



**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**  
**COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**  
**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**THE CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FACING AFRICAN**  
**YOUTH IN THE ADVANCEMENT OF FOREIGN POLICY**  
**INTERESTS IN AFRICA: A CASE OF KENYA**

**BY**  
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**R51/68797/2011**

**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF**  
**THE REQUIREMENT OF THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN DIPLOMACY**

**2019**

## DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other college, institution or university other than the University of Nairobi for academic credit.

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This project has been presented for examination with my approval as the appointed supervisor.

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## **DEDICATION**

To my generation.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENT**

I wish to express my sincere appreciation to my supervisor Prof Amb. Maria Nzomo, Director - IDIS, the University of Nairobi for the guidance and support offered towards the success of this work.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AfDB	African Development Bank
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
AU	African Union
AYC	African Youth Charter
CoE	Council of Europe
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CS	Cabinet Secretary
EAC	East African Community
EAC	East Africa Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ESC	European Social Charter
EU	European Union
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
FP	Foreign Policy
FPA	Foreign Policy Analysis
IBEACo	Imperial British East-African Company
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICT	Information Communication Technology
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IGAD	Inter – Governmental Authority on Development
KIIs	Key Informant Interviews
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NCR	Neo-Classical Realism
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UN	United Nations
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

## ABSTRACT

Africa is considered a youthful continent whose youth population is on the rise compared to other regions of the world where this proportion has stagnated or is in decline (UN Economic Commission for Africa, 2017) and although this community constitutes a significant proportion essential for economic growth and development, the youth struggle to find relevance in a society that offers disappointing employment and life prospects, undermines their self-expression, and systematically marginalises its citizens (World Bank). Policies that address youth aspirations have mostly faltered. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) especially goal 10 crystallises the expectations of young Africans by advocating 'social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status' (UN - SDGs). The African Union's Agenda 2063 also underscores the importance of 'promoting rights of young people and meeting their needs in all their diversity' (AU, 2006). This study focuses on establishing the knowledge gap within this constituency in an effort to unlock real and perceived stalemates surrounding the subject of youth and foreign policy development, analyses the role performed by youth in shaping foreign policy content, the challenges involved and interventions by youth in influencing policy decisions to assess their competence while comparing whether challenges and interventions are equally matched and effectively addressed. The study further explores prospects that can create meaningful transformations in the advancement of foreign policy as expressed by the youth. The study was guided by liberalism theory which supports individual rights, limited government, democracy, gender equality, freedom of the press, and the importance of domestic institutions and public opinion. The study utilized case study research design used both primary and secondary qualitative and quantitative data. Primary data was collected using questionnaires self-administered to secure the highest response rate attainable, save time, give the respondents and researcher a chance to freely interact, hence this made it possible to get more accurate information. The questionnaires were distributed to the most relevant respondents. The findings of this study among other insights established youth development, employment opportunities, scholarships and education as the main areas of importance for youth when it comes to foreign policy. The study identified a lack of knowledge in foreign policy among the youth as a major weakness that can also be attributed to their exclusion. The study also established that diplomatic engagements by top government officials should aim to promote the unique value proposition of the youth in the country, leveraging this as an advantage to negotiate better bilateral deals. The study thus recommends an analysis of foreign policies using relevant indicators to confirm alignment to overall youth development objectives and in building validation process that test foreign policy moves for harmony with youth development goals before mainstreaming. Impact assessment should also be conducted to take stock of policy achievements or shortcomings. In addition, the Ministry of Foreign affairs risks being branded an elite department disconnected from the public and especially the youth. In order to demystify their role and also interact with youth and the general public, this study recommends special focus days to bridge the gap.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

This chapter introduces foreign policy making in Africa in relation to the challenges and opportunities of the youth. Thereafter, the problem statement, research objectives, and research questions, while highlighting on the stakeholders that are intended to benefit from the study.

#### **1.1 Background for the Study**

The contemporary world, considering the ongoing developments in the field of human communications, the way international affairs are conducted have weakened the role of governments; and this new situation has brought about changes in ancient diplomacy over centuries.<sup>1</sup> It is obvious that along with evolution of societies, new scenarios are applied in the field of diplomacy and international relations which need new priorities with adoption of modern methods and instruments; such as using the capacity of non-state entities particularly NGOs. In this context, a new dialogue with subject of recent modern diplomacy has been established according to important roles which youths are playing in international relations, different countries especially in science centers and official entities of developed nations as work and thought force; development trend of NGOs in global system with diverse programs including offshore welfare and humanitarian activities; development of the global network of active youths and expanding it into many young societies along with international expansion of humanitarian programs which are affecting the thoughts of various individuals, even international bodies and the states.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Khadiagala M. & Terrence, L. "African Foreign Policies. Power and Process." London: Lynne Rienner, 2013.

<sup>2</sup> Panday, S. "African youth charter: a benchmark for youth development in Africa." Human, 2006. Science Research Council Review.4(6)

States are faced with a growing challenge of the non-participation of citizens in state policy. In most instances, non-participation is primarily due to the failure of the State to create platforms that encourage meaningful citizens' participation in political processes. This trend was more apparent among youths.<sup>3</sup> This is mainly due to the global trend in developing countries is more prominent. However, it must be noted developing countries the need for young people to participate in state politics is even more critical, since if the youth trend is continuing, young people can form the bulk of the population in the majority of these countries in time. The study primarily argues that the participation of young people in decision-making and internal policy terminology is important to creating a sense of statehood.

As younger people make up a vital part of the public, a major risk to the legitimacy of the state is to alienate youths in matters concerning them.<sup>4</sup> The researchers in political field are developing interest in the ' bulge of the youth' to find out the major problems of youthful generation. The underlying reasons for the main contributing factors being detected by scholars vary between countries. But in any instances youths are disengaged from nation's politics because the legislation or structures established to facilitate and encourage participation are deficient.<sup>5</sup> When these mechanisms are in place, it tends to be tokenistic and don't make significant youth involvement.

In Africa, young people face problems like joblessness, peer pressure, lack of quality education and training (particularly tertiary education), limited healthcare services.<sup>6</sup> Reforms

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<sup>3</sup> Oritz. I. & Cummins, J. "When Global crisis & Youth Bulge Collide." Double the Jobs for Youth. UNICEF working paper, 2012.

<sup>4</sup> Lori. A. "S. Africa's Youthful Population: Risk or Opportunity?" Washington: PRB, 2007.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid

<sup>6</sup> Ibid

have not fully addressed the massive challenges that young people face. Some of the coping mechanisms that youths are taking to mitigate these challenges include withdrawals from job and political scenes, mass migration (from and to Africa), recourse, through political agitation or rebellious groups. Youth, however, should be developed and utilized as part of the African Governments' integrated approaches to enhance domestic and international economy.<sup>7</sup> This paper studies how the challenges and opportunities among youths influence state's advancement of its foreign policy (Fp).

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

African population is majorly composed of youth, presenting an immense opportunity for accelerated growth and development for the African continent. Despite academic credentials however, most of the youth in Africa are disengaged. However, some young intellectuals have taken it upon themselves to influence change in Africa. For example, the Senegalese opposition politicians mobilize the used to protest against president following high unemployment rate. As a result, many young people in that country went to the streets to protest and to the voting stations to press for a change in the government.

Based on the challenges faced by these young people, several nations have formulated and implemented foreign policies that for instance seek to solve the unemployment crisis in Africa. These steps include better relations between African nations with the formation of regional blocs and international trade organizations in Africa to promote international trade and foreign direct investments. However, the youths have not been adequately involved in shaping

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<sup>7</sup> Leautier, F., & Hanson, K. "Jobless Economic Growth: Lessons From Africa." African Capacity Building Foundation. 'paper presented at 38th Annual conference of Eastern Economic Association,' Boston, march 9–11, 2012.

and advancing Fp given that they are partakers in the challenges that affect them. The study therefore examines and analyses the youth participation in making reforms, enforcement, accountability and follow-up will boost policy achievements and instill a sense of equity amongst young people – a crucial prerequisite for inclusion and development.

Contribution of youth has not yet been fully recognized with the need for government entities to establish youth participation in reforms and decision-making. Arguably, youths are in a position to actively participate in sustainable development, various states have been on the move to create youth resources through the creation of youth parliaments; designating young delegates; involving youth-led structures in the design, execution and follow-up of policies; all time consultations and engagement of youth to realise Kenya vision 2030 agenda.<sup>8</sup>

The study focuses on identifying the challenges and opportunities facing the youth in advancing Fp in Kenya. To achieve this, the study will analyze content, process and actors of Fp by looking at whether, as Africa advances Fp, is it catering to content, process and participation of young people, it's the content of Fp consistent with the social, economic and political aspects of youths; and are the younger population being involved in the shaping and advancement of foreign policy.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

- i. What are the foreign policy interests of African Youth?
- ii. What are the challenges and interventions of youth in shaping the content and process of foreign policy in Kenya?

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<sup>8</sup> UN. "World Youth Report 2018: Youth & the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development." UN, New York, 2019.



- iii. What are the prospects and opportunities for the youths in advancement of Foreign policy in Kenya?

#### **1.4 Research Objectives**

The general objective of the study sought to establish whether Foreign Policy is shaped or influenced by the challenges and opportunities of the youth population.

The specific objectives were to:

- i. Examine the Foreign policy interests of the African youths
- ii. Analyzing the challenges and interventions of youths in shaping the content and process of foreign policy in Kenya
- iii. Investigate the prospects and opportunities for the youths in advancement of foreign policy in Kenya

#### **1.5 Justification of the Study**

##### **Academic**

The study may also benefit the academia by adding to the existing body of literature, on the challenges and opportunities of the youths and their influence on Kenya's Fp and how to apply relevant cases to the effective advancement of Kenya's Fp. Given the inadequate literature in the area of study, the research may provide valid and relevant information, and recommendations thereof. The research may add to the current knowledge base and may therefore be of interest to scholars and academics as well as practitioners of international studies and Fp in the area of youth and Fp in Kenya. In general, the analysis could be useful for the Diplomacy and International Relations Academies, in collaboration with Kenya's Fp stakeholders. It may also suggest areas for further study.

## **Policy**

The study may be beneficial to various stakeholders. It could be of significance to the representatives of Ministry of Foreign affairs legally required to undertake, in pursuant with the Constitution of Kenya, Kenya's Fp and International Trade with a broad aim to safeguard and promote domestic interests in foreign countries. It could also be of significance to the representatives of the Ministry of Public Service, Youth, Gender which is mandated to spearhead youth empowerment in all aspects of state growth. It could also be of significance to the National Youth Council and other collaborators in youth matters within the Government of Kenya.

The study may also be of significance to local and international development agencies with the aim of partnering in youth empowerment in Kenya, regionally and internationally. International partners in development such as the ADB and World Bank can use this information to guide their engagement in Kenya in promoting youth empowerment and development. Lastly, the research may be beneficial to academician and researchers who could critically use the applied methodology from empirical evidence used.

## **1.6 Hypothesis**

The study sought to accept or fail to accept the following hypotheses, which were developed as per the objectives of the research:

- i. The advancement of foreign policy in Africa is not adequately catering to the challenges faced by the youths in Africa.
- ii. In Kenya, the content of foreign policy is not consistent with the socio-economic challenges and opportunities for the young people

- iii. There is important need to involve the participation of youths in the development and pursue of foreign policy

## **1.7 Literature Review**

### **1.7.1 Conceptualization of Foreign Policy**

In today's world, foreign policy is very crucial to the success and prosperity of any country. The youth are taking a pro-active role in influencing their countries Fp across the world. Their inclusion in foreign affairs is as a result of the heavy globalization that produced great interdependence between regions, countries, and economies. Only, a few countries have resorted to isolation and actively resist foreign contact, however, they are still connected to the rest of the world in some way<sup>9</sup>. Therefore, all states and nations in the world regardless of the economic prowess or the physical extent are interconnected as never before. The only exception to this case is North Korea, which is probably the most disconnected country in the world due to the dictatorial rule by Kim Jong-un. However, the country has tried to renovate and improve its tourist attraction in order to attract high paying tourists<sup>10</sup>.

Generally, Fp contributes to national goals by expanding international trade, providing for technological exchanges, and fostering foreign investments into and out of the nation. Most domestic activities provide for foreign cooperation almost without extra efforts. For example, education where students study in foreign countries, thus promoting relations between the two countries. Once again, the youth can influence Fp through revolts. For example, the youth in

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<sup>9</sup> Gregory, B. "The Paradox of Public Diplomacy: Its Rise & 'Demise'." Washington: DC, Feb. 2014.

<sup>10</sup> Rana, Kishan, S., Ambassador. "India's Fp & the Youth of India."

America protested against the Vietnam War with marijuana and long hair as a symbol of the revolt of youth in America<sup>11</sup>.

George Modelski defines "foreign policy" (FP) as the mechanism of activities that communities have developed to change their behavior and adjust their activities to a worldwide level.<sup>12</sup> The FP encompasses transformation of current behaviour and persistence of the same acts at predetermined time as long as it feeds the interests of a country<sup>13</sup>. The overall and continuous means used by a state are national interests. According to Feliks Gross, FP is a liberal view in that its concern is both positive and negative. It's positive when it seems to change the behaviour of other nations to suit its interests and negative when it tries to advance its interests, not modifying other nations behaviour.<sup>14</sup> Padelford and Lincoln define foreign policy as important element which generally translates goals and priorities in concrete actions to achieve these purposes and to promote its interests.<sup>15</sup>.

According to Northedge Fp is application of political power to compel countries to practice their legislative right in a way that the state in question would like. It is an interplay among forces emanating beyond country borders and those functioning inside them<sup>16</sup>. Hugh Gibson describes FP as a systematic and detailed strategy for undertaking state business with expertise across the globe.<sup>17</sup> Countries adopt Fp in relation with other sovereign states which is part of national policy.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Kelman, Steven, J. "Youth & Fp: Foreign Affairs." Jan. 28, 2009.

<sup>12</sup> Modelski, G. "A Theory of Fp.London." Pall Mall Press, 1962, 6-7

<sup>13</sup> Mahendar K., "Theoretical Aspects of Intel. Politics." Agra, Shiva Lal Agrawal & Co., 1967, 256<sup>3</sup> US Fp, 1952-1953. 373-5.

<sup>14</sup> Feliks G. "Fp Analysis." NY, 1954.

<sup>15</sup> Norman, J. & George, A. Lincoln. "The Dynamics of Intel. Politics." Macmillan Pub., 1962.

<sup>16</sup> F. S Northedge, "The Fp." London, Faber and Faber, 1968, 6-7

<sup>17</sup> Hugh G. "The Road of Fp." NY. Doubleday, 1944, 9.

<sup>18</sup> Joseph Frankal, *The Making of Foreign Policy* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1963).

Given the multi-motive and limited resource mixture of the post-colonial period, Africa's leaders have viewed foreign policy to be active countries in the global arena. International leaders tried to resolve the option between local and regional identity, democracy and supra-nationalism and distinction and unification after independence.<sup>19</sup> Through continental identity, supra-nationalism and integration, they sought to unite disparate geographical units, bringing together resources in a coordinated action in the global and regional affairs of the countries in Africa to boost regional affairs across the African nations. By contrast, African states aimed to exploit individual political autonomy by enforcing the territorial borders and guaranteeing unilateral benefits from the privileged relationships with external players by means of sovereignty and national identity and differentiation. Thus, competitive nationalist and pan-Africanist choices and practices that coexisted though uneasily in African Fp.<sup>20</sup>

The 1990s marked the end of two major issues that formed a great deal of African foreign policy were eliminated with their departure from the Cold War and Apartheid. Since the end of the Cold War, international political shifts and guidelines of diplomatic interaction have been observed in the world.<sup>21</sup> The configuration and reorientation of global power connections has taken on fundamental changes, as well as the emergence of multi-polar world order and growing influence in global affairs by emerging economies. At the start of the 21st century African foreign policy remains dominated by the fundamental restrictions on vulnerable states ' survival.<sup>22</sup> The requirements of country's survival force elites to utilize external policy

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<sup>19</sup> Webber, M. and M. Smith (2000). Foreign policy in a transformed world. Harlow: PrenticeHall

<sup>20</sup> Khadiagala, G. M. & Lyons, T. "Fp Making In Africa: An Introduction: *In African Foreign Policies*, ed Gibert M. Khadiagala and Terrence Lyons." SAIS African Studies Library, Lynee Rienner Publishers, 2001; 2-4.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid

<sup>22</sup> Webber, M. & Smith, M. "Fp in a transformed world." Harlow: Prentice Hall, 2000.

in order to obtain political and economic resources from the outside world. This reflects their continued attempts in managing domestic security threats and avoiding unfair manipulation of their decision making. New actors and agencies like African Union (AU), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), East Africa Community (EAC), Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) among others on conflict prevention, security coordination, peacebuilding and economic development revising practices of sovereign independence towards collective responsibility, have emerged leading to a different flavor of policymaking by mobilizing diverse constituencies and remaking rules. Therefore, African policymaking has taken an increasingly complex character determined by the interaction of the broad range of actors, institutions, and norms<sup>23</sup>.

The global viewpoint has evolved and also create new opportunities and obstacles for African states. Foreign assistance has shifted from bilateral engagements to rising multilateral connections with a wide array of donors and international financial institutions. This has tested the mettle of policymakers and limited their authority to routinely manage these competing claims. FP effects are not easy to analyse with certainty in Africa stuck by conflicts and socioeconomic disintegration. Management of crisis in Africa and economic integration institutions remain a critical goal of Fp. Despite the economic downturn, rise of wars and weakening in international relations customs repeatedly bring about doubt on the efforts.<sup>24</sup>

Almost every country in the world has developed and implemented new sets of policies and strategies, which represent the viewpoint of young people as an important resource for national

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<sup>23</sup> Khadiagala & Lyons, "Fp Making in Africa." 6-8.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, 10.

development, driven by these global trends and innovations. The African Union (AU) accurately captures this by saying that "the future of Africa cannot be mapped out and the mission of the African Union fulfilled unless youth development, capacity-raising and training for leadership, and the exercise of their potential, are effectively addressed." African Youth Charter (AYC) was adopted in July 2006 by the Heads of States and Government of the African Union to direct and maintain the police <sup>25</sup>.

The emergence of non-state actors in global politics has more consequences for the theory and practice of Fp. Fp research needs to consider the increasing importance of non-governmental players in order to continue explaining Fp also in the 21st century. <sup>26</sup> The literature on capitalism and global governance is the best in this context. The two areas will gain from a sharing of ideas as their distinct strengths balance out the shortcomings of one another. FPA researchers emphasize the significance of breaking up the government and investigating the individuals and social interactions that affect decision-making. Nevertheless, although the pledge to open up the state offers much more autonomy towards various types of actors, FPA remains state-centric so far and has recently been turned into non-governmental actors. Conversely, the engagement of non-state actors with the policy making is the powerful component of the literature on global governance and globalization.<sup>27</sup>

Despite the frequent changes in FP, there are certain priorities that become fairly consistent for states. Holsti (1995: 84) noted that the relatively consistent aims of this program include security, autonomy, social welfare, status and prestige. Although in Africa, a typically

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<sup>25</sup> Muthee M. W. "Hitting *Target, Missing the Point: Youth Policies & Programmes in Kenya*," WWIS; Washington DC, 2010.

<sup>26</sup> Gregory, B.. "The Paradox of Public Diplomacy: Its Rise and 'Demise'." Washington, D.,C Feb.2014.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 10

peripheral continent and confronted with developmental challenges, its external policies and diplomacy have been directed, above all, to ensure economic support and foreign aid generally. A key objective of FP is to establish economic support for future development in most African nations. Persistent stagnation, even decline, in Africa's economies consequently implies that domestic obstacles will continue to drive foreign policy development.<sup>28</sup>

### **1.7.2 Youth Challenges and Opportunities and their Influences in the Advancement of Foreign Policy in Africa**

Africa is recognized for its abundance in human resources which is majorly composed of young people. Young people are very crucial to the success and prosperity of any nation; however, Africa is yet to harness this resource and probably use it to achieve national goals through foreign policy. Therefore, there is a need for extensive research into how the youth can be used to achieve national goals says Mutuku<sup>29</sup>. Interactions between the young people on various occasions like schools, streets, churches, and social media among others, creates a forum for youth empowerment in Africa.

Nyangito observes that elites are forcing FP elites to rely on external environment to obtain economic and political resources. Whether done individually or collectively, external policy reflects elites ' continuing efforts to manage threats to domestic security and to prevent unfair external manipulation in their decisions. Similar to its predecessors, modern African leaders are concerned legitimacy, stability in political scene and economic security whose

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<sup>28</sup> NPI-Africa. "Nairobi peace Initiative Africa: Review of Challenges Faced by Youths in Kenyan." Peace Agenda in Youth Development, 2016.

<sup>29</sup> Mutuku, C. M. "Youth Perspectives on their Empowerment in Sub-Saharan Africa: Case of Kenya." Kent University, 2011.



significance seems to be growing instead of decreasing.<sup>30</sup> In countries in Africa struck with violence and socio-economic disintegration, the outcomes of external policies are difficult to assess with certainty. A period of sound skepticism was created when Fp associated with strengthening the nation states of Africa.<sup>31</sup> Establishing conflict management in african countries and economic integration structures remains a crucial FP objective, but there is a continuous shadow of doubt on these efforts as economic retrogression, war escalations, or decay of inter-state relations norms. The problem of results is closely linked with the key to substantial change measurement. While democratization extends the spectrum of players in formulating policies, most of the problems have no significant impact on politics as they are either beyond their jurisdiction or their interests are ancillary.

The ability to influence events by an individual State in Africa has tended to decrease as local or regional matters are transferred to continental and global problems.<sup>32</sup> That's because such problems appear to be very far from immediate concerns of the concerned States, partially due to limited data to support policy; partly because there are few funds to tackle the issues involved; partially players may have diminished their potential due to their previous or more extensive involvement.

Although all African countries share the desire to rapidly develop their economies, they are partly boosting the foreign technology and capital.<sup>33</sup> However, there exist a broad divide in view whether transnational companies (TNCs), for example, are the appropriate agencies to

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<sup>30</sup> CBK, "Monthly Economic Review." Apr.2011.

<sup>31</sup> Ngunjiri, N. "Interaction of Kenyan Parliament Backbenchers and Kenyan Fp", Dept. of Government, UON), 2009.

<sup>32</sup> Adams, R. & Oloo G. & (2010). "Role of Parliament in Fp -Process in Kenya 1963 1993." M.A. Thesis, Dep. of Pol. Scie. & Public Adm., UON.

<sup>33</sup> Khadiagala, M. & Terrence, L. "African FP: Power & Process." London: Lynne, 2013.

carry out transfers of such capital and technology. Although Tanzania is a statist perpetrator of TNC activities, Ivory Coast's free enterprise practices an open-door policy towards these firms.<sup>34</sup>

Young people facing some challenges in Africa. In most African countries the young people constitute of a large population but the main challenges faced by these young people his lack of identity. However, challenges include drugs and substance abuse which often leads to disrespect towards their elders and lack of focus in life. Therefore, moral issues are part of the list of problems facing the youth in Africa. Family is the foundation of good morals and thus Africa needs a political system that can protect the family. Young people have a crisis identity where they do not know who they are and their responsibilities in society. Therefore, despite the fact that Africa has the largest number of young people these young people have nothing to offer to society. And sometimes these young people are very academic credentials but they are yet to comprehend their part in society.<sup>35</sup>

Unemployment of young people is also a problem facing African youth. And this gives them a license to engage in criminal activities and drug abuse. However, the youth possess a great deal of talent and creativity which can be harnessed to change the world. This calls for youth empowerment where the youth are given information and education so that they can be aggressive and objective towards their approach in life. All the above problems facing the youth in Africa have affected or influenced the foreign policy in Africa. That is the internal relations

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<sup>34</sup> Wanjohi, N. "Politics of Foreign Aid in Kenya since Independence 1963 –1977," Dissertation, Dept. of Govt, UON, 2011.

<sup>35</sup> Khadiagala, M. & Terrence, L. "African Foreign Policies; Power & Process." London: Lynne, 2013.

between the African countries themselves and Africa as a whole with the rest of the world.<sup>36</sup> For instance, Africa has opened itself to China to try and curb the unemployment crisis in the region. By so doing China has established over 800 corporations in Africa which targets the young intellectual minds.

Furthermore, improved relations between Africa, China, and other countries have opened opportunities for young people to study and work abroad attempt to solve the unemployment crisis in Africa. In addition, the internal relations between African nations have improved with an effort to help the youth. Most countries in Africa are rooting for economic integration which will open markets to African countries within a specific region.<sup>37</sup> For instance, Rwanda has opened its markets to other African countries like Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania among others for foreign direct investment and trade.

### **1.7.3 Foreign Policy Making in Kenya**

In December 1963, Kenya became a sovereign state in international relations. Nevertheless, Kenya hadn't had a single written foreign policy document since that time and numerous official papers and executive pronouncements, including the Kenya Constitution, told its foreign relations<sup>38</sup> Session Paper No. 10/1965 on Africa's Planning and Socialism in Kenya; sittings Paper No. 1/1986 on Economic Management in Renewed Growth; manifestations of the ruling parties; National Development Plans; Kenya's Environment Politics 2013, Kenya's Vision 2030 and Medium-term Plans. <sup>39</sup> During promulgation of the new Kenya

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<sup>36</sup> Keohane, R. "Internationalization & Domestic Politics Ministry of Foreign Affairs," Draft Paper on Kenya FP; Nairobi, 2010.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid

<sup>38</sup> Wanjohi, A. M. "State's Fp: Determinants and Constraints." KENPRO Publications, 2011.

<sup>39</sup> Keohane R. "Internationalization & Domestic Politics Ministry of Foreign Affairs," Draft Session Paper on Kenya Fp Framework; Nairobi, 2010.

constitution in 2010, foreign policy architects in Kenya laid down a foreign policy framework to help Kenya pursue her national interests globally in line with vision 2030. Kenya's FP framework outline the foreign policy objectives, guiding principles, philosophies, and values, pillars and institution and implementation framework<sup>40</sup>.

Five interconnected pillars form a base of Kenya's Fp: Peace Diplomatic pillar to reaffirm Kenya's role in building peace and security as a precondition of growth and prosperity in the region, Economic Diplomacy pillar which aims to secure Kenya's socio-economic development and prosperity to become a middle-ranking pillar, Diaspora Diplomacy Pillar which recognizes the value of leveraging the various facets, dynamics and potentials both in Kenyans living abroad and the African diaspora that currently emphasis on 6<sup>th</sup> region of AU; Environmental Diplomacy Pillar which is predicated on the Kenya's huge involvement in managing own wealth, the region's and the planet. Recognition. Like the custodian of mankind and rare flora and fauna, as host to UNEP, Kenya is expected to play a leadership role in environmental issues; and Cultural diplomatic pillar whose aim is the use of culture as a vital part of international relations, particularly via interalia: Kiswahili and renowned Kenyans including athletes, with a view to making greater use of national, regional and international trade.<sup>41</sup>

Kenya has in the recent past reiterated its engagement to lead multidimensional strategies and programs to tackle current challenges for her youth and to harness the various strengths and opportunities the youth have.<sup>42</sup> Article 26 of the Kenya 2010 Constitution

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<sup>40</sup> "Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, *Kenya Fp*." Nairobi, 2014; 20.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*, 21-27.

<sup>42</sup> Kimuyu, P. et al. "Kenya's Strategic Policies for the 21st Century; Macroeconomic and Sectoral Choices." Nairobi; IPAR,2010.

describes youth as the collective identity of persons in the country who are 18 years old and who have not yet attained 35 years.<sup>43</sup> The United Nations identifies young people from 15 to 24 years old, and the African Youth Charter describes young people as people from 15 to 35 years old. Kenya's development and the achievement of the Kenya Big Four Agenda 2030 are crucially driven by young people, and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).<sup>44</sup>

#### **1.7.4 Theoretical Literature**

In order to include domestic politics and decision-making factors, a significant turn has been made in major international relation theories (IR). For example, neoclassical realism and variants of liberalism and constructivism include the motives of State, perceptions, national political institutions, public opinion and political culture. Nevertheless, past studies into the Foreign policy analysis (FPA) examine how national policy factors influence actors' choices and policies have largely been overlooked by this conceptual growth. This presumes past breakdown of mainstream IR and FPA, leading to the significantly underdeveloped contemporary IR theories.

#### **Neoclassical Realism**

Neo-classical realism(NCR) emphasis on domestic politics and decision-making variables, has dramatically changed from its theoretical counterpart. This turn is ironic because realism has helped to promote the distinction of domestic and international political aspects. Neo-classical realists have tried to develop a comprehensible realist view point on Fp while refuting neo-realist claims that unit-level properties are less significant and citing IR theory is

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<sup>43</sup> “Kenya Constitution 2010, article 26.”

<sup>44</sup> “Ministry of Public Service, Youth and Gender Affairs, Kenya Youth Development Policy 2018: Draft 2.” Nairobi, Jan. 2019, VII – 1.

separated from foreign policy theory.<sup>45</sup> The NCR puts emphasis on the international system, but sees these as being absorbed into the Government. A broader variety of decision making and domestic political factors, including perceptions, motivations of country's political conducts, identity, domestic institutions, coalition buildings, and lessons of the past, affect State responses. Schweller states that domestic procedures act as transmitter belts that react to external forces, channel, mediate and redirect policy outputs (most notably relative power changes). Nations also respond somewhat differently to specific structural pressures and incentives, which may be less influenced than domestic ones by systemic factors. Neoclassical realists acknowledge systemic dynamics, however, that internal factors are needed to understand specific foreign policies, and they argue long-term trends.<sup>46</sup>

In NCR, there are differences in ontology. Some focus on domestic policy and coexistence between state and the entire society, placing the executive of national security in the focus with capacity to define national interest. Domestic politics constrain the bourgeoisie. The distinction between your tactic and alternative approach lies therein, according to the NCR. Other NCR researchers are more focused on domestic ideational elements like nationalism and ideology.<sup>47</sup> Leaders may have to inspire people for war, for example. They can invoke nationalistic sentiment in this way.<sup>48</sup> Some people consider decision-making processes, insights, convictions and motivations to be important as "neoclassical realistic foreign policy analysis underlines that decision-making in foreign policy is made by individuals, politicians

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<sup>45</sup> Norrin, M., Jeffrey, W. Taliaferro & Lobell, S. "Neoclassical Realist Theory of Intl Politics." UK: Oxford University Press, 2016.

<sup>46</sup> Lobell, S. & Taliaferro, J. "Neoclassical Realism, the State & Fp." NY: Cambridge University Press, 2009

<sup>47</sup> Taliaferro, J. "State Building for Future Wars: Neoclassical Realism & Resource-Extractive State." Security Studies 15, 3;2006: 464-95

<sup>48</sup> Dueck, C. "Realism, Culture & Grand Strategy: Explaining America's Peculiar Path to World Power." Security Studies, 14, 2: 195 – 231;2005

and the elites. Rose,<sup>49</sup> Included the concept of neoclassical realism as a critical intervening level variable for NCR Decision makers.

Wivel suggests hypotheses about motivations and concepts are central and in turn difficult to escape to the practical context.<sup>50</sup> Whereas, NCR views quite the same to extant researches in modern FPA, while other scientists build directly on FPA research, an FPA perception would question asking what is primary (and what is realistic) NCR's assumption that the international system privileges the national system.

Leaders' condition in NCR's responses to international system are intervention in national politics and decision-making. Ripsman for instance, places executive as main filter, but contends that global stresses are given first priority. In the context of FPA study that looks into policy and processes in making decision as at times equivalent to or more important than international factors, this order is not convincingly justified or accurate. More specifically, the neoclassical belief, as Fordham suggests, that domestic and international forces can easily be differentiated and termed as a challenge. Nor do neoclassical researchers always explain why some domestic variables are preferred than others, and it seems ad hoc that unitary features are added.<sup>51</sup> Extant studies on FP analysis would also question the characterization of executives by NCR in terms of domestic politics.

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<sup>49</sup> McDermott, R. "Risk-Taking in International Politics: Prospect Theory in American Fp." Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998.

<sup>50</sup> Wivel, A. "Between Paradise & Power: Denmark's Transatlantic Dilemma." Security Dialogue 36: 417, 2005.

<sup>51</sup> Wivel, A. "Between Paradise and Power: Denmark's Transatlantic Dilemma," Security Dialogue 36: 417, 2005.

## **Constructivism**

Further emphasis was also on domestic politics with the emergence of constructivist viewpoints in IR. Although certain constructivist variants concentrate on international policy building on the social dimension and benefits of common standards of systemic adequacy,<sup>52</sup> other constructivists enter states taking care of normative and ideational forces on a societal level. Constructivist constructs such as culture, history, values, discourses and responsibilities have been used to justify why some states are defying rational and progressive norms with their foreign policies. Constructivist discourse research focuses on the sense of language (seeing the legacy of cultural elements in the language).<sup>53</sup>

The relation between the FPA and constructivism is common to many, considering the theory of agency and ideas of constructivists. Smith points out that "social construction is supposed to start from premise that actors base their argument and this presumption is behind most foreign policy literature."<sup>54</sup> Kubalkova posit that the active FP mode expressed mostly under the word 'making' echoes with the emphasis of constructivists on social building processes.<sup>55</sup>

## **Liberalism**

New liberal theory may be the logical and anticipated place to identify domestic political ideologies. Indeed, in IR texts (for instance, Dunne, Kurki & Smith, 2010), only the value of internal institutions and the state is mostly divided into and presented as part of

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<sup>52</sup> Charles F. Hermann, ed., "When Things Go Wrong: Foreign Policy Decision Making under Adverse Feedback." London: Routledge, 2012.

