

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI  
INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**THE ROLE OF EMERGING SECURITY ISSUES IN SHAPING THE  
IMPLEMENTATION OF FOREIGN POLICY GOALS: THE CASE OF  
KENYA.**

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## **DECLARATION**

This research project is my original work and has not been presented to any institution for the award of any academic certificate.

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**Date**

This research project has been submitted for oral defense with my approval as the student supervisor.

.....

**Prof Maria Nzomo**

.....

**Date**

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this work to my family and all those who supported me in the completion of this project.  
Thank you and May God bless you abundantly

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENT**

I would like to pass my heartfelt gratitude to all the people who have assisted me my study so far. First of all, I give thanks to God for guiding and protecting me up to this far.

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## TABLE OF CONTENT

<b>DECLARATION.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>DEDICATION.....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGMENT .....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENT.....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES .....</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>LISTOFABBREVIATIONS .....</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Background of the Study .....	1
1.1.1 Kenya’s foreign policy.....	3
1.1.2 Current Security Situation in Kenya .....	5
1.2 Problem Statement .....	7
1.3 Objective of the Study .....	9
1.3.1 Specific Objectives .....	9
1.4 Hypothesis.....	9
1.5 Justification of the Research Problem.....	9
1.6 Literature Review.....	10
1.6.1 Unstable Neighbourhood .....	10
1.6.2 An Overview of Terrorist Activities and Foreign Policy.....	11
1.6.3 Transnational Crime and Foreign Policy Implementation.....	13
1.6.4 State Actorsand Foreign Policy Implementation .....	15
1.6.5 Non-state Actors Foreign Policy Implementation .....	17
1.7 Theoretical Framework.....	19
1.7.1 The Democratic Peace Theory.....	19
1.7.2Neo-realism.....	20
1.8 Methodology .....	21
1.8.1 Research Design.....	21
1.8.2 Research Population.....	22
1.8.3 Sampling and Sample Selection.....	22

1.8.4 Data Collection .....	22
1.8.5 Data Analysis .....	22
1.9 Scope and Limitations of the Research.....	23
1.10 Chapter Outline .....	23

**CHAPTER TWO: IMPACT OF EMERGING SECURITY ISSUES ON IMPLEMENTATION OF FOREIGN POLICY GOALS: A GLOBAL OVERVIEW..... 24**

2.1 Introduction.....	24
2.2 Concept of Security.....	24
2.3 Emerging Security issues and Foreign Policy Implementation .....	25
2.3.1 Cyber Terrorism.....	25
2.3.2 International Terrorism .....	27
2.3.3 Drug Trafficking .....	29
2.4 External and Domestic Environments and Foreign Policy Implementation.....	32
2.5 State Actors and Non-state Actors and Foreign Policy Implementation .....	34
2.6 Chapter Summary .....	37

**CHAPTER THREE: IMPACT OF EMERGING SECURITY ISSUES ON IMPLEMENTATION OF FOREIGN POLICY GOALS IN KENYA..... 39**

3.1 Introduction.....	39
3.2 Emerging Security Issues and Implementation of Foreign Policy Goals. ....	39
3.3 External and Domestic Environments and Foreign Policy Implementation.....	41
3.4 State Actors and Non-state Actors and Foreign Policy Implementation .....	43
3.5 Chapter Summary .....	49

**CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATIONS OF THE ROLE OF EMERGING SECURITY ISSUES IN SHAPING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF FOREIGN POLICY GOALS: THE CASE OF KENYA ..... 50**

4.0 Introduction.....	50
4.1 Strategic objectives of Foreign Policy Goalsamid Emerging Security Issues.....	50
4.2 Key Emerging Security Issues Shaping Foreign Policy Implementation in Kenya .....	50

4.3 Effects of external security environments on foreign policy implementation in Kenya .....	53
4.4 Effects of Domestic security environments on foreign policy implementation in Kenya.....	55
4.5 The role of state and non-state actors in shaping Kenya’s foreign policy in relation to emerging security issues .....	56

**CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS..... 58**

5.0 Introduction.....	58
5.1 Summary of Findings.....	58
5.2 Discussion of the findings.....	59
5.2.1 Key emerging security issues shaping foreign policy implementation in Kenya.....	59
5.2.2 Effects of external and domestic security environments on foreign policy implementation in Kenya .....	60
5.3 Conclusion .....	60
5.3.1 Key emerging security issues shaping foreign policy implementation in Kenya.....	60
5.4 Recommendations.....	61
5.4.1 Recommendation for Further Studies .....	61
5.4.2 Policy Recommendations.....	61
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>62</b>

## **LIST OF TABLES**

Table 4.1: Key Emerging Security Issues Shaping Foreign Policy Implementation in Kenya .....	51
Table 4.2: Effects of external security environments on foreign policy implementation in Kenya ..	53
Table 4. 3: Effects of Domestic security environments on foreign policy implementation in Kenya	55

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

AU	African Union
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
DTOs	Drug trafficking organizations
EAC	East African Community
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreements
EU	European Union
GDDP	Garissa District Development Plan
GoK	Government of Kenya
GWOT	Global War on Terror
HIS	Homeland Security Investigations
ICC	International Criminal court
ICE	Immigration and Customs Enforcement
ICGLR	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
ICT	Information Communication and Technology
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IGO	Intergovernmental Organizations
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KANU	Kenya African National Union
MNC	Multinational Companies
NAM	Non- aligned Movement
NSA	Non-state Actors
OAU	Organization of Africa Unity
SEA	Syrian Electronic Army
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
UN	United Nations
US	United States of America
WANK	Worms Against Nuclear Killers
WTO	World Trade Organization

## **ABSTRACT**

A country's foreign policy, also called foreign relations policy, consists of self-interest strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its national interests and to achieve goals within its international relations. The external environment and issues such as international and internal terrorism, cyber crime, natural and human-made disasters, organized crimes like piracy and globalization have shaped the foreign policies of many countries, especially those that have been victims like the USA and Kenya. The direct causes of terrorist attacks in Kenya are majorly to the porous borders due to poor policing, politically unstable neighbouring countries like Somalia and South Sudan, a relatively open and multicultural society, relatively good transport and communications infrastructure, large Muslim population and the political and socioeconomic deprivation of the coastal population relative to the rest of the country are some of the factors that boost acts of terrorism in Kenya.

The study seeks to establish the role of emerging security issues in shaping the implementation of foreign policy goals: a case of Kenya. The study will be guided by the following objectives: to identify and examine the key emerging security issues that are shaping foreign policy implementation in Kenya; to investigate the effects of external and domestic security environments on foreign policy implementation in Kenya and to establish the role of state and non-state actors in shaping Kenya's foreign policy in relation to emerging security issues. The study will adopt explorative research survey and the study population will include security agencies, employees in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and the General public.

Simple stratified random sampling will be used to come up with a sample of 100 respondents. The study will collect primary data using interview guide and semi-structured questionnaires with both open-ended and closed questions while secondary data will be obtained from analysis and review of books, journals, papers and other available literature on the role of emerging securities issues in shaping the implementation of foreign policy goals in Kenya. Quantitative data will be analysed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) computer software (v 20), while the qualitative data will be analysed by content analysis. Data will be presented using tables and figures.

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the Study

National governments usually formulate foreign policy documents strategically through high-level decision-making processes. This indicates that moves of adversaries and allies affect foreign policy decisions in an interactive sequential setting. Foreign policy refers to a plan of action adopted by one nation in regards to its diplomatic dealings with other countries<sup>1</sup>. It also refers to a policy pursued by a nation in its dealings with other nations, designed to achieve national objectives<sup>2</sup>. A country's foreign policy, also called foreign relations policy, consists of self-interest strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its national interests and to achieve goals within its international relations<sup>3</sup>. Policy is argued to be a principle of behaviour or conduct thought to be desirable or necessary, especially as formally expressed by a government or other authoritative body<sup>4</sup>. George Modelski refers to foreign policy as the process whereby a state adjusts its actions to those of other states so as to minimize adverse actions and maximize the favourable actions of foreign states<sup>5</sup>. Policy implementation is the fourth phase of the policy cycle in which adopted policies are put into effect. It also refers to the process of moving an idea from concept to reality and also involves putting adopted policies into effect<sup>6</sup>. US foreign policy during the Georgian crisis in the summers of 2008 was implemented in response to Russia's actions in Georgia. The policy on missile defence in Europe affects Russia's decision as well as Polish, Czech and other European leaders' decisions. US foreign policy goals and actions influence Israeli policies towards its enemies and friends. Factors such as the arms races, deterrence, and the regime type of the adversary, strategic surprise and alliances affect foreign policy decisions<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>Almond, G. A. (1960). *The American people and foreign policy*. Praeger.

<sup>2</sup>Hill, C. (2003). *The changing politics of foreign policy*. Palgrave.

<sup>3</sup>Kearney, A. T., & Policy, F. (2006). The Globalisation Index. *Foreign Policy*, (6),(74-81).

<sup>4</sup>Webber, M., & Smith, M. (2014). *Foreign policy in a transformed world*. Routledge.

<sup>5</sup>Olatunde, J C.Orwa, D. K&Utete, C. M. (1987). *African International Relations*.p 43

<sup>6</sup>Boundless. "Policy Implementation." *Boundless Political Science*. Boundless, 01 Jul. 2015. Retrieved 02 Jul. 2015 from <https://www.boundless.com/political-science/textbooks/boundless-political-science-textbook/domestic-policy-15/the-policy-making-process-95/policy-implementation-516-6175/>

<sup>7</sup>Kimball, A. L. (2009). Explaining the Relationship between Foreign Policy Substitution & the Distributional Dilemma. *In Canadian Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Ottawa, ON*

The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks shook America, Eliot Cohen, an analyst of security declared shortly afterwards that the ensuing struggle constituted 'World War IV' (the cold war being World War III) and called for dramatic changes in US foreign policy. Several years later, the perception that this bloody day transformed the world remains widespread. But World War IV has not resulted in changes comparable to those that occurred during World War II and the Cold War. Although the United States has used September 11 to justify important decisions in its foreign policy, most notably the invasion of Iraq, its alliance structure has not changed to meet the threat of terrorist groups<sup>8</sup>.

The external environment and issues such as international and internal terrorism, cyber crime, natural and human-made disasters, organized crimes like piracy and globalization have shaped the foreign policies of many countries, especially those that have been victims like the USA and Kenya<sup>9</sup>. The US among other countries has implemented various strategies to combat the insecurity threats in the country using ways like: diplomacy and international cooperation in order to rally allies and isolate threats, economic embargoes, covert action, protective security measures, and military action. Economic sanctions are one of the most frequently used anti-terrorist tools. Governments supporting international terrorism (as identified by the Department of State) are prohibited from receiving US economic and military assistance. Export of munitions to such countries is foreclosed, and restrictions are imposed on exports of dual use equipment such as aircraft and trucks<sup>10</sup>.

Cyber insecurity can result from the vulnerabilities of cyber systems, including flaws of both hardware and software and from the conduct of states, groups, and individuals with access to them. It takes the forms of cyber warfare, espionage, crime, attacks on cyber infrastructure, and exploitation of cyber systems<sup>11</sup>. The potential for improving cyber security through international agreements can best be realized through a program that identifies: the activities likely to be subjects of such agreements and those that are not; the measures likely to be used by parties to

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<sup>8</sup>Bush, G. W. (2002). *The national security strategy of the United States of America*. Executive Office of the President Washington DC

<sup>9</sup>Byman, D. (2006). Remaking alliances for the war on terrorism, *The Journal of Strategic Studies*, 29(5), 767-811

<sup>10</sup>Smith, M. E. (2004). *Europe's foreign and security policy: the institutionalization of cooperation*. Cambridge University Press

<sup>11</sup>Sadoff, D. (2014). *Bringing fugitives to justice under international law: extradition and its alternatives* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Geneva).

improve cyber security in each area of activity appropriate for international cooperation and the form which any international body that may be utilized or established for this purpose should assume, the authority such a body would be assigned, and the basis upon which its activities would be governed<sup>12</sup>. National governments often cooperate with each other informally by exchanging information, investigating attacks or crimes, preventing or stopping harmful conduct, providing evidence, and even arranging for the rendition of individuals to a requesting state. Considerable uncertainty exists, however, as to the application of rules written to regulate physical force to uses of cyber force, and the issues are further complicated by the fact that the scope of use-of-force rules is far from universally agreed<sup>13</sup>.

In Africa, globalization has been the channel for numerous emerging security issues. These include the new transport facilities that have facilitated free movement of goods and people, sciences and technology progress, particularly ICT, have influenced the world's life<sup>14</sup>. These facilities have allowed and still allow terrorism and crime to spread in the world. Due to globalization, these threats also become international as threats affecting Asia countries/Latin America are also felt in Africa<sup>15</sup>. In this context, globalization is an asset for humanity, but also a source of emerging threats to national and international security. These threats are hindrances to Africa's development and therefore governments have to deal with insecurity, financial difficulties and also the populations' demands<sup>16</sup>.

### **1.1.1 Kenya's foreign policy**

The state actors in Kenya's foreign policy include the head of state, Parliament, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Judiciary and other ministries like the Ministry of Finance, Defence, Trade and Commerce now known as East African Affairs, Commerce and Tourism. The state actors are empowered to speak and act on issues of foreign relations that concern specific tasks. In the

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<sup>12</sup>Cleveland, F. M. (2008, July). Cyber security issues for advanced metering infrastructure (ami). In *Power and Energy Society General Meeting-Conversion and Delivery of Electrical Energy in the 21st Century, 2008 IEEE* (pp. 1-5). IEEE.

<sup>13</sup>Shackelford, S. (2009). From nuclear war to net war: analogizing cyber attacks in international law. *Berkley Journal of International Law (BJIL)*, 25(3).

<sup>14</sup>Zack-Williams, T., Frost, D., & Thomson, A. (2002). *Africa in crisis: new challenges and possibilities*. Pluto Pr.

<sup>15</sup>Gough, I., & Wood, G. (2004). *Insecurity and welfare regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America: Social policy in development contexts*. Cambridge University Press.

<sup>16</sup>Adepoju, A. (2000). Issues and recent trends in international migration in Sub-Saharan Africa. *International Social Science Journal*, 52(165), 383-394.

formulation and conduct of foreign policy, the head of state is the top diplomat as he represents the state in international conferences and summits<sup>17</sup>. Therefore, the formulation and implementation of foreign policy begins and ends with the head of state. The head of state appoints ambassadors who represent him in other states and all these envoys report directly to the head of state making him a key figure in foreign policy formulation, conduct and implementation.

