



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**THE EFFECTS OF DOMESTIC POLITICS ON FOREIGN POLICY DECISION
MAKING: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY**

ABIGAIL BONARERI BASWETI

R50/34533/2019

SUPERVISOR

DR. MUSTAFA Y. ALI

**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

NOVEMBER 2021

DECLARATION

I, Abigail Bonareri Basweti, hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Signed

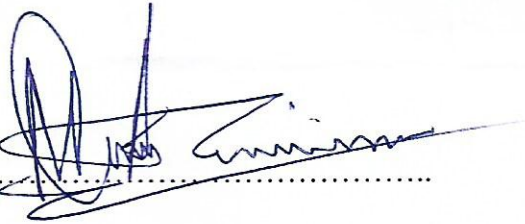


Date 11/22/2021

Abigail Bonareri Basweti

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

Signed



Date

24/11/2021

Dr. Mustafa Y. Ali

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I acknowledge my supervisor Dr. Mustafa Y. Ali, for his unfailing guidance and insights to conceptualize and compile this research project. I am most grateful. My gratitude goes to the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies for their continued support as I pursued the Master's Degree program.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research project to my loving parents, Mrs Florence Basweti and Mr Ibrahim Basweti, who have supported and encouraged me as I undertook my study.

ABSTRACT

Both domestic and international issues shape foreign policy. As such, they are influencing foreign policy decision-making by local and systemic factors. This study examines the effects of domestic politics on foreign policy decision making, focusing on Kenya's foreign policy as a case study. This was achieved by focusing on three key objectives: investigating the links between local politics and foreign policy decision-making, investigating the role and consequences of domestic politics in Kenya's foreign policy decision-making, and assessing the internal political variables that obstruct Kenya's foreign policy decision-making. Decision-making theory and rational actor model were deployed to analyse the effects of domestic politics on foreign policy decision-making. The study adopted both qualitative and quantitative methodologies inculcating in-depth research. The target population of this study was 384 respondents, mainly comprised of foreign policy decision-makers from the ministry of foreign affairs, the president's office, the Statehouse, or Parliament. Further, the study targeted experts in foreign policy, academicians as well as the general public. The researcher considered content analysis and narrative analysis; content analysis calculated and summarized behaviour-based data. The primary qualitative data were analysed using narrative analysis. Quantitative data were examined and presented as tables and pie charts using Microsoft Excel and SPSS software. The study's findings were that the foreign policy decision-making in Kenya is greatly affected by domestic factors. Kenya's domestic political environment comprises statutes, state institutions, and advocacy bodies that affect or limit people or organizations in the country. The political context a president operates in also dictates the choice and the decision making of the president. Often, foreign decisions made by the head of state are influenced by domestic politics. The study recommends that a successful policy formulation process must involve creating and analysing new policy alternatives and the ability to monitor, assess, and examine existing policies as a foundation for their change or discontinuity.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

APEC:	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ASEAN	The Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CNN:	Cable News Network
ICC:	International Criminal Court
ICPD:	International Conference on Population and Development
IPE:	International Political Economy
IPK:	Islamic Party of Kenya
IPPG:	Inter-Party Parliamentary Group
IPS:	International Political System
KANU:	Kenya African National Union
KNCHR:	Kenya National Commission for Human Rights
KTN:	Kenya Television Network
LSK:	Law Society of Kenya
MFA:	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MP:	Member of Parliament
SPSS:	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
TICAD:	Tokyo International Conference of African Development
USA:	United States of America

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	iii
DEDICATION.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	v
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS.....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	xii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background to the study	1
1.2 Statement of the problem.....	4
1.3 Objective of the Study	5
1.3.1 Specific objective	5
1.4 Research Questions.....	5
1.5 Literature review.....	5
1.6 Theoretical Literature Review	6
1.6.1 Decision Making Theory.....	6
1.6.2 Rational Actor Model.....	6
1.7 Empirical Review.....	7
1.7.1 Links between Foreign Policy and Domestic Politics.....	7
1.7.2 The role and impacts of domestic politics on foreign policy decision-making	9
1.7.3 The Domestic politics factors that hinder foreign policy decision-making	16

1.8 Knowledge Gap	18
1.9 Justification	18
1.9.1 Policy justification.....	18
1.9.2 Academic justification.....	18
1.9.3 Justification to the general public.....	19
1.10 Theoretical framework.....	19
1.11 Hypothesis.....	20
1.12 Research methodology.....	20
1.13 Research design	20
1.14 Research site	20
1.15 Target Population.....	21
1.16 Sampling procedure	21
1.17 Data collection procedure	22
1.18 Data Analysis and presentation.....	22
1.19 Reliability of data collection instruments	23
1.20 Validity of data collection instruments	23
1.21 Scope and Limitations of the Study	23
1.22 Chapter outline.....	23
CHAPTER TWO	25
THE LINKS BETWEEN DOMESTIC POLITICS AND FOREIGN POLICY	
 DECISION-MAKING.....	25
2.1 Introduction.....	25
2.2 The Domestic Political Environment and Foreign Policy decision-making.....	25
2.3 Domestic factors influencing foreign policy.....	28
2.3.1 Culture.....	28

2.3.2 A Country's Historical Background	29
2.3.3 Size and Demography of a state	29
2.3.4 Geopolitical placement of a State.....	30
2.3.5 Economic and Military Power of a State	31
2.3.6 Leader and local Politics	32
2.4 Domestic actors in foreign decision making.....	33
2.4.1 The executive	34
2.4.2 Legislators	36
2.4.3 The Judiciary	37
2.4.4 The public and interest groups	38
2.5 Importance and Interactions of domestic policy and foreign policy.....	39
2.6 Conclusion	42
CHAPTER THREE	44
THE ROLE AND IMPACT OF DOMESTIC POLITICS IN THE FOREIGN POLICY DECISION-MAKING IN KENYA.....	44
3.1 Introduction.....	44
3.2 The role of domestic politics in Kenya's strategic foreign policy decision making.....	44
3.2.1 Accountability in foreign policy decision making	46
3.2.2 Ensuring foreign policy decision reflects Kenya's aspirations	48
3.2.3 Ensuring the public participates in foreign policy decision making	49
3.3 The Head of Government as a Rational Actor in Foreign Policy Decision Making in Kenya.....	51
3.3.1 Kenyan President as the chief diplomat	52
3.4 Impact of political parties on foreign policy decision making	53
3.5 Does domestic politics hinders or facilitate foreign policy decision making	54

3.5.1 Domestic politics and foreign policy decision towards Terrorism	55
3.5.2 Domestic politics and the Look East foreign policy decision	56
3.6 Conclusion	57
CHAPTER FOUR.....	58
DOMESTIC POLITICAL FACTORS THAT HINDER OR PROMOTE FOREIGN POLICY DECISION-MAKING IN KENYA.....	58
4.1 Introduction.....	58
4.2 The demographic characteristics of the respondents	58
4.2.1 Response rate.....	58
4.2.2 Gender response rate	59
4.2.3 Age of the respondents.....	60
4.2.4 Level of education	61
4. 3 System of Government	62
4.3.1 Foreign policy during Single party.....	63
4.3.2 Foreign policy during Multiparty in Kenya	64
4.4 Type of leader.....	65
4.4.1 Leadership style of President Jomo Kenyatta	66
4.4.2 Leadership style of President Moi.....	69
4.4.3 Leadership style of President Kibaki	73
4.4.5 Leadership style of President Uhuru	74
4.5 National Politics.....	77
4.5.1 Political parties and opposition	77
4.5.2 Media and Public opinion	79
4.6 The Interplay of Institutions.....	83
4.7 Domestic Economic Issues	83

4.8 Conclusion.....	85
CHAPTER FIVE.....	86
FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	86
5.1 Introduction.....	86
5.2 Conclusions.....	86
5.3 Recommendations.....	88
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	90
Appendix I: Questionnaire.....	98
Appendix II: University Letter Of Authorisation.....	102
Appendix III: Nacosti Permit.....	103

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1 Sample size and Sampling procedure	22
--	----

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1: Response rate.....	59
Figure 4.2: Gender of the respondents	60
Figure 4.3: Age of the respondents	61
Figure 4.4 Level of Education	62

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Foreign policy is a product of complex interaction between internal and external forces. Since independence, Kenya's foreign policy has changed several times to adapt to external and internal pressures. A nation's foreign policy acts as the interface through which a state interacts with other like entities to shape the behaviour of those entities to suit its interests. It can be safe to say that the formulation and conduct of foreign policy are as old as the existence of states, even though the conduct of diplomacy as a component of foreign policy is much older.¹

Every state has to have ways and means of engaging in world politics; otherwise, they risk isolation. When choosing any course of action, countries take into consideration their territorial as well as security interests. No country in the world, whether big or small, developed or underdeveloped, can survive without the effect of others, as no state is self-sustaining. Foreign policy, therefore, provides ways and means through which a state can stay in the anarchic international system. A country that lacks foreign policy, according to Chandra, is compared to a ship that lacks a radar that sails without direction and may be swept away by the current or waves.² Pointing out the vital role foreign policy plays in the contemporary world. It is a crucial instrument that guides states relations.³

A nation's foreign policy acts as the interface through which a state interacts with other like entities

¹ Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, "*International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*," (3rd edn) (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992) p.1

² Chandra, P., "*international relations*." (The second edition, Vikas publishing, 2008). pp3-8

³ Farnham, B., *Impact of the Political Context on Foreign Policy Decision-Making. Political Psychology*. 9 Special Issue, 2014): P.6

to shape the behaviour of those entities to suit its interests. It can be safe to say that the formulation and conduct of foreign policy are as old as the existence of states, even though foreign policy components such as the conduct of diplomacy is much older. The influence of the internal dynamics of foreign policy cannot be gainsaid. Indeed, domestic politics come to bear in total during foreign policy decisions' planning and carrying out.⁴

Foreign policy is essential for every state and country in the world to survive. Therefore, the formulation process is paramount and must undergo critical analysis to ensure global peace, harmony and general development. The persons involved in these processes, being policymakers, are bound to be influenced by various factors, including domestic politics, which determine how they reason, resulting in policies formulated. Foreign Policy Analysis aims to ensure that valid policies are mandated by investigating factors that ail them and how to resolve them—based on the prevailing domestic political situation.⁵

The sum of an independent actor's formal foreign exchanges in international relations is foreign policy. Foreign policy comprises various aspects that are the military action, commercial and humanitarian relations. One needs to understand the president's motivation in making foreign policy decisions to evaluate his roles. The relevant variables are more likely to be altered depending on the head governments' political system. Office agreement and public opinion are critical in a democracy like India. A socialist country like China may be sterner in making

⁴McEvoy Claire, “*Shifting priorities: Kenya's changing approach to peace building and peace-making*,” (Norwegian peace building Restore Centre, May 2013 Report), p.1

⁵ Qin Yaqing, *Intersubjective Cognitive Dissonance and Foreign Policy-Making in China*, (2013)https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/abs/10.1142/9781938134050_0001?queryID=%24%7BresultBean.queryID%7D.

unpopular decisions but serve a long-term national goal.⁶

The United States remains one of the most quoted states when it comes to international policy and domestic politics. The United States of America portray immense economic, political, and military power globally. According to law, the majority rule is balancing it out by the minority rule. In the United States, the domestic political system is a representative democracy and a constitutional republic. The government is regulated by checks and balances laid out by the constitution. Therefore, the president can only make foreign policy choices if supported by at least two-thirds of the senate. The president can cause short term decisions such as entering into executive agreements without the assent of the senate. Congress has the authority to make business agreements with foreign countries as well as to declare war.⁷

Foreign and local politics are two-tiered processes that national leaders must negotiate, notably the head of government. According to Neack, in any political system, the head of government is driven by two agendas: holding political power and forming and sustaining policy mergers. As a result, domestic politics have an impact on foreign policy success. Domestic politics can either facilitate or hinder the advancement of foreign policy. In either case, foreign policy decisions are affected by domestic agendas.⁸

The foreign policy of Kenya was affected by both domestic and systemic factors.⁹ The systemic factors at hand are factors that affect the foreign policy from outside the state's boundary.¹⁰ The

⁶ *ibid.*

⁷ Farnham, B., *Impact of the Political Context on Foreign Policy Decision-Making. Political Psychology.*(Special Issue, 2014): P 7

⁸ Neack, Laura. *The New Foreign Policy- power seeking in a globalized era* (2nd Ed. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc, 2008).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p.13

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.7

factors may include threats to the territorial boundary from outside, the international order, and events and happenings globally.¹¹ The domestic factors are those aspects that affect a country's foreign policy internally. These are the type of government system, leaders, and internal dynamics like political systems as democratization.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Internal dynamics of foreign policy cannot be gainsaid. Indeed, the element of domestic politics comes to bear in total during the implementation of foreign policy. In Kenya, however, domestic politics continue to hinder the decision-making in the country's foreign policy. Domestic politics determine foreign policy decisions in countries like the United States and China to achieve economic, political, and social prosperity for the states. Devised by the head of government, foreign policy attains a complex domestic and international goal. It usually takes a long series of steps, with local politics playing an important role.

Furthermore, in both the United States and China, the head of government's decision-making is heavily influenced by domestic politics. Foreign policy is formulated through the fusion of international and domestic parties and organizations. The majority of the motivating aspects are evident during an investigation of the secretary of state or the foreign policy executor to explain why actions are implemented. On the other hand, internal politics in Kenya is a more significant impediment to foreign policy decision-making due to a range of underlying difficulties.

In a nutshell, this study's goal was to prevent domestic politics from positively impacting Kenya's foreign policy. The study examines the relationship between foreign policy and domestic politics, local politics' effects on foreign policy, and the opportunities and challenges that democracy and

¹¹ Ibid.

foreign policy decision-making bring.

1.3 Objective of the Study

The primary purpose of this research was to assess the impact of local politics on Kenyan foreign policy decision-making.

1.3.1 Specific objective

1. To investigate the links between local politics and foreign policy decision-making.
2. To investigate the role and consequences of domestic politics in Kenya's foreign policy decision-making.
3. To assess the internal political variables that obstruct Kenya's foreign policy decision-making.

1.4 Research Questions

1. How do domestic politics and foreign policy decision-making intersect?
2. What role do domestic politics play in Kenya's foreign policy decision-making, and how does it affect it?
3. What are the domestic political aspects that hinder foreign policy decision-making in Kenya?

1.5 Literature review

This study phase reviews the relevant literature on domestic politics and foreign policy decision-making.

1.6 Theoretical Literature Review

This section discusses decision-making theory and the rational actor Model as the theoretical basis of the study.

1.6.1 Decision Making Theory

Simon, H. A. came up with the concept of Decision Making Theory in his most famous Work, *A Study of the Decision-Making Process in Administrative Organizations; Administrative Behaviour*, released in 1948. Simon notes that the Human agency's role in foreign policy is based on decision-making processes defined by decision-making theory. The concept is that an individual human decision-maker, working alone or in a group, informs foreign policy decisions. This theory sheds light on the interaction between the decision-maker, his psychological and operational environment, and the result of foreign policy decisions theory's planning and carrying out mainly aims to move beyond the state level of analysis to the personal level. As a result, the view allows for human desire and imagination in explaining international politics.¹²

1.6.2 Rational Actor Model

Graham T Allison's advanced rational actor model elucidates the state as the central unit and constrains the decision-maker. The model has based its argument on the theoretical assumption that a country is a single, homogeneous actor whose actions follow a logical procedure. As a result, situations or choices spell out, the ramifications of each option are analysed, and a decision is taken that maximizes decision makers' values and the state's perceived interests. According to the rational actor model, states react to the anarchic aspect of the global system by continually evaluating their security position concerning that of perceived rivals to maximize their stated

¹² Ibid.

goal.¹³

1.7 Empirical Review

The empirical review was done thematically as per the study's objectives.

1.7.1 Links between Foreign Policy and Domestic Politics

Lawson and Epstein describe Democracy promotion in a variety of ways. One way is that Democracy ensures freedom and rights. Secondly, democracy impacts foreign policy in various ways, but it typically refers to foreign policy efforts to assist other nations in transitioning to or enhancing democracy. The United States' foreign assistance promotes democracy by paying more attention to the electoral democracy and paying less attention to fair and free elections, including support for fundamental rights and values that some claim constitute democracy. On the other hand, Lawson and Epstein fail to demonstrate how democracy, or the lack thereof, is a factor in domestic politics that affects foreign policy decisions.

We live in an era where more and more countries are adopting democracy as a form of administration. Many countries' political landscapes have democratization processes or struggles for democracy. This phenomenon occurred in three distinct waves in the late twentieth century. In 1974 the fascist began to collapse in Portugal, followed by a transitional peak in central and Eastern Europe, according to Samuel Huntington. According to Fukuyama, the above scenario amounted to a "remarkable agreement" on the legitimacy of liberal democracy as a system under which the opposing ideologies have eliminated the government. As a result, this research will examine how the recent transition in internal politics toward democracy has influenced foreign policy decision-

¹³ Allison, G. T. *Essence of Decision Making: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971).

making.

One of the main changes in modern-day domestic politics is the expansion of non-state entities, such as civil society organizations. As democratic systems evolve, foreign actors are becoming more exposed to foreign policy concerns. As their expertise and interest in international policy problems grow, they pay more attention to those topics, as well as the people and organizations engaged in shaping foreign policy. Non-state actors are essential in developing and implementing national policies, especially foreign policy, in democracies. They enable the consensus framing of foreign policy goals within a context of active involvement. Foreign actors welcome constructive criticism of the country's policies while the state listens to their requests. As a result, in many countries, foreign policy must be developed and executed democratically.¹⁴ It will be interesting to see how changes in internal politics have affected Kenya's planning and carrying out foreign policy decisions. This research aims to examine the various actors in domestic politics and how they influence foreign policy decisions.

Gertzel notes that the domestic politics in Kenya also had a bearing on the foreign policy approach Kenya took. Considering the president was the chief foreign policy designer. Therefore, internal rifts tested Kenya's claim of being Non-aligned. The domestic separations were the source of confusion as to whether Kenya was genuinely non-aligned. There were ideological battles between Kenyatta and Odinga. The latter was for the idea of an Africanized form of economy, which would have seen large tracks of land left behind by the Europeans given to the Kenyans who were landless and squatters. He was opposed to the policy stand that Jomo Kenyatta took of protecting the

¹⁴ Widjojo A., *Democracy, National Security and Foreign Policy*, [458466.Pdf](#) accessed on 10/10/2021.

Europeans property and land.¹⁵ Gertzel's work is relevant to this study; however, it fails to capture domestic political factors directly affecting foreign policy decision-making. This study will examine these factors.

According to Odinga, Kenya's foreign policy had to be ideal than political expediency. On the other hand, were the moderates led by Kenyatta and Mboya argued that an Africanized form of the economy would be disastrous for the young economy of Kenya; therefore, they preferred a slow transition from the European-owned properties to Kenyans. When the Kenyatta government signed the foreign investment protection treaty, he personally assured the white settlers of the safety of their properties. This meant that Kenya's foreign policy was for political expediency, not idealism espoused by the radicals fighting for independence.¹⁶ This review supports the study's assumption. However, it fails to show how domestic politics can hinder foreign policy decision-making. This is what this study aims to achieve.

