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“On my honor as a student of the Diplomatische Akademie Wien, I submit this work in good faith and pledge that I have neither given nor received unauthorized assistance on it”

ABSTRACT

Kenya has been described as the regional actor in Africa. This is because it has great influence economically and politically in the region. To establish how Kenya is a regional actor in Africa, this study investigated the effect of soft and hard powers on international politics in Africa. The study was based on Nye's model and deductive approach was used to achieve the objectives of the study. Military expenditure as a percentage of gross domestic product was used as a proxy for hard power. Expenditure on education as a percentage of gross domestic product was used as a proxy for soft power. On the same note, political rights index was used as a proxy for international politics with a likely scale of 1 to 7. An index of 1 implied extremely strong, 2 implied very strong, 3 implied strong, 4 implied average, 5 implied weak, 6 implied very weak and 7 implied extremely weak. Secondary data was therefore used and was collected from the World Bank development indicators. It was found out that the use of soft power has a positive effect on African politics and use of hard power has a negative effect on African politics. It was therefore concluded that Kenya has a great influence in the region and it was recommended that use of soft power is the better option.

Kenya wird als wichtiger regionaler Akteur in Afrika beschrieben. Der Grund dafür liegt darin, dass es großen wirtschaftlichen und politischen Einfluss auf die angrenzenden Länder ausübt. Um zu zeigen wie stark Kenya andere Länder beeinflusst, wird seine indirekte und direkte Machtausübung im internationalen Zusammenspiel der afrikanischen Politik untersucht. Dabei stützt sich die Autorin am Modell von Nye, und eine deduktive Methode wird eingesetzt, um die Forschungsziele zu erreichen. Es hat sich herausgestellt, dass der Einsatz von indirekter Macht einen positiven Effekt auf die afrikanische Politik hat, der Einsatz von direkter Macht jedoch zu negativen Resultaten führt. In der Arbeit wurde festgestellt, dass Kenia Soft Power nutzt, was auch die bessere Option ist, um einen wirksamen Einfluss auf Nachbarländer und Regionen auszuüben

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

HP: Hard Power

SP: Soft Power

SMP: Smart Power

IP: International Politics

EdS: Educational System

C: Culture

D: Diplomacy

M: Military

PS: Political System

EcS: Economic Sanctions

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

VAR: Vector Auto Regression Model

IGAAD: Intergovernmental Authority on Development

EAC: East African Community

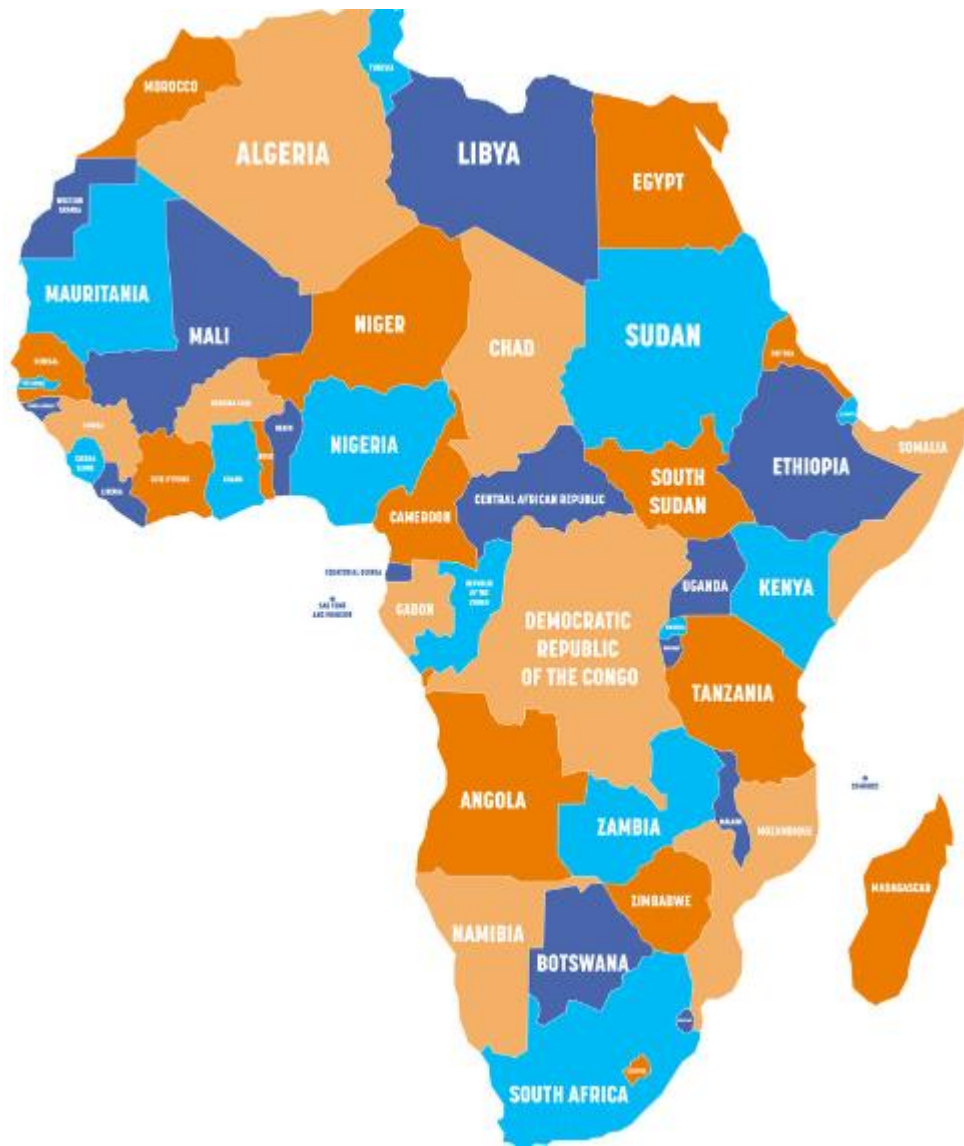
IGOS : Intergovernmental Organizations

UN: United Nations

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

USD : United States Dollar

MAP OF AFRICA AND KENYA



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1.1 Introduction

The concept of regional actors in African hard and soft powers has in recent times raised much discussion than before. This debate has affected states, governments and political environment in African countries and the continent in general, either negatively or positively, in the unfolding of political development and socio-economic status of Africa¹. The international community and other international organizations such as intergovernmental organizations (IGOS), United Nations (UN) and United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) among others have given great emphasis on non-interference of the sovereignty of countries as they play a significant role in promoting peaceful elections and political maturity, which in the long run is aimed at stabilizing the countries' respective economies². This study therefore intended to investigate the influence of Kenya's use of hard and soft powers on the international politics in Africa.

The concepts of soft power and hard power were first brought forward by Nye and distinguished in 1990. Power is the ability to influence others to realize the results one is in need of. Hard power refers to coerciveness exerted through threats or inducements. It is founded on economic sanctions, military intervention and coercive diplomacy³. Further it relies on tangible power sources like economic means or armed forces⁴. Good example was Germany and Russia in 1939 during its invasion into Poland. It was followed by Iraq in 1991 during the first Gulf war.

On the other hand soft power also referred to as co-optive is described to be the capacity one has to persuade other parties to do what one requires them to do⁵. It is founded on emulation and

¹ Tordoff William. *Government and politics in Africa*. Macmillan International Higher Education, 2016.

² Karns, M. A., Karen A. Mingst and Kendall W. Stiles. "International Organizations: The Politics and Processes".(2015).

³ Wilson III, Ernest J. "Hard Power, Soft Power, Smart Power". *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 616, no. 1 (2008): 110-124.

⁴ Gallarotti, Giulio M. "Soft power: what it is, why it's important, and the conditions for its effective use." *Journal of Political Power* 4, no. 1 (2011): 25-47.

⁵ Wilson III, Ernest J. "Hard Power, Soft Power, Smart Power". *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 616, no. 1 (2008): 110-124.

attraction being linked with intangible resource of power like ideology, culture, and institutions⁶. Emphasis is given on the importance of legitimacy of soft power. There is need for state activities to be regarded as legitimate to enhance soft power⁷. Good example which explains the existence of soft power is the dispersion of the culture of American in the Eastern bloc during the Cold War as well recent processes of enlargement of the European Union⁸.

The concept of soft and hard power is therefore a continuum with many tools of different levels of persuasion or coercion. These tools include inducement, punishment, agenda setting, persuasion, compulsion and attraction⁹. The suitability of soft and hard power approaches largely depend on power resources suitability¹⁰. Large states like China or USA with higher national income are taken to be able financially to sustain large armed forces and therefore putting other states under pressure in regard to economic status. These ancient tools of hard power for smaller states are not easily obtained. The accessibility of resources of soft power to a great extent depends not much on the size of the country. The state of Norway is a good example which shows that small states are capable of building soft power¹¹.

The history of Japanese conquests prior to world war II presents the key limitation to its soft power. For the case of China, the competitive state-led model and its authoritarian political system hinders full utilization of its soft power potential. The soft power resources to a given state like its societal system and historical legacy therefore influence the effectiveness and strength of its soft power¹².

Time is another significant aspect of the hard-soft-power continuum. It seems that in order to generate hard power, one needs much less time since its resources are tangible. On the other hand, soft power takes quite a long time to develop since its intangible resources build over a

⁶ Gomichon, Maxime. "Joseph Nye on Soft Power." *E-International relations students* 8 (2013).

⁷ Wagner, Jan-Philipp NE. "The effectiveness of soft & hard power in contemporary international relations." *E-International Relations Students* (2014).

⁸ Nye Jr, Joseph S. "Recovering American Leadership." *Survival* 50, no. 1 (2008): 55-68.

⁹ Smith-Windsor, Brooke A. "Hard power, soft power reconsidered." *Canadian Military Journal* 1, no. 3 (2000): 51-56.

¹⁰ Heywood, Andrew. *Global politics*. Macmillan International Higher Education, 2014.

¹¹ Leonard, Mark, Catherine Stead, and Conrad Smewing. *Public diplomacy*. Foreign Policy Centre, 2002.

¹² Wagner, Jan-Philipp NE. "The effectiveness of soft & hard power in contemporary international relations." *E-International Relations Students* (2014).

long time period. On the same note, the benefit of soft and hard power strategies tend to differ whereby military and economic coercion result in an immediate but short-duration outcome but persuasion and attraction tend to cause change in the long-term. This happens to be the case due to the concept's inherent aspect since hard power forces one to act differently to one's usual way of doing things. The situation is different for the case of soft power since soft power changes attitude of a person and at the end of the day a person does things voluntarily¹³. Hard power stimulates compelled action but soft power induces voluntary action. Also compulsion results to conflict and voluntariness to consent which elaborates why solutions of soft power last longer than those of hard power. For instance, the repressive measures put onto Germany after the Great War provoked another World War, whereas the soft power used to construct the European Union resulted in almost 70 years of Europe-wide peace.

1.1.1 Hard and Soft Power in the Global Scene

Countries in the world are using hard power and soft power to influence international relations amongst themselves. For instance, the global military expenditure can be presented as in Figure 1 below.

