



NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY - KENYA

**GREAT POWER COMPETITION IN THE HORN OF
AFRICA AND KENYA'S NATIONAL SECURITY
INTERESTS**

**GEORGE NJUGUNA KABUTI
NDC REG NO – ND601/0070/2023**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment for the award of
Masters of Arts in National Security and Strategy**

DISCLAIMER

The information contained in this thesis is the result of my Research. The views and/or observations on this issue involved is my own. They do not in any way reflect the official position of the Ministry of Defence or that of National Defence University - Kenya.

DECLARATION

This thesis is my own original work and to the best of my knowledge it has not been examination to any other university for any other award.

Signature:  Date: 20th May 2024

GEORGE NJUGUNA KABUTI

Supervisors' Approval

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as university super

Signature:  Date: 20th May 2024

DR PETERLINUS OUMA ODETE

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as university super

Signature:  Date: 25th / 5 / 2024

DR KIZITO SABALA

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research thesis to my wife Lucy and children Ryan, Allan and Elysia for their selfless love and support during the period of my National Defence College (NDC) studies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to acknowledge my employer, the National Defence University – Kenya (NDU-K) and the National Defence College (NDC) for giving me this opportunity to undertake this master’s course. I sincerely give my gratitude to my able supervisors Dr. Peter-linus Odete and Dr. Kizito Sabala for their guidance on the thesis. My recognition further extends to my fellow course mates, the entire academic and support staff that worked under the Programme.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

.....	1
DECLARATION	Error! Bookmark not defined.
DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iii
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
LIST OF TABLES	vii
ABBREVIATIONS	viii
OPERATIONALIZATION OF TERMS	x
ABSTRACT	xi
CHAPTER ONE	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Research Problem	5
1.3 Research Objectives	6
1.4 Research Questions	6
1.5 Justification of the Study	7
1.5.1 Academic	7
1.5.2 Policy	7
1.6 Significance of the Study	7
1.7 Assumption	9
1.8 Scope and Limitations of the Study	9
1.9 Summary	10
CHAPTER TWO	11
2.0 Introduction	11
2.1 Literature Review	11
2.1.1 Theoretical Literature Review	11
2.1.2 Empirical Literature Review	14
2.2 Theoretical Framework	26
2.3 Conceptual Framework	27
2.4 Summary	28
CHAPTER THREE	29
3.0 Introduction	29

3.1 Research Design	29
3.2 Area of Study.....	29
3.3 Target Population	31
3.4 Sampling Techniques.....	31
3.5 Sample Size Determination	31
3.6 Instruments and Tools: Validity and Reliability.....	32
3.7 Data Collection Procedures.....	32
3.8 Data Processing and Analysis	33
3.9 Ethical Considerations.....	34
CHAPTER FOUR.....	35
4.0 Introduction.....	35
4.1 The Nature of Great Powers' Competition in The HoA Region	36
4.1.1 Results	36
4.1.2 Discussion.....	36
4.2 Impact of Great Power Competition on Kenya's National Security Interests	41
4.2.1 Results	41
4.2.2 Discussion.....	42
4.3 Kenya's Strategies to Address the Impact of Great Power Competition.....	47
4.3.1 Results	47
4.3.2 Discussion.....	48
4.4 Conclusion.....	50
CHAPTER FIVE.....	52
5.0 Introduction.....	52
5.1 Summary of Key Findings.....	52
5.2 Conclusion.....	55
5.3 Recommendations	56
REFERENCES.....	58
APPENDICES	63
Key Informant Interviews Guide.....	63
NACOSTI Permit.....	64
Plagiarism Report	65

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework.....	27
Figure 2: Horn of Africa Region Map.....	30

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Distribution of Respondents.....	33
--	----

ABBREVIATIONS

AfCFTA	Africa Continental Free Trade Area
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
ASAL	Arid or Semi-Arid
ATMIS	African Union Transition Mission in Somalia
AU	African Union
CBK	Central Bank of Kenya
CoK	Constitution of Kenya
CPF	Common Programme Framework
EAC	East Africa Community
EDE	Ending Drought Emergencies
EU	European Union
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
GWOT	Global War on Terror
HoA	Horn of Africa
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IGOs	Inter-Governmental Organizations
KDF	Kenya Defence Forces
LAPSSET	Lamu Port-South Sudan-Ethiopia-Transport corridor project
LSK	Law Society of Kenya
MDAs	Ministries, Departments and Agencies
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MRC	Mombasa Republican Council
NFD	Northern Frontier District
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
PRC	People's Redemption Council

SGR	Standard Gauge Railway
SLDF	Sabaot Lands Defence Forces
TPLF	Tigrayan People’s Liberation Front
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
WB	World Bank

OPERATIONALIZATION OF TERMS

- 1. Great Powers:** While disparate powers and interests are involved in the Horn of Africa region, for purposes of limiting the scope and scale of focus, the study restricted to the analysis and extent of involvement of China, United States of America (USA) and Russia.
- 2. Great Powers Competition:** Rivalry in the international realm between powerful states by attempts to gain advantage relative to others believed to pose a threat through self-interested pursuit of contested goods such as influence, status, wealth, and security.
- 3. Gulf States:** Refers to states in the gulf region to include Qatar, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia and Turkey.
- 4. National Security Interests:** Refers to the concerns and priorities that a nation deems key in the protection of its sovereignty, territorial integrity, citizens, and way of life from external threats. They include safeguarding against military aggression, terrorism, cyber-attacks, espionage, promoting diplomatic relations, guaranteeing economic stability, and more. Each country defines its national security interests based on its unique geopolitical situation, history, and perceived challenges.

ABSTRACT

This study assessed the impact of great powers competition in the Horn of Africa (HoA) region on Kenya's national security interests in the period between 2010 to 2022. During this period, the HoA witnessed intense moments for, among other things, competition for its mineral resources, strategic seaports for commercial purposes, and hydrocarbons. More broadly, burgeoning literature categorizes the extreme global power competition in the region as a 'second scramble for Africa.' China, the United States of America (USA), and periodically Russia have been pointed as the key global powers jostling for influence in the HoA region. The study thus adopted realism as the theoretical lens to explain how the aforesaid great power competition impacted on Kenya's national security interest. The study adopted qualitative research design with primary data collected by Key Informants Interview (KII) and Focus Discussion Groups (FGD) methods. Secondary data was further used to respond to the study's research question. Both qualitative and quantitative methods were utilized to analyze the data. The study made the assumption that the advancement of the great powers in the HoA region impacted negatively on Kenya's national security interests. Upon this, the study not only attempted to address the existing gap in the literature but also sought to proffer approaches and strategies that Kenya could use to promote her national security interests in the HoA region and beyond. The research determined that relationship existed between great power competition in the HoA region and Kenya's national security interests. Further, the results indicated that the relationship was both positive and negative departing from the assumption made during the research that only negative impact existed. Moreover, the study showed that there were multiple dimensions to comprehending Kenya's national security interests within the context of great power rivalry in the region. Specifically, the realities of great power competition in the region dictated some of Kenya's strategies for advancing her national security interests. Accordingly, the study concluded that the geopolitical rivalry in the region significantly impacted on Kenya's national security interests, and in the process necessitating the need for Kenya to continually develop strategies to mitigate against the aforesaid in addition to maximizing on the resultant opportunities. The study recommended that Kenya needed to continually redesign her strategies to address the impact of great power rivalry on her national security interests in view of the evolving interests and dynamics that shaped great power competition. The research further recommended that more studies be done on the effectiveness of the various strategies that Kenya deployed to deal with the impact of great power competition on her national security interest.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This study assessed how the great powers competition in the Horn of Africa (HoA) impacted Kenya's national security interests from 2010 to 2022. From 2010 onwards, the HoA has witnessed a surge in economic, political, protracted conflicts and strategic engagement like never before from both great powers, as well as Gulf powers (Vertin, 2019). This competition is viewed as the rivalry and struggle between major global powers for influence, resources, and control in the international system. While disparate powers and interests are involved in the HoA, for purposes of limiting the scope and scale of focus, the study restricted to the analysis and extent of involvement of China, United States of America (USA), and Russia in the region. Further, the HoA is broadly defined to include Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia, South Sudan, Kenya, Sudan, Uganda, and Djibouti. Moreover, while there are many states in the region, the study focuses on Kenya's national security interests.

This chapter includes a background of the study, statement of the problem and research objectives and questions. It also provides justification for the research, significance, assumptions made, scope and limitations and finally offers a summary of the chapter.

1.1 Background of the Study

For centuries, states have intensively competed with a view to advancing their national strategic and security interests abroad. The pursuit of material and non-material factors are the key drivers of this competition. On one hand, material factors include, inter alia, strategic military and naval bases, seaports, commercial ventures, and hydrocarbons. Non-material factors entail ideology, national identity, status, and prestige, amongst others. Comparably, scholars such as Mearsheimer (2001), view superior military and economic capability as central to states' survival and identification as a power in geopolitics. In part, Schmidt (2022) argues that advanced technology is also a critical determinant for incisive victory in power competition. Scharre (2023) places more emphasis on advanced

technology arguing that Germany and the United Kingdom (UK) translated it into military and economic powers in Europe during 1800s.

In analyzing the rise and fall of great powers from the period 1500 to 2000, Kennedy (1988) also elucidates how competition amongst powers is a central feature in the international system. While competition contributes to the ascendancy of new powers and national economic development, the scholar also concludes that competition may lead to the annihilation of others. Just as Kennedy, Kagan (2003) asserts that major power competition for material and non-material factors led to the rise and decline of states. The views from both serve as a pointer that competing powers pose existential threats to states' survival in anarchical international systems. Hence the need for the state to weigh risks and benefits in their foreign policy choices.

Moreover, the aforementioned circumstances give rise to states striving to extend their sphere of influence and assert dominion over valuable resources, hence engendering disputes, and rivalries among states. This is in addition to causing an enduring conflict at the regional level. For instance, in The Peloponnesian War, Thucydides cited in Doyle (1999) asserts that the underlying cause of the Athens-Sparta war was power competition between the two rivals' Greek city-states. Indeed, Sparta's zero-sum power competition with Athens led the former to build her military capability as a strategic balancer to its rival (Allison, 2015). In comparison, Athens was militarily and economically very powerful than other ancient Greek city-states; ultimately causing security dilemmas amongst Greek city-states. This resulted in enduring war and the consequent ruin of Athens and Sparta (Kagan, 2003). Here, a likely explanation shows competing powers may to a larger extent pose risks to the very survival of sovereignties. Moreover, another possible explanation from this classic work is a demonstration of how powers advance and protect their national security interests by balancing each other.

During the Cold War period, the United States of America (USA) and the then Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (hereinafter the Soviet Union) power rivalry took the shape of ideological contestation. In terms of geostrategic calculus, the Soviet Union's defeat was a humiliation within the Indo-Pacific Asia region. What can also be argued is that the Afghanistan war afforded the US a strategic opportunity to engage the Soviet

Union in a protracted war that proved costly in terms of resources and the death of many soldiers. In turn, the Indo-Pacific region, specifically the Middle East has been locked into terrorist attacks that continue to affect the economic development of the region. Mamdani (2002) argues that the USA did not only assist in spreading terrorism in Central Asia but also created Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)-supported Islamization that has continued to pose an existential threat to the security interests of various states in the region. The political Islam the US midwived partly through Kennan's containment policy was a key foreign policy instrument towards balancing the Soviet Union in the Indo-Pacific region. Nonetheless, advancing and protecting Afghanistan's and a few other states in the region's national interests have been a challenge since the Cold War to the present time..

In the contemporary situation, power competition between the USA and China is now noticeable in various regions of the world. The two powers are for example engaged in a geo-strategic confrontation in the Indo-Pacific region (Altman, 2021). For instance, it is argued that the USA decision to sell powerful nuclear-powered submarines to Australia has converted the Indo-Pacific region to a power competition theatre. In essence, this power competition has greatly increased with the USA countering the rise of China in the South and East China Seas and in other regions where both powers have strategic interests (Ero, 2023). As such, the study sees power competition between USA and strategic allies on one side, China and other allies on the other side as inevitable in the 21st century. Apart from the geopolitics spurring few national economies, the competition also undermines the national security of various states, as well as destabilizing various regional powers that compete for materials and non-material factors.

Further, the USA and a resurgent Russia are also aggressively competing for economic and security interests in the Central Asian region (Altman, 2021). The two powers are confronting each other after Russia seized and annexed territories in Ukraine in, a USA strategic ally in Eastern Europe. Again, the USA has engaged in an indirect confrontation with Russia in Syria and Ukraine over geopolitical reasons. It is also provided that the USA, China, and Russia, among other states, are, inter alia, modernizing their nuclear technologies in readiness of engaging in strategic geopolitical competition.

National security interest on its part is a key contested concept in the international relations discourse that has attracted a lot of attention from both scholarly and practical standpoints ever since it was brought to the fore by Hans Morgenthau in 1949. For instance, Nye defines it as a set of priorities that defines how states or nation-states relate with each other (Nye, 1999). While Morgenthau, Nye, among others have focused on the analytical power of the concept, another group of scholars such as Steve Smith argues that the concept is popular on grounds that it can be used to stand for whatever the user aspires (Smith, 1986). The concept has often been delineated through the lens of territorial expansion, economic advancement, and the quest for power and security.

It is then the intention, of this study to further expand the great power and national security interest discourse highlighting how global competing powers impacted the Horn of Africa (HoA) region. It is hence contended that competing powers in various regions pose an existential threat to the national security, economy, and territorial integrity of various states. In general, this is congruent with the study's supposition that competing powers impact state's national security interests. For too long, USA, China, Japan, Russia, and Western European states have competed in Africa for; minerals, hydrocarbons, seaports for shipping and logistics, building infrastructures, and military and naval bases (Vertin, 2019). It is against this backdrop, which think tanks such as *The Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies (2019)* loosely refer to the deepened and intensified competition for the resource as a "twenty-first-century scramble for Africa".

Regarding the competition, Hicks, et al., (2021) posit "Like it or not, a twenty-first century "scramble for Africa" is underway. Russia and China are ramping up economic and military activity on the continent at the same time the United States is scaling back. Both countries see opportunities to build economic relationships, secure access to natural resources and rapidly growing markets, forge political alliances, and promote their own illiberal models of government." This assertion shows that extra-continental powers are adopting either soft or hard power approaches when competing for resources and other geostrategic interests in Africa.

The involvement of France, UK, and USA in bombing of Libya in 2011 perhaps epitomized how the great power competition can significantly undermine the national

security, territorial integrity, and national sovereignty of post-colonial African states (Chollet et al., 2015). This bombardment and the subsequent involvement of Russia's Wagner mercenaries in the support of one of the warring factions led by General Khalifa Haftar presented a geostrategic contest that Megerisi, (2020) argues was the cause of the current national security challenge in Libya. It is against the above backdrop that the study argues that the global competition and utilization of either soft or hard power undermines the national security interests of various African states because of the power asymmetry that characterizes the anarchical international system.

