Kenya and Yemen Relations: Trade and Security Implications

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DECLARATION

This Research Project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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This Research Project has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University Supervisor.

Signed …………………………………..   Date………………………….

Dr. Patrick Maluki

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my late father Mr. Ashur Mahmud Ghanim who motivated me and supported me all the way, despite the fact that he did not attend any formal education. He repeatedly reminded me that "Education is Light" and wanted me to grasp the opportunity he never had. May Allah rest his soul in eternal peace. I also dedicate it to my mum for making my learning smooth through her guidance and ensuring a conducive environment for my studies.

I also dedicate this work to my lovely wife, Sammya and my children, Basma, Samir and Mahmud for their understanding and support throughout my master's program. I also dedicate this work to my mentor and uncle, the late Mr. Abdalla Ahmed Bawazir, who did everything possible to ensure I am successful in life. He spent all his life and energy in shaping me and my brothers into who we are now. May Allah rest his soul in eternal peace (ALLAH IRHAMAK).

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God bless you all.
Ahsanteni Sana.

ABSTRACT

Kenya and Yemen relations date back when the Yemeni Arabs arrived in Kenya. The two countries benefit from each other's warm and friendly relations. To illustrate this there are a large number of Kenyans who are working and living in Yemen. However there have been some challenges to these where Kenyans entering Yemen are given visas at the point of entry thus making it difficult for the Yemen Embassy in Nairobi to have an exact figure of Kenyan nationals living and working there. The primary aim of this study is on Kenya and Yemen relations. Kenya has conducted its relations with Yemen by exporting coffee, tea among other commodities. Yemen on the other hand has also done the same and recently resumed its flights from Nairobi to Nairobi. However these relations have been faced with a number of challenges such as Al-Qaeda, issues to do with refugees, insecurity, terrorism, inter-tribal conflict, early child marriages among others. These challenges are what will make up the statement of the problem of this paper. The objectives of this research study will comprise of examining the security benefits that can accrue to Kenya as a result of forging stronger diplomatic ties with Yemen, to investigate how stronger Kenya-Yemen relations can help Kenya in accessing the Middle East market and lastly to examine the challenges facing the relations between Kenya and Yemen. This research is guided by the liberalism theory as articulated by Immanuel Kant, John Locke, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, G. W. F. Hegel and many others. Their main argument is that man is not bad, but it is the institutions that make man to be bad. The study will use both qualitative and quantitative methods of collecting data. This study will use explanatory or descriptive research which will identify six study units namely-: NGO/civil society, government officials, security/military agencies, business community, diplomats and professionals. These groups of people will provide 30 respondents. Data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). The study concluded that stronger Kenya and Yemen relations can be enhanced through the easy access of Kenyan visa by Yemeni's and the signing of agreements on terrorism and other threats that affect the two countries. Further, the study also concluded that the historical/cultural/economic relations existing between the two countries can help Kenya in accessing Middle East market. On matters touching on security the study concluded that that security benefits that can accrue to Kenya as a result of forging stronger diplomatic ties with Yemen would be reduced threats of terrorism as a result of factors such as signing of bilateral agreements and establishing border surveillance controls, exchange of security intelligence and implementation of signed security agreements. On challenges facing the relations between Kenya and Yemen most respondents stated high tariffs on goods and restriction of movement of people and goods as a result of lack of a trading bloc was a challenge facing the relations between Kenya and Yemen. The study recommends establishment of a Kenya diplomatic mission in Yemen in order to positively influence trade and security relations between the two countries. It further recommends the signing of bilateral agreements and establishing border surveillance controls, exchange of security intelligence and implementation of signed security agreements and promoting peace negotiations and diplomacy in order to combat security issues overlapping the borders of the two countries. On the issue of high tariffs the study recommends the establishment of a trading bloc to curb high tariffs on goods and restriction of movement of people and goods.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
ODA	Official Development Assistance
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority Development
GATT	*General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade*
ITO	International Trade Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
GWOT	Global War on Terror

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the Study

Yemen fondly referred to as the heart of Arabia and Arab Gulf[1] has had long historical relations with Kenya. These historical relations include the settling down of the Yemeni people and their families in Kenya many years ago. These relations also revolve around economic relations. The economic relations include the transport sector where recently Yemeni airways recommenced its flights to Nairobi and Darussalam. This route is considered to be profitable for the two countries in terms of trade and investment.[2] It will offer its services to customers from Europe and the Middle East especially those coming to visit Kenya and other African countries.

Kenya will stand to benefit from this by promoting its tourism and marketing itself. Yemen is rich in agriculture and oil resources. However due to its political instability the oil prices have fallen. It should be noted that when there is political instability in a country then chances of a country moving forward are minimal. Political instability in Africa is caused by greed when leaders amass resources meant for the poor to themselves. It is also caused when leaders do not fulfill their obligations to their citizenry. Political instability also discourages trade from taking place this leading to a decline in the country's economy. When this happens the citizens get wary and tired and are in need of change of leadership.

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[1] Rotberg I. Robert, the horn of Africa & Yemen: Diminishing the threat of terrorism.
[2] http://www.yobserver.com/news-varieties/10020345.html

Political instability has occurred in virtually most countries. The consequences are adverse and range from high levels of unemployment, decline in the economy, high poverty rates, corruption among other negativities.

Yemen is one such country that has undergone years of political instability. According to one report, Yemen has a weak economy.[3] This weak economy is characterized by insurgent groups like Al-Qaeda which has made it difficult for trade to prosper. It has also led to kidnappings. This weak economy has led to a drop in oil prices. Oil is considered as an important resource for the economy of Yemen. Apart from oil Yemen is blessed with products such as cement, a variety of foods and vegetables and farm animals. According to one Reuters report the cause of these misfortunes is due to the lawlessness that Yemen has; there are no proper laws that govern the country's' affairs and as a result of these there are a lot of kidnappings carried out by the Al-Qaeda on people especially the westerners.[4] When a country's institutional framework is not in place and when there is poor governance, lack of transparency and accountability will be seen to exist.

Yemen has a lot of issues to deal with. Apart from the above problems it also poses a threat to political Islam in the Middle East. According to one Robert Burrowes, Yemen could "become a major incubator and exporter" of transnational revolutionary political Islam.[5] Yemen also has

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[3] Rotberg I. Robert, the horn of Africa & Yemen: Diminishing the threat of terrorism.
[4] http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000083726&story_title=kidnapped-red-cross-workers-including-a-kenyan-freed-in-yemen
[5] Robert D. Burrowes, "Yemen: Its Political Economy and the Effort against Terrorism," chapter 7 in this volume, p. 141. Retrieved on 12 May 2013 from www.brookings.edu/press/books.

border issues with its neighbor Saudi Arabia and as a result of its porous borders this provides a gateway and living ground for terrorists to roam around freely. In addition to this weapons are traded easily across the borders. It also has Al Qaeda cells. The government forces with the assistance of the US forces are trying their level best to get rid of these cells and seize the weapons possessed by the terrorists. While this has been done the government also has to look for ways to resolve its border issues with Saudi Arabia by engaging in constructive diplomacy.

It must be noted that security is paramount in every state. If there is no security there is no governance. Security is further important in the international relations between states. In international relations the notion of security has different views. The realists and idealists have different views about it. There are also the Grotians. Insecurity of a nation affects its governance. Good governance stems from good leadership. If this is present then this leads to development and enlightenment of the people. According to Manwelo (2008), good governance results in efficient institutions and in the successful management of resources. All these come about when people are allowed to express their opinions, views and what they believe in – democracy.

Despite all these there are some positive things about Yemen. Yemen has hosted 1 million Somali refugees who have run away from their country due to political instability. Yemen engages in productive economic activities for example fishing. Fishing is prevalent in Yemen with most Yemeni's engaging in the activity for their source of livelihoods. Apart from this Yemen exports to Kenya coffee, clothes, fish from Hadrrmout. Although there is no Kenyan embassy in Yemen (there is only a consulate) Kenyan exports to Yemen tea, animal skins among other items. According to the tea and coffee industry report (2005) Kenya exports to Yemen 7% of tea. The table below shows the exports and imports between Kenya/Yemen trade relations.

Table 1 Exports and Imports between Kenya/Yemen Trade Relations

YEAR	EXPORTS IN KSH	IMPORTS IN KSHS	BALANCE OF TRADE
2005	1,482,055,951	71,464,975	1,410,590,976
2006	2,134,295,415	22,419,290	2,111,876,125
2007	2,162,702,050	21,372,867	2,141,329,183
2008	2,805,283,391	25,941,005	2,779,342,386
2009	3,314,663,525	17,329,821	3,297,333,704
2010	4,519,304,296	19,588,787	4,499,715,509
AVERAGE VALUES	2,736,384,105	29,686,124	2,706,697,981

Source: Centre for Business Information in Kenya

According to one foreign affairs brief (2012) the justification for appointing a Honorary consul in Yemen is that: Yemen has a resident diplomatic mission in Nairobi, opening of a honorary consulate will deepen and strengthen relations between the two countries, stipulation of trade and investment information between the two countries, the large number of Kenyan diaspora in Yemen will have representation and it will increase Kenya's representation in the Middle East.

The location of Yemen is close to most African countries like Kenya, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Somalia among other countries is another of its great asset. This closeness and location to the above countries will be of particular significance to Kenya in preserving piracy. Also, as a result of this closeness most Yemeni families intermarry. One should not also forget the foreign policy of Yemen. The foreign policy of Yemen is clear when it states that it wants to be a safe country and that all people are equal. However the question worth asking is to what extent are the people equal? The southerners in Yemen have been crying for secession following marginalization of the North.

1.1 Statement of the Research Problem

In the international system states develop harmonious relations to promote their national interest. These relations normally have trade and security dimensions. Trade concerns exchange of goods and services and enable states to mobilize resources either for national economic development or for improvement of the welfare of their citizens. One of the hallmarks for a developing country is to be able to depend on itself. Over the years Kenya and Yemen have been trying to do this through signing of bilateral agreements or joining regional economic blocs. However, in the case of Yemen it has been faced with several challenges such as the al-Qaeda, refugee problems and insecurity issues that have led to kidnaps and political instability resulting to high levels of poverty and unemployment. Kenya has also had its own share of insecurity challenges including terrorism, inter-tribal conflict and corruption among others. These challenges are grave and affect the way Kenya and Yemen trade with each other. Normally, good relations between countries stem from having a good enabling environment to conduct business, a good environment and secure environment where people can walk around freely without fear.

In international relations trade has assumed an important dimension following the current interdependence of states in the global village as such states see each other more as friends than enemies. However, trade relations are impacted by security dimensions. Current international relations among states has led to emerging security threats such as illegal immigrants, terrorism, money laundering, grand corruption among other vices.

Kenya and Yemen have long standing cultural relations that date back during the period of Indian Ocean trade when the Oman Arabs settled in Mombasa. Since then a big Yemeni

community has settled in Kenya, but Kenya seems not to have taken full advantage of this to advance its economic and security relations with Yemen. On the other hand Yemen has not utilized regional mechanism such as COMESA to build strong relations with Kenya despite its strategic location in the East African coast. This study examined the trade and security issues that affect the international relations of Kenya and Yemen. Specifically it asked what security benefit can Kenya gain by establishing stronger diplomatic relations with Yemen and secondly what are the main trade benefits can Kenya gain in the Middle East through strong relations with Yemen.

1.2 Main Objective

The main objective of this study was to analyze the security and trade dimensions of the relations between Kenya and Yemen.

1.2.1 Specific Objectives

1. To examine the security benefits that can accrue to Kenya as a result of forging stronger diplomatic ties with Yemen

2. To investigate how stronger Kenya - Yemen trade relations can help Kenya in accessing middle East market.

3. To examine the challenges facing the relations between Kenya and Yemen

1.2.2 Research Questions

1. What security benefits can accrue to Kenya by building stronger diplomatic relations with Yemen?

2. In what ways can Yemen assist Kenya to access a bigger share in the Middle East market?

3. What factors hinder strong Kenya-Yemen trade relations?

1.3   Justification of the Study

Relations play a significant part in a country's interactions. They serve to strengthen the ties that exist between them. In particular these relations stem from economic, security and political dimensions. The world has become globalised with emerging issues that threaten the everyday existence of our lives. It is because of these emerging threats that new ways are needed by states to counter these problems. One way in which states deal with security threats is through creation of institutions. In the case of Yemen these institutions included security apparatus which work with the government of the day and in cahoots with the police to cause unrest in Yemen after the civil war. These security apparatus have been used to hit back at political opponents. As a result of this there was no freedom of speech, people were arrested and publications of newspapers shut down. When a country is ruled by dictatorship there is no room for it to prosper economically. This then becomes important for institutions to come in and save the situation.

In the case of Yemen a number of insurgent groups such as al-Qaeda have caused violence leading to the death of many people during the Arab spring that started in Tunisia. Due to these security challenges a number of unemployed young boys and men have been recruited into these insurgent groups. The rate of unemployment in Yemen is high with low levels of economic development. Concerted efforts not only from its Arab neighbors, but from Kenya also are needed for Yemen to conquer these problems.

This research was based on Kenya and Yemen relations in trade and security and looked at the historical and current relations between the two countries. It also looked at the trade and security implications of the two countries focusing on the trade aspects of the two countries and the

challenges that exist and how these challenges can be addressed to further strengthen the relations. This work was befitting to this study as there exists economic potential in transport and communications that can be used to strengthen their countries diplomacy. On the other hand Kenya is host to a large number of Yemeni residents and this serves to boost the country's tourism levels.

The purpose of this study was to examine Kenya and Yemen relations by highlighting the potential that exists between the two countries in trade and the challenges posed by insecurity to both countries. This study will therefore have academic and policy justifications. Academically it will enable students and lecturers alike to gain insight of the relations and implications about the two countries. Policy wise it will help policy makers implement policies that are effective in strengthening the two countries relations with each other.

1.4 Scope and Limitation of the Study

This research was confined to the relations between Kenya and Yemen with emphasis on trade and security dimensions. The research was conducted in Nairobi, Kenya where it intended to target the Yemeni Embassy in Nairobi, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Centre for Business Information Kenya and the Kenya Chamber of Commerce.

A limitation to this study was accessing all the needed policy documents on the subject matter. It was a new research area and not much has been written. However this required the researcher to use contact persons who can provide him with some documents.

The other limitation to this study was that of language. Many Yemeni's are not well conversant with the English language because most speak Arabic and this may be further difficult when the researcher administers an interview questionnaire to them. The researcher intends to overcome this through the use of an interpreter. Issues of security are normally sensitive and many respondents were not willing to disclose the information they have. This was overcome by probing and the use of gatekeepers.

The other limitation the researcher experienced was the withholding of information by the Yemenis because they may perceive the issue as being sensitive and also because of being strict observers of Islamic faith. The researcher overcame this by making the environment friendly to them – by wearing decent clothes when administering his questionnaires to them and by observing respect towards their religious faith.

1.5 Chapter Outline

The research is divided into five chapters.

Chapter one comprises the background to the study, the statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, the research objectives, the research questions, justification of the study, scope of the study, limitations of the study and the definition of terms. Chapter two gives an account of the literature reviewed in relation to the study and the theoretical framework. It starts with a general overview of Kenya and Yemen relations before narrowing it down to security and trade aspects of the relationship. Chapter three consists of the research methodology. It includes how the data was gathered and the research instruments that were used in the field work. Chapter four consists of the data analysis of this study. Chapter five consists of the summary, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0   Introduction

This chapter comprises of the literature review which makes up the following subtopics: the concept of security in international relations, international trade and international relations, constructing national economic interests between Kenya and Yemen and constructing national security interest between Kenya and Yemen.

2.1   The Concept of Security in International Relations

To understand what security entails; it is prudent to look at it from the international relations realm and see what other authors have to say about it. However, an introduction would suffice. Kenneth Waltz, the man known for his classic book 'man, state and war' looks at the way different people view war. While other writers see it as emanating from the state of a country others look at it as coming from the evil nature of mankind. Despite these views on war a significant difference that Waltz points out and that exists between the Hobbesians, Kantians and Grotians over whether conflict can be prevented. It is interesting to point out that the Hobbesinas school of thought do not see peace as an outlet after war; according to them it is impossible to move forward to a peaceful co-existence after war has taken place. Kantians, on the other hand wear different lenses and see a possibility of moving from war to a peaceful co-existence. The third school of thought are the Grotians who view war and scenes of violence as difficult to control, but state that one can develop certain rules to prevent further destruction in war.