<sup>53</sup> Smith, S. "Fp Is What States Make of It: Social Construction & International Relations Theory," in Vendulka Kubalkova, *Fp in a Constructed World*, 2001.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid

<sup>55</sup> Smith, S. "Fp Is What States Make of It: Social Construction & International Relations Theory," in Vendulka Kubalkova, *Fp in a Constructed World*, 2001.



liberalism. Doyle states that "liberals pay greater attention than realists to national systems and individual differences<sup>56</sup>. For liberal IR theory, this was not always the case. While liberalism in Keohane and Nye (1977) included multiple channels of sub-state acting in form of 'complex interdependency,' liberalism later transformed liberality (with theories concerning rationality, and the unitary actor) into a neoliberal one in order to challenge realism for itself. The theory of the liberal regime did not include domestic political variables directly (Krasner 1983). But in the 1990s, liberalist forms (ideational, market, and republican) rejected the concept of the Unitary State.

While Keohane and Nye's liberalism had several networks to effect states by the sub-state actors, Keohane later turned liberalism into its neoliberal variant in an effort to challenge realism on its own basis. Even in the concept of a democratic government, domestic political factors have not been integrated.<sup>57</sup> Although, in the 1990s liberalist (ideational, financial and republican) varieties rejected the concept of a unitary state.

All variants of liberals ' theory of IR, according to Moravcsik, believe that individuals and private groups are the main players in international politics.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, Liberalism has not been very comfortable with much work into domestic politics and government decision-making. In general, expectations of rational behavior, states that are simply distribution belts

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<sup>56</sup> Thomas, E. "Doyle II Liberal democracy & nuclear despotism: two ethical Fp dilemmas." *Ethics & Global Politics*, 6:3, 155-174, 2013.

<sup>57</sup> Keohane, R. & Nye, Jr., S. "Power & Interdependence: World Politics in Transition," Boston: Little-Brown, 1989.

<sup>58</sup> Moravcsik, A. "Explaining international human rights regimes: Liberal theory & Western Europe." *Eur Journal of Intl. Relations*, 1 (2), 157-189, 1995.

for domestic interests and limits on policy politics by investors and the public are against an approach to the FPA.<sup>59</sup>

### **1.7.5 Literature Gap**

National states are the major players in world politics, but they are not the only actors. International community, National Governments and private organizations are active in the international system. Although thousands of international organisations, students of international relations, were established in the post-WW II. The increasing numbers of international organisations are paralleling financial, social, cultural and political nature of a country, persons and communities in increasing numbers. Bulging of a number of both state and non-state actors threatens and at the same time weakens "state-centered" international politics, replacing it with a "transnational" process with a more complex relationship. The international environment was changed by these organizations. Here it meant that young people's involvement in politics was important because they made up a significant part of society.

Strong, all-inclusive policies and strategies recognize young people in their own and broader growth as active actors of change and actors. Nonetheless, without the input of youth or consultations most proposals with a direct or indirect effect on young people are produced and implemented, showing both a lack of recognition of the significance that young people can have in decision-making and a lack of recognition of youth's right to participate in matters that affect them. Youth are a vital resource in creating strategies for young people and young

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<sup>59</sup> Moravcsik, A. "Did Power Politics Cause European Integration?" *Realist Theory Meets Qualitative Methods*. *Security Studies*, 22:4, 773-790,2013.

adults.<sup>60</sup> Their personal knowledge gives them a unique perspective on their situation and innovative ideas and solutions which can guide policy to address some of the most pressing challenges they face.

## **1.8 Theoretical Framework**

The study will apply the liberalism theory which proposes the perfection of man or the government. The theory shares some constitutive principles with other theories but it is distinguished from these theories by attaching different relative importance to different principles. Basically, the theory is based on these two main approaches that are equal rights and liberty. The liberals generally support individual rights, limited government, democracy, gender equality, freedom of the press, and freedom of among other principles.<sup>61</sup> Liberalism theory supposes that the government must be neutral on the question of a good life but goes ahead to state that government cannot be neutral by treating all its citizens equally without an established theory of what you human beings ought to be. Therefore, liberalism takes the equality theory as its constitutive political morality.<sup>62</sup>

Africa is majorly composed of the youth and thus applying liberal economic theory to young and energetic mind would increase the wealth of the society, that is, Africa in general and the specific nations. Consequently, the African region through individual nations would be forced to formulate a foreign policy that provides for youth development, thus governments should emphasize on free internal and international trade in order to provide youth with opportunities to develop themselves without the need for formal employment. Therefore,

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<sup>60</sup> Ortiz, I. & Cummins, J. "When the Global crisis and Youth Bulge Collide. Double the Jobs for Youth." UNICEF Social and Economic Policy working paper, 2012.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid

<sup>62</sup> Keohane, R. & Nye, S. "Power & Interdependence, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed." NY, NY: Longman, 2001.

based on the challenges faced by the youth this theory proposals change in foreign policy to include free internal and international trade and it is opposed to restricted trade references and trade unions. That is, liberalism advocates for the wellbeing of the citizens of a nation and emphasizes that the wellbeing is fundamental to building a just political system.

Constructivism plays a key role in liberalism as it bring in the social perspectives that bring meaning to international affairs. The Rising constructivist views in IR have also given domestic policy greater attention. While some constructivism variants concentrate on the social structure of international politics and the value of common norms on structural appropriateness,<sup>63</sup> other constructivists go to countries and attend to normative and ideational forces on a societal level. For example, constructionist theories of culture, history, values, rhetoric and responsibilities were used to understand why certain states defy rational and progressive expectations of their foreign policy. Constructivist discourse analyzes focus on how language is a meaning (often seen in a language as a remnant of underlying cultural understanding). In recent times, builders investigated domestic challenges and internalization of standards.<sup>64</sup>

Study employs liberal constructivism because, given the concept of agency and ideas of constructionists, the connection between constructivism and FPA is natural. Smith observes, social construction begins with the assertion that actors create their worlds, and this idea lies behind many of the writings on foreign policy. Social construction and study of foreign policy

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<sup>63</sup> Hermann, C. "When Things Go Wrong: Fp Decision Making under Adverse Feedback." London: Routledge, 2012.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid

looked at each other.<sup>65</sup> Furthermore, the active external mode expressed even in the term 'making' echoes the emphasis of constructivists on social construction processes.<sup>66</sup>

## **1.9 Research Methodology**

This section will provide research methodology and areas covering subheadings; study sites, research design, population, sample and procedure of sampling, data gathering instruments, validity and reliability of the instruments, procedure of obtaining data and data analysis and ethical considerations.

### **1.9.1 Research Design**

As a general plan for research design, the researcher employed descriptive approach as a techniques for the data collection and the data analysis procedures is used to capture primary and secondary information.

This study used both primary and secondary qualitative and quantitative data. The primary data was collected using questionnaires self-administered to secure the highest response rate attainable, save time, give the respondents and researcher a chance to freely interact, hence this made it possible to get more accurate information. The questionnaires were distributed to the most relevant respondents. Pilot tests of six questionnaires were conducted to measure the efficiency of the questionnaire<sup>67</sup>.

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<sup>65</sup> Steve Smith, "Foreign Policy Is What States Make of It: Social Construction and International Relations Theory" in Vendulka Kubalkova, Foreign Policy in a Constructed World, 2001

<sup>66</sup> Smith, S. "Fp Is What States Make of It: Social Construction and International Relations Theory: in Vendulka Kubalkova, Fp in a Constructed World." 2001.

<sup>67</sup> Bryman, A. & Bell, E. "*Business and Research Methods.*" Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2ed, 2007<sup>28</sup>  
Ngechu. M, Understanding *the research process and methods. An introduction to Research methods.* Nairobi, ACTS Press, 2004.

### 1.9.2 Target Population

In statistics, the target population is a specific population intending to obtain information from. A well-defined or group of persons, services, elements and occurrences, group of things or households are examined in a population. The study population comprised of Kenyan youth in general and government officials from ministries mandated with implementation of Kenya's Foreign Policy and youth empowerment for national development.

### 1.9.3 Sampling design and size

Sampling is a process that researchers use to select a representative number of study items from a given population<sup>68</sup>. The sampling plan describes the sampling unit, sampling frame, sampling procedures and the sample size for the study. Out of the targeted population of Kenyan Youth and government officials in ministries mandated with implementation of Kenya's Foreign Policy and youth empowerment for national development, a representative sample was picked. Target groups consisted of individuals, officials from relevant ministries and institutions who are well-informed such specialists and technocrats, as well as policy makers. Table 1.1 details the breakdown of these groups with the sample size.

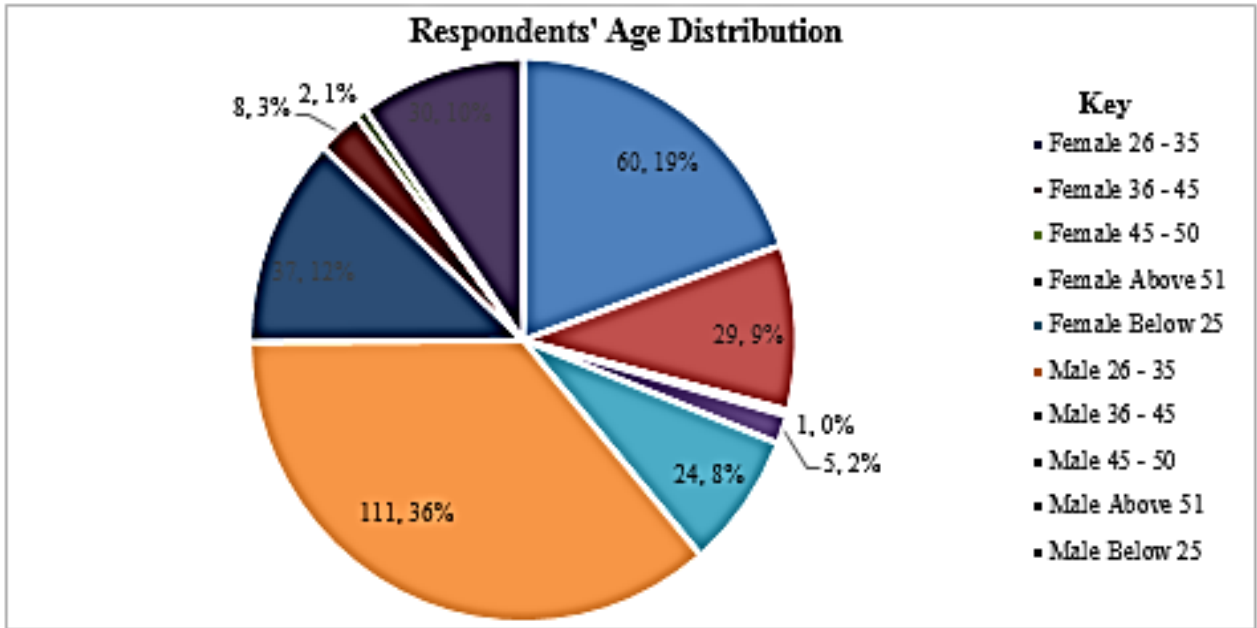
**Table 1.1: Sample Distribution by Categories**

<b>State and non-state actors Targeted</b>	<b>Numbers of interviewees targeted</b>
Policy Makers	20
Foreign Policy experts	20
Experts in Youth engagement	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>

<sup>68</sup> Kombo, D.K. & Tromp, D. L. A, "Proposal and Thesis writing: An introduction." Nairobi: Pauline's Publications Africa, 2006.

#### **1.9.4 Data Collection Method**

The first phase of the study involved collecting secondary data from government publications and non-government sources such as publications by Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Ministry of Public Service, Youth, and Gender Affairs, African embassies The African Development Bank Group (AfDB) among others as well as internet sources such as published peer reviewed journal articles. The second phase of the study was the collection of primary data by use of questionnaires covering structured, semi-structured and open-ended questions divided into 3 sections each addressing a specific objective. They were administered through direct and online platform interviews. Most of the qualitative data were obtained through focus group discussions (FGDs) with various categories of samples from the population. These were individuals drawn from the civil society, the general public, and students but each FGD, consisting of between 7 and 10 participants, was held separately. In order to get more insight on this topic, Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) were conducted with stakeholders like the cabinet secretary and senior policy makers. Email correspondences and telephone correspondences were used for the unavailable respondents as a means of primary data collection. A total of 307 individual respondents, distributed according to the age categories in Fig. 1, participated in the online questionnaire interviews. Of this, the highest proportion of the participants, 44% were employed, 25% entrepreneurs and 6% students.



**Figure 1.1: Respondents' Age Distribution**

### 1.9.5 Data Presentation and Analysis

The quantitative data collected was analysed by both descriptive and inferential methods and presented in tables, figures and percentages as used in the discussion sections. Qualitative data was also sorted to build up thematic analysis and discussion.

### 1.9.6 Scope of the Study

The study particularly gave a general view of the involvement of youths in the foreign policy advancement. It sought to examine the influence of challenges faced by African and more particularly for the study, the Kenyan youths with the scope specifically covering the political and social-economic challenges faced by the Kenyan youths and how these does, and should influence foreign policy making, throughout the entire foreign policy formulation process. The study area was in Nairobi as the Kenyan capital city and hub for international affairs and business.



### **1.9.7 Limitations of the Study**

The researcher encountered several challenges; biased information (diplomats in favor of their states), credibility and reliability of the secondary data since the topic of study has not been adequately researched on, particularly the youth – foreign policy in Kenya, however, the assurance of confidentiality and voluntary participation of respondents will assist in reliability of information given. Secondly, the topic under study is inadequately researched in Kenya thus secondary data was scanty. This is in addition to the shortages of relevant and in-depth, comprehensive and width of the previous studies. However, researcher tried to overcome these challenges through critical and comprehensive reading of documents relevant to the topic under consideration, both printed and online statements and reports.

### **1.9.8 Ethical Considerations**

The study objectives and methodology were deeply explained to those participating in the study and the principle of voluntary participation and the requirement of informed consent emphasized to ensure confidentiality. To protect interviewee's confidentiality, the timing and the location of the interview were not disclosed to anybody else. Their personal details and identification were kept confidential except with express permission from participant to disclose such. All permits needed to be able to conduct the interviews were attained beforehand.

## **1.10 Chapter Outline**

**Chapter One:** entails introduction and background, statement of the research problem, justifications, objectives, literature review, conceptual framework, hypothesis, methodology and structure of the study.

**Chapter Two:** *Conceptualization of Foreign Policy and Youths foreign policy interests.* This will include literature review on the evolution and conceptualization of foreign policy and changing aspects of youth issues from a regional and global perspective.

**Chapter Three:** *Review of Kenya Foreign Policy and Youth based Policies:* This will focus on the Kenya foreign policy and youth engagement in issues of foreign policy. The chapter will examine the challenges, interventions of current policies.

**Chapter Four:** *Challenges and Opportunities of Youth Participation in Foreign Policy Formulation.* This will focus on different prospects and opportunities to enhance youth participation in advancing foreign policy in Kenya.

**Chapter Five:** *Findings and Discussions.* This Chapter will present findings from the field work undertaken for the study in answering the research questions.

**Chapter Six:** *Conclusion and Recommendations.* This Chapter will evaluate the constructs from the study and articulate the way forward in matters of what should be done to fill the gaps arising and solutions to apply. It will conclude on the role and interests of youths as non-state actors in foreign policy enhancement.

**CHAPTER TWO**  
**CONCEPTUALIZATION OF FOREIGN POLICY DETERMINING FACTORS AND**  
**FACTORS AND ACTORS, GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE**

**2.0 Introduction**

Foreign policy covers typically the actions or approach of a government in relation to foreign players. <sup>69</sup> FP consists of strategies, principles, decisions and actions made on their behalf by the States and by national governments in connection with national societies' external relations. It is this understanding that then castigates into each player understanding and participating in their roles to facilitate the processes of foreign policy's existence, actualization and outcome.

Many youth relate with a general view of foreign policy with minimal deviations that might not negatively influence their expectations from and in relation to such policies. Seeing foreign policy as directives, mechanisms, guidelines and strategies of a country that determine and guide how it engages with other countries as it seeks to safeguard its own interests in the international arena is comprehensive enough among the general population. They are the institutions that exist that regulate the framework of engagement between Kenya and other nations e.g. EALA, East Africa Youth Council and East African Court among others that handle dispute resolutions between member states. It is a self-chosen and clear structures of how countries relate socially and economically. Thus, foreign policy looks at situations as they are, the challenges and ways to address them. Misconceptions such as foreign policy being the way the government should relate to the youth to bring out their concerns upfront and what the

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<sup>69</sup> Barkin, S "Realism, Prediction, and Fp." Fp Analysis, 5, July: 233-46, 2009.

ordinary young people are doing to engage ordinary people in other countries also exist.<sup>70</sup> This chapter discusses the concepts of foreign policy and the determining factors and actors.

## **2.1 Overview of Foreign Policy**

The field of foreign policy together with its processes is represented from a broader picture.<sup>71</sup> There is a 'topography' in each terrain which differs from the foreign policy studied. Nonetheless, Arena provides policy makers with potential resources; these may be of a physical, social, political or economic nature. In general there are three main contexts in the foreign policy arena: the global viewpoint, state and in local viewpont. International contexts. Global environments, Väyrynen notes, are a global area from which foreign policy opportunities and problems emerge.<sup>72</sup> To international understanding the hierarchies of power and influence to international politics, other relevant factors are military, financial, political and geographical. The political background is second to the foreign policy field.

The policies are created to meet goals that start from global to regional and are broken down locally; therefore, it is the provision of foreign policies to help guide how these will be addressed. In the spirit of safeguarding the national interests, foreign policy provides for terms of engagement in which different countries agree on how they can participate in activities within each other's territories without negatively exploiting one another. In this case, such policy is geared to create order in the international systems and aligning individual interests to meet the interests of the country through bilateral agreements and other agreements.

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<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Taljaard, R. & Venter, A. "Parliament," In Venter, A. & Landsberg, C. (eds.). "Government & Politics in the New South Africa," 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers, 17-39, 2006.

<sup>72</sup> Väyrynen, R. "Stable Peace through Security Communities? Steps towards Theory-building." In: Kacowicz, A., Bar-Sim-Tov, Y., Elgström, 2000.

Foreign policy is traditionally viewed as confined to specialist experts and not subject to ordinary policy. Regime styles, decision-makers and officials all have an important role to play in deciding government actions in foreign policy. Domestic politics are the third background. In order to ensure consistency, Fp is usually isolated from political scene in the grassroots level. Except during a major national crisis affecting the great masses, the great majority of people who are uninformed and unselfish see foreign policy as far-reaching.<sup>73</sup> Besides the internal political characteristics that constitute national identity or cultural characteristics, foreign policy is also important, given that it defines the role of the state in the world:

*“FP is based on a country’s domestic policy, which basically defines the national interests of a country; economic, political and the social priorities of a country”.* ~ CS, Hon. Dr. Amina Mohamed

This is what is projected into the international arena. In foreign policy the contexts and the three characteristics of players, problems and interests that give life and momentum to contexts can almost never be broken.

Prys points out, for existence of FP, there should be participants and actors who are key in its formulation and implementation. The problem is equally important and represents the goals of each government's foreign policy agenda and dictates the allocation of resources of each country. Survival and security are irreducible priorities of states with regard to interests and are generally central to national interests when formulating international politics.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Crotty, D. “Political Science: Looking To the Future. Comparative Politics, Policy and International Relations.” Illinois: North Western University Press, 1991.

<sup>74</sup> Prys, M. “Regional Hegemon or Regional Bystander: Kenya’s Zimbabwe Policy 2000-2005.” *Politikon*, 36(2): 193-218, 2009.

According to Olatunde et al., The Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) are a major policy listed when addressing the formulation of foreign policy.<sup>75</sup> Those EU-ACP trade agreements (African, Caribbean and Pacific) is being debated for over eight years now, and the first full EU-CARIFORUM (Caribbean Group) EPA only was signed in 2008. The EPA is intended to replace the current commercial ties under the GATT (General Tariff and Trade Agreement) non-reciprocal trade preferences arrangement defined in Lomé. Under the latest rules of the World Trade Organization (WTO), the Lomé Conventions have no longer been compliant with the laws (which are perceived as being discriminatory in favor of non-ACP developing countries).<sup>76</sup>

Okoth argues the EPAs were conceived as long-term partnerships to foster the effective incorporation of six regions into global economy by fostering poverty and sustainable development.<sup>77</sup> Gradual tariff removal and non-tariff barriers should ultimately lead to formation of local open-trades among ACP member states or ACP counties and EU. EPAs are said to be incoherent with the 'EU's development policy' in many ways, despite the potential benefits arising from this trade regime.<sup>78</sup> In states that multilateral negotiations have led to increased regional integration, bilateral negotiations to set up interim EPAs are now underway.

Most countries have not been able to negotiate with the EU fairly according to Zondi, because they have not enough experience to track all the complicated provisions of the agreements.<sup>79</sup> The EPAs cover responsibilities relating to WTO in regions like development,

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<sup>75</sup> Olatunde, J., Ojo, D., Orwa C. & Utete, M. "African International Relations." Lagos: Longman, 2005.

<sup>76</sup> Wallace W. "The Fp Process in Britain." London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 2011.

<sup>77</sup> Okoth P. "Kenya Fp During the Moi Era. African Review of Fp," Vol.1, No. 3, July. 2010.

<sup>78</sup> Bell, M. "Military Assistance to Independent African States." London: The Institute for Strategic Studies, Adelphi Paper No. 15., 2009.

<sup>79</sup> Zondi, S. "Kenya. Working Paper 40. The Brookings Global Economy and Development," 2011.

government procurement, competition policy, payment of current accounts, the environment, economic, cultural co-operation and the security of intellectual property rights (IPR). These do not form part of the current WTO negotiations and need not to be included if the EPA is to be compliant with the WTO. Various factors in the area of development cooperation often point out that, as embraced by Article 208 of Treaty on Functioning of European Union (TFEU), the EU takes its economic interests into account, apart from prosperity of developing countries, and that the various obligations such as the MDGs.<sup>80</sup>

Spies argues that FP actors try to balance local interest and outside conditions, utilizing the resources available, tools and structures necessary to do so.<sup>81</sup> And that FP is important to understand the relations between the two worlds in specific domestic and external contexts. As major foreign policy actors, elites are continuously constraining institutions, but sometimes these policymakers can operate around those boundaries and manage national and international tensions. The results are interesting because they address broad questions as to how elites achieve their foreign policy objectives, particularly their equilibrium of means and goals.<sup>82</sup>

Prys contend that its implementation is the main challenge for FP. Correct Fp and diplomatic management is a major contributor to success/failure of the Fp implementation.<sup>83</sup> The execution of foreign policy, plus management of the diplomatic service and the policy itself. This suggests that it is important to review the conventional frameworks of separation

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<sup>80</sup> Nieuwkerk, A. "Kenya's National Interest. *African Security Review*," 13(2): pp. 89-101, 2005.

<sup>81</sup> Spies, Y. "The Multilateral Maze and (Kenya's Quest for Permanent United Nations Security Council Representation." *Strategic Review for Kenya*, xxx (1):96-123, 2008.

<sup>82</sup> Southall, R. "Introduction: Kenya, an African Peacemaker? In: Southall, R. (ed.). *Kenya's Role in Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking in Africa*." Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council, p.27-58. (2006).

<sup>83</sup> Prys, M. "Developing a Contextually Relevant Concept of Regional Hegemony; Case of Kenya, Zimbabwe and Quite Diplomacy, In *GIGA Research Programme: Violence*." *Power and Security*, No. 77. Published by GIGA German Institute of Global & Area Studies, 2008.

between politics and administration. This will help communicate policy priorities across various government departments. Otherwise, there will be turf wars between lawmakers and managers and FP will be held hostage on its application.

Muller posit that internal social structure and configuration of political power are the interests and aims that a country needs to safeguard while interacting with other countries.<sup>84</sup> More precisely the class that controls and exercises state power should shape Fp and do so according to its own class interests, despite being politically rationalised as the interests of the entire nation. Last but not least, there should be no shared interests of the members of a national state.<sup>85</sup>

Lentner posit that all of these, depending on the given political circumstance, are in line with nation-wide interests, including the defense of country's sovereignty, national independence and territorial integrity of a country.<sup>86</sup> In most cases, though, decisions on foreign policy are not specifically connected to main interests and principles as Holsti has called them. Routine decision-making in external policy tends to focus on the so-called mid-scale targets, including attempts to influence other States' actions, such as inter-state economic, commercial and political relations.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Muller, M. "The Institutional Dimension: The Department of Foreign Affairs and Overseas Missions. In: Carlsnaes, W. & Muller, M. (eds.). *Change and South African External Relations.*" Halfway House: International Thomson Publishing, 51-72, 1997.

<sup>85</sup> McGowan, J., Cornelissen, S. & Nel, P. "Power, Wealth and Global Equity: An International Relations Textbook for Africa." 3rd ed. Lansdowne: Institute for Global Dialogue, pp. 301-330, 2004.

<sup>86</sup> Lentner, H. "Hegemony and Autonomy." *Political Studies*, v.53, 735- 752, 2005.

<sup>87</sup> Kagwanja, P. "Power and Peace: Kenya and the Refurbishing of Africa's Multilateral Capacity for Peacemaking. In: Southall, R. (ed.). *Kenya's Role in Conflict Resolution and Peacemaking in Africa.* Cape Town." Human Sciences Research Council, pp. 27-58, 2006.



Hornby argues that the extension or reinforcement of domestic policy is FP.<sup>88</sup> There is therefore no substance to distinguish between the two. Rather, it is based on the fact that the foreign policy of a state takes into account the views, actions and responses of other actors, while in particular its domestic policies are not burdened by such considerations. The more tools and instruments a State has, the more likely it is to influence the development of the international system in a direction that benefits itself. The stronger a state is, the greater its ability to control others, i.e., the greater its ability to reach the foreign policy objectives.

Habib and Selinyane have provided a more thorough formulation on the aspect of means and ability.<sup>89</sup> The report suggests a system of Fp which stems from five factors: natural materials of fundamental importance, including territory size, population, geographic location, country's development and resources and of economic technology; social structures and powers, including social class, ethnic composition, and social cultural and psychological factors at work; the system of government of decision-making and leadership that refers to the use of state power for the holders and decision-makers of the current office.

Foreign policy is a synthesis, in relation to other countries, of the goals and interests sought and protected by the government and its ruling class as well as the strategies and means used for the promotion and protection of its interests and purposes.<sup>90</sup> Different methods and means achieve the purpose and interests of the State in international relations. The five previously mentioned variables specifically apply to policy-making and implementation.

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<sup>88</sup> Hornby, A. "Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary: International Student's Edition." 7th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

<sup>89</sup> Habib, A. & Selinyane, N. "Kenya's Fp and a Realistic Vision of an African Century. In: Sidiropoulos, E. (ed). Renaissance Future: Kenya 's Fp." Nairobi: Kenya Institute of International Affairs, pp 49-60, 2004.

<sup>90</sup> Gelb, S. "Kenya's Role and Importance in Africa and for the Development of the African Agenda," 2001.

Unfortunately, they can not be allocated weights which a priori indicate their relative importance in policy making. Two general comments were made by Alden and Le Pere.<sup>91</sup> Mainly, the five variables are to be seen as having to fall into the three general format: ones that are inherent in the persistent and unchanging physical realities which the leader can not at least change or can only modify at a high cost in terms of resources and time.

Variables are groups according to, firstly the so-called basic natural materials and the structure and strength of society. The second series applies to the State system, including the government institutions and agencies, that those in control or at their initiative may make a more or less simple improvement. The Third Contingency and Leadership Variables are both unpredictable and able to influence policymaking in a sudden and decisive way. For example, the 1971 Uganda *coup de tat* and General Idi Amin's personality and leadership style have had a major impact on the content and direction of Uganda's foreign policy following the coup.<sup>92</sup>

Rana noted that in today's world of increased competition for superpowers, even local or regional issues, as a result of intervention by superpowers can and often assume a global character.<sup>93</sup> “Territorial conflicts in African states, civil wars in Nigeria and Chad and political conflict between Egypt and Libya resulted to explicit intervention from the superpower. Not only does the search for solutions to the problems involved mean that external intervention decrease the ability of the developing countries concerned to influence resolving this problem or problems.” In the 1990s, Africa underwent a major transformation. Juma says that in Africa

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<sup>91</sup> Alden, C. & Le Pere, G. “Kenya’s Post-apartheid Fp: From Reconciliation to Ambiguity?” Review of African Political Economy, 31(100): pp. 283-297,2004.

<sup>92</sup> Adebajo, A., Adedeji, A. & Landsberg, C. “South Africa in Africa: The Post-apartheid Era.” Scottsville: University of Kwa-Zulu Natal Press, pp. 213-235,2009.

<sup>93</sup> Rana K. “Inside Diplomacy.” New Delhi: Manas Publications, 2010.

there is now and only now a post-colonial era coming to an end, and that the problem facing the mainland and its understanders is discerning what's taking.<sup>94</sup> The cold war and apartheid ended, and two problems that formed a large part of African FP were withdrawn with their departure. On a national basis the continuing economic crisis and the collapse of the post-colonial neo-patrimonial state are changing the estimates of political changes as a consequence of the increase in pressure for reform. The topography of power and institutional arrangements on the whole continent and therefore the context in which decisions of foreign policy are taken have changed as a result of these international and national changes.

African leaders have in some cases responded to their economic and political process changes with stress and fragility, in other cases pressure has led to the fall of the government. Many countries still remain in balance between these two extremes. The overall survival constraints of weak countries remained dominant in African external policy at the start of the twenty-first century.

## **2.2 A Domestic Political Perspective on Foreign Policy**

There is strong fire from several directions to the view that foreign and domestic policy can be separated. Previous research has convincingly shown that domestic policy matters for large-scale foreign policy, foreign economic policy and diplomatic relations (see below), although largely struggling to show that it matters for the development of foreign security policy in small countries. Moreover, it is unclear how local political factors influence external policy making in small states and under what circumstances.

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<sup>94</sup> Juma, V. "Foreigners to drive Kenya's New Trade-centered Diplomacy, Business Daily (Nairobi) China Vehicle Maker to Open Kenya Plant Business Daily." (Nairobi) Apr. 5<sup>th</sup>,2012.

The domestic political viewpoint discussed emphasizes on how liberal states respond to FP political opposition.<sup>95</sup> From this context, it is a double-level game in which the government balances its perceived domestic interest and assesses domestic political restrictions in Joe D. Hagan's speech,<sup>96</sup> the relationship existing between domestic and FP stems mainly from the domestic necessity for political survival. One objective is clearly for politicians to maintain political power and, where possible, to improve the political support necessary to maintain their positions. If Fp issues not compatible with domestic situation, foreign policymakers may require adjustment to make them more compatible with domestic requirements.

Foreign policy may be changed as leaders who seek ways to strengthen their political power over domestic difficulties find external policy a helpful strategy for this purpose.<sup>97</sup> Thomas Volgy and John Schwarz assert that<sup>98</sup> ‘ Politicians have a desire to survive. The ultimate goal of fundamental policy changes is in situations and circumstances. In this research, two domestic political considerations have been outlined in terms of the theory: (1) the political party opposition and (2) public opposition. The opposition of the political party addresses the government challenges posed by parliamentary political parties but who are not representative in the government. <sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Davies, G. A. M. “Inside Out or Outside In: Domestic and International Factors Affecting Iranian Fp Towards the United States 1990–2004.” *Fp Analysis*, 4: 209-225, 2008.

<sup>96</sup> Hagan, J. D. “Political Opposition and Fp in Comparative Perspective.” Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1993.

<sup>97</sup> Knopf, J. W. “Domestic Sources of Preferences for Arms Cooperation: The Impact of Protest.” *Journal of Peace Research*, 1998;35: 677-695.

<sup>98</sup> Volgy, T. J. & Schwarz, J. E. “Does Politics Stop at the Water’s Edge? Domestic Political Factors and Fp Restructuring in the Cases of Great Britain, France, and West Germany.” *Journal of Politics*, 1991; 53: 615-643. Walt

<sup>99</sup> Hagan, 1993: 82, Op cit

The field of IR have traditionally considered ruling party to have relatively little influence on FP <sup>100</sup>. But a number of researches have shown, however, that opposition political parties matters, particularly with regard to large-scale foreign policy, foreign economic policy and diplomacy.<sup>101</sup> According to Hagan, the presence of political opposition parties in foreign policy is potentially determined by two attributes: (1) its power and (2) the frequency. An opposition party's strength is based on its number of seats in the parliament.

