *Kenya*. (Paris: Lonely Planet Publications, 2003). p 15.

²⁵⁰ Kenya Human Rights Commission is constantly observing, investigating, documenting and publicizing Human Rights abuses. Kenyans on their part have become more and more enlightened on their human rights.

Washington was only interested to support countries that were liberalizing their economies and political systems. Mysterious death of American citizen Father Antony Kaiser raised concerns in the US regarding Human Rights in Kenya.²⁵¹

Kenya witnessed the most repressive period in its history after the failed Kenya Air Force attempted coup of 1982. There were massive violations of human rights and a serious derogation of democratic governance. Authoritative observation of the ethnic clashes laid the blame squarely at the door of government. Moi felt obliged to apply an authoritarian approach due to the unrest and violence in his regime. The President issued decrees on a wide range of policy issues which the civil service had to implement without question, undermining the institution decision making process with disastrous results. Greater control and subordination of every institution to the president led to land clashes and tribal cleansing hindering the attractiveness of the country.²⁵²

4.3.4 Insecurity

Kenya seems to be the most peaceful country in the region though it has had both internally and external problems with Uganda and Ethiopia. Kenya's relationship with Uganda, Somalia and Ethiopia has been lukewarm marked with border conflicts. Tension between Kenya and Uganda were witnessed in the 1990s with Kenya capturing president Museveni's spies in the country. Kenya has often accused Ethiopia of cross-border raids by the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) while Ethiopia has always felt that Kenya supports the OLF. Somalia's policy of expansionism with the aim of creating a Greater Somalia at the expense of Kenya has affected the two countries' relationship. The genesis of ethnicity was through the colonizers administration where they stabilized boundaries and recognized each tribe as a separate entity through a system of tribal reserves politics in Kenya therefore

²⁵¹ Kibwana Kivutha, Maina Peter Chris & Oloka-Onyango Joseph, *In Search of Freedom and Prosperity: Constitution reforms in East Africa*, (Nairobi: Claripress, 1996) p 354.

²⁵² Masinde Eric Aseka. *Transformational Leadership in East Africa: Politics, ideology and Continuity*, (Kampala; Fountain Publishers Ltd, 2005) p 345.

developed primarily as the politics of interest groups seeking to position themselves advantageously as possible in the competition for political power and the allocation of opportunities and resources that went with the control of the state. Though Kenyatta, Moi and Kibaki took pain to ensure representation of all major ethnic constituencies within the government, the cabinet and government was mainly dominated by the tribe of the presidents.²⁵³ J.M Kariuki's assassination in 1975 revealed deep seated intra-ethnic disputes within the Kikuyu elite because it was implicated on Kenyatta's government.²⁵⁴ Tribal identity where the ecology of land varies between regions, and regions are identified with particular tribal groupings, the potential for different kinds of agricultural and other economic activities also came to be associated with tribal identity. A singular fact of political geography has been the literal centrality of the central province for economic and political change in Kenya. They gave the masses the illusion that they were part of the government and gave Moi total control in the choice of who would be elected to parliament or to a party post.

The outbreak of ethnic violence in the Rift Valley was directly linked to the multi-party debate and to the incitement to violence by senior party and government officials. The perpetrators of the violence were supplied with ammunition, transport, food and housing by named members of KANU. The principal perpetrators of violence were Kalenjin warriors, systematically transported to various places to cause terror against Luhya, Luo, Kikuyu and Kisii communities in Rift valley and parts of Western Kenya by murdering, looting, burning, raping and generally creating chaos intended to force victims to flee the areas. The reports

²⁵³ Moi created ethnic leaders such as Ngei among the Kamba, Angaine among the Meru, Nyagah among the Embu, Sagini among the Kisii, Tipis among the Maasai, Nassir at the Coast, Kamotho in Muranga, Saitoti and Ntimama in Maasai land, Musyoka in Ukambani, Mudavadi (Sr and Jr) in Western Kenya and he imposed them on the people displacing the existing popular leaders. These leaders served Moi with Loyalty and dedication.