In the HoA region, competition for military and naval bases, economic opportunities, minerals, and hydrocarbon have intensified as exemplified by Russia's agreement with Sudan to put up a military facility in Port Sudan in 2020 (Hicks et al., 2021). Besides power politics, the naval base is aimed at protecting Russia's commercial and security interests along the waters of the Red Sea. China on its part had established its own base within the region in Djibouti in 2017. It is suggested that this base plays a critical role in, *inter alia*, resupplying her naval ships along the coasts of Yemen and Somalia (Reuters, 2017). Overall, Hicks et al., (2021) argue that increased Russia and China activities in Africa make the region an epicenter for power competition and proxy wars-thereby almost repeating the Cold War period where Africa was engulfed in such wars.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The HoA region has witnessed geopolitical rivalry pitting various regional and global powers. The rivalry as noted by various scholars has contributed to the instability of the HoA region as well as undermining the national security interests of various states in the region. For example, Ero & Atwood (2023) argue that global powers from the West have played a part in the protracted Sudan conflict. In particular, the USA has been in Sudan on the grounds that they are promoting democratic transition since the outbreak of the 2010-2011 Arab Spring (Anderson, 2023). Herein, the USA considers Sudan part of the larger Arab states that were impacted by the Arab Spring. The lesson that the study draws here is that the USA is promoting its strategic interests through the pretext of promoting democratic and peace initiatives in Sudan whilst the real effect is the undermining the country's national security interests and triggering an influx of refugees in neighbouring

Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Egypt. It is for this reason, Hicks et al., (2021) are of the view that Russia, China, and USA divergent competing interest in the HoA are making the continent a theatre for proxy wars.

From the foregoing it was evident that there is a burgeoning array of literature focusing on the implication of the competing great powers on various states within the HoA region. Nonetheless, studies assessing how the global competing powers impacted on Kenya's national security interests in the period 2010 to 2022 are few compared to the other states in the region. Additionally, the strategies to address the resultant impact of the competition on her national security interests were limited. It is against the above backdrop that this study sought to fill the gap in the literature by exploring the implication of great power competition in the HoA region on Kenya's national security interests from the period 2010 to 2022. Moreover, the study also aimed to proffer strategies and measures that Kenya can adopt to address the influence of great power competition in the HoA region to her national security interests.

1.3 Research Objectives

1.3.1 General Research Objective

To assess the implications of great power competition in the Horn of Africa on Kenya's national security interests from 2010 to 2022.

1.3.2 Specific Research Objectives

- i. To examine the nature of great powers' competition in the Horn of Africa during the study period.
- ii. To assess the impact of great powers' competition in the Horn of Africa to the national security interest of Kenya.
- iii. To analyse Kenya's strategies to address the influence of great power' competition in the Horn of Africa to her national security interest.

1.4 Research Questions

1.4.1 Specific Research Questions

- i. How did great powers' competition play out in the Horn of Africa from 2010 to 2022?

- ii. How did great powers' competition in the Horn of Africa affect Kenya's national security interest during the study period.
- iii. What strategies can Kenya deploy to address the influence of great powers' competition in the Horn of Africa on her national security interest.

1.5 Justification of the Study

1.5.1 Academic

The justification for undertaking the study was two-fold: first, the study aimed at addressing the existing gap in the literature. As noted in section 1.2, studies assessing how the competing global powers in the HoA region impacted Kenya's national security interests in the study timeframe are limited in comparison with the other states in the region. The work of, *inter alia*, Callamard & Roth (2022), Chaziza (2018) and Gavin (2023) provides how the implications of power politics have affected a number of states in the region. To this end, the national security interests of states in this region have been undermined. Nonetheless, the implication of great power competition in the HoA region on Kenya's national security interests is not often mentioned. Rather, the burgeoning literature focuses on Sudan, Somalia, Eritrea, Ethiopia, South Sudan, and Djibouti.

1.5.2 Policy

Secondly, think tanks such as the Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies, the International Crisis Group and Sahan Institute mainly provide numerous advisory opinions on how states in the region should protect their national security interests from competing powers. A brief look at most of these opinions does not provide an end, means and ways of protecting Kenya's national security interests from the competing great powers in the HoA. For this reason, this study attempted to inform policies and strategies that will bolster effectiveness in protecting Kenya's national security interests in the HoA region and beyond. Overall, the rationale of the study is fundamentally critical at academic and policy levels.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study purposed to inform the Kenya's policy frameworks and strategies towards the HoA region. This was based on the reasoning that there was disproportionately

lower research touching on Kenya's national security interests in the region. Additionally, there has been limited policy conversation in the media, conferences, and other public spaces on some of the key issues underpinning Kenya's national security interests within the HoA region and beyond. With respect to this, the study's aimed to further promote the emerging conversation on the state's national security interests so that the citizenry could be informed through empirically researched works.

As has been demonstrated in myriads of studies, insecurity in one state impacts the national security of neighbouring states in a region. For example, insecurity in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan has spread over too many other states in the Middle East (Nagi, 2021; Orkaby, 2021). Similarly, insecurity in Yemen continues to undermine national security in Saudi Arabia. This largely demonstrates the internationalization of the conflict in a region. Because of this, the study assesses how the competing powers in the HoA region impacted the state's national security interests from 2010 to 2022.

On the other hand, the study viewed the period from 2010 to 2022 as a decade where Russia and China were more assertively engaged in the HoA region than many other locations in Africa. As asserted in section 1.1., the HoA region is strategically located along the Red Sea coastline. Moreover, as indicated de Waal (2019), Munene (2023) and the HORN International Institute for Strategic Studies (2019) the region is significant for global maritime trade and security. With respect to this, the USA and Western European states have been dominant actors in the region with China and Russia prominently engaged in economic, commercial, security and military activities in the HoA region and other places along the Red Sea coastline during this period. Taken together, these military engagements along the Red Sea coastline took place between 2010 to 2022.

On its part, the USA's military presence in Djibouti at Camp Lemonnier and surveillance and drone operations in Somalia are all aimed at ensuring that it has an edge over other global powers in the region. China has been commercially active in the entire HoA region with its presence felt mainly through the Belt and Road Initiative - BRI (Lokanathan, 2020). Therefore, then, the study viewed military facilities, drone operations and commercial activities as significant aspects of power competition in the HoA region.

The selected study timeframe, hence, allowed assessment of the implication of the global competing powers in the HoA region on Kenya's national security interests.

1.7 Assumption

This study made the general assumption that states failing to consider the implications of competing powers in their regions commit strategic miscalculation risks their survival. It further made the assumption that great power competition in the HoA region impacted Kenya's national security interests negatively from 2010 to 2022.

1.8 Scope and Limitations of the Study

In assessing how the competing global powers in the HoA region impacted Kenya's national security interests, this study focused on the period 2010 to 2022 notwithstanding that the great power competition has been going on in the region for a significantly longer period of time. Further and as asserted in sections 1.1., and 1.5., Kenya was selected because of the minimal research focusing on the state. Most studies focus on neighbouring states that have experienced protracted conflict directly, while forgetting ripple effect on Kenya as a key player in this region. Towards this end, the study asserted that the competing global powers must have implicitly or explicitly impacted Kenya as an actor in the HoA Region.

Moreover, to limit the scope and focus of the study, the research concentrated on the influence of four states in the region, namely USA, China, and Russia. This was not withstanding the fact that many more states particularly those from the European Union (EU) and gulf region like Turkey, Qatar and United Arab Emirates (UAE) were also present in the HoA region.

The study also encountered a limitation in data collection due to inability to attain the planned number of key informants' interviews and focus group discussions, which stood at 86.6% and 50% response rate, respectively. For the key informant interviews, the outcome of the research was not adversely affected as saturation was attained well within recommended sample saturation levels which, according to Hennink & Kaiser (2022), is a sample size of between 9 to 17. The focus discussion group did not attain the recommended

4 to 8 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). This means then that the two (2) focus groups were then used to augment data collected from the key informant interviews and not necessarily for independent analysis.

1.9 Summary

As discussed above, this chapter introduced the study by giving a background of great power competition and particularly in the HoA region. Further, the chapter stated the research problem together with the research objectives and questions that were adopted to address it. Moreover, the assumptions made in carrying out the research, policy and academic justifications were reviewed. The chapter further indicated the scope of the research and the limitations that were encountered whilst undertaking the study. Proceeding on the second chapter carries out a comprehensive and critical analysis of the existing body of scholarly work on the study topic.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a theoretical and empirical literature review, with the latter encompassing an overview of the geopolitical power play in the HoA region, the impact of this great powers' competition on national security interests in the region, a review of Kenya's national security interests and an analysis of strategies to address effect of great powers competition on national security interests. The chapter further provides the theoretical framework underpinning the study, a conceptual framework and a summary.

2.1 Literature Review

2.1.1 Theoretical Literature Review

The theoretical literature around the concept of power politics and national security interest encompasses a diverse range of perspectives through which researchers analyse and interpret the behaviour of nation-states (Mehmood, 2022). Multiple theoretical viewpoints contribute to the comprehension of international relation scholarship including the realist theory which asserts that the national security interest is largely motivated by the quest of power and security (Bidova, 2021), liberalism, constructivism and critical theories among others.

The philosophical grounding underpinning realism is mainly attributed to the writings of scholars, inter alia, Sun Tzu, Thucydides, Nicollo Machiavelli, Thomas Hobbes, Reinhold Niebuhr, Hans Morgenthau, Edward Carr, Kenneth Waltz, Henry Kissinger, and John J. Mearsheimer. Additionally, historian George Kennan's work on containment of the then Soviet Union places him as part of the realist legion. Realism upholds that the state is the main actor in the international system. Within the study context, the state is considered the soul and the heart of the international system. Pointing out what decision-makers should do to ensure the survival of the state in the international system, Morgenthau (1948) argues the need to conduct the affairs of the state in a prudent manner.

Central to the importance of the state in political theory and power politics, Held (1984) avers:

There is nothing more central to political and social theory than the nature of the state, and nothing more contested. It is the objective of this essay to set out some of the key elements of the conflict of interpretation. In modern Western political thought, the idea of the state is often linked to the notion of an impersonal and privileged legal or constitutional order with the capability of administering and controlling a given territory.

Like other regions across the world, the HoA region operates in an anarchical system where self-help and not cooperation is the order of the day. Here, the study assumes that intervention in the region by the USA, Russia, EU States and China have reduced it to an almost Hobbesian nature as described by Thomas Hobbes in his book Leviathan. Furthermore, as already explained, the anarchical region is characterized by competition for the region's strategic rich mineral resources, hydrocarbon, and seaports. This situation has exposed the region's states to all sorts of vulnerabilities and, as Mearsheimer has argued, "the fortunes of all states—great powers and small powers alike—are determined primarily by the decisions and actions of those with the greatest capability." (Mearsheimer, 2005). He further talks about great powers being the determinants of what happens in international politics.

In examining the importance of this realism theory when analyzing power competition vis-à-vis state's national security interests, Booth (2005) also observes:

Realist-derived ideas about security have been elaborated over the centuries in a classical tradition of theorizing about the struggle for power between political units. John Mearsheimer today, Hans J. Morgenthau a generation ago, Clausewitz 200 years ago, and Thucydides twenty-five centuries ago have all projected a similar image of power politics, though inevitably coloured by their own historical contexts.

Booth's perspective aid in understanding world politics vis-à-vis power competition. Seen this way, power politics is therefore the underlying concept across the world. This view is advanced further by Morgenthau (1948) where he asserts that states always involve themselves in an endless struggle for power. According to him, power guarantees enduring safety for states. It should be clear therefore power politics matters as

argued by realists such as Carr (1962). Hence then, states that fail to realize this court disaster at the international level as power is a fundamental instrument for their survival.

In contrast, Liberal theories place significant emphasis on the significance of individual rights, democratic principles, and international cooperation as influential factors in defining the concept of power competition and national security interest. Liberals argue that states possess the capacity to advance their interests by means of engaging in international organizations, using diplomatic strategies, and fostering economic interdependence (Crittenden & Strike, 1991) rather than through zero – sum game competition. This in essence means that states may get advantages by engaging in cooperative endeavours and pursuing mutually beneficial outcomes, as opposed to engaging in the rivalry propounded by realists.

Moreover, the constructivist theories place emphasis on the influence of social and cultural variables in shaping national security interests (Hassan, 2015). According to the constructivist perspective, the concepts of power politics and national security interests are neither static nor preset, but rather emerge through a collaborative construction of ideas, norms, and identities. According to their argument, the interests of nations are influenced by the social interactions and common understandings among participants within the international system (Pleace, 2023). Furthermore, constructivists have criticized realist paradigm for over-focusing or over-emphasizing that systemic anarchy is the cause of state behaviour. Rather they claim that the construction of the international system as characterized by anarchy is a social construction. Alexander Wendt specifically goes further to illustrate that both state interests and action are a product of subjective (actor) construction of interests and identities by states (Wendt, 1992).

In addition, Marxist views see the concept of power politics through the lens of class conflict and economic interactions (Sau, 2020). Marxist theorists claim that the economic interests of the ruling class fundamentally motivate the pursuit of strategic interests, as they endeavour to safeguard and augment their own economic dominance (Goldstein, 2012). The authors place significant emphasis on the influence of imperialism and capitalism in molding the nature of competition and formation of national security

interests. It is important to acknowledge that these viewpoints are not mutually exclusive and often intersect in their examination of the concepts of power competition. Academics and policymakers often use several theoretical frameworks to comprehensively comprehend and effectively manage the intricate dynamics of international relations, power competition and national security interests.

2.1.2 Empirical Literature Review

2.1.2.1 HoA Region and Geopolitical Power Play

The HoA region has been defined variedly by different scholars. For instance, Ylönen (2022) has argued that it denotes the Somali Peninsula, covering the coastal lowlands of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, and the interior arid extensions rising to the temperate Ethiopian highlands. Similarly, it can be defined from the perspective of the member-states that it consists of. Arising from this view, the HoA region can be defined as consisting of the states of Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Uganda, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, and Kenya. The region's strategic political economy influences over access to other African regions and its role in the global power dynamics continue to make it a significant geo-determinant.

For centuries, the region has witnessed geopolitical scrambles from external powers. Specifically, the region was one of the first to experience imposition of colonialism following the scramble and partition for Africa by the European powers. Indeed, the wounds left by colonialism are yet to be healed several decades later. Consequently, it can be deduced that part of the region's challenges is attributable to the legacy of colonialism, which Ylönen argues contributed to the nature, governance structures, and politics of the postcolonial state (Ylönen, 2022). Additionally, during the Cold War period, the HoA region was one of the theatres within the African Continent where the superpowers staged proxy wars to the detriment of the region's development (Bereketeab, 2013). These points of view are essential to the research because they help clarify the degree to which great power competition and rivalry is still shaping the nation-states in the region.

