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SESSIONAL PAPER NO. 1 OF 2025
ON
THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA

The Grand Strategy to Position Kenya's Foreign Policy in The Global Landscape

"Sera ya Kenya ya Uhusiano wa Nje na Nchini Hadi Mashinani" Msimamo wa Taifa La Kenya.

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"It is not fair for anyone to be asked for a visa when they are going home. Kenya is the home and cradle of humankind"

HIS EXCELLENCY HON. WILLIAM SAMOEI RUTO, PhD., C.G.H.
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE DEFENCE FORCES.

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FOREWORD



Kenya's foreign policy and diplomatic engagements must be a catalyst for improving the livelihoods and welfare of every Kenyan and driving our nation's progress and prosperity on the global stage. This Foreign Policy, 2024 as outlined herein presents a comprehensive guiding framework for conducting our nation's foreign relations and diplomatic engagements.

Borne of deep reflection on the evolution of Kenya's bilateral and multilateral relations, this policy document charts Kenya's strategic pursuit of our national interests in the context of the ever-evolving geopolitical and geo-economic landscape.

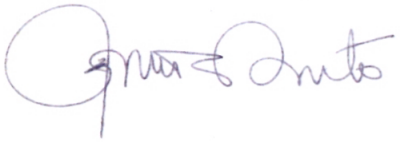
The outcome is a revised Foreign Policy that, while remaining grounded upon our steadfast commitment to project, promote, and protect the nation's interests and image globally, gains valuable impetus from my Government's deliberate intent to elevate Kenya's standing among the community of nations, through a futuristic and innovative approach to diplomacy.

This Foreign Policy document underscores Kenya's steadfast trajectory towards prioritising regional integration, deepening of intra-African ties and elevating new Pan-Africanism, even as we continue to strengthen and expand our country's global footprints.

The carefully selected Foreign Policy objectives are inspired by our shared aspiration for a peaceful, unified, and prosperous nation, as embodied in the Constitution of Kenya; the National Anthem, and Kenya's long-term policy blueprints. The specific focus areas to be pursued by my government under this policy certainly reflects our determination to creatively respond to new and emerging global dynamics hence the focus on the new areas that are outside of the traditional purview of diplomacy including digital and technology, climate, health and Global Governance Reform, while also re-orientating foreign policy responses to new threats to peace and security.

The successful implementation of this Foreign Policy requires a comprehensive and well-coordinated approach that involves all sectors; from government through a 'Whole of Government Approach', to Private Sector, and Non-State Actors. It is my expectation that all government ministries, departments, agencies and relevant entities will work closely with the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs in executing the vision of this Foreign Policy.

This sessional paper provides a unique opportunity for a robust debate in Parliament on Kenya's Foreign Policy and I am confident that the outcome will strengthen and enhance the implementation of the policy through required legislation.



H.E. HON. WILLIAM SAMOEI RUTO, PhD., C.G.H.
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF KENYA AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE DEFENCE FORCES.

PREFACE



The Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs is mandated to manage Kenya's Foreign Policy with the overarching objective of protecting, promoting and projecting the nation's interests. Kenya first published its Foreign Policy in 2014. Since then, we have witnessed momentous changes in the global environment. Kenya's national interests have considerably expanded as our country seeks to play a greater role in international affairs.

The Ministry has also undergone considerable restructuring, with the overall objective of intensifying professionalism in the diplomatic cadre and enabling our foreign missions to play a greater role in progressing our foreign policy and national development. The expansion of Kenya's diplomatic footprints and the recognition of the role of citizens, women and the youth in diplomacy, continues to enhance Kenya's competitiveness in the global arena.

Kenya's diplomatic history affirms our proactive and constructive role as a member of the international community. We have diligently built and maintained cordial and robust relations with neighbouring countries in the region, Africa, and the world at large. The rapid changes in the global environment and the ever-changing dynamics of international relations have necessitated a revision and update of the Kenya Foreign Policy. In this regard, the process of reviewing the current policy followed an approach rooted in pragmatism, foresight, and a long-term perspective that will enable our country to articulate a clear and coherent strategy for navigating the complexities, including the opportunities presented by the international system.

The resultant Foreign Policy objectives are structured around key interlinked focus areas on Peace and Security Diplomacy; Economic and Commercial Diplomacy; Oceans and Blue Diplomacy; Global Governance and Multilateral Diplomacy; Environment and Climate Change Diplomacy; Science, Technology and Innovation Diplomacy; Diaspora Diplomacy; and Socio-Cultural Diplomacy. In order to ensure effective implementation of these focus areas in the policy, the Ministry will review the Foreign Service Act, 2021 and develop its attendant Regulations to align them with the Kenya Foreign Policy 2024. Further, the Foreign Service Academy will be capacitated, including re-orienting its curriculum to address the training and capacity building needs for our diplomatic staff and to scale up professionalism in Foreign Service.

The review of the Policy was conducted through a wide, consultative, and participatory approach in line with constitutional requirements. The Policy will be subjected to continuous review to ensure it remains relevant, effective and responsive in promoting our nation's interests and values. This Sessional Paper provides a framework for Parliament's engagement and input in our foreign policy agenda.

We appreciate the collective effort and insights of all contributors, whose invaluable inputs have shaped the foreign policy vision that embodies Kenya's aspirations and positions the country to seize emerging opportunities for sustainable growth and prosperity.



H.E. DR. MUSALIA MUDAVADI, E.G.H
PRIME CABINET SECRETARY AND CABINET SECRETARY FOR FOREIGN AND DIASPORA AFFAIRS

STATEMENT AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT



Over the last year, the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs in collaboration with other Government departments and stakeholders conducted a comprehensive review of Kenya's Foreign Policy. The review was intended to ensure that the policy is more proactive in dealing with the twin obligations of safeguarding our overall national interests and development priorities, while maintaining Kenya stature as a responsible member of the international community.

During the review process, we reflected on our past achievements, critically assessed our current approaches, and envisioned a future where Kenya continues to thrive and lead on the global stage. In the discussions held with various stakeholders, in line with the constitutional requirements for public participation and stakeholder engagement, we explored factors that impact the pursuit of our national interests. These were determined to include; geopolitical dynamics, economic dependencies, socio-cultural issues, technological progress, peace and security concerns, as well as the aspirations for global governance, all of which shape our engagements in contemporary global events.

The effective implementation of this Foreign Policy will require a comprehensive, coordinated approach involving all sectors - government, private sector, and non-state actors. In this regard, all government Ministries, Departments, Agencies, and entities whose mandates touch on foreign relations will work closely with the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs under a Whole of Government and Society Approach.

This Foreign Policy document is the result of the hard work and commitment of many individuals and various stakeholder institutions. On behalf of the State Department for Foreign Affairs, I first extend our profound gratitude to the leadership of His Excellency the President and the Hon. Prime Cabinet Secretary and Cabinet Secretary for Foreign and Diaspora Affairs, in guiding the policy review process.

Secondly, I express my sincere appreciation to all stakeholders from various entities, including the Executive arm of Government, Council of Governors, the Senate, National Assembly, the Judiciary and Independent Constitutional Offices, serving and former Ambassadors and High Commissioners, private sector, academia, civil society, youth and the general public for their invaluable insights. Their contributions and ideas illuminated new pathways for collaboration and action, spawned a renewed spirit of cooperation and enriched our understanding of the matters at hand.

Our gratitude is similarly due to the Review Committee for their tireless efforts that ensured the successful preparation of the Foreign Policy document and this Sessional Paper. The input from staff at the Ministry's Headquarters and Missions has been invaluable in the enrichment of the documents.

Finally, I wish to thank our partners who supported the review exercise in one way or another.



DR. A. KORIR SING'OEI
PRINCIPAL SECRETARY, STATE DEPARTMENT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

STATEMENT



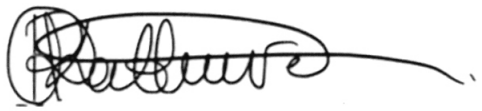
Kenya's Foreign Policy commits to ***project, promote, and protect*** the country's interests globally, through maximizing available opportunities, resources and strategies. One of the key focus areas of our Foreign Policy is Diaspora Diplomacy, which recognizes that the Kenyan Diaspora are an invaluable resource in advancing our economic and diplomatic priorities, anchored through efforts, strategies and commitments operationalized through the Kenya Diaspora Policy. To ensure we fully harness the potential of our diaspora, the State Department for Diaspora Affairs was established in 2022 and mandated to protect, engage, empower, and prosper Kenyan citizens abroad. Key achievements since inception of the State Department include:

- Ensuring the safety, protection of legal rights, and enhancing welfare of Kenyans living abroad, and facilitating access to critical consular services, including passport renewals, birth certificates, attestation and authentication of documents and prison visits through the Mobile consular Services (MCS)platform.
- Working with stakeholders in streamlining labour migration including recruitment processes through the implementation of the Global Labour Market Strategy (GLMS) to secure quality job placements for Kenyans abroad.
- Facilitating the return of Kenyans from various situations of distress such as labor disputes, stranded without documentation, individuals undergoing mental distress, citizens from countries experiencing political instability, civil unrest, natural disasters, those needing health and medical emergencies, deceased Kenyans, as well as victims of human trafficking.
- Engagement through fostering strong connections, linkages and communication with the diaspora, we have enhanced inclusivity and active public participation of the diaspora in Kenya's socio-economic growth.
- Partnered with the diaspora to enhance technology, knowledge and skills transfer by various Diaspora associations and groups for investments, research, and philanthropy.

As we engaged the diaspora and key stakeholders, it was evident that the Kenya Diaspora Policy 2014 needed to be reviewed. The Kenya Diaspora Policy 2024, which is aligned to the diaspora focus area of the reviewed Kenya's Foreign Policy 2024, accommodates new priorities, targets, policy direction and reflects as well as addresses current realities and globalization.

As we continue to build upon the established frameworks, we look forward to the adoption by Parliament of the Sessional Paper that will support, the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs in shaping policies that protect and promote Kenya's interests and our citizens' welfare abroad.

Together, we can ensure that Kenya's Foreign Policy agenda remains responsive to the needs of its people, forward-looking, and strategically positioned to thrive in an interconnected world.



ROSELINE KATHURE NJOGU, CBS.,
PRINCIPAL SECRETARY, STATE DEPARTMENT FOR DIASPORA AFFAIRS

LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACDC	Africa Centres for Disease Control and Prevention
AfCFTA	African Continental Free Trade Area
AI	Artificial Intelligence
AGII	African Green Industrialization Initiative
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AU	African Union
AUFI	African Union Financial Institutions
ATMIS	African Transition Mission in Somalia
BETA	Bottom-Up Economic Transformation Agenda
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
CEPA	Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CS	Cabinet Secretary
C4IR	Centre for the Fourth Industrial Revolution
CAHOSCC	Committee of African Heads of State and Government on Climate Change
CARICOM	Caribbean Community
CGH	Chief of the Order of the Golden Heart
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa
EGH	Elder of the Order of the Golden Heart of Kenya
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
EU	European Union
FAO	Food Agricultural Organization
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GCF	Green Climate Fund
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEF	Global Environmental Facility
GIZ	German Agency for International Cooperation
H.E	His Excellency
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICJ	International Court of Justice
ICGLR	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IEBC	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IGADD	Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund

INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
IOFMC	Indian Ocean Forum on Maritime Crime
IOR-ARC	Indian Ocean Rim- Association for Regional Cooperation
ITU	International Telecommunication Union
IUU	Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated
IPBES	Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IRP	UNEP - International Resource Panel
ISPC	Independent Science and Partnership Council
KAPEA	Kenya Association of Private Employment Agencies
KEVEVAPI	Kenya Veterinary Vaccines Production Institute
LAS	League of Arab States/ Arab League
MDBs	Multilateral Development Banks
MDAs	Ministries, Departments, & Agencies
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MEA	Multilateral Environmental Agreements
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MCS	Mobile Consular Services
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MICE	Meetings, Incentives, Conferences, and Exhibitions/Events
MNCs	Multinational Corporations
MTP IV	Fourth Kenya Vision 2030 Medium Term Plan
UNSCO	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Congo
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MSMEs	Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises
MSSM	Multinational Security Support Mission
NAM	Non- Aligned Movement
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGCS	National Government Coordination Secretariat
NIFC	Nairobi International Financial Centre
NIMES	National Integrated Monitoring and Evaluation System
NSC	National Security Council
NTBs	Non-Tariff Barriers
OAU	Organization of African Union
OACPS	Organization of African, Caribbean and Pacific States
IOC	Organization of Islamic Cooperation
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
SACCOs	Savings and Credit Cooperative Organizations
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SALWs	Small Arms and Light Weapons

SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SGR	Standard Gauge Railway
SMEs	Small and Medium-sized Enterprises
SHIRIKA	Socio-economic Hubs for Integrated Refugee Inclusion in Kenya
SLOACs	Sea Lanes of Communication
ST&I	Science Technology and Innovation
STIP	Strategic Trade and Investment Partnership
TFTA	Tripartite Free Trade Area
TCC	Troop Contributing Country
TOC	Transnational Organized Crime
UHC	Universal Health Coverage
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	United Nations African Union Mission in Darfur
UNO	United Nations Organization
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UN-HABITAT	United Nations Human Settlements Programme
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WIO	Western Indian Ocean
WOGA	Whole of Government Approach

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CHAPTER 1: THE CONTEXT AND FRAMING OF KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY

1.1 Introduction: Kenya's Foreign Policy Outlook and Profile

Foreign policy is a central framework in a country's strategic engagements within the international arena. As an external policy, foreign policy is a blueprint of goals, strategies and actions that a state adopts to guide its foreign relations and diplomatic engagements with other states, international organizations and a myriad of non-state actors in the global arena. Through its foreign policy, Kenya intends to preserve its sovereignty and independence, and safeguard as well as promote the economic, political and socio-cultural interests of its citizens.

In 2014, Kenya consolidated its foreign policy into a single written document to encapsulate the previous diverse sources that included the Constitution, Sessional Papers, party manifestos, international treaties, agreements, conventions and charters; various national plans, policy and legal frameworks, as well as political leadership pronouncements. The 2014 Foreign Policy document was revised in 2024 to align it with the national interests and priorities and ensure that it remains effective and relevant, while also adopting a more people-centered diplomacy in which all critical stakeholders are involved in the formulation and execution of the nation's foreign policy. Moreover, Kenya's foreign policy framework reflects the national values, core principles and national interests which are further reflected in the focus areas of the revised Foreign Policy.

1.1.1 Kenya's Foreign Policy Outlook

Kenya became a sovereign state and actor in international relations upon independence in December 1963. Since then, the country's foreign policy has progressively been guided by distinct and adaptive objectives, core principles, values and national interests. This was crucial during the Cold War period when the world experienced division due to geopolitical pressures and shifts occasioned by global power rivalries and confrontations.

In order to strategically position itself in the international arena, Kenya charted a pragmatic approach underlined by non-alignment, Pan-Africanism, non-interference and good neighborliness, and pursuit of its national interest. By so doing, Kenya was able to successfully forge mutually beneficial alliances with the West while constructively engaging the East. In pursuit of its diplomatic, economic, security and socio-cultural interests, Kenya has over the years aligned its foreign policy with global economic powers both in the West and the East. Presently, this duality is progressively replaced by pluralism or diversified diplomacy where Kenya views the world order as not structured into the binary of the West-East. Thus, the country endeavors to expand and diversify its global scope by establishing mutually beneficial ties with as many states as possible including emerging powers and the South-South relations. This underscores the foreign policy philosophy of Kenya where the

country pursues a pragmatic and adaptive, Pan-African and value-driven policy that aims at establishing plural and diversified mutually beneficial relations.

Correspondingly, Kenya's Foreign Policy also adheres to the viewpoint of adopting a globally relevant Pan-Africanism where Kenya plays a leading role in an Africa that is willing and equipped to negotiate for its rightful space in the international arena. This is a new Pan-Africanism that speaks of African internationalism. A Pan-African approach that seeks to create a win-win situation rather than be beholden by a dichotomy of perspectives that blame the North or South. Though Kenya's foreign policy is global in scope, it is Pan-African in nature. Kenya champions, and remains committed to, the interests and welfare of Africa in international relations.

The phenomenon of globalization led to the emergence of an international network and interdependency systems that present both positive and negative challenges to foreign policy. While offering new economic opportunities, especially in the fields of science, technology and communication, globalization has led to competition for capital flows, stagnation in Africa's share in global trade, economic marginalization of developing economies and increased security challenges that are transnational in nature. As such, economic and commercial diplomacy as well as Science, Technology and Innovation Diplomacy are crucial components of Kenya's foreign policy.

Diaspora diplomacy has further emerged as a cornerstone of this outlook, recognizing the Kenyan diaspora as an invaluable asset in shaping the country's international engagements. The diaspora serves as a bridge between Kenya and the world, facilitating trade, investment, and cultural exchange. This inclusive approach ensures that all stakeholders, including non-state actors, play an active role in advancing Kenya's foreign policy goals.

Kenya has experienced the direct impact of the resurgent and emerging security threats which include terrorism, transnational organized crime such as piracy, drug and human trafficking, smuggling, cybercrimes, proliferation of small arms and weapons, money laundering, pandemics and climate change security threats amongst others. Responding to these threats has become a crucial agenda of Kenya's foreign policy and a determinant of its strategic partnerships. Moreover, Kenya believes that its future is inseparable from the stability and security of regional and global environment which underpins its national survival and prosperity.

Kenya continues to prioritize environment and climate diplomacy. The revised policy has elevated environmental and climate change agenda into one of its foreign policy focus areas. Kenya leads and actively participates in finding sustainable solutions to environmental security and climate change action such as pushing for favorable climate change financing

to help vulnerable countries in climate change mitigation and resilience, advocating transition to green energy and enhancing fair and just carbon markets.

Global pandemics such as COVID-19, HIV/AIDS, Ebola and other infectious viruses have underscored the importance of global health diplomacy to the world and Kenya in particular. The COVID-19 pandemic revealed the risk of dependence on a few countries for life-saving medical supplies and the ubiquitous danger of exclusionism such as was the case of vaccine nationalism. Accordingly, global health diplomacy is a key priority of Kenya's Foreign Policy as the country advances diplomatic networks that contribute to national health priorities.

The African identity is at the heart of Kenya's global image. Kenya seeks a lead role in the quest for a stronger Africa Union able to address the continental challenges and ensure sustainable development and regional integration. Additionally, embracing global governance and multilateralism is important in Kenya's foreign policy agenda of contributing to an effective international order given that no single state can survive or even resolve emerging global concerns of our time on their own.

Likewise, Kenya continues to play a lead role in fast-tracking regional and continental integration to boost intra-African trade as part of the efforts to reduce the economic marginalization of Africa in the global economy. Kenya prioritizes its commitments to realize the objectives of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) alongside its lead role in the East African Community (EAC). The EAC and IGAD are the anchors of the region's collective prosperity, peace and security. Kenya supports the economic, security and geopolitical roles of IGAD, EAC, ECA and NEPAD.

Overall, Kenya's foreign policy priorities include crafting and deepening the right diplomatic ties that will contribute to addressing domestic policy demands, elevating Pan-Africanism, expanding international cooperation, deepening and expanding regional integration, contributing to regional stability to accelerate economic development, championing climate justice and equitable response to pandemics, advancing global reforms in multilateral, financial and socio-economic organizations and promoting the equitable application of international law.

At the heart of Kenya's foreign policy are the following focus areas: Peace and Security diplomacy; Economic and Commercial diplomacy; Oceans and Blue diplomacy; Global Governance and Multilateral diplomacy; Environmental and Climate Change diplomacy; Science, Technology and Innovation diplomacy; Diaspora diplomacy; and Socio-Cultural diplomacy.

Kenya has evolved from its perceived less geopolitical roles to regional and global prominence. Kenya's geopolitical ascent has made our country one of the strongest links in the chain of regional and continental unity.

1.1.2 Kenya's Country Profile and Factsheet

In pursuing its national interests in the international arena, Kenya continues to enjoy a favorable international profile and is considered a core state in the region due to its strategic location, sustained stability, strong political institutions, stable democracy, sound economic policies, dynamic environmental strategies and highly educated and skilled human resources. Other positive attributes are outstanding performance by Kenya's sportspersons and the increasing involvement of Kenyan Diaspora in national development.

Kenya's Country Profile and Factsheet

- Kenya is the largest and most advanced economy in East and Central Africa. Its GDP accounts for more than 50 per cent of the region's total at current prices.
- With its geostrategic location that borders the Indian Ocean, Kenya is considered a strategic production, distribution and international connectivity base for Africa, Europe, the Middle East, South Asia and other Indian Ocean Islands.
- Kenya is a member of regional blocs such as the East African Community and COMESA with a combined market of over 600 million people. Kenya provides an effective entry point to this wider market.
- The country's connectivity is bolstered by an improved infrastructure of roads, railway air and sea networks that has eased movement and market access.
- Kenya is a leading agricultural country, with Agriculture as the backbone of the country's economy playing a major role in positioning the country in the global geo-economics. Kenya has high potential in Livestock sector and has one of the largest dairy sectors in the region. Through the Kenya Veterinary Vaccines Production Institute (KEVEVAPI), Kenya produces and supplies high quality and affordable veterinary vaccines and services for the region and beyond.
- Kenya is the regional logistics hub with most of East African regional trade passing through Kenya's Mombasa Port on the Indian Ocean, its airports being served by numerous major airlines and international cargo carriers.
- Kenya is the leading regional finance hub with an advanced network of financial systems and technology backed by a robust banking sector.
- Kenya is endowed with unique tourist attractions including the Wildebeest Migration which is designated as one of the Seven Natural Wonders of Africa and is home to a very varied geographical landscape from inland lakes, snow-capped mountains, the Great Rift Valley and sun-kissed white beaches. It has a conducive climate for tourism and health-boosting weather.
- Kenya has a rich archaeological heritage and hosts eight World Heritage Sites of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) recognized on the UNESCO World Heritage List under the 1972 World Heritage Convention. These include three natural sites: Lake Turkana National Park, Mount Kenya National Park/Natural Forest, and the Kenya Lake System in the Great Rift Valley. There are five cultural sites: Lamu Old Town, the Sacred Mijikenda Kaya Forests, Fort Jesus, the Thimlich Ohinga Archaeological Site, and the historical town and archaeological site of Gedi.
- Kenya is a leader in renewable energy and green energy transition with up to 90 percent of its electricity generated from renewable/clean energy sources.

- The country is home to UNEP and UN-HABITAT and also hosts the United Nations Office in Nairobi, the only UN headquarter in a developing Nation. Kenya also hosts the largest World Bank station outside Washington DC.
- Kenya is a regional media hub hosting several international media and a vibrant local media. Kenya upholds the freedom of the press and advocates for a free and objective media.
- Kenya is a welcoming humanitarianism nation, peaceful and politically stable country with high levels of cultural and human diversity. Persons from different backgrounds and descent peacefully co-exist working, trading and living side by side. The country is a key player in peace and security initiatives in the region.
- Kenya has embraced and developed transformative technologies that position it as a key player in the global technology landscape with enhanced investment in digital infrastructure, including at Kenya's Silicon Savanna, Konza.
- As a leading and stable democracy, Kenya has an impeccable history of on-schedule democratic transfer of power.

1.2 A Review of Kenya's Foreign Policy Developments Since Independence

Kenya's foreign policy has undergone significant transformation since independence. Over the years, the country's foreign policy has evolved and been influenced by geopolitical shifts, technology, regional developments, national priorities, as well as emerging challenges. The Foreign Policy doctrine has been defined by its dedication to good neighbourliness, regionalism, Pan-Africanism, economic and commercial dynamics, bilateral and multilateral relations. These principles have shaped Kenya's international engagement, thereby enabling the country to manage complex global developments while also advancing her national interests and fostering both regional and global stability. The key defining eras in the evolution of Kenya's foreign policy are briefly discussed below.

1.2.1 From Colonial Period to the New Millennium

First, was the British colonial period during which Kenya's foreign policy was predominantly driven by British colonial interests centred on extraction and domination, which significantly influenced the positions taken in pursuit of decolonization and self-determination. This was followed by the early independent years (1963-1978) when Kenya's primary goal was to establish itself as a sovereign state and assert her independence on the global stage. The administration of President Jomo Kenyatta established diplomatic relations with diverse nations, straddling both Western and Eastern blocs which reflected a pragmatic approach to diplomacy and aimed at securing economic cooperation, investment, technical cooperation and human capacity development.

The next significant period of Kenya's foreign policy was under President Daniel Arap Moi, (1978-2002). During this period, the country underlined her commitment to regional stability through active participation in regional organizations. In realizing the primacy of peaceful coexistence with neighbours, Kenya became a founding member of the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD), established in 1986. Kenya's leadership within IGADD highlighted her dedication to regional stability and integration. IGADD was

later restructured and transitioned into the current Inter- Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in April 1996. Kenya also played a leading role in the revival of the EAC in July 2000.

The end of the Cold War disrupted governance in the continent and led to wars, conflicts and collapse of states occasioning displacement of persons and the refugee problem that culminated in the evolution of Kenya's humanitarian diplomacy, peace mediation and peace building. Additionally, during this period the country underwent Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) imposed by the Bretton Woods Institutions, incentivizing diversification of the country's relations beyond the West.

1.2.2 The Shift to Economic Diplomacy, 2000 - 2013

At the turn of the Millennium, Kenya's foreign policy underwent a significant shift towards economic diplomacy, emphasizing trade and investment as key drivers of the country's international relations. While maintaining historic ties with Western countries, Kenya sought to deepen economic relations with emerging economies in Asia. Under President Mwai Kibaki's administration the "Look East Policy" became an important feature of Kenya's Foreign Policy which also focused on strengthening ties with other emerging economies, including India, Indonesia, Mexico, Brazil, UAE, Qatar, and Turkey, among others. This approach served to expand Kenya's economic partnerships.

During the period, Kenya's foreign policy and regional engagement strategy saw significant transformation with a focus on revitalizing regional integration and providing leadership in African Affairs. Kenya's participation in the EAC aimed to promote trade, investment, and regional cooperation. The country also played a key role within the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), advocating for regional economic integration and cooperation. The Regional Economic Communities (RECs) remain central in facilitating Africa's regional economic integration and the country continues to play a major in the Communities.

1.2.3 Era of the "First-Documented" Foreign Policy, 2013 - 2022

Kenya consolidated its Foreign Policy and published it for the first time in 2014 during the administration of President Uhuru Kenyatta. The policy outlined guiding principles for Kenya's diplomatic engagements and foreign relations, further emphasizing economic diplomacy, regional integration and international cooperation. "The Big Four Agenda" policy framework became the priorities that guided both domestic and international engagements. The country continued with the focus on strengthening trade and investment partnerships with other emerging economies. At the continental level, Kenya played a leading role in the negotiation, conclusion and adoption of the agreement establishing the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), meant to create a single market for goods and services across the continent.

Environmental diplomacy remained a key aspect of the country's foreign policy with Kenya's leadership demonstrated through the hosting of several international conferences, among

them, the Sustainable Blue Economy Conference; the second UN Oceans Conference (co-hosted with Portugal) and the UNEA Conference in 2022. Besides, there were engagements with the United Nations, the African Union and other regional organizations with a successful bid for a non-permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council for the 2021-2022 term.

1.2.4 The National Transformation Agenda, 2022 and Beyond

Guided by the vision of His Excellency President William Samoei Ruto, Kenya's foreign policy has continued to focus on economic diplomacy, peaceful co-existence, regional integration and international solidarity as critical guarantors of the country's anchor role in the region. The Administration's manifesto, the Bottom-Up Economic Transformation Agenda (BETA), has necessitated a significant transformation in Kenya's economic and foreign policy strategy. By focusing on the empowerment of the grassroots and leveraging regional and international partnerships, BETA has delineated a philosophy of inclusion, equity and sustainable development that now shapes Kenya's external relations and role as a leader in regional and global economic affairs.