²⁵⁴ *op cit*, Glickman Harvey (ed). p161.
Ethnicity here is understood to mean the consciousness among people who share cultural and linguistic sometimes kinship and religious roots and who conditionally affiliate the purposes of political mobilization and political action.

also suggest that the security organs of the state and particularly the police responded to the problem in a most lethargic and uninspired manner; the attachés enjoyed some kind of immunity from the process of law in a number of cases warriors arrested by civilian defense groups were released by police without charge. Families were killed while some were internally displaced to refugee camps set up by churches and international relief agencies. Consequently, at the time of voter registration and voting, thousands of citizens were unable to participate. As a result of 1992 multi-party elections the Kamba became the second largest group after the Kalenjin in ethnic representation in parliament and were rewarded by Moi in appointments to the cabinet.

There were also tribal clashes at coast province Mombasa where the coastal residence demanded the upcountry tribes to leave the region. Tourism industry was negatively affected with a number of beach hotels closing at the South Coast because of the insecurity and tourist seeking other destinations like Tanzania. Ethnicity was used as a forum through which political mobilization could be undertaken. More than 1500 Kenyans lost their lives through the so-called ethnic clashes and there 500,000 were displaced in Rift valley, parts of Nyanza and Western Province in 1992-93.²⁵⁵ Vigilante groups Mungiki, Jeshi la Mama, Jeshi La Mzee, Taliban and Baghdad Boys settled the political and economic spaces in the urban areas where they terrorized and extracted resources from the public with impunity.

Inequality in human development in terms of ownership of resources, distribution of wealth and income and in access to economic and social goods and services is unattractive factor about Kenya. Inequalities of the rich and poor in Kenya have influence social and economic outcomes with implications on human development. Economic growth can be negatively influenced through imperfect capital markets. Kenya displays a high level of inequality in income and income-earning opportunities. The inequalities take the form of

²⁵⁵ *op cit*, Wanyande Peter, Omosa Mary & chyweya Ludeki. (editors) p 70.

disparities between rural and urban areas, different geographical regions, men and women and different socio-economic groups in society. Globally, Kenya is among the 30 most unequal societies in the world and among the top ten low income economies with a high concentration of income. With the top 10 percent of the population controlling 35 percent of the nation's income, the country's compares unfavorably with other countries in Africa at similar levels of development.²⁵⁶ The income gap has been widening between the poor and rich populations of Kenya. Disparities in income distribution between regions where Nairobi and Western provinces have the highest income mal distribution followed by Rift Valley, Eastern and Nyanza provinces. Cultural, social and economic factors in Kenya have combined to place men at a serious advantage to women who are more likely to be employed than men. Though women form a strong 70 percent of the total labor force in agriculture, they only account for 30 percent of the total wage employment.²⁵⁷ In health matter, HIV/Aids was declared a national disaster and the National Aids control Council (NACC) was formed as a coordinating body for all HIV/Aids programmes in the country.²⁵⁸

US embassy bombing in Nairobi in August 7th 1998 and New York twin towers in September 11, 2001, introduced the terrorism agenda to the world. On 28th November 2002, the 55th anniversary of the partition of Palestine suicide bombers slammed an explosives loaded car into the lobby of the Paradise Hotel Kikambala near Mombasa.²⁵⁹ The attackers failed in their nearly simultaneous attempt to use surface-to-air missiles to down an airliner full of Israeli tourists.²⁶⁰ Earlier, missiles were fired at an Israeli passenger Boeing 757 plane taking off from Mombasa headed for Tel Aviv. These terrorist attempts have made the country an easy target to terrorist attempt. Terrorism in Kenya coupled by internal

²⁵⁶ Human Development Report 2001. Addressing Social & Economic Disparities. Kenya; UNDP.2002. P. 32

²⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p 38.

²⁵⁸ In sessional paper No 4 of 1997 on Aids in Kenya.

²⁵⁹ Bingloss J. P. & Fletcher M. *Kenya*. (Paris:Lonely Planet Publications, 2003) p 18.

²⁶⁰ Marc Lacey (Correspondent's report) *Travel Advisory: Threat of Terrorism Hurts Kenya Tourism*. (The New York Times, January 4, 2004) p 4.

