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An analysis of the impact of Foreign Policy on Economic Development in Kenya
(2013 – 2018)

A thesis

By

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work, except where stated by way of reference or acknowledgment, and has not been presented to any university for academic credit.

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DEDICATION

For you Adonai...this is all for you.

Thank you.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AfCFTA - Africa Continental Free Trade Agreement

AU – African Union

CIA – Central Intelligence Agency

ECOWAS - Economic Community of West African States

EPA – Economic Partnership Agreement

EU – European Union

FDI – Foreign Direct Investment

FOCAC – Forum on China-Africa Cooperation

FPA – Foreign Policy Analysis

GATT - General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

HCD – Horticultural Crop Directorate

ICT - Information Communications and Technology

IMF – International Monetary Fund

JCC – Joint Commissions for Cooperation

KenInvest – Kenya Investment Authority

KEPSA – Kenya Private Sector Association

KFC – Kenya Flower Council

KNCCI – Kenya National Chamber of Commerce and Industry

KTB – Kenya Tourism Board

KANU – Kenya African National Union

KNBS - Kenya National Bureau of Statistics

MDAs – Ministries, Departments and Agencies

MFA– Ministry of Foreign Affairs

NEDPS - Integrated National Export Development and Promotion Strategy

NGO - Non – Governmental Organizations

OBOR – One Belt, One Road

SAIS - School of Advanced International Studies

SAP - Structural Adjustment Programs

TICAD – Tokyo International Conference on African Development

TMEA – TradeMark East Africa

UNEP - United Nations Environmental Program

UNCTAD – United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

UNGA – United Nations General Assembly

UN – United Nations

UNSC – United Nations Security Council

USC – University of Southern California

WTO – World Trade Organization

WTTC - World Travel and Tourism Council

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ABSTRACT

One of the key goals of a state's foreign policy is economic maximization aimed at attaining economic development. However, despite economic development being a key objective of a state's foreign policy, many African states lack foreign policy road maps to underpin their economic development interests within the global system. By investigating Kenya's foreign policy this study seeks to understand the relationship between foreign policy and economic development and in so doing generate knowledge that can be useful to Kenya's policy makers and academics in crafting foreign policies that are purposeful and effective to engage proactively internationally within a 21st century globalized world. Using a mixed method research design, the research found out that there is indeed a strong relationship between foreign policy and economic development in Kenya. Having a written foreign policy document has acted as a reference point to ensure the country's objectives are on track. Furthermore Kenya's diplomacy with regards to bi-lateral and multi-lateral negotiations have had the most positive impact on Kenya's economic development. Finally, as much as Kenya's foreign policy is well articulated it can be further fine-tuned to impact Kenya's economic development by increased funding, boosting public-private partnerships and by strengthening the diaspora function.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

On September 16th 2018, Dr. Bob Wekesa, a media and geopolitics scholar at the University of Witwatersrand, South Africa published a thought-provoking article in the Sunday *Daily Nation*. In the wake of the 73rd UN General Assembly, he paraphrased George Orwell by stating that, “African presidents, prime ministers and foreign ministers will arrive in New York aware that they are less equal than their counterparts from the West and emerging nations”. The central question that the article posed and which inspired this research is, “What can Africa do to boost its bargaining power in the global system in the service of national interests?” As a result of the generally negative position (and role) that African states occupy within the global system, they often “find things happening to them.” Rather than negotiating what is most beneficial for African states towards attaining prosperity and well-being they often ratify decisions, ideals and preferences that favor the major global powers. With respect to this, Schneidman and Weigert (2018) discuss how three global powers, this time China, the United States of America (USA) and Europe are competing amongst themselves in Africa.

A McKinsey & Company June 2017 report on Chinese economic engagement in Africa states that,

In the past two decades China has catapulted from being a relatively small investor in the continent to becoming Africa’s largest economic partner. And since the turn of the millennium, Africa–China trade has been growing at approximately 20 percent per year. Foreign direct investment has grown even faster over the past decade, with a breakneck annual growth rate of 40 percent. (Jayaram, Kassiri and Sun, 2017)

This has brought not only job creation, new products and services, new technologies and skills training but also soaring debt. For example, as of 2018 East Africa owed China \$29.4 billion in infrastructure loans (Olingo, 2018).

The second global power is the European Union which boasts long historical connections with Africa. Schneidman and Weigert (2018) highlight that the EU has worked hard to transition to a partnership model based on reciprocal trade. Moreover, as part of the 2017 Africa – EU summit, “the EU pledged at least \$54 billion in ‘sustainable’ investment for Africa by 2020”. The EU is marking its territory through a raft of Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) that it has signed with at least 40 African countries so far. According to Schneidman and Weigert (2018) the EPAs provide European companies with preferential access to markets across the region and will liberalize about 80 percent of imports over 20 years. Such agreements would have adverse effects on Africa’s industrial growth.

Third is the USA, previously one of Africa’s main commercial partners, its influence has waned over the years. Schneidman and Weigert (2018) noted that the US business model hires and promotes local content, invests socially and rejects corruption among other practices. All these are practices that have perceived benefits for African economies and are worth pursuing. However, despite these benefits that are characteristic of USA trade with Africa the Trump administration has in recent years not portrayed itself as being favorable towards Africa’s interests. In December 2018, when the US revealed its Africa strategy it included; the prioritization of trade and investment, combatting terrorism, and better-targeting of US foreign aid in Africa. All these are commendable initiatives that can benefit Africa. However, Tremann (2018) notes that the US strategy in Africa is not about Africa but really about China, arguing that the US was essentially asking Africa to choose between them and China. She concluded that “in focusing so much on China, the new US

Africa strategy implicitly treats African countries like pawns in another great power rivalry....”

Why compete in Africa? Assegaf, Cherepakha, Matambo, and Weydringer (2017) offer insight on why businesses are turning to Africa for economic, human and material resources. “Among the advantages of sourcing from Africa are an abundance of natural resources, low labor costs, and business-friendly trade agreements”.



Assegaf *et al* (2017) also includes factors like Africa's fast economic growth and youthful population amongst its advantages. Grant Harris, a former principal advisor to President Barack Obama on issues related to Africa states that:

Africa's economic and political clout is growing fast. The continent boasts a young, burgeoning population, which, by 2050, will make up one-quarter of the world's people and workforce. Buoyed by some of the fastest-growing economies in the world, Africa's annual consumer and business spending is expected to total \$6.7 trillion by 2030. (Harris, 2018)

Finally, Devermont (2018) highlights that besides the significant economic potential that Africa offers, it is also attractive to the world because of the rise of security threats where “ the array of transnational threats emanating from sub-Saharan Africa also act as a powerful ‘pull’ factor” (p. 4). Beyond that, Africa's global influence is increasing- where many of Africa's foreign counterparts, “want to harness the region's political sway at the UN and secure their support in international rows. It is difficult to advance a UN Security Council resolution (UNSC) without the support of Africa's three non-permanent members” (p. 5). Also, “it is important to win over African delegations in the UN General Assembly (UNGA) where the continent has the largest and most unified voting bloc” (p. 6). These authors point to the significant potential and value bestowed upon Africa and which is yet to be fully harnessed by Africans for their betterment.

Wekesa (2018) is of the idea that, “without the national interest road maps that well thought (foreign) policies provide, African countries are at the beck and call of powerful nations”. This study, therefore, seeks to understand the relationship between foreign policy and economic development as a national interest by analyzing the impact of foreign policy on economic development in Kenya between 2013 and 2018.

The choice of Kenya for this study was informed by the fact that, 1) Kenya has actively engaged in foreign relations both regionally and internationally since independence, 2) the country currently has one of the strongest economies in Africa and lastly 3) Kenya is one of three countries in Africa (including Namibia and South Africa) with a written foreign policy document, which makes it particularly useful for analysis. The assumption is that there is indeed a significant relationship between foreign policy and economic development, and once clearly understood, it can be utilized to maximize a state's engagement within the global system to achieve its national interests.

This study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one presents the problem, including a justification of the study, the objectives of the study as well as the theoretical framework. Chapter two gives a literature review, Chapter three explains the methodology of the study, Chapter four presents the data analysis and Chapter five gives the summary, conclusion and recommendations.

1.1 Background of the Study

The republic of Kenya came into existence on 12th December 1963 after gaining independence from British colonial rule. The country is located in East Africa and occupies a total surface area of 582, 650 km² and has a population of an estimated 50,950,879 as of 2018 (United Nations). The capital and largest city is Nairobi and the country has two official languages, Kiswahili and English. The country has a unitary state with multiparty democracy political system and the administrative structure consists of a national government and 47 county governments that are distinct and interdependent. Kenya's economy is mainly supported by agriculture and tourism, both historically and presently

(Ministry of Foreign Affairs strategic plan 2013/14 – 2017/18, p. 6). Other sectors that make a significant contribution include finance, construction, mining, manufacturing, Information Technology (IT) and wholesale/retail trade.

From the onset of independence, Kenya positioned itself to be a significant member of the international community whilst pursuing economic development for its people. Although Kenya did not have a published foreign policy document until 2014 it has undertaken foreign policy activities since its inception. Up till 2014, the direction of Kenya's foreign policy was informed by official documents such as, the sessional paper on African socialism and its application for planning in Kenya, Sessional Paper no. 1/1986 on Economic Management for Renewed Growth, party manifestos, Vision 2030 and the 2010 constitution.

Mabera (2016) in analyzing Kenya's foreign policy divides it into four distinctive phases based on the four presidents that have led Kenya since independence. This is informed by the foreign policy analysis rational actor model, which recognizes the president as one of the key actors in the decision-making process. This research will adopt Mabera's format in outlining a brief history of the interaction of foreign policy and economic development since independence.

1.1.1 Phase 1: Jomo Kenyatta (1963 – 1978)

For a newly independent Kenya, the KANU government led by Jomo Kenyatta, adopted a foreign policy defined by 'three main cornerstones' which were non-alignment, the promotion of African unity and the eradication of colonialism (Howell, 1968). This period was defined by sessional paper No. 10 on African Socialism and its application to planning

in Kenya (1965). As much as Kenya pursued a foreign policy that was “positively non-aligned”, in practice there was a strong inclination towards capitalism. Zeleza (1991) observes that:

Attracting foreign capital became a key economic objective of the government. The government created a favorable climate for foreign investors by instituting a variety of concessions and liberal provisions for the repatriation of profits. Foreign capital was particularly sought in the manufacturing sector. (p. 31)

During this period Kenya had an average Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of 7.7%. The agricultural sector had an annual growth rate of 4.2% between 1965 and 1971 (Government of Kenya, Zeleza p. 47). Reliable tourism statistics for Kenya are available from 1995 and Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) contributed an average of 0.8% of the GDP from 1970 – 1980 (World Bank, 2019).

1.1.2 Phase 2: Daniel Arap Moi (1978 – 2002)

Under Moi’s regime, Kenya assumed a non-interference stance in its foreign policy. Mabera highlights that Kenya followed a policy of “‘good neighborliness’ while seeking to consolidate Kenya’s position as an oasis of peace in a turbulent region” (p. 378). This included brokering peace in several regional conflicts. While Mabera (2016) notes that “essentially, the decade 1980–1990 has been regarded as Kenya’s ‘golden age of diplomacy’, considering the number of foreign policy trips personally undertaken by President Moi, the visits by foreign dignitaries ...” (p. 378). Mbaya (2019) describes it as a lost decade, leading to unemployment, poverty and insecurity in the country due to, “Moi’s resistance to change [which] led to Kenya’s isolation by its development partners” (p. 68). In the wake of the 1970s’ oil crisis, many African states including Kenya were adversely affected. To cope with the ensuing crisis, they were pushed to adopt a program

of structural economic adjustment to borrow loans to offset other existing loans. These programs based on neo-liberal principles were championed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank, who were significant donors to Africa. The defining document for this phase was Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1986 on Economic Management for Renewed Growth. Much has been documented about the impact of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) in Africa. Specifically for Kenya, they had major negative impacts on the education, health and agricultural sectors where government was forced to cut down on its expenditure on social services. This affected poor populations significantly leading to further poverty and the collapse of local industries such as the cotton industry. Between 1980 and 2000 the average GDP annual percentage was 3.1% compared to 7.7% in the first fifteen years from independence. Agriculture contributed an average of 28% of the GDP from 1980 – 2000 and had an average annual growth of 3% within the same period. Between 1995 and 2002 the average contribution of tourism to Kenya's GDP was -3%. On the other hand, from 1980 – 2000 FDI contributed an average of 0.5% to the GDP (World Bank, 2019). However, one of the significant benefits that came during this period was a shift from single party politics to a multi-party democracy.

1.1.3 Phase 3: Mwai Kibaki (2003 – 2013)

Mwai Kibaki, an economist by profession had a strong focus on economic development. Realizing the effects of the “lost decade” as the 1980s into the 90s were referred to, he set out on a vigorous campaign to revive the economy. His tenure saw the promulgation of a new constitution in 2010 and the creation of a long term development framework known as Vision 2030 which aims to transform Kenya into a newly industrializing middle-income country providing a high quality of life to all its citizens by the year 2030 (Vision 2030, p.