In addition, the establishment of the State Department for Diaspora Affairs in 2022, ensures that Government fully harnesses the potential of our diaspora, through investment and resource mobilization, technology and skills transfer, and inclusion in the socio-economic development of the country.

1.3 Policy and Legal Frameworks

The elaboration of this revised Foreign Policy is informed by the Constitution, National and County Government policies, legal frameworks, as well as various international treaties, conventions, agreements and charters.

1.3.1 Policy Context and Rationale for the Foreign Policy Review

Kenya's Foreign Policy is aligned with the national development agenda as espoused in the country's long-term development Blueprint, Kenya Vision 2030, the Bottom-Up Economic Transformation Agenda (BETA) and the Fourth Medium Term Plan (2023-2027). Kenya's national interests play a central role in guiding the country's international and diplomatic engagements. With the emergence of new global security threats, including, the resurgence of regional wars and conflicts; Transnational Organized Crimes (TOCs); terrorism and violent extremism, drug and human trafficking, illicit financial flows and money laundering, rapid changes in technology among others, Kenya has to upgrade its diplomatic toolkit and strategies to take into account these and other emerging developments.

The global community is presently confronted with many challenges, including environment and climate change; rising Green House Gas (GHG) emissions, ecological degradation, loss of biodiversity, among others. In order to combat these challenges, Kenya has deliberately offered her leadership and sought mutually beneficial strategic partnerships globally. Moreover, the administration of His Excellency President William Samoei Ruto, taking

cognisance of the pressing climate, debt and security challenges, has prioritized reform of the global governance system as a key focus of the country's foreign policy.

In the period between 1963 to October 2014, Kenya's foreign policy was derived from the Constitution, Sessional Papers, party manifestos, international treaties, agreements, conventions and charters; various national plans, policy and legal frameworks, as well as presidential pronouncements. It was not until 2014 when Kenya first published its Foreign Policy document. Kenya has, therefore, reviewed her foreign policy to align it with the national interests and priorities and ensure that it remains effective and relevant. Moreover, a deliberate shift has occurred towards a more people-centred diplomacy in which all critical stakeholders are involved in the formulation and execution of the nation's foreign policy.

Furthermore, the increasing role of technology has enhanced public engagement in diplomacy resulting in increased participation of non-state actors.

1.3.2 National Interests, Core Principles and National Values

The promotion and safeguarding of National Interests are at the core of Kenya's Foreign Policy. Article 10 (1) & (2) articulate Kenya's national values and principles of governance which are important in promoting national unity, virtues of citizenship, patriotism, national pride and nationhood.

1.3.3 Prioritised National Interests

National interests are a reflection of the collective aspirations of the people and are critical for the attainment of the vision and realization of Kenya's ambitions. The national interests have been prioritized according to their significance and impact on the well-being of the people and are vital to the country's survival. The projection, promotion and protection of these interests and image globally is a key focus of Kenya's foreign policy. These national interests are:

(a) **Territorial Integrity, Sovereignty and Security of Citizenry**: This national interest is core to Kenya's survival as a state and vital to the security of citizens. The territory is well defined and comprises land, air, and maritime domains. It also includes the space and cyber domains as emerging dimensions of the territory. The territory also entails Kenya's natural resources which should be secured and sustainably harnessed.

(b) Economic Prosperity: Kenya's economic prosperity is about achieving the desired economic growth, competitiveness and sustainable development. The attainment of this is crucial as it generates resources and funds for the realization of other vital national interests. Kenya's economic prosperity can be achieved through enhanced competitiveness, expansion of markets, diversification and production of high-quality goods and services, improved food and nutrition security, and creation of wealth for its people. It also ensures realization of high standards of living and shared prosperity.

(c) Socio-Political Stability: This national interest is about achieving social and political balance in our society to foster national cohesion and unity, inclusiveness, harmony and social equity for all citizens regardless of ethnic, religious and social status.

(d) National Values and Governance: Kenya's national values and governance are important in promoting national unity, virtues of citizenship, patriotism, national pride, and nationhood. They are intended to inculcate a sense of belonging, underpin public service delivery and contribute to the country's international standing and positive image.

(e) Constitutionalism and the Rule of Law: Constitutionalism and the Rule of law embody Kenya's standing as a modern and democratic society that adheres to the Supreme Law of the land and other international obligations. Constitutionalism and the Rule of Law ensures the efficient use of public resources for the benefit of citizens, protects investments, and further provides mechanisms for accountability and redress, including the holding of those in public office accountable for their official conduct. Kenya will strive to espouse the values of Constitutionalism and Rule of Law in the region and globally by supporting good governance as a pillar of democracy.

(f) Sustainable Development: This is about utilization of natural resources without compromising or undermining their use for future generations and ensuring intra and inter-generational equity. Kenya's prudent use of its natural resources will protect its ecosystem, guarantee food security, good health to its citizens and the sustainable harnessing of energy. The pursuit of sustainable development as a national interest is promoted through sound national development strategies and through multilateral mechanisms of which Kenya remains a recognized player.

(g) Global Influence and Competitiveness: Kenya is a respected member of the international community and is well-recognised for its consistent position on global issues. The country continues to be a destination of choice for investment, connectivity, culture, trade, tourism, and conferencing regionally and beyond. The cumulative effect of these measures will enhance Kenya's global standing and voice on the international stage.

1.3.5 Core Principles and National Values

The execution of Kenya's foreign policy and the conduct of international relations are guided by the core principles outlined below. Further, the Policy is inspired by the following national values and principles of governance as stipulated in the Constitution of Kenya, Article 10 (2):

Core Principles		National Values	
(i)	Nationalism	(i)	Patriotism, national unity, sharing and devolution of power, the rule of law, democracy and participation of the people;
(ii)	Good neighbourliness and non-interference		
(iii)	Regionalism		
(iv)	Pan-Africanism	(ii)	Human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, human rights, non-discrimination and protection of the marginalized;
(v)	Humanitarianism		
(vi)	Reciprocity		
(vii)	Non-alignment	(iii)	Good governance, integrity, transparency and accountability; and,
(viii)	Engagement with likeminded and emerging plurilateral arrangements		Sustainable Development.

1.3.6 Policy Objectives

Kenya's foreign policy aims to enhance the country's standing as a regional leader and an effective advocate for Africa's interests on the global stage. To fulfil this aim, our Foreign Policy will pursue the following objectives:

i. Protect Kenya's sovereignty and territorial integrity;
ii. Promote regional and global peace and security;
iii. Advance the country's development agenda and economic prosperity;
iv. Position Kenya as a leader in environmental and climate action;
v. Project, promote and protect the country's image and prestige globally;
vi. Promote sub-regional and regional integration and cooperation;
vii. Promote international cooperation, multilateralism and active participation in global governance;
viii. Enhance the voice of Kenyans in Diaspora and promote, protect their interests and welfare abroad.

CHAPTER 2: SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS

2.0 Introduction

Kenya's Foreign Policy has undergone continuity, change and strategic adaptability in response to trends in the international system. In the pursuit of its national interests Kenya needs to be alive to the trends and changes in international relations. This will enable the country to strategically project its foreign policy to secure national interests for the benefit of its people and mutuality in global affairs. This chapter provides an overview of the international relations trends, the determinants of the country's foreign policy and a general review of the domestic and external operating environment of Kenya's foreign policy. This situational analysis also identifies the national actors, both traditional and resurgent, in Kenya's foreign policy.

2.1 Trends in International Relations

A comprehension of trends in international relations helps policymakers to anticipate and navigate the profound and rapid shifts in the international landscape. Since the end of the Cold War, the world has witnessed drastic changes in international politics and fundamental shifts in the configuration and realignment of global power relations towards a transition to a multi-polar world order amidst increasing influence of emerging economies in global affairs.

Manifestly, international relations are at a turning point in history due to global power competition, the emerging powers, new actors, evolving interests, and the assertiveness of developing states that are recalibrating the global status quo. We are witnessing a more complex and fragmented world system, where global multilateralism is on the verge of crisis and there is formidable pressure to reform the multilateral system and the international economic and financial architecture. States, especially leading powers, continue to undermine international organizations and institutions in pursuit of geopolitical interests.

There is a growing tendency to pursue unilateralism and militarism in global power relations hence undermining the global values and established international relations principles of human solidarity, human rights, sovereignty, rule of law, democracy, and diplomacy. The outcome is diminished global leadership and a growing lack of collective approach to global crises. This has led to the increasing influence of plurilateral or Mini laterals which are largely interest-based groupings such as G7, G20, BRICS among others. However, the implication of such developments is that multilateralism is under strain.

Increasingly, states are beset with global dangers such as violent extremisms, inter-state violent conflicts, climate change risks, pandemics, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, humanitarian crises and economic volatility among other severe human security threats. These pose more risks and impact on Africa and other developing countries.

At the continental level, the institutional reforms of the African Union are creating transformational changes and opportunities for Africa. The emerging governance, peace and security architecture has provided a framework that aspires to guarantee a stable continent and create an enabling environment for sustainable development. However, such Afro-optimism is under threat as the continent becomes vulnerable to geopolitical manipulations of competing powers akin to the Cold War and new scramble for Africa.

In addition, the African Union recognizes the Diaspora as the 6th region. Diasporas have evolved as an influential actor in diplomatic relations since they are considered as soft power in the domain of foreign policy strategy and a source of economic development of home countries along with their active role in the development of host countries.

To maximize the ensuing socio-economic development and avoid marginalization, Africa is strengthening regional integration as a tool for leveraging continental cooperation and stability. The AU agenda 2063 and the AfCFTA vision continue to drive Africa's initiatives towards increased intra-Africa trade, investments, people-people relations and shared prosperity. Kenya is an integral part of the African Continent and acknowledges that its national interests are intrinsically linked to Africa's stability, unity and prosperity.

These global and regional trends influence Kenya's foreign policy and its ultimate pursuit of the national interests to guarantee territorial integrity, sovereignty and security of its citizens. Additionally, the trends have an implication on Kenya's pursuit of its interests including economic prosperity, global competitiveness, socio-political stability and sustainable development.

2.2 Foreign policy determinants

Foreign policy is a product of a complex interplay of various internal and external factors which have an impact on the pursuit of Kenya's national interests. These factors are taken into account because they majorly influence the formulation and implementation of our nation's foreign policy.



The determinants of Kenya's foreign policy include:

- Security: Regional and global security dynamics are of great consideration in Kenya's foreign policy. Kenya plays an active role in collective security through bilateral and multilateral partnerships.
- Economic Advancement or Development: Economic and development partnerships, trade, and investment are key determinants of Kenya's foreign policy formulation and implementation.
- Geo-political and geo-economic factors: These include factors such as Kenya's geo-strategic position in Africa, East Africa, Great Lakes and Horn of Africa; maintenance of strategic long-held relations with traditional allies and development of mutually beneficial ties with new partners and emerging powers; cooperation in matters of consequence in global governance such as peace, climate change, health security among others; balancing Kenya's economic and political interests in a dynamic and shifting world order; and the interdependence of Kenya with other actors in the region and international arena. These are influential geopolitical and geo-economic factors in the formulation and implementation of the country's foreign policy.
- Regional Integration and multilateralism: Regional and global intergovernmental organization's play a key role in shaping Kenya's international affairs. Kenya continues to play an active role in intergovernmental organizations such as EAC, COMESA, Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), AfCFTA, AU, UN, and Organization of African Caribbean and Pacific (OACP) among others.
- Geography: Kenya's conducive climate, endowment in a diversity of flora and fauna, tourism; maritime resources, and Kenya's geography as a coastal state on the Indian Ocean.
- History and culture: These historical factors have influenced foreign policy positions such as anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, anti-racism, non-alignment, non-interference, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity due to past negative experiences of colonialism, imperialism, racialism, occupations, violent interferences in internal affairs of African states including Kenya. History is what defines Kenya's membership in the Commonwealth and the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM), and the country's Pan-African stance. Culturally, Kenya is a multi-ethnic, multi-racial and multi-religious country. It is a secular state that guarantees freedom of worship.
- Leaders and leadership: The visions and leadership styles of different presidents and their administrations influence the formulation and implementation of Kenya's foreign policy.

2.3 Actors in Kenya's Foreign Policy Landscape

The actors in Kenya's Foreign Policy include State and Non-State actors as well as other non-traditional entities. This stems from constitutional provisions and legal instruments that emphasise inclusiveness, open government and the upholding of democratic principles. They include:

a) The Citizenry

The citizenry plays an essential role in Kenya's foreign policy by influencing its formulation and contributing to its implementation through public diplomacy. The Government will provide regular updates and sensitize the public on Kenya's foreign and diplomatic engagements, positions and outcomes.

b) The President

The President of the Republic of Kenya is the chief diplomat and embodiment of the country's foreign policy. In facilitating the implementation of the Policy, the President carries out roles as stipulated in Article 132 sections 2e, 4b and 5 of the Constitution. As the Head of State and Government, the President engages in high-level diplomacy and represents Kenya in global and regional forums in articulation and advancement of Kenya's interests.

c) The Cabinet

The Cabinet is mandated to formulate national and foreign policies that guide the country. Therefore, it is key in the implementation of the foreign policy to ensure achievement of the whole of government and society approach.

As the primary decision-making body of the Executive, the Cabinet ensures that foreign policy aligns with Kenya's national interests and development priorities. It collaborates with the Ministry responsible for Foreign Affairs to deliberate on international agreements, regional partnerships, and global engagements.

d) National Security Council

The integration of defense, security and foreign policy, through the National Security Council, is a constitutional imperative that will continue to shepherd Kenya's Foreign Policy.

e) Parliament

Parliamentary Diplomacy has gained significant prominence in the conduct of international affairs. In today's landscape, legislative bodies worldwide play crucial roles in shaping foreign policy. Kenyan parliamentarians have been active participants in multilateral diplomacy within the framework of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association; Pan-African Parliament and in various engagements. Accordingly, Kenya strategically integrates parliamentary diplomacy within the Foreign Policy framework to ensure that legislative

capabilities are effectively harnessed and leveraged to actively support the nation's foreign policy

f) Judiciary

The Constitution delineates a critical role for the Judiciary in foreign affairs from the text of Article (5) which states that '***The general rules of international law shall form part of the law of Kenya';*** and Article (6) which states that '***Any treaty or convention ratified by Kenya shall form part of the law of Kenya under this Constitution'.***

The Judiciary continues to forge affiliations with judiciaries on a global scale. This engagement encompasses judicial exchanges, conferences, cooperative endeavors, the exchange of best practices and drawing insights from international experiences. This has been a major contributor to South-South Cooperation with enhanced cooperation with countries as well as North-South Cooperation.

The Judiciary is at the forefront of championing and convening judicial dialogues in the region. Its vision is to position the country, through the Kenya Judiciary Academy (KJA) as Africa's hub for judicial dialogues and alternative Dispute Resolution while also fulfilling Kenya's pan Africanist agenda.

The Constitution confers jurisdiction over cases not only arising under the Constitution and Statutes, but also cases arising under Treaties entered into by the state and disputes related to international jurisdictions. Domestic courts contribute to determining a country's foreign relations through their decisions, precedence and subsequent jurisprudence. Courts establish coordination relationships and potentially develop a common approach in managing foreign relations.

g) County Governments

County governments play an important role in advancing Kenya's foreign policy objectives. Their interface with foreign relations is, therefore, important in promoting and projecting Kenya's diplomacy. Kenya Constitution and the Intergovernmental Relations Act 2012 provide the latitude for county governments to cooperate with the national government in international matters as appropriate, thus fostering greater international collaboration, as well as, building stronger, more inclusive, and effective international partnerships. The County Investment Forums serve as important platforms for attracting foreign direct investment into the country.

h) Foreign Service Academy

The Foreign Service Academy is established under Section 29 of the Foreign Service Act, Cap 185e as the premier institution for training and capacity building of the Foreign Service. The Academy equips Foreign Service officers with the requisite knowledge, skills and expertise

in diplomacy, international relations and global affairs, including topical issues to ensure that they are multi-skilled to effectively implement Kenya's Foreign Policy.

The Academy will deepen professionalism and capacity building including promotion of multilingualism, for effective diplomatic engagements across the public service. It will also train the youth, private sector and other stakeholders at the national, regional and global level. It will play a rightful and pivotal role in advancing Kenya's strategic goals and leadership on the global stage.

h) The Kenya Diaspora

Kenyan citizens in the diaspora also serve as cultural ambassadors, fostering goodwill and promoting Kenya's image globally. The State Department for Diaspora Affairs plays a pivotal role in engaging the Kenyan diaspora as critical stakeholders. Enhanced collaboration with diaspora organizations and regional governments ensures the effective implementation of strategies, such as skills and technology transfer programs and diaspora mapping—initiatives outlined in the Kenya Diaspora Policy. This approach strengthens bilateral ties and regional integration efforts. The Government will continue to engage the Kenyan Diaspora in a constructive, inclusive and productive manner to unlock their full potential and to mainstream their participation in the democratic and national development processes.

i) The Academia

The knowledge and academic communities play a significant role in shaping Kenya's Foreign Policy. They play an important role in research, knowledge creation and capacity building. Through rigorous scholarly research and analysis, academic institutions contribute to addressing critical global and regional challenges such as insecurity, climate change, trade, and sustainable development. They also provide critical evaluations of policy impacts, ensuring alignment with Kenya's national interests and adherence to global standards. Their contributions enhance Kenya's diplomatic engagements, strengthen its policy frameworks, and bolster its position on the global stage.

j) Private Sector

The private sector plays a crucial role in advancing Kenya's foreign policy through economic diplomacy and strengthening the country's global competitiveness. As key players in trade, investment, and innovation, private enterprises promote Kenya's economic interests through partnerships, market expansion, and showcasing Kenyan products and services on the international stage. Through public-private partnerships the sector contributes to infrastructure development, and development of industries and other sectors of the economy. By aligning business strategies with national priorities, the sector complements government efforts in fostering mutually beneficial international relationships and positioning Kenya as a hub for regional and global business.

k) Civil Society Organizations

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) play a vital role in shaping Kenya's foreign policy, primarily through advocacy, public opinion mobilization, and policy analysis. CSOs advocate for policies centred on human rights, democracy, and sustainable development influencing Kenya's global engagements. Collaboration with CSOs ensures that the country's foreign policy remains responsive to national and international challenges, fosters stronger diplomatic ties and regional cooperation.

l) Media

The media plays a key role in diplomacy by informing citizens about global events, shaping public opinion, facilitating communication, and enhancing transparency in international relations. Kenya recognizes the important role of the media in influencing national and international audiences. The Government will thus work closely with the media to ensure that the country's foreign policy is clearly conveyed to citizens and on the global stage.

m) Faith Based Institutions

Article 32 of the Constitution of Kenya guarantees freedom of religion and fosters a rich cultural and religious diversity that allows communities to coexist harmoniously. Faith based organizations play an important role in the policy implementation through inter-faith dialogues and supporting government initiatives.

Kenya remains committed to consistently applying faith-based diplomacy, utilizing the strength of religious values to cultivate peace, understanding, and international collaboration.

n) Women

Women offer unique perspectives in various frontiers such as peacebuilding and international cooperation. Article 27 of the Constitution enshrines the principles of gender equality and mandates measures to ensure women's full participation in leadership and governance. In light of this, Kenya continues to strengthen participation of women in diplomacy and foreign policy.

In particular, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, Maputo Protocol and the adoption of the landmark UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security and Resolution 76/269 on the "International Day of Women in Diplomacy" have underscored the significance of integrating women into governance, leadership and policy-decision making processes that has equally elevated their status in the diplomatic sphere. Kenya's ratification to these frameworks and subsequent Treaties is manifest of its commitment to women's empowerment across the board.

o) Youth

The youth represent the largest percentage of population in Kenya and across Africa. Their involvement in foreign policy is key to addressing emerging global challenges. Engaging youth in diplomacy brings fresh perspectives and innovation to international relations, a crucial aspect in the global, regional, and local spheres. The Constitution, under Article 55, mandates the state to take measures to ensure the full integration of youth into public affairs. The country's foreign policy architecture will continuously integrate youth perspectives to ensure that the implementation of the policy maximizes the benefit derived by the youth from foreign engagements, particularly in areas such as business, the creative economy, sports, and technology.

p) Persons with Disabilities

Incorporating the perspectives of Persons with Disabilities into Kenya's foreign policy is essential for promoting inclusivity, social justice, and diversity in international relations. In line with Article 54 of the Constitution, which guarantees the rights of persons with disabilities, their inclusion fosters a more representative global dialogue, allowing their unique perspectives to shape Kenya's foreign policy.

q) Labour Organizations

The Constitution of Kenya and labour laws uphold labour rights, ensuring fair practices, reasonable working conditions, and the freedom to unionize. Internationally, Kenya aligns with ILO conventions and has signed labour-related treaties to address global labour challenges, focusing on ethical recruitment, migrant worker protection, and safeguarding Kenyan workers abroad. Bilateral labour agreements with destination markets, and through the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection, working in collaboration with the State Department responsible for Diaspora Affairs, emphasize Kenya's commitment to decent work and labour rights.

2.4. Operating Environment

2.4.1 Domestic and External Environments

The formulation and execution of this Policy is impacted by domestic and external environments, national development priorities as well as state and non-state actors. These collectively influence the strategic direction and diplomatic initiatives.

2.4.2 The Domestic Environment

Domestic factors collectively shape and propel Kenya's foreign policy, aligning it with both national priorities and global aspirations. Subsequently, Kenya's domestic environment necessitates international engagements through its strategic emphasis on political stability, economic development, social progress, environmental sustainability, and technological innovation.

Politically, Kenya's commitment to democracy, inclusiveness, and regional peace initiatives compels active participation in international organizations to foster stability, peace and security. Economically, the Government continues to strengthen its efforts in pursuing a fiscal consolidation path, macroeconomic stability and sustainable debt management. Socially, the quest for better healthcare, education, decent work and social welfare requires collaboration with international development partners.

The policy is also influenced by other domestic realities. As a multi-ethnic, multi-racial, multi-religious, secular and democratic country, its diplomatic ties promote pluralism and democracy. Kenya has a high proportion of people in the working ages between 15 and 64 years. To realize the benefits of the demographic dividend, Kenya will continue investing in income generating opportunities for the youth, who comprise over eighty per cent of the population.

On the environmental front, Kenya's proactive climate action and conservation efforts necessitate robust strategic engagement in international environmental negotiations. Similarly, the geography of Kenya including its conducive climate, endowment in a diversity of flora and fauna, tourism, maritime resources, and Kenya's geo-strategic location in the Eastern African region and as a coastal state on the Indian Ocean are among the major domestic determinants of Kenya's Foreign policy.

Technologically, the aspiration to sustain the profile of the leading innovation hub in Africa prompts the pursuit of high-quality education, global knowledge exchange, and partnerships. This multifaceted domestic agenda underscores the importance of international engagements to achieve Kenya's national objectives and enhance its global standing.

2.4.3 National Ambitions

Kenya's foreign policy is purposefully designed to promote and safeguard the nation's interests on the global stage, as well as contribute to realization of national development priorities. Kenya's development priorities are informed by the Kenya Vision 2030 and its five-year Medium-Term Plans, the BETA priorities, global and regional development commitments, notably, the United Nations Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development, the Africa Union Agenda 2063 and the East African Community Vision 2050, as well as other regional, continental and global treaties, conventions and agreements.

The Kenya Vision 2030 overarching goal is to transform Kenya into an industrializing, globally competitive upper-middle-income country that provides a high quality of life to all its citizens in a clean and secure environment. It drives the need for foreign direct investment, trade partnerships, and global cooperation. The Fourth Medium Term Plan (2023-2027) of the Kenya Vision 2030 outlines policies, programmes and projects that the Government plans to implement during the medium-term; implement the Bottom-Up Economic Transformation Agenda (BETA); and transition the country to the next long-term development plan. The Plan

is being implemented through five core pillars, namely: Agriculture; Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise (MSME) economy; Housing and Settlement; Healthcare; and Digital Superhighway and Creative Economy.

Kenya transitioned from a low-Income country to a lower middle-Income status upon attaining a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita of US$1,429 in 2014. GDP per capita has since increased to US$2,097 in 2023. Despite growth in per capita income, the country is still grappling with challenges of low productivity, inequalities and weak economic resilience.

Kenya's Foreign policy embraces transparency as critical in ensuring that diplomatic processes align with public interests and its regional, continental and global priorities.

2.4.4 The External Environment

Kenya's external environment is shaped by its strategic location, economic priorities, and commitment to regional and global stability. Positioned as a gateway to East and Central Africa, it leverages its geographic advantages to foster strong bilateral and multilateral relationships. Kenya's foreign policy is significantly influenced and determined by various external factors, including regional dynamics, global economic trends, international security concerns, and multilateral relationships. The geo-political and geo-economic external factors collectively influence Kenya's foreign policy; thus, the country will remain anticipatory and responsive to global challenges and opportunities while promoting its national interests.

Global economic trends, including emergent trade policies, investment flows, and partnerships with major economies, shape Kenya's foreign policy priorities. In addition, international security concerns drive Kenya's involvement in collaborative security initiatives and peacekeeping missions. Kenya's commitment to multilateralism, through organizations like the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, Bretton Woods Institutions, and Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) epitomizes its pursuit of global cooperation and advocacy for sustainable development. These engagements provide platforms for collaboration, influence policy agendas, and facilitate access to resources and expertise, enabling the country to contribute to global governance and align its policies with international standards while addressing both regional and global challenges.

Participation in global development initiatives, in particular the UN 2030 Agenda, African Union 2063 Agenda, as well as the Paris Agreement under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), have been aligned with Kenya's domestic policies and standards, promoting sustainable development and environmental stewardship. Additionally, partnerships with economically advanced nations and multilateral financial institutions have provided critical support for economic development, infrastructure projects, and social programs, driving Kenya's growth and integration into the global economy.

Africa's population is projected at 1.6 billion people by 2030. The continent, has some of the largest natural capital in the world, including over 40% of the world's clean energy potential, 65% of the world's uncultivated arable land, 25% of global biodiversity and 20% of the world's tropical rainforest area. Hence, Africa is rising economically, socially and politically. This has resulted in increased global interest on the continent. In this regard, Kenya will position itself to play a transformative role in promoting Africa's global positioning.

2.5 Policy and Legislative Frameworks

2.5.1 National Policy and Legislative Frameworks on Foreign Diplomacy

Foreign Policy is informed by national and sub-national or County Government policies, legal frameworks, as well as, the various continental and international treaties, conventions, agreements and charters.

Even though the country did not produce a written foreign policy prior to 2014, the conduct of its foreign relations has been informed by various, laws, official documents, and executive pronouncements and circulars, including the following:

a) The Constitution of Kenya;
b) Foreign Service Act, 2021;
c) The Sessional Paper No. 10/1965 on African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya;
d) The Sessional Paper No. 1/1986 on Economic Management for Renewed Growth;
e) Manifestos of the ruling political party or Coalition;
f) National Development Plans and Strategic Plans of relevant Government Ministries;
g) Kenya Vision 2030 and its Medium-Term Plans;

2.5.1 Regional and Continental Cooperation Frameworks

Kenya is a signatory to the Treaty Establishing the East African Economic Community and subsequent protocols including Protocol on the establishment of the East African Community Common Market and the Protocol on the establishment of the East African Community Monetary Union.

Kenya is a member of other Regional Economic Communities (RECs) such as the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) and the African Continental Free Trade Area. Other key regional frameworks include the East Africa Community Agenda 2050, and the Tripartite Free Trade Area (TFTA) agreement.