The protracted post-colonial socio-economic, security, and political conditions or weaknesses predisposed the HoA region countries to continuous external interference or

intervention (Ylönen, 2022). As such, for most of the Cold War period, the region was a key theatre for superpower rivalry pitting the USA and its Allies on one hand and the Soviet Union and its Allies on the other hand. Specifically, for the HoA region, the USA and Soviet Union sought to control the strategic sea routes and the water bodies such as the Red Sea, Gulf of Aden and the maritime routes that link Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. To achieve this, the two superpowers sought local allies, with Ethiopia as the main target, in a bid to fashion or establish their sphere of influence in the region.

This trend has continued today, with the region been at the center of increased or ‘new scramble’ from both great and emerging powers as premised by *The Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies (2019)*. Specifically, the USA has a prominent presence in the region, as do other key powers such as China, Russia, EU states, Saudi Arabia, Israel, Egypt, UAE, Turkey, and Iran. The geopolitical jostling between and among these powers has come with great challenges to the region. Accordingly, this study sought to assess the nature of the involvement of great powers in the HoA region and what it means specifically on the key elements that dictate the geo determinism and state power relations.

Geographical positioning is considered key to understanding international relations and the resultant competition with one of the earliest theorists to relate the two concepts being Nicholas Spykman in 1938. Spykman writing after First World War focused on how geography can constrain or give opportunity for action by the foreign policy makers and implementers. Spykman’s ideas have been advanced in recent decades, with international relations scholarship giving more systematic attention to the influence of geography. In support, Hans Morgenthau in his works, *Politics Among Nations*, (1948) lists elements of national power to include economic power, diplomatic reach, political stability, military capability, geographical positioning, among other factors. These variables have a dual characteristic: may either expand or constrain the conduct and practice of international relations.

Specifically, the factor of location can constrain or provide opportunity for action for foreign policy makers and implementers. There are either coastal states or littoral states – are those states that border international waters like Djibouti. If a country is littoral or

coastal, it accords the foreign policy makers more opportunities and gives it more geo-strategic significance. This leverage has for instance made Djibouti an especially important actor on issues that affect countries in the region. The HoA region states' power interactions, either within or without, tend to fit into Morgenthau's (1985) classification. This makes the study's geopolitical analysis stronger.

Thus, a combination of both security and geostrategic, as well as the economic value of the region have contributed to the proliferation of several state actors getting involved in the region. These factors have been amplified by other push and pull factors, including state fragility, poor governance, environmental challenges, resource-based conflicts, youth bulge, among other factors. The above factors can be encompassed in the multi-dimensional definition of security; regional, national human and environment (Bereketeab, 2013). All these security paradigms are experienced both at the intra state and regional levels, respectively. Equally, and critical to this study is that the combination of the aforementioned factors has rendered the region vulnerable to external intervention by foreign actors motivated by the urge to maximize pursuit of their respective national security interests.

In the post-Cold War era and beyond, the involvement of the great powers in the HoA region has featured prominently in the spheres of war on terrorism, trade, and investment, among others. The great or global powers in question here include the USA, European Union (EU), China, and Russia. The USA specifically overhauled its engagement with the region following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack. Africa's vulnerability to terror networks became a security priority under the President George Bush administration (Rice, 2001). Africa's susceptibility to terrorism and its fragile state have led to the recognition of its strategic importance in the United States' National Security Strategy, specifically in the context of the War on Terror. The emerging peace and security threats to the New World Order and the position of the superpower is significant development in the understanding of the East Africa's states power relations.

As a result, the USA has centered its involvement with the HoA region on security issues, especially war on terrorism. To this end, the USA has established economic and security collaborations with Ethiopia and Djibouti, among others. For Djibouti in particular, the country has been at the heart of great power rivalry. Owing to its geo-strategic location, Djibouti has attracted great power attention with the USA maintaining its Horn of Africa Combined Joint Task Force at Camp Lemonier since 2000. Other significant powers, including the EU states, China, Japan, Turkey and Saudi are present in the region including Somalia (Wasuge, 2016). Additionally, the USA has actively supported the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), now reconfigured, and replaced with the African Union Transition Mission in Somalia (ATMIS) since April 2022, in peace-building efforts through intelligence sharing, financially and through offering military trainings to ATMIS forces. The research benefits from the empirical framework provided by this reality, which helps in comprehending the interaction of forces that shape the interest and threat to states in the HoA region.

China too is involved in the region and is expanding its economic influence in many spaces within the African Continent. The Chinese involvement in the HoA region has however largely taken an economic perspective. The presence of the Chinese in the telecommunication, construction and commerce spheres has further raised the profile of the region with over 10,000 Chinese firms operating in Africa (Tsuruoka, 2018). In Djibouti for instance, the Chinese have been involved the construction of the main port, the revamping of the old Djibouti-Addis Ababa Railway and highways to facilitate commerce between these two neighbours. This increased involvement has granted China significant leverage over the political and economic decision making in the region. A crucial vacuum that study aimed to fill in order to comprehend the relationship between the HoA region states and China.

In addition, Russia is another key player in the region being involved in the areas of economy and military provision. Particularly, Moscow in 2017 signed a pact with the regime of former Sudanese President Omar El-Bashir to construct a marine base in Port Sudan. Furthermore, Russia has a defence pact with Ethiopia and more recently Eritrea has sought a defence pact with Moscow. Gulf states such as Turkey are also integrally involved

in the HoA region and particularly Somalia, were Mahmood (2020) contends on their crucial role in the Somalia-Somaliland talks. Specifically, Turkey's role is exemplified by development assistance, commercial motive, as well as humanitarian support within the region.

2.1.2.2 Great Power Competition and National Security Interests

Scholars have looked at the impact of great power competition on African countries from the colonial legacy lens with the evaluation of national security interests and African nations being a subject that is characterized by intricacy and diversity. Throughout the course of history, African nations have undergone significant transformations influenced by a multitude of variables, such as the process of colonialism, subsequent decolonization, and the pursuit of national security interests. This perspective is consistent with the research aim of analyzing the influence of power dynamics and national security interests in relation to historical and contemporary developments. During the colonial period, Africa's riches were plundered by European nations who proceeded to partition the continent among themselves, with little respect for pre-existing ethnic, cultural, and political demarcations (Rodney, 2012). The aforementioned historical epoch, spanning from the latter part of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century, had a profound influence on the progress and strategic concerns of African nations. African countries often experienced the exploitation of their resources, coerced labour, and endured brutal governance during colonial control.

Nevertheless, the quest for autonomy and the ensuing movements for decolonization throughout the mid-20th century constituted a pivotal moment for African nations (Murindwa, 2011). Numerous African leaders endeavoured to express their national security interests via the reclamation of sovereignty, the establishment of self-governance, and the facilitation of economic growth. During this era, an ideological movement known as Pan-Africanism formed, which sought to promote the unity and solidarity of African countries (Eze, 2013). Following the attainment of independence, African nations encountered substantial obstacles in the process of delineating and actively pursuing their respective national security interests. The problems included several aspects such as the need to develop robust political institutions, tackle socio-economic inequalities,

foster national identities, and manage the complexities of regional and international power relations (Call for Papers, 2023).

Moreover, the enduring impact of colonialism, characterized by the establishment of arbitrary boundaries and the exacerbation of ethnic tensions, often posed challenges to the advancement of national security interests, thus national security interests. Throughout the course of history, African nations have always pursued a wide range of national security interests, driven by their distinct conditions and goals. The aforesaid interests include political stability, economic progress, regional integration, social development, and the promotion of peace and security (Feldman-Savelsberg, 2022). African leaders have also endeavoured to bolster the standing of their respective governments in the international arena, foster diplomatic ties, and promote the interests of their continent on a global scale. This background is useful to the study as it provides a starting point from which to trace the evolution of external influences on national security interests of the Africa states, Kenya included.

According to Buğra (2020), Africa is a battlefield that has witnessed different episodes of great power rivalry. The author mentions three episodes of this rivalry, namely, colonial rivalry in the second half of the 19th Century, rivalry between the USA and Soviet Union during the Cold War period, and finally the current USA – China rivalry because of Chinese extensive cultural, economic, and political involvement in the African Continent. The study also speaks about the strategies the great powers used during the various epochs to achieve their national security interests. Buğra’s arguments are especially useful in the context of giving an historical understanding of the great power interests in the African continent. However, it does not focus on Kenya and how the consequent impact of the great powers on Kenya’s national security interests.

Reflecting on the great power competition in Africa, Kanet (2006) argues that the US-Soviet Union (now the Russian Federation) had several dimensions and impacted on the African countries’ national security in varied ways. Specifically, the two superpowers supported coups, assisted client administrations to quell rebellion and backed different factions in the ensuing internal violent power struggles (Ibid). This view is affirmed with

the Soviet Union support for Ethiopia (provided various forms of patronages, including military supplies and advisers) over Somalia during the Ogden War of 1977 – 1978. The US sided with Somalia during this war. Thus, other than considerations of economic nature, the superpower rivalry also took the form of ideological influence. The USA was keen to contain the spread of communism, which was propagated by Russia. Similarly, Chinese early involvement in Africa was motivated by the considerations to clip the ideological influence of Soviet Union which was keen to propagate communism in the process undermining Chinese socialism (Westad, 2005). While the above view is rich and detailed in terms of offering a historical look at the superpower rivalry, it does not focus on Kenya, which is the focus of this study.

In addition, Jureńczyk (2021) has analyzed USA's security cooperation with Kenya. He largely approaches his analysis by focusing on the areas and strategies of USA-Kenya cooperation has unfolded over the years, especially in the context of counterterrorism war and economic cooperation. Specifically, the USA is providing training and development assistance to Kenya. However, the author does not link the USA-Kenya cooperation with its impact on Kenya's national security, the latter being the focus of this study.

Additionally, Batts-Millaudon (2020) focuses her analysis on how the USA could leverage on building trust with Kenya as a strategy to optimally enhance USA's trustworthiness to maximize influence or mitigate China's influence in Kenya. The author argues that this is critical as the USA intensifies its cooperation with Kenya on the areas of military engagement, exercises and conduct of joint operations. The uniqueness of Batts-Millaudon's approach entails the application of social network analysis to visualize and analyse networks for information-operations planning and policy implementation. Again, like it is the case of most of the writings focused on great power involvement in Kenya, emphasis is put on how the external power can influence Kenya's domestic affairs with little emphasis on how the aforesaid impacts on Kenya's national security interests.

It is also worth noting that the advancement in technology, such as artificial intelligence (AI) are amplifying the existing national security threats hence complicating the relationship between great power competition and national security (Schmidt, 2022).

He opines further that AI will in a fundamental way shape how states try to gain leverage and exercise coercion against other state and non-state actors. He goes further to argue that the open nature of free (democratic) societies coupled with the poor security of their digital networks has rendered the aforesaid states vulnerable to AI instigated attacks. Since the AI ecosystem of most of the great powers (namely USA, China, and Russia) are intertwined, Schmidt posits that there is a need for recalibration of bilateral technology relationships in areas of mutual interest. Schmidt's analysis is rich and useful however, it focuses on the US and not Kenya, which is the subject of this study.

2.1.2.3 Kenya's National Security Interests

Kenya's national interests are encompassed in the Constitution of Kenya (CoK, 2010), Kenya Foreign Policy Document of 2014, National Security Strategy (prepared periodically by the Executive branch of Government), Vision 2030, among other sources. Specifically, Article 238 of the CoK, 2010 defines Kenya's national security, which is inter-linked to national interest as follows;

National security is the protection against internal and external threats to Kenya's territorial integrity and sovereignty, its people, their rights, freedoms, property, peace, stability and prosperity, and other national interests.

Principally, and as noted by Adar & Check, (2011) the national interest of Kenya comprises a diverse array of problems that are considered essential for the overall welfare, security, and economic advancement of the country. The aforementioned interests may be classified into several dimensions, including political, economic, social, and security aspects. From a political perspective, Kenya's primary national objective is to preserve stability and foster the principles of good government (Adar & Check, 2011).

It noted that Kenya's measures to address her national security threats have been dependent tandem on the various regimes that have existed since the country's independence in 1963. Specifically, the administrations of Presidents Jomo Kenyatta, Daniel Moi, Mwai Kibaki, and Uhuru Kenyatta pursued different priorities esoteric to their context and circumstances. The specific priorities of the aforesaid regimes have defined Kenya's national security interests, and thus its foreign policy behaviour. In the immediate period after Kenya attained independence, the regime of Jomo Kenyatta had to contend

with various national security issues (Piotukh & Wilson, 2009). Externally, Kenyatta took over during the Cold War international system. Thus, the regime's external posture was shaped much by the local dynamics much as it was shaped by the external dynamics, including Cold War. As such, the first Administration focused on building a nascent state in a bipolar global environment. It pursued policy of non-alignment and non-interference (though with apparent leanings to the West), a relationship that ensured security support). Internally, the main destabilizing threats then were agitation for secession/irredentism by Northern Frontier District (NFD); expansionist claims by Uganda's Idi Amin and fragile security institutions (resulting in military unrest in 1964, 1971). As a result, regime survival and consolidation of power in the presidency superseded all other national security priorities at the time.

Overall, Jomo Kenyatta's response to the various threats that jeopardized Kenya's national security interests, included securitizing political dissent, and mobilizing regime support through co-optation of opposition leaders and civil society; employing security machinery on political opposition; transforming Kenya into a single-party dictatorship; centralizing power; and assassinating political dissidents. Externally, the regime made pacts with friendly countries, as well as pursued pan-African politics to maintain national cohesion. Nzau cogently notes that the Kenyatta administration's capacity to master and implement national security planning contributed to the maintenance of law and order by effectively deterring internal and regional threats (Nzau, 2007). This resulted in the establishment of a structured state security system under Jomo Kenyatta's rule, which allowed for a well-managed transition from his regime to that of his Vice-President Daniel Arap Moi before his death in 1978.

The Daniel Moi regime was by large a continuation of policies pursued under the previous regime of President Jomo Kenyatta. The Cold War international environment inadvertently influenced and shaped various aspects of Moi regime's approach to state security (Nzau, 2007). Specifically, the direct consequences of Cold War played out in dictating instability in the region, especially in countries like Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, and Uganda, something that by extension threatened Kenya's national security. This state of affairs meant that Kenya had to institute measures to insulate it from descending into

chaos and anarchy in the wake of the wave of instability that rocked the region then. Domestically, Moi's main challenges mostly mirrored those of his predecessor. The regime's challenges included politics of ethnicity which greatly hampered security and social integration. Political dissidence, fragile security institutions (as exemplified by the August 1, 1982, coup attempt), and Somali irredentism activities were other domestic challenges the regime faced. Overall, Moi, like Kenyatta, almost faced similar security challenges. Similarly, the counter-responses were more or less similar in conception and execution.