What does this tells us in the world we live in today? This can be discerned that all of their views are correct, but the Grotian school of thought seems to have a more positive outlook of the whole

scenario. For instance, the Palestine conflict, the conflict in the middle east, the Ethiopian Eritrea border issues, Sudan and South Sudan would fit the bill of the Hobbessian school of thought, the Rwandan genocide and the Burundian conflict would fit in the Kantian school of thought and the 2007/08 post election violence in Kenya would fit the Grotian school of thought.

With the coming of the League of Nations – this seemed to offer some hope in restoring the disorder that was present in the world. But its existence was short-lived as realism came into the fold and many scholars saw that war was something which was permanent between states and something that stemmed from way back. This was the period during the Cold War. After the Cold War ended according to Baylis (2008) many people were optimistic that now there was no war and there would be a new world order. Idealism brought in new thinking of a peaceful world. Realism, on the other hand, was looked by some as a new way in international security.

Insecurity – a word that is dreaded. This is what characterized the world after the Cold War. Peace became difficult to be achieved in some countries; and even if it was present it did not last. Good examples include in the Middle East, Africa, the US – the 9/11 terrorist attacks and other countries. According to John Baylis, the spot Cold War era brought a new thinking of the feature of security. This thinking he states stems from traditionalist to the new thinking of the concept. The traditionalist realist look at security as one-sided where states would look after their own self-interests without thinking of their neighbors. This would result in vicious wars between states as each takes advantage of the other. When this happened it was impossible to see the fruits of lasting peace. Further what one state would to do to another was balance out the power to the other states to prevent it from taking the overall power. This school of thought was

prescribed by scholars like Edward Carr and Hans Morgenthau both of whom had pessimistic views of security in the international relations. Modern scholars or neo- realists who also shared the same views included Kenneth Waltz, and John Mearsheimer. These scholars look at security as emanating from the way the world system is made up meaning if international politics in the past was violent in nature then future international politics would also be the same. Mearsheimer (1990) saw the Cold War as a period that brought about peace and stability because of the two centers of power that existed at the time. However after the fall of this system, he envisaged a return of enmity among the great powers.[6] What does this tell us? This basically informs us that international politics is like a contest – states in competition for their own interests and whoever wins is a winner and whosever loses is a loser. John Baylis (2008) states that cooperation is present, but is limited by this competition that exists between states. This further informs us that true peace among states is very hard to fulfill. The above group of scholars describes the way the world is by observing what goes on. They further see that just because the world was violent in the past that is how it will continue to be in the future and from this past the lessons learnt that the ideal method to realize their security is through power.[7] This brings us to the next section of security as a disputed concept.

It is indeed true that security is a disputed concept because although it may entail on the surface freedom from fear or threat/s, it does not tell us whether this concept of security extends to individuals, whether it is national or international. According to John Baylis (2008) security has been looked at from the military angle where states use military machinery to protect themselves

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[6] Baylis John, Smith Steve& Owens Patricia (2008). The *Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, 4th ed.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
[7] Baylis John, Smith Steve& Owens Patricia (2008). The *Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, 4th ed.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

or their boundaries from attacks. However, with time this notion has been subjected to scrutiny by some writers arguing that the concept should include things like political, economic and social. One such writer, Barry Buzan (1983) has done just that by including into the definition not only political, economic, social, but environmental and military aspects to it. This gives it a broader perspective. His arguments raised a number of eyebrows as to whether the national and international security could be matched and whether states could be cooperative in their engagements with one another. It is interesting to note that some writers have viewed that the compatibility of national and international security cannot be compatible because of the wars that took place in the past; some state that this compatibility is needed for 'societal security.[8] John Baylis (2008) gives examples of implications where this has happened. In Europe, for instance, where integration is weakening the political order. Fragmentation is seen in the Soviet Union when Yugoslavia broke away from Soviet Union leading to problems such as ethnicity, boundary issues, among other issues. Some people argue that bringing national and international security together should only be based in the global world we live in today. This is true because of globalization. This globalization has brought with it all sorts of positives such as modern communication and technology and negatives such as terrorism and environmental hazards. Such negativities are hard for states to control and they state that they only way to deal with these issues is through a global society.

We can see from above how globalization has brought with it risks. This gives the realists and neo realists a pessimistic view of the world we live in today. From the disintegration of Yugoslavia from the Soviet Union, Middle East conflict to 9/11 – all these events paint a very

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[8] Baylis John, Smith Steve& Owens Patricia (2008). The *Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, 4th ed.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

grim picture of the possibility of achieving peace and cooperation. According to these schools of thought cooperation is impeded by two factors: One is cheating and the other is relative gains. They are not ruling out the possibility that states can cooperate, they can, but there are certain boundaries that they can reach with each other because each fears the other may take advantage of the other. We have seen this happening in the world we live in today. A good case in point is the CPA agreement that was signed between the North and the South with the South accusing the North of not implementing and following the provisions as laid down in the agreement. Another case in point is the sophisticated and modern military weaponry that one country has over another. The country can use this to take advantage and defeat another country. This tells us that states can do anything to achieve their own national security.

In terms of relative gains, John Baylis (2008) states that instead of states being interested in cooperation they will be more interested in how much they will gain from each other whether it is in terms of resources among other interests. It is because of these tendencies that states have towards one another that make it difficult to attain peace and cooperation. A good example we have seen is the 9/11 attacks.

While the above may be true some writers give alternative ways of how international security can be attained. These are the realist and 'neo-realist' school of thought who look at international security with an optimistic lens. They reject the competition notion that states are always competing and wary of each other and that states have used cooperation when faced with uncertainties. A case in point is the 1970's and 1980's arms race where states chose to cooperate rather than engaging in competition with each other. They also reject the notion of relative gains

that states seek cooperation because of the dangers associated with relative gains. They also see that cheating has been overdone. That just because an agreement has some room for cheating then automatically it becomes null and void. This group of school further states that despite the confusion marred in the world we live in today there are chances of cooperation to exist between states.

Barry Buzan (1983) argued that among the 'mature' states they recognized the need for taking the interests of their neighbors into account in the implementation of their policies. They are further of the belief that states are becoming aware of the fact that national security is interdependent – one relying on another and one state cannot exist without the other and that self-interest notion do not take states anywhere. A good example of this group of countries is the Nordic states. Barry Buzan (1983) further argues that this sense of community was shared with countries in Western Europe where after bitter relations existing between states a sense of community was formed by the Treaty of Rome. This does not mean that differences do not exist; they do, but are resolved in a peaceful manner. Some observers argue that this notion of community can be extended to other regions.[9]

The neo-realists view on international institutions is that they play a small role in preventing conflict. According to Mearshemier (1994) institutions are products of the state to fulfill their interest. While this is so, Douglas Hurd, a British foreign secretary challenged this and stated that institutions do play an important role in bringing peace as like what happened in Europe. He furthered stated that the west had come up with "a set of international institutions which have

[9] Baylis John, Smith Steve& Owens Patricia (2008). The *Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, 4th ed.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

provided their worth for one set of problems.[10] And that it was up to the post cold war era to acclimatize these institutions so that they can deal with the present problems that states face. Examples of institutions that have played an important role in peace and security include ASEAN and the African Union.

Hurd's views were shared by academicians in the 1980's and 1990's who saw the pattern of cooperation among states enhanced their chances of attaining security.[11] This shows us that despite the conflicts that have taken place in the past significant changes have taken place in the beginning of the 21st century. This liberalist notion that works in the realist structure states the importance of how international institutions play a significant role in bringing about cooperation between states. They further see institutions as those bodies that can bring permanent peace. This is in contrast to the structural realists who believe otherwise. According to the liberal intuitionalists "institutions can provide information, reduce transaction costs, make commitments more credible, establish focal points for coordination and in general, facilitate the operation of reciprocity."[12]

Apart from the above scholars there is another group called social constructivist. These are different groups of writers who came up with other options for security in international relations. According to them the organization of international politics lies in social rather than material. While the neo-realists think otherwise they are of the view that this organization is as a result of

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[10] Baylis John, Smith Steve& Owens Patricia (2008). The *Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, 4th ed.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
[11] Baylis John, Smith Steve& Owens Patricia (2008). The *Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, 4th ed.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
[12] Baylis John, Smith Steve& Owens Patricia (2008). The *Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, 4th ed.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

social relationships.[13] This organization includes shared knowledge, expectations and understandings meaning states share all these with the ability of trusting one another in their resolve to end war.

Power politics is another notion that social constructivists ascribe to. According to them power politics influences the way a states behaves. Other influences of a state include the rule of law, institutional cooperation and restraint.[14] They further argue that reciprocity and policies of reassurance can enable a state share knowledge that can move it to more peaceful outcomes in security. Under social constructivism you have the optimists and the pessimists. Pessimists like Wendt are of the belief that just because structures are socially constructed does not mean they can alter. [15] On the other hand the social constructivist's who are optimists state that it is the changes in ideas that play an important role towards dealing with conflict. There are policies that states can engage with one another to bring about social change rather than disharmony.

There have been a number of writers who have challenged the role of the state in their arguments. The feminists have challenged the traditionalists by portraying the state as central. They view their writings based on the male. They further argue that women have been sidelined when issues of security are written; women bear the most of brunt of any conflict/war. According to Tickner (1992) a high number of casualties in war are women and children. He gives the example of Bosnia. Enloe, a feminist and author of *Bannas, Beaches and Bombs* points out how

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[13] Baylis John, Smith Steve& Owens Patricia (2008). The *Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, 4th ed.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
[14] Baylis John, Smith Steve& Owens Patricia (2008). The *Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, 4th ed.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
[15] Baylis John, Smith Steve& Owens Patricia (2008). The *Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, 4th ed.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

women have been traditionally excluded in the international relations. She also attacks the concept of national security stating that it has been given a male connotation to it instead of safeguarding the interests of the state from external attacks. She further argues that if the gender aspect is brought into international relations it will give the subject matter a new, fresh area of study with new experiences and new things to think about.

Then you have the post-modernists who view realists as the core problem in international security. According to this group the realists have shown how power politics brings an image of war; there is no peace. They wish to replace or give different meaning to concepts of power. However one fundamental difference between these groups of scholars and the realists is on their ideas of knowledge. Realism is seen as an ideology out of touch with reality and with many roadblocks in the achievement of peace. The post-modernists reject this because if the world we live in today is in an disorderly light then power politics will be seen as an answer to insecurity.[16] On the other hand if power politics and anarchy are not viewed as common feature of the past then more peaceful methods can be adopted. Post-modernists conclude that realism should be replaced by a more communitarian dialogue in terms of ideas and language.

In conclusion this section informs us how the views of realists which remained undisputed have been overtaken by other schools of thought. We have also seen how the ideals of the positivist have been challenged by the post – positivist scholars. The optimists and the pessimists have highlighted important contributions to the notion of international security. They also reveal what is currently going on in world politics today. One can discern that the world we live in today is

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[16] Baylis John, Smith Steve& Owens Patricia (2008). The *Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations, 4th ed.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

much safer after the end of the Cold War because of democratic ideals, globalization among other issues. However this smooth transition has been interrupted by the 9/11 attacks, the Iraq conflict among others. According to Baylis (2008) who states that this shows the importance of military as mediator in resolving conflicts between countries; it further shows how violence has played an increasingly role by terrorist groups whose main objective is to destabilize the governments.

Despite the above state of affairs we have seen the expansion of the EU. According to Baylis (2008), alternative approaches to international security have provided a broader framework of what security entails and the questioning of the traditional idea of the state as a central role and the traditional opinions linked to realism.

2.2. International Trade and International Relations

Theories about the relationship between trade and conflict have a long tradition in international relations scholarship.[17] Most of these focus on bilateral relationships, explaining whether and how increased levels of trade between two states affect their probability of direct conflict. Indirect trade relations have been regarded to reduce the probability of conflict through two ways; by creating opportunity costs of conflict beyond those reflected by direct trade ties and also creating negative externalities for the potential combatants' trading partners, giving them an incentive to prevent the conflict (Maoz 2006, 2009; Bo¨hmelt 2009; Dorussen and Ward 2010).

The main strand of interdependence theory relies on the argument that close economic relations, particularly trade, reduce conflict by changing state incentives (Angell 1933).This school of

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[17] Yonatan Lupu and Vincent A. Traag, (2012). *Trading Communities: the Networked Structure of International Relations, and the Kantian Peace,*Journal of Conflict Resolution0022002712453708.

thought focuses on a cost–benefit analysis, arguing that trade increases the opportunity costs of war, thus making conflict less likely.[18]

Trade, others argue, also allows states to efficiently gain resources through economic, rather than military, means (Rosecrance 1985).In addition, trade institutions, especially Preferential Trade Agreements, strengthen the conflict-reducing effect of interstate. The nature of the causal relationship between trade and conflict is known to be complex. States select their trading partners in part based on their political relations with the home state, suggesting that the trade–conflict relationship runs in both directions.[19]

While states may have some capability to strategically choose their trading partners, they may be less likely to be able to influence their trading partners' choice of trading partners. In addition, firms facing the political risks or barriers associated with certain potential direct trading relationships may choose to bypass those issues by creating indirect trade routes through third-party states. These processes could result in indirect trade ties between politically hostile states, which may be overlooked in a strictly dyadic analysis.

2.3 Trading Communities

Direct trading relationships cannot be the only measured feature of interdependence among states. We argue that indirect trade dependence creates significant costs of conflict in addition to those created by the levels of direct trade between states. The conflict-reducing effects of interstate trade are heightened within groups of states referred to as ''trading communities.'' A

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[18] Dale C. Copeland, (1996). *Economic Interdependence and War: A Theory of Trade Expectations,* International Security, Vol. 20, no.4.
[19] Ibid

trading community is defined as a group of states that trade with each other significantly more than they trade with states outside the community.

The view of trading relationships as a complex network rather than independent dyads allows us to see how indirect trade dependence affects conflict. It also explains why the mechanisms by which indirect trade dependence reduces conflicts are especially powerful within trading communities. Trading communities within the international trade network can be conceived of at various levels, often with smaller levels of communities ''nested'' within larger ones. In networks of, communities can be detected at the level of a whole field or at the level of a subfield.[20]

We observe three large trading communities. One community includes the bulk of the Western Hemisphere in what appears to be a US-centric community. A few states outside the Americas are also members of this trading community, notably the United Kingdom and Israel, a finding likely driven by their close trade ties with the United States. The second large community is formed by the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and parts of the Middle East. Finally, the rest of the world belongs to a trading community that includes Japan, China, India, much of Europe, Southeast Asia, and most of Africa.

The largest community found in the low resolution level breaks into several communities at this level. The most notable of these are trading communities that include (1) China and many of its

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[20] Yonatan Lupu and Vincent A. Traag, (2012). *Trading Communities: the Networked Structure of International Relations, and the Kantian Peace* Journal of Conflict Resolution0022002712453708.

smaller trading partners; (2) Southeast Asia, Australia, and Japan; and (3) many states bordering the Indian Ocean, including South Asia and East Africa.

2.4. How Indirect Trade Dependence Reduces Conflict?

Previous studies have proven that indirect trade relations reduce conflict. The probability of conflict is lower among dyads with more trading partners in common (Maoz 2009; Dorussen and Ward 2010) and among dyads that are generally more well connected to other states in the trade network (Dorussen and Ward 2010). They argue that trade decreases the likelihood of conflict by facilitating regular interaction, informational exchange, and cultural exchange.

Indirect trade relations reduce the probability of conflict in two additional ways, which have been categorised to as the Combatant Mechanism and the Non-combatant Mechanism.[21] Argument on this are builds on several behavioral patterns believed to be at work when relationships are networked. Examining networked trade relations allows us to look at these higher-order dependencies in the relations between states to determine how indirect trade ties may affect the probability of conflict.

One is that an actor A has incentives to maintain peaceful relations between his contacts (B and C) in part because conflict between the latter could cause stress or otherwise impose costs on A. On the inverse of that logic, B and C will seek to improve their relationship with each other in order to secure their valued relationship with A. If two actors B and C have positive relationships

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[21]Yonatan Lupu and Vincent A. Traag, (2012). *Trading Communities: the Networked Structure of International Relations, and the Kantian Peace* Journal of Conflict Resolution0022002712453708.

with A, then they are likely to have positive relations with each other (Heider 1946; Cartwright and Harrary 1956).

2.5. Combatant Mechanism

Under the combatant mechanism, trade between potential combatants may affect their incentives to fight, in that these incentives may also be affected by their trade relationships with other states. Traditional formulations of this argument built on the opportunity-cost theory of interdependence focus on the extent to which the potential participants in a conflict stand to have their trade with each other interrupted or otherwise adversely affected.[22]

Conflict, argues, adversely affects the terms of trade between states, including by increasing the likelihood of ''retaliatory tariffs, quotas, embargoes, and other trade prohibitions'' (Polachek 1980). Wars according to this model are associated with declines in trade between a pair of states. In a world of complex, networked trade relationships, conflict may also interrupt trade flows other than those between the potential combatants. Entering a conflict could interrupt a state's trade with states not involved in the conflict in various ways. Trade relations are highly interdependent, so the terms of trade within any pair of states depend on the terms of trade they have with other states.