1). Specifically, the Economic Pillar is seeking to “improve the prosperity of all Kenyans through an economic development program, covering all the regions of Kenya and aiming to achieve an average GDP growth rate of 10% per annum beginning in 2012” (Vision 2030, p. 1). The economic areas that Vision 2030 is targeting are: tourism, agriculture, wholesale/retail trade, manufacturing, IT enabled services, and Financial Services (pp.10-15). However preceding Vision2030 was the Economic Recovery Strategy of Wealth and Employment Creation (2003 – 2007), the apotheosis of this phase created to address increasing poverty. It noted that, “The number of people living in poverty is estimated to have risen from 11 million or 48 per cent of the population in 1990 to 17 million or 56 per cent of the population in 2001” (p. viii). Therefore, the central focus of the plan was job creation through sound macroeconomic policies, improved governance, efficient public service delivery, an enabling environment for the private sector to do business and through public investments and policies that reduce the cost of doing business. The plan also included an equity and social-economic agenda focusing on reducing inequalities in access to productive resources and basic goods and services. It further paid particular attention to promoting actions leading to the sustainable management of natural commons such as land, water, forests on which the very poor depend (p. 3). Some of the macroeconomic objectives of the plan included: 1) Creating 500,000 jobs annually; 2) Reducing poverty levels by at least 5 percentage points from the (then) current 56.8 percent level; 3) Achieving a high real GDP growth rate - rising from an estimated 1.1 percent in 2002 to 2.3 percent in 2003 and 7 percent in 2006. (p. 3). To achieve these goals, the foreign policy of the day took a “look east” stance in the wake of China’s booming economic growth and interest in Africa. Mabera also notes that the new 2010 constitution emphasized international trade in foreign

policy which was reflected in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs being renamed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (MFA & IT) in 2013. Economic diplomacy was also prioritized. Between 2002 and 2013, the average GDP annual percentage growth was 5%. Agriculture contributed an average of 24% to the GDP with an annual percentage growth rate of 2.8% (World Bank, 2019), while tourism contributed an average of 12% to the GDP (World Travel and Tourism Council). FDI contributed 1.1% to the GDP. (World Bank, 2019)

1.1.4 Phase 4: Uhuru Kenyatta (2013 – the present)

Uhuru Kenyatta steered Kenya's foreign policy in a new direction, away from non-interference, neutrality and positive non-alignment. He set a new tone for Kenya's foreign policy, which was articulated in Kenya's first ever written foreign policy framework document. Building on previous ideologies it also considered present realities including globalization. Maberu (2016) describes it as a "bold and assertive foreign policy" (p. 378). The document aligns Kenya's foreign policy with its economic development goals. The vision driving Kenya's Foreign Policy agenda is the pursuit of "a peaceful, prosperous and globally competitive Kenya" while the Mission is "To project, promote and protect Kenya's interests and image globally through innovative diplomacy, and contribute towards a just, peaceful and equitable world" (Kenya Foreign Policy, p. 5). Kenya's Foreign Policy aims to achieve several national objectives, *inter alia* to: Protect Kenya's sovereignty and territorial integrity; Promote integration; Enhance regional peace and security; Advance the economic prosperity of Kenya and her people; Project Kenya's image and prestige; Promote multilateralism; Promote the interests of Kenyan Diaspora and partnership with the Kenyans abroad (p. 12). Kenya's foreign policy is anchored on

five interlinked pillars that characterize her bilateral and multilateral engagement. These pillars are Peace, Economic, Diaspora, Environment and Culture. Specifically, “the Economic pillar aims to achieve robust economic engagement in order to secure Kenya’s socio-economic development and prosperity that will ensure our nation becomes a middle income and industrialized economy by the year 2030” (p. 12).

The main objectives of the economic pillar are identified as: 1) Increase capital flows to Kenya and the East African region; 2) Support export promotion and investment by Kenyan enterprises within the region and beyond; 3) Promote the country as a favorite destination for foreign direct investment, tourism, and conferencing; 4) Expand access to traditional markets and explore new destinations for Kenya’s exports; 5) Enhance technological advancement by exploring new sources of affordable and appropriate technology; 6) Support the exploration of alternative sources of traditional and renewable energy; 7) Strengthen regional economic communities and organizations to serve as competitive spring boards to emerging and global markets; and 8) Promote fair trade and equitable bilateral, regional and multilateral trade agreements (pp. 23-24). These objectives are further detailed and outlined in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Strategic plans. So far the average GDP growth per annum has been 5% since 2013. Agriculture contributed 32% to the GDP in 2017, Tourism, 10% and FDI, 0.9%. This evolution of Kenya’s foreign policy alongside its economic development since independence indicates that neither has been fully independent of the other, thus underscoring the necessity to explore the impact that foreign policy has on economic development and peradventure gain useful insights for future planning for Kenya’s prosperity.

1.2 The Statement of the Problem

One of the key goals of a state's foreign policy is economic maximization aimed at attaining the state's economic development goals. However, despite economic development being a key objective of a state's foreign policy, many African states lack foreign policy road maps to underpin their economic development interests within the global system. As a result, many states in Africa more often than not assume a reactionary stance within the global system, responding to initiatives and policies from more powerful states, as opposed to having a more proactive stance towards pursuing their own economic interests and agendas. Therefore, using Kenya as an example, this study seeks to understand the relationship between foreign policy and economic development and in so doing generate knowledge that can be useful to Kenya (and perhaps other African states) in crafting foreign policies that are purposeful and effective, allowing the state to engage proactively internationally and benefit locally, within the context of a 21st century globalized world.

1.3 The purpose of the study

The main aim of the study is to examine the impact of foreign policy on economic development. The findings of this study will be beneficial in informing policy makers on how to further develop and fine-tune Kenya's foreign policy to maximize its utility towards achieving economic development in Kenya.

1.4 Objectives of the study

In order to address the purpose of this study, the researcher wants to:

- I. Understand the relationship between Kenya's foreign policy undertakings and Kenya's economic development between 2013 and 2018.
- II. Identify which foreign policy undertakings have maximized economic development between 2013 and 2018.
- III. Identify what challenges Kenya's foreign policy undertakings have encountered in achieving their economic development goals between 2013 and 2018.
- IV. Establish how Kenya's foreign policy undertakings can be structured and fine-tuned to maximize economic development.

1.5 Research Questions

- I. What is the relationship between Kenya's foreign policy undertakings and economic development between 2013 and 2018?
- II. Which foreign policy undertakings have maximized economic development in Kenya between 2013 and 2018?
- III. What challenges have Kenya's foreign policy undertakings encountered in achieving their economic development goals between 2013 and 2018?
- IV. How can Kenya's foreign policy undertakings be structured and fine-tuned to maximize economic development?

1.6 Justification and significance of the study

Within the context of international relations, foreign policy through diplomacy has become a crucial instrument that the state utilizes to navigate the tight rope of interacting with other states to at once be open to the phenomena of globalization whilst still maintaining its sovereignty and focus on pursuing its national interests. This tight rope balance is magnified within the global economic order.

Africa for long has either been labeled as third world, periphery states, the global south or developing countries unable to fully integrate into the global economy. However, the dawn of the 21st century has brought with it significant changes within the global economic system, including the increasing global dominance of states like China, India and Brazil which for a long time had been categorized as developing countries. In Africa these changes have been manifested in a diversification of trading partners and a call for intra-Africa trade. Amidst these global economic changes, could Africa be presented with a window of opportunity to seize the moment and re-negotiate its position utilizing foreign policy to maximize economic gains for its development?

This study seeks to explore the link between foreign policy and economic development by studying Kenya's foreign policy between 2013 and 2018. Once this relationship is profiled and better understood, this knowledge will be useful in establishing how best Kenya's foreign policy can be structured and positioned to maximize national interests with regards to economic development. It is anticipated that this information will be directly beneficial to policy makers within government and other partner organizations concerned with Kenya's foreign policy and economic development. Consequently, the Kenyan population

should also benefit from economic development gains from a research reviewed foreign policy. This information is also aimed at benefitting the academia in the research on international relations, diplomacy and foreign policy by augmenting theoretical knowledge with practical initiatives on the relationship between a state's foreign policy and economic development.

Finally, it is also hoped that the information generated through this study can benefit other African states by offering best practices that can help them develop and craft a foreign policy that is research-based, clear, focused and articulate in the pursuit of their national interests within the global system.

1.7 Scope of the study

This research was undertaken in Kenya, specifically Nairobi which is the capital city of the country and the headquarters of the relevant organizations involved in the study. Kenya is also the largest economy within the East African Community. In 2017, it was ranked as one of the top ten strongest economies in Africa. This study is cognizant that foreign policy is not limited to pursuing economic development goals alone. It has other goals which include security, peace, environment *etc.*, which can also have an impact on economic goals. This study however, only focused on foreign policy undertakings that are aimed at achieving economic development goals. The research took place over the course of nine weeks in June-August 2019. In this work, this researcher argues that there is indeed a significant relationship between foreign policy and economic development. This study therefore makes the case that foreign policy can be crafted informatively to maximize economic development, among other national interests.

1.8 Limitation of the Study

The researcher recognized several limitations to the study. Time and resource constraints do not allow for an extensive study of the full spectrum of foreign policy and its impact on the full range of parameters that delimit economic development. Therefore, the researcher has only focused on the economic aspect of foreign policy, identifying key foreign policy undertakings (specifically aimed at economic development) and also identifying a select number of economic development indicators for the research.

For the foreign policy indicators the researcher identified five (5) foreign policy undertakings presented as objectives of the economic pillar of the MFA strategic plan (2013/24-2017/18), pp. 86-90. These are: 1), Negotiate and harness opportunities and benefits of development cooperation in key development cooperation frameworks, 2) Negotiate for Overseas Development Aid inflows, 3) Negotiate trade and bi-lateral agreements, 4) Coordinate and participate in promotion activities and 5) Organize investment promotion in Kenya, diplomatic missions abroad.

For the economic development indicators the researcher identified three (3) key economic indicators that: a) would be most influenced by foreign policy and international relations activities and b) make a significant contribution to the country's economic development. These are: 1) Agriculture – which as of 2017 contributed an estimated 34.5% of the GDP. It also employs about 75% of Kenya's population. (CIA Fact File), and is the source of our main export products. The researcher further narrowed down to horticultural sub-sector for a more specific analysis. 2) Tourism – Kenya's second largest foreign exchange earner. As of 2017, the direct contribution of travel and tourism to the GDP was 3.7%. Total

contribution was 9.7% to the GDP. In terms of employment, in 2017 it directly employed 3.4% of the total employment and made a total contribution to employment of 9.2% (World Travel and Tourism Council 2018 report). 3) Foreign Direct Investment – was at 0.67\$ billion in 2017, which was 0.8% of the GDP (World Bank, 2019).

The researcher was also aware that the participants targeted for this research had busy schedules and therefore were not easily available to contribute to the study. The researcher addressed this challenge by limiting the number of respondents to fifty (50) and focusing on key individuals and decision makers who would be able to provide the requisite information to respond to the research questions.

1.9 Ethical Issue

The research upheld the principle of confidentiality; principles of right to privacy, voluntary participation, anonymity of data provider, non-bias during data collection and analysis, and non-plagiarism. This is to ensure that the study has considered all appropriate ethical considerations.

1.10 Theoretical Framework

In this section, the researcher will be discussing their choice of theoretical framework for the study. A clear theoretical framework for research is important as it lends credence to the research. According to Adom, Hussein and Agyem (2018), the theoretical framework makes, “research findings more meaningful, acceptable to the theoretical constructs in the research field and ensures generalizability. They assist in stimulating research while

ensuring the extension of knowledge by providing both direction and impetus to the research inquiry” (p. 438).

Zakaria (1998) explains the difference between theories of international politics and theories of foreign policy by stating that, “a theory of international politics seeks to explain international events....However, in accounting for international events, a theory of international politics cannot explain the motives of nations...” (p. 14). On the other hand, “a theory of foreign policy explains why different states, or the same state at different historical moments, have different intentions, goals, and preferences toward the outside world. Zakaria argues that a theory of foreign policy, “sheds light on the reasons for a nation's efforts—the search for allies, the attempt to annex a colony—but it cannot account for the results of those efforts. Whether they succeed depends on the context in which they take place, particularly other states' goals and capabilities” (p. 14).

Realism is a theory utilized both in international relations and foreign policy study, it is an anchor theory to which other foreign policy theories respond. It is also one of the oldest theories in international relations and foreign policy studies and has contributed significantly to the theoretical advancement of each of these areas of study. Away from the conventional definition of realism, Wohlforth (as cited in Smith, Hadfield & Dunne, 2008) states that realism can be understood to be, “a body of theories and related arguments that flow from a very small set of basic assumptions about how the world works” (p. 32). These three core assumptions that define realism are 1) groupism: humans face one another mainly as members of groups...today the most important human groups are nation-states and the most important source of in-group cohesion is nationalism, 2) egoism: self-interest ultimately drives political behavior and 3) power-centrism: power is the fundamental

feature of politics. Power here translates to a) social influence or control (some groups and individuals will always have an outsized influence on politics and b) resources (some groups and individuals are always disproportionately endowed with the material wherewithal to get what they want) (pp. 32-33). From these three basic assumptions one can now approach a study of foreign policy and understand how a state (groupism) will conduct its foreign policy in order to achieve its national interests (egoism) to consolidate power (power-centrism) or alternatively use power through its foreign policy to achieve its national interests. Thus the basic argument of realism is that, “if human affairs are indeed characterized by groupism, egoism and power centrism, then politics is likely to be conflictual unless there is some central authority to enforce order” (p. 33). This argument is generally regarded as classical realism. Though as Wohlforth observes, it was never borne out of a consistent body of study but rather it has evolved over time from different thinkers. Nevertheless Hans Morgenthau is considered the founding father of realism in the 20th century. However, in as much as realism has been an enduring theory in explaining human affairs in the international system, it has not been without its critics, who have moved on to build counter theories to explain international affairs. The first of these is liberalism which:

Is based on the moral argument that ensuring the right of an individual person to life, liberty and property is the highest goal of government. Consequently, liberals emphasize the wellbeing of the individual as the fundamental building block of a just political system. A political system characterized by unchecked power, such as a monarchy or a dictatorship, cannot protect the life and liberty of its citizens. (Meiser, 2018)

Liberalism, it has been said offers a more optimistic outlook to the world as opposed to realism which is regarded as being pessimistic. However, in as much as it offers a counter-view to realism, it has not been able to explain away the incidence of wars especially wars

of aggression from liberal states to non-liberal states. This is despite the popularity of the democratic peace theory associated with liberalism, often associated with *innenpolitik*. Another counter theory to realism is constructivism, which is essentially a social theory that understands the international system as a social construct with actors. Checkel (as cited in Smith et al., 2008) observes that,

Constructivists endogenize the process of interest formation. Instead of assuming that a bureaucracy or state has given interests, they explore how they are constructed in the first place. Thus if the rallying cry for the realist is 'defending the national interest', for the constructivist it is 'defining the national interest'. (p. 75)

Though it has gained popularity as an international relations and foreign policy theory in recent times, Checkel notes two weaknesses of the theory, 1) its methodology is unclear and 2) constructivists are, "curiously silent..." on the role of power which is central to international politics.