insecurities led to international media alarming reports and travel advisory that Kenya unsafe as a tourist destination.²⁶¹ The US State Department urged Americans travel warning to defer nonessential travel to Kenya in a September 25, 2002. Travelers are apparently hearing the message, and similar ones issued by other Western governments. Kenya attracted 495,751 tourists in 2002, according to the Kenya Tourist Board, and estimates put this year's figure as of Nov. 30 at 488,255, far below the country's goals. Back in 1996, Kenya tourism reached its peak with more than one million visitors. Americans visiting Kenya have declined in number from 42,794 in 2001, to 40,346 in 2002. As of the end of November this year, 35,253 Americans had visited Kenya, a decline that tourism officials attribute to the State Department warnings.²⁶² The drop has been devastating for tour operators, hoteliers, wood carvers and the thousands of others who make their living from foreign visitors.²⁶³ Allegations of terrorists living in Kenya, porous borders and influx of refugees from countries that harbor terrorists are some of the challenges that government has to deal with in order to curb the problem of terrorism in Kenya. Though the country has tried to build a coalition with the US against terrorism and supported US-led war against Iraq to win US's favour back, there is need for more intelligence and surveillance to curb against another terrorist attacks in Kenya.

4.3.5 Post Election Violence of 2007

The effects of the violence that engulfed Kenya post the December elections of 2007, which claimed an estimated 1,000 lives and displaced 350,000 people severely affected Kenya's attractiveness. Violence broke out in Kenya on 30th December after Mwai Kibaki, the incumbent, was declared winner of the presidential election over Raila Odinga, despite

²⁶¹ Sunday Nation (Nairobi) October 29, 1995. P.12

²⁶² op cit, Marc Lacey, p 4.

²⁶³ *ibid*

objections by the opposition and election observers that the vote tally was seriously flawed. The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) estimated that as of February 2007 up to 600,000 Kenyans were directly affected by the post-election violence and 250,000 remained in camps for displaced people. Major industries of the economy especially agriculture, tourism and horticulture have been affected since then. There was food shortages leading to prices of basic commodities like sugar, cooking oil, paraffin and other agricultural products increased, unemployment became rife with thousands rendered jobless after their work stations burnt or owners closing shops and relocation due to the violence. Small businesses which employ 75 percent of the work force were looted, burned or closed as owners fled. Kibera slum, home to more than 1 million urban poor, 800 business stalls were razed, six schools destroyed, 900 houses torched and thousands displaced. In other Nairobi neighbourhoods' gangs burned and looted the homes of 3,920 people and some 228 small business kiosks and stalls. 80,000 houses and an estimate of 3 million bags of maize were torched in the violence were in the Rift Valley which is Kenya's breadbasket.

The UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) estimated that 75 percent of those displaced in the Rift Valley were destitute. 20,000 tourism jobs disappeared in the Kenyan coast, ²⁶⁴ 12 months overall inflation increased from 11.1 per cent in June 2007 to 13.6 per cent in July 2007. The 12 months underlying inflation also increased from 4.9 per cent in June 2007 to 5.5 per cent in July 2007.²⁶⁵ Average annual inflation increased from 10.4 per cent in June 2007 to 10.6 percent in July 2007. The increase was due to an increase in prices of food and non-alcoholic drinks (mainly cooking gas and charcoal. The 12 month underlying inflation²⁶⁶ increased from 4.9 percent in June 2007 to 5.5 percent in July 2007. The annual

²⁶⁴ Kimani Mary, *East Africa feels blows of Kenyan crisis: Economic and social repercussions affect entire region*. Vol.22 No.1 (Africa Renewal, April 2008). p 3.

²⁶⁵ Central Bank of Kenya. *Monthly Economic Review*. (July 2007) p 2.

²⁶⁶ These includes food, fuel and power, transport and communication indices.

average underlying inflation went up from 4.6 percent in 2007 to 4.7 percent in July 2007, thus remaining within the 5 percent and below the monetary policy objective.

The East African Community Kenya expected to see their combined gross domestic product grow by 6 per cent in 2008 before the unrest.²⁶⁷ The seemingly brief crisis had significant economic and social repercussions in the entire region. Blocked roads and vandalized rail lines hampered the transportation of humanitarian assistance to vulnerable groups in the Eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and southern Sudan. Commodities to and from the port of Mombasa and traveling along the Northern Corridor including 80 percent of Uganda's imports pass through the port of Mombasa and Rwanda's exports were affected. Commercial trade and humanitarian assistance to Burundi, the Eastern DRC, parts of northern Tanzania and southern Sudan also rely on the port. The UN's Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) estimated that fuel costs in Uganda, Eastern DRC and Burundi rose by up to 50 per cent. The price of petrol products in Kigali, Rwanda more than doubled, and severe shortages prompted the government to institute fuel rationing. In Uganda, food prices went up about 15 percent and in January inflation rose to 6.5 per cent from 5.1 per cent the month before. Manufacturers lost \$43 million because of delays, destruction of goods and slowed production. The Uganda Revenue Authority reported daily revenue collection losses of up to \$600,000 due to the disruptions in trade.²⁶⁸ Air traffic between Rwanda, Burundi and Kenya declined due to high cost of aviation fuel. Kenya Airways, the largest carrier in the region, also suspended direct flights to Paris, affecting passengers from Burundi, Rwanda, DRC, Seychelles and Comoros who had to switch. The