A warring state may divert resources previously used to produce certain exports in order to facilitate wartime production, thus reducing or cutting off those export flows. Such and many other uncertainties associated with war may cause their trading partners to seek other, more stable markets or suppliers.

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[22] *The World Trade Report 2008, Trade in A Globalising World*, World Trade Organisation, Geneva. Retrieved on the 20 August 2013.

2.6. The Non-Combatant Mechanism

Conflict creates costs for states that are not involved in it, but that are dependent on trade relations with the warring states. By interrupting trade flows, conflicts create negative externalities for nonparticipant states, including by decreasing their access to commerce, increasing the costs of their imports and decreasing the demand for their exports. These externalities are a type of spill over or neighbourhood effect (Cornes and Sandler 1986).

As a result, indirect trade dependence reduces the probability of conflict by increasing the incentives for third parties to attempt to prevent the conflict that would damage international commerce. In the notion of social balance in a social network, state A may have an incentive to prevent a conflict between trading partners (B and C) that could bear her significant cost if the two were to fight. A conflict between A and B may interrupt their trade relations with many of their trading partners, potentially creating costs for such partners. In addition, if these flows are interrupted, additional trading relationships that are dependent upon these flows may also suffer, thus creating costs for additional states.

2.6.1 Trading Communities and Conflict

Higher levels of integrated structure of trade are associated with lower probabilities of conflict, as well as indirect trade may also reduce conflict within other structures. The existing work on extra - dyadic trade and conflict takes the important step of arguing that the location of states within the trade network matters. It's argued that the mechanisms by which indirect trade ties reduce the probability of conflict are most important within groups of states with relatively dense trade ties - or trading communities. Both the combatant mechanism and the non-combatant

mechanism operate in groups of states larger than a triad. Conflicts have the potential to interrupt many trade ties, both among the warring states and between those states and their trade partners.

A conflict between A and B could cause interruptions to their trade with, for example, C, D, and E. All of C, D, and E would face negative externalities from a conflict between A and B. Also, the possibility of a conflict cutting off more of their trade flows with these third parties would increase the opportunity costs of war for A and B. Even other trade ties could be affected by the conflict. If trade between C and D relies on their respective ties to A and B, then this flow could also be adversely affected by a conflict that affects A - C and B - D trade. Relations of states within a trading community are crucial. The extent to which conflict affects trade in ways that create opportunity costs and negative externalities increases with the relative density of trade within a particular group of states. In a highly interdependent group, when individual trade flows are cut off by conflict among the group's members, the probability that this will adversely affect other flows is higher.

Therefore, the costs of a conflict involving two member of such a group would be especially high. Preventing such a conflict may be difficult and costly itself, but the group's members will have particularly important incentives to overcome this collective action problem.

When the potential combatants are not embedded within a single group of highly interdependent states, fewer flows may be interrupted by the conflict, and thus the economic costs of the conflict would be significantly lower, all else equal. Conversely, the effects of indirect trade dependence should be greatest in groups of states with relatively dense ties.

Emergent argument is that mutual interdependence among groups of states causes them to form cohesive security communities (Deutsch1954). Within subsystems, networks of interactions between states influence their behaviour by creating local externalities. Here, economic transactions are generally high within subsystems and low across them. Within each subsystem, individual states act as leaders and protectors of other states'' a subsystem in due course creates and maintains its own solidarity'' (Modelski 1961).

Within these trading communities, states have many trading partners in common and, therefore, their dependence on each other is often far greater than their dyadic trade levels would suggest. Some dyads within a trading community trade significantly with each other, such as two developed states that trade differing manufactured goods they specialize in producing. Other dyads within a trading community may trade directly very little, however.

The key factors that have shaped the structure of the global trading network are also responsible for the formation of trading communities. Trade flows highly unevenly across the international system, which is not at all surprising when taking economic factors into account (Gleditsch 2003).

2.7. Constructing National Economic Interests between Kenya and Yemen

Policy-making in developing countries it has been argued by many, been captured by special interests seeking to enhance their own wealth and position at the expense of society in general (Grabowski, 2010). The construction of a national economic interest in economic growth occurs as the result of the development of cross-cutting ties among groups within society and this result

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from the evolution of social and cultural networks and links.[23] However, the interaction involved in intensive market exchange can indirectly create these cross-cutting social and cultural ties, thus generating a national economic interest in growth.

In order for the national economic interest in economic growth to prevail, groups in society must have cross-cutting elements or ties. These cross-cutting ties may stem from the development of social and cultural networks and links. It follows then that extensive and intensive market development plays two roles in the creation of a national interest in growth. It creates cross-cutting social and cultural ties and also cross-cutting economic interests. Thus economic development processes are likely to succeed in an environment in which broad-based market exchange has evolved based on market institutional structures.

If there is a point on which most economists agree, it is that trade among nations makes the world better off. Yet international trade can be one of the most contentious of political issues, both domestically and between governments.[24] The phenomenon of transactions and exchange is a basic component of human activity throughout the world (Torado and Smith, 2003). A transaction is an exchange of two things-something is given up in return of something else.

The comparative advantage of why people or nation-states trade is because it is virtually impossible for individuals to provide themselves with all consumption needs and also to engage in activities for which they are best suited or have a comparative advantage in terms of their

[23] Richard Grabowski, (2002) *Constructing National Economic Interests*, Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy Volume 7, Issue 3, Published online.
[24] Brad, M. (IMF, 2012). International Trade: Commerce among Nations FINANCE & DEVELOPMENT.
Retrieved August 12, 2013 from http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/basics/trade.htm

natural abilities or resource endowments.[25] Douglas Irwin (2009) calls comparative advantage "good news" for economic development. "Even if a developing country lacks an absolute advantage in any field, it will always have a comparative advantage in the production of some goods," and will trade profitably with advanced economies.

Neoclassical free-trade model by two Swedish economists Hecksher and Ohlin on international specialization posits that trade tend to promote greater international and domestic equality by equalizing factor prices, raising real incomes of trading countries and making efficient use of each nation's resources. In reality the world economy is characterized by rapid change. Not only do capital accumulation and human resource development take centre stage, but trade has always been the main determinant of the unequal growth of productive resources in different nations.

The North-South trade models focus on trade relations between rich and poor nations, whereas the traditional model is assumed to apply to all nations. Countries, ranging in economic power from the United States and Japan to Ethiopia and Somalia, are endowed with a level of raw materials commensurate with their national income, and must produce at a level sufficient to maintain both their population and environmental quality. As a result of this interaction, we discover that there is a reason why poor nations remain poor, and why International relations are so problematic.[26] A striking characteristic of the contemporary international economy is the great mobility of capital across national borders. Technological innovations, economic trends, and government policies have brought international investment to extremely high levels.

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[25] International Monetary Fund (2012). *Problems and Policies: International and Macro*, International Trade Theory and Development Strategy paper.
[26] Fridell, G. (2007). *Fair Trade Coffee: The Prospects and Pitfalls of Market-driven Social Justice*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Canada.

In the aligning efforts of alternative globalisation, a complementary trend can be detected in the southern axis of the global fair trade movement away from the north-south trade. First southern beneficiaries have become organised members of the Fair Trade movement with their own positions on procedural and substantive questions. Fair Trade is perhaps the most dynamic of a range of movements, campaigns and initiatives that have emerged in recent decades in response to the negative effects of globalisation (Murray and Raynolds, 2007).

This is evident across continents and corresponds to both specific features in each region and to the identification of common "Southern" interest. For example in Latin America the small farmer basis of the movement informs the programmatic challenges to the inclusion of plantations and transnational corporations, while in South Africa the key question is to redefine Fair Trade policy on plantations in line with local realities. In Asia on the other hand, the inclusion of small and medium enterprises is central to their conception of Fair Trade. All regions converge on the need to develop Fair Trade in domestic markets and to promote horizontal South/South Fair Trade relations.[27]

Orientation to domestic market becomes central Fair Trade in the south, firmly situating itself as a development strategy, and enters into dialogue with other movements that have similar goals. In addition Fair Trade looks to the state as a natural partner, given its shared interest in offsetting market exclusion.

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[27] Ibid.

2.8 Trade Policies

The basic rules governing most international trade are laid down in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. This agreement drafted i n 1947, has been signed by some 80 nations whose exports dominate world trade.[28] The reduction of tariffs and the elimination of NTBs are provisions of the GATT aimed at increasing economic efficiency and growth rates in the world As initially conceived, the GATT was to cover only the narrow commercial policy aspects of a much more comprehensive agreement on trade.

An expanded agreement, known as the Havana Charter (1948), with the International Trade Organization (ITO) as its administrative agency, was proposed to include detailed provisions on commodity agreements, restrictive business practices, economic development, employment, and an organizational structure.

The World Trade Organization (WTO) referees international trade. Agreements devised since 1948 by its 153 members (of the WTO and its predecessor GATT) promote non-discrimination and facilitate further liberalisation in nearly all areas of commerce, including tariffs, subsidies, customs valuation and procedures, trade and investment in service sectors, and intellectual property.

Also in the category of multilateral trade expansion on a non-discriminatory basis is the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). OECD is the successor of the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, which was established in 1948 to administer Marshall Plan aid and to promote cooperative recovery efforts in Europe. The prime

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[28]Kenneth W. Dam, The GATT-Law and International Organization (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

aim of OECD in the trade area is to contribute to the expansion of world trade on a multilateral, non-discriminatory basis in accordance with international obligations.

Its membership draws from eighteen European countries plus Canada, the United States, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand. One of OECD's primary aims in the trade field is to promote growth in the developing nations by expanding their export earnings. To achieve this, the Trade Committee has worked out various means of honouring the broad commitment of the industrial countries to grant generalized tariff preferences to the developing countries.

Reforms since World War II have substantially reduced government-imposed trade barriers. But policies to protect domestic industries vary. Tariffs are much higher in certain sectors (such as agriculture and clothing) and among certain country groups (such as less developed countries) than in others. Moreover, trade barriers affect some countries more than others. Often hardest hit are less developed countries, whose exports are concentrated in low-skill, labour-intensive products that industrialized countries often protect.

Commitments under these agreements are enforced through a powerful and carefully crafted dispute settlement process. Under the rules-based international trading system centered in the WTO, trade policies have become more stable, more transparent, and more open. And the WTO is a key reason why the global financial crisis did not spark widespread protectionism.

However, as seen most recently with the Doha Round of WTO trade negotiations, the institution faces big challenges in reaching agreements to open global trade further. Despite successes,

restrictive and discriminatory trade policies remain common. Addressing them could yield hundreds of billions of dollars in annual global benefits. But narrow interests have sought to delay and dilute further multilateral reforms. A focus on the greater good, together with ways to help the relatively few that may be adversely affected, can help to deliver a fairer and economically more sensible trading system.

2.9 Trade Strategies for Development

One of the most significant developments in the trade field during the last fifteen years has been the establishment of numerous regional trading organizations in the developing countries. A convenient and instructive way to approach the complex issues of appropriate trade policies for development is to set these specific policies in the context of a strategy of looking outward.[29] Outward- looking development policies encourage not only free trade, but also free movement of capital, workers, enterprises and open systems of communications. This advocates for export promotion strategies of agricultural and raw material for industrialisation.

The reasons for this spurt of organisational activity are not difficult to perceive. Frustrated by their failure to penetrate the industrial markets of the developed countries because of high trade barriers on many simple manufactured products and by their inability to compete in high-technology products, and impressed by the success of the European Economic Community, these countries turned to each other to raise their levels of industrial development. The more ambitious objectives of the various regional groupings involve not only trade liberalization between the members but also cooperation on industrial, agricultural, and infrastructure projects and the establishment of financial institutions for facilitating regional development.

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[29] World Bank, (1979). Trade policy for developing countries staff working paper No. 53 (Washington, D.C.: World Bank).

2.10 Alternative Trading Arrangements

The main alternative types of trading arrangements available to the international community for the pursuit of its economic and political goals can be discerned from the preceding description of existing international trading institutions.

These institutions have already changed considerably from those of the early post-World War II years in response to altered political and economic conditions, and the trend of change seems clear enough to define the plausible trading approaches that may be followed. Liberalization under non-discriminatory conditions one alternative is to proceed along the lines drawn at the end of World War II. The essence of this approach is long-range achievement of a substantial multi-lateral liberalization of world trade and elimination of all forms of international discrimination.

The trading proposals set forth by the United States at the end of the war seem to have been formulated mainly within the government. An unusually talented group of individuals, who adopted a long-run view of political and economic problems, had been attracted into the trade field within the US government during the 1930s and World War II. Because the war had been over for only a relatively short period and the political power of the administration was great, these individuals were able to formulate a structure of post-war economic institutions and undertake international negotiations on these organizations without going through the usual long process of interaction between the public and private sectors that characterises trade policy during a typical peacetime period.

2.11. The New Economic Geography

Economic geography is the study of the location of economic activity. Based on the monopolistic competition model of trade theory, Paul Krugman and others developed a set of models that can explain the emergence of agglomeration, both in population and in sectoral specialisation.

The basic question is as follows: given symmetric locations, is there a feedback mechanism that can lead to a spontaneous concentration of economic activity? And if yes, what are the key parameters that predict the emergence of such concentration? Thus the question is phrased in such a way, that geography actually does not matter in a sense that there are no natural differences in, say, access to markets, but the arising location pattern is explained entirely by endogenous forces. An alternative course that may be followed in fashioning future trading relationships in the world involves placing greater emphasis on special regional relationships, coupled possibly with a move away from the unqualified use of the most-favoured-nation (MFN) principle with respect to trade among regions.

Again, the causes for the early regional agreements were mainly political. The architects of the most important regional grouping, the European Community, wished to unify Western Europe politically in order to minimize intra-Western European disputes and to build a third political force between the United States and the Soviet Union. When movement toward direct political union was not successful, economic unification was attempted. Some thought the close ties established under a customs union would eventually lead to the desired degree of political cooperation. Though security factors dominated the decision-making process leading to the formation of the early regional grouping, economic considerations were also significant.

The creation of trading blocs among the developing countries has also been considerably influenced by economic, as well as political factors. In this case, the belief has been that at least temporary discrimination is needed against imports of manufactured goods from all industrial countries in order to permit the growth of efficient productive units within a developing region.

2.12 Constructing National Security Interests between Kenya and Yemen

Traditionally most writers have agreed that security is a 'contested concept'. Most would also agree that it implies freedom from threats to core values (for both individuals and groups) but there remains a major disagreement about whether the primary focus of enquiry should be on 'individual', 'national', or 'international' security. Barry Buzan (1983: 214–242) has included political, economic, societal, environmental as well as military aspects in his broader definition of national security, apart from the traditional military capabilities of a state.

Other commentators argue that the stress on national and international security is less appropriate because of the emergence of an embryonic global society in the post-Cold War era (Shaw 1994). The most important contemporary trend is globalization which brings new risks and dangers, including risks associated with such things as international terrorism, a breakdown of the global monetary system, global warming, and the dangers of nuclear accidents.

These threats to security, on a planetary level, are viewed as being largely outside the control of nation-states. Only the development of a global community could deal with this adequately. US State Department's defines terrorism as premeditated, politically motivated violence, perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine state agents.[30] The terrorist

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[30] US Department of State, (2003). "The Anti-terrorism assistance program. Report to Congress for fiscal year

act "in the name of the people" while seeking to reverse the economy of fear, that is, to make the government fear "the people."[31] Thus, identifying who are the people that they claim to stand for is the main fixation of any terrorist formation.

The question of terrorism and the intent of countering it in Kenya were inspired by the terrorist attacks of 7 August 1998 and 28 November 2002 which raised questions about transnational and domestic terrorism in Kenya and the greater Horn of Africa region. The greater Horn of Africa thrusts itself toward Yemen and hence the heart of Arabia and the Persian/Arab Gulf. The United Nations (UN) Security Council and African Union require member states adopt specific counterterrorism measures. Terrorist's threat faced by Kenya is actual and immediate; and its bilateral partnerships with states such as the US in the fight against terrorism have led states such as Kenya into notoriously murky waters.

There were questions as regards to the motive behind terrorists targeting Kenya and whether these attacks could have, in any way, been stopped. There was an analysis of how Kenya and the international community reacted seeing as the attacks not only targeted Western (US and Israel) interests, but also Kenyan interests.[32] Kenya was then designated an 'anchor state' and 'frontline' in the 'Global War on Terror' (GWOT) which the former US President George Bush declared in response to the September 11th attack in New York.

