

SIGNIFICANCE OF ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY IN PROMOTING FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENT (FDI) IN TANZANIA. THE CASE OF DODOMA CITY.

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Abstract

The study examined the significance of economic diplomacy in promoting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Tanzania. It was conducted at Dodoma City, the Tanzania Capital City. The study used a mixed research approach and adopted a parallel convergent design. Purposive sampling and simple random technique were applied to select 25 respondents whereby 5 were Ministry Directors and 20 were Ministry Heads of Departments from Ministries involved in economic Diplomacy. The instruments of data collection were questionnaires and an interview guide. Quantitative data were analyzed using descriptive statistics and presented in form of tables. Qualitative data were subjected to thematic analysis and presented in form of tables and paraphrasing. Findings revealed that economic diplomacy is promoting Foreign Direct Investment mainly through; promoting the available transport and infrastructure, ensuring exchange rate stability, ensuring global market access and calm political environment. The study concluded that economic diplomacy plays a crucial role in making progress toward the growth of Tanzania's economy and the attainment of sustainable development goals. The study recommended the Government to ensure the effective and meaningful engagement of Tanzania in regional economic integration through economic diplomacy.

Keywords: Economic Diplomacy, Foreign Direct Investment and Tanzania foreign policy.

1.0 Introduction

Global politics underwent a paradigm shift after the end of World War II. As the world community witnessed increasing incompetence of state-centric economic models, economic prosperity through the participation of the private sector, international agreements and linkages gained widespread admiration (Booth, 2018). The rapid turn of events in the social, political and economic dimensions led to a significant intellectual shift, away from the conventional approach to foreign policy. As a result, economic diplomacy came to the forefront in the late 1990s (Lee & Hocking, 2010), which is the most important and popular aspect of conducting international relations in the 21st century. Although economic diplomacy involves use of economic resources and cooperation between states for mutual benefit, the US-China trade war, today is the biggest geopolitical schism (Zirovcic 2016).

Economic interdependence has become a double-edged sword where “conflict of logic in the commerce of grammar”, as American political scientist Edward Luttwak described, resulted in no winners (Kapustina, Lipková, Silin, & Drevalev, 2020). Nonetheless, even when political relations between the two countries become acrimonious, economic diplomacy can play a significant role in neutralizing the situation (Zirovcic 2016). Economic diplomacy allowed states to achieve its economic interests “tactfully, politely, carefully, cleverly and cunningly” (Heijmans, 2011). It stimulated the state’s economic interests, creates a viable and profitable environment for economic cooperation among different actors, and expands its sphere of influence. It not only involves trade and investment but also entails mobilizing international assistance to resolve conflicts.

Yakop and van Bergeijk (2011) show that in many African countries diplomatic representations are even more relevant as they contribute more significantly in enhancing South-South trade than North-North trade. In a meta-analysis study, Moons and van Bergeijk (2016) find that the impact of diplomatic exchange is conditional on the level of development of the trading partners. For example, they state that the effect of diplomatic exchange is more significant for South-South, North-South and South-North trade compared to North-North trade.

Moons and van Bergeijk’s (2016) finding may be theoretically plausible since possible market and coordination failures resulting from information asymmetry may be more severe for developing countries compared to developed countries. However, their claim about the importance of

diplomatic representations for South-South trade has not been put to an empirical test in a large cross-country analysis for developing countries, especially for Africa. This is important because previous studies that have analyzed the trade facilitation roles of diplomatic exchange focus exclusively on trade between North-South, South-North and North-North partners. For example, Afman and Maurel (2010) limit their sample to cover only OECD countries, Head and Ries (2010) only focus on Canada as an exporter; and similarly, Rose (2017) restricts its sample to only cover exports from advanced countries.

In Tanzania after the attainment of independence in 1961 and later the unification between Tanganyika and Zanzibar to form the United Republic of Tanzania in 1964, the government adopted various strategies to ensure economic growth (URT, 2010). Diplomacy was among the key strategies used by the government in ensuring the promotion of development in a country through the establishment of diplomatic relations with other countries together with regional and international organizations. In the early years after its independence, the execution of foreign affairs was based on principles and ideas of equality, Freedom, Non-alignment, Pan - Africanism, and respect for human rights and dignity.