1.7.2 The role and impacts of domestic politics on foreign policy decision-making

Following the First and second world wars, the international system saw an increase in the emergence of nation-states, leading to the establishment of the United Nations, which was charged to ensure peaceful coexistence among states developing foreign policies. Foreign policy is greatly affected by the political organization and institutions of a state. In a state where the head has absolute power, decisions affecting foreign policy are easily made as the final decision rests with an individual regardless of the broader public opinion. However, in such a state, the decisions made can be conflicted. It has been observed that such kinds of systems have led to the segregation

¹⁵ Gertzel, C., *"The Politics of Independent Kenya, 1963-968."*(East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968).

¹⁶ Oginga, O., *"Not Yet Uhuru"* (Nairobi, Heinemann, 1967).

of a state in international politics, as was the case with North Korea and Myanmar regimes.

On the other hand, in a democratic country, the implementation of foreign policy is tedious and constantly sluggish compared to that of an autocratic state.¹⁷ According to Bojang's work, the citizens in these states have a say in their governments' foreign policies. Their public opinions are usually considered by the heads of the states in their process of formulating foreign policies. However relevant the literature is, it doesn't give a case where the government acts unilaterally. This study will analyse the actors in domestic politics and how they influence foreign policy decision-making in Kenya.

Kitol maintained that several political structures impact foreign policies. Under a one-state party system, there is a higher chance of a swifter adoption of foreign policies due to the majority supporting it, unlike in a multiparty state where they will be a majority of conflicting opinions regarding a policy leading to either non-participation or participation in a decision. This study will analyse the foreign policy decision-making in Kenya. Kenya is a multi-party state; it will be interesting to examine whether a multiparty setup is the best supplement or hinders foreign policy decisions in Kenya.

In the USA, the governments' premierships are incapable of taking hold of foreign policy decisions lest they receive two-thirds support from the Senate. The government is checked and balanced by the US Constitution. The Congress in the United States is the only institution encompassed with the powers to proclaim war, and treaties have to be assented to by the Senate, as is the appointment of ambassadors. Foreign policies in the United States are to a greater extent swayed by the political

¹⁷ *ibid.*

atmosphere in the United States, the repercussions the foreign policy would have on the United States economy, and the chief of state stance bounded by the previous elections. The people's representatives in Congress benchmark the government's expenditure, and for the adoption of a resolution, a majority of lawmakers have to vote in favour of it. However, the president is responsible for laying out the causes for implementing a particular policy and convincing Congress of the importance of the decision.¹⁸ This study will evaluate how the head of state acts unilaterally in Kenya, unlike the United States, and the impact of such unilateral decisions.

According to Agus Widjojo, the emergence of democracy has increased for non-state players knowledgeable about foreign policy issues. The state values contributions from non-state actors who offer constructive critique of the government's policies. The implementation of a foreign policy that enjoys widespread support is ensured by ongoing cooperation between two entities. Do non-state actors have an equal role in Kenya's foreign policy decisions? The study's purpose is to investigate the players in local politics and foreign policy decision-making.

According to Murphy, the transformation of Indonesia to a democratic state from authoritarian rule promoted a new set of interests in Indonesia in the international arena. In contrast to the Suharto period, when Indonesia's worldwide influence was primarily based on its leadership role in the ASEAN and economic success, today's world's third-largest democracy promotes its foreign policy agenda. In Indonesia, the Indonesian foreign policy is constitutionally based on both democracy and national security. The Indonesian foreign policy was developed and implemented under democratic dynamics, and it used the United Nations as its medium of enhancing good

¹⁸ Yetiv, S. A. *Explaining Foreign Policy: U.S Decision-Making in the Gulf Wars* 2nd ed, (Baltimore, the Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

relations with other states.

Democracy in Indonesia is presently appraised as an indispensable component of its foreign policy compared to earlier years before its assumption. It has been looked on as a forte to the Indonesian foreign policy permitting Indonesia to conventionalize democracy and security in its foreign policy in response to diverse international issues. From a coextensive perspective, ASEAN persists to be an essential underpinning of Indonesian foreign policy. In addition, the quest for a just, peaceful and democratic stance in APEC is Indonesia's primary consideration. It advances this agenda within International Organizations such as the UN by multilateralism.¹⁹ Kenya shifted from a one-party state to democracy in 1992. Was there any impact on its foreign policy like Indonesia?

On the same line, Laura notes that the global agencies like the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) continue to be significant players in the attempts by Indonesia to become distended in its domestic politics and foreign policy domain via plans such as human rights, democracy, terrorism, and international security. Indonesia's domestic politics have been a significant reflection of that of the United States. Hence the traditional policymaking process has changed by bringing in various actors who may push for policies. This literature gives an overview of what the study aims to examine; hence it will be interesting to see if it applies to Kenya.

Barbara Farnham points out the issues of admissibility of blueprints and their influences on the policymaking by government premiers. In a majority of technocracies, the adoption of proffered policies demands concurrence by the government. The probability of accepting a particular procedure will rely on the political setup where the resolution is realized. The likelihood of a

¹⁹ Murphy, A., *Democratization and Indonesian Foreign Policy: Implications for the United States. Asia Policy*, (2012), 83-112. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24905167>.

foreign policy being enacted in a state depends on the democratization of the state. In a more democratic state, the adoption of a foreign policy is less likely to be achieved.

Nevertheless, internal politicking in any given state tends to impede foreign policy decisions. Regardless foreign policy decisions are impacted by the domestic politics in each political system. In the case of the 2005 India-United States Treaty, home politics influenced international policy. The nuclear treaty, which was put up in 2005 to ally India and the United States, is explored in this scenario. India refused to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and instead urged other countries to advance their conspiratorial nuclear relations to protect their territorial integrity.²⁰ This literature fails to show how the stand of domestic politics on international issues has impacts on the foreign policy adopted. This study will examine the links between the two.

Borjan claims that this decision and India's and Pakistan's nuclear tests in 1998 caused the US to be conflicted. The 2005 agreement gave India the option of opting out of In exchange to enable the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to conduct its civilian nuclear sites. The country agreed to join the NPT. India has been granted permission to renew nuclear fuel for electricity purposes, resulting in energy, and the pact also affirmed India's status as a nuclear weapons state. Even though the treaty favoured India, its head of state threatened to withdraw from it due to internal party issues at the time. This literature fails to demonstrate whether domestic politics impacted the United States' nuclear policy. This is the study's primary concern.

Lantis and Beasley state that the communist party in India leaned on deposing the coalition government in case the nuclear agreements were actualized with the United States, these

²⁰ Farnham, B., *Impact of the Political Context on Foreign Policy Decision-Making*. *Political Psychology* (Special Issue, 2004).

sentiments were backed by the main opposition party (BJP) as the crumbling of the current administration would favour the political agendas of the opposition. For India to be a part of the treaty, it was not necessary that it received parliamentary consents to be signed. Still, the head of state refrained from signing it due to the political heat. India's head of state, Manmohan Singh, had no problem giving up a crucial foreign policy goal to appease domestic politics at the expense of global trends.²¹ This is yet another case where domestic politics are directly linked to foreign policy decisions.

Mintz and DeRouen take a look at the instance of the United States. It is delineated that the events of 9/11 commuted the cognizance of security ultimatums within its borders and the sequel of the subsequent foreign policy decision. The president of the USA, George Bush, in conjunction with the United States allies like France, Germany, and the United Kingdom, launched Operation Enduring Freedom in October 2001 to mete out punishment to those responsible for the 9/11 attacks by targeting the Taliban dominion in Afghanistan and Saddam Hussein in Iraqi. The United States is a constitutional republic and representative democracy, with a definitive ruling balanced by constitutionally guaranteed minority rights. Was President Bush's foreign policy significantly transformed due to the terrorist acts of September 11th, 2001? Were domestic politics a factor in this dramatic shift?

Akhmedov characterizes the People's Republic of China as a left-wing republic ruled by the Chinese Communist Party, the Central People's Council, and their supporting towns. The Chinese resident had no real power until the Communist Party of China appointed him as the general secretary, which gave him the position and power, putting him in charge of the state's policy

²¹ *ibid.*

development and administration and foreign policy choices. The Foreign Affairs ministry is in charge of carrying out Chinese foreign policy and reports to the Communist Party of China's Foreign Affairs Leading Small Group, making policy decisions. The world views the Chinese foreign policy as not in the literature but a reflection of its government²². Can the same be said about Kenya? This study will examine the domestic politics of Kenya and if it mirrors its foreign policy.

Forsythe and Barbara noted Jordan's decision to stay out of the war in the intervention of Iraqi by the USA, urging for a peaceful solution. Jordan's principal foreign policy goals include protecting itself against external threats to its territorial integrity, the rallying of resources for the defence against external threats, and exhaustion of the remaining resources for economic and social development. King Hussein chose not to support the US nor Iraqi in the invasion due to public opinion when he probably would have joined the coalition to strengthen the Jordanian economy and his regime's hold on to power. Although Jordan is a Monarchy, it is a democratic one, whereas the King relies on public opinion to remain in force in Jordan's political system. King Hussein opted to maintain domestic political approval despite impacting Jordan's economy after several countries stopped foreign aid to Jordan.²³ Kenya has also made several foreign policy decisions in war. Did domestic politics influence this? The study will investigate this.

As noted by Kibati, in Kenya, the form and structure of state authority and governance, which was concentrated within the president, affected Kenyan foreign policy under the Moi era. President Moi embraced an authoritarian leadership style after amending the constitution. The constitutional

²² Akhmedov K. Democratization and its impact on international relations. *J Dev Comm.* 92010):82-4. PMID: 12322620.

²³ Forsythe, D., & Barbara Ann., *US Foreign Policy and Enlarging the Democratic Community*. (Human Rights Quarterly, 2000), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4489312>. Accessed on 10/10/2021.

revisions jeopardized parliament's and other state institutions' authority in managing national issues, especially foreign policy. Several researchers have described Moi's leadership style as patronage through power control, domination, command, and presidential directives.²⁴ Is there a change in Kenya's foreign policy from President Moi to subsequent regimes? Did domestic politics influence it?

1.7.3 The Domestic politics factors that hinder foreign policy decision-making

Any state's position in the global domain is determined by its foreign policy. Policymakers evaluate external and internal factors, the state's national history, the objectivity of foreign policy and actions of other countries, and the framework of the global power structure while executing foreign policies.

According to Alden and Aran, the formulation of foreign policies is significantly impacted by the different democracies in different states; this is manifested in the various democracies such as the autocratic and democratic systems. Hence, it is concluded that foreign policy decision-making demands a string of procedures and has been taken over by numerous actors ranging from International organizations, non-governmental organizations, and the general public. At the same time, they welcome the belief that remarkable limitations exist in both an autocratic and democratic state. There are critical dissimilarities in the extent and sort of the constraints suggesting that the different expectations for foreign policy vary depending on stability in democracies and non-democracies. The restrictions do not apply just to legal and constitutional restraints related to the government's behaviour, governmental agencies, and individuals involved in the decision-making process and institution-based foreign policy decision-making procedures.²⁵ It will be interesting to

²⁴ Kibati, B. J. *Memoirs of a Kenyan Spymaster*. Nairobi: (Nairobi Academic Press, 2016).

²⁵ Chris A and Amnon Ar, *Foreign Policy Analysis-New Approaches*, (Routledge Publication, USA, 2012).

examine if Kenya's domestic politics hinders or facilitates foreign policy decision-making in Kenya.

Allison demonstrates how the conventional ways bureaucracies carry out their operations and the atypical competitiveness between actors contribute to bureaucratic institutions' resistance to change. Fragmentation is defined as a leader's capacity to exercise control in their intermediate political environment. Because no democratic leader can wield authority in their environment, all democracies are fractured. While severe divisions may exist in non-democratic states, as in China during the Cultural Revolution and Iran during the formative years of Ayatollah Khomeini, they are conflictual because any legal or constitutional status does not back them and are strongly associated with different political motives.²⁶ This study examines foreign policy decision-making under democratic and non-democratic governments. However, it fails to explain factors, either democratic or non-democratic, that influence foreign policy decision-making. This is one of the interests of the study.

Huxsoll states significant grounds that the variations between political structures will have considerable repercussions on foreign policies. The institutional and structural obstacles faced by egalitarian leaders are far more significant than those faced by authoritarian leaders. In contrast to a non-democratic state, which has strong incentives to use foreign policy to end political competition, democratic states are forced to be exposed to aggressive, dangerous foreign policy strategies. They are highly bent to embrace policies that serve the needs and wants of congruent political players.²⁷ Political structure and political competition, as reviewed, are factors that have

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Huxsoll, D, *Regimes, institutions and foreign policy change*. (LSU Doctoral Dissertations. 2007).

a bearing on foreign policy. Are they hindrance of promoters of good foreign policy decision making? This study will examine the domestic political factors that hinder foreign policy decision-making.

1.8 Knowledge Gap

Little has been published about the impact of local politics on foreign policy decision-making in the literature. There is a knowledge gap, particularly regarding the effects of local politics on Kenya's foreign policy decisions. The prior study did not look at the impact of regional political variables on policy decisions. This study will be one of the few to look into the effects of local politics on Kenyan foreign policy.

1.9 Justification

1.9.1 Policy justification

This research will be significant because it will be carried out when Kenya's domestic politics and foreign policy are inextricably linked. It is necessary to comprehend the impact of local politics on foreign policy decision-making. This study will assist policy makers in better understanding the issues at hand. It will also help create policies and frameworks to reduce the impact of domestic politics on foreign policy.

1.9.2 Academic justification

Furthermore, this study will explain how internal politics have influenced Kenyan foreign policy decisions. Foreign policy is a crucial tool for advancing a country's national interest, as it directly leads to the achievement of critical objectives such as security and economic development. As a result, the foreign policy decision-making process is vital and should be reviewed and analysed regularly. As a result, this study will be significant in the academic sector because it will develop

new knowledge and add to the existing literature.

1.9.3 Justification to the general public

The study will aid the general public in comprehending the impact of domestic politics on foreign policy decision-making in Kenya: Foreign policy, as a weapon for achieving national interests, impacts the lives of Kenyan residents, both directly and indirectly.

1.10 Theoretical framework

This study will use the Decision-making theory as the framework of analysis.

Decision-making Theory, as advanced by Simon, Hebert states that Human agency's role in foreign policy is based on decision-making processes as defined by decision-making theory. The concept is based on the notion that a single person is a decision-maker who informs foreign policy decisions, working alone or in a group. This theory sheds light on the interaction between the decision-maker, his psychological and operational environment, and the result of foreign policy. Decision-making theory, in particular, aims to move beyond the state level of analysis to the personal level. As a result, the view allows for human desire and imagination in explaining international politics.²⁸

This theory is the best tool for analysis in this study, given that the presidency has governed Kenya's foreign policy decision-making since her political independence. This is not, however, an uncommon occurrence when it comes to international relations. In Kenya, the parliament and the top leaders are responsible for defining, prioritizing, and creating strategies for pursuing national interests overseas to carry out the state's vision in foreign affairs. The president's control over

²⁸ Simon H A., *Administrative Behavior: A Study of Decision Making Processes in Administrative Organization*, (Macmillan, 1947).

foreign policy decisions in Kenya is based on the constitution's sovereign power, which positions him as the country's representative in international matters. The president has control over all bilateral and multilateral treaties, except for rare situations when parliament is consulted. Therefore, domestic politics have an impact on foreign policy decision-making.

1.11 Hypothesis

This study aims to analyse the effects of local politics on foreign policy decisions making in Kenya

H₁: There is a complex relationship between local politics and foreign policy.

H₁: Domestic politics have positively impacted foreign policy decision-making in Kenya.

H₀: Bureaucratic Politics is the main hindrance to foreign policy decision-making in Kenya

1.12 Research methodology

The study's methodology was crucial in determining how data and information were collected.

1.13 Research design

The plan, structure, and method used to examine a research problem and answer the research question are part of the research design. The study used both qualitative and quantitative methodologies in a mixed research design. An in-depth research design was used in this research. This method collected data without influencing the study's variables or the respondents to determine how domestic politics have affected foreign policy decisions.

1.14 Research site

This study was based in Nairobi, Kenya. Nairobi, the capital city, is the home of the foreign affairs ministry, the executive, and parliament. Government-based foreign policy decisions are mainly carried out in the capital at the ministry of foreign affairs, the president's office, Statehouse or Parliament.

1.15 Target Population

This study's target population was mainly foreign policy decision-makers from the ministry of foreign affairs, the president's office, Statehouse or Parliament. Further, the study targeted experts in foreign policy, academicians as well the general public.

1.16 Sampling procedure

Simple random and purposive sampling was used in the investigation. Purposive sampling is when a researcher chooses a sample that they believe was useful to the study. This was used to sample respondents from the ministry of foreign affairs, the president's office, the Statehouse, Parliament, and foreign policy specialists. The study used simple random sampling methods for the general public since most citizens of 18 years, and above can weigh in on the effects of domestic politics on foreign policy decision-making.

Beyond 10,000, $n = \frac{p \times q \times (z/e)^2}{}$ for an indefinite population. 2 Where n is the minimum sample size.

p = Proportion of people who fall within a specific category

q = Proportion of people who don't fit into any of the categories.

e = Margin error z = Value matching to a stated degree of confidence, e.g. 95 percent, z = 1.96

As a result, for such a population, the assumption is p = 50%, 0.5 q = 50%, or 0.5 z = 1.96. (95 percent)

$n = 0.5 \times 0.5 \times (1.96 / 0.05)^2 = 384$

Table 1.1 Sample size and Sampling procedure

Target population	Sample size	Sampling procedure
Officials of the Ministry of foreign affairs	20	Purposive
Officials from the office of the president	20	Purposive
Members of Parliaments	20	Purposive
Officials from the statehouse (if any)	4	Purposive
Experts on issues of Foreign Affairs decision making(Former ambassadors and Diplomats)	10	Purposive
Scholars in the field of diplomacy and international relations	100	Simple random
The General public	210	Simple Random
	384	

Source: Researcher 2021

1.17 Data collection procedure

The study used primary and secondary data sources. The primary data consisted of respondents from various categories within the target demographic, asked to fill out questionnaires. Secondary data were inclusive of the data collected from appropriate literature in libraries such as journals, newspapers, ministry of foreign affairs publications, published books, news bulletins, students' thesis, and other web-based sources.

1.18 Data Analysis and presentation

The qualitative and descriptive approaches to data analysis are fundamental when analysing both primary and secondary data sources. In this case, content analysis and narrative analysis were used.

To calculate and summarize behaviour-based data, content analysis was used in the study. The primary qualitative data were analysed using narrative analysis. Quantitative data were examined and presented as tables and pie charts using Microsoft Excel and SPSS software.

1.19 Reliability of data collection instruments

Through triangulation, this study adopted the mixed-method design of data collection to ensure that all data possible is collected. To build trust, the design of the data collection instruments was characterized by detailed, logical, and inclusive questions. The information regarding the specific tool was also inspected, cross-checked, and scrutinized to make sure that it gives accurate and consistent results.