The Mwai Kibaki's Administration took over the reins of power on 30 December 2002 amid prevailing security challenges, including those security in nature like ethnic polarization; clan conflicts; cattle rustling/banditry in North Rift and Northeastern; militia groups, vigilantes such as Mungiki and Sabaot Lands Defence Forces (SLDF); secessionist claims by Mombasa Republican Council (MRC) (2008); Migingo boundary dispute with Uganda (2009) among others. At the regional scene, Kibaki deployed the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) to Somalia to counter Al-Shabaab terrorists, particularly following incessant Al-Shabaab attacks on the Kenyan soil. In October 2011 for instance, President Kibaki approved Kenya's incursion in Somalia for the purpose of fighting Al-Shabaab (Olsen 2018). It was the largest military venture that Kenya had undertaken since its independence. This move, in essence, militarized Kenya's foreign policies, signaling both a shift in policy and a desire for the country to align its security interests with economic strength.

While the intervention raised questions about whether it would realize its objectives, the use of hard military tactics had a counter-current – it fueled radicalization in the country. This meant that the succeeding regime already had a problem in waiting – dealing with radicalization and violent extremism at home, especially in the Northern and Coastal Kenya. The Kibaki government ended in 2013 as a result of the peaceful transition of power to the Jubilee administration, which was headed by President Uhuru Kenyatta. Like the previous administration, Uhuru Kenyatta's administration was also faced with a number of threats which threatened the national security of Kenya. Somalia is the most serious threat to Kenya's national security. Al-Shabaab, an Islamic militant group from Somalia, launched a deadly attack in Nairobi in 2013 on Westgate Mall that resulted in

sixty-seven deaths. At least sixty-eight people were killed, including 61 Kenyans, and foreigners (Al Jazeera America, 2013). The high-level terrorist attack sparked a debate on how Kenya can improve its national security environment.

In essence then Kenya has always instituted strategies to address myriads of threats that threaten Kenya's national security interests that have evolved in tandem with regime transitions. Some of the national security interests are regime specific whilst others are crosscutting in nature. This study then intends to propose counter measures for addressing threats to national security arising from the influence of great power competition in the HoA region.

2.1.2.4 Strategies to Address Threats to National Security Interests

Construction of a grand strategy has been argued as a mechanism through which a country can optimally achieve the objectives of its national security interests. Mokry (2023) for instance has focused on analyzing USA and Chinese grand strategies key to the preservation of their hegemonic statuses. He notes that whereas the Chinese government increasingly emphasized taking on a leadership role in international affairs, the USA is more concerned about the country's security and economic standing. Between Chinese actors, the most pronounced divergence appeared regarding the importance of territorial defense. USA actors disagreed about the importance of promoting the country's values abroad (Ibid, 2023, p. 1). Mokry's views are reinforced by among others Spykman (1949) and Makinda (2006) who emphasizes on the need for countries to come up with grand strategies as a mechanism of achieving their long-term national security interests. The above notions are relevant to the study as developing countries such as Kenya stands to benefit from borrowing certain best practices from developed powers, especially on how they work around preserving their national security interests.

Writing on the challenges of securing Kenya, Nzau & Guyo (2018), notes that Kenya's national security challenges emanate from local, national, and global levels respectively. As a result, they propose the need for the dynamic security and insecurity situations to be understood in the context of comparing the present security situation with that of the past. This allows for crafting of optimal policy, structure, and overall security

architecture at the various levels to mitigate the security threats (Ibid). Mumo and Guyo's propositions are relevant in understating the sources of Kenya's national security but is not specific addressing real and perceived national security threats that emanate from great power rivalry in the region.

Similarly, Munene (2011) reinforces the above notion by arguing for the need by those entrusted to promote Kenya's national security interests to fully comprehend those interests to enable them effectively to advance them. Otherwise, there is the danger of allowing intrusion of external actors (state and non-state) to interfere with effective pursuit of Kenya's domestic and foreign policy.

Awuondo (2023) has commented on the need for a collaborative approach to advance Kenya's national security. He specifically argues for the need for academia and national government to collaborate towards enhancing Kenya's national security. He notes that security needs, challenges and opportunities can better be understood and addressed by in-depth exploring and incorporating the views of academic stakeholders (community) in the country. This synergistic cooperation by achieved by integrating and funding of national security development programs for academia and industry in the country and other advancing nation-states (Ibid).

Other scholars have argued along the line of how internal challenges presents an impediment to Kenya dominating as a regional power, and thus inhibiting her ability to effectively protect her national security interests, including national security interests. This view is first propagated in the World Systems Theory that emphasizes that a country's economic situation determines its global positioning (Wallerstein, 1974). Moreover, internal challenges have been argued to present impediments to Kenya realizing her regional power aspirations. Accordingly, it is necessary that Kenya addresses the various internal challenges in order to remain relevant and effectively pursue its foreign policy agenda within the African continent and globally at large.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

The study adopted Realism theory to investigate the impact of great power competition in the HoA on Kenya's national security interests, 2010 to 2022. The theory was selected because of the way it gives states importance when exploring issues within power politics scholarship. Broadly speaking, the research did not find any other theory that gives a more rigorous account of either great, medium, or small states' involvement in international politics than realism. With all their effectiveness in analyzing international politics, liberalism, constructivism and Marxism are less persuasive in arguing out for the centrality of the state.

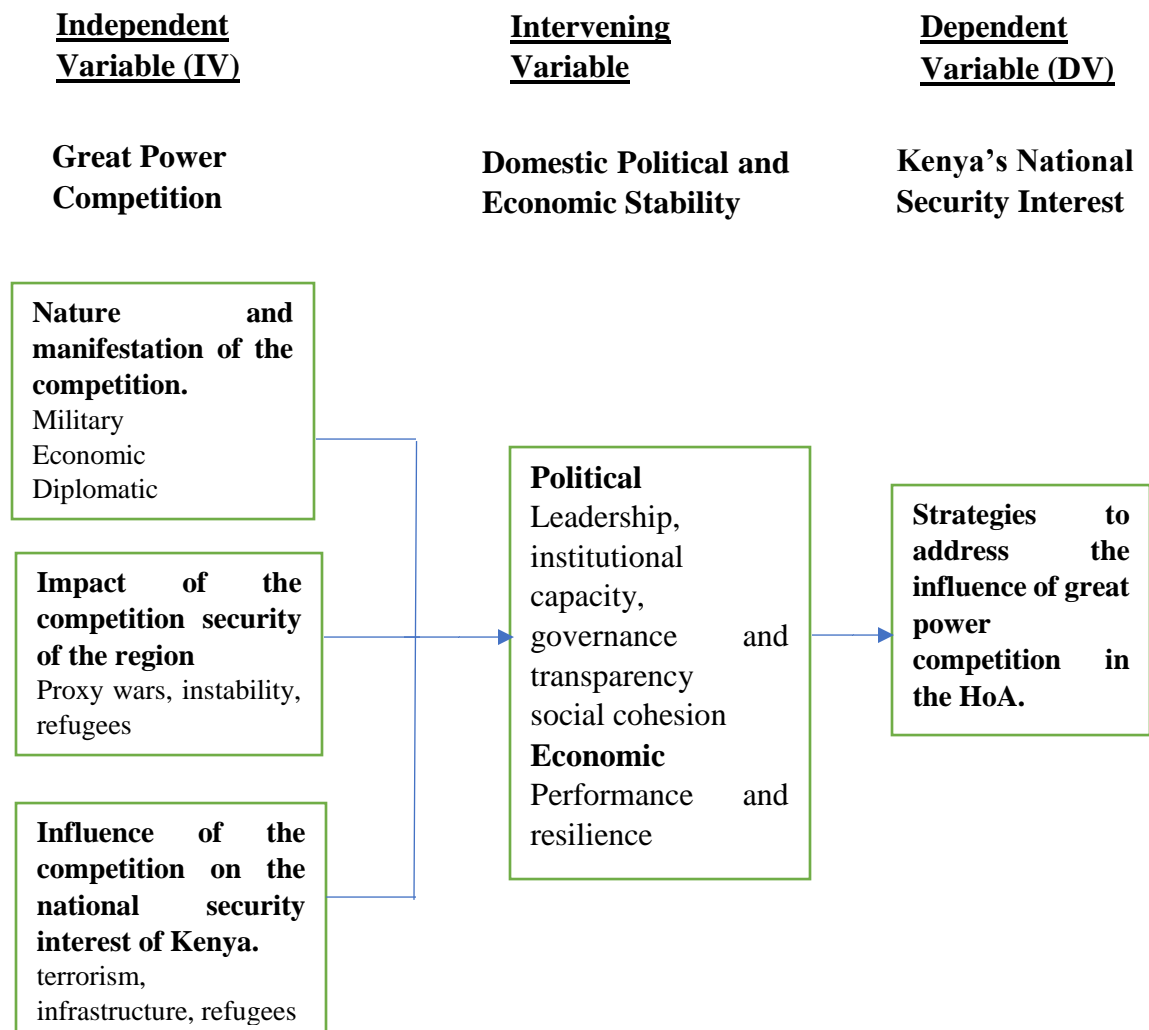
Realism's assumption positing that an anarchical international system is characterized by competition (Morgenthau, 1948), is utilized to analyse how the competing powers in the HoA region impacted Kenya's national security interests during the period of the study. In support, the research further asserts that from the earliest days following the departure of colonial Britain and subsequent independence in 1963, protecting Kenya's national security interests in the region and beyond has been tied up to state survival in an anarchical international system characterized by power competition.

Further, the realism argument concerning the uniqueness and preponderant position the state occupies within power politics scholarship enabled the study to explore how the competing powers in the HoA region impacted Kenya's national security interests from the period 2010 to 2022. Moreover, the centrality of the state as explained within realism aids the study to investigate measures Kenya undertook to protect its national security interests from the competing powers within the study timeframe. The theory is philosophically organized around four broad assumptions that include: first, the state is a central and unifying actor in international politics. Second, state survival in an anarchical system is critical. Third, states are rational actors. Fourth, the international system is dominated by power competition amongst states.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

This conceptual framework as shown in Figure 1 below explains the presumed interaction and relationship between the independent and dependent variables under study. For the case of this research, the independent variable was the great power competition in the HoA region whereas Kenya’s national security interest was the dependent variable. The research sought to determine how elements of great power competition such as the nature and manifestation in the HoA during the study period impacted on Kenya’s national security interests. The study also analyzed the measures and strategies that the Kenya adopted to address the effect of the competition in the period 2010 to 2022.

Figure 1: Conceptual Framework



Source: Researcher

2.4 Summary

As discussed above, this chapter examined the nature of great power competition and particularly how it manifested in the HoA region. Further, the chapter showed how this power rivalry inevitably impacted on the security interests of various states in the region in addition to demonstrating the existence of a literature gap on the impact on Kenya. Further, the strategies that exist to respond to the negative impact on Kenya's national security interests within the HoA region and beyond were reviewed. The chapter further laid emphasis on underpinning of the study on realism theory of international relations due to the preponderant position that states occupy within power politics scholarship. The next chapter looks into the methodology adopted by the research in terms of overall research design, the specific methods and techniques used to collect and analyze data, and the rationale behind these choices.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This section discusses how the entire process of data gathering, and analysis was conducted in order to establish the relationship between great power competition in the HoA region and its implications to Kenya's national security interests for the study period 2010 to 2022. It is structured as follows; research design, area of study, target population, sampling techniques, sample size determination, instruments and tools, validity and reliability, data collection methods, data processing and analysis, ethical considerations and a summary.

3.1 Research Design

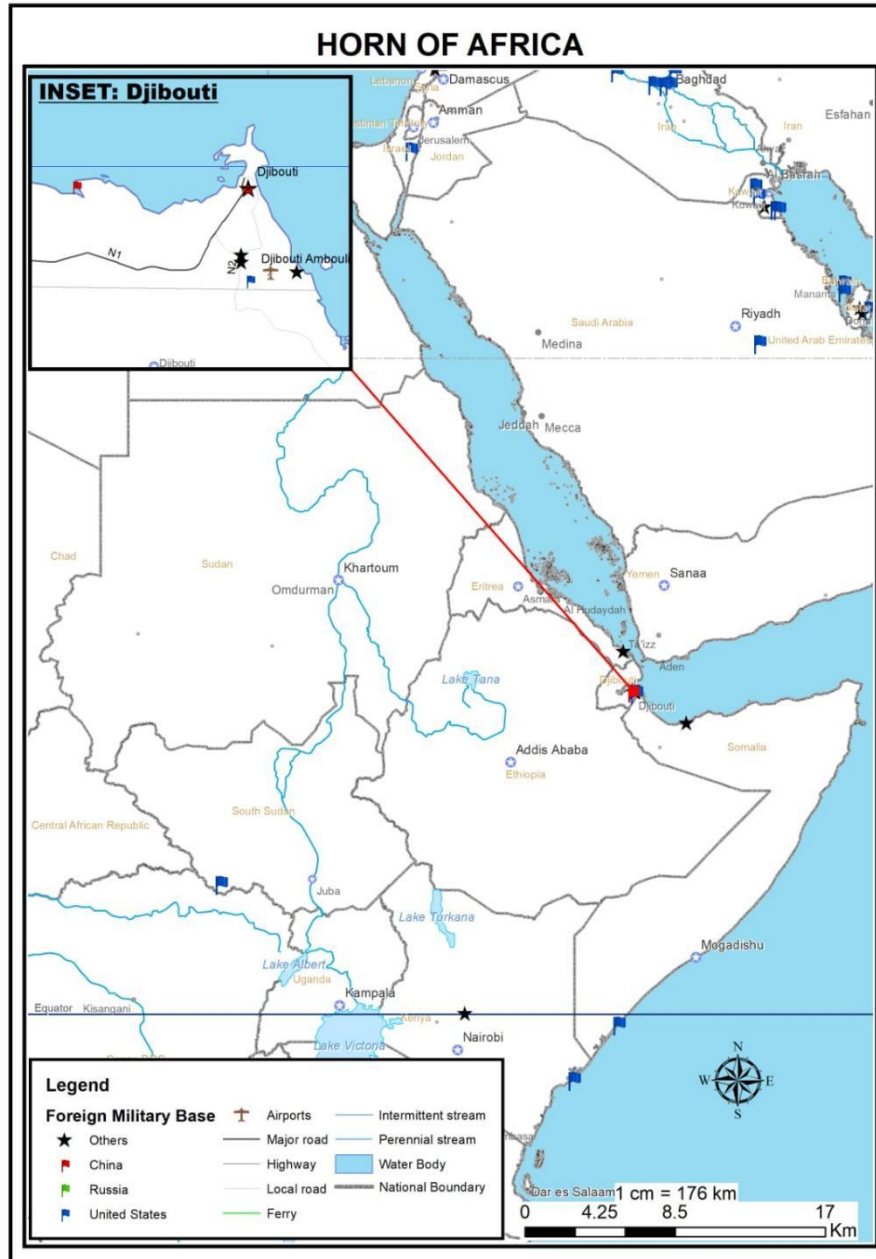
The study employed descriptive research design as it allowed of collection of qualitative data based on thorough and detailed analysis of the causal and coherent linkages between the variables under focus over an extended period of time (Bryman, 2016). In this case, the study sought to establish how Kenya's national security interest question has evolved over time to reflect the shifting geo-political and geo-strategic great power competition in the HoA region. The outcome of the investigation was reliably used to generate falsifiable social science data. Moreover, data gleaned through that process was used to make generalizations pertaining to the study.