Tanzania's Foreign Policy during that time was highly influenced by the political desire of self-determination of African countries, and that is the reason why Tanzania participated fully in supporting liberation struggles in many African countries such as South Africa, Mozambique, Namibia, Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe from the hands of colonial rule (URT, 1969). Tanzania views diplomatic relations as an important instrument towards the achievement of better quality of life of citizens and economic growth which can be achieved through interactions and cooperation with the international community (Wige, 2020)

After the achievement of Independence in most of the African countries by the mid of 1990s, Tanzania went through political and economic development transformations such as the shift from centrally planned economy towards market-led economy; and adoption of a multiparty system. All these changes made Tanzania reduce its focus on the liberation struggle and hence put more emphasis on the pursuits of national interest to promote a country's development. In addition, the downfall of USSR and the rapid growth of "globalization accompanied by the development of information & communication technology and economic integration together with political and

economic changes that took place within the country, called for the adaptation of a new Foreign Policy which placed emphasis on the protection of national interest and promotion of national development, particularly social and economic development. Hence Tanzania adopted the new Foreign Policy of 2001 which aimed at promoting and protecting social, political, cultural and economic interests through the execution of sustainable economic diplomacy (Mutunzi, 2021).

Through the effective participation and better implementation of the current foreign policy 2001, Tanzania has benefited in various social and economic sectors, some of these achievements include the expansion of trade activities, increase of FDI, growth of the tourism sector and the development of other economic sectors through external assistance and support from development partners. The key players and actors in the implementation of Tanzania's Foreign Policy include: the President, MFAEC, Ministries, MDAs, Judiciary, Parliament, Diaspora, Media, Private sector, and Community members.

Consequently, Tanzania continues to be in need of a centralized foreign policy goal to enhance the pursuit as well as promotion of international trade and investment. In many instances, trade relations between Tanzania and other states result to trade deals that benefit the partners more. Economic diplomacy in Tanzania has not described the differences between policy and practice but it has been a strategy for reaction to international relations.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and East Africa Cooperation is the overall coordinator of the country's engagements in foreign relations and the leading instrument in the formulation and implementation of Foreign policy (MFAEC, 2017). Regardless of the government's effort in promoting economic diplomacy between Tanzania and the rest of the world, the economic expectation from the promotion of economic diplomacy are still low as compared to other neighboring countries such as Kenya, South Africa, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda (Mutunzi, 2021).

2.0 Literature Review

Key Terms

Economic Diplomacy

Yakop, & Bergejijk (2011) defined economic diplomacy as the diplomacy that is used to acquire goals through trade and commerce. It focuses on trade relations as opposed to political or cultural

relations. States send out economic diplomats to focus on economic matters in receiving countries and to realize their countries' economic goals through engaging in trade relations. In this case, the states are not the only actors in this form of diplomacy as it involves non-state actors like NGOs, MNCs and Trade organizations. These diplomats are tasked with ways of promoting trade and investments in their country. Bayne (2017) defines Economic Diplomacy as a decision-making and negotiation process in international economic relations. It is carried out by various actors all geared towards economic development.

In earlier diplomatic practice, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and East Africa Cooperation, Ministry of Investment and Trade and Ministry of Finance and Planning conducted economic diplomacy but in recent times other institutions are also involved including and not limited to Multi-National Corporations, Non-Governmental Organizations, and Sub-Central Government Departments. With the changing global patterns, economic and trade-related issues have become important hence the growing nature of economic diplomacy. In today's multi-polar world system the state has ceased being the core actor in international relations hence the need for more parties involved in trade negotiations

Economic diplomacy responds to the issue that jeopardize international trade as well as FDI. It strive to influence policies that are concerned with transnational economics such as the promotion of export, imports and international flow of investments (ruffini 2016). It entails gathering of information and supplying, nation branding and advisory tasks. The promotion of FDI means that the foreign investing entity have to have effective control of the business decision making process.

The study illustrate the correlation between economic diplomacy, conceptualization, and its role in promotion of FDI. By so doing, the study establishes the various opportunities and challenges facing the efforts toward promoting FDI in Tanzania and the world and the role of economic diplomacy in reducing these challenges.