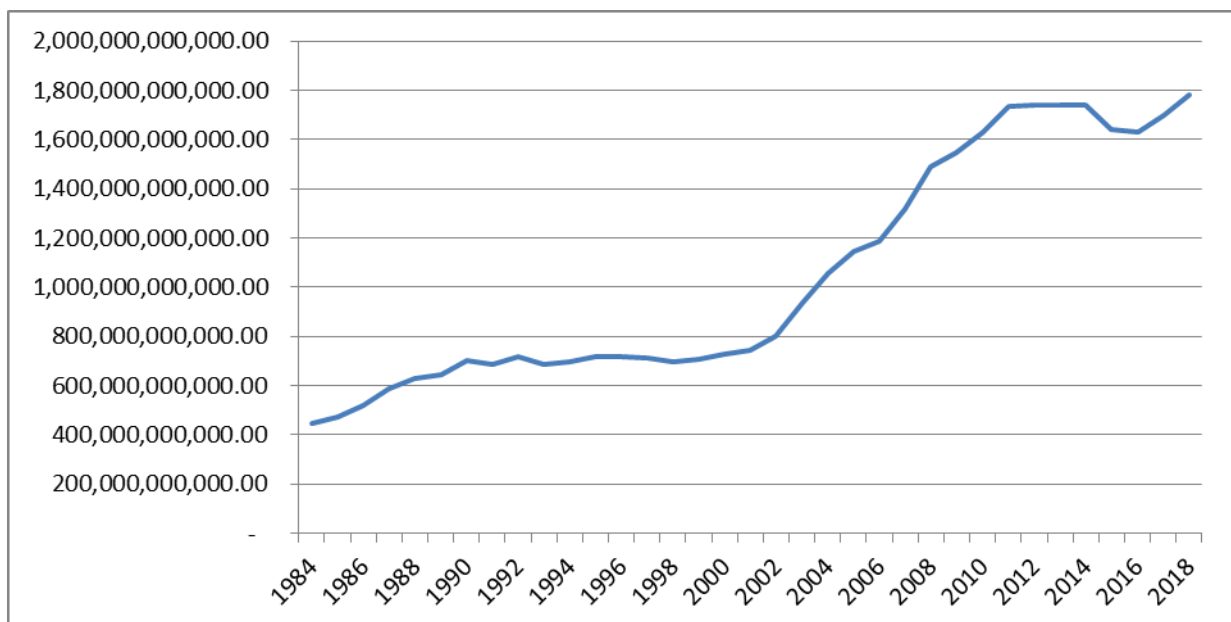


Figure 1: Use of Hard Power (Military Expenditure) in the World.

¹³ Gallarotti, Giulio M. "Soft power: what it is, why it's important, and the conditions for its effective use." *Journal of Political Power* 4, no. 1 (2011): 25-47.

Source: ¹⁴

Figure 1 shows use of hard power (military expenditure) in the global scene from 1984 to 2018. It is evident that in 1984, the total military expenditure in the world was \$447.9 billion. This amount increased to \$729.5 billion 2000 with a further increase to \$1.6 trillion in 2010. Come 2018, the global military expenditure stood at \$1.8 trillion. This increase in military expenditure is attributed to countries' quest to maintain world peace and establish good and long lasting international relationships among countries in the world.

A total of 572 peacekeepers (soft power) in 2007 were sent in various countries in the world with a quest of establishing good and long lasting international relations. The number increased to 52, 848 peacekeepers in 2011 with a further increase to 61,831 peacekeepers in 2013. Come 2018, use of soft power stood at 89,486 peacekeepers¹⁵.

1.1.2 Hard and Soft Power in the African Scene

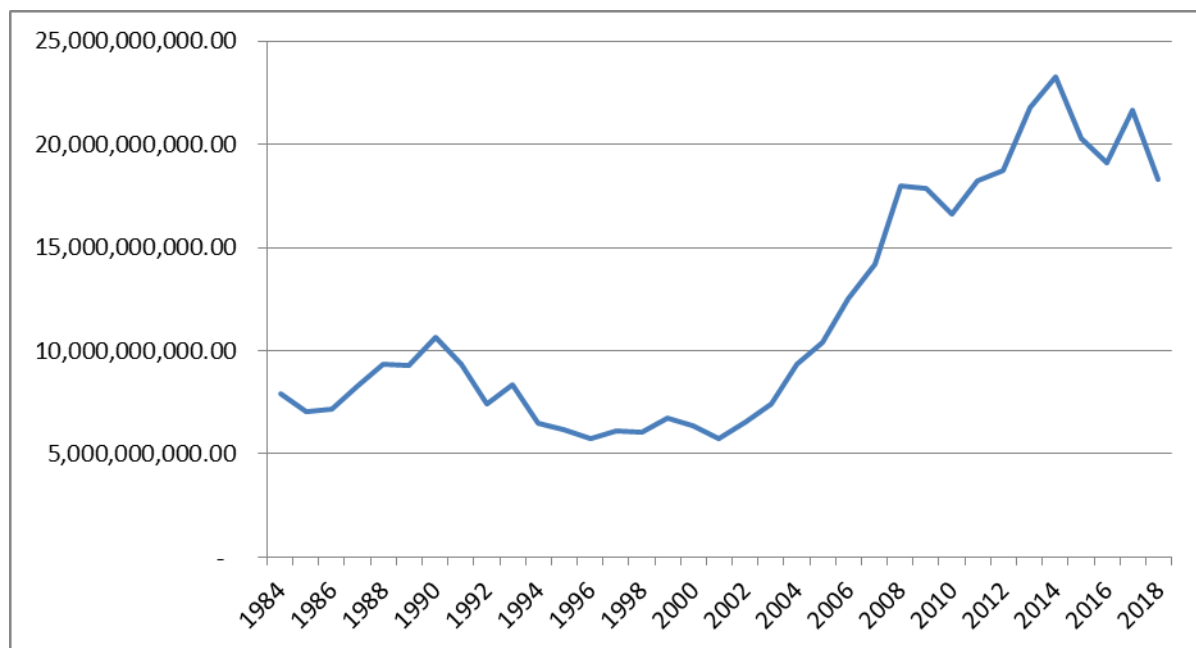


Figure 2: Use of Hard Power (Military Expenditure) in Sub Saharan Africa.

Source: ¹⁶

¹⁴ The World Bank, 2020.

¹⁵ The World Bank, 2020.

¹⁶ The World Bank, 2020.

Figure 2 shows use of hard power (military expenditure) in the Sub Saharan Africa from 1984 to 2018. It is evident that in 1984, the total military expenditure in the Sub Saharan Africa was \$7.8 billion. This amount increased to \$10.7 billion in 1990 even though it decreased to \$6.4 billion in 2000 with a further increase to \$16.6 billion in 2010. Come 2018, the Sub Saharan Africa military expenditure stood at \$18.3 billion. This increase in military expenditure is attributed to countries' quest to maintain peace in Africa and protect themselves from terrorist attacks so as to enhance good and long lasting international relationships among the African countries.

In addition to use of hard power, Africa is also using soft power as a way of establishing good and long lasting international relations. For instance according to World Bank (2020), a total of 62,175 peacekeepers (soft power) were sent in various African countries in 2009. In 2010 a total of 60,862 peace keepers were also sent and in 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016 and 2017 a total number of peacekeepers sent to various African countries were 51,601; 56,416; 61,792; 71,759; 83,420; 76,548 and 88,484 respectively. It is evident that the number of peacekeepers being sent to various countries has increased from 62,175 in 2010 to 88,484 in 2017.

1.1.3 Hard and Soft Power in Kenya

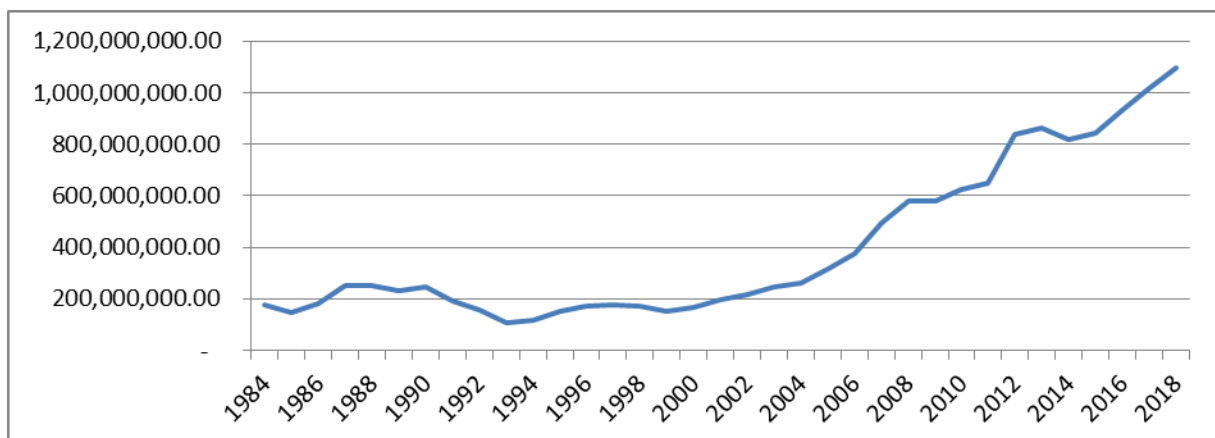


Figure 3: Use of Hard Power (Military Expenditure) in Kenya.

Source:¹⁷

Figure 3 shows use of hard power (military expenditure) in Kenya from 1984 to 2018. It is evident that in 1984, the total military expenditure in Kenya was \$175 million. This amount

¹⁷ The World Bank, 2020.

increased to \$246.5 million in 1990 even though it decreased to \$165.5 million in 2000 with a further increase to \$622 million in 2010. Come 2018, the Kenya military expenditure stood at \$1.1 billion. This increase in military expenditure is attributed to Kenya' quest to protect itself from external attacks by Alshabab militants as well as striving to maintain peace in the region and Africa at large.

Kenya has also been involved in diplomatic talks in various countries in Africa. This involves head of state diplomatic meetings as well as using troops in bringing order in war tone countries in a peaceful way. Some of the countries Kenya has been involved with include, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Cote d'Ivoire and Mali. Kenya's head of state has also visited countries like South Sudan, Somalia and Sudan with a quest to establishing good working relationships between different political leaders.

In this study hard power to be considered include; military, political system and economic sanctions. Despite ,being ranked as the most powerful nation militarily in East Africa and 11th in Africa, the use of military to influence politics in Africa by Kenya has had its own challenges but positive results have been realized in some countries. For instance use of Kenya's military in Somalia together with other African nations has facilitated the establishment of stable government in Somalia. The Somalia National Army is also being stablized. Kenya sells petroleum products to many African nations which are land locked. Sometimes Kenya gives economic sanctions by stopping export of oil products to countries whose political system is a threat to international peace. The development of the political system in Kenya has underwent various phases whereby, others are characterised with dictatorship depending on the president of the day. This has brought fear to some of the African states on matters dealing with politics. For instance during the time of war in Sudan between the opposition and the government, Kenya supported the opposition to liberate the Southern part of Sudan which led to its independence and on the other hand stopped boundary conflicts between Sudan and Kenya.

Soft power has become Kenya's main tool of solving problems in Eastern Africa and Africa in general. In this study it includes; educational system, culture and diplomacy. Kenya has the capacity to influence other nations through attraction but not coercion through policies which it has enacted such as policy of good neighbourliness to enhance good external relations, policy of economic prosperity by advocating an open market environment between nations and policy to

promote peace through carrying out of mediation talks for both external and internal conflicts. For instance during post election violence of 2007/2008, the involved parties came together for talks with a mediator between them. Also Kenya is leading mediation talks between warring parties in various troubled countries like South Sudan and Democratic Republic of Congo. Use of soft power will only succeed if the country leading it has a good reputation in the international community and if there is a smooth flow of information between the involved parties. Kenya's role of leadership in eastern Africa and African region in general through bodies such as East Africa Community (EAC) and IGAD have also played a significant role on Kenya's use of soft power to influence international politics in Africa. Nairobi's geostrategic position in commerce and regional business is another factor which has shaped soft power status of Kenya in the region. Due to these factors, with exception of Kenya's military involvement in Somalia, Kenya has never been involved in any other major armed conflict with any other African nation. In addition to this, the educational system in Kenya is among the best educational systems in Africa. Kenya has standardized its education system and for this reason many Kenyan students stand at a high chance of getting admission to continue with their studies in other foreign countries. Some African countries seek for professionals from Kenya to advice on matters of politics in their countries hence influencing way of doing politics in those countries. Furthermore Kenya prides in its unique culture on matters of dress, dance, diet and even politics. For this reason Kenya decided that 26th December every year to be a cultural day to be celebrated countrywide. Many come to Kenya from within Africa and even outside Africa to get an experience of this unique culture. As they interact, some cultural aspects are transferred to them which can influence politics in different ways in their countries. Diplomacy is another tool Kenya has greatly employed to influence politics in various African states. For instance Kenya has been involved in various peace keeping missions in many African countries like Sierra Leone and Liberia. Kenya has also sent her representative to war torn countries in Africa to try and unite two parties which are in conflict.