Having considered the various international relations and foreign policy theories, the researcher decided to utilize realism as the main theoretical framework with a specialization on neo-classical realism as a theory of foreign policy. Neo-classical realism was coined by Gideon Rose in 1998, where he sought to distinguish neo-classical realism from neorealism and its associated theories of foreign policy. According to him, "theories of foreign policy seek to explain what states try to achieve in the external realm and when they try to achieve it" (p. 145). He perceived that as much as neorealism and its associated theories were instrumental in explaining foreign policy from a structural point of view, they were still limited in offering a full picture of foreign policy actions since they "highlight the influence of the international system on state behavior" (p. 145). On the other hand, he states that neo-classical theory:

Explicitly incorporates both external and internal variables, updating and systematizing certain insights drawn from classical realist thought. Its adherents argue that the scope and ambition of a country's foreign policy is driven first and foremost by its place in the international system and specifically by its relative material power capabilities. This is why they are realist. They argue further, however, that the impact of such power capabilities on foreign policy is indirect and complex, because systemic pressures must be translated through intervening variables at the unit level. They are neoclassical. Neoclassical realists argue that relative material power establishes the basic parameters of a country's foreign policy.... (p. 145)

Therefore the distinct feature that neo-classical realism has that sets it apart from other theories of foreign policy is that, beyond the external international political environment, it also considers the domestic variable, that is, a state takes into account its material capabilities to inform its foreign policy decisions. Rose goes on to explain that:

Instead of assuming that states seek security, neoclassical realists assume that states respond to the uncertainties of international anarchy by seeking to control and shape their external environment. Regardless of the myriad ways that states may define their interests, this school argues, they are likely to want more rather than less external influence, and pursue such influence to the extent that they are able to do so. (Rose, 1998, p. 149)

Christensen (as cited in Rose, 1998) supports the argument of neoclassical realism being a theory by stating that, "It (neo-classical realism) does not simply state that domestic politics matter in foreign policy, but specifies the conditions under which they matter" (p. 167).

On the other hand, Ripsman, Taliaferro and Lobell (2009) have in the recent past contributed significantly to the growth of neoclassical realism as a substantive foreign policy theory. For them, neoclassical realism is:

...not simply a refinement of Waltz's balance of power theory nor an attempt to smuggle unit-level variables into the theory to explain anomalies. Nor is it correct to characterize realism as a tightly constructed Lakatosian research program whose "hard core" is synonymous with Waltz's theory, thus rendering any departure from that theory as evidence of a "degenerative problem shift." Neoclassical realism seeks to explain variation in the foreign policies of the same state over time or across different states facing similar external constraints. It makes no pretense about explaining broad patterns of systemic or recurring outcomes. Thus, a neoclassical realist hypothesis might explain the likely diplomatic, economic, and military responses of particular states to systemic imperatives, but it cannot explain the systemic consequences of those responses. (Ripsman *et al.*, 2009, p. 21)

Moreover, “Since neoclassical realism locates causal properties at both the structural and unit levels, the unit-level factors help to explain state external behavior” (Ripsman *et al.*, p. 21). However, despite it being a more versatile foreign policy theory as compared to its counterparts, critics of the theory highlight that, the idea of perception is not easily defined, and thus used to explain away instances when what is being observed in real life is inconsistent with the theory. Despite its imperfections, Rose (1998) points out that, “neoclassical realism's relative modesty about its ability to provide tidy answers or precise predictions should perhaps be seen not as a defect but rather as a virtue, stemming as it does from a judicious appraisal of its object of inquiry” (p. 172).

In this respect the researcher finds it a useful theoretical framework to underpin this research because it: 1) allows a more specific analysis of the subject matter, funneled from the realism school of thought; 2) it offers a central position to the state who is the main actor in the analysis of Kenya’s foreign policy with regard to economic development; 3) it offers flexibility to take account of the domestic variables (capabilities) which is unique to this theory. Finally 4) as stated by Wohlforth (as cited in Smith *et al.*, 2008) neo-classical realism seeks to “rectify this balance between the general and the particular.... Having carefully specified their assessment of the international conditions particular states face...neoclassical realists go on to factor in specific features of a given situation to generate more complete explanations of foreign policy” (p. 35).

According to Alden and Aran (2017), “Neoclassical’s integration of ‘intervening variables’ such as the role of perception, the role of leadership and domestic structures found within particular state actors as an explanatory source for diversity of outcomes in international

politics brings these three crucial FPA (Foreign Policy Analysis) insights into the realist theoretical paradigm” (p. 117). Moreover:

By directly forging in ideas that had always been implicitly tied to notions of perception such as a state’s concerns with relative power and perceptions of threat, neoclassical realists are able to account for the subjective understandings of events and differing foreign policy choices that routinely characterized state action. The inclusion of leadership as a crucial variable in mobilizing the material resources in a given state reasserts the agency of individuals and the place of contingencies in state action. And recognizing the diversity of domestic institutional structures and their concomitant impact on formative foreign policy capacity and actual implementation captures in elementary form the means by which structural dimensions at the unit-level come into play in shaping state action. (Alden and Aran, 2017, pp. 117-118)

Therefore in conclusion, since this study takes up foreign policy as the predictor variable, there is the necessity to adopt a foreign policy theoretical framework within which to analyze its impact on economic development. It is perceived that, by taking into account that foreign policy is not only influenced by systemic factors but also domestic factors there will be an insightful exploration of these impacts undergirded by a neoclassical realist’s framework.

1.11 Definition of Terms

1.11.1 Agriculture

Agriculture is the science, art, or practice of cultivating the soil, producing crops, and raising livestock and in varying degrees the preparation and marketing of the resulting products (Merriam-Webster dictionary, 2019). The agricultural sector is the second largest contributor to Kenya’s economy at 25% of the GDP as of 2015, especially because it employs more than 40% of the total population and more than 70 % of Kenya's rural people. (Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations). The lead export products which presently account for over 90% of agricultural exports include the following:

horticulture (cut flowers, fruits, vegetables, herbs, spices and nuts), coffee, tea, pulses, pyrethrum extract, and sisal products. (Integrated National Export Development and Promotion Strategy, p. 74)

1.11.2 Economic Development

Economic development is the strengthening of autonomy and substantive freedoms, which allow individuals to fully participate in economic life. Hence, economic development occurs when individual agents have the opportunity to develop the capacities that allow them to actively engage and contribute to the economy. In the aggregate, this should lower transaction costs and increase social mobility. Rather than being reduced to a static factor in a production process, individuals become the agents of change in the process of economic development: they have the freedom to realize their potential. The greater the number of individuals able to participate in the economy and the society, the greater the opportunity for new ideas to circulate and be put into action (Sen (as cited in Feldman, Hadjimichael, Kimeny and Lanahan, 2014, pp. 4-5).

Therefore economic development has to do with the distribution and use of resources for the betterment of the individual's life experience and consequently the betterment of society at large.

1.11.3 Foreign Direct Investment

Foreign direct investment (FDI) are the net inflows of investment to acquire a lasting management interest (10 percent or more of voting stock) in an enterprise operating in an economy other than that of the investor. It is the sum of equity capital, reinvestment of

earnings, other long-term capital, and short-term capital as shown in the balance of payments....The investment could be in manufacturing, services, agriculture, or other sectors. It could have originated as green field investment (building something new), as acquisition (buying an existing company) or joint venture (partnership). (The Global Economy.com, 2019)

1.11.4 Foreign Policy

Foreign policy entails those actions which expressed in the form of explicitly stated goals, comments and/or directives, and pursued by governmental representatives acting on behalf of their sovereign communities, are directed towards objectives, conditions and actors – both governmental and non-governmental – which they want to affect and which lie beyond their territorial legitimacy. (Carlsnaes (as cited in Smith *et al.*, 2008, p. 2)

1.11.5 Gross domestic product (GDP)

The GDP is one of the primary indicators used to gauge the health of a country's economy. It represents the total dollar value of all goods and services produced over a specific time period, often referred to as the size of the economy. Usually, GDP is expressed as a comparison to the previous quarter or year. There are actually two types of GDPs that economists use to measure a country's economy. Nominal GDP refers to a country's economic output without an inflation adjustment, while Real GDP is equal to the economic output adjusted for the effects of inflation. (Investopedia.com, 2019)

1.11.6 Tourism

Tourism is included under the service category. It takes into account international arrivals, as well as bed nights and domestic tourism. According to the World Travel and Tourism Council (2018), the impact of tourism on Kenya's economy is in three ways: 1) directly - reflects the 'internal' spending on travel and tourism (total spending within a particular country on travel and tourism by residents and non-residents for business and leisure purposes) as well as government 'individual' spending - spending by government on travel and tourism services directly linked to visitors, such as cultural (e.g. museums) or recreational (e.g. national parks). 2) Indirectly - travel and tourism investment spending, government 'collective' spending and domestic purchases of goods and services by the sectors dealing directly with tourists. 3) Induced - measures the GDP and jobs supported by the spending of those who are directly or indirectly employed by the travel and tourism industry (p. 2)

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

In examining the relationship between foreign policy and economic development, there is a vast array of literature attributed to each variable for this study i.e. foreign policy and economic development. To remain true to the main purpose of the study the researcher reviewed literature that was most relevant to each variable, beginning with gaining an understanding of the global context in which the study is situated before discussing foreign policy and thereafter, economic development.

2.1 Globalization

The 21st century has brought with it significant changes not only for the individual but also for the state and international community at large. One of these characteristics now almost synonymous with the post-cold war era and the 21st century so far is globalization. It is a term that represents a wide spectrum of meaning depending on who one is speaking to. Joseph Stiglitz winner of the 2001 Nobel Prize on Economics, defines globalization as, “the closer integration of the countries and peoples of the world...brought about by the enormous reduction of costs of transportation and communication, and the breaking down of artificial barriers to the flows of goods, services, capital, knowledge, and people across borders”. For Steger (2003), globalization refers to, “a multidimensional set of social processes that create, multiply, stretch, and intensify worldwide, social interdependencies and exchanges while at the same time fostering in people a growing awareness of deepening connections between the local and the distant” (p. 13). Lastly, the Levin Institute (2016) defines globalization as, “a process of interaction and integration among people, companies, and governments of different nations, a process driven by international trade

and investment and aided by information technology. This process has effects on the environment, on culture, on political systems, on economic development and prosperity, and on human physical well-being in societies around the world.” In summary, it is recognized that globalization involves the accelerated movement and exchange of people, goods, capital, services and ideas over transnational distances, where the movement and exchange of these commodities have significant effects (economically, politically, environmentally and culturally) on their sources and destinations.

However, albeit a recent entrant into 21st century parlance, be it among academics or the average individual, globalization is not unique to this period of world history. Held, Goldblatt, McGrew and Perraton (1999) trace the history of globalization through four epochs as follows: 1) pre-modern globalization-which covered a long period of history, 9,000-11,000 years ago. This epoch was characterized by interregional and intercivilizational encounters within Eurasia. The key agents of globalization were, political and military empires, world religions and migrations of nomadic people and farming societies into populated but uncultivated areas. This epoch was also limited in terms of technology. An example of a global event within this period was the spread of Islam in South western Asia and North Africa. 2) Early modern globalization-from 1500-1850 was characterized by demographic, environmental and epidemiological flows between Europe, Americas and Oceania. For example the Trans-Atlantic trade between the 16th and 19th century. Towards the end of this era transport and communication advancements were made, however they were still mostly localized within Europe. 3) Modern globalization-from around 1850-1945, which was characterized by the political and military reach of European and American empires. For example the British empire which at its height

included the Caribbean, India, the Pacific Islands, some parts of China and also parts of Africa. Another characteristic of this era, was greater levels of institutionalization as compared to previous epochs. 4) Contemporary globalization-from 1945, which saw the aftermath of World War II especially in Europe, the creation of international institutions like the United Nations, the bi-polar cold war era which saw nation states aligning with either side and finally the post-cold war period, which has seen an increase and intensity of transport and communication, flows of capital, increased migration etc. (pp. 415-427). From their description, it is clear that globalization is not entirely new. However, what sets apart the current nature of globalization from all other earlier epochs is the unprecedented increase in speed and volume of the exchange and movement of people, goods, services, capital, ideas and cultures across borders.

2.2 Globalization and Africa

Where does Africa fall within the globalization narrative? Depending on one's point of view, globalization for Africa has been perceived as either a curse or a blessing. More often than not a curse adding on to the insurmountable challenges that Africa seemingly has to overcome in order to get a slice of the "global cake". For example, as of 2016, Africa had a total GDP per capita (measures the economic output of a country by accounting for its population) of 1,809US\$ making it the poorest inhabited continent. By contrast, North America, the richest continent posted a GDP per capita of 37, 477US\$ (worldatlas.com, 2019). This is despite Africa making a significant contribution to the global economy for example in terms of natural resources. As highlighted by UN Environmental Program (UNEP):

Africa is home to some 30 per cent of the world's mineral reserves, 8 per cent of the world's natural gas, 12 per cent of the world's oil reserves; the continent has 40 per cent of the world's gold and up to 90 per cent of its chromium and platinum. The largest reserves of cobalt, diamonds, platinum and uranium in the world are in Africa. Africa holds 65 per cent of the world's arable land, 10 per cent of internal renewable fresh water source. (para. 2)

Therefore, the question is not whether Africa contributes to the global economy, but rather how can Africa reap tangible benefits from the global economy towards its development? Stiglitz (2006), argues that, "we have to learn how to cope better with globalization (in both the developed and the less developed countries). We also have to learn how to manage it better..." (p. 451).

2.3 International Relations and Foreign Policy

One of the significant realities of an increasingly inter-connected world is that it is now harder than ever for one to isolate oneself. This is particularly apparent for the state which has also not been left unaffected by an increasingly interconnected international system. Eriksen (2007) identifies eight salient characteristics of globalization, which are: 1) dis-embedding, 2) acceleration, 3) standardization, 4) interconnectedness, 5) movement, 6) mixing, 7) vulnerability and 8) re-embedding. Two of these characteristics have particular relevance to international relations. These are 1) dis-embedding - which can also be referred to as de-localization, where distance becomes irrelevant, ideas, goods, people, move quickly between locations and 2) re-embedding - which is usually a reaction to dis-embedding, as people try to preserve their power, values, identities and so on. This has had an impact on the role of the state in international relations. No longer the only actor in international relations, the state in a post second world war context has had to contend with the rise of significant non-state actors including international organizations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and more recently, multi-national corporations.

