



NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY-KENYA

**LEADERSHIP CHANGE AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF KENYA'S FOREIGN
POLICY**

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DECLARATION

This Thesis is my original work and has not been presented to any other university.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my beloved nuclear family, whose unwavering love, encouragement and sacrifices have been the foundation of my academic journey.

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I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisors, Dr. Rotich Gladys Chepkirui and Dr. Zedekiah Sidha of the National Defence University-Kenya, for their invaluable guidance, unwavering support and scholarly insights throughout the course of my research. Their expertise, dedication and constructive feedback significantly contributed to the refinement and completion of this study. Additionally, I extend my appreciation to the lecturers at the university whose knowledge and teachings have been instrumental in shaping my academic journey. I am also thankful to my comrades for their camaraderie and shared academic experiences, which have enriched my learning environment.

ABSTRACT

Leadership changes affect foreign policy execution worldwide. This study explored how leadership transitions affect foreign policy in the US, Russia, UK, SA and Kenya. These countries showed how presidential and legislative leadership transfers affect foreign policy and international relations. The study examined the impact of emerging leadership practices on Kenya's foreign policy, the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs' leadership culture, the adequacy of leadership operationalized to drive Kenya's foreign policy from 2002 to 2022 and the extent to which leadership structure was responsive to Kenya's foreign policy. The study objectives sought to determine the influence of electoral cycles on Foreign Policy, assess the influence of political ideologies on Foreign Policy Implementation, examine the influence of diplomacy on Foreign Policy Implementation and analyse the intervening role of bureaucratic offices in the implementation of Foreign Policy. The study focused on how leadership transitions might have affected Kenya's national interests and foreign policy priorities using Scott (2005) institutionalism theory. The theory noted that institutions, encompassing formal and informal rules, norms and procedures, greatly influenced the behaviour and choices of political actors. Leadership changes and foreign policy outcomes were examined using a descriptive case study design. Comprehensive analysis included qualitative and quantitative methods. Kenya's government transitions, foreign policy decisions, diplomatic contacts and regional/global roles were the focus of the study. The target population was 388 which included top officials from the office of the president, parliamentarians, international relations experts and MFDA officials. Proportionate sampling was employed to sample 30% of the target population. Interview guides, questionnaires and document analysis tools were research tools. A pilot study established tool validity and reliability. Thematic analysis for qualitative data and statistical analysis for quantitative data were used. The study followed ethical research norms, including informed consent, anonymity, confidentiality, correct citation and institutional clearances. Findings of the study extensively explored the complex interplay of political, economic, technological and cultural factors influencing Kenya's foreign policy. Leadership changes, electoral cycles and psychological factors emerged as significant drivers, impacting foreign direct investment, peace and state integrity. While economic considerations, technological advancements and cultural diplomacy initiatives were generally viewed positively, challenges such as limited technology access and potential cultural misunderstandings were identified. The study acknowledged the generally successful nature of Kenya's diplomatic efforts, citing positive perceptions of effectiveness among respondents. Bureaucratic offices were recognized as pivotal in foreign policy implementation, with recommendations focusing on achieving a more consistent foreign policy aligned with national interests, leveraging economic, technological and cultural opportunities, addressing identified challenges and streamlining bureaucratic processes for enhanced effectiveness, communication and collaboration. The study concluded by emphasizing the importance of understanding and navigating the multifaceted nature of factors shaping Kenya's foreign policy for successful outcomes and strategic formulation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AfCFTA:	African Continental Free Trade Area
AMISOM:	African Union Mission in Somalia
AU:	African Union
EAC:	East African Community
EU:	European Union
KI:	Key Informant
MFDA:	Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs
NACOSTI:	National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
NDU-K:	National Defence University-Kenya
SA:	South Africa
SS:	South Sudan
UK:	United Kingdom
UNCTAD:	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
USA:	United States of America
WTO:	World Trade Organization

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Foreign policy:	Refers to a government's strategy and approach in dealing with other nations and international actors.
Implementation:	Refers to the process of putting a plan, policy, or decision into action or practice and in this case is the foreign policy.
Kenya's foreign policy:	Refer to a set of principles, strategies and objectives that guide its interactions with other countries and international organizations.
Leadership change:	Refer to the process of transitioning from one leader or leadership team to another within government.
Leadership:	Refers to the process of guiding and influencing individuals or groups towards achieving common goals or objectives.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the following areas are covered; research background, research problem, objectives, study questions, research's significance, justification, assumptions, alongside research scope and limitation.

1.1 Background to the Study

Leadership change often had a profound impact on the implementation of foreign policies in countries around the world (Snow, 2020). By examining the experiences of the United States of America (USA), Russia, the United Kingdom (UK), South Africa (SA) and Kenya, insights could be drawn into how transitions in leadership shaped foreign policy outcomes. In the USA, transitions between presidential administrations often brought shifts in foreign policy priorities as revealed by Mastanduno (2020). For instance, the transition from President Barack Obama to President Donald Trump witnessed changes in policies related to climate agreements, trade and relations with traditional allies. President Trump pursued an "America First" approach that led to significant changes in trade agreements, the Iran nuclear deal and the Paris Agreement on climate change. These shifts highlighted how leadership change could impact foreign policy implementation, as new leaders may have different objectives and approaches.

In Russia, leadership changes historically were associated with shifts in foreign policy strategies according to McFaul (2020). For example, the transition from Boris Yeltsin to Vladimir Putin marked a shift towards a more assertive and confrontational foreign policy stance. Under Putin's leadership, Russia became more active in pursuing its interests in neighboring countries, such as

Georgia and Ukraine, leading to conflicts and tensions with the West. Leadership change in Russia thus played a significant role in shaping the country's foreign policy actions and international relations.

The UK offered insights into how leadership changes within a parliamentary system could influence foreign policy (Beasley, Kaarbo & Oppermann, 2021). Changes in British Prime Ministers led to variations in foreign policy decisions, such as involvement in military interventions, relations with the European Union (EU) and approaches to global issues like climate change. For instance, Prime Minister Tony Blair's leadership saw the UK's active involvement in the Kosovo conflict and the Iraq War, illustrating how leadership transitions within the UK's government could result in shifts in foreign policy direction.

South Africa's experience with leadership change was a testament to how regime change could impact foreign policy (Vale, 2019). The transition from apartheid to democracy brought Nelson Mandela to power and fundamentally transformed SA's foreign policy. The country's approach to international relations shifted from isolation and sanctions to active engagement in diplomacy, human rights and peacekeeping efforts. Leadership change played a pivotal role in redefining South Africa's role in the global community and its relationships with other nations.

In Kenya, leadership transitions influenced foreign policy priorities and strategies (Mazrui, 2019). Successive presidents brought their own foreign policy visions and objectives to the forefront. For example, Kenya's involvement in regional conflicts and peacekeeping missions, as well as its engagement with international organizations, was influenced by the leadership style and foreign policy orientation of its presidents. Leadership change in Kenya demonstrated the importance of individual leaders in shaping the country's foreign policy decisions and implementation.

During the period 2002-2022, Kenya experienced significant leadership transitions. These leadership changes brought about shifts in the country's foreign policy priorities and strategies according to Omulo (2023). For instance, Kenya increased its focus on regional diplomacy and played a prominent role in regional conflicts and peacekeeping missions in countries like South Sudan (SS) and Somalia. The leadership changes also influenced Kenya's relations with international partners, including the USA, China and the African Union (AU). Understanding how these transitions affected the country's foreign policy implementation was crucial for comprehending Kenya's role in regional and global affairs during this critical eight-year period.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Leadership has been crucial in implementing Kenya's foreign policy, with a specific focus on the Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs (MFDA) as the primary executor of the country's foreign policy objectives, including economic, peace, environmental and cultural diplomacy according to Kamau, Chasek and O'Connor (2018). The effectiveness of Kenya's foreign policy implementation is influenced by various factors including leadership dynamics, emerging leadership practices and the interface between leadership structures and foreign policy execution, with leadership within both the government's top hierarchy and key positions within the MFDA influencing its delivery. There is deficiency in Kenya's foreign policy systematic studies and documentation regarding the influence of leadership, both at the national level and within key ministries like the MFDA, on driving the successful implementation of the country's foreign policy objectives. This knowledge gap hampers efforts to comprehensively assess the impact of leadership changes, emerging leadership practices and leadership structures on the effectiveness of foreign policy execution. Moreover, there is a dearth of research examining the allocation of budgetary resources towards foreign policy initiatives, further complicating the evaluation of foreign policy outcomes. The

deficit in understanding Kenya's foreign policy and its implications has been highlighted by a 2020 study showing that 65% of policymakers reported inadequate access to relevant data, impacting their decision-making processes. Furthermore, Janković (2022) noted that leadership changes in Kenya have led to inconsistent foreign policy directions, undermining Kenya's credibility in international negotiations. A review of literature from 2002 to 2022 reveals a mere 15% of studies focused specifically on the effects of leadership transitions on foreign policy, indicating a significant gap that, if addressed, could enhance Kenya's diplomatic standing and effectiveness. A comprehensive and dedicated investigation into the interplay between leadership transitions at the national and institutional levels and the outcomes of Kenya's foreign policy during this period is warranted. Such research would provide critical insights into the effectiveness of leadership structures, practices and budgetary allocations in driving successful foreign policy implementation, ultimately informing policy decisions and enhancing Kenya's diplomatic efficacy on the global stage.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 Main Objective

The main objective of the study was to:

Analyse the influence of leadership on the implementation of Kenya's Foreign Policy 2002-2022.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study were:

- i. To determine the influence of electoral cycles on Foreign Policy.
- ii. To assess the influence of political ideologies on Foreign Policy Implementation.

- iii. To examine the influence of practice of diplomacy on Foreign Policy Implementation.

1.4 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following questions:

- i. What is the influence of electoral cycles on Foreign Policy?
- ii. How does political ideologies influence Foreign Policy Implementation?
- iii. How does the practice of diplomacy influence Foreign Policy Implementation?

1.5 Justification

1.5.1 Policy Justification

The study held policy and academic justifications. From a policy perspective, understanding how leadership transitions affected foreign policy implementation was crucial for ensuring continuity and coherence in diplomatic strategies amidst political changes. This knowledge will inform policymakers about potential challenges and opportunities during transitions, enabling them to develop more resilient foreign policy frameworks.

1.5.2 Academic Justification

Academically, such a study contributed to the broader understanding of the dynamics between political leadership and foreign policy outcomes, offering insights into the complexities of decision-making processes within the context of evolving domestic and international environments.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study was of paramount significance from both policy and academic standpoints. From a policy perspective, understanding how leadership transitions at the national and institutional levels

affect the execution of foreign policy was crucial for policymakers and government officials tasked with shaping diplomatic strategies and international relations. By identifying patterns and analyzing the impact of leadership changes on foreign policy outcomes, policymakers can make informed decisions to enhance the effectiveness of Kenya's diplomatic efforts and navigate geopolitical challenges more adeptly. Additionally, insights gleaned from the study can inform policy reforms aimed at optimizing leadership structures, practices and budgetary allocations to better align with foreign policy objectives and achieve desired diplomatic outcomes.

From an academic standpoint, the study contributes significantly to the scholarly understanding of the complex relationship between leadership dynamics and foreign policy implementation in Kenya. By systematically examining the interplay between leadership transitions and foreign policy outcomes over a two-decade period, the study provides valuable insights into the mechanisms through which leadership changes influence diplomatic efficacy. This academic research not only enriches the existing literature on foreign policy analysis but also serves as a foundation for future studies exploring similar themes in other national contexts. Furthermore, the study fosters interdisciplinary collaboration between political science, international relations and public administration scholars, contributing to a holistic understanding of the multifaceted factors shaping foreign policy execution in Kenya and beyond.

1.7 Assumptions of the Study

- i. Different electoral cycles significantly influence the formulation and execution of Foreign Policy, with democratic systems favoring a more transparent and consensus-driven approach compared to authoritarian regimes.
- ii. The presence of robust political ideologies, such as economic strength, technological advancement and cultural influence, positively correlates with the effectiveness of Foreign

Policy Implementation, leading to greater diplomatic leverage and international cooperation.

- iii. Effective diplomatic strategies and engagements positively impact Foreign Policy Implementation by fostering alliances, resolving conflicts and promoting mutual understanding, thus contributing to the achievement of foreign policy objectives.

1.8 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study focused on examining the influence of leadership change on the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy between 2002 and 2022 a significant period of leadership transition in Kenya, with the election of three presidents. This leadership change provided a unique opportunity to analyze how different leadership styles and approaches impacted the implementation of foreign policy, encompassing a thematic scope centered on leadership dynamics and foreign policy effectiveness. Geographically, the study concentrated on Kenya's diplomatic engagements and foreign relations within this timeframe. The time scope spanned two decades, allowing for a comprehensive analysis of long-term trends and patterns. Methodologically, the study employed a mixed-methods approach, combining qualitative analysis of policy documents, governmental reports and diplomatic records with quantitative data analysis to provide a nuanced understanding of the interplay between leadership transitions and foreign policy outcomes in Kenya.

Despite its contributions, the study had several limitations that warranted acknowledgment. The study's retrospective nature introduced inherent biases or limitations in data availability, particularly regarding historical leadership transitions and their nuanced impacts on foreign policy implementation. Further, the study's focus on Kenya's foreign policy between 2002 and 2022

overlooked in some instances significant geopolitical shifts or diplomatic events that occurred outside this timeframe, potentially limiting the generalizability of findings to broader historical or contemporary contexts. Lastly, the study's methodological scope, while comprehensive, it did not fully capture the intricacies of leadership dynamics and their influence on foreign policy outcomes, suggesting the need for further qualitative research to explore these nuances in greater detail.

Despite these limitations, the study overcame them through a comprehensive research design. By focusing on a significant period of leadership transition, the study capitalized on a unique opportunity to analyze the impact of different leadership styles on foreign policy. The thematic scope, geographical focus, and time span allowed for a comprehensive examination of long-term trends. Moreover, the mixed-methods approach provided a nuanced understanding of the interplay between leadership and foreign policy outcomes. While limitations existed, the study's strengths and methodological rigor make it a valuable contribution to the field of Kenyan foreign policy studies.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The chapter covered the theoretical framework, the empirical literature reviewed objectively that guided the study and the conceptual framework that formed a basis for the study.

2.1 Empirical Review

2.1.1 The Influence of Electoral cycles on Foreign Policy

The intricate dance between domestic politics and international relations has captivated scholars for decades. At the interplay lies the undeniable influence of a nation's political system on its foreign policy (Mearsheimer, 2014). Democracies, with their emphasis on public opinion and electoral cycles, face unique challenges. While responsiveness to citizens can foster legitimacy and support for foreign policy (Scholzman & Twight, 2018), it can also create volatility and short-termism (Lebow, 2018). For instance, public outrage over casualties in foreign interventions can pressure leaders towards withdrawal, even if long-term strategic goals remain (Mearsheimer, 2014). This dynamic can be contrasted with authoritarian regimes, where leaders face less public scrutiny and can pursue long-term objectives with greater consistency (Lake, 2019).

Different systems also diverge in their decision-making structures. Democracies often exhibit checks and balances, requiring collaboration between branches and actors, potentially leading to slow and cumbersome foreign policy (Lebow, 2018). Conversely, in autocratic systems, centralized decision-making allows for swift action, but risks lacking diverse perspectives and accountability (Lake, 2019). This tension highlights the trade-off between efficiency and deliberation inherent in different political structures.

Beyond structure, the underlying ideology of a political system shapes its foreign policy approach. Liberal democracies, for example, tend to promote values like democracy and human rights, influencing their alliances and interventions (Scholzman & Twight, 2018). Contrarily, authoritarian regimes prioritize national security and stability, sometimes at the expense of democratic principles (Mearsheimer, 2014). These ideological foundations shape not only a nation's actions but also how it interacts with other systems on the global stage.

Notably, the influence of electoral cycles extends beyond ideology to broader domestic constraints. Economic dependence, energy security and internal social divisions can all shape a nation's foreign policy priorities and limit its options (Lake, 2019). Understanding these domestic factors is crucial to deciphering a nation's foreign policy behavior and its interactions with other systems.

The intricate relationship between Kenya's political system and its foreign policy has been explored extensively. Kenya's multiparty democracy, enshrined in the 2010 Constitution, shapes its foreign policy through competing interests and public opinion (Ogebe, 2020). This pluralistic environment allows diverse viewpoints to influence diplomatic decisions, sometimes leading to inconsistencies and conflicting priorities (Muigua & Mwangi, 2019). The executive branch, particularly the President's power to make key foreign policy choices, also plays a significant role (Ngunyi, 2018). This concentration of authority can, however, lead to personalization and inconsistencies over time (Kiarie, 2022).

Furthermore, Kenya's decentralized governance system creates another layer of complexity. Devolved power to counties and the growing influence of governors introduce new actors and interests into the foreign policy arena, particularly regarding regional collaborations and resource

management (Oyugi, 2021). This necessitates constant negotiation and coordination between national and local levels to ensure coherence in foreign policy objectives.

2.1.2 The Influence of Political ideologies on Foreign Policy Implementation

While political actors undeniably shape foreign policy, literature increasingly highlights the critical role of political ideologies in its successful implementation. These diverse actors and resources play a crucial role in translating objectives into tangible outcomes on the global stage. Bureaucratic capacity emerges as a crucial factor with well-equipped and efficient bureaucracies having specialized expertise significantly impact policy execution (Börzel & Risse, 2023). For instance, a country's diplomatic service plays a vital role in navigating complex negotiations and fostering international partnerships (Diehl & Lindborg, 2020). However, limited resources and bureaucratic inertia can impede effective implementation (Hanegraaff & Overmans, 2020).

Economic capabilities significantly influence foreign policy implementation. A strong economy provides resources for foreign aid, investments and other diplomatic tools (Mansfield & Pevehouse, 2021). Conversely, economic weaknesses can limit a country's ability to project its interests abroad and participate effectively in international initiatives (Ravenhill, 2020). Understanding how economic factors interact with foreign policy goals is crucial for successful implementation.