1.1.4 International Politics

International politics represent a discussion which is beyond most people's personal experience and an exclusive topic for the chosen few. Even war watching on TV can be elusive as it resembles a movie or buying of imported goods just like buying domestic goods as well as

customs officers following rules and regulations just as it is done by the policemen in native towns even though this may mean something different. Diplomats explain not the dissimilarity which exists. International politics is a special power functioning in the political system of the world¹⁸.

It is not a nation's policy but that of countries in the political system of the world. However, currently, this relates not to the policy among states, though it tries to ensure that there is security among nations as well as fulfilling many and conflicting objectives. State's foreign policy is an event of the most significant actor of the political system in the world and it is therefore logical that it catches the full attention as it serves as a practical example for the evaluation of the behavior of the other actors¹⁹. This focus on foreign policy results to the transfer of interest from two or more nations to the process of foreign policy formation.

Foreign policy formulation determines international relations which revolves around the interactions among states whereby wars and diplomacy have been the mechanism of carrying out those interactions. Even though that is the case, international relations have gone beyond nations alone. Diplomacy is the conduct of relations between nations and other entities with great influence in global politics by officially recognized agents and by peaceful mechanisms²⁰. This triggers the question of what is contained in "entities with great influence in global politics", and even what it means by the "state".

Since the 17th century, the nation state has happened to be the most convenient means for people residing in an homogeneous society to belief in their prosperity and security. It has provided the basis which enables the installation of an accountable and legitimate government to make a decision and enforce laws, increase taxes, and protect its citizens. In most cases it provides a mechanism for the exercise of power to be checked and be accountable, and as a result marry

¹⁸ Rosenau, James N. *The study of world politics: volume 2: globalization and governance*. Routledge, 2006.

¹⁹ Dueck, Colin. "The Future of Conservative Foreign Policy." *Future* 2, no. 1 (2019).

²⁰ Mingst, Karen A., Heather Elko McKibben, and Ivan M. Arreguin-Toft. *Essentials of international relations*. WW Norton & Company, 2018.

power with legitimacy. This evolving role has been fulfilled by the state since it has become the supplier of information and services as well as security and justice to its citizens ²¹.

States need to deal with each other over commerce, people and land. Globalization has continuously affected state sovereignty, and the international and multilateral's evolution since World War two has been necessary to enhance states to continue providing what their citizens are in need of. Many issues affecting the world starting from change of the climate and infectious diseases spread to capital market distempers can only be solved if there is cooperation among the states. Diplomatic practices and institutions have therefore evolved to manage them, whether is the United Nations, World Trade Organization, European Union, G8 or International Monetary Fund ²².

Following the 2007 post-election violence in Kenya, the election crisis attracted a number of international actors. Fuel prices in the neighboring countries doubled and the stability of the regional economy was threatened. Kenya has also played a significant role in promoting peace in various African countries by interfering in their political systems for countries such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, South Sudan and currently in Somalia using hard and soft powers. Use of hard power has been on the increase since there is an increase of military expenditure from \$447.9 billion in 1984 to \$1.7 trillion in 2018 as given in Figure 1. This represents 4.099 percent of GDP in 1984 and 2.14 percent of GDP in 2018²³. Peace keepers have also been involved. For instance about 89,486 peacekeepers were sent to various nations in the world in 2018. Same trend has been witnessed in the Sub Saharan Africa and Kenya as evidenced in Figures 2 and 3 even though terrorist attacks are on the increase and this has threatened good international relations as well as international politics among the nations.

Little has been done in this area in Africa and none of the study has ever been done in Kenya based on soft and hard powers. This study is therefore necessary as it intends to fill this gap and find out how Kenya is a regional actor in Africa. The purpose of this study therefore is to investigate the influence of Kenya's use of hard and soft powers on

²¹ Viotti, Paul R., and Mark V. Kauppi. *International relations theory*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2019.

²² Burley, Anne-Marie Slaughter. "International law and international relations theory: a dual agenda." In *The Nature of International Law*, pp. 11-46. Routledge, 2017.

²³ World Bank, 2020.

International Politics in Africa. The study question will be; how is the International Politics in Africa influenced by Kenya's soft and hard powers?

1.2 Theoretical Framework: Nye's Model and Constructivism Theory

The field of International Relations has been influenced by Liberalism since its inception until the post-war times, a time when there was an emergence of Realism. Neoliberalism was formulated to respond to dominance of Neorealism towards the end of 1970s. Some of its assumptions are the same as those of Neorealism, such as cooperation difficulties and existence of anarchy. Both of them study the significance of international institutions²⁴.

One major problem identified by Liberalism in international politics is war. It suggests three developments that today reduce the impact of power politics in the world. The first of all is democracy: It is asserted by Liberals that states which regard democracy are more both within and outside their boundaries. They do not fight with other states as it is for those states which are not democratic. This is basically because leaders of these states tend to be accountable as well as fearing that if they go to war, it is possible that they may fail to be re-elected in the next elections²⁵. Interdependence is the second way to solve this problem. Liberals are convinced that international trade brings states together and binds them, since the state interests become those of other states. Fighting therefore appears to be too costly for such states thus prefer to cooperate. Thirdly, International institutions also serve as the third solution to the problem. In this case institutions enhance state cooperation and therefore eruption of war is less likely.

There are three benefits of international institutions which act under anarchy²⁶: they reduce costs of coordination, they increase cheating costs as well as diffusing information. Also Neoliberals tend to believe that countries get concerned more with absolute gains than relative gains. States see their gains not comparable with those of other states but look towards total gains, which enhance cooperation between them. International relations is therefore a positive-sum interaction, where all sides benefit from cooperation. Later the notion of "complex

²⁴ Jackson, Richard, Georg Sørensen, and Jørgen Møller. *Introduction to international relations: theories and approaches*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2019.

²⁵ Doyle, Michael W. "Liberalism and world politics." *American political science review* 80, no. 4 (1986): 1151-1169.

²⁶ Keohane, Robert O. "Twenty years of institutional liberalism." *International Relations* 26, no. 2 (2012): 125-138.

interdependence” was formulated, where force and security matter less and states are interconnected by multiple political and social relationships. They came up with three main conditions of complex interdependence, that is, raising number of contact channels between societies, the fact state governments rarely use military force and that security is no longer the main issue in international relations ²⁷.

Joseph Nye gives a distinction between two types of power, that is, hard and soft power. Hard power is said to be the ability to make others act in way that is not in agreement to their initial strategies and preferences²⁸. It is the ability to coerce using inducements and threats. On the other side, soft power is the ability to make others agree with your results that you realize ²⁹, More specifically the ability to realize goals not by coercion but by attraction. There is also smart power which is in between soft and hard power ³⁰. It asserts that soft power and hard power are all important more especially in international politics.

Soft power enhances behavioral change in others, without conflict or competition, by employing attraction and persuasion. Furthermore, hard power in this modern times is costly (both politically and financially), but soft power is free since in case it fails it has limited consequences and it requires not substantial resources. The style of application is also important since soft power involves seduction, behaviors like arrogance might be counterproductive and involve repulsion and not attraction. Soft power therefore does not necessarily have good purposes, as for instance propaganda is a form of soft power: It is not a must to twist minds than to twist arms³¹.

The soft power concept is close to Liberal tradition, even though there is no conflict between soft power and realism ³². Contrary to hard power, soft power puts emphasis not to consider war as the solution of problems but to consider cooperation as the possible way, not using military power but power of ideas. To be precise, soft power is relevant to the three solutions proposed by the Liberals to solve the war problem. Firstly, it is unlikely democracies will fight with other

²⁷ Kaczmarek, K. B., & Keating, V. (2017). Conservative Soft Power: Liberal soft power bias and the ‘hidden’ attraction of Russia. *Journal of International Relations and Development*.

²⁸ Nye, Joseph S. *The future of power*. Public Affairs, 2011.

²⁹ Nye, Joe. "When hard power undermines soft power." *New Perspectives Quarterly* 21, no. 3 (2004): 13-15.

³⁰ Gomichon, Maxime. "Joseph Nye on Soft Power." *E-International relations students* 8 (2013).

³¹ Nye, Joseph S. *The future of power*. Public Affairs, 2011.

³² Nye, Joseph S. *The future of power*. Public Affairs, 2011.

democracies. Where there is democracy, people have a say in the country and therefore able to impose peaceful goals. Democracies prefer use of soft power rather than hard power. Even at a time of difficulties, a democratic country loses not its soft power. For example, where there is democracy, presence of self-criticism and dissent can be beneficial as it enhances message credibility³³.

In reference to the second solution to the war problem of interdependence, the fact that it forces other states to cooperate with others seem to be more of coercion rather than attraction, and it therefore tends to be closer to hard power than soft power. Nye agrees with the idea that countries which have significant resources tend to exert pressure on those countries with less resources thus changing their behavior. However, economic resources can produce both soft and hard power. They can be employed to coerce as well as attract. A free trade economy produces soft power since it attracts others to its model. A successful Liberal economy creates a desire in other states to adopt this model³⁴.

Liberals posed international institutions as the third solution to the problem of war. While promoting cooperation using common norms and rules, peaceful relations are fostered. This is a key Neoliberalism assumption, which sees institutions as a way to reduce anarchy effects. Nye is in agreement with this argument and since it is difficult to realize cooperation, simple formation of institutions helps them to survive³⁵. Institutions enhances soft power of a country as they promote ideas, values and policies of a country, both with other member countries and other non-member countries. Therefore, if a nation shapes up international rules and regulations which are in agreement with its values and interests, to a greater extent its actions will appear legitimate before others. For example, the United States uses institutions such as WTO and IMF to promote its values of liberalism and democracy³⁶.

While using the United States, Joseph Nye aims at proving that to greater extent soft power is needed even though hard power also works at some instances. In an interdependent world, the United States has to cooperate with other countries as the other countries cooperate with it. Since

³³ Nye, Joseph S. *The future of power*. Public Affairs, 2011.

³⁴ Nye, Joseph S. *The future of power*. Public Affairs, 2011.

³⁵ Keohane, Robert O., and Joseph S. Nye Jr. "Power and interdependence in the information age." *Foreign Aff.* 77 (1998): 81.

³⁶ Gomichon, Maxime. "Joseph Nye on Soft Power." *E-International relations students* 8 (2013).

many issues are global, a multilateral approach is needed in international relations. In this situation it is soft power which is of great help rather than hard power. Issues like global warming, cyberspace and outer space can easily be solved with soft power but military force would be insufficient or inefficient. Hard power will also be sufficient and efficient in eradicating terrorists to establish peace in affected nations. U.S uses multilateralism and Nye justifies its use since it enables other nations not to feel threatened by its supremacy. Its multilateralism is key to its longevity since it reduced the incentives for constructing countervailing alliances ³⁷. On the same note, Nye is in agreement with Neoliberalism that absolute gains are more important than relative gains for countries. With soft power, an implementation of positive-sum interaction can be realized. Soft power is not a zero-sum game but it can be used to benefit both sides. It disagrees with the realist assumption whereby countries only yearn for security but states sometimes also seek prosperity³⁸.