1.20 Validity of data collection instruments

The data collection instruments settled on the questionnaires, face-to-face interviews, and in-depth queries into pre-existing coverage of the case study dispute are valid to the data relevant to this study. The information gathered was current or recently current and directly responded to the research questions and the hypotheses.

1.21 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study was mainly carried out in Nairobi.

This study's possible limitations included the study being conducted during the COVID-19 pandemic; hence, collecting primary data was a challenge. The study overcame by using Google forms and other online data collection tools.

1.22 Chapter outline

The research **first chapter** contains an introduction to the study, the research topic, the study's objectives, a literature review, a theoretical framework, a hypothesis, and research methodology.

Chapter two will investigate the links between domestic politics and foreign policy. The research will provide knowledge of the connections between domestic politics and foreign policy in this chapter. This will give a background to understanding the democratization process and foreign policy decision-making.

Chapter three will evaluate the role and impacts of domestic politics on foreign policy decision-making in Kenya. The study will analyse domestic politics' impact and influence on Kenya's foreign policy decision-making. This will be done by looking at the decision-making process in Kenya, the actors involved, and how it impacts foreign policy at the domestic level.

Chapter four will examine domestic political factors that hinder foreign policy decision-making in Kenya. There exist several opportunities and challenges that come with domestic politics linked with foreign policy decision-making. The study will then come up with policy recommendations to address these factors.

Chapter five concludes the study; this chapter will include conclusions, summaries, and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LINKS BETWEEN DOMESTIC POLITICS AND FOREIGN POLICY DECISION- MAKING.

2.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates the links between domestic politics and foreign policy decision making. The effect brought about by home politics on foreign policy is growing in importance. The former has an impact on the latter. The home policy does have a significant effect on foreign policy, to the point that international policy is dependent on domestic policy. As a result, it is possible to claim that foreign policy reflects home policy. Where domestic policy stops, foreign policy begins. The links between local and international issues are apparent. Foreign policy is inextricably linked to the home context from which it emerges. Domestic pressures can take numerous forms, and the interaction between decision-makers in foreign policy and local constituents can be challenging to understand.

2.2 The Domestic Political Environment and Foreign Policy decision-making

Foreign policy is the entirety of self-governing state avowed foreign ties in international relations. Domestic reasons, other countries' policies or acts, and goals to attain specific geopolitical agendas determine the foreign policy design. The political system of a state affects the country's foreign policy ideologies. For example, in India, the head of state would rely primarily on the office's consent and popular sentiment by India's citizens. In a communist country such as China, making not prevalent judgments may be more challenging, but still have a protracted national goal. The leader of the country formulates foreign policy in order to achieve intricate home and international goals. The majority of foreign policies are created through collaborations between international

and domestic institutions and organizations.²⁹

In the 1980s, Tip O'Neill, the United States House of Representatives speaker, observed, "All politics is domestic." Foreign policy, as well as domestic politics and policy, are inextricably connected. As a result, the foreign platform is utilized to defend home interests, and domestic politics influence numerous variables overseas. This necessitates the involvement of a growing number of players, including the government and businesses, civic society, regions, and cities. This two-way interplay between local and global markets means a lot to Spain. All laws, governmental organizations, and activist groups that impact or limit persons or agencies in society make up a nation's political environment. The geopolitical framework in which the head of state acts is the essential factor to consider while discussing his activities. Internal politics can sometimes impact the sovereign leader of a country's international critical decision.³⁰

The democratic systems will decide the president's role and influence on foreign policy. A political system is a collection of legally recognized entities that form a nation's administration. It can be described in a variety of contexts. For instance, a country without a sovereign leader is referred to as having an Anarchical system, whereas a nation with a sovereign ruler is referred to as having Feudalism.³¹

Farnham highlights the concerns of blueprints validity and their effect on policies by sovereign heads of government. The majority of technocracies require the government's approval before implementing the proposed policies. The likelihood of adopting a particular policy will be

²⁹ Britannica, T. *Foreign policy*. Encyclopedia Britannica. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/foreign-policy> accessed on 10/10/2021.

³⁰ Luca Anceschi, *Integrating domestic politics and foreign policy making: the cases of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan*, (Central Asian Survey, 2010).

³¹ *ibid.*

determined by the political environment in which the resolution is implemented. The likelihood of a state enacting a foreign policy is dependent on the state's democracy, with a more democratic state being less likely to adopt a foreign policy. Internal politicking in any one state, however, tends to impede foreign policy decisions.³²

Based on a World Trade Organization panel's judgment, the United States launched economic reprisals on the nations that engaged in building the Airbus for illegal federal subsidies. Spain has been among the states affected. Tariffs have been imposed on various imported goods into the United States, such as wines and canola oil. Although farm owners don't fathom why they should pay for just a plane manufacturer's mistake, it is a legitimate reaction. For a period, the Catalan authorities undertook covert efforts to establish tariff reductions. However, following massive demonstrations from a hard-hit portion of Spanish farmers, this sent a message to the Trump Presidency: if it wishes to maintain depending on the already rapidly expanding level of Special Forces collaboration with Catalonia, it must rescind its tariff barriers.³³ In the 2005 India-US Treaty, local dynamics influenced international policy. In this scenario, the foreign policy under discussion is the nuclear accord negotiated in 2005 to align India and the United States. India declined to sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), instead vowing to expand its nuclear cabal connections to maintain its territorial integrity for as long as other countries did. The US felt disturbed by this action and the nuclear tests conducted by India and its rival Pakistan in 1998.³⁴

³² *ibid.*

³³ Fredrik B and Stefano, *Rethinking Foreign policy*, (Roulge Publication, 2013).

³⁴ Huxsoll, David B., *Regimes, institutions and foreign policy change* (LSU Doctoral Dissertations. 2007) https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_dissertations/2377.

2.3 Domestic factors influencing foreign policy

Foreign policy is better explained through domestic politics, according to scholars like Waltz. As such, Foreign policy exists beyond domestic politics. Foreign policy isn't merely interactions of foreign nations but also an extension of domestic politics or the outcome of their domestic politics. Waltz emphasizes that a coherent IR theory explains how foreign policy is created from the outcome of domestic politics.³⁵ In essence, he links foreign policy theory to the bureaucratic or political process within nations that create foreign policies. According to Waltz, systemic IR theory is akin to the neoclassical micro-economic theory of markets, which sees businesses as "black boxes", not considering the complexity of their internal operations. He proposes that a theory of foreign policy be akin to a company theory in a manner where companies' internal dynamics and structure generate the output of value, quantities, and varieties of commodities for sale.³⁶

As such, foreign determining variables are determined by every country's micro-environment, which influences its structure and the trajectory of its foreign policies. States vary in terms of population, economic development, and political system. Similarly, public opinion, state-centric notions, decision-making standards, and national elite interpersonal traits vary from one country to another.

2.3.1 Culture

Culture teaches individuals how to perceive, observe, and understand the environment surrounding them. It shapes our beliefs and serves as a tool to examine events that occur in our lives. Culture is defined as the ethnic characteristics, such as the foods we eat, the clothing we wear, the

³⁵ Waltz K '*Theory of International Politics*'. (New York. McGraw Hill, 1979).

³⁶ Ibid.

languages we speak, the music we listen to, and where we live.³⁷

According to Hossam, "the culture-based dimension of foreign policy is a broad and dangerous domain." Scholars disagree on if and how culture influences and influences a nation's foreign relations policy in general and foreign diplomacy in a broad country acquires a culture and style, which affect and shape the direction of action that the nation must take concerning other sovereign states. A country's response to international challenges is defined by its historical values and ideas that have evolved. Historical events have an impact on a country's foreign policy, just as culture and customs do. In general, governments with a shared heritage and traditions found it simpler to develop integrated and seamless foreign policy.³⁸

2.3.2 A Country's Historical Background

A country's historical background is crucial when it comes to creating foreign policies and the decision-making processes involved. A states' foreign policy is often influenced by the colonization a country was subjected to. The colonial masters have a substantial impact on the foreign policies in Africa and Asia. This is evident from the languages spoken on these two continents. Each country speaks the tongue of their colonizers.

2.3.3 Size and Demography of a state

The size, topography, and demography of a country influence how its foreign policy is carried out. It is widely assumed that the governments of tiny areas and populations do not anticipate their nation to influence foreign politics. Gambia, Benin, Brunei, Kyrgyzstan, and other countries are examples. Leaders of major nations, on the contrary, are prepared and eager to accept unique and

³⁷ *ibid.*

³⁸ Foyle, D., & Van Belle, D. *Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy Analysis: Public Opinion, Elections, Interest Groups, and the Media.* (Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies, 2020).

more extraordinary duties in foreign politics. Because of their massive size, the United States, Russia, and China, for example, are prominent actors in foreign politics. That is not to suggest that all tiny states do not participate actively in foreign politics. Small countries with significant economic and political resources are deeply involved and significantly affect global affairs. For example, Israel and North Korea are both highly engaged in foreign politics. The same may be said for the Middle East's oil-rich nations such as Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and others, which, despite their modest size, play an important influence in global politics, particularly in the international political economy.³⁹ Meanwhile, giant nations such as Canada, Australia, and Brazil haven't pursued a proactive foreign policy. It may thus be claimed that size is not even an utter and total determinant but is impacted by other variables such as the resources at a nation's disposal.

2.3.4 Geopolitical placement of a State

The geopolitical placement of a country is a key determinant of a nation's foreign policy. It matters, according to Malang, where a country is located on the planet. It also makes a difference if the nation has natural frontiers: shielded by seas, mountain ranges, or deserts. The geopolitical placement entails the neighbourhood a country is situated in. A country's geography has a considerable influence on its foreign policy. Turkey, Israel, Gambia, and Libya are examples of such countries. Turkey's status as a transit country connecting Asia and Europe has a significant influence on the country's foreign policy execution. Because of its positioning on the Atlantic Coastline, the Gambia plays an important role.⁴⁰

³⁹ *ibid.*

⁴⁰ *ibid.*

2.3.5 Economic and Military Power of a State

A state foreign policy is determined by the rate at which the economy is growing. Globally, the highly advanced nations have foreign policies designed to maintain their dominance in international politics. First-world countries such as the USA, France, Russia, and Germany have a wide range of resources, and they use them to maintain dominance and issue out help to struggling countries through loans. Their main goal is to build good international relationships. A perfect example is when the United Nations General Assembly called out President Trump for declaring Jerusalem as Israel's capital city. Nikki Haley, the USA ambassador to the United Nations, stated that they do not anticipate any criticism from any state they had assisted. The USA threatened to pull back their financial help from the states that voted in support of the United Nations resolution when it comes to the issue of Jerusalem. President Trump stated that they would be watching how each state voted, threatening those who voted against it with cessation of funding and other forms of assistance. Countries such as the Gambia have a limited and planned foreign policy. Most third-world countries continuously rely on industrialized countries for financial support in the form of loans.

The military power of a nation highly influences foreign policy decision making. For example, as it seeks to achieve p-5 status, India has taken on new dimensions in terms of nuclearisation. The same may be said of North Korea, whose acquisition of new weapons of mass destruction is causing her foreign policies to become more belligerent. That is to say, governments with strong military capabilities, such as the USA, China, and Russia, are more into achieving their foreign policy objectives globally.⁴¹

⁴¹ Aduol Odiemo, F. ., & Godfrey O., *Nature Of Media Diplomacy In Influencing Foreign Policy Decision Making*

2.3.6 Leader and local Politics

Leadership generally and a leader's persona has a tremendous influence on international policy formation. Even though the government structure and socioeconomic disparities are thought to restrict a leader's character, the leader reveals the route to the government and society amid a crisis. Leaders are divided into 'hawks,' who favour an aggressive foreign policy premised on great military might, and 'doves,' which were emollient and sought to address global problems even without coercion.⁴² An abrasive ruler, according to Brands, possesses characteristics such as a propensity to exploit people, a strong desire for power, mistrust, high degrees of nationalism, readiness to instigate on behalf of their country.⁴³

Numerous academicians reckon that the media have a considerable influence on the policies and decisions made by politicians. There is a phenomenon known as the "CNN effect," that Joseph Nye defines as follows: In democratic countries, the constant stream of televised information influences society and the formulation of international policy. By emphasizing specific wars and human rights issues, journalists pressure politicians to address some international crises while ignoring others. The so-called CNN effect makes it more difficult to maintain some topics at the top of the public agenda that would otherwise be of lesser importance. Those who believe in the validity of the CNN effect, according to Neack, argue that it makes use of public opinion.

According to Rodrik, local media influence is essential in foreign policy decision making. Images of mass hunger, ethnic strife, severe human rights violations, and other forms of mass suffering

Process In Kenya: Kenya's Foreign Policy. The International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Invention, 7(2020).

⁴² Luca A., *Integrating domestic politics and foreign policy making: the cases of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan*, *Central Asian Survey*, (2010).

⁴³ Hal Brands, *Making the Unipolar Moment: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Rise of the Post-Cold War Order*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2018).

elicit powerful emotions in public. The people, enraged by the pictures of suffering depicted in the media, will then demand that their elected leaders do "something" powerful and morally justifiable in response. Presumably, elected leaders who wish to maintain popular support for various purposes will react to such requests, either humanitarian or military intervention; any adjustments need to be made within a short term. Furthermore, Rodrik argued in his evaluation of the nature of social media such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and Integral in foreign policy implementation that as social media grows increasingly easily accessible, it will become yet another medium through which people, non-state stakeholders, and government agencies can discuss their foreign policy priority areas to collect information, actively engage in diplomacy, educate the masses, and attempt to sway for good. This implies that the media has a significant impact on establishing the public plan and, as a result, shaping foreign policy choices.⁴⁴

2.4 Domestic actors in foreign decision making

The policymaking process is comprised of a complex sequence of subordinate procedures. It comprises conceptualization, execution, and assessment. As a result of the complexities associated, particular key individuals play essential roles in the policymaking process. Anderson divided the critical participants in the policymaking processes into two groups: official policymakers and unofficial policymakers. The two types of actors are active in the policy process in some manner. Still, they are essential and relevant in policy inception, choices, formulation, implementation, and assessment sub-processes. Foreign policy, according to Rumk, is a purposeful plan of action taken by players or groups of players generally associated with governance on an issue or problems of public concern. Foreign policy, according to Ikelegbe, is a course of action or a series of activities

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

selected among various choices of particular actors in response to specific issues. Once adopted, it guides behaviour, activities, practices, and a paradigm for current and future decisions. Certain actors develop policies to attain particular aims, and they consist of specific courses of action to be performed in specific processes.

Unofficial policymakers don't hold formalized or political roles. These individuals are not in governmental positions, but their significance and policymaking functions are derived from government and formal policymakers.⁴⁵ They typically route their worries and requests through officials, synchronize them, and encourage them to participate in the policymaking process. Official policymakers, according to Henderson, are people who have the legal authority to make public policy. This group includes legislators, the executive, administrators, and the judiciary. Each of them does things in their manner when it comes to policymaking. They are the ones in charge. They are government officials who hold formal public positions and political offices and are responsible for policy development.⁴⁶

2.4.1 The executive

The executive branch comprises the president, prime minister, ministers, special advisers, special aides, senior political workers, and administrators. The executive's primary responsibilities include enacting public policies and monitoring, integrating, and administering ministries, departments, and agencies (MDAs) actively involved in policy adoption. However, under democratic regimes, the executive, such as the head of state, has a critical role in policy making. Furthermore, he fulfils vital responsibilities in the policy process's start, development, and execution. This is known as an

⁴⁵ Basu Rumki, *International Politics- Concept, Theories and Issues*, (Saga publication, New Delhi, 2012).

⁴⁶ *ibid.*

"executive-centred age," wherein the success of governments is heavily reliant on executive leadership in both policy formulation and policy implementation. The president's authority to exert legislative authority is explicitly defined and recognized as a president's requirement. In this "executive-centred era," the president and his close associates and consultants in the administration have become the primary initiators of policy recommendations. It has become abundantly apparent that the president, in addition to providing administrative leadership, is also expected to offer legislative leadership. The regime in power has a considerable effect on policy issues.

The executive president is respected not only for his administrative leadership but also for his legislative leadership. Because of several prominent elements, he plays a dominating role in the policy process beyond essential execution. To begin, the president parades a slew of ministers, advisers, technocrats, experts, talented, and experienced administrators on a wide range of policy problems spanning from political, social, and economic concerns to diplomatic and military ties. Secondly, the executive's power has been steadily rising due to the rising sophistication of policy challenges, which necessitate a high level of expertise and specialized knowledge to address. Third, it emerges that the legislature, which is legally entitled to develop policy, has mainly delegated that constitutional role to the executive. The legislature's segmentation and administration method have prevented them from having enough time and cohesiveness to address policy issues. As a result, the president will have to originate and sponsor many policy initiatives (particularly sensitive ones). Fourth, the administration has huge finances, sufficient infrastructure, and patronage influence to advocate for the adoption and passage of its policy ideas. Leaders have enormous constitutional powers and operating flexibility in foreign and military policy, particularly in the United States of America. Foreign policy is primarily the result of presidential direction and action. It is primarily the jurisdiction of the executive, as is the position in all

countries across the world. In certain circumstances, the head of state is an "adopter" of any policy launched solely by the office in its own right.⁴⁷

2.4.2 Legislators

Legislators are members of regional assemblies such as Nigeria's National Assembly and state legislatures. Legislators, as previously established, are the primary policymakers. They have the legal authority to formulate and implement policies. They advocate for their constituents from various constituencies as elected representatives. As a result, they must collect, integrate, and translate their constituents' ideas, preferences, aspirations, and issues into policy proposals for the legislature. These policy recommendations go through the complete legislative process, including reading, debating, and evaluating them. Following that, the president is presented with policies derived from such suggestions for his assent. The executive will establish policies to construct policy programs and necessary activities, then be implemented and assessed. Legislators do not create legislative ideas purely based on constituent feedback. With the support of their colleagues in the legislature and the government, they also draft policies. In practice, lawmakers appear to have essentially and largely ceded their constitutional responsibilities to the administration.

They look to the executive for legislative leadership. Several factors in Nigeria are to blame for this dereliction of responsibility. Not only are lawmakers divided along political lines, but also racial and religious lines. As a result, they lack the cooperation necessary to develop, implement, and formulate policies that benefit most people. Second, many legislators lack the depth, skill, capacities, and plutocracy that executive officials have to confront the complex difficulties that modern communities and governments face.

