

**KENYA'S GOOD-NEIGHBORLINESS FOREIGN POLICY AND ENHANCED
REGIONAL COMPETITION: CASE OF KENYA-SOMALIA TERRITORIAL
THREATS**

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in this or any other University.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research work to Almighty God who guided, protected, inspired me and made this research a success. I also wish to dedicate this thesis to my Parents Mr. Antony kirera and Mrs. Charity kirera for their encouragement, motivation and all kind of support including sponsoring me to undertake this academic milestone. To my daughter Michelle and her mom Scholastica thank you for being a source of inspiration and encouragement. In addition, I dedicate this work to my siblings Jane, Elizabeth, Michael, Morris, Faith, Edwin and my niece Emily for always being a constant source of encouragement, advice and motivation throughout this academic journey. Finally, I dedicate it to my Uncle Gideon Mugambi M'mbui thank you for advice and encouragement. Thank you all, may Almighty God bless you immensely.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AMISOM	Africa Union Mission in Somalia.
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
EAC	East Africa Community.
ENP	European Neighborhood Policy
EU	European Union
FIPA	Foreign Investment Protection Act.
GNU	Government of National Unity.
GoSS	Government of Southern Sudan.
ICJ	International Court of Justice.
IGAD	Inter-governmental Authority on Development.
IR	International Relations.
KANU	Kenya African National Union.
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding.
NACOSTI	National Council of Science and Technology.
NFD	Northern Frontier District.
OAU	Organization of African Unity.
PEP	Pre-accession Economic Programs

PRC	People's Republic of China.
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SCPA	Sudanese Comprehensive Peace Agreement.
SPLM	Sudan People's Liberation Movement.
TEU	The European Union
UN	United Nations.
US	United States.
EEZ	Exclusive Economic Zone.

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OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Blue economy resources: These are natural economic resources that are located inside the water body specifically Indian ocean, they can include natural gases, minerals, petroleum products as well as living things including fish, in this case along Kenya Somalia border in the Indian Ocean.

Buffer zone: This is a geographical area chosen to separate two hostile territories of states from direct contact. It lies between two bodies of land usually pertaining two countries.

Good neighborliness foreign policy: it is a general principle of international law. it guides country's foreign policy of cooperation with the neighboring states.

Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute: it is a disagreement between Kenya and Somalia over the demarcation of their Indian Ocean boundary.

National Interest: is a rationality of governing referring to sovereign interest's goals and ambitions, be they economic, military, cultural, or otherwise.

Foreign policy: this are general objectives that guide the activities and relationships of one state in its interactions with other states.

Regional competition: this is a situation where state in a certain geographical location tries to outshine other neighboring states in a multidimensional manner ranging from, political, economic growth, militarily and socially.

Territorial threats: these are hostile or destructive behaviors of a state towards another by instigating military attack, deploying soldiers or claiming internationally ownership of a territory that belongs to another sovereign state.

ABSTRACT

Kenya adopted the ‘good-neighborliness’ foreign policy at independence and she has implemented this policy for over five decades. However, the emerging regional competition over power, resources, territories and war on terror has had adverse effect on the implementation and realization of this foreign policy. This study sought to evaluate Kenya’s good-neighborliness foreign policy in the context of increasing regional competition using the lens of Kenya-Somalia territorial threats. The study specifically aimed at establishing the determinants behind the adoption of Kenya’s good neighborliness foreign policy, to investigate the contribution of good neighborliness foreign policy towards advancing Kenya’s national interests, to establish key emerging areas of regional competition between Kenya and Somalia and finally, to assess the relevance of good-neighborliness foreign policy in the context of Kenya-Somalia territorial threats. The study adopted liberal and rational choice theories to underpin the theoretical discourse of this study. Independent variable of this study was regional competition in geopolitics, regimes and shared natural resources. While, the Kenya’s good-neighborliness foreign policy was the dependent variable. Discovery of blue-economy resource and emergency of new regional actors were the intervening variables of this study. This study utilized descriptive survey design by the use of the expert purposive sampling technique, where the data was collected by the use of interviews and questionnaires complemented by scholarly literature which formed secondary data. The study was conducted in Nairobi City County because it is where the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Assembly of Kenya, Somalia embassy, and finally selected institutions of higher learning are located. The study’s data collected was analyzed qualitatively. The target population of this study was 76 respondents. From the sample size, 55 participants including respondents and key informants took part in the study. This represented a response rate of 80%. The findings indicated that the main reason for the adoption of the foreign policy was to secure the interests of Kenya. The findings revealed that the good neighborliness foreign policy has contributed largely to the peaceful co-existence between Kenya and its neighbors. The findings as well revealed that the major area of competition between Kenya and Somalia are territorial question as well as economic issues. Mixed findings were established in relation to assessing the relevance of good-neighborliness policy in the context of Kenya-Somalia territorial threats. Some respondents were in support of the use of good neighborliness foreign policy in addressing the Kenya-Somali conflict while some opposed the use of the policy. According to these findings, the success of the good neighborliness foreign policy is grounded on cooperation and the principles of reciprocity. The study will provide basis for policy dialogue and add to existential knowledge on foreign policy formulation and analysis. In conclusion, the study suggests research to be undertaken on the relationship between good neighborliness foreign policy and regional competition between Kenya and its other neighbours other than Somali including Tanzania, Uganda and South Sudan

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Chapter Review

In this chapter, the study discussed the background to the study to lay the foundation for formulating the statement of the problem. The chapter also outlines the general objective and specific objectives that guided this study. Further to this, research questions were postulated and the significance of this study stated. This chapter ends by defining the scope and limitation of the study.

1.1 Background to the Study

In colonial period, Kenya's foreign policy was in the hands of the Queen of England. When Kenya attained independence in 1963 with Jomo Kenyatta as Prime Minister and then President. His first duty among others was to reshape, redirect, formulate and implement a diplomatic policy that would govern Kenya's foreign relations. A number of internal and external factors influenced formulation of Kenya's maiden post-independent foreign policy then. Internally, national interest of territorial integrity, harmonious co-existence with neighbours, and the desire to promote and intensify sub-regional relation within the East Africa region, the desperate need for foreign economic investment, and the need to ensure access to neighboring markets influenced Kenya to adopt the policy of good neighborliness', neutrality, territorial integrity, and non-alignment policies (Okoth, 2017). Externally, historical diplomatic antecedent, global geopolitics, the Cold War political orientation would out rightly dictate on the country choice of foreign policies.

One of the defining historical antecedent in foreign policy formulation is the Treaty of Westphalia. It should be recalled that the signing of the Westphalia Treaty in 1648 ushered in nation states and state sovereignty. Henceforth, state become main actor in international arena. With this treaty, many states proclaimed independence. With the culmination of both first and Second World Wars, there was immense increase in the national state's development globally. The resulting end product of this development was the enacting of foreign policies by each of this states to enable interdependence of states in the international arena since states do not thrive in isolation.

Conflicts and threats of severed relations among states have prompted nation-states to create interactions among themselves. Studies of international affairs dating back to thousands of years ago demonstrate this. According to Barry Buzan and Richard Little (1993) the interaction relations of ancient Sumerian City State from 3,500BC was to be considered as fully fledged international system. The studies as well as analyses of the foreign policies of sovereign city states has been carried out in ancient times, for instance Thucydide's study of the cause of *Peloponnesian* war between Athens and Sparta and that of Niccolo' Machiavelli named *The Prince*, where he analyses the foreign of the Renaissance City States of Florence. However, the contemporary studies of international relations focuses on the connections existing between sovereign nation-states. This makes the establishment of the modern states systems the natural focal point of international relations history (Buzan, & Little, 2000).

Another seminal event influencing rise of states and states foreign policy was the formation of the United Nations (UN). The UN advocated for independence of States. This created a desire for the decolonization. This process furthered the urge of states interrelations. States'

interrelationships gave rise to the formulation of 'foreign policies. The sole aim of formulating foreign policies among states was to determine, and identify strategy as well as a means of interaction between and among the states (Held. et al, 2010). Moreover, the post-Cold War era has been branded majorly by the wide, deepened and speedy modern society of 'globalization'.

The African state's expansion widened during the 1960s as many countries achieved independence. During this period, various campaigns to end colonization which would Free states to be admitted to the UN were happening across Africa. Decolonization was driven by a strong sense of Pan-Africanism in which Africans were resenting a result of suffering and humiliation suffered under the hands of the colonial masters. This wars of liberation would and eventually set new free democracies in Africa. However, the pace of modern democratic process has been relatively slow with African States.

The new established independent states had to accede to the administrative borderlines demarcated by the colonial rulers. The nature of the new boundary phenomena created confusion between and among newly formed states in Africa (William, 2013). Thus, the notion of sovereignty and respect of territorial integrity of states became a more inwardly growing concern for every state. Again, after the independence of most of African states, colonial masters through the globalization of industrial production, as well as the Bretton Woods Institutions, resurfaced once more in Africa. This was perceived as being neo-colonialism by African states which would eventually undermine sovereignty.

The new donor relationship made African states remain cautious and suspicious about the intentions of the western countries in Africa. Every country in Africa to deal with this concern choose her way out, of which through foreign relations behaviors. (Lenczowski,

2010). Since its independence, Kenya has had a tremendous growth dynamics on her foreign relations with a rapid broadening of economy, political sphere, as well as military relations.

Many state relations are guided by principles of reciprocity. Thus state return favour for favours receipt. But threats to sovereignty have seen states defy principle of reciprocity and good neighborliness. Despite the United States of America having the greatest military and economic powerhouse in the world, the US has strived maintain good relations with the global community. However, her dominance and active role in matters of international politics has affected and varied orientations of her policies over time.

Security and stability within its boundaries and abroad, is a very key concern of the United States foreign and security policy. To achieve the same, the United States focuses on several issues of international concern, namely; terrorism, nuclear proliferation, free trade, humanitarian issues (Pillar, 2011). Various groups that use force have planned and executed attacks across the globe and against the US and its embassies in Africa (Pillar, 2015). Following terror attacks towards the US and the world stability, in general, states adopted a strong fightback strategy against terrorists and states that promotes terror like activities (Jervis 2003). For instance, shortly after the September 11th, 2001 occurrences, the Bush administration started to proliferate a "Bush doctrine" which maintained that there would be no difference between the terrorists who carried out the attacks and those who harbored and supported them. This policy was critiqued as aggression to states and aberration from good neighborliness.

Despite criticism on war on terror, the United States' foreign policy has been focused on curbing terrorism around the world (Pillar, 2004). The United States external relations

policy have been predisposed by the CNN Effects around the world. As a result, the United States has led the globe in responding to both natural and artificial catastrophes. For instance, the Somalia case (operation restores hope in Somalia), Iraq among others (Natsios & Bush, 1997). The United States' foreign policy also is much informed by the need for free trade, nuclear proliferation, and democratic governance.

Rivalry among states may infringe on good neighborliness. China relation with America is affected by state rivalry. According to Harris (2020) China in late 1970s realized it was weak militarily compared to the US. China therefore weighed and begun developing military supremacy (Chan, 2015). Policymakers and analysts in China unanimously maintain that China is a benevolent and peaceful great power. These attributes of moral goodness, rich-culture, economic prowess, and advanced technology attracted other states (Medeiros, 2009). Chinese leaders have publicly stated that China will never go for expansion against neighbors but will defend her territory. They defend their past military interventions for instance, in Korea, India, and Vietnam having conducted defensive accounts from aggressive foreign enemies. China's foreign policy is informed by defensive security stance to counter states around her and foreign powers with regional interests, who exploited China at one point. Thus, it is evident in her foreign policy that sovereignty and territorial integrity are key.

China seeks to protect its borders, promoting reunification with Taiwan as well as limiting foreign originating threats to her territory (Fravel, 2005). Feng asserts that the Xi Jinping doctrine is perceived to be a shared body of ideas personified in Xi's pronouncements, writings as well as his actions bearing three profound cognitive settings, namely: 'national rejuvenation' which focuses on reinstating China's economic prosperity as well as

supremacy. The Xi Jinping doctrine thus has emulated the ideologies of Mao Zedong foreign relation policies (Feng, 2019).

Analysis of China relations and her neighbours shows that there exists a stiff regional competition in East Asian countries, between China and Japan with each country trying her best to be regional powerhouse of East Asia. However, China has employed a number of ways to emerge not only has a regional powerhouse but rather to engage actively in the world economy (Schweller, 1999). Mostly China uses economic means to perfect her position among her neighbors as well as developing countries.

Supporting up her trade and investments pledges, China developed suitable aid and donor programs. To this effect, China competes with USA as well as Japan in Central and Southeast Asia. Another strategy by China to avert regional competition, is how Beijing is committed in assisting others. The said assistance is not only through economic assistance but it also includes cultural as well as language promotions (Kurlantzick, 2007). Another more appealing way of China's approach towards regional competition is its economic growth achievement which acts as a role model in Asia (Kurlantzick, 2007). These aspects have positioned china.

Tanzania's foreign policy has been anchored on ideological concepts of socialism and self-reliance. These could be achieved through cooperation with others politically who were involved in the struggle liberating Africa from colonization. Cooperating with other states in the continent to achieving African Unity. And finally cooperating with the international community towards attaining global harmony as well as safety. Nzomo asserts that, those

basic operational conditions as well as factors that shaped Tanzania's foreign policy since her independence still does today (Nzomo, 2018).

Globalization of the economy has increased regional completion. Globalization thrives with the help of the financial as well as industrial trans-border capital. This has impact on states relations. The prolific structure of globalization contrary to the anticipated hopes poses threats to economies. Kenya's reaction towards sovereignty threats was the adoption of policy of peaceful co-existence with neighbors and the world as a guiding principle in her foreign relations (Renouvin, 2011). This approach was to help Kenya to achieve national interests easily since her neighbors and world at large would reciprocate good neighborliness policies towards Kenya. Most of the Kenyan foreign policy analyses have concentrated on either economic-related topics or trans-border capital investments insofar as Kenya's foreign relations are concerned.

The dispute between Kenya and Somalia is majorly as a result of disagreement of a maritime boundary in the coastline area where both countries claim overlay. In 1979, Kenya established a maritime boundary through presidential proclamation in her Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) which served as her Cutline point with her neighbor Somalia. However, in the year 2009 Somalia indicated for the first time that it had a concern and considered henceforth that a maritime boundary dispute `existed with Kenya in the area considered overlapping.