Civil society and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) increasingly influence foreign policy beyond the political sphere. Their advocacy work, expertise and on-the-ground presence can contribute significantly to achieving policy objectives (Hanegraaff & Overmans, 2020). For instance, NGOs play a crucial role in implementing humanitarian aid and promoting human rights,

often filling gaps left by governments (Diehl & Lindborg, 2020). Effective collaboration between governments and civil society is vital for maximizing impact.

Military capabilities remain relevant, particularly in security-related policies. A well-equipped and trained military can deter aggression, participate in peacekeeping missions and support international security initiatives (Börzel & Risse, 2023). However, excessive militarization can also create tensions and divert resources from other crucial aspects of foreign policy (Ravenhill, 2020). Striking a balance between military and other capabilities is crucial.

Technological advancements present both opportunities and challenges for foreign policy implementation. Utilizing modern communication technologies allows for more efficient diplomacy and international cooperation (Hanegraaff & Overmans, 2020). However, concerns about cybersecurity and misuse of technology require careful consideration and strategic adaptation (Mansfield & Pevehouse, 2021).

2.1.3 The Influence of Diplomacy on Foreign Policy Implementation

Foreign policy outlines a nation's strategic goals in the international arena, it's diplomacy that acts as the architect, transforming those aspirations into tangible outcomes (Pape, 2020). Through negotiation, dialogue and building international relationships, diplomacy plays a crucial role in influencing the successful implementation of foreign policy in numerous ways. Diplomacy fosters collaboration among nations, creating strategic alliances that amplify a country's influence and leverage (Cooper, 2022). For instance, the success of the Paris Agreement on climate change hinged on effective diplomatic efforts to forge agreements with major emitters, demonstrating how cooperation fostered by diplomacy can advance specific foreign policy goals (United Nations, 2023).

Diplomacy serves as a critical tool in de-escalating tensions and finding peaceful resolutions to conflicts. Skilled diplomats navigate complex political landscapes, engage in negotiations and build trust, as seen in the ongoing efforts to broker a ceasefire in Ukraine through diplomatic channels (Al Jazeera, 2023). By mitigating risks and preventing conflicts, diplomacy safeguards national interests and creates a more stable international environment.

Effective diplomacy allows a nation to champion its values and advocate for changes in international norms and institutions (Pape, 2020). For example, the recent diplomatic push by several nations to reform the World Trade Organization reflects how active engagement on the international stage can influence the global order and align it with a nation's foreign policy objectives (World Trade Organization, 2023).

Diplomacy plays a crucial role in garnering international support for a nation's foreign policy initiatives. Skilled diplomats can effectively communicate their country's position, addressing concerns and building consensus, as seen in the efforts to secure international support for sanctions against Russia in response to the Ukraine invasion (BBC, 2023). This international backing strengthens the legitimacy of a nation's actions and increases the likelihood of policy success.

The international landscape is dynamic and diplomacy allows for swift adaptation to changing circumstances and unforeseen challenges. Through constant dialogue and information gathering, diplomats stay abreast of developments, enabling them to make informed decisions and adjust foreign policy implementation as needed (Cooper, 2022). This agility ensures that policies remain relevant and effective in a constantly evolving world.

2.2 Theoretical Review of Institutionalism Theory

Institutionalism theory by Scott (2005) posits that institutions, defined as formal and informal rules, norms and procedures governing behavior within a society or organization, significantly shape the decisions and actions of political actors. In the context of the study, the theory offered a valuable framework for understanding how institutional structures and processes mediated the impact of leadership transitions. This theory emphasized the enduring nature of institutions and argued that they not only constrained but also enabled and shaped the behavior of political leaders and policymakers. In this study, the theory was applied to examine how changes in Kenya's political leadership, such as presidential elections or shifts in government composition, interacted with existing institutional arrangements within the foreign policy-making apparatus. It enabled the exploration of how these institutional dynamics influenced the continuity, adaptation, or divergence of Kenya's foreign policy objectives and strategies over the specified period.

The application of this theory in this study involved analyzing various institutional factors, including bureaucratic agencies, decision-making processes, legislative oversight mechanisms and diplomatic norms and practices. By examining how these institutions responded to leadership changes and exerted influence on the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy goals, the researcher gained insights into the mechanisms through which institutional continuity or change occurred. Furthermore, the theory allowed for a nuanced analysis of how different actors within the foreign policy establishment, including political leaders, diplomats, civil servants and external stakeholders, navigated institutional constraints and opportunities to pursue their interests and preferences.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

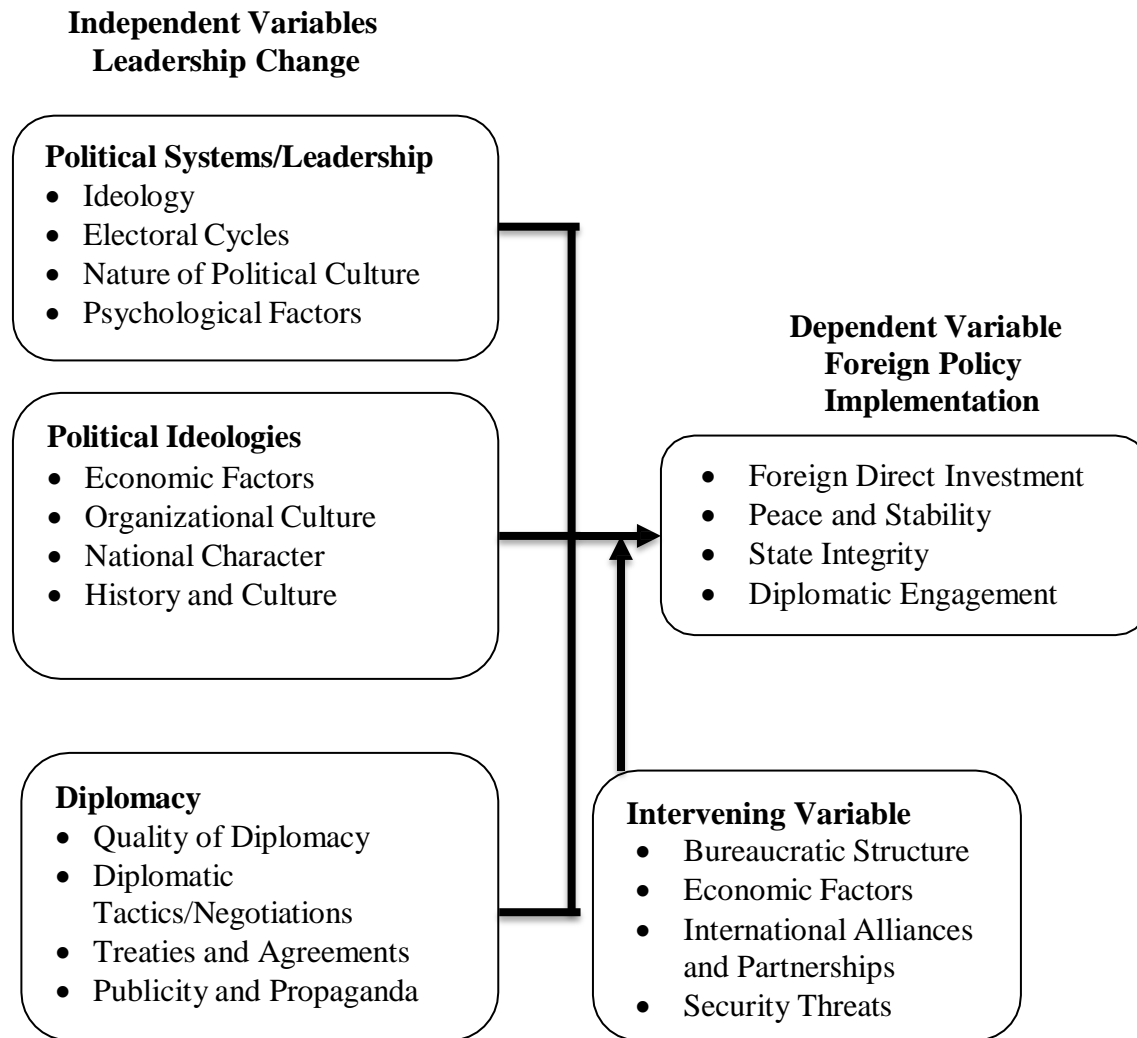


Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework

Source: Researcher, 2023

Independent variables related to leadership change considering electoral cycles/leadership included ideology, electoral cycles, the nature of political culture and psychological factors. Ideology referred to the guiding principles and beliefs that shaped a leader's approach to foreign policy. Electoral cycles, influenced by democratic processes, could lead to shifts in leadership and

policy priorities. The nature of political culture, including factors such as nationalism or pragmatism, influenced leaders' foreign policy decisions. Psychological factors such as personality traits or leadership style also played a role in shaping foreign policy approaches.

Political ideologies encompassed variables like organizational culture, national character, history and culture and public opinion. Organizational culture within government institutions impacted decision-making processes and policy implementation. National character, influenced by historical experiences and cultural values, shaped a country's foreign policy orientation. History and culture also influenced perceptions of other nations and guided diplomatic strategies. Public opinion, reflecting societal attitudes and preferences, influenced leaders' foreign policy decisions.

Regarding diplomacy, independent variables included the quality of diplomacy, diplomatic tactics/negotiations, treaties and agreements and publicity and propaganda. The quality of diplomacy referred to the effectiveness of diplomatic efforts in advancing national interests and achieving policy objectives. Diplomatic tactics and negotiations involved the strategies employed by leaders and diplomats in engaging with other countries. Treaties and agreements reflected formal agreements reached through diplomatic negotiations. Publicity and propaganda encompassed communication strategies aimed at shaping public perceptions of foreign policy initiatives.

The dependent variable, foreign policy implementation, was measured through indicators such as foreign direct investment, peace and stability, state integrity and diplomatic engagement. Foreign direct investment reflected the attractiveness of a country's foreign policy environment to investors. Peace and stability assessed the impact of foreign policy on domestic and international peace efforts. State integrity evaluated the effectiveness of foreign policy in maintaining national

sovereignty and preventing internal conflicts. Diplomatic engagement measured the level of interaction and cooperation between a country and other international actors.

Intervening variables, such as bureaucratic public offices (ministries, departments, agencies), the executive branch, judiciary and legislature, influenced the relationship between independent variables and foreign policy implementation. Bureaucratic public offices played a crucial role in implementing foreign policy decisions and coordinating diplomatic efforts. The executive branch, led by political leaders, shaped foreign policy priorities and directed diplomatic initiatives. The judiciary influenced foreign policy through legal interpretations and oversight. The legislature could impact foreign policy through the approval of treaties and allocation of resources. These intervening variables mediated the effects of independent variables on foreign policy implementation.

2.4 Chapter Summary

The literature review provided a comprehensive overview of the influence of electoral cycles, political ideologies and diplomacy on foreign policy implementation. However, to enhance the depth and robustness of the analysis, several areas could have been strengthened. Firstly, a deeper engagement with specific studies within each section would have provided concrete evidence to support arguments and illustrate key themes more effectively. Additionally, a more nuanced analysis of the limitations and challenges associated with each factor would have added critical depth to the discussion. Incorporating comparative analysis and cross-referencing between different elements could have enhanced the overall coherence and comprehensiveness of the review. Lastly, addressing specific case studies, such as those from Kenya or other relevant contexts, would have grounded the theoretical discussion in real-world examples, thereby increasing the relevance and applicability of the review to practical policy considerations.

Identified areas for improvement in the literature review highlighted several research gaps. Firstly, there was a lack of specific studies engagement within each section, which could have provided concrete evidence supporting arguments and illustrating key themes effectively. Future research should focus on conducting in-depth analyses of specific studies within each thematic area to enrich the discussion and strengthen the empirical foundation of the analysis. Secondly, the literature lacked a nuanced analysis of the limitations and challenges associated with each factor discussed. Future research should aim to delve deeper into identifying and analyzing the specific limitations and challenges that impact the effectiveness of electoral cycles, political ideologies and diplomatic strategies in foreign policy implementation. Additionally, the literature did not incorporate comparative analysis or cross-referencing between different elements, leading to a lack of comprehensive understanding of their interplay. Future research should explore the comparative effectiveness of different electoral cycles, political ideologies and diplomatic strategies in foreign policy implementation across various contexts to identify best practices and areas for improvement. Lastly, there was a gap in the literature regarding the absence of specific case studies, particularly from Kenya and other relevant contexts, to ground the theoretical discussion in real-world examples. Future research should prioritize conducting case studies that examine the practical application of theoretical frameworks in foreign policy implementation, thereby bridging the gap between theory and practice and providing insights relevant to policymakers and practitioners.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the study focused on the research design, target population, sample size and sampling technique, data collecting and data collection methods, reliability and validity, data analysis, diagnostic tests and ethical issues. The research process was crucial to any scientific endeavor. Notably, both the qualitative and quantitative approaches were considered in the study. Qualitative methods collected and analyzed non-numerical data, while quantitative methods took numerical data for analysis.

3.1 Research Design

The descriptive research design was employed in the study to provide an in-depth analysis of the specific instances and dynamics surrounding leadership transitions and their impact on foreign policy outcomes. According to Kothari (2009), the primary purpose of descriptive research design is the description of events or states of affairs as they existed. Descriptive research design incorporated qualitative and quantitative approaches that enabled detailed examinations of each leadership change, including the transition processes, the foreign policy decisions made by incoming leaders and the resulting diplomatic strategies. Through a systematic and holistic exploration of these cases, the study sought to uncover patterns, trends and lessons learned from each transition, shedding light on the broader implications of leadership changes on Kenya's foreign policy over this critical eight-year period.

3.2 Area of Study

The study represented a critical exploration of the dynamic interplay between political leadership shifts and the execution of the Kenya's foreign policy objectives. Examining a two-decade timeframe provided a comprehensive perspective on how different administrations shaped and steered Kenya's engagement with the global community. This research delved into the nuanced ways in which changes in leadership, be they abrupt transitions or gradual shifts, impacted the continuity, coherence and effectiveness of foreign policy initiatives. By focusing specifically on the Kenyan context, the study not only contributed to the academic understanding of the broader relationship between political leadership and foreign policy but also offered practical insights that could inform policymakers, diplomats and scholars about the challenges and opportunities associated with leadership changes in the realm of international relations.

3.3 Target Population

The target population for the study encompassed senior officials from various key entities involved in shaping and implementing foreign policy. This included senior officials from the office of the president (3) including the Chief of Staff, Head of Public Service and the Press Secretary who played a central role in setting foreign policy direction, as well as members of the Kenyan parliament (349) especially those serving in the departmental committee on foreign relations and policymaking, who influenced foreign policy decisions through legislative processes. Additionally, experts in international relations, chairs and committee members of committees on defense and foreign relations (15) brought expertise to the study, representing specialized insights into foreign policy matters. Lastly, senior officials from the MFDA (21), including the office of the Cabinet Secretary, Principal Secretary, Director General, Ambassadors, Heads of Protocol,

Heads of Consular Affairs, Head of International Cooperation, Head of Economic Diplomacy who were responsible for executing foreign policy initiatives, were crucial respondents to provide insights into the practical implementation of foreign policy decisions. They included Principal Secretaries, the Director General for Foreign Service Administration and Foreign Service Officers, Ambassadors, Directors of various departments within the Ministry handling specific geographical regions in political issues and the military, thematic areas like trade or security, or internal administrative functions. Collecting data from these key stakeholders enabled a comprehensive examination of the influence of leadership change on Kenya's foreign policy during the specified period.

3.4 Sampling Techniques

The study utilized a purposive sampling procedure to select participants who could provide the necessary information relevant to the study's objectives. The sampling frame for the study encompassed senior officials from various key entities involved in shaping and implementing foreign policy. This included senior officials from the office of the president including the Chief of Staff, Head of Public Service and the Press Secretary, who played a central role in setting foreign policy direction, as well as members of the Kenyan parliament, especially those serving in the departmental committee on foreign relations and policymaking, who influenced foreign policy decisions through legislative processes. Additionally, experts in international relations, chairs and committee members of committees on defense and foreign relations brought expertise to the study, representing specialized insights into foreign policy matters. Lastly, senior officials from the MFDA, who were responsible for executing foreign policy initiatives, were crucial respondents to provide insights into the practical implementation of foreign policy decisions. Collecting data from these key stakeholders enabled a comprehensive examination of the influence of leadership change

on Kenya's foreign policy during the specified period. Sampling was through proportionate sampling technique, adopting the 30% sample size as recommended by Cooper and Schindler (2008).

3.5 Sample Size Determination

The sample size for the study was determined based on recommendations from Cooper and Schindler (2008), who suggested a range of 10% to 30% of the average size of the target population to achieve statistically significant results. In this study, a comprehensive approach was taken, settling on 30% of the target population as outlined in Table 3.1, which provided a breakdown of the total population and corresponding sample size for various categories such as senior officials from the Office of the President, members of the Kenyan Parliament, experts in international relations and senior officials from the MFDA.

Table 3.1: Sampling Frame

Ward	Total Population	Sample Size
Senior Officials from the Office of the President	3	1
Members of the Kenyan Parliament	349	104
Experts in International Relations	15	5
MFDA Senior Officials	21	7
Total	388	117

Source: Researcher, 2023

The total sample size of 117 individuals was selected to represent key entities involved in shaping and implementing foreign policy, ensuring adequate representation and coverage across different segments of the target population.

Purposive sampling, as described by Robinson (2014), allows researchers to deliberately choose cases or individuals that possess the required knowledge or experience related to the research topic. The sampling process involved identifying and selecting senior officials from various key entities involved in shaping and implementing foreign policy, including the office of the president, the Kenyan Parliament, experts in international relations and senior officials from the MFDA. The selection criteria were based on the participants' roles, expertise and responsibilities related to foreign policy decision-making and implementation. By employing purposive sampling, the study ensured that participants were strategically chosen to provide diverse perspectives and insights relevant to the research objectives, thereby enhancing the depth and richness of the data collected.

3.6 Instruments and Tools

The study engaged both primary and secondary sources of data using a questionnaire, key informant interview guide and a document analysis guide. The primary data was collected through interviews and surveys, while secondary data was gathered through library research.