⁴⁷ *ibid.*

Third, most lawmakers are irresponsible. They have a hazy sense of the significance of their duty. Essentially, they aren't very well enough to satisfy the growing demand for governing competence. Fourth, the "executive-centred era" has left lawmakers in a disadvantageous position. They are readily swayed by payment or threats of dismissal by the management to do its bidding. Nonetheless, it's important to remember that in mature democratic administrations, legislators are still involved in policymaking and have vital policy responsibilities under the presidential system of government. They are rendered useless or redundant in authoritarian and totalitarian regimes.⁴⁸

2.4.3 The Judiciary

The judiciary is made up of judges and courts. Its statutory tasks are interpreting the constitution and legislation and adjudicating conflicts between persons, groups, governmental institutions, and arms/levels of government. It's important to remember that the judicial system lacks the legal authority to formulate, implement, or enforce rules. Nonetheless, through the interpretation of the constitution and legislation, it makes a substantial contribution to policymaking. The judiciary has four main procedures for responding to policy. These instruments include judicial review, legislative interpretation in issues filed before the courts, economic cases, and judicial activism.⁴⁹

Judicial review refers to the ability of courts to assess the legality of legislative and executive branch actions and declare them illegal, null and void, and often without consequence if they contravene any section(s) of the constitution. The power of courts to interpret and decide the meaning of constitutional provisions prone to opposing interpretations is referred to as the legal interpretation of lawsuits filed before a judge. Judges in respective courtrooms define

⁴⁸ Hudson, V. *The History and Evolution of Foreign Policy Analysis*. (Oxford University Press, second edition, 2012) pp.13-23

⁴⁹ Ozgur, S. *The Impact of Domestic Politics on Foreign Policy Decision-Making in Turkish-American Relations*, (2011).

constitutional laws, and whichever interpretation they provide gets obligatory on all parties concerned.⁵⁰

Economic policy is influenced by court decisions on contracts, private property rights, and the workplace relationship. Whenever these matters are taken before the courts or judges, their rulings may result in developing, refining, or outright "policing" of policies. The control of social and political activity in reaction to changing conditions is referred to as judicial activism. During this procedure, the court determines what the government may and cannot do to accomplish its legal and constitutional duties. Consequently, the court has the jurisdiction to examine and rule on issues like people's freedom to social assistance. It can also make decisions about administering institutions like schools, institutes, and colleges efficiently and successfully. The judiciary uses these tools to decide on a judicial intervention that can change policies, refocus policies and actions, and control implementation efforts. In a nutshell, the court maintains propriety, fairness, legality, justice, and moderation.⁵¹

2.4.4 The public and interest groups

The interests and wants of ordinary individuals have an impact on public policies. Governments all around the globe heed to and listen to whatever their population wants in an attempt to lessen social discontent and avert catastrophic protests and demonstrations. As a corollary, citizens play a key role in policy development. People get to vote, and they can effect policy reforms through the political process. If citizens are unhappy with a political party's or the individual's policy initiatives, they can vote them out. They may cause policy projects to be disrupted as a result of

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

their voting power. Individual citizens with a high intellectual depth and adaptability can significantly affect policy challenges and policy decisions. The government cannot ignore such persons in policy concerns because of their intellectual abilities, analytical brains, and knowledge of facts and numbers. Again, some people have worked in governmental roles or capacities. They affect the policy process by their experiences and exposure in government by engaging in political activity and submitting policy memos. They also communicate their policy recommendations through the media and in public forums.⁵²

2.5 Importance and Interactions of domestic policy and foreign policy

Principles, ideals, initiatives, and revolutions all of these factors affect international policy. From Nazi Germany's ambitious foreign policy to isolationism in the United States in the early twentieth century, history has proven that the state's external ambitions are far from constant. International dynamics and country characteristics shape the foreign domain as a mental construct. It's nonsensical to argue the contrary; there's no refuting that transnational indoctrination has shifted relations with other countries and brought mainstream politics into the global arena. The domestic and foreign conceptions are easily separated since both are vital in the creation of foreign policy.⁵³ The domestic impact is the bedrock of foreign policy, undermining but not eliminating surviving parts. The two policy areas have a solid relationship. Successful business people mobilize and maintain public support as a means of retaining public office. To put it another way, democracy. Domestic politics influence foreign policy decisions. Democracy encourages choice by allowing political parties to discuss a wide range of policy topics, with emerging administrations embodying the beliefs and values of the majority of the voters. The President's desire for military departure

⁵² Rosenau, J., *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*. (Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁵³ Breuning, Marijke. *Foreign Policy Analysis: A Comparative Introduction*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

from Iraq and measures for healthcare reform highlight social welfare and responsibility principles that are often associated with the ideological left. Furthermore, they exhibit a remarkable level of populism, with nearly 90% of Americans favouring some form of healthcare reform and 63% believing that sending troops to Iraq was a mistake.

The domestic opinion is vital in deciding government action since it encompasses both internal and external concerns of the state. It typically includes a collection of different values depending on the jurisdiction in question. Nationalism is an integral part of contemporary American society, and it has had a considerable impact on US foreign policy throughout history. The United States entered WWII in reaction to Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor posed to the nation's infrastructure. As a result of the horrific 9/11 terrorist attacks, a new level of 'islamophobia' emerged, with hatred of Muslims. The vengeful mentality within America's domestic culture invaded its internal political arena with the passing of the USA Patriot Act, which extended law enforcement authorities as a way of safeguarding national identity. Such ideals are deeply ingrained in current US foreign policy, with forceful actions in Afghanistan and Iraq reflecting a desire to protect the American people and borders.

The purpose of "entrenching Egypt's dominant religious frame of mind," the domestic broadcasting policy has included a growing amount of religious content on state television channels. As a result, national identity and the constant need to preserve such ideas are critical domestic and foreign policy components. The concept of state sovereignty will be a persistent feature in the foreign system as long as nationalist governments exist in a global society, and foreign indoctrination will endure being an underappreciated and underutilized asset. Religion has also played a significant effect in domestic and international politics. The connection is particularly visible in Eastern countries such as Egypt, where the present leadership has been suspected of "pandering to religious

sensibilities to bolster its grip on power." Therefore, Zimbabwe's international agenda is constrained, and the framework of its domestic and foreign policies has become muddled in the face of societal chaos and discord. Controversial domestic culture resonates just on the reputation of administration, tainting its aspects; as a result, the elite's ability to create its very own picture and doctrine in domestic and foreign affairs is reduced.⁵⁴

The middle class, which accounts for forty-Seven Percent of the population, is America's greatest socioeconomic stratum, mainly composed of professionals, craftspeople, and managers; they value private enterprise but favour government involvement when required. As a result, the middle class has power over policy, influencing the development of ideas and ideals inside government. President Barack Obama's current healthcare policy exhibits this on the domestic front, establishing universal health coverage for all Americans while allowing private health insurance to be a viable option. In the case of US foreign policy, the same may be stated. The involvement has been met with scepticism in American society, as seen by American isolationism in the 1930s and Congress's unwillingness to join the League of Nations in 1919. According to Noam Chomsky, governments must persuade their populace that fighting is necessary, often by inventing signals through the media. The threat of WMDs was intended to generate terror in the American people, making the invasion of Iraq appear to be the only option.

As a result, there is little difference between foreign and domestic policy; the strategies used primarily by democratic governments preserve the importance of diagnostic imaging government while legitimizing such involvement by preserving areas of individualism and the common good. International dynamics, notably the function of international institutions and global economic

⁵⁴ Gerner, Deborah. *The Evolution of the Study of Foreign Policy Analysis: Continuity and Change in Its Second Generation*. (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, 2005) pp. 17-32

policy, impact foreign policy. International dynamics, notably the function of international institutions and global economic policy, impact foreign policy. The Maastricht Treaty (1992), for example, established common security and defence principles that all European Union member countries must follow; the Treaty's goal includes a desire to foster international cooperation and protect human rights, which would unavoidably provide the groundwork for countries' foreign policies.

Many nations, such as the United Kingdom, raise European law above British law (as established by the European Communities Act of 1972), challenging to ignore international players' involvement. As a result, the impact of globalization on international society must be taken to account. Multinational corporations (MNCs) migrate worldwide, employing people in developing nations while preserving their corporate structures in rich countries, disproving that states are entirely chaotic. The government's international behaviour can no longer be simply isolationist; to survive economically, foreign links must be developed into nations all over the world, allowing for an orderly and efficient flow of goods and services. In the sense that global institutionalism plays a crucial role in present global society and state behaviour in modern international relations, domestic and foreign policy is detachable.

2.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, the links between domestic politics and foreign policy were investigated. It was found out that foreign policy is not made in a vacuum or isolation. It is based on national interests, and its boundaries are continually shifting. The study's findings were that foreign policy is an extension of domestic policy in that it grows out of domestic concerns and has a core of domestic concerns. In the foreign policy decision-making process, the interconnections between the international and national environments are viewed as crucial. As a result, foreign policy decision-

makers must have a thorough awareness of domestic events and policies before establishing and implementing an excellent international strategy.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ROLE AND IMPACT OF DOMESTIC POLITICS IN THE FOREIGN POLICY

DECISION-MAKING IN KENYA.

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the role of domestic politics in foreign policymaking in Kenya. It also analyses the impact domestic politics have on Kenya's foreign policy. The chapter aims to analyse the role and impact of home issues in international policy decision-making and the effect and consequences of domestic affairs on foreign policies. Both domestic and systemic factors impact Kenyan foreign policy alike on its foreign policy decision making. Kenya attempts to develop a foreign policy that achieves the best results possible in light of its objectives. This is difficult, however, because each state strives to pursue particular objectives, and in doing this, the decision-making is influenced by several domestic political issues.

3.2 The role of domestic politics in Kenya's strategic foreign policy decision making

Kenyan political systems have been linked to influencing the way foreign policy in Kenya is developed. Political processes are generally defined as developing and implementing policy decisions aided by the interplay between governmental organizations and societal groupings or between public opinion and political leaders. Kenya's political procedures are comprised of elections, political appointments, and other public interactions. Elections, as political processes, are used to denote changes in foreign policy formulation and foreign relations involvement. Since the 1960s, Kenya has seen an increase in the vibrancy of its international interactions, with a multiplicity of economic, diplomatic, and military cooperation.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Mintz, A., & DeRouen Jr, K., *International, Domestic, and Cultural Factors Influencing Foreign Policy Decision*

The globalization of the economy has increased throughout the same time, owing to the significant contribution of trade and transnational business capital in the production structure. More precisely, this chapter investigates domestic politics causes that have contributed to a paradigm change in Kenyan foreign policy, resulting in the supremacy of economic diplomacy. Kenya's internal political processes since 2002 have provided an excellent site for determining these elements. This time saw a significant shift in Kenya's foreign policy orientation from Western to Eastern Asia-based (mainly China). Nevertheless, more scholarly research is needed in Kenyan internal politics and foreign policy to inform policymaking and academic progress. Partisan affinities, treaty obligations, cycles of upheaval, and sanctions imposed against the leader describe domestic political processes.⁵⁶

Fifty years since independence from British control, it is clear that Kenya's ties with external players are critical in foreign policy and internal affairs. Regardless, the relationship seen between government and political influences must be viewed not as an imperial conception, but as one burgeoning from an extant group of individuals with different societal attributes that have contributed a nation of forty-two ethnicities to envision and implement, in 2010, one of Africa's most forward people-centred constitutions. A substantial and increasing research in international relations contends that the home environment is critical in shifting a country's foreign policy, notwithstanding the look-east strategy's euphoria.⁵⁷

Kenya's foreign policy has been marked by consistency and inconsistency in terms of decision-making framework. This has resulted from regime transitions, with the foreign policy decision-

Making. In Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ahmed, M. A. Determinants of foreign policy formulation in developing countries: A case of Kenya. *International Academic Journal of Arts and Humanities*, (2016), pp. 1-53

making structure mirroring the incumbent government style of leadership, the concerned area, and the decision-making climate. For instance, Kenya attained national sovereignty amid the cold war, a historical fact that saw the first head of state, Jomo Kenyatta, choose political non-alignment as one of the foundations on which Kenya's foreign policy was formed Session Paper No. 10 of 1965. It is worth noting, too, that Kenya's foreign policy continues conscious of the importance of core tenets, only with minor deviations in reaction to dynamics within the global community. Kenya's foreign policy is primarily based on respecting territorial integrity, parity between sovereign countries, nonviolent dispute resolution, respect to Geneva agreements and principles, and peaceful cohabitation with neighbours and other states.⁵⁸

Kenya's foreign policy may be seen from the perspective of domestic and systemic issues. Internal dynamics in domestic politics inform foreign policy, which is periodically characterized by discourse based on ethnic and political orientation and the incumbent's peculiarities. In particular, during Kenya's political shift from a de jure one-party country to a multi-party country in the earlier 1990s, parliamentarians became more involved in the foreign policy process. Similarly, developing foreign policy considers vital strategic interests such as territorial integrity and responsiveness to potential threats. For example, Kenya's foreign policy toward Somalia considers the two countries' past border disputes and their implications for their relationship.⁵⁹

3.2.1 Accountability in foreign policy decision making

While parliament has a constitutional authority to make foreign policy decisions, the executive substantially limited its involvement under the Moi administration. Moi occasionally took

⁵⁸ Howell, J. An Analysis of Kenyan Foreign Policy. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, (1968), p29-48. Retrieved August 27, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/158675>.

⁵⁹ K. Adar, 'Kenya - U.S. Foreign Policy: A Recapitulation of Patterns of Paradigmatic Conceptualization 1960s - 1990s' (Nairobi: East African Education Publishers 1995), p.101

unilateral choices, notably in terms of national security, which was justified by the delicate nature of security issues. For example, President Moi unilaterally blocked the Kenya-Somalia border to push Somali factional leaders into a negotiation process to restore Somalia. Even though legislature expressed concern about Moi's unilateral approach to a foreign policy decision that would have a significant impact on Kenya, the then-Minister of Foreign Affairs noted that the president had the constitutional authority to make decisions on behalf of the state for the common good, in this case, the stabilization of Somalia, which remained a threat to Kenya's national security.⁶⁰

Moi's unquestioned political influence and substantial sovereign authority undoubtedly undermined the doctrine of separation of powers. According to philosophers such as Montesquieu and Burke, it is intended to limit the sovereign authority of each of the three branches of government to deter abuse of state power. For example, under Article 59 (1 and 2), the head of state was given the right to dissolve or prorogue the parliament at any time. Still, Article 33 granted the president the authority to appoint 12 members of parliament. The president utilized such powers to choose his supporters, who would later promote his interests in parliament.

Kenya's foreign policy decision-making system has been described as decentralized under the Kibaki administration, with diverse players such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and parliament becoming increasingly active in the process. According to Kaburu, President Kibaki believes in delegating authority to his ministers and other constitutional institutions. This was accomplished by incorporating more people in the foreign policy decision-making process than his predecessor,

⁶⁰ K. Orwa, (1994) '*Continuity and Change: Kenya's Foreign Policy From Kenyatta to Moi*' in W. Oyugi (ed) *Politics and Administration in East Africa*, Nairobi: (East Africa Education Publishers, 1994) p.301

whose centralised decision-making system was highly individualized. According to Green, Kibaki's management style allowed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to influence foreign policy formation substantially. In other words, there had been a clear awareness that the state was not a single and homogenous entity as per the rational actor model, but rather a conglomerate of many organizations and groups of persons as defined by bureaucratic politics and organizational process decision-making models.

3.2.2 Ensuring foreign policy decision reflects Kenya's aspirations

Kenya's foreign policy creation and implementation considers the citizens' collective national values and ambitions outlined in the constitution. Article 10 (2) of the Constitution identifies nationalism, social harmony, the legal system, fundamental human rights, impartiality, equality, civil rights, and democracy inclusion as national values on which governmental activities, including foreign policy, are founded (Constitution of Kenya, 2010). Kenya's foreign policy decisions have been overwhelmingly governed by the presidency since her political independence. This, however, is not an unusual occurrence in the practice of international affairs. According to Nzomo, senior leaders are bearers of the state's vision in foreign affairs, entrusted with identifying, prioritizing, and creating strategies for pursuing national objectives overseas.⁶¹

In Kenya, the president's impact on foreign policy decisions is based on the constitution's sovereign power, portraying him as the state's spokesperson in international affairs. In rare situations where parliament is consulted, the president has power over all bilateral and international accords to that purpose. As a free democracy, the Kenyan president's sovereign power is drawn evenly from the

⁶¹ Nzomo M, Foreign Policy and Diplomacy in India-East African Relations, *Journal of Insight on Africa*, vol. 6(2014).

people. The elected president is regarded as a representative of the people's sovereign will since they exercised their sovereign right to vote in periodic democratic 18 elections. As a result, the president is expected to wield power and authority over the state, including foreign policy, within the framework of the constitution (Constitution of Kenya, 2010).⁶²

On the other hand, Kenya adopted a new constitution in August 2010 that maintains the presidential system while introducing additional checks and balances on executive power; these, as well as other changes, will be implemented gradually over the coming years through the passage of additional legislative measures. While foreign relations are expected to change once the constitutional modifications take effect, the authority established by the previous government remained in effect during the transition period. Nonetheless, parliament has made tremendous headway in its monitoring function since 2003—a responsibility incorporated in the new constitution—and the national assembly will henceforth scrutinize executive finances, appointments, and foreign policy decisions.

3.2.3 Ensuring the public participates in foreign policy decision making

Any discussion of citizen involvement in policymaking and the design of public services must start with the premise that people in a democracy have both rights and obligations and that democratic government allows citizens to create their reality actively. Participation has numerous forms and occurs at many levels, from informal local and neighbourhood contexts to incorporated corporations, non-governmental organizations, apex organisations, and large institutions such as legislatures, courts, and the public. Public administration theory and practice are increasingly

⁶² Aduol Odiemo, F. ., & Godfrey Okoth, P. Nature Of Media Diplomacy In Influencing Foreign Policy Decision Making Process In Kenya: Kenya's Foreign Policy. *The International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Invention*, 7(2020), pp 6212–6228

focused on putting the citizen at the centre of policymakers' deliberations. The goal is to develop policies and programs that respond to people's needs and are relevant to their circumstances. Co-creation and co-production are concepts that have arisen to describe the intentional pursuit of a long-term collaboration between government institutions, non-governmental organizations, communities, and individuals.

This viewpoint has been re-framed to see the public as 'citizens,' whose agency counts and whose right to engage directly or indirectly in choices that impact them should be actively encouraged during the last decade. This method respects the essential concept of a democratic state: power is to be exerted by and rests in its citizens. Citizen engagement in policymaking and service design has been argued or tried in many democracies but has been much too seldom realized. There have been significant accomplishments in advanced and developing nations, and a wealth of public policy literature argues for an ongoing partnership.

However, genuine participation in the 'co-production of policy and services necessitates significant changes in the ethos and operations of government institutions. It necessitates that public officials learn new skills as facilitators, negotiators, and collaborators. It necessitates a commitment to the public good, a willingness to participate actively, and the skills to contribute and discuss effectively. These are lofty goals, especially given the disengagement of citizens and the marginalization of some segments within the community. Effective citizen involvement requires government support for the actual devolution of authority and decision-making to front-line public employees and professionals, as well as the individuals and stakeholders with whom they interact. In this context, ministers and agency heads have substantial leadership responsibilities.

3.3 The Head of Government as a Rational Actor in Foreign Policy Decision Making in Kenya

All foreign policy decision-makers, according to the Rational Actor Decision-Making Model, are the same. The decision-making mechanism in each country consists of a single unilateral actor, and each singular actor makes logical decisions. The realist school of thought, which maintains that nations are only distinguished in international politics by their relative strength, not by their internal virtues, has impacted this approach. To make a reasonable decision, the president must accurately perceive and define problems and analyse and choose the best policy option to achieve the desired result. It's tough to determine whether a policy is entirely reasonable.⁶³

The presidency has governed foreign policy decision-making since her political independence. This is not, however, an uncommon occurrence when it comes to international affairs. According to Nzomo, senior leaders are the bearers of the state's vision in foreign affairs, entrusted with identifying, prioritizing, and creating strategies for pursuing national objectives overseas. In Kenya, the president's bearing on foreign policy formulation is based on the constitution's sovereign power, portraying him as the state's representative in international affairs. The president or his designee, such as the secretary of state, has the sole power to interact with other countries, recognize other governments, welcome ambassadors, and enter into executive agreements. In Kenya, the Constitution establishes the president's power in international affairs, as it does in all other areas. The officeholder is given the authority to create treaties and designate ambassadors under the charter.⁶⁴

⁶³ Harnham, B, *Impact of the Political Context on Foreign Policy Decision-Making. Political Psychology*, (Special Issue, Prospect Theory, 2004).