Foreign Direct Investment

Foreign Direct Investment is defined as an investment involving a long-term relationship and reflecting a lasting interest and control by a resident entity in one economy. It is also defined as an investment made to acquire lasting interest in the enterprises operating outside of the Economy of the Investor (Ashis, 2016). Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is the name given to the process where a firm from a country provides capital to an existing or newly created firm in another

country (Jonathan, 2014). Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) refers to long-term participation by country A in country B. It involves participation in management, joint venture, transfer of technology and expertise (Shim & Siegel, 2015)

Economic Diplomacy and FDI

Lema and Dimoso (2011) observed the existence of independence between FDI and economic diplomacy in the sense that neither FDI inflows nor economic diplomacy causes one another. This is because Tanzania's economic diplomacy has led to FDI inflows and similarly Tanzania's economic diplomacy has been attracting GDP growth. However, Moses, Joseph and Yao Shen (2013) cited in Arabi (2014) findings on the causality test on the relationship between Tanzania's economic diplomacy, FDI, GDP growth rate and exports of Tanzania using the annual data spanning from 1980 to 2012 the integration found that there is a long-run association between Tanzania's economic diplomacy, FDI and economic growth.

Nevertheless, Njau, Obeid, and Patrick (2015) indicated that economic diplomacy has boosted economic growth and FDI inflows in Tanzania. Studies by Odhiambo (2012) results of the Granger Causality test suggest a unidirectional causal flow from investment to economic growth although there is a feedback short-run causal flow from economic growth to investments. Therefore, the literature on the relationship between economic diplomacy and FDI in Tanzania is mixed due to variations of the findings across studies.

Tanzania Foreign Policy and Economic Diplomacy in the National Economy

Despite enthusiastic privatization during the 1990s, and annual GDP growth of between 5 and 7%, the Tanzanian economy remains weak (REPOA, 2012). Mkapa's Government saw through vigorous programs of economic reform, in line with IMF guidelines. Tough measures have included tight control of public spending, privatization of parastatals, reform of the Investment Code, the taxation system and land ownership, steps to improve revenue collection, expenditure control and civil service retrenchment. (Kweka, 2013).

In this globalized and interconnected world, economics has become more important than ever as a determining element in international affairs. It has moved to center stage in diplomacy and now extends beyond 'commercial diplomacy' (Mtengwa, 2014). Apart from foreign trade, it includes external investments, financial flows, aid, bilateral and multilateral economic negotiations and

technology exchanges. Tanzania too has for years now followed the tide of global changes in the economy, politics and security by adopting economic diplomacy as a cornerstone of its foreign policy. Whether we have succeeded or not in pursuing economic diplomacy but it is as a tool for achieving sustainable development (The Guardian Newspaper, 2021). Economic benefits in the form of an increase in exports was studied by Mtengwa, (2014), who stated that exports shape the “public perception of the competitiveness of a nation and determine the level of imports that a country can afford”. Foreign direct investments in Tanzania have been increasing since 1992 when an investment promotion policy was adopted and implemented.

Currently, more than half of all approved new investments in Tanzania are foreign owned (World Bank, 2022). Foreign direct investment in Tanzania cut across a wide range of sectors, but heavy investments have recently been directed to industrial holdings, tourism, mining, financial sector and agriculture (ibid.)

3.0 Methodology

In order to fulfill its objective, the study aimed to examine the significance of economic diplomacy in promoting Foreign Direct Investment. The study was conducted at Dodoma City, the Tanzania Capital City. The target population for this study was 5 Ministry Directors and 20 Ministry Heads of Departments.

Applying a mixed research approach and a convergent parallel design, the first part of the study consisted of a self-administered questionnaire that delivered both quantitative data from Ministry Heads of Departments. The questionnaire consisted of predominantly closed questions, including varied response formats - Likert scale with various response choices. For the questionnaires, simple random sampling was used to get 20 Ministry Heads of Departments in Ministry of Foreign Affairs and East Africa Cooperation, Ministry for Investment, Industry and Trade, Ministry of Finance and Planning and Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism. The second part consisted of interviews with Ministry Directors that delivered qualitative data. For the interview, 5 Ministry Directors were selected purposively because the researcher believes that they can provide in-depth information about the topic. During the process of data collection, the researcher conducted a face-to-face interview with Ministry Directors. The interview followed an open-ended format with the aim of understanding the significance of economic diplomacy in promoting foreign direct

investment and the role of economic diplomacy in promoting tourism. The total sample size was 25 participants.