3.6.1 Questionnaire

A structured questionnaire was administered to the respondents, consisting of both closed-ended and open-ended questions to gather information on various aspects related to foreign policy implementation. The questionnaire was designed to elicit responses from officials from the office of the president, officials from the MFDA, experts in international relations and members of the Kenyan parliament who were committee members of committees on defense and foreign relations and policymaking. Prior to administration, the questionnaire underwent a pilot testing phase to ensure its clarity, relevance and effectiveness in capturing the desired information. The questionnaire was then distributed to the participants either in person or through electronic means, depending on their availability and preference. Participants were given sufficient time to complete

the questionnaire and were encouraged to provide detailed and comprehensive responses. The data collected through the questionnaire served as primary sources of information, offering firsthand insights from key stakeholders involved in shaping and implementing foreign policy in Kenya.

3.6.2 Key Informant Interview Guide

A key informant interview guide was designed to facilitate in-depth discussions with select senior officials from the office of the president, senior officials from the MFDA, experts in international relations and the Chair and committee member of the committee on defense and foreign relations and policymaking. The interview guide consisted of a series of structured questions aimed at exploring participants' perspectives, experiences and insights related to the influence of leadership change on Kenya's foreign policy implementation. Prior to the interviews, the guide underwent rigorous review and pilot testing to ensure its clarity, relevance and effectiveness in eliciting comprehensive responses. Interviews were conducted either in person or through virtual platforms, allowing for flexible scheduling and accommodating participants' preferences. The interviews were audio-recorded with participants' consent and transcribed verbatim to capture the nuances of their responses accurately. The data collected through the key informant interviews provided rich qualitative insights into the complexities of leadership dynamics and their impact on foreign policy implementation in Kenya.

3.6.3 Document Analysis Guide

A document analysis guide to examine various secondary sources, including books, journals, the Kenya National Assembly Website, the MFDA, the Kenyan constitution, newspaper articles, magazines, archival material and official government documents like the Hansards was used. The document analysis guide was structured to systematically review and analyze the content of these sources, focusing on pertinent information related to Kenya's foreign policy implementation and

leadership dynamics. Prior to the analysis, the guide underwent careful development and refinement to ensure consistency and thoroughness in data extraction. The document analysis process involved categorizing and coding relevant information from the sources, identifying recurring themes, patterns and key insights. This method facilitated the comprehensive examination of secondary data sources, allowing for the synthesis of diverse perspectives and contextual understanding of the research topic. The data collected through document analysis complemented the primary data obtained from interviews, providing a comprehensive and multifaceted understanding of the influence of leadership change on Kenya's foreign policy implementation.

3.7 Validity and Reliability

In the study, a pilot study was conducted at the University of Nairobi among foreign policy lecturers on the 28th of January 2024, to ensure the validity and reliability of the research instruments and procedures before full-scale implementation. The pilot study involved testing the structured questionnaire, key informant interview guide and document analysis guide with a 10% sample of participants who were similar to the target population and who did not participate in the final study as recommended by Creswell (2014).

3.7.1 Validity of Research Instruments

Ensuring the validity of both the key informant interview guide and the document analysis guide tools in the study involved several rigorous steps. To assess the validity of the key informant interview guide, Mohajan (2017) recommended a pilot study. The pilot study was conducted with a small group of participants who were knowledgeable about the topic. Their feedback on the clarity, relevance and effectiveness of the interview questions was incorporated into the final guide. This pilot phase served to identify and rectify any issues related to question clarity, wording

and logical flow. Adjustments were made based on the feedback received during the pilot testing and results as demonstrated.

ANOVA

<i>Source of Variation</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>P-value</i>	<i>F crit</i>
Rows	6.896341	3	2.29878	3.920957	0.010363	2.680168
Columns	16.71951	40	0.417988	0.712949	0.889667	1.495202
Error	70.35366	120	0.58628			
Total	93.96951	163				

$$\alpha = 1 - \frac{MSE}{MSR}$$

$$\alpha = 0.74496$$

The following table describes how different values of Cronbach’s Alpha are usually interpreted:

Cronbach’s Alpha	Internal consistency
$0.9 \leq \alpha$	Excellent
$0.8 \leq \alpha < 0.9$	Good
$0.7 \leq \alpha < 0.8$	Acceptable
$0.6 \leq \alpha < 0.7$	Questionable
$0.5 \leq \alpha < 0.6$	Poor
$\alpha < 0.5$	Unacceptable

Since Cronbach’s Alpha was calculated to be 0.74496, the internal consistency of this survey was “Acceptable.”

Additionally, triangulation was employed by cross-referencing information obtained from key informants with other data sources, such as documents and reports, to verify consistency and accuracy. For the document analysis guide, inter-coder reliability was established by having

multiple researchers independently analyze a subset of documents and then comparing their findings to ensure consistency in interpretation. Furthermore, expert reviews and peer evaluations were conducted to assess the guides' overall quality and suitability for the research context. These validation measures helped enhance the trustworthiness and credibility of the research tools and the data collected during the study.

3.7.2 Reliability of Research Instruments

Reliability of the key informant interview guide and the document analysis guide in the study was ensured through a systematic and consistent approach as recommended by Mohajan (2017). For the interview guide, the reliability of the research instruments was determined using Cronbach's Alpha, a statistical measure that assesses the internal consistency of a set of survey items or scales. To apply this method, the researchers administered the instruments to a sample of participants and calculated the Cronbach's Alpha coefficient for each scale. A value of 0.70 or higher is typically considered acceptable, indicating that the items reliably measure the same underlying construct. This simple approach allows researchers to gauge the degree to which individual items correlate with one another, ensuring that the instruments produce consistent results across different respondents. These reliability measures contributed to the consistency and dependability of the data collected using both tools.

3.8 Data Collection Procedure

The data collection procedure involved utilizing a combination of primary and secondary sources, employing various instruments and tools to gather comprehensive insights into the influence of leadership change on the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy. Primary data collection utilized a structured questionnaire administered to officials from the office of the president, the MFDA, experts in international relations and members of relevant parliamentary committees. The

questionnaire, comprising both closed-ended and open-ended questions, underwent pilot testing to ensure clarity and relevance.

Additionally, key informant interviews were conducted with senior officials and committee members, aiming to delve deeper into participants' perspectives and experiences regarding leadership change and foreign policy implementation. These interviews were carefully structured, reviewed and recorded to capture nuanced insights. Secondary data collection involved a thorough analysis of various sources such as books, journals, government documents and newspapers using a document analysis guide. This method ensured a comprehensive examination of secondary data sources, complementing the primary data obtained from interviews and surveys.

3.9 Data Processing and Analysis

In the study, a mixed-methods approach to data analysis was employed, incorporating both qualitative and quantitative methods. Qualitative data from key informant interviews and questionnaires were subjected to thematic analysis, wherein common themes, patterns and narratives were identified. These qualitative insights provided a rich contextual understanding of the impact of leadership change on foreign policy.

Quantitative data derived from document analysis and questionnaires, such as counts or frequencies of specific policy decisions or diplomatic outcomes were analysed quantitatively. The integration of these two data sources allowed for a comprehensive and nuanced examination of the research questions, providing both qualitative depth and quantitative breadth to the analysis. This mixed-methods approach enhanced the study's robustness and contributed to a more holistic understanding of the complex dynamics surrounding leadership change and foreign policy implementation in Kenya during the specified period.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations played a crucial role in guiding the study. First and foremost, the ethical treatment of informants was paramount. In the case of key informant interviews, informed consent was obtained from each participant, ensuring they fully understood the purpose of the study, the nature of their involvement and the confidentiality of their responses. Anonymity and confidentiality were maintained to protect their identities and sensitive information shared during the interviews. Informants had the right to withdraw at any time without consequence and their privacy and dignity were respected throughout the research process.

Regarding data obtained from documents, ethical considerations included proper citation and attribution, ensuring that the source of each document was acknowledged accurately. Researchers adhered to copyright and intellectual property laws when using and referencing documents from various sources. Additionally, the researcher handled sensitive or classified documents, if applicable, with the utmost care and in accordance with legal and ethical guidelines. Any restrictions on the use of certain documents were respected and proper permissions and authorizations were obtained when necessary.

Furthermore, institutional approvals for the study were sought in compliance with ethical standards. This included obtaining ethics approval from the National Defence University – Kenya (NDU-K) and the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) to ensure that the research adhered to ethical principles and guidelines. The study was conducted transparently, with a commitment to honesty, integrity and responsible research practices. Ethical considerations were central to maintaining the trust and credibility of the study, safeguarding the well-being of informants and upholding the highest standards of research ethics throughout the entire process.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

The chapter delves into data analysis, presentation and discussion. And in an examination of both qualitative and quantitative findings was undertaken. Thematic analysis was applied to qualitative data derived from structured interviews, revealing recurring patterns, themes and insights related to study.

4.1 Response Rate

The study attained a 99% (116) response rate in the use of questionnaires. The rate indicated a remarkable level of engagement and cooperation from the participants, which was a notable strength in ensuring the representativeness and reliability of the research findings. Achieving a 99% response from the targeted participants, including senior officials from the office of the president, members of the Kenyan parliament, experts in international relations and senior officials from the MFDA, enhanced the comprehensiveness of the data collected and minimized potential bias that could arise from non-responses. The high response rate suggested a strong commitment and interest from the key stakeholders in contributing to the study, reflecting the importance they attribute to the topic of the influence of leadership change on Kenya's foreign policy. This robust response rate enhanced the validity and credibility of the study's findings, providing a solid foundation for drawing meaningful conclusions and insights from the gathered data.

4.1.1 Findings of the Pilot Study

The findings of the pilot study undertaken in the University of Nairobi among 10% population of the sample size totalling to (12 participants) provided valuable insights into the effectiveness of

the research instruments and procedures prior to full-scale implementation. Through testing the structured questionnaire, key informant interview guide and document analysis guide with a small sample of participants similar to the target population, the pilot study identified potential ambiguities, inconsistencies, or difficulties in comprehension within the instruments. Feedback from pilot participants allowed for necessary adjustments and refinements to the instruments, ensuring clarity, relevance and appropriateness for the main study. Additionally, the pilot study helped assess the feasibility of data collection methods and refine logistical arrangements, contributing to the smooth implementation of the main study.

Validity and reliability in the pilot study were achieved through meticulous attention to the design and execution of research instruments and procedures. Firstly, content validity was ensured by thoroughly reviewing and refining the structured questionnaire, key informant interview guide and document analysis guide to accurately capture the relevant variables and concepts related to the study's objectives. Construct validity was strengthened by aligning the research methods with the intended constructs and variables, ensuring that the data collected effectively measured the desired outcomes. Criterion-related validity was addressed by comparing the pilot study findings with existing literature and established theories in the field, validating the relevance and applicability of the research outcomes. Reliability was achieved through consistent administration of the research instruments and procedures, as well as inter-rater reliability checks to ensure consistency in data interpretation and analysis. Additionally, test-retest reliability was considered by assessing the stability of the research instruments over time, allowing for necessary adjustments to enhance reliability.

4.2 Demographic Information

The study sought respondents' demographic information such as age range, gender, levels of education, occupation and years of experience in foreign policy analysis for several reasons. Firstly, these demographic features provided a comprehensive understanding of the diverse perspectives and experiences of individuals involved in foreign policy analysis, allowing for a more nuanced analysis of the impact of leadership change. Age range indicated generational differences in perspectives on foreign policy, while gender shed light on potential disparities or biases in policy formulation and implementation.

Levels of education and occupation offered insights into respondents' expertise and professional backgrounds, influencing their understanding and approach to foreign policy issues. Lastly, years of experience in foreign policy analysis provided a measure of expertise and depth of knowledge, contributing to the credibility and reliability of respondents' insights and perspectives. By considering these demographic features, the study captured a diverse range of perspectives and experiences, enhancing the richness and validity of its findings. The study attained response rate of 99% (116), commendable by Creswell (2014) who noted that attaining more than 70% of the target population was sufficient to support a study. Figure 4.1 illustrates on the age range of respondents.

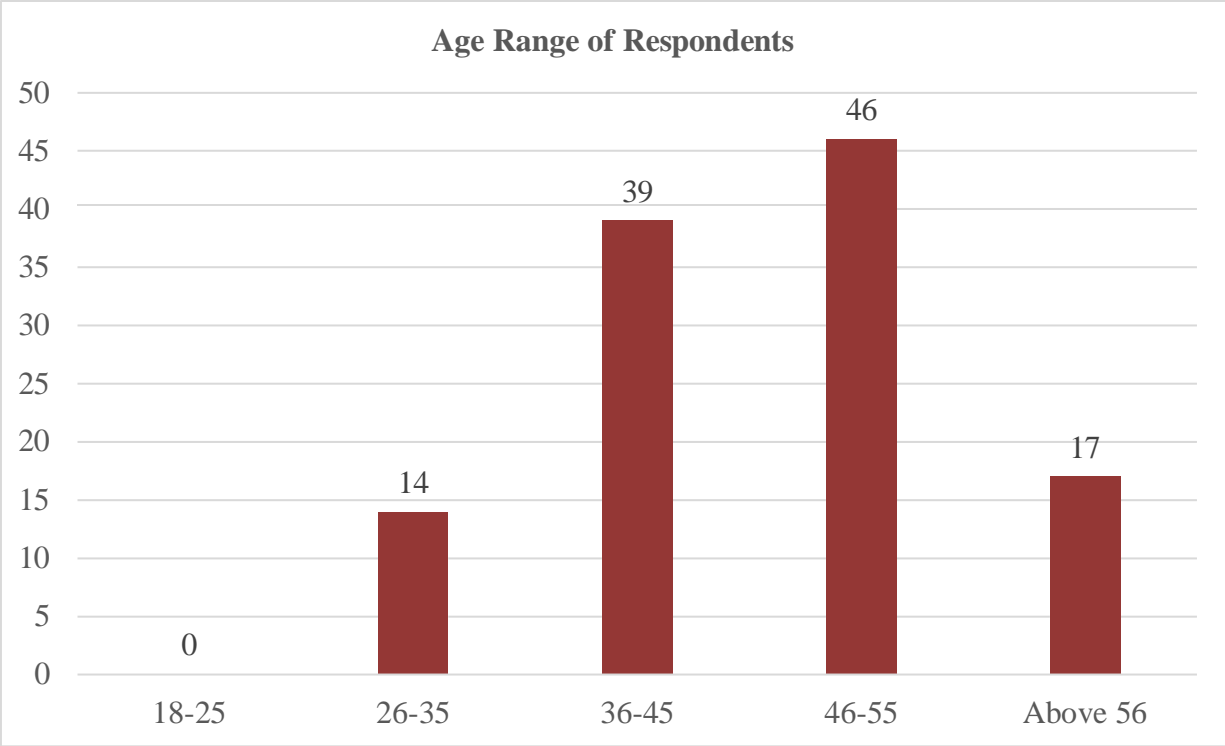


Figure 4.1: Age range of Respondents

Source: Field Data, 2024

The distribution of age groups among respondents in the study as revealed in Figure 4.1 was varied, with the majority falling within the 46-55 age bracket, comprising 40% (46) of the sample. This indicated a substantial representation of individuals with mid-career experience, potentially offering a wealth of knowledge and insights into the subject matter. Following closely behind were respondents aged 36-45, constituting 34% (39) of the sample, suggesting a significant presence of individuals in their prime professional years. The remaining age groups, including 26-35 comprised of 12% (14) and 56 and above comprised of 15% (17) of the sample respectively, showcasing a diverse range of perspectives from different stages of professional and personal development.

The broad distribution of age groups ensured a comprehensive exploration of the influence of leadership change on the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy from 2002 to 2022, capturing insights from individuals at various career stages and life experiences. Overall, this diverse representation of age groups enriched the study's findings by providing a holistic understanding of the subject matter from different generational perspectives, contributing to the validity and depth of the research. Figure 4.2 illustrates on the gender of respondents.

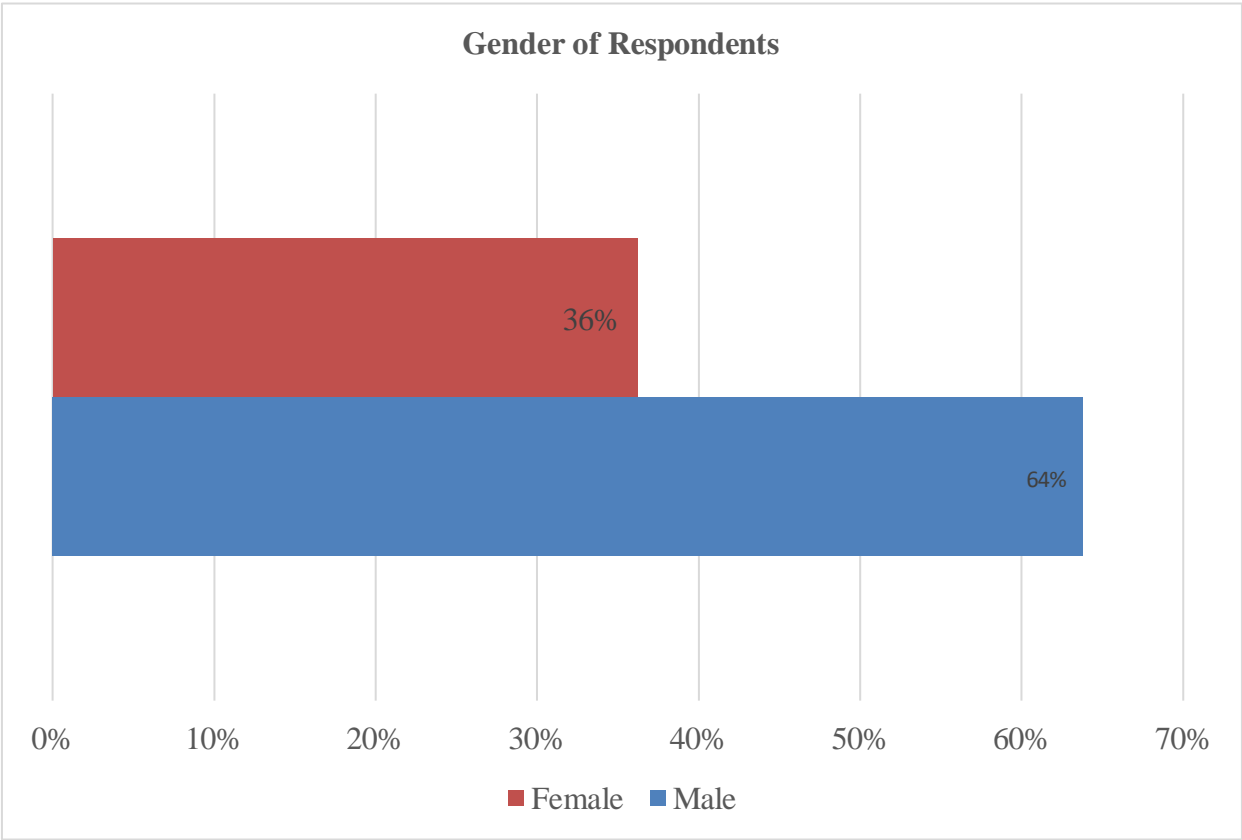


Figure 4.2: Gender of Respondents

Source: Field Data, 2024

The gender distribution among respondents in the study was predominantly male, with 64% (74) of the sample being male and 36% (26) being female. This gender disparity reflected a common

trend in many fields, including foreign policy analysis, where male representation often outweighed that of females. Despite the skewed gender ratio, it was essential to acknowledge and include perspectives from both genders to ensure a comprehensive and balanced analysis of the study.