The African Union Constitutive Act and other frameworks like the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, Protocol Relating to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council of the African Union, African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, and the

African Union Agenda 2063 are some of the regional guidelines that determine Kenya's foreign policy conduct and cooperation with states in Africa.

2.5.2 International Treaties and Policy Framework

Kenya has ratified international instruments which guide and impose certain obligations and influence the conduct of the country's foreign policy.

The Constitution of Kenya provides that all international laws, treaties and conventions, and other instruments which Kenya has ratified, form part of Kenya's laws. Similarly, Kenya, through the National Assembly, has enacted the Treaty Making and Ratification Act (No. 45 of 2012). This legislation is meant to give effect to the provisions of Article 2(6) of the Constitution, and to lay out the procedure for the making and ratification of treaties.

The responsibility for treaty making, negotiation and conclusion of treaties involving the Republic of Kenya lies with the National Executive pursuant to section 4(1) of the Treaty Making & Ratification Act, 2012.These functions are managed by the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs through the Office of the Registrar of Treaties.

Kenya has ratified many bilateral and multilateral treaties which cover areas of diplomacy, trade and investment, environment, maritime domain, diaspora matters, peace and security among others. These commitments determine the conduct of Kenya's foreign policy. Some of the notable treaties include the following: those relating to Diplomacy, Privileges and Immunities, Kenya ratified Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961, the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations of 1963, the Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the Specialized Agencies, General Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the Organization of African Unity, and Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations.

In matters of Peace and Security, Kenya has ratified several treaties including The Treaty on The Non-Proliferation of nuclear weapons (NPT) in 1970, International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombing ratified in 2003 United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes Against Internationally Protected Persons, including Diplomatic Agents, among others. On matters trade and investment, Kenya has ratified many treaties and agreements among them the Convention on Mutual Administrative Assistance in Tax Matters (as Amended), Constitution of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and several bilateral agreements on Double Taxation.

Kenya is a signatory to the UN Charter and is a member of many international diplomatic organisations and institutions including the World Trade Organization, the IMF, World Bank,

the ECA, the International Criminal Court, and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change among others.

Kenya is committed to international policies such as the United Nations Agenda 2030 on Sustainable Development Goals. Kenya is serving on the Steering Committee of the Open Government Partnership (OGP), where the country is the Co-Chair.

2.6 Initiatives towards Robust Foreign Diplomatic Engagements:

Kenya, through the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs, has recorded the following key achievements.

a) Global and regional peace and security including, participating in peace keeping initiatives in Haiti, DRC, Somalia, South Sudan among others.

b) Providing regional and continental leadership in climate change adaptation and mitigation including hosting Africa Climate Summit that culminated in the Nairobi declaration.

c) Diaspora diplomacy- established a State Department for Diaspora Affairs which has expanded the scope of services to Diaspora.

d) Promoting Nairobi as a hub for MICE (Meetings, Incentives, Conferences, and Events) industry through conferencing diplomacy.

e) VISA free open sky program for African member states and all foreign visitors which has facilitated trade, investment and thriving of the tourism sector.

f) Expanded diplomatic missions foot print to serve the country interests and citizens across the world, including appointment of Honorary Consuls in various cities.

g) Leadership in regional blue economy and technology economic transformation. Kenya hosted a premier conference on Sustainable Blue Economy themed "High Level Conference on Sustainable Blue Economy."

h) Increased active and leading role in critical international bodies including serving three times as a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, leading the AU Institutional Reforms, being elected on the United Nations Human Rights Council, among others.

i) Transformation of the Foreign Service Academy into a state corporation. This is to enhance self-sufficiency in training, research and strategic thinking for a robust foreign policy.

j) Development of a Global Labour Migration Strategy in collaboration with the State Department for Labour and Skills Development. The Strategy will ensure safe migration of Kenyans as they harness opportunities abroad.

k) Signed labour mobility instruments with various countries, including Germany and Austria to facilitate safe and secure placement of Kenyans in international jobs.

l) Establishing strategic alliances in defense and security including joint military exercises and training with the country's partners, collective security through the African Peace and Security Council and the UN Security Council, and leveraging its positions such as being a Major Non-NATO Ally of the USA and an active actor in the Peace and Security Council of the AU to enhance its defense interests and support peace and security aspirations of African states in the region.

m) Promotion of bilateral cooperation and strategic alliances: Kenya has coordinated, hosted and participated in several bilateral cooperation fora. These are: Russia – Africa in 2019; Afro-Asia Fintech

held in Nairobi; TICAD VI held in Nairobi, August 2016, the first ever to be held outside Japan; the 1st Saudi – African Summit and the 3rd Session of the Global Forum for Public Investment Fund in Saudi Arabia in October 2019; Singapore Summit in September 2019; Pakistan-Africa Trade Development Conference in January 2020 in Nairobi; Zambia National Economic Summit on the future of Economic Diplomacy in July 2019 among others.

n) Signing strategic agreements with partners including Kenya-United Arab Emirates Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) in January 2025. The CEPA is the first agreement of its kind signed by the UAE with a mainland African country, and it strengthens Kenya's position as a gateway to East and Southern Africa and reaffirms the UAE's role as a global logistics and financial hub connecting the Middle East, Asia, and beyond. The Kenya-EU Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA), Major Non-NATO Ally of the USA, Italy and Kenya cooperated in the development of a Space Centre in Malindi, Kenya - the San Marco Project. The Project is useful in enhancing human security and development including Agriculture, education and training, cooperation in space science and technology and protecting Earth's resources.

o) Positioning Kenya as a regional financial hub hosting the AfDB, IMF and the largest World Bank station outside Washington and various national and international banking and financial services companies. Hosted IDA 21 Replenishment and AfDB Annual meetings.

p) Updated a database of treaties to improve access to information on treaties. Harmonized EAC protocols with national legislation.

q) Developed and launched a comprehensive review of the Kenya Foreign Policy, 2024 which involved extensive stakeholder consultations.

r) Established offices for special envoys including climate change and technology envoys.

s) Spearheaded efforts to place or secure elections for Kenyan candidatures into international policy-making organs including UN, AU and EAC.

t) Enhanced use of Public Diplomacy as a tool for engaging local and foreign audiences to strengthen ties, build trust, and promote cooperation. The effective use of the social media platforms, strategies such as educational exchange programs for scholars and students; language training; cultural events and exchanges; and tourism programs-among others, have been prioritized in enhancing public diplomacy.

u) Conducted a diaspora mapping exercise for competencies and skills of Kenyans in Burundi, Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania and Uganda and further developed a diaspora skills inventory in four (4) pilot countries namely; South Africa, China, USA and UK.

v) Facilitated provision of Mobile Consular Services in collaboration with Kenya Missions abroad. The exercise enhanced registration and strengthening of Kenyan Diaspora Umbrella Associations in all countries and regions where Kenya has diplomatic presence.

w) The State Department for Diaspora Affairs evacuated 1,170 Kenyans in distress from crisis areas including Sudan and Lebanon among other countries.

x) Facilitated an increase in Diaspora remittances from USD 2,051 Million in 2018 to a gradual increase, with 2023 reaching USD 4,189 million.

y) The Ministry successfully lobbied for the establishment of the UN's Counter Terrorism Programme Office in Nairobi, which delivers resources and capacity to our national efforts and regional partners.

CHAPTER 3: A REVIEW OF KENYA'S BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY

3.1 Bilateral Diplomacy

Kenya's bilateral relationships are instrumental in facilitating trade, investment, security, and development cooperation, hence playing a pivotal role in the country's development agenda. By fostering these connections, Kenya gains access to essential markets, technology, and resources that are crucial for national growth and sustainability, thereby strengthening her position on the global stage and ensuring comprehensive development.

Over the years, Kenya has strengthened its bilateral engagements through the conclusion of pending agreements, initiation of new ones, and monitoring the implementation of existing ones. Kenya has signed various frameworks of cooperation, including Joint Commissions on Cooperation (JCCs), Joint Economic Commissions (JECs), Political, Labor, and Consular Consultations, Joint Permanent Commission for Cooperation, Joint Ministerial Frameworks, Bilateral Strategic Dialogues (BSDs), Bi-national Commissions, Agreements, and Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs), among others. These frameworks are currently at different stages of implementation and are expected to significantly contribute to Kenya's development agenda, as well as the rapid attainment of goals and objectives as outlined in the Kenya Vision 2030 and BETA.

3.1.1 Defining Kenya's Diplomatic Neighbourhood

Kenya has consistently pursued the principle of good neighbourliness. The eight East Africa Community (EAC) member states and the eight member states of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), constitute Kenya's near neighbours. These states share a contiguous border with Kenya and/or strategic proximity. Kenya's neighbours that share a contiguous border include Uganda, Somalia, Tanzania, South Sudan, and Ethiopia. The other neighbours which are without adjoining borders but are of strategic proximity include EAC member states of Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo, and member states of Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) namely Djibouti, Eritrea and Sudan.

Moreover, Kenya and her neighbours adjoin crucial waterways running from the Red Sea, the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean. Kenya advocates for a regional maritime strategy to secure the strategic maritime interest of the region in terms of geo-economics, security and geopolitics. Additionally, the country champions enhanced connectivity of regional infrastructure.

The regional neighbourhood constitutes an important transit route, known as the Northern Corridor, in which Kenya is positioned as the gateway to the East and Central Africa regions. The Corridor is a major facilitator of Kenya's trade and economic development as well as

shared prosperity in the region and beyond. Out of the eleven neighbours of Kenya, five of them are landlocked (Ethiopia, Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda and South Sudan). In this regard, Kenya advocates for fair and pro-active policies by coastal states to facilitate the economic interests of landlocked countries, including through promoting the optimal use of the LAPSSET Corridor.

3.1.2 Bilateral Ties with the Rest of African States

Kenya prioritizes its bilateral ties with states in Africa and remains committed to the Pan-African ideals with the commitment to continue being at the forefront of championing African affairs in the global arena. Kenya has established vibrant diplomatic missions in all the five regions of the continent as it considers them as presenting unique opportunities for the country's foreign policy objectives.

Kenya has also actualized the AU's borderless and visa-free objectives by removing visa requirements for nationals of all African states. Kenya's visa free policy also extends to the other countries outside the African continent. Kenya adheres to the collective position of the AU on regional and global matters and its role in global multilateralism, peace and security. The country continues to champion continental unity in development, the climate change agenda as well as peace and security. Kenya promotes intra-Africa trade and the development of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) for the mutual benefit of member states. The country seeks a stronger and effective African Union capable of advancing and defending the collective interests of the continent vis a vis other region.

3.1.3 Bilateral Ties with the Rest of the World

Kenya's bilateral ties with the rest of the world cover countries in Asia and the Pacific, Europe, Americas and the Caribbean, Middle-East and the Western Indian Ocean (WIO) region.

a) Asia and the Pacific

Kenya is naturally linked to Asia through the Indian Ocean and further enjoys historical and cultural ties with countries in the region. Kenya hosts a large Asian population that has contributed to entrepreneurship and commerce. Promotion of economic and security ties with Asian states is conducted under South-South cooperation.

With Asia accounting for one third of the global population and a third of global GDP, the geopolitical significance of the region cannot be overstated. Kenya will continue to deepen and expand ties with this region, including, China, Japan, India, South Korea, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore to attract foreign direct investment, manufacturing, technological partnerships, trade and development of infrastructure.

Kenya has excellent bilateral relations with Asia-Pacific countries, which has been exemplified by the growing trade ties, exchanges of high-level official visits, development cooperation,

common multilateral interests and mutual exchanges including around culture and education.

b) Europe

The European Union (EU) and its member states are Kenya's important trade and development cooperation partners. The EU is one of Kenya's largest export markets and trading partner. In 2023, the total exports to the EU amounted to USD 1.077 billion. Kenya and the EU signed an Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) which came into force in July 2024. This guarantees market access for Kenyan products to the EU under reciprocal arrangements. The EPA is expected to enhance trade between Kenya and EU. Further, the EU and its member states are among the leading markets for Kenya's agricultural products including tea, coffee, cut flowers, peas and beans.

Kenya and the EU have deepened ties through other comprehensive frameworks such as the Kenya – EU Strategic Dialogue that aims to achieve Peace, Security and Stability; Sustainable, Inclusive development and SDGs; and Economy, trade and Investment.

The country seeks to enhance collaboration with other European countries. Kenya has long-standing diplomatic relations with the Nordic countries which includes partnerships in trade, health, agriculture, digital innovation, gender equality, human rights, education, governance, climate change and green energy among others. Kenya and these countries partner in matters of global governance and multilateralism such as advocating for peaceful societies, respect for international law and reforms of the multilateral system and the international economic and financial architecture.

Kenya and the United Kingdom enjoy special relations embedded in a shared history, political, economic, and cultural ties. Kenya-UK bilateral relations have been elevated to a strategic partnership comprising five pillars: Mutual Prosperity; Security and Stability; Sustainable Development; Climate Change; and People-To-People programs. Kenya has signed an economic partnership agreement with The United Kingdom, a key trading partner. Kenya will strengthen these extensive bilateral relations with the UK as envisioned in the Kenya UK Strategic Partnership.

Kenya will also continue to pursue close economic trade and investment, political and cultural partnerships with other countries in Europe.

c) Americas and the Caribbean

The region of the Americas and the Caribbean is important to Kenya and Africa in terms of cultural ties through people of African descent. This region remains important to Kenya and Africa as the origin of Pan-African ideas. Kenya's relations with the region is anchored on

mutual interest in trade, investment, security and multilateral cooperation. This broad relationship enhances the country's global footprint and opens avenues for collaboration across diverse sectors including tourism, cultural exchanges, renewable energy, technology, among others.

The United States is a close partner of Kenya and an important export market under the AGOA framework. Enacted in 2000, AGOA has been a cornerstone of the U.S.-Kenya trade and economic relations. The program has immensely benefitted Kenya's textile and apparel sector, leading to monthly exports averaging at USD 290.3 million in 2023. The program has also catalysed Kenya's Export-Processing Zones (EPZs), especially in the textile and garment sectors.

Further, Kenya will continue to engage Canada through the Kenya – Canada Bi-National Commission and other frameworks.

The country will also engage with Latin America and the Caribbean region under the south-south cooperation to diversify markets for its agricultural products including tea, and coffee. Furthermore, the country remains committed to the realization of objectives of the Organization of African Caribbean and Pacific (OACP).

d) Middle East

Kenya's proximity to the Middle East and hundreds of years of historical relations makes it one of Kenya's significant regions for engagement. The Middle East is an important geopolitical area with immense influence on world politics and the global political economy. It has an estimated population of 258 million people. The region is an important source of capital and labour market for Kenya's highly educated and skilled human resources. It hosts approximately 500,000 Kenyans spread across the region. Oil-rich Middle Eastern countries are an important source of Kenya's energy imports, investments and capital inflows through sovereign wealth funds, development assistance and security cooperation. For instance, in January 2025, Kenya-United Arab Emirates signed a Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA). The CEPA is the first agreement of its kind signed by the UAE with a mainland African country, representing a transformative step in enhancing trade, investment, and economic cooperation. The agreement strengthens Kenya's position as a gateway to East and Southern Africa and reaffirms the UAE's role as a global logistics and financial hub connecting the Middle East, Asia, and beyond.

Kenya is keen to engage the region in a definitive, proactive, and effective foreign policy strategy that maximizes benefits and minimizes risks for the optimal pursuit of its national interests - particularly, the underutilized economic, financial, and technological opportunities, security and intelligence cooperation, expand labour opportunities, trade and investment, tourism and development cooperation.

(e) Western Indian Ocean

Kenya is geo-strategically located in the western shores of the Indian ocean with a 536 km long coastline. The Western Indian Ocean (WIO) is of international importance due to the high volume of trade via the Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOACs) connected to the Red Sea via the Gulf of Aden and the Arabian Peninsula via the Straits of Hormuz.

The upsurge of maritime piracy, and attendant maritime security challenges in this region brought to the fore its strategic importance. The region's transnational challenges include maritime terrorism, drug trafficking, and Illegal, Unlicensed and Unregulated (IUU) fishing. These developments have attracted extra-regional actors and highlighted the need for collaborative approaches to regional maritime security, focused on a multi-agency approach. As such, Kenya will strengthen its role as a member of Djibouti Code of Conduct and the Indian Ocean Rim.

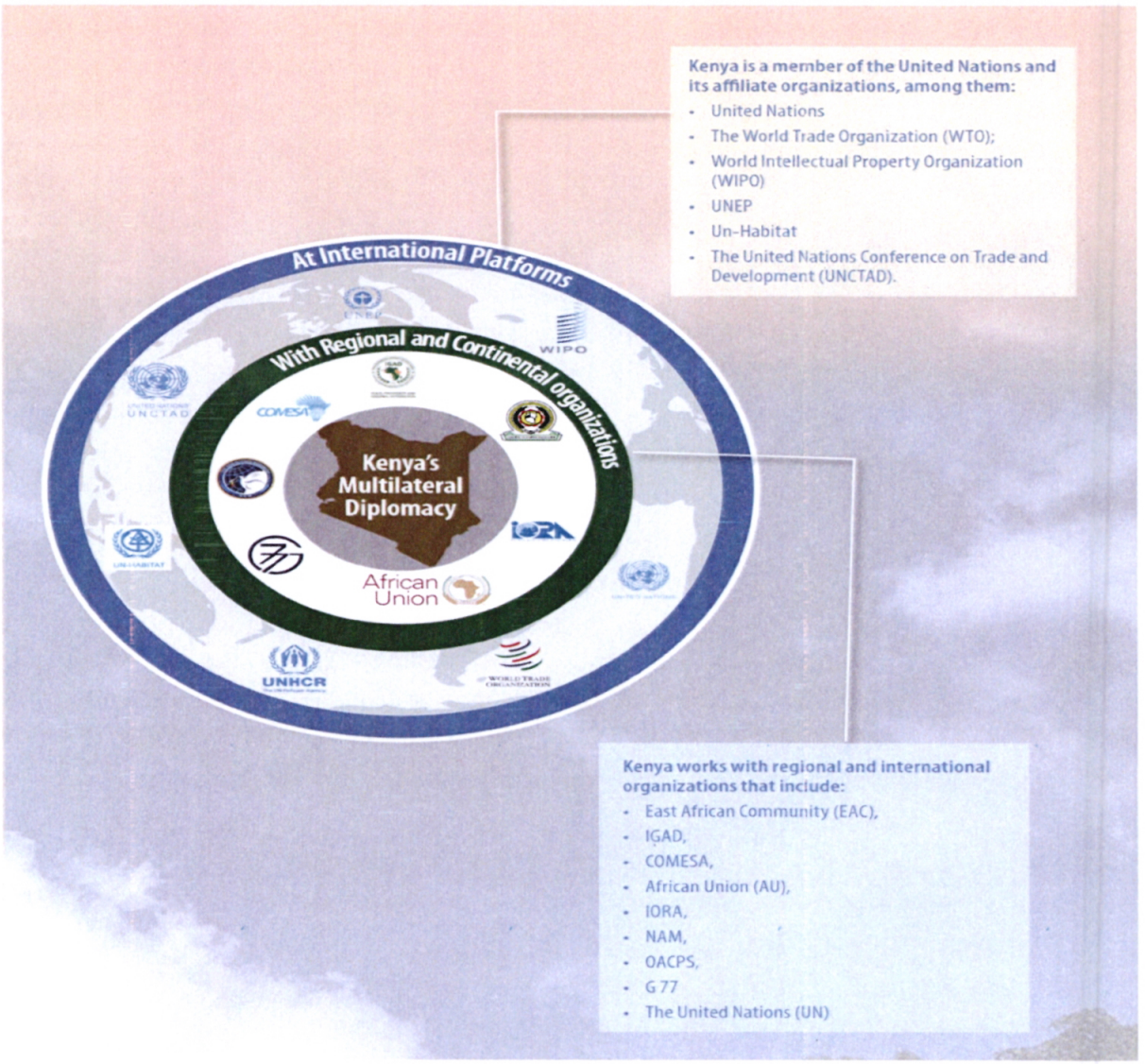
3.2 Multilateral Diplomacy

Kenya has established its credentials as a champion for multilateral solutions to global challenges and will continue to contribute to a fair and equitable multilateral order. The successful engagement with international organizations at multilateral fora has been a key aspect of Kenya's foreign policy. Kenya's active participation in regional and international organizations allows her to exert significant influence on regional stability and global governance structures. Kenya will continue to champion for AU institutional reforms to ensure a well-financed, assertive African Union capable of addressing the continent's challenges and advancing its strategic interests.

Through these platforms, Kenya contributes to peacekeeping missions, regional integration, and collective security initiatives, demonstrating her leadership and commitment to fostering peace and development. Additionally, Kenya's engagement in multilateral forums enables her to address global challenges such as climate change, terrorism, displacement of persons, inequitable global economic and financial architecture global health related issues. Kenya continues to advocate for sustainable development and representing African interests on the international stage. Kenya is also an active member of the World Trade Organization (WTO); World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD). This active involvement not only enhances Kenya's diplomatic stature but also aligns with her national priorities and development goals.

Kenya will endeavour to diversify its multilateralism to have strategic engagements with other regions of the world including Caribbean Community (CARICOM), League of Arab States (LAS) or Arab League, Organization of Islamic Countries (IOC) among others.

Figure 1:Kenya's Multilateral Diplomacy



3.2.1 Kenya's Foreign Policy towards Plurilateral/ Mini lateral Groupings

The fragmented and polarised multilateral order has created a situation where global challenges are, among other arrangements, addressed through plurilateralism. These institutions are setting the global agenda and are not necessarily organised by regions but are issue-based and interest driven. Kenya has been a member of established plurilateral such as the Commonwealth, NAM, G77 and China, and IORA. Kenya has used such

arrangements to drive and consolidate its agenda and positions on issues like oceans governance, trade negotiations and the economy.

This policy recognises that it is in Kenya's interest to monitor, analyse and engage with such groupings as a response to changes emanating from global economic and political spheres and demography. These groupings and blocs wield substantial instruments of global power, including high GDPs; unmatched military prowess; technological and innovation advancements; trade markets; populations; maritime power and vast landmass. Kenya's strategic interests will certainly be influenced by these groupings over and above the existing influence of conventional international organizations. Kenya will thus endeavour to maintain an independent and pragmatic foreign policy which basically requires that the country elevates partnerships with traditional allies, while diversifying into building new relationships with the rising powers and formations like the BRICS.

A. Group of Seven (G-7)

Formed in 1975, the G7 is a grouping of Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the European Union. With a population of approximately 777 million, the G7 accounted for 30 % of Global GDP in 2023. The IMF forecasts that by 2027, G7 will account for 28.2% of the world GDP. The common goals of G7 include economic stability, global financial governance, sustainable development, and security. The collective economic strength of the G7 member states has enabled the grouping to shape global economic policies, trade agreements, and international financial systems. They influence institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB), where they hold significant decision-making power. Additionally, the G7 plays a crucial role in shaping global security policies, addressing regional conflicts, and combating global threats such as terrorism, nuclear proliferation, and cyber warfare.

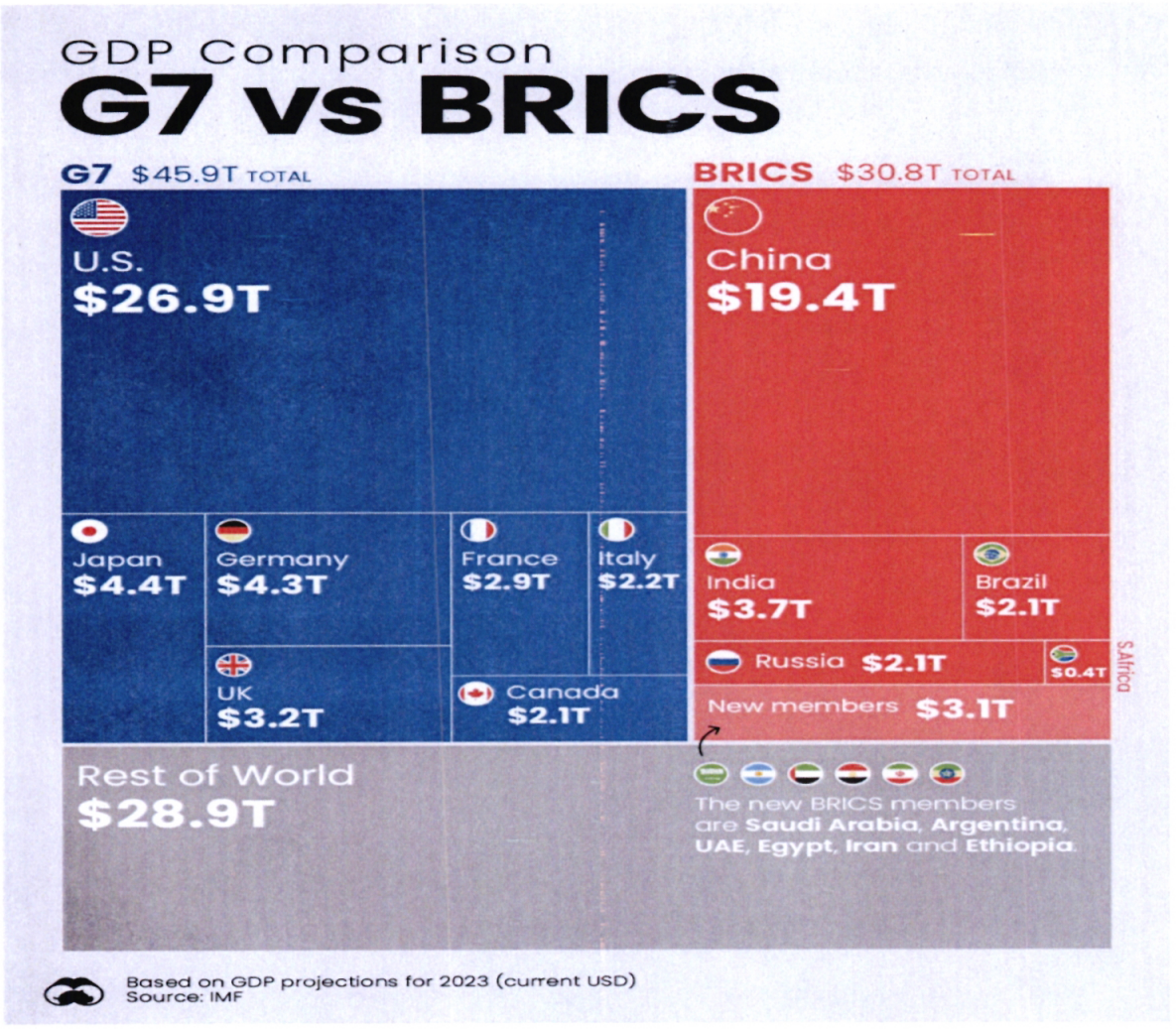
Kenya will leverage its long-standing relations with G7 members to assert its foreign policy interests among the global powers. Kenya will push for reforms of the global financial architecture by engaging the G7 to leverage their power over international financial institutions to unlock financing for Africa. Kenya will engage its G7 friends to provide long-term concessional financing, including at least $120 billion for the International Development Association (IDA21) replenishment, on the way toward tripling the fund by 2030. Kenya will promote the G7-Africa partnership guided by the objectives of the AU Agenda 2063, the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Kenya will closely monitor the G7 commitments and leverage the grouping's focus on food security, climate change, development in Africa and strategic development of Artificial Intelligence.

B. BRICS

The BRICS group refers to initial members Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. In 2024, new members were admitted to form BRICS+ (plus) an expansion that includes Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, Iran and Ethiopia. The combined population of these nine countries is above 3.2 billion people which translates to approximately 46% of the global population making BRICS+ account for nearly half the world's population. BRICS+ states collectively account for approximately 28% of global GDP. According to forecasts by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), BRICS+ will account for 37.6% of world GDP in 2027. The BRICS nations will continue to have a significantly higher growth rate forecast at 3.6%. Thus, BRICS nations, with continued higher growth rates and the potential to add more members are likely to be at the top of global economic and geopolitical influence. The common goals of BRICS include economic cooperation, political collaboration, reform of international financial institutions and South-South cooperation.