By respecting research ethics, the researcher ensured approval for research clearance and permits were asked before embarking on the data collection process. 20 Ministry Heads of Departments approached, 20 returned their questionnaires, and thus a response rate was 100% while all 5 Ministry directors were successively interviewed. The quantitative data were analyzed for descriptive statistics of mean, standard deviation, frequency and percentage. The qualitative data were analyzed thematically, and the findings were presented in form of tables and paraphrasing.

4.0 Presentation of Findings

The study aimed to examine the significance of economic diplomacy in promoting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). The intention was to justify if economic diplomacy has any significance in promoting Foreign Direct Investment. To fulfil this objective, Ministry Heads of Departments responded to structured questionnaire items while Ministry Directors were interviewed. In filling out the questionnaires, Ministry Heads of Departments were to put a tick to indicate their responses in one of each item choice. The respondents were to indicate their level of agreement about the significance of economic diplomacy in promoting Foreign Direct Investment. The respondents were to put a tick to indicate their level of agreement on each item. The questionnaires were prepared to have five points Likert scale range from strongly agreed (=5) to strongly disagreed (=1). Mean and standard deviation were used to determine the average of respondents' responses. Thus, the agreement of Ministry Heads of Departments responses on the significance of economic diplomacy in promoting Foreign Direct Investment were analyzed based on the responses of the respondents. The Remark was reached upon the mean value, where by a mean value from 1.00 - 3.40 considered disagreed the item while the mean value from 3.41 - 5.00 was considered Agreed response. Data collected from the respondents are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Ministry Heads of Departments (MHODs) Responses on Significance of Economic Diplomacy in Promoting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

No	Significance of economic diplomacy in promoting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)	M	SD	Remark
B1	Tanzania interest rates favours foreign investors	3.73	1.18	Agreed

B2	Exchange rates are reasonable factors to attract FDI	3.54	1.11	Agreed
B3	Some FDI's are attracted by calm political environment	3.85	0.945	Agreed
B4	Labour supply is high enough to attract foreign investors	4.17	0.975	Agreed
B5	Produced goods and services have a situational advantages from domestic market	4.01	0.968	Agreed
B6	Our tax structure is favourable to attract FDI	3.76	1.352	Agreed

Source: Field Data, 2022.

As presented in Table 1 respondents in their majority agreed all the items on the significance of economic diplomacy in promoting Foreign Direct Investment. Findings revealed the significance of economic diplomacy in promoting Foreign Direct Investment are such that; Tanzania interest rates favors foreign investors (M=3.73 SD=1.18), exchange rates are reasonable factors to attract FDI (M=3.54 SD=1.11) and some Foreign Direct investors are attracted by calm political environment (M=3.85 SD=0.945).Director's, findings in Table 4.3 show that, Labour supply is high enough to attract foreign investors (M=4.17 SD=0.975), produced goods and services have a situational advantages from domestic market (M=4.01 SD=0.968) and the tax structure is favorable to attract FDI (M=3.76 SD=1.352).

To further explore respondents' opinions on significance of economic diplomacy in promoting Foreign Direct Investment, the study prepared item B6 in the questionnaire guide for Ministry Heads of and the researcher conducted interview using question 1 for Ministry Directors (MD) interview guide. In both tools the participants provided their opinions about the on significance of economic diplomacy in promoting Foreign Direct Investment. Their responses were thematically analyzed and the findings are presented in table 2.

Table 4. 1: Ministry Heads of Departments and Ministry Directors Opinions on Significance of Economic Diplomacy in Promoting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

Significance of economic diplomacy in promoting Foreign Direct Investment	Ministry Directors		Heads of Departments		Total	
	X/5	(%)	X/20	(%)	X/20	(%)

Promoting the Available Transport and infrastructure facilities to attract foreign Investors	4	80.0%	19	95.0%	23	92.00%
Ensuring Exchange Rate Stability	4	80.0%	18	90.0%	22	88.00%
Ensuring Global Market Access for products and goods	3	60.0%	16	80.0%	19	76.00%
Assessing and recommend Tax, VAT & other Government Tax at the rate that promote FDI	2	40.0%	15	75.0%	17	68.00%
Promoting the availability of skilled labor for various investors	3	60.0%	14	70.0%	17	68.00%

Source: Field Data, 2022.