⁶⁴ Nzomo M, Foreign Policy and Diplomacy in India-East African Relations, *Journal of Insight on Africa*, vol. 6(2014).

Kenya's foreign policy under the first three presidents; During President Jomo Kenyatta's regime, Kenya's foreign policy was quiet diplomacy during the early independence period. In this, Kenya remained Non-committal to international politics. Moi became president in 1978 when the cold war was at its peak. Moi adopted the Nyayo philosophy locally. However, there was a slight difference in personal diplomacy and participation in international policy administration. Unlike Kenyatta, who chose to keep a low profile when it came to foreign policy management, Moi was actively involved in the management of foreign policy. Moi travelled to some nations to promote Kenya's national interests.⁶⁵

3.3.1 Kenyan President as the chief diplomat

In most countries, the president is the chief diplomat. This indicates that the president's leadership style and personal perspective have significantly impacted the foreign policy process, particularly goal identification and eventual state behaviour. While there was some consistency in the foreign policy process under the Moi and Kibaki administrations, there were also significant inconsistencies. Each had a distinct leadership style that significantly impacted the foreign policy view. Kibaki, for example, took a more decentralized approach to foreign policy and political leadership in general, as opposed to Moi's individualized method.⁶⁶

Except in rare instances when parliament is consulted, the president has power over all bilateral and international treaties. The president's sovereign power is drawn equally from the population in a democratic state by using their sovereign right to vote in democratic elections regularly. In presidential elections, the chosen president is seen as a representation of the people's sovereign

⁶⁵ Ahmed, M. A., Determinants of foreign policy formulation in developing countries: A case of Kenya, *International Academic Journal of Arts and Humanities* (2016).

⁶⁶ Aaron Rapport, *Cognitive Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis*, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/83938975> accessed on 10/10/2021.

will. As a result, the president is required to use their authority over the state, including foreign policy, following the constitution or the law of the nation.⁶⁷

In international and defence policy, presidents have greater power and responsibility than in domestic affairs. They are the military's highest-ranking officers, and they decide how and when to conduct war. The president can sign treaties as chief diplomat. In addition, as president, the president represents the country in meetings with other global leaders and welcomes diplomats.

3.4 Impact of political parties on foreign policy decision making

International and domestic politics are integral roles for political leaders through political parties. A leader in every system of government is driven by two aims, according to Neack: retaining political influence and forming international alliances.⁶⁸ Internal politics might also affect them because they seek to attain local objectives through international policies so that existing foreign policy decisions don't conflict with local objectives.

Barbara Farnham places a specific focus on the acceptability of regulations and their effect on the decision-making process.⁶⁹ Many government systems in the world today demand consensus from the government before suggested policies can be implemented. It all comes down to what kind of political system the decision-makers operate within regarding acceptability. For instance, in a liberal democracy, any diplomatic strategy which lacks unanimity is likely to fail. Acceptability might not always matter as much in a feudalistic regime. No matter what sort of political system you're in, local politics will always affect foreign policy. In addition, the president or head of state

⁶⁷ *ibid.*

⁶⁸ Neack, L. *The New Foreign Policy- power seeking in a globalized era* (2nd Ed, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc, 2008).

⁶⁹ *ibid.*

must balance foreign and local demands while maintaining a positive image both domestically and internationally.

Acceptability is more likely to be taken into account before the other features of the proposed policy are examined. The leader of state or president must take into account both home and foreign emotions. An administration's chief executive officer is likely to focus on local interests than foreign ones if the two are at odds.

In Kenya, actions taken in foreign policy are driven by the reality of the situation in the domestic Arena. These are either the International Political Economy (IPE) or the International Political System (IPS). These are the need for economic development and prosperity and the need for security and self-preservation. In Kenya, just like most countries globally, Foreign policy is driven towards economic or security goals. Kenya's Foreign Security Policy has seen her behave as a single logical entity adamantly pro-western since independence. External influences on Kenya's policy remained prevalent during the IPS, thanks to realities like ongoing colonial dependence and East-West competition since Kenya relied on the west for economic and security well-being. However, events within and outside the country have drastically changed this picture throughout the previous two decades.

3.5 Does domestic politics hinders or facilitate foreign policy decision making

To achieve the complex internal and international objectives, the leader of the country (president or prime minister) designs foreign policies. Foreign policies propel countries toward achieving their desired economic and social objectives.⁷⁰ Most of the time, it requires a complex set of stages

⁷⁰ Alieu S. Bojang, The study of foreign policy in international relations. *Journal of Political Sciences and public affairs* (2018).

during which internal politics adversely influence results. Foreign policies are usually drafted through alliances and partnerships of local and international players. Numerous driving reasons may be uncovered while examining the government's foreign policy leader (president or prime minister). The nature of the foreign policies depends on the president's inherent persona and reasoning, local politics, and the leader's level of logic. Even in an international environment, the local political atmosphere influences a nation's whole paradigm of foreign policy decision-making.

3.5.1 Domestic politics and foreign policy decision towards Terrorism

Insecurity in Kenya became a significant issue in domestic politics following a series of terrorist attacks. This led to some debates on how the government would tackle the rising insecurity in the country. The government reacted by sending troops to Somalia under operation *Linda Nchi*. Kenya has been a casualty of terrorism on several occasions. The 1998 bombing of the United States embassy in Kenya was the first of the many instances where Kenya has been faced with the problem of terrorism. Terrorism poses a direct threat to Kenya's security. The Kenyan government has been working hard to use internal resources and international partnerships to reduce terrorism and radicalization in Somalia.⁷¹ The security threat posed by refugees and terrorists has forced Kenya to consider shutting down the Dadaab camp. To arrive at this decision, Kenya used her foreign relations to arrive at a tripartite alliance with Somalia and UNHCR. The decision of the tripartite alliance between Kenya, the Somali government, and the UN High Commission for Refugees allowed Kenya to repatriate the refugees once the conditions in Somalia were better. Kenyans concern with the refugees is both humanitarian and security-related. Kenya used its foreign relation to advance for voluntary repatriation and a return of the refugees to AMISOM-

⁷¹ Elijah O., Standslause O., Kenya Defence Forces Operation Linda Nchi, "An insight into the art of modern warfare *Journal of Defense Resources Management*(Vol. 6, Issue 2014).

liberated areas.⁷²

3.5.2 Domestic politics and the Look East foreign policy decision

Economic development is a major domestic political issue in Kenya. The goal of every government regime in Kenya since independence has been to ensure economic growth and development. As such, economic development forms the basis of domestic political issues and a campaign tool. This is reflected in the foreign policy decision-making, where every government has its own economic foreign policy agenda. Kenya's foreign relations have shifted and changed over the past 50 years. This can be attributed to the changing economic and geopolitical interests both at home and abroad. Among the drastic foreign relation changes is Kenya's shift from having close ties with the West to closely associating with the East. In the early years of independence, Kenya's foreign relation was mostly pro-West. Kenya chose to keep close contact with the West because Britain was Kenya's primary source of foreign investment. Kenya also exported most of its agricultural products to the West. However, the discovery of minerals like Oil and the need for capital investment has shaped Kenya's foreign relations of late.⁷³

For example, Kibaki President Kibaki being an economist, prioritized economic and infrastructure development in Kenya. His foreign policy agenda reflected this when he was elected into office; he took a different route to Kenya's economic development. Unlike his predecessors, who were dependent on the west for loans and foreign aid, President Kibaki opted to cooperate with the china more hence the "the look east policy". Kibaki made a risky step in August 2005 when he travelled to China for a high-profile meeting with China's President Hu Jintao, Prime Minister Wen Jiaba,

⁷² Oxfam Addressing *the Humanitarian Crisis on the Kenya Somali Border*, (online publisher, 2009).

⁷³ The Economist. *African energy*. (Eastern El Dorado, 2012).

and other critical Chinese officials. This was a historic visit because it was the first by a Kenyan President to China in eleven years.⁷⁴ Two additional state visits to China followed and a corresponding visit by the Chinese President to Kenya. These visits signified the starting point of a shift in Kenya's foreign relations towards the east. Kenya took a bold foreign relations decision to advance their economic interests by partnering and creating strong ties with the east, China, Japan, and India.⁷⁵

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, the extensive impact of domestic politics on Kenya's foreign policy was discussed. The findings of this chapter are that domestic politics has a significant bearing on Kenya's foreign policy right from independence. In the immediate aftermath of independence, home concerns impacted international policy. As seen by the many military accords signed with neighbours and other countries, local secessionist politics heavily affected Kenya's security and diplomatic policy. Furthermore, Kenya's colonial past means that most of her post-independence foreign policy can only be evaluated in the context of colonial ties and the Cold War climate. In the post-cold war period, Kenya's foreign policy changed to accommodate its security and economic interest as dictated by the need of the regime of President Kibaki and President Uhuru Kenyatta; hence Kenya advanced its fight against terrorism and closeness with the East in a bid to fulfil their manifesto and domestic political agenda.

⁷⁴Wanjohi Kabukuru, "Kenya: Look East my Son," <http://www.thefreelibrary.com/kenya%3A+look+east+my+son%3B+kenyas+is+the+latest+african+country+to+fall+..a0148614/09>> accessed on 10/09/2021.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

CHAPTER FOUR

DOMESTIC POLITICAL FACTORS THAT HINDER OR PROMOTE FOREIGN POLICY DECISION-MAKING IN KENYA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the various domestic political factors that hinder or promote the effective implementation of Kenya's foreign policies. Both domestic and systemic factors impact foreign policy. These factors can either hinder or promote foreign policy decision-making in Kenya. The chapter will delve deeper to examine the domestic political factors that promote or hinder foreign policy decision making in Kenya.

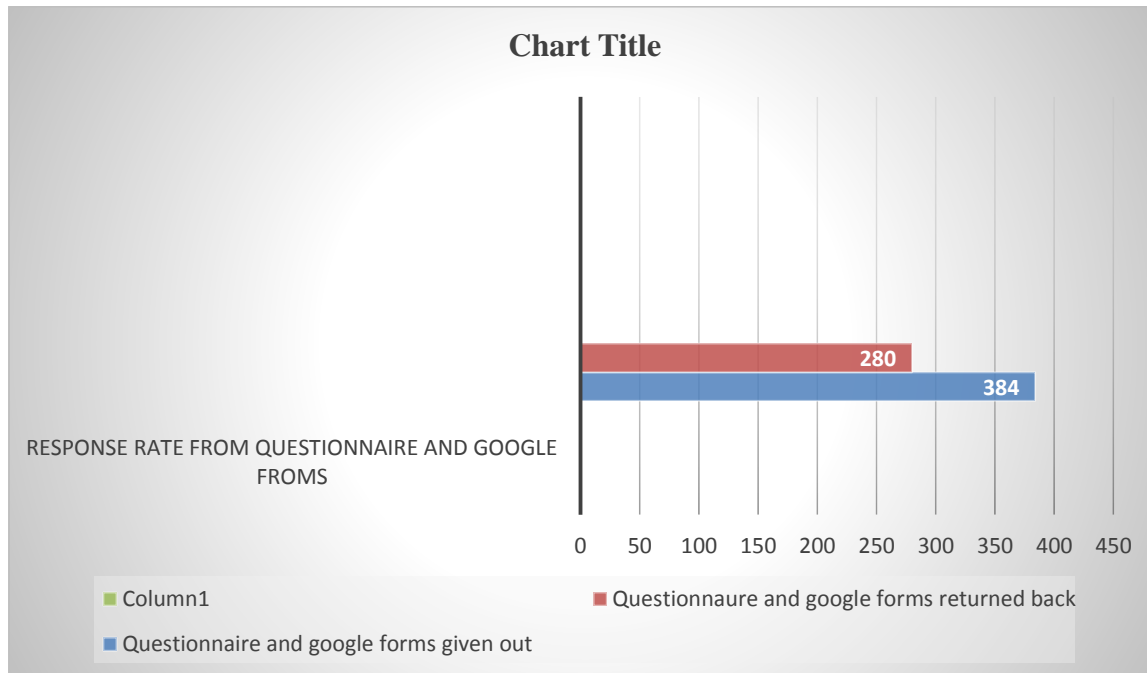
4.2 The demographic characteristics of the respondents

This section presents the demographic characteristic of the respondents. The section entails the response rate, gender of the respondents, age of the respondents and level of education.

4.2.1 Response rate

Three hundred eighty-four (384) questionnaires and Google forms were sent out, 280 questionnaires and Google forms were returned to the researcher, putting the response rate at 73%. According to Mugenda and Mugenda, if the response rate is 50%, it is considered okay for data analysis. In contrast, a response rate of 60% is considered suitable for data analysis, whereas a response of over 70% is excellent for data analysis. The response rate for this study was 73% from the questionnaire, interview guide, and Google forms. This makes this study's rating scientifically acceptable for data analysis, representing the study's respondents and, hence, accurate data.

Figure 4.1: Response rate

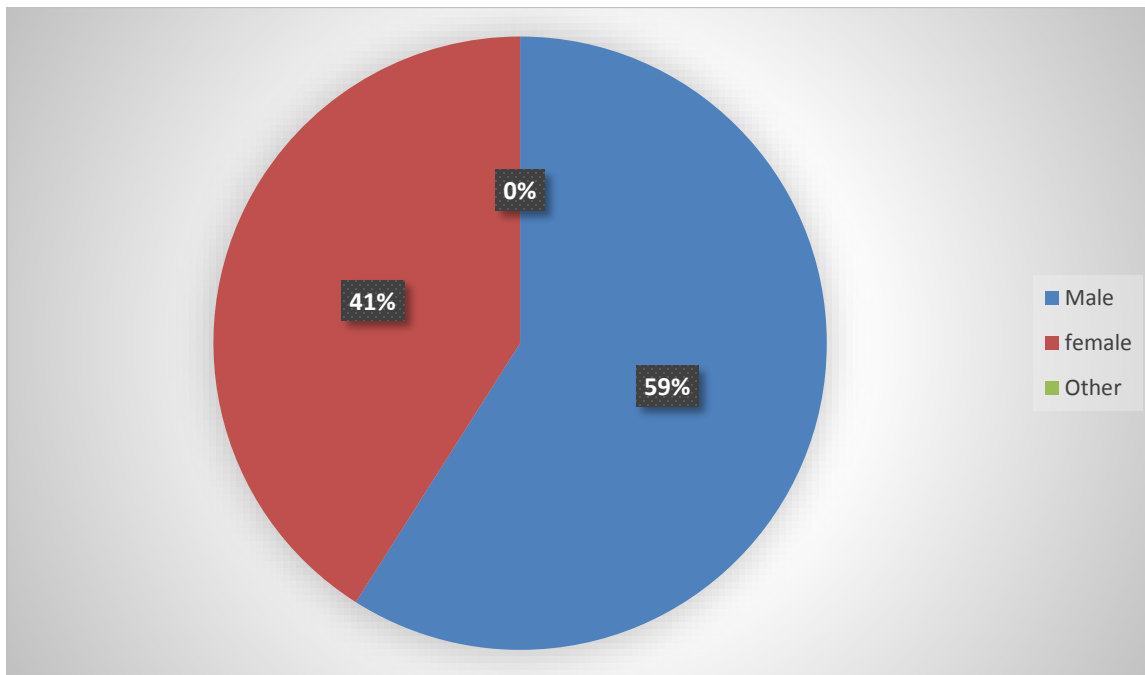


Source: Primary data. (2021)

4.2.2 Gender response rate

The Kenyan society is male-dominated, a justification for why most of the respondents were male, at 59%, and they were more willing and ready to respond to the physical questionnaire. While on the other hand, 41% of females were more okay with the Google forms. It is crucial to have gender-disaggregated data to ascertain how respondents were represented in the study by sex, taking into account the principle of “leave no one behind”.

Figure 4.2: Gender of the respondents

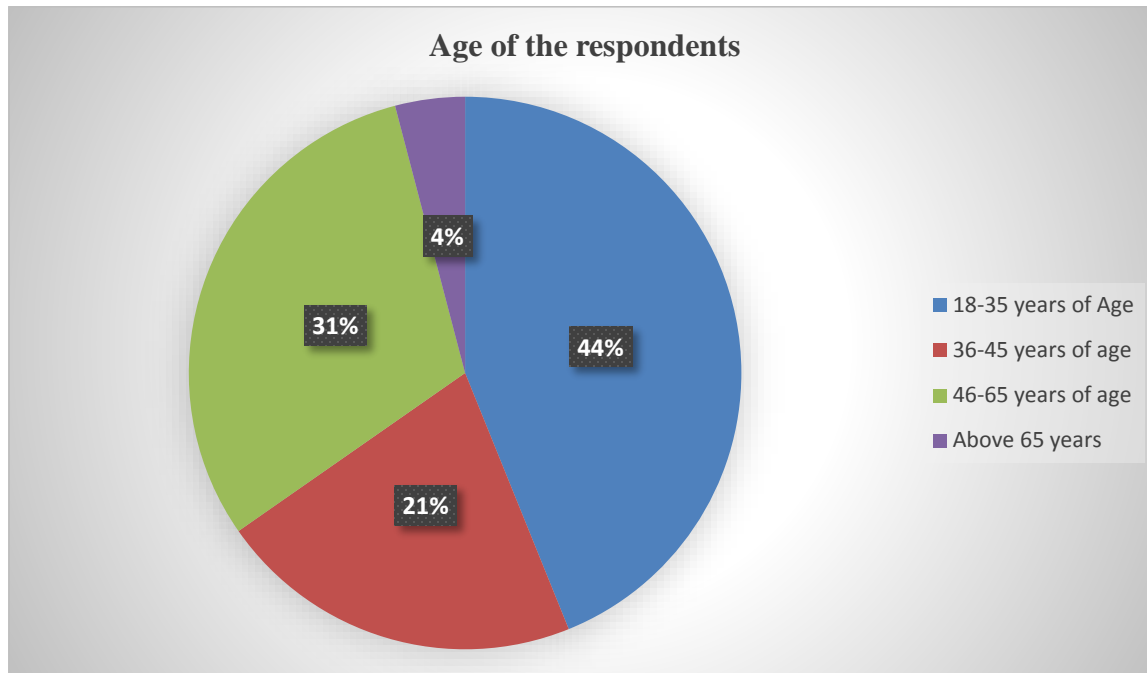


Source: Primary data. (2021)

4.2.3 Age of the respondents

The majority of respondents were aged 18-35 years at 44% and followed closely by respondents aged between 46-65 years standing at 31%, the primary target population and also of keen interest to this study as they are long-serving government officers in the various state departments targeted by the study.