These changes and developments have significantly impacted the role of the state within the international system. This has had implications on the state's interactions with other states in the international system and thus pushing international relations (IR) and foreign policy (FP) to the center stage. A relatively young discipline, international relations in its early days focused on the study of war and peace. Ishiyama and Breuning (2010) describe international relations in its early days as being both normative and empirical. Normative in the sense that it, "seeks to provide a set of values that policymakers, diplomats, and other actors should follow in order to better the human condition" (p. 303) and empirical in that it, "seeks to explain the underlying causes of political events" (p. 303). However, most international relations scholars will agree that international relations has had to evolve with changing times and is currently a much more broader field of study encompassing, "human rights, migration, environmental cooperation, economic development, ethnic conflict, nationalism, terrorism, and international crime" (p. 303). On the other hand, Hudson (2006) defines Foreign Policy as "the strategy or approach chosen by a national government to achieve its goals in its relations with external entities. This includes [even] decisions to do nothing" (p. 12).

Hill (as cited in Smith *et.al*) defines foreign policy as, "the sum of official external relations conducted by an independent actor (usually a state) in international relations" (p. 2). Therefore while international relations concerns itself with the study of the relations between states (and other prominent non state actors) within the international system, foreign policy is concerned with the decisions actions employed by the state (and prominent non state actors) within the international system to attain certain results (usually in the interest of the actor). Alden and Aran (2017) contribute to the discussion on the link

between international relations and foreign policy by noting that, “while IR emphasizes the role and influence of structural constraints on the international system, foreign policy analysis focuses on the inherent possibilities of human agency and sub-national actors to affect and even change the international system” (p. 10).

2.4 An undertaking in Foreign Policy

Delving deeper into understanding of foreign policy, Rosenau (1971) discusses the concept of the undertaking in foreign policy stating that:

An undertaking is conceived to be a course of action that the duly constituted officials of a national society pursue in order to preserve or alter a situation in the international system in such a way that it is consistent with a goal or goals decided upon by them or their predecessors. An undertaking begins when a situation arises abroad that officials seek to maintain or change. It is sustained as long as the resources of the society as mobilized and directed by the officials continue to be applied to the situation. It terminates either when the situation comes to an end and obviates the need for further action or when officials conclude that their action cannot alter or preserve the situation and abandon their efforts. Undertakings therefore can be small scale or large scale. They can require the negotiations of a single ambassador, the activities of a vast bureaucracy, or the endeavors of a mobile army. They can extend across months or years, countries or continents, crises or stalemates. They can be directed at individuals or groups, political parties or social structures, nations or regions, enemies or allies. They can be sustained through continued activity or intermittent involvement, through conflict or cooperation, through military threat or diplomatic overture. In other words, undertakings unlike policies and decisions, encompass goals and their implementation. Their distinctive quality is that they focus on what government does, not on how it decides to do it or on what it commits itself to do. (Rosenau, 1971, p. 50)

This underscores the fact that foreign policy has a goal that it intends to achieve and is rarely if ever an arbitrary course of action. He therefore, argues that an undertaking is an appropriate unit of analysis in foreign policy research. With regards to the state, referring back to Eriksen’s characteristics of globalization, specifically dis-embedding and re-embedding, Smith *et al.* (2008) points out that many scholars argue that globalization and interdependence have “undermined the state as an actor” (p. 2). However others argue that, “globalization and interdependence did not lead to the demise of the state: instead they

made it more constrained and more central” (p. 2). They further argue that, “globalization created a web of interdependence that undermined the state’s ability to control its fate. But the state was also more central than ever, simply because populations continued to look to the state to mitigate the effects of globalization...” (p. 3). Therefore, tracing the evolution of international relations from the post-world war II, into the cold war period and the current post-cold war era characterized by globalization, the role of foreign policy may have changed in response to the prevailing international climate. However, its significance has not diminished.

2.5 International Relations and Africa

For Africa, this evolution of international relations and foreign policy has never been truer. Murithi (2014) offers an excellent review of Africa’s international relations, recognizing the paucity of scholarship on the ascendancy of Africa as a vocal and sometimes influential actor within international affairs in recent times. In his introduction he recognizes that:

Africa’s international relations have often been defined and oriented by the dominant international and geopolitical agendas of the day. As such, Africa has more often than not been the subject of international relations dictated by external actors. As a direct consequence of this fact, the chronicles of Africa’s international relations are also dominated by the perspectives of those who have invaded, enslaved, colonized and exploited the continent. (Murithi, 2014, p. 1).

He thereafter walks the reader through Africa and its colonizers during the colonial period, recognizing that Africa has not fully recovered from the scars of the colonial period. He marches on to the cold war era, which saw Africa as the battle ground of numerous proxy wars and finally the current post-cold war period, where Africa is once again grappling with a “new scramble for Africa” while at the same time striving to renew the spirit of Pan-Africanism to achieve common interests. According to him,

With the acceleration of globalization the African continent remains a paradox as far as international engagement is concerned. On the one hand it remains one of the most marginalized continents in terms of foreign direct investment (FDI), which for Africa is currently about 5% of global investment. On the other hand a number of state actors and transnational corporations are scrambling to exploit Africa's resources and extend their influence over the politics and economics of the continent. (Murithi, 2014, pp. 3-4)

2.6 Regionalism and Integration in Africa

One answer to Africa's economic development is the revival of the pan-African spirit, which in the 21st century manifests itself as regionalism and African integration. It has especially found its full expression in the African Union Agenda 2063. The African Union describes it as, "a strategic framework for the socio-economic transformation of the continent over the next 50 years. It builds on, and seeks to accelerate the implementation of past and existing continental initiatives for growth and sustainable development" (African Union, 2019). The first aspiration of this strategic framework is, "a prosperous Africa based on inclusive growth and sustainable development" (Agenda 2063, p. 2). This is essentially an economic development goal that seeks to eradicate poverty, offer Africans a higher standard of life and structurally transform African economies amongst other focus points. The call towards pan-Africanism and integration is not a new one, and since the first African countries gained independence there have been efforts to bring Africans together for mutual benefit. The African Union itself was created upon this premise in 1963. Thereafter other efforts towards African integration have included the creation of regional economic communities such as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Most recently within the context of globalization there has been the realization that pan –Africanism needs to be more tangible. Therefore, one specific action towards realizing the Agenda 2063 aspirations especially with regard to socio-economic

development has been the call towards increasing intra-Africa trade. It has been historically low especially compared with other regions, for example in 2014, intra - Europe exports were at 69%, Asia, 52%, North America 50% and Africa 18% (World Trade Organization, 2015).

Intra-Africa trade holds a significant key to Africa's economic development in order to harness the economic potential that Africa has. In March 2018, AU member states signed the Africa Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA). Aside from the World Trade Organization (WTO), it is the largest free trade area in terms of participating countries, bringing together a population of at least 1.2 billion and a combined gross domestic product of more than US \$3.4 trillion (African Union). On 2nd April 2019 it was ratified by The Gambia, meeting the threshold of 22 states for it to come into force. One of the main aims of the agreement is to, "create a single continental market for goods and services, with free movement of business persons and investments, and thus pave the way for accelerating the establishment of the Continental Customs Union and the African customs union" (African Union, 2019). Whilst many have hailed the efforts of African states to pull together through trade, others doubt that it will be a successful endeavor pointing out challenges such as, Africa's inadequate infrastructure, low levels of industrialization, poor implementation record, high cost of doing business, corruption among others (Mangeni, 2018). However, despite these real challenges, at no other time in history has Africa had such a window of opportunity as the present moment, to achieve its interests through intra-Africa trade.

2.7 National Interests

A concept commonly associated with international relations and particularly foreign policy is national interest. As much as it features here and there in IR and FP literature, some scholars hold that it has lost much of its prominence as compared to the period immediately after the Second World War. Rosenau (1971) extensively discusses the concept of the national interest, which he identifies in two ways, 1) as an analytical tool employed to describe, explain or evaluate the sources or adequacy of a nation's foreign policy and 2) as an instrument of political action which serves as a means of justifying, denouncing or proposing policies (p. 289). In other words, they both refer to what is best for a national society. Griffiths, O' Callaghan and Roach (2002) note, "without an accepted notion of the national interest, those who are called upon to evaluate their leaders' performance have no helpful criteria by which to do so" (p. 216). Both Rosenau and Griffiths *et al.*, point out that the term can be vague and open to abuse, especially by politicians. On the other hand, for Mbaya (2019) "the national interest of a state comprises core elements namely: sovereignty and territorial integrity, national security, economic advancement, national prestige, national power and military capacity" (pp 3-4). He goes on to explain that,

The national interest of a state is not transactional, but defines national power and drives all activities of the state. The national interest of a state is permanent and eternal; it drives all activities of the state and its core elements determine the state's domestic and foreign policies. (Mbaya, 2019, p. 4)

For him, "Kenya's foreign policy and diplomacy is determined by its national interest" (p.

4). Finally Alden and Aran (2017), present an amicable conclusion by stating that,

Although a much-disputed term, national interest remains a central preoccupation of foreign policy decision makers and a reference point for realist scholars seeking to interpret state action. ... [It is] synonymous with power and, therefore, both the proper object of a state's foreign policy and the best measure of its capacity to achieve its aims. (Alden and Aran, 2017, p. 5).

It is under this rationalization that economic development is referred to as a national interest in this research.

2.8 Economic growth vs. Economic development

It therefore, goes without saying that one of the paramount purposes of a state's foreign policy is to advance its national interest within the international system. Rarely if ever does this national interest not include a prominent element of economic development. For example Donald Trump's "America First" trajectory for his administration has at its core, economic interests that inform America's foreign policy. Or alternately, China's One Belt, One Road (OBOR) is an ambitious economic strategy to connect the world for China's economic growth. It also informs China's Foreign Policy and relations with the rest of the world. J. W. Fulbright, a longstanding chairman of the USA Senate Foreign Relations committee, in a 1943 address to the House Committee on Foreign Relations, stated that:

We must have a policy, and we must have leaders who make decisions according to principles in which we believe and not according to volatile and transitory emotions or nearsighted expediency. It must be built upon a profound evaluation of self-interest, of economics, of physical power, of geographic relations and of fundamental human desires. These matters cannot be blueprinted, but surely men exist who understand their significance (Fulbright, 1943, p. 638).

At this juncture clarity is necessary on what economic development is and why it is such an integral interest of any foreign policy. Economides and Wilson (2001) in their book *The Economic Factor in International Relations* explore the veracity of similar statements like, "Foreign Policy is increasingly driven by commercial considerations" (p. vii). Indeed, volumes of material have been written on economics and its relation to the individual, society and more recently the international system at large.

For the purpose of this study, it will be beneficial to distinguish between economic development and economic growth, because there is indeed a difference. However, this difference has not always been clear to economic scholarship and it is not uncommon to still find scholars who oscillate between the two terms using them interchangeably. Brinkman (1995), thoroughly conceptualizes the differences between economic growth and economic development, recognizing that for a long time, prominent economic theorists interchanged the terms, such scholars include Kuznets and Rostow. Initially, for these scholars economic growth was regarded as a function of development. Brinkman (1995) highlights that this would reinforce the idea that both terms were interchangeable, (p. 1178) which would imply that if a country grows it will also be experiencing development. However, economic statistics indicate that this is not always the case. For example, while sub-Saharan Africa had an annual average growth of 8.9% in 1969 (World Bank, 2019), there was little evidence of a commensurate improvement in the livelihoods of the mass populations. Therefore, Brinkman (1995) posits that the conceptual differences between economic growth and economic development lie in answering three questions, that is: 1) what is the substantive nature of the process? 2) What is the structure and form of the process of development? And 3) how can the growth and development process be explained? (p.1179) In thinking about development, Brinkman accepts the construal of the Nobel Laureate, Gunnar Myrdal, who defines development as “the movement upward of the entire social system” (p. 1179). This, as Brinkman notes, means that “in addition to economic factors, Myrdal's social system also included non-economic factors-education and health facilities, class stratification, the distribution of power in society, and generally, institutions and attitudes. One economic indicator, such as GNP, is not sufficient to account

for the movement of the system” (p. 1179). On the other hand, Feldman, Hadjimichael, Kimeny and Lanahan (2014) note that in order to define the role of government in the economy, it is important to distinguish the two concepts (p.1). For them, “While economic growth is simply an increase in aggregate output, economic development is concerned with quality improvements, the introduction of new goods and services, risk mitigation and the dynamics of innovation and entrepreneurship. Economic development is about positioning the economy on a higher growth trajectory. Of the two, economic development is less uniquely a function of market forces; it is the product of long-term investments in the generation of new ideas, knowledge transfer, and infrastructure, and it depends on functioning social and economic institutions and on cooperation between the public sector and private enterprise” (p. 1). Economic growth is usually more straightforward to measure. For example, a country’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is one economic growth indicator. As much as it is an important indicator, it does not always give the complete picture of the economic health or development reality, hence the necessity of looking at economic development. A prominent scholar of economic development is Amartya Sen, who recognized the futility of only measuring the economic growth of a nation. As cited in Todaro and Smith (2011), Sen argued that economic growth cannot be sensibly treated as an end in itself. Development has to be more concerned with enhancing the lives we lead and the freedoms we enjoy” (p. 16). This was in sharp contrast to earlier economists like David Ricardo (1819) and Robert Solow (1956), who, according to Feldman *et al.* (2014),

Conceptualize an economy as a machine that produces economic output as a function of inputs such as labor, land, and equipment. Growth occurs when output increases. Output can increase either when we add more inputs or use technology or innovation in order to enhance the efficiency with which we transform inputs into outputs. (Feldman *et al.*, 2014, p. 4)

Picking up from Amartya Sen, Todaro and Smith (2011) identify three core values identified with development. These are, 1) sustenance – the ability to meet basic needs, 2) self-esteem – to be a person (self-worth and self-respect) and 3) freedom from servitude – to be able to choose (p. 21). Finally,

Economic development is measured by rising real per capita income, Gini coefficients and other measures of the distribution of income and wealth as well as indicators of quality of life, that range from life expectancy to crime statistics to environmental quality. From this standpoint, economic development differs from growth in terms of a focus on a broader set of metrics” (Sen (as cited in Feldman et al., 2014, p. 5).

Therefore this study will be employing the term economic development, with the realization that economic development is more representative of economic realities than economic growth.