As of 2024, three African countries were members of BRICS, namely South Africa, Egypt and Ethiopia. Kenya supports South-South cooperation and efforts to establish stronger economic ties within this global framework. Kenya and BRICS have aligned positions on promoting the use of local currencies in trade between its member states, especially in trade, advocating for comprehensive reform of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to make the institutions more representative, accountable and effective in addressing global challenges, and pushing for comprehensive reform of the United Nations including restructuring of the UN Security Council to inclusively represent the interests of all member states. Kenya will endeavour to work with BRICS members and other states advocating for reforms of the international financial institutions and multilateral organizations. The existing strong bilateral relationships with members of BRICS in infrastructural development, financing, and foreign direct investments are bound to get better as BRICS expands.

Kenya continues to diversify its alliances for the benefit of its people and the country's sustainable development. As it continues to monitor the strategic significance of this bloc, Kenya has meanwhile, signalled its intent to consider joining the BRICS which has emerged as a major economic and trading bloc, which by early 2024 it represented 46 per cent of the world's population, 35 percent of the world's GDP when measured at purchasing power parity, and 23.3 percent share of the global merchandise exports. Additionally, Kenya will seek opportunities in climate change financing and carbon credits as BRICS strive to cut carbon emissions. The BRICS account for more than 40% of the world's greenhouse gas emissions.



G7 Countries	2023 GDP (USD billions)	Share of Global GDP
U.S.	$26,855	25%
Japan	$4,410	4%
Germany	$4,309	4%
UK	$3,159	3%
France	$2,923	3%

G7 Countries	2023 GDP (USD billions)	Share of Global GDP
Italy	$2,170	2%
Canada	$2,090	2%
G7 Total	$45,916	43%

BRICS Countries	2023 GDP (USD billions)	Share of Global GDP
China	$19,374	18%
India	$3,737	4%
Brazil	$2,081	2%
Russia	$2,063	2%
South Africa	$399	0.4%
UAE	$499	0.5%
Egypt	$387	0.4%
Iran	$368	0.4%
Ethiopia	$156	0.2%
BRICS Total	$29,064	28.1%

C. Group of Twenty (G20)

The Group of Twenty (G20) is designated a premier forum for international economic cooperation. The G20 includes a mix of BRICS and G7 states and thus plays an important role in shaping and strengthening global architecture and governance on all major international economic issues. The African Union with the European Union are permanent members of G20. The G20 members represent around 85% of the global GDP and over 75% of the global trade. Excluding the EU and the African Union, all member states of G20 host around 4.69 billion people, translating into about two-thirds of the world population. Kenya will leverage the AU membership to G20 to navigate geopolitical concerns including reforms of international economic financial institutions and systems, and UN reforms as well as climate change financing. Kenya appreciates the G20 expanded agenda which goes beyond broad macroeconomic issues to include sustainable development, health, agriculture, energy, environment, climate change, and anti-corruption.

3.2.2 Transformation of Nairobi as a multilateral and financial hub

Nairobi has emerged as a key financial and multilateral hub in Africa owing to the strategic location, backed by a strong banking sector, vibrant stock exchange, well-established infrastructure, diverse economy and well educated and skilled human resource. Nairobi is home to many international organizations and United Nations, its funds, programmes and agencies, hosts headquarters to UNEP and HABITAT, global humanitarian logistics hub making it an ideal hub for global cooperation. The United Nations Office at Nairobi is the 3rd largest UN Secretariat duty station and serves as the only Headquarters in Africa and the Global South. As a leading financial centre in the region, it hosts the IMF, the African Development Bank and the largest World Bank station outside Washington.

Nairobi's combination of global connectivity, strong financial systems, and hosting multilateral institutions cements its role as a leading financial and diplomatic hub in Africa. Kenya's continued investment in infrastructure, governance and innovation is poised to expand its influence in global and regional arena. This policy will therefore focus to enhance Nairobi as a multilateral and financial hub through prioritising a more enabling privileges and immunities framework and predictable tax, property and security regime. The consolidation of the international character of the Reserved United Nations Development Area (RUNDA) with a "UN Diplomatic city", will be pursued through additional institutional and regulatory measures and partnerships. A cost benefit assessment of UN operations in Nairobi shall inform the design of such measures.

Correspondingly, the Ministry will actively promote Kenya's international candidatures. The Government of the Republic of Kenya is keen to secure elective positions in strategic policy organs and decision-making bodies of regional and international organizations, at both country and individual levels. The Ministry will continuously publicise international jobs for Kenyans through its online portal and other channels to enhance transparency and competitive access to these jobs for our citizens.

CHAPTER 4: KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY: THE FOCUS AREAS

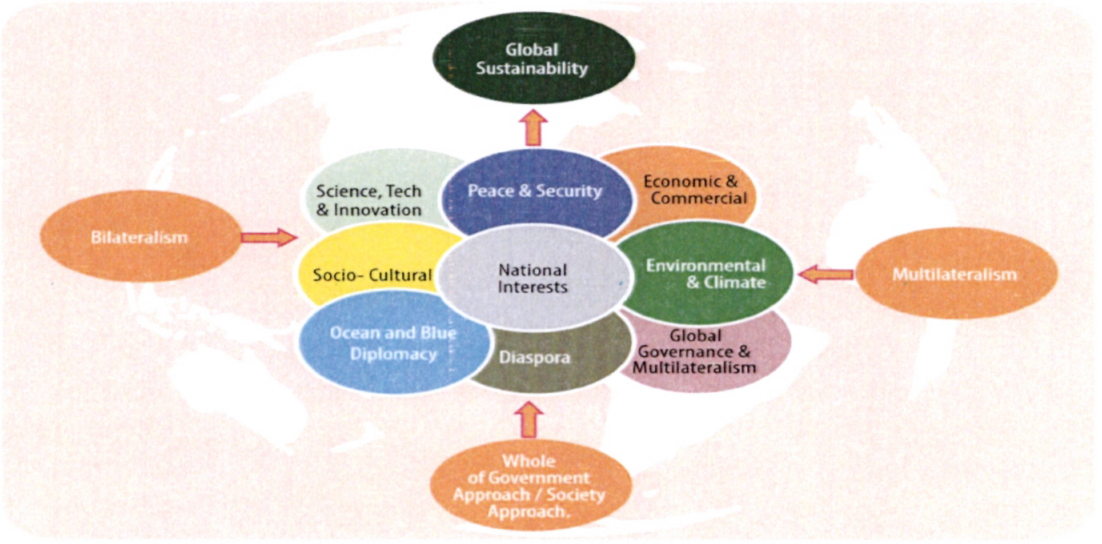
4.1 Focus Areas of Kenya's Foreign Policy

This Chapter highlights the focus areas of Kenya's Foreign Policy, and the objectives and expectations of each area. The focus areas are interlinked, mutually inclusive and reinforce each other. The focus areas are:

(i) Peace and Security diplomacy;
(ii) Economic and Commercial diplomacy;
(iii) Oceans and Blue diplomacy
(iv) Global Governance and Multilateral diplomacy
(v) Environmental and Climate Change diplomacy;
(vi) Science, Technology and Innovation diplomacy;
(vii) Diaspora diplomacy; and,
(viii) Socio-Cultural diplomacy.

In seeking to maximize the interlinkages between the focus areas, both internal and external dynamics will be critical towards enhancing competitiveness and realizing Kenya's envisioned status of "a newly industrialized, middle-income country that provides a high quality of life to its citizens by 2030". In the implementation of the Foreign Policy, a 'Whole-of-Government/Society Approach' will be adopted to ensure inter-operability. Figure 2 below, illustrates the nexus between the focus areas of the foreign policy.

Figure 2:Kenya Foreign Policy Architecture



Source: State Department for Foreign Affairs

4.2 Peace and Security Diplomacy

The ultimate goal of Kenya's peace and security diplomacy is to safeguard the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity, preserve democracy and fundamental human rights, and ensure the prosperity and well-being of Kenyans. This focus area derives, primarily, from the principle of maintenance of international peace and security as enshrined in the United Nations Charter and is further reiterated in the Constitutive Act of the African Union, the Treaty Establishing the East African Community and other international treaties, conventions and agreements on peace and security. Since independence, Kenya has dutifully upheld this tenet through its peace and security-related activities and in regional and international fora.

Some of the engagements include; serving as a non - permanent member of the United Nations Security Council for three terms (1973-1974; 1997-1998 and 2021-2022); participating in over 43 regional and international peace keeping and peace support missions as a Troop Contributing Country (TCC); coordinating and participating in regional and international peace and security conferences; coordinating and successfully facilitating over fifteen (15) peace processes, hosting of over 700,000 refugees as well as, contributing towards humanitarian support and disaster response after various environmental crises, disease outbreaks and conflicts.

Under the Socio-economic Hubs for Integrated Refugee Inclusion in Kenya (Shirika) Plan, the country's innovative refugee programme, we aim to transform refugee camps into integrated settlements, setting a global standard for sustainable and affirmative humanitarian responses. These services have elevated Kenya's standing as a champion for regional stability as well as international peace and security.

Furthermore, the Kenyan diaspora can contribute to peacebuilding through remittances geared towards community stabilization, lobbying for Kenya's peacekeeping missions, and engaging in advocacy roles within international organizations. A focus on empowering diaspora communities as ambassadors of Kenya's peace agenda is critical. This could include establishing diaspora peace councils or forums to connect with host countries' diplomatic initiatives.

4.2.1 The Imperative of Peace and Security for Kenya

Peace and security remain essential preconditions for Kenya's sustainable development and prosperity. The country will therefore deploy appropriate tools to secure its national interests and survival. Consequently, Peace and Security diplomacy is Kenya's indispensable tool for navigating the volatile, uncertain, complex and evolving regional and global security landscape.

Kenya's pragmatic approach will be orchestrated through a robust framework that aligns with international norms and regional commitments.

In a world that is turbulent, uncertain and interconnected, the need for strategic anticipation and foresight has never been greater. This requires a thorough

understanding of the past and present security dynamics and inferring what they posit for the future. Kenya will thus continue to adopt a security posture anchored on strategic anticipation and foresight.

Figure 3:Kenya's Peace Keeping Missions



Source: Ministry of Defence

Objectives of Peace and Security Diplomacy

1. Secure and protect Kenya's territorial integrity;
2. Provide strategic leadership and expertise on peace and security;
3. Enhance regional capacity for conflict, mediation and negotiations;
4. Promote conflict resolution including mediation, post conflict peace building and reconstruction;
5. Promote and expand Kenya's peacekeeping and enforcement role globally;
6. Deepen partnerships with regional organizations including AU, IGAD, EAC, ICGLR;
7. Promote the crucial role of women in peace and security; and,
8. Promote realization of national food and nutrition security.

4.3 Economic and Commercial Diplomacy

Economic and Commercial Diplomacy is a crucial component of Kenya's Foreign Policy. Diplomatic efforts will therefore continue to be deployed to promote economic growth and development through beneficial engagements. These engagements shall target both state and non-state actors at the bilateral and multilateral levels. Central to Kenya's economic and commercial diplomacy, is the promotion of the county's economic growth, empowerment of women, the youth, differently abled people and minority groups. Special efforts will be made to support and facilitate their access to domestic, regional and international markets and development finance. Kenya's commitment to open new pathways for employment and

create job opportunities for qualified Kenyans internationally, will ensure that Kenyans are well represented in the global work force.

In addition, the social dimension of trade, which includes recognition and respect for labour rights will be actively pursued. A key focus of Kenya's economic and commercial diplomacy is on growing the country's industrial and manufacturing capacity to transform the country into an export driven globally competitive economy. This entails promotion of Agro-processing, increasing the Public-Private Partnerships and engaging the private sector nationally and globally. The diaspora's role in enhancing Kenya's economic prospects is exemplified by leveraging remittances for investment, establishing incentives for diaspora entrepreneurship, and engaging in technology transfer. This will also include developing policies that promote diaspora savings and remittance-driven investments through diaspora bonds or real estate partnerships.
Under this focus area priority will be accorded to trade and investment; technology; the creative economy; tourism; blue economy; development finance; development cooperation and conferencing as outlined below:

4.3.1 Trade and Investment

Kenya will continue to promote an open and competitive economy in order to increase market access for trade in goods and services. It also aims to attract increased Foreign Direct Investments (FDI); technology transfer, and enhanced development cooperation through bilateral, regional and multilateral frameworks.

The Government will strengthen measures to promote, attract, facilitate and retain FDI by improving the investment climate and business environment. Kenya's foreign policy underscores and promotes Kenya as a premier investment destination and the country will ramp up initiatives to attract capital from emerging markets, including tapping into sovereign wealth funds. Measures will be put in place to enjoin global value chains for increased productivity and competitiveness of Kenyan products including the promotion of Counties as viable investment hubs for FDI. Kenya continues to ensure that the SME and MSME sectors are supported to expand their businesses beyond national borders including thorough E-commerce platforms. Cooperatives and MSMEs will be prioritised as essential players in Kenya's economic and commercial diplomacy. Kenyan missions abroad will be actively involved in promoting cooperative and MSME products through trade fairs, exhibitions, and cultural events.

The country is committed to fostering intra-Africa trade and enhancing integration through regional and continental economic blocks (EAC, COMESA, NEPAD, AfCFTA and the Tripartite Free Trade Area), including implementing the Pan-African Payment and Settlement System to facilitate free movement of goods and people.

The country will continue to pursue and implement other trade cooperation frameworks to increase market access for its goods and services and efforts will be enhanced to address the major impediments to trade, notably the Non-Tariff Barriers (NTBs). Through bilateral cooperation, Kenya endeavours to enter appropriate cooperation frameworks that maximize its economic gains. Efforts will also be made to support the development, harmonization and institutionalization of common trade and commercial policies in the East African Community and enhancing connectivity and ease of movement of people, labour, goods and services within the region.

The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) presents an important market for Kenyan goods and services. Kenya's commitment and continued participation in COMESA provides a platform to collaborate with other Member States on common issues, such as trade policies, economic development and regional security. The country will continue to champion the full implementation of the Agreement Establishing the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) whose overarching objective is to create a single market for goods and services, facilitated by the movement of persons in order to deepen the economic integration of the continent. Through the AfCFTA, Kenya will diversify and widen the market destination to the other regions of Africa where it has no preferential access. This will also facilitate enhanced diversification of the country's exports, create jobs, increase foreign exchange earnings and support the country's balance of payments.

At the multilateral level, Kenya will continue to actively pursue and support fair and equitable rule-based international trading and financial systems. This will be achieved through effective participation and articulation of Kenya's Foreign Policy priorities in multilateral fora including in the World Trade Organization, United Nations System and in Bretton Woods Institutions, among others.

Kenya will continue to advance its interests within the framework of the World Trade Organization (WTO) by pursuing agreements aimed at eliminating trade barriers, unfair international trade practices related to dumping and subsidized imports.

Objectives of Trade and Investment Diplomacy

1. Refocus Kenya Missions Abroad as Economic and Commercial Hubs;
2. Promote Kenya as a premier investment destination in Africa for Foreign Direct Investments and tap into sovereign wealth funds;
3. Strengthen Kenya's manufacturing and agricultural base and leverage global value chains to increase productivity and competitiveness of Kenyan products and produce;
4. Strengthen strategic alliances within regional and international frameworks towards promoting Intra-African and global trade;
5. Promote and support open and fair rule-based multilateral trading system;
6. Foster international partnerships and attract investments to support affordable and sustainable housing and other BETA initiatives.

Figure 4:Kenya's Global Rankings in Various Sectors



Source: Ministry of Investment, Trade and Industry

4.3.2 Tourism Diplomacy

The objectives of Tourism diplomacy
1. Promote Kenya as a tourism destination;
2. Leverage on diaspora and goodwill ambassadors to promote Kenya as a tourist destination;
3. Market and promote meetings, incentives, conferences and exhibitions internationally through conference tourism;
4. Strengthen ties with neighboring countries to develop joint tourism initiatives and cross –border tourism: and,
5. Promote tourism cultural heritage and sustainable eco-tourism.

The tourism sector is vital to Kenya's economy and a key driver of Kenya's economic and commercial diplomacy. The country's tourism attractions include a wide array of natural assets, namely: abundant wildlife living in their natural eco-systems in game-parks and reserves across the country; over 500 km long all-year warm sandy coastal beaches; a rich and diverse cultural heritage and products; and international conferencing facilities that attract regional and international business travellers. Kenya aims to be among the top 10 long haul tourist destinations in the world offering a high-end diverse and distinctive visitor experience. Kenya's Tourism Diplomacy targets to promote the country's attractions, the country's status as a safe destination for visitors, use of international relations to expand opportunities for the country's tourism sector including, supporting peace and regional stability, and to offer 2nd and 3rd generation diaspora an opportunity to connect with their motherland.

4.3.3 The Creative Economy

The creative economy is one of the world's fastest-growing sectors. Kenya's creative economy is renowned for its innovation and creativity and has an immense potential to contribute to job creation and economic growth. The sector is being supported through various incentives aimed at attracting local and foreign investment

The objectives of creative economy diplomacy

1. Integrate Kenya's creative industries into global value chains;
2. Promote entrepreneurship, diversification and commercialization of the creative economy;
3. Facilitate innovation, new products, strengthen Intellectual Property laws and international cooperation to protect creative works;
4. Promote service exports of Creative Economy Sector products including film, music and fashion; and,
5. Scale up investments in the creative sector to support local talent, empower communities and promote social inclusion initiatives.

Figure 5:Kenya's Volume and Balance of Trade, 2013 - 2022 (KSh '000)



Source of Data: Economic Surveys (KNBS)

More broadly, to address the widening trade deficit, Kenya's economic and commercial diplomacy will focus on diversifying the country's trade partners, promoting exports and attracting investment in infrastructure to improve trade logistics and the country's export competitiveness.

4.3.4 Conferencing Diplomacy

Kenya has a favourable reputation in hosting major international conferences and meetings. The country's foreign policy will actively promote Nairobi as the premier hub in Africa for Conference Diplomacy. Other than the provision of state-of-the-art facilities for conferencing, Nairobi is a vibrant international city where global leaders and experts frequently gather to discuss and negotiate a wide range of pressing global issues.

This role not only cements Nairobi's status as a key diplomatic and cultural centre but also positions Kenya as a key player in global thought-leadership and consensus-building network

of states that are shaping discourse on the critical challenges facing the world today. Beyond traditional conferencing, the policy will also deliberately promote Nairobi with the full range of activities referenced for Meetings, Incentives, Conferences, and Exhibitions (MICE).

4.4. Oceans and Blue Diplomacy

Oceans cover over 70% of the earth's surface. They are a source of food, energy and transportation, with over 90% of global trade being carried by sea. On the other hand, Kenya's blue economy and robust maritime sector, holds great potential for contributing to economic growth, job creation, food security, maritime transport and environmental sustainability.

The development of the sector aims to explore and develop ocean and inland water bodies resources, protect marine domain and boundaries, combat maritime threats, enhance cooperation, utilize ocean and coastal space, protect the ocean environment and provide goods and services to support ocean and maritime activities. It also aims to contribute to sustainable and equitable sharing of ocean and marine resources and benefits.

Kenyan diaspora professionals in marine sciences or international trade could be integrated into forums addressing maritime disputes or advancing sustainable blue economy initiatives. Encouraging diaspora investments in blue economy projects such as coastal tourism, marine resource management, or aquaculture aligns with national priorities.

Kenya will strengthen her position as a regional and global leader in ocean and blue economy development and contribute meaningfully to global efforts in ocean governance.

Objectives of Oceans and Blue Diplomacy

1. Promote sustainable development and management of the Oceans and the blue economy;
2. Enhance Maritime Shipping, Logistics, safety and security;
3. Promote sustainable exploitation of sea-bed minerals and oil and gas resources
4. Strengthen capacity, research and development, cooperation and governance on Marine Biotechnology; and,
5. Strengthen policy, legal, regulatory, and institutional frameworks for effective development and utilization of blue economy resources.

4.5 Global Governance and Multilateral Diplomacy

Kenya's Foreign Policy is premised on the reality of an ever-evolving, increasingly integrated and inter-dependent world. With these changes also come a number of opportunities, challenges, threats, and risks in almost equal measure. The situation is further shaped by various factors such as geo-political shifts, great power competition and the incessant rise in nationalism. Other factors arise from energy uncertainty and competition over its sources; disparities in economic development; and technological advancements and innovations along with their negative impacts. Added to this list are transboundary and cross-cutting concerns such as climate change; public health challenges; violent extremism; economic instability, human rights challenges and labour standards; and increase in the numbers of refugees and

asylum seekers. As the current leader of AU institutional reforms, Kenya is committed to establishing a well-financed, assertive African Union capable of addressing the continent's challenges and advancing its strategic interests. Accordingly, championing reforms in global governance and multilateralism is a critical plank of Kenya's foreign policy. This is key to realizing an effective international order given that no single state can survive or resolve these issues on their own.

Kenya's diaspora, with its global networks, can act as informal representatives in multilateral spaces. Collaboration with diaspora organizations can amplify Kenya's influence in platforms like the UN, AU, or AfCFTA. Developing diaspora ambassadors' programs will enable representation in countries with no direct Kenyan diplomatic presence.

Objectives of Kenya's Global Governance and Multilateral Diplomacy

1. Promote respect and upholding of the principles and purposes enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the African Union's Constitutive Act;
2. Foster collaboration in the setting and implementation of international norms and agenda through multilateralism;
3. Promote consensus-building, respect for international law and rules-based multilateralism; and,
4. Champion reforms of global institutions to enhance diversity and equitable representation, transparency and accountability in decision-making, and responsiveness to the needs of Member States.

4.6. Environment and Climate Change Diplomacy

Nairobi is the headquarter of the United Nations Environmental Programme and United Nations Human Settlements Programme, and hosts the United Nations Office, the only UN headquarters in the global south. Kenya will continue to support, guarantee smooth operations, and promote the enhancement of the status and strengthening of these UN agencies in Nairobi.

The environment is a critical resource that supports life and habitats, regulates the ecosystem cycles and serves as a waste repository. However, the global environment continues to deteriorate due to anthropogenic activities. Climate change, habitat destruction, biodiversity loss, pollution, invasive species, and over extraction of natural resources are among the challenges that alter the natural balance and processes. The alterations compromise the adaptability and resilience of ecosystems.

Kenya acknowledges the complex, multifaceted and global nature of these challenges and the need for scaled up climate action on all fronts. The country recognises that African countries suffer losses due to under-valuation of carbon sinks. Kenya will champion for Africa's green environmental assets to be properly priced to allow the continent to turn its massive green assets into wealth. The actions are critical for sustainable development and effective global governance. Kenya's commitment to addressing environmental challenges is

deeply rooted in its national policies and international obligations. The nation has adopted a proactive stance by integrating climate action into its development agenda, emphasizing the need for adaptive strategies and resilience-building in the face of climate change.

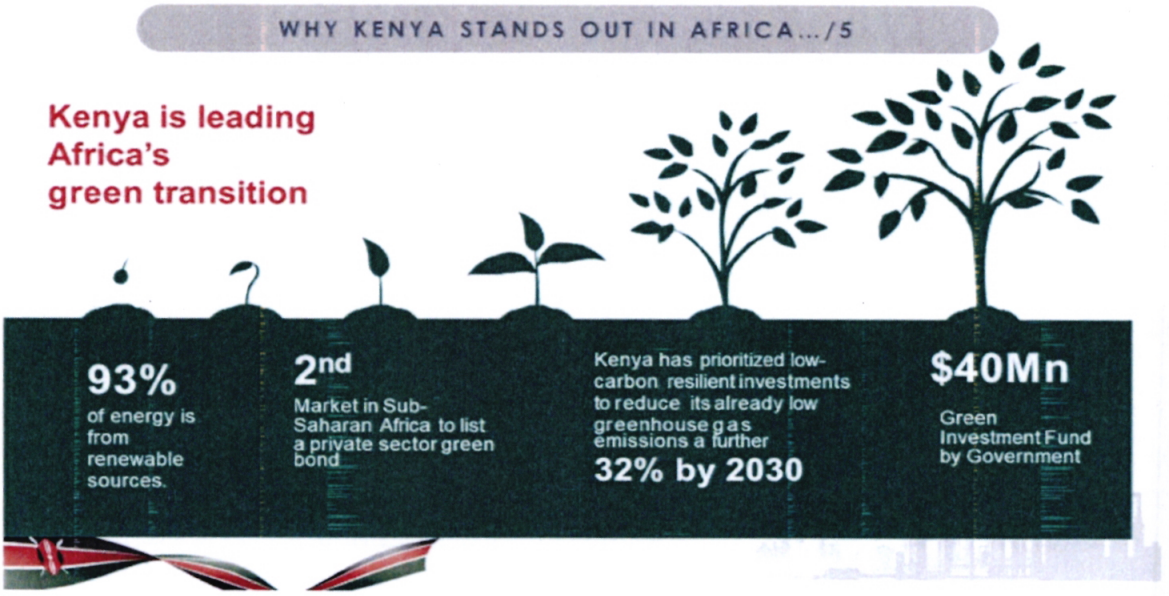
Additionally, the country's participation in global environmental agreements, such as the Paris Agreement, reflects its commitment to global collaborative efforts in combating climate change. Kenya's strategic approach not only safeguards its natural heritage but also contributes to the global discourse on sustainable development, positioning it as a leader in environmental stewardship on the continent. Also, Kenya will enhance partnerships with international organizations to enable cooperatives and MSMEs to access green financing. Subsequently, Kenya will actively engage in climate diplomacy in recognition of the significant impact of environment and climate change on its national as well as global development agenda. This will include engaging its diaspora to participate in climate action by financing green projects and contributing to the global debate on climate justice.

Kenya continues to develop policies that encourage diaspora investments in renewable energy projects or conservation. There is potential for diaspora to support cooperatives and MSMEs. This can be achieved through developing diaspora investment platforms specifically targeting cooperatives and MSMEs, promoting cooperative membership among diaspora and facilitating knowledge-sharing opportunities between diaspora experts and local MSMEs.

Objectives of Kenya's Environment and Climate Change Diplomacy

1. Advocate scaling up of climate finance and reform of the global economic and financial architecture considering the needs and priorities of developing countries;
2. Champion the strengthening of the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) and United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-Habitat);
3. Advocate for more robust, implementable and effective Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEAs);
4. Promote climate change adaptation, resilience building and mitigation; and transition to green growth; and,
5. Foster strategic collaboration and partnerships in the science-policy interface, research, technology, innovation and development.

Figure 6:Kenya's Unique Position in Africa Environment and Climate Diplomacy



Source: Ministry of Environment, Climate Change and Forestry

4.7 Science, Technology and Innovation Diplomacy

Kenya recognizes the pivotal role of Science, Technology, and Innovation (STI) in her national development agenda. In this regard, Kenya integrates various forms of STI with a view to building a robust ecosystem that will enable her to achieve her national interests and position it as a key player in the global technological discourse.

The focus on STI reflects Kenya's commitment to international collaborations and partnerships aimed at attracting critical investments and fostering the exchange of knowledge for addressing global challenges. Kenya's STI diplomacy is a vital foreign policy tool, utilizing digital platforms and advanced technologies to strengthen its international relations and global presence. In this respect, Kenya's strategic integration of emerging and cutting edge technologies such as Artificial Intelligence (AI) and automation, augmented reality, big data, social media, the Internet of Things (IOT), digital technology, Virtual Reality (VR), cyber security, crypto currency, outer space technology, blockchain technology, and global financial technology platforms (FinTechs) will strengthen the country's international standing; attract vital investments, and will solidify the country's standing as a technological hub.