Bureau of Diplomatic Security and the Office of the Coordinator of Counter-terrorism.
[31]Todorov, V. (2004). "Terrorism and governance" *Centre for Policy Studies*. Anti-Americanism Working Papers
[32] *Kenya's Role In the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT)*: United States Central Command. Retrieved August 12, 2013 from http://www.centcom.mil/ Kenya/

It's geographic proximity to Somalia and previous terrorist attacks on US and Israeli interests in Kenya as well as the identification of Kenya as a key strategic partner in the implementation of the US-led 'war on terror.' Kenya being the canvass of the regional security policies over terrorism, clearly, the administration is aware that problems have regional dimensions. US policymakers who are concerned about terrorism and instability in Yemen and Somalia recognize that these problems are connected.

The seaway from the Gulf of Aden into the Indian Ocean has been rife with piracy in the recent past– some linked to overall international terrorism - with ships headed for the port of Mombasa often invaded by pirates.[33] The impact of this has been more direct on shipping lines plying the Eastern Africa coast, providing an international security threat and cause for serious humanitarian crises. Kenya has supported counter terrorism and the fight against piracy, and the potential consequences of this are obvious.

Al-Qaeda link in East Africa, the Somalia-based cell of the militant Islamist group, al-Shabab,[34] has in its mark of allegiance, carried out several bombings in the region, mainly in Uganda and most recently Kenya.

Furthermore, Yemen has been a traditional training ground for Al Qaeda, whilst Somalia has also been linked to the training of terrorists. Sudan and Eritrea, meanwhile, have also provided safe havens for elements associated with these two terrorist entities. Obtaining recruits from Kenya –

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[33] Alex, T., & Sahel, B., (2009). A Tangled Web of Relationships in the Red Sea: Eritrea, Somalia, and Yemen. Retrieved August 12, 2013. Retrieved August 12, 2013 from https://sahelblog.wordpress.com/2009/11/09/a-tangled-web-of-relationships-in-the-red-sea-eritrea-somalia-and-yemen/
[34] http://edition.cnn.com/2012/02/09/world/africa/somalia-shabaab-qaeda/

drawn from idle and disgruntled elements – is not proving very difficult, particularly given the inherently porous borders with Somalia. More recently, Yemen has emerged as one of the most important theatres for the struggle against Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula, or AQAP, is Al-Qaeda's most active affiliate, as many members of this organization attempt to regroup and reorganize themselves in Yemen after suffering crippling setbacks in Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Afghanistan and recently Somalia.

The loss of Yemen to Al-Qaeda would be particularly damaging to Western interests due to its strategic location and a population which is expected to exceed half of that of the entire Arabian Peninsula within the next 20 years.[35] Yemen's government has waged a struggle against Al-Qaeda with vacillating levels of intensity since at least 2001 when its leadership chose to cooperate with the United States on counterterrorism concerns in the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, strikes.

The greater Horn of Africa region and Yemen cannot develop effectively, nor combat terrorism with full vigor, until adherence to the rule of law and tradition - not necessarily to any one style of law - is strengthened.

Extremist and insurgent groups capitalizing upon and exacerbating weak governance in Yemen are a growing threat to the security of the Gulf. The quality of the rule of law or economic enablement, much less domestic security and political freedom, will not change for the better

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[35] Dr. W. A. Terrill, (2011). The Conflicts in Yemen and U.S. National Security. Strategic Studies Institute, United States Army War College, United States Army War College Press.

without newly created partnerships forged for such ends between the United States, the EU, and many if not all of the countries in the greater Horn of Africa region (Rotberg, 2004).

The eradication both of existing terrorist cells and potential future terrorist threats and combinations cannot be achieved without careful, considered attention to uplifting governance in general throughout the region and boosting particular political goods selectively, country by country. Hence, because the United States desperately wants to reduce the threat of terrorism, Washington must craft new, broad policy initiatives toward the region as a whole and toward the critical nation-states individually.

Strengthened and more credible coastal patrol capabilities are essential; each of the states of the region needs to build up its own sea and surveillance defences with U.S. or other assistance. This is an on-going requirement, best met by jointly developed regional initiatives as well as specially targeted external efforts, to military counter terror operations in the horn of Africa region. Understanding as it is, cannot be expected to bear the burden of nation building in the Horn of Africa and Yemen, there are ample opportunities for multinational coordination with regard to improving good governance in the region.

France has long had a military and political presence in Djibouti. Italy has an interest, from colonial times, in the region, especially Somalia and Eritrea. Britain has colonial links to Kenya, Somaliland, and the Sudan. Norway played a substantial role in negotiating a peace agreement between the Sudan's North and South.

The EU as a whole has a variety of ties to the region and to individual countries. The United States once had an important listening post in Eritrea, enjoys naval rights in Kenya, was alternately allied with Ethiopia and Somalia, and has suffered direct attack in Yemen and Kenya. It also has a military base in Djibouti.

Americans and Europeans should cooperate to increase governmental capabilities in the region. Working together, they can build new and maintain existing infrastructures.

The regional Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) tries weakly to organize relevant common responses. Bringing Yemen into IGAD would be sensible, and helpful in forging a more vigorous common approach to terror and its eradication. But Yemen may not wish to be considered "African," and IGAD members might resist the inclusion of a new country.[36]

2.13 Actors in Foreign Policy Making

The single most important factor in Foreign Policy Analysis is to identify the primary determinants of state behaviour: material and ideational factors. The point of intersection is not the state, it is human decision makers.[37]

Foreign policy analysis is characterized by an actor-specific focus, based upon the argument that all that occurs between nations and across nations is grounded in human decision makers acting

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[36] Rotberg, R.I. (2005). The Horn of Africa and Yemen: *Diminishing the Threat of Terrorism*. Retrieved on 14 July 2013 from www.brookings.edu/press/books.
[37] V. Hudson, (2005). Foreign Policy Analysis: Actor-Specific Theory and the Ground of International Relations, Brigham Young University.

singly or in groups. In one sense, FPA-style work has sought to understand why national leaders have made the choices they did regarding interstate relations.

However, it is fair to say that most contemporary theoretical work in IR gives the impression that its ground lies in states, or, in slightly alternative language, that whatever decision-making unit is involved, be it a state or a human being or a group, that this unit can be approximated as a unitary rational actor and therefore be made equivalent to the state. Sometimes this approach is referred to as ''black boxing'' the state, or as a ''billiard ball model'' of state interaction. It can also be termed theory of actors-in-general, or actor-general theory.

With its assumption that human decision makers are the ground of all that happens in international relations and that such decision makers are not best approximated as unitary rational actors equivalent to the state, FPA is positioned to provide the concrete theory that can reinvigorate the connection between IR actor-general theory and its social science foundation (Lane, 1990).

Neorealism and utilitarian liberalism rely on the model of goal-seeking or utility-maximizing *homo oeconomicus*, adding the assumption that actors are self-interested, (Kirchgässner, 1991). Both approaches, therefore, must come up with an account of the nature of the selfish goals that actors pursue.

They both assume that rational self-interested actors, first and foremost, are concerned with securing their own survival. This fundamental goal is ascribed to different types of actors, however.

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As a top-down approach, neorealism focuses on *states* as the basic units of an international system; they are conceptualized as unitary actors, i.e. it is states that seek to survive. On the contrast liberalism, which postulates the bottom-up approach, focuses on *societal actors* in states (organized private actors, actors in the political-administrative system), to whom it attributes a basic interest in survival.[38]

As a result, the consequences for the foreign policy behavior of states that the two theories draw from this common assumption of actors being fundamentally motivated by a desire to survive are quite different.

From a constructivist point of view, social actors follow social norms they have internalized in the course of a process of socialization into the relevant social systems. Social norms are distinguished from other ideational variables often figuring prominently in constructivist accounts of public policy such as ideas, beliefs, world views, identity, or culture. By virtue of three characteristics that they hold in combination: immediate orientation to behavior (i.e. social norms can be translated into imperatives for action); intersubjectivity (i.e. social norms are irreducible to individual beliefs); and counterfactual validity (i.e. the existence of a norm is consistent with a considerable amount of deviant behavior).

2.14 Foreign Policy, Diplomacy, and National Interest

From the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 onwards states have been regarded as by far the most powerful actors in the international system. They have been the universal standard of political

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[38] Ibid.

legitimacy with no higher authority to regulate their relations with each other.[39] This has meant that security has been seen as the priority obligation of state governments.

The diversity of cultures and national interests of the world require states formulate and implement different foreign policies and pursue different national interests with other nations (nanjira, 2010). Thus, it is not possible for a nation to adopt one foreign policy toward all its acquaintances. The expressions ''foreign policy,'' ''diplomacy,'' and ''national interest,'' although singular, actually are meant in the plural. They are described as pluralitantum expressions, which one needs to understand them as being meant in the plural as a collection of many.[40]

Sir Ernest Satow (1929), defined diplomacy as the ''application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between governments of independent states, extending sometimes to their relations with vassal states, more briefly still, the conduct of relations between states by peaceful means. Policies in this case can be termed as plans or specific courses of action or inaction taken by states in order to protect national interests and to achieve certain goals and objectives. Therefore national goals and objectives must be that country's national interests. It is in this regard that foreign policies of a state are just domestic policies elevated to the international arena and geared towards serving and fulfilling certain principles and purposes decided upon by the government of the state concerned.

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[39] Dr. H. G. Brauch et al, (2008) Globalization and Environmental Challenges: Reconceptualising Security in the 21st Century (Hexagon Series on Human and Environmental Security and Peace) Springer Publishers.
[40] Don Nanjira, Daniel, (2010). African foreign policy and diplomacy: from antiquity to the 21st century. Volume 1. California: Praeger, An Imprint of ABC-CLIO, LLC.

Foreign policy begins where domestic policy ends, and they both aim at preserving national security, which is a vital national interest.[41] A state's citizens are its most vital and fundamental national interest, and their protection is central to national security.

In short, then, both Kenya and Yemen's foreign policy comprises the contacts, interactions, pro-actions, actions, and inaction that both governments decides to take discretely, or not to take, in order to promote, project, protect, preserve, propagate, or promulgate and defend the national interests of the country concerned, as well as the image and prestige of the nation on the international stage.

In this regard, diplomacy is the art of adjusting the varying and often clashing interests of states to the advantage of the state the diplomat represents, but also with a view to preserving amicable relations with other states where possible. Diplomacy is also the greatest protector, projector, and defender of national interest and image.

The strategic geographical position of Kenya and the relatively secure interests of Kenya with other nations present a huge potential for business, tourism, trade, and mediation between and among the nations and institutions of the world. It is thus essential that the Kenyan government map out an aggressive foreign policy posture that will boost Kenya's image and prestige on the global stage at sub-regional, regional, African continental, as well as global levels.

Kenya's foreign policy continues to lay stress on non-alignment, Pan-Africanism, and on the African political doctrines and ideologies as well as on the principles of public international law

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[41] Ibid.

and diplomacy. The foundations of Kenya's foreign policy also include: Respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states and preservation of national security, the charters of the UN and of the African Union as well as the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, the principles of good neighborliness, African solidarity, socialism, and peaceful co-existence, peaceful settlement of disputes and non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.

Kenya's foreign relations splendidly trace its roots back at the time she got her independence on 12 December 1963.[42] However before then, much had happened in her relations with the rest of the world and more superbly she came into existence. Kenya became a protectorate in 1895 (British East Africa Protectorate). Before then, she was a business concern that was run by the Imperial British East African Company (IBEACo) from 1888 under Sir William Mackinnon. The British government took her over after the IBEACo ceased to be profitable. She then became a colony in 1920 and was then renamed Kenya. During this time, Kenya's foreign policy was an appendage of the British foreign policy then. This hinges on the legal definition of a colony as being part of the empire though administratively autonomous.

After independence, the need for political and economic development as well as national security drove her foreign policy especially in the early years following the path she took. Owing to the control of capital in foreign hands, Kenya could not pursue a radical foreign policy say as that of Tanzania, during the period. This was because in the assessment of the government then, Kenya could not sustain such an 'irresponsible' foreign policy if she was to maintain and attract foreign capital. It is said that this made Kenya to hold relatively moderate views on international events.

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[42] Tyrus, A. *Kenyan Foreign Policy: An Introduction, (2012).* Retrieved August 12, 2013 from http://theforeignpolicyanalyst.wordpress.com/2012/10/28/kenyan-foreign-policy-an-introduction/

Professor Howell in his 1969 analysis of Kenya's foreign policy, points out sub-regional, regional and international political concerns which were domestic concerns but heavily influenced the way Kenya behaved internationally.

In recent years, stressors have been balanced, so as to include sustainable development, cultural diplomacy, environmental protection, and equity, stressing empowerment of the marginalized strata of society. Thus, while retaining the original political, military, economic, and national security interests in the political area, foreign policy options for Kenya now aim at satisfying the needs of the Kenyan people in a multidimensional way.

A combination of bilateralism and multilateralism in Kenyan diplomacy and foreign policy now serves the nation more effectively, with special relations being pursued with the former colonial power, Great Britain and other valuable donor countries and international organizations.

The desire to promote economic development has influenced Kenya's approach to foreign policy while maintaining its traditional core principles and norms of non-alignment, non-interference in internal affairs of other states.[43] This self-interest could be grouped into three main categories:

2.14.1 Security/Political

Peace and stability are a pre-requisite to social and economic development.[44] A government's commitment to guarantee the security of its people and the preservation of national integrity and

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[43] Kenya mission to the United Nations - Kenya Foreign Policy. Retrieved August 12, 2013 from www.kenyamission-un.ch.

sovereignty within secure borders underlies the desire to advance national interests by guaranteeing a secure political environment for development.

2.14.2. Economic Advancement/Development

Economic development has played a central role in shaping Kenya's foreign policy. The need to pursue an open economic policy and the demand for foreign capital and investment flows, inter-alia Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) and Official Development Assistance (ODA), has influenced Kenya's approach to foreign policy.

2.14.3. Geo-Political Factors

Kenya's foreign policy in the wider region has been shaped by factors such as the presence of overlapping ethnic community across borders and the fact that Kenya is a littoral state of the Indian Ocean and which influences relations with landlocked neighbours.

2.15 Factors Influencing Kenya's Foreign Policy

Kenya's foreign policy has since independence been guided and shaped by its own national interest. This self-interest could be grouped into four broader categories:

2.15.1 Kenya and Regional Integration

International and Regional Co-operation form a major component of the foreign policy of any country. Kenya participates actively in several regional initiatives. She is a member of East African Community, Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), ACP-EU,

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[44] Association of Senates, Shoora and Equivalent Councils in Africa and the Arab World (ASSECAA), (2013). Peace and stability as a prerequisite for the promotion of economic development in Africa and the Arab world Working Paper Peace Meeting.

Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Co-operation, amongst others.

This co-operation is borne out of the realization that the development and prosperity of Kenya are intimately tied with her neighbours in the region. With the advent of globalization and liberalization, the country's external relations are being governed more and more by the need to promote a favourable environment for trade and investment.

The Sessional Paper No. 2 of 1997 on "Industrial Transformation to the year 2020 clearly defines Kenya's approach to regional integration arrangements.[45] It identifies institutional and legal framework as pre-requisites to fostering international and regional trade which could benefit Kenya. This pro-active and participatory role in the economic and trade dynamics in the region is geared towards fighting poverty and improving the welfare of the citizens of Kenya.

2.15.2 Kenya and Multilateralism

Kenya supports multilateralism through the United Nations system. Kenya has always preferred a multilateral approach in confronting problems in the international stage and fully subscribes to the charters of the United Nations and the OAU/African Union and seeks to work with like-minded states in the promotion of a new international political and economic order. This is based on a strong conviction that the multi-dimensional problem affecting mankind today have to be tackled through a global undertaking. Towards this end, Kenya will continue to undertake

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[45] Kenya mission to the United Nations - Kenya Foreign Policy. Retrieved August 12, 2013 from www.kenyamission-un.ch.

its responsibilities in the context of the UN system, World Trade Organization, IMF/World Bank and other multi-lateral bodies.

2.15.3. Kenya and Commonwealth

Kenya is a member of the Commonwealth, a voluntary association of 54 independent states, comprising about one quarter of the world population. Members of the Commonwealth, mainly former British colonies, dependencies and other territories, subscribe to the ideals of the Declaration of Commonwealth principles of 1971.

The primary focus for the Commonwealth is the advancement of development interests of member countries. Technical assistance to Commonwealth developing countries like Kenya is a vital component of this co-operation.