Through a contrast between the number of seats under the control of the government party, or parties, and the combined total representation of all the opposition party, the power of the opposition parties can therefore be measured. The opposition political party is "important when it controls enough seats to threaten government control over the political process and keep the public highly visible as alternative voice in domestic politics."<sup>102</sup> The power of the political opposition may be seen from the cohesiveness of the coalition, from fractured to unified. If a large number of the opposition parties are under influence by different parties, then they are less likely to be able to work together to launch an effective attack against the government.<sup>103</sup>

The strength of opposition relates to the magnitude of the opposition of the parties, which goes from supporting the policy agenda of the government to opposition to continuing democracy. <sup>104</sup> Government challenges are addressed by public opinion, which influences Fp by expressing own views on political matters and, in process, influence governments to adjust their foreign policies, because governments depend on their support. Public opposition. In IR

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<sup>100</sup> Kesgin, B. & Kaarbo, J. "When and How Parliaments Influence Fp: The Case of Turkey's Iraq Decision." *International Studies Perspectives*, 2010;11: 19-36.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid

<sup>102</sup> Hagan, 1993 Op cit

<sup>103</sup> Ibid, 85

<sup>104</sup> Ibid, 83

discipline it has historically been regarded as relatively insignificant for the public in terms of Fp, where the voter is represented as apathetic and unconcerned about international matters. Frontier voters are more interested in immediate social or economic issues, according to this traditional perspective. Extant studies conducted on first twenty years following the World War II led to three proposals on public opinion: (1) it is volatile and therefore provides an insufficient basis for stable and effective foreign policy, (2) it has little or no cohesive effect on foreign policy, and (3) it has little, if any, impact.<sup>105</sup>

In the last few years, many researches have been carried out that contradict traditional views. For instance, some literature indicates that public opinion tends to create a context in which government action in Fp is viewed as admissible.<sup>106</sup> Some past researches were conducted in recent years which counter the conventional view. For example, a literature show public opinion tends to establish the framework for action of foreign policy that governments perceive as admissible.<sup>107</sup> Such two opposition groups may either act as a carrier to or as an obstacle to foreign policy reform, depending on the situation. While a carrier is seen as an incentive to change, a challenge is called a barrier to change, or a factor of stabilization.<sup>108</sup>

Where there is sufficient and strong support of the rival parties to current policies, the political party opposition acts as a barrier for change, as an indicator that determines whether a certain domestic political factor serves as a carrier for or as a barrier to change. Alternatively, public opposition is a barrier to change if current policy is profoundly anchored in society and reflects

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<sup>105</sup> Holsti, O. R. "Public Opinion and Fp: Challenges to the Almond-Lippmann Consensus." *International Studies Quarterly* 36: 439-466,1992

<sup>106</sup> Tomz, M. "Domestic Audience Costs in International Relations: An Experimental Approach." *International Organization* 61: 821-840,2007.

<sup>107</sup> Wittkopf, 1996, Op cit

<sup>108</sup> Kleistra, Y. & Mayer, I. "Stability and Flux in Foreign Affairs: Modelling Policy and Organizational Change." *Cooperation and Conflict* 36: 381-414,2001

public views. If the political support of rival political parties for current policies or rival parties demands change is inadequate, political opposition may serve as an agent of reform. Conversely, public opposition acts as a barrier to reform if the present policies are deeply rooted in society and represent the public opinion. When rival political parties' support for current policies or rival party demands reform is inadequate, then the opposition political parties can serve as a catalyst for change. Conversely, public opposition serves as a conduit of reform where current policy is strongly disapproved by public opinion. Therefore the carriers and barriers are two sides of the same coin, where the circumstances decide whether the coin will land on either side.

### **2.3 The Emergent Global Youth Bulge**

In recent literature there has been greater concern about the non-participation of young people are rebelled by scholars as 'global youth bulge.' Ortiz and Cummins characterize the young Bulgarian as a demographic phenomenon where the proportion of the population aged 15-24 years in comparison with other age groups increases significantly.<sup>109</sup> This means that inclusion of youths in democracies is even more important because if the youth trend continues the most population in various countries will be younger in time. In this respect, the lack of youth participation, which constitutes a significant proportion of the population, makes political processes vulnerable to some political elites manipulation. The truth is that decision-makers of the nation are not an objective population representative, and therefore the interest of the people in policy decisions will most likely not be recognized and realized. Such, may lead to

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<sup>109</sup> Ortiz. I. Cummins, J. "When the Global crisis and Youth Bulge Collide. Double the Jobs for Youth." UNICEF Social & Economic Policy working paper, 2012.

improper channeling of youth energy into activities detrimental not only to the country but also to the policy processes and international relations.

Agbor, Tawio and Smith argue that there is a higher participation of youth in policy formulation among African states where a relatively higher demographic pattern of youth bubbles.<sup>110</sup> Researchers further indicated that African youth (age between 15-24) have bulging population than any other part of the world, the authors note that this concern certainly applies. Researchers studying the youth bulges phenomenon, like Ortiz and Cummings, focused on the economic consequences of the young bulges, arguing that there are not enough jobs in the global market to employ young people. Urdal's study shows that young people often play a leading role in criminal and political violence, generally speaking.<sup>111</sup> Their active energy in pursuit of change and the change process is undeniably significant, assumptions made against their potential is as reiterated earlier hazardous.

Urdal strongly suggests that education is the key to preventing young people from acting in violence. The position of this thesis is that, though significant, education and factors mentioned by Urdal are not enough to curb youth crime and its likelihood of being used as instruments of political violence.<sup>112</sup> Besides education, the point is that young people need to be included in political bodies effectively in order to give rise to a sense of inclusion.

*“For one to be a good representative of Kenya, you must have the pulse of the youth in Kenya. You must feel that pulse and know where it’s headed. You cannot*

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<sup>110</sup> Agbor, Tawio & Smith “China–Africa Relations: Defining new terms of Engagement.” Foresight Africa, 2014.

<sup>111</sup> Hoffman, M. & Jamal, A. “The Youth and the Arab Spring: Cohort Differences and Similarities.” Middle East Law and Governance Vol 4. 168-188; 2012

<sup>112</sup> Ibid



*represent this country well if you are not fully engaged with the majority of our population, which is the young people”. ~ Amina Mohamed*

The notion that the youth are being left out in state affairs by the older generation which may necessarily result in a situation in where the youth decide to rebel against the state. This study then posits involvement of young people in the welfare of the State by means of meaningful participation may give young people a sense of responsibility. Youths have a sense of responsibility in this regard, becoming the protector of the state and taking part in activities that promote it. Even though in the case of Kenya, most of the policies affecting specific group of individuals like in the diaspora, were drafted from the opinions and suggestions of such groups themselves, there is a significant level of disengagement of the youth in formulation of the foreign policies.

#### **2.4 Youth Related Policy Frameworks**

At the international level, the World Programme of Action for Youth<sup>113</sup> is the principal policy for youth participation. It offers national action and international support policy frameworks and practice guidelines to improve youth situations. The action plan includes policy plans by the year 2000 and further to achieve the International Year of Youth and to promote better wellbeing and wellbeing of young people. The focus of the Programme of Action is to put in place policies that improve national youth capability, increase the quality and quantity of youth opportunities to participate fully, effectively and constructively in society<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> “UN General Assembly at its 915t meeting of December 1995 in its resolution 50/81”

<sup>114</sup> Ibid

It is a strategy focusing on addressing effectively the challenges faced by young people. This system was intended to provide incentives for increasing the involvement of youths in society and provide guidelines for the support of national and international bodies for youth development. The plan contains specific proposals on how countries in their respective countries should improve the welfare and livelihoods of young people. Therefore, Governments that have not formulated and adopted an integrated national youth policy need to do so.<sup>115</sup>

At the Regional level, the policy framework is the Declaration of the Youth on the African Youth Charter which draws its inspiration from the World Youth Reports 2003 and 2005 highlight the many changes and problems that youth around the world face. The promotion and protection of the rights of the youth includes the promotion and safeguard of the roles of both the youth themselves and of all actors within society. Moreover, young people are a partners and an essential advantage for Africa's sustainable development, peace and prosperity, as they contribute uniquely to present and future developments.<sup>116</sup>

Enhance equality and inclusion for young people in international and national preparation is essential and fulfills a major human right. This is a vital moral and ethical obligation, but also a political imperative, given the clear connection between national and global justice in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), for all and for all ages.<sup>117</sup> Mainstreaming is an inclusive and actively constructive transformative process, putting the

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<sup>115</sup> “UN General Assembly Resolution N50/728, World Programme of Action to the Year 2000 and Beyond.” Adopted in 13March, 1996.

<sup>116</sup> “Preamble to the Declaration of the Youth on the African Youth Charter. Adopted at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in 2006.”

<sup>117</sup> “DFID-CSO Youth Working Group; Youth Voices for a Post-2015 World,”2015.

potential and rights of younger women and men in developmental planning along with that of other excluded members of the community. It is transformative because it radically improves the wellbeing and rights of young people by translating correlated visions into policies and programs that focus on young people. Mainstreaming is based in alignment with its full Human potential, on the guiding vision of entire social groups reaping equally from the fruits of growth. Mainstreaming of young people can be described as:

*A techniques of intergenerational equity and justice which make it possible to analyze, design, implement and monitor and evaluate policies and programmes, in cross-sectoral planning throughout the entire social, political and economic sectors, in the context of younger people's capacities, inclusion and human rights.* <sup>118</sup>

Indeed, the DFID-CSO Youth Voices on a Post-2015 World document informed SDG proceedings and expresses views of younger generation in 12 countries around the world. Youth mainstreaming efforts to promote equality are an essential way for young people to express their own vision of the better world. Equality and freedom were articulated as the first principle of significance. "This study addresses the current issue of increasing inequality, which young people find to have a significantly negative effect on growth. <sup>119</sup> The report specifically notes equality for young people and discrimination based on age.

A benchmark of young people can be found within the United Nations (UN) system. In 1965, the first time that the General Assembly adopted Resolution 2037 to promote peace,

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<sup>118</sup> UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC); "Agreed Conclusions for Gender Mainstreaming," A/RES/52/3, 1997.

<sup>119</sup> "DFiD-CSO Youth Working Group," 2015, 8.

mutual respect and understanding among the people of young people was that young people became the focus of attention in the UN. 27 This resolution highlighted young people's potential contribution to peaceful development.<sup>120</sup> Article 10(3) ICESCR outlines that children and young people should be protected against social and economic exploitation which is very important to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). This formula is supposed to be understood as two non-identical groups for children and young persons. The International Bill of Rights therefore recognizes that young people are a group which at least in some respects differs from children. Yet no definition of a 'young person' is available in international law.<sup>121</sup> As the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) clearly explains the classification of children, like all persons under the age of 18, the category of young people remains limitless. Nevertheless, many non-binding concepts of work remain. In particular, the United Nations held in 1985 an International Youth Year for young people between 15-24 years of age.<sup>122</sup> The UN General Assembly, by means of the United Nations World Youth Program of Actions for the Year 2000 and Beyond (WPAY), signed this definition indirectly, noting when referring to the world population of young people, that the UN defines young people as a 15-24 year cohort.<sup>123</sup> It is interesting to note that the term was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 20 November 1989, even during its drafting of the CRC. The definition of the child's age was not questioned during the drafting of the CRC and many states found the age of 18 to be too high. This led to the inclusion of the qualification

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<sup>120</sup> "Ubi, Efem N., African Youth Charter: Prospects for the Development of the African Youth." 2007

<sup>121</sup> "Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC); Adopted in General Assembly Resolution 44/25 on 20 November 1989; Entered into force on 2 September 1990. UNTS: I-27531."

<sup>122</sup> Clark-Kazak & Christina, R. "Towards a Working Definition and Application of Social Age in International Development Studies." p. 1307-1324, *Journal of Development Studies*, V. 45, 2009.

<sup>123</sup> "World Programme of Action for Youth to the Year 2000 and Beyond," Adopted on 14 December 1995.

during the negotiations, unless a majority is reached earlier, according to the law applicable to a child. <sup>124</sup>

Both Council of Europe (COE) and the EU conduct activities at European level that affect and relate directly to young people. The definition of youth on which these organisations are based should therefore be questioned, and so the question about specific youth concepts in Europe is addressed. The CoE youth sector was established in 1970, with the aim of disseminating young people's core values. <sup>39</sup> The sector today runs several different programs and projects, but the definition of youth seems not to be described specifically. In the absence of such a clear description, ad hoc definitions tend to be used when required by the various projects. For example, the large target group of younger people aged between 12 and 30 years has been adopted for the All Different – All Equality's campaign for inclusion, human rights and engagement. <sup>125</sup>

The revised European Social Charter (ESC (revised))<sup>126</sup> Declared, in a manner comparable to Article 10(3) of the ICESCR, that it is a policy aimed at guaranteeing the right of children and young people to special protection against the physical and moral risks that they are exposed to and the right of children and young people to adequate social, legal or economic protection. The reference to young people, including school children, in Article 9 of the right to vocational training clearly indicates, in normal use, children and young people. Although other CoE agreements apply to young people and youth, no interpretation of their definitions is given by any one of them. Therefore, there is no definition of youth in the CoE, not even a

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<sup>124</sup> Angel, William D. "The international law of youth rights; source documents & commentary." Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2015.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid

<sup>126</sup> Ibid

recurring definition of working. The EU has also acquired some competences in the field of youth since the Maastricht Treaty on European Union was adopted.<sup>127</sup> However, in the context of the European Community or Union, there appears to be no explicit definition of the meaning of youth.

The 'youth' program, a program for mobility and non-formal education, was one of the direct results of the skills of young people. The 'youths' in this programme, though restrictions that change slightly if needed for a specific project, are understood to be between 15 to 25 years old. The Youth programme came to operation in the year 2006, taking place of youth action, focusing on young people between 15 and 28 years of age, although certain measures are available for young men as young as 13 or up to 30 years of age. While there is no explicit EU definition of youth, these two EU main youth programs show the age group. The knowledge of young people is thus expanded with certain versatility from the age of 15 to 25 to the age of 15 to 28.

## **2.5 The United Nations World Programme for Action for Youth (2000 and Beyond)**

The World Programme Action for Youth (WPAY), (2000 and Beyond) is the current United Nations blueprint plan framework for Global and regional response governance system that supports and fosters conditions to improve the well-being and livelihoods of the youth.<sup>128</sup> The goal is to enhance national capacity to boost young people's total, efficient and productive social involvement, both in quality and in quantity.<sup>129</sup> According to the policy and youths refer to young people between the ages of 15 and 24. The WPAY recognizes 15 key areas, grouped

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<sup>127</sup> "Council of Europe, Convention on Youth Rights - Motion for a recommendation presented by Mr Kaikkonen and others." Doc. 11984, 2010, p. 2.

<sup>128</sup> "UN Dept of Economic and Social Affairs - Division for Sustainable Development," Agenda 21, 2010.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid: 6

into three interconnected and linked youth development clusters, in compliance with the United Nations General Assembly, 15th Session, Agenda 106 of 1996. (a) young people and their welfare covering health and drug abuse, girls & young women, violence, conflict and HIV / AIDS; and (b) youth and the civilian population, covering the areas of ICT (including information technology) and environment; Clusters are a) youth in the global economy which include poverty and hunger; (c) Youth and welfare covering areas such as education, drug abuse, girls and young women, violence, dispute, and HIV/AIDS; and (d) youth and civil society related to ICT, the environment, leisure, decision-making engagement and intergenerational connection (UN 2006).

The commitment to the above focus areas, as pointed out in the WPAY that, the national government is ultimately responsible for the devising and implementation of cross-sectional and multidisciplinary policies for young people to be supported by WPAY, and in collaboration with NGOs, youth organisations, youth departments, civil society, parents and young people. <sup>130</sup> Nevertheless, it is important for youth to engage financially, socially and politically in society to achieve the goals of the three WPAY Clusters. Investments in youth were seen as a means of achieving the Millennium Development Goals (DDGs) by international and national societies.

It is thus clear that the youth are affected by each of the goals and are thus responsible for their achievement. Therefore, the WPAY emphasizes that the youth are the makers in society and are the resource that can lead to the development of the current and future generations.<sup>131</sup> In complementing the WPAY and the SDGs, the African Youth Charter supports

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<sup>130</sup> Ibid

<sup>131</sup> Ibid

the calling of the youth, specifically in the development of the sub-Saharan region and, through its action plans, identifies obstacles and options to further youth development in the region.

## **2.6 The African Youth Charter**

The authors of the African Youth Charter (AYC) believed that the youth are the most important resource in surmounting the socio-economic problems on the African continent, if they are given the opportunity (African Union, 2006). Article 11 of the AYC therefore states that "every 27 young person is entitled to participate in the development of all social spheres" (African Union, 2006: 6). In order to strengthen this, the Deed instructs all Member States 4, as specified in Article 12 (African Union, 2006: 7, to establish a full and coherent national youth policy. The AU is assisted by partnering with government and NGOs to define best practices for youth engagement for implementation while promoting collaboration between youth organizations to build local young people solidarity. This is stated in Article 28 of the constitution. This will be supported by the AU.<sup>132</sup>

On 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2006, the AYC was launched in the Banjul, Gambia by the Assembly of the African Union. After the 15th Member State of the AU had ratified the Charter, it entered into force on 8 August 2009. Of the 53 AU member countries, 37 currently sign the AYC and 21 deposited their ratification instruments<sup>133</sup> This is so owing to the fact that younger people represent the largest and most rapidly growing part of the African populations. The AYC is likely also a major reason why it is formed. It suggests—for the time being—that the population is aging at a very different level than in Europe. Saadhna Panday explains the problems young

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<sup>132</sup> Ibid

<sup>133</sup> "African Youth Charter; Adopted on 2 July 2006; Entered into Force on 8 August, 2009."



people have to face in Africa: 130 million are projected to be analphabets; poverty among young people is three times as high as that among adults; and 162 million young people are expected to live on less than USD 2 a day in Sub-Saharan Africa. No education or training, millions of young people and themselves can quickly get into conflict.

The Preamble refers to the UN World Program of Action for Youth up to 2000 and beyond, among the normal political interpretations of the international treaties. It also points out that the greatest resource for Africa is its young population and that Africans can overcome the difficulties ahead with their active and full participation, thereby emphasizing the huge value attached to young people. It also mentions some of the problems facing young people in Africa, for example the HIV / AIDS pandemic and most of the above-mentioned problems. This highlights the need for cross-sectoral strategies to solve these problems effectively. <sup>134</sup>

In the preamble, the words used in the Charter are specified. It defines ' minors ' as aged 15 to 17 and refers to every person between 15 and 35 years old, while young people or young people.<sup>135</sup> The substantive part of the AYC also deals with these young people's rights and duties. The duties of States parties, under the terms of the Charter, are found in Article1, which illustrates the legal essence of this duty, to take legislative steps and other measures. The second Article provides for a ban on discrimination both in respect of the enjoyment of rights contained in the AYC and in general, though in the narrower sense.<sup>136</sup> The equality of young women and men is an important priority, which can be seen many times over the AYC. It guarantees the enjoyment of their culture, religion or language in community with other

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid: Preamble

<sup>135</sup> Iberoamerican Convention on the Rights of Youth; Signed in October 2005; Entered into Force on 1 March 2008, Preamble.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid

members of their groups for the young people from marginalized groups or indigenous peoples. It therefore not only gives young people from oppressed and indigenous communities individual rights, but also collective rights.<sup>137</sup>

The AYC includes numerous reviews on universal youth-adjusted civil and political rights. The AYC includes strong claw-back clauses with respect to freedom of expression and association, comparable to those laid down in the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR).<sup>138</sup> It would seem, however, likely that the reflections on the ACHPR's claw back articles in the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights would also apply to the AYC claw back clauses –that the Charter's manifested purpose and character can not be overturned by national laws. There are also various economic, social and cultural freedoms in the AYC. These are usually very specific and therefore not always relevant in the African context for other regions. For instance, regarding the eradication of poverty and the socio-economic integration of young people, the Charter states that young people have the right to free themselves from hunger. In health sector, due to its large impact on African societies, the HIV / AIDS pandemic plays an extremely important role. It also covers contentious topics such as FGM and culturally relevant, age-specific sexuality and positive parenting practices in schools. But the Charter also contains more creative solutions like the right to growth. Whereas, in accordance with its freedom and identity, and with equal enjoyment of the common human heritage the clause "every young person shall have a right to personal, economical, political and cultural growth, it is so general that the lacks clarity in the definition. It therefore seems impossible to be of great use in this context.

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<sup>137</sup> Iberoamerican Convention on the Rights of Youth; Signed in October 2005; Entered into Force on 1 March 2008, Preamble.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid

This provision also provides on the other hand very specific provisions, including the duty to build youth media and to provide education and training on young people's rights.<sup>139</sup> Article 11 on youth engagement is one of the most interesting articles. It includes a list of policy responsibilities, such as youth participation in parliament or the creation of peer-to-peer services for disadvantaged people. This article provides precise provisions on how young people can increase their participation in politics, and can have very positive consequences if applied carefully. The AYC also aims to stop the detrimental effects of war and violence on young people. Although this is a commendable step, it is important to note that it does not reach the clauses very far.

The government shall solely decry the violent conflict and avoid youth participation, recruitment and sexual slavery in conflicts without creating a potential for young people to raise awareness or a normative prohibition of their use for armed conflict. In some African countries, this is highly disappointing given the widespread use of child soldiers. Perhaps worthwhile is the AYC's report on young people in the diaspora, for example to set a level playing field and encourage young people to return to Africa.<sup>140</sup> Similar to ACHPR, the AYC covers not only the rights of youths but also their responsibilities. Article 26 on youth responsibilities states that each youth has duties in relation to their families, society, the Country, even the rest of the world. They have the obligation, among other matters, to respect their families and elders, the obligation to defend democracy and the obligation to promote, maintain and respect African traditions.<sup>141</sup> It has been discussed broadly, and its application appears unlikely in practice. It's

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<sup>139</sup> 'African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights; Entered into force on 21 Oct.1986, Art. 10(3)(b), 10(3)(d).'

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., Art. 21

<sup>141</sup> Iberoamerican Convention on the Rights of Youth; Signed in October 2005; Entered into Force on 1 March 2008, Preamble.

not to mention that these tasks are insignificant, but for the current thesis they do not seem important as they are not useful outside the context of Africa.

In particular, the AYC includes numerous articles, providing only a few genuinely new rights and often only universal human rights, including freedom of expression. However, other articles, such as Article 11 on youth involvement, are very original and show the true potential of young people's rights. Some of the rights are very unique to the African context, especially in the political, social and cultural sectors, making their implementation in other regions difficult.<sup>142</sup> It is noteworthy that the AYC covers such a wide range of rights as civil and political rights, economic, social and cultural rights, and even collective rights to a lesser degree. It also includes novel approaches which are difficult to classify. This can therefore be said to be a very specific device, while in other countries, it would naturally be impossible to apply or to approve a variety of requirements.

## **2.7 Youth Participation**

In the recent literature, concern over the non-participation of young people has become greater because of the dimension scholars have called “global youth bulge.” Ortiz and Cummins defined the youth bulge as ' a population trend in which, in relation to other age groups, the proportion of 15-24 people within the populace increases significantly.<sup>143</sup> In other words, young people's engagement in democracy is even more important because if the youth trend continues, young people are in most among the population in various countries. The non-involvement of younger people, which constitutes a large percentage of the population, leaves political

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid

<sup>143</sup> Ortiz, I.& Cummins, J. “When the Global crisis and Youth Bulge Collide. Double the Jobs for Youth. UNICEF Social and Economic Policy working paper.” 2012.

processes open to the exploitation of certain political elites. This is because decision-making in the country does not represent the population adequately and, therefore, is most likely to fail to consider and enforce the public's preferences in policy making.

Agbor, Tawio and Smith assert it is high time young people be involved in reform and decision making processes among developing countries in Africa with a comparatively higher demographic trend of the youth bulge than in other nations.<sup>144</sup> Researchers have supported the concern to be certainly true that the youth population of Africa (15 to 24 years), is growing more quickly than in any other region in across the globe. Scholars researching the youth bulge trend, such as Ortiz and Cummings, have concentrated on the economic impact of the bulge of youth and claimed that there are no enough opportunities on the global market to employ young people. Urdal's study shows that young men often are the principal protagonists of crime and political violence. It was generally observed.<sup>145</sup>

Urdal strongly suggests that education is the key to preventing young people from acting through violence. This dissertation takes the view that education along with important factors, which Urdal mentioned, are not enough to curb young people's crime and their probability to be used as instruments of political violence.<sup>146</sup> In addition to education, the argument is that youths must be successfully integrated in political organizations to give rise to a sense of inclusion.

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<sup>144</sup> Agbor, Tawio & Smith. "China–Africa Relations: Defining new terms of Engagement. Foresight Africa." 2014.

<sup>145</sup> Hoffman, M. & Jamal, A. "The Youth & the Arab Spring; Cohort Differences & Similarities." Middle East Law & Governance, Vol 4. 168-188,2012.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid

The perception that young people are excluded from state matters by the older generation may necessarily lead to the young people's decision to rebel against the government. The goal of this study is, then, to ensure the involvement of young people in the welfare of the state by means of active participation. Youths become more responsible when they are involved in different activities in a country.

Numerous researchers who research active youth claim that society is riddled with diverse and often contradictory opinions regarding youth participation in politics. In contrast, younger people's low participation has been highly critical and labeled as a "crisis for the legitimacy of democracy." Farthing opines that young people are often chastised as apolitical precursors of an ongoing constitutional crisis.<sup>147</sup> In addition, young people were welcomed as forming new methods of political engagement with the use of new forms of media technology. This is illustrated by the use of social media in the Arab Spring. Hoffman and Jamal argue that the use of social media has made it possible for youth to overcome political repression in Arab countries.<sup>148</sup> Past studies on this subject reveals that community is inclined to perceive young people as a problem rather than a remedy to issues encountered in the country. Phaswane contend that the negative outlook as many communities struggled with costs related to issues such as youth delinquency, early pregnancy, drug abuse and youth sex infections.<sup>149</sup>

Dorfman and Woodruff<sup>150</sup> argues that the media have contributed to the negative perception of youths in America. As analysts investigate how young people are viewed in the

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<sup>147</sup> Ibid

<sup>148</sup> Hoffman & Jamal (2012) op cit

<sup>149</sup> Phaswane, E. "Youth Participation in South Africa: Experiences of settings,"2009.

<sup>150</sup> Wong, T. "A Participatory Youth Empowerment Model and Qualitative Analysis of Student Voices on Power and Violence Prevention,"2008.

news media, young people rarely have the opportunity to justify themselves, rarely are they mentioned in positive ways, with few stories to note.<sup>151</sup> The argument that the press has an important role to play in deciding how a particular group is viewed in society is justified. If young people cannot express their opinions in the media, they create a dangerous feeling of alienation from the state in young people. It creates an environment in which young people continue to seek membership of criminal, rebellious and terrorist groups and their responsibility. Such risky groups have the art that young people excluded from state affairs play their heritage role. When young people are socially marginalized and not included, recruiting youths into these negative categories is easy.

In fact, Dorfman and Woodruff further claim that the press in America has led to the belief that young people and, in general, African American young people are more aggressive than young people in other racial groups.<sup>152</sup> In their study, findings show that the media reported the crimes of African Americans, while white youth crimes were not fully reported<sup>153</sup>

Malila claims that four major issues relating to youth in media coverage are literacy, crime, poverty and health.<sup>154</sup> Jobson argue that<sup>155</sup> high rates of unemployment among youth are the main reason why young people are problematised. Discrimination brings about more social ills, such as violent protest and crimes. The participation of young people in making decisions can foster integration and empowerment. Successful youth engagement for Biedrzyekzki and Lawless will not only help the young people participating, but also others

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<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Dorfman & Schriladi, 2001 op cit

<sup>153</sup> Ibid

<sup>154</sup> Malila, V. "A base line study of youth identity, the media and the public sphere in South Africa." School of Journalism and Media Studies, Rhodes University, 2013.

<sup>155</sup> Jobson, J. "Interrogating Youth Leadership Development in South Africa. Overview and Leadership for a Winning National Strategy. The DG Murray Trust. Investing in South Africa's Potential," 2012.

who access improved programs, legislation, information and advocacy.<sup>156</sup> Additionally, a wider community gains when challenges affecting youths are addressed effectively and given chance to participate in community decision making process.<sup>157</sup>

### **2.7.1 Characteristics of Youths in Africa**

One of Africa's biggest issues today is how to give more than 200 million young people the opportunity to lead decent lives and help their countries' economic development. As per the UN reports,<sup>158</sup> in the year 2011, Africa population has been approximated at 1.05 billion by 2050. Africa being world's youngest continent: nearly 70% of its population is aged 30 and older. Youth, who are identified as between the ages of 15 and 24, comprised 21% of Africa's over 1 billion in 2011, while another 42% were under the age of 15. Just over half of the population of African youth is female and more rural dwellers than urban residents live there. The population of Africans under the age of 15 is projected to grow during the next few years, while the population of young people in other parts of the world will increase.<sup>159</sup>

There are certainly many and varied challenges for young people, including jobs, healthcare and political participation, which are central to Africa's economic development. These problems differ across countries as well as between countries and regions (gender, education, ethnicity and health status)<sup>160</sup> Moreover, the scale, power, passion, ingenuity and

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<sup>156</sup> Biedrzyekzki, K. & Lawless, A. "The Headroom model of youth participation – a conceptual and practical description. South Australian community Health Research Unit, 2008.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid, 3

<sup>158</sup> "UN Population Facts, No. 2012/1. Report of population Division, Department of Economic and Social Affairs." NY: United nations, 2012.

<sup>159</sup> Leautier, F., & Hanson, K. "Jobless Economic Growth: Lessons From Africa." African Capacity Building Foundation. paper presented at 38th Annual conference of Eastern Economic Association, Boston, march 9–11, 2012.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid



dynamism of youth can be utilized by effective policies in order to tackle Africa's developments adequately.

Minimal emphasis has been placed on the potential importance of young people in African development. Young people could be a source of inputs of labor and human capital into production, increasing total productivity factor in a region where the development of capitals is limited. Youth can be an effective resource when employed in their consumer activities for the economy<sup>161</sup> Furthermore, African young people could be crucial to developing a new business class, which countries in Africa need to thrive. In addition Africa has a chance to use a demographic dividend. With the estimates of more working-age adults per child in most African countries by 2030 than in 2006, fewer children and elderly people will have a large workforce. This pattern would reduce the burden of dependency and free development resources.<sup>162</sup>

There are a number of reasons why young people could play an integral role of the growth and development of Africa. We are first of all more educated than their old cohorts. Therefore, new technologies and concepts can best be adopted and adapted to the African climate. By contrast to their older counterparts, they are more aggressive. Finally, certain standards and sociopolitical structures that can obstruct economic development would likely be more questioned. African policymakers face the challenge of harnessing the desire for change among young people which can lead to good outcomes.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Kararach, G., K. Hanson, & Leautier, F.. "Regional Integration Policies to Support Job Creation for Africa's Burgeoning Youth Population." *World Journal of Entrepreneurship, Management and Sustainable Development* 7, nos. 2-4, 2011.

<sup>162</sup> Ashford, Lori. "S.Africa's Youthful Population: Risk or Opportunity?" Washington: population Reference Bureau, 2007.

<sup>163</sup> Kararach, G., Hanson, K. & leautier, F. 2011. Op cit

As recently demonstrated by the Arab Spring, the effects of not fully cultivating and maximizing the capacity of youth can be dramatic, including serious economic losses, armed conflicts, and financial, cultural, and insecurity upheavals. Youth are more likely to fall in depression due to legitimate grievances such as a limited opportunities for jobs, poor education and poor decision-making and low social mobility. Gullible and opportunist politicians in this unstable environment can even manipulate these fears by involving these angry young people in the violent overthrow of legitimate governments—creating massive instabilities that could disrupt the economy.<sup>164</sup>

Although African researchers have noted that a number of African countries have still failed to develop detailed, meaningful policies in order to address the issues facing this broad, increasing segment of the African population or to establish means to evaluate the progress made, despite the high awareness of the challenges facing Africa's young people. The goal of this study is to further debate young people's problems in Africa by examining whether current African countries' youth policies can meet the challenges and how these policies can be strengthened to facilitate the inclusive and successful development of the continent.

The successful well-being assessment of young people living in African countries needs sound data about their features — including age, composition of race, economic situation, health and sociopolitical make-up.<sup>165</sup> The youth population is not universally defined. "Youth" can be termed traditionally as evolution period between childhood and adulthood. In 2009

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<sup>164</sup> Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. "Greed and Grievance in Civil War." *Oxford Economic Papers* 56 (4): 363–95, 2004.

<sup>165</sup> "Monitoring and Reporting on the Implementation of the AU youth Decade plan of Action 2009–2018: peer Review and Stakeholders Technical consultations on the conceptual and practical Framework of an African youth Empowerment and Development Index," Nov.17, 2011.

(hereafter AYR), the Africa Youth Report,<sup>166</sup> The term "young person" refers to persons between ages 15 and 39. However, several African countries are different in defining their youth population. The population for example is characterized by Ghana, South Africa, Tanzania and Nigeria, between ages of 15 and 35; Nigeria and Swaziland, between 12 and 30 years of age; and it is identified by Botswana and Mauritius as between the ages of 14 and 25. These different definitions of youth make it difficult to discuss youth issues in Africa in general and to compare information between countries effectively.<sup>167</sup> The Kenyan Constitution 2010 describes young people aged 18 to 34.

The age group used in the AYR is too wide, as it is generally recognized that people are adults in their 30s, and thus not young adults. The United Nations describes young people as between 15 and 24 years old for statistical purposes.<sup>168</sup> While the age group has been accepted as "old," subjective, the specification is often problematical, since data are not available for different countries using this description, but generally appropriate and preferable.

For 5-year age groups, for instance, population data generally presents age band for children to be under 15 years and adults to be 15 years or older. The labor market information for adults (16–64 years) is also typically presented. The study takes definition of youth from the UN. The need to find sufficient information on the youth in Africa is one of the challenges

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<sup>166</sup> 'UNECA, "African Youth Report 2009: Expanding Opportunities for and with Young People in Africa." Addis Ababa: UNECA, 2009.