Democracy, interdependence and use of international institutions are also applicable in Kenya. For instance democracy in Kenya is exhibited by use of many political parties, freedom of speech and freedom to vie using any political party or voting in an individual from any political party. In Kenya's national assembly, the majority always have a say and this is an important element of democracy with regard to politics. The Liberals assert that democracy is both from within and outside their boundaries. They do not fight with other states as it is for those states which are not democratic. Kenya therefore is not involved in wars either within itself or outside its boundaries with other nations.

Kenya's growth depends on other nations just like any other nations depend on other nations more especially the neighboring countries to develop. Interdependence is therefore key and Liberals are convinced that international trade brings states together and binds them, since the state interests become those of other states. For this reason Kenya trades with most of the countries in Africa together with its neighbors in the region. Fighting appears to be too costly for Kenya and therefore prefers to cooperate with other countries in Africa.

International institutions also serve as solution to the problem. These institutions enhance state cooperation and therefore war eruption is not likely to take place. International institutions

³⁷ Gomichon, Maxime. "Joseph Nye on Soft Power." *E-International relations students* 8 (2013).

³⁸ Nye, Joseph S. *The future of power*. Public Affairs, 2011

reduce costs of coordination and Neoliberals tend to believe that countries get concerned more with absolute gains than relative gains. As a result of this, Kenya is the headquarter of many international institutions whose mandate is to bring harmony and good understanding of international politics in Africa like the United Nations.

This theoretical spectrum is presented as:

$$IP = f(SP, SMP, HP) \dots\dots\dots 1.1$$

Where IP is International Politics, SP is Soft Power which includes EdS (Educational System), C (Culture), D (Diplomacy) and HP which stands for Hard Power. It consists of M (military), PS (Political System) and EcS (Economic Sanctions). SMP stands for Smart Power.

Constructivism theory is a theory commonly used in education to recognize the understanding of the learners as well as their knowledge grounded on their experiences before joining school. Ethics, politics, ontology and epistemology is among the philosophical positions associated with this theory. It is an approach employed on learning to explain that persons actively built and construct as well as making their own knowledge. The learner experiences determine that reality³⁹. While elaborating the ideas of the constructivists arends, constructivism tend to believe on personal understanding of the learner acquired through experience even though the meaning can be affected and influenced by the interaction of new events and knowledge⁴⁰. Its main idea is that an individual's learning is constructed whereby the new knowledge is built upon the previous learning foundation. The acquiring of this prior knowledge determines what modified or new knowledge a person will construct from the new experiences of learning⁴¹.

The other notion is that learning is not a passive process but an active one. With regard to passive view of teaching, the learner is viewed as an empty vessel which must be filled with knowledge. On the other hand constructivism is viewed as the construction of meaning by the

³⁹ Travers, John F., Stephen N. Elliott, and Thomas R. Kratochwill. *Educational psychology: Effective teaching, effective learning*. Brown & Benchmark/Wm. C. Brown Publ, 1993.

⁴⁰ Cho, Hee-Hyung, and Kyung-Hee Choi. "Science education: Constructivist perspectives." *Journal of the Korean Association for Science Education* 22, no. 4 (2002): 820-836.

⁴¹ Phillips, Denis C. "The good, the bad, and the ugly: The many faces of constructivism." *Educational researcher* 24, no. 7 (1995): 5-12.

learners through engaging actively with the world. These include carrying out of experiments and solving real world problems. There are chances that the information is passively received, but the understanding may differ since it has to come from formulating meaningful connections between new knowledge, prior knowledge and the involved learning processes.

Learning is also not an abstract concept but is described as a social activity since it is done together while interacting with each other⁴². For instance, Vygotsky believed that the key role is played by the community in the process of making meaning. The environment where children spend their time to grow up influence their way of thinking and what they talk about. All learning and teaching is therefore a matter of negotiating and sharing of socially available and constituted knowledge. Cognitive development evolves from social interactions based on guided learning as children and their partners get involved to construct knowledge together⁴³.

Every learner has a unique point of view, founded on prevailing values and knowledge. This implies that same teaching, lesson or activity results in different learning by each and every learner since their subjective interpretations are not the same. This principle may contradict the view that knowledge is basically constructed socially. Even though individuals possess their personal learning history, they can also share common knowledge and that education being a social process, it does not mean that it is not influenced by cultural factors, even though cultures are composed of sub- cultures to the point of also being composed of one sub-cultures. Their knowledge base and cultures are in a constant process of change and that the stored knowledge by persons is not a rigid photo copy of constructed template. Each child changes a culture as he learns that same culture⁴⁴.

This theory posits that the existence of knowledge is within the human mind, and it need not to match any real world reality⁴⁵. Learners constantly try to develop their own mental model of the real world from their world perceptions. As they acquire new experience, they continually update their mental models to reflect the new information and will as they come up with their own

⁴² Dewey, John. "Experience and education." In *The Educational Forum*, vol. 50, no. 3, pp. 241-252. Taylor & Francis Group, 1986.

⁴³ Vygotsky, Lev Semenovich. *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*. Harvard university press, 1980.

⁴⁴ Fox, Richard. "Constructivism examined." *Oxford review of education* 27, no. 1 (2001): 23-35.

⁴⁵ Driscoll, Marcy Perkins. *Psychology of learning for instruction*. Allyn & Bacon, 1994.

reality interpretation. Kenya provides a conducive environment with diverse culture and different learning standards. It is also a country which has remained peaceful since independence even though there was post- election violence in 2007 and 2008. As a result many learners have visited Kenya and in the process they have acquired knowledge that is totally different from their home countries. In one way or the other, this has changed their way of doing politics in a certain way.

1.3 Methodology

This section covers research methodology of the study, the research design, source of information, data collection method, target population, sampling procedure and data analysis. The research design is a conceptual structure within which research is conducted and is composed of a blue print purposely for the collection and measurement as well as data analysis⁴⁶. It explains the scheme outline that is employed to give answers to various research problems. It gives a specific plan which shows how the research is carried out in a way that at the end of the day it gives the research questions of the study⁴⁷.

This study used deductive approach. This approach was deemed to be the best in this study because it offers a possibility to apply soft and hard powers in conjunction to Kenya to give a detailed explanation on the causal relationships between variables and concepts. For instance it will offer a possibility to explain the causal relationship between international politics and soft power as well as between international politics and hard power. The approach also provides room to measure concepts quantitatively and generalize findings to a certain extent. It was therefore applicable in this study since the study's purpose was to investigate the influence of Kenya's use of hard and soft powers on International Politics in Africa using secondary data from world bank.

The study's hypotheses were; there is no negative influence of Kenya's use of soft power on international politics in Africa, there is no negative influence of Kenya's use of hard power on international politics in Africa and there is no negative influence of Kenya's use of smart power

⁴⁶ Kothari, Chakravanti Rajagopalachari. *Research methodology: Methods and techniques*. New Age International, 2004.

⁴⁷ Mugenda, Olive M. *Research methods: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*. African Centre for Technology Studies, 2007.

on international politics in Africa. Regression and correlation analysis were used to confirm or reject the hypotheses.

The study employed secondary data which was obtained from the world bank database. Published documents from the ministry of finance, culture and sports, foreign affairs, defence and education were also considered for some other information which were deemed to be of great importance to the study. Articles and commentaries from the archives were also not left behind.

Since it was not possible to use all documents available in various archives and online web, a representative of the documents were used. A sample is a representation of the element of target population that consists some of the elements of that population. A sample size refers to the number of units that are chosen from the gathered data to represent the entire population (Shapiro, 2008). Sampling therefore gives a representation of the population such that when a unit is selected, a conclusion can be drawn on the entire population. All published journals available on the online web related to this study formed the population of the study. Using key words, initially 60 journals were identified but after a thorough scrutiny, a sample size of 45 journals were selected to be used for this study. These journals were randomly selected from the entire population of relevant journals.

A sample is therefore a collection of units chosen from the population to represent it. It is necessary since a study that is not precise enough usually lacks the power to reject a null hypothesis that is false and it is therefore a waste of both time and money. It is also wasteful to collect too much data and such kind of a study with too much data is also wasteful. It is therefore necessary to determine the sample size before any collection of data. Sampling is the process that involves the selection of a given number of individuals for a given study such that at the end of the day the individuals who have been selected represent the entire group where the selection has been done from⁴⁸. Sampling frame is defined as the list of items where the sample is drawn from and therefore recommends that it is cheap and very practical to collect data from a sample than collecting from the entire universe even though the sample may not reflect the behaviors, beliefs,

⁴⁸ Mugenda, Olive M. *Research methods: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*. African Centre for Technology Studies, 2003.

symptoms and traits of the population⁴⁹.

After data collection, the collected data will be edited in preparation for analysis which will be done so as to determine factors which explain a given phenomenon⁵⁰. This involves the process of inspecting, cleaning, transforming, and modeling data with the goal of discovering required information in suggesting conclusions and supporting decision making. After the collection of raw data, it was modified and various diagnostic tests were undertaken before kick off of the analysis exercise. Post analysis diagnostic tests were also carried out.

The diagnostic tests which were undertaken in this study include; unit root test, correlation test, granger causality test, normality test, heteroskedasticity test, Ramsey Reset test and recursive coefficient estimates test. Stationerity test was carried using Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) method while applying the Schwarz Info Criterion (SIC). In case the process was found out to be non-stationery, differencing was used to make it stationery. Multicollinearity test was undertaken to find out whether the independent variables are correlated. It was measured by use of the correlation coefficient. Granger causality test was also done to investigate causality in a time series between any of the two variables, purposely to establish whether a given time series is necessary in forecasting another time series.

Normality tests was another test which was carried to establish whether a given set of data follows a normal distribution. On the same note, Heteroskedasticity test was also carried out to determine whether the error terms' variance are the same using the Breusch-Pagan Godfrey technique. Ramsey reset test was also considered in this study to determine whether there is a presence of specification errors like incorrect functional form and omitted variables. A well specified model is key in realizing viable results. Recursive coefficient estimates test was also done to determine the stability of the variables in the model.

Eviews statistical software was used in the analysis process and the results were presented using tables, graphs and pie charts. Regression and correlation analysis were also carried out with the

⁴⁹ Schindler, Pamela S., and Donald R. Cooper. *Marketing research*. Tata McGraw-Hill Education, 2006.

⁵⁰ Mugenda, Olive M. *Research methods: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*. African Centre for Technology Studies, 2003.

help of Eviews statistical software. Empirical findings were presented with the help of frequency tables, percentages, graphs and pie charts.

1.4 Design of the Thesis

The thesis was founded on Nye's model using deductive approach. Military expenditure as a percentage of gross domestic product was used as a proxy for hard power. Expenditure on education as a percentage of gross domestic product was also used as a proxy for soft power. On the same note, political rights index was used as a proxy for international politics with a likelihood scale of 1 to 7. An index of 1 implied extremely strong, 2 implied very strong, 3 implied strong, 4 implied average, 5 implied weak, 6 implied very weak and 7 implied extremely weak. This happened to be the case since the study employed secondary data which was collected from world bank.

Other factors which were considered under hard power as one of the independent variable were, political sanctions and nature of political systems in Kenya. On the other hand, diplomacy and culture were other factors which were considered under soft power as other independent variables. To achieve the study objective, both correlation and regression analysis were carried out on the data covering a period of 47 years from 1972 to 2018. A long period of time was considered to enhance the accuracy and viability of the results. Both correlation analysis and regression analysis were carried out. Correlation analysis determined the relationship between the dependent and independent variables as regression gave the magnitude of the relationship between the dependent and independent variables.