2.15.4. Kenya and OAU/AU

Kenya subscribes to the charter of OAU/AU and has been an active member since joining in 1964. President Daniel arap Moi was elected as Chairman of the Organization in 1991 and served for an unprecented two-year term. Since then, Kenya has remained at the forefront of regional conflict resolution initiatives in Africa. Kenya has also actively participated in the transformation of OAU to the African Union and President Moi was among the heads of State and government who attended the inauguration in July 2002 Durban, South Africa.

2.16 Theoretical Framework

A theoretical framework in any research is very important because it holds the work together; in other words it informs your readers what you are talking about. This research will be guided by the liberalism theory. The major proponents of this theory include: Immanuel Kant, John Locke, Johann Gottlieb Fichte, G. W. F. Hegel and many others. Although each have differing views, the bottom line is that human nature is not bad; One of the assumptions John Locke talks about is that man is generally good and cooperation is the state of nature. Another assumption of liberalism is that evil actions are the result of bad institutions and not the people.

War can be avoided and it required the concerted efforts of all actors. According to the liberalist theory war is a worldwide problem requiring the participation of all actors to make the world a better place to live in. Liberalism also envisions a world free form war, dictatorship and human suffering. According to Mahendra Kumar (1984) idealism is based on a reformed international order and this can be done through education and international organization.

It is the institutions that make humans bad meaning institutions are to blame for conflicts. Among the basic assumptions of liberalism include: exercise if freedom, justice and capacity of every individual to better his life. Liberalism also emphasizes constituonalism and democratic systems of governance. When Kenya and Yemen are relating all of them would want to trade or relate in an international system that is orderly and stable.

According to Immanuel Kant's (1795) perpetual peace has three conditions. The first was neoliberalism which recognizes the presence of international bodies in promoting peace; the

second was commercial liberalism which took into account economic interdependence and free trade and third was that democracies hardly engage in war; Kant emphasized on the need of parliament to maintain peace. Most democracies in the world today possess economic interdependence where country/countries are interdependent on each other for essential goods and services.

Liberalism also stresses the need for concern and welfare of other people's needs. Yemen can do this by carrying out reforms. John Locke, a liberalist explains the roles of a legitimate government. He states that the function of a legitimate government is to: preserve, so far as possible, the rights to life, liberty, health and property of its citizens, and to prosecute and punish those of its citizens who violate the rights of others and to pursue the public good even where this may conflict with the rights of individuals.

2.17 Relevance of the Theory

There is relevance of the theory to our case. In the case of Kenyan and Yemen Kenya is interdependent on Yemen for clothes, fish, coffee from Hadhramut while Yemen is interdependent on Kenya for tea, animal skins among other items. Again, Kenya can educate Yemen on the advantages and benefits of democracies having been in that situation before the advent of multiparty. This can strengthen the relations between the two countries and boost trade. Yemen is rich in resources in mining, oil, gas and tourism. If Yemen is able to have proper governance in these institutions then this can benefit its people by creating employment for them which can improve the welfare needs and the insecurity situation in the country. Yemen cannot do this alone and needs collaborations of countries like Kenya and financial institutions like IMF and the World Bank. Further in the case of Kenya and Yemen, Yemen can learn from Kenya

about conferencing tourism, cultural tourism, among other ideas. When Yemen does this it becomes a legitimate government who main objective is concern for its citizens.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the research methodology for this study. The research methodology is presented in following sequence: research design, target population, sampling procedure, data collection methods, data analysis and interpretation.

3.1 Research Design

Research design is a road map guide of how research itself will be conducted. [46] It gives the methods, instruments for data collection and interpretation. [47] The function of a research design is to ensure that the evidence obtained enables us to answer the initial question as unambiguously as possible. [48] The research deign used in this study was descriptive and explorative research. The reason for choosing these research designs was because they are open, flexible; they provide opportunity for diverse perspectives into the research topic and are good for the open ended data collection instruments. This design obtained a lot of information through descriptive and explanatory by identifying variables and hypothetical constructs. The exploratory research design sought to assess Kenya and Yemen relations. The study sought to explain the relationship between the trade and security implications to both countries; hence the correlation. The study involved mostly the use of open-ended questions for the primary data collection. The benefits of using these kind of questions is that it provides for respondents an opportunity to express themselves and allow more for details. They also give good answers because the respondents do not give their names.

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[46]Law, J. and Lodge. (1984). *Science for Social Scientists.* London, Macmillan.
[47] Ibid pp. 29-35
[48] Ibid

3.2 Study Site

The research site was in Nairobi. Nairobi was chosen for key respondents on the study topic. The diplomatic community (both Kenyans and Yemeni) will also be targeted as key respondents with precise information. The research does not intend to cover Sana'a, in Yemen due to insecurity concerns.

3.3 Data Collection Methods

A number of data collections methods were used in this study and this included an open ended questionnaire which included open-ended questions for the key respondents. Open – ended questions were used to obtain the respondents' opinions and beliefs about the study at hand. This presented an advantageous side to it because the responses were not limited in answering the questions. Secondary data was also used in addition to primary data.

3.4 Target Population/Sampling Frame

The sampling frame or population in this study was the list from which the sample was selected. A properly drawn sample provides information appropriate for describing the population of elements composing the sampling frame.[49] This study considered the people, government agencies, security agencies, NGO's that are in one way or another involved in the trade and security implications of Kenya and Yemen. The target population was the specific pool of cases that the researcher wants to study. [50] Thus the population should fit a certain specification, which

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[49] Babbie, E & Mouton, J. 2006. The practice of Social Research: South African Edition. Cape Town: Oxford University Press p.184.

[50] Neuman W.L., 2006. Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitiave Approaches. University of Winsconsin at Whitewater, p. 224.

the researcher is studying. [51] For the purpose of this study the target population is 30. It was stratified through the various groups as a target.

Table 2: Target Population and the Sample Size

Target Sample	Population	Size of Sample
Professionals	5	5
NGO/civil society	5	5
Government officials	5	5
Business community	5	5
Diplomats	5	5
Security/military agencies	5	5

Source: Data from the field (2013)

3.5 Sampling and Sampling size

The researcher used non-probability sampling method of purposive or judgmental sampling because the sample selection was done based on the nature of the research objectives. Non-probability sampling implies that the sample is chosen due to its relevance to the study topic rather than their 'representativeness', which determines the way in which people to be studied are selected.[52] The research problem requires investigation to be done using various specific groups of people who are affected or associated with Kenya and Yemen relations. The sample size was 30 from the total population of 100 (30% of the study population).

Purposive sampling approach was used to ensure that reasonable representative sample was picked for the groups. The researcher then followed the principles from the Neuman's book for a

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[51] Cooper, D.R. and Schindler, P.S. (2003). Business Research Methods (8th edn)McGraw-Hill: New York, p. 35
[52] Neuman W.L., 2006. Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitiave Approaches. 3rd Edition. Allyn and Bacon, Boston, Massachusetts, USA. p. 560.

small populace (under 100); a large sampling ratio (about 30%) is required for a high degree of accuracy. [53]

Purposive sampling generally considers the most common characteristics of the type it is desired to sample, tries to figure out where these individuals can be found and tries to study them. [54]the researcher considered the fact that Yemen has been the haven of terrorists groups; while Nairobi, Kenya has been the intervention mechanisms by NGO's, security and military agencies the diplomatic community among other groups. The samples were distributed across six different types of target populations (professionals – 5, NGO/civil society – 5, government officials – 5, Kenyan and Yemeni business community – 5, Kenyan and Yemeni diplomats – 5 and security and military agencies – 5.

3.6 Ethical Issues

While doing research, the researcher was aware of what is considered acceptable and what is not. [55] Many times, carrying out social research presents an intrusion on the lives of the people from whom information is required. Neuman (1997) states that ethical research does not inflict harm of any sort, be it physical, psychological abuse of even legal jeopardy. [56] Taking these principles into account benefits not only the participants and the researcher but also those who get to read the research work.[57] It helps to establish credibility. Neuman (1997) further maintains that ethical

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[53] Neuman W.L., 2006. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitiave Approaches.* 3rd Edition. Allyn and Bacon, Boston, Massachusetts, USA. p. 560.
[54] Ibid
[55] Babbie, E & Mouton, J. 2006. *The Practice of Social Research:* South African Edition. Cape Town: Oxford University Press p. 520.
[56] Neuman W.L., 2006. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitiave Approaches.* 3rd Edition. Allyn and Bacon, Boston, Massachusetts, USA. p. 129.
[57] Booth, C.W.; Colomb, G.G., & Williams, M.J., 1995. *The Craft of Research.* The University of Chicago Press. P. 258

conduct depends on the researcher.[58] The researcher had a moral and professional obligation to be ethical even when his research subjects are unaware or unconcerned about ethics. The researcher therefore did not take advantage of subjects' ignorance about ethics to harm them in any way. The researcher's questionnaires took into account confidentiality and upheld that any information his respondents gave would only be used for the sole purpose of academics. By stating this respondents felt at ease when answering the questions asked and were obliged to give more information.

3.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

The data collected was first coded. Coding involves giving all statements numeric codes based on their meaning for ease of capturing data. After coding there is data entry and analysis whereby the data was analyzed using content analysis. The percentage distribution was then utilized and the results will be illustrated in terms of explanation in a story form.

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[58] Neuman W.L., 2006. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitiave Approaches.* 3rd Edition. Allyn and Bacon, Boston, Massachusetts, USA. p. 129.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the interpretation and presentation of the findings. The purpose of the study was to analyze the security and trade dimensions of the relations between Kenya and Yemen. The research was conducted on a sample size of 35 most of whom completed and returned the questionnaires duly filled making a response rate of 53.3%. Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) stated that a response rate of 50% and above is a good for statistical reporting. The researcher made use of frequency tables and figures to present data. The findings intended on answering the study's research questions. Data was collated and reports were produced in form of tables and figures and qualitative analysis done in prose.

4.1 Demographic Information

The study found it crucial to ascertain demographic information about the respondents since it configured the charitable trust under which the study can fairly entrance the applicable information. The analysis relied on this information of the respondents so as to categorize the different results according to their acquaintance and responses.

4.1.1 Gender of the Respondents

The study sought to find out the gender of the respondents and the findings are as shown in table 3 below.

Table 3: Gender of the Respondents

	Frequency	Percent
Male	30	85.71%
Female	5	14.29%
Total	35	100.0%

Source: Field data 2013.

From the findings, majority (85.71%) of the respondents were males while only 14.29% were females.

4.1.2 Age of the Respondents

The study sought to find out the age of the respondents and the findings are as shown in figure 1 below.
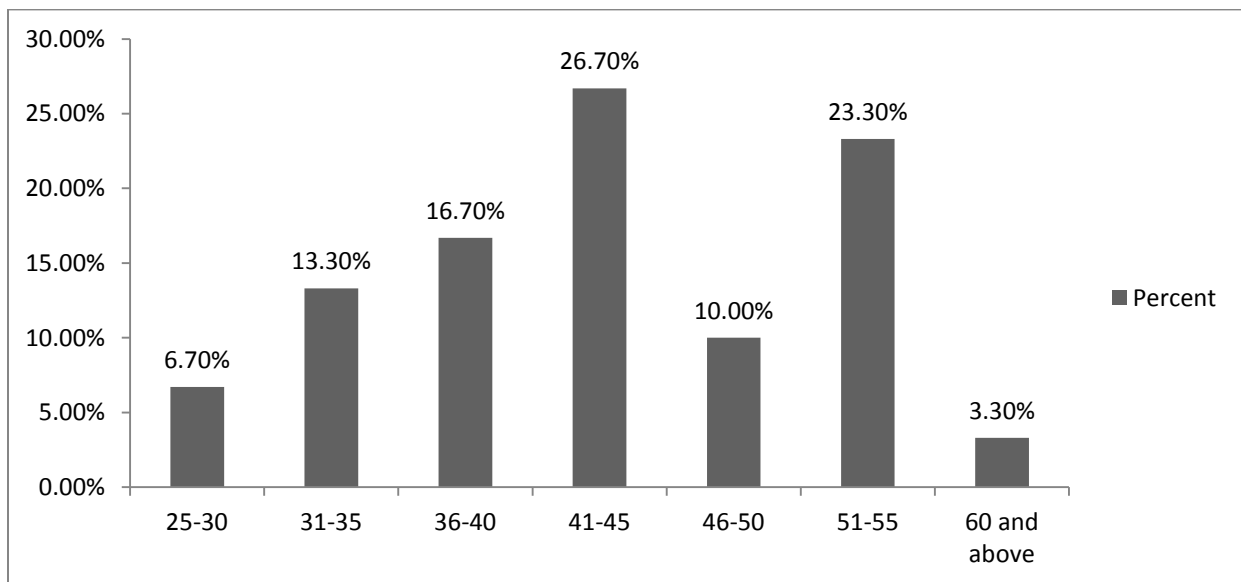
Figure 1: Age of the Respondents
Source: Field data 2013.

According to the findings, 26.7% were between the ages of 41-45, 23.3% were in the 51-55 age bracket, 16.7% were in the 36-40 age brackets, 13.3%,10%, 6.7% and 3.3% were in the 31-35, 46-50, 25-30 and above 60 age brackets respectively. This implies that all of the respondents can

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be relied upon to give precise information on Kenya and Yemen relations: trade and security implications.

4.1.3 Highest Level of Education Attained by the Respondents

Additionally the study sought to determine the highest level of education attained by the respondents.

Table 4: Highest Level of Education Attained by the Respondents

	Frequency	Percent
primary education	3	8.57
Secondary	1	2.86
college education	4	11.43
university education	27	77.14
Total	35	100.00

Source: Field data 2013.

The findings established that majority of the respondents (77.14%) possessed university education, 11.43% possessed college education while 8.57% had primary education. This depicts that all of the respondents were literate hence they were capable of assessing Kenya and Yemen relations: trade and security implications.

4.1.4 Professional Affiliation of the Respondents

The researcher further sought to establish the professional affiliation of the respondents.
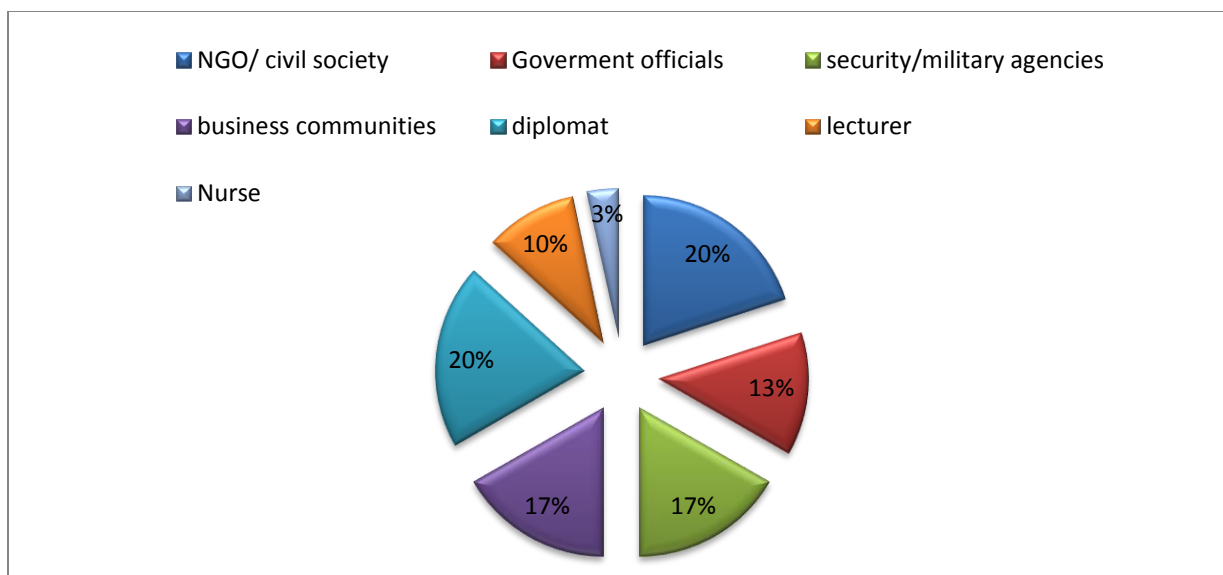
Figure.2: Professional Affiliation of the Respondents
Source: Field data 2013.

The findings show that all the respondents are in professions that in one way or another touch on Kenya's relations with the international community. 20% of the respondents are in the NGO/Civil society and diplomat profession each, 17% were in business communities' and security/military agencies profession each, 13% were government officials, 10% were lecturers and 3% were nurses. This indicates that the respondents are in one way or another involved in the trade and security implications of Kenya and Yemen.

4.1.5 Nationality of the Respondents

The study also sought to establish the nationality of the respondents.