Findings in table 2 show that, promoting the available transport and infrastructure facilities to attract foreign Investors was commented by 23 (92.0%) participants, while 22 (88.0%) participants opined on ensuring exchange rate stability as the significance of economic diplomacy in promoting Foreign Direct Investment. During the interview, one Heads of Department opined that;

“...As part of our duties, we ensure to promote our country in terms of transportation facilities as well as the available infrastructure to the outside world. This attracts investors especially those interested to invest on business that require transport of goods and products. We also advice the government through the ministry of Finance on the recommended exchange rates that are more FDI attractive...” Interviewee-1, 9th September, 2022).

Furthermore, ensuring Global Market Access for products and goods was commented on by 19 (76.0%) participants, while 17 (68.0%) participants opined on assessing and recommending Tax, VAT & other Government Taxes at the rate that promotes FDI. Promoting the availability of skilled labor for various investors was commented on by 17 (0.68) participants as the significance of economic diplomacy in promoting Foreign Direct Investment. One participant insisted that;

“...As the economic diplomacy department, we were trusted to bring about foreign investment, which means that we ensure business with other countries has significance in

improving our economy. So we ensure that our country got the opportunity to increase their global market access opportunity so as the export and import volume increases...”
(HOD -11).

5.0 Discussion of Findings

As depicted in the findings, participants agreed that Tanzania interest rates favors foreign investors and that the tax structure is favorable to attract FDI. These findings are supported by Ashis (2016) who asserted that, the government of Tanzania habitually reduces interest rates and taxes through the Public Finance Act with the aim of attracting investment in certain targeted sectors where by the government introduced a VAT exemption for the various items in order to encourage Foreign Direct Investment in various sectors.

On contrary the findings disagree with Mtengwa (2014) who contended that, the total value of investment by foreign affiliates is not directly comparable with FDI flows thus the two correspond with one another especially in a country such as Tanzania, where financing of FDI projects from the domestic financial market is unlikely, owing to limited savings and high interest rates. However, what has to be gathered here is that, the government of Tanzania through economic diplomacy department under Ministry of Foreign Affairs and East Africa Cooperation significantly works on reducing interest rates to attract foreign investors. The disparity within findings are explained by the fact that, economic diplomacy department has been established just recently and was attached under Ministry of Foreign Affairs and East Africa Cooperation.

Thus the case of Mtengwa (2014) dated as back as 2014 where the economic diplomacy department wasn't established yet. Large company when they produce big volume of products and doing worldwide business they prefer lower tax facilities and some other government facilities in export, import, VAT and all other fees. That's why developing country like Tanzania offers some attractive features like lower tax, tax exemption for some years and set interest rates that favors foreign investors. Lower tax rate and interest rates bring more investor in host country.

It is shown in Table 4.3 that, among significance of economic diplomacy in promoting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is that it promote the exchange rates to be reasonable factors to attract FDI. These findings comply with the findings from Kessy (2021) who asserted that, reasonable exchange rate is an important price and the dominant determinants of FDI inflows in the open

international economy. A matter of fact exchange rates are defined as the domestic currency price of a foreign currency, matter both in terms of their levels and their volatility (Hameed and Amen, 2021).

Exchange rates can influence both the total amount of foreign direct investment that takes place and the allocation of this investment spending across a range of countries. Consider what occurs when exchange rates move, economic diplomacy department assess domestic currency price of various foreign country currency, thus advice the ministry of finance on setting up exchange rates that would attract the foreign direct investors.