<sup>167</sup> Leautier, F., & Hanson, K. "Jobless Economic Growth: Lessons From Africa." African Capacity Building Foundation. paper presented at 38th Annual conference of Eastern Economic Association." Boston, march 9–11, 2012.

<sup>168</sup> UN (2011d)

in developing youth policies since such data are not collected regularly by the public authorities.

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As for all its populations, Africa is the region with the highest population of youth. As the population of Africa is relatively small (approximately 42% of population in Africa in 2010 is estimated to be under the age of 15) and highly fertile, it is anticipated that young African people will grow very quickly and remain high for a long time. As Figure 1 shows, Africa is the only region in the world to increase the proportion of youth between 1990 and 2010. This bulge of young people has implications for Africa's development.<sup>170</sup>

As much as the population of youths in Africa is fairly large, local and region differences in the size and the rate of growth of these populations occur across the whole continent. The youth population in Northern Africa is higher than in Sub-Saharan Africa, but in Sub-Saharan Africa the population growth is likely to be higher than in Northern Africa because of differences in population dynamics across countries and regions. While it is expected that by 2030 the youth population will reach a plateau in North Africa, it will continue to grow in both absolute and relative terms in Subsaharan Africa until around 2050. There is variation in growth rates also in countries' youth populations. And even though the relative sizes of the population in countries such as Tunisia and Morocco are expected to fall until 2030, in nations such as Kenya and Uganda they are expected to continue to increase. Young people, especially men in North Africa, have a high level of education<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> Nairobi Peace Initiative Africa(nd). "A Review of Challenges Faced by Kenyan Youth: Peace Agenda in Youth Development."

<sup>170</sup> Ibid

<sup>171</sup> Leautier, F., & K. Hanson.. "Jobless Economic Growth: Lessons From Africa: African Capacity Building Foundation. paper presented at 38th Annual conference of Eastern Economic Association." Boston, march 9–11,2012

There are regional differences in their educational achievements, like other youth character in Africa. Youth are generally more educated in North Africa than in Sub-Saharan Africa. Likewise in sub-Saharan Africa, although there is a large gender gap in education, in North Africa, especially in countries such as Tunisia and Morocco, gender gap remains almost unrelated. Although African youth education has significantly increased in the last ten years, the curriculum relevance and quality of education are not good in most cases.<sup>172</sup> The challenges have implications for the employability of young people and their future contribution to Africa's growth.<sup>173</sup>

Joblessness of younger people is relatively high, with significant regional differences and the possible harmful effects, such as deprivation, disease and migration. It is crucially important to determine whether relatively large people are earning their jobs or have the opportunity to build their own businesses because their contribution to developing Africa depends on the quality of the human capital they own. By principle, an increase in the population of youth would decrease the real wage of an economy by increasing the supply of jobs and thus increase unemployment. This can depend, of course, on the degree to which young people's work complements or substitutes.<sup>174</sup>

Data from the labor market in Africa are notoriously unreliable as many countries do not consistently collect such data. Even if these information are collected, only the formal sector can use them. Because of bulky informal activities, a focus on the formal sector could seriously

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<sup>172</sup> Gyimah-Brempong, K., & Ondiege, P. "Reforming Higher Education: Access, Equity & Financing in Botswana, Ethiopia, Kenya, South Africa, & Tunisia." Chapter 2.1 in *Africa Competitiveness Report 2011*. Washington: World Bank

<sup>173</sup> UN. "The UN Program on Youth." NY: UN, 2011d

<sup>174</sup> "ILO (International labor organization). *Global Employment Trends, Econometric Models*. Geneva: International labor organization," 2012a

underestimate the true rate of employment. The labor market information on youth employment should therefore be carefully considered.<sup>175</sup>

Whereas young people make up approximately 37% of Africa's workforce, they make up approximately 60% of the overall unemployment in Africa. In sub-Saharan Africa, youth participation is lower than in north Africa. The deterministic links between unemployment rate of youths and labor involvement rates in Africa have been poorly worked out empirically. A simple analysis of correlations, however, suggests that the two in Africa are strongly negative. Despite young people's higher education in relation to the entire population, the unemployment rate of youths in Africa in comparison to other regions of the world seem to go higher than that of the general population.<sup>176</sup>

Limited jobs are created by slow growth in economy. However, the average growth rate in economy in Africa has risen over the past decade, growth rate is generally low in comparison to other countries across the globe. Furthermore, the growth of Africa has been driven by the exploitation of mineral resources, which are often capital intensive in production, creating few jobs. The option of capital-intensive production techniques depends itself on policies that distort the market and seek to substantial capital and overprice labour. Thirdly, the high unemployment rate of youths can also be due to a lack of skills generated by the education system.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid

<sup>176</sup> Briceño-Garmendia, Cecilia. "Africa's Infrastructure: Time for Transformation." Washington: World Bank, 2010.

<sup>177</sup> Gyimah-Brempong & Ondiege 2011, Op cit

In Africa, young people are more unemployed than adults irrespective of their level of education, as well as their high unemployment rates. About 25% of university graduates in Tunisia and Egypt continue to be unemployed for three years.<sup>178</sup> The fact that young people lose their skills through their education or lose their full attachment to the labor market means high unemployment, combined with long-term joblessness. The long-term consequences of high and persistent unemployment rate of youths are high levels of poverty and the failure to contribute to Africa's development.<sup>179</sup>

The high youth deprivation in Africa is also a result of the severe and persistent unemployment rate of youths. In 2008 the UN and World Bank estimates that over 70% of youth in Africa lived on fewer than 2 dollars a day and 46% lived on fewer than 1.25 dollars a day<sup>180</sup> Once, the rate of poverty is subject to country and regional variations. Youth poverty exceeds 80 percent in Burundi, Ethiopia, Nigeria and Uganda, whereas in Ghana it is far lower. In rural areas, the prevalence of youth poverty among women is highest. Youth use survival mechanisms in the face of severe poverty which can have several undesirable results.

There are several negative consequences for African growth such as high unemployment rate of youths and rising poverty rates. As youth migrate to the developed world or oil-rich Arab Gulf countries, African countries are deprived of their human capital. International migration is generally the best and most powerful emigrating, and deprives of the

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<sup>178</sup> Ibid

<sup>179</sup> Kararach, G., Hanson, K. & leautier, F. "Regional Integration Policies to Support Job Creation for Africa's Burgeoning Youth Population." 'World Journal of Entrepreneurship, Management and Sustainable Development,' 7, nos. 2-4, 2011.

<sup>180</sup> UN. "The United Nations Program on Youth." NY: UN, 2011d.

capacities and energies necessary for development of their economies in the African countries. The ILO reports African migrants' median age to be just under the age of 29.<sup>181</sup>

The increasing unemployment rate of youths and poverty in Africa poses more pessimistic scenarios, which show a number of recent events that high unemployment rate of youths and poverty, including the Arab Spring, may create social instability and conflict; the armed conflicts in Liberia, Sierra Leone and the DRC; the growth of the conflict. High unemployment rate of youths and poverty rates could also lead young people to prosperity through crimes and violence like armed robbery.<sup>182</sup>

High unemployment and poverty rates among young people in Africa can also drive youth to unhealthy lifestyles, which could worsen their prevalence of HIV / AIDS. Among African populations, the prevalence of HIV pandemic is more than 5%, compared to the world average of less than 1%. Three times as many young women as their males are at risk.<sup>183</sup> The high prevalence of HIV / AIDS among young people, both male and female, is due not only to denial of the disease but also to the use of commercial sex.

Bloom, Canning and Seville claimed that in the near term Africa's economic growth would be affected by the rise in the workforce and changes in institutional efficiency.<sup>184</sup> The number and quality of the young population is decisively influenced by these factors. Consequently, youth policy is very important for Africa's future development, particularly as

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<sup>181</sup> Brempong, G. K., & P. Ondiege. 2011. "Reforming Higher Education: Access, Equity, and Financing in Botswana, Ethiopia, Kenya, South Africa, and Tunisia." Chapter 2.1 in *Africa Competitiveness Report 2011*. Washington: World Bank.

<sup>182</sup> Kararach, G., Hanson, & Leautier, F. "Regional Integration Policies to Support Job Creation for Africa's Burgeoning Youth Population." *World Journal of Entre, Mangt & Sustainable Dev.* 7; 2–4. 2011.

<sup>183</sup> UNAIDS, 2011.

<sup>184</sup> Canning, Bloom, & Sevilla, 2007 op cit



regards investment in human capital and use of these human resources. The World Bank, likewise<sup>185</sup> He further posit that the main pillars of Africa's long-term growth are institutions, infrastructure, technology and a good investment environment. In all of these areas, given the potential contribution of young people, youth quality and size are again critical to Africa's development.

A series of studies and reports have focused on the challenges facing youth in Africa and which policies can be implemented, mainly through development agencies and their partners. The aims of these reports are to help develop a youth development agenda— that incorporates broader economic, political and social goals in line with the UN's MDGs that analyses major youth problems and provide African countries with recommendations. Several areas of priority have been identified, including education and jobs, health (especially HIV/AIDS) and political involvement, as well as gender problems. One report, AYR, from the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), provides specific policy recommendations. Although the reports recognize the need for African countries to take further steps to develop and implement their national plans and to fully assess their progress, no study has been done to evaluate these aspects of youth policies. <sup>186</sup>

African countries have responded to youth issues, but the challenges faced by young people in Africa remain. The process of policy formulation should encourage young people to be involved and youth issues should be considered within a general framework that includes

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<sup>185</sup> World Bank, "Africa Development Indicators." Washington, 2007.

<sup>186</sup> Kararach, G., Hanson, K. & Leautier. "Regional Integration Policies to Support Job Creation for Africa's Burgeoning Youth Population." *World Journal of Entr., Mangt and Sustainable Dev.t*, 7:2–4, 2011.

regional and global answers. World Bank <sup>187</sup> report, sought to provide data, stylised information on the youth and the labor markets in Africa as well as policies and actions of previous policy makers whose absence of information is complicated by what policy options are available and what was successful or not worked in various circumstances. He argued in favor of an integrated, multi-sector approach that examines the labor market directly, policies that affect employment indirectly and a close surveillance of government actions.

A number of African countries have supported the development of youth policy, as expressed in the African Youth Charter, national youth development structure, and other documents, including the AYR and UN World Youth Program 1995 (WPAY).<sup>188</sup> Though the overall progress appears to be slow and the policies or actions that are available do not address the challenges adequately. A number of reports from various bodies, including local Member States, international organizations and development partners have shaped the impetus for the implementation of youth policy in Africa. The AYR, a relatively recent and extensive study on African youth, tends to have a big influence on the regional level. The report provides an in-depth and up-to-date analysis of only several key issues which are probably of disproportionate impact to young people, namely education and employment, health and HIV/AIDS, and young people in part due to data constraints. <sup>189</sup>

The AU member countries declared 2008 as the "Year of African Youth," in recognition of the need to tackle the problems and challenges facing youth in Africa, and sought to develop

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<sup>187</sup> World Bank. "Africa Development Indicators, 2008/09: Youth & Employment in Africa; The Potential, the Problem, Promise." Washington, 2008.

<sup>188</sup> Kararach, G., Hanson, K. & Leautier. F. "Regional Integration Policies to Support Job Creation for Africa's Burgeoning Youth Population." World Journal of Entr., Mangt & Sustainable Dev. 7; 2-4, 2011.

<sup>189</sup> Proctor, F., & Lucchesi. V.2012 op cit

policies in a coordination fashion to address youth issues. Some countries –including Algeria, Ghana, Kenya and South Africa –have also used the APRM as another mechanism.<sup>190</sup> Many youth development programs have taken place globally. The WPAY report listed 10 focus areas and the UN General Assembly decided on 5 emerging issues. The UN Member States, which are parties to the MDGs including African countries, agreed to "develop and implement policies that provide young people across the board with real opportunities to find decent and meaningful jobs."

The UN Summit also took place in 2006. Bureau of the Africa Special Counselor for Youth in Post-conflict Countries focuses on social and economic development of young people by means of employment opportunities and their reintegration into civil society. Youth issues were the focus of the World Bank's 2007, World Development Report. "And the International Monetary Fund and World Bank's 1999 initiative to encourage African countries to develop comprehensive strategy for poverty alleviations has been guiding almost all recent poverty alleviation strategy papers (PRSPS). Youth employment are the focus of this project. Eventually, a number of UN resolutions address jobs for young people."<sup>191</sup>

Economic issues relate to the way the enormous unemployment problem of young people can be addressed with a holistic approach, which involves fostering economic growth, increasing education and introducing various labor market policies. One of the crucial consequences of young workers policies is that opportunities for people with the right qualifications, skills and training would be open.

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<sup>190</sup> Kararach, G., Hanson, K. & Leautier, F. 2011. Op cit

<sup>191</sup> Karikari, J. & K. Brempong, G. "Does Governance cause Economic Growth in SubSaharan Africa?" Paper presented at ASSA meeting, Denver,2011.

National policies therefore should encourage increased and sustainable economic growth in order to boost demand for work and jobs, in particular for young people. The strong correlation between economic growth and jobs, as is well known, means that promoting economic growth contributes to job growth. Youth need the skills to take advantage of the opportunities even when jobs are available. Policies must develop vocational training in order to increase the supply of professional young people who are prepared for the labor market.<sup>192</sup> In different reports numerous policy measures to improve the quality of youth work have been recommended. Secondly, policies will aim to improve access to quality formal education and to increase graduation rates, as education system shortcomings hinder youth's ability to find decent jobs. Second, policies will aim to increase activities to improve the provision of quality learning opportunities like infrastructure investment, textbooks, learning resources, curriculum changes and equipment as well as highly trained and motivated professors.

Thirdly, the formal education can be paired with job-based education concurrently or sequentially to eliminate differences between skills and work requirements. Fourthly, as the majority of African governments are confronted by severe fiscal restriction and sustainable job creation, the public-private partnerships, especially in the field of curriculum reform, are likely to contribute to increasing demand and supply of employment opportunities for young people.

Young people in Africa are facing poor conditions of health, including diseases such as HIV / AIDS, measles, tuberculosis, insufficient food, disability, mental illness, miscarriages, violence and drug abuse. Some of the major causes of death were health problems. The lack of

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<sup>192</sup> Kararach, G., Hanson, K. & Leautier, F. "Regional Integration Policies to Support Job Creation for Africa's Burgeoning Youth Population." *World Journal of Entrepreneurship, Management and Sustainable Development* 7,2-4, 2011.

proper knowledge of the causes and the aggravation of inequalities of age and gender make these health problems complicated. In addition, a holistic approach that takes into account not only the physical and mental well-being of young people but also the social, economic and cultural environment is an important way of dealing with health problems.<sup>193</sup>

Numerous suggestions were proposed to address the health issues of African young people. Policies may seek to change behavior of youths as a way to combat some health issues, mainly HIV / AIDS and substance abuse. Preventative measures is highly encouraged, including the so-called ABC (“Abstain, be vigilant, Use a Condom”) initiative, that encourages younger individuals to be active participants in resolving the issue. Although acknowledging that there are scarce resources, then it would be important for governments to offer and improve overall services such as vaccinations. In addition, the ability of young individuals to make informed health care decisions through education is needed.<sup>194</sup>

Training for young people should include effective health and life skills through formal training curricula or after-school programs provided by non-profit organizations. Finally, it would be helpful to establish youth-friendly health services that emphasize the coordination of different Youth Ministries, including activities related to health and education, such as nutrition and physical exercises.<sup>195</sup>

One sector that is less sensitive to the environmental health issues of African young people is the exposure to all the physical, chemical and biological aspects externally to a person

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<sup>193</sup> Mkandawire, R. “Prospects for Youth Engagement in Poverty Reduction Development Programmers,”2015.

<sup>194</sup> Kararach, G., K. Hanson, and F. leautier. 2011. “Regional Integration Policies to Support Job Creation for Africa’s Burgeoning Youth Population.” *World Journal of Entrepreneurship, Management and Sustainable Development* 7, nos. 2–4.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid

and all related health factors.<sup>196</sup> The environmental vulnerability of youth is rooted in various sources, including safe drinking water and sanitation, indoor and outdoor air pollution, chemical emissions and electronic pollution. Although these conditions are more vulnerable to environmental health issues for the general population as youth are more active and spend more time outside engaging in physical activity. Clean water and sanitation as well as water and atmospheric pollution controls should be included in policies to improve youth health outcomes. African governments in particular should do better to reduce emissions like those triggered by the waste of electric and electronic debris as ordinary household waste by recycling batteries, water and air pollution. In Africa, the improper disposal of electronic waste is a rapidly growing cause of environmental pollution. African governments may be faced with better police restrictions at the end of their useful lives on imports of electronic products— a major source of electronic waste.

Cultural hegemony of age has ensured that young people have restricted opportunities to speak out and engage meaningfully across national social and political debate among African nations. In addition to strengthening democracy, a large citizen engagement, including young people, will improve good governance. It is clear that the poor economic performance in African states were caused by the lack of good governance. At the same time, the "voice and responsibilities" governance dimension that is strongly linked to political participation is often high for efficient economies.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> WHO (World Health organization). "World Health Statistics, 2008." Geneva: WHO2012.

<sup>197</sup> World Bank "Poverty Headcount Ratio at \$1.25 a Day." World Bank Research Group, 2009.

Study conducted by Karikari and Gyimah-Brempong<sup>198</sup> supports past researches which showed that the quality of governance improves if countries become wealthier, because they then have the means to achieve good governance, even though governance in Sub-Saharan Africa has not increased economic growth. Strong economic growth is needed in order for the public, in particular youth, to encourage effective political participation.<sup>199</sup>

African countries are working to ensure the involvement of youth in the political system, such as the establishment of national youth councils, youth parliaments and regional youth advocacy groups. Talks among young people are also ongoing on economic issues, which have a substantial effect on them, such as joblessness, as well as strategy for solving their concerns (like PRSPS and APRM). The AYR discusses how important young people's problems have been in PRSPS. In order to address the high poverty rate, participation by young people in the political process is important.

Nevertheless, attempts to promote active youth participation in politics largely failed, partly due to the insufficient access by and interaction between young people and the state's political system and the limited capacity of young people and government. Four key approaches are proposed for the active participation of young people in the political process. Firstly, young people can participate in policy at every level, including quotas, and be encouraged to engage politically.

Secondly, knowledge and training can be offered to young people for the awareness, such as the budgetary process, of key government aspects. Thirdly, young people can see the

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<sup>198</sup> Karikari & Brempong, G., 2011 Op cit

<sup>199</sup> Ibid

political process at the local and regional levels and think about it. This is relevant as some policies, like youth policies, are focused on cohesion formed at regional and local levels. The provision of appropriate internships would be one way to increase youth participation. Fourthly, youth with assistance of NGOs, that generally have been very active, can receive greater social consciousness and political participation which calls for coordination between the government and the NGOs.

## **2.8 Conclusion**

The concept of youth participation has mostly been tied to political participation as seen in this chapter. There is ineptly inadequate academic literature on their role in foreign policy formulation. However this chapter has guided well the youth aspects and their importance in decision making and with such concepts, will be applied in chapter four to analyze how youth problems and opportunities can be applied as determinant in Kenya's foreign policy. This contributes to the challenge of determining types of participation, especially in the formulation of foreign policy, and analyzes to evaluate the involvement of the young people and which can be excluded in view of the vast number of techniques used to assess participation in these projects. The next chapters will discuss these questions.



## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **ANALYZING THE CHALLENGES AND INTERVENTIONS OF YOUTHS IN SHAPING THE CONTENT AND PROCESS OF FOREIGN POLICY IN KENYA**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

There are different dynamics of Foreign policy and its formulation in different states in the world. In many African countries there has been inconsistency in upgrading any existing foreign policy practice or interest patterns. The foreign policies of African countries were largely influenced by the world political economy. However, there are different actors and factors that determine the foreign policy of African states. This chapter looks at particular dynamics relevant to African states and the policies that address youth challenges and opportunities.

#### **3.2 Evolution of Kenya Foreign Policy**

Kenya's relations amongst countries have become increasingly dynamic since the late 1960s and economic, political and military relations have been increasingly diversified.<sup>200</sup> At the same time, the internationalisation of current economy has hastened with the fundamental part of transnational industrial and financial resources in development system. Kenya's foreign policy analyzes have been mainly focused on both these mechanisms to obtain very different outcomes in terms of Kenya's global behaviour.<sup>201</sup>

The guidelines of this policy include: peaceful co-existence among neighbouring states; settling disputes by silent means; promoting the regionalism; respecting the state's equilibrium, authority and local integrity; adherence to global policies, rules and regulations; observance of

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<sup>200</sup> Lenczowski, G. "The Middle-East in World Affairs," London: Cornell University Press, 2010.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid

non-alignment rule; and fairness and equality in global relations. Diverse sources, including official documents and statements of authority, which is followed by Kenyan foreign relations. It constitutes, Kenyan constitution (1963); Sessional Paper Number. 10/1965 on African Socialism and its Planning Application in Kenya; The Sessional Paper Number. 1/1986 on Renewal of Economic Growth Management; Manifests by the Governing Party; The Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (2003-2007).<sup>202</sup>

Kenya's relations with other State and non-State actors have been based on democratic principles since 1990 in international politics.<sup>203</sup> The diplomacy created by revenge has severely damaged Kenya's reputation.<sup>204</sup> The Kenyan scenario contradicts the question of compliance with the requirements of many donor countries. A great deal of the controversy between the United States, the UK and the IMF emerged primarily from denial of economic, political and cultural criteria and specifications. In the last 15 years, Kenya has seen political and economic changes resonating worldwide. The administration has also courted the Look East plan. On the domestic scene, the Look East strategy has generated mixed reactions. The US has voiced concern about China's relations with Kenya, but China has alleviated these concerns by claiming that its operations in Africa have not tried to.<sup>205</sup> Omolo posits that domestic policy marks the beginning of foreign policy where both emphasize on preserving the vital element of nation's security.<sup>206</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> Mazrui, A. "Cultural Forces in World Politics Mboya Tom, Freedom & After." London: Andrew Deutsch, 2007.

<sup>203</sup> Katete, D. "Continuity and Change: Kenya's Fp from Kenyatta to Moi" in Oyugi, W. O., (Ed.), "Politics & Administration in East Africa." Nairobi: EA Educ. Publishers Ltd, 2013.

<sup>204</sup> Nasong'o, S. "Claims & Realities of Inter-State Relations." M.A Thesis, Dept of Pol. Science & Public Adm., UON, 2010.

<sup>205</sup> Holsti, D. "International Politics: A framework for Analysis." New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 2013.

<sup>206</sup> Omolo K. "Fp through Aid: The Case of Federal Republic of Germany's Aid to Kenya, 1963-1989" M.A. Thesis, Dept of Political Sci. & Public Adm., UON, 2009.

Citizens are the most important and essential in players safeguarding interest of a state, and their defense is key to security in the country. Kenya's external policy involves relations, communications, pro-actions, steps, and inactions that governments agree discreetly to or not to take to encourage, plan, protect, maintain, spread or promote, and defend on the international stage the nation's national interests as well as its identity and reputation. In this sense, diplomacy is the way to adjust the differing and often conflicting country's interest to the good of a country that the diplomat serves.<sup>207</sup>

Kenya's being strategically positioned in relation to its security measures attracts the interests of other countries that have enormous potential for investment, tourism, business, industry, trade among others.<sup>208</sup> Thus it is imperative for the government of Kenya to plan on belligerent policy strategy which increases Kenya's credibility and reputation on the world stage on the regional and on the international sub-regional, national and African levels. FP in Kenya tends to emphasize non-alignment, Pan Africanism, African policy and philosophies as well as public international norms and diplomacy tenets. Kenya's FP also includes: adherence to the territorial integrity, sovereignty and protection of national security of other countries, UN and African Union Charters, and The 1948 UN Human Rights Universal Declaration, good neighborhood principles, socialism, unity and good neighbourhood, a peaceful resolution of disagreements and no intervention in internal affairs of other countries.<sup>209</sup>

Foreign relations in Kenya have been splendidly established when, on 12 December 1963, Kenya gained its independence. In its relations with the rest of the planet, though, initially,

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<sup>207</sup> Krugman, P. "Geography and Trade." Cambridge Massachusetts; The MIT press, 1991.

<sup>208</sup> Bernard, T. "Development, Trade & the WTO, the World Bank, 2002.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid

a great deal had taken place and it had been more superb in the year 1895, Kenya became a British East African Protectorate. Kenya was formerly a business enterprise managed by Sir William Mackinnon's Imperial British East-African Company (IBEACo, 1888). After the IBEACo came to an end, the British government took over Kenya. In 1920 it was then transformed into a colony, Kenya's FP was then an attachment to British foreign policy.<sup>210</sup> A colony refers to an independent section of an empire. After independence, its Fp was driven particularly in the first years of its history by the need for economic, political and national security development.<sup>211</sup> Kenya could hardly pursue a radical Fp like Tanzania during the period due to the capital control in foreign hands. Since Kenya then could not accept an 'irresponsible' Fp in its evaluation of the government if it was to retain and attract foreign assets. Kenya's views on international events have been relatively moderated. In his 1969 study of Kenya's foreign policies, Professor Howell pointed out international, regional and sub regional political issues, which had a strong influence on Kenya's international behaviour.<sup>212</sup>

Keohane further posit that for centuries Kenyans have made the diplomatic model of wait and see absolutely through outside factors. Kenyans cannot wait until their competition in the tea, coffee and tourism market capture before they can react.<sup>213</sup> Thereafter, the Economic and Trade Diplomacy Structures were being strengthened and placed in order to promote Kenyan goods vigorously and became the preferred investor destination in the region.

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<sup>210</sup> Ochieng W. "A Modern History of Kenya 1895-1980." Nrb: Evans Brothers, 1997.

<sup>211</sup> Krishna, K. "Economic Cooperation in Africa: Retrospect and Prospect." Oxford University Press London. P. 109 Hoekma; 2010.

<sup>212</sup> Elias, T. "The Charter of the OAU." American Jrnl of Interl. Law,"LIX(2); 2012.

<sup>213</sup> Keohane, R. Internationalization and Domestic Politics Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Draft Session Paper on Kenya Fp Framework.Nairobi,2010.

Koori indicates how governments pursue foreign economic ties in the 21st century: how locally they take decisions, how they negotiate globally.<sup>214</sup> In the 1990's and early 2000's, he reported the changing economic diplomacy during the end of Cold War, globalization progress and the increasing impact of non-state actors, including the civil society and private sector. It demonstrates economic diplomacy in detail and combines academic analytical chapters with case studies that convey experiential insights to practitioners.<sup>215</sup>

Hughe posit that Kenya has been through diverse administrations throughout independence period in 1963.<sup>216</sup> Kenyatta, the first Kenyan president, adopted an Fp which stressed collaboration with neighboring countries, aid to the movements for continental independence and a strongly backed international investment in a mixed economy and ultimately strong links with countries in the west. Following a tense political environment in which Vice president Moi became President, he died in 1978 and there was a smooth transition. In August 1982, and subsequently, the multiparty change wind, a democracy which was blown across Kenya, tried to overthrow Moi, but Moi was able to face an intense threat and won another term in the year 1992 and 1997.<sup>217</sup>

African Socialism is the absence of structures in Africa and therefore describes the introduction of individual laws and its relevance to planning process in Kenya. The Presidency, also in conjunction with Foreign affairs minister, is the main policy bodies with regard to foreign policy.<sup>218</sup> In its Fp, Kenyatta's leadership style was mirrored. At a time when Kenyatta

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<sup>214</sup> Koori, C. "Commentary on Remittances for July 2011 CBK, 2011."

<sup>215</sup> Nying'uro, P. "United States Policy and the Transition to Democracy in Kenya, 1990-2010." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of South Carolina, Columbia, 2010.

<sup>216</sup> Hughes, J. "Policy Options in the Horn." Africa Report, May-June, 2012.

<sup>217</sup> Olsen, L. "European Public Opinion and Aid to Africa: Is There a Link?" The Journal of Modern African Studies, 39, 4, 2012.

<sup>218</sup> "African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya, Sessional Paper No. 10, 2010."

gained a legendary reputation among Kenyans and condemned the colonial government as a leader of darkness and death. Allegedly Kenyatta had indeed thought of Kenya's foreign affairs trajectory during independence. Kenyatta's desires to have Kenya constructed along the western lines of free enterprise and that the amassing of foreign capital is needed to achieve economic growth leading to Foreign Investment Protection Law 1964 were clearly expressed in successive policy documents like the KANU manifesto and session paper 10 of 1955.<sup>219</sup>

Otenyo's comment on various factors influencing FP is somewhat correct.<sup>220</sup> Here it is the point that the Head of State's feedback is key. At independence Kenyatta was a hero since he brought Uhuru (freedom, independence) however, at first the settlers and British government were antagonistic. In 1958, the head secretariat of the Colonial Government of Kenya, Walter Coutts, may be the most representative of the British commentary: every sensitive person knows the Mau leaders aren't ready to come back to civilization much less suppose they do not have a mark of their own, because they do not have any chance of a return. Whoever contradicts stamps themselves as supporters of welfare, degradation and crime. The British quickly changed Kenyatta's views on the size of his national and global support perhaps particularly on his readiness to cooperate with Britain, foreign investors and settlers.<sup>221</sup>

The charisma of Kenyatta had a strong Fp effect and held the country close to the West. Others saw his approach as a wait-and-see strategy, as President Kenyatta was patient and moderate. Makinda best summarized Kenya's foreign affairs: Kenya has indeed maintained a

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<sup>219</sup> Haas, R. "Beyond Nation State; Functionalism & International Organization." CA, Stanford University press. Johan Norberg. In Defense of Global Capitalism .Washington, DC: Cato Institute, 2014.

<sup>220</sup> Otenyo. "New Terrorism. Toward an Explanation of Cases in Kenya." African Security Review, 13 (3),2012.

<sup>221</sup> Nying'uro, O. "External Sources of Kenya's Democratization Process." Journal of Political Science, Volume 25. 2012.

low profile in Africa and elsewhere on numerous burning issues, a diplomacy that is best described as silent diplomacy.<sup>222</sup> This style that does not defend or encourage progressive aggression. It is a diplomatic position that recognizes that social and economic modernization, which requires the diplomatic services, can be promoted through the uses and functions of the foreign policy of the poor nation.<sup>223</sup> In the past decade. Stressors were balanced so that the socially marginalized strata were empowered to be inclusive of cultural diplomacy, sustainability, environmental protection and equity.<sup>224</sup> As Fp choices for Kenya are now aimed at meeting the needs of the Kenya people multidimensional while conserving the original country's security interests, military, political and economic.<sup>225</sup> The mixture of bilateralism and multilateralism in Kenyan diplomacy and Fp now fits the country more efficiently, with close relations being sought with the former colonial force, the United Kingdom, and other important donor countries and international organisations. The willingness to foster economic growth has shaped Kenya's strategy to foreign policy, whereas retaining its conventional fundamental principles and guidelines of non-alignment and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. <sup>226</sup>

The knowledge of foreign policy has been made useful and important contributions. However, the central question to the management and also external challenges were not discussed, although significant contributions have been made to the contents of the Fp. And no remarks on foreign policy concepts have been made either in the intellectual history of the

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<sup>222</sup> Makinda, S. "Kenya's Role in Somalia-Ethiopian conflict." Working Ppr No. 55. 2012.

<sup>223</sup> Ochieng' G. "A Modern History of Kenya 2000-2010," Op. Cit,2010,

<sup>224</sup> Singer H. "Distribution of Gains from Trade and Investment Revisited", Journal of Dev Studies, Jul.2011.

<sup>225</sup> Smith, S. "The Globalization of World Politics. An Introduction to International Relations," 3rd ed. NY: Oxford University Press,2011.

<sup>226</sup> Dixon, A. "Dry land Management: Economic Case Studies." London: Earthscan Publication Ltd. 2012.

countries. Limited studies on Fp illustrates the modern uni-dimensional nature and methodology of the literature of Fp.

### **3.3 Determinants of Kenya Foreign Policy Formulation**

External relations have been key factors, which have greatly improved the economic relations between states and which are being implemented through economic diplomacy <sup>227</sup> Enders et al. posit that successful Fp, in a country is contributed by factors such as investments and economic activities.<sup>228</sup> Foreign relations have been key factors, which have greatly improved the economic relations between states and which are being implemented through economic diplomacy

Additionally, it makes bilateral economic issues, in particular with the World Trade Organization, easier in place for countries. The development of a diplomatic network is another means for States to take advantage of their external trade or investment. <sup>229</sup> The results of the study are also supported by Kugler and Tammen by classifying the formulation of Economic External Policy into three stages; firstly the economic salesmanship that involves new economic links; secondly, the networking and advocacy stages, the collaboration with other entities that are dealing with international economic issues.<sup>230</sup>

Globerman depicts the synthesis of Fp from a historical perspective on the assessment of key stakeholders who ensure effective international policies in Kenya. In 1890, colonial

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<sup>227</sup> Vine, T. "The Customs Union Issue." NY: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2011.

<sup>228</sup> Enders, Walter, Sachida, A. & Sandler T. "The Impact of Transnational Terrorism on U.S. Foreign Direct Investment." *Political Research Quarterly*, 59 (4): 517-531. 2006.