3.2 Area of Study

The area of study was the Kenya which, in the context of the research objectives invariably extended to cover the HoA region to allow for building comparative insights in terms of similarities and differences in terms of how the discourse of national security interests played out in the context of great power competition in the region. While there are many states in this region, the area of study focused on Kenya's national security interests.

Further the research broadly considered the HoA region to include Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda, Somalia, South Sudan, Sudan, Eritrea, and Djibouti as illustrated in Figure 1 below.

Figure 2. Horn of Africa Map



Source: Researcher (2023)

3.3 Target Population

Target population is considered to be individuals or objects having characteristics of interest to the study or researcher (Kothari & Garg, 2004). The target population for this study consisted of various ministries, departments and agencies within the Republic of Kenya. They included Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs, Ministry of Interior and National Administration, Ministry of East Africa Community (EAC), Office of the Attorney General. Further, the sample was also drawn security agencies including Kenya Defence Forces, National Intelligence Service and National Police Service. Moreover, representatives of Embassies and High Commissions of relevant states based in Nairobi, officials of the African Union (AU), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and East African Community (EAC), as well as representatives of various Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and in particular the Law Society of Kenya (LSK), and researchers and scholars also formed part of the target population. The population was selected through purposive and snow-balling techniques. The participants chosen were those who possess the desired qualities of expertise, experience, and affiliation to the institutions dealing with issues relevant to the study.

3.4 Sampling Techniques

Non-probabilistic sampling approaches were used to collect data. Specifically, both purposive and snow-balling approaches were deployed to collect data from the key informants and focus group discussion identified by the researcher. Purposive approach is relevant as it allowed for identification and selection of respondents whose profiles were fit for purpose – met the needs of the study. Personal judgement was critical in selection of respondents who met the criterion set out in the study. Additionally, snowballing or chain referral approach was used to complement purposive approach, especially to reach out to participants identified by respondents already interviewed by the researcher. The process was repeated until saturation point was attained in as far as gathering of information needed for the study was concerned.

3.5 Sample Size Determination

The research interviewed both individuals (experts) and representatives of different organizations in positions of policymaking and implementation, research and consultancy

related to national security interest and more specifically understood the dynamics within the HoA region. The determination of the total number of respondents was guided by the principles of inclusivity, as well as attainment of the saturation point regarding the quantity and quality of the information collected. In other words, as Vasileiou et.al, (2018) puts it, the sample adequacy should be dictated by both the size and composition. These two variables should consequently aid the study in achieving saturation point in data collection. Morse (2015) argues that saturation is the most guiding principle for assessing the adequacy of sample size in qualitative studies.

In the context of this study, the respondents chosen for the research met the following requirements; demonstrated expertise on the topic, and experience dealing with the issues around the topic. As such, the study stressed on quality over quantity in data collection in striving to attain saturation point in data collection. According to Hennink & Kaiser (2022), qualitative studies reach saturation with a sample size of between 9 to 17 key informants, and 4 to 8 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs). This view has been reaffirmed by Vasileiou et al., (2018) who posit that saturation in qualitative case study projects can be attained with a sample size of 15 to 30. Arising from the aforesaid, the study interviewed 25 out of a planned 30 respondents and undertook two online focused group discussions. Saturation was attained after the 16th respondent with the researcher opting to complete the remaining interviews for redundancy purposes.

3.6 Instruments and Tools: Validity and Reliability

Internal validity was ascertained by the researcher designing the research tools and instruments (interview guide questions) to ensure that only objective data was collected. External validity was ascertained by the extent to which the study findings are applicable or generalizable to other contexts especially in the HoA region. Additionally, reliability was ensured by conducting a pilot study in the initial phase, then comparing the eventual findings with those obtained during the pilot phase.

3.7 Data Collection Procedures

As this was a technical study, primary data gathering took the form of in depth interviews with key informants and through focus group discussions. The researcher used

a semi structured interview guide (See Appendices: Key Informant Interviews Guide) to aid in the data collection. A number of interviews and both of the FGDs were carried out via online engagements due to unavailability of the respondents and in some cases time constraints.

At the secondary level, library research was conducted by exploring and investigating various secondary literature, including books, journal articles and reports to glean information as per prior identified sub-themes informed by the study objectives. Overall and owing to the expansive scope of the data collection process, the researcher hired a research assistant to aid and complement the researcher’s work.

The distribution of respondents is captured in the table below.

Table 1: Distribution of Respondents

S/No.	Designation/Organization	Scheduled	Interviewed
1.	Ministries, Departments, and Agencies	10	8
2.	Embassies of relevant states	4	3
3.	Scholars	5	4
4.	Intergovernmental organization (AU, IGAD and EAC)	6	5
5.	Think tanks and Researchers	3	3
6.	Non -governmental entities (LSK, Business Community)	2	2
	Key Informant Interview	30	25
	Focus Group Discussion	4	2

Source: Researcher (2023)

3.8 Data Processing and Analysis

Qualitative approach was used to process and analyse the data gathered with content analysis was used to analyse secondary data. The process entailed identifying themes guided by the study objectives, as well as selecting areas and issues related to the study topic and focusing reading and analysis of secondary literature around them. For the

primary data, the outcome of the interviews was written down and coded as per various the sub-themes determined by the objectives of the study. The coded data was then manually analyzed, and subsequently used to generate qualitative information.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

In the context of this study, ethical considerations were adhered to, including confidentiality, consent and right of the respondents to participate or not participate in the interview. Specifically, confidentiality entailed ensuring that the information from the respondents was protected and guaranteeing anonymity of respondents who wished their identities not to be revealed. Furthermore, consent was sought from the potential respondents before any interview was carried out. The respondents were similarly allowed to choose between sitting through the entirety of the interview or terminating the interview at any time when they felt uncomfortable or insecure. The researcher ensured that all ethical considerations, including those emerging during the interview process were strictly adhered to.

3.10 Summary

This chapter discussed the methodology adopted in carrying out the research and the rationale of adopting qualitative methods as the research design. Further, the chapter encompassed a detailed elucidation of the following sub-themes; area of study, target population, sampling techniques, sample size determination, instruments and tools, validity and reliability, data collection procedures, data processing and analysis, and ethical considerations. The next chapter provides the results of the collected data and offers a detailed discussion and analysis of the same.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the fundamental causes and consequences of intense competition among major powers in the HoA region. It illuminates the intricate interaction between military presence, economic interests, and geopolitical tactics used by different great nations. Through an examination of these characteristics, the research offers valuable insights into the motives and behaviours of these influential nations, providing a thorough comprehension of the competitive dynamics in the HoA region. A thorough understanding of the region's continuous dynamics and complexity may be gained by examining the economic, military, and geopolitical elements that have influenced great power rivalry in the area from 2010 to 2022.

The study conducted 25 key informant interviews out of a targeted 30 and two (2) focus discussion groups out of a planned four (4) indicating a response rate of 83.3% and 50% respectively. They comprised of various informants drawn from the previously mentioned ministries, departments, agencies, intergovernmental organizations, scholars and thinktanks. This was a sufficient response rate for the study.

The key informant interviews and augmented by the focus group discussions revealed various issues pertaining to the objectives of this study as a consequence of great powers' competition in the HoA region from 2010-2022. The interviews aptly gave deeper insights into the three specific objectives namely; the nature of the great powers' competition, the impact of the great powers on security and Kenya's strategies to address the influence of the great powers on the region. The interviews generated responses that represented what the key informants believed to be the pertinent issues of each of the question asked. Subsequently descriptive statistics highlighting these views were generated in addition to obtaining qualitatively sense from the interpreted data.

4.1 The Nature of Great Powers' Competition in The HoA Region

4.1.1 Results

To establish the nature of great powers competition in the HoA region during the research reference period, the study relied on a series of interview questions. The interviews and discussions focused on the key informants' views on the concept of great powers, the foreign powers operating in the HoA region during the study period and how the competition manifested their influence in the region. The USA and China were the two great powers that had largest footprints in the HoA region. Others opined that Russia; UK and the EU were also operating in the region in addition to Gulf States and Turkey. This result in essence affirmed that the two leading great powers, USA and China are the two leading powers entrenched in rivalry within the HoA region.

The key informants interviews opined that, great powers competition manifested their influence in the HoA in several ways, including economic engagement with states within the region, infrastructural development and construction of military and naval bases. Further, the informants believed that the great powers were involved in ongoing conflicts within the region with the pretext of offering solutions whilst in essence they may have been responsible for escalation.

This result points out to the fact that the great powers have prioritized manifestation of influence in the HoA region to economic elements of power well ahead of other elements such as military and diplomacy.

4.1.2 Discussion

The current analysis of the rivalry between and among the Great Powers in the region between 2010 and 2022 demonstrates an intricate interplay influenced by geopolitical interests. This view finds affirmation in the Realism theory that stresses on the pursuit of power and national security interest as a fundamental determinant of state behaviour and therefore foreign policy conduct. Morgenthau (1948) notes that man, and thus state is primarily driven by selfish (national) interest considerations. As such, national security interest is a key determinant of state conduct, among other factors. The key

informants provided insights as to why the HoA region seemed to attract the interest of great powers into its vicinity. For example, key informant 5 noted that,

The strategic location of the HoA at the entrance to the Red Sea and near to Suez Canal was essential to global trade and maritime security. Controlling such strategic location offers access to resources, vital shipping lanes and trade routes.

Both the USA and China were the main contenders in the fight for influence in the HoA region, as they strived to safeguard their respective interests in the area. This is a Realist view that emphasizes on self-help and maximization of national security interests. The above may be traced to the USA's long-standing recognition of the strategic significance of the HoA region due to its close proximity to important maritime routes and its potential as a strategic location for terrorist operations. Le Gouriellec (2018) who argues that the USA views the Red Sea and the Gulf of Eden as crucial shipping routes and communication channels, a view affirmed by Key informant 8 who stated that.

One of the primary attractions to the HoA for great powers is its strategic location. Serving as a link between Asia, Middle East and Africa, and providing a center for trade and maritime activities as well as being located close to important waterways of the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden.

Further the research determined that the motives and behaviors of the great powers in the HoA region had been influenced by numerous factors. Specifically, in pursuit of safeguarding their economic and strategic interests, major powers including China, the United States, and the Russia were mentioned by nearly all the respondents. Moreover, there has been a clear presence of economic rivalry via investments in infrastructure projects, dominance over natural resources, trade agreements, and financial assistance. The aforementioned manifestation has had a substantial influence on regional alliances, power distributions, and security obstacles, hence further molding the intricate and diverse characteristics of the HoA region.

4.1.2.1 Economic and Infrastructural Development in The HoA Region

This research discerned that investment and infrastructure projects were as a pivotal element in the rivalry between major powers in the HoA region during the study period. China and the United States were competing for influence by making substantial

investments in ports, railway, and other infrastructure. China in particular progressively prioritized Africa as a crucial element of its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which seeks to expand its economic sway worldwide. Further, China sought to obtain natural resources which, is a significant catalyst for economic rivalry, trade agreements and partnerships as other crucial instruments to ensure economic dominance in the HoA region. This argument was for example advanced by key informant 2 who indicated that,

China has been exerting increasing influence over the region through infrastructure investments, trade partnerships and military cooperation. China has invested significantly in port facilities in Djibouti under its Belt and Road Initiative. China's presence in the Horn of Africa region is driven by economic interests, resource access and geopolitical considerations.

In the study period, the USA for instance, used economic aid and assistance to influence her economic competitiveness in fact, Henderson (2012) opined that there has been a significant increase in their economic advantage in the HoA region. The objective being to attain political influence, ensure resource availability, and form economic alliances by offering economic help and support. This concept was clearly captured by Respondent 7 who opined that,

Growing interest from USA, China and other great powers has spurred foreign direct investments into sectors like agriculture, manufacturing, construction and mining, creating employment opportunities while also transferring technology and stimulating economic growth, potentially raising living standards if managed responsibly.

In essence then, economic aid and assistance was used as instruments for establishing alliances and enhancing diplomatic relations. The pursuit of economic supremacy in the HoA region had extensive consequences, altering the dynamics of the area, impacting socio-economic circumstances, and generating security issues and wars.

4.1.2.2 Military and Naval Engagements in The HoA Region

From 2010 to 2022, major nations aggressively sought to establish military presence and exert influence in the HoA region, a view supported by Abebe (2010). This manifestation was exhibited by the building of numerous military bases and naval presence, along with the supply of weapons and military assistance to local participants. The military efforts had substantial ramifications on regional politics, resulting in changes in alliances and power relations. Furthermore, the augmentation of military forces resulted in socio-

economic consequences and security obstacles, exacerbating the already intricate dynamics in the region.

During the study period, military bases and naval presence in the HoA region emerged as pivotal elements in the battle between major powers in the region. This view is espoused by Woldemariam & Yohannes (1998) who argued that several influential actors strategically create military bases and increase their naval presence in order to express their influence and safeguard their interests. These military bases function as strategic locations for projecting power and allow nations to oversee and regulate crucial maritime commerce routes and sea passages in the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. The pursuit of military supremacy in the area not only heightened regional tensions, but also resulted in an increase in the sale of weapons and provision of military assistance to local participants.

The existence of military bases and naval presence has significantly contributed to the intricate network of alliances, rivalries, and proxy wars, hence exacerbating regional instability. Many of the respondents did allude to this fact, including key informant 16 who said that,

The United States of America maintains military presence through Camp Lemonnier military base in Djibouti; the focus primarily being counterterrorism efforts, maritime security and drone operations aimed at extremist groups in the region as well as supporting peacekeeping initiatives and providing development aid.