Table 5: Nationality of the Respondents

	Frequency	Percent
Kenyan	30	85.71
Yemeni	4	11.43
Both	1	2.86
Total	35	100.00

Source: Field data 2013.

Of the 35 respondents 30 were Kenyan, 4 were Yemenis and 1 had both Yemeni's and Kenyan nationality. This implies that the respondents were in a position to give informative information on the study as they have a background of the two countries under study.

4.2 An Investigation on how Stronger Kenya - Yemen Trade Relations can help Kenya in Accessing Middle East Market

4.2.1 Rating of Kenya and Yemen Relations

The researcher sought to rate the current Kenya and Yemen relations according to the respondents in order to assess how stronger Kenya - Yemen trade relations can help Kenya in accessing Middle East market.
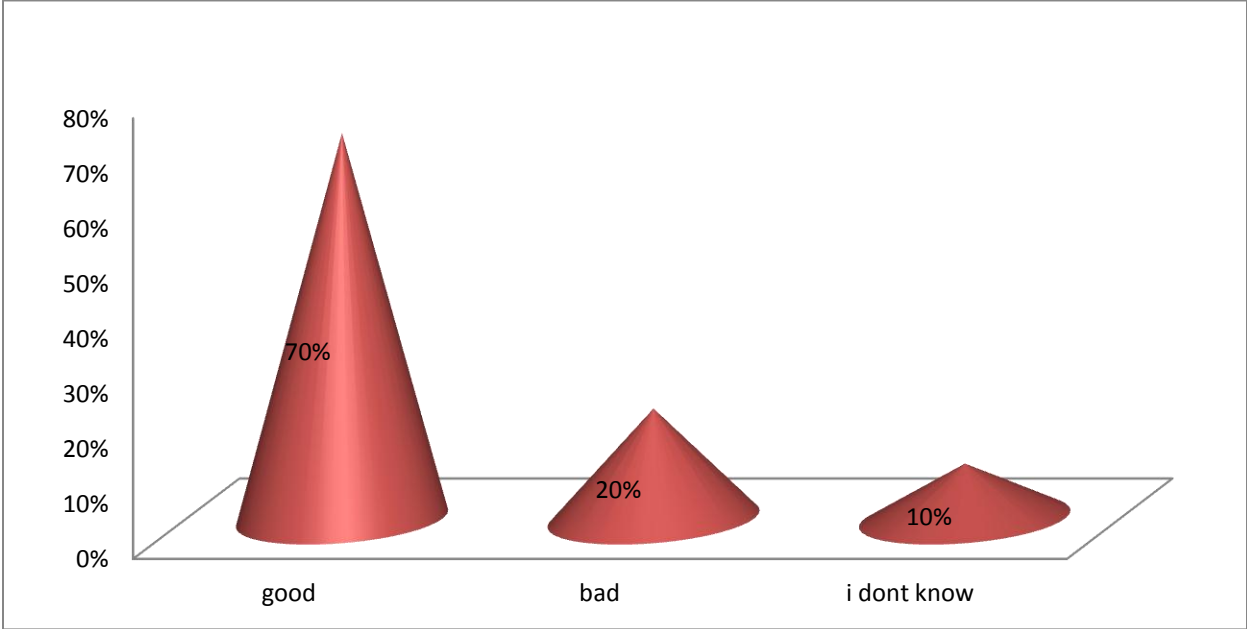
Figure 3: Rating of Kenya and Yemen Relations
Source: Field data 2013.

Majority (70%) of the respondents said that Kenya and Yemen relations were good, 20% said that the relation were bad while 10% of the respondents said they did not know. The study further sought to establish the reason behind the different opinions of the respondents.

4.2.1.1 Factors Behind the Good Relationship

The table below indicates the reasons given by the respondents who were of the opinion that Kenya and Yemen relations were good.

Table 6: Factors Behind the Good Relationship

	Frequency	Percent
Because of the exports and imports that flow between the two countries	13	37.14
Traders from Yemen settle in Mombasa	4	11.43
because of the new routes that were recently introduced (Daresalam)	2	5.71
The signing of agreements on terrorism and other threats that affect the two countries	3	8.57
The long history they share between Yemeni's and the Mombasa Arabs	4	11.43
Easy access of Kenyan visa by Yemeni's	1	2.86
The volume of trade that takes place between the two countries	6	17.14
They share a problem affecting mankind terrorism	2	5.71
Total	**35**	**100.00**

Source: Field data. 2013.

According to the findings, the exports and imports that flow between the two countries had a frequency level of 13, the volume of trade that takes place between the two countries had a frequency level of 6, Traders from Yemen settle in Mombasa had a frequency level of 4, the long history shared between Yemeni's and the Mombasa Arabs and The signing of agreements on terrorism and other threats that affect the two countries had a frequency level of 3, the new routes that were recently introduced (Daresalam) and they share a problem affecting mankind terrorism each had a frequency level of 2 and easy access of Kenyan visa by Yemeni's had a frequency level of 1. This indicates that, stronger Kenya - Yemen trade relations can help Kenya in accessing the Middle East market.

4.2.1.2 Factors Behind the Bad Relationship

Security issues overlapping the borders of the two countries, lack of commitment to foster a close and strong relation to preserve interests of two people of the two countries and the neglected relation between Kenya and Yemen were the reasons cited by the respondents as to why they thought Kenya-Yemen had a bad relationship.

4.2.2 Historical/Cultural Relations Existing between Kenya and Yemen

The study additionally sought to establish the historical/cultural relations existing between Kenya and Yemen.
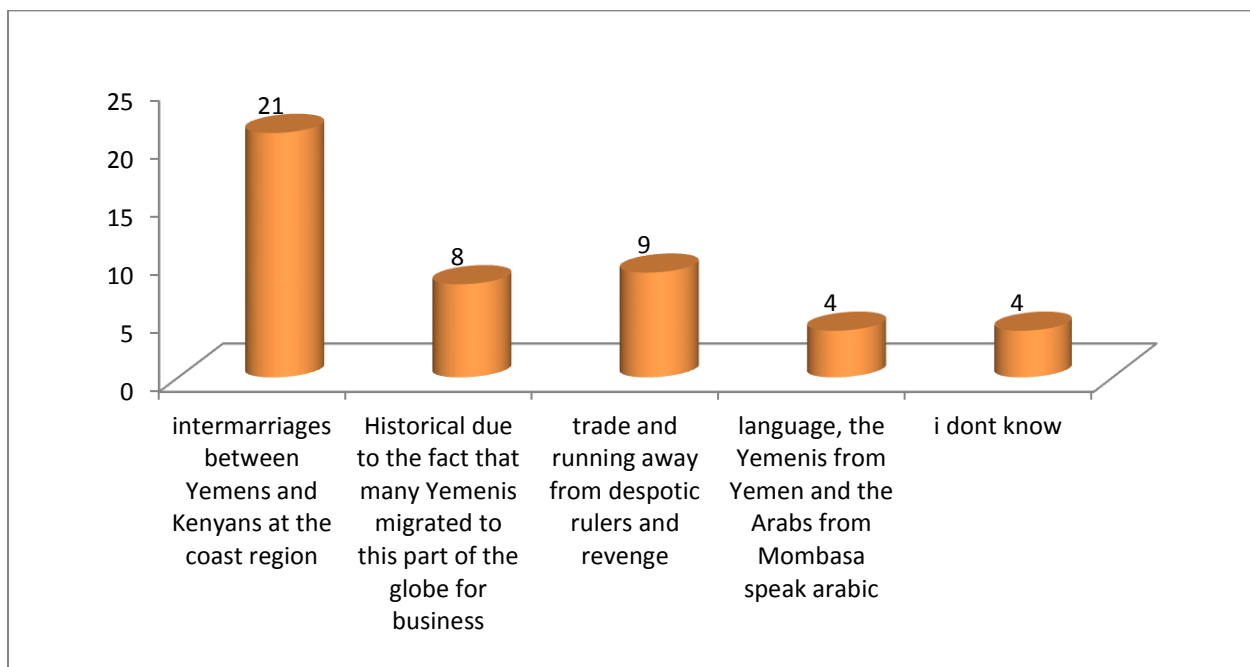
Figure 4: Historical/Cultural Relations Existing between Kenya and Yemen
Source: Field data. 2013

From the findings intermarriages between Yemenis and Kenyans at the coast region had a frequency level of 21, trade and running away from despotic rulers and revenge had a frequency level of 9, Historical due to the fact that many Yemenis migrated to this part of the globe for business had a frequency level of 8 and language, the Yemenis from Yemen and the Arabs from

Mombasa speak Arabic had a frequency level of 4. This shows that the historical/cultural/economic relations existing between the two countries may facilitate can help Kenya in accessing Middle East market.

4.2.3 Effect of Close Diplomatic Relations between Kenya and Yemen

The researcher also sought to find out the opinion of the respondents on whether or not close relations between Kenya and Yemen can help Kenya access a bigger Middle East market.
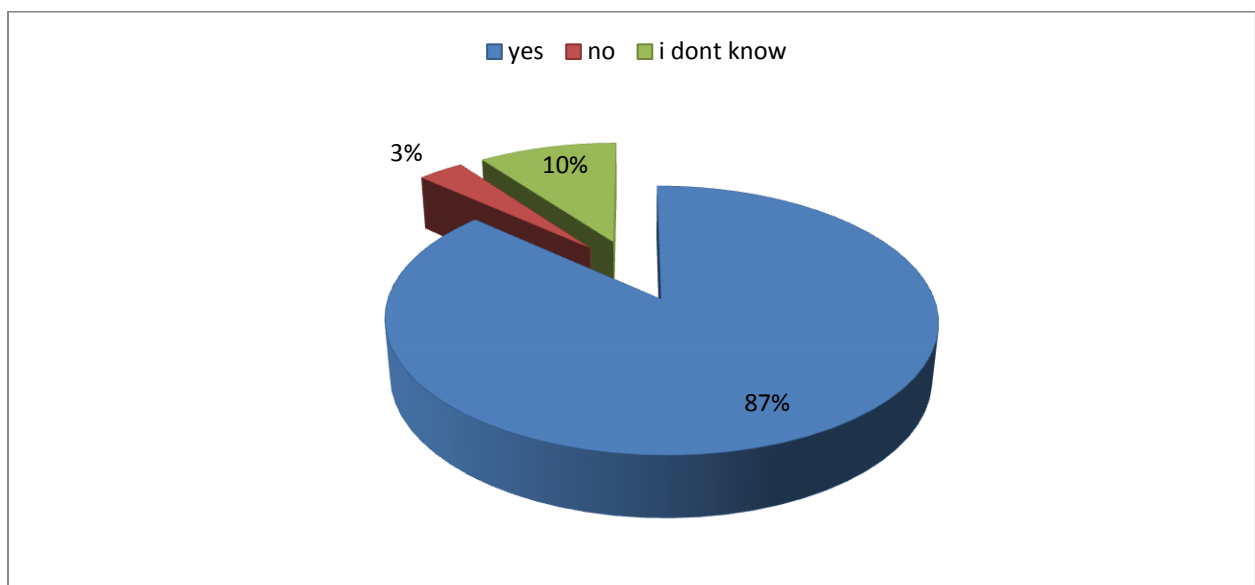
Fig. 5: Effect of Close Diplomatic Relations between Kenya and Yemen
Source: Field data 2013.

From the findings, 87% of the respondents said that close relations between Kenya and Yemen can help Kenya access a bigger Middle East market, 10% said it would not while 3% said they did not know.

The study further sought to establish the reason for their agreement or disagreement.

4.2.3.1 Reasons for Agreeing
Table 7: Reasons for Agreeing

	Frequency
This will enable free movement between the two countries resulting in trade job opportunities, social and economic ideas	18
Kenya will be able to export its products and the vice versa, hence reaching a wider market for their goods.	11
Because of the resources that Middle East has to offer	7
Yemen appears to be a gateway to the Middle East	1
Boosting tourism	1

Source: Field data. 2013.

According to the findings in table 7 above, it will enable free movement between the two countries resulting in trade and job opportunities had a frequency of 18 and Kenya will be able to export its products and the vice versa, hence reaching a wider market for their goods had a frequency of 11, Access to the resources that Middle East has to offer had a frequency level of 7, and Yemen appears to be a gateway to the Middle East had a frequency level of 1. The findings indicate that close diplomatic relations would lead to stronger Kenya - Yemen trade relations in turn helping Kenya in accessing Middle East market. This is in accordance with Sir Ernest Satow (1929), who defined diplomacy as the ''application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between governments of independent states, extending sometimes to their relations with vassal states, more briefly still, the conduct of relations between states by peaceful means.''

4.2.3.2 Reasons for Disagreeing

It was established that since Yemen does not have a good relationship with the Middle East biggest economies, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. This implies that stronger Kenya - Yemen trade relations cannot help Kenya in accessing middle East market.

4.2.4. The Main Exports from Kenya to Yemen

Additionally the researcher sought to find out the main exports from Kenya to Yemen.
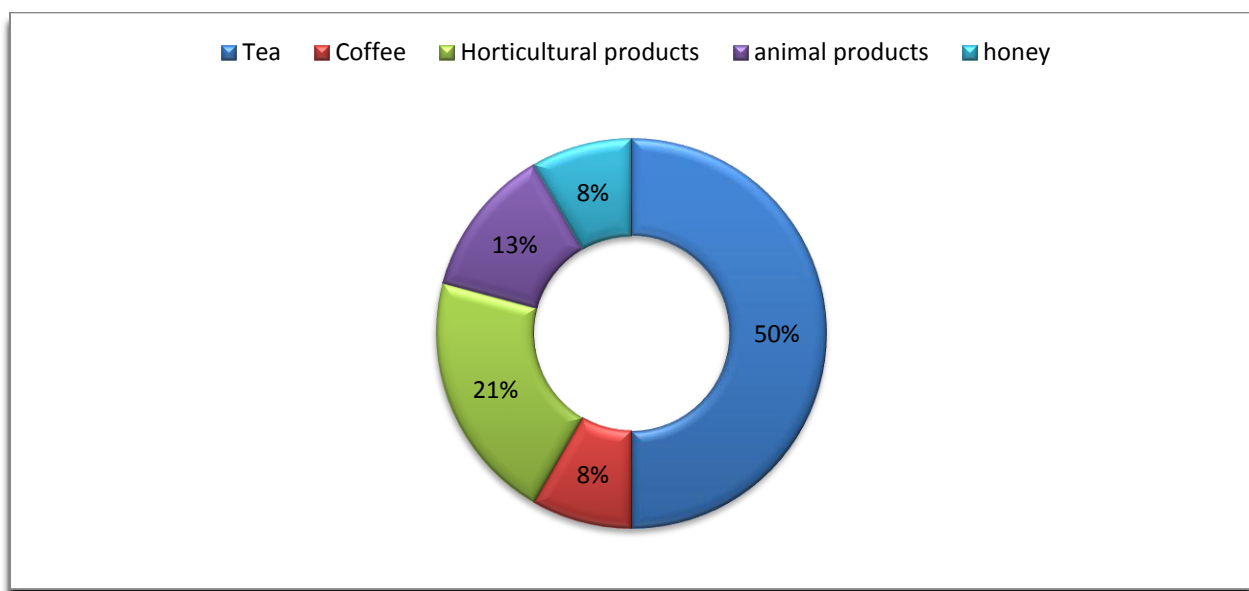
Fig. 6: The Main Exports from Kenya to Yemen
Source: Field data 2013.

From the findings it was established that Tea (50%) was the main export, followed by horticultural products (21%), animal products (13%) and honey (8%).

4.2.5 The Main Exports from Yemen to Kenya

On the other hand, the study also sought to find out the main export from Yemen to Kenya.

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Table 8: The Main Exports from Yemen to Kenya

	Frequency	Percent
Hides	15	29%
Tea	4	8%
Coffee	12	23%
Fruits	8	15%
Textiles	4	8%
Herbs and spices	5	9%
Honey	1	2%
oil	3	6%

Source: Field data. 2013.

From table 4.8 above, it was established that hides was the main export from Yemen to Kenya with a frequency level of 15, coffee with a frequency level of 12, fruits with a frequency level of 8, textiles, herbs and spices with a frequency level of 5, tea as well as textiles with a frequency level of 4 each, and oil and honey with frequency levels of 3 and 1 respectively.

This finding indicates that a stronger relationship would create a market for Kenya's exports while opening it up to imports not produced in the country yet such as oil.