<sup>229</sup> Kaufmann, D., Kraay A., & Mastruzzi, M. "The Worldwide Governance Indicators: Methodology and Analytical Issues." *Hague Journal of the Rule of Law* 3 (2): 220-246, 2011.

<sup>230</sup> Kugler, J., & Tammen. R. "The Performance of Nations." Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012.



governance was opened in Kenya and ended on 12 December 1963, according with their responses.<sup>231</sup> A number of British administrators ruled over the colonial states oversees, thus laying no firm base to the growth of a modern African state. Its objectives were to preserve law and order, nurture obedience and loyalty to the imperial bodies and protect and enhance British economic and political interests.<sup>232</sup>

The values and ideals which were then propagated were in the interests of the UK. Kenya has become independent nation like other African countries, and at this time its foreign policy was governed by traditional national and systems variables. The wider guiding principles of Kenya's foreign policy were: proactive protection of the national interests; preservation of the autonomy of people of Kenya; cooperation to nurture and uphold African unity; efforts to promote international peace as well as good neighborhood policy. Kenya joined regional and world organisations, helped in the peacekeeping operations and provided aid to other countries in the spirit of these principles.<sup>233</sup>

Due to resource restrictions, embassies were limited to a maximum of 10 individuals, apart from the commonwealth nations.<sup>234</sup> The choices made regarding the countries to be opened up were greatly influenced by trade. Though finances was a constraint did not facilitate other missions abroad, accords were reached with all commercial partners and with countries

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<sup>231</sup> Globerman, Steven, & Shapiro, D. "Global Foreign Direct Investment Flows: The Role of Governance Infrastructure." *World Development* 30 (11): 1899, 2002.

<sup>232</sup> Glen, B., & Karl DeRouen. "Following the Flag: Troop Deployment and U.S. Foreign Direct Investment." *International Studies Quarterly*, 51,(4): 835-854. 2007.

<sup>233</sup> Powers, Matthew, & Choi, S-W. "Does transnational terrorism reduce foreign direct investment? Business-related versus non-business-related terrorism." *Journal of Peace Research* 49 (3): 407-422;2012.

<sup>234</sup> Dunning, J. H. "Globalization & new geography of foreign direct investment." *Oxford Development Studies* 26 (1): 47;1998.

that could or were actually investment or assistance sources.<sup>235</sup> Diplomatic operations with Commonwealth countries were great in enhancing relations with other nations were maintained at the ambassadorial level. The US representative was accredited also to the UN.

Kenyan diplomacy was good compared to other sub-Saharan African countries. However, inexperience and inadequacy of management have imposed certain limitations, which means that cabinet ministers have negotiated loans or other aid abroad. The Minister for External Affairs has often led talks with organizations such as OAU, Commonwealth and the UN, the vital foreign policy determinations in Kenya after independence, the Minister for External Affairs, from December 1964 to May 1966. However, in light of the Ministry's importance, the President must have been informed by other trusted cabinet members on some foreign matters. On 3 May 1966 the cabinet was re-organized and a group led by a former vice-president was resigned.<sup>236</sup> Without portfolio, Murumbi has been appointed Vice-President and Minister. That, together with a series of political misunderstandings, led to his resignation. The suggestion that Kenya's foreign policy was virtually dominated by the Head of State, was a young colonial state.<sup>237</sup>

The government, according to Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965, claimed that the African socialism the liberal nation should not depend on any other country or group of countries to achieve success through a satellite relationship.<sup>238</sup> Consequently, the government signed agreements and provided economic and military aid from the major global forces. Positive

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<sup>235</sup> Glen, B. & Staats, J. L. "Do Political Institutions Affect Foreign Direct Investment? A Survey of U.S. Corporations in Latin America." *Political Research Quarterly* 63 (3): 508-522, 2010."

<sup>236</sup> Chakrabarti, A.. "The Determinants of Foreign Direct Investments: Sensitivity Analyses of CrossCountry Regressions." *Kyklos*, 54;(1), 2001.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid

<sup>238</sup> Arbetman, M., & Kugler. M.A.J. "Relative Political Capacity: Political Extraction and Political Reach." In *Political Capacity and Economic Behavior*, eds. M. Arbetman and M.A.J. Kugler." Basic Books. 11 45, 1997.

impartiality was seen as a means to preserve political independence of the country and also as a chance for economic growth. However, that principle did not imply that in world affairs Kenya had to remain neutral. Kenya has not had a written foreign policy since independence. It's not that there was no foreign country in Kenya. However, this context doesn't mean Kenya lacks foreign policy whatsoever. The propensity to have policies in writing has fuelled a misconception.<sup>239</sup>

The principle of non-alignment was one of these concepts. In the Cold War era, Kenya has spent most of the post-independence period. At the time the Eastern Bloc was committed to development projects, Kenya played a delicate balance sheet of the capitalist state remaining. The adoption of the 1965 paper Session 10 which put Kenya along the capitalist path while simultaneously receiving funding for the construction of hospitals like Nyanza.<sup>240</sup> Thus, Kenya was able to conduct international affairs with some degree of predictability even without a written foreign policy.

Kenya's Fp system was still at its primitive level immediately following independence. The process capacity has not yet been developed. The President and those close to him were responsible for the foreign policy. There are officially institutions responsible for foreign policy-making. There are institutions. These include the House and the Foreign Ministry. In addition, the President and the Minister for Foreign Affairs can formulate foreign policy at

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<sup>239</sup> Heston, A. & Summers, R. and Aten, B. "Penn World Table Version 6.1. In: Center for International Comparisons at the University of Pennsylvania (CICUP)," 2002.

<sup>240</sup> Coan, Travis G., & Kugler. T. "The Politics of Foreign Direct Investment: An Interactive Framework." *International Interactions* 34 (4): 402-422. 2008.

individual level. Moreover, as is the case for FP is a unique privilege of the heads of state as portrayed in Kenya under era of Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel Arap Moi. <sup>241</sup>

In formulating and implementing Kenya's external policy, it is necessary to consider carefully the role of each institution in relation to Kenya's external policy. The National Security Council, for example, is responsible for implementing Kenya's foreign policy. It would be wise to look at institutions like these to have a more comprehensive picture to understand Kenya's process of formulation.<sup>242</sup> Sub-regional, regional and universal political dynamics must also be considered. The fact that Kenya is at the center of the conflict-prone region requires an examination of how the security situation of the region affects the hunger for national interests.<sup>243</sup> African and global policy should be questioned, with the aim of informing the policy, to exploit the opportunities and bulwarks available to them to combat threats. Students of business research will call it a SWOT analysis that analyzes the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of a state in order to achieve their national interests.<sup>244</sup>

The respondents noted that a framework that offers guidance for Kenya's foreign policy is still underway.<sup>245</sup> The main themes of foreign relations with other nations are outlined in this document. In this area, it seeks to achieve coherence by providing a text reference to extract the law. It relies heavily on five pillars that articulate the international forum interests. These are

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<sup>241</sup> Cincotta, H. "US Hails Darfur Peace Accord, May 6, 2006" Washington.

<sup>242</sup> Khobe, M.M. "The Evolution and Conduct of ECOMOG Operations in West Africa." Published in Monograph No 44: Boundaries of Peace Support Operations, 2000.

<sup>243</sup> Obiozor, G. "Nigeria & the ECOWAS; Towards A Dynamic Regional Integration." Fourth Dimensions Limited, 1991.

<sup>244</sup> Nuhu-Koko, A.A. "Fp & President Yar Adua's impending Cabinet Shake-up," 2008:

<sup>245</sup> MI&C: "Policy & Governance: Nigeria Monthly Magazine," 4:No.2, 4-8., Jul 2008. MI&C.

the diplomacy of the economy, security, the environment, culture and the diaspora. These are the key areas in which Kenya aims to formulate and implement its external policy.<sup>246</sup>

Nonetheless, economic / commercial diplomacy is the principal pillar of the five. All four other pillars are connected with the state's economic well-being and especially the 2030 vision. It also sheds light on Kenya's foreign acts in international scene.

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<sup>246</sup> Ki-moon, B. "In his inaugural address to the opening of Peace Building Commission in Geneva [online]." Available from June 27, 2007.

**CHAPTER FOUR**

**PROSPECTS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE YOUTHS IN ADVANCEMENT OF  
FOREIGN POLICY IN KENYA**

**4.0 Lessons from the Youth Participation at UN and AU**

Mac-Ikemenjima argues that the participation of young people in ideas, preparation and policy development is a vital aspect that can ensure that the decision-makers address youth issues.<sup>247</sup> The WPAY provides many benefits and even some examples of substantive involvement by young people. The United Nations has been primarily supportive of the young in terms of youth engagement. Many developments have shown clearly that the UN is dedicated to involve youths.<sup>248</sup>

The presence of youth delegates and young councils from all over the world is a common feature in almost all United Nations negotiations on youth policy. This became clear during the 1994 planning phase of the WPAY policy. In this process, youth organizations are called upon to establish and make proposals for the successful implementation of the WPAY throughout cooperation with UN Member States.<sup>249</sup> The youth in this case are invited to contribute to the discussions on vital issues facing their countries and the way the United Nations could develop and implement policies aimed at addressing these challenges. The young people's submissions are properly taken into consideration and are later a central priority of the WPAY programme.

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<sup>247</sup> Mac-Ikemenjima, D. "Youth development, reintegration, reconciliation and rehabilitation in postconflict West Africa: A framework for Sierra Leone, Liberia and Cote d'Ivoire," *International NGO Journal*, 3 (9):146-151, 2008.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid

<sup>249</sup> Van der, L. & Salvai, P. "Tackling Youth Employment Challenges. An overview of possible actions and possible Policy Considerations." *International Training Centre and International Labour Organisation*, 2011.

It is also clear that youth have been involved in the monitoring and assessment of United Nations youth-oriented policies. One example in particular is the results of the United Nations World Report based on the recommendations made in a meeting of youth councils and experts from various fields. It was called the "Global Youth Priorities Expert Group Meeting." In view of the new challenges facing the young after WPAY in 1995, the report made suggestive recommendations on how to improve youth policy. Among these issues were the influence of globalization and of HIV / AIDS on young people. In those particular cases, the young can also be included in order to better address the new challenges faced by the young people in the subsequent development of an original WPAY policy. <sup>250</sup>

In view of this context, the level of participation of youth in WPAY policies is considerably high, according to Hart's Ladder of Participation. Hence, youth participation in the initial planning stage and their capacity to observe and assess the policy's impact on their lives suggest that young people are not just tokens during the deliberation. The level of involvement thus clearly reaches the first three rungs of Hart's ladder, in which young people are only exploited. In the sixth rung, where decisions are taken by adults but also involve the young person, the best way to clarify the rate of youth engagement in WPAY.<sup>251</sup>

The African Charter on Youth (AYC) is a legislative framework for young people in Africa. The AYC is starting point for the Wpay, which recognizes that, because of unique African factors such as a sustained period of colonialism and slavery, the problems facing the young people worldwide are more severe on the African continent.<sup>252</sup> Efem and Ubi discuss a

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<sup>250</sup> Ibid

<sup>251</sup> Hart, R. "Children's Participation: From Tokenism to Citizenship. Innocenti Essays." UN Children's Fund No.4. Florence, Italy, 1992.

<sup>252</sup> 'African Youth Charter; [www.unesco.org](http://www.unesco.org)'

few of the key issues that have intensified young people's struggles in Africa.<sup>253</sup> We claim that the epidemic of HIV / AIDS, continuing civil strife and mismanagement have intensified the problems of young people in Africa.

At the 7th Ordinary Session of the Assembly held on 2 July 2006 in Banjul, Gambia, the African Youth Charter was adopted by African States. The AYC has 38 signatories, and 38 African nations have a legal obligation to comply with the 31 Articles of the AYC. The AYC covers all youth rights and is considered to be an important document that goes beyond simply stating the youth rights.<sup>254</sup>

The AYC planning and development phase has certainly demonstrated progressive characteristics for youth participation in Africa. Clearly, the African Union (AU) has created opportunities and platforms for young people to effectively participate in the development of the AYC. Paanday underscores that the AU established public consultations with young people at national level in 2006 prior to the adoption of the AYC. In addition, as part of the validation process the AU organized a forum and a meeting of young experts with ministers of youth meeting.<sup>255</sup> The level of participation of young people in AYC is therefore high in its construction phase compared to the WPAY strategy. The AU understands the importance of youth involvement and seeks to uphold the UN's global standard of youth participation. This was great for the youth in the continent. The AYC's phase of implementation has various mechanisms to ensure that young people have platforms to influence politics. The AYC policy

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<sup>253</sup> Ubi, E. N. "AFRICAN Youth Charter: Prospects for development of African Youth Workshop on the Appropriation, Dissemination and Implementation of Regional Instruments and Endogenous Democratic Governance and Conflict Prevention Mechanisms in West Africa. Senegal," 2007.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid

<sup>255</sup> Panday, S. "African youth charter: a benchmark for youth development in Africa. Human Science Research Council Review," Vol 4 No 6;2006.



obliges Member States, through a quota system, to set aside a number of parliamentary seats for young people. East African countries like Rwanda and Uganda have already put in place quota system.<sup>256</sup> Therefore, the full application of AYC guarantees that young people have spaces to control state affairs.

Some criticisms of the AYC, however, come from the challenges posed by the implementation phase of the policy. Efem and Ubi 2007 note that Article 12 of the Charter is about national youth policy and advocate the establishment and development of comprehensive and cohesive national youth policy by Member States ' national political leaders.<sup>257</sup> Its argued further that the challenges come up at national level and criticize the efficacy, as defined by the African States, of national policies in compliance with Article 12 of the AYC. Efem and Ubi contend that in Nigeria's Youth Ministry, the department focuses on youth and sport instead of more urgent problems facing young people. Efem and Ubi therefore question the efficiency of the AYC, otherwise the youth issues will be internationalized.<sup>258</sup> The argument of Efem and Ubi is particularly justified when you look at the latest developments in Nigeria. The Boko Haram insurgency is an example of the kidnapping of 250 to 300 school girls in the year 2014.

#### **4.1 Youth and Cultural Diplomacy**

Cultural diplomacy is a key focal component in foreign policies that states are using as a tool to address this problem Arndt agrees that the use of cultural diplomacy as a way of interacting in global arena has highly become widespread in Western developed nations, but

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<sup>256</sup> Mac-Ikemenjima 2009 Op cit

<sup>257</sup> African Youth Charter, 2007; [www.unesco.org](http://www.unesco.org)

<sup>258</sup> Efem & Ubi (2007) Op cit

it is not at all limited to these nations.<sup>259</sup>

Cultural diplomacy as defined by Berridge are ideas of identity or culture.<sup>260</sup> These actions boost the image of a state, strengthen relationships, promote the interests of a state, and heighten socio-cultural cooperation. An example is whereby Kenya has been traditionally known for its dedicated athletes who over the years have continued to participate in Olympics and recorded many winnings, hence; upholding the reputation of the country.

Today, governments globally focus on investing in political, cultural, and diplomatic activities in an effort to invest in other states. This means that global diplomacy is important as it informs the foreign policy of a state. The continuous adoption of cultural diplomacy as a way of interacting in international dialogue has developed to be widespread in developing nations. For instance, China being a friend and development partner of Kenya offers investment, business, as well as, financial opportunities in the fields of education and culture.<sup>261</sup>

#### **4.2 Youth Travel/Tourism- ‘Backpackers’**

Youth travel is a growing market which is becoming increasingly important for many countries<sup>262</sup> (UNWTO, 2010). Youth travel is acknowledged to generate 165 billion US dollars towards global tourism receipts and one that provides an indicator of future travel trends. These important and multiple effect of youth travel have recently begun to be appreciated by

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<sup>259</sup> Arndt, R. “Cultural Diplomacy and the Public Agenda.” Unpublished paper on file at the Center for Arts and Culture, Washington, D.C., 2000, 12

<sup>260</sup> Berridge, G.R. “*Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*.” Basingstoke, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, p.92-95

<sup>261</sup> Jian-Ye, “Wang what drives China's growing role in Africa?” IMF, 2007, p.7-211

<sup>262</sup> UNWTO. “Youth Travel Monitor. Amsterdam: WYSE Travel Confederation,” 2010.

governments across the world, and they are now taking a more active role. The United States and Europe have been the major markets generating and receiving youth travelers.<sup>263</sup> In Africa, South Africa has been marked globally as a preferred youth travel destination and has seen rapid increases in arrivals from young explorers and backpackers. Kenya being a developed country, traveling activity in young people is considered an extension of the learning process and not a distinct event. Traveling by youths is motivated by recreation, adventure and sport making the sector grow and accelerate throughout the country.<sup>264</sup>

According to WYSE/UNWTO (2008) annual youth travel accounts for 20percent of arrivals in the world. The study reveals a 39 percent increase in total expenditure of youth population between 2002 and 2007 at an 8 percent annual global volume.<sup>265</sup> According to WYSE reports reveal that this trend shift promptly transformed the tourism industry, seeing a number of states strategically boost their recreational facilities by more powerfully engaging young people. Therefore, a growing number of countries are trying to attract niche markets with specific campaigns and policies on youth travel marketing. Fundamental aspects of the creation of destinations are offering accommodation for youth, cultural routes, information, web portals, travel packages and discounts programmes.

Youth travel is reflected in current trend such as hostels for young travelers, backpacking, work holiday programmes, training, student transportation, cultural exchanges, backpack transport, Au-pair adventure tours, volunteers, internships, student travel security,

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<sup>263</sup> Yeisenger, Y. & Mavondo, F. "Modeling psychological profile: A case study of the US and Australia student Travel." *Journal of hospitality and tourism Research*, 28(1), 44-65,2014.

<sup>264</sup> "Ministry of Tourism. Baseline survey on youth and Sport Tourism in Kenya." NRB: Kenya, 2010.

<sup>265</sup> "WYSE Travel Confederation. Youth Travel Monitor. Amsterdam: WYSE Travel Confederation," 2011.

youth travel agencies. In developing policy, products and marketing campaigns for young people.<sup>266</sup> Although in some states, such as Kenya, do not undertake youth travel activities and there is a question on whether the multi-billion dollar sector in Kenya is being exploited fully in the tourism industry.

This section of the future segment of the market has not been taken into account in past research of the tourism industry in Kenya by Dieke (1994), Sindiger (1996), Mayaka (2012) and others. Moreover, most tourism research was limited to families, elderly and pensioners, and adult working people without distinguishing between different segments of the travel market.<sup>267</sup> It has contributed to limited information on motivation and decision making for young people, favorite goods, travel bans and customer profiles. As a result, Kenya can lose on a rapidly growing market's long-term potential.

Kenya is country whose population is made up over 70 ethnic groups, with the Kikuyu recording the highest numbers, which makes up 20 per cent of the population.<sup>268</sup> The large numbers of ethnic groups makes Kenya a multicultural country, something that reflects in the cultural policy of the government. The policy promotes the achievement of cohesion within cultural diversity for sustainable growth.<sup>269</sup> The culture of the Kenyan people has over the years become a philosophical and ideological basis for national identity and development. The government also identifies culture and dynamic.

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<sup>266</sup> “World Youth Student and Education Travel Youth travel Facts,” 2009.

<sup>267</sup> Ibid

<sup>268</sup> GOK, “Cultural Diplomacy Strategy, 2018 – 2022. Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Foreign Affairs,” 2017, p.156

<sup>269</sup> Glade, W. “Enhancing International Dialogue.” Unpublished paper on file at the Center for Arts and Culture, Washington, D.C., 2000, p.457

The Kenyan government recognizes that cultural diversity and culture are central in increasing viable socio-economic developments since they widen the range of choices to each citizen. The two increases the prospects for economic activities as well as creates the situations for a suitable spiritual and intellectual existence. The government in the country considers efforts meant to boost cultural exchange programmes, since it views as them as significant ways of fostering inter- African and global networks, that offer the foundation for economic cohesion, and a long-term cultural understanding.<sup>270</sup>

The Kenya Constitution recognizes cultures as the basis of the nation, whereas the country's blueprint, the Vision 2020, considers culture as vital enabler to cultural, political, and socio-economic development of the nation. Undeniably, the prospective of its heritage is big and there is the need for the country to exploit it for the greater benefit of the nation at large.<sup>271</sup> Cultural Diplomacy is an important tool that Kenya can employ to facilitate international relations and project the prestige and reputation of the nation.

Kenya's foreign policy is composed of five interconnected diplomacy pillars which include Peace, Culture, Environment, Economic, and Diaspora. Kenya's 2018-2022 cultural diplomacy strategy gives a road map of the application of the Cultural Diplomacy Pillar. According to Ninkovitch, cultural diplomacy considers culture as an important instrument in international relations particularly through the usage of endowments and cultural heritage as the bases of the country's foreign engagement.<sup>272</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> Mulcahy, K. "Cultural Diplomacy in the Post-Cold War World." Unpublished paper on file at the Center for Arts and Culture, Washington, D.C., 2000, p.218

<sup>271</sup> Ibid. p.356

<sup>272</sup> Frank, N., "The Diplomacy of Ideas: U.S. Foreign and Cultural Relations, 1938-1950." Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, p.301

Several states have efficiently employed cultural diplomacy to increase their agenda and national interest at the international stage. A number of them have used endowment of education and training prospects to entice foreigners to work and learn there. Others have used traditional attires, films, language, literature, culinary art, sports, religion, mythologies, performing and visual arts, and literature to promote their cultural identity. Likewise, Kenya has developed legislations and policies with the main goal of guaranteeing protection and promoting its cultural diversity and heritage. The Kenyan Constitution identifies culture as the basis of the nation and underlines the urge to promote all forms of cultural expressions, hence; preserving its cultural heritage. The country's Vision 2030 as well as the National Policy on Culture and Heritage have acknowledged the contribution that culture has had on the cultural, political, and social-economic development of the country.<sup>273</sup>

As stated in .the Kenya's foreign Policy, Cultural Diplomacy Pillar found in the places emphasis on cultural heritage as diplomatic engagement tool to promote the nation's cultural diversity.<sup>139</sup> Similarly, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has facilitated conciliation and conclusion of certain approaches of cooperation to boost cooperation and cultural exchanges with other states.<sup>274</sup>

Cultural diplomacy is considered as establishing global connections and relations, recognizing systems and power spheres within cultures and surpassing cultural and national boundaries.<sup>275</sup> With the presence of information technologies, soft power integrates state's

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<sup>273</sup> Mbitha, M. E. & Misati J. A. "Kenya's Social Development Proposals and Challenges: Review of Kenya Vision 2030 First Medium-Term Plan, 2008-2012." 2014, p. 74

<sup>274</sup> "Ministry's Of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Strategic plan," 2013, p.17.

<sup>275</sup> Olsen, G. R. "Promotion of democracy as a Fp instrument of Europe: Limits to international idealism." Democratization 7, no. 2;2000, p.142

culture including morals, art, habits, and belief among other capabilities created by a society.<sup>276</sup> In the Kenyan context, cultural actors are enterprises, institutions, and people in film and media, art, education, sport, communication, design and architecture, and leisure among other elements. These elements communicate and express identity, and bring their outlook in practice. National cultural institutions like museums, are viewed as crucial cultural policy actors in states with the aim of building cultural connection between different nations by facilitating diplomatic dialogues and promoting tourist activities.<sup>277</sup>

Governments might face challenges trying to undertake cultural diplomacy programs since cultural diplomacy present several challenges. A number of ideas observed a foreign populations cannot be controlled by the government.<sup>278</sup> Foreign policy documents are important tools that the government uses to advance international relations with other states. For countries to remain relevant in the international arena, their government must be able to control trade and communication technologies. This is challenging for states that function in an environment that is free market since they have no control of how information flows.<sup>279</sup> In this case, the government should focus on protecting cultural exports, acquiring access for foreign telecommunication networks, and utilizing trade agreements.

This section notes that the roles of determinants which are non-state have been operational in global universal politics in the field of public diplomacy. Their function gives the impression to be operative in public diplomacy by way of impelling audiences from

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<sup>276</sup> Lederach, J. P., "The Moral Imagination. Oxford University Press," 2005, p.102-103.

<sup>277</sup> "The Government of Kenya. Kenya's Fp Document. Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kenya," 2014.

<sup>278</sup> Maack, M. N. "Books and libraries as instruments of cultural diplomacy in Francophone Africa during the Cold War." *Libraries & Culture*, 2001, p.58

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.* p.59.

foreign context and the broad public in various states. Possibly there has been a foundational movement from government to non-government determinants in terms of impelling alien partakers or in public diplomacy.<sup>280</sup>

In creating an understanding of state approaches of cultural diplomacy Montville, and Davidson claim that international relations in the Kenyan context extend beyond the actions of the government and that of its agencies.<sup>281</sup> Therefore, it can be carried out on the initiative of private and public organizations. International cultural relations see to benefit all parties involved meaning that it is not one-sided. Effective cultural relations between nations are important in creating a mutual understanding and unity for mutual benefit.

The urge to maintain a good reputation in the world may in some way be inspired by political and economic motives. It may be vital to attempt to promote a good image of one's country among policy makers, foreign politicians, media, academics, scientists, and the agents of the of foreign trade industry. A reputable image can be enhanced through extensive knowledge about a particular state and its culture. Studies assume that a positive relationship must exist between what foreigners know about a country as well as amount of prestige that that particular nation enjoys abroad.

Mulcahy contends that cultural relations ensue ideally through the build-up of experiences between two states through open professional relations rather than through

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<sup>280</sup> Glade, W. "Enhancing International Dialogue." Unpublished paper on file at the Center for Arts and Culture, Washington, D.C., (2000).

<sup>281</sup> Montville, J. & Davidson, W. "Fp According to Freud". Fp. N.45, 2001, p. 40.



selective self-prediction the latter being better termed as propaganda.<sup>282</sup> A cultural connection shows a lucid picture of every nation instead of displaying a beatified one. Such a relation does not conceal any existing issues nor does it make a show-off them. A cultural relation does not pretend nor parade the warts to others, Even in democratic states, government, seek for return on investment (ROI) of resources in cultural relations in regards to national advantage.<sup>283</sup>

### **4.3 Youth in Governance**

Various organizations define governance in different manner. The UNDP identifies Good Governance as a political, economic and administrative authority to effectively manage national affairs at all levels and includes a complicated range of processes, procedures, relations and institutions that articulate the rights, obligations and differences of citizens and groups.<sup>284</sup> The Kenyan Constitution 2010 recognizes the value of good governance in order to ensure that Article 10 sets out National Governance values and principles, who it binds and what good governance constitutes. In addition to the principles of human dignity, equity, human rights, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, non-discrimination and protection of marginalised people, these include integrity, accountability and transparency. Consequently, the youth who under article 100 are categorized as a marginalised group are recognized as a group that can participate in governance.<sup>285</sup>

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<sup>282</sup> Mulcahy, K. "Cultural Diplomacy in the Post-Cold War World." Unpublished paper on file at the Center for Arts and Culture, Washington, D.C., 2000, p. 320

<sup>283</sup> Ojo, O., & Sesay, A. "Concepts in International Relations. Ile-Ife: Classy prints and Company," p. 87- 124, 2002.

<sup>284</sup> "UN Development Programme Discussion Paper 2, Reconceptualizing Governance," UNDP. 1997,

<sup>285</sup> "The Constitution of Kenya, Kenya Gazette supplement No. 55 (The Constitution of Kenya 2010) Nairobi 27th August 2010," printed and published by the Government printer NAIROBI.

Therefore, youth governance serves the purpose of having youths working with adults in order to identify the programs, policies, objectives and activities. This technique encourages and allows youths to realise their contribution and live independently.<sup>286</sup>

Several other policies also exist in the health sector, employment sector and other government policies. However, this Chapter focuses on the National Youth Policy of Kenya as opposed to the sectoral policies which may incorporate youth participation. It discusses its salient features and provides a framework within which its implementation can be realized in Kenya. Addressing youth issues relies heavily on availability of a responsive policy framework. Where such policies are available and properly implemented, the situation of the youth is expected to improve significantly, including youth participation in governance.

#### **4.4 Policy Framework**

At the international level, the World Programme of Action for Youth<sup>287</sup> (hereinafter the Programme for Action) is the principal policy for youth participation. . "It outlines national action and international support for improvement of youth situations with policy framework and practical guidelines. The Program of Action contains proposals for action up to and including the year 2000 that are intended to achieve the objectives of the International Youth Year and promote the conditions and mechanisms for the promotion of improved well-being and livelihood amongst young people.

It is a plan to tackle the issues of young people effectively. It is a policy frame work that strives to provide opportunities to increase youth participation in society and to provide guidance for

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<sup>286</sup> Ibid

<sup>287</sup> "The United Nations General Assembly at its 915t meeting of December 1995 in its resolution 50/81.'

national and international institutions in supporting youth development. The program offers concrete proposals on how countries in their respective countries could enhance the well-being and livelihoods of young people. Therefore, Governments that have not formulated and adopted an integrated national youth policy need to do so.<sup>288</sup>

At the regional level, the policy framework is the youth declaration on the African Youth Charter inspired by World Youth Reports of 2003 and 2005, underlining the various achievements and challenges faced by young people around the world. According to this declaration, Promoting and protecting youth rights calls for youth to assume responsibility for themselves and all other social actors. Moreover, young people are an indispensable partner and asset to African sustainable development, peace and prosperity because they contribute solely to present and future development.

In July 2007, the government, through Sessional Paper NO.3 established the Kenya National Youth Policy for youth development (hereinafter referred to as the National Youth Policy). The National Youth Policy puts the age limit for youth at between 15 and 30 years taking into account the physical, social, biological and political dimensions of the youth. The National Youth Policy also estimates that Kenyans in the age bracket of 1-30 years make up a total of 75% of the total population and those between 15-30 years represent 32% of the total population. Therefore, the youth in Kenya represent a dominant demographic group that cannot be ignored.

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<sup>288</sup> “United Nations General Assembly Resolution N50/728, World Programme of Action to the Year 2000 and Beyond.”

The National Youth Policy proposes a legal framework to deal with issues of youth participation in democratic processes as well as community and civic youth affairs. It also proposes to address issues of youth empowerment and participation in national life through involving the youth at all levels of governance and decision-making. Some of the youth challenges the National Youth Policy seeks to address include youth with disability, street youth, youth infected with HIV/AIDS, female youth, unemployed and out of school youth.<sup>289</sup>

#### **4.4.1 The Kenya Youth Policy**

There are certain major principles that guide the National Youth Policy. These are, respect of cultural belief systems and ethical values; equity and accessibility to socio-economic opportunities for the youth; gender inclusive approach and equity to the development of the youth; and good governance of youth values in all areas of national development-in general, affirmative action in the fields of youth as a policy of inclusion and empowerment, equality, transparency and accountability, and youth incorporation into all domestic development issues.. With respect to youth participation in governance, in its values, the Policy suggests youth integration. This advocates positive action as an interaction and motivation strategy.<sup>290</sup>

The overarching goal of the program is to encourage young people to engage in democratic processes, culture and public affairs. It also aims to ensure that the young people programs are involved and centered on young people. The main policy objectives are: raising awareness between national policy-makers about the need to identify and incorporate issues

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<sup>289</sup> “Simiyu, J.W. Entrepreneurship education as a tool to support self-employment in Kenya (TVET Best Practice Clearinghouse Issue 2).” Bonn: UNESCO-UNEVOC International Centre for Technical and Vocational Education and Training, 2010.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid

relating to youth in domestic development, identifying ways to empower young people, and exploring and proposing ways of engaging.

With regard to empowerment and engagement of young people, the strategy focuses on collaboration and control, and on providing resources for the realization, hopes, vision and inspiration of young people. The planning, delivery and assessment process involves youth and creates a strong sense of affiliation and owning that leads primarily to sustainability and to immense program benefits.<sup>291</sup>

The policy recognizes that young people are empowered if they recognize they have or can make free choices in life. The young people are encouraged to understand that they have free life choices, to take action based on that decision and to accept responsibility for the action. A favorable environment should be in place for this to happen. The policy describes that the environment includes: a political will, adequate allocation of resources, legal and administrative support frameworks, a stable environment of equality, peace and democracy as well as the availability of knowledge and skills and a valuable value system. The policy further realizes that empowerment is also based on the belief that the youth are the best resource for promoting development and they are agents of change in meeting own challenges and solving own problems.<sup>292</sup>

The policy further acknowledges certain important truths. The new ways of educating the youth should be established in the process of inspiring young people, administrators,

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<sup>291</sup> Flores, K.S. "Youth participatory evaluation: Strategies for engaging young people." San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 2013.

<sup>292</sup> Simiyu, J.W. "Entrepreneurship education as a tool to support self-employment in Kenya (TVET Best Practice Clearinghouse Issue 2)." Bonn: UNESCO-UNEVOC International Centre for Technical and Vocational Education and Training, 2010.

politicians, teachers and parents. The youth should no longer be taught what to learn, but how to learn, not what they're committed to. Furthermore, social structures should follow societal standards that are transparent and unrigid. Thirdly, adults need to change the paradigm of youth communication. They should engage in dialog in order to know that youth with future knowledge can take action on their own initiatives.<sup>293</sup>

According to UNESCO, the national youth policy remains purely symbolic: conveys clear objectives and a visionary statement, which sets out, in the long run, what the policy aims to do; overall coordination, and guiding all policies that directly and indirectly affect young people as social members; it is a State policy rather than simply a governing body; It shall therefore establish national youth NGO platforms and the establishment of informal and formal mechanisms for consultations between stakeholders of national youth policy and those platforms; it shall open spaces for young people's involvement in all development stages, that is to speak of the formulation, implementation and evaluation of that policy. It will be necessary to: promote the policy, devise National Youth Action Plans and establish specific projects, build effective policy implementation and policy management arrangements after drafting and adoption of National Youth Policy, national implementation and in order to ensure its importance, and to make it a platform for community and national youth development.<sup>294</sup>

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<sup>293</sup> National Youth Policies. "A Working Document from the Point of View of 'Non-Formal Education' Youth Organisations - Towards an Autonomous, Supportive, Responsible and Committed Youth. International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies," 2000.