Kenya and Somalia drafted an MOU to amicably solve the maritime dispute, following Kenya's robust policy of good neighborliness with Somalia, and the willingness to give humanitarian assistance, supporting Somalia for a firm government as well as enhancement of regional security. The memorandum of understanding was to enter into force

immediately after signing. On 7th April 2009 the MOU entered into force after parties appended their signatures. Afterwards the Somalia Federal Parliament voted against the ratification of the MOU. Ratification was however not a requirement for its operationalization, this became the challenge towards the negotiations.

Kenya ever since independence up until 2014 relied on generic principles to guide her foreign relation. These generic principles were integrated into four main pillars of Kenya's foreign relations policy under Jomo Kenyatta's government. Therefore, four main pillars were, respect for territorial integrity, economic development, non-alignment and finally good neighborliness (Orwa, 1994). Orwa further argue that, in pursuit of these pillars Kenya acknowledged that a good neighborliness foreign policy anchored on reciprocated cooperation, thoughtful as well as non-interference was the way to reduce and altogether eliminate security dilemmas in the region.

The policy of good neighborliness guides, Kenya to establishing friendly and helpful relationships with her neighbors as well as refraining from using her territory to harm others in the region but rather pursue peaceful engagements with her neighbors. The goal is to boost the peace and security of both Kenyans and her territory from external aggressors in the region. Kenya sought after positioning herself militarily proficient yet a non-aggressor state (Orwa, 1994). With the achievement of this pillar, the other three pillars would find a fertile ground to be achieved.

In practice, Kenya has been able to exercise this policy in the region following unique situations. For instance, Kenya hosted a series of Somalia peace talks conferences which resulted to the formation of the interim administration in 2004, as well as hosting the Somalia government for about two years before relocating to Mogadishu.

In the following year 2005, Kenya brokered the Sudanese Comprehensive Peace Agreement (SCPA) which consequently resulted to the independence of South Sudan in 2011. Kenya continues to host thousands of refugees from South Sudan following the politically motivated civil war between Nuer and Dinka which erupted in 2013 only two years after the independence. In the spirit of good neighborliness, currently, Kenya's defense force is fighting Al Shabaab militia in Somalia under the umbrella of African peacekeeping force AMISOM to help Somalia defeat the insurgents and maintain her stability (Miyandazi, 2012).

Over the years, the neighboring countries have received Kenya's good-neighborliness foreign policy approach warmly, describing Kenya has been the big brother due to timely assistance. However, her northeastern neighbors Somalia, recently have questioned Kenya's intention since 2011 when Kenya opted to use military intervention. The invasion which was aimed to deter and finally flush out the Al Shabaab militant out of Somalia. This concern by Somalia leaders has resulted in ever-increasing suspicion of Kenya's interests in Somalia (Abdiwahab & Okeyo 2016).

Following the above claim, Somalia opted to take the matter to the ICJ on 28th August 2014, Somalia versus Kenya. (Preliminary objection, October 2015). This act by Somalia has motivated this research on the applicability of Kenya's good neighborliness in achieving her national interest in the region. The question is how effective is good neighborliness foreign policy in the context of increased competition for natural resources and the general rise in nationalism within the region and at global level. Could it be the time for Kenya to review its current foreign policy approach and adopt one which is more proactive and pragmatic? In that respect, this study looked into Kenya good-neighborliness

foreign policy and the increasing region competition drawing Kenya-Somalia territorial threats as a reference point.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The good neighborliness is a central principle of Kenya's foreign policy from the time of her self-rule in 1963. The newly independent government had to relate to the rest of the states globally. As a result, Kenya adopted good neighborliness foreign policy to relate with her immediate neighbors and the rest of the world. Kenya adopted good-neighborliness policy which would enable her to relate with any state, regardless of her ideological orientations. The main goal was to use this form of foreign policy principle towards her neighbors so as to safeguard her territories and sovereignty from aggression by actors in the region.

Practically, Kenya has been able to exercise good neighborliness foreign policy in the region with positive outcomes. For instance, it has been so crucial strategy in efforts to pursue Kenya's national interests in the region not to economic development, harmony and safety as well as safeguarding sovereignty among others. However, as a result of the rapid changes taking place in the region, among them economic ambition of states and claims of support terror by Somalia and unilateral counter terrorism campaigns by Kenya has negated on the actualization of Kenya's policy of good neighborliness. Kenya unilateral intervention into Somalia in pursuit of Al-Shabaab has been described as departure from this policy. Moreover, the recent aggression from Somalia is seen as threat to reciprocity to good neighborliness. Further, some regional actors have decided to revert to conservatism behaviors in their international relations. For instance, Somalia decision to ignore and abandon Kenya's good-neighborliness approach at the expense of commercial

interests. This step brings potential threats to a cordial relationship between Kenya and Somalia.

The Somalia's action towards Kenya further triggers questions whether Kenya's good-neighborliness approach is losing its relevance, whether it's paying back dividends for the country's investment to the approach or if it's the right time to shift and leave it. As a result of these emerging questions therefore a study needs to be done to address the gap. Thus, this research pursues to examine the effectiveness of Kenya's good neighborliness foreign policy in respect to the increased regional competition towards progressing Kenya's state interests in the region.

1.3 General Objective

The general objective was to evaluate how relevant is Kenya's pursuance of good neighborliness in the face of raising competitive actors and demand for natural resources in the Horn and East Africa region?

1.4 Specific Objectives

- i. To establish the determinants of Kenya's Good neighborliness foreign policy with Somalia.
- ii. To explore the contribution of good-neighborliness foreign policy towards advancing Kenya's national interests.
- iii. To establish key areas of regional competition between Kenya and Somalia.
- iv. To assess the relevance of good-neighborliness policy in the context of Kenya-Somalia territorial disputes.

1.5 Research Questions

- i. What are the determinants of Kenya's Good neighborliness foreign policy towards Somalia?
- ii. What is the contribution of good-neighborliness foreign policy towards advancing Kenya's national interests in the wake of increased competition from Somalia?
- iii. What are the key areas of regional competition between Kenya and Somalia?
- iv. What is the relevance of good-neighborliness policy in the context of Kenya-Somalia territorial disputes?

1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study

The decolonization of African states was as results of international relations where newly independent states assumed a central role to support liberation struggle movements across Africa. This necessitated Kenya immediately after independence in 1963 to join other states who supported the decolonization of the African states. Thus, Kenya was not left in this trend. Consequently, Kenya adopted Good-neighborliness's form of foreign policy towards her neighbors in the region. The strategy was to solve the emerging disputes in line with her commitment to African unity. Since its adoption, Kenya has practiced the approach towards her neighbors. However, following the rapidly developing East Africa region the approach needs to be evaluated to know how it is standing the test of the day.

Thus, this study sought to bring forth knowledge on how appropriate the good-neighborliness strategy currently is, following many changes which have taken place in the region, for one the military capabilities improving rapidly, the states in the region being more ambitious, having a more integrated region through the EAC than before and finally Africa having attained full independence by 2011.

Additionally, the conclusions of the research gave acuity to the students in their studies more specifically those of international relations, and diplomacy. As well all other related subjects and in general the study quenched the academic thirst of lovers of Kenya's foreign policy. Kenya's ministry of foreign affairs documented first foreign policy draft in 2014. Having documented the foreign policy there were reviews of the document to accommodate the foreign policy priorities of the day. The government of Kenya should embrace the tenets of good neighbor foreign policy to enhance her bilateral potentials with. This will help her protect her territorial integrity from aggression from neighbors, create an enabling environment for her bilateral trade with her neighbors including free movement of goods and services across the neighboring countries thus boosting her economic base in the region.

The revisions need to be informed by academic research as a point of reference. The policy to be informed by the findings should be about the upgrade of the good foreign neighbor policy to be of more economic aspect in order to enable Kenya achieve her interests in the region. Thus, the findings of this study should be adopted by the Government of Kenya in subsequent dialogues on the implementation of Kenya's foreign policy objectives and expression of the country's outlook towards external engagements.

1.7 Scope and Limitations to the Study

This study investigated Kenya's good neighborliness foreign policy amid increasing regional competition: the case of Kenya-Somalia territorial threats. The study adopted Kenya-Somalia territorial threats because it is a clear manifestation amongst challenges facing Kenya's good neighborliness foreign policy.

Location scope of this study was in Nairobi City County, Kenya. This location is the suitable place to conduct this research reason being it hosts the ministry of foreign affairs, the Kenya's parliament, the selected two Universities which are University of Nairobi and United State international university, were arrived at because, one, they have departments of international relations and two, to represent public universities (University of Nairobi) and United State international university to represent private universities in Kenya, and finally Somalia embassy in Kenya. These four institutions are where experts and officials with knowledge of foreign policy were obtained.

The limitations to the study include, getting permission to conduct research from the selected institutions. To address this limitation, the researcher obtained a research permit letter from the Graduate School, Kenyatta University and research clearance permit from National Council of Science and Technology (NACOSTI). These two permits were used as introductory letters by the researcher when accessing those four institutions to conduct research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter, the researcher reviewed the literature that covers the subject under study showing gaps in knowledge that was discussed. The researcher, organized the literature under appropriate specific subtitles guided by objectivity of this scholarship. These themes included: Determinants of foreign policy formulation, Kenya-Somalia relations since 1963, and Kenya's foreign policy since independence 1963.

2.1.1 Determinants of Kenya's Good Neighborliness Foreign Policy Formulation

Every state in the world has the preserved rights and privileges and powers to appropriately securing her national interests in global stage. This aspect mandates nations to satisfy their respective citizens. Every states desires to be independent in most if not all areas of her activity. However, the reality of the nature of states in the global system, no state can be self-reliant 100 percent. This therefore have necessitated states to develop international connections, bilaterally and multilaterally through formal structured institutions including embassies and consular. The main guiding rule of all the engagements of a state with another state, is what international relations denotes as a foreign policy of a state. There are several factors which informs a foreign policy of a state, with some factors being so prioritized by a particular state depending with state individualistic interests abroad. States thus, pursues interdependence in various areas including that of diplomatic, trade, economic, education, and cultural as well as political relations across the globe.

A foreign policy can be defined as a cluster of principles, interests, decisions and means embraced and charted by a state in order to secure her goals of domestic interests in international relations. The foreign policy contains specific aspects which includes; a set of principles, policies and decisions adopted and charted by state in international relations. Objectives, goals or aims of national interests to be secured at the long run. Means to be used for achieving the goals of national interests. There should also be an assessment of the gains and failures of the nation in respect of its goals of national interests. There should be policies in place decisions and action-programs to maintain continuity or change and both if necessary in the international relations.

Every states have over time had some common objectives of their foreign policies. The most common being that off: Protecting national prestige and developing national power abroad, maintaining the integrity of state, promoting common interests, providing for national security, and maintaining world order. The foreign policy of every country in the word is mainly influenced by two major factors; one which is international determinants and the other being domestic determinants. The main external determinants of foreign policy of a state include, the international power structure, the international law, the international organizations, the allies and alliances of a state, and military strategy. On the other hand, domestic determinants of foreign policy of a state include; culture and history of a country, geography, size and population, economic prowess as well as natural resources, military prowess of a state and political system,

Sovereignty and integrity of a state stand a central consideration when it comes to international relations. Every state gets to mind her sovereignty and respect for her territorial integrity by her neighbors and the international community. Thus, when

formulating a country's foreign relations policy, the state caters for how it will safeguard her sovereignty in the face of the international community. After independence in 1963, Kenya formulated initial basic norms which would influence and guide her in forming her stable foreign policy relations not only with her neighbors but also with the rest of the world.

The following basic principles were formulated: first, the respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states and preservation of national unity. Secondly, good neighborliness and peaceful coexistence. Thirdly, peaceful settlement of disputes. Fourthly, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. The fifth policy was the non-alignments and finally adherence to the charters of the United Nations and the organization of African Unity (OAU)/ African Union (AU).

Howell's analyses of Kenya's external behaviors, concludes that political issues sub-regionally, regionally and internationally were domesticated and profoundly dictated Kenya's behaviors globally (Howell, 1968). This is depicted by the observations that, after independence, Kenya's need for economic growth and state security shaped her foreign policy behavior especially in the initial years of self-rule. Her biggest portion economically being held by foreigners Kenya may perhaps have not pursued a radical foreign policy like that of Tanzania during this period. Kenya feared that if then it could pursue such a sweeping external policy it would be manipulated by the external actors thus compromising her operations as an independent state.

To avert this threat to her sovereignty Kenya maintained a relatively moderate foreign policy of wait and see. However, as per Keohane (2010), Kenya's diplomacy tactic of wait and see have become outdated due to external influences for years. For one Kenya cannot

wait for its agricultural produce, tourism industry competitors take her markets before it can take appropriate steps to assert her economic diplomacy, which can protect and promote her products as well as attracting foreign investments in the country

Some political scenarios, including defense of a state's sovereignty, territorial integrity and its independence, among other national interests, entail a country's interest as a whole (Lentner, 2005). Nevertheless, in most cases, foreign policy choices are crafted in a way not that directly linked to those core national interests (Kagwanja, 2006). Instead, foreign policy formulation is designed to target middle-range aims, such as political relations as well as economic relations to stimulate the perception and behaviors of other states in the anticipated direction.

For Kenya to attain its international goals, interests and her foreign policy aspirations, she had to perpetually seek effective strategies in her tactic to foreign policy outlook depending on her capabilities, objectives and the leadership in place at different timeframe. The goal to promote her economic developments has influences other state's approach to foreign policy while upholding its traditional fundamental doctrines and norms of non-alignment, non-interferences in internal undertakings of other countries, good neighbourliness and diplomatic settlements of disputes.

In summary, this literature has a gap, there is a need to identify specific political scenario Kenya is in with Somalia currently so that decisions are crafted aimed at reshaping Somalia's behavior towards Kenya over the maritime dispute. There has been a positive contribution to the understanding of the subject of foreign policy.

Despite having these important academic works in regards to the context of Kenya's foreign policy, a pivotal step in its management as well as taking into consideration the external changes in the region have not been addressed. Some of the changes such as losing its strategic lead in East Africa as a result of changing geopolitics as well as newfound unity among Ethiopia, Somalia and Eritrea as well as the rise of Ethiopian prime minister Abiy Ahmed Ali, who has become a regional right man to fix the challenges extending from Kenya-Somalia maritime disputes to Sudan's conflict (Maasho, 2018).