Kenyan diaspora experts in technology fields can support innovation hubs like Konza Technopolis through mentorship programs, funding start-ups, or offering skills development. Initiatives to attract diaspora-led research collaborations and knowledge transfer partnerships will position Kenya as a leader in technology in Africa.

By leveraging STI, Kenya aims to drive socio -cultural progress, economic growth, and political stability as well as all aspects of human security. As a technologically adept nation, Kenya seeks to leverage these diverse forms of STI to enhance international and regional cooperation. By harnessing the power of technology, Kenya enhances her diplomacy across key areas, including peace and security, where digital tools aid in conflict resolution and crisis management. In economic and commercial diplomacy, STI fosters innovation and trade, attracting investments and boosting its global competitiveness. In environment and climate diplomacy, technological advancements help address climate change challenges, while in social-cultural and public diplomacy, digital platforms facilitate cultural exchange and dialogue while also promoting the country's soft power on the global stage.

Objectives of Science, Technology and Innovation Diplomacy

1. Develop and promote transformative technologies that position Kenya as a key player in the global technology landscape;
2. Enhance investment in digital infrastructure, including at Kenya Silicon Savanna, Konza;
3. Foster sustainable technological growth, prioritise green AI, green technologies, supply chain diversification, strategic talent management, and location decisions;
4. Strengthen a collaborative research agenda to advance Kenya's technological capabilities,
5. Promote cyber diplomacy to leverage opportunities and address threats in the cyber space.
6. Elevate Nairobi as the premier tech innovation hub in Africa; and
7. Enhance global and regional collaboration to establish effective regulatory frameworks and governance in technological advancements.

4.8 Diaspora Diplomacy

Kenya's Diaspora Diplomacy is hinged on a conceptual framework that protects, engages and empowers the Kenyan diaspora community to enhance their prosperity and that of the nation. The focus is on protecting, engaging and empowering the Diaspora.

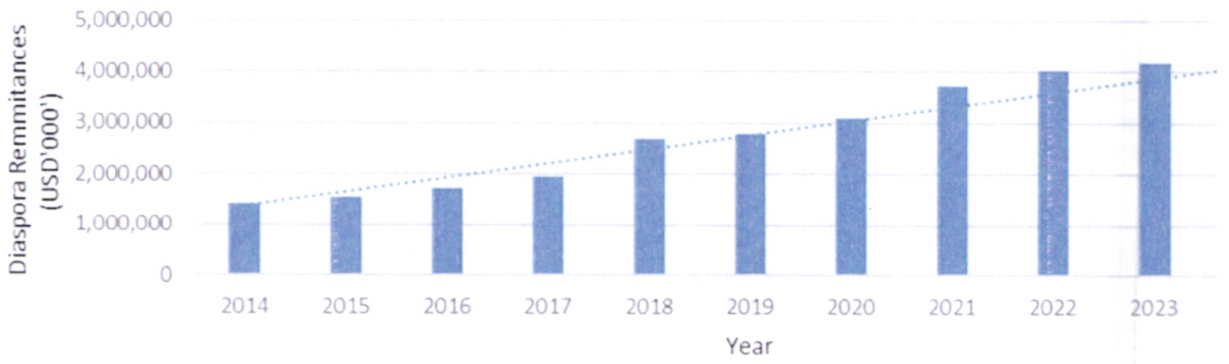
The Kenyan diaspora is a vital constituent of our socio-economic and cultural development. Our diaspora is estimated at four million, and the number is expected to grow as more Kenyans travel abroad for education, training, employment, and investment opportunities, among other reasons. Our Kenyan diaspora continue to flourish on the global stage, taking up leadership roles and driving change across various sectors, while staying connected to Kenya, where they are engaged in technology and skills transfer that upskill our workforce, innovations that help tackle global challenges, advocacy and philanthropy that uplifts our nation's image and remittances that bolster our economy.

Diaspora Diplomacy aims to protect the rights and welfare of the Kenyan diaspora community while mainstreaming and empowering them to effectively contribute to national development and democratic processes. The focus area will advocate for requisite frameworks with host governments and international organizations for safe, orderly and secure migration, including the transferability and portability of social security benefits accrued by the Kenyan diaspora

community. The policy focus also aims to enhance the provision of modern, efficient and effective consular services to all Kenyans in the Diaspora.

The growing number of Diaspora is an important national asset given their inherent ability to promote Kenya as a brand through their networks and partnerships, including their presence in international organizations. Further, the Diaspora has great potential to market Kenya as a destination of choice for tourism and Foreign Direct Investment. Their financial and technical resources have great potential in being directed to investment options at home.

Figure 7: Diaspora Remittances



Source: Central Bank of Kenya

Remittances have emerged as a key and stable source of the country's foreign currency earnings, supporting household consumption, and financing investments. Remittances have been on upward trend underscoring the vital role of the diaspora in supporting the country's economic development. This growth is attributed to strategic diplomatic engagements, including the signing of bilateral labour agreements, and the establishment of improved consular services that facilitate employment opportunities and financial inclusion for Kenyans abroad.

4.8.1 Rights, Welfare and Interests of the Kenyan Diaspora

The Government will advocate for the rights and interests of Kenyan diaspora and promote their welfare, including through diplomatic channels, bilateral agreements, and engagement with international organizations.

Promoting the rights and interests of the Kenyan Diaspora remains a key priority for the Kenyan Government. This will be undertaken through; Bilateral agreements, and engagement with host governments and international organizations, developing a framework for the transferability and portability of social security benefits through bilateral instruments, Formulating and strengthening reintegration programs thus enabling returnees participate in the social, cultural, economic, and political life back home, strengthen consular services in Kenya Missions abroad and conducting civic and voter education for the Diaspora and Mission staff on conduct of elections exercise.

4.8.2 Diaspora Savings, Investments, remittances and technology transfer

In line with the National Development Agenda and to increase Foreign Direct Investment, the Government is keen to enhance diaspora investment by creating programmes and incentives that encourage savings, bonds, technology transfer, reduce cost of remittances, and mitigate investment risks thus more investments.

Further, policy advocacy on targeted investment opportunities will be undertaken through the Kenya Missions abroad by establishing intermediary facilities to provide investment management services.

4.8.3 Partnerships and engagement with the Kenyan Diaspora

The Diaspora will be mainstreamed into the national development and democratic processes for a more cohesive and citizen-centred governance system. The Government will also establish a mechanism of engaging with the descendants of Kenyan Diaspora. This will strengthen their sense of belonging and linkage with the motherland.

In addition, efforts will be made to encourage and facilitate the registration of Kenyans Diaspora Associations or even individual Kenyans to form non-profit making foundations to support philanthropic initiatives in the country, both at the national and county levels.

The Government will encourage the diaspora to be the Brand Ambassadors in their host country to project and promote Kenya's image.

There will also be efforts to encourage, empower, and motivate the Diaspora, the Jamhuri Diaspora Award scheme will celebrate the resilience of the Kenyan spirit as we reclaim and preserve our rich and diverse culture. It is an annual award by the Diaspora and with the Diaspora that will celebrate and immortalize Kenyans in the Diaspora who have achieved milestones and broken ceilings in the past, present, and in the future.

A Diaspora Summit, comprising of elected diaspora council members will be formed to foster unity, cooperation, resolve conflicts, and strengthen Kenyan identity abroad. The Summit through the councils will serve as a platform for dialogue, collaboration, and advocacy, ensuring that our diaspora's contributions are aligned with Kenya's development goals for the benefit of both parties.

Kenya will foster open and transparent communication to ensure that every Kenyan abroad feels connected and valued. This will build trust and collaboration between Government and the Diaspora through continuous updates.

4.8.4 Support Kenyans to secure opportunities abroad

The Government of Kenya recognizes that labour migration is a global phenomenon which has great benefits for economic advancement, skills development, and international exposure. The Government will continue to implement policies and initiatives to facilitate

ethical recruitment and secure job placements for Kenyans including efforts to increase the employability of the youth through dynamic and intentional structural changes for targeted foreign labour markets.

The Government has taken an active role in initiating, negotiating and executing bilateral labour agreements with host countries for safe, orderly and regular migration. Similarly, it has also entered into agreements on the recognition and accreditation of degrees, recognition of prior learning, certificates and skills.

The Government will build local capacity of Kenyan nationals, measures are being undertaken to promote the transfer of knowledge, technology and skills

4.8.5 Establishment of the Diaspora Placement Agency

The Diaspora placement Agency was established vide Executive Order No. 2 of 2023. The Diaspora Placement Agency Shall be a Semi- Autonomous Governmental Agency operating under the State Department for Diaspora Affairs.

The Agency is tasked to initiate and follow up on Government-to-Government contracts, Advise and push Kenya's position for international labour migration, Facilitate the implementation of Bilateral and Multilateral Agreements, Implement the Global Labour Market Strategy and Carry out international skills inventory mapping;

The Agency shall be a reservoir for Kenya international jobs, Diaspora Employment management, Promotion and Intervention, create a unique brand identity, reputation and perception for Kenyan skills and expertise to attract foreign employers and business process outsourcing organizations and provide information on Kenya's labour demographics.

4.8.6 The State Department for Diaspora Affairs in Bilateral and Multilateral Engagements

The State Department for Diaspora Affairs plays a critical role in advancing Kenya's bilateral relations by negotiating and implementing agreements that directly impact the diaspora. Recognizing the increasing global migration of Kenyans seeking employment, education, and other opportunities abroad, the Department prioritizes bilateral negotiations to ensure the welfare and protection of Kenyan nationals.

The challenges and opportunities faced by diaspora communities often transcend borders, requiring multilateral approaches for sustainable and collective solutions. The State Department for Diaspora Affairs engages proactively in regional and global platforms to amplify Kenya's diaspora priorities.

The State Department for Diaspora Affairs navigates both arenas to advocate for diaspora rights, reduce remittance costs, and enhance social benefit portability. It aligns Kenya's diaspora diplomacy with the African Union, IOM, and global frameworks, while complementing bilateral agreements with host countries.

The Foreign Policy will augment programs and incentives to encourage diaspora investments and establish a scheme to recognize excellence among the Diaspora. The policy will also facilitate the registration of diaspora associations and ensure open and transparent communication.

The objectives of Diaspora diplomacy

1. Protect the rights and promote the welfare and interest of the Kenyan diaspora;
2. Facilitate Diaspora Savings, Investments, Remittances and Technology Transfer;
3. Strengthen partnership and collaboration with the Kenyan diaspora
4. Support Kenyans to secure opportunities abroad.

4.9 Socio-Cultural Diplomacy

Socio-cultural diplomacy entails the use of a country's culture, social practices, and values as tools to build relationships, foster understanding, and influence other nations. It entails people-to-people connections, which serve as means for soft power by creating a favourable global environment for engagements. The key aspects of Kenya's socio-cultural diplomacy include the use of culture and heritage; sports; education; and health. Kenya will continue to harness these socio-cultural opportunities to enhance her national standing in the international arena, specifically through the promotion of social values, cultural heritage and other national endowments. Additionally, Diaspora communities play a key role in promoting Kenyan culture through festivals, media, and sports diplomacy. Strengthening engagement through cultural exchanges, support for Kenyan cultural associations abroad, and fostering connections between diaspora youth and Kenyan traditions will enhance Kenya's soft power globally.

4.9.1 Cultural Diplomacy

Cultural diplomacy emphasizes increasing awareness of cultural diversity to generate interest in the country's unique cultural heritage. Article 11 of the Constitution of Kenya recognizes culture as the foundation of Kenya's nationhood and the cumulative civilization of the Kenyan people. The potential of Kenya's cultural heritage is enormous. Over the years Kenya has continuously placed emphasis on cultural recognition and understanding as the basis for dialogue. It is through cultural activities that a nation's idea of self is best represented.

Kenya is celebrated as the Cradle of Mankind. The country's rich archaeological heritage and renowned sites, such as the Turkana Basin and Olorgesailie, have yielded some of the world's oldest hominid fossils and tools. This recognition not only underscores Kenya's importance to global heritage but also positions the nation as an important zone for paleoanthropological research and tourism.

Kenya also hosts eight World Heritage Sites of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) recognized on the UNESCO World Heritage List under the 1972 World Heritage Convention. These include three natural sites: Lake Turkana National Park, Mount Kenya National Park/Natural Forest, and the Kenya Lake System in the Great Rift Valley. There are five cultural sites:

The objectives of Sports Diplomacy

1. Recognise and upscale Kenya's sporting prowess as a tool for enhancing national branding and fostering international relations;
2. Leverage on award-winning Kenyan sportsmen and women as national brand ambassadors;
3. 3Promote and advocate for co-operation and good governance in regional and international sports bodies.
4. Promote Kenya as a sports destination of choice and attract investments for development and expansion of sports infrastructure; and,
5. Utilise sports in promoting social cohesion and peacebuilding.

Lamu Old Town, the Sacred Mijikenda Kaya Forests, Fort Jesus, the Thimlich Ohinga Archaeological Site, and the historical town and archaeological site of Gedi. These sites highlight the global significance of Kenya's heritage, contributing to humanity's shared history while enhancing community livelihoods, promoting tourism, and fostering the preservation of cultural heritage and creative industries.

Kenya's Foreign Policy will promote all forms of national and cultural expressions through literature, the arts, language, culinary arts, traditional celebrations, science, communication, information, mass media, publications, libraries and tourism and Cultural Heritage (TCH) initiatives. Further, it will pursue all lawful collaborative avenues to facilitate the return of artistic and cultural works earlier appropriated as a result of the encounter with colonialism and other imbalanced interactions with foreign entities.

Objectives of Kenya's Cultural Diplomacy

1. Advocate for cultural diversity and heritage recognition, protection, preservation and patenting;
2. Foster solidarity, intercultural exchanges, partnerships and dialogues between Kenya and other countries;
3. Promote tourism cultural heritage to attract visitors and showcase Kenya's cultural diversity;
4. Pursue lawful collaborative means of facilitating the return of lost Kenyan cultural heritage artefacts; and
5. Promote Kiswahili as a continental and global language.

4.9.2 Sports Diplomacy

Sports diplomacy involves the harnessing of the sports in fostering international relations and promoting the country's image abroad. Kenya is famed for excellence in athletics and other diverse sports and will deploy these assets to boost her national branding and global reputation and harness their potential in fostering a stronger and mutually beneficial international relations. The country will continue to actively lobby to host international sports events as an avenue for boosting cultural exchanges and strengthening global sports partnerships.

4.9.3 Educational Diplomacy

Education is a major means to the advancement of both national and international goals. Kenya is home to a number of competitively ranked academic institutions that will be relied upon for enhanced diplomacy through academic collaborations and people to people ties. Through such initiatives, the country will facilitate international cooperation, promote fairness and inclusivity in education, nurture peace and mutual understanding, and support sustainable development. Through academic networks in scholarship and research as well as in staff and student exchanges, Kenya will forge stronger diplomatic relations, promote its values and interests, and play a key role in fostering a more peaceful and prosperous global community.

Objectives of Educational Diplomacy

1. Enhance educational exchanges and scholarships at student and faculty levels in order to improve educational outcomes;
2. Foster international collaboration in the development and improvement of Kenya's educational systems in line with global standards;
3. Position Kenya as a preferred destination for high quality education;
4. Support international collaborations in research and technological innovations, and;
5. Collaborate with like-minded partners to establish special schools for the specially talented and the differently abled.

Table 1 below is sample representation of scholarship opportunities emanating from Kenya diplomatic engagements with partners. It may not be representative of all partners but provide a picture of opportunities of our people that arise from global collaborations.

Table 1. Academic Networks in Scholarship and Research

S/no	Country	2024	2023	2022	2021	2020	Number of Students
1	Peoples Republic of China	18	30	20	37		105
2	Hungary	200	200	200	80	200	880
3	Common Wealth	37	37	37	18	37	166
4	Slovak		4	4	4	4	16
5	Mauritius		8	9	15	15	47
6	Morocco		10				10
7	Serbia		10	7	7		24
8	Thailand	9		9	15		33
9	Azerbaijan	2	2	2			6
10	Russia					15	15
11	India					46	46
12	Egypt					19	19
13	Algeria						116
TOTAL	13 countries	266	301	288	176	336	1483

Source: Office of the Prime Cabinet Secretary and Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs

Analysis of Beneficiaries by Country of Study

A total of 13 countries have offered Kenya Citizens with Scholarships. Globally, the Hungarian Government has issued 800(61.4%) scholarships to Kenya citizens, followed by the Commonwealth with 166 (12.7%) and China 139(10.7%) cumulatively, they have contributed 1106(84.9%) of foreign scholarship opportunities.
Within Africa, Mauritius-Africa Scholarship scheme has issued 47(3.65) scholarships to Kenya citizens, followed by Egypt Government Scholarships at 19(1.5%). In General, the beneficiaries by country of study is as tabulated above;

The figure below demonstrates the distributions of scholarships per county from 2020-2024:

Clusters and Distributions of Scholarships per County

a. **Cluster 1: Counties with beneficiaries ranging from 1-10,** namely,
Narok-10, Isiolo-9, Samburu-8, Wajir-7, Lamu-6, kwale-6, west pokot-5 and Tana River -1

b. **Cluster 2: Counties with beneficiaries ranging from11-20** namely,
Kilifi-20, Kajiado-20, Nandi-18, Garissa-18, Tharaka Nithi-16, Kirinyaga-16, Vihiga-15, Taita Taveta-12 and Turkana -12

c. **Cluster 3: Counties with beneficiaries ranging from 21-30** namely,
Marsabit -30, Laikipia -29, Machakos-29, Nyeri-28, Kitui-28, Trans-nzoia-26, Mombasa-26, Mandera-25, Bomet -25Uasin-Gishu-24, Murang'a-24, Embu-23, Baringo-23 and Elgeyo Marakwet-21

d. **Cluster 4: Counties with beneficiaries ranging from 31-40,** namely
Makueni-40, Siaya-39, Meru-39, Nyamira-36, Kericho-33, Busia -33 and Nyandarua -32

e. **Cluster 5: Counties with beneficiaries ranging from 41 and above**, namely
Nairobi-92, Kiambu-64, Kakamega-62, Kisii-52, Bungoma-50, Homabay-47, Nakuru-45, and Kisumu-43

Source: Office of the Prime Cabinet Secretary and Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs

The Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs will engage partners to increase scholarship opportunities for all based on merit, gender balance, equity, inclusiveness and national profile.

4.9.4 Global Health Diplomacy

Global Health Diplomacy intersects public health, international relations, and development. It focuses on health issues that require multilateral cooperation to address shared concerns. The focus area involves negotiating agreements and fostering international cooperation so as to tackle global health and development challenges that transcend national borders. These include pandemics such as the Covid-19 that in recent years resulted in significant loss of human life world-wide and wide scale socio-economic disruption.

The UNs 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development identified health as global priority through the third Sustainable Development Goal (SDG3). The African Union's "Agenda 2063: The Africa we Want" equally identifies health and nutrition as a priority area for the continent. Health is a prioritized agenda both at the national and county governments for the achievement of universal health coverage (UHC) in Kenya.

Integration of health issues into the foreign policy provides a unique opportunity in which diplomatic networks can be deployed in advancing national and global health priorities. Moreover, the networks will contribute to improving health outcomes, strengthening national health systems, ensuring the security of health commodities and hence, contributing to both national and global health security.

In implementing its Global Health Diplomacy, Kenya will work more closely with international organizations operating in the health domain; including GAVI, Global Fund, UNAids, IVI, World Health Organization (WHO), Africa Centre for Disease Control (CDC) and Africa Medicines Agency. This engagement will foster a coherent national, regional and global approach to handling and preventing current and future epidemics and pandemics which have disproportionately affected Africa and the global south. More importantly, Kenya's global health diplomacy will advocate for a clear framework that benefits developing countries through establishing platforms for data sharing and patent waivers.

Objectives of Global Health Diplomacy

1. Strengthen partnerships and collaboration in global health governance;
2. Promote Kenya as a wellness, humanitarian and health emergencies medical hub;
3. Attract investment in manufacturing of health products and technologies;
4. Foster partnerships and collaborative research, capacity building, technology and innovation;
5. Contribute to development, peace, security, social justice and attainment of human rights.

CHAPTER 5: EMERGING ISSUES AND CHALLENGES IN KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY AGENDA

5.0 Introduction

The international landscape is experiencing increased competition, and growing unilateralism amidst resilient and compelling multilateralism. The rapidly mutating international system has led to the emergence of issues and challenges that impact the effective formulation and implementation of Kenya's foreign policy. This section looks at the issues and challenges impacting the institutional, organizational, strategic dynamics of the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs the foreign service staff and other actors in the country's foreign policy agenda. It makes recommendations geared towards the interventions mainly by Parliament and other relevant actors.

5.1 Institutional and Organizational Dynamics

5.1.1 Lack of Comprehensive Legislative and Policy Framework on Foreign Diplomacy

The conduct of Kenya's foreign relations has been informed by different legislative and policy frameworks. These include the Constitution, various enacted laws, strategic plans, sessional papers, party manifestoes, executive pronouncements, circulars and other official documents. Additionally, the foreign policy is governed by various strategic frameworks including the Kenya Vision 2030 and its Medium-Term Plans, the Bottom-Up Economic Transformation Agenda (BETA), the East African Community Vision 2050, the African Union Agenda 2063, the United Nations (UN) 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, as well as other pertinent international and regional treaties and conventions.

Furthermore, lack of legislation or framework to guide the engagement of county governments with the Ministry has a bearing on the extent to which the Ministry can engage with them. The Foreign Service Act 2021 and the Kenya Foreign Policy guide Kenya's international engagements. The development and adoption of international laws impact the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy.

There are areas of legal and policy incompatibility with foreign countries including different procurement practices in host countries, varied financial years, non-recognition of Kenya's contractual documents in other countries as well as requirement for advance payments for construction and maintenance. In some countries, quotations/tenders are submitted in a foreign language, and inconsistencies in the translation causes delays in procurement.

The policy, legal and institutional framework that underpins provision of services to the diaspora is weak and inadequate. This limits the extent to which the government can effectively champion and protect the rights and welfare of the Diaspora, and consequently affects the level of participation by the diaspora in national development.

The weak labour migration legal framework exposes some Kenyans working abroad, both skilled and unskilled, to unsuitable working conditions

In sum, the absence of a well-defined legislative and policy framework guiding Kenya's engagement with international actors, leaves the country vulnerable to external pressure and influence. This will diminish the country's ability to assert its interests independently, hence increasing its susceptibility to the ever-changing global dynamics.

Recommendations

- The revised Foreign Policy, 2024 endeavors to consolidate some of these instruments and frameworks. However, there is a need for a comprehensive legislative framework including a review of the Foreign Service Act, 2021.
- Parliament's legislative, budgetary and oversight agenda to be cognizant of the challenges of incompatibilities that the Ministry faces in its operations under varied laws, policies and procedures in foreign countries.
- The State Department for Diaspora Affairs is collaborating with relevant stakeholders including Parliament to develop a strong policy, legal and institutional framework to facilitate service delivery to the diaspora.
- Review existing Bilateral Labour Agreements (BLAs)/MoUs and sign new instruments with foreign governments in order to effectively protect Kenyan nationals seeking employment abroad including portability of social security benefits.

5.1.2 Ministry Headquarters and Coordination of Kenyan missions

Kenya's national interests and diplomatic footprints have considerably expanded as the country seeks to play a greater role in international affairs. The Ministry has also undergone considerable restructuring, with the overall objective of intensifying professionalism in the diplomatic cadre and enabling our foreign missions to play a greater role in progressing our foreign policy and national development agenda.

However, the Ministry's headquarters continues to face capacity challenges in terms of staff numbers and training, inadequate office space, modernization of equipment to align with the changing international system. This challenge has implications for effective coordination and management of Kenya's foreign service.

Most Missions do not have the infrastructure to render all consular services especially issuance of National ID cards, Passports, and Birth Certificates. Processing of these documents is done in Kenya leading to delayed provision of consular services, promotion and protection of the interests of Kenyans abroad.

Further, due to the large amount of data collected and used, coordination, data security, compliance with regulations, and responsible data handling practices are major concerns and challenges.

Recommendations

- Policy and legislative frameworks to enhance provision of consular services including timely processing of critical documents. This will also include strengthening and supporting the registration programme of Kenyans abroad under National Integrated Information Management System (NIIMS) as well as registration and strengthening of Kenyan Diaspora Umbrella Associations in all countries and regions where Kenya has diplomatic presence. Parliamentary support to the Ministry in working closely with the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) to ensure Kenyan Diaspora participation in the country's Presidential Elections.
- Develop a robust Ministry's digitalization programme which is securely linked to missions to enhance provision of consular services, feedback and general operations.
- Expansion and modernization of office spaces including prioritization of construction of a new office building for the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs headquarters.

5.1.3 Challenge of Funding diplomatic activities and missions abroad

The increased demands for adequate budgetary resources on the exchequer to funding diplomatic activities is one of the emerging issues that continue to pose a challenge to the effective implementation of Kenya's foreign policy objectives. This is further complicated by competing demands for budget allocation from other sectors of the State.

The challenge of inability to competitively and timely renumerate the foreign service officers and missions abroad could increase vulnerabilities in terms of diminishing accountability and integrity thus portending a security threat to our country.

Moreover, there is the challenge of high rental/leasing costs in Kenyan Missions. Besides, inadequate funding for maintenance and repairs has led to the deterioration of government-owned properties. Most missions also lack the necessary infrastructure to provide all consular services, resulting in delays.

Delayed exchequer releases affect the Ministry's ability to implement its work programs within the planned timelines. Most of the Ministry's programmes and activities are to a large extent dictated by external calendars and schedules, while project contracts are implemented under foreign laws and regulations, some of which are very strict. Therefore, any delays in payment can result to far reaching consequences. In addition, late receipt of exchequer can cause low budget absorption, huge pending bills and contractual issues in the Ministry.

The lack of Diaspora Welfare Fund continues to be a challenge especially with rising cases of Kenyans in distress abroad that require prompt response by the Ministry. This is beside the fact that the Fund is captured in Kenya Diaspora Policy of 2014.

There is a growing need for funding of 'Executive soft diplomacy' which has become an important practice globally in the implementation of a country's foreign policy. This includes the use of good offices of the President for peace and security, and contributions to global governance imperatives such as facilitating humanitarian and critical charity support systems.

Recommendations

- Increase budget allocation to the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs;
- Increase funding to the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs to also allow existing missions operate optimally and also to cover other countries through multiple accreditations;
- Consider an implementation fund for soft diplomacy, domiciled in the Ministry in Charge of Foreign Affairs. This fund will facilitate the implementation of Executive and Parliamentary soft diplomacy. The fund shall be financed from the national budget and partners; and
- Support and promote the establishment of a Diaspora Welfare Fund meant to enable the Ministry assist Kenyans in distress.

5.1.4 Foreign Service Staffing and Welfare

The evolving international system calls for continuous staffing and training of staff to match with the new trends in diplomacy such as science, technology and innovation. This points to the need for digital mainstreaming and continuous updating of skills such as multilingualism which is yet to reach effective levels. There is a need to develop a well-educated, vibrant and motivated foreign service. This will require clear recruitment and promotion parameters based on equity and inclusiveness.

The delayed renumeration and allowances of foreign service staff undermines their dignity and compromises the integrity of critical state matters, some of which could be of significance to the national security.