4.3 Examination of the Security Benefits That Can Accrue to Kenya As a Result of Forging Stronger Diplomatic Ties with Yemen

4.3.1 Strong Kenya and Yemen Relations and Combating Threat of Terrorism

The study also sought to find out whether strong Kenya and Yemen relations can help combat threat of terrorism.
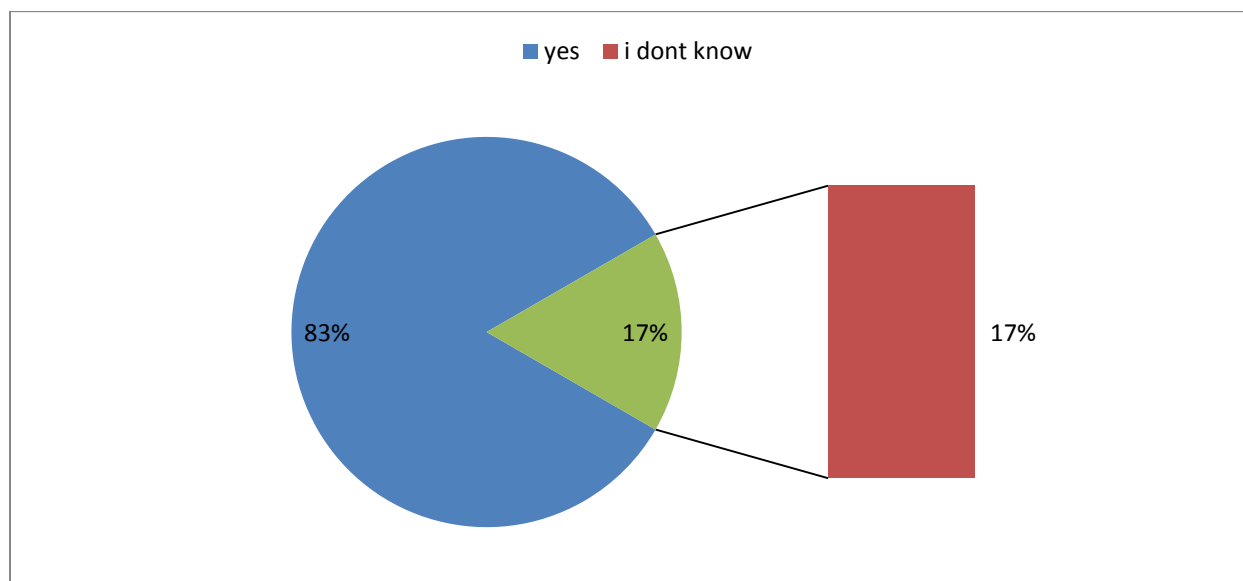
Fig. 7: Strong Kenya and Yemen Relations and Combating Threat of Terrorism
Source: Field data 2013.

Majority of the respondents (83%) agreed whereas 17% of the respondents disagreed. Moreover the researcher sought to find out the reasons behind this.

4.3.1.1 Reasons for Agreeing

The table below shows the results of the findings.

Table 9: Reasons for Agreeing

	Frequency	Percent
signing of bilateral agreements and establishing border surveillance controls	11	30.56%
exchange of security intelligence	11	30.56%
implementation of signed security agreements	7	19.44%
by having strong security against terrorism	5	13.89%
promoting peace negotiations and diplomacy	2	5.56%

Source: Field data. 2013.

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As per the findings in table 4.9 above, signing of bilateral agreements and establishing border surveillance controls had a frequency level of 11 as well as exchange of security intelligence, implementation of signed security agreements had a frequency level of 7, by having strong security against terrorism had a frequency level of 5 while promoting peace negotiations and diplomacy had a frequency level of 2.

4.3.1.2 Reasons for Disagreeing

From the findings, no reason was given by the respondents for their disagreement. The findings show that security benefits that can accrue to Kenya as a result of forging stronger diplomatic ties with Yemen would be reduced threats of terrorism as a result of the factors mentioned above being enforced.

4.3.2 Strong Kenya and Yemen Relations and Combating the Threat of Piracy

The study also sought to find out whether strong Kenya and Yemen relations can help combat threat of piracy.
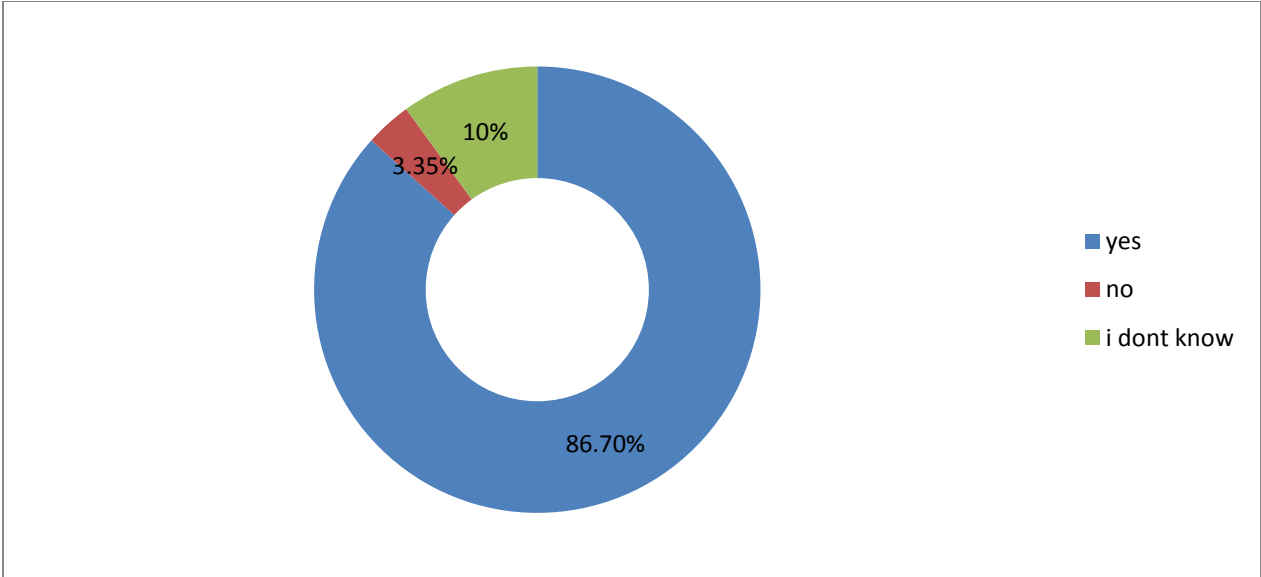
Fig. 8: Strong Kenya and Yemen Relations and Combating Threat of Piracy
Source: Field data. 2013.

Most (86.7%) of the respondents said that it would, 10.0% said they did not know if it would while 3.35% said it would not.

4.3.2.1 Reasons for Agreeing
The table below shows the results of the findings.

Table 10: Reasons for Agreeing

	Frequency	Percent
by enhancing security and surveillance controls on the coast of Mombasa	21	64%
signing of bilateral agreements	4	12%
implementing signed agreements	3	9%
by holding security meetings with the relevant security agencies	4	12%
promoting peace and diplomacy negotiation	1	3%

Source: Field data 2013.

From the findings, enhancing of security and surveillance controls on the coast of Mombasa had a frequency of 21, signing of bilateral agreements had a frequency of 4 as well as by holding security meetings with the relevant security agencies, while implementing signed agreements had a frequency of 3 and promoting peace and diplomacy negotiation had a frequency level of 1.

The findings also show that security benefits that can accrue to Kenya as a result of forging stronger diplomatic ties with Yemen would be reduced threats of piracy as a result of the factors mentioned above being enforced.

4.3.2.2 Reasons for Disagreeing

The respondent who disagreed said that the factors in hand are beyond the control of the two governments and the leaders of the two countries are the determining factor in this issue hence it

will not matter. This depicts that no security benefits can accrue to Kenya as a result of forging stronger diplomatic ties with Yemen as a result of the factor mentioned above.

4.4 Examination of the Challenges Facing the Relations between Kenya and Yemen

4.4.1 Priority of Security Threats That Both Kenya and Yemen Face

Additionally the study sought to rank the security threats that both Kenya and Yemen face. The responses were rated on a five point Likert scale indicating to what extent respondents agree to the statements, where: 1- To a very low extent, 2- To a low extent, 3- To a moderate extent, 4- To a great extent and 5-To a very great extent. The mean and standard deviations were generated from SPSS and are as illustrated in table 4.9.

Table 11: Priority of Security Threats That Both Kenya and Yemen Face

	Mean	Std. Deviation
Piracy	2.9	.69893
Terrorism	3.67	.89763
Illegal immigrants	2.14	.77608
Internal conflicts	1.4	.66089

Source: Field data. 2013.

From the findings, terrorism was ranked first as indicated by a mean score of 3.67, followed by piracy, illegal immigrants and internal conflicts each with a mean score of 2.9, 2.14 and 1.4.

4.4.2 Effect of Lack of a Common Trading Bloc on Kenya and Yemen Trade Relations

The study further sought to establish whether lack of a common trading bloc impacts negatively on Kenya and Yemen trade relations.
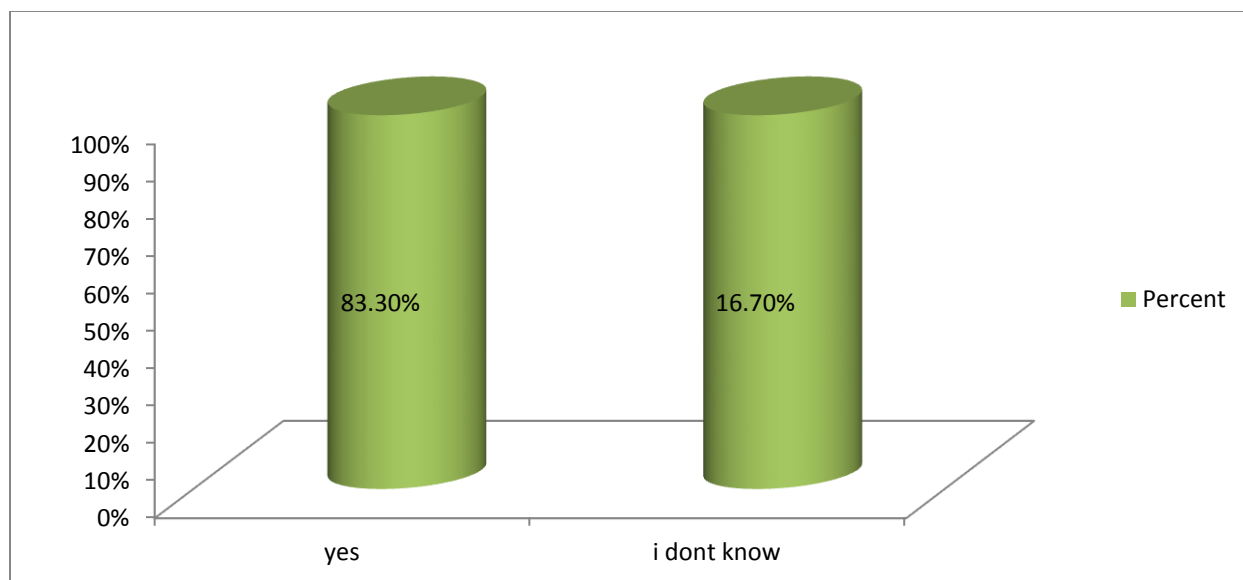
Fig. 9: Effect of Lack of a Common Trading Bloc on Kenya and Yemen Trade Relations
Source: Field data. 2013.

Majority (83.3%) of the respondents said it did while 16.7% of the respondents' said that they

did not know.

4.4.2.1 Reasons for Agreeing

In light of this the researcher sought to establish the reason for this opinion amongst the

respondents.

Table 12: Reasons for Agreeing

	Frequency	Percent
high tariffs imposed on goods	19	45.2%
restriction on the movement of people and goods	18	42.9%
because of protectionism	1	2.4%
it impedes the economic development of the two countries	2	4.8%
unstable exchange rates	2	4.8%

Source: Field data. 2013.

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According to the findings, high tariffs imposed on goods had a frequency level of 19, restriction on the movement of people and goods had a frequency level of 18, it impedes the economic development of the two countries and unstable exchange rates each had frequency levels of 2 and protectionism had a frequency level of 1. This implies that high tariffs on goods and restriction of movement of people and goods as a result of lack of a trading bloc was a challenge facing the relations between Kenya and Yemen as it impedes the economic development of the two countries.

4.4.3 Main Challenges that Kenya Faces In Its Trade with Yemen

The researcher sought to determine the main challenges that Kenya faces within its trade with Yemen.

Fig. 10: Main Challenges that Kenya Faces In Its trade with Yemen
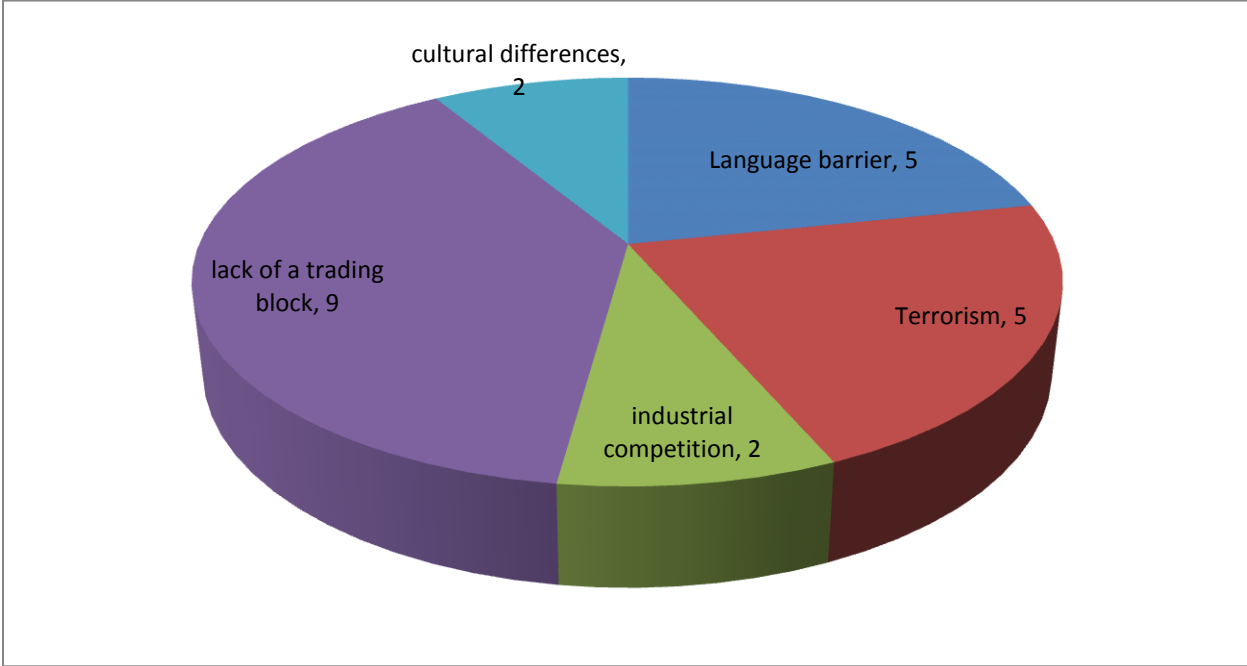
Source: Field data. 2013.

The findings in figure 4.10 indicate that lack of a trading bloc was the main challenge with a frequency level of 9, terrorism and language barrier each had frequency levels of 5, cultural differences had a frequency level of 2 as well as industrial completion. This implies the

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challenges that Kenya faces within its trade with Yemen negatively affect the trade relations between Kenya and Yemen.

4.4.3.1 The Main Security Challenges that Affect Kenya-Yemen Trade Relations

Additionally the researcher sought to determine the main security challenges that affect Kenya-Yemen trade relations

Table 13: The Main Security Challenges That Affect Kenya-Yemen Trade Relations

	Frequency	Percent
Terrorism	27	54%
industrial competition	1	2%
cultural differences	2	4%
piracy	13	26%
corruption	3	6%
illegal migration	2	4%
lack of a trading block	2	4%

Source: Field data. 2013.

The main security challenges from the findings were identified as terrorism with a frequency level of 27, piracy with a frequency level of 13, corruption a frequency level of 3, illegal migration with a frequency level of 2 as well as lack of a trading bloc and cultural differences. Industrial competition was also cited with frequency level of 1. This indicates that terrorism and piracy remain as the major security challenges affecting Kenya-Yemen trade relations in turn affecting the relations between Kenya and Yemen.