Figure 4.3: Age of the respondents.

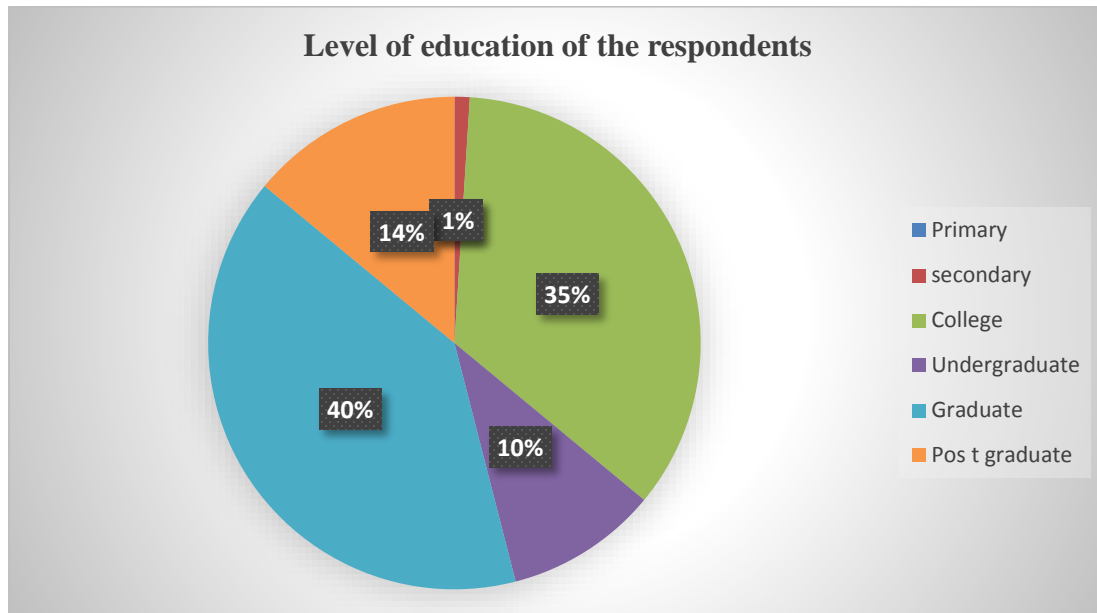


Source: Primary data. (2021)

4.2.4 Level of education

Data analysed noted that a majority of the respondents were literate by virtue of them being graduates and college students. Hence, the respondents were highly informative and a good fit for the study based on this fact.

Figure 4.4 Level of Education



Source: Primary data (2021)

4. 3 System of Government

Since Kenya attained independence, it has undergone various changes in the system of government. After Kenya attained self-rule in 1963, KANU head Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, a Kikuyu ethno linguistic leader, was the nation's first head of state. According to Legum 1984, the Kikuyus gained a dominating influence in the state bureaucracy and the military forces under his reign.⁷⁶ Amid a national strike sparked mainly with the murder of late Tom Mboya, several of the leaders from Luo ethnicity, Kenyatta outlawed the only official opposition present, the Kenya People's Union, in 1969 (KPU). Every one of its leadership was captured, along with the party's leader, Oginga Odinga, who for fifteen months was imprisoned (Africa South of the Sahara).⁷⁷

⁷⁶ *ibid.*

⁷⁷ Gale C., *Africa South of the Sahara 1990*. (19th edition. London: Europe Publications Limited, 1990).

Daniel Arap Moi, Kenya's Vice-President, assumed the presidency after the demise of Jomo Kenyatta in 1978. After Kenyatta's example, he pledged to combat the issues caused by increased ethnicity, an influx of fraudulent or corrupt activities and a higher rate of unemployment among young people, all of which were highlighted by Legum as being present in the country. However, the tribal background to which President Arap Daniel Moi belongs, the Kalenjins, eventually was given significant positions in public offices (Africa Confidential).⁷⁸ They were the first political prisoners imprisoned in Kenya after the attainment of sovereignty. Moi made Kenya a one-party state with KANU as the only party following the opposition students and other political leaders (Africa Watch July 1991, 10).⁷⁹

After years of oppression marked by torture, incarceration, and political assassination, the emergence of a multi-party democratic system in 1991 looked to usher in a new era: President Daniel Arap Moi restored multiparty administration in December 1991 by removing article 2A of the Constitution, which declared the Kenya African National Union (KANU) the only legal, political party (KTN Television 10 Dec. 1991). Kenya's foreign policy has changed several times throughout this period of transition.

4.3.1 Foreign policy during Single party

With Moi's introduction of a single-party state to curb opposition against his rule, he received pressure from the international community to make Kenya a multiparty state. Foreign policy during this period was governed and controlled by the president; hence it did not reflect what the people desired or Kenya's foreign policy agenda.⁸⁰ Okoth notes that during the *de jure* one-party

⁷⁸ Africa Confidential *Kenya: The End of an Era.* (London, Miramoor Publications Ltd, 1990).

⁷⁹ Africa Watch., *Kenya: Taking Liberties, an Africa Watch Report.* (New York: Africa Watch, 1990).

⁸⁰ The New York Times. *Kenya to Examine Reporter Status.* 16 September 1987.

state, parliament's involvement in foreign policy decision-making was minimal. Nzomo and Adar noted that Moi's centralization of foreign policy decision-making, well known as the 'big man syndrome', blurred the public good in the foreign policy-making process during this period.⁸¹ During the *de jure* one-party state, the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was a close ally to president Moi symbolized by the erection of a Margret Thatcher library in Moi University. This made Britain remain blinded by the constant pressures by other Western democracies for the re-introduction of multiparty democracy in Kenya. The United States imposed economic embargoes on Kenya as it pushed for multipartyism in the Moi administration. However, president Moi persisted with the narrative that Kenyan democracy was not ready for multipartyism. This led to the derailment of the Kenyan economy as it couldn't receive aid either from multilateral institutions like World Bank and IMF or from other Western countries.⁸² The pressure led Moi to allow elections in the country as required by the IMF and the World Bank.

4.3.2 Foreign policy during Multiparty in Kenya

The end of the cold war greatly influenced not only the political system of Kenya but also its foreign policy decision making. The western states questioned political and economic development in Kenya. As pointed above, this led to poor relations between Kenya and many western states. While the Kenyatta regime accused communist states of trying to destabilize Kenya, President Moi from 1988 accused the western states of meddling in the internal affairs of Kenya.

⁸¹ Nzomo M, Foreign Policy and Diplomacy in India-East African Relations, *Journal of Insight on Africa*, vol. 6(2014).

⁸² *ibid.*

The transition to multiparty democracy from a *de jure* state was not entirely as smooth as expected. Many political parties have been authorized, which complicated foreign policy decision-making due to the more complex nature of multiparty politics. President Arap Moi also dissolved Parliament and vowed that elections would be held soon.⁸³ Moi's relationship with Kenya's traditional partners changes rapidly in the post-cold war era. The United States and Britain criticized the one-party rule in Kenya. Kenya hence started to explore the option of trading with the East, which later would be a path that Kenya wholly followed.

“Foreign policy decision making under multiparty is different from the single-party rule, unlike in the single party where the president is the sole actor and decision-maker in foreign policy decision. In multiparty, other institutions equally influence decision making. After the introduction of multi-party in Kenya, foreign policy decision making in Kenya changed to include other actors than just the president as parliament became part and parcel of some foreign policy decisions.”⁸⁴

4.4 Type of leader

The type of leader ruling a country matters a lot in the decision-making process of foreign policy as they are the final assents to a decision. Such, nonetheless, is not an unusual occurrence therein in international affairs. The heads of state are bearers of the country's agenda in foreign policy, tasked with establishing, prioritizing, and strategizing for pursuing national objectives internationally. In Kenya, the president's impact on foreign policy decisions is premised on the law's sovereign authority, portraying them as Kenya's spokesperson in world diplomacy. The head

⁸³ The Christian Science Monitor. *Kenya Bans Opposition Rallies as Tribal Violence Shakes Country*. (Boston, 2009).

⁸⁴ Oral Interview 8th October 2021.

of state has power over all bilateral and multilateral treaties, save in rare instances when lawmakers are engaged. The leader of a country's decision-making authority is primarily determined by the political system he operates. The head of state may adopt foreign policy choices based chiefly on authority conferred in his position and the significance of the famous and political agreement. Other variables influencing the head of state include rationality, charisma, and multilateral agencies.

Furthermore, based on which structure is used, they may also be jeopardized by the political structure. In 1964, the autonomous Kenyan government acquired all the prerequisite rights the Queen could exert regarding Kenya via S.16 of the Kenyan Constitution and Amendment Act No.28 of the same year. Foreign policy is now handled via sovereign rights. Therefore, it is correct to state that the authority to handle foreign policy is one of the executive authorities explicitly granted to the President by Article 23 of our Constitution.⁸⁵ Kenya has been ruled by four administrations: Jomo Kenyatta (1964-1978), Daniel Arap Moi (1978-2002), Mwai Kibaki (2002-2013), and Uhuru Kenyatta (2013-present).⁸⁶ By looking at the various leadership styles and the foreign policies adopted during the four heads of state, we can picture how the presidents impact the foreign policy decision-making process.

4.4.1 Leadership style of President Jomo Kenyatta

After Mzee Jomo Kenyatta became the President of Kenya after liberation in 1964, he encountered several challenges that necessitated imperative policy involvement. Kenyatta was primarily motivated by the necessity to guarantee state existence, which was especially important given the

⁸⁵ Bonya G., *Constitutionalisation of Foreign Policy and Diplomatic Relations*, (online publisher. 2011).

⁸⁶ Tony Oweke., *Kenyan foreign policy during the Kenyatta and Moi administrations: A role theory analysis by published* (University of Leiden, 2019).

country's infancy, and for which foreign investment assistance and security were required. Foreign policy constraints during Mzee Jomo Kenyatta rule were marked by reliance mainly in the early post-independence period. The early policies reflected the need to promote financing and guarantee foreign direct investment and development and the necessity to ensure access to East African markets and sovereignty amid Somali revanchism. As a result, it was unsustainable for a fledgling nation like Kenya to pursue a foreign policy that would undermine its appeal to international investors. Kenya participated in what particular academics describe as "quiet diplomacy" in this setting.⁸⁷ Kenyatta's early foreign policy of "quiet diplomacy" can only be analysed considering the aforementioned factors. Quiet diplomacy alludes to Kenyatta's prudent and conservative posture to sub-regional, regional, and international issues during his maiden years in office.

Kenyatta attempted to maintain friendly ties within the sub-region, forbearance there amid a divided African Community of nations, and *ou pas* in the Cold War ideological battle. Furthermore, Kenyatta's government sought to protect territorial sovereignty from Somali revanchism by forming a defence alliance with Ethiopia, experiencing similar Somali nationalistic aspirations.⁸⁸ Finally, Kenyatta pitched Kenya as a non-player in African politics as well as the Cold War. Whereas the West provided the bulk of Kenya's assistance, and as a formerly British territory, they had closer connections, Kenya didn't yet overtly associate philosophically with the West. The rationale for this is that the necessity to get foreign direct investment from any potential sources precluded the prospect of policy stance in such a manner as to exclude a significant source

⁸⁷ Okumu, John J. Some thoughts on Kenya's foreign policy. *The African Review: a Journal of African Politics Development and International Affairs*, Vol. 3, No.2 (1973): P. 263

⁸⁸ Makinda, Samuel M. *From Quiet Diplomacy to Cold War Politics: Kenya's Foreign Policy*. (Third World Quarterly, 1983) p. 302

of assistance. Kenya took a neutral stand on sovereignty well within the continent, among a consortium of Countries in Africa divided over continental integration.⁸⁹

Somali jingoism spread outside Kenya, affecting many neighbouring nations with Somali inhabitants, like Ethiopia, who was concerned with similar revanchist aspirations on its Ogaden region. Confronted with the same concerns, Kenyatta pursued a defence alliance with Ethiopia to preserve the country's sovereign territory and to offset the concern presented by the Somali issue. Even though conflicts ended in 1967, the assertions to revanchism were not abandoned. As a result, the danger of the Somali issue persisted and, as a result, constrained Kenyatta's foreign policy over his term, necessitating steps to resolve it. Kenyatta tried to preserve the mutual defence treaty in this environment, notwithstanding opposing events in the 1970s that called the partnership into doubt. The military's removal of Haile Selassie's administration in 1974, and the subsequent shift to a communist regime having ties to the Russian Empire, might have predicted a rupture in the partnership from a West-leaning Kenyatta.

On the other hand, Kenyatta saw the Somali issue as more critical to Kenya's foreign policy and, as a result, extended the partnership over his presidency. Mzee Kenyatta did not factor in the new Ethiopian regime that had ties to the Soviet Union to change the Kenyan foreign policy regarding security. His continued interaction with the new Ethiopian regime would jeopardize the countries western-leaning policy.⁹⁰

Kenyatta, on the other hand, prioritized economic reform above political concerns. In this respect, Kenya's economic reliance on the East African market demanded a careful attitude toward its

⁸⁹ Winter, D. G., Things I've Learned About Personality From Studying Political Leaders at a Distance. *Journal of Personality* (2005): 557-584.

⁹⁰ Michael H, *Operational Codes in Foreign Policy: A Deconstruction*; (2020), accessed online <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.539>.

neighbours, even in the wake of negative developments inside them and their negative actions towards Kenya. For example, when Tanzania and Uganda became communist in 1967 and 1969, consecutively, Uganda evicted all Kenyan employees. As a result, Kenyatta abstained from taking harsh measures. Furthermore, while Tanzania and Uganda enacted and used a statutory requirement of the Kampala accord which permitted them to impose a broad array of import quotas on products imported from Kenya in a bid to adjudicate the nations' balance-of-payment shortfalls, Kenyatta concurred despite the fact it was detrimental to Kenya's economic growth. In summary, Kenyatta's presidency was marked by a pragmatic approach to ensure foreign monetary support and stability and Kenya's sovereignty. His “quiet diplomacy” approach impacted the country’s economic development after the two countries, Uganda and Tanzania, adopted the Kampala accord.⁹¹

4.4.2 Leadership style of President Moi

Arap, Daniel Moi took over as President of Kenya when Jomo Kenyatta died. Moi's rule (1978-1988 and 1990-2000) was considerably longer than Jomo Kenyatta's ten years. Nonetheless, there remained continuance in many aspects of Moi's foreign policy from Kenyatta's, including the Somali conflict and the concept of friendly neighbourly ties. Consequently, impulses from inside and beyond the nation led to adjustments to ensure the government's foreign policy pressures. In terms of the latter, the leadership and advisers around it had shifted, which had a two-pronged effect on foreign policy.

⁹¹ Hermann, Margaret G. *Assessing Leadership Style: Trait Analysis.* "In *The Psychological Assessment of Political Leaders*, ed. Jerrold Post. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

When Moi came to office, he concentrated authority around the president at the cost of other public institutions.⁹² As a result, foreign policy was virtually entirely within his control. Furthermore, the new government expressed fresh perspectives on Kenya and its position in the globe, stating that it was "ready and anxious to make its voice heard in the globe." As a result, Kenya began to express herself more in international affairs, moving away from its "neutrality" position. For example, Moi's Kenya deviated from the Cold War norm of non-alignment by providing military facilities to the US in return for financial support. Additionally, Kenya has expanded its involvement on the continent by actively establishing peace during regional crises in East Africa and the Great Lakes area and giving military assistance to Namibia in its bid for liberation from South Africa. The decade of 1980-1990 has been called Kenya's "golden era of diplomacy" due to this assertive foreign policy activity and the designation of the head office of the United Nations Environmental Protection Agency.⁹³

Following Oginga Odinga resigned owing to Marxist sympathies and other disputes with Kenyatta, Daniel Arap Moi assumed Kenyatta's Vice President.⁹⁴ As a result, after Kenyatta died in 1978, Moi took over the president's office and remained in power until 2002. The formative years of Moi's tenure were notable for their consistency in various foreign policy issues. On the other hand, Moi had a multiple foreign policy vision for Kenya and a different governance style than Kenyatta. Although Kenyatta was content with a strategy of cautious diplomacy, Moi wanted to take a more aggressive part in international affairs and therefore have Kenya's "voice heard throughout the

⁹² Wanyama, Leonard. *Selected Cases in the Conduct of Kenyan Foreign Policy since 1992* (Masters Diss., University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2011).

⁹³ John Okumu, *Kenya's Foreign Policy*, in Aluko, Olajide, ed, *The Foreign Policies of African States*, (Hodder and Stoughton, 1997).

⁹⁴ Howell, John. An Analysis of Kenyan Foreign Policy. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 6, no. 1 (1968) pp 29-48

globe."

Furthermore, while under Kenyatta's government, foreign policy was mainly managed by the President, Moi virtually alone developed and implemented a policy with assistance in synchronization and implementation by the Ministers of Foreign Affairs. Moi centralized authority around the Presidency at the cost of other branches of government, and as a result, foreign policy formulation and implementation fell primarily to his whim. As a result, his regime's foreign policy was markedly personalized. The form and structure of governmental authority and management concentrated inside the president influenced Kenyan foreign policy under the Moi presidency.⁹⁵

President Moi embraced an autocratic style of leadership via constitutional reform. Nevertheless, the constitutional amendments jeopardized the sovereignty of the national assembly and other statutory bodies in managing state affairs, especially foreign policy. Several academicians have described Moi's leadership style as cronyism via power control, domination, command, and presidential decrees. Adar notes there were limited discussions in foreign policy choices, referencing the 1980 agreement between President Moi and the United States of America about using Kenya's military base in Mombasa by the US Rapid Deployment Force. He also believes that a particular choice demanded legislative assent, which mainly was disregarded or reduced to a rubber stamp function.⁹⁶

Moi's foreign policy stance may be examined in a framework wherein a president utilizes their power to discourage any potential turnaround of their chosen foreign policy decision while

⁹⁵ *ibid.*

⁹⁶ K. Adar, (1995) '*Kenya - U.S. Foreign Policy: A Recapitulation of Patterns of Paradigmatic Conceptualization 1960s - 1990s*' (Nairobi: East African Education Publishers, 1995) P.297 - 323

incurring costs that people or organizations are unwilling to bear. To guarantee allegiance and precision in foreign policy decisions affecting vital interests like national security, President Moi utilized his constitutionally protected rights to assign his mutual friends to crucial public offices with a significant impact on foreign policy formulation and implementation. It is worthwhile to note that the president had extensive statutory authority to select ministerial and other important government officials. At the dawn of independence, Kenya's constitution provided for the president to "create and repeal public positions, as well as nominate and dismiss assignments to these positions." President Moi used these provisions of the constitution in selecting and executing customized foreign policy options. Whereas the national assembly has a constitutional responsibility to make foreign policy decisions, the executive severely limited its involvement under the Moi administration.⁹⁷

“Moi sometimes took autonomous choices, especially in areas of national security, a stance that was justified by the complex nature of security issues. For example, in 2001, President Moi unilaterally blocked the Kenya-Somalia border to push Somali separatist figureheads into peace talks to restore Somalia. Even though the national assembly expressed dismay about Moi's unilateral methodology to a foreign policy decision that would have a major effect on Kenya, the then-Minister of Foreign Affairs indicated that the president had sovereign authority to render decisions on behalf of the country for the collective good, in this scenario, the long - term stability of Somalia, which remains largely a potential danger to Kenya's national security.”⁹⁸

⁹⁷ K. Adar. *The United States and Africa: From Independence to the End of the Cold War* (Nairobi: East African Education Publishers ,1995) p.10

⁹⁸ Oral interview 8th October, 2021.