²⁶⁷ Op cit, Mary Kimani, p 3

²⁶⁸ This is according to Kenya Red Cross Society.

crisis exposed the rest of the region's overreliance on Kenya's transport infrastructure, especially Mombasa Port.²⁶⁹

Kenyan crisis eroded investor confidence in their perceptions of the country's stability. Regional trade flows slowed down and tax and revenues declined. Kenya's economic disruptions also offered potential opportunities to other regional countries. Rwanda's pyrethrum processing attracted foreign investment to help triple production at the expense of the affected pyrethrum production in Kenya. Sri Lanka, the second highest producer of black tea is earned more because of the Kenya's political crisis.²⁷⁰ Interruptions in horticultural exports proved a boon to farmers in Egypt, Morocco and some West African countries. The violence encouraged tourists to shift towards other countries in the region with similar climates and wildlife attractions and beaches in Tanzania, Mauritius, Botswana and South Africa.

4.4 Conclusion

Kenya enjoys preponderant soft power capabilities with enormous resources from its domestic and foreign policies, values and culture. The country has used these powers to influence the regional countries, achieve foreign policy goals and set regional agenda. However, there are a number of factors that limit the country's soft power capabilities. These factors range from poor governance marked with all forms of corruption, to human rights violation, and to insecurity as experienced in the terrorist attacks and 2007 post elections violence.

²⁶⁹ The UNHCR Office in Kenya, *Fact Sheet, (UNHCR, July 2008) pp 1- 2*

²⁷⁰ *Op cit*, Mary Kimani, p 3.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Introduction

The findings from this study have showed that Kenya possesses preponderant soft power capabilities that have given the country leverage and leadership role in the Eastern Africa region. These capabilities stem from the country's domestic and foreign policies, political values and culture. Despite the country's reasonable hard military and economic power as expressed in the Kenya's Defence Forces in defeating the *Al-shabaab* terrorist group, the country has heavily relied on its soft power to achieve its foreign policy goals in the Eastern Africa region since the pre independence period. Kenya's non aligned and good neighbourliness policies have been underscored by the country's leading role in mediation, peace keeping missions and hosting refugees from the neighbouring countries. The objective of this chapter is to recapitulate on the main issues discussed in this study and form conclusion and recommendations. The recommendations are directed not only to scholars seeking to understand these concept but also governments and non state actors that are seeking to achieve their goals efficiently in the Eastern African region and abroad.

The traditional understanding of a state associated with the theories of realists and neo-realists were based on the assumption that the traditional state had comprehensive control over its territory and population, and a capacity to operate as a unitary, autonomous actor in an anarchic system. This can no longer hold true for most countries in the world. International Financial Institutions (IFIs) such as the Bretton Woods Institution namely the World Bank and the International Monetary Funds (IMF) have contributed greatly in the process of rolling back African states. The World Trade Organization (WTO) has been crucial in drawing up new rules of global economic engagement. The development of research and technology has facilitated the free flow of information across international

borders on an unprecedented scale. For these reasons the governance of globalization and states must be re-thought. Though, states remain the critical actors of international politics because they command the allegiance of peoples' occupying defined territory which possesses the capabilities to employ ultimate threat (war), the possibility of influencing a nation through armed conflict has been narrowed. Unlike most transnational organizations, states are concerned with the full range of welfare and security issues of a population and enjoy sovereignty.²⁷¹ No state is willing to engage its enemy in armed conflict considering the effects of armed conflict in a world where asymmetric warfare seems to have taken centre stage. Nye has argued that in addition to the traditional measurements of 'hard' influence, notably military force and economic heft, there also exists a less quantifiable but nonetheless substantial element in the calculus of international affairs.²⁷² The ability to be attractive to other states and peoples, the ability to find allies who would help you carry out a desired task, the skill and adroitness with which you persuaded another sovereign nation to agree to do something that it otherwise would not have done. The challenges of hard power have been complicated by discovery of sophisticated weapons including nuclear and atomic weapons which can cause enormous effect to the victims.