By including perspectives from both males and females, the study aimed to capture a diverse range of insights and experiences, contributing to the validity and depth of the research findings. Furthermore, acknowledging the gender disparity highlighted the importance of promoting gender diversity and inclusivity in research and policymaking spheres, advocating for equitable representation and opportunities for all genders in decision-making processes related to foreign policy. Figure 4.3 illustrates on the education level of respondents.

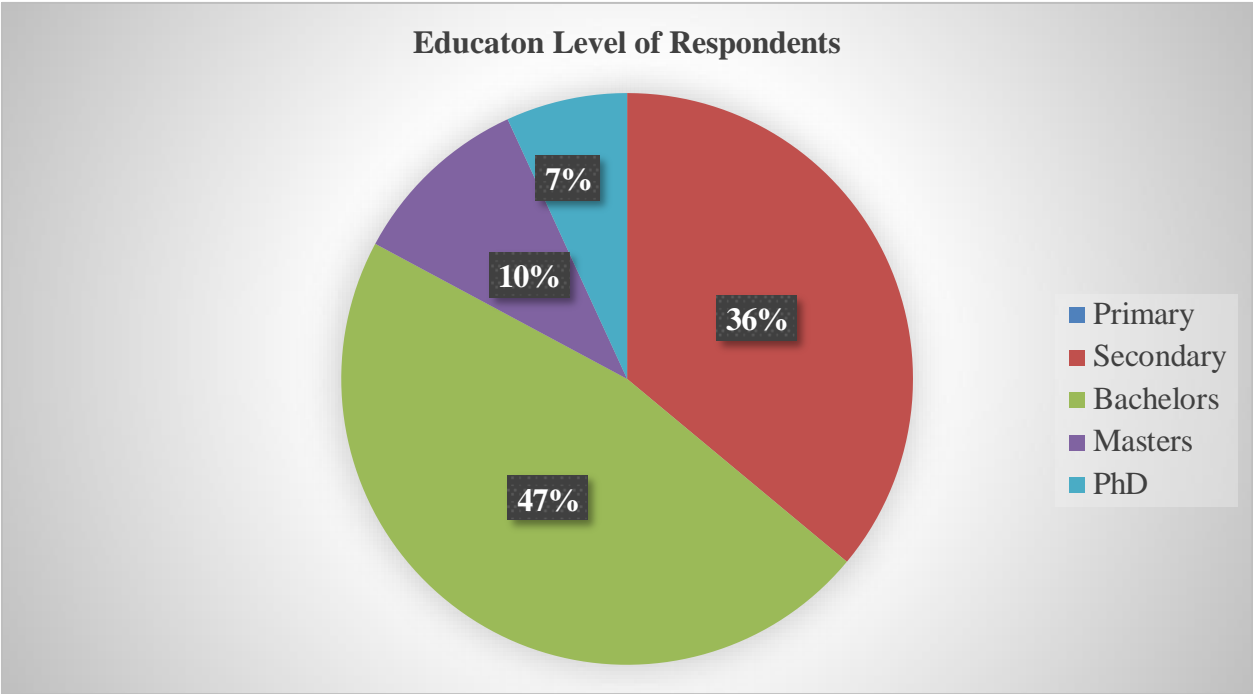


Figure 4.3: Education Level of Respondents

Source: Field Data, 2024

The distribution of education levels among respondents in the study was diverse, with the majority having attained at least a Bachelor's degree, comprising 47% (55) of the sample. This indicated a high level of educational attainment among participants, suggesting a potentially strong foundation of knowledge and expertise in their respective fields. Secondary education was the next most prevalent category at 36% (42), followed by Masters and PhD holders at 10% (12) and 7% (8) respectively.

The distribution reflected a varied range of educational backgrounds, which was crucial for ensuring a comprehensive and well-rounded perspective in the study. The significant representation of Bachelor's degree holders suggested a considerable pool of individuals with a solid educational background, while the presence of respondents with higher degrees such as Masters and PhDs indicated a subset of participants with advanced knowledge and expertise in foreign policy analysis. Overall, this diverse distribution of education levels enhanced the validity and depth of the study's findings by capturing a wide spectrum of perspectives and insights from individuals with varying levels of educational attainment.

The study observed significant variances in responses concerning respondents' occupation and years of experience in foreign policy analysis, which contributed to the richness and depth of the research findings. Occupation-wise, the sample encompassed a diverse range of professionals, including government officials, diplomats, academics and researchers, each bringing unique perspectives and insights shaped by their respective roles and responsibilities in foreign policy formulation and implementation. Similarly, respondents exhibited variations in years of experience in foreign policy analysis, with some having extensive experience spanning decades, while others were relatively new to the field.

The diversity in experience levels facilitated a comprehensive exploration of the impact of leadership change on Kenya's foreign policy implementation, capturing insights from individuals with varying levels of expertise and tenure in the field. By considering responses with variances in terms of occupation and years of experience, the study ensured a holistic examination of the research topic, enriching the analysis and enhancing the validity of the research findings.

4.3 Descriptive Statistics

The study sought to understand the overall impact of leadership changes on Kenya's foreign policy in the study period. Figure 4.4 illustrates on the overall impact of leadership changes on Kenya's foreign policy during the study period.

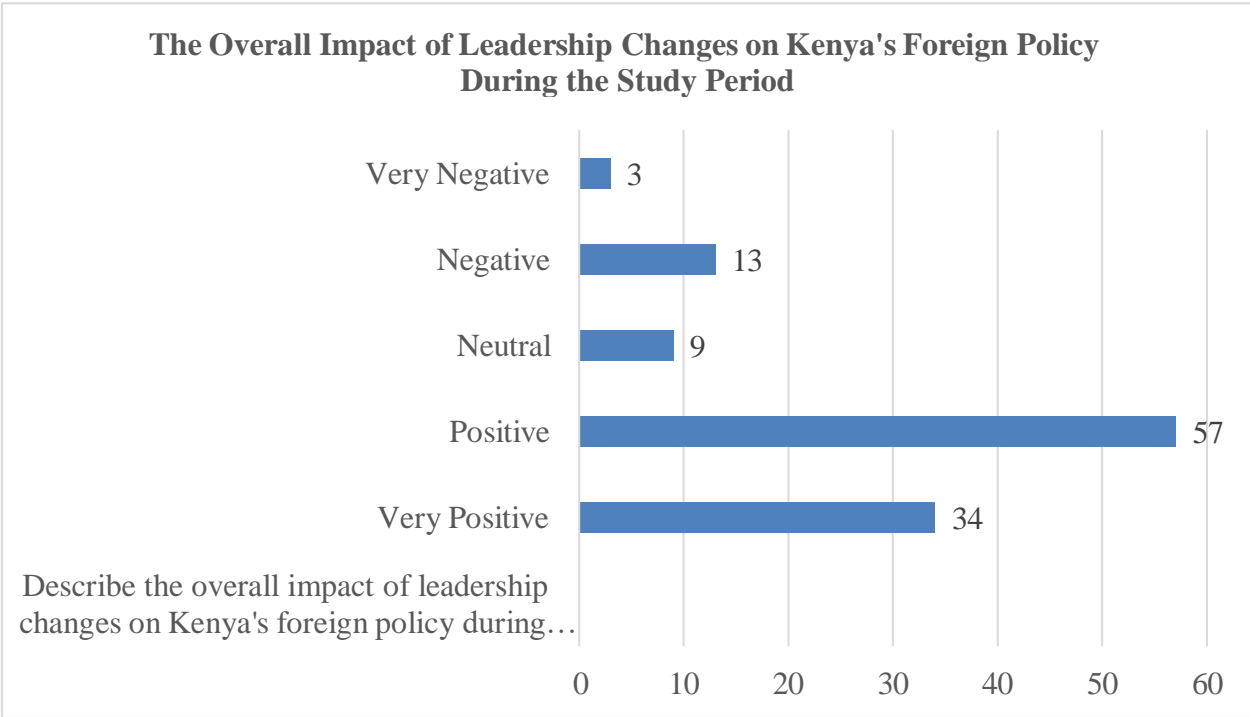


Figure 4.4: Impact of Leadership Changes on Kenya's Foreign Policy

Source: Field Data, 2024

Responses on the overall impact of leadership changes on Kenya's foreign policy during the study revealed a predominantly positive sentiment among respondents, with a combined 91 (57 respondents were positive and 34 respondents were very positive) indicating either a positive or very positive impact. This positive outlook suggested that, in the collective perception of the respondents, leadership changes had beneficial effects on Kenya's foreign policy objectives and implementation. The 29% (34) respondents who characterized the impact as "Very Positive" may have observed significant improvements or advancements in foreign policy outcomes under new leadership. Similarly, the 49% (57) respondents who expressed a "Positive" view likely perceived favorable shifts or continuity in foreign policy initiatives.

The limited number of respondents expressing a negative by 13 respondents or very negative impact by 3 respondents totalling to 16 respondents suggests that, overall, leadership changes were perceived as constructive rather than detrimental to Kenya's foreign policy during the specified period. This positive assessment aligns with the broader narrative that leadership transitions can bring fresh perspectives, strategic adjustments and diplomatic opportunities, contributing to positive shifts in a country's foreign policy direction. Beyond that, the study sought to understand the major factors that influenced leadership changes during the specified period.

Responses revealed several major factors that influenced leadership changes during the specified period in Kenya. These factors included political instability, economic challenges, social unrest and the desire for political reform. Political instability, often characterized by contested elections, power struggles and ethnic tensions, played a significant role in precipitating leadership changes. Economic challenges, such as unemployment, inflation and poverty, also fueled discontent among the populace, leading to calls for new leadership.

Additionally, social unrest, driven by grievances related to corruption, inequality and inadequate public services, contributed to the demand for change. Lastly, the desire for political reform, including calls for greater accountability, transparency and respect for human rights, exerted pressure on incumbent leaders and paved the way for leadership transitions. These factors collectively shaped the political landscape in Kenya during the specified period, influencing the dynamics of leadership changes and their subsequent impact on foreign policy implementation.

4.3.1 Influence of Electoral cycles on Foreign Policy in Kenya

The study sought to determine respondents' views on the influence of electoral cycles on foreign policy in Kenya, through characterization of the political system(s) in Kenya during the study period. Figure 4.5 illustrates on the characterization of the political system (s) in Kenya during the study period.

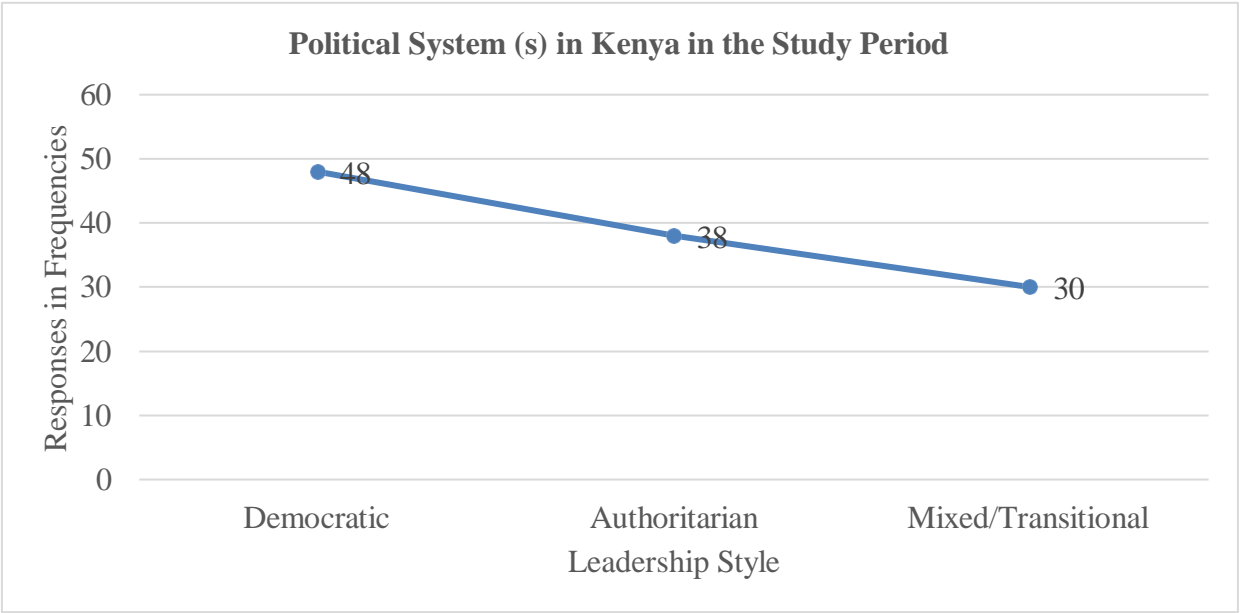


Figure 4.5: Characterization of the Political System(s) in Kenya

Source: Field Data, 2024

Respondents' characterization of the political system(s) in Kenya during the study period revealed a dynamic landscape with a diverse distribution among respondents. The plurality of responses indicated a democratic political system, constituting 48 of the sample. This reflects the prevailing narrative of Kenya as a democratic nation during the study period. However, the presence of 38 identifying the political system as authoritarian suggests a significant subset of respondents perceived elements of authoritarianism in Kenya's political structure. Furthermore, 30 characterized the political system as mixed or transitional, indicating a recognition of a blend of democratic and authoritarian features or a period of transition.

The study determining the influence of electoral cycles on foreign policy in Kenya uncovered a range of findings regarding how various independent variables, including leadership change, economic and political ideologies and diplomacy, intersected with the dependent variable of foreign policy implementation. Firstly, regarding leadership change, the study revealed that shifts in political leadership had a significant impact on Kenya's foreign policy trajectory. Changes in leadership often brought about ideological shifts, where new leaders pursued foreign policy objectives aligned with their political beliefs and agendas. For example, shifts in leadership from liberal to conservative ideologies resulted in changes in Kenya's approach to issues such as human rights, trade agreements and international alliances. In an interview, an informant opined:

Kenya's foreign policy has been a rollercoaster, often shifting direction with changes in the country's top leadership. New leaders have brought their own political baggage to the international stage, influencing Kenya's stance on global issues. From human rights to trade deals, Kenya's foreign policy has seen a seesaw effect, largely due to the ideological leanings of its presidents.

(KI 3, 7th February 2024, Nairobi)

In view of the sentiments, Kenya's foreign policy fluctuations, shaped by the ideological leanings of its leaders, can be linked to Kiarie (2022), who explores how Kenya's foreign policy under President Uhuru Kenyatta reflected both continuity and change. Kiarie (2022) highlights that while Kenya maintained its traditional alliances, particularly in the East African region, Kenyatta's tenure saw a strategic pivot towards strengthening economic diplomacy and engaging new partners, especially in Asia. This shift demonstrates how leadership changes often bring about a reorientation in foreign policy priorities. Similarly, past administrations, such as those of Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel arap Moi, had their unique approaches, reflecting their domestic and international priorities. Consequently, the dynamic nature of Kenya's foreign policy has indeed been influenced by the personal political ideologies of its top leaders, as Kiarie (2022) outlines.

Secondly, electoral cycles emerged as another crucial factor influencing Kenya's foreign policy. The timing of leadership changes, particularly during or after elections, introduced a degree of uncertainty and unpredictability in Kenya's foreign policy landscape. The study found that electoral cycles influenced the continuity or change in foreign policy initiatives, as leaders sought to navigate domestic political dynamics and maintain public support while engaging with the international community. This dynamic highlighted the interconnectedness between domestic politics and foreign policy decision-making in Kenya. In this view, an informant stated that:

Elections in Kenya have a significant impact on the country's foreign policy direction. The changing of leadership can introduce uncertainty and unpredictability. Whether foreign policy initiatives continue or change often depends on the timing of elections. Leaders must balance domestic concerns with international relations to maintain public support. Kenyan foreign policy is closely linked to domestic politics. Elections play a key role in shaping how the country interacts with the international community.

(KI 4, 8th February 2024, Nairobi)

The sentiment that elections in Kenya significantly influence the country's foreign policy direction aligns closely with Ngunyi (2018), who argues that the executive plays a critical role in shaping Kenya's foreign policy, particularly during transitions of power. As seen during election periods, leadership changes introduce uncertainty and new administrations may recalibrate foreign policy priorities to align with their political agendas or public expectations. Ngunyi (2018) highlights that foreign policy decisions are often a reflection of domestic political dynamics, where leaders must balance international relations with the need to maintain domestic support. Thus, elections not only affect the continuity of foreign policy initiatives but also introduce a degree of unpredictability as new leaders may shift Kenya's international engagements based on internal political pressures and electoral promises.

Moreover, the nature of Kenya's political culture played a significant role in shaping its foreign policy outcomes. The study identified corruption, clientelism and ethnic dynamics as key components of Kenya's political culture, which influenced decision-making processes in foreign affairs. These ingrained patterns of behavior within the political culture often manifested in foreign policy decisions, impacting issues such as diplomatic appointments, international partnerships and responses to global crises. The study highlighted the importance of understanding the nuances of Kenya's political culture in analyzing its foreign policy strategies and outcomes. In an interview, an informant alluded that:

Kenya's political culture, with its deep-rooted corruption, clientelism and ethnic tensions, has had a substantial impact on how it conducts its foreign affairs. Kenya's political culture often influences decision-making in foreign policy, leading to outcomes that reflect the country's internal dynamics rather than purely external factors. To fully grasp Kenya's foreign policy, it's essential to consider the underlying political culture, as its ingrained patterns of behavior significantly shape the country's diplomatic strategies and outcomes.