1.4.1 Soft Power

In this contemporary world, a new environment has been created internationally to win minds and hearts of persons by the spread of democracy. Public diplomacy is one form of soft power used by Kenya. Public diplomacy therefore tries to influence the public and foreign nationals using its actions, policies and values as supported by their governments⁵¹. Public diplomacy can be explained as one nation's efforts to influence elites of another nation or the public in general with an aim of using foreign policy to realize its objective. Governments tend to communicate with

⁵¹ Melissen, Jan, ed. *The new public diplomacy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

other nations purposely to export their ideas to term, culture and institutions including current policies and national goals⁵².

Main idea to diplomacy concept is the passing of information between peoples, nations and cultures. It is a task which incorporates many parties including journalists who intend to interact much with nationals of other states to share experiences. Even though the idealism of such public diplomacy definition is obvious, it again advocates for the necessity of interaction and communication in public diplomacy practice⁵³.

In the long term, public diplomacy aims at promoting culture of its citizens but in the short term it aims at selling its current foreign policies to other nations to accept them which is seen as propaganda for a country to improve its image abroad favourable to the state⁵⁴. The significance of foreign public diplomacy is due to the fact that, it is influenced by soft power but not use of hard power or use of force and has given rise to dependency of fellow citizens on their, respective governments as well as local press for gathering of information on foreign activities and enhanced potential objectives for direct pass of information of diplomatic messages. Furthermore, public diplomacy serves both multilateral and bilateral diplomacy to advance national interests and encourage trade between nations, foreign direct investment, international tourism and many other income generating activities initiated by other countries. It creates good interactions between nations and brings a sense of cooperation in case of any emergency⁵⁵.

Kenya came up with its foreign policy in 2009 and its national interests are therefore envisioned in this policy which had not been documented for a long period of time since independence, even though it has been using its foreign policy as a guide for pursuing its interests while aiming at economic prosperity⁵⁶. Kenya has also employed its foreign policy as an instrument for carrying out its investment agenda and as a point of reference in case of any emerging issue on matters of

⁵² STELLA, AYUMA LUCIA. "ROLE OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN PURSUIT OF KENYA'S NATIONAL INTEREST." PhD diss., INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (IDIS), UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI, 2014.

⁵³ Kennan, George. (1984) "Diplomacy in the Modern World". American Diplomacy. University of Chicago Press, 1984

⁵⁴ Berridge, Geoff R. *Diplomacy: theory and practice*. Springer, 2015.

⁵⁵ Melissen, Jan, ed. (2007) *The New Public Diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. Basingstoke, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

⁵⁶ Kenya's foreign policy dated August 2009

international relations. Kenya uses its foreign policy to advance its national interests through innovative diplomacy which is founded on peaceful coexistence with its neighbouring countries⁵⁷. But Kenya has extended this to other countries in Africa.

Kenya's quest to secure a seat at the United Nations Security Council is of great and monumental significance. It will strengthen its position in the entire region as a telecommunication and financial hub and thus, a critical centre for doing business and hence boosting its role in peace-

keeping initiatives. Kenya has rallied countries around a common goal⁵⁸

Culture is another form of soft power used by Kenya to influence international politics in the region and Africa in general even though it has been a neglected issue in international relations and politics⁵⁹. Use of military and other economic powers have been the ones being used for both politicians and professionals including scholars. In various theories of International relations, realism, liberalism and marxism have been on focus. The emergence of constructivism theory explained international relations with aid of culture, ideas and norms in the late 1980s and its popularization took place in 1999 courtesy of Alexander Wendt in his book "Social Theory of International Politics". Constructivists view International relations is viewed by constructivists through use of ideas and norms as the only way through which international actors can redefine their coexistence and identities⁶⁰.

Also culture was associated with the arts – an area which is of little significance to great politics. However, while considering the past, gift exchange by diplomats can be traced back to the antiquity. It is evident that cultural diplomacy had been forgotten for quite a long period of time. It is recently that it has started to make a big come back to the international arena. In today's world where technology has created great influence through use of internet and other social media devices, the government has to communicate directly to foreigners and their audiences to realize its foreign policy goals. As a result, Kenya is taking great precaution in

⁵⁷ See Kenya's foreign Policy August 2009 Preamble

⁵⁸ The Standard dated November 2019.

⁵⁹ Mark, S. (2009). *A greater role for cultural diplomacy* (pp. 1-51). Clingendael: Netherlands Institute of International Relations.

⁶⁰ Houghton, D. (2017). Constructivist Analyses of Foreign Policy. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.

taking care of its image and organizing cultural events for foreign audiences, an aspect which has gained great attention in the last couple of years⁶¹.

Kenya has an enormous potential in regard to its cultural heritage and there is therefore need to exploit it to enhance development in the country. For many years Kenya has been laying emphasis on the understanding and recognition of cultural aspects as the basis for any dialogue. The idea of a nation is well represented through use of cultural activities. Kenya's cultural heritage targets to enhance awareness of how rich it is with her culture to generate interests from other countries to admire and adopt her culture⁶².

Five main objectives of cultural heritage in Kenya include; to recognize and respect cultural heritage and diversity, to promote cultural partnerships and exchanges, to promote global intercultural dialogue, to promote art diplomacy and sports by recognizing Kenyan artist's role, sportsmen, athletes and women as well as promoting the recognition and popularity of Kiswahili as a global and continental language. If all these objectives are achieved, then cultural heritage in Kenya will provide a framework to guide towards diplomatic engagements. Through this framework, the country will be guided as it pursues its vision of becoming prosperous, peaceful and competitive in the global arena as it promotes sustainable development⁶³.

Education as another form of soft power is widely used by many countries of the world. Nowadays, a good number of nations regard education as the best way of promoting their national interests and this has been on an increasing trend. Big countries started to pay necessary attention and significance to education use as an effective tool of soft power. On the same note, a successful education system helps to create a lasting and more favourable image among the international audience, thus enhancing soft power of the country⁶⁴.

⁶¹ Einbinder, Mary. "Cultural diplomacy harmonizing international relations through music." *Master of Art Thesis Gallatin School of Individual Studies New York University* (2013).

⁶² Maumo, Leonard O. "Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel, 1963-2002: contradiction between rhetoric and practice." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, Kenya, 2009.

⁶³ Maumo, Leonard O. "Kenya's foreign policy towards Israel, 1963-2002: contradiction between rhetoric and practice." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, Kenya, 2009.

⁶⁴ Amirbek, Aidarbek, and Kanat Ydyrys. "Education and soft power: Analysis as an instrument of foreign policy." *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences* 143 (2014): 514-516.

Culture and education forms one of the most effective instruments of soft power. In connection with this, soft power is not the same as hard power where there is use of coercion and military force. In this case, it is crucial not to use economic sanctions and military force to enforce change in other nations, but it is also important to shape the agenda of global politics as well as attracting them⁶⁵.

Competition between different models of socio-economic and national development as well as values is among the main new millenium trends. Currently, this leadership style is not possible without human development advancement which is the foundation of an economy which is knowledge based. Due to this, many developing states are ready to adopt and use innovative economic model and are paying special attention to the internalization and modernization of their national education system⁶⁶.

It is only a national education system which has developed to a great level and meets the needs of innovative high-tech economy that is integrated and included into the international system of education as well as scientific space. At this very point it becomes one of the major tool of gaining competitive advantage in the state and in the global competition hence attracting most talented students from the global sphere. The educational system becomes a significant instrument of soft power for the state when it provides opportunities for foreign students⁶⁷.

Foreign students who become successful whie learning language of the host country will gradually get acquainted with the achievements of culture and science of that country. These same students gain valuable social capital as and after studying abroad. As a result, after coming back to their country with acquired personal relations and knowledge, it is expected from them to become effective tools of transmission of the culture and language of that country where they had spent their time studying⁶⁸. As a result, national education become an effective instrument of soft power as compared to some uses of hard power like military force.

⁶⁵ Nye, Joseph S. "The rise of China's soft power." *Wall street journal Asia* 29, no. 6 (2005): 8.

⁶⁶ Nye Jr, Joseph. *The powers to lead*. Oxford University Press, 2008.

⁶⁷ Cowan, Geoffrey, and Amelia Arsenault. "Moving from monologue to dialogue to collaboration: The three layers of public diplomacy." *The annals of the American academy of political and social science* 616, no. 1 (2008): 10-30.

⁶⁸ Nye, Joseph S. "The rise of China's soft power." *Wall street journal Asia* 29, no. 6 (2005): 12

1.4.2 Hard Power

Use of military force is one form of hard power employed by nations whenever necessary to influence various activities such as politics, stability, peace among others. Even though circumstances may force to make use of military to achieve any given objective, its use today has become more difficult to employ than it was in the past because of the recent rapid growth of the so called universal human rights and humanitarian values⁶⁹. Even though that is the case, use of military force still remains relevant since there are circumstances whose solution requires deployment of military. Use of military force needs quality justification, in that, it has to be used as a last resort after all other avenues have failed. This has arisen in the recent past, implying that the relevance of the military's policy domain has diminished but not disappeared whatsoever⁷⁰.

War has a great impact to the countries involved and even to those not involved since in one way or the other they must have depended on something from these countries involved in war. War involves warfare, which implies military force, which also implies violence which results to great damage and injury as well as death⁷¹. There usually arise a debate on the use of military force but its control fail to agreement since in reality there must be chaos and friction during warfare period. Worthy and significant efforts to discourage conduct in warfare times cannot stop the acceptance of inherent nastiness of the subject matter. Sometimes therefore war is necessary but it has to be restrained since after all it is a violent behavior⁷².

Kenya is among a few of those countries which rarely use military force but at some forced circumstances, it deploys her military to solve a given crisis. Prior 2011, Kenya witnessed significant attacks from the Al shabaab militia group and this forced the government of Kenya on 16th October, 2011 to launch "Operation Protect the Nation" to pursue the militia group following attacks which had escalated commission of crimes within Kenya. The operation's

⁶⁹ Chong, Alan. "Smart power and military force: An introduction." *Journal of Strategic Studies* 38, no. 3 (2015): 233-244.

⁷⁰ Gray, Colin S. *Hard Power and Soft Power: The utility of military force as an instrument of policy in the 21st century*. Lulu. com, 2011.

⁷¹ Li, Chengchun, Syed Mansoob Murshed, and Sailesh Tanna. "The impact of civil war on foreign direct investment flows to developing countries." *The Journal of International Trade & Economic Development* 26, no. 4 (2017): 488-507.

⁷² McAlister, Alfred L., Albert Bandura, and Steven V. Owen. "Mechanisms of moral disengagement in support of military force: The impact of Sept. 11." *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* 25, no. 2 (2006): 141-165.

objective was and was to remain to be, 'to secure Kenya's territory and ensure that Al Shabaab poses not any threat to Kenya's people and property'. Even though Kenya's North Eastern part is composed of Kenyan Somalis, these residents engage in actions which cannot be construed in any way as aggressive⁷³.

Economic Sanctions is another form of hard power employed by world nations. Economic sanctions involves both trade sanctions and financial sanctions⁷⁴. Under trade sanctions, a given country bans some or all exports to or imports from and to a given state. Ban of Imports is more effective than ban of exports since they tend to deny the target country access to hard currency which it uses to buy those commodities it cannot produce, but ban of exports only denies prescribed goods. Trade sanctions causes widespread economic hardship such as job losses, rationing, inflation and deterioration of living standards⁷⁵. Even though that is the case, deterioration of economic conditions always do not translate into political pressure on given political regime. For instance the economy of Korea is a train wreck, due to refusal to reform as to sanctions, even though the regime indicates no sign to curb its missile and nuclear programs. Further more, its indifference to North Korean economic plight of the people is in agreement with the repression imposed to on them⁷⁶.