Arms sales and military assistance were also provided in the HoA region between 2010 and 2022 and significantly influenced the rivalry between major global powers. Multiple nations including Russia, were actively engaged in the provision of weaponry and military support to countries in the region. Consequently, there was a rise in the military capacities of nations in the HoA region, which impacted the distribution of power and the capacity to shape regional dynamics. Arms sales have been used as a strategy to form alliances and exert influence, enabling major nations to advance their geopolitical goals in the region (“Correction to: Great Power Competition and China’s Security Assistance to Africa: Arms, Training, and Influence,” 2022).

4.1.2.3 Proxy Conflicts and Regional Instability in The HoA Region

From 2010 to 2022, proxy conflicts and regional instability constituted pivotal factors in the competition among great powers in the HoA region. In tandem with this fact Henderson (2012) argued that conflicts have often been instigated by the participation of outsider parties that support opposing factions or insurgent organizations in the pursuit of their own geopolitical objectives. The HoA region was transformed into a theatre for proxy warfare, as different nations supported opposing factions in crises as the civil war in Somalia, Sudan and the Ethiopia -Tigray conflict.

Adeoye (2023) further supported this view by arguing that contest for authority and dominance over vital resources and commercial pathways intensified tensions and exacerbated the precariousness and volatility of the HoA region. As a result, there was a recurring pattern of violence and forced migration, leading to severe humanitarian repercussions for the inhabitants of the region. The endeavour to facilitate peace and stability has been impeded by the intricate network of conflicting interests and the deeply ingrained grudges that drive these proxy conflicts. One key informant (3.) stated this fact explicitly:

The region has seen numerous conflicts that reflect great power competition. Ethiopia's dispute with Egypt and Sudan over the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam project has drawn the interest of major powers; China supporting this dam project while the United States engaged in diplomatic efforts to find an amicable resolution.

4.1.2.4 Diplomatic Maneuvers and Alliances formations in The HoA Region

Diplomatic alliances and collaborations were manifestly formed between 2010 and 2022 in the HoA region in order for the great powers to advance their interests and exert their influence. These diplomatic operations facilitated the establishment of the major powers' influence in the region, enabling the acquisition of critical resources, and served to offset the influence of competing states. These moves have included a variety of bilateral and multilateral agreements with the objective of safeguarding their strategic interests in the region. USA for instance participated in mediation and peacekeeping efforts to create stability and impose their influence in the Ethiopia -Tigray conflict.

In addition, diplomatic alliances and partnerships have been established to strengthen political and economic collaboration. These movements demonstrated a strategic and deliberate effort by these powers to assert their diplomatic influence and safeguard their own interests in the HoA region. Over the same period the global powers actively competed in the HoA region via both bilateral and multilateral accords resulting in an intricate network of alliances. The great powers further used diplomatic endeavours to assert their authority, extend their areas of control, and protect their vital interests in the HoA region. In addition, great powers used cultural and soft power rivalry via participation in cultural exchanges, educational collaborations, and media warfare in order to influence regional dynamics.

4.2 Impact of Great Power Competition on Kenya's National Security Interests

4.2.1 Results

This objective was addressed through responses by the key informants on three major themes which were crafted to aid in identifying Kenya's national security interests, the influence of the great powers in the HoA to the national security concerns and to elucidate the effect of nonstate actors to Kenya's national security.

It emerged that according to the key informant's views, Kenya's greatest security concerns was terrorism, economic prosperity and regional conflicts and stability among others. The research determined that economic vulnerabilities and insecurity arising from terrorism acts are key concerns of Kenyans as viewed by the key informants in this research. Further, the results captured the key informant's belief that great power competition in the HoA region affected Kenya's security both positive and negative manner. The research discerned that economic prosperity and infrastructure development were of significant impact in the region with other respondents viewing counterterrorism and instability and regional conflicts escalation being impacted by the competition.

The research identified Al-Shabaab as the major non-state actor affecting Kenya's security with organized criminals including human and drug traffickers identified by respondents as a threat to Kenya's security. The result in essence puts Al Shabaab terror outfit is the single most non-state actor that the informant's viewed as of primary concern to Kenya's national security.

4.2.2 Discussion

Kenya national security interest of comprises a diverse array of issues that are considered essential for the overall welfare, security, and economic advancement of the country. On the security front, the national security priorities include the safeguarding of its territorial boundaries, countering acts of terrorism, and maintaining stability within the region, this is a view that Botha (2016) holds. He argues that Kenya has had security predicaments, namely emanating from extremist organizations like Al-Shabaab, who are active in the adjacent nation of Somalia.

Moreover, Kenya's national security interests included the promotion of regional integration, the mitigation of climate change, and the augmentation of international collaboration. Kenya is an active participant in several regional and international organizations, including but not limited to the African Union (AU), East African Community (EAC), United Nations (UN), and World Trade Organization (WTO). These affiliations provided Kenya with possibilities to engage in collaborative efforts with other nations on matters of mutual concern and promote its national security interests within the global arena.

From a political perspective, Kenya's primary national objective is to preserve stability and foster the principles of good government. This encompasses the need to establish a harmonious political environment, safeguarding the fundamental rights of individuals, and advancing the principles of democratic governance. Kenya has seen notable advancements in this domain, characterized by periodic electoral processes and a comparatively steadfast political framework. Nevertheless, it is imperative to acknowledge the persisting obstacles of corruption and ethnic conflicts that need attention to ensure the enduring stability of the nation.

On the economic perspective, Kenya's primary objectives are the facilitation of economic expansion, the mitigation of poverty, and the attraction of international investments. Kenya has a multifaceted economy, characterized by the presence of many sectors including agriculture, industry, services, and tourism, all of which make substantial contributions to its gross domestic product (GDP).

In the period 2010 to 2022, the great power rivalry generated varied consequences, in the process affecting Kenya's overall national security interests. Kenya's national security interests are documented variously including the Constitution of Kenya (CoK) 2010, Sessional Papers, among other sources. Specifically, Article 238 of the CoK 2010 defines national security as follows:

National security is the protection against internal and external threats to Kenya's territorial integrity and sovereignty, its people, their rights, freedoms, property, peace, stability and prosperity, and other national security interests.

In general, the breadth and complexity of Kenya's national security interests have several dimensions, including political, economic, social, and security domains. The major aim of the government is to safeguard the welfare and prosperity of its population, while concurrently engaging in regional and global issues. The aforesaid national security interests are buttressed from the primary data gathered from respondents who opined that those interests had been impacted by the great power competition in the following ways.

4.2.2.1 Socio-Economic Impact

From 2010 to 2022, the competition among the great powers in the HoA region had substantial socioeconomic repercussions. The region saw a surge in investment and infrastructure initiatives by foreign powers with the aim of attaining strategic benefits and securing access to crucial resources. The acquisition of natural resources, such as oil, gas, and minerals emerged as a significant catalyst for rivalry, resulting in conflicts and rivalries. In fact, Poulshock (2022) considers trade agreements and partnerships as being established to safeguard economic interests and enhance influence of the involved states. Furthermore, economic aid and assistance have been used as strategic instruments to acquire influence and bolster alliances.

The fierce economic rivalry did not only influence the regional dynamics but also affected the socio-economic growth and stability of the region, as well regional economic alliances. For Kenya, the economic involvement of the China in the HoA region, particularly proved poignant. The economic engagement between China and Kenya increased during the latter's third president tenure (President Kibaki's 'Look East Policy') Additionally, upon being elected in 2013, President Kenyatta deepened and maintained remarkably close bilateral partnership with China – trade and infrastructure. Consequently,

according to the Central Bank of Kenya (CBK), China became Kenya's biggest foreign creditor after the World Bank (WB) owning about 72% of Kenya's external debt, which stood at USD 50 billion. The debt was largely in the form of infrastructure financing for the Standard Gauge Railway (SGR) that runs from Mombasa to Nairobi.

Other mega projects the Chinese were involved in Kenya included the construction of the Nairobi Expressway, Thika Superhighway, Lamu Port-South Sudan-Ethiopia Transport (LAPSSET) corridor regional project, among others. From the foregoing, while Sino (China)-Kenya relations transcended various fields, including trade, information technology, military cooperation, and cultural programmes, most public attention was on China-sponsored mega projects, including roads, bridges, seaports, and railways. A respondent captured the public debate around Chinese involvement in Kenya in the following way:

Chinese mega projects in Kenya should be looked at as either embodiment of modernity or manifestations of intrusion of Kenya's sovereignty, or enormous losing deals. Thus, the Chinese should be seen not only as harbingers of development and hope, but also as latter-day neo-imperialists who have their own hidden agenda. While dealing with any of the great power great caution should be exercised as there is no free lunch when it comes to discussing matters development.

For Kenya thus, the Chinese involvement in the country, especially in the infrastructure and trade spheres have generated controversies in the public debate, especially on the balance between external investment and public debt.

4.2.2.2 Impact on Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity

Sovereignty and territorial integrity are core tenets of the 1933 Montevideo Conference that defines the rights and duties of states. Moreover, Kenya has codified (in key documents such the CoK, 2010, Kenya's Foreign Policy document, among others) sovereignty and territorial integrity as constituting its national security interest. However, the involvement of foreign powers in the HoA region during the study period rendered preservation of absolute sovereignty a challenge to Kenya. This situation was attributable to the relative weak position of Kenya in the international system – Kenya is an appendage state to the core states. This position is captured by Immanuel Wallerstein who talked about the limitations in the exercise of absolute sovereignty in the international system arising

from the ordering of states according to classes (Wallerstein, 1984). In reference to Kenya, Munene (2011) captures the dilemma in the following way:

The threat from big powers is partly over interpretation of who should determine what Kenya's interests are and how to advance and protect them. North America and the European Union are threats to Kenya's national security interests because their officials purport to tell Kenyans what they have to do, and that is not always in Kenya's security or national security interest.

Further, the continued meddling in the region by the great powers has and appears will likely be extended due to factors related to economy, political stability, geography, as well as colonial legacy. Young (1995) posits that colonial legacy cast its shadow over the emergent African state system to a degree unique among the major world regions. In the context of Kenya, colonial legacy continues to manifest in the country's continued defence and security cooperation with Britain. Later, Kenya developed, and continues to intensify security cooperation with the USA.

4.2.2.3 Defence and Security Cooperation Impact

For the period between 2010 and 2022, security challenges and conflicts in the HoA region constituted a significant facet of the rivalry among the great powers. Diverse players participated in military operations, proxy battles, and regional power struggles, resulting in increased tensions and instability. The security situation in the region was further heightened by the establishment of military bases and naval forces, as the powers competed for control and influence. The provision of weaponry and military assistance to various sides worsened hostilities. A respondent in the study opined that,

Foreign militaries engaging in anti-terrorism operations, training exercises or establishing military bases can enhance Kenya's defensive capabilities by sharing intelligence, providing logistical support and deterring hostile acts by opponents. However, such deployments may also cause disapproval among local communities, escalate tensions with neighboring states and provoke arms races within the region.

For Kenya, the overall security situation of the HoA region may be seen to have revived the Cold War political rivalries that saw western governments seeking closer security partnership with Kenya as a way of creating a buffer zone to socialism ideology that had permeated most of the region. In line with this view Jureńczyk (2021) argued that both the USA and the Soviet Union were interested in the HoA region, principally due to

the strategic location in the Middle East neighbourhood and the possibility of affecting oil supplies. Kenya kept on changing sides during this period depending on the party in power. During the study period the USA and Kenya continued to cooperate to implement measures that address common security interests.

Moreover, Kenya's involvement with the Global War on Terror (GWOT) was tied to its historical experience. Over the years, Kenya has been targeted for attack due to its perceived close relationship with the USA and Western allies. For most of the history, USA did not consider Kenya as a critical partner in the war on terrorism until it was hit by terrorist assault, namely the embassy bombing in Nairobi in 1998. Consequently, the 1998 attack on the USA Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania changed how the USA viewed Kenya.

Furthermore, Kenya's War on Terror also had a geopolitical dimension, primarily due to its geo-determinants position in the HoA region, a view held by Aronson (2012). The USA and EU, based on their mutual interest in security, have supported Kenya in its efforts to reduce the threat that Al Shabaab poses to Kenyan interests and, by extension, to the Western interests in the region. This was ably opined by an informant, who said;

Tackling terrorist threats from Al-Shabaab is the main priority for Kenya since the 2013 Westgate Nairobi terror attack. Collaboration with international partners particularly the USA and establishment of joint taskforces aimed to neutralize terrorist cells, secure borders, and protect critical infrastructure is crucial to attain this objective.

Since the 2011 Kenyan military incursion in Somalia, a number of small-scale attacks have been occurring on a regular basis. In fact, the number of terror-related attacks, primarily perpetrated by Al Shabaab, the Islamist militant group in Somalia, increased due to the presence of Kenya Defence Forces troops (Kenya National Commission on Human Rights Report, 2014).

4.2.2.4 Impact on Geopolitical Alliances

Upon analyzing the changes in alliances and power dynamics in the HoA region between 2010 and 2022, it becomes evident that the area was a significant arena for geopolitical rivalry among the great powers. These powers were competing for influence and strategically formed alliances with various governments and entities in the region, resulting in notable changes in alliances and power dynamics.

Between 2010 and 2022, Kenya maintained an ambiguous posture in its relations with the various great powers in a bid not to jeopardize its bilateral relationships with any of the great powers in the context of the shifting alliances and power balance. Specifically, the administration of President Mwai Kibaki maintained cordial relations with both the West, East, and even Middle Eastern countries like Iran. This view was captured by respondent 18 as follows:

Kibaki gave instructions to all diplomats that their primary role was to maintain cordial social and economic relations with the respective nations of their posting for the benefit of Kenyans. This ensured that the bilateral relations Kenya had whether with the USA, Britain, Iran, among others was maintained.

President Uhuru Kenyatta administration largely mirrored Kibaki administration in terms of how it handled bilateral relations. Kenyatta administration deepened economic ties with the East, especially China, and at the same time maintained cordial relations with Kenya's traditional allies – the West. Thus, it can be argued that Kenya like it was during the Cold War international system, pursued an ambivalent foreign policy in order to survive the jostling by the great powers in the region.

4.3 Kenya's Strategies to Address the Impact of Great Power Competition

4.3.1 Results

The key informants shared their views on the strategies which Kenya could utilize to address the influence of great powers on her national security as well as how the great powers had influenced the county's domestic and foreign policies.

The key informants proffered varied strategies to address the great power competition influence of Kenya's national security interest. A majority of them opined that diversifying the security partnerships to avoid the overreliance of any one power would assure the country from political influence and pressure emanating from that particular great power. Other respondents further indicated that regional cooperation with other countries and other organizations within the region such as IGAD and EAC is appropriate to address this influence. Diplomacy was also identified by a number of the informants as a solid strategy as well.