Recommendations

- Legislative and budgetary support of the Foreign Service Academy to effectively fulfill its mandate especially in training and capacity strengthening of foreign service staff.
- The Foreign Service Personnel Scheme and fundamental Public Service Commission (PSC) guidelines need to be harmonized with the Constitution to develop the criteria relating to the recruitment and career progression of foreign service personnel. This will require a comprehensive legislative framework and also development of a comprehensive Performance Appraisal of Kenyan diplomats abroad.
- Implement cost effective measures including local outsourcing of non-core functions in diplomatic missions and employment of qualified Kenyan residents as local staff.

5.1.5 Diaspora Issues and Challenges

The State Department for Diaspora Affairs and the Kenyan diaspora remain integral to Kenya's foreign policy agenda. However, the State Department faces significant challenges, including inadequate budgetary allocations. This financial constraint limits the execution of

critical initiatives, such as diaspora registration and mapping, which is essential for gathering comprehensive data on Kenyans living abroad to enable effective planning and decision-making. There is an observed limited involvement of Diaspora in national development processes despite the Government recognizing the Diaspora as the 48th county and the need to mainstream the Kenyan Diaspora in the national agenda. There are deliberate efforts expended in awareness creation and public participation by the diaspora in policy, legal and institutional reforms as well as the electoral processes.

The Kenya Diaspora experiences high transaction cost on remittances estimated at 6.20 percent of the amount sent. This leads to increased use of informal channels and difficulty in tracking remittance inflows.

The legal and policy frameworks are still weak and inadequate including inadequate labour migration legal framework, inadequate framework on transferability and portability of social security benefits, inadequate incentive framework for remittances and diaspora investments, and insufficient enforcement of the legal and regulatory framework on ethical recruitment to curb unscrupulous private recruitment agencies that take advantage of uninformed and unsuspecting Kenyans among others.

Regional and cross border conflicts pose significant challenges including security concerns, social integration and identity, political pressures, humanitarian crises, economic impact, strained international relations and psychological stress. This calls for emphasis on protection and championing of Kenya's Diaspora rights and welfare as well as steps to offer humanitarian aid and assistance, diplomatic engagements, psychosocial support among other needs in times of distress. The challenge requires a multi-dimensional and collaborative approach an increase in Department's staff capacity, budgetary allocation and legislative interventions.

Recommendations

- Promulgate laws, rules and regulations to ensure that Professional Kenyan Returnees are regarded and treated the same way expatriates are treated in employment and remuneration, such a move would attract talent. There is also need for local professional bodies to embrace the returnees by recognizing their qualification and expertise;
- Address the high transaction costs of remittances, which is currently at an average of 6% (AIR, 2023) and reduce to 3% or less by 2030 as per SDG 10(c);
- Establish electoral reforms for Diaspora Voting to consider issues like period of voting, the gazetted polling stations, and use of electronic equipment or platforms to allow more Kenyans abroad to participate at the elections. Participation in political process should be open to dual citizens, like in UK, only the Executive Position should be exempt from vying as a dual national.
- Review existing Bilateral Labour Agreements (BLAs)/MoUs and sign new instruments with partner states to effectively protect Kenyan nationals seeking employment abroad including portability of social security benefits;
- Increase the State Department's staff capacity, budgetary allocation and strengthen the legislative interventions.

5.1.5 Development and Management of Kenya's Assets Abroad

The Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs holds a portfolio of diplomatic properties globally which serve as offices (Chanceries) and official residences for Ambassadors and residential premises for other officers. Consistent underinvestment in these properties has led to deterioration and ultimately under-utilization of the facilities. In some cases, the properties have been condemned since they are inhabitable.

Consequently, within its portfolio, the Ministry currently holds assets for which it incurs operation costs arising from statutory duties such as property taxes and service charges. At the same time, the Ministry is meeting rental payments for its staff in various jurisdictions.

The multi-billion-shilling property in Kenya's foreign missions needs proper financing, management, maintenance, and efficient utilization. For instance, the Kenya House – New York which was constructed in 1979 and now dilapidated, has been in disuse for over ten (10) years despite being the designated official residence for the Ambassador. Some of the properties abroad are not insured. The cost to the country of renting diplomatic premises abroad is above Kshs 3 billion annually.

There is a dire need to undertake a structural assessment of foreign assets including Embassy/High Commission and consular offices, residences for the ambassador and the mission staff, and motor vehicles.

Kenya's global assets are as itemized below:

S/ No.	Mission	Type of Property	Location	Date of Acquisition
1	Abuja	Chancery	Diplomatic District Abuja,	10th November 2005
		6 staff houses	Diplomatic District Abuja,	10th November 2005
		Official Residence	Diplomatic District Abuja, Maitama	10th November 2005
2	Addis Ababa	Developed Land with: • Chancery • Ambassador's Residence • Deputy Ambassador's Residence, • 6 apartments staff houses • 2 agency staff houses	Yeka KK Kebele 01, Addis Ababa	6th August 1968
3	Beijing	Chancery and Ambassador's Residence	No.4 Xiliujie, Sanlitun, Beijing	11th April 2007
4	Berlin	Ambassador's Residence	Plot No. 35 of land No. 10 Altensteinstr 17, Berlin-Dahlem	21st September 2001
5	Brussels	Chancery	208 Avenue, Winston Churchill 1180 Brussels	18th June 2008
		Official Residence	Keizerlaan 33, 3090 Overijse Brussels	11th July 1979
6	Bujumbura	Vacant Land	Buterere Plot 8463/C East, South West Public Road	22nd June 2012
7	Dar es Salaam	Harambee Plaza (Commercial property former Chancery)	Kaunda Road, Dar es Salaam	1st July 1999

		Chancery	Bongoyo Road Dar es Salaam	1st July 1999
		Staff Houses	Mikocheni, Dar es Salaam	12th May 2005
		Vacant land for development of Embassy properties	Plot 16 Block "AC' Mtumba Dodoma	4th March 2020
8	Geneva	Chancery	Allèe David Morse 61202 Geneva	18th December 2019
		Chancery	95 Park Lane	26th June 1980
		Ambassador's Residence	43 Borrowdale Road	29th May 1980
9	Harare	Staff House 1	7 Alvord Road, Mt Pleasant	15th May 1985
		Staff House 2	147 Rhodesville	2nd May 1984
		Staff House 3	No. 54 The Chase, Mt Pleasant	21st June 1985
10	Islamabad	Chancery and Ambassador's Residence	Plot 1,2,3, Street 27, Block 6, Diplomatic Enclave 11, Islamabad	9th December 1996
11	Juba	Vacant Land	Juba Town Land Block No. AXV 1st Class Residential area S.C9650/2007	1st October 2009
12	Kampala	Chancery and 6 No. Apartments	Plot No. 8 Elgon Terrace, Kololo	10th December 2015
		Staff House	Plot 10 Mbuya Road, Bugolobi	13 March 2008
13	Kinshasa	Chancery	4002 Avenue De L'Ouganda, Gombe Djelo Ville De Kinshasa	1990
		Staff House 1	Plot No. 173 Ngaliema Municipality, Kinshasa	1st November, 2001
		Staff House 2	Plot No. 760 Ngaliema Municipality, Kinshasa	27th September, 1990
		Staff House 3	Plot No. 3796 Gombe Municipality, Kinshasa	4th August, 1970
14	London	Residence- Ambassador's Residence	78 Winnington Road N2 0TX, Hampstead	15th December, 2020
		Staff House	48 Connaught Drive Finchley N11 6BJ	22nd July, 1975
		Chancery	45 Portland Place, London W1B 1AS	2024
15	Lusaka	Chancery	5207 United Nations Avenue, Lusaka	27th January, 1975
		Official Residence	330 Independence Avenue, Plot No. 2176 Lusaka	13th July, 1971
		Staff House 1	6127 Mwinilunga Road, Kabulonga	18th June, 1966
		Staff House 2	28 Twin Palm Rd, Kabulonga	2nd March ,1968
		Staff House 3	377B Martin Luther King Road, Kabulonga	7th August, 1970
		Staff House 4	Serval Road	1st December 1970
		Staff House 5	4105 Chipusui Rd, Kabulonga	14th April 1965
		Staff House 6	3810 Manda Hill Rd, Olympia Park	9th July 1965
		Staff House 7	Lukasu Road, Rhodespark	29th August 1997
16	Mogadishu	Chancery, Ambassador's Residence and 20 Staff Houses	Near Aden Adde International Airport, Mogadishu	1st December 2014
17	New York	Chancery	866 UN Plaza Suite 308 New York, NY 10017	1st January, 2017
		Ambassador's Residence	5275 Arlington Avenue, Bronx New York	13th May, 1965
		Staff House 1 - DPR	12 Paddington Road, Scarsdale New York	13th November, 1970
		Staff House 2	188-56 85th Road, Jamaica	25th April, 1972
		Staff House 3	1874 Aberdeen Rd. Jamaica	25th May, 1972

18	Ottawa	Chancery	415 Laurier Avenue East, Ottawa, Ontario	20th November 1984
		High Commissioner's Residence	321 Lakeway Drive, RockCliffe Park, Ontario	25th May 1979
19	Paris	Chancery	3 Rue Freycinet 75116 Paris	1st August 1997
		Ambassador's Residence	41-43 Route de la Plaine Vesind (Yvelnes)	3rd April 1979
20	Pretoria	Chancery	302 Brooks Street, Menlo Park 0081	21st August 1995
		High Commission Residence	261 Crown Ave. Waterkloof	30th January 1985
		Deputy High Commission Residence	318 Polaris Street, Waterkloof Ridge	29th June 2004
		Staff House 1	432 Julius Jeppe Street, Waterkloof	14th March 2001
		Staff House 2	365 Muskejaat St. Waterkloof Ridge	20th July 1994
		Staff House 3	289 Albertus Avenue Erasmusrand	24th May 1994
		Staff House 4	400 Julius St. Muckleneuk	29th August 2001
		4 Staff Houses	25 Spiral Walk, Menlo Park	20th July 1994
21	Riyadh	Chancery	Diplomatic Quarter Riyadh, - 11693	3rd January 1983
		Residence	Diplomatic Quarter Riyadh,	3rd January 1983
22	Rome	Ambassador's Residence	Viale Dell'Umanesimo 89/91	15th November 1980
23	Stockholm	Ambassador's Residence	Strand promenaden 6 Saltsjö duvnäs Nacka Sicklaön 338:1	8th December 1971
24	Tel Aviv	Chancery	15 Abba Hillel Silver St.	5th December 1996
25	The Hague	Chancery	Nieuw Parklaan 21 2597 The Hague	15th September 1989
		Ambassador Residence	Waldeck Pyrmontlaan 27, City of Wassenaar	9th December 1987
		Staff House 1	Tapijtweg 6 2197 KH The Hague	21st March 1988
		Staff House 2	Waalsdorperweg 128, 2597 JE The Hague	29th October 1987
26	Tokyo	Chancery and Residence	135-2 Yakumo 3 Chome Meguro-ku	4th November 2009
			135-3 Yakumo 3 Chome Meguro-ku	4th November 2009
			137-3 Yakumo 3-Chome Meguro–ku	4th November 2009
			137-10 Yakumo Meguro– ku	4th November 2009
27	Washington DC	Chancery	2247/2249R Street, NW Washington, DC, 20008	4th October 1971
		Ambassador's Residence	10201 Borrel Avenue, Potomac, MD 20854	14th September 1977
		Staff House 1	6228-32nd Street, NW, Washington, DC 20015	2nd June 1970
		Staff House 2	2823 Ellicot St. NW, Washington, DC 20008	24th June 1970
		Staff House 3	No. 4453 29th Street, N. W	14th February 1970
28	Windhoek	Chancery (Kenya House)	134 Robert Mugabe Avenue, Windhoek	27th June 1990
		Ambassador's residence	4 Lukin Street, Klein Windhoek	26th June 1989
		Staff House 1	35 Promenaden Road	15th September 1989
		Staff House 2	53 Suffier Street Eros Park	10th July 1989
		Staff House 3	Park 23, Heliodor Street	20th June 1989

Source: Global Assets Management Division, Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs

Recommendations

- Monetization of Kenya's properties abroad which includes exploring the opportunity to enter into Public Private Partnership (PPP) arrangements with private parties to invest in these properties to build official residences for the Ambassadors or residential properties for staff members as well as extract commercial value for properties in prime locations. These developments can also be undertaken in partnership with Kenya's private sector and state corporations such as the National Social Security Fund (NSSF).
- Kenya owns strategic properties and land abroad which need development to earn income for the government, drastically cut expenditure on rentals and uplift the quality of our foreign missions/embassies and diplomatic mission staff housing. This calls for budgetary allocations by the National Treasury and Parliamentary support.
- Ministry to be facilitated to acquire and set aside land for allocation to foreign missions accredited to Kenya for the development of residences and chanceries on the basis of reciprocity
- The Ministry to develop and implement a comprehensive policy for the proper management and optimal utilization of its assets at headquarters and missions. The policy should also include establishment and regular update of a comprehensive data base /asset register.

5.1.6 Impact of Exchange Rate Fluctuations on the Budgets of Kenya Missions Abroad

Kenya maintains approximately 70 diplomatic missions across the globe. The missions serve as critical channels for foreign policy and citizen services with key financial obligations being;

- Payment of salaries and allowances for Kenyan and local staff.
- Payment of rental and other operational costs pegged to local currencies.
- Payment of goods and services procured in foreign currencies.

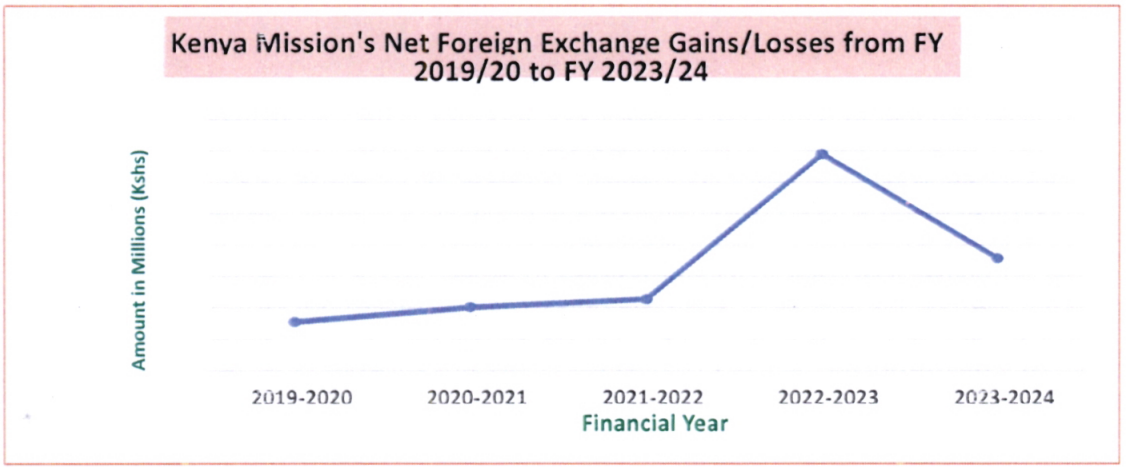
The Kenya shilling has depreciated against major global currencies such as the US Dollar and the Euro leading to increased financial outlays for missions abroad. Missions in high inflation or volatile currency regions face disproportionately high operational costs. They face significant increases in rent and utilities often priced in local currencies.

Due to exchange rate fluctuations, the Kenya Missions have suffered reduction in budgetary provisions over the years leading to inadequate funding of foreign missions affecting their operations and reputation abroad. Several missions have dilapidated buildings due to the high cost of maintenance precipitated by foreign currency losses. Staff in most Foreign Missions cannot meet basic needs such as rent and school fees.

Prior to 2013, the National Treasury used to compensate the foreign missions for the reduction in budgetary allocations due to Foreign Exchange losses through a budget line titled **"Forex Loss Assumption Facility"**. This facility was removed in FY 2013/2014.

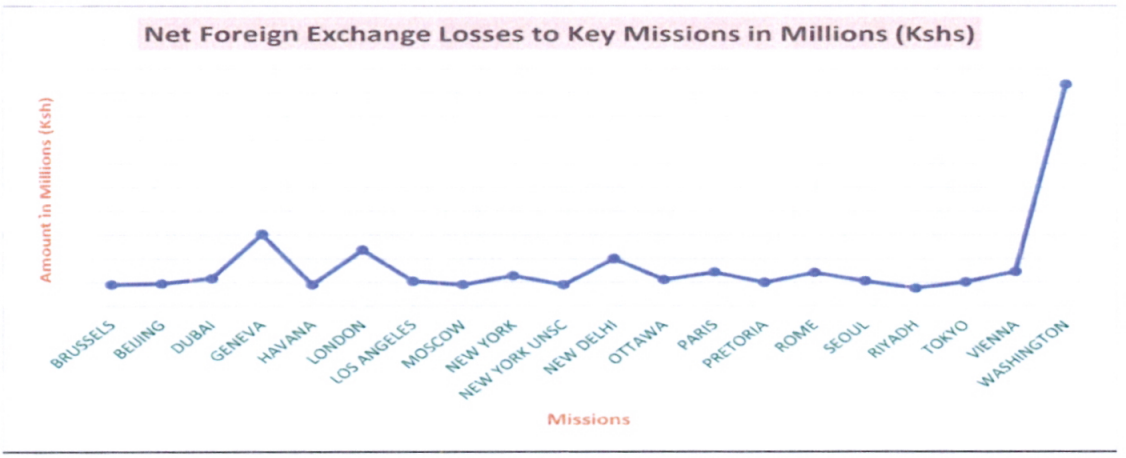
From FY 2019/20 to FY 2023/24 the Foreign Currency Exchange (Forex) losses amounted to approximately **Kshs. 3.26 billion.** In FY 2022/23 the Forex losses were the highest at **Kshs. 1.38 billion** as illustrated in Figure 8 below.

Figure 8 : Kenya Mission's Net Foreign Exchange Gains/Losses from FY 2019/20 to FY 2023/24



During the above period, key missions suffered heavy forex losses as illustrated below;

Figure 9:Net Foreign Exchange Losses to Key Missions in Millions (Kshs)



Over the years, the forex losses have had a negative impact on the operations and reputation of the missions.

Recommendations

- Re- establish the Contingency Fund to cushion the Missions against Forex Losses.
- Consideration should be made to reinstate the "Forex Loss Assumption Facility."

5.2 Countering Terrorism and other Threats to National Security

Kenya's Foreign Policy recognizes that terrorism and violent extremism are a complex, dynamic and transnational threat to its national security and development. The policy acknowledges that structural, enabling and individual factors prevalent in Kenya and the region have created vulnerabilities that are exploited to radicalise and recruit individuals and

conditions conducive for the rise of terrorist groups. These conditions include conflict, poverty, the climate crisis, political fragility and geopolitical differences, the proliferation of arms, poorly governed areas, under-regulated and under-moderated virtual spaces, perceived injustice, among others. Both the National Counter Terrorism Policy and the National Strategy to Prevent and Counter Violent Extremism recognize that terrorism and violent extremism are a transnational threat and refer to the Foreign Policy to rally regional and international efforts to degrade these shared threats. However, funding and capacity strengthening to enable the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs to play its role in rallying regional and international efforts in countering terrorism remains insufficient.

Kenya has been a victim of intermitted terrorist attacks which led to deaths and destruction. These attacks have contributed to shaping Kenya's foreign relations.

Historically, Kenya has been the target of many terrorist attacks since the first attack in 1975 on a crowded bus in central Nairobi. The history of terrorist attacks on Kenyan territory includes the 1980 bombing of Norfolk Hotel; 1998 United States Embassy bombings; the 2002 Kikambala Hotel bombing and Arkia Airlines missile attack in Mombasa; the 2012 al-Shabaab attacks; 2013 Westgate Mall shooting; the 2014 Mpeketoni attacks; 2015 Garissa University attack; 2019 Nairobi Dusitd2 complex attack and the 2020 Camp Simba attack, among others. This history explains Kenya's resilience and the foreign relations dimensions in Kenya security posture.

As a core state and a net security provider in the region and the continent, Kenya shall continue to lead regional and international efforts to realize a future free of terrorism.

Recommendations

- Prioritize peace and security while establishing strategic security and defense alliances for the homeland security and global peace and stability. For example, Kenya's position as a Major Non-NATO Ally of the United States of America is a key designation that Kenya can leverage to enhance it national security as well as the regional security given that the country is the only one in the Sub-Sahara Africa region.
- Invest in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism as well as modernization of security system in the country. This requires collective security approaches with Kenya's partners.
- Deploy Foreign Policy instruments to rally regional and international efforts to degrade the shared threats of terrorism.

5.3 Strategic Communication and Public Awareness

5.3.1 Foreign Policy Mashinani

Lack of an effective Strategic communication of the activities and achievements in the diplomatic sphere has attracted criticism and misinformation as well as alienated citizens from the foreign affairs of the country. The rapid globalization, driven by aspects such as technology continue to create opportunities as well as challenges for foreign policy. The

weaponization of social media and digital technology have caused violent conflicts and insecurity, as well as fomented misinformation and disinformation, creating a major communication challenge.

There is a need to develop appropriate methods for effective engagement with the Media; increase the visibility of the country's diplomatic milestones; enhance and promote public diplomacy; expansion of communication channels to enhance and maintain a positive image of the country; and developing strategic communication and publicity for the Foreign Policy document to reach broad sectors of the nation and people.

5.3.2 Diaspora Policy Mashinani

Expansion of the communication strategy and public awareness will also include the sensitization of the diaspora Policy, where the mandate of the State Department; information on contacting the Ministry in cases of distress situation of family members abroad; process for placement of jobs abroad will be shared and enhance engagement with the diaspora and their kin.

In this regard, parliament as the representative of the people contribute in creating an interface between the people and the country's foreign policy.

Recommendations

- The Foreign Policy 2024 document shall be translated into Kiswahili, and a public awareness and sensitization programme called Foreign Policy Mashinani, undertaken across the country to ensure Kenyans engage with the document and connect with the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya.
- The Diaspora Policy 2024 and the Information booklets of the State Department for Diaspora Affairs shall be translated into Kiswahili and shared during sensitization programmes in the counties.
- This will enable the citizens to understand and appreciate the role of foreign policy in the daily lives, in the sustainable development and prosperity of our country.

5.4 Clarity of Country Positions on Strategic Foreign Policy Issues

Kenya has revised and published its Foreign Policy to guide the country's engagement with other actors in the international arena. However, the Policy being largely a broad framework is not explicit on how Kenya should respond to or what position should the country take in regard to some issues deemed strategic or contentious and, in some cases, have potential to strain the diplomatic relations between Kenya and other states if not well handled. Therefore, there is a need to establish a country position so as to provide clarity on Kenya's position on various issues of strategic importance to the country.

Kenya Country Positions on Strategic Foreign Policy Issues

- The country positions should be guided by the spirit and letter of the Foreign Policy principles namely; to promote resolution of conflicts by peaceful means; ensure good neighbourliness and non-interference, ensure Peaceful coexistence with other nations, promotion of Pan-Africanism, adherence to nonalignment, practicing reciprocity. These principles should be backed by national values including patriotism, human rights and dignity, good governance and sustainable development.
- Kenya country positions will align with the African Union and United Nations collective positions and decisions, and the country's national interest to maintain mutually beneficial bilateral relations with as many states as possible.
- In West Asia, on Israel-Palestine crisis Kenya aligns itself to the African Union's (AU) position that espouses the achievement of a two-state solution through negotiations founded on relevant UN resolutions, and supports homegrown solutions based on socio-cultural tolerance in the region's conflict system.
- Kenya enjoys cordial bilateral relations with China and espouses the One-China Policy. The multi-Island territory of Taiwan which as at May 2024, is recognized by 11 out of 193 members of the United Nations. This includes only one African country. Nominally, in practice, to be considered a country in contemporary global arena, a territory must be diplomatically recognized by two-thirds of the 193 members states of the UN including all five permanent members of the UN Security Council (UNSC) and at least four of the 10 non-permanent members of the UNSC.
- On the Russia-Ukraine conflict, Kenya aligns itself with the positions of the G77 and the African Group, which tends to be neutral. Kenya advocates for the pacific resolution of conflict and the equitable applicability of international doctrines, norms and customs as well as the respect for fundamental freedoms guaranteed by sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Outcomes of Country Positions	
• Authoritative articulation of Country position by the Head of State and other policy makers • Defending under all circumstances what the Country considers as irreducible minimum (e.g. Sovereignty and Territorial integrity) • Robust response to contending issues either at bilateral or multilateral level • Adapting Country position to emerging and evolving issues (e.g. Morocco's readmission to African Union and the Kenya's position on Sahrawi Republic)	• Balancing of Kenya's interest vis -a -vis other regional and global players. (Balance Regional versus continental versus global interests) • Consistent country position articulated by key interlocutors at both bilateral and multilateral level • Advancing strategic national interests and promoting solutions to challenges that confront the Country • Aligning of national interests to those of regional groups and other like-minded partners at the global level.

CHAPTER 6: FOREIGN POLICY FINANCING AND STRUCTURAL GOVERNANCE

6.1 Structural Governance

Article 232 of the Constitution of Kenya as read together with the Foreign Service Act, Cap 185(e) require that the foreign service exhibits high standards of professionalism, efficiency and effectiveness in the discharge of its mandate. The successful implementation of this Policy is predicated on working in collaboration with MDACs and key stakeholders through a Whole of Government and Whole of Society Approach. The responsibilities of a Foreign Service Officer in advancing national interests and implementing Kenya's Foreign Policy require a firm grounding in the practice of diplomacy; hands-on tactics of foreign policy implementation; understanding of mandates and skillful coordination with MDACs and other relevant actors for effective implementation of Kenya's Foreign Policy in host countries.

The Foreign Service Academy (FSA) will contribute to the implementation of the Policy by strengthening the human resource development and capabilities, including policy research and analysis. The forum of retired foreign service officers including ambassadors and special envoys will be engaged to tap their wealth of experience and expertise towards advancing effective implementation of the foreign policy.

6.1.1 The Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs

The Ministry, shall be the main implementer of the Policy as mandated by the Constitution and Executive Order No. 2/2023. It shall be responsible for Management of Kenya's Foreign Policy; Projection, Promotion and Protection of Kenya's Interest and Image globally.

The Ministry will work closely with other MDAs, County Governments, Parliament, and the Judiciary to coordinate the whole of government approach in the implementation of the policy. It will facilitate interministerial meetings to formulate the country's common position and advance its interests at the bilateral and multilateral level.