Corruption, human rights violation and insecurity have resulted to plummeting of Kenya's reputation. Much scorn is leveled at the country's post election violence of December 2007 yet there is renewed hope for possible rise of Kenya's soft power attributed to the resolution of the conflict. The power-sharing agreement, mediated on behalf of the African Union by Kofi Annan, a former UN Secretary-General, with support from a UN regional team, helped bring a halt to the violence. However, Kenya's underlying social and economic inequalities must also be discovered to prevent a recurrence of conflict. Kenya is

²⁷¹ Holsti K.J., *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis*, 5th ed. (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1995), p 65.

²⁷² Paul Kennedy. *The fall, and possible rise, of US soft power*. (The Nation Newspaper. Sunday Nation. March 2nd, 2008), p 40.

the platform for relief operations in Somalia and Sudan, a regional entrepot for trade and investment and a key anchor for the long-term stabilization of Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi.

²⁷³ Many foreigners might not be anti Kenyans per se, but just anti the government. It is conceivable to see a revival of and growth of Kenya's soft power and the country's capacity to attract and influence other nations not only in the region but throughout Africa. Observing of global environmental issues, human rights, democratic governance, free and fair elections are some crucial elements in boasting the country's image not only in the region but globally. This calls for a new constitution dispensation and a review of both domestic and foreign policy. There is need for a bold foreign policy in matters that concern Eastern Africa such as liberation process in Africa. Kenya must pursue domestic policies that are cultural, ideological and political attractive not only within the country but also to the Eastern Africa region. Kenyans can only appreciate policies that are legitimacy both in written and execution. Execution of policies earns the country credibility among its neighbours and the world community. In addition, the government must keep abreast with the global agenda be it environmental, terrorism, accountability and transparency or technological advancement to maintain its attractiveness. Consequently, the country should pursue a foreign policy that reflects new world order and national interests. In doing so Kenya's foreign policy must always deal with the preservation of its independence and security, pursuit and protection of its economic interests and efforts to spread its own national ideological propaganda in foreign countries.²⁷⁴ The country should be keen on signing UN instruments that relate to global interests such as environmental documents, human rights and democracy.

²⁷³ Mary Kimani, *East Africa feels blows of Kenyan crisis: Economic and social repercussions affect entire region* (Africa Renewal, Vol.22 No.1 April 2008), p 3.

²⁷⁴ Deutsch W. Karl. *The Analysis of International Relations*, (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1988),p 97.

The government should promote tangible and intangible cultural heritage in Kenya.²⁷⁵ Kenya's culture is not well defined making it difficult, for instance, to tell what Kenyan attire is.²⁷⁶ The country has sites and monuments ranging from paleontological, archaeological, and historical to rock art sites and sacred landscapes which should not only be attractive to tourists but for movie makers from Hollywood and Bollywood.

5.2 Recommendation

This dissertation has concerned itself to investigate Kenya's soft power. There is need for deeper study on Kenya's soft power. Soft power does not necessarily increase the region's attraction for Kenya, it is still power, and it can still make enemies. In the affairs of nations, too much hard power ends up breeding not submission but resistance. Likewise, great soft power does not bend hearts; it twists minds in resentment and rage. Kenya's soft power is not only seductive but also subversive to those who hate the country.²⁷⁷

Kenya's impressive soft power resources have been undermined by poor governance, corruption, human rights violation and insecurity. Kenyan citizens have had to contend with assassinations, economic marginalization's of communities, institutionalized corruption and an authoritarian rule that is underscored by the exclusion of the majority of citizens from the mainstream political process.²⁷⁸ Kenya's attractiveness has suffered from bureaucratic and political corruption, perverse economic policies and excessive government regulation of economic activities. Kenya's economic performance that was tainted by the post election violence of December 2007 has been worsened by global increase of crude oil. The standard

²⁷⁵ Non material culture is the system of thought or spirit that is not tangible but has aesthetic and ideological values that are integral in the world views of a community. Includes drama, music & dance, rituals, folklore, customs, oral literature and belief systems

²⁷⁶ That is, it is difficult to identify a Kenyan just from culture and the country's contribution to the global culture is minimal. For instance, there is no Kenyan dress, music, art, dance, etc.