2.9. Previous Research on Foreign policy and Economic Development

There is a proliferation of scholarship discussing foreign policy as well as economic growth and development. However, studies that specifically research on the nexus between foreign policy and economic development are not as numerous, especially for African states and specifically for Kenya. John Howell (1968) wrote a seminal article analyzing Kenya’s foreign policy. It gives a useful overview of Kenya’s foreign policy in its early years and has been a foundation of other studies on Kenya’s foreign policy from there on. Not specifically on Kenya or Africa, Ahmad (2016) wrote an article on “*The Role of Foreign Policy and International Relations in Economic Development Based on the Philosophy of Liberalism*” that mainly focused on the place of the philosophy of liberalism in the relationship between Foreign Policy and Economic development. He however, did not make a distinction between economic growth and economic development which makes it

difficult to decipher what exactly he measures. Locally, Mabera (2015) contextualizes Kenya's Foreign Policy, looking at its evolution from 1963 – 2015. Her well-structured article has been instrumental in tracing the development of Kenya' foreign policy from one of non-alignment to one that is more strategic and proactive especially in the areas of peacekeeping, security and economic development. Finally, Olanda (2010) carried out a more specific research on the role of foreign policy in economic development in Kenya (1990 – 2010). Olanda concludes that,

The former (Foreign Policy) has been ineffective in mobilizing FDI despite embracing albeit begrudgingly, liberal economic ideals. However the little FDI that was realized during the period under review made significant contributions to economic development especially in Information Communications and Technology (ICT). (Olanda, 2010)

He also reviewed the economic diplomacy of South East Asian countries as a bench mark study which revealed that, "FDI has been at the very core of their development". His study therefore contended that, "more needs to be done to bolster the economic diplomacy of Kenya to attract significant levels of FDI to promote economic development". His research has been helpful in exploring the connection between foreign policy and economic development. However, within the current context of the global economy and position of Africa vis-à-vis her economic partners, much more empirical research is required to further understand the relationship between foreign policy and economic development and how it can be best maximized. From there we hope that this information can be used to constructively inform Kenya's foreign policy in order to secure the maximum benefits for sustained economic development.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this study is to examine the impact of foreign policy on economic development in Kenya between 2013 and 2018. Therefore in this chapter the researcher gives an outline of the methodology employed in answering the research questions. In more detail, this chapter includes information on the research design, methods of data collection, selection of the sample, research process and type of data analysis.

3.2 Research design, method and instruments

To achieve the purposes of this study, the researcher employed a mixed method research design. According to Creswell (as cited in Research designs, USC, 2019), mixed method is characterized by a focus on research problems that require three parameters. First, they require an examination of real-life contextual understandings, multi-level perspectives, and cultural influences. Secondly, they involve an intentional application of rigorous quantitative research assessing the magnitude and frequency of constructs and rigorous qualitative research exploring the meaning and understanding of the constructs. Thirdly, they embody an objective of drawing on the strengths of quantitative and qualitative data gathering techniques to formulate a holistic interpretive framework for generating possible solutions or new understandings of the problem.

The benefits of employing a mixed method research design in addressing this research problem (as outlined by Creswell (as cited in Research Designs, USC, 2019)), include the following: 1) Narrative and non-textual information can add meaning to numeric data,

while numeric data can add precision to narrative and non-textual information. 2) The strengths of one method can be used to overcome the inherent weaknesses of another method. 3) Produces more complete knowledge and understanding of the research problem that can be used to increase the generalizability of findings applied to theory or practice. However, the researcher also understands that there are also some limitations to this method, which include: 1) a researcher must be proficient in understanding how to apply multiple methods to investigating a research problem as well as be proficient in optimizing how to design a study that coherently melds them together. 2) Because the research design can be very complex, reporting the findings requires a well-organized narrative, clear writing style, and precise word choice. 3) Concurrent merging of quantitative and qualitative research requires greater attention to having adequate sample sizes, using comparable samples, and applying a consistent unit of analysis. (Creswell (as cited in Research designs, USC, 2019). To address these challenges of complexity in utilizing the mixed method research design the researcher kept the study simple and clear by being exacting on the objectives of the study and identifying which research method will be most suited to answering each objective of the study appropriately.

Therefore, a mixed method research that utilizes both qualitative and quantitative methods came across as most appropriate in addressing the research question in order to maximize the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative methods. For qualitative methods the researcher utilized structured interviews. This method allowed the researcher to collect qualitative data that took into account context, and rich detail, in line with the rational actor and organizational process approach of foreign policy analysis. It also allowed a more in depth understanding of the reasons behind specific foreign policy undertakings.

Furthermore, it allowed the responses of the interview to be standardized, thus making it less complex for analysis and comparison across various respondent categories. For quantitative methods the researcher employed a questionnaire survey which allowed for generalization (external validity), and a more objective data collection.

3.3 Population and Sampling

According to Agreysi and Finlay (2014) a population is “the total set of subjects of interest in a study” (p. 4). The population of this study were officials from ministries, departments and agencies concerned with foreign policy and economic development in Kenya. Therefore, government ministries included the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries, the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife, The National Treasury and the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Cooperatives. While government agencies and partner organizations included, Horticultural Crops Directorate(HCD), Kenya Flower Council(KFC), Kenya Tourism Board(KTB), Kenya National Chambers of Commerce and Industry (KNCCI), Kenya Private Sector Alliance (KEPSA), Kenya Investment Authority (KenInvest) and Trade Mark East Africa (TMEA). The MFA is the main actor mandated to execute Kenya’s foreign policy. National Treasury works closely with the MFA, while The Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Fisheries and the Ministry of Industry, Trade and Cooperatives are line ministries of the MFA, meaning they are consumers of the activities of MFA. The government agencies and partner organizations included in the study population were all recommendations from respondents as organizations that partner with the MFA in carrying

out its economic diplomacy functions. They are also all representative of the economic development indicators identified for this research.

According to Agreysi and Finlay (2014), a sample is “the subset of the population on which the study collects data” (p. 4). This study used both probability (where the chances of selecting any member of the population is known) and non-probability (where the chances of selecting a member of the population is unknown) sampling methods. For non-probability sampling, the researcher utilized stratified sampling methods, because as mentioned the researcher sought to include ministry and organization departments that are focused on foreign policy, external affairs or economic development, depending on the ministry or organization. Multi-stage sampling was also employed because it allowed the samples selected to be most relevant to the variables of the study. The study also employed expert and snow-ball sampling especially for collecting qualitative data, for the same reasons as mentioned above, it allowed the researcher to interview key decision-making actors relevant to foreign policy and economic development in the sample MDAs. These samples therefore included government officials, heads of departments, diplomats as well as agency officials.

The sample size for the study was fifty (50). However, the researcher reached forty-eight (48) respondents, which included eighteen (18) questionnaires and thirty (30) interviews. The 18 questionnaires included relevant department officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (16 respondents) and Ministry of Trade, Industry and Cooperatives (2 respondents). The 30 interviews were spread across all the population ministries, government agencies and partner organizations and included face-to-face interviews with government officials, diplomats and agency officials from the ministries of Foreign Affairs, Trade, Tourism,

Finance and officials from the relevant departments in HCD, KFC, KTB, KNCCI, KEPSA, KenInvest and TMEA. 56% of the respondents were from MFA, 16% from other ministries, 23% from government agencies and partner organizations and 4% from traders.

To uphold the principle of confidentiality this research will not be naming specific departments or individuals interviewed or surveyed in any of the government ministries, agencies and partner organizations. However, it is to be noted that departments included in the research were selected based on the relevance of their mandate to the research question. Lastly, the researcher also had the opportunity to visit the Kenya Trade Week and Expo from 15.07.19-21.07.19, organized by the Export Promotion Council, where two traders were interviewed to gain insights on how Kenya's foreign policy undertakings impact their businesses. The interviewees included the owner of a small individually owned business and a department head of a large Kenyan owned beverage manufacturer. Both businesses were exhibitors in the trade week seeking to expand their market regionally and globally. They were selected as samples using convenience sampling.

3.4 Field data collection process

The researcher began the data collection process after receiving approval from the institution to proceed with data collection. The researcher applied and received the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) permit which took approximately five weeks. Authorization was also required from the Education department of Nairobi County. Application was duly made for the Nairobi County permit and was received after another two weeks. The researcher began the data collection with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by first seeking permission to conduct the research among

ministry officials. Permission was granted once the officer in charge certified the NACOSTI authorization. The initial interviews conducted gave an understanding of how the organization works as well as which departments would be most relevant for the research. These interviews advised the researcher to not only include the economics directorate of MFA in the research but also other directorates since each directorate had an economic component to it. Respondents also gave suggestions of which government agencies and partner organizations to include in the study population. Therefore, in the MFA the researcher collected data from the departments most relevant to the research under the Office of the Political and Diplomatic secretary, which is, “the directorate in charge of the management of Kenya’s Foreign Policy and the implementation of national positions in pursuit of national interests in bilateral, regional and global affairs, a primary function of the Ministry” (MFA-Strategic plan, 2018/19-2022/23, p. 59). For this stage of the research, the researcher employed stratified, multi-stage and expert sampling methods.

After the data collection process with the MFA, using snow-ball sampling as well as expert sampling, the researcher proceeded to collect data from the line ministries as indicated above. Following recommendations from respondents in the MFA and the line ministries the researcher then proceeded to collect data from the government agencies and partner organizations as indicated above.

Both the government officials and partner organization officials were courteous in receiving the researcher. However, throughout the data collection process the researcher faced almost insurmountable challenges with the data collection process. The initial data collection plan had been designed to have more questionnaires than interviews. However, because of busy schedules of government officials, many were either too busy to fill in the

questionnaire or were physically not available, being out in the field for work duty. The researcher addressed this challenge by focusing more on structured interviews which allowed more qualitative data collection to ensure that the validity and reliability of the study was maintained. Also some respondents highlighted that the questionnaire specifically designed for the MFA officials was too long, which may also have been a factor in respondents not taking the time to fill it in. However, 95% of questionnaire respondents were from the MFA. It was also very challenging to secure interviews for the same reason of respondents' availability. To address this, the researcher was flexible about whom to interview. For example, if a director was not available the researcher requested to interview the deputy or assistant director. The researcher was also flexible with timings of the interviews and worked with the interviewee's schedule during official working hours. It is worth noting that during the period of the data collection exercise there was the AU summit in Niamey to operationalize the AfCFTA – July, Botswana state visit to Kenya – July, Kenya state visit to Jamaica – August, preparations for the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD-2019) in August, and the United Nations General Assembly in September. Consequently some officials both in the MFA and partner organizations were very busy and gave this as a reason for not being able to fill in the questionnaires or create time for an interview.

Finally there was also the challenge of un-anticipated respondents. The initial research population had not included government agencies and partner organizations. However, after the initial interviews with senior officials in the MFA, it was strongly recommended that the researcher also collect data with the relevant government agencies and partner organizations for a more representative research. Therefore, the researcher included seven

(7) relevant government agencies and partner organizations, all recommended by the MFA respondents or other line ministry respondents. Adding these new respondents required the researcher to modify the interview schedule to be relevant to the targeted population. For these respondents, the researcher used a structured interview, interviewing 1 or 2 interviewees per organization. This is because: 1) Some departments were too small to justify the use of a questionnaire; 2) The researcher in almost all agencies and organizations was able to interview a head of department/directorate and their input was sufficient in responding to the research questions; and 3) Time constraints. Therefore, in each organization the researcher sought to interview officials who mostly liaised with the MFA and other line ministries with regards to foreign policy and their specific mandate as an organization. The selected organizations were also categorized according to Kenya's key economic sectors targeted by the research for example, KTB-tourism, KFC-horticulture (agriculture) and KenInvest-foreign investments. The interviews throughout the data collection process were relatively short taking between 15-20mins on average. Despite the challenges in securing interviews, the insights from these partner organizations were very rewarding and greatly enriched the data collected for this research.

3.5 Research Site and Time-frame

The study was conducted in Nairobi which is the capital city of Kenya and also the headquarters of all the MDAs that participated in the study. The study was conducted over a period of nine weeks between June and August 2019.

3.6 Reliability and validity of the instrument

Reliability has to do with consistency, that is, will the research instrument give consistent results when used by different respondents? Validity, on the other hand, has to do with the accuracy of the instrument, that is, does it accurately measure what it has been designed to measure? The researcher ensured the reliability of the instrument by having both the structured interview and questionnaire expert reviewed. Any modifications made to the interview to suit the interviewee was also minimal to maintain reliability. Also for the interview schedule, after a couple of initial interviews, some questions came across as repetitive, therefore some questions were skipped if answering it would result in a similar response to a previous question. Finally, both instruments were designed to include precise questions to maximize validity.

3.7 Data Analysis

For qualitative data analysis, the researcher: 1) reviewed all the data thoroughly and transcribed the data where necessary organizing it to make it easier to compare. The researcher used an excel sheet for this exercise; 2) thereafter, the researcher identified repeated themes ideas, words, consistencies and also outliers and unexpected information. This information was then coded and categorized. 3) From here, the researcher identified the main ideas and overarching themes in the data. 4) This was followed by validating and confirming the findings using triangulation by corroborating findings through different respondent categories and also from different data collection methods. 5) The data was then interpreted with help from secondary data sources where necessary. And finally 6) it was presented as a narrative analysis.

The researcher supplemented the data results from the qualitative data with quantitative data. To further achieve this inter-link, the researcher descriptively analyzed the data by using mean, percentages and frequency tables. Quantitative analysis was conducted using Microsoft Excel 2013. Quantitative secondary data was also reviewed especially for the economic development indicators. Sources of the economic development secondary data came from 1) the World Bank, 2) Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS), 3) Africa Trade Statistics Yearbook, 2017, 4) World Travel and Tourism Council Annual Economic Impact reports for Kenya and 5) Kenya Integrated National Export Development and Promotion Strategy (NEDPS) among other relevant sources.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter will give details of the results of the data analysis as undertaken by the researcher. The data results will be organized according to the research questions that guided the study.

4.1 What is the relationship between foreign policy and economic development between 2013 and 2018?

All respondents from across the three main respondent categories i.e. the MFA, other ministries and partner organizations indicated a strong relationship between foreign policy and economic development. When asked to describe this relationship, majority of the respondents highlighted that FP is aimed at promoting and safeguarding Kenya's interests abroad which include the promotion of trade and attraction of investment into the country which have a positive impact on economic development. Also economic development especially international trade is directly affected by international politics. Finally, the link between foreign policy and economic development in Kenya is strong since Kenya's foreign policy is developmental and strongly based on economic development.