Kenya's foreign policy serves as a tool used to pursue, promote and protect the national values, interest and security abroad<sup>18</sup>. The economic diplomacy pillar aims to achieve robust economic engagement in order to secure Kenya's social economic development and prosperity that will ensure our nation becomes a middle income and industrialized economy by the year 2030<sup>19</sup>. The cultural pillar aims to use culture as a vital role in international relations especially through the use of Kiswahili language as the pedestal of our engagement with foreign cultures and the renowned Kenyan personalities including athletes in order to exert greater influence on domestic, regional and international exchanges. These pillars are anchored on core priorities and strategies for bilateral and multilateral engagement.

In addition, the foreign policy is guided and driven by a vision of 'a peaceful and prosperous Kenya effectively contributing to the realization of a stable continent and better international understanding'. Its mission is 'to advance the interests of Kenya through innovative diplomacy'<sup>20</sup>. The policy is driven by national values and aspirations of the Kenyan people, which include: Unity in Diversity; Honour and Patriotism; Peace and Liberty; Justice and Equity; Quest for Prosperity; and the Harambee spirit and guided by the following basic and universally recognized norms: Respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states and preservation of national security; Good neighbourliness and peaceful co-existence; Peaceful settlement of disputes; Non-interference in the internal affairs of other states; Non-alignment and national self-interest; and adherence to the Charters of the UN and OAU/AU<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup>Obado, O. (2011) 'Institutional actors in Kenya's foreign policy'. The Diplomatic Post Foreign Policy Review.

<sup>18</sup>Clarke, M & White, B. E. (2005). Understanding Foreign Policy, 2000, p 15.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid

<sup>20</sup> Ibid

<sup>21</sup>Mwagiru, M. (2009). Re-inventing the Future: Linkages between Human Rights, Foreign Policy and Regional Integration', Thought and Practice: A Journal of the Philosophical Association of Kenya (PAK),

Kenya's world view thrives on the foundation of its freedom, however, when the leaders begun engaging with the great challenges of the day, it gave rise to the national policies that have consistently guided Kenya's international relations. The founders of the Kenyan republic played significant roles in the processes that led to the creation of the Organization of Africa Unity(OAU) in 1963 and committed Kenya to the principles underpinning the Non- aligned Movement(NAM) to which Kenya has been a member<sup>22</sup>. In addition, the conduct of Kenya's foreign relations is guided by a diversity of sources, including official documents and pronouncements which include: The Constitution of the Republic of Kenya (1963); The Sessional Paper No. 10/1965 on African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya; The Sessional Paper No. 1/1986 on Economic Management for Renewed Growth; Manifestos of the ruling parties; The Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation (2003-2007); National Development Plans; Kenya Vision 2030 and Executive Pronouncements and Circulars<sup>23</sup>.

Kenya's interactions with other countries go beyond states, such that countries may be seen to interact with other major non-state actors such as international organizations, nongovernmental organizations and even multinational organizations<sup>24</sup>. This implies that foreign policies touch a lot on such organizations that influence states' actions in the international arena, those closest to the action are the bureaucratic agencies that countries maintain to develop and carry out foreign policy. Foreign policy is formulated within the country, but is directed at and implemented in the environment external to that state, hence foreign policy can simply refer to external relation of a state as Frankel puts it, foreign policy consists of decisions and actions which involves to some appreciable extent relation between one state and other<sup>25</sup>.

### **1.1.2 Current Security Situation in Kenya**

Kenya has been a target of international terrorism; organized crime such as fraud, drug trafficking, money laundering, piracy, hostage taking, human trafficking, smuggling, banditry

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Vol.1 No.2,December 2009, pp.73-86, Retrieved 16 October 2010 from African Journals Online (AJOL), available from theInternet<<http://ajol.info/index.php/tp/article/viewFile/51594/40241>>

<sup>22</sup>Republic of Kenya, (2009).Foreign Policy Framework. Government Press, Nairobi Kenya

<sup>23</sup>Republic of Kenya, (2009).Foreign Policy Framework.Government Press, Nairobi Kenya.

<sup>24</sup>Goldstein,J. S &Pevehouse,J. (2001).International Relations, 5th edition, p72.

<sup>25</sup>Clarke,M&White, B.E. (2004). Understanding Foreign International Relations, 5th edition, p72.

and armed robbery; ethnic, land, political and religious disputes; climate change, global warming and other environmental crisis; cyber crime and cyber security threats; natural and man-made disasters such as accidents, floods, drought; and globalisation among other security threats because of a combination of geographical, regional, historical, political, economic and socio-cultural factors. The direct causes of terrorist attacks in Kenya are due to the close ties with Western countries, especially the US<sup>26</sup>. Moreover, the porous borders due to poor policing, politically unstable neighbouring countries like Somalia and South Sudan, a relatively open and multicultural society, relatively good transport and communications infrastructure, relatively large Muslim population and the political and socioeconomic deprivation of the coastal population relative to the rest of the country are some of the factors that boost the emerging security threats in Kenya<sup>27</sup>.

Kenya became a partner in the Global War on Terror (GWOT) in the aftermath of September 11, 2001. Having historically been an ally of the United States, the country's importance was only reiterated following several major incidents in the last two decades. In 1998, the American embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) were attacked, taking the lives of hundreds and marking a shift in U.S. foreign policy. In 2002, terrorists – widely believed to be affiliated with the perpetrators of the embassy attack – detonated a bomb at a hotel on Kenya's coast while simultaneously shooting a surface-to-air missile at an Israeli commercial aircraft, narrowly missing the target<sup>28</sup>.

In September 2013, an insurgent attack on the Westgate Shopping Mall in Nairobi made international headlines and took the lives of 67 individuals from nearly a dozen countries around the world, while reiterating the reputation of Kenya as a hub for terrorism, violent extremism, and factionalism. As al-Qaeda affiliates continue to target Kenya for its role in the Global War on Terror and 2011 military invasion of Somalia, there have been frequent small-scale attacks, exemplifying that the surrounding threats to regional security can only act as an even greater prediction for future problems. It has become clear that the insecurity stemming from terrorism

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<sup>26</sup>Kefa, O. (2009). Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery. *Kenya Studies Review*: 1, 1, 107-132. (p.111).

<sup>27</sup>Adan, H. H. (2005). *Combating Transnational Terrorism in Kenya*, (p.11). Masters thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid

in Kenya does not remain restricted to the confines of the country. The implications of further instability, therefore, affect global security and create a critical need for successful anti-terrorism policies that promote the Global War on Terror<sup>29</sup>.

In addition, on April 2015, gunmen stormed Garissa University College, killing 147 students and injuring more than 79 others. The militant group and Al-Qaeda offshoot, Al-Shabaab, which the gunmen claimed to be from, took responsibility for the attack. The gunmen took over 700 students hostage, freeing Muslims and killing those who identified as Christians<sup>30</sup>. These security threats have led to a shift in Kenya's security foreign policy attention. The scope of this paper is too narrow to properly address poverty, ethnic composition, and geography. It therefore examines those most closely associated with the recent Westgate and Garissa University College attacks: unstable neighbours, Islamic fundamentalism and lax law enforcement.

## 1.2 Problem Statement

Kenya has been a target of both local and international terrorism; organized crime such as fraud, drug trafficking, money laundering, piracy, hostage taking, human trafficking, smuggling, banditry and armed robbery; ethnic, land, political and religious disputes; climate change, global warming and other environmental crisis and cyber crime and cyber security threats due to a combination of geographical, regional, historical, political and economic and socio cultural factors<sup>31</sup>. According to some scholars, the direct cause of terrorist attacks in Kenya is due to Kenya's close links with Israel the US<sup>32</sup>. Moreover, the porous borders due to poor policing, politically unstable neighbouring countries like Somalia and South Sudan, a relatively open and multicultural society, relatively good transport and communications infrastructure, large Muslim population and the political and socioeconomic deprivation of the coastal population relative to

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<sup>29</sup>Kefa, O. (2009). Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery. Kenya Studies Review: 1, 1, 107-132. (p.111).

<sup>30</sup>Mutambo, A & Hajir, A. (2015). "[147 killed as Garissa University College attacked by gunmen](#)". *The EastAfrican*. Retrieved 3 April 2015.

<sup>31</sup> Government of Kenya, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Nairobi, 2014

<sup>32</sup>Kefa O. (2009). Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery. Kenya Studies Review: 1, 1, 107-132. (p.111).

the rest of the country are some of the factors that are said to precipitate acts of terrorism in Kenya<sup>33</sup>.

The emerging security issues in Kenya especially terrorism has put a heavy cost on the country including the loss of many citizens, property and international and regional relationships due to terrorist attacks. This has further led to a tension between Christians and Muslims, undermining the country's economy especially tourism and erosion of citizens rights and the country's sovereignty<sup>34</sup>. The emerging security issues have further affected the foreign exchange earnings from the formal sector of the economy since the country heavily relies on the few exported commodities and tourism. The September 11th 2001 terrorist attack in the US disrupted the social and economic order as it led to subsequent military operations in Afghanistan. Therefore, tea exports from Kenya to markets in the Asian countries have been disrupted due to the relation between Kenya and the US, consequently creating a loss of much needed foreign exchange earnings.

Security being a national interest and a key objective that Kenya seeks to advance through foreign policy justifies the country's preoccupation with this issue at the expense of other aspects of national interest. Insecurity within the country affects the implementation of foreign policy. The increasing insecurity in the country has affected Kenya's focus on other foreign policy issues as the government diverts its attention towards efforts to resolve this issue. This means that the country is forced to go for ad hoc policies that are not only short term in nature, but also have a number of disadvantages.

The emerging security threats therefore seem to have caused a shift in Kenya's foreign policy focus implementation process. Given the scarcity of studies in this specific area, this study seeks to investigate the role of emerging security issues in shaping the implementation of foreign policy goals in Kenya.

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<sup>33</sup>Aronson, S. L. (2013). Kenya and the Global War on Terror: Neglecting History and Geopolitics in Approaches to Counterterrorism. *African Journal of Criminology and Justice Studies*, 7(1 & 2).

<sup>34</sup>Ibid

### **1.3 Objective of the Study**

The study seeks to establish the role of emerging security issues in shaping the implementation of foreign policy goals: a case of Kenya.

#### **1.3.1 Specific Objectives**

1. To identify and examine the key emerging security issues that are shaping foreign policy implementation in Kenya
2. To investigate the effects of external and domestic security environments on foreign policy implementation in Kenya.
3. To establish the role of state and non-state actors in shaping Kenya's foreign policy in relation to emerging security issues.

#### **1.4 Hypothesis**

1. Increased emerging security issues affect foreign policy implementation in Kenya
2. External and domestic security environments affect foreign policy implementation in Kenya
3. State and non-state actors influence the shaping of Kenya's foreign policy in relation to international terrorism.

#### **1.5 Justification of the Research Problem**

One of the main duties of a national government is to protect its citizens and the livelihood of its people. The government's allegiance to guarantee the security of its people and the preservation of national integrity and sovereignty within secure borders triggers the desire to advance national interests by guaranteeing a secure political environment<sup>35</sup>. However, there are factors which Kenya's policy makers have much less experience such as international and internal terrorism, drug trafficking and poaching and how policy makers should respond to these vices; the study findings will help unveil such factors and the analysis will be used to draw lessons and make recommendations concerning Kenya's foreign policy responses in view of emerging security issues.

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid

This research seeks to establish the role of emerging security issues in shaping the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy goals. The findings will provide the GoK with information that will enhance the country's response to security threats since security problems have a great impact on foreign policy implementation. The findings will also assist policy makers in the government and the entire political class in Kenya in drafting and implementing policies that will govern the relationship between Kenya and other countries. Such a policy would address issues such as dealing with foreign countries and how to resolve conflicts between Kenya and other countries<sup>36</sup>.

The findings of this study will help future scholars and researchers in international relations and policy implementation in providing literature upon which their studies can be built on while at the same time serve as a source of reference to guide their studies. This study will also suggest areas for further studies where future scholars can extend knowledge on in the area of security and foreign policy.

## **1.6 Literature Review**

This section will deal with past studies done in the area. The variables that will be discussed include state and non-state actors qualities, external and domestic environment and emerging security threats.

### **1.6.1 Unstable Neighbourhood**

Kenya's neighbourhood is generally unstable, what with the unending conflict in South Sudan and the constant inter-clan wars in Somalia. Kenya has continued to play a leading role in peace, security and conflict management in the Horn of Africa Region both as a State and also within the frameworks of regional intergovernmental organizations such as the African Union (AU), the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) and the East African Community (EAC). Within the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), Kenya has played a leading role in mediation of conflicts in the Horn of Africa region.

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<sup>36</sup>[http://www.kenyans-abroad.org/httpdocs/kenya\\_foreign\\_policy.html](http://www.kenyans-abroad.org/httpdocs/kenya_foreign_policy.html)

Kenya negotiated the Sudan peace process that led to the formulation of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005 and the referendum that created the Republic of Southern Sudan in 2011. Kenya has continued to engage the Republics of Sudan and South Sudan through IGAD in the implementation of the outstanding issues in the CPA. Kenya has also been involved in the several mediation efforts under the auspices of IGAD to bring about peace in Somalia, which led to the formation of Transitional Federal Government in 2004 and culminated in the elections held in 2012 and the formation of the new Government in Somalia. Kenya has continued to engage the Government of Somalia to promote peace and stability in the country and the region. Within the Great Lakes Region, Kenya has also been actively involved in efforts through the ICGLR to promote peace and stability and elimination of negative forces involved in conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

### **1.6.2 An Overview of Terrorist Activities and Foreign Policy**

Terrorism is an international phenomenon that has varying perceptions<sup>37</sup>. Terrorism refers to the systematic use of violence to create a general atmosphere of fear in a population with the objective of achieving a particular political objective<sup>38</sup>. Non-state actors against states usually carry out terrorism activities in order to compel the latter to yield to the demands of the former. This intimidating mechanism has been used by terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab to pursue their ideological objectives in accordance with the 1998 fatwa by encouraging attacks directly against Americans and its allies with the expectation that cumulative graphic casualties would prompt the US and its allies to withdraw their troops from the Middle East and Somalia<sup>39</sup>. There are a number of factors that have led to the growth of international terrorism. The most common factors are repressive governments, religious extremist ideologists, external support, and deplorable socioeconomic conditions among some Muslim and non-Muslim populations<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Government of Kenya, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Nairobi, (2014).

<sup>38</sup>Hoffman, B. (1998) *Inside Terrorism*, (p.1). New York: Columbia University Press.

<sup>39</sup>Kambere, G. B. (2011) 'Countering Al-Shabaab: A Case to Minimize Transnational Terrorist', (p.8). A thesis presented to Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California.

<sup>40</sup>UK | Muslim community targets racial tension". BBC News. September 19, 2001.