(KI 2, 6th February 2024, Nairobi)

In line with the verbatim, Kenya's political culture, characterized by deep-rooted corruption, clientelism and ethnic tensions, profoundly influences its foreign policy decision-making, aligning closely with the analysis provided by Chege (2023) who argues that domestic factors, including economic interests and ethnic affiliations, shape Kenya's diplomatic strategies and regional leadership ambitions. This connection highlights how the internal dynamics of corruption and clientelism often overshadow external diplomatic considerations, resulting in a foreign policy that prioritizes the interests of political elites and specific ethnic groups over broader national objectives. Thus, understanding Kenya's foreign policy necessitates an examination of its complex political culture, as these ingrained behaviors significantly dictate its interactions on the international stage.

Furthermore, psychological factors, including leaders' personalities and perceptions, were found to impact Kenya's foreign policy decisions. Individual leaders' psychological traits, such as temperament, values and worldview, influenced their approaches to international relations. For instance, leaders with assertive or confrontational personalities may have adopted more aggressive diplomatic tactics, while those with conciliatory dispositions prioritized dialogue and negotiation in international relations. The study emphasized the significance of considering psychological factors in understanding the nuances of Kenya's foreign policy decision-making processes. In a qualitative inquiry, an informant pointed out that:

Kenya's foreign policy decisions were not just about facts and figures; the leaders' personal feelings and beliefs also played a big role. The type of person a leader was their personality, values and how they saw the world affected how they dealt with other countries. For example, if a leader was more aggressive, they might have been more likely to use tough tactics in diplomacy, while a more peaceful leader might have preferred talking things out.

(KI 1, 5th February 2024, Nairobi)

In accordance to the voice note, the interplay between personal beliefs and foreign policy decisions is well articulated by Chege (2023) in his examination of Kenya's evolving foreign policy landscape. He emphasizes that beyond economic factors, the character and worldview of leaders significantly shape diplomatic strategies. For instance, a leader with an aggressive disposition may favor confrontational tactics, reflecting a broader trend where personal values influence state behavior in international relations. Conversely, a leader oriented towards dialogue and diplomacy is likely to prioritize negotiation and consensus-building. This alignment between individual temperament and foreign policy choices underscores the importance of understanding leadership dynamics in the formulation of Kenya's diplomatic agenda, highlighting that effective foreign policy is not solely grounded in rational calculations but is also deeply personal.

Finally, the study examined the implications of these electoral cycles on the dependent variable of foreign policy implementation, considering factors such as foreign direct investment, peace, stability and state integrity. The findings revealed that the interplay between electoral cycles and foreign policy significantly influenced Kenya's ability to attract foreign investment, maintain peace and stability and uphold state integrity. Leadership changes, electoral cycles, political culture and psychological factors all contributed to shaping Kenya's foreign policy outcomes, ultimately impacting its broader socio-economic and political landscape. These findings underscored the complex and dynamic nature of the relationship between electoral cycles and foreign policy in Kenya, highlighting the need for a nuanced understanding of these factors in shaping effective foreign policy strategies and implementation. In an interview, a Key informant (KI) opined:

On the influence of electoral cycles on foreign policy in Kenya, there is a multifaceted interplay of independent variables such as leadership change, electoral

cycles, political culture and psychological factors and their impact on foreign policy implementation. Notably, shifts in political leadership drive ideological changes in foreign policy objectives, while electoral cycles introduced uncertainty and influenced policy continuity or change. Kenya's political culture, characterized by corruption, clientelism and ethnic dynamics, significantly shaped decision-making processes in foreign affairs, impacting diplomatic appointments and international partnerships. Moreover, individual leaders' psychological traits, like temperament and worldview, influenced their diplomatic approaches. Ultimately, these dynamics had implications for foreign direct investment, peace, stability and state integrity, underscoring the intricate relationship between electoral cycles and foreign policy in Kenya and the need for nuanced strategies to navigate these complexities effectively.

(KI 3, 7th February 2024, Nairobi)

The view presented accurately captures the complex interplay between Kenya's political system and its foreign policy. Leadership changes and electoral cycles bring ideological shifts and can disrupt policy continuity, while the entrenched political culture of corruption, clientelism and ethnicity influences diplomatic decisions and partnerships. Leaders' individual personalities further shape their foreign approach, impacting vital areas like foreign direct investment, peace and national integrity as noted by Kiarie (2022). This underscores the interconnectedness of these factors and the need for adaptable strategies to manage this multi-dimensional influence effectively.

The study further noted that, leaders' ideologies indeed exert a substantial influence on the direction of foreign policy. This was evident in Kenya's political landscape, where shifts in leadership brought about significant changes in foreign policy priorities and approaches. For instance, during President Moi's tenure, Kenya adopted a non-aligned stance during the Cold War era, prioritizing neutrality in international affairs. However, under President Kibaki's administration, there was a notable shift towards a more pro-Western approach, reflecting a departure from Moi's policies. These ideological shifts underscore how leaders' beliefs and values

shape their foreign policy decisions, aligning Kenya's international relations with their respective ideological orientations. Such changes can have far-reaching implications for diplomatic relations, trade agreements and alliances with other nations, highlighting the importance of understanding leaders' ideologies in analyzing foreign policy outcomes. President Uhuru Kenyatta's regime exemplified how leadership ideologies can profoundly reshape foreign policy, as his administration's focus on economic diplomacy and regional engagement marked a distinct shift from previous approaches, reflecting his personal vision for Kenya's role on the global stage. In an interview, an informant stated that:

It's clear that who's in charge in Kenya can really change the country's foreign policy. When Moi was president, we tried to stay neutral, but Kibaki wanted to be friendlier with the West. Now, Kenyatta's focus is on business and working with our neighbors. The president's beliefs and ideas have a big impact on how Kenya deals with other countries. We've seen this with Moi, Kibaki and Kenyatta, each with their own way of doing things. Understanding a leader's ideology is important because it can tell us a lot about what they'll do in terms of foreign policy. We saw this with Kenyatta, who had a different approach compared to his predecessors.

(KI 3, 7th February 2024, Nairobi)

In line with the sentiments, the shifting landscape of Kenya's foreign policy is closely tied to the ideological orientations of its presidents, as evidenced by the distinct approaches of Presidents Moi, Kibaki and Kenyatta. Moi's era was characterized by a stance of neutrality and cautious diplomacy (Ogola, 2023), reflecting a prioritization of internal stability over international alignment. In contrast, Kibaki's administration marked a pivot toward the West, emphasizing economic partnerships and strategic alliances, which aligns with the analysis of Kenya's evolution from economic diplomacy to a more regional leadership role. Kenyatta's tenure has shifted focus towards enhancing business ties and regional cooperation, illustrating a pragmatic approach to foreign relations (Ogola, 2023). This progression underscores the notion that a president's beliefs

and policy priorities fundamentally shape Kenya's international engagements, affirming the importance of understanding these ideological frameworks in predicting foreign policy trajectories.

Furthermore, electoral cycles can introduce volatility and short-term considerations into foreign policy decision-making processes. Leaders often face pressure to prioritize short-term gains and immediate political objectives to secure support during election periods, potentially leading to inconsistencies in policy direction and implementation over the long term. This dynamic highlights the delicate balance between addressing immediate political needs and maintaining a consistent and coherent foreign policy strategy that aligns with broader national interests. Additionally, the competence and efficiency of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs play a crucial role in shaping foreign policy outcomes. A well-equipped and capable bureaucracy ensures effective implementation of foreign policy initiatives, facilitating diplomatic engagements and negotiations. An informant in an interview stated that:

Election cycles can make foreign policy a bit shaky. When leaders are focused on winning the next election, their decisions about foreign affairs might not be as steady or long-term as they should be. Politicians often want quick wins to get votes. This can mean changing foreign policy to please people in the short term, but this can make it hard to have a consistent plan for the future. The Foreign Ministry is really important for good foreign policy. They need to be well-prepared and efficient to make sure that our foreign policy goals are carried out smoothly.

(KI 4, 8th February 2024, Nairobi)

The sentiments relate to the findings that election cycles can significantly impact foreign policy, as leaders often prioritize short-term gains over long-term strategies to secure electoral victories as noted by Drezner (2019), who highlights how the foreign policy bureaucracy can become reactive rather than proactive during election periods. Politicians may shift their focus to

immediate public approval, aligning foreign policy decisions with popular sentiment rather than strategic interests. The need for quick wins can lead to inconsistent policies, as leaders adjust their approaches to appease voters (Mansfield & Pevehouse, 2021). This dynamic underscores the critical role of the Foreign Ministry, which must be agile and well-prepared to navigate the complexities of foreign relations amid fluctuating political agenda. A well-functioning ministry can help ensure that foreign policy remains coherent and aligned with national interests, even during turbulent electoral times.

Conversely, a weak or inefficient bureaucracy can hinder progress and undermine the country's ability to achieve its foreign policy objectives. Moreover, public opinion emerges as a significant factor influencing foreign policy decisions, with leaders needing to carefully consider popular sentiments before making major decisions. Public support or opposition can significantly impact the success or failure of foreign policy initiatives, underscoring the importance of public opinion in shaping the country's international relations strategies. In an inquiry an informant indicated that:

An incompetent government can slow down development and weaken a nation's ability to achieve its goals in other countries. Public opinion is a big deal when it comes to deciding what to do about other countries. Leaders have to be careful about what people think before they make big choices. Whether people like or dislike what the government does about other countries can make a big difference in how successful it is. This shows how important public opinion is in deciding how a country should act on the world stage.

(KI 1, 5th February 2024, Nairobi)

In relation to the voice note, the interplay between government competence and public opinion significantly influences a nation's foreign policy and development trajectory. As noted by Muigua and Mwangi (2019), an ineffective government can hinder diplomatic efforts and international collaboration, ultimately impeding development goals. Public opinion, as highlighted by Oyugi

(2021), plays a crucial role in shaping leaders' decisions; they must consider citizens' sentiments to maintain legitimacy and support. The relationship between governmental actions and public perception underscores the importance of aligning foreign policy with national interests and public expectations, as seen in Omulo (2023). This dynamic illustrates that a government's ability to navigate international relations effectively is closely tied to its responsiveness to the electorate's views, impacting its overall success on the global stage.

Kenya's diplomatic approach, encompassing negotiation tactics and public messaging, plays a pivotal role in shaping foreign policy outcomes. Effective diplomatic engagements are essential for safeguarding Kenya's interests, fostering international cooperation and resolving disputes amicably. The study revealed that Kenya's diplomatic strategies often involve a combination of negotiation tactics tailored to specific contexts, including bilateral and multilateral negotiations, shuttle diplomacy and track II diplomacy. These tactics aim to advance Kenya's foreign policy objectives while navigating complex geopolitical dynamics and safeguarding national interests. In an interview an informant revealed that:

Kenya's diplomatic finesse is a key player in the game of international relations. Their ability to negotiate and communicate effectively shapes how other countries perceive and interact with them. Diplomacy is Kenya's secret weapon. It's essential for protecting their interests, building bridges with other nations and finding peaceful solutions to problems. Kenya's diplomats are masters of strategy. They use a variety of techniques, from one-on-one talks to behind-the-scenes negotiations, to achieve their foreign policy goals while keeping their country safe.

(KI 4, 8th February 2024, Nairobi)

In the allusion, Kenya's diplomatic finesse plays a crucial role in shaping its position in international relations, as evidenced by various scholars and reports. Ayuko (2016) emphasizes public diplomacy as a vital tool for enhancing Kenya's foreign policy, allowing for effective

communication and negotiation that influence global perceptions. Chege (2023) highlights the shift from economic diplomacy to regional leadership, demonstrating how Kenya's strategic diplomatic efforts are crucial in building partnerships and addressing regional challenges. Moreover, Kiarie (2022) notes the continuity and adaptation of Kenya's foreign policy under President Uhuru Kenyatta, showcasing the country's ability to navigate complex international landscapes. This strategic approach to diplomacy encompassing one-on-one talks and behind-the-scenes negotiations enables Kenya to safeguard its interests while fostering peaceful solutions, ultimately reinforcing its status as a significant player on the global stage.

Additionally, public messaging, including official statements, speeches and media engagement, serves as a crucial tool for shaping perceptions and influencing outcomes in the international arena. Public diplomacy efforts, such as cultural exchanges, educational programs and public outreach initiatives, help promote Kenya's image abroad and build relationships with foreign counterparts, contributing to the achievement of foreign policy goals. In an interview, an informant noted that:

Official statements, speeches and media interactions are powerful tools for controlling how the world sees Kenya. They can influence how other countries think and act. Cultural exchanges, education programs and public outreach can help Kenya look well to other countries. These efforts can build strong relationships and support our foreign policy goals. Public messaging and diplomacy are key to shaping Kenya's image and achieving its goals on the international stage.

(KI 2, 6th February 2024, Nairobi)

The sentiment expressed in the analysis highlights the critical role of official statements, speeches and media interactions in shaping Kenya's global image and foreign policy. References such as Chege (2023) highlight the transition of Kenyan foreign policy toward regional leadership, emphasizing how public diplomacy and effective communication can foster positive international perceptions. Similarly, Ayuko (2016) discusses the challenges and opportunities of public

diplomacy as a foreign policy tool, asserting that cultural exchanges and educational initiatives can enhance Kenya's reputation abroad. The interconnectedness of these strategies is further supported by Cooper (2022), who notes the importance of persuasion and relationship-building in diplomacy. Ultimately, these efforts serve to align international perceptions with Kenya's foreign policy objectives, reinforcing the significance of public messaging in advancing the nation's interests on the world stage.

Furthermore, treaties and agreements with other nations constitute important instruments that guide Kenya's foreign policy implementation. These agreements, which encompass a wide range of areas such as trade, defense and environmental cooperation, create both constraints and opportunities for Kenya's foreign policy agenda. The study found that treaties and agreements serve as binding frameworks that outline rights, obligations and commitments between Kenya and its international partners. They provide a legal and institutional basis for cooperation and collaboration, facilitating the implementation of joint initiatives and projects. In an inquiry, an informant stated that:

Kenya's foreign policy is deeply influenced by its relationships with other countries, which are formalized through treaties and agreements. These agreements, covering various aspects of cooperation, can both limit and enhance Kenya's foreign policy options. They serve as crucial legal documents that define Kenya's commitments to its international partners, guiding its actions and collaborations.

(KI 1, 8th February 2024, Nairobi)

In the voice note, Kenya's foreign policy is intricately shaped by its international relationships, as articulated through various treaties and agreements that formalize cooperation with other nations. These agreements not only establish legal frameworks that outline Kenya's commitments but also play a dual role in influencing its policy options. On one hand, they can constrain Kenya's

autonomy by binding the nation to specific obligations and expectations, limiting its ability to pivot freely in response to changing geopolitical dynamics (Ogebe, 2020). On the other hand, they can enhance Kenya's diplomatic leverage, providing access to vital resources, technology, and strategic partnerships that bolster its standing on the global stage (Mazrui, 2019). Ultimately, the effectiveness of Kenya's foreign policy is contingent upon its ability to navigate these agreements, balancing the constraints they impose with the opportunities they present as noted by Drezner (2019).

Additionally, treaties and agreements often reflect Kenya's strategic priorities and interests, guiding policy decisions and actions in alignment with international commitments. However, they also impose constraints by defining limits and parameters within which Kenya can operate, necessitating careful consideration and negotiation to ensure that national interests are safeguarded while fulfilling international obligations. In an interview, an informant stated that:

Leaders' ideologies influence and shape foreign policy directions, as evidenced by notable shifts in Kenya's approach under different administrations, such as the non-aligned stance during President Moi's tenure and the pro-Western shift under President Kibaki. These changes highlight how leaders' beliefs and values guide foreign policy decisions, impacting diplomatic relations, trade agreements and alliances. Electoral cycles introduce volatility and short-term considerations into decision-making, potentially leading to inconsistencies in policy direction over time. The competence of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is crucial for effective implementation of foreign policy initiatives, while public opinion plays a significant role in influencing leaders' decisions. Kenya's diplomatic strategies, encompassing negotiation tactics and public messaging, are vital for safeguarding national interests and fostering international cooperation. Treaties and agreements with other nations serve as important instruments that guide foreign policy implementation, reflecting strategic priorities while imposing constraints that require careful negotiation to balance national interests with international obligations.

(KI 1, 5th February 2024, Nairobi)

The sentiments draw that Kenya's foreign policy trajectory, marked by shifts from President Moi's non-alignment to President Kibaki's pro-West stance and exemplified how leader ideology shapes crucial aspects of international relations. These changes, impacting alliances, trade and diplomacy, highlight the volatility introduced by electoral cycles and the influence of both public opinion and the Foreign Ministry's competence. During President Kibaki's tenure, Kenya's foreign policy primarily centered on economic diplomacy.

The study established that President Kibaki emphasized attracting foreign investment and bolstering trade relations. His administration fostered closer ties with Western countries and international financial institutions, aiming to leverage their support for Kenya's economic development. Additionally, President Kibaki played a significant role in regional peace and security initiatives, notably contributing to the Sudan peace process. By prioritizing economic diplomacy and regional stability, President Kibaki's presidency laid the groundwork for Kenya's international engagement. An informant in an interview denoted that:

President Kibaki was all about bringing in foreign money and strengthening trade deals. He made Kenya friendly with Western countries and international banks, hoping they'd help our economy grow. Kibaki was also involved in keeping peace in our region, especially in Sudan. His work helped set the stage for Kenya's international relationships.

(KI 4, 8th February 2024, Nairobi)

In the verbatim note, President Kibaki's tenure marked a significant shift in Kenya's foreign policy, emphasizing economic diplomacy and regional stability. His efforts to attract foreign investment and strengthen trade relationships with Western nations and international banks reflect a strategic approach aimed at economic growth. This aligns with Chege (2023), who discusses the evolution of Kenyan foreign policy towards economic diplomacy. Furthermore, Kibaki's involvement in peacekeeping initiatives, particularly in Sudan, underscores the importance of regional stability.