The results showed that the informants viewed that Kenya needed to orchestrate a combination of strategies that would ensure that the negative impact of great power

competition in the HoA region is managed and opportunities emanating from the same are maximized. Key amongst them is diversifying relationships and partnerships with all the great powers involved in the region.

Further, the respondents viewed the formation of economic partnerships with the great powers as the biggest impact on the local foreign and domestic policies. Further the research discerned that security and regional cooperation was impacted by the great power competition as well.

4.3.2 Discussion

4.3.2.1 Deployment of Tools and Instruments of National Power

In response to the actual and potential threats posed by the great power competition to Kenya's national security interests, Kenya must deploy its instruments of national power including the military, informational, diplomatic, law enforcement, intelligence gathering and usage, financial, and using the human capital to enhance economic power. As characterized by Morgenthau et al., (1985) these tools of national power that when harnessed properly should enhance the capability of a state. Thus far, Kenya has enhanced the deployment of the aforesaid tools, for instance, Kenya's military finesse has been employed significantly and has played a crucial role in minimizing the threat posed by Al Shabaab to the country and her interests. This mission has been made possible due to involvement of other national security agencies in a multi-agency set up. The unequivocal role of various policies and strategies should also be highlighted.

For instance, Kenya has a raft of policies and strategies to handle foreign policy matters, including the Kenya Foreign Policy document, a fully-fledged Ministry of Foreign Affairs, among others. The existence of comprehensive security laws, policies and strategies is another high point that has enabled Kenya to promote and protect her national security interests both against internal and external threats. Moreover, owing to its status as a developing country, Kenya has an expansive diplomatic footprint around the world – with 65 Missions abroad, 2 Missions in Nairobi, 31 Honorary Consuls, and 109 Foreign Resident Missions in Nairobi.

Additionally, Kenya has historically leveraged on its diplomatic footprints, especially within both the East Africa and HoA region and at the continental level to pursue

its foreign policy. This is visible in Kenya's dominant role in conflict and peace resolution efforts within the Inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) region.

4.3.2.2 Enhanced National Performance on Various Indicators

Related to the above factor is the issue of Kenya's national performance compared to the national performance of competitors (states) in the core, periphery, regional, and global levels. Higher performance on various indices like economy, military power, among others is key to guaranteeing Kenya's survival in an otherwise anarchic international system.

Similarly, the country has quickly entrenched its position as a manufacturing, logistical, and technology hub in the region. Kenya offers a wealth of investment opportunities across various priority sectors including infrastructure development, horticulture, manufacturing, tourism, power generation, natural resource extraction, and information and communications technology. From the foregoing, a respondent noted as follows:

Kenya has therefore made significant political and economic reforms that have contributed to sustained economic growth, social development, and political stability gains over the past decade. The strides means that Kenya is in a better place to safeguard her national security interests even amidst the ongoing geopolitical and geostrategic scramble for the Horn of Africa region.

To this extent, Kenya located in East Africa and sharing its borders with countries including Ethiopia, South Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda, Kenya has often been referred to as the commercial gateway to and regional hub of East Africa. This comes because of the strategic importance the coastal city of Mombasa plays, which is one of the busiest ports along the East African coastline as classified by Deloitte (2022). As one of the largest economies in the region in terms of GDP, Kenya has positioned itself as a major economic power in the region and across sub-Saharan Africa.

4.3.2.3 Enhancing Bilateral and Multilateral Cooperation

Then study found that cooperation inform of bilateral and multilateral engagements is key for Kenya to effective secure her national security interests in the region. This is due to the reciprocity, pooling of resources, and increased bargaining power that comes with increased cooperation. Consequently, the study found that Kenya should

continue to cooperate with other states through intensifying multilateral diplomacy, strengthening regional integration (EAC, IGAD, AU, AfCFTA, among others), and building coalitions and alliances based on mutual interests such as addressing climate change, fostering economic growth, and achieving peaceful conflict resolution. Moreover, Kenya stands to benefit immensely by implementing treaties and conventions that speaks to collective issues faced by Kenya and other states.

In addition, it is crucial for Kenya to continue collaborating with other African countries in peace-keeping efforts such as African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) (now African Transition Mission in Somalia, ATMIS). It is, however, important to note that the Mission in Somalia has been executed via a collaborative military engagement.

Overall, in the realm of international affairs, a comprehensive comprehension of the motives and actions of nations and states necessitates an examination of the fundamental principles and implementation of national and state interests. The aforementioned proposals offer a systematic approach to examine and forecast the behaviour and strategies of various entities, hence allowing exertion of considerable influence by Kenya on the intricacies of worldwide political interactions.

4.4 Conclusion

The research determines that the great power struggle in the HoA region is intricate and diverse, with several entities competing for power and influence in this crucial region. The power dynamics in the region are marked by fierce rivalry among major actors vying for strategic supremacy and influence. The motivations of these powers, including the USA, China, and Russia, stem from their strategic objectives, which include factors such as resource accessibility, geostrategic significance, regional security impact, and economic prospects.

Their activities and engagement in the region have substantial consequences for the future prospects, especially in relation to regional stability and the possibility of both war and collaboration. Although the rivalry between major countries has the possibility of escalating into confrontations, it also provides opportunities for collaboration in areas of shared interest, such as counterterrorism, maritime security, and infrastructure development. The ongoing power struggle in the region poses both obstacles and prospects

for regional security and the future equilibrium of power. It is in this realpolitik (motivated by Realism theory) context, that Kenya has instituted measures to ensure that her national security interests are safeguarded amidst the great power competition in the region.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATION

5.0 Introduction

This study embarked on finding the impact of great power competition in the HoA region on Kenya's national security interests in the period 2010 to 2022. The study defined the great powers to include USA, China and Russia. To achieve this, the study relied on three research questions firstly; How did great powers' competition play out in the Horn of Africa from 2010 to 2022? Secondly; How did great powers' competition in the Horn of Africa affect Kenya's security from 2010 to 2022 and thirdly; What strategies can Kenya deploy to address the influence of great powers' competition in the Horn of Africa on to her national security interest from 2010 to 2022? Further, the study made the general assumption that states that do not consider the implications of competing powers in their regions commit strategic miscalculation risks their survival and that great power competition in the HoA region impacted Kenya's national security interests negatively during the study period. Moreover, the study adopted realism theory of international relations for its theoretical framework.

This chapter highlights a summary of the findings, conclusion, and recommendations of the study.

5.1 Summary of Key Findings

5.1.1 Nature of great powers' competition in the Horn of Africa from 2010 to 2022.

The HoA region is of geopolitical significance stemming from its proximity to vital maritime trade routes, including the Bab el-Mandeb Strait, and its geographical location at the crossroads of Africa, the Middle East, and the Indian Ocean.

From 2010 to 2022, study found out that the competition among the great powers in the HoA region was marked by an intense rivalry for military deployment and infrastructure, economic interests, dominance over strategic resources, and geopolitical influence. Further, the USA and China were the main contenders in the fight for influence in the HoA region, as they strived to safeguard their respective strategic interests, a fact

that was clearly depicted from the analysis of the interview results with 100% of key informants affirming the same. Specifically, the USA bolstered her military presence in the area by forging alliances with nations like Djibouti, Kenya, and Ethiopia. In contrast, China adopted a mostly economic-oriented strategy by making substantial investments in infrastructure initiatives, like as ports and railroads, in nations like Kenya, Djibouti, and Ethiopia. Russia on her part increased military equipment sale and upscaled training to countries in the region.

These findings were in sync with Adeoye (2023) who opined an intense contest in the HoA underway over vital resources and commercial pathways that were present in the region. This competition amongst these great powers as was in other regions of the world such as the Middle East and the South China sea was a reflection of the tenets of realism theory which underpinned this research, whereby, states - primary actors in the international system tussle for resources, markets and influence in regions across the world.

The study further identified other actors including Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Israel, Turkey, among others as having increased their presence in the region during the study period. Furthermore, the rivalry among the great powers was also distinguished by diplomatic endeavours to secure the support of nations in the HoA region vide the provision of aid, development assistance, and trade agreements.

5.1.2 Impact of Great Power Competition on Kenya's National Security Interests

The study determined that the great power rivalry in the region generated varied effects to the states within the HoA region during the period 2010 to 2022. The study had made the assumption that the great power competition in the region would affect Kenya national security negatively. However, from the analysis of the results, it was clear that Kenya experienced both positive and negative impacts from the competition of the great powers. In essence 68% of the key informants interviewed were of the view that enhanced economic and infrastructure development, a resultant of the competition was of benefit to Kenya's national security interest. Nevertheless, the assumption of negative impact materialised as well with increased militarization and proxy conflict affecting Kenya's security interests to heightened borders with Somalia, Ethiopia and South Sudan.

Amidst this competition for dominance and influence, the region saw a restructuring of partnerships and alliances. Moreover, it saw socio-economic transformations in form of investments and advancements in infrastructure, alongside the use of natural resources. This great power rivalry did not only influence political and security dynamics, but it has also had consequences for economic and cultural sectors as was affirmed by Long (2016). Furthermore, the heightened military deployment and proliferation of weapons contributed to proxy wars and regional instability with the Sudan conflict having a negative effect on Kenya's national security interest. Analysis of the key informants' views also established that regional stability and conflict spill over was a key negative impact to Kenya's security.

Additionally, for Kenya, the great power contests impacted on her overall national security interests through the global war on terror that saw a significant input from the USA. The input in terms of security partnership, training and equipment aided Kenya wage counterterrorism efforts against the Somalia based terror outfit Al Shabab. This collaboration in essence is a positive outcome of the great power competition that also benefited the USA due to its geostrategic interest in the region's security. This finding was moreover contrary to the assumption of the study that the great power competition in the region produced negative impacts to Kenya's security interests.

5.1.3 Kenya's Strategies to Address the Influence of Great Power Competition

The study established that Kenya needed to institute various strategies to address the influence of great powers competition to her national security interests. Kenya has and must continue to deploy instruments of national power including the military, informational, diplomatic, law enforcement, intelligence gathering and usage, financial, and using the human capital to enhance economic power. As stated by Morgenthau et al., (1985) when he characterized these instruments as elements of national power, that they need to be harnessed properly should enhance the capability of a state. This in essence reflects the concept of orchestration of instruments of national power in order to achieve the stated objectives. Successfully orchestrating these instruments would require effective coordination among national institutions particularly those related to national security.

Thus far, Kenya has enhanced the deployment of the aforesaid tools, for instance, Kenya's military finesse has been on show in how it has significantly played a role in neutralizing the threat posed by Al Shabaab to the country and her interests. This mission has been made possible through the to the deployment of multiagency taskforces which include all the organs of national security as envisaged in Article 14 of Kenya's constitution. intelligence techniques and tools.

Further, Kenya's higher performance on various indices like economy, military power, among others is key to guaranteeing Kenya's survival in an otherwise anarchic international system. Additionally, the study found that diplomatic cooperation in the form of bilateral and multilateral engagements will be key for Kenya to effectively secure her national security interests in the region.

5.2 Conclusion

The study established a connection between great power rivalry in the HoA region and Kenya's national security interests. This is manifested in a strong positive correlation between the geopolitical jostling over access to the region and the subsequent impacts generated at the national level whose dynamics subsequently shapes Kenya's national security interests. This study hence opines that there are multiple dimensions to comprehending Kenya's national security interests within the context of great power rivalry in the region.

Accordingly, the study concluded that on the general objective of the study; the great power competition in the region significantly impacted on Kenya's national security interests during the study period. The implication was both positive and negative to include the acceleration of economic development including the presence of mega infrastructural projects to insecurity arising from proxy wars in the region and influx of refugees.

On the first specific objective, the research concluded that undoubtedly USA, China & Russia present in HoA, with their involvement in the region manifesting in economic, infrastructure & military engagement. This conclusion rhymes with Adeoye (2023) opinion that there is intense contestation in the HoA over vital resources and commercial pathways. Further, the conclusion on this research objective illuminates the realist view that emphasizes on self-help and maximization of national security interests with the great

powers involved in the fight for influence in the HoA region, as they strived to safeguard their respective interests in the area.

Regarding the second specific objective, the study concluded that Kenya's national security interests which transcends a diverse array of issues were impacted with social economic issues, diplomatic realignment with regional and international partnership and heightened military deployment and proliferation of weapons contributed to regional instability affected.

Finally, pertaining the third specific research objective, the study concluded that as result of great power competition Kenya needed to continually come up with strategies to mitigate against the aforesaid effect. Key among this strategies is the need to deploy optimally instruments of national power including the military, informational, diplomatic, law enforcement, intelligence gathering and usage, financial resources.

5.3 Recommendations

5.3.1 Policy Recommendation

The study recommends the need to continually redesign the strategies to address the impact of great power rivalry on Kenya's national security interests in view of the evolving interests and dynamics that shapes great power competition. This will allow Kenya to have in place an active and pragmatic strategy to safeguard against interference to her national security interests. For instance, Kenya may consider exploiting the geostrategic position of the Port of Lamu to maximize the opportunities accorded by the great power competition in the HoA. This may be done by expanding the role of the Port of Lamu to compete with the Port of Djibouti in hosting the great powers appetite for military and naval bases. This policy recommendation is informed by the fact that the Port is essentially underutilized due to delays in actualizing the LAPPSET project. The activation of the Port would stir up economic development of the region, increase youth employment in addition to serving as a base to counter Al Shabab terrorism and piracy in the Indian ocean which could be on the rise following the Middle East conflict specifically Yemen and the Gulf of Eden.

Additionally, the study recommends that more research be done to establish the effectiveness of the various strategies that Kenya has deployed to deal with the impacts of

great power rivalry on her national security interest. This is necessitated by the need to create a weight or performance scale against which to isolate and rank the instituted strategies based on efficiency and effectiveness.

Moreover, one of the research objectives was to establish the implications of great power rivalry in the HoA region with major focus being on USA, China and Russia as the competing great powers. Hence, the study recommends that further research to understand what the impact and dynamics would be by the presence in the region of middle powers and more specifically Iran, Turkey, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates.

5.3.2 Academic Recommendation

The study utilized realism theory as the theoretical underpinning of this research, it may be prudent to explore whether other theories of international relations such as liberalism and constructivism are applicable and what variance would arise. Further this study was centered on a qualitative method of data collection, future research utilizing quantitative methods may be considered.