Generally, trade sanctions can be avoided by producing domestically or accessing to markets or products of those countries which do not participate. It is not easy to realize wide international participation since some countries tend to opt since they are able to realize benefits of increased exports to cheap imports from the needy state which has been sanctioned. For instance when the United States of America exerted unilateral trade sanctions against Iran and Cuba and Iran for 30 and 50 years respectively, U. S sustained very bad relations without toppling either regime⁷⁷.

⁷³ Ogenga, Fredrick. "Is Peace Journalism possible in the 'war' against terror in Somalia? How the Kenyan Daily Nation and the Standard represented Operation Linda Nchi." *Conflict & Communication* 11, no. 2 (2012).

⁷⁴ Miyagawa, Makio. *Do economic sanctions work?*. Springer, 2016.

⁷⁵ Chow, Daniel CK. "Trade Sanctions and the Division of Federal-State Power over International Trade." *Ohio St. LJ* 79 (2018): 651.

⁷⁶ Gompert, David, and Hans Binnendijk. "The power to coerce." *Cal., RAND* (2016): 3-41.

⁷⁷ Birnbaum, Ben, Sara Elsayed, Bonnie Krenz, Eduardo Massieu, Christopher Page Paredes, Alejandro Rodriguez Ramirez, Andrei Seeto, Mike Weber, and Jennifer Williams. "United

Financial sanctions are technical, flexible and legal. It is not necessary to have international authority to authorize financial sanctions though it is desirable⁷⁸. As a matter of fact, there is no approval of the UN Security Council required. Institutionally, the G7 is an alternative multilateral mechanism, since the member countries are the home to majority of the largest multinational banks. Even though that is the case, the United States uses them in a way to an extent that financial sanctions reach a point where they do not require broad participation or international consensus, just like what economic sanctions does. Financial sanctions tend to punish rather than rewarding those that do not join unlike the trade sanctions⁷⁹.

Just like trade sanctions, those who impose financial sanctions incur costs. The magnitude of these costs depends on the economic significance of the countries on target. Trade sanctions seem not to have great effect on trade although admirable. This is a point of concern since sanctions are sometimes employed as a policy mechanism to cause an influence on the behaviour of foreign nations unlike what soft power does. Their prevalence is in direct contrast to their efficacy⁸⁰.

The nature of the political system in a country can also form part of hard power. The term 'political system' is very common in texts titles and monographs in the comparative politics field. It is the same as the terms which were used in the older texts such as 'nation', 'government', or 'state' to describe the political system. These older terms are limited by institutional and legal meanings. They tend to direct attention to a specific set of institutions found in the current societies in the western world⁸¹.

The concept of 'political system' has acquired wide currency because it directs attention to the entire scope of political activities within a society, regardless of where in the society such activities may be located. This concept is associated with the use of legitimate physical coercion

States-Cuba relations: policy recommendations to advance normalization." In *A Princeton University Graduate Policy Workshop Report*. 2016.

⁷⁸ McDowell, D. (2020). Financial sanctions and political risk in the international currency system. *Review of International Political Economy*, 1-27.

⁷⁹ Leyton-Brown, David, ed. *The utility of international economic sanctions*. Vol. 32. Routledge, 2017.

⁸⁰ Besedeš, Tibor, Stefan Goldbach, and Volker Nitsch. "Cheap talk? Financial sanctions and non-financial activity." (2018).

⁸¹ Nelson, Michael, ed. *The presidency and the political system*. Cq Press, 2018.

in societies⁸². Easton describes it as an authoritative allocation of values, Lasswell and Kaplan, describe it as severe deprivations and Dahl explains it as a form of rule, power and authority. The political system therefore is the legitimate and heavy sanctions as well as the rightful power to enforce, punish and to compel⁸³. The political authorities have generally accepted the right to employ coercion as well as commanding obedience based upon it.

The inputs entering the political system, in some other way they are associated with legitimate physical compulsion, even if they are for war demands or for recreational facilities. The political system outputs are also in some other way associated with legitimate physical compulsion even if the relationship is said to be a remote relationship. Public recreation facilities are therefore supported by taxation and any kind of violation of regulations which govern their use is said to be a legal offense. While speaking of the political system, in that respect all other interactions affecting threat or use of legitimate physical coercion are included. It includes all government institutions such as courts, legislatures and all other administrative agencies, but structured in their political aspects⁸⁴.

The Republic of Kenya is a unitary State divided into 47 counties. It is led by the National Government and 47 governments at the county level. These two levels of government work closely together as spelled out in the constitution with some functions of the government devolved to the county governments. The two levels of government are therefore distinct and inter-dependent. Under special occasions, functions of the county governments may be taken by the national government⁸⁵.

The political governance in Kenya has evolved overtime whereby there has been a mix of both one party and multi-party system. Kenya was a one party system until 1992 when section 2a of the constitution was repealed to make it multi-party democracy even though it has been having

⁸² Syzdykov, Almas, Saniya Sarsenova, Yester Babajanyan, Oxana Voznyak, Roza Bexultanova, Ulbala Kudiyarova, and Aliya Dautbaeva-Mukhtarova. "Towards the Concept of the Political System." *International Electronic Journal of Mathematics Education* 11, no. 7 (2016): 2187-2193.

⁸³ Cordesman, Anthony H. *Iraq: Sanctions and beyond*. Routledge, 2018.

⁸⁴ Busia, Kofi Abrefa. *The position of the chief in the modern political system of Ashanti: A study of the influence of contemporary social changes on Ashanti political institutions*. Routledge, 2018.

⁸⁵ Hornsby, Charles. *Kenya: A history since independence*. IB Tauris, 2013.

elements of a multi-party state until 1969, when multi-party politics were banned by the state thus making Kenya a de facto one-party state. Since 1992 the country is run on a multi-party political system with laws being made by parliament⁸⁶.

Kenya's parliamentary politics is open, free and fair as well as highly competitive. Kenya has held all of its general elections without fail after every 5 years with the first one being held in 1963 and Mzee Jomo Kenyatta became the first president of Kenya until 1978 when Daniel Arap Moi took over after Kenyatta's death. Moi handed over to Mwai Kibaki in 2002 who ruled until 2013 when Kenya held elections under the new constitution. Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto took over as the president and deputy president respectively in 2013. The duo were again re-elected in 2017 and they are expected to rule until 2022 when new elections will be held. The president has executive powers to command many activities in the country even though some must be approved by parliament⁸⁷.

1.5 Empirical Findings

This section presents key empirical findings of the study, their interpretations and discussion. First, the descriptive statistics of data used in the study is presented, second, various pre analysis and post analysis diagnostic test results are presented and then the regression analysis results based on the study objectives. The dependent variable was International Politics whereby political rights index was used as its proxy. The index values which were considered were ranging from 7 to 1, whereby a political rights index of 7 implied extremely weak political system and observance of political rights. On the other hand a political rights index of 1 implied extremely strong political system and observance of political rights. The independent variables which were considered were soft power and hard power. Expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP was used as a proxy for soft power and expenditure on the military as a percentage of GDP was used as a proxy for hard power.

1.5.1 Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics were determined in this study to visualize what data was showing since a total of 47 observations were considered for each variable. As a result, data was presented in a more meaningful way hence making interpretation easier. They include; minimum, skewness statistic, kurtosis statistic, respective mean and standard deviation values.

⁸⁶ Hornsby, Charles. *Kenya: A history since independence*. IB Tauris, 2013.

⁸⁷ Hornsby, Charles. *Kenya: A history since independence*. IB Tauris, 2013.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics Summary

	International Politics	Soft Power	Hard Power
Mean	4.914894	0.057094	0.022192
Median	5.000000	0.055554	0.016501
Maximum	7.000000	0.073357	0.055016
Minimum	3.000000	0.044763	0.011870
Std. Dev.	1.059733	0.006276	0.011460
Skewness	-0.051354	0.537522	1.422668
Kurtosis	2.127568	3.058131	3.919644
Observations	47	47	47

Table 1 shows descriptive statistics for the dependent variable (international politics) and independent variables (soft power and hard power). The average value for international politics is 4.914894 whereas that of soft power and hard power are 0.057094 and 0.022192 American dollars respectively. This implies that on average, Kenya spends more on soft power than hard power as a way of influencing politics in Africa. It is also evident that in Africa, the political system is at an average value. The minimum, maximum and standard deviation of the respective variables is as shown on Table 1 as well as the skewness and Kurtosis statistics.

Skewness measures lack of symmetry in a given set of data and a skewness statistics of between $-\frac{1}{2}$ and $+\frac{1}{2}$ shows that the distribution is approximately symmetric. It is therefore evident that there is an element of symmetry on international politics but not for the case of soft and hard powers. Soft power is moderately skewed and hard power is positively skewed. Kurtosis measures the extent to which data is tailed either light-tailed or heavy-tailed in relation the normal distribution. High kurtosis statistic implies that there is presence of outliers and it is indicated by a kurtosis statistic of more than 3. There is therefore outliers in use of hard power and this is attributed to abrupt increase in military expenditure when Kenya started war to eliminate Al Shaabab militia from Somalia.

1.5.2 Diagnostic Tests

Various diagnostic tests were also determined to establish the suitability of data in the analysis process. Some of the relevant diagnostic tests which were carried out include; unit root test, correlation test, granger causality test, normality test, heteroskedasticity test, Ramsey Reset test and recursive coefficient estimates test.

1.5.2.1 Stationerity Test

This test is carried out to establish whether a process is stationery or not. In case a process has a unit root, then it is said to be non-stationery or integrated and hence need to be made stationery through differencing. In this study unit root tests were carried out using Augmented Dickey-Fuller (ADF) whereby the lag length selection was based on the Schwarz Info Criterion (SIC). The process is stationery if its p-value is not more than 5.0 percent and t-Statistic is not less than 2.0 in absolute terms.

Table 2: Unit Root Test Summary

Variable	Technique	t-Statistic	Probability
International Politics (1)	Augmented Dickey-Fuller test statistic	-5.741824	0.0000
Soft Power (level)	Augmented Dickey-Fuller test statistic	-3.210052	0.0259
Hard Power (1)	Augmented Dickey-Fuller test statistic	-5.124831	0.0001

Table 2 show the results of unit root test for international politics, soft pwer and hard power. International politics had a unit root hence not stationery at level. It was made stationery at first differencing same as hard power. Soft power never had a unit root hence stationery at level.

1.5.2.2 Multicollinearity Test

Multicollinearity arise in a regression model when independent variables are correlated. Independent variables need to be independent and if they are correlated, then there is no such independency. High collinearity affects fit of the model and interpretation of results. In case of perfect collinearity, regression analysis is not possible.

Table 3: Correlation Test Summary

Variable	Soft Power	Hard Power
Soft Power	1.000000	-0.090592
Hard Power	-0.090592	1.000000

Table 3 shows that there is no collinearity between hard power and soft power since the collinearity coefficient is -0.09. Perfect collinearity is when the collinearity coefficient is either -1 or +1.

1.5.2.3 Granger Causality Test

Granger causality investigates causality in a time series between two variables. It is used for establishing whether a given time series is real necessary in forecasting another time series.

Table 4: Granger Causality Test Summary

Null Hypothesis	Observations	F-Statistic	Probability
SP does not Granger Cause IP	45	1.41054	0.2559
IP does not Granger Cause SP	45	0.19144	0.8265
HP does not Granger Cause IP	45	0.64908	0.5279
IP does not Granger Cause HP	45	0.25809	0.7738
HP does not Granger Cause SP	45	0.36743	0.6948
SP does not Granger Cause HP	45	0.80940	0.4523

Table 4 shows that there is no variable which granger causes another variable since the p-values in both cases is more 0.05.

1.5.2.4 Normality Test

Normality tests are used to establish if a given set of data follows a normal distribution as well as computing the likelihood of a random variable being normally distributed.