By fostering positive relationships with both Western powers and regional neighbors, Kibaki laid a foundation for Kenya's international positioning, highlighting the interconnectedness of economic interests and diplomatic efforts (Omulo, 2023).

President Uhuru's administration marked a shift towards diversifying Kenya's international partnerships, with a particular focus on strengthening ties with Asian countries, notably China. Uhuru prioritized infrastructure development and economic cooperation, resulting in substantial Chinese investment in Kenya. Moreover, his government actively engaged in peace and security efforts in the East African region, especially regarding Somalia and South Sudan. Uhuru's tenure witnessed a strategic reorientation of Kenya's foreign policy towards Asia, reflecting the changing global dynamics and Kenya's quest for economic development and regional stability. In an interview an informant stated that:

Kenya's foreign policy significantly shifted by diversifying international partnerships, particularly with Asian nations like China during President Uhuru's administration, which led to increased infrastructure investment and economic cooperation. This focus on development was complemented by active engagement in peace and security initiatives in East Africa, addressing critical issues in Somalia and South Sudan.

In the sentiments, Kenya's foreign policy under President Uhuru Kenyatta marked a notable shift toward diversifying international partnerships, particularly with Asian nations such as China, which facilitated substantial infrastructure investments and economic cooperation (Ogola, 2023). This strategic pivot not only enhanced Kenya's development agenda but also intertwined with a proactive approach to regional peace and security, addressing pressing challenges in Somalia and South Sudan. The interplay between economic diplomacy and security initiatives reflects a broader understanding of foreign policy as a multifaceted tool for national advancement, highlighting Kenya's role as a regional leader and a partner in addressing continental stability. Such dynamics

underscore the complexities of Kenya's foreign relations, showcasing how economic engagement can reinforce security efforts in a volatile region (O'Neil, 2021).

The study reveals that President Ruto's regime holds the potential to significantly influence Kenyan foreign policy, shaped by his administration's ideology, priorities and diplomatic strategies. One possible impact could be a shift in alliances and partnerships, driven by the regime's geopolitical outlook and strategic interests. Depending on President Ruto's administration's stance, Kenya's foreign relations may pivot towards forging new alliances or strengthening existing ones, altering the country's geopolitical positioning on the global stage.

Furthermore, President Ruto's economic policies and trade agreements could have profound implications for foreign policy, influencing international trade relations and economic cooperation with other nations. His administration's emphasis on trade and economic growth may lead to the prioritization of specific regions or countries for diplomatic engagement, impacting resource allocation and foreign policy focus. Additionally, President Ruto's approach to security and defense issues may shape foreign policy decisions related to military cooperation, peacekeeping missions and counterterrorism efforts, further underscoring the regime's influence on Kenya's international relations. In an interview, an informant stated that:

President Kibaki's focused on bolstered foreign investment and trade, strengthening ties with international financial institutions. However, President Uhuru's pivot towards Asia, particularly China, signaled a strategic reorientation. With substantial Chinese investment, infrastructure development took precedence. As Kenya entered the Ruto era, the potential for significant foreign policy shifts looms large. President Ruto's ideology, priorities and diplomatic strategies sculpt Kenya's global stance, potentially altering alliances, trade dynamics and security strategies. It is a time of anticipation for profound changes.

(KI 4, 8th February 2024, Nairobi)

President Kibaki laid the groundwork for Kenya's international engagement by prioritizing economic diplomacy and regional stability. He fostered strong ties with Western nations for economic development. President Uhuru ushered in a new era with a strategic reorientation towards Asia, particularly China. This shift reflected the changing global dynamics and Kenya's pursuit of economic growth and regional stability. President Ruto's leadership presents a time of potential change for Kenyan foreign policy. The decisions and strategies of his administration will significantly influence Kenya's international relations. This could include a shift in alliances, a focus on specific regions for economic development and a new approach to security issues. In this view, Ogola (2023) analyzed Kenya's strategic shift towards Asia, particularly China and its potential consequences. In the study, there was realization that effective diplomatic strategies, including negotiations and public messaging, are essential for safeguarding national interests and fostering cooperation, while treaties act as instruments balancing aspirations with international obligations, demanding skillful navigation (Ngunyi, 2018). This complex interplay emphasizes the enduring influence of leadership beliefs on a nation's foreign policy trajectory.

4.3.2 Influence on Political ideologies on Foreign Policy Implementation in Kenya

The study sought to assess the political ideologies on foreign policy implementation in Kenya through the lenses of the extent to which economic factors impacted the execution of Kenya's foreign policy as illustrated in Figure 4.6.

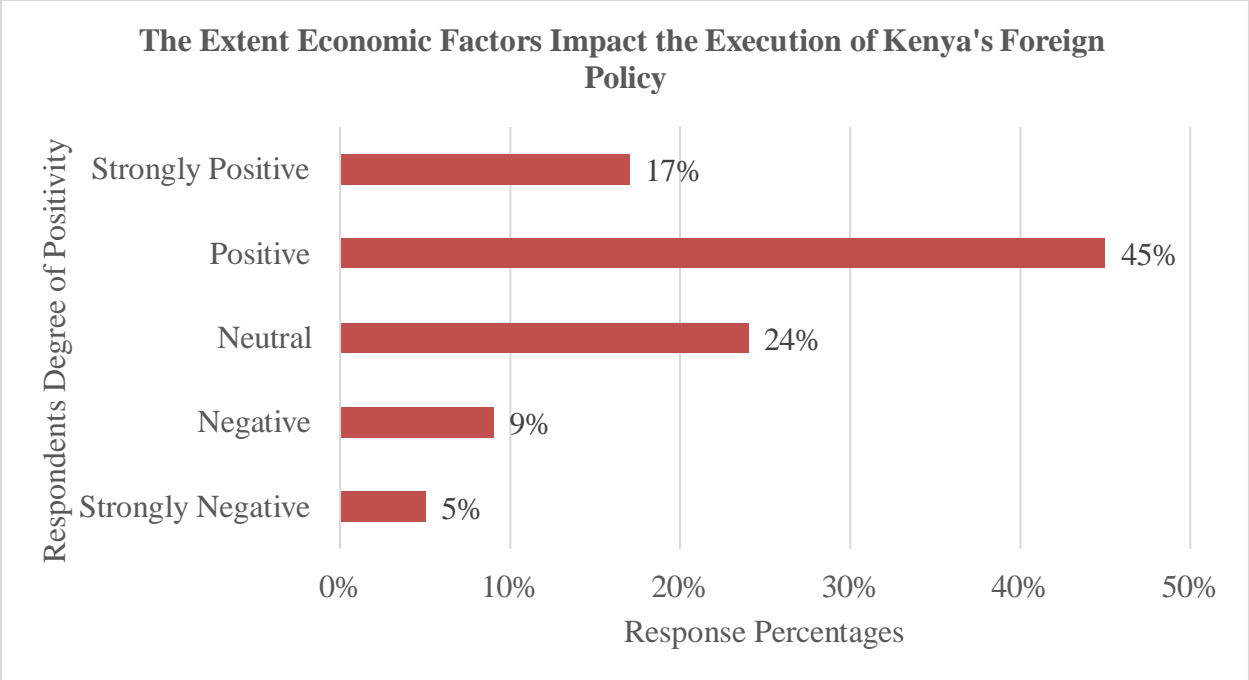


Figure 4.6: The Extent Economic Factors Impact the Execution of Kenya's Foreign Policy

Source: Field Data, 2024

The findings indicated a predominantly positive impact of economic factors on the execution of Kenya's foreign policy during the studied years, with 45% of respondents expressing a positive and 17% strongly positive view. Economic considerations, such as trade agreements, foreign direct investment and economic cooperation, were integral components of foreign policy implementation. Positive perceptions suggested that economic factors contributed significantly to advancing Kenya's diplomatic and strategic objectives. The high percentage of positive responses reflected the importance of economic considerations in shaping foreign policy decisions, fostering international partnerships and enhancing Kenya's global standing. Additionally, the presence of 24% had neutral responses indicated a nuanced understanding of the multifaceted nature of economic influences on foreign policy. Negative 9% and strongly negative 5% respectively. The study's comprehensive examination of economic factors provided a valuable insight into the

intricate relationship between economic considerations and the execution of Kenya's foreign policy during the specified period, contributing to a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics at play.

The study assessed the contribution or hindrances of technological advancements and cultural factors in the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy and established that technological advancements and cultural factors played significant roles in influencing the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy during the studied period. Technological advancements, particularly in communication and information-sharing technologies, facilitated faster and more efficient diplomatic engagements. Improved communication channels, such as email, video conferencing and social media platforms, allowed Kenyan diplomats to engage with their counterparts globally, exchange information rapidly and coordinate responses to international events in real-time. These technological tools enhanced Kenya's diplomatic agility and responsiveness, enabling more effective negotiation tactics and diplomatic strategies in addressing emerging global challenges.

Furthermore, cultural factors influenced Kenya's foreign policy implementation by shaping its diplomatic priorities, strategies and engagements. Kenya's rich cultural heritage and history contributed to the country's identity and foreign policy orientation. Cultural diplomacy, including initiatives such as cultural exchanges, arts festivals and heritage preservation efforts, played a vital role in promoting Kenya's soft power and enhancing its international reputation. By showcasing its cultural diversity and heritage, Kenya leveraged cultural diplomacy to build bridges with other nations, foster mutual understanding and strengthen diplomatic ties. However, cultural differences and misunderstandings could also pose challenges in diplomatic relations, requiring careful

navigation and cultural sensitivity to ensure effective communication and cooperation with foreign partners.

Despite the opportunities presented by technological advancements and cultural diplomacy, there were also challenges that hindered Kenya's foreign policy implementation. Limited access to technology in certain regions of the country, particularly in rural areas, could create disparities in diplomatic capabilities and hinder effective communication and coordination between diplomatic missions and the government. Additionally, cultural differences and cultural misunderstandings could lead to misinterpretations or conflicts in diplomatic interactions, potentially undermining Kenya's diplomatic efforts and complicating international relations. Overcoming these challenges required investment in technological infrastructure and capacity-building initiatives, as well as enhanced cultural awareness and sensitivity among diplomats and policymakers. In an interview, an informant pointed out that:

The intricate interplay of technological advancements and cultural factors in shape the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy, uncovering both contributions and hindrances. Technological progress, notably in communication and information-sharing platforms, bolstered Kenya's diplomatic capabilities by facilitating swift and efficient engagement with global counterparts through channels like email, video conferencing and social media. These tools enhanced diplomatic agility and responsiveness, empowering Kenyan diplomats to navigate international affairs with greater efficiency. Moreover, cultural factors influenced Kenya's diplomatic landscape, with cultural diplomacy initiatives leveraging the country's rich heritage to bolster soft power and forge stronger international ties. However, challenges such as limited technology access in rural areas and potential cultural misunderstandings underscored the need for investment in technological infrastructure and cultural sensitivity training to ensure effective foreign policy implementation amidst a rapidly evolving global landscape.

(KI 3, Professor of International Relations Studies, 7th February 2024, Nairobi)

The verbatim illuminates on the interplay of technology and culture that has significantly shaped Kenya's foreign policy, offering both opportunities and obstacles. Technological advancements like communication platforms have enhanced diplomatic agility and outreach, while cultural diplomacy utilizes Kenya's unique heritage to build international connections. However, limited rural access to technology and potential cultural misunderstandings highlight the need for infrastructure investment and cultural sensitivity training to ensure inclusive and effective foreign policy execution in a dynamic global arena.

A glimpse into President Kibaki's leadership, the study established that Kenya witnessed a period of remarkable economic growth, bolstering its influence within the region and beyond. This economic strength provided Kenya with the resources and leverage to actively engage in foreign policy initiatives, including the negotiation of trade agreements and investment partnerships. Kibaki's administration prioritized economic diplomacy, attracting foreign investment and promoting trade relations, which not only stimulated domestic growth but also enhanced Kenya's standing on the international stage. In an interview, an informant denoted that:

Kenya's economic growth during Kibaki's administration significantly elevated its regional and global influence. The country's newfound economic strength enabled it to take a more proactive role in international affairs, negotiating trade deals and forging investment partnerships. Kibaki's emphasis on economic diplomacy attracted foreign investment and boosted trade relations, contributing to both domestic prosperity and Kenya's rising international stature.

(KI 4, 8th February 2024, Nairobi)

In accordance to the sentiments, during Kibaki's administration, Kenya experienced significant economic growth that enhanced its regional and global influence, as reflected in several sources. Chege (2023) discusses how this economic momentum allowed Kenya to transition from a focus on economic diplomacy to asserting itself as a regional leader, negotiating strategic trade deals

that attracted foreign investment. Kiarie (2022) notes that Kibaki's policies prioritized economic reforms, which not only bolstered domestic prosperity but also positioned Kenya as a pivotal player in international affairs. This alignment with global economic trends is echoed in the works of Drezner (2019) and Mansfield and Pevehouse (2021), who emphasize the role of economic statecraft in shaping a nation's foreign policy and enhancing its diplomatic leverage. Thus, Kibaki's emphasis on economic diplomacy not only facilitated trade relations but also significantly elevated Kenya's international stature, establishing it as a key actor in both regional and global contexts.

During President Uhuru's tenure, Kenya continued to capitalize on its economic capabilities to advance its foreign policy objectives. The country's diplomatic relations played a pivotal role, with Kenya actively participating in mediating regional conflicts and contributing to peacekeeping missions. Uhuru's administration diversified Kenya's international partnerships, particularly by strengthening ties with Asian countries such as China, further expanding Kenya's economic and diplomatic reach. This period saw Kenya solidify its reputation as a regional leader, utilizing both economic and diplomatic prowess to address regional challenges and assert its influence in global affairs. In an interview an informant indicated that:

Kenya effectively leveraged its economic strengths to enhance its foreign policy during President Uhuru's tenure, positioning itself as a mediator in regional conflicts and a contributor to peacekeeping efforts. The diversification of international partnerships, particularly with Asian nations like China, significantly expanded Kenya's economic and diplomatic influence on the global stage. This strategic approach solidified Kenya's reputation as a regional leader, enabling it to tackle regional challenges while asserting its presence in international affairs.

(KI 3, 7th February 2024, Nairobi)

Corroborating with the verbatim note, during President Uhuru Kenyatta's tenure, Kenya adeptly utilized its economic strengths to elevate its foreign policy, emerging as a mediator in regional

conflicts and a key player in peacekeeping initiatives as noted by Kiarie (2022). The diversification of international partnerships, particularly with Asian nations like China, allowed Kenya to expand its economic footprint and diplomatic reach, fostering new avenues for investment and collaboration. This strategic pivot not only reinforced Kenya's reputation as a regional leader but also empowered it to address pressing challenges in East Africa while asserting its influence in global affairs. As a result, Kenya's foreign policy became increasingly characterized by economic diplomacy, enhancing its standing in international discourse and reinforcing its role in regional stability (Ogebe, 2020).

As President Ruto's tenure unfolds, it is anticipated that Kenya's political ideologies, including its economic, diplomatic and potentially military strength, will continue to shape the implementation of its foreign policy. President Ruto's administration may further emphasize economic diplomacy and seek to balance Kenya's relationships with both Western and non-Western powers, building upon the foundations laid by his predecessors. The ongoing evolution of Kenya's foreign policy under President Ruto's leadership will likely reflect the country's commitment to leveraging its strengths to promote regional stability, economic prosperity and global cooperation. In an interview, an informant opined:

During the Kibaki era, Kenya experienced remarkable economic growth, fueled by strategic economic diplomacy efforts. President Kibaki prioritized attracting foreign investment and expanding trade through negotiated agreements and partnerships, elevating Kenya's regional and global influence. Under President Uhuru Kenyatta's leadership and beyond, the focus on economic diplomacy persisted, with a shift towards diversifying partnerships, notably with Asian nations like China. Additionally, active engagement in regional conflict mediation solidified Kenya's reputation as a pivotal player in fostering peace and stability.

(KI 2, 6th February 2024, Nairobi)

The presidency of Mwai Kibaki witnessed a period of remarkable economic growth in Kenya.

This economic strength provided the resources and leverage for Kenya to actively engage in foreign policy initiatives. President Kibaki's administration prioritized economic diplomacy, aiming to attract foreign investment and promote trade relations. This strategy not only stimulated domestic growth but also enhanced Kenya's standing on the international stage. By leveraging its economic strength, Kenya was able to negotiate trade agreements and establish investment partnerships, solidifying its position as a regional economic powerhouse.

President Uhuru Kenyatta built upon the foundations laid by his predecessor. His administration continued to capitalize on Kenya's economic capabilities to advance its foreign policy objectives. This era saw a diversification of Kenya's international partnerships, particularly by strengthening ties with Asian countries like China. This not only expanded Kenya's economic reach but also broadened its diplomatic influence. Beyond economic pursuits, Kenya actively participated in mediating regional conflicts and contributing to peacekeeping missions. Through these efforts, Kenya solidified its reputation as a regional leader, utilizing both economic and diplomatic prowess to address regional challenges and assert its influence in global affairs.

In view of Chege (2023), there has been an evolving landscape in the Kenyan Foreign Policy: From economic diplomacy to regional leadership. Further, according to Hanegraaff and Overmans (2020) the intricate relationship demands continuous adaptation to leverage technological tools and celebrate cultural diversity for successful implementation of Kenya's international engagements.

4.3.3 Influence of Diplomacy on Foreign Policy Implementation in Kenya

The study sought to examine the influence of diplomacy on foreign policy implementation in Kenya, through probing into respondents understanding on the effectiveness of diplomatic strategies and engagements in achieving the foreign policy goals, as illustrated in Figure 4.7.