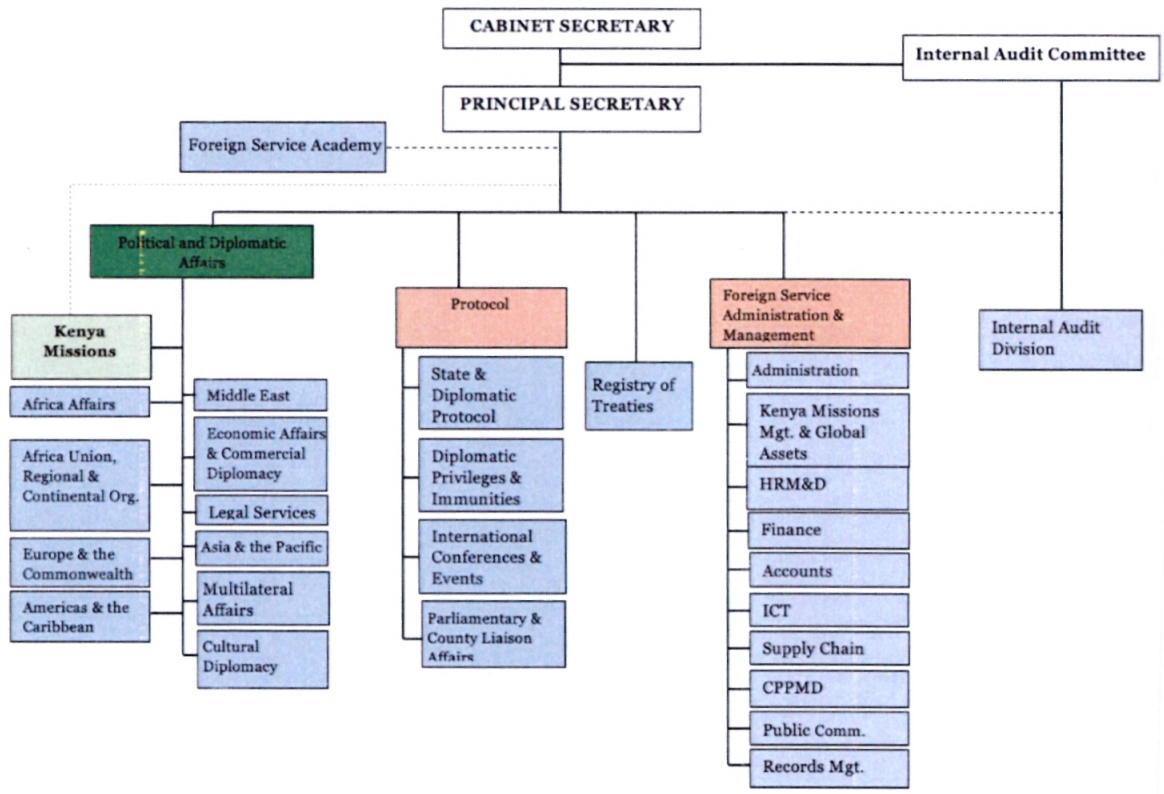
The Ministry comprises two departments: the State Department for Foreign Affairs and the State Department for Diaspora Affairs.

The Ministry is headed by the Cabinet Secretary who provides strategic leadership and policy guidance. The Principal Secretaries, responsible to the Cabinet Secretary, are the administrative and accounting officers of respective state departments. The Principal Secretary will be supported by key technical and administrative directorates at the ministry headquarters.

The technical directorates are mandated to coordinate bilateral relations with specific geographical regions and with regional, UN agencies and international organizations. The administration directorates will support the administrative and operational functions to facilitate effective implementation of its mandate.

6.2 State Department for Foreign Affairs

Figure 10 : Organizational Structure of the State Department for Foreign Affairs



Source: State Department for Foreign Affairs

6.2.1 Transformation of the Technical Fund for Regional Cooperation to Kenya International Technical Cooperation Agency

The promotion of Kenya's interests and realization of its foreign policy objectives in the region calls for the deployment of appropriate resources to leverage its soft power and strengthen its anchor state status in the region. In 2015, the Government of Kenya established the Technical Fund for Regional Cooperation to provide support for countries in the Horn of Africa, East Africa, IGAD, and the Great Lakes region focusing on areas with high impact to the communities of recipient countries.

The Fund will be transformed into the Kenya International Technical Cooperation Agency (KITCA) which will be mandated to provide technical support to regional partners in areas such as education, training and capacity building, democracy and good governance, peacebuilding, post-conflict reconstruction, and humanitarian support among others. The establishment of the Agency will be anchored in law through relevant amendments to the Foreign Service Act and the subsequent regulations.

The objectives of the Agency will be to:

i. Support technical assistance and stabilization interventions in fragile states in the region;
ii. Facilitate realization of Kenya's diplomatic objectives in political, economic, environment and peace and security interests in the region;
iii. Facilitate reinforcing Kenya's leadership role regionally and globally;
iv. Link people and institutions from other countries to Kenya through training, technical cooperation and capacity building;
v. Foster an appreciation of Kenya's values, achievements and desire to realize shared prosperity; and,
vi. Support other initiatives in the realization of Kenya's Foreign policy objectives.

6.2.2 Review and Development of the Legal Framework

A sound legal framework is essential for the effective operation of the Ministry and implementation of its key mandate towards the realization of Kenya's foreign policy objectives. The Ministry will prioritize the review and development of a sound legal framework to strengthen its operating environment and respond to domestic and international dynamics.

The Foreign Service Act provides a key basis for the administration of Kenya's Foreign Service and its review and full operationalization through development of Foreign Service Regulations will be prioritized. The review of the Foreign Service Act (2021) is informed by the need to align the Act with this Policy and ensure that the legal and policy framework for the management and administration of Kenya's foreign service remains relevant in the evolving global diplomatic landscape. The aim of the review is to identify gaps, in the Act and make the necessary amendments that will strengthen the institutional capacity, professionalism and accountability of the Kenyan Foreign Service as well as align it to existing policies and laws. Comprehensive Foreign Service Regulations will be developed to ensure the effective implementation of the Act.

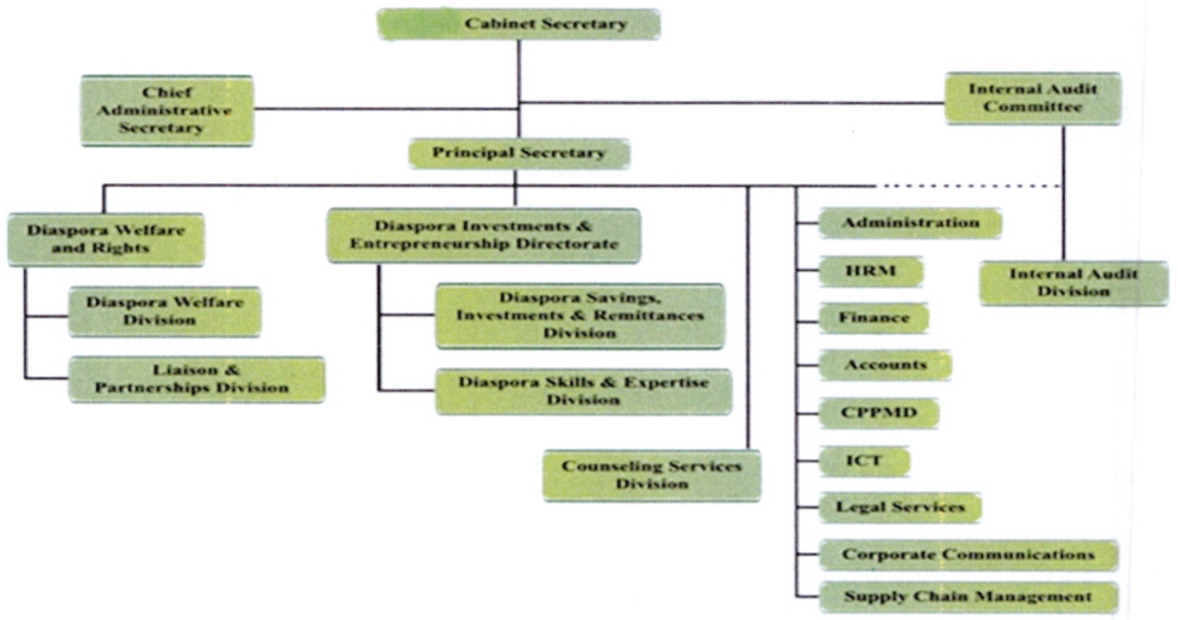
Article 132 (2)(e) of the Constitution gives the President of the Republic of Kenya, the prerogative to appoint High Commissioners, Ambassadors and Diplomatic and Consular Representatives. Section 20 (3) (a) of the Act provides that nomination of High Commissioners, Ambassadors and Diplomatic and Consular representatives should reflect a fair balance between career diplomats and other appointees. The Ministry will present amendments to the Act to, among other things, provide for the progressive realization of the objective to enhance Kenya's diplomatic representation to consist of the bulk of High Commissioners, Ambassadors and Diplomatic and Consular representatives drawn from career diplomats and other appointees in the ratio of 70:30 respectively among other changes.

The Privileges and Immunities Act (2012) will also be reviewed to strengthen Kenya's capacity to attract and host regional, UN and other Inter Governmental Agencies and international organizations. The Ministry of Foreign & Diaspora Affairs is mandated with the responsibility of negotiating and concluding Host Country Agreements with the Inter-Governmental Organizations and External Agencies as well as the grant and administration of diplomatic privileges and immunities to International Organization and its officials.

To enhance Nairobi as a multilateral and financial hub, the administrative and legal framework for the negotiation and administration of host country agreements will be strengthened. The framework forms the basis for provision of immunities and privileges to facilitate effective hosting and operations of Inter-Governmental Organizations and External Agencies.

6.3 State Department for Diaspora Affairs

Figure 11 : Organizational Structure of the State Department for Diaspora Affairs



Source: State Department for Diaspora Affairs

The Department focuses on diaspora engagement, mapping, and protection. Key initiatives include Safehouses for distressed citizens abroad and frameworks for leveraging diaspora contributions in national development projects. Strengthening partnerships with organizations like the International Organization for Migration (IOM) enhances these efforts. Also included in the structural governance of the State Department for Diaspora Affairs is Diaspora Placement Agency (DPA)

6.3.1 Diaspora Placement Agency (DPA)

The Diaspora Placement Agency (DPA) was established in 2023 under the State Department for Diaspora Affairs, as the bridge between Kenyan talent and the international labor market, DPA focuses on securing employment for our workforce abroad and branding Kenyan professionals as highly skilled and reliable on the global stage.

Objectives of the Agency

i. Position Kenya as a leading labour market brand and position Kenyan talent for the global labour market.
ii. Provide global labour market information to Kenyan talent seeking opportunities abroad.
iii. Create linkages between potential foreign employers and Kenyan Talent through our Kazi Majuu Portal.
iv. Facilitate pre-migration training in preparation for employment and facilitate the preparation of document, visa interviews, and travel documents

6.4 Financing of Foreign Policy

The effective implementation of Kenya's foreign policy and the realization of its objectives requires the deployment of appropriate human and financial resources.

Over the years, the Government has made significant investments to advance Kenya's foreign policy agenda. However, the evolution in global and regional geopolitical and socio-economic dynamics coupled with the country's development aspirations and governance changes have led to the expansion of the foreign policy agenda and the need for more resources to achieve the desired objectives.

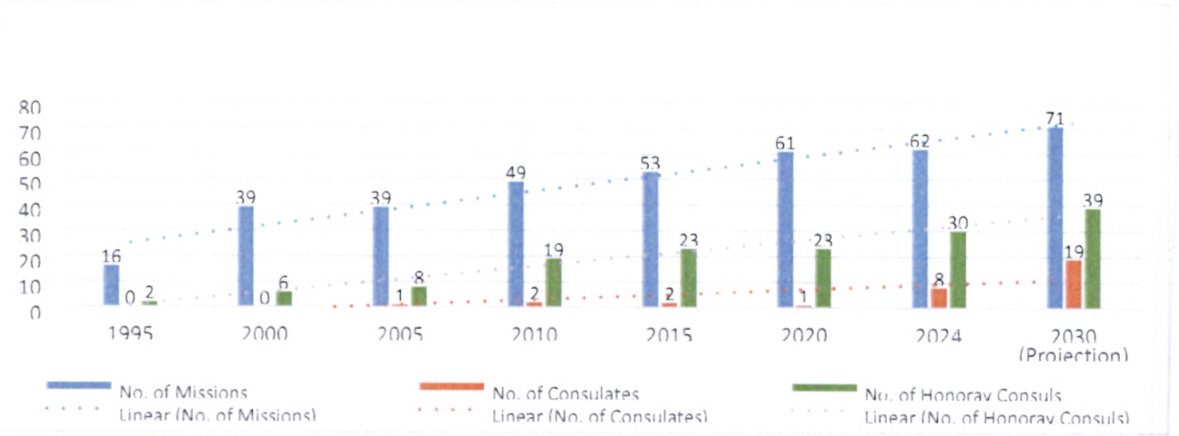
6.4.1 Funding of the Foreign Service

Over the last decade, the funding allocated towards the foreign relations function have remained stagnant despite the evolving mandate of the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs, as demonstrated by the growth of the Foreign Service Cadre, evolving regional peace and security situation and the increasing demand for diplomatic interventions, the expansion of Kenya's diplomatic footprint and the corresponding need for diplomatic infrastructure. The key drivers of Kenya's diplomatic and foreign relations growth include the following:

6.4.2 Expansion of Kenya's diplomatic footprint

Over the last twenty years, Kenya's diplomatic footprint which includes fully fledged diplomatic missions, honorary consulates and liaison offices has expanded significantly from 16 missions in 1995 to the current 70 Missions, spread across the globe as follows: 29 Missions in Africa, 15 missions in Europe, 9 missions in the Middle East, 10 missions in Asia and the Pacific and 7 in the Americas. This translates to an average of 2 missions per year. It is projected that by the year 2030, Kenya will establish an additional 10 missions.

Figure 12 : Expansion of Kenya's Diplomatic Footprint (1995 to 2030)



Source: State Department for Foreign Affairs

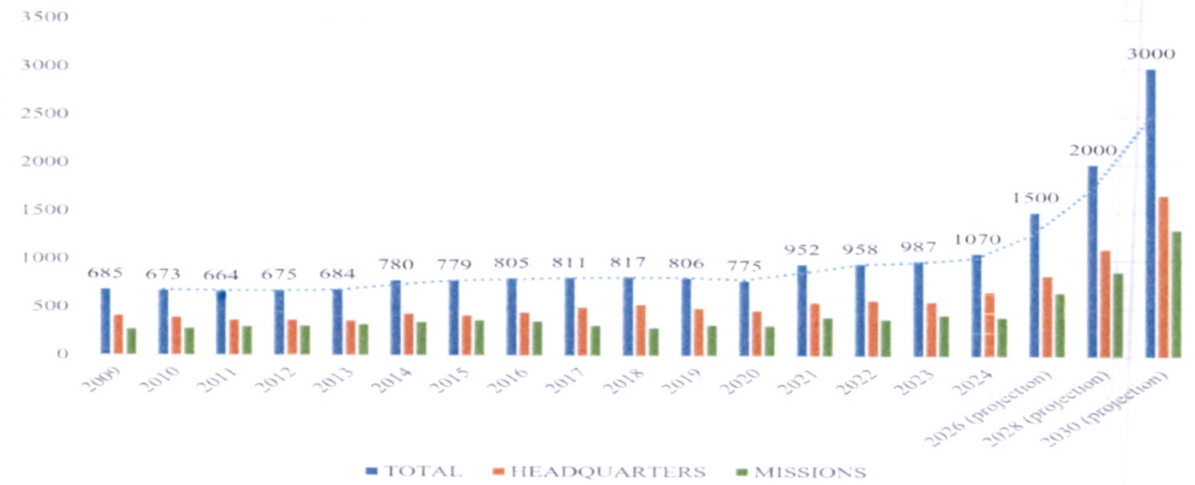
6.4.3 Growth of the Staff Establishment for the State Department for Foreign Affairs

The human resource requirements for Kenya's foreign service have continued to increase since 2009. The Ministry's staff establishment has expanded from a total of 685 in 2009 to the current establishment of 1,070 personnel in 2024, a growth of 56.2 percent. Out of its current establishment, 399 members of staff are deployed in Kenya Missions while the remaining 671 are deployed at the Ministry Headquarters. Presently, the missions are acutely understaffed due to inadequate funding. The situation is even more demanding in the multilateral stations where the scope of work and workload is greater.

The staff establishment is projected to be over 3,000 in the next 5 years to cater for the increased workload and projected growth in the diplomatic footprint in the realization of Kenya's foreign policy objectives.

The distribution of personnel as well as the projected growth is shown in Figure 13 below.

Figure 13 : Growth and Distribution of Personnel (2009 to 2030)



Source: Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs

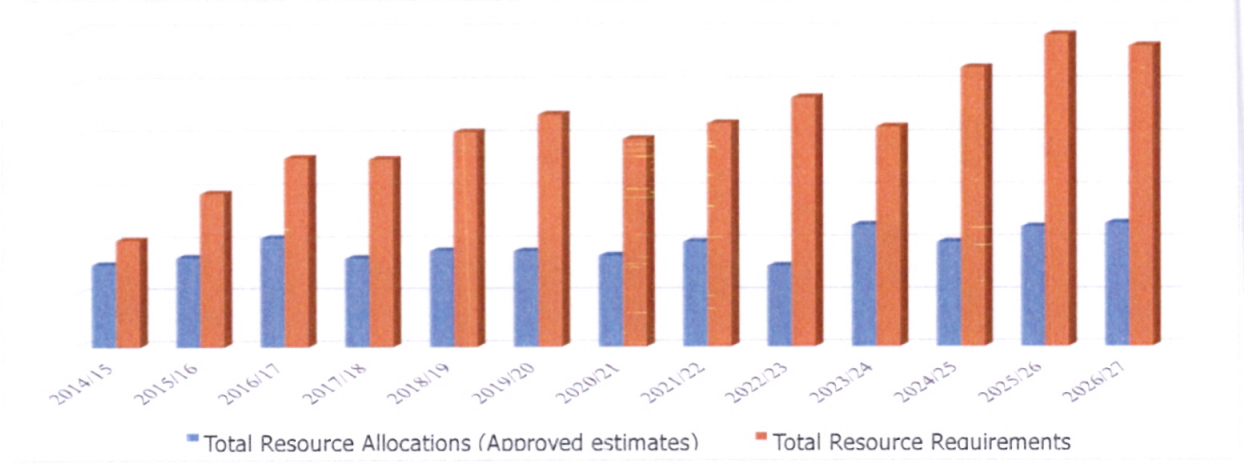
6.4.4 Evolution of the State Department's Budget 2014 to 2024

Trend in Resource Requirements vs Allocation: 2014 to 2027

Despite the steady expansion in the mandate, functions, activities and personnel of the Foreign Service, resource allocation has remained largely stagnant for an extended period. Moreover, the Policy anticipates continued growth in the resource requirements in the near term, while approved exchequer remain well below requirements. Between the 2014/2015 and 2026/2027 financial years, the total resource requirements for the State Department for Foreign Affairs have shown a significant upward trend, as depicted in Figure 14. These requirements rose from Ksh 20.5 billion in 2014/2015 to Ksh 52.9 billion in 2024/2025, representing a 158 % increase over 10 years. Projections for 2026/2027 indicate an increase to Ksh 57.02 billion, reflecting a cumulative growth of 178% from the 2014/2015 baseline.

Allocations from the exchequer have also steadily increased during this period. From Ksh 15.7 billion in 2014/2015, to Ksh 21.65 billion in 2024/2025, marking a growth of 37.9%. By 2026/2027, the allocations are projected to reach Ksh 23.49 billion, representing an increase of 49.6% from 2014/2015 levels. Despite this growth, the rate of increase in exchequer allocations significantly trails the rise in total resource requirements, highlighting a widening funding gap over time.

Figure 14 : Total Resource Requirements vs Approved Allocations, FY 2014/2015 to FY2026/27 (Kshs million)



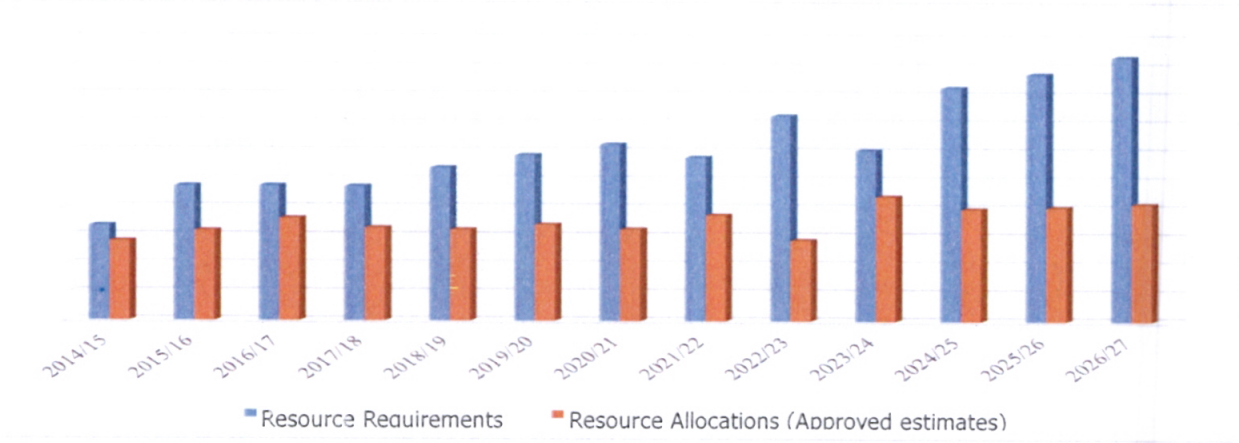
Source: Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs and The National Treasury

Trend in Recurrent Budget Requirements vs Allocation: 2013 to 2027

Over the period under review, recurrent expenditure requirements have shown a significant upward trend, as outlined in Figure 15. These requirements increased from Ksh 16.8 billion in FY 2014/15 to Ksh 41.37 billion in 2024/25, representing a growth of 146% over the decade. Projections for 2026/2027 indicate that the requirements will rise to Ksh 46.76 billion, representing an increase of 178% from the 2014/15 baseline. In contrast, approved allocations for recurrent expenditure have grown at a much slower rate. Allocations rose

from Ksh 14.08 billion in 2014/15 to Ksh 19.25 billion in 2024/25, reflecting an increase of 36.7% over the ten-year period. By 2026/2027, these allocations are projected to reach Ksh 20.79 billion, indicating a cumulative growth of 47.7% from the 2014/15 level.

Figure 15: Recurrent Expenditure Requirements vs Approved Allocations FY 2014/15 – FY 2026/27 (Kshs million)

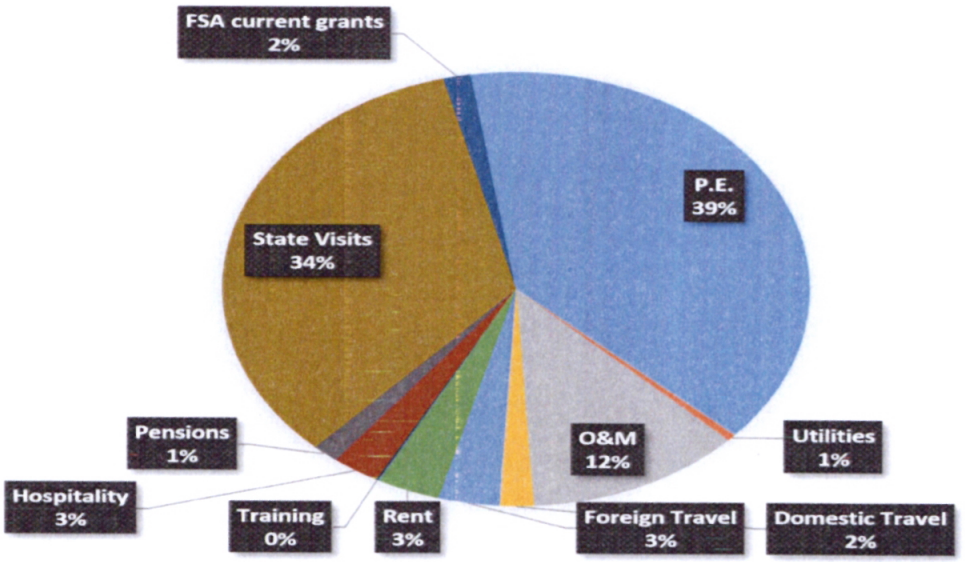


Source: Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs

Analysis of Recurrent Budget by Expenditure Items: A Case Study of Ministry Headquarters and Select Missions

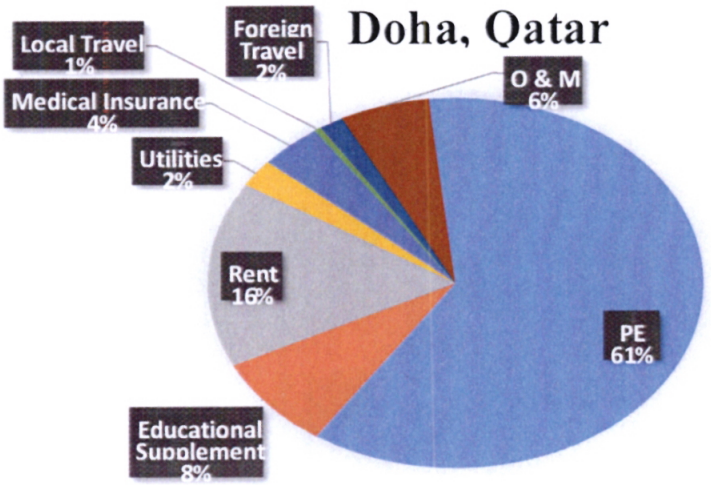
1. State Department for Foreign Affairs Headquarters Budget

- **SDFA HQs**



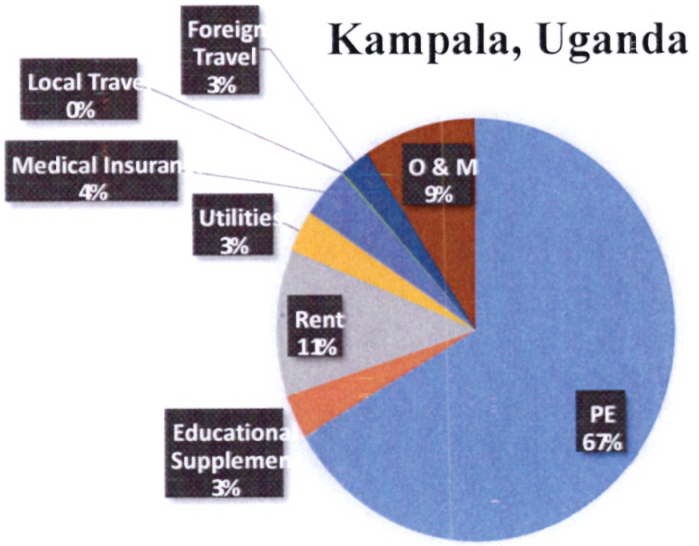
The total budget allocated to SDFA headquarters for FY 2024/25 is Kshs. 5,179,629,643 with Personal emoluments (P.E.) taking 39%, State Visits 34% and Operations and Maintenance (O&M) 12%.

2. A Case of Middle East



The total budget allocated to the Kenya Mission in Doha, Qatar for 2024/25 is Kshs. 227,871,161. Of this PE takes up 61% (Kshs. 139,421,197) while O&M is allocated only 6%.