<sup>294</sup> Lo Bianco, Joseph & Peter Freebody. "Australian literacies: Informing national policy on literacy education." Language Australia Ltd, Melbourne, Australia, 2001.

#### **4.5 Strategies for Promoting Youth Participation**

There is need to capture challenges on youth engagement and leadership using the approaches listed. The Youth Policy has given special focus to groups such as the youth with disability, the street youth, youth infected and affected with HIV/AIDS, female youth, the unemployed youth, and out of school youth. This is because; these groups are most vulnerable and face surmountable challenges in their society due to their unique predisposition, which calls for special interventions.<sup>295</sup>

The implementation machinery will involve each and every youth agency, such as government departments, NGOs, the private sector and different youth organizations. In addition to the mobilization of resources necessary to implement, the Youth Ministry will also lead general policy development, supervision, assessment and analysis.<sup>296</sup> The policy framework shall consist of the National Youth Council, which shall be formed by means of an Act of Parliament and whose task shall be to organize youth organizations while undertaking a continuous review of the NYP and creating an integrated national youth development plan in collaboration with the Ministry of Youth. It shall support and popularize NYP to ensure that structures for effective policy implementation and key performance indicators are developed and developed. The institutional framework will reduce duplicity and improve efficiency and delivery of services to young people.<sup>297</sup>

A clear, consensus based view of the kind of men and women who need to serve the world of tomorrow is required for any long-term national policy. Useful suggestions to ensure

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<sup>295</sup> “Laws of Kenya; National Youth Service Act Chapter 208.”

<sup>296</sup> “Patricia et.al., Keys to Quality Youth Development.” University of Minnesota, 2014.

<sup>297</sup> Ibid.

that a plan for young people has a wide-ranging appeal and advice-use graphics, images and names, use clear and simple language, choose appealing covers, formats and colours. Alternatively, UNESCAP argues that it may be a different option to launch national campaigns to raise awareness of the existence and content of such a policy. However, a young promotion team should conduct such national campaigns and could: offer regional workshops for representatives of youth agencies and local workers to make the policy popular (in the workplaces, in schools, in youth centers, at cultural events etc.); and to disseminate information through a vast array of electronic and other media (web-sites, short publications, press releases).

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A national action plan with specific objectives to be achieved in individual areas must be developed with the aim of implementing a national youth policy. The national action plans support the national youth strategy, provide information and execution of the program. A Strategic and holistic report should therefore be included in an action plan for all the key stakeholders and clearly define the concrete action to be taken when they are taken and by whom to fulfill the policy priorities. It also shows the necessary resources to achieve these goals.<sup>299</sup>

Ensuring young people's participation in the realization of specific projects and youth programs at international, regional and domestic levels is essential to ensure that young people have maximum opportunities to play an active role in changing all life and decisions at all levels. However, to be meaningful, their engagement must be linked directly with first-hand

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<sup>298</sup> Francis. P, & Githagui. N, "Youth in Kenya: Force for Change, or lost generation, For Presentation at WB. ESSD Week Session on 'Youth.'" Assets for Social and Economic Transformation. Mar. 31, 2015.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid



experience and identified as a key area of concern for young people themselves. Participation should be seen as a process of empowering young people as the main actors which leads to tangible changes in their livelihoods.

Broad knowledge shows that good practice involves participations based on choice; is enjoyable, demanding and fun, covers young people ' s perceptions and raises awareness of social, political, economic, cultural and personal problems; includes training and skills development; ensures young people are given access to education; Youth participation involves the provision of information; recognizes their contribution; and recognizes that young people often have financial and travel constraints (for example, meetings) and provide support at that level; is focused on careful recruitment and selection; gives them a sense of belonging; and includes a system of evaluation that will ensure that young people and adults get the results they are looking for.<sup>300</sup> Consequently, it is important to implement multiple youth participation approaches that capture a broader and more inclusive youth perspective in creating meaningful opportunities for young participants.

#### **4.5.1 Creating Multiple Spaces for Youth Participation**

Youth organizations tend to be district and mainly focuses on the voices of the youths. Even if it's structured organisations, or informal groups, youth groups provide a space for young people to learn how to participate in decisions and activities with each other. The basic strategy for involving young people is supporting youth organizations and their national (National Youth

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<sup>300</sup> “Child, youth and family development, human sciences research council, Pan-African youth charter & the status of the youth in Africa. Produced on commission to the African union.” Nov. 2015.

Councils or Youth Committees) organizations in many countries. It includes the right and encouragement to set up youth organisations.<sup>301</sup>

The launch of municipal youth councils and local, regional and national youth parliaments has been a trend. The forums can succeed, particularly in small communities in which attention can be concentrated on young people. Youth councils; either private umbrella organisations of youth organizations or government youth boards, which include government youth bodies and state officials- are traditional ways in which leaders, authorities or youth share information.<sup>302</sup> Young people's debate to increase awareness and resources for young people and to provide a community forum for debate on youth policy. It also reach people outside of "organized young people" to some degree. The organisation of seminars, where teenagers meet and work on various topics, is also a way for gathering information on youth issues.

Information is key to the participation of young people in the life of their communities and allows them to profit from their services and opportunities. Therefore, local and national authorities should support the establishment of appropriate information services for young people and particularly meet the needs of young people who have problems accessing the information. Since information are user-friendly and widely circulated for young people, it is necessary that they contribute to the development of such information by themselves.<sup>303</sup>

Schools are critical for participation. The environment can play an important role in youth participation training, human rights education and non-formal learning at schools, due to

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<sup>301</sup> World Bank. "Youths and Employment in Africa; The Potential, the Problem, the Promise." Africa development indicators 2008/09. Washington DC, 2009.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid

<sup>303</sup> "Child, youth and family development, human sciences research council, Pan-African youth charter & the status of the youth in Africa. Produced on commission to the African union." Nov. 2015.

its dominant role in young people's lives. Civic education programs in schools should be promoted by local authorities, the space needed for peer training provided for groups and the exchange of good practice should be provided.

ICT participation gives room for training and access to new technologies are given to all young people, there will be a strong potential for informing and enhancing youth participation in issues of concern to them. New information and communication technology Therefore, local and regional authorities should consider enhanced information and participation strategies.<sup>304</sup>

Encouraging youth's participation at global forums and seminars, as observers, speakers or organizers, young people frequently take part in regional, national and international conferences. This participation also plays an important part in the course and outcome of these activities and encourages the involvement of young people in the decision-making process. Governments ought to place great emphasis on including youth delegates in their official delegations at global conventions and promote the involvement of young people in national and world youth events.<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>304</sup> Thuraya. I. "Investing in Youth, towards a Sustainable Human Development, citing Wilson (2000), Youth Participation - Where? When? and Why?," 2015, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Accessed on June 9,2019

<sup>305</sup> Woodrow W. "Youth and Politics in Conflict Contexts." The Woodrow Wilson International Centre. Washington DC., 2007.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

The layout of this chapter is in three parts each covering a research objective and proceeds to set out a context to the objective and short introduction. This is followed by presentation of the key findings and finally the discussions.

The data collection tools and analysis are as had been described in the methodology part in chapter one. The research methods applied did not seek to generalise the findings and therefore represent all Kenyan youth, instead, samples were carefully selected from a pool of participants with diverse traits and demographic variability that was adequately potent to extract information that was broadly interpreted as representative of the views held by the population. A dynamic mix of participants took part in sharing their views and these were analysed to develop valid talking points and recurring themes while similarly isolating and framing certain viewpoints to present distinct perspectives.

The research employed survey research design to collect quantitative primary data with a view to correlate the aspect of youth and foreign policy development. Rapid interviews were conducted on the selected sample and results were submitted for analysis. The qualitative approach adopted Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). Data consistency was established by use of multiple sources (rapid interviews, key informant interviews and FGDs), triangulated to ensure that the information was robust, comprehensive and an accurate representation.

Quantitative data was analysed using mathematical techniques through a process of data collection, classification, and organising. The results were presented using tables graphs, charts, and numerically, and interpreted accordingly using descriptions. Qualitative data was processed and condensed by editing, removing ambiguity, and creating different categories to distinguish the responses against the objectives. The data was then coded and summarised to facilitate analysis and interpretation on the basis of emerging patterns and themes. The findings were displayed as narratives, direct quotes tables and diagrams.

## **5.2 Part One**

### **Background and Determinants of Foreign Policy in Kenya**

*Objective I: What are the foreign policy dynamics and interests of African Youths?*

#### **5.2.1 Context**

This chapter evaluates the respondents' comprehension of the concepts overarching the principle of youth affairs and the dynamics of foreign policy with the primary intention of unravelling their perspective on the duality of this relationship in order to develop a foundational basis for the research.

#### **5.2.2 Introduction**

Africa is considered a youthful continent whose youth population is on the rise compared to other regions of the world where this proportion has stagnated or is in decline (UN Economic Commission for Africa, 2017). In Kenya, the youth and young people aged below 35years comprise 75% of the total population. And although this community constitutes a significant proportion essential for economic growth and development, the youth struggle to find relevance in a society that offers disappointing employment and life prospects, undermines

their self-expression, and systematically marginalises its citizens (World Bank). Policies that address youth aspirations have mostly faltered at weaving their agenda into the national fabric, and this has further exacerbated the situation, fuelling frustration, desperation and disillusionment, and driving youth into criminal behaviour, violence, substance abuse, and commercial sex work.

The Kenya Youth Development Policy 2018 recognises that ‘the youth are an essential component of Kenya’s development and a key driver in the realization of The Big Four Agenda, Vision 2030, and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The youth policy has been designed to ‘provide opportunities for improving the quality of life for Kenyan youth through their participation in economic and democratic processes, as well as in community and civic affairs’. It also advocates for creation of a ‘supportive social, cultural, economic and political environment that will empower the youth to be partners in national development’, which is also a principle of the bill of rights in The Constitution of Kenya 2010 (PSYG, 2018).

The global youth agenda is anchored on the Sustainable Development Goals and indeed SDG 10 crystallises these expectations by advocating for ‘reduction of inequality within and among countries’. The blueprint resonates with this study and especially SDG 10.2 which aims to promote ‘social, economic and political inclusion of all, irrespective of age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion or economic or other status’ (UN - SDGs). The African Union’s Agenda 2063 also underscores the importance of ‘promoting rights of young people and meeting their needs in all their diversity’ (AU, 2006).

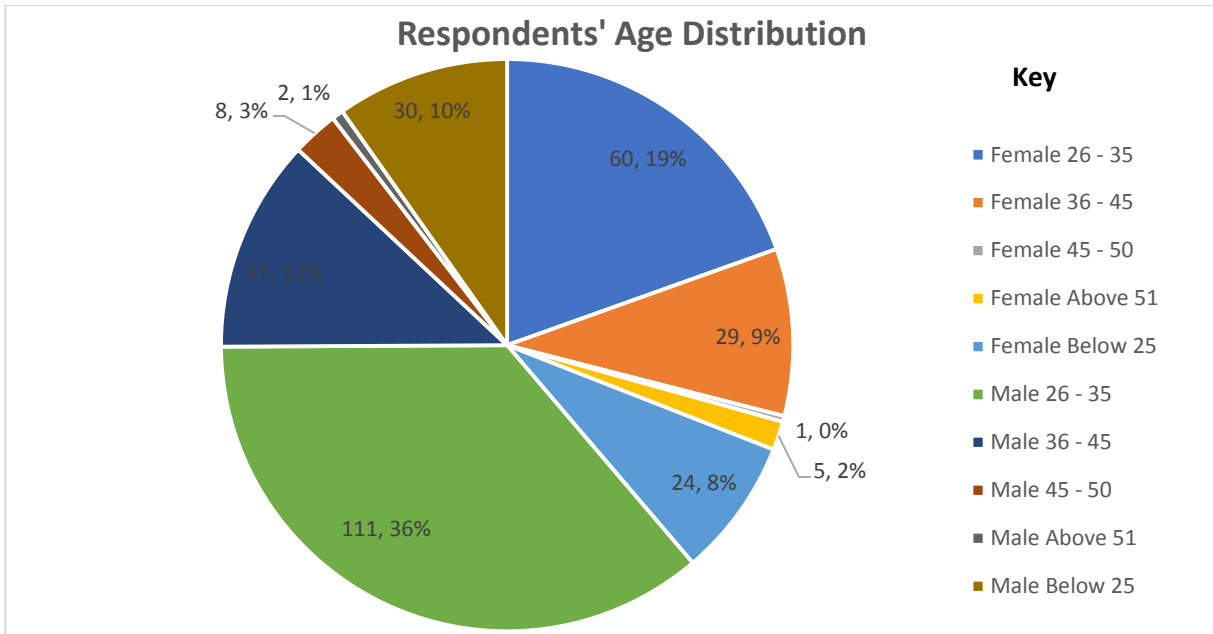
The role of youth in policy formulation and foreign policy development in particular remains an enigma considering the disconnect existing across policies and sectors. The guiding

principles have captured the need for this community's inclusion in national discourses but mainstreaming frameworks have lost congruence with youth agenda upon operationalisation of this provision. The youth are key actors in national development and this is outlined in various policies including the Kenyan foreign policy which promises an 'open and pro-citizens policy formulation process to promote the interests of Kenya and her nationals in its foreign relations and diplomatic engagements' (MoFA, 2014).

This research objective focused therefore on establishing the knowledge gap within this constituency in an effort to unlock real and perceived stalemates surrounding the subject of youth and foreign policy development. The objective aligns perfectly well with the foreign policy philosophy which demands cross-sectoral approach and a coordinated response.

### **5.2.3 The key findings**

The topic of youth and foreign policy drew interests from a wide range of participants of all gender however, according to the age distribution of the 307 respondents seen in the chart below (Fig 5.1), male individuals aged between 26 and 35 formed the largest share of the respondents, at 36%, followed by female of the same age group, while male above 51 and female between 45 to 50 were the least attracted.



**Figure 5.1: Respondents age distribution**

If these are features to go by, then it could be possible to deduce that the associated limited inclusion of youth in the matters of foreign policy is resultant from the disinterest on youth matters exhibited by the elderly holding positions of potential youth participation. Of the people who participated in the online interviews, 44% were employed, 25% entrepreneurs and 6% students.

This section consolidates the responses to each question of research and presents outcomes as defined by the first research objective.

- i. What is your understanding of foreign policy? Whose responsibility is it, to promote/design/implement foreign policy?

Majority of the participants understood foreign policy to be directives, mechanisms, guidelines and strategies of a country that determine and guide how it engages with other countries as it seeks to safeguard its own interests in the international arena. Others perceived it as “the way the government should relate to the youth to bring out their concerns upfront and



what the ordinary young people are doing to engage ordinary people in other countries”. It is a self-chosen and clear structure of how countries relate socially and economically in regard to the youth. From the students’ perspective, foreign policies are “the institutions that exist that regulate the framework of engagement between Kenya and other nations e.g. EALA, East Africa Youth Council and East African Court among others that handle dispute resolutions between member states”. They consider foreign policy to look at situations as they are, the challenges and ways to address them through the same policies. The policies are created to meet goals that start from global to regional and are broken down locally; therefore, it is the preserve of foreign policies to help guide how these will be addressed. In the spirit of safeguarding the national interests, foreign policy provides for terms of engagement in which different countries agree on how they can participate in activities within each other’s territories without negatively exploiting one another. In this case, such policy is geared towards creating order in the international systems and aligning individual interests to meet the interests of the country through bilateral and other agreements.

The former Cabinet Secretary (CS) in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade who is currently the CS in the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage, Hon. Dr. Amina Mohamed said, ‘Foreign policy is based on a country’s domestic policy, which basically defines the national interests of a country; economic, political and the social priorities of a country’. This is what is projected into the international arena. The CS emphasized that the youth are the key stakeholders in any policy formulation stating that ‘The majority of the people that live in this country are young. We cannot really represent this country, if we are not in contact with the young people’.

Part of the population especially those from the working community view foreign policy as “guidelines to harmonize constraints within the world to have a standard way to utilize such constraints” for instance through formation of trade blocks and regions with business agreement on how different participants act in that region to ease on trade barriers.

Generally, most people feel that the responsibility to promote, design and implement foreign policy is with the government and ministry of foreign affairs following the 58.55% and 59.87% mentions respectively, however, according to CS Amina Mohamed, the principles of Kenyan foreign policy are peaceful coexistence, support for our international interests, human rights, technology among others. The scenario depicted on the online survey did not differ from the sentiments expressed in the FGDs.

The design, promotion and implementation of foreign policy is a multi-sectorial responsibility as highlighted by most respondents as represented by the various groups in the discussion. However, a heavier weight is given to the executive or head of state as the key beholder of foreign policy formulation. In their view, the civil society sees the presidency as the custodian by virtue of being the head of the foreign affairs and being the leader of the ruling party from whose manifesto most of the foreign policy highlights are drawn. In formulation, some participants felt that the government bears all responsibility as it needs to align these policies with national development goals. Still, others say, the buck does not necessarily stop with government, but with its ministries, business fraternity, parastatals, chambers of commerce, Tourism Board among other stakeholders. It is at this stage where public participation through citizens (youth proposing to the government is utilized) is required.

Once they are formulated, promotion and implementation is the duty of among other stakeholders, ambassadors, line ministries, consulates (commercial, political), civil society and individuals. Moreover, as some from the workers' fraternity argue, it is an individuals' responsibility to promote and implement foreign policy, both citizens within the country and in the diaspora. Others feel that it is the responsibility of government since they protect the interests of the country and acts on behalf of the people. Members of the civil society however feel that since foreign policy is negotiated at the head of state level, it is the duty of the head of state to design and promote it while the ministry of foreign affairs implements.

Others see foreign policy formulation as a prerogative of the ministry of foreign affairs to design in line with the president's manifesto, while each department of the government does promotion and implementation of the policies relevant to them.

ii. *What are the issues, as youths, that you believe have been incorporated in Kenya's foreign policy, that are of importance (to you)?*

Conflicting views were gathered in this regard, ranging from angry grievances to ignorance about existing foreign policies, their content and importance, to real issues within foreign policy that actually affect youth. Over 87% of those who participated in the online survey were of the opinion that youth relevant issues have not been incorporated and addressed in Kenya's foreign policy. In their justification, they say, 'It hasn't been addressed because lots of youth don't have jobs. Most political leaders just talk without action which is not fair at all. We should be like these foreign counties, they employ a lot of youth creating more development in the country in terms of finance and infrastructure'. Some also take it from the perspective that youth are denied visas and opportunities as artists to go and promote exchange of culture

abroad and neither do they get assistance from the ministry of foreign affairs. They also noted that awareness creation and capacity building in regard to bilateral agreements and multilateral agreements among the youth is absent.

The argument of the minority that were positive about this were considering bilateral agreements, regional integration policies, that facilitate ease of immigration to help Kenyans get opportunities abroad, education and employment are issues already incorporated and are of importance to the youths. A fitting example is the recent formation of the East African Community (EAC) youth council in the East African (EA) region thus recognizing youth presence. Kenyan foreign policy is also said to be considerate of creative economy that provides opportunities for youth to participate in productive industry, however, this is through the youth's own effort after they spot such opportunities since they are not exclusively designed to target them.

The civil society also mentioned that “when the president visits other countries, like recently in the Caribbean Islands, he markets the Kenyan youth potential in skills that would be exported to these countries”, thus creating an enabling foundation for export of youth expertise to the diaspora. Kenya is also very active in global youth forums like youth delegates to the AU and the government is a signatory to the United Nations Youth 2030 campaign. There are also international instruments in conventions and treaties e.g. Geneva, ICCPR that Kenya has ratified and is member. Over and above scholarships for Kenyan youth to study abroad, the government has created a youth desk in the ministry for foreign affairs that receives and handles youth issues.

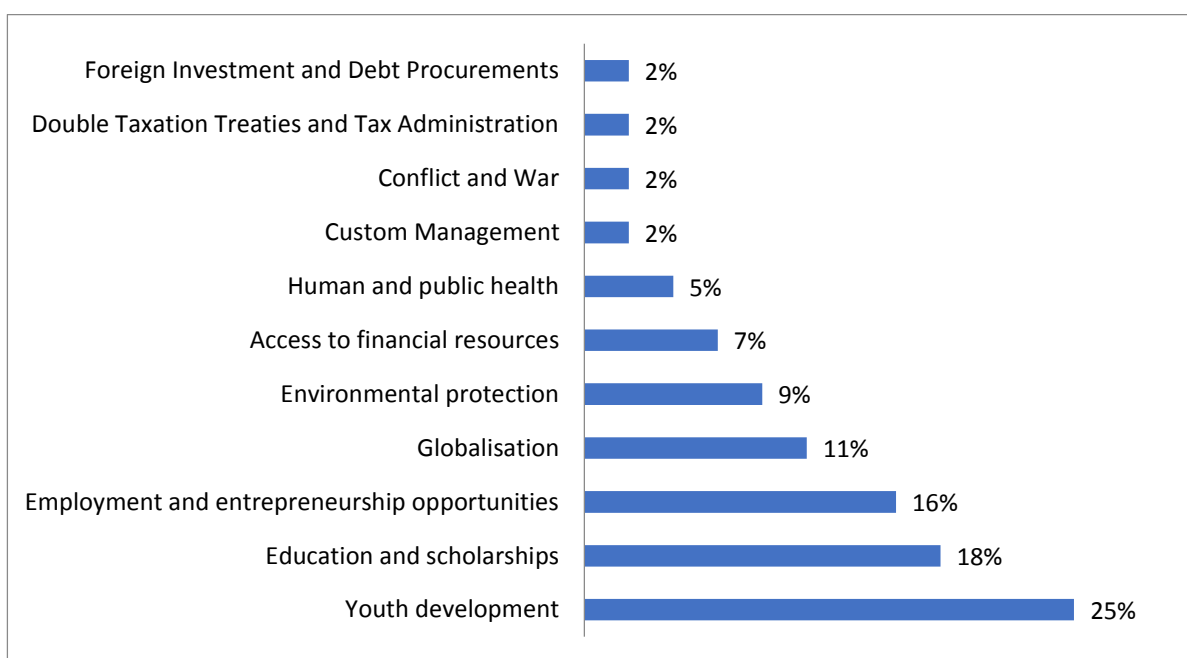
A larger fraternity of the youth drawn from different backgrounds however have a common feeling of neglect and side-lining in the formulation, promotion, implementation process of foreign policy as well as under-targeting of youth issues in the content and/or provisions of the foreign policy guidelines. Students in their own words say, "... youth are not included, a very small section are even aware of any policy, we know the rules after we have broken them and we do not know how to air our grievances because there's no civic education. For instance, majority of the youth are dissatisfied with senior citizens appointed to represent the youth such that policies that affect the youth are designed without their participation". Some decried youth ignorance of rules for international relations governing imports, exports and working abroad, faulting the government for not enlightening them on what they entail.

The civil society expressing the same views noted that Kenyan foreign policy does not have any direct link to the youth but it allows them to participate in foreign events and activities by creating an enabling environment. Most of the time, our government handles youth affairs reactively by sitting back and waiting for opportunities instead of proactively searching and preparing its youth for these opportunities. For instance, the prime minister of Japan requesting for 1000 youths each year was their initiative not Kenyan as it does not negotiate for Kenyan youth in the international job market. In economic factors within the policy, youth issues are ad hoc with no clear guidelines on representation especially during international events to which the country sends youth delegation.

Individuals from the employment sector feel that the drafting of foreign policy should 'put our own unique value proposition. We should strive to have the unique propositions

highlighting what's unique about its youth? That can be harvested for global competitiveness and such strengths used in the negotiation of foreign policies.

In as much as the CS said that 25% of foreign investment was actually directly attributed to the areas that were of interest to young people; whether it was in the creative arts, ICT, education services and in established technology companies wanting to take advantage of what we have here by investing, the FGDs cited they should address how Kenyans in expertise in different fields, at Information and Communication Technology (ICT) for example, should be harnessed in the policies. Confirming the CS's words 'For one to be a good representative of Kenya, you must have the pulse of the youth in Kenya. You must feel that pulse and know where it's headed'.



**Figure 5.2: Key youth areas important for foreign policy**

The key informants interviewed mentioned youth development as the main key area for the youth, important for foreign policy, while custom management, conflict and war, double taxation treaties and tax administration, and foreign investment and debt procurements were least at 2%. These results are shown in the graph above (Fig 5.2).

Several aspects of foreign policy that allow for youth participation were also highlighted to include: culture, sport and recreation, data and research, education and skills development, gender equality and equity, ICT, national youth service, youth coordination and mainstreaming, youth employment and sustainable livelihoods, youth empowerment and participation, youth health, youth migration, youth and environment, climate change, customs and trade in the EAC, education and scholarships, free market and movement , funding and access of resources from global entities, policy on youth development, poverty and disease eradication and the development/formulation of foreign policy.

#### **5.2.4 Discussions**

##### *Understanding of foreign policy and responsibility for its development;*

Findings from a research on the effectiveness of civic education in public participation indicated that public awareness plays a major role in enlightening citizens of their right to participate in their own governance (Ndiege and Kihonge, 2016). The research findings revealed that the understanding of foreign policy took inconsistent interpretation whose posture shifted across various interest groups. Some respondents based their understanding of foreign policy on its roles and objectives while others viewed it from the guiding principles and yet some were philosophical in their explanation.

The 2014 Kenya's Fp describes Fp as a 'guide to Kenya's external relations and diplomatic engagements with her partners'. The Policy endeavours to 'uphold the nation's sovereignty, promote general peace and foster good neighbourhood with other states and globally (MoFA, 2014).

The results of the research indicate that most of the respondents had a good grasp of what foreign policy entails. However, some participants took a different position that viewed foreign policy from its institutional perspective through the legislative framework such as the East African Court that undertakes regional dispute resolution. Others felt that foreign policy was a government instrument designed to promote interests of specific populations of the country such as the youth by creating opportunities within and beyond its borders. Some took a protectionist view that was inward looking and yet others saw trading opportunities with regional, continental and international partners.

The question of parties to foreign policy development revealed diverging opinions in the respondents' understanding of their role in the process, which neutered public participation in favour of a government sponsored action. The Constitution of Kenya 2010 and other mainstreaming sectoral policies have enshrined public participation in policy formulation and national development activities within their structure (CoK, 2010). Respondents however mentioned state and non-state actors (head of state and governing political party, ministries, business community, government agencies and parastatals) as the main architects in developing foreign policies. The role of individual members of the society through public participation or even as lobby groups such as a proactive youth community was presented by some respondents as a remote and complementary function but not as a core public responsibility.



### Foreign policy issues relevant to youth affairs

Hope (2012) advocates for proper engagement of young people in activities that enhance their livelihood and boosts more sustained and prolonged activities, essential for scrutiny of vital issues to their day to day lives which yields positive development of self-identity, and increased sense of self-worth.

Respondents recognised the value of bilateral agreements that have created opportunities for youth to access education and employment abroad. Regional trading blocs such as the EAC created a youth council to promote interest of youth within the region. Some respondents while acknowledging that foreign policy has captured the creative arts industry, criticised the reversal of roles that require the artist to spot the opportunity rather than the promoter scouting for talent.

Appointment of representatives who are not within the recognised constitutional age bracket of youth was highlighted as a regime handicap by the respondents. Ageism has emerged as an area of conflict between the youth and the older generation as the youth feel frustrated at being 'dismissed' by the older generation yet they possess different and important skills the older generation lack. Some youth even report feeling that the older generation are threatened by the potential of young people (De Schryver et al., 2018).

The government was lauded for securing scholarships for its youth to study abroad and creating a youth desk at the ministry of foreign affairs. However, the participants intimated that in important discussions that involve framework setting and policy formulation, the youth were ignored or ill-represented, and by extension their aspirations rendered subservient to other national concerns.

Lack of knowledge in foreign policy was also identified as a major weakness among the youth as a significant proportion was unable to identify foreign policies of interest although this can also be attributed to their exclusion in formulating such policies. Respondents also noted that diplomatic engagements by top government officials including the president should aim to promote the unique value proposition of the youth in the country, leveraging this as an advantage to negotiate better bilateral deals. The respondents further proposed that the country's leadership should actively seek opportunities for its youth, sighting the initiative by Japan premier pledging to support 1000 Kenyan youth annually.

### **5.3 Part Two**

#### **Role of youths in influencing foreign policy**

*Objective II: What are the challenges and interventions of youths in shaping the content and process of foreign policy in Kenya?*

##### **5.3.1 Context**

In this portion of the findings, the study made a careful analysis to exact the role performed by youth in shaping Fp content and the challenges involved. Interventions by youth in influencing policy decisions were also scrutinised to assess their competence while comparing whether challenges and interventions are equally matched and effectively addressed.

##### **5.3.2 Introduction**

The Kenyan youth promise colossal dividends augmented on the predication that their high population provides workforce advantage when harnessed and optimized; are a source of intellectual capital; they have a readiness to learn; they easily embrace ICT; youth show high

affinity for networking, innovation, collaboration, patriotism and solidarity and are both energized and accessible (PSYG, 2018).

Governments in developing countries are grappling with mounting apathy by youth whose preoccupation does not include participation in structured national conversations. This is partly due to exclusionary practises by governments and also insufficient forums that promote meaningful debates which can inform policy development. Countries in Africa, are experiencing a peak in the share of under 35years youth in their population (youth bulge) which if well leveraged can yield a 'demographic dividend' (AFIDEP, 2018) from educated, healthy and gainfully employed youth, and lead to significantly higher rates of economic growth (Pereznieto and Harding, 2013).

Youth participation in development and political debates becomes ever more critical in developing countries, as the dichotomy presented by the youth bulge phenomenon can swing either way depending on a country's motivation and capacity to harness this constituency. Foreign policies that are formulated in disregard to the role of youth introduces flawed guidelines that have misplaced priorities, are a waste of resources, promote exclusivist principles and risk failure and rejection (The Youth Congress, 2015).

The 2014 Kenya's Fp is underpinned by Kenya's mission to establish, promote and protect the interests and images of country's global arena through creative diplomacy and to help to create an equal, prosperous and equitable world. These are achievable aspirations, however, they remain elusive provided societal evolutions are not pre-empted by deliberate efforts to involve the youth. Emerging diplomatic challenges demand new strategies with

robust methods and instruments administered by state and non-state actors, including creation of opportunities for youth to contribute to Fp and modern diplomacy (MoFA, 2014).

### **5.3.3 The key findings**

In this portion, the research findings were analysed and presented for further discussion and interpretation in the succeeding sub-sections;

- i. *How is foreign policy addressing youth relevant and related issues in Kenya? What are the examples of how these issues were addressed?*

Foreign policies have opened up businesses through easing export and import of goods. Kenyans can buy and sell items overseas and have it delivered at a place of convenience. Although there is a feeling that the policies are not formulated for the youth specifically, the youth have however benefitted from the foreign policies that have created a suitable space for Kenyans to live, study and trade across boundaries. The youth have been able to secure education abroad through scholarships, attend exchange programs, fellowships and international conferences and seminars, thus granting opportunity for self-improvement.

Regional agreements such as EAC have opened up free movement of labour and facilitate trade across East African member states. The ICT sector in Kenya has made a huge impact in creating opportunities for the youth of the country to interact with the world.

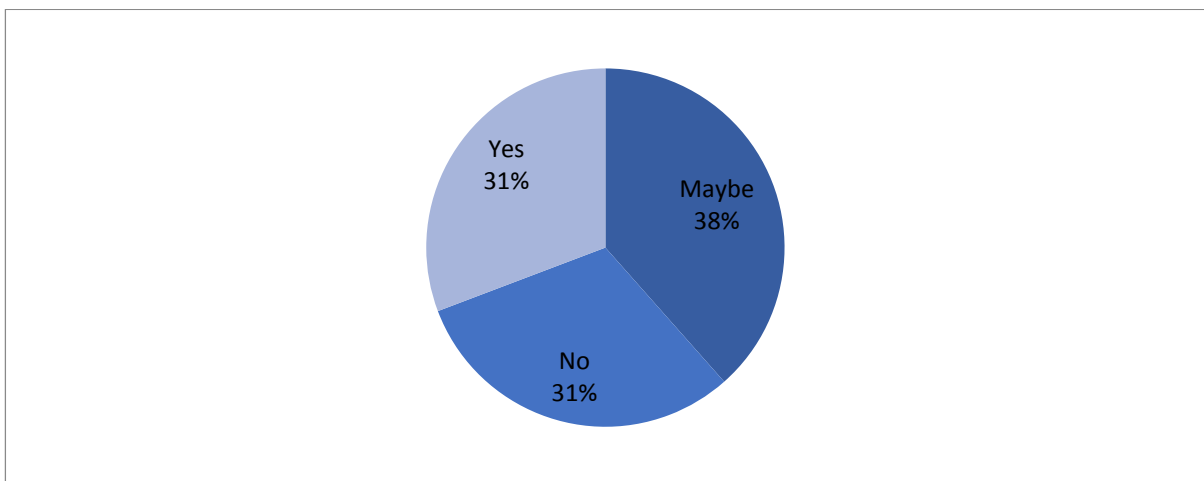
Student respondents raised concerns that the foreign policies were not formulated with the youth in mind. The youth felt excluded and disconnected with glaring inconsistencies between National Youth Policy (NYP) and other departmental policies. In addition, the youth were unfamiliar with the policies governing their working relations with foreign investors. The youth felt they are manipulated and exploited by foreign investors especially when hired for

menial jobs yet they possess good qualifications and can offer better skills. This they attribute to lack of policy awareness and also lack of job opportunities.