2.1.2 The contribution of good-neighborliness foreign policy

Kenya attained her independence in 1963 from her colonial master, during when Somalia had attained independence three years earlier from Britain. Since those early years of independence, Thompson notes that the two countries have had a to-and-fro relationship. He asserts that the genesis of this kind of relationship can be traced back to the inherited artificial boundaries. He asserts that the Somalian flag contains a white star five pointed, each point representing one of the five territories thought to have separated people of Somalia origin.

These territories are; British Somaliland (now Somaliland), Italian Somaliland (now parts of Somalia), the Ethiopia Ogaden region, previously French occupied Somaliland (Djibouti) and North Eastern Kenya. Somali's historic claim over the Northern Frontier District, which was later renamed North Eastern Kenya has resulted in confrontations between the two countries (Thompson, 2015).

Somalia held high-level expectations from its attained independence. Its foreign policy was highly influenced by two central principles; one was the political principle which was

aimed to reflect her popular nationalistic feeling among its ethnic population in the horn of Africa to unite under one greater Somalia (Pan-Somalism). The second was an economic principle that was similar to the aspiration of Kenya improved economy and the welfare of Kenyans (Bradbury et al, 2003). Thompson's analysis echoes those of Adar, which asserts that Kenya-Somalia relations have majorly gravitated around the principle of territorial integrity.

According to Adar the principle of territorial integrity anchored on the hypothesis that every state got static and benign boundaries not subjected to any peripheral violations (Adar, 1994). Thus, a state has a mandate to defend her territory. This principle has been recognizable internationally as well it was included in several international treaties. For instance, Article 2 (4) of the UN Charter inscribes as follows:

All members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any states, or any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations (U.N. Charter art. 2, para. 4).

Territorial integrity has principle has also been captured in Article III of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) which states as follows:

Member states.... Solemnly affirm and declare their adherence to....
Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of each state and its
inalienable right to independent existence (O.A.U Charter art, III.).

All the African countries have continually reiterated their commitment to adhering to the inherited colonial boundaries, but according to Gunter arguments, the fact being that most of the pre-colonial inherited boundaries were artificial which did not in any way consider

geographic, ethnic nor historical facts, and as a results limitless chaos, insecurity as well as wars can't be a surprise (Gunter, 1979).

Gunter analysis can better explain what came to be witnessed between Kenya and Somalia protracted war which was known as the shifta war. This war has always put Kenya on alert about the activities taking place alongside her border with Somalia. This notion triggered the formulation of Kenya's foreign policy which would achieve a positive relationship with Jubaland.

Scholar's works claim that Kenyan authorities had planned as early as the year 2000 to establish a "Buffer zone" in Jubaland state so that it would be easy to manage illicit activities that were taking place in the Kenya-Somalia border. Thus, Kenya's traditional involvement in Somalia matters started taking a new dimension. This time-shifting from traditional diplomatic and political campaign to a military relation. Kenya's traditional engagements with Somalia, which was enshrined in good neighbor Kenya's policy earned Kenya, hundreds of thousands of refugees from Somalia who were running away from droughts and political confusion in Somalia.

According to Kisilu (2012), this military move was not only aimed at deterring Al-Shabaab militia who committed terror attacks to Kenyans and the abduction of tourists visiting Kenya but also was a calculated move to return Somalia refugees who had fled to Kenya (Kisilu, 2012). Although Kenya's involvement both militarily as well as politically has contributed to a remarkable development in Jubaland leaders and scholars have questioned Kenyan's intentions in Somalia. For instance, Bademosi in his dissertation poses critics on the ethical dilemma surrounding Kenya's Armed involvement in Somalia in 2011 which runs in the entire dissertation (Bademosi, 2012).

This study focuses to examine Kenya's good neighborliness foreign policy in the context of territorial threats which has been a new ingredient in Kenya-Somalia relations recently. According to Anderson and Van, Maritime demarcations remain a hot topic in the borderline making. A complex question of national sovereignty, sovereign privileges, authority as well as entitlement to accessing natural endowment are all included to constitute a question (Anderson & Van, 2014).

As of today, there are potential political as well as state security risks resulting from an unsolved maritime boundary between Kenya and Somalia over an oil and gas infested blocs in Indian ocean namely L22, L23, L24. This suspicion may easily ruin the bilateral relations of these states as well as hindering day to day economic practices such as fishing activities as a result of fear of actions from another state.

2.1.3 The Key Areas of Regional Competition between Kenya and Somali

In an endeavor to the contextualization of foreign relations and the country's external behavior, the main, formulating institute is the presidency in conjunction with the relevant ministry (Jackson & Rosberg, 1982). The operations of foreign matters are prerogative of the Chief Diplomat the president. In consideration of the centrality of the institution of the presidency, this section aims at tracing Kenya's foreign relations during presidency of Jomo Kenyatta (1963-1978) and Daniel Arap Moi (1978-2002).

Murray denotes that, after Kenya gained self-rule. The Jomo Kenyatta's headship style was mirrored by his external behavior relations. According to Murray, Kenyatta came into power, when he had obtained heroic rank domestically as well as disapproval as a leader who had attained a beastly mark from MAU-MAU movement by the colonial Government

(Murray-Brown, 1982). Howell asserts that the foreign policy at independence envisioned three pillars which were non-alignment, preferment of African Unity and decolonization in Africa as a whole. Kenyatta had made up his intention on Kenya's path on foreign affairs.

The said path was pictured on successive policy documentations such as the KANU manifesto, the Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya. This Sessional Tabloid stated clearly the intentions of Kenya to go to the world looking for free markets and new opportunities in the field of technology while leaning its ideologies to the West. This would help the country accumulate foreign capital, which was fuel for economic progress. The aspect necessitated the Foreign Investment Protection Act (FIPA) of 1964 (Howell, 1968).

Regionally, Kenyatta's conducted Good neighborliness foreign policy within East Africa to protect Kenya's territorial integrity, Orwa documented that in context of territorial integrity, Jomo Kenyatta puts it clearly that Kenya could not lose an inch of her territory. His strong stand on matters relating to territorial integrity was manifested in September of 1963 when he cautioned Britain against negotiating in favor of Somalia over Northern Frontier District (Orwa, 1998). Thus, Kenyatta's approach predestined that he would relate positively with any country which was to support Kenya's interests, including protection of its territories from external aggression.

In particular, Jomo Kenyatta had a strong desire to have positive as well as strong relationships with Uganda and (Tanganyika) currently Tanzania. He argued that the imposed artificial boundaries should not isolate brothers and sister from both Tanganyika and Uganda. His idea of having an East Africa Federation was backed strongly by the British Government. On July 31st, 1963 Jomo gave a speech with the following remarks:

Jomo Kenyatta noted that, “In achieving the East African unity. We shall be contributing towards a greater unity of the world, through a greater unity of Africa. I will not hide from you that we hope an East African Federation will be one of the cornerstones of African unity, as an indispensable element in building a united world (Jomo,1963).

Kenyatta’s remarks show that he well understood the sole importance of embracing good neighborliness and cooperation. And thus, no country can thrive economically, social as well as politically in isolation from its neighbors. Kenya's foreign policy under Moi became more vibrant regarding presidential involvement, more ambitious as well controversial. Unlike Kenyatta who most engaged through the minister of foreign affairs and his Vice President, Moi took upon him an active role just like any foreign minister.

According to Orwa (1994), the adoption of good neighborliness was a super strategy as Kenya gained a lot because of its economic prowess in comparison to her neighbors. The good neighborliness strategy made it possible for Moi visit to Mogadishu in 1984 where negotiations on boundary claims were carried out, as well as trade cooperation promotion.

Moi believed that Kenya's interests in the region could not be attained if there was no peace in the region. As a result of his stand on economic well-being of Kenya, he sought to strengthening the region through good neighbor policy which eventually resulted to establishment of a block known as inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in 1986 (Murithi, 2009). This block was mandated to address drought and desertification. Nevertheless, awareness came into being that it was not productive to spark development short of solving the conflict issues within IGAD block. With this, areas of collaboration were marked including: conflict inhibition, managing and resolving, as well as humanitarian concerns. The IGAD mandate expansion following these new identified areas

enabled IGAD intervention the longest Sudan running conflict. The IGAD established a committee chaired by then Kenyan president Daniel Moi to oversee the peace enhancement in Sudan. The committee oversaw the conflicting parties from the south and the north of Sudan sign a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in Nairobi on the 9th of January 2005.

This CPA stipulated that there would be the establishment of the Government of National Unity (GNU) and at the same time the Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS), Separation of the border between the Sudan and Southern Sudan and that the elections would be held across the whole of Sudan six years into the interim period of six years, which run up to 2011. It is through the desire of fostering and promoting good neighborliness that Kenya took part in peace initiatives across the sub-region as well as whole continent. Thus, this is a true manifestation of Moi's efforts to ensuring that the neighboring states embraced peaceful co-existence. His desire for the peaceful region was epitomized by his efforts as an individual actor conducting foreign policy relations of conflict management within the region (Orwa, 1994).

Kivoto (2016) argues that, Kibaki's reign was focused on resuscitating the Kenya's economy. The desire to pursue economic recovery was much informed by the high rate of inflation. This left the government with no alternative other than liberalizing the economy by trying to find new development partners who would assist Kenya's economy from collapsing (Kivoto, 2016). As a result of this fact, Kibaki pursued economic diplomacy foreign policy internationally which was the look east policy while regionally he pursued good neighbor foreign policy to find new better markets and maintaining the old markets

in more cooperative East African Community (EAC) and the inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD).

Kibaki was keen to continue the efforts of his predecessor of unifying the East African community, including the conflict resolution in Sudan (Kivoto, 2016). The government of Kenya under Kibaki played a key role in reaching an agreement between the Sudan's government under Bashir and Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). This was so important and advantageous on Kenya's side as it was hosting huge refugees in Kakuma and peace in in South Sudan was key to reduce the number of refugees it generated to Kenya.

According to Rice (2011), the most defining moment of Kibaki's presidency was the al Shabaab attacks in Lamu in 2011 hence, Kenya's involvement in Somalia was in self-defense and necessity to protect her sovereignty basis (Rice, 2011). The first term of Uhuru's government has been so important. The last three years of Kibaki tenure as much influenced by the International Criminal Court as well as the beginning of Uhuru's term. Uhuru decided to use shuttle diplomacy to convince the neighboring countries on the importance as to why Kenyans decided to elect their leaders, they wanted without relying on the interests of the western powers.

Uhuru's foreign relations were highly Afrocentric because he pursued a lot of intra-Africa trade as well as championing for economic unconventionality of African countries. President Uhuru has led as well as negotiating a peace agreement in the independent South Sudan ([http: www.coastweek.com](http://www.coastweek.com)). And in the Democratic Republic of Congo ([http: www.standardmedia.co.ke](http://www.standardmedia.co.ke)).

On the other hand, at the East African level Uhuru has related well with Museveni of Uganda and Paul Kagame of Rwanda, forming a coalition of the Willing, a conclave within the East Africa region. This said conclave, has signed on more joint development as well as economic pacts than the other East African community partners, including a joint tourist Visa ([http: www.east-Africa-tourist-visa](http://www.east-Africa-tourist-visa)).

Kenya has faced territorial claims and disputes from her neighboring country Uganda. Since Kenya's independence Uganda-Kenya relations has been cordial due to Uganda's dependence to Kenya for trade route via port of Mombasa. However, this cordial relationship was once tinted by 1976 territorial claims made by Idi Amin who claimed that the Uganda's eastern boundary stretched all the way to Naivasha a town in Rift Valley, Kenya (Boaz, 2019). Kenya could not go without paying attention to the territorial claims and threats made by Uganda's president Idi Amin who had seized power violently by a military coup from Milton Obote. Kenya responded to this threat by modernizing its military by purchasing of F5s jet fighters in readiness for self-defense in case of any military action by Uganda. Eventually Idi Amin backed-off.

The other territorial claim which has ever been made by Uganda is over a Lake Victoria's rocky island called Migingo Island. The main factor fueling this dispute is the desire to control this economic potential island including fish as well as minerals (Boaz, 2019). This dispute has been confronted by use of good neighborliness foreign policy and mutual understanding by both parties, with main guide line being negotiations informed by both the AU as well as UN legal measures regarding international boundaries (Boaz, 2019).

On 6th march of 2009 the first attempt was made by both warring states during The Lusaka AU Summit. The talks resulted to agreements whereby Uganda withdrew her security

forces from Migingo as well as removal of Uganda's flag from Migingo Island. The two territorial dispute and especially the Migingo island dispute between Kenya and Uganda has been confronted and managed through negotiation guided by the good neighborliness foreign policy. Thus, this study seeks to evaluate the effectiveness of good neighborliness foreign policy towards solving the Somalia-Kenya territorial threats.

2.1.4 Good-Neighborliness Policy in the Context of Kenya-Somalia Territorial Disputes.

There are several legal principles in international relations that could help neighboring countries observe and maintain a peaceful coexistence known as international neighborhood law. However, there is no applicable legal characterization of international law. The first attempt to define this problem was during the Bandung Conference, held in Indonesia from April 18-24, 1955.

The principle of good neighborliness is an important principle of international law that regulates friendly relations between states. Many scholars consider it a principle of international law. Kelsen points out that the law "Good Neighborhood is an International Principle" anchored in the first chapter of the UN Charter "serious preambles in the Charter of the United Nations". Fitzmaurice and Elias see it as a "basic right to use common resources". Goldie Point noted that "good neighborliness is an emerging principle of international law with many" transnational legal qualities of contemporary international law, but it requires a sense and requirement of the principles of the United Nations Charter of Countries, (Kalicka, 2019).

Good neighborliness foreign relations require keen attention, more so when the neighboring countries are sharing shared natural resources, which include and not limited to minerals, water bodies and resources of the seas and oceans, ocean floor and subsoil thence. During this era of international relations, cooperation among countries is vital for the survival of all states therein in the neighborhood. The application of this principle of good-neighborliness is not merely restricted on the confines of geographical juxtaposition. It is also applied to those countries that are geographically separated by a vast water bodies such as open sea and seabed (Sucharitkul, 1996).

For many countries, the policy of good neighborliness was an important factor in strengthening the country's interests internationally. In this case, China has used the policy to improve its bilateral relations in Asia and the rest of the world. According to (Chung, 2009), the most important step in Chinese foreign policy is to create a peaceful environment that enhances its economic and military capabilities in the region. In early 2005, China's people's leader Hu Jintao founded a "harmonious society". The prayer was said in Jakarta in April 2005 during the Afro-Asia Summit in Jakarta. The search for a "harmonious society" should lead Chinese leaders to articulate their own interests and balances.