When asked if they felt having a written foreign policy document has helped Kenya achieve significant economic development between 2013 and 2018, the majority of the respondents answered in the affirmative. For many of those in the MFA, this is mainly because, “a documented policy gives clear guidance to the actors/implementers on what is expected of them”. It is “also used as a reference point to ensure that the objectives of this country's socio-economic development are on track.” And finally, “a foreign policy document which

identifies the key pillars of our FP has assisted in having a focused and robust engagement in our diplomacy which has contributed to economic development”. In line with this, one respondent from the MFA highlighted that Kenya’s foreign policy under the Uhuru administration is strongly driven by the economic development pillar. This has resulted in two specific developments in its implementation. The first is that it ensured that there is an economic component in any state engagement with another country (high level visits). The second is that it facilitated the adoption of Joint Commissions of Cooperation (JCCs) with other friendly states to strengthen bi-lateral relations. Nonetheless, a significant outlier view was noted. A respondent observed that, "having a written one (FP document) or not, does not [in and of itself] really determine if the country will have economic development or not. The best years in terms of economic development were 2003-2012 but... [the country] did not have a foreign policy document". Indeed Kenya has experienced strong economic development prior to 2013. As earlier noted in the literature review, as much as Kenya did not have a written foreign policy document prior to November 2014, it did have a foreign policy that it exercised especially focused on achieving its economic development goals. Taking all views into consideration, the main contribution that a written foreign policy document makes towards pursuing national interests as most respondents highlighted is that it: 1) gives clear guidance, 2) act as a reference point to ensure the country’s objectives are on track and 3) focuses and reinforces the state’s foreign policy engagement regionally and internationally.

Corroborating these views, respondents from the Ministry of Trade, Min. of Tourism, National Treasury as well as the partner organizations (KTB, KNCCI, TMEA, KenInvest and KEPSA) highlighted a strong working relationship with the MFA indicative of the

strength of relationship between foreign policy and economic development. The KFC and HCD organizations representing the agriculture (horticulture) economic sector reported a weaker interaction with the MFA. KFC highlighted that they do work with the MFA in some instances but mostly interact with the State department of Trade. On the other hand, the HCD had been recommended to the researcher by the Ministry of Agriculture-State department of Agriculture. KFC came across as having slightly more interaction with MFA than HCD. Though their interaction was more in line with formulating the NEPDS alongside the State department of Trade.

Therefore, when asked to account for the increase in horticulture sales from 2012-2016 (an increase of about 13% according to the NEDPS, p. 104)). Reasons given by the horticulture industry representatives included: 1) diversification into non-traditional markets, 2) expansion and modernization i.e. infrastructural support, 3) increased global demand 4) expanding middle-class in consumer countries, 5) increased demand and prices of flowers, especially in 2018 and 6) Kenya's comparative advantage in growing and selling a variety of flowers. What these submissions of the horticulture representatives, therefore, suggest is that horticultural export sales in Kenya are more strongly influenced by market forces than by promotion activities conducted by the country including those carried out by the MFA.

4.2 What foreign policy undertakings have maximized economic development between 2013 and 2018?

Foreign policy undertakings that yield the most economic gains for the country as identified by MFA respondents include: bi-lateral negotiations, international conferences, resolving

border problems and multi-lateral negotiations, for example, the WTO's 10th Ministerial Conference in 2015 whose centerpiece was a Ministerial Decision on Export Competition (WT/MIN(15)/45), including a commitment to eliminate subsidies for farm exports. Others include treaties, protocols and Joint Commissions of Cooperation, for instance the 2018 Kenya – Mauritius JCC. Enhancing peace and security also came out as a foreign policy undertaking that has maximized economic development within this period, for example monitoring the Somalia stabilization process, which has allowed them to establish federal states, collect revenue and are expecting to hold elections in 2021. When asked to rank specific policy undertakings (as indicated under the economic pillar of the MFA's Strategic plan, 2013/14-2017/18) according to which in their opinion yielded the most economic gains for Kenya, *Negotiating and harnessing opportunities and benefits of development cooperation in key development cooperation frameworks* and *negotiating trade and bi-lateral agreements* held a tie as the highest with 23%, while *coordinating and participating in promotion activities* came in second with 19%, followed by *negotiating overseas development aid* with 18% and finally, *organizing investment promotion in Kenya, diplomatic missions* abroad with 17%. Overall, negotiations, be they bi-lateral or multi-lateral, came across as the most effective foreign policy undertakings in achieving economic development goals from the point of view of MFA respondents.

From the point of view of other ministries and partner organizations, there are other co-relative factors that are also critical. For instance, with regards to promoting tourism, many respondents highlighted several foreign policy undertakings which have been beneficial. They include: 1) networking and providing market information, for instance, tour operators in source markets, 2) organizing exhibitions, advocacy with foreign governments, for

instance, lifting travel advisories among others; 3) Physical support and implementation of KTB activities by MFA staff where KTB does not have physical offices; 4) attracting foreign funding for the tourism sector; and 5) joint drafting of MOUs especially in areas of tourism. One respondent however highlighted it would be more beneficial if Kenyan missions had tourism attachés who were specifically dedicated to promoting Kenya's tourism. This sentiment was echoed by respondents from other economic sectors who expressed it would be more beneficial for example to have a commercial attaché dedicated to only promoting Kenya's agricultural exports. In their view, MFA staff may be limited in their capacity to fully grasp and promote all the sectors that are involved in the country's economic umbrella.

The trade sector representatives, also corroborated the findings from the MFA, stating that the specific FP undertakings that maximize economic development in terms of trade include: 1). MFA's hosting of commercial attaches in their missions or having staff who work on trade and investment as necessary, 2). MFA's organizing trade exhibitions on their behalf and 3) Jointly negotiating for market access of Kenyan goods and services. Having said this, a respondent highlighted that a further benefit could be commercial representation in all missions. Finally for the Agriculture (horticulture) sector representatives, all the respondents highlighted that in promoting horticulture, trade fairs are still the most effective avenue... "The human touch is very important" they said. Most deals are sealed between the exporters meetings and interacting with clients directly as they are able to sell themselves better as opposed to being represented by government officials. Most agreed that MFA has been helpful in providing market intelligence. However their general perception was that foreign policy undertakings should concentrate on taking on a

facilitative role, that is, negotiating trade deals and agreements, providing market intelligence, representation in international organizations such as WTO (roles that only they can do as a state agency) as opposed to taking on an active role in marketing and promoting of horticultural products. This, they felt is currently being driven strongly by the sector's own promotion activities. As one respondent highlighted, the Kenyan flower industry is 'market savvy'. It was also suggested that the MFA which has a diaspora directorate can make use of the diaspora in promotion activities as they are an untapped yet useful resource. Furthermore, others highlighted that while negotiations are helpful in attracting FDI, it is also necessary to match the country's needs with the type of FDI being attracted so as to attract quality FDI for the country.

Conversely, respondents from the MFA and Min of Finance were asked which economic sectors benefit the most from foreign policy undertakings (aimed at economic development). The majority of the respondents from both institutions highlighted that generally all sectors benefited from foreign policy undertakings. However, the sectors that benefited more specifically include foreign direct investment, trade, tourism, agriculture (through inputs, subsidies from global agreements etc.). Other sectors include manufacturing, infrastructure, ICT and construction, which partner organizations listed as the economic sectors that currently receive the most FDI. Kenya has generally experienced an increase in FDI inflows since 2013. As of 2018, "FDI flows increased by 27 per cent (compared to 2017) to \$1.6 billion" (UNCTAD, World Investment report 2019, p. 37). The report goes on to highlight that:

Investments were received in diverse industries including manufacturing, chemicals, hospitality, and oil and gas. The country has been making strides to facilitate private enterprise and foreign investment, which are contributing to increasing FDI. It improved its "Ease of Doing Business"

ranking and has also been marketing its export processing zones (EPZs) as attractive destinations for manufacturing-oriented foreign investment in diverse industries including manufacturing, chemicals, hospitality, and oil and gas. (UNCTAD, World Investment report, 2019, p. 37)

Therefore, overall, there was a general agreement across the three main respondent groups that the most effective foreign policy undertakings for maximizing economic development are negotiations be they bi-lateral or multi-lateral, representation in regional and international trade organizations providing market intelligence and maintaining good relations with partner states. However, while some respondents from the MFA perceive that coordinating and participating in promotion activities was helpful, respondents from other ministries, government agencies and partner organizations felt that these activities were not as effective and could be improved by a more participatory and inclusive model. One way to achieve this for instance by having specific representation in Kenya's foreign missions for example, tourist attachés. Another means is by allowing the specific economic sector being promoted to take a lead in its own promotion, while the MFA focuses on its 'core' diplomatic responsibilities. By this they mean that the MFA should rather focus on its more specific roles, which involve responsibilities that only the MFA has the distinctive mandate and capacity to carry out as a state institution with regards to foreign policy.

4.3 What challenges do Kenya's foreign policy undertakings encounter in achieving their economic development goals between 2013 and 2018?

In identifying challenges, most MFA questionnaire respondents said "YES", they do face some challenges in effectively carrying out their role. Interview respondents shared similar views, with the majority (66%) stating inadequate funding as a major challenge. This was followed by limited diplomatic footprint which stood at 33%, that is, inadequate foreign missions to advance Kenya's interests. Other significant challenges included, lack of

skilled and competent personnel, corruption and non-availability of the right and relevant information. Other factors highlighted were the challenge of peace and security especially in the region and competition for markets regionally and globally. Cross checking these findings with responses from other ministries and partner organizations, they were asked, if there were any challenges to achieving their goals that their ministry (department) or organization had encountered through their collaboration with the MFA. Some of the responses are laid out below:

Ministries - From the tourism sector (that is, Min of tourism and MFA in their joint mandate to promote tourism): Most respondents highlighted: 1) political instability which tourism is very sensitive to – this includes travel advisories 2) corruption, 3) tribalism and 4) bureaucracy. Challenges specific to promoting tourism by both ministries include: 1) lack of adequate financing 2) though the joint collaboration is good and has reaped benefits, MFA staff may not be always well equipped to promote tourism fully. These challenges were similar to those highlight by other ministries who identified a need to invest more in economic diplomacy and increase capacity building. Beyond that, for Kenya in general some respondents highlighted a need to put aside politics and do things differently, for example focusing on value addition in export products, and investing in the necessary infrastructure to attract more FDI.

For partner organizations: Tourism – respondents did not respond to this question. Agriculture (horticulture) - The challenges cited by the respondents were not based on their collaboration with the MFA but rather industry-specific challenges which may include challenges with government as a whole and not specifically the MFA. They include: 1) high freight costs, utility costs, high cost of labor, 2) Market challenges - competition both

globally and regionally, 3) climate challenges, 4) double taxation - national and county, 5) Business unfriendly laws 6) Refunding from government is slow-creating cash flow problems. Trade - The challenges highlighted by respondents included some specific to the MFA while others were more general to the government. They include: 1) inadequate funding to support businesses, 2) as much as there is better involvement of the private sector in coming up with policy incentives among others, private sector participation can be further improved. 3) Diplomatic support in terms of visas to facilitate business in other countries 4) more negotiations-the cost of doing business is still high, for instance, Airline costs, freight costs, among others 5. With regards to engagement, there is still instances of last minute planning as well as inefficiency in planning and 6) there is the question of how negotiations are conducted. Are they for the betterment of the country or for individuals?

Lastly, the interviews conducted with traders were also very insightful. Their main goal for participating in the trade fair had been to access the international market both regionally and globally. They felt that the trade fair had not met their expectations with the number of visitors that it attracted. They felt that government could do better: 1) in promotion activities, (they felt the trade fair had not been well marketed hence the low visitor turnout), 2) in fulfilling their promises. For instance, the manufacturing business had been promised go-downs by the government to help them expand regionally but this did not come through; 3) in reducing the complexity of procedures required for small businesses to participate in available international opportunities to expand their businesses. They highlighted AGOA which though was a helpful agreement involved an overly arduous and complex certification process. This creates barriers to trade. Instead the process should be made easier or simplified; and 4) in enhancing private-public partnership. They feel that

government should include and involve them more in processes of deliberation and planning, in order to better understand and respond to their concerns.

4.4 How can Kenya's foreign policy be structured or fine-tuned to maximize economic development?

From MFA respondents, it was generally felt that Kenya's foreign policy is good and effective as it is. However, there is always room for improvement. Suggestions towards fine-tuning it to be more effective especially with regards to economic development include: 1) It should be regularly reviewed to ensure it is in touch with the prevailing global environment and pertinent realities, 2) regular follow up is key, that is towards the implementation of MOUs and bi-lateral agreements, 3) bringing on board all stakeholders and putting in place helpful legislation to holistically address challenges, and 4) finally, fully exploiting the rich human resources the country has in the diaspora and individuals with international experience. This includes athletes, business people, and experienced civil servants, among others.

Respondents from other ministries – Trade - In this age of globalization, taking advantage of e-commerce should be explored.

From partner organizations-Agriculture (horticulture): Realizing globalization is here to stay and trade is key for the country especially because it is an export oriented economy. The fact that most flower growers in Kenya are foreigners offers a case in point. Therefore Kenya's foreign policy needs to be innovative and easily adaptable to keep up with changes taking place globally. *Trade* - There needs to be more dissemination of information, especially with regards to the benefits of trade agreements and how local businesses can

take advantage of trade deals and agreements that have already been signed and ratified. For example the AfCFTA is a great opportunity. But the question is - how many county businesses know about it and how they can take advantage of it? There is need for local capacity building at the county levels to take advantage of the wins of significant foreign policy undertakings with regards to trade.

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

In summary, this research set out to analyze the relationship between foreign policy and economic development in Kenya between 2013 and 2018. The preceding data analysis indicates there is indeed a strong relationship between foreign policy and economic development in Kenya not just from 2013-2018, but historically, as many respondents highlighted Kenya's foreign policy has been in existence since independence. This relationship between foreign policy and development in Kenya is demonstrated in a multi-level manner from conceptualization to implementation. That is: 1). Kenya's foreign policy was not created in isolation but rather is a product of several other documents and policies locally, regionally and globally. All these documents have a strong economic development agenda thus demonstrating the link between foreign policy and the economic agenda. These documents are, globally the SDGs, regionally, Agenda2063 and locally, Kenya's constitution, Vision2030 and the Big 4 Agenda. This alignment of Kenya's foreign policy with other economic development agendas that are regional and global also indicates a recognition that in an increasingly globalized world states cannot develop in isolation.