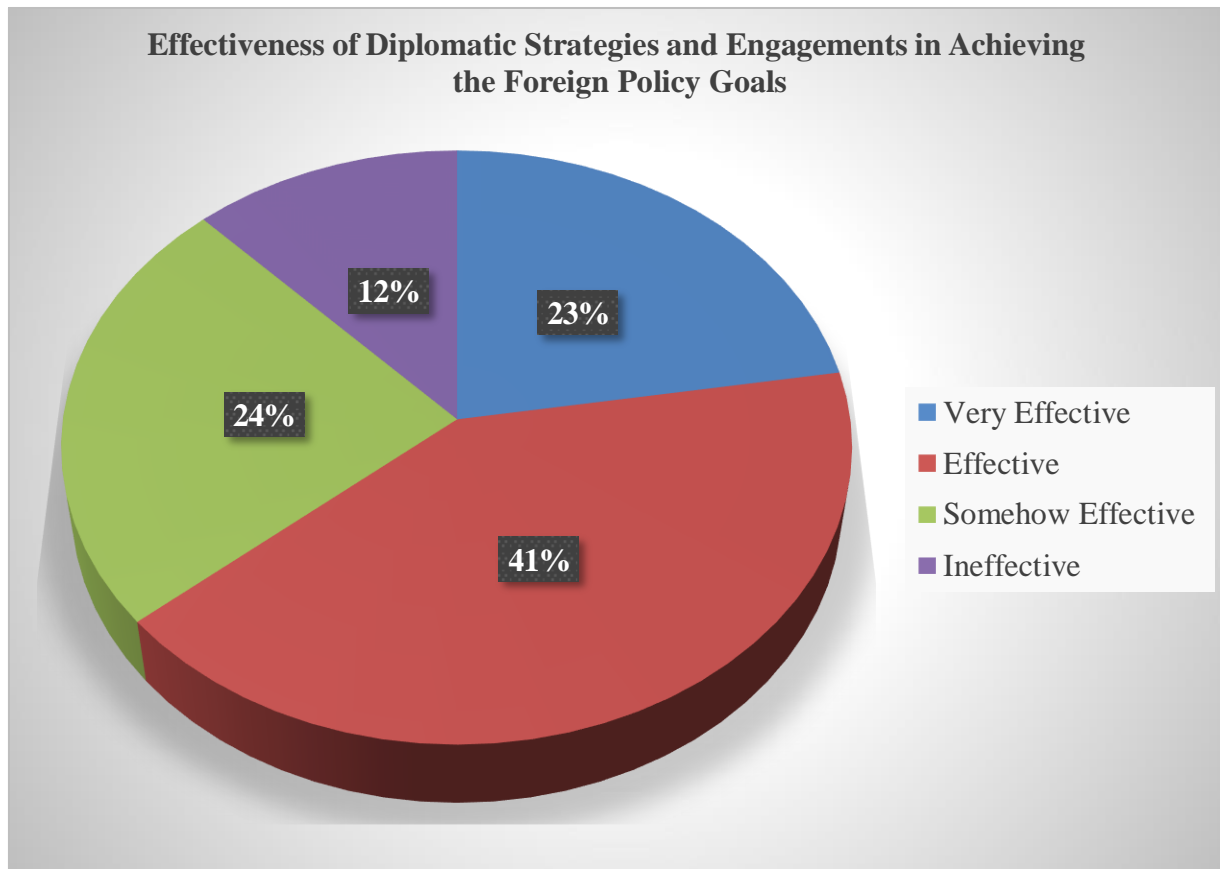


Figure 4.7: Effectiveness of Diplomatic Strategies and Engagements in Achieving the Foreign Policy Goals

Source: Field Data, 2024

The study's findings revealed that diplomatic strategies and engagements were effective 41% (48) and very effective 22% (26) in achieving the foreign policy goals of Kenya, as respondents expressing positive views. The high percentage of respondents indicating very effective or

effective outcomes suggested that Kenya's diplomatic efforts played a significant role in advancing the country's foreign policy objectives. Diplomatic strategies, including negotiations, alliances and public diplomacy, were crucial tools in navigating the complex landscape of international relations.

The positive perceptions reflected the successful implementation of these strategies in fostering positive relationships, resolving disputes and promoting Kenya's interests on the global stage. Additionally, the acknowledgment of somehow effective outcomes 24% (28) indicated a nuanced understanding of the challenges and complexities inherent in diplomatic endeavors. Responses at 12% (14) were of the ineffective opinion. The study's comprehensive assessment of diplomatic effectiveness provided valuable insights into the success of Kenya's foreign policy strategies, contributing to a deeper understanding of the country's diplomatic landscape and its impact on achieving national goals.

In an examination, respondents were asked to provide examples of successful diplomatic initiatives or challenges faced in the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy. Respondents pointed out several successful diplomatic initiatives have contributed to Kenya's foreign policy objectives during the studied period. One notable example is Kenya's active participation in regional peacekeeping missions and mediation efforts. Kenya has played a significant role in promoting peace and stability in conflict-affected regions, particularly in neighboring countries such as Somalia and South Sudan. Through its involvement in peacekeeping missions under the auspices of the African Union and the United Nations, Kenya has demonstrated its commitment to regional security and stability. For instance, Kenya's contribution to the African Union Mission in Somalia

(AMISOM) has been instrumental in combating terrorist threats posed by al-Shabaab and supporting the stabilization efforts in Somalia.

Additionally, Kenya has pursued diplomatic initiatives aimed at enhancing economic cooperation and trade relations with other countries and regional blocs. The signing of trade agreements and partnerships, such as the East African Community (EAC) and the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA), has facilitated closer economic integration and cooperation among member states. These diplomatic efforts have contributed to expanding Kenya's trade networks, attracting foreign investment and promoting economic growth and development. Furthermore, Kenya's active participation in regional and international forums, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), has provided platforms for advocating for its economic interests and priorities on the global stage. In an inquiry, an informant commented that:

Kenya's diplomatic initiatives have been instrumental in fostering economic growth and development. The country's strategic focus on regional integration and trade partnerships has created a favorable environment for businesses and investors. By actively engaging with international organizations, Kenya has solidified its position as a key player in the global economy and promoted its economic interests effectively.

(KI 1, 5th February 2024, Nairobi)

The sentiments alluded that, Kenya's diplomatic initiatives are crucial in driving economic growth and development, as highlighted by various scholars and reports. Chege (2023) emphasizes the transition of Kenyan foreign policy from economic diplomacy to regional leadership, illustrating how strategic engagements enhance trade partnerships. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (n.d.) highlights Kenya's commitment to regional integration, fostering a conducive environment for investment. As Börzel and Risse (2023) note, non-state actors play a vital role in global

governance, further enabling Kenya to leverage international relationships for economic benefits. Cooper (2022) argues that effective diplomacy not only fosters peace but also creates avenues for economic collaboration, aligning with Kenya's active participation in global platforms. Through these efforts, Kenya has positioned itself as a significant player in the global economy, promoting its interests while contributing to regional stability and growth.

Moreover, Kenya has encountered diplomatic challenges related to its relationships with certain countries and regional blocs. Tensions with neighboring countries, such as Somalia and South Sudan, have at times strained diplomatic relations and complicated efforts to address regional security and stability issues. Additionally, Kenya has faced criticism and scrutiny from international actors over issues such as human rights violations, electoral integrity and governance issues. These diplomatic challenges have required Kenya to engage in diplomatic dialogue, negotiation and conflict resolution to mitigate tensions and promote mutual understanding and cooperation with its international partners. In an interview, an informant said that:

Several successful diplomatic initiatives have contributed to Kenya's foreign policy objectives, notably its active role in regional peacekeeping missions like the AMISOM, which has been crucial in combating terrorist threats posed by al-Shabaab and stabilizing Somalia. Additionally, Kenya's efforts to enhance economic cooperation through trade agreements like the EAC and the AfCFTA have expanded trade networks and attracted foreign investment, fostering economic growth. However, challenges persist, particularly in addressing terrorism and regional security threats from groups like al-Shabaab, necessitating collaboration with international partners and investment in security measures. Diplomatic tensions with neighboring countries such as Somalia and South Sudan, alongside scrutiny over human rights and governance issues, have further complicated diplomatic relations, requiring Kenya to engage in dialogue and conflict resolution to promote cooperation and mutual understanding.

(KI 4, 8th February 2024, Nairobi)

Notably, the voice illuminates on Kenya's foreign policy that boasts successes like its participation in AMISOM, stabilizing Somalia and countering al-Shabaab and trade agreements like the EAC and AfCFTA, boosting economic ties and attracting investment. However, challenges linger. As noted by Cooper (2022) persistent terrorist threats, diplomatic strains with neighbors and human rights concerns necessitate collaboration, dialogue and investment in security to ensure continued progress.

The study sought to establish the intervening role of bureaucratic offices in the implementation of foreign policy in Kenya, through understanding how bureaucratic offices intervene in the implementation of the foreign policy, as revealed in Figure 4.8.

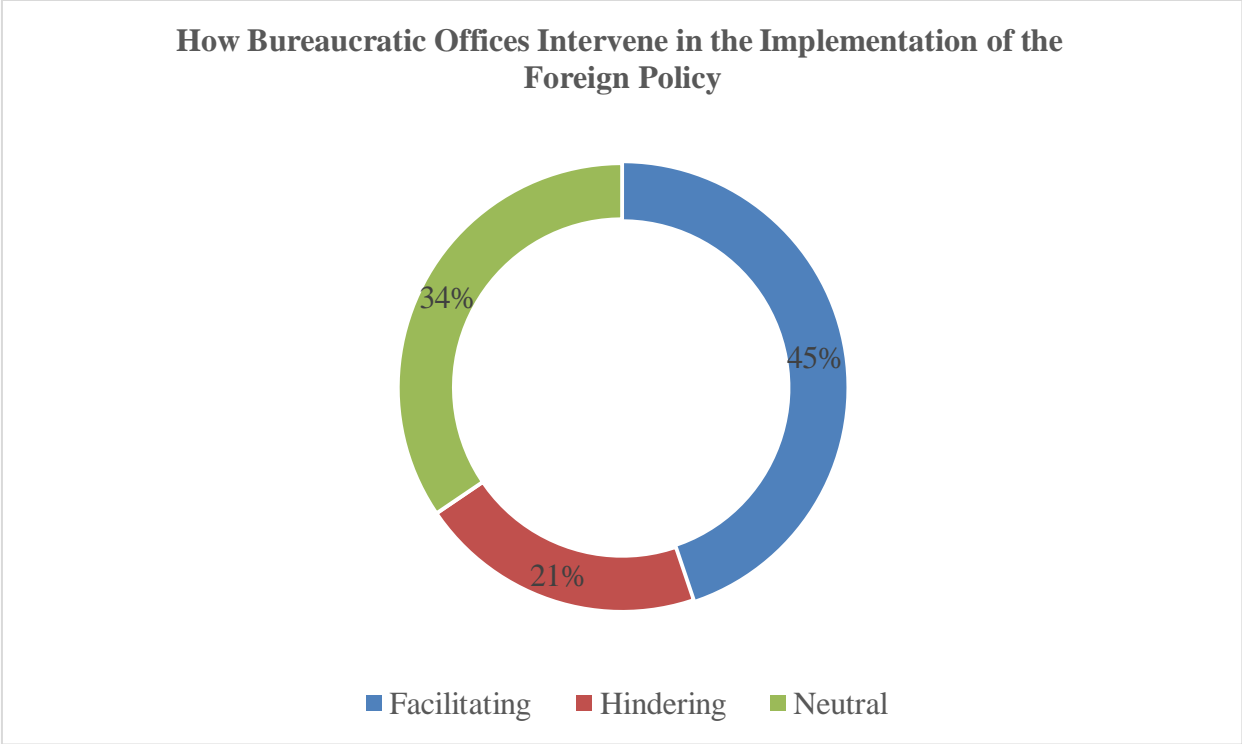


Figure 4.8: Bureaucratic Offices Intervention in the Implementation of the Foreign Policy

Source: Field Data, 2024

Respondents indicated that bureaucratic offices within the government played a significant role in intervening in the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy, with findings indicating a mixed impact. Approximately 45% of respondents perceived bureaucratic offices as facilitating the implementation process, suggesting that these entities contributed positively by providing support, coordination and resources necessary for effective foreign policy execution. However, 21% of respondents viewed bureaucratic offices as hindering the implementation, indicating obstacles or inefficiencies that impeded progress in achieving foreign policy goals.

Additionally, 34% of respondents expressed a neutral stance, reflecting a balanced perspective acknowledging both facilitating and hindering aspects. Bureaucratic offices' interventions in foreign policy implementation were influenced by various factors, including organizational culture, leadership dynamics and institutional capacity. The study's findings shed light on the complex role of bureaucratic offices in shaping Kenya's foreign policy outcomes, highlighting areas of improvement and potential reforms to enhance effectiveness and efficiency in future policy implementation endeavors.

The study sought to establish the specific roles or functions bureaucratic offices played in shaping foreign policy decisions and actions. Respondents pointed out that bureaucratic offices within the government played critical roles in shaping foreign policy decisions and actions by providing expertise, coordination and implementation support. One key function was policy formulation and analysis. Bureaucratic offices, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, engaged in extensive research and analysis to develop foreign policy recommendations and strategies. They assessed geopolitical trends, analyzed international relations dynamics and evaluated the potential impact of policy options on national interests. Through policy formulation, bureaucratic offices helped

identify priorities, set strategic objectives and provided recommendations to political leaders on diplomatic initiatives and engagements.

Another crucial role of bureaucratic offices was diplomatic coordination and representation. Bureaucratic offices served as the primary interface between the government and foreign entities, representing the country's interests in diplomatic engagements and negotiations. They coordinated diplomatic activities, including meetings, summits and international conferences and provided logistical support for diplomatic missions abroad. Bureaucratic offices also liaised with foreign embassies, international organizations and diplomatic missions to facilitate communication and collaboration on foreign policy matters. By managing diplomatic relations and engagements, bureaucratic offices ensured coherence and consistency in the country's diplomatic efforts and messaging on the international stage.

Furthermore, bureaucratic offices played a pivotal role in implementing foreign policy decisions. Once foreign policy objectives were established, bureaucratic offices oversaw the execution of diplomatic initiatives and engagements. They allocated resources, mobilized personnel and coordinated interagency efforts to implement foreign policy directives effectively. Bureaucratic offices worked closely with other government departments, such as defense, trade and finance, to ensure alignment and synergy in implementing foreign policy priorities. Additionally, bureaucratic offices monitored and evaluated the progress of foreign policy initiatives, providing feedback and recommendations to political leaders to adjust strategies as needed. In an interview, an informant stated that:

Bureaucratic offices played a crucial role in executing foreign policy decisions, acting as the operational arm of the government. They were responsible for translating high-level policy objectives into concrete actions, ensuring that diplomatic initiatives were carried out efficiently and effectively. By coordinating

resources, mobilizing personnel, and overseeing interagency cooperation, these offices were instrumental in implementing foreign policy directives and achieving desired outcomes.

(KI 4, 8th February 2024, Nairobi)

In view of the sentiments, the role of bureaucratic offices in executing foreign policy highlights their function as the operational backbone of government initiatives. As Büthe and König (2022) emphasize, these offices translate high-level policy goals into actionable strategies, ensuring efficient implementation. This coordination is critical in Kenya's evolving foreign policy, where bureaucratic effectiveness facilitates regional leadership. Moreover, bureaucratic politics shape foreign policy, stressing the importance of interagency collaboration to navigate complex diplomatic landscapes. By mobilizing resources and personnel, these bureaucracies not only operationalize policy directives but also adapt to changing geopolitical contexts, illustrating their centrality in achieving foreign policy objectives. This multifaceted role reflects the sentiments of various scholars who underscore the bureaucratic apparatus as essential for translating diplomatic aspirations into tangible outcomes.

In addition to policy formulation, diplomatic coordination and implementation, bureaucratic offices also contributed to foreign policy analysis and intelligence gathering. Bureaucratic offices collected and analyzed intelligence on foreign governments, international organizations and global trends to inform foreign policy decision-making. They assessed risks, opportunities and emerging challenges in the international arena and provided timely intelligence reports to policymakers. By conducting foreign policy analysis and intelligence gathering, bureaucratic offices helped anticipate potential threats, identify strategic opportunities and formulate informed policy responses to global developments.

Moreover, bureaucratic offices played a critical role in diplomatic training and capacity building. They developed and implemented training programs for diplomats, Foreign Service Officers and other government officials involved in international relations. Bureaucratic offices provided diplomatic training on negotiation skills, diplomatic protocols, cross-cultural communication and international law to equip diplomats with the necessary knowledge and skills to represent the country effectively abroad. By investing in diplomatic training and capacity building, bureaucratic offices enhanced the professionalism, competence and effectiveness of the country's diplomatic corps, thereby strengthening its diplomatic capabilities and influence on the global stage. In an interview, an informant's revelation noted that:

Bureaucratic offices play multifaceted roles in shaping Kenya's foreign policy decisions and actions, highlighting their critical contributions across various functions. Firstly, bureaucratic offices like the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are instrumental in policy formulation and analysis, conducting extensive research to develop strategic recommendations and assess the impact of policy options on national interests. Secondly, these offices serve as the primary interface for diplomatic coordination and representation, managing diplomatic relations, coordinating activities and ensuring coherence in the country's messaging on the international stage. Thirdly, bureaucratic offices play a pivotal role in implementing foreign policy directives, overseeing the execution of diplomatic initiatives by allocating resources, mobilizing personnel and coordinating interagency efforts. Additionally, they contribute to foreign policy analysis and intelligence gathering, collecting and analyzing intelligence to inform decision-making and anticipate global developments. Lastly, bureaucratic offices invest in diplomatic training and capacity building, equipping diplomats with the necessary skills and knowledge to effectively represent the country abroad, thereby enhancing Kenya's diplomatic capabilities and influence on the global stage.

(KI 2, 6th February 2024, Nairobi)

Informed by the sentiments, Kenya's foreign policy is far from a monolith and bureaucratic offices like the Ministry of Foreign Affairs play a critical, multifaceted role in shaping its direction and impact. According to O'Neil (2021) firstly, they act as think tanks, formulating and analyzing policies through research, strategic recommendations and assessments of national interests.

Secondly, they serve as the country's diplomatic nerve center, managing relations, coordinating activities and ensuring consistent messaging on the international stage. Thirdly, these offices translate policy into action, allocating resources, mobilizing personnel and coordinating interagency efforts to execute diplomatic initiatives. Furthermore, they provide crucial intelligence through analysis and gathering, informing decisions and anticipating global developments. Finally, by investing in training and capacity building for diplomats, they enhance Kenya's diplomatic capabilities and influence on the world stage. In essence, bureaucratic offices act as the engine, steering wheel and navigation system, propelling Kenya's foreign policy forward with informed direction, effective execution and a skilled crew at the helm.