REFERENCES

- Abebe, A. M. (2010). Promises and Challenges of a Sub-Regional Force for the Horn of Africa. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1664286>
- Adar, K. G., & Check, N. A. (2011, January 1). Cooperative Diplomacy, Regional Stability and National Interests. African Books Collective.
- Adeoye, A. (2023). Russia in Africa: resurgent great power or bellicose pretender? *International Affairs*, 99(5), 2179–2180. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iia189>
- Al Jazeera America (2013). Kenyan Authorities hold Eight Suspects in Nairobi Mall Attack. (2013, September 28). Al Jazeera America. Retrieved from <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2013/9/28/>.
- Allison, G. T., 2015. The Thucydides Trap: are the U.S. and China headed for war?. *The Atlantic* , 24 September , pp. 1-6
- Altman, D. (2021). The Future of Conquest, Fights Over Small Places Could Spark the Next Big War,” *Foreign Affairs*.
- Aronson, S.L. (2012). United States aid to Kenya: A study on regional security and counterterrorism assistance before and after 9/11. *African Journal of Criminology and Justice Studies*. 5(1), 119-126.
- Anderson, L. (2023). The forty-year war: how America's lost the Middle East. *Foreign Affairs*, May/ June.
- Awuondo, J. (2023). National Government and Academia: A Collaborative Approach in Advancing National Security in Kenya. <https://dx.doi.org/10.47772/IJRISS.2023.70929>.
- Batts-Millaudon, K. J. (2020). *Trust And Influence: A Case Study In Kenya* (Doctoral dissertation, Monterey, CA; Naval Postgraduate School).
- Bereketeab, R. (2013). *The Horn of Africa: intra-state and inter-state conflicts and security*. Pluto Press; Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Bidova, B. (2021). Conceptual Theoretical and Legal Foundations of the Theory of National Interest. *National Association of Scientists*, 5(74), 55–58. <https://doi.org/10.31618/nas.2413-5291.2021.5.74.544>.
- Botha, A. (2016). *Terrorism in Kenya and Uganda*. Lexington Books.
- Booth, K., 2005. *Critical security studies and world politics*. London : Lynne Rienner
- Bryman, A. (2016). *Social Research Methods* (5th Ed.). London: Oxford University Press.
- Buğra, SARI. (2020). AFRICA: A Constant Battlefield of Great Power Rivalry. *Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 22(1), 74-97.
- Call for Papers: The Post-colonial State in Africa-Historical Transformations, Development and Challenges of Emancipation. (2023, January 2). *African Historical Review*, 54(1), 107–109. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17532523.2023.2213932>.

- Callamard, A., & Roth, K. (2022). Ethiopia's Invisible Ethnic Cleansing: The World Can't Afford to Ignore Tigray. *Foreign Affairs*.
- Carr, E. (1962). *The twenty years' of crisis, 1919-1939: an introduction to the study of international relations*. New York : Harper & Row
- Chaziza, M. (2018). China's Military Base in Djibouti. *Mideast Security and Policy Studies*, 153, 1-28.
- Chollet, D., Fishman, B., & Kuperman, A. J. (2015, May/June). Who Lost Libya: Obama's Intervention in Retrospect. *Foreign Affairs*.
- Chonka, P. (2016). The real politics of the horn of Africa: money, war and the business of power. *National Identities*, 20(3), 337–339. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14608944.2016.1173830>
- Correction to: Great Power Competition and China's Security Assistance to Africa: Arms, Training, and Influence. (2022). *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 8(1). <https://doi.org/10.1093/jogss/ogac040>
- Crittenden, B., & Strike, K. A. (1991). Comparing Liberal and Marxist Theories. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 21(3), 387. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1180159>.
- Deloitte (2022). East Africa Macroeconomic Outlook, Volume III
- de Waal, A., 2019. Pax Africana or Middle East security alliance in the Horn of Africa and the Red Sea. *World Peace Foundation*, Volume 17, pp. 1-16.
- Doyle, M., 1999. Thucydides: a realist? . In: *Hegemonic rivalry: from Thucydides to the nuclear age* . Boulder, CO: West Press, pp. 169-88.
- Ero, C. & Atwood, R. (2023). Sudan and the new age of conflict: how regional power politics are fueling deadly wars. *Foreign Affairs* , 26 May
- Eze, M. O. (2013). Pan Africanism: A Brief Intellectual History. *History Compass*, 11(9), 663–674. <https://doi.org/10.1111/hic3.12074>
- Feldman-Savelsberg, P. (2022). National Identity and State Formation in Africa. *Contemporary Sociology*, 51(6), 474-476. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00943061221129662k>
- Gavin, M. (2023). Ethiopia after the War: How America's Approach the Country Should Change. *Foreign Affairs*.
- Goldstein, P. (2012). *Post-Marxist Theory*. State University of New York Press.
- Hassan, O. (2015). Constructivist-Institutionalism and the Invasion of Iraq: Crisis, Learning and the National security interests. *Horizons in Humanities and Social Sciences: An International Refereed Journal*, 1(1). <https://doi.org/10.19089/hhss.v1i1.5>.
- Hicks, M., Atwell, K., & Collini, D. (2021 , March 4). Great-Power Competition is Coming to Africa: The United States Needs to Think Regionally to Win. *Foreign Affairs*
- Held, D. (1984). *Political Theory and the Modern State* . Cambridge : Polity Press.
- Henderson, L. (2012). With (Great) Power Comes (Great) Responsibility: A Move Toward Greater Responsibility for States Exercising Power Abroad (Al- Jedda v

- the United Kingdom). *Utrecht Journal of International and European Law*, 28(74), 50. <https://doi.org/10.5334/ujel.az>
- Hennink, M., & Kaiser, B. N. (2022). Sample sizes for saturation in qualitative research: A systematic review of empirical tests. *Social science & medicine*, 292, 114523.
- Jureńczyk, Ł. (2021). United States security cooperation with Kenya in the second decade of the 21st century. *Przegląd Politologiczny*, (2), 5-16.
- Kennedy, P. (1988). *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*
- Kagan, D. (2003). *The Peloponnesian War : Athens and Sparta in savage conflict, 431-404 BC*
- Kanet, R. E. (2006). The superpower quest for empire: The Cold War and Soviet support for 'wars of national liberation'. *Cold War History*, 6(3), 331-352.
- Kenya National Commission on Human Rights Report (2014). *Are we Under Siege: The State of Security in Kenya*.
- Kothari, C. R. & Garg, G. (2014). *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques*. 2nd Edition, New Age International Publishers.
- Le Gouriellec, S. (2018). Regional power and contested hierarchy: Ethiopia, an 'imperfect hegemon' in the Horn of Africa. *International Affairs*, 94(5), 1059–1075. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iiy117>
- Lokanathan, V. (2020). China's Belt and Road Initiative: Implications in Africa. *ORF Issue Brief*, 1-12.
- Long, T. (2016). Small States, Great Power? Gaining Influence Through Intrinsic, Derivative, and Collective Power: Table 1. *International Studies Review*, viw040. <https://doi.org/10.1093/isr/viw040>
- Mahmood, S. O. (2020). *The Middle East's Complicated Engagement in the Horn of Africa: Has the involvement of Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Qatar and Turkey helped or hurt East Africa?* The United States Institute of Peace.
- Makinda, S. M. (2006). *Rethinking Global Security: An African Perspective?* Heinrich Böll Foundation Regional Office, East and Horn of Africa, Nairobi.
- Mamdani, M. (2002). Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: A Political Perspective of culture and Terrorism. *American Anthropologist* 104(3):766-775.
- Mearsheimer, J. (2001). *The tragedy of great power politics*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Mearsheimer, J. (2005). *Hans Morgenthau and the Iraq War: Realism Versus Neo-Conservatism*. United States : Open Democracy: Free Thinking for the World.
- Megerisi, T. (2020, May). Geostrategic Dimensions of Libya's Civil War. *Africa Security Brief*, 37.
- Mehmood Khan, E. (2022). National security interests: Perspectives and Practices. *Journal of Contemporary Studies*, 11(1), 17–33. <https://doi.org/10.54690/jcs.v11i1.210>

- Mokry, S. (2023). Grand strategy and the construction of the national security interests: the underpinnings of Sino-US strategic competition. *International Politics*, 1-19. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-023-00452-w>
- Morgenthau, H. J., Thompson, K. W., & Clinton, W. D. (1985). *Politics among nations: The struggle for power and peace*. New York: Alfred Knopf.
- Morgenthau, H. J. (1948). The primacy of the national security interest. *The American Scholar*, 207-212.
- Morgenthau, H., & Thomson, K. (1978). *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*. Nova York, Alfred Kopf.
- Morse, J. M. (2015). Data were saturated... *Qualitative health research*, 25(5), 587-588.
- Munene, M. (2011). Reflections on Kenya's national and security interests. *Journal of Language, Technology & Entrepreneurship in Africa*, 3(1), 274-283.
- Murindwa Rutanga. (2011). 1 - 13th Codesria General Assembly Announcement: Africa and The Challenges of The Twenty First Century. CODESRIA Bulletin, 01–02. <https://doi.org/10.57054/cb01-022011472>.
- Mwagiru, M. (2022). Self-Determination and Conflicts of Norms in the Ethiopia Civil War. *Horn Bulletin*, V(IV), 1-14.
- Nagi, A. (2021, July 21). The conflict in Yemen is more than a proxy war: Why local grievances cannot be overlooked in any peace process. *Foreign Affairs* .
- Nye Jr, J. S. (1999). Redefining the national security interests. *Foreign Affairs*, 22-35.
- Nzau M. (2007). Inter-African Diplomacy and the Crises of the Post Cold War Period. *East African Journal of Humanities and Sciences*, 7(2), 1-22.
- Nzau, M., & Guyo, M. (2018). The Challenge of Securing Kenya: Past Experience, Present Challenges and Future Prospects. *The Journal of Social Encounters*, 2(1), 37-59.
- Olsen, R. G. (2018). What Kenya has to show for sending troops into Somalia seven years ago. *The Conversation*. Available at <https://theconversation.com/what-kenya-has-to-show-for-sending-troops-into-somalia-seven-years-ago-90965>. (Accessed 21 December 2023)
- Orkaby, A. (2021). Saudi Arabia's other Yemen War: The decades-long assault on the Yemeni economy. *Foreign Affairs*.
- Pham, J. P. (2015). What Is in the National security interests? Hans Morgenthau's Realist Vision and American Foreign Policy. *American Foreign Policy Interests*, 37(4), 187–193. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10803920.2015.1080073>.
- Piotukh, V. & Wilson P. (2009). *Security Sector Evolution: Understanding and Influencing how Security Institutions Change*. London: Libra Advisory Group.
- Pleace, J. (2023). Identity, Culture, and National security interests: A Pragmatic Application of Constructivist Theory to the Lhotshampa Expulsion. *The Bhutan Journal*, 4(1). <https://doi.org/10.55564/tbj41jp23bc>.

- Poulshock, M. (2022). Swing States in Great Power Competition. *SSRN Electronic Journal*. <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4124778>
- Reuters. (2017). *China Formally Opens First Overseas Military Base in Djibouti*. Reuters.
- Rice, S. (2001, November). Testifying before the US House Committee on International Relations. Retrieved from <http://commdocs.house.gov/committees/intelrel/hfa76191000/hfa76191>. (Accessed 26 August 2023).
- Rodney, W. (2012). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. Pambazuka Press.
- Sau, A. (2020). *A Marxist Theory of Ideology*. Routledge.
- Scharre, P. (2023). Four Battlegrounds: Power in the Age of Artificial Intelligence
- Schmidt, E. (2022). AI, great power competition & national security. *Daedalus*, 151(2), 288-298.
- Smith, S. (1986). Theories of foreign policy: An historical overview. *Review of International Studies*, 12(1), 13-29.
- Spykman, N. J. (1938). Geography and foreign policy, I. *American Political Science Review*, 32(1), 28-50.
- The HORN International Institute for Strategic Studies. (2019). Africa-Middle East Relations: Interests, Strategies, Interventions, and Impact. *The HORN Bulletin*, IV(V), 1-14.
- Tsuruoka, D. (2018). How Many ‘Chinese’ Businesses Are in Africa?” *Asia Times*.
- Vasileiou, K., Barnett, J., Thorpe, S., & Young, T. (2018). Characterising and justifying sample size sufficiency in interview-based studies: BMC medical research methodology, 18, 1-18.
- Vertin, Z. (2019). Red Sea rivalries: The Gulf, the Horn, and the new geopolitics of the Red Sea. Brookings Doha Centre.
- Wallerstein, I. (1984). *The politics of the world-economy: The states, the movements and the civilizations*. Cambridge University Press.
- Wasuge, M. (2016). *Turkey’s Assistance Model in Somalia: Achieving Much With Little*. The Heritage Institute for Policy Studies. <http://www.heritageinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/02/Turkeys-Assistance-Model-in-Somalia-AchievingMuch-With-Little1-1.pdf>
- Westad, O. A. (2005). *The global Cold War: Third World interventions and the making of our times*. Cambridge University Press.
- Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy is what states make of it: The social construction of power politics. *International organization*, 46(2), 391-425.
- Woldemariam, Y., & Yohannes, O. (1998, April). The United States and the Horn of Africa. An Analytical Study of Pattern and Process. *African Studies Review*, 41(1), 209. <https://doi.org/10.2307/524714>
- Young, C. (1995). The Heritage of Colonialism. In Harbeson, J. W. and Rothchild, D. (eds.) *Africa in World Politics: Post-War Challenges*, Boulder, San Francisco and Oxford: Westview Press.
- Ylönen, A., 2022. External power competition in the Horn of Africa. *The RUSI Journal*, 166 (6-7), pp. 74-8

APPENDICES


Key Informant Interviews Guide

1. What do you understand by the concept of great power?
2. What do you know about great powers' presence in the HoA?
3. Could you mention some of the great power countries present in the HoA?
4. What is the manifestation of great powers' competition in the HoA from 2010 to 2022?
What has been the activities of great power countries in the HoA?
5. What has been the impact of great powers' competition in the HoA countries from 2010 to 2022?
6. Briefly highlight Kenya's national security interests during the period between 2010 to 2022
7. In what ways has the great power presence in the HoA impacted on Kenya's national security?
8. Mention any other non-state actors involved in the HoA? In which areas are they involved in? Does their involvement in any way impact on Kenya's national security?
9. Mention any strategies that could be deployed by Kenya to mitigate against the harm that the great power competition in the HoA could cause?
10. What (factors) influenced Kenya's national security interests between 2010 to 2022?
11. What is the impact of great powers' competition in the HoA to Kenya's national security interests from 2010 to 2022?
12. What strategies can be used by Kenya to address the influence of great power against her national security interest?
13. Has great power competition in the HoA influenced Kenya's the choice of domestic and foreign policy?

NACOSTI Permit

Ref No: 698655

RESEARCH LICENSE




This is to Certify that Mr. George Njuguna Kabuti of National Defence University, has been licensed to conduct research as per the provision of the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 (Rev.2014) in Nairobi on the topic: Great Power Competition In The Horn Of Africa And Kenya's National Security Interests for the period ending : 12/December/2024.

License No: NACOSTI/P/23/31838

Applicant Identification Number: 698655

Director General
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Verification QR Code



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

See overleaf for conditions

Plagiarism Report