Terrorist activities are thriving in Kenya are due to: popular support, recruitment of foreign fighters, franchised cells and porous borders<sup>41</sup>. Kambere (2011) argues that terrorist groups succeed in carrying out attacks in foreign countries either with active or passive support from the indigenous population. Active support from the people include: financing their activities, hiding terrorist operatives and volunteering to join terrorist groups while passive support includes actions such as unwillingness to collaborate with security institutions<sup>42</sup>. Haroun Fazul, the leader of Al-Qaeda cell group in East Africa was able to hide in Lamu and Malindi while planning to execute terrorist attacks. The people were unwilling to provide information to security agencies on Fazul's whereabouts because they believed that Fazul was fighting for their cause<sup>43</sup>.

In addition, poverty and widespread unemployment are driving some section of Kenyan youths to join terrorist groups. Kenyans are especially vulnerable to terrorist recruitment in exchange for financial gain. Therefore, economic inequalities enable terrorist groups to exploit and recruit foot soldiers from the poor segment of the population<sup>44</sup>. The continued instability in Somalia has provided a safe haven for Al-Shabaab to operate from meaning they provide external support to terrorists operating outside Somalia, which is the motivation of terrorism since it provides terrorists' money needed for recruitment, training, indoctrination, and execution of terrorism acts. This is an area in which counter terrorism strategies, foreign policies and efforts should be focused to combat the emerging security threats in Kenya.

Foreign policy attempts to reconcile domestic interest with external circumstances taking into account of the available means, resources, and institutions for doing so.<sup>45</sup>. State actors operate between institutions that continually constrain them while managing the tension between domestic and international society. The proper management of foreign policy is core to the success or failure of the implementation of foreign policy. Administration of the diplomatic

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<sup>41</sup>Special Report. (2003). Terrorism: Foreigners Marry Kenyans to Cover their Intentions. Daily Nation on the Web, 22 August 2003. Available from <http://www.nationaudio.com/News/DailyNation/22082003/News/Special%20Report22343>

<sup>42</sup>Central Intelligence Agency. 2004. The World Fact book. Kenya.

<sup>43</sup>Aronson, S. L. (2013). Kenya and the Global War on Terror: Neglecting History and Geopolitics in Approaches to Counterterrorism. *African Journal of Criminology and Justice Studies*, 7(1 & 2).

<sup>44</sup>Adan, H.H. (2005) Combating Transnational Terrorism in Kenya, (p.18). Masters thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

<sup>45</sup>Khadiagala, G .M. & Lyons, T. (2001). African Foreign Policies. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Colorado.

service and policy result to the implementation of foreign policy<sup>46</sup>. The more the resources and instruments at the disposal of a state, the greater its potential to influence the development and implementation of foreign policies and the more powerful a state is, the greater its capacity to influence other states, that is to say, the greater is its ability to achieve the objectives of its foreign policy<sup>47</sup>.

The implementation of foreign policy is dependent on five factors: Natural material basics which include a state's size, population, geographic location, resources and the state's level of economic and technological development; Societal structure and forces which comprises of social classes, ethnic composition and cultural and psychological factors at work in the society; Contingency and situational factors including political and economic crises, coups d' e tat, elections, massive strikes, large scale violence, military actions and war; Intensity of social national drivers and reactions the state system including the governmental machinery of decision making; and finally leadership which refers to the way in which state power is used by current office holders and state actors in implementing foreign policies<sup>48</sup>.

The implementation process of foreign policies in Kenya still faces many challenges. Adan (2005) reported that the capacity of the individual African state to exert influence on foreign policies tends to decline as one moves from local issues to continental and global issues. This is partially because some issues tend to be too remote from the immediate pre-occupations of the state; inadequate information on the basis of which policies should be implemented; lack of resources to tackle the issues involved and insecurity issues<sup>49</sup>.

### **1.6.3 Transnational Crime and Foreign Policy Implementation**

Transnational organized crime and corruption are topics that security planners are increasingly visiting in their analyses of terrorism, most often examining how terrorism and transnational organized crime intersect and diverge. Clarifying these relationships is vital to approaching the

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<sup>46</sup>Makumi, M. (2008). *The Missing Link in the Study of Diplomacy: the Management of Diplomatic Service and Foreign Policy*.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid p45

<sup>48</sup>Olatunde, J. C Ojo, B et al. *African International Relations*, p 45

<sup>49</sup>Pillar, P.R. (2001) 'Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy' (p.30). Washington, D.C: Brookings Institution Press.

current turbulence in global politics<sup>50</sup>. Transnational criminals are major beneficiaries of globalization. They move readily across borders, make full use of the anonymity provided by new forms of information technology, and exploit the banking secrecy of international finance. Motivated by goals rather than national interests, they work with many diverse nationalities or the groups themselves may be multinational<sup>51</sup>.

The rise of human smuggling and trafficking by transnational criminals was enormous in the 1990s, in large part because there were significant potential profits and less risk of detection and prosecution than in the drug trade. Moreover, the profits of the trafficking in persons are not subject to forfeiture in most western countries. Because of this, international organized crime groups, such as ones made up of Russians, Chinese, and groups from Central Asia and the Indian subcontinent, are moving large numbers of human cargo in a business that totals billions of dollars<sup>52</sup>.

Narcotics Trafficking Drug trafficking is now the largest source of profits for both international organized crime groups and terrorists. The International Monetary Fund estimates that trade in narcotics is now 2 percent of the global economy; while the UN estimates it is 7 percent of international trade. In the drug trade, producer countries are at the least profitable end of the business, while those who refine and market the goods received a larger share of the profit. It is therefore not surprising to find the heaviest concentration of organized crime activity in refining and distribution states. Partially as a result, these states are often considered weak in comparison to their neighbors, and thus prove susceptible to terrorist infiltration and/or activity. For example, narcotics production is often cited as a factor for the rise of the Taliban and Al Qaeda in Afghanistan and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan throughout the Central Asian Republics<sup>53</sup>.

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<sup>50</sup>Shelley, L. I., & Picarelli, J. T. (2002). Methods not motives: Implications of the convergence of international organized crime and terrorism. *Police Practice and Research*, 3(4), 305-318.

<sup>51</sup>Marvelli, D. A. (2013). *Threat of harm: a US-based assessment of transnational organized crime* (Doctoral dissertation, Rutgers University-Graduate School-Newark).

<sup>52</sup>Richard, A.O. (2000). International Trafficking in Women to the United States: A Contemporary Manifestation of Slavery and Organized Crime [Online]. Available: <http://usinfo.state.gov/topical/global/traffic/report/homepage.htm>, April.

<sup>53</sup>Smith, P.H. (1999). *Semi-organized international crime: drug trafficking in Mexico*, In: Farer, T. (Ed.), *Transnational Crime in the Americas*. Routledge, New York. South China

The end of the Cold War may have heralded an end to certain tensions, but among other unforeseen effects it also precipitated a significant increase in the flow of illegal drugs across traditional national boundaries. International travel has become easier in an increasingly borderless world, although international drug trafficking organizations (DTOs) have never respected national boundaries, newly globalized markets for drug production and exportation, along with changing patterns of consumption in some societies, have had an enormous impact on drug trafficking. Therefore, the global market for illicit drugs, and the capacity of providers to deliver to this market, is expanding inexorably around the world.

Asian drug trafficking remains a serious threat to both China and the United States. In order to confront this common threat, since 1985 China and the United States have taken numerous steps to cooperate in the interdiction of cross-border drug trafficking. Together, they have made outstanding achievements in the prevention of Asian drug trafficking and in the eradication of the opium poppy drug cultivation in the Golden Triangle region that comprises parts of Myanmar, Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand. Bilateral cooperation, however, has not been wholly successful, and Beijing and Washington face a daunting set of challenges regarding cross-border drug trafficking. In Kenya, drug-trafficking organizations are gaining ground as the country is increasingly being used as a major transit hub for narcotics. There is a relationship between drug trafficking and informal security provision in Kenya that is slowly turning like the scenario in Latin America and West Africa. In 2010, INCB reported stopped shipments of 500 kg and 200 kg of ephedrine to Guinea and Niger, respectively; other destination countries were Central African Republic, Kenya, Madagascar, Nigeria and Togo.

#### **1.6.4 State Actors and Foreign Policy Implementation**

State actors act on behalf of a governmental body. They are empowered to speak and act on issues of foreign relations that concern specific tasks. The state actors in Kenya include the head of state, parliament, ministry of foreign affairs, judiciary and other ministries. The head of a state is the key person in the formulation and implementation of foreign policies<sup>54</sup>. For example, Kenya's first president, Jomo Kenyatta, pursued a foreign policy that emphasized cooperation with neighbouring countries, support of continental liberation movements and a mixed economy

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<sup>54</sup>Ibid

that strongly encouraged foreign investment and hence close ties with western countries<sup>55</sup>. Subsequent policy documents such as KANU's manifesto and the sessional paper no. 10 of 1965 indicated Kenyatta's wished that Kenya would be built along the lines of free enterprise, tied to the west, and that the accumulation of foreign capital would be necessary for economic growth, which led to the Foreign Investment Protection Act 1964<sup>56</sup>.

A head of state's personality has a strong influence on foreign policy and Kenyatta maintained close relationship between Kenya and the western states. Okumu<sup>57</sup> concluded that foreign policy under Kenyatta was effectively maintained at a low profile on many of the burning issues in Africa and elsewhere, a style of diplomacy that is referred to as quiet diplomacy. The style avoids radical aggressiveness, which the country cannot defend or promote. It is a diplomatic posture that appreciates the roles of foreign policies of a developing nation that are to promote economic and social modernization, which requires the services of developed states.

On the influence of personality upon foreign policy, it is vital to note that the differing political environments surrounding leaders will naturally create highly variable boundaries within which they have the freedom to operate. It is a given fact that a dictator in an authoritarian administration has much greater, unconditional, unaccountable power to create and force the implementation of policies suiting his personal interests, than the leader of a democracy. Within a democracy, the head of government is obliged, to some extent, to take into consideration the opinions of other authorities and experts, and must especially consult the Foreign Minister with regard to foreign policy. However, ultimately, the final decision does lie with the leader, and he does possess the power to override other opinion if he wishes. Leaders of governments can also have the advantage of hand-selecting those who they put into positions of power. A leader is likely to choose key advisors who share his core beliefs and he considers being generally cooperative, creating an environment in which groupthink has the potential to flourish<sup>58</sup>.

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<sup>55</sup>Wright,S. African foreign policies.p101

<sup>56</sup>Brown,J. M. A complete biography of Kenyatta

<sup>57</sup>Okumu, W. Kenya's foreign policy, p136

<sup>58</sup>Etheredge, L. (1978) Personality Effects on American Foreign Policy, 1898-1968, American Political Science Review. P 72(2)

### **1.6.5 Non-state Actors Foreign Policy Implementation**

Globalization and evolution towards democracy of international society has brought about the advent of non-state actors who have global interests and the will to make them felt on the world stage. Non-state actors (NSA) are entities that participate or act in international relations. They are organizations with sufficient power to influence and cause a change even though they do not belong to any established institution of a state<sup>59</sup>. They are individuals or organizations that have powerful economic, political or social power and are able to influence at a national and sometimes international level but do not belong to or attach themselves to any particular country or state<sup>60</sup>. Non-state actors further refer to international actors who are largely or completely autonomous from the state, emanating from civil society, market economy or political opportunities<sup>61</sup>.

The non-state actors include: international intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) trans-governmental groups that have a certain degree of autonomy from state control, transnational or international non-government organizations (NGOs), Multinational Companies (MNCs), violent non-state actors (Armed groups, including Al-Qaeda, Boko Haram or criminal organizations like drug cartels), Religious Groups—Quakers, the Catholic church and other religious sects are quite active in their international advocacy efforts. They have in part founded other non-state actors such as Amnesty International, Greenpeace and OXFAM<sup>62</sup>.

These non-state actors play an essential role in establishing transnational relations by providing their own initiatives and ideas through which civil society groups in various countries can come together, provide links to various state actors and participate in public debate and foreign policy formulation and implementation process and thereby contributing to the performance of both the state or other international institutions. The role played by certain NSAs in the area of foreign policy can be seen in their engagement of issues that transcend national boundaries such as climate change, trade, conflicts and human rights. Amongst others, the non-violent NSAs often

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<sup>59</sup> Milner, H. & Moravcsik, A. (2009). *Power Interdependence and Non-State Actors in World Politics: Research Frontiers*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

<sup>60</sup> Arts, B., Noortmann, M. & Reinalda, B. (Eds.). (2001). *Non-state actors in international relations*. Ashgate Publishing.

<sup>61</sup> Clapham, A. (2006). *Human rights obligations of non-state actors*. Oxford University Press.

<sup>62</sup> Risse, T. (2007). Transnational actors and world politics. In *Corporate Ethics and Corporate Governance* (pp. 251-286). Springer Berlin Heidelberg.

employ lobbying, negotiations and protests to get the attention of states, the violent NSAs such as terrorist groups, like the Boko Haram group in Nigeria, employ violence as a tool for bargaining with the state actors<sup>63</sup>.

Though some of the activities and the influences NSAs exert are at the domestic level, it has been observed that foreign policy cannot be separated from domestic conditions of the state. Developed countries such as the US engage the services of NSAs to further their national interests abroad; some NSAs, primarily the non-violent ones, could also be usefully engaged by African countries to promote its vital national interest<sup>64</sup>. It therefore, underscores the positive role played by NSAs in Nigeria in the past, especially in the areas of policy advocacy and service delivery with a view to promoting democratic governance, checking abuses of power and human rights, trade and investment, environmental protection and climate change, negotiation of Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) between the European Union and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (EU-ACP) states. Paust (2010) argues that foreign policy decision makers can tap the information and other resources available to NSAs and also engage them meaningfully as many diplomatic issues are becoming knowledge-intensive<sup>65</sup>.

Non-state actors can aid in opinion building in foreign policy process, such as the Human Rights Council. Formal international organizations may also rely on non-state actors, particularly NGOs to be implementing partners in the national context of foreign policy. They also provide government officials and policy-makers with information, raising awareness, drawing attention to events happening on the ground or having a bearing on the relationships between, and offering different frames of analysis for foreign issues of Kenya's interest. Moreover, NSAs can also contribute to fine-tuning existing Kenyan policies towards the foreign issues. They are also pioneering the development of new strategies in foreign policy making and implementation for communication and influence engagement techniques and create opportunities for dialogue between two or more countries. They have also incorporated the new technologies and social

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<sup>63</sup>Langhorne, R. (2005). The diplomacy of non-state actors. *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 16(2), 331-339.

<sup>64</sup>Kegley, C. W. & Wittkopf, E. R. (2005). *The Global Agenda: Issues and Perspectives*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.

<sup>65</sup>Paust, J. J. (2010). Self-defense targeting of non-state actors and permissibility of US use of drones in Pakistan. *Journal of Transnational Law & Policy*, 19 (2), 237.

networks, which have become their usual means of communication with internal and external parties.