²⁷⁷ Josef Joffe, *The Perils of Soft Power*. (New York Times, May 14, 2006), p 2.

²⁷⁸ Musambayi K & Omosa Mary in their article of leadership and Governance in Kenya agree that the political and economic conditions in Kenya and other African countries are largely a function of the character and qualities of the post colonial leadership.

of living in Kenya is demonstrated by the deterioration in key social indicators over the first four months of 2008. This disappointing development has further been complicated by the upsurge of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The coalition government is faced with the major challenge of restoring economic growth, generate employment opportunities and reduce poverty levels. Poor management, excessive discretion, political interference and lack of professionalism has led to widespread corruption, gross abuse of public office in government departments and indomitable tolerance- good governance, improved security in the country and restoration of the rule of law. A well functioning police force is vital for maintenance of peace and security, and enforcement of the rule of law. The police force should be allocated required resources to boost their morale, encourage professionalism and endemic corruption in the force.²⁷⁹ The government must guarantee its citizens and visitors' personal security and that of their property. The contribution of the efficient enforcement law, the maintenance of public safety and the guaranteeing of law and order to economic growth, and the improvement of quality of life are necessary to boost Kenya's attractive power. In a democratic society like Kenya, the rights of the individual citizen and other protection and promotion under the constitution by all organs of the government, is a cardinal principle of good governance. To discover the content of human rights, civil education is necessary for Kenyans to express the articulated law. The government must be keen to dispensation of justice and its access. Delays of hearings and determination of cases, interference with the judiciary and poor enforcement of the rule of law, inadequate office accommodation for courts and judges; inadequate budgetary provision; prevalence of corruption in the Judiciary and a lack of meritocracy in the promotion of judicial officers, cumbersome laws and procedures and over-use of custodial sanctions; and human resources capacity constraints

²⁷⁹ Kibwana Kivutha, Maina Peter Chris & Oloka-Onyango Joseph. *In Search of Freedom and Prosperity: Constitution reforms in East Africa*. (Nairobi:Claripress, 1996) p 354.

including inadequate capacity for drafting and enactment of laws are among the challenges the government needs to look into.

There is need to improve governance and service delivery at the local level. Expansion and improvement of the infrastructure is necessary to cater for the ever increasing number of people and cars. Attention should be given to regions that are less developed such as the north Eastern to curb the regional disparities in the country. Kenyans experience the high cost of transport everyday. In many ways road network is the barometer by which Kenyans measure government performance Kenya railways is constrained in its ability due to its aged locomotives, wagons and equipment. The government strategy of privatising Kenya railways and divesting from Gulf Marine Services on Lake Victoria has not been enough. There is need for reforms to enlarge the water, rail and air transport in Kenya. Expansion and modernisation of the air transport capacity is vital to growth of Kenya's economy. Furthermore, reform measures are required for Kenya's maritime and inland waterways. The poor performance of the port is a major cost to the economy in terms of impairing the competitiveness of Kenya's industries and diversion of traffic, thereby loss of revenue to other ports in the region. The communications sector which includes telecommunications, postal services, internet services, telex, paging and facsimiles services must be given more attention to reduce the cost of doing business in Kenya. Government should create seamless, efficient and cost effective telecommunication services for business and social interactions.

The government should also invest in economic sectors like agriculture, energy and tourism. Geothermal and thermal generation declined by 9.1 per cent and 0.9 per cent respectively. In the crude oil sector, combined demand pressure and sporadic supplies on international crude oil market saw crude oil prices rise from US\$ 68.4 per barrel in May 2007

to US\$69.7 in June 2007.²⁸⁰ With raising global fuel prices the government should seek for alternative energy sources. Tourism continues to play an important role as a source of the country's soft power through the big number of visitors that come to Kenya for tourism. It is also important in economic development in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), contribution of foreign exchange earning and employment due to its high multiplier effect. The sector acts as stimuli to the growth of other sectors that include transport, entertainment, agriculture, trade and industry. Escalating internal conflict, global terrorism, and infrastructural deficiencies, static and innovative products, meagre resources allocated for promotion and marketing declining standards of tourism products, increased regional corruption need to be addressed for the country to attract more tourists. Need to re-emphasize Kenya as a global tourism destination with diversifying and improving tourism products, circuits and source market while ensuring sustainability. In addition, ensuring and maintaining high standards in hotels and skilled manpower. The government should also encouraging domestic tourism and involvement of local communities in tourism development market Kenya as a film destination.