These initiatives, which are anchored in a good neighborhood of foreign policy, played a key role in reducing tensions and misunderstandings, which led to a series of measures aimed at narrowing the large economic gap between north and south while implementing environmentally friendly guidelines. Incidentally, the motto remains the realization of a "harmonious world", the framework of the "Good Neighbor Directive" in China includes, (a) the New World Order and (b) the first two points of its "five guiding principles of the

coexistence of peace.” Chung (2009), asserts that, China is ready to use the good neighborhood policy as a favorable vision for regional integration,

Also, the need to improve regional cooperation and strengthen interactions with neighboring countries. Both in the 16th Congress of the PCC in 2002 after Hu Jintao came to power. This means that China has developed economic and military forces outside of regional realities to focus on China. The principle, the dual tactic of China's "good neighbor policy", promotes inclusive cooperation in the SCO and ASEAN, as well as an association agreement with China as a framework for foreign interactions, independence, but also bipolarity in the world. Another advantage of the Good Neighbor Policy is good neighbors as partners in the “Common Development” partnership.

Elsewhere, and probably the European Neighborhood Policy, which is based on good neighbor principles. The European Union relies heavily on good neighbor principles to maintain its relations with neighboring countries on the basis of Article 8 of the TEU (Petrov 2015). Article 8 of the TEU requires the EU to dissolve special relations with neighboring countries on the basis of the values of trade unions and the principle of good neighborliness, which is based on proximity and peaceful proximity.

The European Neighborhood Policy (NEP) was established on May 12, 2004 to avoid creating new dividing lines between the enlarged EU and its neighbors and to enable them to perform better. Participate in various EU political, secure, economic and cultural cooperatives and promote closer cooperation between the EU's external borders and the EU's neighbors, especially among those who are geographically closer to others (Petrov 2015).

The documents do not see the beginning of good neighborliness as a basic principle. The PEP. Within the ENP, however, the beginning of a good neighborhood is analyzed on the basis of three complementary aspects: first, the values of the Union; Second, promote international peace and security; Third, the peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations (Petrov 2015).

In the western hemispheres, the U.S has been the major player towards exercising the good neighbors' policy after a series of overseas military interventions, the president Roosevelt felt that there was need to approach international matters through a friendlier manner. After years of rocky relationship between the U.S and the Latin America, in 1933 the U.S through the Roosevelt's Good Neighbor Policy abandoned aggressiveness as well as militaristic foreign relations approach towards South America. During his inaugural speech, he spoke of the good neighborliness policy in international affairs.

U.S President Roosevelt had two major reasons for adopting as well dedicating huge resources to pursue this good neighbor foreign policy. The first reason was anchored on economic pillar. By the 1933 when Roosevelt was assuming power, there was a great economic depression around the world. U.S used Good Neighbor Policy to reverse and revise her economic policies with major trade partners in Latin America. Such reciprocated trade terms were necessary to save the deteriorating U.S economy. As a result of this good neighbor policy the U.S exports to Latin America doubled by the year 1940.

The second reason was to befriend the Latin American states in order to counter and control steady influence of the Axis powers in the Western world, more specifically that of German and Imperial Japan in Brazil, Argentina and Mexico. The good neighborhood foreign policy would aid the United States to replaces its negative effects of economic trade

between the powers of the axes with the largest and richest countries in Latin America, such as Brazil, Argentina and Mexico, but also to rally those countries to form military alliance with U.S.

Therefore, the FDRS was to give the policy of a good neighbor to counteract the growing threat of the western hemisphere of the forces of the axes. While Germany, imperial policies and imperial, loving and military policies persecuted in the mid-1930s, US, North and South America officials tried to protect themselves from a possible invasion.

In summary, the principle of good neighborliness is one of the most important general principles of international law, in which the term "good" has positive relations between neighboring states. We can also say that neighboring states must avoid frictional losses to balance their different interests through constant cooperation with the necessary penetration in all related activities. It describes a peaceful model of cooperation, a certain type of international relationship between neighbors. Furthermore, the principle of good neighborliness obliges States to respect their independence and territorial integrity.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Realism Theory

This study was based on the theory of realism. This is a theory that was proposed by Hans Morgenthau. Realism is a mainstream theory that argues that the state is the key actor or primary agents in international politics and there is no actor above the state, governments are engaged in a constant effort to ensure the survival of their respective states, and that States selfishly pursue their national interests, the most vital being national security (Morgenthau, Thompson, & Clinton, 1985). The theory emphasizes on states national

interests. The good neighborliness foreign policy ensures that each state attains its national interest by working hand in hand with its neighbors.

This theory was used in this study to explain why States have gone to great lengths in attempts to promote good neighborliness between states and in this Kenya and its neighbors. The use of the realist theory serves to sustain and maintain the existing institutional and power-relational status quo by confronting any destabilizing pressures within the international system (Muiga, 2019).

The good neighborliness foreign policy has enormous geo-political consequences, and can, and has influenced how nations relate with other nations. The theory provided an explanation to the use of a multi-agency approach in securing the boundary of Kenya. Of good neighborliness foreign policy can be used to ensure regional competition between Kenya and its neighbors.

2.2.2 Rationalism Theory

The primary argument of rationalism theory is that reason is the source of knowledge and that the criterion of the truth is not sensory but intellectual and deductive. Rationalism theory argues that people make choices based upon a set of individual preferences in rational manner, where they pursue to gain while minimizing loss.

It argues that political behavior and social life in general can be analyzed in terms of rational choices of individuals. The theory assumes that an individual has enough information upon which to establish her preferences and carry out her rational analysis. Also, the behavior of each and every individual are added up in order to understand the international actors' behaviors.

This explains why a state can decide to go to war a decision which is built up through single individuals operating the government that actualizes such a decision. Thus, states are rational actors who act rationally in accordance to external realities, seeking to maximize gains and minimizing loss. This theory was of relevance to this study as it enables the study of the individual state's position towards the Kenya-Somalia territorial threats as well as good neighbor policy.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

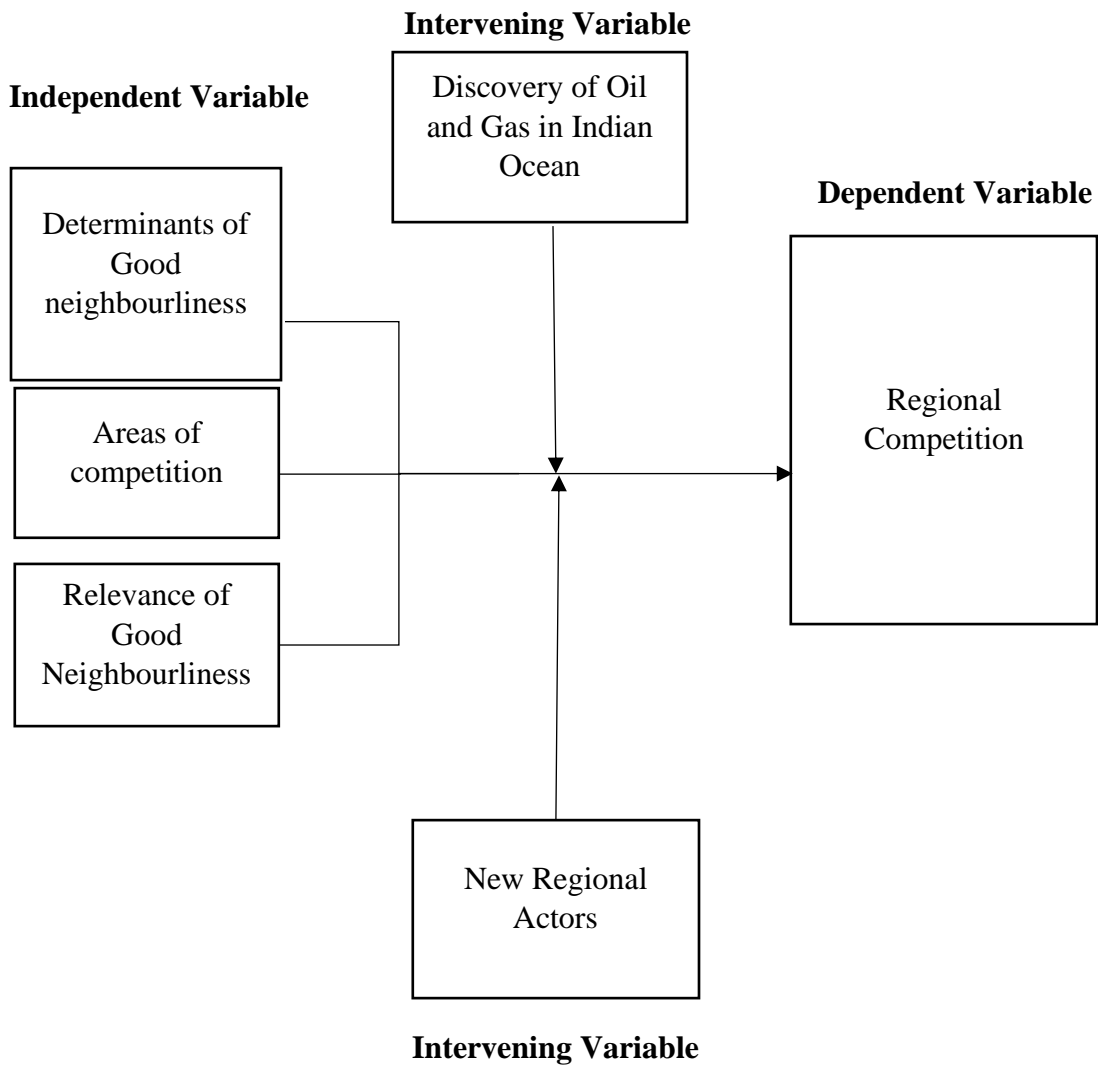


Figure 2.1 Conceptual Framework
(Source: Researcher, 2022)

The arrows in the above figure indicate the direction of interaction. Independent variables interact to influence regional competition. It is assumed that the determinants of good neighborliness, areas of competition and relevance of good neighborliness influence directly on regional competition.

The intervening variables of this study include New regional actors, and the oil and gas resources infested in the contested blocks L22, L23 and L24 inside Indian ocean. Both intervening variables, have less or no direct impact on regional competition using the good neighborliness foreign policy. However, it is assumed that the intervening variables influence the way independent variable interacts. The interaction of the intervening variables is therefore labeled above.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the following: the research design, the study area, target population, sampling techniques, sample size, sources and instruments of data collection, data collection techniques and procedures, data analysis and finally Ethical Considerations

3.1 Research Design

This research study employed descriptive survey research design; a research design is the overall plan for gathering answers to the research questions being studied. The researcher considers descriptive research design as one which achieved the job of providing trustworthy answers to the research questions.

The term survey is used to mean any research undertaken where the investigator obtains data from a portion of targeted population for the purposes of examining opinions brought forth by such a population. Descriptive design was employed because of its high degree of representativeness and the ease in which the researcher obtained the respondents' opinions. This study therefore benefited much through this research design.

3.2 Study Area

This study was conducted in Nairobi city county, Kenya. This location is home to a number of government institutions, including those which this study was conducted from, the ministry of foreign affairs of Kenya, the national assembly of Kenya and finally selected

institutions of higher learning Kenyatta University and United State International University.

3.3 Target Population

The study's target population 76 was obtained from four categories, the experts on foreign policy from the ministry of foreign affairs of Kenya, the scholars of international relations, members of parliament of Kenya and foreign relations experts from the Embassy of the republic of Somalia in Kenya.

These four categories availed potential informants who gave the relevant data required to make the study a success the sample is still expected to be extracted by the researcher from the employees who are truly as representative as possible to help with required data.

Table: 3.3 Target population.

Objectives	Sources of information	Instrument to be used	Number of participants
To establish the determinants of Kenya's good neighborliness foreign policy.	From Kenyan Parliamentarians	Questionnaires interviews	19
	Scholars of IR from Kenya. University of Nairobi and United States International University	Questionnaires	27
To establish the contribution of good-neighborliness foreign policy towards advancing Kenya's national interests.	From the Kenya's ministry of foreign affairs	Interviews	20

	From Kenyan Parliamentarians	Questionnaires	19
To establish key areas of regional competition between Kenya and Somalia	From Kenya parliamentarians, Kenya's ministry of foreign affairs, and from Somalia embassy in Kenya.	Questionnaires and interviews	49
How relevant Kenya's good-neighborliness foreign policy is in the context of Kenya-Somalia territorial threats.	From the Kenya's ministry of foreign affairs	Interviews	20
	Diplomats from Somalia embassy in Kenya	Interviews	10
	From Kenyan Parliamentarians	Questionnaires and interviews	19

Source: Primary Data (2020)

The table above helped the researcher to elaborately constitute the target population of the intended research study. With every research objective of this study pointing out which category of the respondents would be involved to give out the answers of the questions crafted out the specific objectives.

The parliament of the republic of Kenya was very crucial in this study because the respondents were drawn from the parliamentary committee of the foreign affairs constituting 19 members of parliaments. Another category of 20 participants, was from the Kenya's ministry of foreign affairs, the office division of East Africa community which largely deals with matters of the Kenya's neighboring states.

The third category was made up of 10 Diplomats from Somalia embassy to Kenya, and finally the 27 scholars of international relations from two universities, the university of Nairobi and Kenyatta University.

3.4 Sampling Techniques

The researcher intends to use the Expert purposive sampling technique due to the fact that the only informants required by the nature of this study are those having experience and knowledge of the study topic.

3.5 Sample Size

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2012), when the study population is below 10,000, A sample size of between 10 and 30% is a good representation of the target population and thus 10% is enough for analysis. Thus 90% was adopted by this study.

Table. 3.5 sample size

Categories	Target population	90% of Target Population (sample size)
Parliament of Kenya	19	17
2 universities (1.) University of Nairobi (2.) United State international university	27	24
Ministry of foreign affairs Kenya	20	18
Somalia embassy in Kenya	10	9
Total	76	68

Source: Primary Data (2020).

3.6 Data Sources and Instruments of data collection

This study depended on both primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data was comprised of information collected from respondents through questionnaires and interviews. Secondary data was collected from relevant publications from libraries, including journals articles and books. The researcher intends to use interviews and questionnaires as the instruments of data collection to obtain primary data. Questionnaires be prepared by open-ended nature to allow the respondents to give more information regarding the formulated questions. They were of great importance to yielding maximum data.