Bilateral agreements such as the China-Kenya construction was cited as a deal in which Kenya promised labour to the investor but the guidelines and working conditions were not defined to the hired workers giving room to exploitation. The general mood was summed up in the belief that ‘the government protects the foreigners more than it protects its people. The government uses the youth to achieve its own goals’.

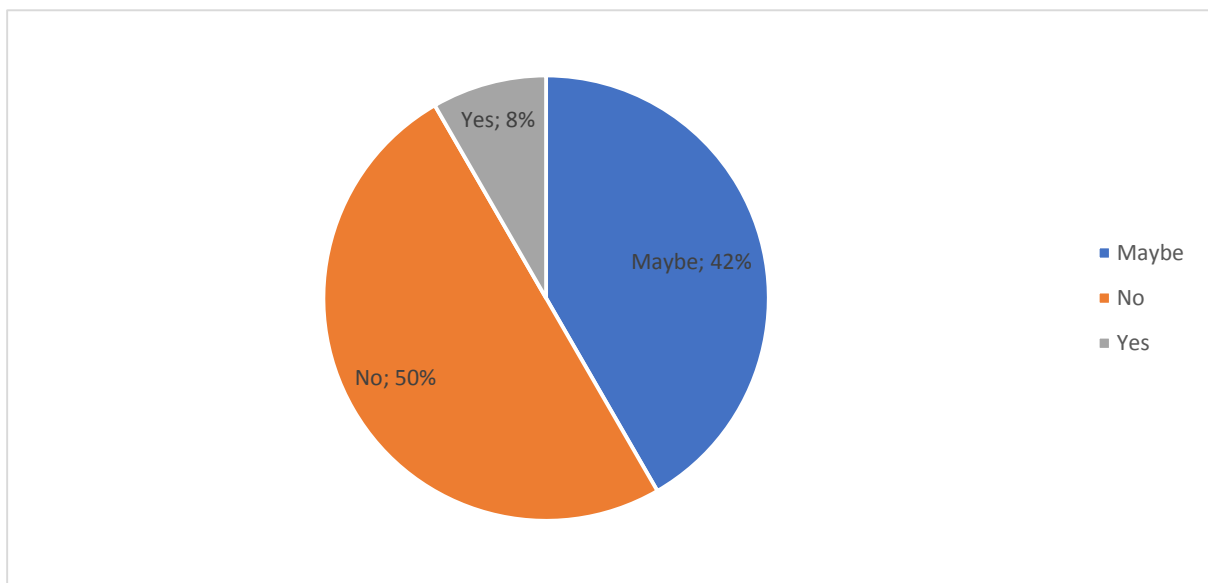
Due to weak Fp on labour relations, many Kenyan youths go looking for jobs abroad especially in Arab countries without a clear government policy that assures them of their security and safety. Many suffer and have nowhere to run to.

As illustrated in the chat below (Fig 5.3), majority of the key informants were either not sure or did not believe that the country’s Fp is addressing youth issues.



**Figure 5.3: Foreign policy addressing youth affairs**

As depicted in the figure below (Fig 5.4), in the opinion of many key respondents, the Kenyan content of foreign policy is not consistent with the socioeconomic challenges and opportunities for the young people. Kenya lacks policies on citizens arrested or captive in foreign countries, families sometimes have to sell their lives worth to retrieve and /or support captive family members abroad. In the understanding of some, “Kenya does not have deliberate Fp. All the policies that apply to different relations are instigated by membership to RECs e.g. the EAC, AU, The Commonwealth etc. Policies for Bilateral relations are knee jerk policies not linked to any broad framework for foreign policy”. “Other practices by the Government of Kenya e.g. linking youth to jobs in the Cayman Island and other lucrative job destinations are implemented in a vacuum, the same vacuum within which youth are being killed in Saudi Arabia while seeking foreign job opportunities”.



**Figure 5.4: Consistency of Kenyan foreign policy with socioeconomic challenges and opportunities for young people**

Some participants believe that diaspora act and strategy, for example, has brought opportunity to have Kenyans living abroad invest, plan and engage with their country, but on the other hand, the country still does not have proper immigration policies that stops unfair competition with our local entrepreneurs.

ii. *What would you consider as milestones in foreign policy process and outcomes/outputs of benefit to the youth?*

Foreign policies have promoted education and talent development. There are scholarships, exchange programs, fellowships, conferences and numerous other opportunities resulting from Fp advancements. Kenyan government has successfully lobbied for its youth in international arenas to facilitate absorption and showcase talents and abilities of Kenyan youth in sports, art and sciences.

The president of Kenya was endorsed as the Global Youth Champion by the UN general assembly in 2018 because of his vision for the youth and advocacy and promotion of young people's agenda and empowerment. The government has created various platforms for youth through The Youth Desk, to address their interests and be part of the decision-making processes in the country. According to CS Amina Mohamed, 'there have been opportunities to grow the young people in business and jobs'. She adds that 'young people are now interested in being in and working for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA). People are now aware of the importance of Fp, how it protects the country and advances local development interests.

The free movement of people and good across countries with whom Kenya has established diplomatic ties is a major milestone. Besides financial aid and mentorship through government youth empowerment centres and platforms such as UWEZO Fund, White Box -

for digitally creative youth, MbeleNaBiz, Ajiira, and TVET, the presence of foreign investors seeking to promote interests of the youth has accelerated youth entrepreneurship, and reduced poverty levels among the youth. Kenya is an active participant in achievement of Sustainable Development Goals and has championed Green Global Initiative on environment, alternatives to plastic bags and creative economy.

Traveling without a visa to several countries across the world and even without passport to a number of East African countries has eased business and travel across participating nations. The peace agreements between Kenya and other countries have created a conducive environment for development and economic growth of its people. The government has marketed the country and its products effectively attracting tourism, foreign investments as well as securing new markets for such products as avocado to China.

Although foreign policy has been of great benefit, some shortcomings were cited. From the online survey, 46% of the respondents either did not know or feel any impact of Fp. Among those in the FGD, the working community mentioned that they felt discontented with some aspects of foreign policies. They mentioned that they felt that the skilled personnel are normally the lot that is taken out of the country leaving the country drained.

The government is said to have opened up the country for foreigners but Kenyans do not get equal opportunities and treatment while in foreign countries. The foreigners are able to access more opportunities and businesses locally. There is a feeling that the Kenyan government has not been keen to negotiate for their fair share of benefits, despite signing good international agreements. The youth complained that they are not beneficiaries of foreign policies and they were not well represented by their own youth in foreign affairs.



The use of technology to enhance service delivery was recognised as Kenya ranks among the top digitalized countries in the world, especially with use of mobile money. The implementation of digital registration such as HUDUMA NAMBA has helped develop a comprehensive database of Kenyans and boost government efficiency in service delivery. Digital platforms have also granted power to the youth, but they have equally been left exposed and unprotected. Youth have become victims of internet fraud as they have limited awareness on risks of information sharing.

iii. *How have the youth engaged with foreign policy (give examples), and what challenges were experienced in the engagement?*

Over 84% of the population interviewed felt that the youth have not been engaged with Fp and thus could not proceed to associate with any challenges in the process. Some argue that ‘One has to seek the information which is not usually available due to bureaucracy and discrimination against youth. Foreign policy is seen as a preserve of the elite,’ although the Former CS indicated that the young diplomats contributed their expertise in ICT, for instance, in facilitating the development of websites and incorporating the use of technology in the ministry.

Opportunities to represent the country at local and international conferences and summits such as African Union (AU), EAC, United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP), Countering Violent extremism, national security, international youth weeks have been made available to the youth. Such events have given Kenyan youth a ground to interact, participate in international negotiations and learn more from other nations. These events give the youth a chance to voice their opinions, be part of formulating policies, and make decisions.

CS Amina Mohamed also intimated that the youth were involved in the conferencing pillar which she said has led to the increase in international conferences held in Kenya. Conferences as such TICAD, ANCTAD, WTO, ACPU/SCPU, Peace and Security Council of the AU heads of state meeting have enabled the youth to gain skills and training to manage and conduct diplomacy. Scholarship and policies promoting education abroad have reinforced the relationship between Kenya and these host countries.

Foreign policies, such as African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), give African farmers access to the US market and opened up opportunities to the youth for business and reduced the cost of operations for small industries. There has been a significant growth in foreign investments with Kenya opening her doors to investors and creating job opportunities for youth. There has been an increase in direct Investment coming directly to the spaces the young people are interested such as ICT, fashion, and Agribusiness. CS Amina Mohamed stated that foreign investment has increased by 400%, leading to creation of opportunities for young people to get employment. For instance, one French company came in and recruited 98% of its company employees from Kenya.

The contention has however been in the terms of engagement which remain largely unclear; policies do not address youth agenda specifically and the departmental policies are in conflict with each other creating a disconnect in implementation. The youth feel that they have not been represented sufficiently and they are not included in policy formulation and that the people representing the youth are older than the constitutional cap.

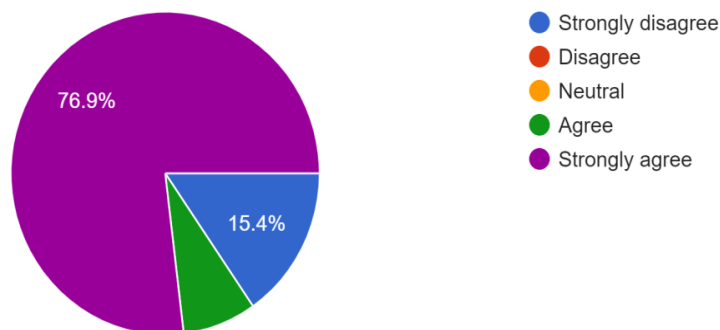
The youth felt disenfranchised in various ways especially in regards to working for foreigners in Kenya. They suggest that youth should be given a chance to develop their skills

abroad at the level of the foreigners so they can compete effectively. Most youth are unaware of existing policies and consequently end up as victims of manipulation. There have been complaints that the government is not proactive on issues of Kenyans in the diaspora.

The figure below (Fig 5.5) represents KII responses to the question of youth involvement in Fp development.

### 12. (a) Should the youth be involved in foreign policy development and implementation?

13 responses



**Figure 5.5: Should the youth be involved in foreign policy development and implementation**

Most the key informants interviewed strongly agree that the youth should be involved in foreign policy development and implementation since the youth understand their issues better and they are the second biggest consumers of the outcome of Fp. They believe that they vote, therefore deserve the opportunity to be involved. Moreover, the Kenyan economy solely relies on the youth to compete with other nations. This is in all ways including innovation, labor and leadership. They suggested that this could be done through representation at the global

platforms, implementation of global instruments on youth development and engagement in sectors that they have expertise in such as ICT.

#### **5.3.4 Discussions**

##### *Relevance of foreign policy in addressing youth issues*

Improved relevance and effectiveness has been identified as one of the major positive outcomes of involving the youth in policy-making (The Youth Congress, 2015). However, the general consensus is that the existing foreign policies were not deliberately crafted to meet the expectations of the youth but they have nonetheless benefited by default. Respondents acknowledged the role of ICT in opening up the space to interact with foreign nationals as a business and social tool.

The research notes that peace treaties and environmental policies have created opportunities for youth to access quality education, migrate and trade with countries that have established diplomatic ties with Kenya. Guarantees of safety and protection have also been in-built in some of these policies and investment opportunities in country of origin negotiated with host nations for the benefit of foreign workers. Although some policies enhanced opportunities for locals, respondents faulted the incoherence between the Kenya Youth Development Policy and other sectoral policies including foreign policy (PSYG, 2018).

Trade agreements such as the Kenya-China local infrastructure project was sharply criticised as lopsided in favour of China with no effort from Kenya to insulate its citizens from unfair labour practices in a deal that promised cheap labour from Kenya most of which is a well-qualified youth population performing menial jobs. However, the policy for hiring workers in Kenya is explicit in making employment of local citizens a priority and requires that any

local or foreign enterprise recruiting expatriates must demonstrate by way of CVs, educational and professional qualifications and the unique business-critical skills the expatriates possess which are locally unavailable (KenInvest). And while short term introduction of foreign skills at the start of business operations has been accepted, subsequent renewals of expatriates' work and entry permits becomes significantly challenging which could indicate a prerequisite for skills transfer (Bowmans, 2017).

#### Foreign policy milestones benefiting youth

The endorsement of President Uhuru Kenyatta as the Global Champion of the Young People's Agenda by the United Nations General Assembly has in many ways vindicated the local government's commitment in advancing youth affairs (Wezesha, 2018). The youth agenda has progressively been boosted through myriad opportunities unlocked by Fp reviews leading to open borders, relaxed visa requirements, free movement of people and goods, opening up new markets for Kenyans, financial access and training opportunities. These have been acknowledged as major turning points in Kenya's participation in the global arena.

Respondents however challenged the government to pursue equal opportunities for its citizens locally and abroad similar to the opportunities afforded to foreign nationals. The dilemma is demonstrated in the Kenya investment policy which remains skewed in favour of foreigners who enjoy full control of their wholly foreign owned, locally established businesses. In 1963 when Kenya attained Independence, it was a precondition for foreign owned companies to allocate a portion of their shareholding to native born Kenyans. The Companies Act no. 17 of 2015 reintroduced the 30% local shareholding requirement, however this rule was repealed effective 2017 in the Finance Act of 2016.

Digitisation of government services and youth participation in the cyberspace has delivered convenience to this community but in equal measure exposed them to risks such as international fraud. The respondents expressed concern at the level of youth awareness regarding risks of information sharing, especially considering the extent of digital penetration in the country. Although the government has made strides in the digital space by transforming service delivery onto the electronic platform, they have not designed robust structures and relevant legislation keeping pace with industry developments to protect its youth and other citizens from the associated risks (KICTANet, 2018).

#### *Challenges of engaging with foreign policy*

The youth have been granted various opportunities to participate in local and international conventions that address their unique issues. These platforms have empowered the youth to not only participate but learn from other countries, make decisions, develop policies and negotiate as they voice their opinions. The major concern for the youth however is the exclusion of the community from critical decision making organs that craft road maps that affect them.

Policy tensions have been cited as a major concern and this has been occasioned in their view partly because they are not effectively represented during policy formulation. The government was faulted by respondents for policies that are in conflict with each other. Youth centred policies have not delivered tangible benefits to the youth community due to poor implementation while some completely missed the target as they were ill conceived from the start.

## **5.4 Part Three**

### **The opportunities of youth participation in formulation of foreign policy in Kenya**

*Objective III: What are the prospects and opportunities for the youths in advancement of Foreign policy in Kenya?*

#### **5.4.1 Context**

This part harmonises the research problem with the existing and proposed alternatives for youth and foreign policy development in Kenya. It explores prospects that can create meaningful transformations in the advancement of Fp as expressed by the participants of the study and literature review.

#### **5.4.2 Introduction**

The youth are often best placed to articulate and champion issues that have a direct bearing and relevance in their wellbeing. They have first-hand knowledge of the challenges affecting their population and can play a significant role in sharing these experiences to influence related policies. The youth can competently distinguish and communicate the ever changing landscape of their daily lives in a manner that can provoke action (DFID, 2010). Ownership of youth enabled policies promotes long term commitment by the participating youth who benefit from the initiatives. Active engagement of the youth commits them gainfully and effectively minimises their involvement in social ills.

The low participation of youth in political discourses and national development has faced intense criticism. However, poor turnout of citizens in response to national development discourses has been precipitated by diminished interest of the people who view their participation as ineffective in delivering change. There is a gap between decision makers'

policies and citizens' real needs, resulting in loss of democratic legitimacy and accountability regarding the governing process (Baba et al., 2009). Sadly, to maintain a grip on power, the ruling elite often mute community voices through political tokenism devoid of a comprehensive transformative agenda. Nonetheless, to attract willingness and voluntary youth participation in national dialogue, governments must understand their pain points and engage with them from the perspective of accessing input that will endure for posterity.

The youth form the foundation of a resilient society that is peaceful and prosperous when they are well integrated into society. This creates an enabling environment for them to engage in gainful economic activities empowering them to develop fresh ideas for good governance. Naturally, when the economy is weak and governance is poor the youth are among the most affected vulnerable communities (Pereznieto and Harding, (2013). The Constitution of Kenya 2010 clearly advocates for youth affirmative action by championing their right to 'have opportunities to associate, be represented and participate in political, social, economic and other spheres of life'. Formulation of policies including Fp must ingrain within its principles the youth agenda as a critical component to develop prospects and opportunities for the youth in advancement of their interests locally and abroad.

#### **5.4.3 The key findings**

Discussant responses to the different questions of research were captured and presented in condensed form below;

- i. *Are you aware of the Kenya's foreign affairs guidelines/policies? How can the advancement of foreign policy in Kenya adequately cater for the challenges faced by the youths in the country?*



Various groups gave divergent responses to the awareness bit with only 36.07% of the 307 online respondents acknowledging to be aware of the guidelines. The participants from the civil society and working community were all aware of the guidelines and policies of Kenya's foreign affairs. However, the student participants were generally unaware. For the advancement of Fp in Kenya for cater to youth challenges, it was suggested that the Kenya's foreign policies be revised to directly target youth issues, and to protect the country against negative foreign interests. It was also suggested that there should be a balance between data collection of the current state of affairs and considerations for future trends. This will mainly help in ensuring that the policies developed do not tie up Kenyan industries with regulations that cannot evolve with time. The government also needs to take it upon themselves to make the youth aware of the policies to get a proper understanding of foreign affairs, and to find a way of translating youth issues into policy action.

The government needs to support the Kenyan youth representing the country in international delegations such as the AU, European Union (EU) and UN. This is to ensure that the challenges faced by the youth in Kenya are catered for in Fp development. There should also be a framework put in place for designing the content that the youth representatives will put forward in the international forums. This is because, currently, most appointments and assignments are ad hoc. The government can also cater for youth challenges through proper allocation of jobs and resources from abroad.

Structures for progress reporting and tracking of implementation and enforcement of foreign policies and frameworks need to be developed. This will be in form of checks and balances that will act as a measure of progress on the implementation of foreign policies and

ensure accountability of the stakeholders involved in policy implementation. The checks and balances will also help to assess the impacts of Fp. Structures for protection of youth in the diaspora also need to be put in place to ensure that Kenyan youths abroad are not misused and abused. Awareness should also be created on how policies of other countries affect the young Kenyans abroad.

The civil society participants also mentioned that there is disconnect between the international and local policies that affect the youth. It was suggested that the Kenyan foreign policies be formulated in a way that they work hand in hand with international policies. Participation of the young people on the ground will be important to ensure that the issues, only known to the youth, are addressed in the foreign policies. There was emphasis on the importance of bilateral agreements in bringing opportunities from other countries to Kenyan youth. Awareness needs to be created around the different opportunities brought about by the bilateral agreements. The working community also talked about mainstreaming of issues that are catered for by the foreign policies.

The participants discussed on the existence of gaps in policies. This is mainly present when it comes to meaningful youth engagement. The youth are not made aware of the opportunities that come up, leaving these opportunities to the people in the ministry circles. The working community mentioned how youth issues are not being pushed forward to enable youth representation and that the National Youth Council (NYC) has also not been given powers to participate in foreign policies.

ii. Where is the space for the youth to participate in foreign policy processes and/or outcome/outputs?

Through the NYC, the youth can have a chance to participate in the foreign policy process. The NYC is seeking to have advancements of youth participation. The council is also fighting to ensure that the youth have information when it comes to policies that affect them, as it has the mandate to reach out to the youth and manage the interests of the youth. The participants mentioned the importance of a functioning NYC. Groups that advance youth grievances in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA) need to be lobbied to help shape Kenya foreign policies.

As much as the former CS argued that most of the policies affecting specific group of individuals came from the group themselves, there is a feeling that the youth can participate as stakeholders in the formulation of the foreign policies. This can be done through amendment of the law to include the youth ministerial appointment, implementation of the public participation Act to have at least 30% youth participation in the government and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as well. Groups that advance youth grievances in the MoFA need to be lobbied to help shape Kenya's foreign policies.

Through youth mentorship and training, they can be appointed as ambassadors representing the country, and hence influence foreign policy processes and/or outcome/ inputs. Checks and Balances were also mentioned as an important factor that will ensure that the youth can have spaces to contribute in the policy processes. This will ensure that youth can be engaged in the feedback and policy evaluation systems.

Through clear procedures of youth representation in international forums; there will be proper representation leading to consistency in foreign policies. Currently, these procedures have not been out in place yet. The people who are representing the youth are not youth themselves and they are not conversant with their issues, leaving no space for youth skills to be utilised and no opportunity for youth participation. To ensure youth skills and expertise are properly made use of, young professionals in different fields can be appointed as stakeholders in the different government ministries.

All the key informant respondents interviewed believe that there are a number of challenges that came up in the participation of the youth in foreign policy. Among what they highlighted were: the limited participation of young people, the government considering the youth incapable of comprehending complex policies and that it would be expensive to include young people.

iii. *Are there policies (give examples) that need to be reviewed to factor in youth participation in foreign policy formulation?*

Yes, there are policies that need review to create room for youth participation, among them the Kenya Fp, Youth Mainstreaming policy, National youth policy on coordination, Kenya citizenship and immigration act, Foreign investment protections act so as not to use a Kenyan director as proxy for non-citizens doing business within but to actively engage them as partners.

These can be done through engaging youth representatives, financially supporting the youth to support the agenda on promotion of Fp, getting into bilateral talks with other countries and protection of the Kenyan citizens abroad. Inasmuch as some youth are unaware of these

policies, it is in their interest to be included in decision making and such policy documents be made available, accessible and easy to understand to every youth, for instance, article 100 of the constitution of Kenya mandates for youth inclusion; but during engagement, the NYC is not being involved.

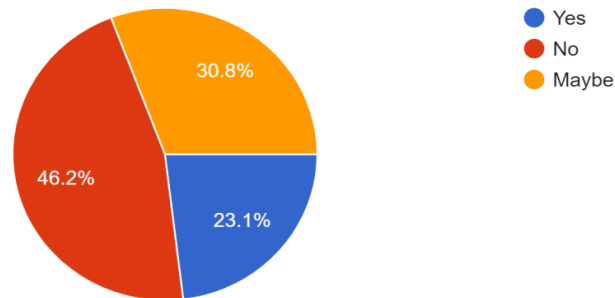
Suggestions on policy harmonisation for different ministries in the government with international youth policies, while customizing them to include issues affecting youths in Kenya, for instance, the silos like NYC and MoFA, do not have similar interests for the youths and this leads to divergent priorities in formulation of policies. We should look beyond representation and mere opportunities for representation, and look at the world as a platform for informing Fp and hence embed them into the Kenyan policies.

Thematic think tanks should be created among young people beyond advocacy because as it stands now, stakeholders do not have a proper understanding of the issues on the ground (locally and in the diaspora) and thus do not know how to articulate them in the formulation of foreign policies affecting the youth currently. All these procedures should be independent of political influences.

According to the key informant respondents (findings as per Fig 5.6 below), youth are least represented even in events that affect them like in international youth forum, the people sent to represent the youth are not the youths themselves but the elderly.

14. (a) Does the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kenya factor youth inclusive guidelines/policy in diplomacy and international trade?

13 responses



**Figure 5.6: Does the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kenya factor youth inclusive guidelines/policy in diplomacy and international trade.**

Most of the policies are developed with no youth voice. This is because the foreign policy has not exploited the benefits of public participation especially the youth who are not included. The outcomes (fruits) of such policy development processes have continually excluded the youth and prioritize business and government interest at the expense of young Kenyan interests. One just needs to review the different policies to see the gaps and their lack of Youth responsiveness. These guidelines are outlined in the UN Youth Strategy and the World Program of Action for Youth, however, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should prioritize these guidelines and policies.

Youth mainstreaming as a strategy to achieve inclusive development outcomes for young people in national development should anchor MFA planning of Fp on issues affecting youth. A move from MoFA engaging individuals claiming to represent youth is key for a paradigm shift to support the national youth institutions like the NYC.

As a recommendation, there should be more courses on diplomacy and foreign relations done by MFA to youth focused organizations so moving from just the likes of model United Nations into actual programs targeting students in foreign studies and apprenticeship for mentoring and guiding young people in foreign policy and relations.

#### **5.4.4 Discussions**

##### *Youth awareness of foreign affairs guidelines and how foreign policy addresses their plight*

Respondents from the civil society and working community demonstrated awareness of the country's guidelines and policies on foreign affairs. Student respondents however displayed a lack of awareness. A proposal to have organic policies that are not cast in stone but evolve with the changing societal dynamics was fronted. It was further suggested that the government take an active role in disseminating Fp issues to the consuming public. The Kenya Fp 2014 offers nothing less than 'an open and pro-citizens policy formulation process'. Respondents also proposed enhancing the capacity of youth representatives who are invited to international conventions so that the agenda to be advanced in such fora meets basic minimum standards for such gatherings (MoFA, 2014).

Quality and effectiveness of foreign policies was questioned as respondents suggested policy evaluation mechanisms that analyse foreign policies on the basis of impact. The consequences of foreign policies on the Kenyan youth living abroad was also classified as vague. Respondents faulted the domestication of foreign policies citing discordance and gaps but they broadly coalesced around lack of awareness by youth in regards to available opportunities.

*Space for youth to participate in foreign policy process*

The NYC was censured by respondents for what they perceived as failure to engage relevant organs of the state in promoting youth sensitive policies and especially foreign policy. Participants proposed ambassadorial appointment of youth to advance youth interests in the ministry and influence Fp in alignment with youth agenda. Other strategic appointments were also suggested with a view to build capacity within the youth community. It was recommended that youth fora should also be attended by youth and not representatives who do not fall within this demography as has been the trend.

*Policies that need to be reviewed to accommodate youth participation in foreign policy making*

Kenya foreign policy was cited among other local policies that should mainstream youth participation in formulating Fp. Bilateral talks to negotiate for protection and safeguarding of interests of the Kenyan youth community was another option for accommodation of youth affairs. The Constitution of Kenya 2010 and other policy documents advocate for inclusivity in policy and national development issues but mainstreaming frameworks often omit this requirement on implementation. Policy conflict was also highlighted as creating disharmony since each department pursues competing priorities.



## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.1 Conclusions

This study has revealed that exclusion of youth from participation in national discourses has had negative consequences, however that notwithstanding, the youth have exhibited a nonchalant attitude in taking responsibility for their role in foreign policy development and understanding the framework around policy formulation. They also insinuate that in the absence of government stimulation, they are unmotivated to initiate action that will trigger the necessary changes with respect to their participation in Fp development.

In a recent study sponsored by The British Council to investigate what is needed to build a future in which youth feel prepared to take a positive, successful place in helping drive Kenya forward, the findings revealed that the youth were eager to be heard and for their views to be taken into account by decision makers. They were also willing to contribute their talents on the national stage to make a difference (De Schryver et al., 2018).

The respondents intimated that although the country has made efforts in developing progressive foreign policies, these have broadly addressed the general population and are not specific to the youth community. They however have benefited by default although they propose that the emerging conflict across policies can be resolved by involving youth in policy formulation at all levels and across sectors including Fp.

Pertinent issues of great significance emerged touching on the assessment of foreign policy impact, demystification of the foreign affairs ministry and its role in dissemination of information. In order to maximise the full potential of youth and deliver benefits to the society,

the governing elite should grant them opportunities to experience and exercise power, through shared governance and power. Adult people have to share their power reasonably with young people in order to lead fellow youths in the manner they deserve (Hope, 2012).

## **6.2 Recommendations**

This research recommends the following actions to address the problem as discussed under respective research questions;

### **6.2.1 Capacity building**

Access to relevant education and training for the youth is entrenched in the 2010 constitution. However, beyond formal academic curricula the youth need appropriate skills (skills-based training) that fits their educational background and demands as well as satisfy the job market. These skills are also relevant in empowering the youth to become effective change agents (Hope, 2012). A significant proportion of students registered low awareness in matters of foreign affairs. This study therefore recommends integrating Fp skill-based training within the formal education system and make it part of the learning objectives that is staggered throughout the school program. As different age groups transition from one level, they emerge equipped with relevant knowledge that will make them effective in advancing issues pertinent to their constituency. This approach will further empower the youth progressively and contribute to robust debates that are articulated by well-informed youth. This will also enhance youth awareness as they pursue opportunities through talent search programs and defeat exploitative tendencies by talent scouts, as they develop capacity to negotiate and secure deals on their own terms.

### **6.2.2 Single Source of Truth**

Youth relevant policies across different sectors have been encumbered by factional interests especially when developing ministry principles in a silo formation through isolation and with minimal input from other actors who are often treated as minor players. This study recommends activation and facilitation of the role of lead agent (National Youth Council - NYC) to centralise, regulate, coordinate and consolidate all youth related activities and policies including youth participation in national dialogue and development issues such as Fp formulation. The NYC essentially becomes an authority on youth affairs and a faction representative at formulation especially of youth sensitive policies.

### **6.2.3 Neutralise policy tensions**

Respondents identified policy conflict as a concern because some policies did not align well with the youth agenda. This study proposes that policies developed by different sectors to be taken through a screening process by the lead agent (NYC), and using relevant indicators, score each on the basis of alignment to overall youth objectives. Fp projects the country's local aspirations to the international arena, therefore, youth expectations can be ring-fenced during sectoral policy formulation by adding a validation process that tests for harmony before mainstreaming. A further action of policy impact assessment should also be conducted by the lead agent to take stock of policy achievements or shortcomings. This will support the realisation of policies that are congruent, coherent and relevant to the cohort.

### **6.2.4 Review foreign business shareholding and expatriate policy**

Participants decried what they perceived as unfair advantage that foreigners enjoyed over local youth in relation to investment opportunities and jobs. They propose a quid pro quo

by recommending similar considerations abroad or revocation of offending clauses and foreign policies. Foreign business shareholding ceased to be contingent on local ownership in 2017. Wealth creation that comes with such arrangements is lost as local youth remain employees and not business owners. Under the foreign expatriate policy, Kenya has indeed been rigorous in denying entry to foreign workers with locally available skills into the country. Consequently, only highly skilled expatriates manage to secure work and entry permits for mainly top ranking positions in the organisations. By default, this action has blocked top management roles from local youth leaving the other duties at the bottom of the pyramid for locals. The policy has robbed the country of a golden opportunity for skills transfer arrangement with a local understudy. Menial jobs therefore remain the preserve of local youth while top jobs are reserved for foreigners.

#### **6.2.5 Positive discrimination of youth**

Negative foreign interests have disenfranchised the youth population through discriminatory recruitment practises, harassment of Kenyan migrant workers abroad as well as exploitation of youth in terms of remuneration and terms of engagement (such as fluid and temporary contracts). Foreign policies on youth living in diaspora as residents or migrant workers appears skewed against locals. This study recommends affirmative action in favour of local youth population which includes but not limited to ministerial appointment of a ‘practising’ youth as a cabinet representative, public participation Act to have at least 30% youth participation, country representation of youth from each county at NYC and legislation to have  $\frac{1}{3}$  youth representation in parliament.

### **6.2.6 Foreign ministry open days**

The study has exposed a profound lack of awareness and misinformation in the public domain and in response to the request for information dissemination advanced by the respondents, this research proposes open day events. The ministry of foreign affairs risks being branded an elite department disconnected from the public and especially the youth. In order to demystify their role and also interact with youth and the general public, this study recommends special focus days across the counties to promote the ministry agenda and receive feedback and proposals from the represented community. The fora will also be an avenue to disseminate some foreign policy issues of interest to particular interest groups such as the youth.