Findings also revealed that, some foreign direct investors are attracted by calm political environment. These findings concurs with Khan (2021) who asserted that, If the government in power has the ideology of restricted or heavily regulated foreign investments, then the policy will be framed accordingly, therefore, the guidelines are made by the government in power, and the political ideology plays a vital role in the formation of FDI policy. Based on these findings, it can be noted that, foreign direct investment is governed by the policies made by the government in each country. It depends upon these policies whether the regulation of foreign direct investment will be liberal or strict. Therefore, calm political environment and political ideology plays a crucial part in determining the FDI policy. Political unrest can demolish any economy because in political unrest one cannot operate the business properly; one cannot take any proper decision. To operate home country business and to invite Foreign Direct Investment in both cases political stability is very important. If political environment is going well, and it is not in rapid changing mood then it is good for business or society. Economic diplomacy department has obligation to ensure stable political atmosphere that necessitate calm environment for the formulation of FDI policy that will attract foreign investors.

Participants of the current study agreed that labor supply is high enough to attract foreign investors and therefore this is the significance of economic diplomacy in promoting Foreign Direct Investment. Njau, Obeid, and Patrick (2015) availability of skilled labor is also important to attract the FDI because skilled labor means quality production and more profitable business. This therefore imply that, FDI much rely on Trade, where by trade has a modest impact on total employment which depends upon skilled labor supply, macroeconomic factors and labor policies as well as upon the structure of labor markets (and the ways labor policies influence these

structures). Economic diplomacy department therefore has to be upfront in assessing the macroeconomic factors and labor policies of the country, then it propose proper and convenient policy to enable attractive environment for foreign investors to solicit skilled labors from within the country in order to promote the development of the national economy.

High-level state visits strategies of economic diplomacy have been employed by the Tanzanian government in efforts of increasing FDI in Tanzania. For instance, the President of Tanzania made a high-level state visit to Oman and listed investment opportunities the Oman investors would enjoy in the sectors of agriculture; livestock and fishing; mining, tourism, manufacturing, fishing, Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and Infrastructure Development.

Also, Tanzania's President Samia Suluhu has arrived in Beijing, China for a state visit that seeks to strengthen bilateral cooperation between the two countries. The visit was expected on focus on key areas of cooperation between Tanzania and China. These include agriculture, industrial development, trade and infrastructure.

Therefore, high-level state visit are among the major economic diplomacy strategies that have been employed by the Tanzanian government in efforts of increasing FDI in Tanzania.

The findings of the current study also show that produced goods and services have a situational advantage from domestic market. These findings find its way similar to Odhiambo (2012) arguments, who asserted that, due to domestic market saturation, more competition, excessive capacity and other reasons in domestic market; produced goods and services also have lots of advantage of trading in international marketplaces hence attract more foreign investors. The implication from these findings are that, produced goods and services both from within the country or from other countries can complement the weakness and improve domestic market. Findings have proved that, it was significant that economic diplomacy department ensured produced goods and services from foreign investors benefit the domestic market and thus improve the economy of the country.

6.0 Conclusions

It can be concluded that, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) play a crucial role in making progress toward the growth of Tanzania economy and attainment of sustainable development goals. From the viewpoint of the host country, economic diplomacy can enhance growth and innovation in FDI by promoting the available transport and infrastructure facilities to attract foreign investors, ensuring exchange rate stability, ensuring global market access, ensuring calm political environment, recommend Tax, VAT & other Government Tax at the rate that promote FDI as well as promoting the availability of skilled labor for quality jobs and develop human capital for various investors.

7.0 Recommendations

This study contributes to understanding the contribution of economic diplomacy in promoting growth of Tanzania economy through FDI. With the presented findings in mind, the following recommendations should be taken into account in order to optimize the deployment of economic diplomacy.

- (a). This study has shown that FDI relates to sustainable economic development of the country while the economic diplomacy has potentials to ensure such an economic venture is put reality, yet policy contexts is still not clear. Most of the Economic diplomacy department at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and East African Cooperation claimed that the department is still on formulation. It would thus be recommended that, the government to prepare a blueprint that would guide the newly forming department of economic diplomacy on how it can organize its task and put guidelines for how the department can regulate its responsibility
- (b). Economic Diplomacy is no more than actions made by states to increase their potential of making business on foreign markets. Being a set of actions, it is impossible to quantify exactly how much of those actions made by economic diplomacy department and diplomatic entities impacted on the increase of numbers of foreign trade, attraction of investment and help given to Tanzanian companies on their attempt to internationalize

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