Non-state Actors have made international relations more complex and problematic. They have led to a decrease in foreign relations in the international system. Some of these have been acting as harbingers of international peace and security while some others have been acting as agents of neo-colonialism and dependency for the under-developed countries. Their significance in international relations and especially foreign policy is increasing parallel to the increasing level of interdependence in international setting. The success of foreign policy implementation requires collaboration between state actors, non- state actors and the local communities<sup>66</sup>.

## **1.7 Theoretical Framework**

### **1.7.1 The Democratic Peace Theory**

According to Jack Levy, the democratic peace theory is “the closest thing we have to an empirical law in the study of international relations.”<sup>67</sup> This theory refers to the idea that democracies by nature do not go to war with one another, a fact which historically has guaranteed peace between democratic states, arguably without exception. The democratic peace thesis offers a strong empirical attack in the liberal arsenal against the traditional intellectual hegemony of realism in American IR theory.

Democratic peace is rooted theoretically in the writings of Immanuel Kant and in particular his work “Perpetual Peace”. Kant claims that peace is a reasonable outcome of the interaction of states with a republican form of government. He believes that the republican constitution “gives a favorable prospect for the desired consequence, i.e., perpetual peace. The reason being: if the consent of the citizens is required in order to decide that war should be declared, nothing is more natural than that they should be very cautious in commencing such a poor game, decreeing for themselves all the calamities of war.” Contrasting republicanism with other forms of governments, Kant argues, “On the other hand, in a constitution which is not republican, and under which the subjects are not citizens, a declaration of war is the easiest thing in the world to

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<sup>66</sup>Mingst, K. (1999).Essentials of International Relations. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.

<sup>67</sup> Jack S. L. (1989). Domestic Politics in War,” in Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, eds., *The Origin and Prevention of Major Wars* (New York: Cambridge University Press), p. 88

decide upon, because war does not require of the ruler, who is the proprietor and not a member of the state, the least sacrifice of the pleasure of his table, the chase, his country houses, his court functions, and the like<sup>68</sup>.

Because peace under Kant's paradigm is a function of the form of government of the two potential parties to a conflict, the logical implication is that liberal republicanism must be diffused and made universal in order to achieve perpetual peace among states. Until states share a common liberal perspective, war will be necessary to prevent autocratic and despotic governments from oppressing their own people and from threatening the freedom of citizens in the liberal states themselves. This semi-evangelical view of liberalism may also contribute to strengthening the democratic peace theory.

Authoritarian regimes may view liberal states as particularly threatening because of this ideology that values the diffusion of liberalism to other states, which would of course threaten the authoritarian leader's own power. Liberal states, on the other hand, would not feel threatened by the universalistic outlook of other liberal republics since they already share a similar form of government. This theory is the most relevant for this study because it holds the idea that democracies by nature do not go to war with one another, a fact that historically has guaranteed peace between democratic states, arguably without exception.

### **1.7.2 Neo-realism**

Neorealism emphasizes the primary role of the international structure under which countries make decisions (2004). During the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975, the international relations structure was dominated by the Cold War bipolar system<sup>69</sup>. As South-East Asia decolonized, regional and world powers aggressively courted states to declare their intentions: were they capitalist or communist, blue or red? In the case of Timor Leste, the great power United States of America (USA) and the regional power Australia both acted on the primary concern of retaining sound relations with Indonesia (Philpott, 2006). In the wake of defeat in

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<sup>68</sup>Immanuel Kant, "Perpetual Peace." *On History*, trans L.W. Beck, R.E. Anchor, &E. Fackenheim (New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1957), p. 94-95

<sup>69</sup>Osuri, G. (2008). War in the language of peace, and an Australian geo/politics of white possession. *ACRAWSA e-journal*, 4(1), 205-5.

Vietnam, the USA saw relations with Indonesia as a vital part of rescuing its Cold War strategy in South-East Asia. Indonesia was attractive to the USA as Indonesia's President Suharto was a capitalist, pro-Western leader, who violently crushed an internal communist movement during the early years of Indonesian independence<sup>70</sup>.

According to neorealist theory, it was in US interests to support states opposing communism throughout the world. Therefore it is unsurprising that the Indonesian Government was rewarded with military and financial aid, along with diplomatic support, from the USA and its regional ally Australia (Philpott 2006). From a neorealist perspective, Australia's national interests were to pursue positive relations with its large Indonesian neighbour and continue to align with the US strategy of opposing communism in the region. Both of these objectives were far more important than actively supporting a 'softer' political issue, such as East Timorese independence. A neorealist would argue that the structure of Cold War relations among Australia, Indonesia and the USA meant that Australia's rational decision was to avoid championing the cause of the then Portuguese East Timor.

## **1.8 Methodology**

This section presents the methodology that will be adopted by the study so as to ensure that the objectives are achieved. It outlines how the study will be carried out. The chapter presents the research design, population, sampling design and the sample size, data collection method and instruments and data analysis.

### **1.8.1 Research Design**

The study will adopt explorative research design as it is deemed the best strategy to fulfill the objectives of this study. Explorative studies discuss the characteristics associated with the subject population. Explorative research is appropriate in investigating relationships among variables. The variables of this study are emerging security issues, external and domestic security environments and state and non-state actors and their effects in shaping foreign policy goals implementation.

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<sup>70</sup>Philpott, S. (2006). East Timor's double life: Smells like Westphalianspirit. *Third World Quarterly*, 27(1), 135-159.

### **1.8.2 Research Population**

The population for this study will include security agencies, employees in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and the General public. Dealing with all members even for a smaller accessible population may be difficult due to the tremendous amount of time and resources needed.

### **1.8.3 Sampling and Sample Selection**

A sample is a smaller population obtained from the accessible population. Simple stratified random sampling will be used based on the sampling frame to come up with a sample of 100 respondents. The study will target employees in the ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, journalists and the general public.

### **1.8.4 Data Collection**

The study will use both primary and secondary sources.

#### **Primary Data**

The interviews will be carried out with the help of an interview guide and semi-structured questionnaires with both open-ended and closed questions. Closed questions will be used to gather quantitative data that gives the researcher the control over the type of data and information that will be collected, while open-ended questions will facilitate the collection of qualitative data thus allowing the respondents to express their views on the role of emerging security issues in shaping the implementation of foreign policy goals in Kenya.

#### **Secondary Data**

Secondary data will be obtained from analysis and review of books, journals, papers and other available literature on the role of emerging securities issues in shaping the implementation of foreign policy goals in Kenya.

### **1.8.5 Data Analysis**

This study will use both qualitative and quantitative methods of data analysis. Quantitative data will be analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) computer software (v 20), while the qualitative data will be analyzed by content analysis. Content analysis is a

technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of responses and objectively identifying and using the same approach to relate trends. SPSS helps in organizing and summarizing the data by using descriptive statistics such as measures of central tendency (mean) and measures of dispersion (standard deviation). Data will be presented using tables and figures.

### **1.9 Scope and Limitations of the Research**

This study seeks to examine the role of emerging securities issues in shaping the implementation of foreign policy goals in Kenya. The study will focus on effects of terrorism, external and domestic environments and the role of state actors in shaping the implementation of foreign policy goals in Kenya. Due to the sensitivity of the issue at hand, there might be difficulty in getting fast hand information both from security agencies and ministry of foreign affairs and hence this study will rely extensively on information from secondary sources.

### **1.10 Chapter Outline**

The study will be organized into five chapters. The first chapter is the proposal, which gives the introduction to the study. The research problem is conceptualized and provides justification for this study. The chapter also presents literature review, theoretical framework, the hypotheses and the research methodology that will be used by the study. The second chapter will present a discussion on the effects of emerging security threats on implementation of foreign policy goals both from global and regional perspectives. The third chapter gives a discussion of the effects of emerging security threats on the implementation of foreign policy goals in Kenya. The fourth chapter will be on data analysis and presentation of findings. The fifth chapter will constitute the conclusions and recommendations.

## CHAPTER TWO

### IMPACT OF EMERGING SECURITY ISSUES ON IMPLEMENTATION OF FOREIGN POLICY GOALS: A GLOBAL OVERVIEW

#### 2.1 Introduction

This section of the study seeks to elaborate further the discussions that have been developed in chapter one. It discusses at length the impact of emerging security issues on foreign policy implementation throughout the world. The aspects that were discussed under theoretical framework in chapter one included the emerging security issues and how they affect the implementation of foreign policy goals, how external and domestic security environments affect foreign policy goals implementation in a state and the role of state and non-state actors in implementing foreign policy goals.

#### 2.2 Concept of Security

The concept of national security is considered in its broadest sense and concerns state security, which comprises of security of persons, institutions, properties and national territory. National security should also include other areas such as human security, social security and environmental<sup>71</sup>. National security organizations, private corporations and academia globally usually conduct the identification and analysis of emerging threats to national security and foreign policy implementation process. Emerging security challenges such as cyber-crime and terrorism have the potential of affecting international stability, foreign policies and while a further challenge to regional and international peace and security lies in the exacerbation of underlying regional instabilities through the impact of climate change and increased resource scarcity<sup>72</sup>. Cyber-terrorism, the use of computers, networks, and the internet to cause destruction and harm, is one of the newest threats to emerge in the 21st century. Cyber-terrorists and hackers have the potential to invade and shut down government and corporate computer networks in order to steal secrets and damage the economy and international relationships of a country.

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<sup>71</sup>Koster, F. (2009). *Sticking together or falling apart. Solidarity in an era of individualization and globalization*. Amsterdam University Press.

<sup>72</sup>Hough, P. (2014). *Understanding global security*. Routledge.

## **2.3 Emerging Security issues and Foreign Policy Implementation**

The emerging security threats recognize no national boundaries, are connected, and must be addressed at the global and regional as well as the national levels. No state, no matter how powerful, can by its own efforts make itself invulnerable to today's security threats. Annan (2005) noted that the present security threats in the world include: international war and conflict, civil violence, organized crime, terrorism, cybercrime and weapons of mass destruction. They also include poverty, deadly infectious disease and environmental degradation since these can have equally catastrophic consequences. All of these threats can cause death or lessen life chances on a large scale. In the current globalized world, the security threats are interconnected; a nuclear terrorist attack on the United States or Europe would have devastating effects on the whole world.

Environmental degradation has also enhanced the destructive potential of natural disasters and in some cases hastened their occurrence. The dramatic increase in major disasters witnessed in the last 50 years provides worrying evidence of this trend. More than two billion people were affected by such disasters in the last decade, and in the same period, the economic toll surpassed that of the previous four decades combined. If climate change produces more flooding, heat waves, droughts and storms, this pace may accelerate.

### **2.3.1 Cyber Terrorism**

Cyber terrorism refers to the premeditated use of disruptive activities against computers and/or networks, with the intention of causing harm or further social, ideological, religious, political or similar objectives<sup>73</sup>. Cyber-terrorism refers to the use of computer network tools to shut down critical national infrastructures (such as energy, transportation, government operations) or to coerce or intimidate a government or civilian population<sup>74</sup>. The growing numbers of cyber terrorist activities highlights the difficulty nation states are experiencing in terms of locating and prosecuting perpetrators of cyber terrorism in the digital age. Cyber attacks, network security and

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<sup>73</sup> Wilson, C. (2008). Botnets, cybercrime, and cyber terrorism: Vulnerabilities and policy issues for congress. Library of congress Washington Dc congressional research service.

<sup>74</sup>Embar-Seddon, A. (2002).Cyber terrorism Are We Under Siege?. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 45(6), 1033-1043.

information pose complex problems that reach into new areas for national security and public and foreign policy.

Rollin and Wilson (2006) indicate that terrorists and extremists in the Middle East and South Asia may be increasingly collaborating with cyber criminals for the international movement of money and for the smuggling of arms and illegal drugs<sup>75</sup>. The United States (US) has had various cyber attacks which include: the first ever hacking attack, the WANK (Worms Against Nuclear Killers) hit NASA offices in Greenbelt, Maryland. It ran a banner across the system computers as part of a protest to stop the launch of the plutonium-fuelled, Jupiter-bound Galileo probe. Cleaning up after the crack has been said to cost NASA up to a half of a million dollars in time and resources. To this day, no one is quite sure where the attack originated, though many fingers have pointed to Melbourne, Australia-based hackers.

In winter of 2000, a hacker broke into government-contracted Exigent Software Technology and nabbed two-thirds of the code for Exigent OS/COMET software, which is responsible for both missile and satellite guidance, from the Naval Research Lab in Washington, D.C. Officials were able to follow the trail of the intruder to the University of Kaiserslautern in Germany, but that's where the trail appears to end. The US thereafter established a Cyber Crime Coordination Centre, where complaints relating to cyber crimes against individuals across the country would be directed for technical analysis and identification, before they are forwarded to the competent law enforcement agency for investigation.

The US further incorporated the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) Homeland Security Investigations (HSI) and Cyber Crimes Center (C3), which deliver computer-based technical services to support domestic and international investigations into cross-border crime. The centres offer cyber crime support and training to federal, state, local, and international law enforcement agencies. C3 also operates a fully equipped computer forensics laboratory, which specializes in digital evidence recovery, and offers training in computer investigative and forensic skills.

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<sup>75</sup>Rollins, J., & Wilson, C. (2006). Terrorist capabilities for cyberattack: Overview and Policy issues.

The Syrian Electronic Army (SEA) is a group of computer hackers which first surfaced online in 2011 to support the government of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad. Using spamming, website defacement, malware, phishing, and denial of service attacks, the group targeted political opposition groups, western news organizations, human rights groups and websites that are seemingly neutral to the Syrian conflict. It also hacked government websites in the Middle East and Europe, as well as US defence contractors<sup>76</sup>. As of 2011 the SEA had been "the first Arab country to have a public Internet Army hosted on its national networks to openly launch cyber attacks on its enemies. The SEA in September 2011 attacked Harvard University's website in what was called the work of a "sophisticated group or individual". The Harvard homepage was replaced with an image of Syrian president Bashar al-Assad with the message "Syrian Electronic Army Were Here"<sup>77</sup>.

### **2.3.2 International Terrorism**

Increasingly international relations foreign policy implementation have become more complex and involve a wide range of issues that, in the 19th century, were never seen as major questions of foreign policy. These include crime, terrorism, the environment and international health.

According to the United Nation Security Council (1994), terrorism refers to criminal acts intended or calculated to provoke a state of terror in the public, a group of persons or particular persons for political purposes are in any circumstance unjustifiable, whatever the considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them. Terrorism constitutes the illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective when innocent people are targeted. The FBI defines terrorism as the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.

International terrorism means activities with the following three characteristics involve violent acts or acts dangerous to human life that violate federal or state law; appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; to influence the policy of a government by

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<sup>76</sup>Wilhoit, K. &Haq, T. (2014). Syrian Malware Team Uses Black Worm for Attacks. FireEye Inc, cyber security company. Retrieved October 15, 2014.