3.7 Validity and Reliability

Validity refers to the extent to which evidence as well as theory supports the interpretation of the test scores involved with the use of the test. The validity of instruments, thus, is the degree at which such instruments measure what they were supposed to measure. The research instruments were validated in line with content and face validity to ensure questions items reflects the study objectives.

On the other hand, reliability is the ability of the research instruments to consistently measure characteristics of concern over a long period of time. Reliability is concerned with the stability and Consistency of a test (Nachmias and Nachmias 1996). To achieve reliability of the instruments, the researcher carried out piloting of the study by use of test-retest technique which involved administering a similar test twice to a particular group identified for this purpose.

3.8 Data Collection Techniques

The interviews were held between the researcher and the respondent. The said interviews were conducted by the research using an interview guide to capture the intended data. This allowed the researcher to build a deeper understanding of the thinking behind the participants' answers. Secondly, the researcher used questionnaires which were administered to the sample respondents either through mail, phone or online. This enabled the respondents to attend the questionnaire at their convenient. These two methods were employed for data collection.

3.9 Data Analysis

Due to the fact that the expected data was qualitative in nature, the researcher intends to use content analyses by description. This involved categorizing of data thematically. The main themes were analyzed as per the contents within such themes presented. Triangulation of the content given by respondents were performed to compare information from different respondents on particular themes and objectives to find out if they concur on various aspects and if not, figure out the possible reasons for inconsistencies.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

The aim of ethics is to ensure that no one is harmed by adverse repercussions from the research activities. To make sure this is achieved the researcher safeguarded the information that the respondents gave forth during and after the period of this study. Thus, the information was purely obtained for academic purposes. The names of the respondents were not quoted in this study in order to maintain confidentiality. The researcher prioritized the dignity of the sample respondents. Full consent from the participants were obtained by

the researcher before embarking on the study. The researcher avoided any form of deception and exaggeration in regards to the aims and objectives of the research while collecting data from respondents.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, DISCUSSION AND PRESENTATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter covers the analysis of the collected data. The instruments were designed in line with the objective of the study; therefore, the presentation of the findings is also guided by the objectives of the study.

4.1 Demographic information

This section covers the demographic statistics of the respondents. The study sought to find out the demographics of the respondents with regards to gender and age of the respondents.

4.1.1 Response Rate

The study sought to collect data from 68 respondents. From the samples participants 55 respondents took part in the study. This represented a response rate of 80%. Bryman and Bell (2014) contend that a response rate of at least 50% to a research instrument is satisfactory to proceed with statistical analyses; a rate of 60% is good enough and 70% is excellent. As per these recommended thresholds, the final response rate yielded by this study's data collection exercise can thus be termed as excellent for generalizability of the statistical findings. Table 4.1 shows the response rate of the study participants.

Table 4.1 Response Rate

	Frequency	Percent (%)
Respondents who took part in the study	55	80.89%
Respondents who did not take part in the study	13	19.11%
Total respondents	22	100%

Source: Primary Data (2020)

4.1.2 Categories of respondents.

The following tables shows the response rate in accordance to the two categories of respondents.

Table 4.2 Response Rate in accordance to type of respondent

Type of Respondents	Frequency	Percent (%)
Parliament of Kenya	17	25%
United States international university and Nairobi university	24	35.31%
Ministry of foreign affairs Kenya	18	26.47%
Somalia embassy in Kenya	9	13.22%
Total respondents	68	100%

Source: Field Data (2021)

The confidentiality of the participants was maintained through assigning alphabetical and numerical Identification (ID) codes to each participant. These ID codes were used in

reporting the results in the project. The respondents were represented using the following numerical identification R1 to R55 (Respondent 1 to Respondent 55)

4.1.3 Gender of the respondents

The study sought to determine the gender of the respondents. The findings are illustrated in the table below.

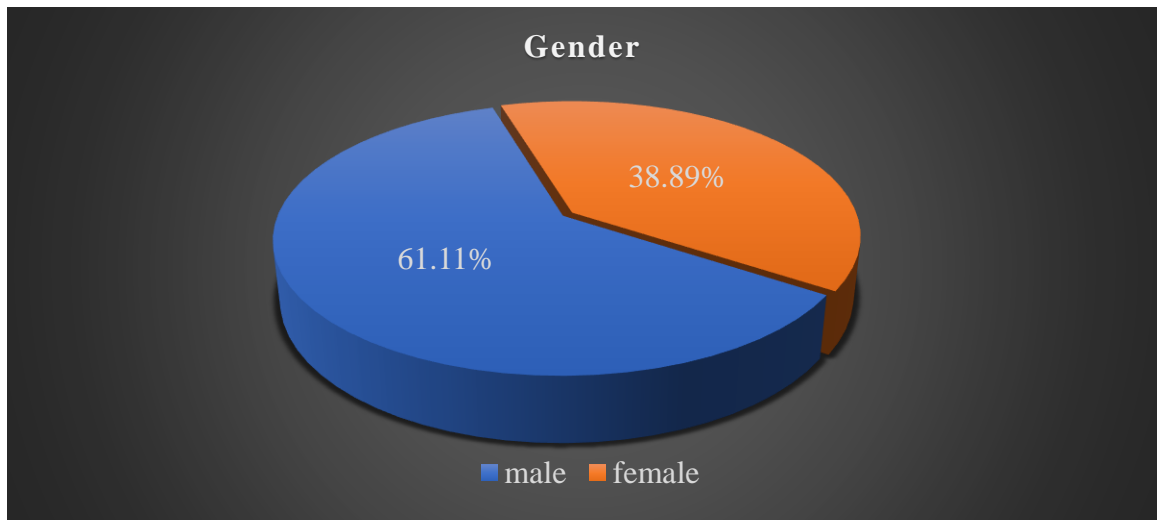


Figure 4.1 Gender of Respondents

Source: Field Data (2021)

Table 4.1.3 indicates that majority of the respondents, 61.11% were male while minority of the respondents 38,89% were female. From the findings, the two third gender rule was accomplished. This implied that the data collected was not biased with regards to gender.

4.2 Age of Respondents

The study sought to determine the age of the respondents. The findings are illustrated in the table below.

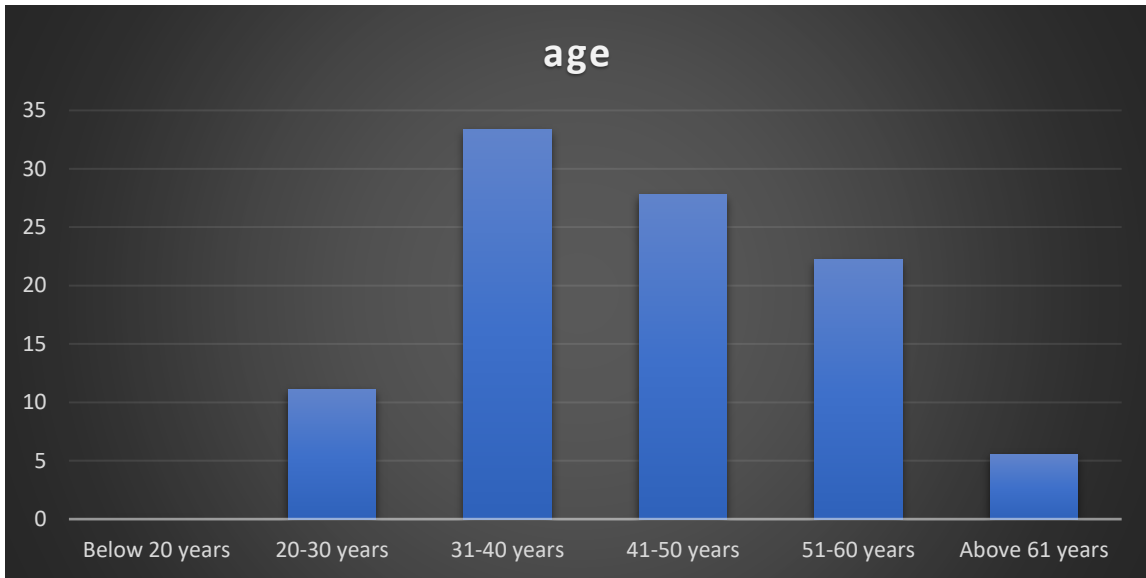


Figure 4.2 Age of the Respondents

Source: Field Data (2021)

Table 4.4 indicates that majority of the respondents, 33.33% belonged to the age group 31-40 years; 27.78% in age group 41-50 years; 22.22% in age group 51-60 years; 11.11% in age group 21-30 years; and the minority 5.56% in age group above 61 years.

4.3 Kenya's Good Neighborliness Foreign Policy.

The first objective of the study was to determine the reasons behind the adoption of Kenya's Good neighborliness foreign policy. Data collected from 6 international relations scholars and 4 parliamentarians are presented below in narration form.

4.3.1 Understanding of the Term Kenya's Good Neighborliness Foreign Policy

The researcher aimed to understand whether the respondents understood Kenya's good neighborliness foreign policy. The findings indicated that the respondents understood what good neighborliness foreign policy meant. The respondents indicated that good

neighborliness foreign policy meant engaging with the neighbors from other state in a cordial and respectful manner so as to maintain peace and establish good relations.

Further, they pointed out that, the term good neighborliness foreign policy required that Kenya reconciles its interests with that of its neighbors. The following are verbatim from R10 and R2 respectively.

Decolonization in Africa, brought about a time of healing where African nations were looking to maintain good and peaceful relations; Kenya's good neighborliness foreign policy was aimed at maintaining peace between Kenya and its immediate neighbors (R10, Kenya's Ministry of foreign affairs).

In accordance to its definition, Kenya's good neighborliness foreign policy was meant to jump start Kenya under its own democratic rule and facilitate smooth international relations with its neighbours (R2, Parliament of Kenya).

4.3.2 Reasons Behind Kenya's Adoption of Good Neighborliness Foreign Policy

The adoption of the good neighborliness foreign policy by Kenya was motivated by the need to establish good relations with other states in the region. The findings revealed that adopting the foreign policy was a strategic move by Kenya to build relations with its neighbors prior to venturing into trade and business with other international states in other continents.

Respondent (R11) noted that, Kenya and Africa in general was still recovering from the effect of colonization. Therefore, it was a challenge for Kenya to trust other international states who had enslaved its people in their own countries. One of the respondents observed;

Since charity begins at home, it was strategic to start building a sustainable relationship with the immediate neighbors rather than looking towards the western countries” (R3, University of Nairobi). These views concur with the arguments by Korosteleva and Elena (2013) who asserts that neighborliness creates healthier and more networked relations which are fit to operate during complex situations of the grassroots initiatives rather penetrates all levels of immediate neighbors.

Further, the interviewees added that the adoption of the good neighbor’s foreign policy was aimed at protecting the Kenya’s territory. Having experienced first-hand what colonization can do, Kenya was not ready to accept the re-emergence of colonization. With this in mind one of the respondents (R27) explained that Kenya understood that by engaging on good foreign relations with its neighbors it protected its territories.

Additionally, by engaging peacefully and respectfully with its neighbors. Kenya ensured that it exhibited a strong foundation and the Western states could not take advantage of its vulnerabilities. Also, in addition, the foreign policy was aimed at protecting Kenya’s national interest. The national interest of Kenya as expressed by the respondents included ensuring unity, economic development and protecting the sovereignty of the country. R34 noted that:

The sovereignty of Kenya is a big issue, which we could have lost if the Mau-Mau did not fight for this country. Therefore, by adopting the good neighborliness foreign policy, Kenya was maintaining its sovereignty (R34, Parliamentarian, parliament of Kenya). This statement agrees with that of Braton Hugh (2000), who argues that communities should express their issues at hand as well as their future aspirations, which in turn pulls populations involved in such a process of doing a value neighborhood.

Moreover, it was noted that the sovereignty of Kenya following independence could only be acknowledged if Kenya established relationships with other state. This according to one

of the respondents, implied that Kenya could make its own decision and enter into trading and business operations with whichever state it wanted.

The researcher sought the opinion of the interviewees on whether the adoption of the good neighborliness foreign policy was the best move for Kenya. The findings found out that at the time the adoption of the foreign policy was the best option. It was noted that, following the had circumstances that enabled Kenya to gain its independence. There was no other effective strategy that would have worked for the country other than maintaining good relations with its neighbours. A key informant explained that,

As a country Kenya had common interest with its neighbors since they had all experienced colonization; therefore, establishing good relations was the best strategy at the time as the African countries could work together to develop the continent (R52, Somalia Embassy in Kenya).

Furthermore, the adoption of the foreign policy was the best strategy as it paved way for the development of the EAC and IGAD which have worked to develop and improve its member states. The respondents explained that good neighborliness foreign policy is an approach that was adopted in Kenya following independence that required the state to reconcile its interest with those of its neighbors so as to maintain peace in the region. However, some respondents were keen to note that both the discovery of natural gas, oil and the blue economy resources have recently made it hard for the good neighborliness policy to effectively impact positively on the relations between Kenya and Somalia. A key informant explained that,

Recently the discovery of natural resources, specifically oil in Indian ocean and presences of foreign countries in the management of oil excavation in Somalia which has shown interests in Somalia oil and gas since 1950s has culminated to a serious rush in the last decade for surveys and excavation of oil and gas by international oil companies currently Exxon and Shell which in turn has resulted to serious competition in the horn of Africa region (R46, United States International University).

This concurs with findings by Orwa, (1994) who noted that since independence Kenya maintained its four basic principles of foreign policy one of which was good neighborliness. The aim of the good neighborliness foreign policy was meant to help Kenya solve emerging disputes with its neighbours in its ultimate goal of promoting African unity. Also, the findings indicated that Kenya's good neighborliness foreign policy was aimed at promoting unity among African states. This was similar to Howell (1968) that the foreign policy at independence envisioned three pillars which were non-alignment, preferment of African Unity and decolonization in Africa as a whole.

The study findings found out that the adoption of Kenya's good neighborliness foreign policy was aimed at meeting its national interests. Establishing good relations with its neighbors protected Kenya from being victim to any form of colonization by Western state. This concurred with Lentner (2005) who noted that the adoption of the foreign policy was a crucial strategy in efforts to pursue Kenya's national interests in the region in relation to economic development, harmony and safety as well as safeguarding sovereignty among others. Some political scenarios, including defense of a state's sovereignty, territorial integrity and its independence, among other national interests, entail a country's interest as a whole (Lentner, 2005). Additionally, it was established that Kenya adopted good-neighborliness policy which would enable her to relate with any state, regardless of her ideological orientations. The main goal was to use this form of foreign policy principle

towards her neighbors so as to safeguard her territories and sovereignty from aggression by actors in the region (Anderson & Van, 2014).