4.4.4 Effect of Establishment of a Kenya Diplomatic Mission in Yemen on Trade and Security Relations

The researcher sought to establish whether the establishment of a Kenya diplomatic mission in Yemen would promote trade and security relations.
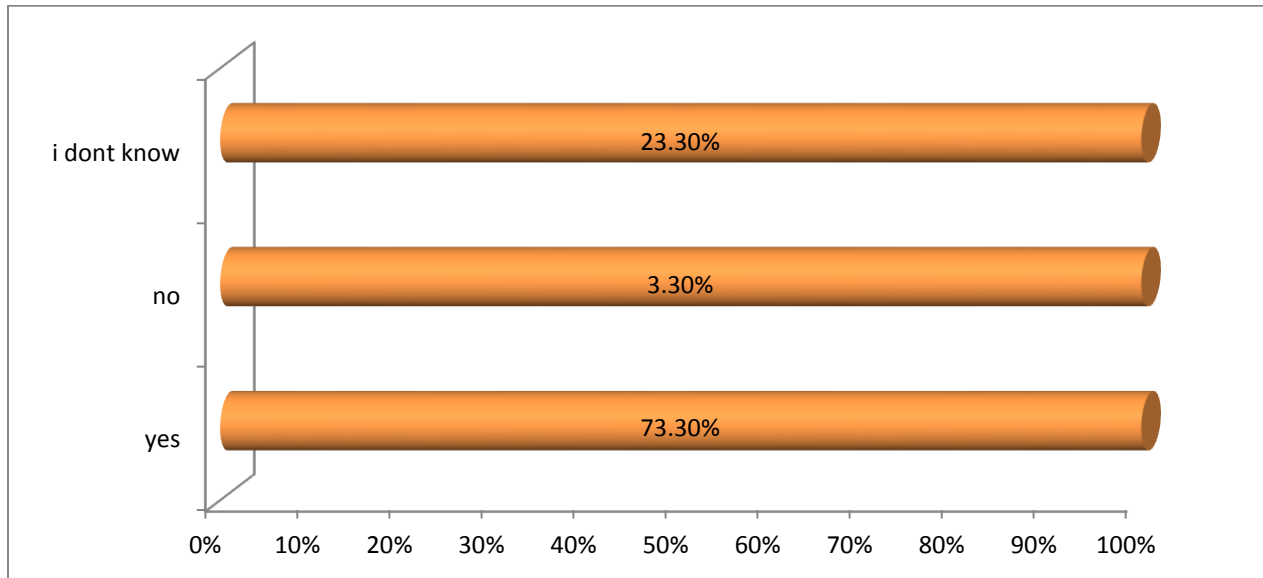
Fig. 11: Effect of establishment of a Kenya diplomatic mission in Yemen on trade and security relations
Source: Field data 2013.

Majority (73.3%) of the respondents agreed that it would, 23.3% said that they did not know if it would, 3.3% said it would not while 6% did not respond. This indicates that lack of a Kenya diplomatic mission in Yemen on trade and security relations is amongst the challenges facing the relations between Kenya and Yemen.

4.4.1.1 Reasons for Agreeing
With this in mind the study sought to find out the reasons for their agreement.

Table 14: Reasons for Agreeing

	Frequency	Percent
it would promote the interests of the two countries	19	54.29%
it would work on enforcing strong security institutions and mechanisms to combat threats	2	5.71%
establishment of a foundation for intelligence exchange	4	11.43%
Publicizing of Kenyan products to the Yemenis'	10	28.57%

Source: Field data. 2013.

The above table 14 shows that promotion of the interests of the two countries was the most sought after reason with a frequency level of 19; Publicizing of Kenyan products to the Yemenis had a frequency level of 10 while establishment of a foundation for intelligence exchange had a frequency level of 4 and it would work on enforcing strong security institutions and mechanisms to combat threats having a frequency level of 2. This implies that establishment of a Kenya diplomatic mission in Yemen would have a positive influence on trade and security relations between the two countries.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the data findings the security and trade dimensions of the relations between Kenya and Yemen, the conclusions and recommendations drawn there to. The chapter is therefore structured into summary of the chapters, findings, conclusions, recommendations and area for further research.

5.1 Summary

Chapter of this study begins with background to the study where it starts to talk about the historical relations between Kenya and Yemen. It goes on to talk about how these relations have been made strong in the export and import of commodities between countries and the recommend of flights from Yemen to Nairobi. The chapter goes on to talk bout the statement of the research problem where these relations have been hampered by lack of proper infrastructure in Yemen, no running water, no electricity and the threats of al-Qaeda. In Kenya, it has been the threats of al-shabaab, corruption among other negative vices. The chapter goes on to talk about the statement of the research problem, the objectives of the study and the research questions followed. The justification of the study basically comprised why it was important to the researcher to write in this area. Firstly, not much has been written on Kenya and Yemen relations – it is a new area that requires further research because there exists huge economic potential which the two countries can use to tap and strengthen their relations. Secondly, it has academic justification to students studying international relations, political science courses. It also serves its purpose to lecturers who will be able to gain a better understanding of the research at hand. Policy wise it will guide policy makers on decisions to take. The chapter also talks about the

scope and limitation of the study. This basically means where the research will be confined to. The challenges in this study would be difficulty in obtaining all the relevant policy documents since this is a new area of study and also the secrecy involved in security issues. It goes on talk about how the researcher intends to tackle these challenges. It concludes by giving a brief chapter outline of what each chapter talks about.

Chapter two look at the concept of security in international relations and the differing views of the concept by different scholars. It concludes by giving other schools of thought a feather in their cap with the realist's views having been overtaken by then. The chapter goes on to talk about how international trade is important in the conduct of relations between states. It further talks about trading communities, how indirect trade dependence reduces conflict, combatant mechanism, the non-combatant mechanism, trading communities and conflict, constructing national and economic interests between Kenya and Yemen, constructing national and security interests between Kenya and Yemen and trading policies.

Chapter three is about the research methodology of the study. The research design used in this study was explorative or descriptive research. The chapter goes on to explain the reasons as to why this design was chosen, the use of open-ended and close ended questions. It further moves on to mention where the research was conducted being here in Nairobi, the data collection methods used which were open-ended questions, the target population/sampling frame, including the sample size, ethical issues and lastly the analysis and presentation of the data.

Chapter four was the data analysis and interpretation the findings. With regard to how strong Kenya and Yemen relations are the study established that the exports and imports that flow between the two countries, the volume of trade that takes place between the two countries, the long history shared between Yemeni's and the Mombasa Arabs, the new routes that recently introduced (Daresalam), easy access of Kenyan visa by Yemeni's and the signing of agreements on terrorism and other threats that affect the two countries facilitate stronger Kenya - Yemen trade relations. This is in line with probability of conflict is lower among dyads with more trading partners in common according to (Maoz 2009; Dorussen and Ward 2010) and among dyads that are generally more well connected to other states in the trade network (Dorussen and Ward 2010). However, this was found to be threatened by security issues overlapping the borders of the two countries, lack of commitment to foster a close and strong relation to preserve interests of two people of the two countries and the neglected relation between Kenya and Yemen.

The findings also revealed that the historical/cultural/economic relations existing between the two countries can help Kenya in accessing Middle East market. It would enable free movement between the two countries resulting in trade and job opportunities, Kenya will be able to export its products and the vice versa, hence reaching a wider market for their goods, creation of access to the resources that Middle East has to offer such as oil were the expected benefits of close diplomatic relations. Emergent argument is that mutual interdependence among groups of states causes them to form cohesive security communities (Deutsch1954). Within subsystems, networks of interactions between states influence their behaviour by creating local externalities. Close diplomatic relations were as well found to facilitate stronger Kenya - Yemen trade

relations in turn helping Kenya in accessing Middle East market. Conflict, argues, adversely affects the terms of trade between states, including by increasing the likelihood of ''retaliatory tariffs, quotas, embargoes, and other trade prohibitions'' (Polachek 1980). On the other hand, the study established that some respondents were of the opinion that since Yemen does not have a good relationship with the Middle East biggest economies, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, stronger Kenya - Yemen trade relations cannot help Kenya in accessing Middle East market.

The study further determined that Tea, horticultural products, animal products and honey were the main exports from Kenya to Yemen whereas hides, coffee, fruits, textiles, herbs and spices, tea as well as textiles, oil and honey were the main exports from Yemen to Kenya. With regard to the security benefits that can accrue to Kenya as a result of forging stronger diplomatic ties with Yemen would be reduced threats of terrorism as a result of the factors such as signing of bilateral agreements and establishing border surveillance controls, exchange of security intelligence, promoting peace negotiations and diplomacy and implementation of signed security agreements. The diversity of cultures and national interests of the world require states formulate and implement different foreign policies and pursue different national interests with other nations (nanjira, 2010).

Additionally the study established that reduced threats of piracy was another security benefit that can accrue to Kenya as a result of forging stronger diplomatic ties with Yemen due to factors such as enhancing of security and surveillance controls on the coast of Mombasa and implementing signed agreements in addition to holding security meetings with the relevant security agencies and promoting peace and diplomacy negotiation. However the study also

revealed that there was a contrary opinion because by respondents who thought that the factors in hand are beyond the control of the two governments and the leaders of the two countries are the determining factor in this issue hence it will not matter. Peace and stability are a pre-requisite to social and economic development. A government's commitment to guarantee the security of its people and the preservation of national integrity and sovereignty within secure borders underlies the desire to advance national interests by guaranteeing a secure political environment for development.

The issue of the challenges facing the relations between Kenya and Yemen the study found out that terrorism, followed by piracy, illegal immigrants and internal conflicts were ranked as the security threats that both Kenya and Yemen face. High tariffs on goods, restriction of movement of people and goods, impediment of economic development of the two countries and unstable exchange rates were seen as resultant of lack of a trading bloc as a challenge facing the relations between Kenya and Yemen. In addition the study found that the challenges that the major challenges affecting Kenya-Yemen trade relations in turn affecting the relations between Kenya and Yemen were terrorism, language barrier, cultural differences as well as industrial competition. On the other hand the main security challenges that affect Kenya-Yemen trade relations were cited by the study as terrorism, piracy, corruption and illegal migration. This is in accordance with Barry Buzan (1983: 214–242) who has included political, economic, societal, environmental as well as military aspects in his broader definition of national security, apart from the traditional military capabilities of a state.

On a hopeful note the study revealed that establishment of a Kenya diplomatic mission in Yemen would have a positive influence on trade and security relations between the two countries as it would promote the interests of the two countries, publicize Kenyan products to the Yemenis, establish a foundation for intelligence and it would work on enforcing strong security institutions and mechanisms to combat threats.

5.2 Conclusion

The study concluded that the exports and imports that flow between the two countries, the long history shared between Yemeni's and the Mombasa Arabs, the new routes that recently introduced (Daresalam), easy access of Kenyan visa by Yemeni's and the signing of agreements on terrorism and other threats that affect the two countries facilitate stronger Kenya - Yemen trade relations. However, security issues overlapping the borders of the two countries, lack of commitment to foster a close and strong relation to preserve interests of two people of the two countries and the neglected relation between Kenya and Yemen threaten this strong relation.

The study also concluded that the historical/cultural/economic relations existing between the two countries can help Kenya in accessing Middle East market. Close diplomatic relations as well facilitate stronger Kenya - Yemen trade relations in turn helping Kenya in accessing Middle East market. On the other hand, the study concluded that lack of a good relationship between Yemen and the Middle East biggest economies, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, cast doubt on whether stronger Kenya - Yemen trade relations can help Kenya in accessing middle East market.

The study further concluded that a stronger relationship would create a market for Kenya's exports while opening it up to imports not produced in the country yet such as oil.

The study also concluded that security benefits that can accrue to Kenya as a result of forging stronger diplomatic ties with Yemen would be reduced threats of terrorism as a result of factors such as signing of bilateral agreements and establishing border surveillance controls, exchange of security intelligence and implementation of signed security agreements.

Additionally the study concluded that reduced threats of piracy would be another security benefit that could accrue to Kenya as a result of forging stronger diplomatic ties with Yemen due to factors such as enhancing of security and surveillance controls on the coast of Mombasa and implementing signed agreements.

Finally the study concluded that there was a contrary opinion because it was thought that the factors in hand are beyond the control of the two governments hence it will not matter.

With regards to the challenges facing the relations between Kenya and Yemen the study concluded that high tariffs on goods and restriction of movement of people and goods as a result of lack of a trading bloc was a challenge facing the relations between Kenya and Yemen.

In addition the study concluded that the challenges that Kenya faces within its trade with Yemen such as language barrier, lack of a trading block, terrorism, cultural differences as well as industrial completion negatively affect the relations between Kenya and Yemen. Terrorism and piracy were also seen to be the major security challenges affecting Kenya-Yemen trade relations in turn affecting the relations between Kenya and Yemen. In conclusion the study concluded that

establishment of a Kenya diplomatic mission in Yemen would have a positive influence on trade and security relations between the two countries.

5.3 Recommendations

The study recommends establishment of a Kenya diplomatic mission in Yemen in order to positively influence trade and security relations between the two countries.

The study recommends the signing of bilateral agreements and establishing border surveillance controls, exchange of security intelligence and implementation of signed security agreements and promoting peace negotiations and diplomacy in order to combat security issues overlapping the borders of the two countries, lack of commitment to foster a close and strong relation to preserve interests of two people of the two countries and the neglected relation between Kenya and Yemen threaten this strong relation.

The study recommends establishment of a trading bloc to curb high tariffs on goods and restriction of movement of people and goods.

The study further recommends that measures be put in place to counter the challenges that Kenya faces within its trade with Yemen such as language barrier, cultural differences as well as industrial completion.

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APPENDIX I

Interview Questionnaire

Dear respondent,

My name is Khalid Mahmud an M.A student at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi where I am pursuing an MA in International Studies. I am conducting a research on "Kenya and Yemen relations: trade and security implications."

I kindly request you to participate in my research study. The information you will provide to me will be treated with extreme confidentiality and it will be strictly utilized only for academic purposes. Your participation is highly valued.

PART I: Bio data. Please tick the most suitable response.

1. Sex: [ ] Male [ ] Female

2. Age: [ ] 25-30 [ ] 31-35 [ ] 36- 40 [ ] 41-45 [ ] 46-50

   [ ] 51-55 [ ] 60 and above

3. Highest level of education attained:

   [ ] Primary education [ ] Secondary education [ ] College education

   [ ] University education [ ] Other _____

4. Please indicate your professional affiliation.

   [ ] Professional [ ] NGO/civil society [ ] Government Officials

   [ ] Business community [ ] Diplomat [ ] Security/military agencies

5. Nationality: [ ] Kenyan [ ] Yemeni

PART II: KENYA AND YEMEN RELATIONS

1. How do you rate Kenya and Yemen relations?

a) Good [ ]   b) Bad [ ]   c) I don't know [ ]

2. If your answer to Q1 is YES, please explain

………

………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

3. If your answer to Q1 is NO, please explain

………

………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

4. What historical/cultural relations exist between Kenya and Yemen?

………

………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

5. Close diplomatic relations between Kenya and Yemen can help Kenya access a bigger Middle

East market.

a) Yes [ ]   b) No [ ]   c) I don't know [ ]

6. If your answer to Q5 is YES, please explain

………

………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

7. If your answer to Q5 is NO, please explain

……

……

……

PART III: SECURITY RELATIONS: KENYA AND YEMEN

8. Kenya and Yemen share common security threats. In order of priority rank the following security threats that both Kenya and Yemen face.

a) Piracy   [   ]

b) Terrorism   [   ]

c) Illegal immigrants   [   ]

d) Internal conflicts   [   ]

9. Strong Kenya and Yemen relations can help combat the threat of terrorism

a) Yes [   ]   b) No [   ]   c) I don't know [   ]

10. If your answer to Q9 is YES, please explain

……

……

……

11. If your answer to Q9 is NO, please explain

……

……

……

12. Strong Kenya and Yemen relations can help Kenya combat the threat of piracy.

a) Yes [ ]   b) No [ ]   c) I don't know [ ]

13. If your answer to Q12 is YES, please explain.

………

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…….

14. If your answer to Q12 is NO, please explain.

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PART IV: TRADE RELATIONS

15. List the main exports from Kenya to Yemen

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16. List the main exports from Yemen to Kenya

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17. Lack of a common trading bloc impacts negatively on Kenya and Yemen trade relations

a) Yes [ ]   b) No [ ]   c) I don't know [ ]

18. If your answer to Q 17 is YES, please explain

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19. What are the main challenges that Kenya faces in its trade with Yemen?

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20. What are the main security challenges that affect Kenya-Yemen trade relations?

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21. Would the establishment of a Kenyan diplomatic mission in Yemen promote trade and security relations?

a) Yes [ ]   b) No [ ]   c) I don't know [ ]

22. If your answer to Q 19 is YES, please explain

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MAPS OF KENYA AND YEMEN

Map one: Kenya
Source : http://news.bbcimg.co.uk/media/images/54292000/gif/_54292134_kenya_.gif

Map Two: Yemen
Source: https://www.google.co.ke/