Kenya's Vision 2030 envisages a major shift the country's growth performance enabling it to move from a low-income to middle income country by 2030. The overall foundation of Vision 2030 is to be globally competitive and prosperous nation with high quality of life for all by 2030.²⁸¹ In a society of multicultural and multiethnic societies, government should encourage diversity and interaction, promote the coexistence of communities with multiple identities, protect minorities and emphasize intercultural dialogue and tolerance. National building has been domestic policy for the three governments of Kenyatta, Moi and now Kibaki. This national building should not only focus of economic

²⁸⁰ Central Bank of Kenya. Monthly Economic Review. July 2007. P.18

²⁸¹ Henry Obwocha, Minister for Planning and National Development at the launch of 2006 national human development report, Tuesday, 27th February, 2007 at Hilton hotel Nairobi.

development but promote the spirit of national building that is patriotism amongst Kenyans. Patriotism is centre piece in improving and maintaining Kenya's soft power.

In the business world, smart executives know that leadership is not just a matter of issuing commands, but also involves leading by example and attracting others to do what you want. Similarly, contemporary practices of community-based policing rely on making the police sufficiently friendly and attractive that a community wants to help them achieve shared objectives. Political leadership becomes in part a competition for attractiveness, legitimacy, and credibility. The ability to share information and to be believed becomes an important source of soft power. Therefore, soft power is important not only to democratic leaders but also governments, countries, multinationals, nongovernmental organization and other international actors.

5.3 Conclusion

Power should not be seen narrowly in terms of commands or active control. Imitation or attraction power should be considered do not add up to power. International actors should consider imitation or attraction power as an important aspect of their policies. Attraction often does allow an actor to get what you want. Defining power only as deliberate acts of command and control is ignoring the second or "structural" face of power, the ability to get the outcomes you want without having to force people to change their behavior through threats or payments. Simultaneously, it is important to specify the conditions under which attraction is more likely to lead to desired outcomes, and those when it will not. All power depends on context of who relates to whom under what circumstances, but soft power depends more than hard power upon the existence of willing interpreters and receivers. Moreover, attraction often has a diffuse effect of creating general influence, rather than producing an easily observable specific action. Just as money can be invested, politicians

speak of storing up political capital to be drawn upon in future circumstances. The indirect effects of attraction and a diffuse influence can make a significant difference in obtaining favorable outcomes in bargaining situations. Soft power is also likely to be more important when power is dispersed. A dictator cannot be totally indifferent to the views of the people under his rule, but he can often ignore popularity when he calculates his interests. In settings where opinions matter, leaders have less leeway to adopt tactics and strike deals.

Information is power, and today a much larger part of the world's population has access to that power. Technological advances have led to dramatic reduction in the cost of processing and transmitting information.²⁸² Editors and cue-givers become more in demand and their credibility is an important source of soft power. Politics has become a contest of *competitive credibility*. *The world of traditional power politics is typically about whose military or economy wins. Politics in an information age might ultimately be about whose story wins.*²⁸³ Reputation has always been crucial in political leadership, but the role of credibility becomes an even more important power resource because of the paradox of plenty. Information that appears to be propaganda may not only be scorned; it may also turn out to be counterproductive if it undermines a reputation for credibility. Under the new conditions more than ever, the soft sell may prove more effective than a hard sell.

Power in an information age will come not just from strong hard power, but from strong sharing. Soft power has always been a key element of leadership. The power to attract and to get others to want what you want, to frame the issues, and to set the agenda has its roots in thousands of years of human experience. Skillful leaders have always understood that attractiveness stems from credibility and legitimacy. Power has never flowed solely from the

²⁸² The result is an explosion of information, and that has produced a "paradox of plenty." When people are overwhelmed with the volume of information confronting them, it is hard to know what to focus on. Attention rather than information becomes the scarce resource, and those who can distinguish valuable information from background clutter gain power.

²⁸³ *op cit*, Nye J, p 40.

barrel of a gun; even the most brutal dictators have relied on attraction as well as fear. In an information age, such sharing not only enhances the ability of others to cooperate with Kenya but also increases their inclination to do so. As the country shares with others, it develops common outlooks and approaches that improve its ability to deal with the new challenges. Kenyan power flows from that attraction. Dismissing the importance of attraction as merely ephemeral popularity ignores key insights from new theories of leadership as well as the new realities of the information age.

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