Beyond the bureaucratic offices, the study examined the influence of practice of diplomacy on Foreign Policy Implementation, in view of President Kibaki, President Uhuru and the contemporary President Ruto's regime. The study established that the practice of diplomacy has significantly influenced foreign policy implementation in Kenya. During President Kibaki's regime, Kenya pursued a policy of regional diplomacy, prioritizing the strengthening of ties with neighboring countries and regional organizations. This approach was rooted in the recognition that regional stability and economic cooperation are essential for Kenya's development and security. Kibaki's administration actively engaged in regional initiatives aimed at fostering peace and integration, such as the EAC and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), contributing to a more stable and interconnected East Africa.

Under President Uhuru's regime, there was a notable emphasis on economic diplomacy as a cornerstone of Kenya's foreign policy. The administration sought to attract foreign investment and promote trade partnerships to spur economic growth and development. This focus on economic interests led to a diversification of Kenya's international relations, with the government actively

engaging with a wide range of countries and international organizations to bolster trade and investment opportunities. President Uhuru's tenure saw Kenya positioning itself as a key player in the global economy, leveraging its economic potential to enhance its influence on the international stage.

In the current President Ruto regime, the emphasis on economic diplomacy is expected to continue, with a renewed focus on addressing pressing global challenges such as climate change, security and regional integration. Ruto's administration is likely to prioritize diplomatic efforts aimed at finding sustainable solutions to these issues, leveraging Kenya's economic and diplomatic capabilities to drive positive change regionally and globally. By addressing these challenges through diplomatic means, the Ruto regime aims to further solidify Kenya's position as a key player in regional and international affairs, advancing its interests while contributing to global stability and prosperity. In an interview, an informant said:

Diplomacy has played a pivotal role in shaping Kenya's foreign policy. Under President Kibaki (2002-2013), regional diplomacy took precedence, fostering stability and economic cooperation with neighboring countries and regional organizations like the EAC and IGAD. Conversely, President Uhuru Kenyatta (2013-2022) prioritized economic diplomacy, attracting foreign investment and promoting trade partnerships to bolster economic growth and global influence. Looking ahead to President Ruto's era, continuity in economic diplomacy is anticipated, with a renewed focus on addressing global challenges like climate change and security, solidifying Kenya's regional and international standing.

(KI 1, 5th February 2024, Nairobi)

Throughout different presidential eras, Kenya's foreign policy has undergone significant shifts in priorities, as evidenced by scholarly research and official government statements. During the Kibaki era, a strong emphasis was placed on regional diplomacy, as noted by Ayuko (2016) and Solitei (2016). The Kibaki administration recognized the importance of fostering close ties with neighboring countries and regional organizations such as the EAC and the IGAD. This regional

focus was driven by the understanding that regional stability and economic cooperation were essential for Kenya's development and security, as highlighted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kenya.

In contrast, the Uhuru Kenyatta era witnessed a shift towards economic diplomacy, as documented by Ayuko (2016). President Kenyatta's administration aimed to attract foreign investment and promote trade partnerships to stimulate economic growth and enhance Kenya's global influence. This emphasis on economic diplomacy aimed to diversify international relations and capitalize on trade and investment opportunities, as emphasized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kenya.

Looking forward to the President Ruto era, it is anticipated that he will maintain continuity in economic diplomacy while also introducing a renewed focus on addressing pressing global challenges such as climate change, security and regional integration. This strategic shift aims to leverage Kenya's diplomatic and economic capabilities to contribute positively to global issues and further solidify its regional and international standing.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

The chapter drew a summary of the findings, conclusion of the findings, recommendations drawn from the study and areas for further research, in an objective manner.

5.1 Summary of the Findings

5.1.1 The Influence of Electoral cycles on Foreign Policy in Kenya

In summary the study investigated the influence of electoral cycles on foreign policy in Kenya. It established that the political system is multifaceted, with diverse characterizations ranging from democratic to authoritarian and mixed. Leadership changes, electoral cycles, political culture and psychological factors were significant influences on foreign policy. These factors impacted foreign direct investment, peace and stability and state integrity.

5.1.2 The Influence on Political ideologies on Foreign Policy Implementation in Kenya

The study explored the impact of economic, technological and cultural factors on Kenya's foreign policy execution. Economic considerations were seen as highly influential, with a majority perceiving them to contribute positively to diplomatic objectives and international partnerships. Technological advancements, like improved communication tools, were viewed as enhancing diplomatic agility and responsiveness. Cultural factors, including cultural diplomacy initiatives, were seen as boosting Kenya's soft power and international reputation. However, limited technology access in some regions and potential cultural misunderstandings were identified as challenges.

5.1.3 The Influence of Diplomacy on Foreign Policy Implementation

Kenya's diplomatic efforts seem largely successful in achieving foreign policy goals, with 63% of respondents perceiving them as very or effective. Negotiations, alliances and public diplomacy helped foster positive relationships, resolve disputes and advance national interests. While acknowledging challenges like regional security threats and sensitive relationships, the study highlights successful initiatives like peacekeeping missions and trade agreements.

Leadership changes, electoral cycles, political culture and psychological factors in shaping foreign policy outcomes, particularly in relation to foreign direct investment, peace and stability and state integrity are significant. Kenya's foreign policy execution, should emphasize on the positive contributions of economic considerations, technological advancements and cultural diplomacy initiatives, while also acknowledging challenges such as limited technology access and potential cultural misunderstandings. Moreover, Kenya's diplomatic efforts, showcases successful initiatives in negotiations, alliances and public diplomacy that have contributed to fostering positive relationships, resolving disputes and advancing national interests, despite challenges like regional security threats. Lastly, Kenya's government plays a significant role in foreign policy implementation, through emphasizing on the need for improvements and reforms to enhance effectiveness, thus providing a comprehensive view of the dynamics influencing Kenya's foreign policy landscape.

5.2 Conclusion

In conclusion, the research underscores the intricate interplay of various factors that shape Kenya's foreign policy, including leaders' ideologies, electoral cycles and the broader political context, all of which are crucial considerations for analyzing foreign policy outcomes and devising effective strategies. While the study highlights the generally positive influence of non-political factors, such

as economic considerations, technological advancements and cultural factors, it also acknowledges the nuanced impacts they may have, emphasizing the importance of tailored policies and partnerships to maximize benefits while addressing challenges like unequal access and cultural sensitivities. Moreover, the research sheds light on the pivotal role of diplomacy in implementing Kenya's foreign policy, showcasing successful initiatives and identifying ongoing challenges, which provides valuable insights for policymakers, academics and practitioners alike. Additionally, the study underscores the critical functions of bureaucratic offices in shaping Kenyan foreign policy, from policy formulation to diplomatic coordination and capacity building, highlighting their significance in enhancing Kenya's diplomatic capabilities and representation on the global stage, thus informing policy, academia, practitioners and theory in navigating the complexities of international relations.

5.3 Recommendations

The study recommends that:

- i. Kenya should strive for a more consistent and coherent foreign policy that aligns with its long-term national interests. This requires balancing short-term political pressures with long-term goals, strengthening the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and considering public opinion. Effective diplomacy, communication and engagement with international partners are also key to successful foreign policy implementation.
- ii. Kenya should leverage the opportunities presented by economic considerations, technological advancements and cultural diplomacy. This includes investing in technology infrastructure and capacity building for wider access, promoting cultural

- awareness and sensitivity among diplomats and carefully navigating potential cultural differences to avoid misunderstandings.
- iii. Kenya should continue leveraging effective diplomatic strategies while addressing identified challenges. Strengthening regional security cooperation, addressing human rights concerns and navigating sensitive relationships diplomatically are key areas for improvement. Investing in diplomatic resources and personnel, alongside continued participation in regional and international forums, can further enhance Kenya's diplomatic effectiveness and foreign policy achievements.

5.4 Recommendations for Further Research

Further research, based on the study objectives can focus on:

- i. Assessing the mechanisms for incorporating public opinion and long-term strategic goals into foreign policy decision-making processes.
- ii. Evaluating of the impact of technology infrastructure and capacity building on Kenya's economic development and international engagement.
- iii. Evaluating the Effectiveness of Kenyan Diplomatic Strategies in Regional Security and Human Rights.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Document Analysis Guide

Document Analysis Guide for the Study on the Influence of Leadership Change on the Implementation of Kenya's Foreign Policy (2002-2022)

1. Introduction:

- Brief overview of the study's objectives and focus on analyzing the influence of leadership change on Kenya's foreign policy implementation.

2. Document Selection:

- Identify relevant documents spanning the period from 2002 to 2022, including government reports, policy documents, speeches, official statements, diplomatic cables, academic papers and news articles.
- Ensure a diverse range of sources representing different political perspectives, government agencies, diplomatic channels and international partners.

3. Coding Scheme Development:

- Develop a coding scheme aligned with the study's objectives:
 - Electoral cycles: Codes related to the structure, dynamics and ideologies of electoral cycles affecting foreign policy decisions.
 - Political ideologies: Codes reflecting economic, technological and cultural factors influencing foreign policy implementation.
 - Diplomacy: Codes capturing diplomatic strategies, engagements and relationships impacting foreign policy execution.

- Bureaucratic Offices: Codes representing the role, structure and functioning of bureaucratic institutions in foreign policy implementation.

4. Data Collection and Analysis:

- Systematically analyze selected documents using the developed coding scheme.
- Extract relevant information related to each objective, focusing on key themes, trends and patterns.
- Compare and contrast findings across different periods, leadership changes and institutional contexts.

5. Interpretation and Synthesis:

- Interpret the findings in relation to the study's objectives, considering the influence of leadership change on each aspect of Kenya's foreign policy implementation.
- Synthesize the analyzed data to identify overarching trends, challenges and implications for understanding the interplay between leadership transitions and foreign policy outcomes.

6. Validity and Reliability:

- Ensure data validity and reliability through triangulation of sources, cross-checking of coded data and peer review of findings.
- Document any limitations or biases in the analysis process and their potential impact on the study's conclusions.

7. Reporting:

- Present the findings in a clear and structured manner, organizing them according to the study's objectives.
- Provide supporting evidence from the analyzed documents to substantiate key findings and conclusions.
- Include recommendations for future research and policy implications based on the study's insights.

8. Conclusion:

- Summarize the main findings of the document analysis and their implications for understanding the influence of leadership change on Kenya's foreign policy implementation.
- Highlight any gaps or areas for further investigation identified during the analysis process.

Appendix II: Questionnaire

Questionnaire: Influence of Leadership Change on the Implementation of Kenya's Foreign Policy
(2002-2022)

1. Bio Data:

- i. Name (Optional):
- ii. Age: 18-25 [] 26-35 [] 36-45 [] 46-55 [] 56 and above []
- iii. Gender: Male [] Female []
- iv. Education Level: Primary [] Secondary [] Bachelors [] Masters [] PhD []
- v. Occupation:
- vi. Years of Experience in Foreign Policy Analysis:

2. General Perception of Leadership Changes

- i. How would you describe the overall impact of leadership changes on Kenya's foreign policy during the period 2002-2022?
 - a. Very Positive
 - b. Positive
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Negative
 - e. Very Negative

- ii. In your opinion, what major factors influenced leadership changes during the specified period?

3. Influence of Electoral cycles on Foreign Policy

- i. How would you characterize the political system(s) in Kenya during the study period?
 - a. Democratic
 - b. Authoritarian
 - c. Mixed/Transitional
- ii. In your view, how did the political system(s) influence decision-making in the formulation and implementation of Kenya's foreign policy?

4. Influence of Political ideologies on Foreign Policy Implementation

- i. To what extent did economic factors impact the execution of Kenya's foreign policy during the studied years?
 - a. Strongly Positive
 - b. Positive
 - c. Neutral
 - d. Negative
 - e. Strongly Negative

- ii. How did technological advancements and cultural factors contribute to or hinder the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy?

5. Influence of Diplomacy on Foreign Policy Implementation

- i. How effective were diplomatic strategies and engagements in achieving the foreign policy goals of Kenya?
 - a. Very Effective
 - b. Effective
 - c. Somewhat Effective
 - d. Ineffective
 - e. Very Ineffective
- ii. Can you provide examples of successful diplomatic initiatives or challenges faced in the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy?

Thank you for participating in this study.

Appendix III: Key Informant Interview Guide

Introduction: Thank you for participating in this key informant interview. Your insights are crucial for a study focused on, '*Influence of Leadership Change on the Implementation of Kenya's Foreign Policy (2002-2022)*.' Your knowledge and expertise will contribute to a comprehensive analysis of these issues. All responses will be kept confidential. Please provide your candid thoughts and insights.

1. Influence of Electoral cycles on Foreign Policy:

- a. Can you discuss how the political system(s) in Kenya during the study period (2002-2022) influenced decision-making processes related to foreign policy?
- b. In your opinion, how did changes in political leadership impact the formulation and execution of Kenya's foreign policy objectives and strategies?

2. Influence of Political ideologies on Foreign Policy Implementation:

- a. From your perspective, what role did economic factors play in shaping the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy during the specified years?
- b. How did non-political factors such as technological advancements and cultural influences affect the execution of Kenya's foreign policy goals?

3. Influence of Diplomacy on Foreign Policy Implementation:

- a. Can you describe the effectiveness of diplomatic strategies and engagements in achieving Kenya's foreign policy objectives between 2002 and 2022?
- b. Could you provide examples of successful diplomatic initiatives or challenges faced in the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy during this period?

Conclusion: Thank you for your valuable insights and time.

Appendix IV: Work-plan

KEY MILESTONE	October 2023		November 2023		December 2023		January 2024		February 2024	
Topic selection and Obtaining Supervisor approval	■									
Developing statement of Problem and writing Chapter one		■								
Feedback from the Supervisor on Chapter One Corrections One			■							
Writing Literature Review				■						
Feedback from the Supervisor on Literature Review and Corrections					■					
Feedback from the Supervisor on Chapter Three and Corrections						■				
Proposal Defense/Presentation							■			
Corrections from Proposal Defense							■			
Data Collection								■		
Data Coding and Analysis									■	
Corrections from the Supervisor on Project Findings									■	■

Appendix V: Budget

Activity	Kenya Shillings
Printing & photocopying	10,000
Field work operations	40,000
Data analysis	15,000
Reporting	10,000
Contingency	10,000
Total Cost	85,000

Appendix VI: Research Authorization Letter

Telephone: 051- 851141
Fax: 051-851046
Email: ndu-kenya@mod.go.ke
When Replying Please Quote:
Ref: NDU - K/AA & R/02



National Defence University-Kenya
P O Box 3812 – 20100
Nakuru, Kenya

23 November 2023

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORISATION

Ms. Natalynne Nyawira Maingi of National Defence College, a College of National Defence University-Kenya, successfully defended her Master of Arts research proposal and has been allowed to proceed to the field to collect data for her thesis.

The research's topic is, "**Influence of Leadership Change in the Implementation Kenya's Foreign Policy (2014-2022)**". The Candidate will be conducting the field work with effect from December 2023.

The purpose of this letter, therefore, is to request you to accord her any necessary assistance to successfully conduct the research.


Your continued assistance is highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to read 'Anne W T Muigai'.

Prof Anne W T Muigai
Deputy Vice-Chancellor
National Defence University-Kenya


Appendix VII: NACOSTI Permit


REPUBLIC OF KENYA

Ref No: **695556**

Date of Issue: **22/December/2023**

RESEARCH LICENSE



This is to Certify that Ms.. NATALYNNE NYAWIRA Maingi 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: Influence of Leadership on the Implementation of Kenya's Foreign Policy for the period ending : 22/December/2024.

License No: **NACOSTI/P/23/32068**

695556
Applicant Identification Number


Director General
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY &
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The National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation, hereafter referred to as the Commission, was established under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act 2013 (Revised 2014) herein after referred to as the Act. The objective of the Commission shall be to regulate and assure quality in the science, technology and innovation sector and advise the Government in matters related thereto.

CONDITIONS OF THE RESEARCH LICENSE

1. The License is granted subject to provisions of the Constitution of Kenya, the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, and other relevant laws, policies and regulations. Accordingly, the licensee shall adhere to such procedures, standards, code of ethics and guidelines as may be prescribed by regulations made under the Act, or prescribed by provisions of International treaties of which Kenya is a signatory to
2. The research and its related activities as well as outcomes shall be beneficial to the country and shall not in any way;
 - i. Endanger national security
 - ii. Adversely affect the lives of Kenyans
 - iii. Be in contravention of Kenya's international obligations including Biological Weapons Convention (BWC), Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO), Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN).
 - iv. Result in exploitation of intellectual property rights of communities in Kenya
 - v. Adversely affect the environment
 - vi. Adversely affect the rights of communities
 - vii. Endanger public safety and national cohesion
 - viii. Plagiarize someone else's work
3. The License is valid for the proposed research, location and specified period.
4. The license any rights thereunder are non-transferable
5. The Commission reserves the right to cancel the research at any time during the research period if in the opinion of the Commission the research is not implemented in conformity with the provisions of the Act or any other written law.
6. The Licensee shall inform the relevant County Director of Education, County Commissioner and County Governor before commencement of the research.
7. Excavation, filming, movement, and collection of specimens are subject to further necessary clearance from relevant Government Agencies.
8. The License does not give authority to transfer research materials.
9. The Commission may monitor and evaluate the licensed research project for the purpose of assessing and evaluating compliance with the conditions of the License.
10. The Licensee shall submit one hard copy, and upload a soft copy of their final report (thesis) onto a platform designated by the Commission within one year of completion of the research.
11. The Commission reserves the right to modify the conditions of the License including cancellation without prior notice.
12. Research, findings and information regarding research systems shall be stored or disseminated, utilized or applied in such a manner as may be prescribed by the Commission from time to time.
13. The Licensee shall disclose to the Commission, the relevant Institutional Scientific and Ethical Review Committee, and the relevant national agencies any inventions and discoveries that are of National strategic importance.
14. The Commission shall have powers to acquire from any person the right in, or to, any scientific innovation, invention or patent of strategic importance to the country.
15. Relevant Institutional Scientific and Ethical Review Committee shall monitor and evaluate the research periodically, and make a report of its findings to the Commission for necessary action.

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