According to Orwa, good neighborliness was a cornerstone policy in the context of neighboring states. The findings indicated that the adoption of Kenya's good neighborliness policy was the best strategy for Kenya as it paved way for regional integration through the establishment of IGAD and the EAC. This concurred with findings by Muriithi (2009) who noted that as a result of Moi's stand on economic well-being of Kenya, he sought to strengthening the region through good neighbor policy which eventually resulted to establishment of a block known as inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in 1986 (Murithi, 2009). In addition, Kivoto (2016) noted that the good neighborliness foreign policy paved way for the development of the EAC protecting the interest of its member states.

4.4 Contribution of Good-Neighborliness Foreign Policy towards Advancing Kenya's National Interests in the Horn and East Africa Region

The second objective sought to establish the contribution of the good neighborliness foreign policy towards advancing Kenya's national interest in the Horn and East Africa Region. The findings from the data collected from 5 officials from the ministry of foreign affairs and 4 parliamentarians are presented below.

4.4.1 Kenya's Good Neighborliness Foreign Policy Addressing Kenya's Challenges from its Neighbors

The researcher sought to establish whether the use of the good neighborliness policy has addressed Kenya's challenges from its neighbours. Orwa (1994) argued that, Kenya

acknowledged that a good neighborliness foreign policy anchored on reciprocated cooperation, thoughtful as well as non-interference was the way to reduce and altogether eliminate security dilemmas in the region.

This concurred with findings where interviewees agreed that for regional integration to be successful in East Africa, all of its member state had to reciprocate the good interaction propagated by Kenya. In addition, Orwa (1994) asserts that the good neighborliness policy helped Kenya to establishing friendly and helpful relationships with her neighbors as well as refraining from using her territory to harm others in the region but rather pursue peacefully engagements with her neighbors.

President Jomo Kenyatta the first head of state in Kenya spearheaded good neighborliness policy which was then followed by his predecessors; Daniel Moi, Mwai Kibaki and Uhuru Kenyatta. The findings indicated that Jomo Kenyatta believed that a region that worked together would record better results in terms of trade and development. This is similar to conclusion by Orwa (1994) that Jomo Kenyatta had a strong desire to have positive as well as strong relationships with Uganda and Tanganyika. He argued that the imposed artificial boundaries should not isolate brothers and sister from both Tanganyika and Uganda. His idea of having an East Africa Federation was backed strongly by the British Government.

The study found out that, the use of the good neighborliness policy has contributed greatly to helping solve the challenges in the region. One of the problems that has affected the region of Horn of Africa was poor income generated from tourism. Although Kenya has always been established as a tourist destination, the rest of the region was still struggling in advancing tourism.

The findings found out that, the good neighborliness foreign policy has paved way for Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda to enter and sign joint agreements to help improve regional tourism by issuing a joint tourism visa. Notably, an interviewee (R37) noted that the agreement is open to all of the other East African states that may wish to enjoy the benefits that come from issuing a joint tourist visa. With (R25), adding that the move to issue a joint tourist visa improves the number of foreign tourists not only in one country but the region at large.

The respondents explained that the joint tourist visitor addresses the challenge of low tourist numbers in the region. Granted that the tourism sector contributes largely to the economies of the three states, issuing a joint tourist visa only adds to the number of tourists. As per the findings, it was clear that, terrorism and terror attacks has always been a challenge in the Horn of Africa. The findings indicated that the Al-Shabaab terrorist group has wreaked havoc in the region causing the loss of life of people and destruction of property.

Through, good neighborliness foreign policy, Kenya intervened by sending its military forces in the aim of protecting its own sovereignty and that of Somali. Additionally, the informants indicated that the intervention by Kenya's military in Somalia was sanctioned by AMISOM to help restore the stability of Somali. The following are verbatim from the respondents: "Kenya has been successful in addressing challenges of state conflict in the Horn of Africa. In 2004, Kenya played an essential role in maintaining peace in Somalia. This move by Kenya brought about peace in the country" (R15). "Kenya has played a critical role in establishing peace in the Horn of Africa by mediating peace in Sudan" (R37)

The study findings, explained that the participation of Kenya in peace talks in the region has facilitated continued and sustainable peace in the region. Following the vision of the first president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta to ensure peace is attained in the region, his predecessors, Daniel Moi, Mwai Kibaki and Uhuru Kenyatta have maintained this vision by helping its neighbours maintain peace and stability. In addition, Kenya through the use of the good neighborliness policy has facilitated smooth trade within the region. Kenya has opened its borders and ports for regional trade, thus improving the economies of the member states of the region. This has gone a long way in solving the problem of poverty within East Africa.

The respondent (R55) noted that, president Kibaki was keen on economic development not only in Kenya but in East Africa, hence his use of the foreign policy to establish new trade partners in East Africa to boost the economy of the region. The issue of refugees was also identified by one of the interviewees as a challenge in East Africa. The respondent (R1) argued that due to the long conflict in Sudan and Somalia, the region has had many refugees to accommodate. Kenya has used its good neighborliness foreign policy to accommodate refugees at Kakuma refugee camp. It was also noted that, Kakuma refugee camp accommodates a large number of refugees from Sudan and Somali. This step by Kenya was described by the interviewees as commendable and an act of good neighborliness.

4.4.2 Effectiveness of Kenya's Good Neighborliness Foreign Policy in the Horn and East African Region

The study sought to establish whether the use of the good neighborliness foreign strategy has been effective in the horn of Africa and in Eastern Africa. The study findings concluded that the good neighborliness policy has been effective in East Africa. The respondents

explained that good relations have been maintained in the Horn of Africa and the larger Eastern Africa.

The peaceful co-existence in East Africa has taken efforts from all the nations to adopting the good neighborliness foreign policy. One of the interviewees (R21) noted that through the use of good neighborliness policy, Kenya has been able to encourage peaceful relations in the region. This foreign policy has been used by all of the regimes of Kenya headed by Jomo Kenyatta, Daniel Moi, Mwai Kibaki to Uhuru Kenyatta.

The following are verbatim from the interviewees:

The foreign policy has encouraged peaceful co-existence in East Africa and Africa at large (R50, Kenya's ministry of foreign affairs). Through good neighborliness foreign policy, the heads of state can have conversations on development without the fear of intolerance from one nation. The foreign policy has cemented good relations between Kenya and its neighbours; Kenya is more welcoming of people from its neighboring states (R12, parliament of Kenya).

The outcomes if the study revealed that Kenya has been an advocate for political stability in Kenya, East Africa and the larger African continent since its independence. The relations between Kenya and its neighbours have focused on ensuring peace by spreading the message of political stability. Howell's analyses of Kenya's external behaviors, concludes that political issues sub-regionally, regionally and internationally were domesticated and profoundly dictated Kenya's behaviors globally (Howell, 1968).

Furthermore, the findings showed that Kenya played a key role in ensuring political stability in Sudan and DRC. President Uhuru has been effective in mediating conflict within the African continent. This concurs with reports by the Coast week and standard media which posit that President Uhuru has led as well as negotiating a peace agreement

in the independent South Sudan ([http: www.coastweek.com](http://www.coastweek.com)); and in the Democratic Republic of Congo ([http: www.standardmedia.co.ke](http://www.standardmedia.co.ke)).

The study found out that, all regimes in Kenya have pushed for peace among all of its neighbors using the good neighborliness foreign policy. According to the respondents, Kenya has been a mediator in state conflicts in Sudan and Somali. The efforts by the four regimes in Kenya to maintain peace in East Africa is proof that the foreign policy has been effective in the region.

In addition, it was noted that, unlike other regions in the world where state neighbours are usually in constant conflict, Kenya using the good neighborliness foreign policy has been able to protect not only its territory but that of its neighbours by spreading the message of peace and intervening to mediate in case of any conflict. Also, the data collected further revealed that Kenya has been an advocate for peace in the Horn of Africa and the larger East Africa by practicing the good neighborliness policy. The findings showed that, all of the four regimes in Kenya have used the foreign policy to spread the message of peace and mediate peaceful resolutions in countries such as South Sudan. It is through the desire of fostering and promoting good neighborliness that Kenya took part in peace initiatives across East Africa as well as whole continent.

More so, Moi's efforts were manifested by ensuring that the neighboring states embraced peaceful co-existence. His desire for the peaceful region was epitomized by his efforts as an individual actor conducting foreign policy relations of conflict management within the region (Orwa, 1994). The findings also, reminisced on the Migingo Island conflict between Kenya and Uganda and how good neighborliness foreign policy played a key role in ensuring co-existence in the island. The interviewees noted that although the issue on

Migingyo Island is yet to be completely arrested, the fact that both nationals from Uganda and Kenya still reside in the Island is proof that good neighborliness does work.

One of the interviewees (R33) argued that the contention over Migingyo Island is the resources (fish) available in that parts of the lake. Moreover, the findings indicated that both nations have always worked towards protecting their boundaries, therefore the long contention over the Island is completely understandable. However, respondents explained, that although the issue has not been solved completely Kenya and Uganda have taken a step towards good neighborliness policy by signing a memorandum of agreement which resulted in the withdrawal of the military forces from Uganda.

4.4.3 Kenya's Good Neighborliness Foreign Policy and Political Stability in the Regions

Over the years, Kenya has been a strong advocate towards political stability in the horn of Africa and Africa at large. This is partly grounded on the efforts by Kenya to maintain effective relationships through the good neighborliness foreign policy as was explained by six respondents. The interviewees posited that although Kenya interacts with regional and international states, its focus in the region has mainly been to ensure that political stability is maintained. One of the respondents asserted;

Kenya understands that the effects of political instability do not only affect the conflicting state but its neighbors, therefore, to ensure that Kenya does not become victims to the negative outcomes of political instability, the state has always called for political stability in the region (R29, United States International University).

The findings noted that Kenya has played a key role in the establishment of peace in Sudan. According to the respondents Sudan prior to its separation of Sudan and South Sudan, had experienced a long season of political instability that resulted in death of people and destruction of property.

Moreover, it was noted that in addressing this issue Kenya took the good neighborliness strategy to bring peace in Sudan. Kenya as posited by one of the interviewees played an essential role in ensuring peace is attained in the country even if it ended up with the separation of Sudan and South Sudan. Using the policy, Kenya was able to mediate peace in Sudan. Another interviewee also added that Kenya used a similar strategy to facilitate the signing of a peace agreement in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The data collected also indicated that political stability in the region has relied on the use of regional organizations. One interviewee explained that the political stability advocated for by Kenya was conducted under the regional organization IGAD. The respondents explained that the process did not only involve the president of Kenya but the heads of states of the IGAD members' states. The findings showed that the good neighborliness foreign policy played an essential role in the talks held to maintain stability in Sudan. The respondents argued that the stability was advocated by the IGAD members' states chaired by the head of state of Kenya.

4.4.4 Kenya's Good Neighborliness Foreign Policy and Kenya's Economic Growth

Economic Growth remains a key objective of Kenya since its independence. All of the interviewees noted that all of the four regimes have focused on ensuring that Kenya

remains economically stable. One respondent noted that economic stability facilitates better trade and attracts better investments in Kenya.

This was a consideration in the establishment of the good neighborliness foreign policy as one of its pillars was to ensure economic development within the region. Interviewees espoused that Kenya understood the importance of economic development. Therefore, having economic development as one of the pillars of the foreign policy contributed largely to the trade agreements between Kenya and its neighbors.

Kenya since its independence has had a tremendous growth dynamic of her foreign relations with a rapid broadening of economy, political sphere, as well as military relations (Lenczowski, 2010). This concurs with the findings of the study which established that Kenya has maintained strong trade relationships with its neighbours, thus improving its economy. According to Orwa, good neighborliness was his cornerstone policy in the context of neighboring states. This was a super strategy as Kenya gained a lot because of its economic prowess in comparison to her neighbors. Kivoto (2016) argues that, Kibaki's reign was focused on resuscitating the Kenya's economy. Kibaki pursued good neighbor foreign policy to find new better markets and maintaining the old markets in more cooperative East African Community (EAC) and the inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD).

The findings also indicated that Kenya has used the regional organization in promoting political stability. The IGAD mandate expansion enabled intervention in longest Sudan running conflict. The IGAD established a committee chaired by the head of state of Kenya to oversee the peace enhancement in Sudan. The committee oversaw the conflicting parties

from the south and the north of Sudan sign a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in Nairobi on the 9th of January 2005.

This CPA stipulated that there would be the establishment of the Government of National Unity (GNU) and at the same time the Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS), Separation of the border between the Sudan and Southern Sudan and that the elections would be held across the whole of Sudan three years into the interim period of six years, which run up to 2011. In the following year 2005, Kenya brokered the Sudanese Comprehensive Peace Agreement (SCPA) which consequently resulted to the independence of South Sudan in 2011. (Miyandazi, 2012).

The study findings showed that during Mwai Kibaki's regime, most of the decisions made were all grounded on promoting economic development in Kenya. The respondents explained that Mwai Kibaki sought for economic development from international states and from regional states. Regionally, Kibaki used the good neighborliness foreign policy to encourage trade and investments within the East African region. The EAC was one avenue used in ensuring economic development by opening up borders for other countries for trade to take place.

The following is verbatim from the respondents:

All presidents in Kenya have sought economic development from international states and regional state (R11, Parliamentarian, Parliament of Kenya). Regionally, the good neighborliness foreign policy was effective in encouraging trade relations between Kenya and its neighbours where trade barriers were removed to improve the respective economies (R7, Somalia Embassy in Kenya).

With respect to tourism, nine of the respondents added that the foreign policy has opened up new tourism markets for Kenya. According to the authors the adoption of joint tourism visa by Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda, is an opportunity for Kenya to gain the tourism market from Uganda and Rwanda. This was because, as espoused by one of the respondents, the joint visa allows tourists to travel the three countries using one visa which creates convenience and saves on time and money.

A key informant noted that in East Africa, Kenya has remained to be an economic hub. This has resulted in the East African countries looking up-to Kenya in matters economic development. The informant noted that Kenya has gone out of its way to promote economic development in the region through the uncompleted LAPSET corridor. The LAPSET corridor seeks to connect Kenya, Ethiopia and South Sudan. The aim of the project is to improve economic development in the three countries. The formulation of the project was grounded on the good neighborliness foreign policy.