<sup>77</sup>Coughlan, S. (2011). Harvard website hacked by Syria protesters.*BBC*. Retrieved 10 September 2013.

intimidation or coercion and to affect the conduct of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping and occur within and beyond the border of the stated country while domestic terrorism occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the stated country.

In India, the Al Tipura Tiger force blows up innocent civilians about once a year in an effort to fight the government's Pakistani foreign policy. The Maoist Party of India and Communist Party of the Philippines train guerrillas to frighten individuals in order to gain votes and support. Hamas is another Islamic group operating in Palestine, and they are responsible for hundreds of rocket and mortar attacks on Israel<sup>78</sup>. The Pilipino Liberation Tigers of Tamil recently gunned down a local organizer who questioned their brutal tactics and radical beliefs and the Boko Haram militia group in Nigeria which carries out attacks on innocent Christian citizens and abducts none Muslim girls and women with the intention of forcing the government to convert Nigeria to be an Islamic state<sup>79</sup>.

Despite the superpower status of the US, it has experienced the worst terrorist attacks through home grown terrorists. These include Terry Nichols and Timothy McVeigh, the Oklahoma City bombers, World Trade Centre attack in 1993 which killed six people and injured more than 1000 people when a car packed with explosives was detonated in the car park and the September 11<sup>th</sup> attack where Al Qaeda operatives of Pakistani and Saudi birth hijacked three US planes and led to the death of over 3000 Americans<sup>80</sup>. After the attack; US highlighted the global significance of non-state actors and radical Islam. America's quest for primacy, open door and free markets, readiness for unilateralism when necessary, eclectic mergers of interests and values and a sense of indispensability was restricted for security reasons. While defence spending in most other countries is falling, U.S. defence spending is rising rapidly. In 2014, the requested increase in defence spending was greater than the entire Chinese defence budget. In order to reduce the hostility with Islamic countries, the US adopted a foreign policy component that would foster mutual understanding through public affairs projects such as exchange programs and education.

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<sup>78</sup>"Terrorism." *Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia*. Web. 14 Dec. 2011.<<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terrorism>>.

<sup>79</sup>["BBC News - Nigeria's 'Boko Haram' Abuja sees security forces targeted"](#). *BBC News*. Retrieved 10 November 2014.

<sup>80</sup>Bush, G. W. (2002). *The national security strategy of the United States of America*. Executive Office of the President Washington DC

### **2.3.3 Drug Trafficking**

Drug trafficking is a global illicit trade involving the cultivation, manufacture, distribution and sale of substances that are subject to drug prohibition laws. It refers to the exchange of illegal drugs for payment. The illegal drug trade is a global black market dedicated to the cultivation, manufacture, distribution and sale of drugs that are subject to drug prohibition laws. The illegal drugs include: Cocaine, Heroin, Marijuana, Methamphetamine and Lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD) among others.

Latin America is a crucial geographic zone for drug production and trafficking. The Andean countries of Colombia, Peru and Bolivia are the world's main cocaine producers, while Central America, Mexico and the Caribbean have become the principal corridors for transporting drugs into the United States and Europe. As a result, the countries of the region have suffered various consequences of drug trafficking and US-led eradication and interdiction efforts. Throughout the entire region, in both drug production and trafficking areas, there has been an upsurge of violence, corruption, impunity, erosion of rule of law, and human rights violations caused by the emergence of powerful organized crime groups and drug cartels. The region has become unsafe for human rights defenders and journalists who expose the violence; for politicians and security officials who refuse to be corrupted by drug trafficking groups; and for its citizens who get caught in crossfire between rivalling gangs.

While Latin American policymakers are speaking out against drug trafficking and highlighting its devastating effects on the reputation of the region and participating in global anti-drug trafficking sessions, the US is strongly involved in international drug control rests and policy formulation and implementation that helps foreign governments to combat illicit drugs abroad will curbing availability and use in the United States. To this end, the current Administration maintains the goal of reducing and eliminating the international flow of illegal drugs into the United States through international cooperation to disrupt the drug trade, interdiction efforts, and support for demand reduction.

About a quarter to two-thirds of the cocaine that is on its way from South America to Europe passes through West African countries, specifically Cape Verde, Mali, Benin,

Togo, Nigeria, Guinea-Bissau, and Ghana. As reported by the World Drug Report, “The cocaine found in Africa originated mainly in Colombia and Peru and frequently transited through Brazil.” In fact, many of the dealers who control the trade now reside in West Africa. Francisco Thoumi, a Colombian economist stated that profitable illegal economic activity requires not only profitability, but also weak social and state controls on individual behaviour, societies where government laws are easily evaded and social norms tolerate such evasion. West Africa’s high level of corruption makes effective law enforcement difficult to occur, since the continent suffers from hunger and unemployment. It is reported that drug traffickers are able to pay for their safety by recruiting policemen, army officers and cabinet ministers to cooperate in the business.

Drug use, addiction and trafficking have been said to negatively affect the social fabric of communities, hinder economic development, place an additional burden on national public health infrastructures and security sector and tarnish the nation’s image. It has been an issue of international policy concern for more than a century and a subject of long-standing and multilateral policy commitment. The West Africa countries state actors emphasized on the importance of good governance and the need to fight against corruption, money-laundering and illicit financial flows which facilitated drug trafficking. The U.S. international narcotics control policies provide necessary cooperation among governments to coordinate their border operations to interdict traffickers. To this end, the U.S. government has provided technical assistance for anti-drug programs in West Africa.

The past decade has seen a dramatic improvement in Turkish-Iranian economic relations, culminating in a 2007 memorandum of understanding on the transfer of Iranian and Turkmen natural gas to Europe through Turkey, and the 2009 treaty for cooperation in air, land, and sea transportation. However, the growing border porosity and unchecked movement of people has, kindled fears of serious security challenges, including an escalation in terrorism and transnational crime. Pointing to Iran's role as both a major production centre of methamphetamine and a transit route for Afghan opiates, security experts have argued that economic integration and free movement could spur drug trafficking and increase collaboration between transnational organized crime syndicates.

The relation may particularly foster drug-trafficking syndicates as they may exploit the opportunities presented by free trade as the increasing numbers of international containers and travellers make it extremely difficult to devote appropriate time to security checks at the borders. Strong law enforcement efforts have been the customary approach to drug production, trafficking and consumption in Turkey. The number of counter-narcotics operations by Turkish law enforcement agencies targeting Iranian syndicates increased regularly and Turkey also used informants to curb drug trafficking in order to environment maintain a stable environment for effective foreign policy implementation process.

Given its geographic location, Mexico has long been used as a staging and transshipment point for narcotics and contraband between Latin America and U.S. markets.

This was easily accomplished because Mexico had long been a major source of heroin and cannabis, and drug traffickers from Mexico had already established an infrastructure that stood ready to serve the Colombia-based traffickers. Drug trafficking has resulted in other criminal activities and violence, this has resulted in the US and Canada issued travel advice to certain places in Mexico due to threats to safety and security posed by organized criminal groups in the country. U.S. and Canadian citizens have been the victims of violent crimes, such as kidnapping, carjacking and robbery by organized criminal groups in various Mexican states. The Mexican government has engaged an extensive effort to counter organized criminal groups that engage in narcotics trafficking and other unlawful activities throughout Mexico.

The drug control policies Mexico has adopted to prevent drug trafficking and to eliminate the power of the drug cartels have adversely affected the human rights situation in the country. These policies have given the responsibilities for civilian drug control to the military, which has the power to not only carry out anti-drug and public security operations but also enact policy. According to the United States Department of State, the police and the military in Mexico were accused of committing serious human rights violations as they carried out government efforts to combat drug cartels.

## **2.4 External and Domestic Environments and Foreign Policy Implementation**

The ability of a country to shape foreign policy events in ways that advance their own interests is greatly dependent on whether the policy makers together with other agencies, can respond creatively and cooperatively to the joint challenges they face in a changing domestic and external security environment. The environment of a country includes all laws, government agencies, and lobbying groups that influence the foreign policy process. The formulation and implementation of policies depends on the nation's security. A nation's main interest during foreign policy formulation and implementation is to provide security for its citizens involving three main elements: that every country is determined to remain sovereign and independent; nations face threats to their existence from others, thus a nation must be prepared to meet external threats to its independence from across the borders; and a nation has to be ever prepared to meet any threat to its national security in this case, foreign policy becomes national security policy<sup>81</sup>.

Interest groups within the state and Non- State Actors may compromise foreign policy implementation process as well. These interest groups include political lobbyists, the military, and the corporate sector. Political lobbyists and the military can be considered part of the broader domestic security environment of a country. On the external environment, non-state actors such as international non-governmental organization and global public policy network can influence the head of government and other policy makers in their foreign policy decisions. The local and international media and opinion of general public can impact the foreign policy implementation process both positively and negatively.

For instance, when a foreign policy problem arises, policy makers will try to find a solution, however, the media can present their own framework. The issue may be presented in such a manner as to influence the public and international opinion and this will affect the implementation of the foreign policy<sup>82</sup>. According to the UN (2013), the response depends of the similarity of the solution with the existing environment of the country. The US government presented that 9/11 issue as a terrorist attack on USA where innocent civilians were killed. So, public opinion wholly supported any kind of retaliatory foreign policy against terrorism.

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<sup>81</sup>Ibid p 104

<sup>82</sup>Farnham, B. (2004). *Impact of the Political Environment on Foreign Policy Decision-Making*. Political Psychology. 25(3) 12-26

Sometimes the framework presented the government may be contested by opposition party and become an issue of argument in domestic politics.

Internal security occupies a pivotal position in any country's national and foreign security policy. In the case of the domestic security environment in Pakistan, not only is Pakistan confronted with many internal threats and challenges to its physical security, but also to its citizens. Among the domestic sources of concerns include issues relating to governance, political instability, sluggish economy, energy and water crises, ethnicity, extremism and terrorism. The stagnating growth rate and inflation continue to stay in double digits, not much industrial investment was witnessed, and unemployment continued to grow. Gas and electricity shortages further complicated the situation. In spite of having huge-hydro-power potential and proven coal deposits, Pakistan has been facing and continues to experience energy shortages.

Pakistan has been facing external security threats to its independence and territorial integrity right from its birth. It is confronted with a three-threat scenario, the perennial threat from India, Afghanistan and the threat emanating from a changing domestic situation. Threats from India and Afghanistan make a formidable task for Pakistani security planners and policy makers. Relations between India and Pakistan have been strained by a number of historical and political issues, and are defined by the violent partition of British India in 1947, the Kashmir dispute and the numerous military conflicts fought between the two nations. Consequently, even though the two South Asian nations share historic, cultural, geographic and economic links, their relationship has been plagued by hostility and suspicion.

The 9/11 attacks in the United States resulted in closer international relations between Pakistan and the United States on security and stability in South Asia. Pakistan formulated and pledged to implement counter terrorism policies with the United States. The United States resumed a close security partnership with Pakistan, which led closer bilateral ties, as it became a Major Non-NATO Ally. The United States is also one of the top sources of foreign direct investment to Pakistan, with \$206.8 million in 2013. Pakistan has taken steps over the years to liberalize its trade and investment regimes, either unilaterally or in the context of commitments made with the

World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank.

Greece enjoys a prominent geopolitical role, due to its political and geographical proximity to Europe, Asia, the Middle East and Africa. Greek's policy is inspired by the will to build an environment of peace and prosperity for all the peoples of the region, with respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Improvement of the standard of living, protection of minorities, and respect for cultural and religious heritage are high priorities. However, organized crime, including narcotics and weapons smuggling and human trafficking, have expanded considerably over the past decade and have now become a central focus for the Greek security and intelligence services and policy makers.

The narcotics contraband trade in Greece has also been linked to the immigration movement into the country, and had resulted in violence in various areas in Greece. Methamphetamines, cocaine and synthetic drugs are on the rise, as well as the creation of labs that deal with these substances. The police have already uncovered "mini-factories" in several locations, although the bulk of those are being imported from the Balkans and through cargo ships.

## **2.5 State Actors and Non-state Actors and Foreign Policy Implementation**

Foreign policy implementation and decision making is partially a result of how individuals with power perceive and analyze events (state actors and non-state actors). Western leaders have always viewed the African continent as being dominated by corruption, dictatorship, military coups, rebellious leaders, greediness, misuse of power, incompetent leadership, politically as well as economically ineffective and suspicious leaders who undermine their own democracies with Zimbabwe being used as a classic case of this by the Western world. In terms of natural resources, Africa is the richest continent in the world with 50% of the world's gold, most of the world's diamonds and chromium, 90% of the cobalt, 40% of the world's potential hydroelectric power, 65% of the manganese, millions of acres of untitled farmland as well as other natural resources<sup>83</sup>.

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<sup>83</sup>Northouse, P. G. (2015). *Leadership: Theory and practice*. Sage publications.

Despite being home to millions of skilled and talented innovators, African leadership struggles to encourage and retain its people who live in unnecessary frustration, fear and poverty, die of preventable disease, famine, terrorism attacks or run to the West to gain appreciation. The greatest crisis in Africa is tied to leadership to some extent, moreover; Africa's failure to grow is primarily due to the Faustian, myopic, selfish, backward type of non-progressive leaders who are planted as candidates in post-colonial empires. Top traits are either naive, vision-less, proxy implants, opportunistic/parasitic and totally compromised<sup>84</sup>.

A dominant personality can shape the formulation and implementation of foreign policy as clearly illustrated in the cases of Harry Truman, Saddam Hussein and Charles de Gaulle<sup>85</sup>. The interpersonal generalization theory suggests that behavioral differences in interpersonal situations have some association to behavioural differences in international situations, for example, a relationship between self-assertiveness/dominance, and willingness to resort to military action<sup>86</sup>. When analyzing the influence of personality of state actors/leaders on foreign policy implementation, one should consider that the differing political environments would naturally create highly variable boundaries within which they have the freedom to operate<sup>87</sup>. In the case of a state with authoritarian leadership style, the state actors have absolute power to formulate and implement policies suiting their personal interests, while a democratic state; the head of government among other state actors take into consideration the opinions of other authorities and experts with regard to foreign policy.

While a foreign policy can be formulated within the relative situational and bureaucratic restraints, to the leaders and other state actors' liking, the implementation process is more complex<sup>88</sup>. Attempts to implement a policy can result in a conflict with the objectives of other actors, countries and the environment, when policymakers and the outside world do not agree. Since foreign policy requires resources, support or mobilization of the public, and some political

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<sup>84</sup>[http://www.africanholocaust.net/news\\_ah/africanleadership.html](http://www.africanholocaust.net/news_ah/africanleadership.html)

<sup>85</sup>Cerny P.G. (1980). *The Politics of Grandeur: Ideological Aspects of de Gaulle's Foreign Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p.13

<sup>86</sup>Etheredge, L. (1978). Personality Effects on American Foreign Policy, 1898-1968, *American Political Science Review*. P 72(2)

<sup>87</sup>Dubrin, A. (2015). *Leadership: Research findings, practice, and skills*. Cengage Learning.