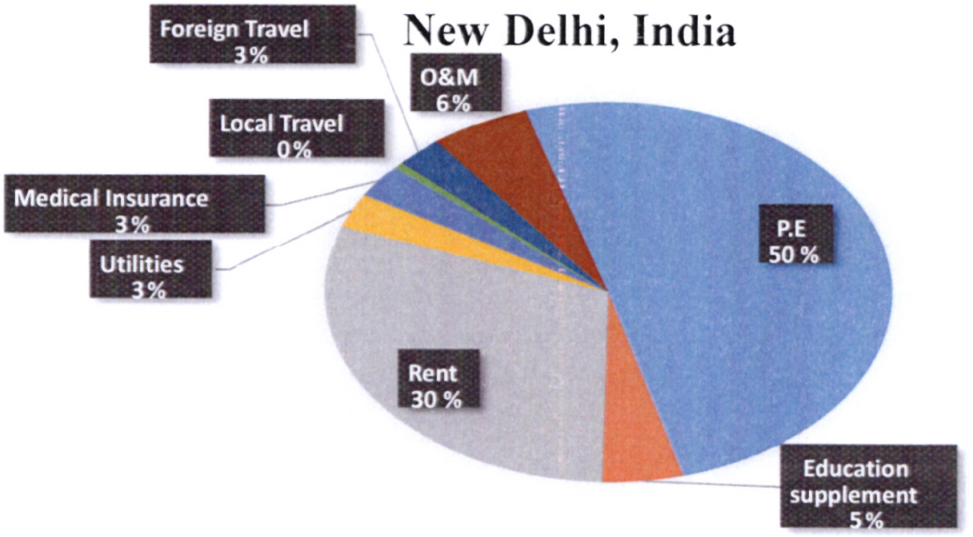
3. A Case of Africa



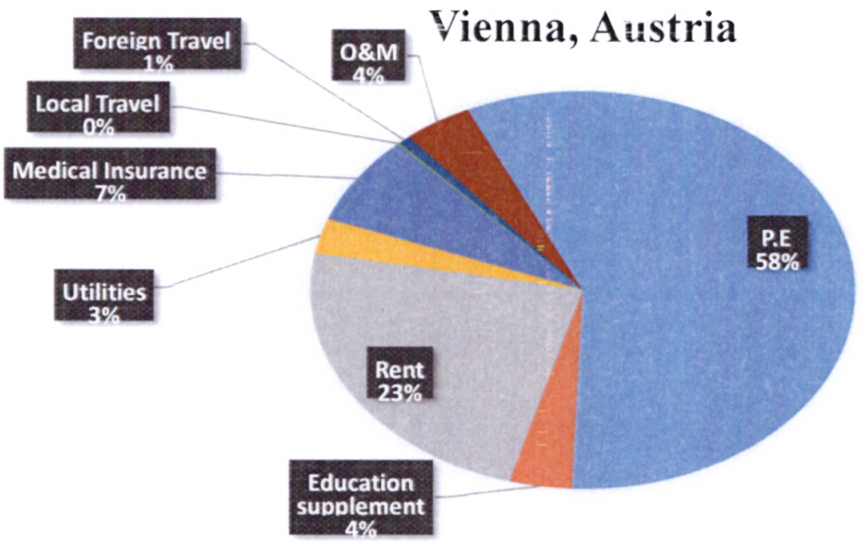
Total mission budget is Kshs. 200,796,953. PE takes up 67% of the Mission's budgetary allocation while O&M is allocated only 9%.

4. A Case of Asia

The total budget allocated to the Kenya Mission in New Delhi, India for 2024/25 is Kshs. 268,274,871. Of this PE takes up 50% (Kshs. 135,404,501) while O&M is allocated only 6%..



5. A Case of Europe

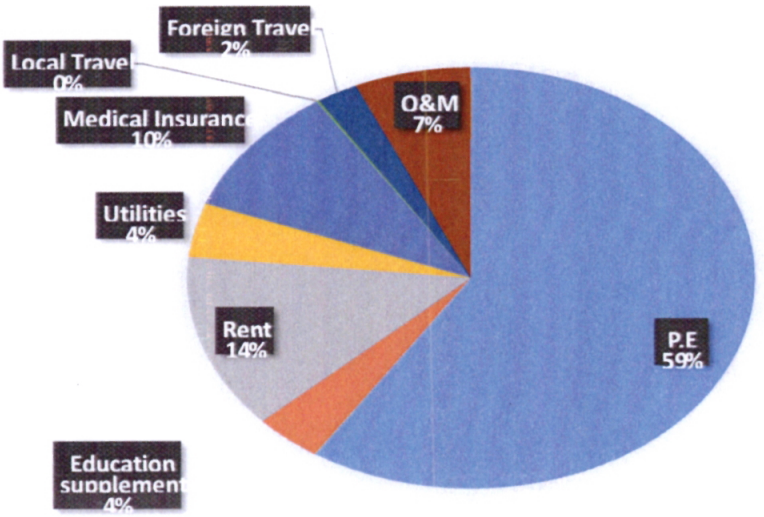


The total budget allocated to the Kenya Mission in Vienna, Austria for 2024/25 is Kshs. 329,853,021. Of this PE takes up 58% (Kshs. 189,924,922) while O&M is allocated only 4%.

6. A Case of Americas

The total budget allocated to the Kenya Mission in New York, USA for 2024/25 is Kshs. 450,557,074. Of this PE takes up 59% (Kshs. 267,197,118) while O&M is allocated only 7%.

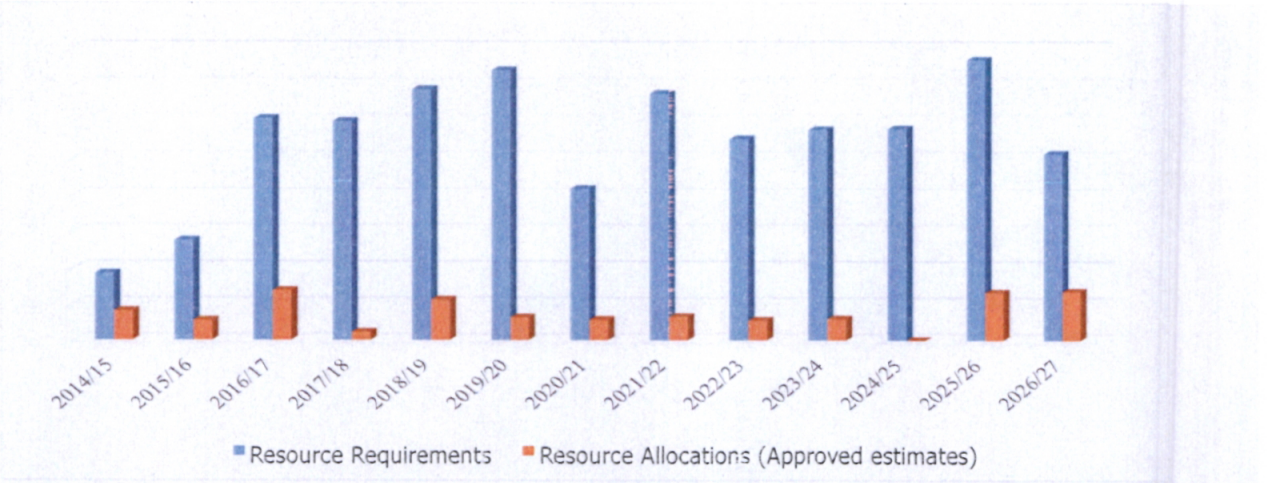
New York, USA



Trend in Development Budget Requirements vs Allocation: 2013 to 2027

An analysis of resource allocation for development activities vis-à-vis resource requirements between the FY 2014/15 and projections for FY 2026/27 shows a large disparity between the expanded mandate of the Foreign Service and exchequer allocations for development. In FY 2014/15 allocations stood at Ksh 1.62 billion, representing just 11.8% of the required Ksh 13.75 billion. Similarly, the State Department projects development requirements of Ksh 10.25 billion for FY 2026/27, against approved estimates of Ksh 2.7 billion, indicate a 74 per cent shortfall.

Figure 16 :Development Expenditure Requirements vs Approved Allocations FY 2014/15 – FY 2026/27



Source: State Department for Foreign Affairs; The National Treasury

6.4.5 Funding Kenya's Diplomatic Infrastructure through Public Private Partnership

The Government of Kenya has acquired its diplomatic properties mainly through purchase, construction and leasing. The focus has been to prioritize ownership as opposed to leasing to reduce the escalating expenditure on leasing. The current portfolio of government-owned properties comprises; 22 Chanceries, 20 Ambassadors' residences, 76 staff houses, 2 commercial buildings and 3 undeveloped plots all spread in 29 out of 68 Missions.

Locally, the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs has custody of the Old Treasury building, which currently serves as the Ministry headquarters.

The portfolio of leased properties comprises 43 Chanceries, 46 Ambassador's residences and 300 - 350 staff houses spread across the globe. In addition, the Government owns two (2) properties in Nairobi which serve as Chanceries to the Kenya Missions to UNON/UNEP and UN-HABITAT.

The cumulative rental expenditure for all Missions stands at approximately KSh. 3 billion per year and comprises 25% of the total Ministry's recurrent budget. The budgetary provision for acquisition and maintenance in the Missions and at the headquarters has been largely inadequate, and significantly lower compared to the Ministry's budgetary submissions to The National Treasury for planned capital projects.

The PPP Act, 2021 promotes private sector participation in public infrastructure projects. The Act presents an opportunity to structure a PPP arrangement with private parties to develop Kenya's diplomatic infrastructure. In view of the foregoing, the Ministry will work with the National Treasury to enter Public Private Partnership (PPP) arrangements. The PPP approach would achieve: Optimal utilization of idle properties; maximization of the commercial value of the properties and savings in rental costs incurred by the Government

6.5 Financing the State Department for Diaspora Affairs

This section analyses the resource requirements of the State Department for Diaspora Affairs and the corresponding resource mobilization strategies. It also discusses measures that the State Department will put in place to ensure prudent utilization of the resources.

6.5.1 Financial Resources

The State Department will require a total of KES. 22, 862 million to fully implement its Strategic Plan with the bulk of the resources coming from the exchequer. The funds will be used in provision of diaspora and consular services to Kenyans abroad; championing the diaspora welfare and rights; establishment of a Diaspora Integrated Information Management System (DIIMS); facilitating international placement and opportunities for Kenyans; creating an incentive framework for diaspora remittances; hosting of strategic diaspora investment conferences and general implementation of the State Department's core mandate as envisaged in the Executive order No 1 of 2023.

Efforts to finance diaspora-focused initiatives are essential. Public-private partnerships and collaboration with financial institutions help mobilize resources for programs like skill transfer, social security portability, and remittance cost reduction.

Figure 17 : Financial Requirements for implementing the State Department for Diaspora Affairs Strategic Plan

Cost Item (KRA=Key Results Area)	Projected Resource Requirements (KES. millions)					
	2023/24	2024/25	2025/26	2026/27	2027/28	Total
KRA 1: Welfare and Rights	210	1,370	880	950	980	**4,390**
KRA 2: Savings, Investment and Remittances	190	667	797	767	837	**3,258**
KRA 3: Diaspora Skills, Expertise and Technology Transfer	165	1,660	1,235	1,205	1,045	**5,310**
KRA 4: Diaspora Engagement and partnerships	128	468	468	468	468	**2,000**
KRA 5: Policy, Legal and Institutional Frameworks	139	999	1,119	1,119	489	**3,865**
Administrative Costs	799	804	804	815	817	**4,039**
TOTAL	**1,631**	**5,968**	**5,303**	**5,324**	**4,636**	**22,862**

Source: State Department for Diaspora Affairs

Over the Plan period up to 2027/28 FY, it is projected that the State Department will have been allocated a cumulative total of KES. 5.57 billion from the exchequer through the Medium-Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF). The annual Strategic Plan funding

requirements and funding shortfall are indicated in the table below. The five-year cumulative funding shortfall over the plan period is KES. 17, 285 billion.

Figure 18 : Resource Gap

Financial Year	Estimated Financial Requirements (KES. Millions)	Estimated Allocation (KES. Millions)	Variance (KES. Millions)
FY 2023/24	1,631	1,114	517
FY 2024/25	5,968	1,115	4,853
FY 2025/26	5,303	1,116	4,187
FY 2026/27	5,324	1,116	4,208
FY 2027/28	4,636	1,116	3,520
Total	22,862	5,577	17,285

Source: State Department for Diaspora Affairs

CHAPTER 7: STRATEGIC RISK MANAGEMENT, RECOMMENDATIONS AND PETITIONS

7.1 Strategic Risk Management

Mitigating risks or threats to the implementation of the Foreign Policy requires identification of the risks and mitigation measures. The risks include internal and external factors that may hinder or negatively impact the successful implementation of the foreign policy. The risk categories, as outlined below, are based on the likelihood of occurrence, expected impact, and proposed actions for mitigation, monitoring, and reporting.

Figure 19 :The Risk Universe of Kenya Foreign Policy implementation process



7.2 Strategic Risk of Kenya's Foreign Implementation Process

7.2.1 Legal Risks

Changes in laws emanating from outside Kenya could materially affect the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy.

There could also be cases of incompatibility of laws and policies with countries hosting Kenyan missions. For instance, incompatibility of the Public Procurement and Assets Disposal Act, 2015 with procurement procedures and practices in foreign countries: This affects implementation of capital projects of Kenya's foreign missions. Notable areas of

incompatibility include different procurement practices in host countries, non-recognition of Kenya's contractual documents in other countries. In some countries, quotations/tenders are submitted in a foreign language, and inconsistencies in the translation causes delays in the procurement. This can also lead to slow absorption of allocated funds.

7.2.2 Foreign Exchange Losses

The Ministry's Budget is in Kenya Shillings while the spending units utilize host country currencies. Consequently, depreciation of the Kshs exchange rate results in foreign exchange losses which reduce the actual amounts available for spending.

7.2.3 Increased competition and shifting geopolitical alignments

The increased competition for markets, tourism, trade and investment among others create certain risks to the country's foreign policy objectives and strategic interests. This could lead to a diminishing market access for Kenya products on the global market and increased competition for trade and investment, as well as competition to attract regional conferencing activities. The geopolitical alignments remain fluid and, in some cases, unpredictable.

7.2.4 Effects of Climate change and natural disasters

Climate Change and Environmental impact can lead to unforeseen events such as natural disasters, diseases among other effects that threaten a country's pursuit of its foreign policy agenda.

7.2.5 Negative effects of austerity measures and budget cuts

In the context of increased demand for adequate budgetary resources on the exchequer to fund diplomatic activities and missions abroad, the budget cuts and austerity measures could lead to inadequacies and financial gaps that hamper planned implementation of the Foreign Policy. For example, budgetary cuts can constrain the ability to respond and evacuate cases of Kenyans in distress abroad.

Similarly, delayed exchequer releases could limit the Ministry's ability to implement its planned programmes in good time disrupting the foreign policy implementation plans and programmes.

7.2.6 Weaponization of technology, Cybersecurity and Espionage

The use of technology for negative aims affects the country's foreign diplomacy. Cyber threats and espionage have grown to be serious problems for nations due to an increase in reliance on technology and the internet.

The rise of information warfare and the spread of disinformation pose risks to public affairs and international relations. Manipulation of information, cyber propaganda, and fake news can shape public opinion, and erode trust. Further, there is increased risk of theft and leakage of information through hacking and cyber-attacks on digital platforms. The digital space remains largely not well regulated and lacks universally applicable regulatory frameworks.

7.2.7 War, conflicts and security threats

Regional and global security remains unpredictable due to emergence of new threats, conflicts and wars across the world. This can lead to diplomatic tensions, humanitarian crises, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and economic crises globally. Terrorism and violent extremisms remain unpredictable. These are major risks to the country's foreign policy interests.

Increased cases of Human Trafficking are a growing risk to Kenya's foreign policy interests. This vice brings forth significant challenges in labor mobility opportunities in foreign countries. Human traffickers target vulnerable persons such as migrants, refugees, and displaced persons who travel abroad in search of employment opportunities and economic advancement.

7.3 Recommendations and Petitions

The following are the requests to Parliament:

(i) Consider and approve the Sessional Paper on the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya, 2024, its contents and petitions.

(ii) Endorse transfer of the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs from Public Administration and International Relations (PAIR) Sector Working Group to the Security Sector Working Group (SSWG). The integration of the Ministry into the Security Sector Working Group formalizes its rightful place within the national security architecture and as provided for in Kenya's Constitution. This will lead to the enhancement of the Ministry's budget ceiling and align all the Ministry's operations within the Security Sector Working Group.

The justification for inclusion of the Ministry in the Security Sector Working group of the medium-term expenditure framework (MTEF) budget is as follows:

1. The Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs is the first line of defence in safeguarding Kenya's sovereignty, interests and global standing. The Ministry is a member of the National Security Council (NSC) and an active participant in regional and global Peace and Security operations. Article 240 of the Constitution of Kenya establishes the National Security Council. Article 240(2)(d) recognizes the Cabinet Secretary responsible for foreign affairs as a member of the NSC.
2. One of the functions of the National Security Council is to integrate the domestic, foreign and military policies to enable the national security organs co-operate and function effectively. The integration of defence, security and foreign policy is a constitutional prerogative that will continue to shepherd Kenya's Foreign Policy.
3. The Ministry is grouped with other security players in all other activities/programmes such as the Departmental Committee on Defense, Intelligence and Foreign Relations of the National Assembly and the Senate Standing Committee on National Security and Foreign Relations.
4. However, this is not the case when it comes to budgeting where the Ministry is grouped under the Sector Working Group for Public Administration and International Relations (PAIR).

5. The Ministry facilitates and coordinates State and Official Visits as well as State Events which are security related functions. Also, the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs coordinates critical diplomatic interventions which are security related in nature such as the deployment of Kenya Security Personnel in Haiti and the Tumaini Peace Initiative and Mediation process on the South Sudan conflict and other diplomatic and humanitarian interventions of a security nature, for instance, evacuating Kenyans in distress abroad such as was the case in Lebanon and Sudan.
6. In collaboration with security agencies and MDAs, the Ministry facilitates and coordinates evacuation and repatriation of Kenyans in distress and mortal remains which are critical security related functions
7. The Ministry's budget is negatively impacted by losses occasioned by foreign exchange fluctuations affecting Kenya Missions abroad.

(iii) Facilitate the transformation of the Technical Fund for Regional Cooperation to Kenya International Technical Cooperation Agency (KITCA) which will be mandated to provide technical support to regional partners as part of soft power in areas such as education, training and capacity building, democracy and good governance, peacebuilding, post-conflict reconstruction, and humanitarian support among others. This calls for the deployment of appropriate resources to enable Kenya leverage its soft power and strengthen its anchor state status in the region.

(iv) Endorse and facilitate the revision of the Foreign Service Act, 2021 and development of its attendant Regulations.

(v) Approve the Budgetary allocation for the Diaspora Welfare Fund due to increased cases of Kenyans in distress abroad and the plight of Migrant Workers.

(vi) Facilitate the establishment of a Contingency Fund to cushion the Missions against Forex Losses. Consideration should be made to reinstate the "Forex Loss Assumption Facility".

(vii) Consider and approve the Adoption of Public Private Partnership (PPP) arrangements for optimal utilization of idle properties; maximization of the commercial value of the properties and savings in rental costs incurred by the Government.; acquisition of new properties and their resultant monetization.

(viii) Consider and approve amendments to the Foreign Service Act to, among other things, provide for the progressive realization of the objective to enhance Kenya's diplomatic representation to consist of a proportion of High Commissioners, Ambassadors and Diplomatic and Consular representatives drawn from career diplomats and other appointees at a proposed ratio of 70:30 respectively among other changes.

(ix) Facilitate the strengthening of the Legal, policy and institutional framework relating to Diaspora matters to improve Diaspora Welfare and Rights; increased Diaspora savings, investments, remittances and technology transfer; increased Diaspora jobs mobility, jobs placements, and skills and technology transfers; and strengthened Diaspora engagement and partnerships including remittance-driven investments through real estate partnerships among others.

(x) Approval of the expansion of the diplomatic footprint to leverage on trade and investment opportunities and position Kenya strategically especially in the emerging blocs like BRICS;

(xi) Facilitate strengthening of collective legal and policy frameworks in the digital space;

(xii) Consider and support a flexible tax regime within the Privileges and Immunities Act that incentivizes the hosting of more multilateral and financial hubs in Kenya so long as the benefits accrued to Kenya is much higher than the taxes foregone;

(xiii) Facilitate the Ministry to acquire and set aside land for allocation to foreign missions accredited to Kenya for the development of residences and chanceries on the basis of reciprocity; meaning that Kenya will also similarly be allocated land to build its mission in the recipient country resulting in reduced development costs.

(xiv) Consider and support the institutionalization of social benefit portability frameworks within regional and international agreements.

(xv) Facilitate the strengthening of institutional and legal framework for successful issuance and investment in diaspora bonds.

CHAPTER 8: MONITORING AND EVALUATION

8.1 The Importance of Measuring Diplomatic Outcomes

This policy recognizes the importance of measuring diplomatic outcomes and their impact. The Ministry will partner with academic institutions and think tanks to develop impact measurement tools to assess the outcomes of this Policy. Both mid-term and end -term reviews will be undertaken to assess progress in implementation and the realization of intended objectives.

A Results Framework will be developed to define specific indicators to measure progress of outcomes and targeted initiatives. The framework will provide an assessment of whether initiatives being undertaken are yielding the desired results. This will facilitate evidence-based decision making and promote learning and continuous improvement during implementation, thus enabling timely adjustments of strategies based on emerging challenges and opportunities. This progressive approach will ensure that the policy adapts to changing global dynamics while maintaining its central alignment with national priorities.

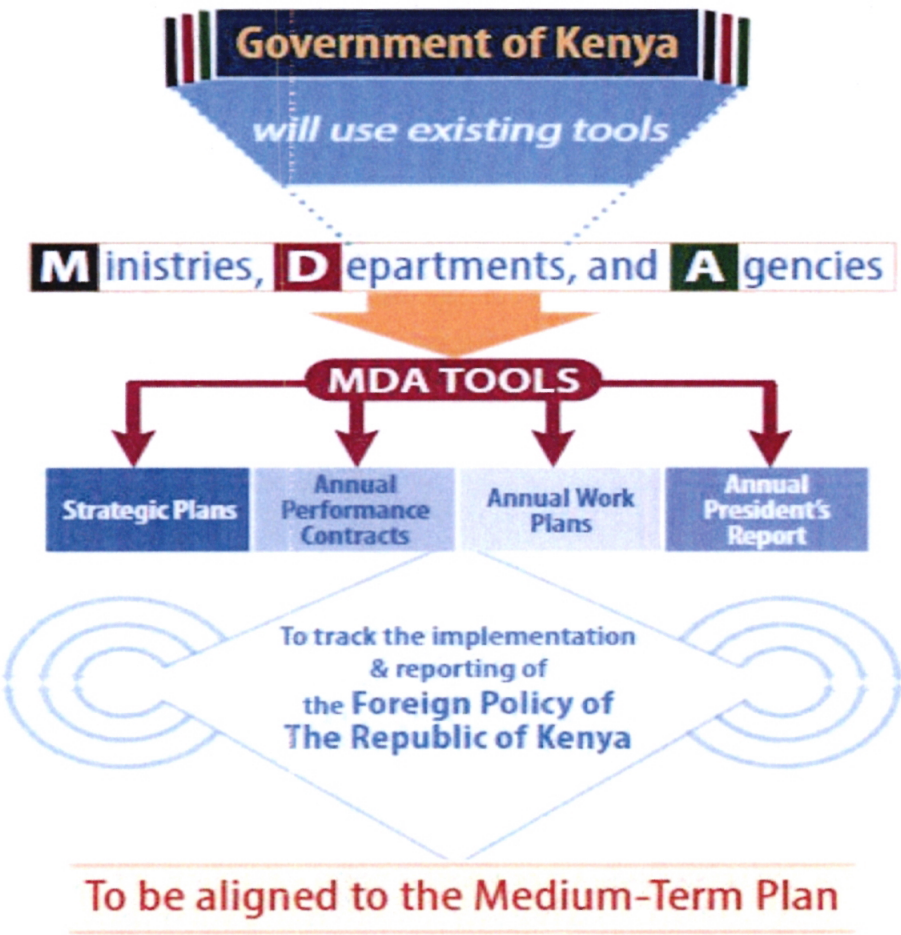
8.2 The National Monitoring and Evaluation Framework

Monitoring and Evaluation of this Policy will be guided by the National Monitoring and Evaluation Framework that is anchored on the National Integrated Monitoring and Evaluation System (NIMES). The Ministry responsible for Foreign and Diaspora Affairs will coordinate the monitoring and evaluation of the Policy to ensure the attainment of its objectives. The Government will also use existing tools, including the MDA Strategic Plans, Annual Performance Contracts, Annual Work Plans, and Annual President's Report to track the implementation and reporting of this policy. The same will be aligned to the Medium-Term Plan Framework. In addition, the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs will prepare Annual Foreign Policy Outlook papers to set the agenda and priorities for implementation at the beginning of each year. Besides, the implementation will be monitored, evaluated, and reported periodically to assess the achievement of the objectives, determine the gaps and challenges facing its implementation, and the corrective actions needed to ensure delivery of the intended results.

The Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) framework integrates diaspora-specific indicators, such as remittance flows, participation in investment projects, and successful labour agreements. Regular assessments ensure alignment with the Kenya Diaspora Policy and foreign policy objectives.

Overall, the Monitoring and Evaluation will require the commitment of all the implementing institutions as provided for in the institutional framework. Moreover, the Policy will be reviewed as the need arises to incorporate emerging issues in both domestic and external operating environments.

Figure 20 : The Monitoring, Evaluation and Reporting Framework for the Foreign Policy of the Republic of Kenya



Source: Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs

Figure 21 : Summary of the Roles of Various Institutions in Implementing Kenya's Foreign Policy

	Institution	Role
1.	The Presidency	The President is the chief diplomat and champions the implementation of this policy. The President carries out this role as contained in the Constitution, Article 132 (2e), 4(b) and 5
2.	The Cabinet	The Cabinet approves and coordinates the Whole of Government and Whole of Society Approach in the implementation of the policy
3.	National Security Council (NSC)	The Council will continue to shepherd Kenya's foreign policy
4.	Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs	The Ministry is responsible for the Management of Kenya's Foreign Policy as per as per its mandate in both the Constitution and Executive Order No. 2/2023. The Ministry is also responsible for the Projection, Promotion and Protection of Kenya's interest and image globally. The Ministry will disseminate and sensitize the contents and the vision of this Foreign Policy to the public.
5.	Foreign Service Academy	The Academy will strengthen the human resource development and capabilities of the foreign service and of other stakeholders for the successful implementation of the policy.
6.	Ministries, Departments and Agencies	MDAs will be engaged in the implementation of the policy, including in ensuring the incorporation of the focus areas into their policies, plans and programmes.
7.	Parliament	Parliament will legislate to give effect to this policy, enact laws that impact foreign policy, ratify international treaties and conventions. They will provide oversight, including vetting of Ambassadors and High Commissioners. The relevant Parliamentary Committees shall be the nexus between MFDA and the Parliament.

8.	Judiciary	The Judiciary will play an important role in policy implementation including in the areas covering international jurisdiction and will position the Kenya Judicial Academy as Africa's hub for judicial dialogues
9.	County Governments	County governments will work closely with the MFDA to promote trade and investments, culture, tourism, sister city partnerships and in the resolution of cross border issues.
10.	Academia	The Academia will provide research-driven insights, facilitate informed dialogues, and contribute to the development of evidence-based strategies.
11.	Private Sector	As key players in trade, investment, and innovation, the Private Sector promotes Kenya's economic interests abroad through partnerships, market expansion, and showcasing of Kenya's products and services.
12.	Civil Society	Civil Society Organisations raise awareness and mobilize public opinion on foreign policy objectives. They align themselves with a common country position in foreign engagements within the framework of "Whole of society approach"
13.	Faith Based Organizations	Faith based institutions play an important role in policy implementation through inter-faith dialogues and in supporting government initiatives.
14.	Diaspora Community	Diaspora will leverage their networks in host countries to contribute towards national development.
15.	The Kenyan People	The number one client on behalf of who the Policy is made and advanced. They constitute a vital catalyst or actors in democratization, of diplomacy.
16.	The Media	The Media are the organ through which citizens are informed about global events which impact Kenya's Foreign policy.
17.	Development Partners/ Regional/ International Organizations	Kenya's bilateral and multilateral partners will provide necessary support in the implementation of the policy
18.	Women	Women will be involved in the promotion of equality and gender inclusion in international relations and diplomacy. They will participate in the implementation of the Women in

			Diplomacy Program which aims to mentor young female students for diplomatic careers and facilitating women to occupy high positions in Kenya's diplomatic missions and international organizations.
19.	Youth		The youth will be actively involved in the implementation of this policy by facilitating their representation in international engagements and through continuous dialogue on topical issues.
20.	Persons with Disability		Persons with Disability will be actively involved in the implementation of this policy by facilitating their representation in international engagements and through continuous dialogue on topical issues.
21.	Labour Organizations		Labour movements will work closely with the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs to promote and protect workers' rights within the frameworks provided under ILO and international labour engagements