Notably, the findings also showed that, the use of good neighborliness has not been effective in ensuring economic development. The authors argued that by using economic diplomacy other than good neighborliness policy, Kenya would be in a better, position to improve its economy locally and internationally. The respondents argued that in their opinion, the use of good neighborliness foreign policy has set up Kenya to lose economically, since it relies on being friendly with the neighbors so as to engage in trade.

The findings from the data collected indicated that through the use of the good neighborliness foreign policy, Kenya was able to address the issue of poor numbers of tourists in the region. This was accompanied with improved economies in the region which was facilitated by engaging in trade activities by Kenya and its neighbors. This concurred

with a report by media that at the East African level Uhuru has related well with Museveni of Uganda and Paul Kagame of Rwanda, forming a coalition of the Willing, a conclave within the East Africa region. This said conclave, has signed on more joint development as well as economic pacts than the other East African community partners, including a joint tourist Visa ([http: www.east-Africa-tourist-visa](http://www.east-Africa-tourist-visa)).

From the findings it was noted that, the good neighborliness foreign policy has been successful in Kenya. The findings indicated that through the practice of the policy, the East African states have been able to mingle freely and engage in trade. This concurs with findings from Kivoto (2016) who noted that the foreign policy made it possible for Moi visit to Mogadishu in 1984 where negotiations on boundary claims were carried out, as well as trade cooperation promotion.

In Addition, Muriithi (2009) explained that Moi believed that Kenya's interests in the region could not be attained if there was no peace in the region. As a result of his stand on economic well-being of Kenya, he sought to strengthening the region through good neighbor policy which eventually resulted to establishment of a block known as inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in 1986 (Murithi, 2009).

One of the pillars of the good neighborliness foreign policy by Kenya was to ensure economic development. The four main pillars of the good neighborliness foreign policy are territorial integrity, economic development, non-alignment and finally good neighborliness (Orwa, 1994). In addition, the findings indicated that through the use of the joint visa between Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda, opened new markets for each of the counties, therefore, improving the economies of each of the states and upholding the pillar of the good neighborliness foreign policy.

The findings indicated that Kenya's need to improve its economy and that of that of its neighbors through the LAPSET corridor was founded on the principals of the good neighborliness policy. The findings suggest that during Kibaki's regime, economic development was one of the most sought out goals. According to Kitovo (2016) Kibaki pursued economic diplomacy foreign policy internationally which was the look east policy while regionally he pursued good neighbor foreign policy to find new better markets and maintaining the old markets in more cooperative (Kivoto, 2016). Contrary, the findings showed that the use of good neighborliness policy has delayed economic development for Kenya.

This agrees with Keohane (2010) who noted that Kenya's diplomacy tactic of wait and see have become outdated due to external influences for years. For one Kenya cannot wait for its agricultural produce, tourism industry competitors take her markets before it can take appropriate steps to assert her economic diplomacy, which can protect and promote her products as well as attracting foreign investments in the country (Keohane, 2010).

4.4.5 Kenya's Good Neighborliness Foreign Policy and Regional Integration

The study findings showed regional integration was one of the main reasons for the adoption of the good neighborliness foreign policy. Regional integration means working together as states in the same region for development and growth. Also, it was found out that, that regional integration entails working together to secure the interests of each state while protecting the territories in the region.

The following is a verbatim from the respondents:

By adopting good neighborliness foreign policy, Kenya expected cooperation from its neighbours (R15, Kenya's Ministry of foreign Affairs) The success of the foreign policy in maintaining regional integration in the Horn of Africa has been built on reciprocal cooperation from the regional states (R9, University of Nairobi)

In addition, study findings showed that, Kenya has always strived to engage in peaceful agreements with its states rather than using military of force. One of the interviewees argued;

Kenya uses military or force as a last resort to solve conflicts with its neighbors, the use of the military to fight Al-Shabaab in Somalia was a last resort strategy since Kenya was intent on protecting its territory and the people of Somali (R13, University of Nairobi).

The study findings indicated that, Kenya is usually strategic on its engagement with its neighbors particularly during conflict so as to avoid any collateral damage by using force or war. In this essence, Kenya has always opted to use conversations and discussions since it brings nations together and promotes regional integration. The first president of Kenya, spearheaded actions towards regional integration. According to the findings, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta believed that Uganda and Tanzania ought to have worked together irrespective of state borders. The first president believed in integration and peaceful coexistence, hence pushed for the formation of the EAC.

Respondents argued that if the good neighborliness foreign policy had not been adopted, there is a probability that regional integration would have been difficult to cement in East Africa. since all of the states would be busy attempting to recover their governance and seeking to secure their national interests. The good neighborliness foreign policy according

to all of the study findings resulted in better cooperation, coordination and engagement among the member states in East Africa.

4.4.6 Good Neighborliness Foreign Policy and Kenya's National Interests

A key national interest of Kenya is to protect its boundaries and its territory. The good neighborliness foreign policy made it possible for Moi visit to Mogadishu in 1984 where negotiations on boundary claims were carried out, as well as trade cooperation promotion. Moi believed that Kenya's interests in the region could not be attained if there was no peace in the region. In addition, Orwa documented that in context of territorial integrity, Jomo Kenyatta puts it clearly that Kenya could not lose an inch of her territory. His strong stand on matters relating to territorial integrity was manifested in September of 1963 when he cautioned Britain against negotiating in favor of Somalia over Northern Frontier District (Orwa, 1998).

The good neighborliness foreign policy was adopted to protect the national interests of Kenya. These national interests including protecting the states territories and boundaries. Four of the respondents revealed that Kenya in 1984 protected its borders with Somalia by negotiating. In addition, study findings reminisced on the Migingo Island conflict between Kenya and Uganda and explained that Kenya has remained on the forefront protecting the land by negotiating with Uganda.

One of the respondents said:

The good neighborliness foreign policy facilitated peaceful conversations and discussion between Kenya and Uganda in 2009 and Kenya and Somalia in 1984 to protect its boundaries. (R14, Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

The findings pointed out that, the first president of Kenya was adamant on protecting Kenya's territory and sovereignty. According to the findings, the president held that Kenya ought not to lose any inch of its territory. To ensure this is attained, Kenya has always maintained good relationships with its neighbors so as not to instigate conflict over territory and borders. The findings noted that, Kenya has pursued its economic development national interests using the foreign policy. Granted that economic development is one of the pillars of the good neighborliness policy, Kenya has been able to improve its economy to become one of the largest economies in East Africa.

The findings established that Kenya is an economic hub in the region, an economic benefit that it has gained from maintaining good relations with its neighbours in the region through removing barriers of trade and opening up its borders to engage in trading activities. In relation to the long-standing contention of Migingo Island, it was established that good neighborliness foreign policy has facilitated peaceful co-existence in the Island between the Kenyans and Ugandans.

This dispute has been confronted by use of good neighborliness foreign policy and mutual understanding by both parties, with main guide line being negotiations informed by both the AU as well as UN legal measures regarding international boundaries (Boaz, 2019). On 6th march of 2009 the first attempt was made by both warring states during The Lusaka AU Summit. The talks resulted to agreements whereby Uganda withdrew her security forces from Migingo as well as removal of Uganda's flag from Migingo island. The territorial dispute; the Migingo island dispute between Kenya and Uganda has been confronted and managed through negotiation guided by the good neighborliness foreign policy.

4.4.7 Benefits Accrued by Kenya from Adopting Good Neighborliness Foreign Policy

The first president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta understood that no country can thrive economically, social as well as politically in isolation from its neighbors. This realization as explained by one of the interviewees resulted in Kenya adopting the good neighborliness foreign policy from which Kenya gained economically, socially and politically. The study findings established that Kenya has benefited economically from the adoption of the good neighborliness foreign policy. According to the findings, Kenya has become an economic hub largely due to its good relations with its neighbors. The findings showed that the step by Kenya to open its borders for trade with its neighbours has propelled the economics of Kenya.

Also argued that the four regimes understood that the neighbours of Kenya have a lot to offer with respect to economics. The findings explained that Kenya using the good neighborliness policy capitalized on business opportunities that emerged within East Africa. One respondent noted that the use of a joint Visa between Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda, was an economic move by Kenya to increase the number of tourists travelling to Kenya, therefore improving its economy. Moreover, as per the findings, the existence of the regional bodies EAC and IGAD, Kenya was able to maneuver easily by partnering with its neighbors in business and trading activities. Kenya over the years has used the foreign policy to set up lasting trade relationships with its neighbors.

Socially, Kenya has benefited from the adoption of the good neighborliness foreign policy. It was found out that, Kenya and the larger East Africa have embraced acceptance of each other through the adoption of the policy. According to the findings, the use of the good

neighborliness foreign policy has established good relations between the people of Kenya and its neighbors. This is often revealed during national holidays or celebrations in Kenya where heads of state from the neighboring countries usually attend. Kenya has welcomed the heads of states from Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda and Sudan for social visits in the country.

In addition, the study findings showed that, through the foreign policy, Kenyans have welcomed citizens from the neighboring countries to come and reside in Kenya. One of the interviewees mentioned the case of Rose Muhando, a gospel artist from Tanzania who was welcomed in Kenya and received assistance in the Kenya. The generosity of Kenyans to Rose Muhando resulted in her releasing a song thanking Kenya and its president. This as described by the informant is proof that the good neighborliness policy has resulted in Kenya being receptive to people from its neighboring communities, a behavior that is reciprocated by the regions country who also welcome Kenyans into their country.

The findings indicate the Kenya benefited socially from the adoption of the good neighborliness foreign policy. According to the study outcomes, the foreign policy made Kenya and its neighbors receptive of each other's citizens including the heads of states. Muriithi (2009) indicated that the establishment of the EAC and IGAD resulted in improved social relations between the member states among which is Kenya. According to the author socially, Kenya and its neighbours operate in collaboration and are ready to support each other during the good and bad times.

Politically, Kenya has benefited from the good neighborliness foreign policy by establishing its political position in East Africa and Africa at large. Moreover, the

involvement of Kenya in Somalia to fight the Al Shabaab was a political statement by Kenya that it was ready to protect its sovereignty.

According to Rice (2011), the most defining moment of Kibaki's presidency was the al Shabaab attacks in Lamu in 2011 hence, Kenya's involvement in Somalia was in self-defense and necessity to protect her sovereignty basis. Kenya's defense force is fighting Al Shabaab militia in Somalia under the umbrella of African peacekeeping force AMISOM to help Somalia defeat the insurgents and maintain her stability (Miyandazi, 2012).

Kenya's involvement in mediating peace in Sudan indicated that Kenya was politically strong in the perspective of the East African Community. The government of Kenya under Kibaki played a key role in reaching an agreement between the Sudan's government under Bashir and Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). This was so important and advantageous on Kenya's side as it was hosting huge refugees in Kakuma and peace in South Sudan was key to reduce the number of refugees it generated to Kenya (Kivoto 2016).

Furthermore, the findings outcome showed that, Kenya has been able to gain from the good neighborliness foreign policy. The findings noted that Kenya has made its mark politically within the region by employing the good neighborliness foreign policy. It was found out that the conflict in Sudan, IGAD chaired by Daniel Moi the then president of Kenya worked towards mediating the internal conflict in the country.

This continued during the regime of Mwai Kibaki who reached out to Sudan and played an essential role in the signing of the peace agreement between Sudan's government under Bashir and Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM). This was a political move by

Kenya since, through the agreement, some of the refugees from Sudan could go back to their country as the Kakuma refugee camp in Kenya could not accommodate more people.

This is evidence that Kenya was recognized as a politically savvy country to head the mediation talk. With the case of interference in Somalia to fight the Al-Shabaab, the findings revealed that Kenya proved that its political stability would not be broken by terror groups. Therefore, the move to fight the Al-Shabaab in Somalia was a political move by the then president that cemented his legacy within the region.

4.5 The key areas of regional competition between Kenya and Somalia.

Kenya and Somalia have been neighbors with issues since time immemorial, the major areas of contention between Kenya and Somalia have been squarely on matters of territory question as well as economic issues. Of recently bilateral relations between the two countries had it rough share largely over economic conjoined with the maritime borders' issues in the Indian ocean. The (R8) noted that the situation has been worsened by the Presence of new actors in the region. The discovery of oil and natural gas in Indian ocean along the disputed area by Kenya and Somalia, has attracted new regional actors, these international oil companies have brought in new energy of competition and influence at the same time in the region. These variables have impacted on the interactions of the neighboring states in the region and eventually influencing on the practice of the good neighborliness policy between Kenya and Somalia recently, where Somalia disregarded good neighbor policy and turned to international legal institution to solve the differences between Kenya and Somalia regarding Maritime dispute.

With regards to the use of good neighborliness foreign policy with regards to Kenya-Somalia conflict, mixed findings were recorded with minority of the respondents arguing that it is ineffective while the majority of the respondents indicated it is an effective approach. The use of the foreign policy came into play after Somalia recently questioned Kenya's intention since 2011 when Kenya opted to use military intervention. The invasion which was aimed to deter and finally flush out the Al Shabaab militant out of Somalia. This concern by Somalia leaders has resulted in ever-increasing suspicion of Kenya's interests in Somalia (Abdiwahab & Okeyo 2016).

The proponents for the use of the good neighborliness foreign policy argued that one of the pillars of the policy was to protect the territory and boundary of a state. Therefore, the respondents argued that the use of policy should be embraced even in addressing the Kenya- Somali conflict. This concurs with rationalism theory which argues that people make choices based upon a set of individual preferences in rational manner, where they pursue to gain while minimizing loss. In this essence, the respondents noted that the use of good neighborliness foreign policy, is a rational decision to address the territorial conflict between Kenya and Somalia.

However, other respondents were opposed to the use of the good neighborliness foreign policy to address the Kenya-Somalia conflict. They argued that Somalia was not working collaboratively with Kenya to address the issue peacefully. Somalia opted to take the matter to the ICJ on 28th August 2014, Somalia versus Kenya. (Preliminary objection, October 2015). This act by Somalia has motivated this research on the applicability of Kenya's good neighborliness in achieving her national interest in the region. Somalia decided to ignore

and abandon Kenya's good-neighborliness approach at the expense of commercial interests.

This step brings potential threats to a cordial relationship between Kenya and Somalia. These findings concur with Immanuel Kant (1795) and Adam Smith (1776) who explain that the liberalism theory advocates on the importance of cooperation and the possibility of peace as well as concepts of political freedom, human rights and free trade, which can be ideally achieved without using instrument of power and war.

The findings observed that the recent dissatisfaction by the Somalia government has a result of what the alleged has being Kenya's involvement in her internal politics has been a bone of contention between the two countries as well have created an area of competition has to whom controls the politics of the Jubaland.