<sup>88</sup>Brighi, E. & Hill, C. (2008). Implementation and Behaviour In: Dunne, T. and Hadfield, A. and Smith, S. eds. *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*. New York: Oxford University Press. P130-134.

accord, especially in a democratic state, the more charismatic, persuasive and motivational the leader is, the greater the chances of overcoming such opposition. In the case of dictatorship, foreign policy decisions lie solely in the hands of the leader; decisions can be made without the accountability, checks and balances which exist in a democracy<sup>89</sup>.

Personality in foreign policy implementation is a variable. The number of people directly involved in the implementation process depends on the situation surrounding the implementation of the policy. The more critical the situation, the fewer the people directly involved in its management, and so there is a greater likeliness that their conclusions and actions will reflect their own personal beliefs, attitudes and interests<sup>90</sup>. Despite a state's rules and regulations, the political leader and state actors have a significant influence over foreign policy implementation, especially when national security is seen to be at stake, or when policy can be formed relatively secretly. Even in non-crisis situations, a political leader has the potential to exercise power and thereby impose his preferences on policy. The extent to which a leader exercises power depends on values, beliefs, background and personality<sup>91</sup>.

Glasius and Kaldor (2001) carried out a study to investigate the impact non-state actors on foreign policy formulation, the study established that non-state actors were seen to increasingly attempt to influence policy at international and regional levels, with advancements in communication technology greatly enhancing the capacity for transnational networks to coordinate and exert influence across borders and political opportunity structures continuing to open up at the international level through international and regional organisations<sup>92</sup>. Local non-state actors like human rights groups with the help of international community have been able to pressure the government to change foreign policies that would otherwise harm the local people<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>89</sup>Handford, J. S., &Coetsee, L. D. (2003). Essential transformational leadership skills to mobilize people: Combating Africa pessimism, the South African leadership challenge. *Organization Development Journal*, 21(1), 20

<sup>90</sup>Brewer, T.L. (1992). *American Foreign Policy: A Contemporary Introduction*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc. p.160.

<sup>91</sup>Arquilla, J., &Ronfeldt, D. (2001). *Networks and netwars: The future of terror, crime, and militancy*. Rand Corporation.

<sup>92</sup>Glasius, M., & Kaldor, M. (2001). *Global Civil Society* 2001.

<sup>93</sup>Stubbs, P. (2003). International non-state actors and social development policy. *Global Social Policy*, 3(3), 319-348

One of the main reasons non-State actors are significant in policy formulation and implementation is because they often represent interests of different people and primarily accountable to different people too<sup>94</sup>. The representation of different interests can be an important factor in reducing the perceived democratic deficit operating in the formulation and implementation of foreign policies; however, it is not the only factor. Similar to state actors who are responsible for representing the national interests, non-state actors also represent. In some cases, their role is legislative or quasi-legislative; they actually make the rules<sup>95</sup>.

Deepta Chopra (2010) studied the Indian government's role and interactions with the society in the realm of policy-making by conducting an empirical case study on the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (NREGA) process in India, which had demonstrated the Government's consultation with the CSOs (Civil Society Organizations) during policy-making process. The involvement of NSAs was considered a strategy for the government to govern its population; and in turn the state itself was reconstituted in the policy making and implementation process.

In other cases, non state actors set the international consensus for what must be done at the highest levels. In terms of international security, the UN Security Council plays a very important role in formulating and implementing security policies. In the past years, regional and international organizations have participated in the development of policies to help define and regulate activities globally. Therefore, for better international relations, it is the responsibility of state actors and non state actors to make sure that they follow foreign policy objectives of a country and continue to be effective in pursuing the national interest<sup>96</sup>.

## **2.6 Chapter Summary**

The chapter discussed the global perspective of the impact of emerging security issues in shaping the implementation of foreign policy goals. The chapter also covers emerging security issues, the external and domestic security environment and the role of state and non state actors in shaping

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<sup>94</sup>Arts, B., Noortmann, M., & Reinalda, B. (Eds.). (2001). *Non-state actors in international relations*. Ashgate Publishing.

<sup>95</sup>Stubbs, P. (2003). International non-state actors and social development policy. *Global Social Policy*, 3(3), 319-348

<sup>96</sup>Rosenau, J. N. (1961). *International politics and foreign policy: A reader in research and theory*. Free Pr.

the implementation of foreign policy goals. The next chapter will cover the impact of emerging security issues in shaping the implementation of foreign policy goals in Kenya. The fourth chapter will be on data analysis and presentation of findings. The fifth chapter will constitute the conclusions and recommendations.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **IMPACT OF EMERGING SECURITY ISSUES ON IMPLEMENTATION OF FOREIGN POLICY GOALS IN KENYA**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

Kenya's foreign policy is best seen in terms of its political and economic moderation and of its continuing reliance on the Western world. It also maintains closest ties are with its fellow Swahili-speaking neighbours in the African Great Lakes region, the East African Community, the Organization of African Unity and the Commonwealth of Nations<sup>97</sup>. This chapter seeks to discuss the impact of emerging security issues on implementation of foreign policy goals in Kenya. The chapter will specifically focus on the impact of emerging security threats, the domestic and external security environment and the impact of state and non state actors on the implementation of foreign policy goals.

#### **3.2 Emerging Security Issues and Implementation of Foreign Policy Goals.**

Trends in insecurity throughout East Africa, specifically Kenya, are frequently evolving, giving law enforcement the difficult task of remaining vigilant. With advancements in global technology comes the emergence of criminal activity. In terms of Kenya, the major problems include: Terrorism, maritime piracy, human/drugs/arms trafficking and cyber crime. Majority of the responsibility for all insecurity issues in Kenya can be attributed to the porous borders that surround the country. Surrounding Kenya is the failed state of Somalia, war-torn Sudan, and crime-ridden Ethiopia and Uganda. Without proper border control, there is simply no realistic way to create a secure country. The terrorism threats are from extremists linked to Al Shabaab, a militant group in Somalia opposed to the Somali government. Al Shabaab has issued public threats against Kenya because of its military intervention in Somalia. The Kenyan authorities have increased security to counter potential reprisal attacks.

Besides the 1998 terrorist attacks that left over 200 people dead in Kenya, there was another significant attack that occurred in 2002. The Kikambala bombing in Mombasa was equally as gruesome and created an even more substantial cause for concern among Kenyans, law enforcement officials and policy makers worldwide. A pro-Palestinian organization from

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<sup>97</sup>Kurian, G. T. (1992). *Encyclopedia of the Third World*, fourth edition, 7(3) p. 976: New York.

Lebanon planted a bomb at an Israeli owned hotel in Mombasa killing and injuring dozens of people. According to the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi, the biggest consequences of a terrorist attack, besides the obvious loss of life, was the impact on tourism and international relations policy- a set of goals outlining how the country will interact with other countries economically, politically, socially and militarily, and to a lesser extent, how the country will interact with non-state actors. The tourism industry, which is the second largest source of income for Kenya, has suffered from the issuance of travel advisories by foreign governments<sup>98</sup>. Every subsequent attack that takes place in Kenya further destroys the tourism market and makes the competitor nations develop as foreign exchange is reduced. Similar to other crimes facing the country, transnationalism plays a significant role: Without proper border security and accountability, there is a dangerous reciprocation of goods, which is a major threat to global security and consequently on Kenya's international relations. Refugees from surrounding nations (specifically Somalia and Ethiopia) make their way into Kenya every single day. While many of the people enter Kenya by their own free will, the dangers of undocumented immigration are hardly mitigated.

Foreigners who enter Kenya through illicit means could have a variety of motives, from fleeing oppressive regimes to being an international fugitive. In addition to human trafficking, the movement of weapons and narcotics throughout Kenya is abysmal and currently increasing. Since drugs are typically not grown inside the borders of Kenya, the products are brought into the country through neighbouring Somalia, Sudan and Ethiopia<sup>99</sup>. According to Garissa District Development Plan (GDDP) 1994-1996, the influx of refugees into the district resulted into insecurity hence adversely affecting the supervision of development programmes<sup>100</sup>.

Kenya is also experiencing a growing number of cyber crimes that threaten national security, Information, communications and technology infrastructure, foreign policies as well as citizens' privacy. It refers to the crime which involves the use of a computer and the internet as an instrument to further illegal ends such as committing fraud, hacking, trafficking in child or hardcore pornography and intellectual property theft, stealing identities, violating privacy rights

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<sup>98</sup>Gimode, E. A. (2001). An anatomy of violent crime and insecurity in Kenya: the case of Nairobi, 1985-1999. *Africa Development*, 26(1-2), 295-335.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid

<sup>100</sup>Republic of Kenya (1998).Garissa District Development Plan (1994-1996), (Nairobi: Government printer), 81

and denial of service attacks<sup>101</sup>. Cyber crime can be committed against various groups: individual- harassment through the internet, cyber stalking, and dissemination of obscene material, deflation, hacking and indecent exposure; individual property-computer vandalism, transmitting virus, trespass, unauthorized control over a computer system; against organization- hacking, possession of unauthorized information, cyber terrorism against the government organization, distribution of pirated software; and against society at large-pornography, polluting the youth through indecent exposure and trafficking. This classification shows the various facets of society that can be affected by cyber crime<sup>102</sup>.

In December of 2014, Kenyan police in Nairobi arrested 77 Chinese nationals on suspicion of cybercrime, after they discovered what they describe as ‘sophisticated’ communication gadgets in a home close to Gigiri – an area that is home to the UN headquarters, US embassy and other political organisations. They discovered ‘a cybercrime centre’ – suspected to be the biggest such centre in Africa, and confiscated equipment that they say is capable of infiltrating bank accounts, Kenya’s M-Pesa mobile banking system and cash machines.<sup>103</sup> Efforts to arrest and prosecute suspects are being hampered by lack of effective laws and the methods used by cyber criminals and technology keeps changing too quickly. On 12<sup>th</sup> October 2015, police intercepted and arrested eight terror suspects, five Somalis and three Kenyans of Somali origin who were said to be travelling in two cars fitted with high tech communication gadgets. The Kenyan government and firms aim at keeping up with the current technologies and incorporate them in the fight against cyber crime.

### **3.3 External and Domestic Environments and Foreign Policy Implementation**

The emerging security levels in Kenya have risen overly with fatal attacks ranging from grenade attacks and gunmen attacks as seen in the Westgate Mall attack, gangs attacks as seen in Lamu particularly Mpeketoni and the attacks that have been there over years including intertribal attacks in the North Eastern region and cattle rustling. The security concerns in Kenya have come up as a result of both internal and external environment that has affected Kenya’s

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<sup>101</sup>Ajala E. (2007). *Cybercafé, Cybercrime Detection and Prevention*. Library Hi Tech News No. 7, Emerald Group Publishing Ltd. P.26

<sup>102</sup>Salifu, A. (2008). *The Impact of Internet Crime on Development*. Journal of Financial Crime 15(4) pg. 432, Emerald Group Publishing Ltd

<sup>103</sup><http://www.nation.co.ke/news/77-Chinese-held-in-cyber-bust/-/1056/2543786/-/t5vf43/-/index.html>

international relations. The external cause is the Somalia question while the internal cause is what could be termed as “normal problems of insecurity” experienced in Kenya.

Kenya's relations with its neighbours to the north have been far less harmonious. North-Eastern Kenya has been a source of conflict because Somalia has traditional claims on the territory; a large ethnic Somali population has also led to instability. Somalia's irredentist claims on this region were a serious threat to Kenya in the 1960s. For four years, Somali guerrillas known as shiftas waged a campaign against the Kenyan police and army through incursions and by means of the Voice of Somali radio based in Mogadishu. This tense predicament was eased when the Somali government changed in 1967, but it revived in 1977 when Somali-Ethiopian warfare once again placed the area in contention after Kenya supported Ethiopia in the Ogaden war.

The predicament was exacerbated when Kenya's foreign relations with Arab nations worsened after Kenya seized an Egyptian plane transporting arms to the Somali forces. Tensions have since died down; reflecting this, President Moi made an unprecedented visit to Mogadishu in 1984 to negotiate border claims and promote trade cooperation.

The Somali problem and the Al-Shabaab have brought about external insecurity in Kenya. There has been a constant threat by the Al Shabaab that if the Kenyan government does not pull out its soldiers out of Somalia, they will retaliate with attacks in Kenya. This has been seen in the largest towns in Kenya including Mombasa and Nairobi that have seen grenade attacks and unprecedented explosions that have left many people dead. The escalating attacks from alleged al Shabaab insurgents has resulted to fear among Kenyans with the softest spots being targeted as seen in the Westgate Mall attack that led to high press attention globally. It is worth noting that these insurgents come from Somalia and over time it is seemingly possible that the vulnerable youth are being radicalized to work for these terrorist groups.

The Kenyan forces went into Somalia to restore order there after kidnappings at the Kenyan coast of Lamu. With this kind of movement, it was seen as positive step since there was an emerging trend from the said terrorist group with blackmail being possibly the move that was being intended. The government of Kenya does not receive as much security funds help like other

countries for example Israel since it doesn't align its foreign policy as that of the United States and thus when we compare Kenya to Israel or other nations with such funds, it would amount to committing suicide.

The domestic environment insecurity threat in Kenya is not a recent phenomenon. Daily, we face cases of insecurity here in Kenya and thus internal insecurity has been to some extent underrated. This is particularly cattle rustling, theft and tribal wars especially in Northern Kenya and the North Eastern region. Article 40(2), gives the state both positive and negative obligations in the protection of property belonging to a person in Kenya. This therefore means by such failure, the state has violated the bill of rights. The citizens are also subject to freedom and security and thus failure to provide such security amounts to violation of article 29 of the constitution. The government of Kenya thus by failing to provide the necessary protection of the people has been violating the bill of rights and further destroying international relations when foreign citizens are killed in Kenya.

Former U.K. ambassador Edward Clay further argued that the domestic insecurity experienced in Kenya has grown to lethal levels that have come up as a result of a relationship with graft in Kenya as seen in the Anglo leasing cases. With the subject matter in the dodgy contracts that were alleged inexistent at the time being defended, the sentiments here can clearly be seen. We need to fight corruption as one way to beat insecurity, the flawed number of elites however, is growing by number every day and corruption roots are growing faster than you can imagine in Kenya with the same being seen in the security sector. Corruption at the Kenyan borders is a big menace as we see a lot of immigrants walking past our borders without proper documentation but because they can pay off our policemen, they are allowed into the country.