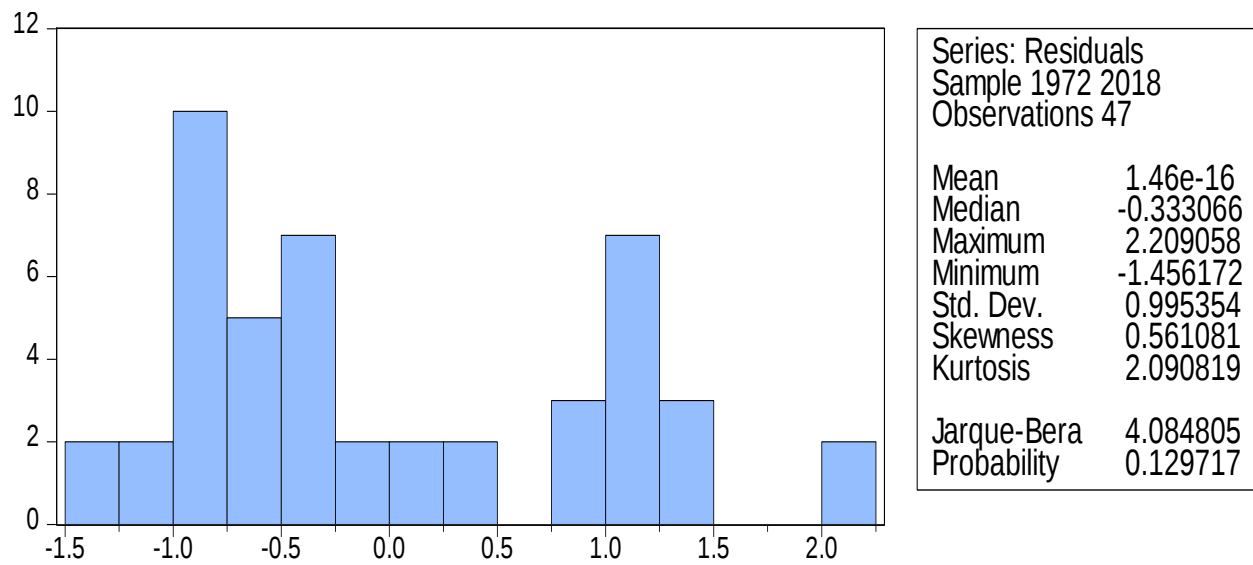


Figure 5.1: Normality Histogram

Figure 4 shows a bell shaped histogram, an indication of normally distributed data. The p-value of data for international politics, soft power and hard power was found to be more than 0.05 under Jarque-Bera tests implying that there is a normal distribution at 5 percent significance level.

1.5.2.5 Heteroskedasticity Test

Heteroskedasticity test finds out whether the error terms' variance which appears in the population regression functions are the same. This study carried out this test using the Breusch-Pagan Godfrey technique and the results were found as indicated in Table 5.

Table 5: Heteroskedasticity Test Summary

F-statistic	3.653633	Prob. F(2,44)	0.0340
Obs*R-squared	6.693818	Prob. Chi-Square(2)	0.0352
Scaled explained SS	3.199679	Prob. Chi-Square(2)	0.2019

In this scenario, the homoskedasticity's null hypothesis is accepted since the p-value is more than zero. There is therefore no problem of heteroscedasticity.

1.5.2.6 Ramsey Reset Test

Ramsey Reset Test is taken to determine specification errors likely to be committed in the analysis process such as incorrect functional form, omitted variables and correlation between the

error term and independent variables. In case the p-value is not more than the significance level of 5.0 percent, the null hypothesis is not accepted and the model is therefore well specified. If the p-value is not less than the significance level of 5.0 percent, the null hypothesis is accepted and the model is therefore misspecified.

Table 6: Ramsey Reset Test Summary

	Value	df	Probability
t-statistic	2.900733	43	0.0058
F-Statistic	8.414252	(1, 43)	0.0058
Likelihood Ratio	8.399619	1	0.0038

Table 6 shows that the p-value for this test is less than 0.05. The model is therefore well specified to be used in the analysis process.

1.5.2.7 Recursive Coefficient Estimates Test

Recursive coefficient estimates test is a test which determines the stability of the variables employed in the model.

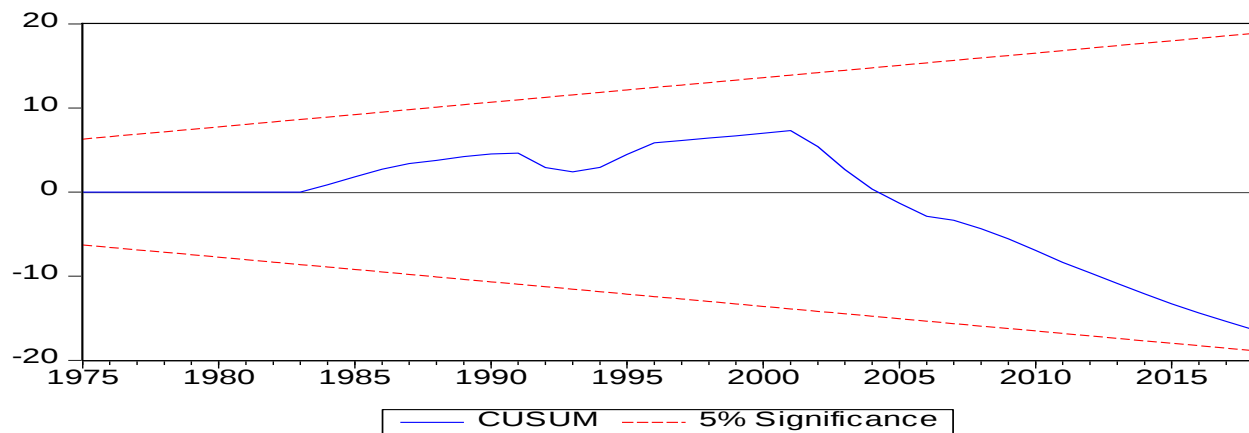


Figure 5.2: Recursive Coefficient Estimates Test

It enhances the tracing out of estimates evolution of coefficients as data used in a given sample increases. Two standard error bands on either side of the estimated coefficients help in determining the stability of the coefficients. Instability arises when there is a significant variation of the coefficient as more data is being added to the estimating equation. If the blue line lies in

between the two red lines, then there is stability. Figure 5 therefore shows that there is coefficient stability since the blue line is in between the two red lines.

1.5.3 Regression Results

The purpose of the study was to investigate the influence of Kenya's use of hard and soft powers on International Politics in Africa. Linear regression analysis was therefore undertaken to determine the influence of soft and hard powers on international politics in Africa.

Table 7: Regression Results Summary

Variable	Coefficient	Std. Error	T-Statistic	Probability
Soft Power	-46.00974	24.00928	-1.916332	0.0618
Hard Power	17.15498	13.14826	1.304734	0.1988
Constant	7.161094	1.434824	4.990923	0.0000

Table 7 presents coefficients realized from the regression analysis using ordinary least squares method. It also gives the respective standard errors, t-statistic values and p-values. The estimated regression model was specified as:

$$\text{IP} = 7.161094 - 46.00974 \text{SP} + 17.15498\text{HP} \dots\dots\dots(2)$$

Where; IP is International Politics (Political Rights), SP is Soft Power (Government expenditure on education as a percentage of gross domestic product) and HP is Hard Power (Government expenditure on military as a percentage of gross domestic product). The coefficient of soft power is -46.00974 and the coefficient of hard power is 17.15498. The constant value is 7.161094. The standard error of soft power is 24.00928 with a t-statistic and p-value of -1.916332 and 0.0618 respectively. Further, the findings show that the standard error of hard power is 13.14826 with t-statistic and p-value of 1.304734 and 0.1988 respectively. In addition to this, the standard error of the constant value is 1.434824 with a t-statistic and p-value of 4.990923 and 0.0000 respectively.

The influence of use of soft power on international politics is not statistically significant since

the p-value is more than 0.05 and t-statistic is less than 2 in absolute terms. Even though that is the case, the difference is very small and it can therefore be assumed to be significant. On the other hand the influence of hard power on international politics is also not statistically insignificant since the p-value is more than 0.05 and t-statistic less than 2 in absolute terms. The constant coefficient is significant at 5 percent level of significance since its the P- value is less than 0.05 and t-statistic is more than 2 in absolute terms.

Beta coefficient plays a very significant role when determining the direction and degree of influence of the predictor variable on the dependent variable. It was established that holding all other factors constant, increase in use of soft power (expenditure on education as a percentage of gross domestic product) by one unit leads to an improvement in the way of doing politics in Africa by 46.00974 3. This is because political rights index of 7 implied extremely weak and political rights index of 1 implied extremely strong. Also by holding all other factors constant, increase in use of hard power (expenditure on military as a percentage of gross domestic product) by one unit leads to a deterioration in the way of doing politics in Africa by 17.15498 units.

1.5.6 Discussion

This study investigated how Kenya is a regional actor in Africa using soft power and hard power as independent variables and international politics as a dependent variable. Various diagnostic tests were done such as normality, heteroscedasticity, unit root, correlation, granger causality, Ramsey Reset test and recursive coefficient estimates test. The tests revealed that data collected followed a normal distribution, a part from soft power, other variables were stationary at first differencing, there was no problem of multicollinearity and the estimated coefficients were stable.

The regression results show that Kenya can influence politics in Africa through use of soft power rather than use of hard power. This explains why expenditure on soft power in Kenya is more than expenditure on hard power. Use of soft power is less expensive as compared to hard power hence suitable to use by countries with less capacity to effectively use hard power as it involves large outlay of money and skills.

From the regression analysis results, use of soft power in Kenya has a positive effect on International Politics in Africa. The effect is almost significant even though it is not such significant since the coefficient's t- statistic and p-value are -1.916332 and 0.0618 respectively.

This is attributed to soft power's ability to help cultural and commercial organizations have a direct impact in the locality. It is also less expensive to use as compared to use of hard power. There is no losses which can arise in terms of destruction to property and loss of lives. Furthermore it strengthens relationship between countries hence the reason why Kenya is using it at a great extent than hard power.

Use of hard power in Kenya to influence politics in the continent is not used to a great extent just like the use of soft power. This is because it is accompanied with loss of lives, destruction of property, deterioration of good relationships and is quite expensive to finance as compared to use of soft power. At times when it is employed, its effect on Africa's politics is negative even though not significant. This is because the t-statistic of 1.304734 is less than 2 in absolute terms and p-value of 0.1988 is more than 0.05 units. Whether Kenya employs hard power to influence politics in Africa or wish not to use, there is no difference. This therefore explains why Kenya is not increasing its expenditure on hard power to influence politics in the continent but uses more expenditure on soft power.

On the other hand a constant value of 7.161094 implies that politics in Africa is negatively affected by the same value when there is no use of hard and soft power. The value is also significant since its t-statistic is 4.990923 which is more than 2 in absolute terms and its p-value is 0.0000 which is less than 0.05 units.

The implication of all these is that Kenya as a regional actor in Africa, its influence on international politics is positive and only felt when it uses soft power, that is, diplomacy, culture and education system. Use of soft power yields positive results in African countries as well as in the global arena because of reasons such as; First, use of soft power brings understanding between the warring parties and therefore in one accord agree to compromise on some issues for the benefit of themselves and their followers. Second, soft power has the ability of shaping the preferences of other people. In this world of business, smart executives understand that good leadership is not only a matter of giving commands, but it is also important that they lead by example since by doing this other parties get attracted to do exactly the same. Third, good relationship is developed between the law enforcers and ordinary people. This is due to contemporary practices carried out by community-based policing which tend to rely on the community, in a quest to achieve shared objectives between the community and the law enforcers. Lastly, soft power employs an alternative currency, that is, not use of force and even

money to enhance cooperation.