Moi's unassailable cronyism and notable sovereign authority undoubtedly subverted the principle of separation of powers that, per the intellectuals such as Montesquieu and Burke, is intended to constrain the legitimate power of each of the three branches of government and dissuade victimization of power of the state. For instance, under Article 59 (1 and 2), the president was afforded the right to dismiss or prorogation the national assembly at any time. In contrast, Article 33 granted the president the authority to select 12 parliamentarians. The president utilised these privileges to select his friends, later promoting his priorities in the national assembly.⁹⁹

4.4.3 Leadership style of President Kibaki

The Kibaki regime came to office when the nation faced a struggling economy, a bad worldwide image, and low investor trust since the Moi administration was obstinate about governance changes. The dismal financial outlook has led to a growing impoverishment, underemployment, extensive international and domestic borrowing, deterioration in healthcare, a decrease in enrolment rates, and a general degradation in the standard of living. Confronted with the daunting job of restructuring the nation's economy, the Kibaki government developed two key national development policies. Underneath the Ministry of Planning and National Development, these include the Economic Recovery for Wealth and Employment Creation 2003-2007 and Kenya Vision 2030. These two policies significantly influenced Kenya's foreign policy.¹⁰⁰

President Kibaki, for instance, concentrated on rectifying the economic trajectory and rebuilding investor trust by engaging in numerous regional and international efforts with the United States and the European Union, amongst many others, which yielded rewards in regards to foreign

⁹⁹ The old Constitution of Kenya, 1998.

¹⁰⁰ Mwagiru M., *The Elusive Quest: Conflict Diplomacy and Foreign Policy in Kenya*, (Jomo Kenyatta Foundation: Nairobi 1999).

assistance. Furthermore, Kibaki's administration embraced economic-driven diplomacy as a central foreign policy perspective, developing new embassies to facilitate foreign direct investments into Kenya. Kenya's foreign policy decision-making system has been characterized as decentralized under the Kibaki presidency. Different players such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and parliament were increasingly engaged in the process.¹⁰¹

According to Odipo, President Kibaki believed in delegating authority to his cabinet members and other entities enshrined in the constitution. This was accomplished by engaging additional players in the foreign policy decision-making process than his predecessor, who controlled and personalized the decision-making system. Kibaki's effective leadership allowed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to impact foreign policy formation considerably. Instead, there was widespread awareness that the country wasn't a monolithic entity defined by the rational actor model but a conglomerate of many groups of people defined by bureaucratic politics and organizational process models of decision-making.¹⁰²

4.4.5 Leadership style of President Uhuru

It was during Uhuru's regime that the foreign policy of Kenya was documented. However, the process of documentation can be traced. The foreign policy of Kenya under Uhuru has been more African-centred. President Uhuru has often pursued African Unity and African solution to the African problem approach by focusing on solving the conflict in the continent. Kenya also fronted a candidate for the position of Chair of the African Union. This is an indication that Kenya's foreign policy under Uhuru has been strongly pro-Africa.

¹⁰¹ Kagwanja, P, *Economic diplomacy transforming Kenya into a global soft power*, Sunday nation September 4 2016.

¹⁰² Odipo L. *Sharpening foreign policy for prosperity*, (Daily nation MAY 29th 2017).

The leadership style of President Uhuru Kenyatta was also witnessed in his response to terrorism. The 2013 Westgate Shopping Mall attack was one of the significant and turning points of Kenyan foreign policy. This deadly attack which killed over 67 people and hundreds of others injured, changed Kenya's diplomatic fortunes, thinking, and praxis. The Al-Shabaab terror group owned responsibility for the attack, citing their displeasure in Kenya's involvement in the African Union military in Somalia.¹⁰³

One may easily argue that this terrorist incident had almost as much, if not more, of an influence on Kenyan foreign policy as the events of 9/11 did on America's. This is because the attack changed Kenya's perspective on terrorism and repositioned national security as the cornerstone of the country's robust foreign policy. The Westgate incident was Kenya's first significant terrorist assault since it directly responded to Kenyan forces entering Somalia during Operation *Linda Nchi* in October 2011.¹⁰⁴

Funny enough, After the Westgate attack, a whole debate on the issue of security emerged, with Kenya being at the epicentre of it. Foreign policy scholars in the West urged their governments to rethink their approaches to counter-terrorism. One of the critical changes in Kenya's foreign policy after the Westgate attack is the shift from soft power to hard power strategy in pursuing her national interest. Since the Shifta war of 1964, Kenya has never really used hard power to achieve her interest. Kenya has been an advocate for peaceful settlement of the dispute, as seen in the Migingo island issue and the Kenya Somalia maritime dispute. Thus, this hard power stand was a break away from Kenya's traditional stand on peaceful means of settling the dispute; perhaps Kenya

¹⁰³Samwel M, *Preventative Counter Terrorism Action: Case Study of Kenya*
<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228214415> .

¹⁰⁴ Nyambega G.,: *Kenya's elite forces have become more lethal since Somalia entry* (Sunday Daily Nation October 9, 2016) p 27

realized it had no option but to employ aggressive means to achieve her national interest, which was the security and safety of her citizens.

In the aftermath of the Westgate attack, Kenya also received attention from the international system and world bodies like the United Nations, which offered Kenya massive support in the wake of the attack because terrorism is global. The former UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon was among the first to send a message of solidarity to Kenya. The incident was opposed "in the strongest terms" by the U.N. Security Council. The European Union also offered "its full support to the Kenyan authorities in dealing with the situation¹⁰⁵." Individual countries like Britain, France, and America also condemned the attack. This led to the collaboration between Kenya and some of the European countries on matters of terrorism.

The terrorist attack also made Kenya question the sustainability of hosting refugees, especially after some of the terrorists dwelled in refugee camps, where terms like refugee terrorists emerged. Hence, Kenya was faced with a security dilemma; on the one hand, it had an obligation to protect its citizens. On the other hand, it had an obligation under international law to protect refugees. In this case, when Kenya took a stand to repatriate refugees back to their country, it received mixed reactions, especially from the international actors, condemning Kenya as trading refugee rights for national security.¹⁰⁶

“The foreign policy of Kenya under President Uhuru has also been mainly projected through Conference diplomacy. Numerous international conferences have boosted the country’s image globally. Nairobi hosted conferences such as the Second High-Level

¹⁰⁵ Samwel Mukira Mohochi *Preventative Counter Terrorism Action: Case Study of Kenya* <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228214415> .

¹⁰⁶ Nyambega G.,: *Kenya’s elite forces have become more lethal since Somalia entry*; (Sunday Daily Nation October 9, 2016) p 27

Meeting (HLM2), the UNCTAD Conference, TICAD IV, the Blue Economy Conference, and the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD25), as well as victories such as being re-elected to the Council of the International Maritime Organisation (IMO). The African Union endorsed Kenya's candidacy for a UN seat."¹⁰⁷

4.5 National Politics

4.5.1 Political parties and opposition

The Kenya African National Union (KANU)'s ruling political party significantly influenced Kenya's foreign policy outlook during the Moi administration. In particular, after the 1982 enactment of section 2A that made Kenya's a *de jure* one-party state, KANU became the president's mouthpiece. The reintroduction of multiparty politics in 1991 was expected to inform significant changes in the participation of parliament as one of the critical institutions in Kenya's foreign policy process and altered the significance of KANU in decision making. However, as the ruling party and having won against the opposition in the 1992 general elections, KANU remained considerably influential for two successive five-year terms after reintroducing multiparty politics in Kenya. With a centralized approach to state power and weakened opposition in parliament, the Moi administration, through the support of KANU legislatures, retained a significant influence on decision making and the subsequent foreign policy behaviour with parliament playing a rubber-stamp role. After all, most of the legislatures appointed to the cabinet doubled as members of KANU and the need to uphold unanimity and consensus during decision making were of primary

¹⁰⁷ Oral interview 8th October, 2021.

importance.¹⁰⁸

*The structure of Kenya's foreign policy decision-making process during the Kibaki administration was influenced by his personality, beliefs, leadership style, and internal political dynamics. Unlike his predecessor, who one political party KANU had elected, Kibaki's rise to power resulted from political compromise by other political leaders like Raila Odinga, who shelved their bid for the presidency in support of one candidate through a coalition of parties. Thus, the interests of such leaders in the management of the state resources and other related matters could hardly be ignored. It was challenging for Kibaki to adopt a centralized and personalized approach to leadership within such a context.*¹⁰⁹

Indeed, there was a general expectation that the newly formed government would ensure a paradigm shift from politics of exclusion as practised during the Moi administration to inclusivity.

“For instance, in the naming his first cabinet, Kibaki remained committed to the equal sharing of available government positions among the parties in the NARC Coalition, which could be construed as a move towards a more inclusive approach to decision making. However, political unity among the leaders of the NARC coalition was short-lived as politics of exclusion set in barely a year after taking up office. Feeling betrayed by the very government they had constituted, a group of ministers spearheaded a campaign against the 2005 government-led constitutional referendum, leading to an overwhelming defeat and the subsequent disintegration of NARC as a party. This had significant ramifications

¹⁰⁸ Njagi Karimi P., *Kenya's Foreign Policy in a changing World: Themes For a and Prospects*, (Thesis, University of Nairobi Library, 2008).

¹⁰⁹ Oral interview 8th October, 2021.

*on decision-making structure including foreign policy.*¹¹⁰

Among the many foreign policy decisions that shaped Kenya's foreign policy behaviour during the Kibaki presidency was the 2011 military engagement in the hot pursuit of the Al-Shabaab in Somalia. This marked a paradigm shift in the practice of Kenya's foreign policy, as the country had not involved its military outside of its borders since independence, except in multilateral peacekeeping missions. The decision was founded on the need to protect Kenya's territorial integrity against the Al-Shabaab, which launched a series of terror attacks in Kenya.

Although the decision was founded on the provisions of the 2010 constitution, where the decision by the NSC to engage the military externally is to be approved by parliament, parliament's approval may have been done days later after the military had crossed the territorial borders. The decision to engage the military in Somalia can be explained using the rational actor model, where states are likely to take up options that maximize national interests. This case dealt with the Al-Shabaab as a perceived threat to Kenya's national security. In general, during the second term of the Kibaki presidency, Kenya's foreign policy decision-making can be explained as informed by various decision-making models, with the organizational process and bureaucratic politics dominating most of the decisions.

4.5.2 Media and Public opinion

It is worth noting that the media landscape in Kenya is quite vast and defined by print, broadcast, and new media, among other things, all of which are cheap and readily available to the general public. According to estimates from both the publishers and the Audit Bureau of Circulation, print media is the most popular form of communication. According to circulation figures, the Sunday

¹¹⁰ Oral interview 8th October, 2021.

Nation, the Standard, the Daily Nation, the Star, and the People are the five most widely circulated newspapers. On the other hand, print content is distributed in large quantities for various audiences, geographic regions, and current problems.¹¹¹

As a result of the large number of Kenyans who possess radio transmission equipment, radio continues to be the most commonly distributed and accessible information medium in the whole nation. The projected number of radio stations has continued to rise, with current estimates placing the total number of stations in the nation at over 100, distributed throughout the country. According to estimates, the broadcasting agency has granted about 300 frequencies and licenses, although the vast majority of them are now unutilized. The radio has reached regions that are still without electricity, mainly rural areas. This has aided the development of radios powered by portable batteries, which are becoming more popular.¹¹²

In Kenya's example, the media reacts to the country's foreign policy decisions. This may be deduced from its activities concerning several topics that have caused domestic problems in the country to spill over into the international arena. This is owing to its ability to connect such events to worldwide patterns, occurrences, and ideologies at the local, continental, and global levels. These acts have prompted a response from the state in the form of foreign policy addressing these challenges. Another case that shows the media's role in foreign policy in Kenya is the media coverage of Sudan's President Bashir's attendance at the promulgation ceremony of the Constitution of Kenya 2010. The media's reaction to attendance led to subsequent exposure of an attempt to visit a second time. This resulted in the cancellation of the Nairobi IGAD summit, and

¹¹¹ Nyambega G.,: *Kenya's elite forces have become more lethal since Somalia entry*; (Sunday Daily Nation October 9, 2016).

¹¹² Njagi Karimi P., *Kenya's Foreign Policy in a changing World: Themes For and Prospects*, (Thesis, University of Nairobi Library, 2008).

Kenya was put under renewed pressure from the international community, especially the ICC and international partners, over international commitments. Such media exposures have led to Kenya changing its initial plans through policies to accommodate internationally acceptable stands.

¹¹³The media also provides the platform for government to give their agenda to the people.

“The Kenyan media also provides a platform where the government and other stakeholders are presented with opportunities to publicize their agendas. For instance, following several border incidents highly focused on by the media, the government responded through an operation and AMISOM. It also raised the scale of Kenyan military interventions in Somalia.”¹¹⁴

Likewise, the media has focused on specific operations, primarily through the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, highlighting abuses. This has opened up space to question policies and raise criticism even though there has been very little progress in changing the government's stand. The media presents an avenue for debating issues and exposes the intricacies and contradictions in Kenya's policies. However, these are camouflaged in the name of security, and little or no shift can be noticed policy-wise.¹¹⁵

The KDF incursion into Somalia presented the media with new dimensions as KDF crossed into Somalia in October 2011 This marked a new way of reporting as the country had never been involved in a war of this magnitude. There were changes in terms of how news gathering, processing, and reporting took place. Further to this, unusual reports were received across the

¹¹³ *ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Oral Interview 8th October, 2021.

¹¹⁵ Harnham, B, *Impact of the Political Context on Foreign Policy Decision-Making*. Political Psychology, (Special Issue (Part Two): Prospect Theory, 2004).

country, which showed death and destruction. However, little has been accomplished by the media claims to influence the government's stand regarding the KDF operations in Somalia. By the fact that research had recognized that media has a critical role in the starting, continuation, and termination of wars, the influence of the media has to be continually assessed on matters of foreign policy. The media highly focused on Kenya's incursion into Somalia through “Operation Linda Nchi” in 2011. However, the constant focus and subsequent terror attacks on Kenyan soil dominated both old and new media. The incursion and Kenya’s contribution to the AMISOM made the country a target, and several attacks, both big and small, have been levelled against Kenya ever since. For years, the media has focused on these developments and increased public awareness regarding Kenya’s dilemma with Somalia. While Kenya’s soldiers fight Al-Shabaab in Somalia, the terrorist group attacks Kenyans in their homeland. However, this has not deterred the government or made it change its foreign policy position regarding Kenya’s involvement in Somalia.¹¹⁶

According to Aduol, the media (fourth estate) significantly impacts peace and security operations in the global power dynamics. He contends that the media is a two-edged sword that can promote peace or fuel violence by placing pressure on governments. Furthermore, the media impacts legislators and forms their worldview. Mbugua recognizes the significance of studying mass media activities in conflict situations, given that the success of any mission is primarily dependent on media backing and, as a result, public acceptance and support of such missions.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶Samwel Mukira M., *Preventative Counter Terrorism Actionl: Case Study of Kenya*
<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228214415> .

¹¹⁷ Aduol Odiemo, F. ., & Godfrey Okoth, P. P. *Nature Of Media Diplomacy In Influencing Foreign Policy Decision Making Process In Kenya: Kenya’s Foreign Policy. The International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Invention*, 7 (2020) <https://doi.org/10.18535/ijsshi/v7i010.04>.

4.6 The Interplay of Institutions

The bureaucracy or governmental haggling paradigm is predicated on the idea that the mechanism of foreign policy decision-making mimics competition from rival and frequently ideologically antagonistic organizations inside the administration. The concept is likewise based on the claim that government entities make foreign policy choices via competition and conflict. That is, the constitution delegated part of the authority for foreign policy decision-making to different organizations, and these institutions competed to sway Kenya's foreign policy. Allison and Zelikow define this as the "pulling and tugging" that typifies government institutions developing foreign policy.¹¹⁸

The degree of leverage that any legislative has on foreign policy is very modest, even though the ruling class usually gives lip service to the idea of transparency, which is frequently legally restricted. The National Assembly's position in Kenya's decision-making system was as anticipated, with the elite group formulating policies for the legislature to adopt. Their relative political inferiority further weakened M.P.s' position in comparison to the administrative elite's government employees. According to one researcher, "viewed from a national development viewpoint, one is particularly impressed by politicians' overall incapacity to influence the public policy process in Kenya successfully and to force on administrators an instrumental orientation of service."¹¹⁹

4.7 Domestic Economic Issues

¹¹⁸ Allison, G and Zelikow, P., *Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*, (2nd Edition, Longman, 1999), ISBN 0-321-01349-2.

¹¹⁹ Robert H. Jackson, 'Administration and Development in Kenya* A Review of problems Outstanding' in Goran Hyden, Robert Jackson and John Gkumu (eds.), *Development Administration*. (Nairobi, O.U.P., 1970) » P* 32^»

In the immediate aftermath of Independence, the necessity of economic and political growth and national security motivated her foreign policy, particularly in the earlier phases of her journey. Because of the dominance of wealth in British ownership, Kenya was unable to follow a bold foreign policy like Tanzania throughout the time. It was indeed due to the administration's judgment there at a time that Kenya couldn't even continue such an 'irresponsible' foreign policy whether she was to retain and lure foreign investments. As a result, it is claimed that Kenya has lower than the general opinions on world affairs. In his 1969 study of Kenya's foreign policy, Professor Howell identifies sub-regional, regional, and world political issues that were local yet significantly impacted Kenya's international behaviour.¹²⁰

Since independence, President Kenyatta's first governments sought a foreign policy that underscored collaboration and coordination with bordering countries, endorsed continental revolutionary movements and a mixed economy that strenuously urged foreign investment and thus strong connections with Western countries. Kenyatta ascended the president while he had gained notoriety amongst Kenyans and was condemned more by colonial administration as a commander towards darkness and death. Kenyatta seems to have had decided on Kenya's foreign policy direction at the attainment of independence. Existing regulatory manuscripts, like the KANU manifesto and the sessional paper no. 10 of 1965, explicitly indicated Kenyatta's desires that Kenya is founded along strands of free-market economics, tethered towards the west. The influx of foreign financing might be critical to economic growth, leading to the Foreign Investment Protection Act of 1964.¹²¹

¹²⁰ Mwangiru M., *The Elusive Quest: Conflict Diplomacy and Foreign Policy in Kenya*, (Jomo Kenyatta Foundation: Nairobi 1999).