### **3.4 State Actors and Non-state Actors and Foreign Policy Implementation**

Since independence Kenya has never had a clear and well-structured foreign policy document until a year ago. The foreign policies as contained in various government documents make it cumbersome to interpret them and also difficult to be understood by the outside world. This in turn has had an adverse effect on implementation. Mwagiru (2009) reported that the study of management of the Diplomatic service and foreign policy does not entail the study of the

practical aspects of diplomacy. The study covers diplomatic policies in certain areas of diplomacy like: administering foreign policy; administration of the diplomatic service which include posting policy, training policy; implementing strategic plans for the government and prioritizing foreign policy<sup>104</sup>. Instead, Mwangiri suggests that the management of foreign policy should be more concerned with how foreign policies that have already been formulated can best be implemented. And since majority of those involved in the implementation of foreign policy are in the diplomatic service, managing that service goes hand in hand with managing foreign policy.

Kenya's foreign policy during Kenyatta's tenure was explicit. Foreign policy concentrated on promoting and intensifying relations in Eastern Africa and Western Europe where Kenya's interest lay. During this period, majority of Kenyan Ambassadors were in the non-communist world mostly Western Europe and North America and no European ambassador was expelled from Kenya and no foreign aid in form of economic or military was rejected<sup>105</sup>. However, Kenya broke diplomatic relations with the China in 1966 and Czechoslovakia in 1968 having accused the two countries of interfering in the domestic affairs of Kenya while in 1966; Kenya rejected Soviet Union's military and economic aid on the ground that the equipments were obsolete<sup>106</sup>.

Foreign policy under the Moi regime was more of a presidential choice, more aggressive and consequently more controversial. Moi emphasized on the Nyayo philosophy, following Kenyatta's footsteps aiming at achieving love, peace and unity as well as a more solid purpose of maintaining close links with the west. In the regional foreign policy, Moi put the Nyayo philosophy into practice in the following areas: good neighbourliness, peacemaking and peacekeeping<sup>107</sup>. Foreign policy formulation and implementation was characterized as centralized. This included interference in the handling of foreign policy

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<sup>104</sup>Mwangiri, M. (2009). The Missing Link in the Study of Diplomacy: The Management of the Diplomatic Service and Foreign Policy.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid

<sup>106</sup>Mwangiri, M. (2009). The Missing Link in the Study of Diplomacy: The Management of the Diplomatic Service and Foreign Policy.

<sup>107</sup>Macharia M, Nyunya, J. D & Korwa A. (1995). The United States and Africa, E.A. Educational Publishers Ltd. p 90.

issues by the state and non state actors as the regime did not provide a relatively open political environment for foreign policy formulation and implementation<sup>108</sup>.

During Moi's reign the policy making process was more controlled by the head of state before and after the introduction of the multi-party system. Moi's foreign policy was interfered by re-established donor confidence. Introduction of multi-party system during Moi's era was also as a result of external pressure donor agencies whom Moi assigned for donor conditionality's in which the end results interfered with the internal policies of the country as a result a trickle effect to the foreign policy implementation<sup>109</sup>.

Kibaki's term in office saw Kenya's desire to maintain a strategic position at the regional and international levels that depended on how issues were responded to beyond her borders. The external factors such as liberalization, attainment of Millennium Development Goals, Peace and Security, International Terrorism, piracy and drug trafficking, were factors to consider during formulation and implementation of foreign policies<sup>110</sup>. Kenya's foreign policy implementation has been determined by both domestic and external variables. While comparing and contrasting Kenya's foreign policy during Moi and Kibaki eras it is clear that there are more similarities than differences. While president Moi maintained the centre stage, Kibaki maintained a low profile in matters of foreign policy formulation and implementation. The foreign policy during president Kibaki's tenure to date remains a mixture of regional, continental and global foreign policy interests set out during Moi's presidency that has remained unaltered. These include: peaceful co-existence, good neighbourliness, territorial integrity, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-interference in the internal affairs of other sovereign states and adherence to the international regional and global bodies like the United Nations charters and the African Union (AU)<sup>111</sup>.

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<sup>108</sup>Brown, S. (2004). Theorising Kenya's protracted transition to democracy. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 22(3), 325-342.

<sup>109</sup>Kearney, A. T., & Policy, F. (2006). The Globalisation Index. *Foreign Policy*, 6, 74-81.

<sup>110</sup>Barkan, J. D. (2004). Kenya after Moi. *FOREIGN AFFAIRS-NEW YORK*-,83(1), 87-100.

<sup>111</sup>Murunga, G. R. & Nasong'o, S. W. (2006). Bent on self-destruction: The Kibaki regime in Kenya. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 24(1), 1-28.

Kibaki foreign policy making and implementation process proceeded with less interference in handing of foreign policy issues by the ministry of foreign affairs and International Corporation and other state and non-state actors<sup>112</sup>. Kibaki provided a relative open political, social and cultural environment for state and non-state actors to carry out their duties. Foreign policy goals reflected the aspirations of the new constitution. The system of governing changed to a devolved system as power was distributed amongst other government bodies and individual representatives like the office of the prime minister who was also involved in the policy formulation and implementation. These opened wider consultation within the various departments in foreign policy making and implementation. Before any policy or treaty was implemented, it had to pass various stages like the agenda setting, policy legitimating, policy and policy evaluation as the end result.

Space for criticism was created and public pressure and groups also came in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy during Kibaki's era which in Moi's reign did not exist or existed with minimal effect to the foreign policy formulation and implementation<sup>113</sup>. President Kibaki embarked on several bilateral and multilateral initiatives, which reopened doors to donor confidence in Kenyan's foreign policy formulation like the establishment of Kenya Anti-corruption commission (KACC) at the brink of handling corruption in Kenya. The body facilitated analysis and thorough investigation of all the appointment procedures of top key government appointees such as the permanent secretaries and ambassadors. This enabled the key policy makers to be non-partisan to the head of state in decision making and at the end results affected the nature of foreign policy formulation and implementation process along with relationships with other countries<sup>114</sup>.

The new constitution changed the nature of foreign policy making in Kenya because of the much powers consolidated at the head of state changed to a trickledown effect in Kenya's foreign policy making which because of other key government departments and ministries were included

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<sup>112</sup>Murunga, G. R. (2007). Governance and the politics of structural adjustment in Kenya. *Kenya: The struggle for democracy*, 263-300.

<sup>113</sup>Steeves, J. (2006). Presidential succession in Kenya: The transition from Moi to Kibaki. *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 44(2), 211-233.

<sup>114</sup>Otieno, G. (2005). The NARC's anti-corruption drive in Kenya: somewhere over the rainbow?. *African Security Studies*, 14(4), 69-79.

in decision making process. Kenya's foreign policy was then realigned to capture the new constitution which was designed to be in tandem with the emerging realities. Under the new constitution functions such as international trade were included with the foreign policy function, on dual citizenship; the government enlightened Kenyans on important developments and urged all citizens who gave up their citizenship in order to secure their livelihoods, to carry on contributing to building their country through increased investments and financial remittances<sup>115</sup>.

During Kibaki's regime, regional peace and security was important as Kenya played a significant role in mediating the peace processes in both the former Sudan and Somalia and even sent soldiers to Somalis to help in peacekeeping. Moreover, Kibaki was known to maintain a low profile in the management of Kenya's foreign policy formulation and implementation by involving other departments and parties like the ministry of foreign affairs and the vice president in the diplomatic negotiation of Kenyans foreign policy implementation and formulation<sup>116</sup>. This was seen in the "shuttle diplomacy" which was to rally other states to support Kenya's deferral case from the International Criminal court - ICC at The Hague. It was seen that state visits were limited to only summits and international conferences at some level and most of the state visits were left in the hands of either the Prime Minister Raila Odinga or the Vice president Kalonzo Musyoka who were involved in most of the diplomatic state visits and missions. Therefore, Kibaki's leadership style was a mixture of both unilateral and multilateral in nature.

The Uhuru government has an agenda to ensure continuity in foreign policies from the past regimes. Therefore, just like the Kibaki regime used regional bodies including the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the African Union (AU) and the East African Community (EAC) to rally support against the west's (Europe and the United States) policies and regulations, particularly when it came to the sensitive question of the ICC, the new regime is doing the same. Uhuru's 2013 inauguration speech implied the basis of his foreign policy when he mentioned regional security, free movement of goods and people, reliance, the strengthening of regional bodies and most importantly, the equality of nations<sup>117</sup>. But despite the rhetoric against western countries within the Jubilee manifesto, the government asserts that it

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<sup>115</sup>Ibid

<sup>116</sup>Hornsby, C. (2013). *Kenya: A history since independence*. IB Tauris.

<sup>117</sup>Onyango O.(2013). Kenya Can Still Correct Its Mistakes in Somalia, a digital essay.

will engage the traditional economic powers, including the United States, the United Kingdom and other European countries and emerging players such as China, Brazil, India and Russia<sup>118</sup>.

Peter Kagwanja, a regular commentator of The East African newspaper, observed that the government of Uhuru Kenyatta is recalibrating Kenya's foreign policy to reflect an assertive new Africa-centred approach as the central plank of regional and global policy. Kenya's new "look inwards" policy as opposed to the traditional "look West" policy, or the emerging "look east policy" now in vogue, is in line with the Uhuru-Ruto campaign's frequent assertions that Western powers wanted to use the International Criminal Court to effect regime change during the presidential election on 4 March 2013<sup>119</sup>.

It is still difficult to tell with certainty the direction Kenya's foreign policy will go. This is particularly so because of the ICC case and the terrorist attacks. However, it is relatively clear that there will be attempts to use regional and African bodies to rally support for the regime thus the Uhuru regime has the capacity to twist her neighbours' arm given its economic muscle. Thus, the emphasis of foreign policy implementation process is likely to continue shifting and will therefore not be based on any key principles. It will start and end with the ICC until the case is dispensed with either way<sup>120</sup>.

Wright (1999) recommended that Kenya's decision making mechanisms on foreign policy ought to be reconsidered. The generality that the head of state is the sole decision maker in foreign policy formulation and implementation process needs to be expanded to accommodate other state and non-state actors. Increasing factionalism often leads to competing foreign policy goals within states as well as between states<sup>121</sup>.

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<sup>118</sup>Obala, L. (2013). Kenya's 2013 Elections and Emerging Foreign Policy. Nairobi

<sup>119</sup>Kagwanja, P. (2014). Inside Kenyatta's Emerging, Assertive Policy in East Africa, in the East African.

<sup>120</sup>ICJ Kenya, Katiba Institute, Kenya Human Rights Commission, AfriCOG, "The Implications of a Kenyatta/Ruto Presidency.

<sup>121</sup>Wright, S. (1999). The Changing Context of African Foreign Policies. *African Foreign Policies (Westview, Boulder, CO, 1999)*, 1-19.

### **3.5 Chapter Summary**

This chapter discussed the Kenyan perspective of the impact of emerging security issues in shaping the implementation of foreign policy goals. The chapter also covers emerging security issues, the external and domestic security environment and the impact of state and non state actors in shaping the implementation of foreign policy goals. The fourth chapter will be on data analysis and presentation of findings. The fifth chapter will constitute the conclusions and recommendations.

**CHAPTER FOUR**  
**ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATIONS OF THE ROLE OF EMERGING SECURITY**  
**ISSUES IN SHAPING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF FOREIGN POLICY GOALS: THE**  
**CASE OF KENYA**

**4.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents analysis and findings of the study as set out in the research methodology. The study findings are presented on the role of emerging security issues in shaping the implementation of foreign policy goals using the case of Kenya. The data was gathered using questionnaires and interviews. The instruments were guided and designed in line with the objectives of the study.

**4.1 Strategic objectives of Foreign Policy Goals amid Emerging Security Issues**

The study aimed to establish the strategic objectives of foreign policy goals amid emerging security issues in Kenya. To this end, the respondents indicated that the foreign policy goals are to protect Kenyan citizens and manage their relationship with foreign countries. The respondents further indicated that foreign policy in Kenya is set on safeguarding national independence and the sovereignty of Kenya as a State as well as enhance regional peace and security. In addition, foreign policy aims to project Kenya's image positively. The respondents indicated that these have been the guiding principles despite the changes in government.

**4.2 Key Emerging Security Issues Shaping Foreign Policy Implementation in Kenya**

The respondents were requested to indicate the extent to which key emerging security issues have affected foreign policy Implementation in Kenya. To this effect, the study identified a number of key emerging security issues to which the respondents were to indicate the extent to which it affected the implementation of foreign policy. The findings are well illustrated in Table 4.1 below:

**Table 4.1: Key Emerging Security Issues Shaping Foreign Policy Implementation in Kenya**

	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>
Advancement in Information Technology	4.4063	1.32332
Unstable Neighbourhood	4.7520	1.5273
widespread unemployment	4.5910	1.2801
Poverty among the population	4.2918	1.1926
Inadequacy of resources to fight terrorism	3.9678	1.7826
Limited capacity of Kenya as a state to exert influence on its foreign policies	4.2126	1.2936
Political dynamics	4.2800	0.71842
Globalization	3.2812	1.25040
Infrastructural Development	4.2513	0.83702
Cultural Diversity	3.5938	0.53033
Religious Radicalization	3.9875	0.5506
Terrorism	4.3187	0.4580

The study used a Likert-type scale in collecting and analyzing the data on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 point being assigned to very low extent, indicating no influence while 5 was assigned to very great extent, to indicate high level of influence by the emergent issue on Foreign Policy Implementation in Kenya. The scales ranged from 1 to 5 making an interval of 4 between the two extremes; the following allocationary keys can be developed: very low extent (never influences) was given the range 1 – 1.8, low extent (very rarely influences) was given the range 1.81 – 2.6, moderate extent (rarely influences) was given the range 2.61 – 3.4, great extent (influences) was given the range 3.41 – 4.2 while very great extent (always influences) was assigned the range 4.21 – 5. This allocationary key was used in all the subsequent likert-type scale analysis.

According to the Table 4.1 above, emerging security issues that affected foreign policy Implementation in Kenya to very great extent is advancement in Information Technology as shown by a mean score of 4.4063, these study results concurs with Aronson that developments in

information technology complicate the fight against terrorism activities<sup>122</sup>. The results are also in line with Kambere who noted that no terrorist groups succeed in carrying out attacks in foreign countries either with active or passive support from the indigenous population<sup>123</sup>. Haroun Fazul, the leader of Al-Qaeda cell group in East Africa was able to hide in Lamu and Malindi while planning to execute terrorist attacks. The people were unwilling to provide information to security agencies on Fazul's whereabouts because they believed that Fazul was fighting for their cause<sup>124</sup>. Widespread unemployment among the citizens is another factor as indicated by a mean score of 4.5910, these results concurs with the Adan that poverty and widespread unemployment are driving some section of Kenyan youths to join terrorist groups. Kenyans are especially vulnerable to terrorist recruitment in exchange for financial gain. Therefore, economic inequalities enable terrorist groups to exploit and recruit foot soldiers from the poor segment of the population<sup>125</sup>, Poverty among the population in Kenya also influences foreign policy implementation in Kenya to a very great extent as indicated by mean score of 4.2918, Limited capacity of Kenya as a state to exert influence on its foreign policies with a mean score of 4.2126 also affected foreign policy implementation in Kenya to a very great extent, Political dynamics as well with a mean score of 4.2800 influences foreign policy implementation in Kenya to a very great extent. The study results on infrastructural development are in line with Rollins & Wilson<sup>126</sup> that Cyber-terrorism has increased following the increased use of computer network tools to shut down critical national infrastructures (such as energy, transportation, government operations) or to coerce or intimidate a government or civilian population.