The relationship between foreign policy and economic development is also demonstrated through inter-linkages between the various government ministries and through increased public-private partnerships. With regards to government, as much as the MFA is mandated to implement Kenya's foreign policy, it cannot do so without the interaction and input of other MDAs especially those most relevant to the 5 pillars of Kenya's foreign policy. For example, the National Treasury is critical in offering guidance on MFA's medium term

strategic plans. With regards to public-private participation the same applies. Kenya's foreign policy is strengthened by public-private partnerships especially with regards to Kenya's economic development goals. For example, KEPSA represents the business community in Kenya and presents their agenda to government through presidential roundtables. Kenya's foreign policy's economic pillar would be less effective without the input of the private sector.

Thirdly, the foreign policy and economic development relationship is demonstrated through the MFA's organizational structure that ensures all officials are familiar and well informed on Kenya's foreign policy and that their roles and functions are aligned to the objectives of the policy. Lastly, there is a clear difference between foreign policy broadly and practically construed, and having a foreign policy document. As already highlighted, Kenya has been conducting foreign policy since independence. However, the most significant contribution of a written foreign policy document from 2013-2018 is that it aligns, gives direction, focus and acts as a reference point for Kenya's objectives internationally.

Kenya's foreign policy benefits all sectors of Kenya's economy. However, it is most effective in the economic sectors of trade and in attracting FDI. For example in 2017 "Kenya saw FDI increase to \$672 million, up 71%, due to strong domestic demand and inflows in information and communication technology sectors". While in 2018, "flows to Kenya swelled by 27% to \$1.6 billion, due to investment in diverse sectors, including manufacturing, hospitality, chemicals and oil and gas". (UNTAD, World Investment report, 2018 and 2019). The specific foreign policy undertakings that maximize economic development have been highlighted as bi-lateral and multi-lateral negotiations,

representing Kenya in international organizations and ensuring that Kenya has good relations especially with its trade partners.

As much as there is a general consensus that Kenya's foreign policy is effective and currently well positioned to pursue its objectives, there are some challenges that have been identified. These challenges can be categorized according to those that are specific to the activities of MFA, other ministries and partner organizations. These include: lack of adequate funding to carry out more proactive economic diplomacy, limited diplomatic footprint, inadequate staff, a lack of highly skilled and competent staff and poor or inefficient planning of events and engagements, for example not getting the right information in order to be well prepared for a state engagement. Other challenges general to Kenya include: 1) high costs of doing business, 2) business unfriendly laws, 3) corruption, 4) bureaucracy, 5) poor leadership and 6) internal antagonism of a devolved government and 7) an over-occupation with domestic politics.

Finally, in response to these challenges Kenya's foreign policy can be fine-tuned in order help the country reap more economic development benefits out of it. Suggestions specific to the functions of the MFA, other ministries and partner organizations include: 1). increasing funding for economic diplomacy since it is clear Kenya's foreign policy is closely related to Kenya's economic development agenda. 2). Investing in human capacity ensuring that officials implementing Kenya's foreign policy are highly skilled and competent with the requisite skills to compete globally; 3) Improving on the planning and execution of events/engagements by being well prepared in advance and getting the correct information to make informed decisions. 4. Taking advantage of the untapped resource in Kenya's diaspora and individuals with international experience. These are current

goldmines for Kenya's foreign policy not only in terms of their remittances but much more because they represent great brand ambassadors and promoters of Kenya; 5). Strengthening peace and security within Kenya, and across the Eastern Africa region. When all is said and done, without peace and security economic development cannot thrive.

5.2 Conclusion

In conclusion, Kenya's foreign policy is clear, aligned, focused and well-articulated with a strong relationship between foreign policy and economic development. Having a clearly outlined foreign policy has allowed Kenya to focus its foreign policy activities boldly towards economic gains for the country between 2013 and 2018 especially in the sectors of trade, investment and diaspora remittances. Beyond this it has been developed at a time in Kenya's history when: 1). There is an increasing respect for the rule of law; 2). There is the political will to fight corruption; 3). Kenya has strengthened international relations; and 4) the country's FP has not been construed in isolationist terms but rather in relation to regional and international agendas.

Only history can definitely tell if the current administration and its FP posturing has adequately made use of the opportunities available to it in achieving her overall economic development goals. However, whether this happens or not, is not a question of conception, but of implementation. For we know this much: Kenya's foreign policy has the potential to achieve its economic development goals in an increasingly globalized world.

5.3 Recommendations

The recommendations from this study include:

1. The MFA should focus its foreign policy undertaking (aimed at economic development) on what it is best at or its 'core' diplomatic functions i.e. negotiations both bi-lateral and multi-lateral and representation of Kenya in regional and international organizations and maintaining good relations with partner countries. While promotion activities are appreciated, they may not be as effective in accomplishing their goals and could therefore be largely delegated to sector specific individuals or organizations who know their products best and therefore, can promote them effectively. The MFA can play the role of facilitating, curating and creating the environment for the promotion of Kenya's products rather than directly doing it herself.
2. To further reap the benefits of focusing foreign policy undertakings to maximize economic development requires more funding towards economic diplomacy. It also involves ensuring that the staff that are tasked with promoting, protecting and projecting Kenya's interests are highly trained and have the requisite skills to compete globally.
3. The country needs to explore the untapped potential of the diaspora in her Foreign Policy. While the diaspora currently contribute significantly through remittances, they could be a less costly avenue to increasing Kenya's diplomatic footprint and also serve as promoters and ambassadors of the Kenyan brand. Though the diaspora policy is clear on the importance of the diaspora community to economic development both in terms of remittances as well as tapping into their skills and

international experience, it appears that significant strides have been made only in the area of remittances. For example, according to Central Bank data, diaspora remittances have been on the increase annually since 2013, peaking at Sh272 billion in 2018. Followed by tourism at Sh157 billion, and horticulture at Sh153 billion. According to UNCTAD World Investment report 2019, FDI inflows currently stand at Sh160 billion (1.6BUS\$) (p. 37). However, respondents from the three main respondent categories highlighted that the diaspora is still untapped especially with regards to exploiting their skills and international experience to promote Kenya globally. These sentiments are supported by independent studies conducted in the US which hosts the largest number of Kenyans. In one study conducted by Bloomberg journalist Justin Fox in 2018, Kenyans were ranked as the 3rd most hardworking immigrants in the USA with a score of 74%. Fox therefore, concluded that, “if we (USA) want more highly skilled and hardworking English-speaking immigrant obviously the place to go for them is Africa”. While another study on immigrants in the USA published by the *Los Angeles Times* in 2018 found out that, “on average, African immigrants are better educated than people born in the U.S. or the immigrant population as a whole”, it also reported that, “overwhelmingly the evidence shows that [African immigrants] make a significant, positive economic contribution to the U.S. economy”. “Drawing from U.S. surveys and Census Bureau data, the report found that the majority (of African immigrants) come from five countries: Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Ethiopia and South Africa”.

These studies among others underscore the potential to be harnessed from the diaspora community not only from remittances but also from their skills and experiences. According to the diaspora policy, matters related to this section of the population is fully under the mandate of the MFA. Therefore the specific recommendation is to prioritize and expedite the strengthening of this directorate to reap sustained economic benefits from this population in the long run. To emphasize this, it is worth noting that according to the Migration and Development Brief, April 2019, “remittance flows to low- and middle-income countries are larger than official development assistance and more stable than private capital flows from 1990–2019” (p. 1). Also “remittance flows to low- and middle-income countries other than China are larger than foreign direct investment from 1990–2019” (p. 2). Again these statistics highlight the potential of the diaspora to Kenya’s economic development, especially in an increasingly globalized world.

4. The country needs to improve on public-private partnerships. While the relevant MDAs may be aligned onto Kenya’s foreign policy and economic development agenda, this may not be the case with the rest of the government, for example in sectors like the legislature and the judiciary, county governments and the private sector. There is a need for improved public-private interaction amongst all stakeholders. There is also a need to align county government with national interests, especially as the country struggles to understand the meaning of her current devolution of government.

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APPENDICES

Interview Schedule for MFA

Dear respondent,

My name is Joyce Raichenah from Hekima University College and I am currently pursuing my thesis. My thesis title is 'An analysis of the impact of foreign policy on economic development in Kenya between 2013 and 2018'. As part of my data collection I am conducting a survey questionnaire to help me answer my research question. Therefore, I would like to request your participation in my data collection process by responding to this questionnaire. Your information will be treated as confidential, will only be used for academic purposes and only specifically for this research. It is a brief questionnaire requiring approximately thirty (30) minutes to complete.

On my end, I would appreciate your honest response to the questions asked as this will increase the credibility of the research findings.

Thank you for your time, participation and valuable input! Please let me know if you have any questions.

Phone no: 0722. 258.926

Email add: joyce.raichenah@hekima.ac.ke

INTRODUCTION QUESTIONS

Name:

1. What ministry department do you work in?.....
2. What is your job title?.....
3. How long have you worked in your current role?.....
4. Was your previous job position related to your current role?
5. How familiar are you with Kenya's foreign policy document?

SECTION A – What is the relationship between foreign policy and economic development? (RQ. 1)

1. Do you feel that your current job position plays a significant role in achieving the goals of Kenya's foreign policy with regards to economic development?
2. How important is foreign policy in achieving economic development in Kenya?
3. Do you feel that having a written foreign policy document has helped Kenya achieve significant economic development between 2013 and 2018?

4. Which economic sector in your opinion benefits the most from foreign policy undertakings (aimed at economic development). In which ways does it specifically benefit from Foreign policy undertakings?

SECTION B – What foreign policy undertakings maximize economic development? (RQ. 2)

1. What foreign policy undertakings in your opinion and experience are the most costly as a ministry to carry out?
2. What foreign policy undertakings in your opinion yield the most economic gain for Kenya in a) the short term (0 – 5yrs) and b) the long term (5 – 10yrs)?
3. What is the most significant contribution that foreign policy makes to achieving Kenya's economic development goals? Why do you think this is the most significant contribution?
4. What foreign policy undertaking towards achieving economic development in Kenya is most under-estimated and if better understood and executed would yield more economic gains for Kenya.
5. What is the most significant achievement that your department has realized between 2013 and 2018 that has yielded the highest economic gains or is positioned to yield the highest economic gains in the long term (more than 5yrs)?

SECTION C – What challenges do Kenya's foreign policy undertakings encounter in achieving their economic development goals? (RQ.3)

1. What specific challenges does Kenya's foreign policy face in achieving economic development in Kenya?
2. How can these challenges that you have mentioned be addressed?

SECTION D – How can Kenya's foreign policy be structured or fine-tuned to maximize economic development (RQ.4)

1. Why isn't Kenya's foreign policy more effective in achieving its goals and aims towards economic development for Kenya?
2. Have you identified any changes (in your current job capacity) that you can make to Kenya's foreign policy (aimed at economic development) for it to be more effective?
3. In your opinion does globalization pose a challenge or opportunity for Kenya to achieve its foreign policy goals (aimed at economic development)

Questionnaire for Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

Dear respondent,

My name is Joyce Raichenah from Hekima University College and I am currently pursuing my thesis. My thesis title is 'An analysis of the impact of foreign policy on economic development in Kenya between 2013 and 2018'. As part of my data collection I am conducting a survey questionnaire to help me answer my research question. Therefore, I would like to request your participation in my data collection process by responding to this questionnaire. Your information will be treated as confidential, will only be used for academic purposes and only specifically for this research. It is a brief questionnaire requiring approximately thirty (30) minutes to complete.

On my end, I would appreciate your honest response to the questions asked as this will increase the credibility of the research findings.

Thank you for your time, participation and valuable input! Please let me know if you have any questions.

Phone no: 0722. 258.926

Email add: joyce.raichenah@hekima.ac.ke

PRELIMINARY QUESTIONS

6. Name
(optional):.....
.....
7. Age (please tick the appropriate box)
 - ☐ Under 20yrs
 - ☐ 21 – 29yrs
 - ☐ 30 – 39yrs
 - ☐ 40 – 49yrs
 - ☐ 50 – 59yrs
 - ☐ Above 60yrs
8. Gender:
 - ☐ Male
 - ☐ Female

INTRODUCTION QUESTIONS

9. What ministry department do you work
in?.....
.....
10. What is your job
title?.....
.....

11. How long have you worked in your current role?.....
12. Was your previous job position related to your current role? YES.....
NO.....
 - a) If YES, what job position was it?.....
 - b) If no, what job position was it?.....
13. How familiar are you with Kenya's foreign policy document? (Select whichever applies to you most accurately?)
 - I don't know what you are talking about.
 - I have heard about it
 - I have seen it and skimmed through it briefly
 - I have reviewed it at least once and have a general understanding of its contents
 - I have reviewed it in detail and can discuss it confidently when required
14. Following up on your response to the previous question, do you feel that your current role is aligned with the aims and goals of Kenya's Foreign Policy document? (Select whichever applies to you most accurately)
 - I have no idea of the aims and goals of Kenya's Foreign Policy document, therefore I do not know if my current role is aligned to it.
 - Not aligned at all (my current role does not help achieve the aims and goals of Kenya's foreign policy document)
 - Somewhat aligned (sometimes my role is consistent with the aims and goals of Kenya's Foreign policy document, at other times it is not)
 - Completely aligned (my role is consistent with Kenya's foreign policy document and my role is helpful in achieving the aims and goals of the document)

SECTION A – What is the relationship between foreign policy and economic development? (RQ.1)

15. Do you perceive that there is any relationship between foreign policy and economic development?
 - a) If yes, please explain briefly
 -
 -
 -
 -
 -
 - b) If no, please explain briefly
 -
 -
 -
 -
 -

16. Do you feel that having a written foreign policy document has helped Kenya achieve significant economic development between 2013 and 2018?
- a) YES,
why.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
- b) NO, why
not.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
17. How dependent is Kenya's economic development on foreign policy? (Place a tick against your answer)
- ☐ Fully dependent
 - ☐ Sometimes dependent
 - ☐ Weakly dependent
 - ☐ Not dependent
18. Does your department work with any other government ministries to achieve your aims and goals? If yes, please list down which ministries and indicate the strength of interaction. (Scale: 5 = very strong interaction, 4 = good interaction, 3 = some interaction, 2=little interaction, 1= no interaction).....
.....
.....
.....
.....

SECTION B – Which foreign policy undertakings maximize economic development? (RQ.2)

19. What is the most important task of your current job position?.....
.....
.....
.....
20. What is your most important task as a department?.....
.....
.....
.....

21. Between 2013 and 2018, what achievement are you most proud of:
- In your current role-please indicate the year of this achievement (if you have been in your current role later than 2013, it still applies).....
.....
.....
.....
 - As a department-please indicate the year of this achievement.....
.....
.....
.....
22. Which foreign policy undertaking is least prioritized in your department?.....
.....
.....
.....