Use of hard power only leads to more devastating effects even though these negative effects are not such significant. It is therefore evident that Kenya remains to be a regional actor in Africa by not making use of hard power to influence the continent's politics. Use of hard power needs a large outlay of money and for a developing country like Kenya, use of hard power may not yield positive results because it is not able to make use of this hard power to a level that can yield positive results.

The findings of this study that, soft power has positive effect on international politics as hard power poses negative effect on international politics agrees with the study carried out by Freedman⁸⁸.

1.6 Summary

This study investigated the influence of Kenya's use of hard and soft powers on international politics of Africa to show how Kenya is a regional actor in Africa. Military expenditure as a percentage of gross domestic product was used as a proxy for hard power. Expenditure on education as a percentage of gross domestic product was used as a proxy for soft power. Both military expenditure and expenditure on education are expressed in the American currency (USD). Many indices are used to measure politics but in this study political rights index was used to measure the political condition in Africa. In this case a likelihood scale was used ranging from 7 to 1. A value of 1 implies extremely strong, 2 implies very strong, 3 implies strong, 4 implies average or fair, 5 implies weak, 6 implies very weak and 7 implies very weak. This explains the reason why a negative coefficient of soft power was interpreted as a positive effect on international politics, while a positive coefficient of hard power was interpreted as a negative effect on international politics.

Nye's model and constructivism theory were used in this study. It was found out that Nye has succeeded in putting together the assertion of the pre-eminence of the United States with the Liberal theory of a multilateral international system. The model employed three-dimensional chess game whereby at the top chessboard, military power is unipolar, on the economic board, power is multipolar and at the bottom chessboard, transnational relations are a dispersed power where no one leads. In Kenya both soft and hard power are applicable just as it is with the United

⁸⁸ Freedman, Lawrence. "Military power and political influence." *International Affairs* 74, no. 4 (1998): 763-780

States and other countries. Use of hard power do not yield positive results more especially if used by developing countries. It yields positive results for developed countries if applied with utmost carefulness. For instance Kenya has employed hard power in Somalia to flush out the Alshabab militia. Even though some positive results have been witnessed, the mission is not yet successful.

The study employed deductive approach as it offered a possibility to give detailed explanation on the causal relationships between variables and concepts. It also provided room to measure concepts quantitatively and generalize findings to a certain extent. Secondary data for the respective variables was collected from world bank, edited and modified to fit the study's regression model. Diagnostic tests such as stationerity test, correlation test, granger causality test, normality test, heteroskedasticity test, Ramsey Reset test and recursive coefficient estimates test were carried. The main essence for carrying out these tests was to ensure that the collected data was fit for regression analysis to give accurate and viable results. This included both pre analysis diagnostic tests and post analysis diagnostic tests. In addition to this, descriptive statistics for data collected were also calculated.

Stationerity tests revealed that a part from soft power which was stationery at level, international politics and hard power were found to have a unit root hence made stationery with the help of differencing (first differencing). Multicollinearity test revealed that there was no perfect collinearity between soft and hard powers hence making regression analysis possible. Granger causality test showed that a given time series is necessary in forecasting another time series. Also it was found out that the data collected followed a normal distribution as per the normality test findings. From the heteroskedastic test, it is evident that error terms exhibit constant variance and that the model is well specified as per the Ramsey reset test. On the other hand, recursive coefficients estimates test revealed that the estimated coefficients were all stable. Regression analysis was therefore carried out using ordinary least squares method to ascertain the influence of Kenya's use of soft and hard powers on international politics of Africa. As a result the study objective was realized and study hypotheses confirmed.

1.7 Conclusion

The study findings show that all diagnostic tests which were carried out gave viable results which necessitated carrying out of a regression analysis. The regression analysis results show

that soft power has a positive influence on Africa's politics and hard power has a negative influence on Africa's politics. The estimated coefficient of soft power of -46.00974 with a t-statistic of -1.916332 and p-value of 0.0618 shows that the effect is positive and almost significant. The null hypothesis that there is no negative influence of Kenya's use of soft power on international politics in Africa is therefore accepted. The estimated coefficient of hard power of 17.15498 with a t-statistic of 1.304734 and p-value of 0.1988 shows that the effect is negative and insignificant. The null hypothesis that there is no negative influence of Kenya's use of hard power on international politics in Africa is therefore rejected. Instead the alternative hypothesis is accepted, that is, there is a negative effect of Kenya's use of hard power on international politics in Africa. These regression results have therefore answered the study question and its objective achieved.

From the results, it is therefore clear that Kenya is a regional actor in Africa. Its success implies that there is success to its neighbors, the larger African continent and even the world in general. Peaceful Kenya means peaceful Africa and this explains why Kenya's use of soft power have caused a positive influence on the African politics. As a result many international organizations have their headquarters in Nairobi, Kenya including the United Nations. Even though Kenya has increased her military expenditure in the recent past due to terrorist attacks it faces from terror groups, its effect on African politics is yet to be felt. Kenya has also been utilized in bringing peace in various African countries such as Sierra Leone and South Sudan among others. Due to this involvement and as evidenced from the results (use of soft power), Kenya is therefore a regional actor in Africa.

The study recommends that more studies needs to be done on this field but consider the entire world perspective, that is, establishing Kenya's influence of hard and soft powers on world politics. The study also recommends that a part from using deductive approach, other study approaches like descriptive approaches be explored to compare the results and ascertain the accuracy of this study. This study used secondary data, but another study can be carried out while using primary data from ministry of foreign affairs, ministry of defence, ministry of education, ministry of sports and culture as well as from the embassies of various countries represented in Kenya. Other studies can focus on the relationship between Kenya's use of soft and hard power on international politics in Africa and even in the world while using Vector Auto

Regression model (VAR).

Further more, the study recommends use of soft power to a great extent than hard power to influence politics in Africa's since use of soft power has positive influence on the African politics. It is evident that use of hard power in Africa by a developing country leads to deterioration of African politics unlike when soft power is used.

1.8 Bibliography

Caso, Federica, and Caitlin Hamilton, eds. *Popular culture and world politics: Theories, methods, pedagogies*. E-International Relations Publishing, 2015.

The authors of this article discussed the relationship between world politics and popular culture. The study combines insights from some of the famous thinkers who work in the field of world politics and popular culture. The study uses a holistic approach and it contributes to the realization of world politics and popular culture which is a sub-discipline of International Relations. It opens with theoretical considerations that focus on popular culture politics of the world. It then considers different sources of world politics and popular culture together with other methods which can be used in that study. The study is concluded with a discussion about implications of introducing popular culture into the classroom. Issues like war on terror, political identities and geopolitics as well as political communication were also considered in the study.

Freedman, Lawrence. "Military power and political influence." *International Affairs* 74, no. 4 (1998): 763-780.

The author of this article investigated the influence of military power on politics in Europe. The background of the study was use of Soviet military power in 1970s in Europe. The author therefore explores the utility of force in the first place at times when there is no danger of war. In the second place the author discusses the influence at times of immediate danger of war using the armed forces of the Atlantic alliance. It is found out that military power has a negative influence on politics.

Gallarotti, Giulio M. "Soft power: what it is, why it's important, and the conditions for its effective use." *Journal of Political Power* 4, no. 1 (2011): 25-47.

The author of this article investigated why soft power is important as well as determining the conditions which favor its use. It is evident that soft power has attracted great attention in public and scholarly debates on foreign affairs in the recent past. Even though that was the case, soft power a part from soft theory, it has developed little. This study explained this deficiency by offering systematic and more rigorous analysis of the soft power process. It also explains two shortcomings soft power treatment by describing how modern world politics changes have increased the soft power value and by suggesting circumstances that encourage those who make decisions to appreciate and effectively employ strategies of soft power.

Gurgu, Elena, and Aristide-Dumitru Cociuban. "The Role Of Public Diplomacy In International Relations In Full Process Of Globalization." *Annals of Spiru Haret University, Economic Series* 7, no. 2 (2016): 125-143.

The authors of this study highlighted the role of public diplomacy in connecting world countries in the economic globalization process. The study investigated different kinds of powers which play a significant role in national policies on public diplomacy. From the investigations carried out, contemporary international relations were recorded, under globalization impact and resizing process, which leads to eradication of state monopoly on international policy. It was found out that many non-state actors affect country image abroad and information technologies offers them various communication mechanisms. In these circumstances, various diplomacy activities need to be accompanied by a communication process, both in its foreign and internal markets.

Hale, William. "The Turkish Military in Politics, and the Attempted Coup of 15-16 July 2016." *İktisat ve Sosyal Bilimlerde Güncel Araştırmalar* 2, no. 1 (2018): 7-41.

The author of this article investigated the role of military in politics and the attempted coup in Turkey of July 2016. The study summarized literature in relation to military and politics since the 1950s. It explains reasons for their success and failure and it therefore gives an outline military intervention since 1960 in Turkey politics. The study found out that use of military in politics can succeed or fail depending on the prevailing circumstances.

Nye, Joe. "When hard power undermines soft power." *New Perspectives Quarterly* 21, no. 3 (2004): 13-15.

The author of this study investigated when softpower is being undermined by hard power. Politics is a contest of competitive credibility. The nations compete to see that their military wins and that is the power politics of today. The study was carried out in Iraq following the invasion of America into Iraq. It has been found out that Iraq prisoners were tortured and abused with fear that we are losing credibility.

Thomas, Dapo. "History and Evolution of Nigeria-US Military, Security, and Political Relations." *International Relations* 6, no. 4 (2018): 209-230.

The authors of this article examined the politics, the dynamics and the importance of the security relationship between United States and Nigeria. Even though the two countries have different levels of military strength, they consider themselves partners, in that they can cooperate on matters of defense. Even though the United States has very strong military strength as compared to Nigeria, Nigeria was to be assisted to overcome challenges it faces on its military infrastructure. These include equipment, training, political management and professional orientation. There was lack of trust between the two countries as United States took this advantage to benefit itself and it therefore became difficult to achieve the desired objectives. It was found out that at any point the United States attempted to bring stability to the political system of Nigeria, it was seen by

Nigeria as an intervention not warranted for and some bit of meddlesomeness which is capable of bringing destruction of fragility of its polity just as the 1993 crisis.

Totten, Robbie J. "International Relations, Material and Military Power, and United States Immigration Policy: American Strategies to Utilize Foreigners for Geopolitical Strength, 1607 to 2012." *Geo. Immigr. LJ* 29 (2014): 205

The author carried out this study in the United States to determine the relationship between immigration and United States military and material interests. The study used International Relations, concepts of Security Studies and literature as well as primary sources such as legal statutes, private letters and secondary works by political demographers, historians, migration and legal scholars to give more details on the link between state's immigration and military strength. The study found out that more immigrants are needed in the military and it is good to be mindful of human rights while making policies.

Weinbrenner, John. "Soft Power And Hard Power Approaches In US Foreign Policy: A Case Study Comparison In Latin America." (2007).

The author carried out this study in the U.S to determine the effects of hard power versus soft in U.S. policy with regard to Latin America. At recent times the populist leaders have challenged the unipolar moment of America in the entire region due to its inability to control the inflow of illicit drugs and illegal immigrants that come to its shores. This study set to understand the distinction between influence and power as well as the effects of soft and hard power in foreign policy of the U.S. Historically an analysis of the comparative case study has been carried out while using FDR's cases of Reagan's contra war policies and Good Neighbor policy. The qualitative approach used in this study examined specific long-term and short-term goals of each policy and analyzed the ability of each strategy to realize the set goals and objectives. The study found out that both hard and soft power can have non-negative and non-positive effects on the influence of America in Latin America.

Burley, Anne-Marie Slaughter. "International law and international relations theory: a dual agenda." In *The Nature of International Law*, pp. 11-46. Routledge, 2017.

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