¹²¹ John Okumu, *Kenya's Foreign Policy*, in Aluko, Olajide, ed, *The Foreign Policies of African States*, (Hodder and Stoughton, 1997) p 11

Kenya's foreign policy has been heavily influenced by economic growth. The necessity to adopt an outward economic policy and the need for foreign capital and investment flows, such as FDI and ODA, have impacted Kenya's foreign policy stance. Kenya's most recent foreign policy approach utilised geo-economics to create positive connections with the broader world via trade and cross-border economic activity, promoting commercial growth.¹²²

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the domestic political factors that hinder or promote foreign policy decision-making in Kenya. The findings were that foreign policy decision-making in Kenya is affected by various domestic dynamics. Further, the chapter found out that Kenya's domestic political environment comprises statutes, state institutions, and advocacy bodies that affect or limit people or organizations in the country. While discussing the head of state and their choices, the far more essential element is the political context he operates. Often foreign choices made by the head of state are influenced by domestic politics. The country's political system will determine the extent and authority of the presidency in foreign policy decision-making. A political system is a collection of formal legal institutions that comprise an administration or a republic. Further, the leadership style of the various heads of state has had an enormous impact on the foreign policies adopted by Kenya since its independence in 1963. The formulation of foreign policies has also been impacted by the various interest groups in the country and public opinion.

¹²² Ahmed, M. A. Determinants of foreign policy formulation in developing countries: A case of Kenya. *International Academic Journal of Arts and Humanities*, 1 (2016) pp 1-53

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study as outlined in the objectives. The chapter draws broad generalizations based on the findings, which serve as a summary and conclusion of the overall effects of domestic politics on foreign policy decisions making. Finally, this chapter offers policy and academic recommendations that may be used to further academic discourse on integration while also providing appropriate tailor-made policy recommendations capable of enhancing foreign policy decision making in Kenya.

5.2 Conclusions

The study established that leadership skills significantly influence Kenya's foreign policy development and execution. The results demonstrated that greater involvement of the different actors and stakeholders would benefit successful policy development. It was also discovered that the impact of individual personality characteristics is most visible in Kenya's foreign policy. Personality or leadership qualities, for instance, have significantly shaped Kenya's foreign policy throughout the last decades. Several of the elements that have led the country into the countless "temptations and ills" in its external environments are sturdy hubris, incompetence and foolishness, which together prospered effortlessly therein nation's policy formulation and implementation. During non-critical periods in democracies, the extent to which the leader's personality influences decision-making varies according to his relative passive/aggressive personality.

There are new entrants known as non-state actors that exist inside and between all states in the system. All such non-state entities, like state actors, may generate the surrounding environment inputs into any foreign policy system or systems. Inputs from the outside world may not always be sent straight to the official decision-making centre. Still, they are invisible power tools that have affected states foreign policy decision making. For example, a foreign government may pressure a target government via a domestic intermediary or by attempting to influence domestic public opinion.

Since Kenya attained self-rule, its foreign policy has been susceptible to differing interpretations. John Howell was likely the first academic to take a critical look at Kenya's foreign policy in 1968, oscillating between the theory of realism and the theory of idealism. As a result, he observed two distinct foreign policies in Kenya's international relations. Kenya's goals in Eastern Africa were driven by realism, whilst Kenya's goals throughout the continent and maybe worldwide were propelled by idealism. According to this theory, national factors solely influenced Kenya's foreign policy in East Africa exclusively, while systemic variables influenced the country's stance on continental African and other international problems.

According to the findings of the research, there is an insufficient enabling institutional framework for policy formation. The makeup of the critical ministries/stakeholders tasked with implementing foreign policy remains unsettled. A governance culture focused on centralized and bureaucratic decision-making impedes harmonization. There is no apparent distinction between who formulates and implements foreign policy in most nations, and Kenya is different. For example, career diplomats and non-career diplomats, sometimes known as political appointments, are used. The ratio of professional diplomats to non-career diplomats is nearly equal, which is not expected. Best practices aim for a 70 per cent to 30 per cent ratio. Kenya has yet to reach this level.

Foreign policy implementation is a task that requires specialists or individuals with appropriate abilities in their line of work. This requires immigration authorities to handle immigration work, commerce officials to handle trade work, education officials to handle education work. It was also discovered that the personal interests of those involved, such as the legislators and politicians, among others, often impact the implementation stage, particularly when it comes to postings. The majority of African nations develop their foreign policies based on the degree of contact with other countries. As a result, the more developed a country is, the greater it impacts the foreign policies of less developed countries. This does not take the concept of reciprocity into account.

5.3 Recommendations

A successful policy formulation process must involve creating and analysing new policy alternatives and the ability to monitor, assess, and examine existing policies as a foundation for their change or discontinuity. This is consistent with the ministry of foreign affairs' commitment to keeping the public informed about Kenya's engagement with the rest of the world, which is consistent with the ministry's public diplomacy goal of keeping the public informed about its role, functions, and achievements, implying the need for a collaborative effort between the ministry and many other stakeholders.

Given the relative shortage of capacity for policy formation, it is critical to prevent overlapping tasks that result in waste or underutilization of available resources. Institutional structures must be in place and operational to guarantee the required consultation. Policymakers should be aware of the openly political character of policy development. The strategic significance of time should be

studied more thoroughly so that people engaged in the process are aware of any potential adverse political responses and can emphasize how these may be mitigated or eliminated.

Furthermore, it is critical to include all stakeholders in the formation and execution of foreign policy. This will strengthen the policy and better serve the country's interests, resulting in enhanced overall development. The government should educate career diplomats/professionals on diplomatic matters to better serve the nation's interests. The creation of the Foreign Service Institute is already a step toward realizing the goals specified in Vision 2030 and the Constitution.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahmed, M. A. "Determinants of foreign policy formulation in developing countries: A case of Kenya." *International Academic Journal of Arts and Humanities* 1, no. 1 (2016): 1-53.
- Adar, Korwa G. "Kenya-US Relations: A Recapitulation of the Patterns of Paradigmatic Conceptualization, 1960s-1990s." *Munene, Nyunya, and Adar, (eds.), The United States and Africa, op. Cit* (1995): 297 – 323.
- Allison, G. T. *Essence of Decision Making: Explaining the Cuban Missile Crisis*. (Boston: Little, Brown. 1971).
- Alden, Chris, and Amnon Aran. *Foreign policy analysis: new approaches*. (Routledge, 2016).
- Akhmedov, K. "Democratisation and Its Impact on International Relations." *The Journal of development communication* 11, no. 1 (2000): 82-84.
- Astorino- Courtois, Allison. "The Effects of Stakes and Threat on Foreign Policy Decision-Making." *Political Psychology* 21, no. 3 (2000): 489-509.
- Aduol Odiemo, Festus, and Prof. Pontian Godfrey Okoth. "Nature Of Media Diplomacy In Influencing Foreign Policy Decision Making Process In Kenya: Kenya's Foreign Policy". *International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Invention* (2020). 7 (10):6212-28. <https://doi.org/10.18535/ijsshi/v7i010.04>.
- Bojang, Aliou S. The Study of Foreign Policy in International Relations. *Journal of Political Sciences & Public Affairs*. (2018): 06. 10.4172/2332-0761.1000337.

Bjola, Corneliu, Jennifer Cassidy, and Ilan Manor. "Public Diplomacy in the Digital Age", *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy* 14, 1-2 (2019): 83-101, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/1871191X-14011032>.

Breuning, Marijke. *Foreign policy analysis: A comparative introduction*. (Springer, 2007).

Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopaedia. Foreign policy. Encyclopedia Britannica. (2020, January 30). <https://www.britannica.com/topic/foreign-policy>.

Bynander, Fredrik, and Stefano Guzzini, eds. *Rethinking Foreign Policy*. (Routledge, 2013).

Chandra, P. "*International Relations*." The second edition, Vikas publishing, (2008): 3-8.

Dani Rodrik. *The Globalization Paradox: Democracy and the Future of the World Economy*. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2011).

De Messquita, Bruce. Domestic Politics and International Relations. *International Studies Quarterly*, (2002). 46(1):1-9.

Dugis, Vinsensio. Domestic Political Structure and Public Influence on Foreign Policy. A Basic Model. *Media Journal Global dan Strategis*, (2009), 3(2):169-186.

Farnham, Barbara. "Impact of the political context on foreign policy decision- making." *Political Psychology* 25, no. 3 (2004): 441-463.

Francis, Fukujama. "*The end of history and the last man*." *Op. Cit* (1992): 49-50.

Forsythe, David P., and Barbara Ann J. Rieffer. "US foreign policy and enlarging the democratic community." *Hum. Rts. Q.* 22 (2000): 988-1010.

Foyle, Douglas C., and Douglas Van Belle. "Domestic politics and foreign policy analysis: Public opinion, elections, interest groups, and the media." (In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*, 2010).

<https://oxfordre.com/internationalstudies/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.001.0001/acrefore-9780190846626-e-9>

Gertzel, C., "*The Politics of Independent Kenya, 1963-968.*"(East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1968).

Gerner, Deborah. The Evolution of the Study of Foreign Policy. In Neack, Laura; Hey, Jeanne A. K. & Haney, Patrick J. *Foreign Policy Analysis: Continuity and Change in Its Second Generation.* New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, (2005): 17-32.

Hal Brands, *Making the Unipolar Moment: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Rise of the Post-Cold War Order*, Ithaca: (Cornell University Press, 2018).

Harnham, B, Impact of the Political Context on Foreign Policy Decision-Making. (*Political Psychology*, (Special Issue (Part Two): Prospect Theory, 2004).

Henderson, Howard. *Foreign Affairs Are Now Domestic Affairs.* (HuffPost Plus, 18 February 2015).

Haass, Richard. *Foreign Policy Begins at Home: The Case for Putting America's House in Order*. (New York: Free Press, 2011).

Hudson, Valerie. The History and Evolution of Foreign Policy Analysis. In Smith, Steve; Hadfield, Amelia & Dunne, Tim (eds). *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*. *Oxford University Press*, second edition, (2012): 13-23.

Hermann, M G., Presidents, Advisers, and Foreign Policy: The Effect of Leadership Style on Executive Arrangements. *Political Psychology*. Vol. 15, No. 1, Special Issue: (Political Psychology and the Work of Alexander L. George, 1994).

Howell, J. An Analysis of Kenyan Foreign Policy. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, (1968). (1), 29-48. Retrieved August 27, 2021, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/158675>

Huxsoll, David Baker, "Regimes, institutions and foreign policy change". (LSU Doctoral Dissertations. 2007). https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_dissertations/2377

Judah, Bedn. "Washington Changed. British Diplomacy Failed to Keep Pace." *Atlantic* 10 (2019).

Kaarbo, J., Lantis, J. S., & Beasley, R. K. An Analysis of Foreign Policy in a Comparative Perspective. In J. Kaarbo., J. S. Lantis., & R. K. Beasley(eds), *Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective: Domestic and International Influences on State Behaviour* (2 Ed) (2013). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Kaarbo, Juliet. A Foreign Policy Analysis Perspective on the Domestic Politics Turn in IR Theory. *International Studies Review*, (2015). 17(2):189-216.

Kenya Defence Forces Operation Linda Nchi. “An insight into the art of modern warfare” (Kenya literature bureau, 2014).

Kibati, B. J. *Memoirs of a Kenyan Spymaster*. Nairobi: (Nairobi Academic Press, 2016).

K. Orwa, ‘Continuity and Change: Kenya’s Foreign Policy from Kenyatta to Moi’ in W. Oyugi (ed) *Politics and Administration in East Africa*, (Nairobi: East Africa Education Publishers 1994):301.

Lawson M & Epstein S., *Democracy Promotion: An Objective of U.S. Foreign Assistance*, (Congretional research service, 2019).

Luca Anceschi, Integrating domestic politics and foreign policy making: the cases of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, *Central Asian Survey*, (2010). 29:2, 143-158, DOI: [10.1080/02634937.2010.498231](https://doi.org/10.1080/02634937.2010.498231).

Light, Margot. *Foreign Policy Analysis*. In Groom, A. J. R. & Light, Margot. *Contemporary International Relations: Guide to Theory*. (London: Pinter Publishers 1994): 93-108.

Matthes, J., What’s in a frame? A content analysis of media framing studies in the world’s leading communication journals, 1990-2005. (*J & MC Quarterly*, Summer 2009).

Malang, B & Bojang, & Bojang, Malang. *DOMESTIC FACTORS AFFECTING FOREIGN POLICY DECISION-MAKING PROCESS: THE CASE OF THE GAMBIA*. (2018).

McEvoy Claire, “Shifting priorities: Kenya’s changing approach to peacebuilding and peace-making,” *Norwegian peacebuilding Restore Centre*, May (2013) Report, 1.

- Mintz, A., & DeRouen, K., *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- Mintz, A., & DeRouen Jr, K. International, Domestic, and Cultural Factors Influencing Foreign Policy Decision Making. In *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2010): 121-146). doi:10.1017/CBO9780511757761.007.
- Murphy, A., Democratization and Indonesian Foreign Policy: Implications for the United States. *Asia Policy*, (2012): 83-112. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24905167>.
- Nabil, Hossam. The Impact of the Domestic Environment in the Change of Foreign Policy- The Case of Russian Policy towards the European Union after the end of the Cold War. *Journal of Politics and Law*, (2020). 13. 43. 10.5539/jpl.v13n3p43.
- Neack, Laura. *The New Foreign Policy- power seeking in a globalized era* (2nd Ed.). (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc, 2008).
- Nzomo, Maria. "Foreign policy and diplomacy in India–East African relations." *Insight on Africa* 6, no. 2 (2014): 89-111.
- Oginga, O., “Not yet Uhuru”. Nairobi, (Heinemann, 1967).
- Ozgun, Sevda Ceren, "The Impact of Domestic Politics on Foreign Policy Decision-Making in Turkish-American Relations, (2011).
- Oxfam “Addressing the Humanitarian Crisis on the Kenya Somali Border”. (Online publisher, 2009).

Qin Yaqing, *Intersubjective Cognitive Dissonance and Foreign Policy-Making in China*, (2013).

https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/abs/10.1142/9781938134050_0001?queryID=%24%7BresultBean.queryID%7D

Rapport, Aaron. "Cognitive Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis." In (*Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. 2017).

Robert J. Art and Robert Jervis, "*International Politics: Enduring Concepts and Contemporary Issues*," (3rd ed) (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992): 1.

Rosenau, James. Foreword. In Smith, Steve; Hadfield, Amelia & Dunne, Tim (eds). *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*. (Oxford University Press, 2008).

Rumki, Basu. "International Politics-Concept." *Theories and Issues, Saga publication, (New Delhi, 2012)*.

Simon H A., *Administrative Behavior: A Study of Decision Making Processes in Administrative Organization*. (Macmillan, 1947).

The Economist. '*African energy*': (Eastern El Dorado, 2012).

Waltz K. '*Theory of International Politics*'. (New York. McGraw Hill, 1979).

Wanjohi Kabukuru," *Kenya: Look East my Son*,"

<<http://www.thefreelibrary.com/kenya%3A+look+east+my+son%3B+kenyas+is+the+latest+afri+can+country+to+fall...a0148614/09>> accessed on 10/09/2018.

Widjojo A., Democracy, National Security and Foreign Policy, [458466.Pdf](#) accessed on 10/10/2021.

Yetiv, S. A. *Explaining Foreign Policy: U.S Decision-Making in the Gulf Wars* (2nd Ed.). (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of this questionnaire is to obtain information that is relevant to my study on “THE EFFECTS OF DOMESTIC POLITICS ON THE FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS MAKING: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA’S FOREIGN POLICY”. This is part of a research paper to be submitted by the researcher in partial fulfilment for the award of Degree of Master’s at the University Of Nairobi- Nairobi Kenya. You are assured that the answers that you provide will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and will not be used in any way against you or in ways other than those envisaged in the study.

Read the items carefully and indicate by ticking () against your most preferred choice. Also, state your views and opinions in the spaces provided.

Thank you.

SECTION ONE: PERSONAL DATA

1. Gender

Male [] Female []

2. Age

18 – 24 [] 46 – 55 []

25 – 35 [] 56 – 65 []

36 – 45 [] Over 66 []

3. Education Level

No Formal education []

Below KCPE []

Below KCSE []

Form 4 Certificate []

Diploma []

Degree []

Other (Please Specify)

SECTION TWO: THE LINKS BETWEEN DOMESTIC POLITICS AND FOREIGN POLICY DECISION-MAKING

4. How best can you explain foreign policy Decision-Making?

.....
.....

6. What is the Link between Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy?

.....
.....

7. How does domestic politics influence Foreign Policy decision making?

.....
.....

SECTION TWO: THE ROLE AND IMPACTS OF DOMESTIC POLITICS IN THE FOREIGN POLICY DECISION-MAKING IN KENYA.

8. How are Kenya's Foreign Policy decisions made?

.....
.....

8b. Who are the domestic actors?

.....

.....
9. In your views, what is the role of Domestic politics in Kenya's foreign policy decision-making?

.....
.....
10. How has domestic politics impacted Kenya's Foreign Policy decision making?

.....
.....
11. Is there a spillover effect of domestic politics on Kenya's Foreign Policy?

.....
SECTION THREE: THE DOMESTIC POLITICAL FACTORS THAT HINDER FOREIGN POLICY DECISION-MAKING IN KENYA.

12. Has domestic politics hindered Kenya's foreign policy decision making?

Yes () No ()

If yes explain

.....
.....
13. Has the involvement of domestic politics improved the decision-making and implementation of Kenya's Foreign policy?

Yes () No ()

If yes explain

14. What are the domestic Political factors that have hindered Foreign policy decision making?

.....
.....

15. What is the best way to address these domestic politics to improve foreign policy decision-making in Kenya?

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

16. How can foreign policy decisions be made and implemented according to Kenya's domestic political environment?

.....
.....

APPENDIX II: UNIVERSITY LETTER OF AUTHORISATION



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
Faculty of Social Sciences
Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

Tel : (02) 318262
Telefax : 254-2-245566
Fax : 254-2-245566
Website : www.uonbi.ac.ke
Telex : 22095 Varsity Ke Nairobi, Kenya
E-mail : director:idis@uonbi.ac.ke

P.O. Box 30197
Nairobi
Kenya

September 01, 2021

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: ABIGAIL BONARERI BASWETI– R50/34533/2019

This is to confirm that the above-mentioned person is a bona fide student at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS), University of Nairobi pursuing a **Master of Arts Degree in International Studies**. She is working on a research project titled, **“THE EFFECTS OF DOMESTIC POLITICS ON FOREIGN POLICY DECISION MAKING: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA’S FOREIGN POLICY”**.

The research project is a requirement for students undertaking Masters programme at the University of Nairobi, whose results will inform policy and learning.

Any assistance given to her to facilitate data collection for her research project will be highly appreciated.

Thank you in advance for your consideration.



Professor **Martin Nzioki**
Director, IDIS
&
Professor of International Relations and Governance

APPENDIX III: NACOSTI PERMIT


REPUBLIC OF KENYA

Ref No: 546143

RESEARCH LICENSE



This is to Certify that Ms.. Abigail Bonareri Basweti of University of Nairobi, has been licensed to conduct research in Nairobi on the topic: THE EFFECTS OF DOMESTIC POLITICS ON FOREIGN POLICY DECISION MAKING: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY. for the period ending : 15/October/2022.

License No: NACOSTI/P/21/13549

Applicant Identification Number: 546143

Director General
Walter Wambui
NATIONAL-COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Verification QR Code



NOTE: This is a computer generated License, To verify the authenticity of this document, Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.