SECTION C - What challenges do Kenya's foreign policy undertakings encounter in achieving their economic development goals? (RQ.3)

23. Do you face any challenges in effectively carrying out your role? Yes.....
No.....
24. If you answered YES to the previous question, what specific challenges do you encounter in achieving your job position goals? (Rate them between 1 and 7, with one(1) being the most difficult challenge and seven(7) the least difficult challenge)
- Unforeseen international events (terrorist activities, change of government regime or policy in a partner state, negotiations collapsing, death of a key international actor etc)
 - National challenges (national politics, violent election cycles, corruption accusations etc)
 - Department challenges (lack of coordination between departments, poor leadership decisions, office politics, bureaucracy etc)
 - Resource challenges (human resources, financial resources)
 - Information / skills challenges (lack of adequate skills training or information to effectively carry out your role)
 - Personal challenges (sickness, lack of motivation/purpose, relationship disquiet etc)
 - Others (please specify).....
25. If you answered NO to Q. 18.....what do you enjoy most about your current role?.....

.....
.....

26. Does your department face any challenges in liaising with other ministry departments or other relevant ministries in achieving your goals?

- Yes.....
- No.....

27. If YES please specify which challenges, beginning with the most difficult challenge.....

.....
.....
.....
.....

28. If NO, which aspect/s of your official interactions with other ministry departments or other relevant ministries help your department meet its goals most effectively?.....

.....
.....
.....
.....

SECTION D – How can Kenya’s foreign policy be structured or fine-tuned to maximize economic development? (RQ.3)

29. Rank the following foreign policy undertakings below according to which (in your opinion) yields the most economic gains for Kenya (5=highest economic yield, 1=least economic yield)

- Negotiate and harness opportunities and benefits of development cooperation in key development cooperation frameworks
- Negotiate for Overseas Development Aid inflows
- Negotiate trade and bi-lateral agreements
- Coordinate and participate in promotion activities
- Organize investment promotion in Kenya, diplomatic missions abroad.

30. Rank the following economic development indicators according to which (in your opinion/from experience) benefits the most from foreign policy undertakings. (3=benefits most Foreign policy, 2= some benefits, 1=benefits least from foreign policy)

- Agriculture (24% of Kenya’s GDP (2015) from tea, horticultural produce etc, employs more than 40% of the population)

- Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) - Sh68.9 billion (\$0.67bn) in 2017. (brings in capital inflows, creates jobs, increases skills training and technical know-how among Kenyans)
- Tourism (dominates the service industry which is 63% of the GDP(2015) – generates foreign exchange earnings and creates jobs for Kenyans)
- Others (please specify any other economic indicator that directly benefits from foreign policy undertakings).....
.....
.....

31. How can Kenya carry out its foreign policy differently than it currently does to maximize Kenya's economic development?.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Thank you! I appreciate your valuable contribution in conducting this research.

Interview Schedule for relevant ministries

INTRODUCTION QUESTIONS

Name:

32. What ministry do you work
in?.....Department.....
.....
33. What is your job
title?.....
34. How long have you worked in your current
role?.....
35. Was your previous job position related to your current role?
.....

SECTION A – What is the relationship between foreign policy and economic development? (RQ. 1)

1. Please describe how your ministry contributes to the economic development of Kenya?
2. Does your ministry (department) liaise with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in fulfilling your mandate? Please specify which departments or directorates you specifically work with.
3. Do you feel that your collaboration with the MFA has changed from 2014 to date? If so, how would you specifically describe this change in collaboration?

SECTION B – What foreign policy undertakings maximize economic development? (RQ. 2)

1. How does your ministry benefit from working with the MFA in achieving your goals as an organization?
2. What is the most significant benefit your ministry has gained from liaising with the MFA since 2014?
3. Are there any aspects of your collaboration with the MFA that if better understood and executed would yield more economic gains for Kenya under your specific mandate?

SECTION C – What challenges do Kenya's foreign policy undertakings encounter in achieving their economic development goals? (RQ.3)

1. Are there any challenges to achieving your goals that your ministry (department) has encountered through your collaboration with the MFA? If yes, please describe these challenges.
2. In your opinion, how can these challenges that you have mentioned be addressed

SECTION D – How can Kenya’s foreign policy be structured or fine-tuned to maximize economic development (RQ.4)

1. In your opinion does globalization pose a challenge or opportunity for Kenya to achieve its economic development goals from the perspective of your economic sector?

Research questionnaire for Foreign Policy relevant ministries

Dear respondent,

My name is Joyce Raichenah from Hekima University College and I am currently pursuing my thesis. My thesis title is 'An analysis of the impact of foreign policy on economic development in Kenya between 2013 and 2018'. As part of my data collection I am conducting a survey questionnaire to help me answer my research question. Therefore, I would like to request your participation in my data collection process by responding to this questionnaire. Your information will be treated as confidential, will only be used for academic purposes and only specifically for this research. It is a brief questionnaire requiring approximately thirty (30) minutes to complete.

On my end, I would appreciate your honest response to the questions asked as this will increase the credibility of the research findings.

Thank you for your time, participation and valuable input! Please let me know if you have any questions.

Phone no: 0722. 258.926

Email add: joyce.raichenah@hekima.ac.ke

PRELIMINARY QUESTIONS

36. Name
(optional):.....
.....

37. Age (please tick the appropriate box)
☐ Under 20yrs
☐ 21 – 29yrs
☐ 30 – 39yrs
☐ 40 – 49yrs
☐ 50 – 59yrs
☐ Above 60yrs

38. Gender:
☐ Male
☐ Female

INTRODUCTION QUESTIONS

39. What ministry department do you work
in?.....
40. What is your job
title?.....
41. How long have you worked in your current
role?.....

42. Was your previous job position related to your current role?

 a) If YES, what job position was it?.....
 b) If no, what job position was it?.....
 ...
43. How familiar are you with Kenya's foreign policy document? (Select whichever applies to you most accurately?)
☐ I don't know what you are talking about.
☐ I have heard about it
☐ I have seen it and skimmed it briefly
☐ I have reviewed it at least once and have a general understanding of its contents
☐ I have reviewed it in detail and can discuss it confidently when required

SECTION A – What is the relationship between foreign policy and economic development? (RQ.1)

44. Does your department work with any other government ministries to achieve your aims and goals? If yes, please list down which ministries and indicate the strength of interaction. (Scale: 5 = very strong interaction, 4 = good interaction, 3 = some interaction, 2=little interaction, 1=no interaction).....

45. In your opinion does the ministry of foreign affairs and international trade contribute towards the achievement of your aims and goals as a department?
 - If YES (please specific which departments in the ministry of foreign affairs and international trade you work with?.....

 - If NO (please indicate why not).....

46. How would you describe your department's interaction with the Ministry of foreign affairs and international trade (or a specific department within the same ministry)
☐ Professional and mutually beneficial
☐ Cordial
☐ Interact when need arises
☐ Antagonistic, lacking trust

- No relationship at all i.e. we do not interact at all officially

SECTION B – Which foreign policy undertaking maximize economic development? (RQ. 2)

47. Between 2013 and 2018, what achievement are you most proud of towards contributing to Kenya's economic development:
- In your current role-please indicate the year of this achievement (if you have been in your current role later than 2013, it still applies).....
.....
.....
.....
 - As a department-please indicate the year of this achievement.....
.....
.....
.....
48. Did any department in the ministry of foreign affairs and international trade play any significant role in achieving your above indicated success? If yes, please specify
- a) which department?.....
.
- b) what role they played in helping you achieve your success.....
.....
.....

SECTION C – What challenges do Kenya's foreign policy undertakings encounter in achieving their economic development goals? (RQ.3)

49. Do you perceive that it is necessary for your role or your department to liaise with any specific department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (MFA-IT) in achieving your aims and goals? Yes..... No.....
50. What challenges do you perceive that the MFA-IT department you liase with faces in partnering with you or your department to achieve your aims and goals? (Please list them beginning with the most difficult challenge).....
.....
.....
.....

SECTION D – How can Kenya’s foreign policy be structured or fine-tuned to maximize economic development (RQ.4)

51. Please indicate three specific ways in which the ministry of foreign affairs and international trade can help you or your department in achieving your aims and goals towards Kenya’s economic development.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Thank you! I appreciate your valuable contribution in conducting this research.

Interview Schedule for partner organizations

Dear respondent,

My name is Joyce Raichenah from Hekima University College and I am currently pursuing my thesis. My thesis title is 'An analysis of the impact of foreign policy on economic development in Kenya between 2013 and 2018'. As part of my data collection I am conducting a survey questionnaire to help me answer my research question. Therefore, I would like to request your participation in my data collection process by responding to this questionnaire. Your information will be treated as confidential, will only be used for academic purposes and only specifically for this research. It is a brief questionnaire requiring approximately thirty (30) minutes to complete.

On my end, I would appreciate your honest response to the questions asked as this will increase the credibility of the research findings.

Thank you for your time, participation and valuable input! Please let me know if you have any questions.

Phone no: 0722. 258.926

Email add: joyce.raichenah@hekima.ac.ke

INTRODUCTION QUESTIONS

Name:

- 52. What organization do you work in?.....
- 53. What is your job title?.....
- 54. How long have you worked in your current role?.....

SECTION A – What is the relationship between foreign policy and economic development? (RQ. 1)

- 4. Please describe how your organization contributes to the economic development of Kenya?
- 5. Does your organization liaise with the ministry of Foreign Affairs in fulfilling your mandate? Please specify which departments or directorates you specifically work with.
- 6. Do you feel that your collaboration with the MFA has changed from 2014 to date? If so, how would you specifically describe this change in collaboration?

SECTION B – What foreign policy undertakings maximize economic development? (RQ. 2)

- 4. How does your organization benefit from working with the MFA in achieving your goals as an organization?
- 5. What is the most significant benefit your organization has gained from liaising with the MFA since 2014?

6. Are there any aspects of your collaboration with the MFA that if better understood and executed would yield more economic gains for Kenya under your specific mandate?

SECTION C – What challenges do Kenya’s foreign policy undertakings encounter in achieving their economic development goals? (RQ.3)

3. Are there any challenges to achieving your goals that your organization has encountered through your collaboration with the MFA? If yes, please describe these challenges.
4. In your opinion, how can these challenges that you have mentioned be addressed?

SECTION D – How can Kenya’s foreign policy be structured or fine-tuned to maximize economic development (RQ.4)

2. In your opinion does globalization pose a challenge or opportunity for Kenya to achieve its economic development goals from the perspective of your economic sector?

THE SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION ACT, 2013

**The Grant of Research Licenses is guided by the Science,
Technology and Innovation (Research Licensing) Regulations, 2014.**

CONDITIONS

- 1. The License is valid for the proposed research, location and specified period.**
- 2. The License and any rights thereunder are non-transferable.**
- 3. The Licensee shall inform the County Governor before commencement of the research.**
- 4. Excavation, filming and collection of specimens are subject to further necessary clearance from relevant Government Agencies.**
- 5. The License does not give authority to transfer research materials.**
- 6. NACOSTI may monitor and evaluate the licensed research project.**
- 7. The Licensee shall submit one hard copy and upload a soft copy of their final report within one year of completion of the research.**
- 8. NACOSTI reserves the right to modify the conditions of the License including cancellation without prior notice.**

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Website: www.nacosti.go.ke



REPUBLIC OF KENYA



**National Commission for Science,
Technology and Innovation**

RESEARCH LICENSE

Serial No.A 24849

CONDITIONS: see back page

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:

MISS. JOYCE GAKII RAICHENAH
of HEKIMA INSTITUTE OF PEACE
STUDIES AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS, 0-100 Nairobi, has been
permitted to conduct research in
Nairobi County

on the topic: AN ANALYSIS OF THE
IMPACT OF FOREIGN POLICY ON
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

for the period ending:
23rd May, 2020

Applicant's
Signature

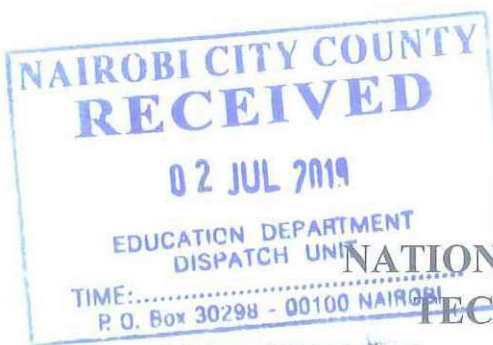
Permit No : NACOSTI/P/19/45131/29850

Date Of Issue : 27th May, 2019

Fee Recieved :Ksh 1000



Director General
National Commission for Science,
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TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION**

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When replying please quote

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete
Off Waiyaki Way
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref: No. **NACOSTI/P/19/45131/29850**

Date: **27th May, 2019**

Joyce Gakii Raichenah
Hekima Institute of Peace Studies and International Relations
P.O. Box 21215-00505
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*An analysis of the impact of foreign policy on economic development*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Nairobi County** for the period ending **23rd May, 2020.**

You are advised to report to the **County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nairobi County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit a **copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.


GODFREY P. KALERWA MSc., MBA, MKIM
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Nairobi County.

The County Director of Education
Nairobi County.

26/05/2019
COUNTY COMMISSIONER
NAIROBI COUNTY
P. O. Box 30124-00100, NBI
TEL: 341666

NAIROBI CITY COUNTY



TELEGRAM "SCHOOLING"
TELEPHONE: 2221166/224281
EXT: 2426 /2590

CITY HALL ANNEXE:
P. O. BOX 30298 GPO- 00100.
NAIROBI, KENYA

EDUCATION, YOUTH AFFAIRS & SOCIAL SERVICES SECTOR
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

Ref. GL/NC/141/VOL VI/208

2nd July, 2019

Joyce Gakii Raichenah
Hekima Institute of Peace Studies and International Relations
P.O. Box 21215-00505
NAIROBI

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application to carry out Research and Subsequent approval by National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation vide letter Ref: NACOSTI/P/19/45131/29850 dated 27TH May, 2019;

I am pleased to inform you that authority has been granted to you to carry out research on "*An analysis of the impact of foreign policy on economic development*" in Nairobi County.

On conclusion of the study, you are expected to submit a copy of the research findings to the undersigned:


RUTH OWUOR
DIRECTOR CITY EDUCATION

Copy to: Chief Officer – Education, Social Services & Gender
Director City Education