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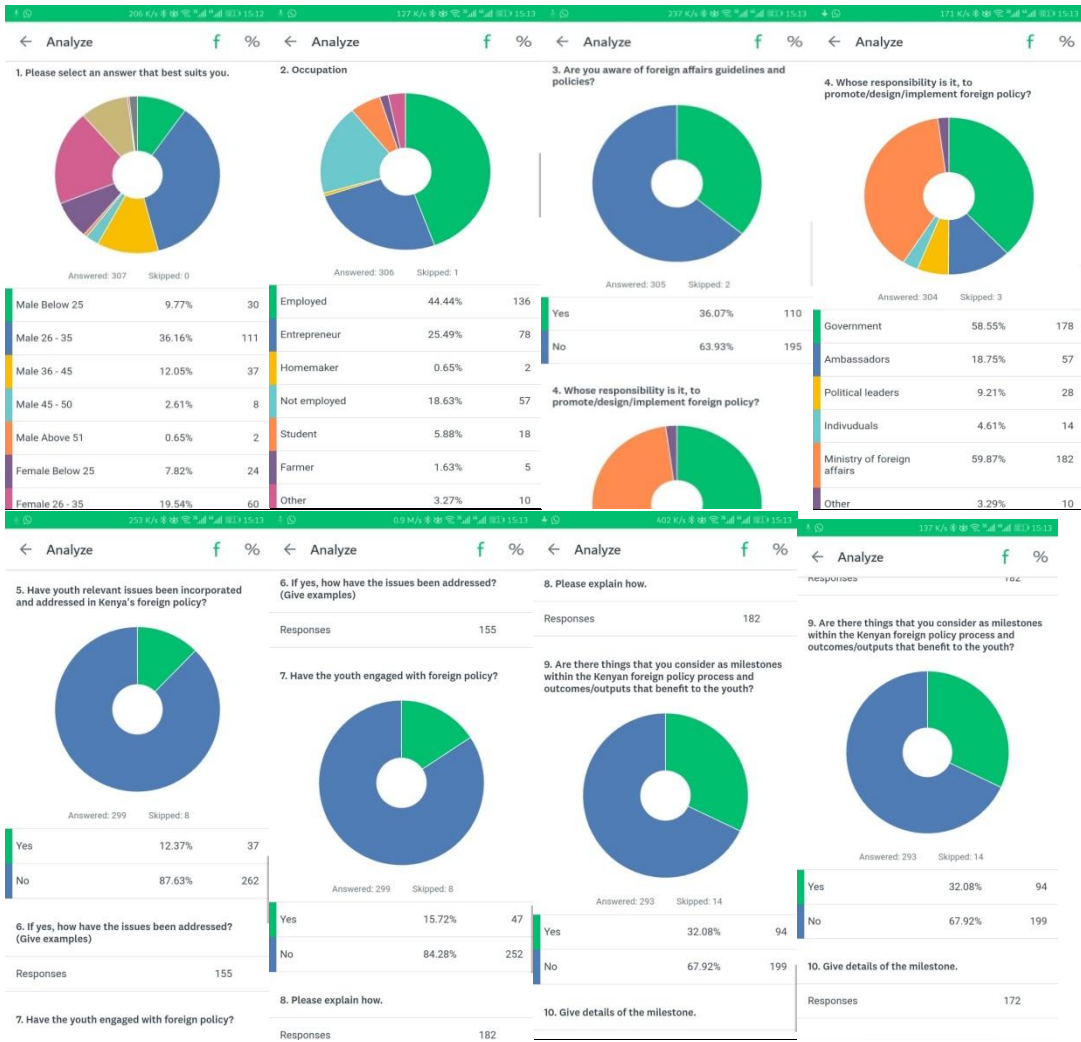
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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 1: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE THROUGH SURVEY MONKEY

1. Please select an answer that best suits you Options: Age and Gender
2. Occupation - employed -entrepreneur -homemaker -unemployed -student -farmer
3. Are you aware of foreign guidelines and policies? -yes -no
4. Whose responsibility is it to promote/design/implement foreign policy? -government - ambassadors -political leaders -individuals -ministry of foreign affairs -other
5. Have youth relevant issues been incorporated and addressed in Kenya's foreign policy? -yes -no
6. If yes, how have they been addressed (give examples)
7. Have the youth engaged in foreign policy. -yes -no
8. Please explain how
9. Are there things that you consider as milestones within the Kenyan foreign policy process and outcomes/outputs that benefit the youth? -yes -no
10. Give details of the milestones.



## APPENDIX 2: FOREIGN POLICY AND THE YOUTH

### *Key informant interview guide*

This key informant guide is targeted at key policy and institutional leaders with experience and with contribution to the state of foreign policy and youth related policy. Your contribution in this study is highly appreciated and your views will only be used for research purposes. Accepting to participate in the interview, is taken as consent to be part of the study. The questions are open ended, and you can respond in whatever order suites you.

#### **Key question 1:**

In your opinion and experience, what would you say are the things that determine foreign policy?

##### ***Probing questions:***

- a) How is foreign policy developed/designed/implemented?
- b) What is the purpose and structure of foreign policy?
- c) Who is responsible? And who are the players involved?
- d) Is there any youth involvement/participation? If yes, how are they involved? If no, should they be involved? If yes, how can they be involved?
- e) Would you say the dynamics in foreign policy has changed over the last 10 years? What would you say has changed? Are any of the changes of benefit or not for the youth?

#### **Key question 2:**

In your experience and practice, what roles do/have the youth play(ed) in influencing foreign policy in Kenya?

##### ***Probing questions:***

- a) What would you say about the things that the youth have done to influence development/implementation of foreign policy agenda?
- b) What are the milestones in foreign policy that have enhanced the roles of youth?
- c) How is foreign policy addressing youth issues? What are the interventions in place that promote youth issues? What are the main issues addressed?
- d) What are the challenges to achieving youth influence on foreign policy?

#### **Key question 3:**

In your opinion, what are the opportunities for the youth to participate and benefit from foreign policy?

***Probing questions:***

- a) Does the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kenya factor youth inclusive guidelines/policy in diplomacy and international trade? How is this done? What opportunities has/is the ministry explored/exploring to enhance youth benefits/participation?
- b) How would foreign policy cater for challenges for the youth, and open opportunities for the youth?

***Thank you for your time!***



## APPENDIX 3: FOREIGN POLICY AND THE YOUTH IN KENYA

### Foreign Policy and the Youth in Kenya

This form is in part contribution to a research study on the significance of foreign policy to the youth in Kenya. It looks at 3 aspects: Determinants of foreign policy, Role of youth in influencing foreign policy and Opportunities for youth participation.

#### Respondent Information

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This section provides information on the demographics of study participants. The responses will be anonymized and held in confidence.

**1. 1. Name**

\_\_\_\_\_

**2. 2. Age**

Mark only one oval.

- Below 25 years
- 25 to 30 years
- 30 to 35 years
- 35 to 45 years
- 45 to 60 years
- Above 60 years

**3. 3. Main occupation**

Mark only one oval.

- Formally employed
- Entrepreneur
- Home maker
- Non-formal employment
- Student
- Unemployed
- Other: \_\_\_\_\_

**4. 4. Highest education level**

Mark only one oval.

- Postgraduate
- Undergraduate
- Tertiary Diploma/certificate
- Secondary School certificate
- Primary school certificate
- No formal education
- Other: \_\_\_\_\_

[https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1V9Q79H8NzjZ3aoMec9WLV119RH8Gaz2mKQ18\\_fQDw4/edit](https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1V9Q79H8NzjZ3aoMec9WLV119RH8Gaz2mKQ18_fQDw4/edit)

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## Determinants of foreign policy

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This section provides opinion and general understanding around foreign policy

5. 6. What is your understanding on foreign polloy?

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6. 8. Who would you say is the responsible party in developing and implementing foreign polloy?

Check all that apply.

- National government
- The executive
- Legislature
- The judiciary
- The Public
- The county government
- Other: \_\_\_\_\_

7. 7. How have the youth been involved in development and implementation of foreign polloy?

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8. 8. What are the key areas of benefit to the youth important for foreign polloy?

Check all that apply.

- Education and scholarships
- Youth development
- Employment and entrepreneurship opportunities
- Human and public health
- Environmental protection
- Access to financial resources
- Globalisation
- Other: \_\_\_\_\_

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## Role of youth in foreign policy

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9. 8. What are the aspects of foreign policy that allowed the participation of the youth?

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10. 10. (a) Are the policies addressing youth interests?

Mark only one oval.

- No  
 Yes  
 Maybe

11. (b) If YES, what youth interests have been addressed?

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12. 11. (a) Are there any challenges that come up in the participation of the youth in foreign policy?

Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No

13. (b) If YES, what are the challenges?

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## Opportunities for the youth through foreign policy

14. 12. (a) Should the youth be involved in foreign policy development and implementation?

Mark only one oval.

- Strongly disagree  
 Disagree  
 Neutral  
 Agree  
 Strongly agree

15. (b) Please explain your response, detailing the opportunities and structures of youth involvement.

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16. 13. (a) In your opinion, is the Kenyan content of foreign policy consistent with the socio-economic challenges and opportunities for the young people?  
Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No  
 Maybe

17. (b) Please explain your response above

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18. 14. (a) Does the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kenya factor youth inclusive guidelines/policy in diplomacy and international trade?  
Mark only one oval.

- Yes  
 No  
 Maybe

19. (b) Please explain your response

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**Thank you for taking your time to respond to the questions.**

## APPENDIX 4: FOREIGN POLICY FGD

### Section A: Details of the group

Consent: Understanding that the exercise is part of a study, and by participating you have given consent for your views to be recorded for the purpose of research.

Time: It will take approximately 2 hours

Number of participants: 10 Male 5 Female 5

Note that all responses are right, and wont be judged.

Thank you for your acceptance to participate.

### Section B: Background and Determinants of Foreign Policy in Kenya

#### i. What is your understanding of foreign policy? Whose responsibility is it, to promote/design/implement foreign policy?

B: directives of the country that decide how they engage with other countries. It leads to bilateral agreement and other agreements that deal with issues of the country. The responsibility is on the ministry that has its own way of working. E.g. embassies, consulars (commercial, political)

E: strategies in terms of how a nation safeguards its own interests. To ensure that goals in the interests are achieved. People who push agendas: ambassadors. Strategies on how we safeguard interests

D: to help build and harmonize what we are working towards as a country. E.g. being middleclass country. Where ideologies can be 'selfishly' (at a state level) converged to help the local agenda be organised with regional agenda. If the problems at the local level are not similar to the ones at regional level, we need to deal with ours

C: foreign policy needs to align with national development goals

A: we look at situations as they are, we look at the challenges and ways to address them through the foreign policies. The goals start from global to local and are broken down locally. The policies help guide how these will be addressed. Youth friendly policies between Kenya and Tanzania. Some policies e.g. budget are not relevant to the youth.

G: the way the government should relate to the youth to bring our concerns upfront.

H: how the country engages other countries social and economically in relation to the youth.

What the ordinary young people are doing to engage ordinary people in other countries.

The framework of engagement between the local youth and youth of other countries.

The institutions that exist that regulate the framework of engagement between Kenya and other nations e.g. EALA, East African Youth Council, East African court that handle dispute resolutions between member states.

How we are engaging domestically with other young people of other country.

I: strategies/mechanisms that are laid out by the country to safeguard our interest in the international arena.

J: foreign policies are geared to create order in the international systems and aligning the interests to meet the interests of the country.

Part B

The roles sit at the national level and it's their responsibility.

H: its institution's responsibility because, wherever you are, we represent our countries. Like the embassies, they are responsible for youths abroad.

Individual responsibility: person can directly take an opportunity themselves and later inform the government.

I: responsibility of government since they protect the interests of the country.

J: different agencies:

- Government, they act on behalf of us
- Institutions, to implement policies e.g. foreign missions and embassies
- Civil society movement, helping governments achieving their interests abroad
- Individuals, FP guided by deep seated values that are driven by the individuals.

ii. What are the issues, as youths, that you believe have been incorporated in Kenya's foreign policy, that are of importance (to you)?

E: shared prosperity: everything that the state wants to implement should consider the youth. Vision 2030 is the anchor to the foreign policy development. The prosperities should be shared and make the youth be a part of it.

B: the policy is a mirror of who we are to the outside. The majority is youth, the government should market itself with the literacy levels of the country. The youth are literate and are able to engage in issues and have conversations.

- Literacy,
- amount of people that are youth
- The education level.

D: the foreign policy should reflect the biggest issue youth have (borderless community). The issues should be directed literally to the issues of the youth. E.g. to give solutions that are part of what the youth are interested in.

Government should adapt online mechanisms to come up with physical solutions. Instead of leading, they should let the youth interests lead them.

Things that make people heterogeneous: gender,

Things that cut across issues the heterogeneity.

E: put our own unique value proposition. We should strive to have the unique propositions. E.g. what's unique about its youth? To guide global competitiveness. We should try to use our strengths to push foreign policies. They should dress how kenyans are good at ICT and this should be harnessed in the policies.

A: data should be had first when pushing for youth interests

B: the ministry should pick aspects of policies and see how we can advance in the policy development. There should be inter-ministry greed upon policies to push related policies

J: governments are always trying to implement policies to expand employment and education, business and talent.

Bilateral agreements; mode of immigration to help Kenyans get opportunities abroad, education and employment.

I: the FP doesn't neglect any group of people

The state should spearhead and give spaces for youth inclusion.

Education, employment, recently in the EA region, they are considering youth presence (formation of the EAC youth council).

G:

### **Section C: The role of youths in influencing foreign policy in Kenya: challenges and intervention**

i. How is foreign policy addressing youth relevant and related issues in Kenya? What are the examples of how these issues were addressed?

D: ICT: Kenya has done great in opening us to the online community. In Africa, Kenya is quite ahead. The treaties are not youth-specific but they push issues that address youth. E.g. fibre optics.

B: Kenyans thriving despite the policies. We're very progressive, even outside the foreign policy. Even though Kenya, through the ministry have not adopted, the Kenyans go ahead to push the issues.

D: certain aspects of FP have addressed the youth even though they're not youth-specific policies.

Kenya and diaspora, Kenya awards scholarships and give merits.

There is opportunity for youth, despite background, to develop themselves.

Young people are allowed by government to help them build skills and they can come back home and invest what they've learned from there.

Kenyans can buy stock abroad, get assistance from the port.

The government has made it easy to help youth development.

A: the policies should have a strong component of M&E. M&E can help in mainstreaming issues of inclusion.

ii. What would you consider as milestones in foreign policy process and outcomes/outputs of benefit to the youth?

B: the ministry foreign affairs. The officers have been enabled to be competitive.

The foreign minister lobbying to be included in the security council

There's an impact out there in terms of lobbying. They are enabling ministries within the country.

What we can do with the opportunities provided for by the government?

Mechanism of the government engaging us in terms of mainstreaming the opportunities given to us.

E: the economic conference. Kenya has become competitive as a nation

We've broken ground on conversations of avocados. The trade component in FP lobbied for markets to be open to us. E.g. china, opening its markets for entrepreneurs to them. Last month, there was a successful penetration and now farmers can now export.

The trade policy is a great milestone.

Accredited to FP on its agenda to trade

How it helps youth: young people are now trying to get loans to be a part of the trade.

Employment to youth.

Value addition in the country on rejected goods.

A: opening up of the borders. Young people re employed in Rwanda ICT business

Uganda: small scale traders

B: the best talent is being taken abroad, leaving the chaffs behind. In the process we are b

D: number of professionals have also been attracted into Kenya's private sector. This is done in a way that is not replacing Kenyan jobs.

iii. How have the youth engaged with foreign policy (give examples), and what challenges were experienced in the engagement?

Youth engagement

B: the environment in the FP has led to youth employment.

Youth are involved in the conferences abroad, e.g. to tweet etc.

Challenges:



B: the opportunities re not frequent. Its unpredictable and not institutionalized.

We have an opportunity to mainstream.

Ministry is not giving their scheduling

Manipulation: all want to be employed. There is misuse for someone, due to their low opportunities and financial status they are misused.

People leave the country and become vulnerable then, misues

D: interacting is not minstream enough. The opportunities are available to elite groups. The youth re still not being involved in participating in foreign issues..

Very few youth have the privilege to the info in FP

Biggest challenge: trying to hve youth from all sectors present in the conferences.

Information: the communication are not the best. Amina made young people be interested in the policies they were pushing for. There was more infosharing.

Blue economy: mpore people are now aware of and are represented in the conefenvcres

C: inclusiveness and competition

E: campaigns should be done and info made easily available to the young people.

Kenyans don't know what is taking place.

D: change of governance. The person has to be proactive.

B: wrong priorities re wrong. In terms of what needs to be lobbied for.

We don't see much lobbyng for oportunitites for farming in Kenya, as compared to ethopia.

Frmers are complining, frms re being redirected.

Are we technological bases, ICT based? The FP should mirror us being a farming comminuties.

Biltteral agreements should be fluid and should not tie the country for a long time.

The agreements should be flexible to the changing economy.

We have lost track of what we had s our pltfoms.

F: you cannot enter the Kenyan market with goods from abroad. The government is not aware of this. Not only to keep employed, but because of crooked systems, the issues of the youth are not addressed.

## **Section D: The opportunities of youth participation in formulation of foreign policy in Kenya**

- i. Are you aware of the Kenya's foreign affairs guidelines/policies? How can the advancement of foreign policy in Kenya adequately cater to the challenges faced by the youths in the country?

D: there should be a balance in gathering data. The present and foreseeable future should be balanced.

There should be balance between collecting data and considerations of future trends.

B: there's need of mainstreaming of issues being brought about by the FP.

We need to be ware of the opportunities bring brought fowrd by bilateral agreements

Participation: the nitty grittyies shuld be brought forward by people in the ground

Accountability of the pillrs in the policy. How to ensure ccountbilty of what is

Asking questions on the treaties.

H: information, tracking, enforcement.

The youth are not aware of existing frameworks.

There are no progress reports to track implementstion of feameworks and prolicies. They should reflect the hoe, the bottlenecks etc.

There's no way of measuring progress on the implementation of FPs.

Enforcement of policy gaps.

E: balances and checks should be created in the policy enforcement of FPs.

The imapacts of FPs need to be assessed to know w

To find a way of translating issues to policy action.

Consistency in opportunities,

Opening up opportunities for participation and asking questions.

B: there's hypocrisy when it comes to young people involvement.

There iis a gap for meaningfull youth engagement.

Nobody is aware of and the opportunities that come up will be only between the ministry circles.

Meaningful engagement is lacking.

E: youth interests are not being pushed forward to enable them to be represented.

The NYC has not been given poers to participate in policies.

ii. Where is the space for the youth to participate in foreign policy processes and/or outcome/outputs?

Having checks and balances so that youth can have spaces to contribute in it.

H: through the National Youth Council (NYC). There have been development to seek to have advancements of youth participationwhen it comes to FP.

The current turbulence in the country has made it hard

Most countries don't allow the coming up of the youth (development).

The NYC is fighting to ensure that youth have information when it comes to policies that affect them.

NYC has the mandate to reach out to the youth and have them take the task of manning the interests of other youth. But they have not had engagement with FPs yet.

iii. Are there policies (give examples) that need to be reviewed to factor in youths participation in foreign policy formulation?

B: article 100 mandte to include youth, but during engagement, the NYC is not being involved.

B: Realistic agenda have not been researched on in order to put the issues into policies.

Everyone is doing their own thingd (the different ministries) and the issues are not coordinated.

The Kenyan youth policy is not Kenyan based per se, where the best scenario is assumed and a policy developed under. Most issues and policies are copy pasted.

D: Youth do not have a national language. The counties and the ministry are not speaking the same language.

The stakeholders do not have a proper understanding of the issues on the ground.

The silos e.g. NYC, FA, ministry do not have similar interests.

As we formulate policies, the local stakeholders should have an understanding and a polished way to look

Appointment to the changing youth society, appointments should be done wrt, merits and experience.

J: biltteral negotioations, where opportunities are created

We should look beyond representation and mere opportunities for representstion, and look at the world a platform for informing FP and hence embed them into the Kenyan policies.

This should be done in ICT.

Freedom of expression of the yputh.

The youth are not aware of the FP.

B: the processes that lead to decision making have been made difficult for the youth and all Keyans in general.

The educations system should be formulated to

J: foreign governments have taken advantage of Kenyan youth that the governments are not using.

Government should take advantage of the young people and influence them and embed our foreign policies into youth.

Prting shop:

Finding mechanisms to advnce the young people in the know of foreign policies and interests.

Politics should be removed out of the space of the FP serving the youth.

Processed of development can stall because of political fights.

People want their interest to be served, not youth related, aiding in the pushing for policies that are not really youth related.

Mapping of youth interested in FP, knowing what they are interested in pursuing.

We should have youth tht are indeepcent in terms of decision making.

Thematic think tanks among young people beyond advocacy.

NYC should identify existing think tanks among the youth-serving organization.

Pltforms for the youth are killed because of political interests.

Youth –serving organizations are the best approach when I comes to serving youth interests.

There’s no implementation of the things spoken about in forums.

The NYC is trying to empower youth and engage them in the decision making process.

The NYC should be left aside as a council to represent the youth , without political interests.

H: young people lack information and they don’t know how to use it.

The youth should be inormed in relevant ifo

G: Policy awareness to the young youth.

The young people going outside can be fed little knowledge and not be taken advantage of by people abroad, e.g. Quatar.

F: education for the youth to understand policies. Most youth are not aware.

Youth strengthening and development.

B:

The generational mission should be made cler.

The generation should discover its mission.

## APPENDIX 5: FGD ON FOREIGN POLICY

### Determinants of Foreign Policy

What is your **understanding of foreign policy**? Whose **responsibility**

Ner: global recommendations eg MGDs and International instruments that guide foreign relations between countries

Mich: Self chosen strategies employed by nations to safeguard relations betw states

Mai: Document or instrument that envisage good framework ...states consider their interests and of others

- - guidelines and strategies for relation but cater for national interest and
- **Responsibility**
- **Mich- Head of state – negotiated at head of state level**
- **Kev: Mandate of ministry of foreign affairs**
- **Nell: involve everyone through parliament to design**
- **Implement ; executive**
- **Mai: prerogative of foreign affairs to design in line with the presidents manifesto**
- **Promotion : wrt each ministry according to the documents**
- **Implement: president is the chief executor guided ministry**

What is the smallest level of foreign policy

- Individual
- MFA

What are **the issues**, as youths, that you believe have been **incorporated** in Kenya's foreign policy, that are of **importance** (to you)?

- Nell: intl instruments in conventions and treaties eg Geneva, ICC PR that Kenya has ratified and is member
- Articles in UDHR that defines how youths and people should be represented in the family
- Agn: Kenyan foreign policy does not have any direct link to youths but fp in Kenya allows youths to participate in foreign events/activities (enabling envi)
- Michael: there is no good will from the Kenyan government.... Eg including the youth in for peace missions immediately
- Mai: Kenyan fp is considerate of creative economy that helps youths participate
- When the president visits other countries, eg Caribbean islands, he markets the Kenyan youth potential in skills that would be exported
- Kenya is very active in global youth, Kenya is a signatory UN youth 2030 campaign
- Youth delegate in the AU

Mich: Scholarships for Kenyan youths to study abroad

Created a youth desk in the ministry for foreign affairs

Neri: prime minister for Japan requesting for 1000 youths each year but only Kenya

Kenya does not negotiate for Kenyan youths

## **Role of youths in influencing foreign policy**

How is foreign policy **addressing youth relevant** and related issues in Kenya? What are the **examples** of how these issues were addressed?

- Kev: how: -bilateral agreements eg in the EAC that has loosened the burden of unemployment
- - movement of goods are smoothed
- Neri: human right regulation eg extrajudicial killings
- - Social cultural activities against human.... Fp gives guide on better protection of vulnerable groups
- Kev: FP provides enabling environment, allowing them to work elsewhere
- - gvt reach agreements which allow youths to get employed elsewhere
- Mai: youths in the defence forces to be used as advocates of our foreign policy
- Nelly: global environmental policies to protect the nation from being dumping site...
- Mich: no, the fp of Kenya does not have anything for youths clearly
- - pillars that promote sport, tapping the potential for educated youths, protecting youths in the diaspora
- Disconnect between the nat youth policy and other deptmental policies

Agnes: there are pillars that would support youths but the policies does not directly support the youths (that will spot and support youths, no database of cultivated youths.....) policy system is reactive not proactive

The issues are currently addressed using a youth desk in every ministry

- Nelly: the Kenyan youth representing Kenya in the global forums but no trickle down

What would you consider as **milestones in foreign policy** process and outcomes/outputs of **benefit to the youth**?

- Mich: proclamation
- Signatory
- Agn: Kenyan president is the global youth ambassador
- Youth desk
- Entrepreneurship funds eg uwezo fund for youth setting up businesses
- Efforts towards ajira program and TVET
- Whitebox for digitally creative youths

- Kev: prescribe medicine to bad good will
- Mai: milestones: Kenyan gvt facilitate Kenyan talents and abilities taken abroad... eg. Export of human resource
- Nelly: Kenya taking us the championship of green global initiative .... Youths have taken up SDG on environment, creative economy and alternatives to plastic bags
- Neri: excellent lobbying, portraying an image as a hub thus offering international conferences homage that create opportunities for youths

How have the **youth engaged** with foreign policy (give examples), and what **challenges** were experienced in the engagement?

- Neri/Nell/Kev: youths are selected as representative in local and int'l ... AU, EAC, UNEP, Countering Violent extremism, national security, intl youth weeks ... no inclusivity, minimal representations, no consideration of their voices, inability to followup on the effect of youth recommendations
- Mich: govts delegation of youth in intl deliberations....
- There is a problem with unclear structure of engagement, policy does not have direct target on youths, and the departmental policies are not speaking to each other creating disconnect in implementation
- Resources- - gvt giving clearance but not funding
- This secretariat is a good thing

Not Kenyan youths participate actively in intl negotiations

Neri: There is only action from the government when there is evidence of conflict

- Mai : M of foreign affairs offer youth internship through which they offer input in foreign policy
- Capacity building initiative --- foreign service institute
- AGOA gives African farmers access to the US market
- Nell: students on scholarships abroad have reinforced the r/ship between Kenya and these countries
- Agn: Youth appointment criteria not clear...youth in the civil service is 0.03% only
- The executives council has no representation of youths

Kev: The youth issues are being handled by old people



## **Opportunities of youth participation**

- Are you aware of the Kenya's foreign affairs guidelines/policies? How can the advancement of foreign policy in Kenya adequately cater to the challenges faced by the youths in the country?
- Constitution, manifesto of the ruling party, all UN conventions, all bilateral treaties, Vision 2030
- Foreign affairs:
- Agn;;; state of refugees
- Maritime borders
- Mich: Yes, on protocol
- Mai; yes
- Foreign diplomacy and foreign aid
- How can it cater for youth challenges
- Mich: revise the Kenyan fp to directly target the youth
- Africa Youth charter recommends coordination of youths ...can the National youth policy speak to foreign policy
- Define how to brief the youth delegates on Kenyan position
- Govt to support youths in intl delegations
- Kev: Kenya to enter into bilateral talks that see youths access external opportunities
- Nell: policies on quick response of protecting youths in the diaspora
- - revisit on the Kenyan law that protects locals against foreign

## **Where is the space for the youth to participate in foreign policy processes and/or outcome/outputs?**

- Youth involvement in the formulation... Youth stakeholders for preparing the document eg national youth policy document
- Work on the 30% representation in govt
- Amend the law to include the youth ministerial appointment
- Implement the public participation Act
- Proper mapping of...
- Empower the national youth council to do its work

- Engage youths in the feedback system
- Representation at the MFA
- Ambassadorial appointment of youths
- Include in the appointment guidelines for Kenya rep in int'l arena
- Lobby groups that advance youth grievances in the MFA to shape Kenyan FP

Are there policies (give examples) that need to be reviewed to factor in youths participation in foreign policy formulation?

Yes: Kenya foreign policy

Youth Mainstreaming policy

National youth policy--- on coordination

Kenya citizenship and immigration act

Foreign investment protections act --- not to use a Kenyan director as proxy

## APPENDIX 6: FGD STUDENTS

- **What is your understanding of foreign policy? Whose responsibility is it, to promote/design/implement foreign policy?**

A: Mechanisms that are put into place by different countries to agreement on a country on how other countries can participate in a country without exploiting the country.

C: Guidelines to harmonize constraints within the world to have a standard way to utilize them.

D: Government to government guideline on how they relate. More than 2 governments (trading blocks/regions)

B: Business agreement how different participants act on that region

A: Strategies on guidelines to prevent exploitation on different countries

A: Its government in question role.

D: Not exactly government, its ministries, business fraternity, parastals, Chambers of commerce, Tourism Board

Citizens can proposing to the government.

C: Relevant stake holders like for youth policy, youth are involved.

### **What are the issues, as youths, that you believe have been incorporated in Kenya's foreign policy, that are of importance (to you)?**

A: We are not included, a very small section are even aware of any policy. Youth don't know how to air their grievances. For instance, majority of the youth are dissatisfied with old people appointed to represent the youth. We know the rules after we have broken them

D: Policies are signed youth are not included. They are behind the screens. There's no civic education. For instance we only know that we need passports to travel out but we don't know the relationship and the terms of staying in foreign countries. Even in importing goods.

C: Knowledge is there but the youth tend to be ignorant of the existing policies.

B: The government definition of a youth is not the youth definition of the youth. Youth involved are not the age gap the on the ground youth expect.

A: Youth are misrepresented.

B: Youths representing the is from wrong age brackets.

C: Age bracket of youth representation is wrong.

D: Rural youth in the youth need aggressive civil education

**How is foreign policy addressing youth relevant and related issues in Kenya? What are the examples of how these issues were addressed?**

A: There was an agreement of China- Kenya dam construction in Kenya that promised to provide jobs. The govt set policies to provide cheap labour to the Chinese but the govt didn't give protection on working environment.

D: Most policies are in favour of other government.

A: The youths don't know the policies that protect them when working with foreign investors.

C: The foreigners take advantage of the fact that the Kenyan youth are not aware of their rights and terms and condition of the work the sign of.

C: Kenyan youth are manipulated and get manual jobs rather than skills. The foreigners take advantage of the desperate need for employment.

B: The government protects the foreigners more than its people. The top leadership is the only beneficiary.

B: The terms and conditions of working and living with/and foreigners in not as detailed as it should be. It is not understood. The difficulty shows up after the sign. Youth leaders are not there.

B: The government 'use' the youth to achieve their selfish goals.

A:

**i. What would you consider as milestones in foreign policy process and outcomes/outputs of benefit to the youth?**

A: The president has good agendas/ vision for the youth but the challenge is the people entrusted to deliver

A: The government has enabled international programs/ fellowships and conferences to have local youths participate ( for instance Future Leaders Connect under the British council that takes Kenyan youth to study abroad and come)

B: The policy has done well in education. There is enough scholarships, exchange programs and opportunities to study in foreign countries but in other areas, the other areas we are still undermined

E: The government has opened up our country for other foreigners but Kenyans suffer when going to foreigners countries. We are not sole beneficiaries of opened movement.

B: The people representing us are focusing on their own legacy not long benefiting the people.

E: The business is easy to be done by foreigners than in Locals.

E: Even the opportunities meant for locals still get the larger share.

E: The government is not pushing to have the share of their agreement.

A: The Kenyan government has signed good deals but not keen on being strict on following.

E: The policies on paper is perfect and enticing but they are not implemented.

A: The government has tried to protect its citizens on cyber security but not exhaustingly. And the youth are feeling exposed.

E: The inclusion of tracking systems of Kenyans has helped to monitor Kenyans all over the world.

**iii. How have the youth engaged with foreign policy (give examples), and what challenges were experienced in the engagement?**

E: It has opened the word to the youth for business, investments and living in other countries.

E: The policy the reduced the cost of operations

A: The youth has been provided jobs from foreigners but they are not well protected or even given 'decent' labor.

B: A very small percentage are engaged in foreign policy. There is no equal treatment for Kenyans in Other countries.

E: It is nice that the youth are involved in working for foreigners in Kenya but they should be a fair way of making youths go to other countries and work with the same conditions to gain skills and exposure as well.

B: The Kenyan youths got jobs but they feel they are considered 'not qualified', they are involved but dissatisfied.

E: Trading and travel policies should be a major campaign to all the youths.

**Are you aware of the Kenya's foreign affairs guidelines/policies? How can the advancement of foreign policy in Kenya adequately cater to the challenges faced by the youths in the country?**

C: They don't know and they don't bother.

E: The government has npt taken it upon themselves to make the youth feel like they need to know the policies.

E: Create awareness to all the youth above form 4 to get proper understanding on foreign affairs.

C: Inclusion of the policy education in our education systems.

A: The government should be open to listen to the Kenyan youth.

E: The youth need to understand why we need the Foreign Affairs Policy.

A: Appropriate allocation jobs and resources

**Where is the space for the youth to participate in foreign policy processes and/or outcome/outputs?**

E: The youth feel that they have no opportunity to participate on the policy processes citing lack of experience and understanding.

A: Even the representation of the youth on the processes is wrong.

A: The expert youths should be included in each ministry agreement and policy making.

A: The government can make use of the skills possessed by the youth in the country rather than using them for manual and cheap labour. Youths can be sent to benchmarking rather than old people who don't have energy to implement.

C: Give the youth an understanding and ownership of the foreign policies.

**Are there policies (give examples) that need to be reviewed to factor in youths participation in foreign policy formulation?**

A: The youth feel like there is no policy that was known to the youth.

E: The youth should generally be included in decision making.

E: The youth need knowledge on policies and agreements signed.

A: The policies should be made available, accessible and easy to understand to every youth.

B: The government should be more proactive on including the youth.

A: The youths should also break the culture of corruption and greed.

## APPENDIX 7: FOREIGN POLICY AND YOUTH KE STUDY FRAME

Foreign Policy and the Youth

Case Study of Kenya

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### Determinants of Foreign Policy



What is your **understanding of foreign policy**? Whose **responsibility** is it, to promote/design/implement foreign policy?



What are **the issues**, as youths, that you believe have been **incorporated in Kenya's foreign policy**, that are of **importance** (to you)?

### Role of youths in influencing foreign policy



How is foreign policy **addressing youth relevant** and related issues in Kenya? What are the **examples** of how these issues were addressed?



What would you consider as **milestones in foreign policy** process and outcomes/outputs of **benefit to the youth**?



How have the **youth engaged** with foreign policy (give examples), and what **challenges** were experienced in the engagement?

## Opportunities of youth participation



Are you aware of the Kenya's foreign affairs guidelines/policies? How can the advancement of foreign policy in Kenya adequately cater to the challenges faced by the youths in the country?



Where is the space for the youth to participate in foreign policy processes and/or outcome/outputs?



Are there policies (give examples) that need to be reviewed to factor in youths participation in foreign policy formulation?