Further, according to the Table 4.1, inadequacy of resources to fight terrorism was identified as a key issue affecting the implementation of foreign policy in Kenya to a great extent as supported by the mean of 3.9678. These results are in line with Khadiagala and Lyons<sup>127</sup> who argue that State actors operate between institutions that continually constrain them while managing the

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<sup>122</sup> Aronson, S. L. (2013). Kenya and the Global War on Terror: Neglecting History and Geopolitics in Approaches to Counterterrorism. *African Journal of Criminology and Justice Studies*, 7(1 & 2).

<sup>123</sup> Kambere, G. B. (2011) 'Countering Al-Shabaab: A Case to Minimize Transnational Terrorist', (p.8). A thesis presented to Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California.

<sup>124</sup> Aronson, S. L. (2013). Kenya and the Global War on Terror: Neglecting History and Geopolitics in Approaches to Counterterrorism. *African Journal of Criminology and Justice Studies*, 7(1 & 2).

<sup>125</sup> Adan, H.H. (2005) Combating Transnational Terrorism in Kenya, (p.18). Masters thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

<sup>126</sup> Rollins, J., & Wilson, C. (2006). Terrorist capabilities for cyberattack: Overview and Policy issues.

<sup>127</sup> Khadiagala, G .M. & Lyons, T. (2001). *African Foreign Policies*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Colorado.

tension between domestic and international society. Another factor identified to have great effect on foreign policy implementation in Kenya was religious radicalization with a mean of 3.9875. Religious extremist ideologists, external support, and deplorable socioeconomic conditions among some Muslim and non-Muslim populations<sup>128</sup>. Cultural diversity was also identified to have moderate effects on the implementation of foreign policy in Kenya as supported by a mean of 3.5938. The cultural pillar aims to use culture as a vital role in international relations especially through the use of Kiswahili language as the pedestal of our engagement with foreign cultures and the renowned Kenyan personalities including athletes in order to exert greater influence on domestic, regional and international exchanges<sup>129</sup>.

#### **4.3 Effects of external security environments on foreign policy implementation in Kenya**

The respondents were further requested to identify external security aspects and how they affected the implementation of foreign policy in Kenya. The findings were as indicated in the Table 4.2 below:

**Table 4.2: Effects of external security environments on foreign policy implementation in Kenya**

	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>
Insecurity in neighbouring countries	4.5872	1.1852
Globalization	3.9627	0.9715
Religious radicalization	4.2418	1.3182
Political instability in neighbouring countries	4.4184	1.6247
Piracy	4.1027	1.0725
The relationship between Kenya and other Nations	3.9197	1.4291

The study sought to find out the major threats due to external security aspects and how they affected the implementation of foreign policy in Kenya. According to Table 4.2, Insecurity in neighbouring countries affected foreign policy implementation in Kenya to a very great extent as shown by the mean score of 4.5872. The country therefore is obliged to adopt foreign policies that will enhance cross border peace since peace of neighbouring countries affect domestic

<sup>128</sup>UK | Muslim community targets racial tension". BBC News. September 19, 2001.

<sup>129</sup>Clarke, M & White, B. E. (2005). Understanding Foreign Policy, 2000, p 15.

wellbeing. These study results concur with statements that nations must be prepared to meet external threats to their independence from across the borders and as such nations have to be ever prepared to meet any threat to their national security while at the same time implementing foreign policies.<sup>130</sup>

Globalisation affected foreign policy implementation to a great extent as shown by mean score of 3.9627. Globalization has led to emergence of lobby groups and non state organisations that operate globally in most countries advocating for the implementation of foreign policies that are in line with their beliefs and norms. These research findings are in agreement with Arts, Noortmann and Reinalda that globalization has led to organizations that have powerful economic, political and social power hence being able to influence at a national and sometimes international level the implementation of foreign policy. These non-state actors play an essential role in establishing transnational relations by providing their own initiatives by providing links to various state actors and participate in public debate and foreign policy formulation and implementation processes thereby contributing to the performance of both the state.<sup>131</sup>

The respondents were quick to note that religious radicalization as perpetuated by religious leaders and their followers had a high impact on the implementation of foreign policy with a mean score of 4.2418. Radicalisation has been a major thorn in the flesh in the country as witnessed in the coastal regions. It has led to rogue youths who perform acts of terror on the justification of religion by enforcing their unfounded opinions using violence to those who disagree with them. These findings concur with the statements that opinions of general public can impact the foreign policy implementation process both positively and negatively due to actions instituted by such masses.<sup>132</sup>

It was also established that political instability in neighbouring countries affected foreign policy implementation as indicated by a mean score of 4.4184. Political temperatures in neighbouring countries threaten to downplay the country's foreign policies both directly and indirectly due to

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<sup>130</sup>Ibid p 104

<sup>131</sup>Arts, B., Noortmann, M. &Reinalda, B. (Eds.). (2001). *Non-state actors in international relations*. Ashgate Publishing.

<sup>132</sup>Ibid p 104

border security threats. As such the prevailing instability in neighbouring countries is an issue of important consideration in the adoption of foreign policies.

On the question whether piracy affected foreign policy implementation in Kenya, the respondents replied that it did so to a great extent as shown by a mean of 4.1027.

The study also established that the relationship that is in existence between Kenya and other nations affected foreign policy implementation to a great extent as responses from the respondents suggested with a mean of 3.9197.

#### **4.4 Effects of Domestic security environments on foreign policy implementation in Kenya**

The respondents were further requested to identify the domestic security aspects and how they affected the implementation of foreign policy in Kenya. The findings were as indicated in the Table 4.2 below:

**Table 4. 3: Effects of Domestic security environments on foreign policy implementation in Kenya**

	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>
Political Dynamics	4.2519	1.2913
Globalization	4.3192	1.1826
Religious radicalization	4.5172	1.0272
Natural calamities	3.2917	0.8269
Inter-community conflicts	2.5493	1.338
Competition for resources	3.9176	1.3921

The research findings in Table 4.3 show the effects of domestic security environments on foreign policy implementation in Kenya. The respondents were required to fill the extent with which according to them foreign policy implementation was affected by domestic security issues.

The prevailing political dynamics in the home ground affected foreign policy implementation as shown by a mean of 4.2519. This implied that matters of foreign policy are politicised and made subject of political debate. In essence, foreign policies are implemented with undue political bias.

The respondents indicated that globalization also affected foreign policy implementation as shown by a mean of 4.3192. This is due to the wider presence and influence of non state agencies and lobby groups on matters that relate to foreign policy. Their presence has been felt by governments due to their wide advocacy for policies that are in line with their paradigms.

Another factor that was seen to affect foreign policy implementation was domestic religious radicalization as indicated by a mean of 4.5172. The current radicalisation of the youth by religious leaders has led to widespread violence and change in the adoption and implementation of foreign policy. This is due to the fact that this has been an internal problem not witnessed before but has proved to be a nationwide threat to peace and stability.

Natural calamities in the country influenced to a great extent the implementation of foreign policy as shown by a mean of 3.2917. These natural calamities place a burden on the economy due to funds needed for emergency response and mitigation. As such, they have an undue effect on foreign policies adopted by the state.

Inter-community conflicts affected foreign policy implementation only to a moderate extent as indicated by a mean score of 2.5493. These findings therefore revealed that inter community wrangles had a miniature effect on policies adopted at the national level with regards to international relations.

The competition for resources internally for instance pasture and water reserves affected foreign policy implementation to a great extent as shown by a mean score of 3.9176. Competition for resources is due to the fact that they are limited in nature but are demanded by all who need them.

#### **4.5 The role of state and non-state actors in shaping Kenya's foreign policy in relation to emerging security issues**

The study sought to identify state and non state actors in shaping Kenya's foreign policy. From the findings, the respondents identified state actors as including: the president, who is the Chief Executive of the Country, as well as the legal arm of the government that is the legislature. The

respondents also identified institutions of government such as parastatals and ministries as state actors.

The state actors influenced the implementation of foreign policy in Kenya through provision of required resources, expertise and advice.

The respondents identified non-state actors as key stakeholders in the implementation of foreign policy. Non-state actors included intergovernmental organizations, nongovernmental organizations, multinational corporations, civil society and the church. These were key stakeholders as they directly influenced the implementation of foreign policies. These stakeholders provided financing, technical support and other aspects necessary for the implementation of foreign policies. For instance, the study established that foreign countries influenced their ties with Kenya through trade agreements, which influenced how they treated one another. Therefore, the country had to cautiously implement its foreign policy in regard to the bilateral trade agreements with other nations.

Respondents agreed that both state and non-state actors played a crucial role in implementing Kenya's foreign policy with most urging both actors to work together but at the same time asking the State to remain sovereign.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents summary of the findings, conclusions based on the findings as well as recommendations on the role of emerging security issues in shaping the implementation of foreign policy goals: a case of Kenya.

#### **5.1 Summary of Findings**

The study established that several emerging issues affected the implementation of foreign policy in Kenya. Among the key emerging issues were Information Technology, widespread unemployment among the citizens, poverty among the population in Kenya, limited capacity of Kenya as a state to exert influence on its foreign policies and Political dynamics. The study in addition established that terrorist groups succeed in carrying out attacks in foreign countries either with active or passive support from the indigenous population who at times join these groups.

The study further established that inadequacy of resources to fight terrorism was identified as a key issue affecting the implementation of foreign policy in Kenya. To implement policies, governments need resources to finance operations. However, due to unlimited needs of the government with limited resources, it may be difficult for the government to fully finance its anti-terrorism activities without external support. In addition, State actors operate between institutions that continually constrain them while managing the tension between domestic and international society.

The study further established that religious extremism and radicalization were key emerging issues in the face of globalization affecting the implementation of foreign policy in Kenya. Religious extremist ideologists, external support, and deplorable socioeconomic conditions between some Muslim and non-Muslim populations also affect the implementation of foreign policy in Kenya.

On the effects of external security environments, the study established that insecurity in neighbouring countries affected foreign policy implementation in Kenya. Globalization affected foreign policy implementation as it led to emergence of lobby groups and non state organizations that operate globally in all countries advocating for the implementation of foreign policies that are in line with their beliefs and norms. Further, it was also established that political instability in neighbouring countries affected foreign policy implementation. Political temperatures in neighbouring countries threaten to downplay the country`s foreign policies both directly and indirectly due to border security threats. Another key external environment factor was piracy, which affected international trade between Kenya and the rest of the world.

On domestic security aspects, the prevailing political dynamics in Kenya affected foreign policy implementation besides the effects of globalization, religious radicalization, natural calamities, inter-community conflicts and competition for resources.

## **5.2 Discussion of the findings**

### **5.2.1 Key emerging security issues shaping foreign policy implementation in Kenya**

The ultimate goal of foreign policy is to manage the relationship between Kenya and the external world. It basically spells out how the country is to relate with other countries and their citizens, businesses and imports. It lays the foundation of transacting with other nations for a harmonious existence. However, due to dynamic operating environment following increased globalization and developments in information technology, implementation of foreign policies is greatly affected.

The implementation of foreign policy in Kenya has been greatly affected by the instability of countries neighboring Kenya. For instance, Somalia has been unstable since 1992 while South Sudan has been unstable since December 2013. The situation has also been worsened by the high level of unemployment among Kenyan youth, which has made them easy target for radicalization and other vices exposing the Country to terrorism and other vices. In order to manage her relationship with the foreign countries, Kenya has to implement her foreign policy cautiously.

Other emerging issues affecting the implementation of foreign policies include: Inadequacy of resources to fight terrorism, Poverty among the population, the country's political dynamics, cultural diversity and radicalisation.

### **5.2.2 Effects of external and domestic security environments on foreign policy implementation in Kenya**

The study found that several external and internal security environments to Kenya influenced the implementation of its foreign policy. Some of these included insecurity in neighbouring countries, globalization, religious radicalization, political dynamics and the relationship between Kenya and other nations. The policies developed by other nations towards relationship with Kenya influenced how Kenya implemented her foreign policy towards them. Special considerations have been offered for some countries while some countries have had strict rules against them.

The study further established that both state and non-state actors greatly influenced the implementation of foreign policy in Kenya. Their influence was in terms of expertise and resources required to implement Kenya's foreign policy. Some stakeholders offered monetary or other assistance towards the implementation of foreign policy while others offered expertise. All these support influenced the implementation of foreign policy.

## **5.3 Conclusion**

### **5.3.1 Key emerging security issues shaping foreign policy implementation in Kenya**

The study concludes that information technology, widespread unemployment among the citizens, poverty among the population in Kenya, Limited capacity of Kenya as a state to exert influence on its foreign policies and political dynamics influenced foreign policy implementation in Kenya. These were as a result of globalization, international trade and increased international terrorism, which affected how Kenya related with other countries.

The study further concludes that domestic security aspects like the prevailing political dynamics, religious radicalization, natural calamities, inter-community conflicts and competition for resources affected the implementation of foreign policy in Kenya.

## **5.4 Recommendations**

The study makes the following recommendations:-

### **5.4.1 Recommendation for Further Studies**

The study established that that several emerging issues affected the implementation of foreign policy in Kenya to a great extent. To augment this study, it recommends that another study be conducted to establish effectiveness of Kenya's foreign policy in nurturing and enhancing relationship between Kenya and other nations of the world. This would help enhance the formulation and implementation of foreign policy in future for effective foreign relations.

### **5.4.2 Policy Recommendations**

- 1) The study recommends that Kenya needs to evaluate the emerging issues effectively and develop mechanisms on how to minimize the negative effects of these emerging issues on the implementation of foreign policy. Issues like globalization and development in information technology will always happen and will influence the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. Kenya as a state cannot avoid responding to the emerging issues but only needs to know how to deal with these issues.
- 2) The study further recommends that foreign policy makers in Kenya consider these emerging issues and their effects on implementation. In order to ensure smooth implementation, the study recommends that the policy makers involve all stakeholders including state actors and non-state actors in the drafting. Through this inclusion, there will be limited resistance during implementation and the duties and responsibilities will have been shared out appropriately.
- 3) The study further recommends that the State make available adequate resources both in terms of skills and finances for the implementation of her foreign policy. Many times, foreign policy implementation is affected negatively by lack of adequate financing which leads to implementation lagging behind schedule.

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