During late 2020, Somalia as result of allegations of interference of political affairs levied to Kenya resulted to reciprocated recall of their respective diplomatic missions (R18&R9). However, the fact-finding mission tasked by IGAD led by Djibouti to investigate Somalia's claims concluded with a report that "there wasn't enough evidence to in support of Somalia's claims.

Another respondent noted that Kenya's decision of red-carpet welcome done to the self-acclaimed president of Somaliland in 2020 December, further increased constrains between the two countries relations (R13). With such constrained relations left resolved there will be an upward increase of tension between the two countries and eventually worsen the already existing humanitarian and security crisis in the Horn of Africa. Moderately a good number of respondents agreed that the situation should be addressed in a more robust

mechanism from AU point of action especially now that 54% the African Union peace and security council's deliberations in 2020 majorly focused on the Horn of Africa.

The findings from the respondents noted that, Kenya's military intervention in Somalia emerged as a new frontier of competition between the two states. Kenya's decision to send troops into Somalia's Jubba valley in an effort to fight Al-Shabaab was without any doubts the very first attempt since independence the biggest security advances toward her security interests in the region. The decision has not been welcomed well in the region.

According to Miyandazi (2012) Kenya's defense force is fighting Al Shabaab militia in Somalia under the umbrella of African peacekeeping force AMISOM to help Somalia defeat the insurgents and maintain her stability. This decision was meant to address the challenge of continued terror attacks in East Africa. Al-Shabaab is a terrorist group in East Africa that has wreaked havoc in the region and in particular in Kenya that has become victim to terror attacks.

Kenya has also been an advocate for peace particularly within East African region. The four of the regimes of Kenya this far have taken up the role of ensuring that peace is attained in all of the African states by mediating internal conflicts in Somalia and Sudan. Kenya hosted a series of Somalia peace talks conferences which resulted to the formation of the interim administration in 2004, as well as hosting the Somalia government for about two years before relocating to Mogadishu (Miyandazi, 2012).

Accompanied by terror attacks and instability is the issue of increased number of refugees. Kenya has stepped into the gap by accommodating refugees from Somali, Sudan and the rest of Africa seeking refuge due to political instability in their nations. Kenya continues

to host thousands of refugees from South Sudan following the politically motivated civil war between Nuer and Dinka which erupted in 2013 only two years after the independence. (Miyandazi, 2012).

4.6 The relevance of good-neighborliness policy in the context of Kenya-Somalia territorial disputes.

The researcher sought to assess whether the use of the good neighborliness foreign policy by Kenya was able to address the Kenya-Somali conflict. The data collected revealed mixed feelings from the respondents. Some interviewees indicated that the use of good neighborliness foreign policy was effective in ending the Kenya-Somali territorial dispute while some of the informants disagreed with the use of the foreign policy.

The study findings indicated that the conflict between Kenya and Somali started immediately following the gain of independence from the British colonial rule. The respondents indicate that the first conflict between the two territories was over the North Eastern region which the Somalia claim to be part of its territory. The conflicts between Kenya and Somalia have been on and off, justifying this study. The conflicts and disagreements between Somalia and Kenya as reported by the findings, with Somalia questioning the intentions of Kenya in interfering in the country's operations.

The findings established that, the use of good neighborliness foreign policy was effective in addressing the Kenya-Somalia conflict. The findings further explained that the strategy had worked effectively in other countries such as Sudan, therefore, it can be used to work in the case under study. According to the study findings, the move of the adoption of the policy by Kenya was to ensure peace is established in the region. Therefore, the informants

believed that using another strategy such as military force would negate the whole concept of the good neighborliness policy. Respondent (18) observed that:

The good neighborliness has been used effectively by Kenya, since independence. It has over 50 years of use, therefore, it would not be effective to abandon the policy simply because of conflict between Kenya and Somali (R18, University of Nairobi)

The good neighborliness foreign policy has been a crucial strategy in efforts to pursue Kenya's national interests in the region not only on economic development, harmony and safety as well as safeguarding sovereignty among others. The sovereignty of Kenya as indicated by the findings has been protected using the policy.

This concurs with Lentner (2005) who noted that some political scenarios, including defense of a state's sovereignty, territorial integrity and its independence, among other national interests, entail a country's interest as a whole (Lentner, 2005).

The good neighborliness foreign policy has helped Kenya to achieve national interests easily since her neighbors and world at large would reciprocate good neighborliness policies towards Kenya. Most of the Kenyan foreign policy analyses have concentrated on either economic-related topics or trans-border capital investments insofar as Kenya's foreign relations are concerned (Renouvin, 2011).

In addition, the findings indicated that the use of good neighborliness was effective in promoting peaceful co-existence between Kenya and Uganda at Migingo Island, therefore, the same approach needs to be implemented in the Kenya-Somali case. The findings established that, the success of the foreign policy will only be effective if Somalia becomes receptive to the approach. However, failure by Somalia to accept the use of the good neighborliness policy is likely to result in its failure.

The outcomes of the study observed that, in support of the use of the good neighborliness policy Kenya has tried to use military intervention in the fight against Al-Shabaab and the strategy has not been successful. Notably, this strategy towards the terror group has only resulted in Kenya being a victim of more terror attacks. Therefore, the interviewees believe that the use of good neighborliness policy may go a long way in ending the territorial conflict between Kenya and Somalia.

On other hand, there was a category who felt that the use of good neighborliness foreign policy in addressing the Kenya-Somalia territorial conflicts. The respondents argued that the foreign policy has outlived its purpose due to increased competition and independence by the member states in East Africa. Additionally, it was found out that, the use of good neighborliness was effective during the earlier years when states were attempting to position themselves in the global market.

During the 20th century the use of the policy was preferred and effective since nations in the region had to work together in order to maintain their sovereignty and meet their national interests. The study outcomes indicated that in the 21st century, countries have evolved into independent states whose main aim is to pursue economic development while protecting its sovereignty, therefore, other approaches need to be adopted. The first president of Kenya vowed to protect the Kenyan territories to the extent that not even one-inch ought to be lost. In keeping up with this vision, Kenya must adopt a different approach to ensure that its boundaries are secured at all costs. Since as evidenced over the years, the use of the good neighborliness foreign policy has failed in addressing the conflict, therefore, a different foreign policy can be adopted to assess its effectiveness.

The study findings established that the failure in using the foreign policy in addressing the Kenya-Somalia dispute is grounded on the fact that Somalia is not ready to reciprocate the same good relations. The good neighborliness foreign policy is based on reciprocal behavior by the states involved. Therefore, (R16) observed that:

The good neighborliness foreign policy is bound to fail in addressing the Kenya-Somalia conflict. This is because, only Kenya has put in efforts to establish good relations while Somalia has been against the use of discussions and conversations. (R16, United states International University).

The study findings found out that, it is time for Kenya and its neighbor Somalia to move to the use of another policy since the conflict has already been reported to the ICJ in 2014. Therefore, the use of discussions and negotiations may not be effective since both countries are now fighting to defend their own territories and boundaries using the rule of law.

The interviewees espoused that even if the two countries were to sit down for negotiations, the animosity already established would limit the effectiveness of the negotiations and the discussions held. From the perspective of the respondents, the good neighborliness foreign policy ought to be disregarded when addressing the Kenya-Somalia conflict.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presented summary of the findings, conclusions based on the findings and recommendations on the relationship between good neighborliness foreign policy and increase in regional competition: the case of Kenya-Somalia territorial threats.

5.1 Summary of Findings

The first objective of the study was to determine the reasons behind the adoption of Kenya's Good neighborliness foreign policy. The findings indicated that the main reason for the adoption of the foreign policy was to secure the interests of Kenya. These national interests including securing the territorial borders of Kenya and securing the sovereignty of Kenya.

At the time of its adoption, the good neighborliness foreign policy was the best decision since it placed Kenya at an advantage of enjoying the benefits that followed peaceful coexistence with its neighbors. In addition, the policy paved way for Kenya to advocate for peace in the region and facilitate cooperation with its neighbours through the formation of the EAC and IGAD regional bodies.

The second objective sought to establish the contribution of the good neighborliness foreign policy towards advancing Kenya's national interest in the Horn and East Africa Region. The findings revealed that the good neighborliness foreign policy has contributed largely to the peaceful co-existence between Kenya and its neighbors. In addition, it was

revealed that the use of the foreign policy has been effective since it has been used to bring about peace in conflicting states such as Sudan. In addition, through the good neighborliness foreign policy, Kenya has been able to enjoy the economic benefits of trade with its neighbors. The foreign policy has cemented the interactions between states in the Horn of Africa and the African continent at large.

The third objective of the study was to establish key areas of regional competition between Kenya and Somalia. The findings as well revealed that the major area of competition between Kenya and Somalia are territorial question as well as economic issues and the current presence of Kenya military presence in Somalia.

The fourth objective of the study was to assess the relevance of good-neighborliness policy in the context of Kenya-Somalia territorial threats. The findings found mixed findings with some respondents in support of the use of good neighborliness foreign policy in addressing the Kenya-Somali conflict while some opposed the use of the policy.

The findings indicated that due to the success of the policy over the years in matters of boundary conflicts, it was important for the same approach to be used. However, the opposition to this policy indicated that the lack of collaboration between Kenya and Somalia facilitates the failure of the good neighborliness policy. According to these findings, the success of the good neighborliness foreign policy is grounded on cooperation and reciprocal good relations.

5.2 Conclusion

The good neighborliness foreign policy was adopted in Kenya to protect the national interests of Kenya. Over the years, Kenya has been able to protect its sovereignty and its

territory. The use of good neighborliness policy was identified to have been successful in Kenya more so in relations with Sudan and Uganda (Misingo Island). The foreign policy was identified to be essential in protecting the sovereignty of Kenya. However, with regards to the Kenya-Somalia territorial conflict mixed findings were identified with some individuals arguing the use of the policy would be effective and others arguing it would not be effective.

However, despite these mixed findings, it is evident that the use of good neighborliness foreign policy has facilitated regional competition and has helped in securing the national interests and sovereignty of East African states.

5.3 Recommendations for the Study

The study recommends that the government of Kenya and Somalia should work collaboratively in order to come to a consensus towards the end of the territorial conflict by the two nations. The study observed that for the good neighborliness policy to be successful both nations ought to collaborate and work together for peace to be attained.

The study also recommends that the good neighborliness policy needs to be revised in relations to the changes in the world with regards to globalization and regional competition within East Africa. This is so as to introduce new forms of understanding that can help solve the Kenya-Somalia conflict using diplomacy rather than military intervention or war. New tenants can be introduced in the revised good neighborliness policy so as to accommodate the changes that have occurred over the last five decades. The study findings established that the failure in using the foreign policy in addressing the Kenya-Somalia dispute is grounded on the fact that Somalia is not ready to reciprocate the same good

relations. The good neighborliness foreign policy is based on reciprocal behavior by the states involved. The good neighborliness foreign policy may fail in addressing the Kenya-Somalia conflict without reciprocity.

The study also recommends that awareness and education should be raised in relation to the use of good neighborliness foreign policy in both Kenya and Somalia. This awareness may result in both countries using the policy to address their issues and disagreements. In addition, raising awareness on the importance and benefits of using the good neighborliness policy will help more nations to support its use and to adopt the policy in their daily interactions with other states.

5.4 Areas for Further Research

A research of this nature cannot be exhaustive in covering the area of investigation. Despite the success of this study, many issues still remain unresolved while others also evolved during the study.

The study suggests research to be undertaken on the relationship between good neighbourliness foreign policy and regional competition between Kenya and its other neighbours excluding Somali. This is because, as was established from the interviews Kenya has engaged in good neighbourliness policies with all of its neighbours, not only Somali.

The study recommends that further studies on the application of the good neighbourliness policy in mitigating conflict in Sudan needs to be conducted so as to have a clearer understanding to the effectiveness of the foreign policy within East Africa.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: RESEARCH LICENSE



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APPENDIX II: QUESTIONS GUIDELINE

KENYA'S GOOD-NEIGHBORLINESS FOREIGN POLICY AND INCREASING

***REGIONAL COMPETITION: THE CASE OF KENYA-SOMALIA**

TERRITORIAL THREATS

Dear respondent,

I am carrying out research on the Kenya's good-neighborliness foreign policy and increasing regional competition: The case of Kenya-Somalia territorial threats. You have been selected to participate in this research by giving information required in the questionnaire. Your identity will be concealed unless otherwise and the information provided will be strictly confidential. Kindly be honest and feel free to give the information as accurate as possible.

Thank you for participating

Peter Muthaura Kirera

Personal Information

What is your name?.....

Kindly indicate your gender?

Male () Female ()

Kindly indicate your age bracket

Below 25 years

20-30 years ()

31-40 years ()

41-50 years ()

51-60 years ()

Above 61 years ()

Kindly indicate your Nationality?.....

What is your profession?.....

What position do you hold at work place?.....

Guide for Interview Questionnaires

What do you understand by the term Kenya's good neighborliness foreign policy?

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What are the determinants of a foreign policy?

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What do you think were the reasons behind Kenya's adoption of good neighborliness foreign policy?

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Was the adoption of good neighborliness foreign policy the best option for Kenya to relate with her neighbors?

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In your opinion, can good-neighborliness foreign policy adequately address the challenges facing Kenya from her neighbors?

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How effective good neighborliness foreign policy has been towards promoting and enhancing friendly relations between Kenya and Somalia?

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How does good neighborliness foreign policy contribute towards political stability in the between Kenya and Somalia?

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How does Kenya's good neighborliness foreign policy contribute towards spurring economic growth in Kenya?

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How does good neighborliness foreign policy contribute towards enhancing integration in the Horn of Africa and East Africa region?

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How does good neighborliness foreign policy contribute to Kenya's national interests in the region?

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What are the political benefits accrued by Kenya from using good-neighborliness foreign policy?

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What are the economic benefits accrued by Kenya from using good-neighborliness foreign policy?

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What are the social benefits accrued by Kenya from using good-neighborliness foreign policy?

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What are the key areas of regional competition between Kenya and Somalia?

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In your opinion can good-neighborliness foreign policy finds a solution for Kenya-Somalia territorial threats?

Yes []

No []

If your answer to question 13 above is yes, how relevant Kenya's good-neighborliness foreign policy is in context of Kenya-Somalia territorial threats?

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If your answer to question 13 is No, what do you think can hinder Kenya's good neighborliness foreign policy from resolving Kenya-Somalia territorial threats?

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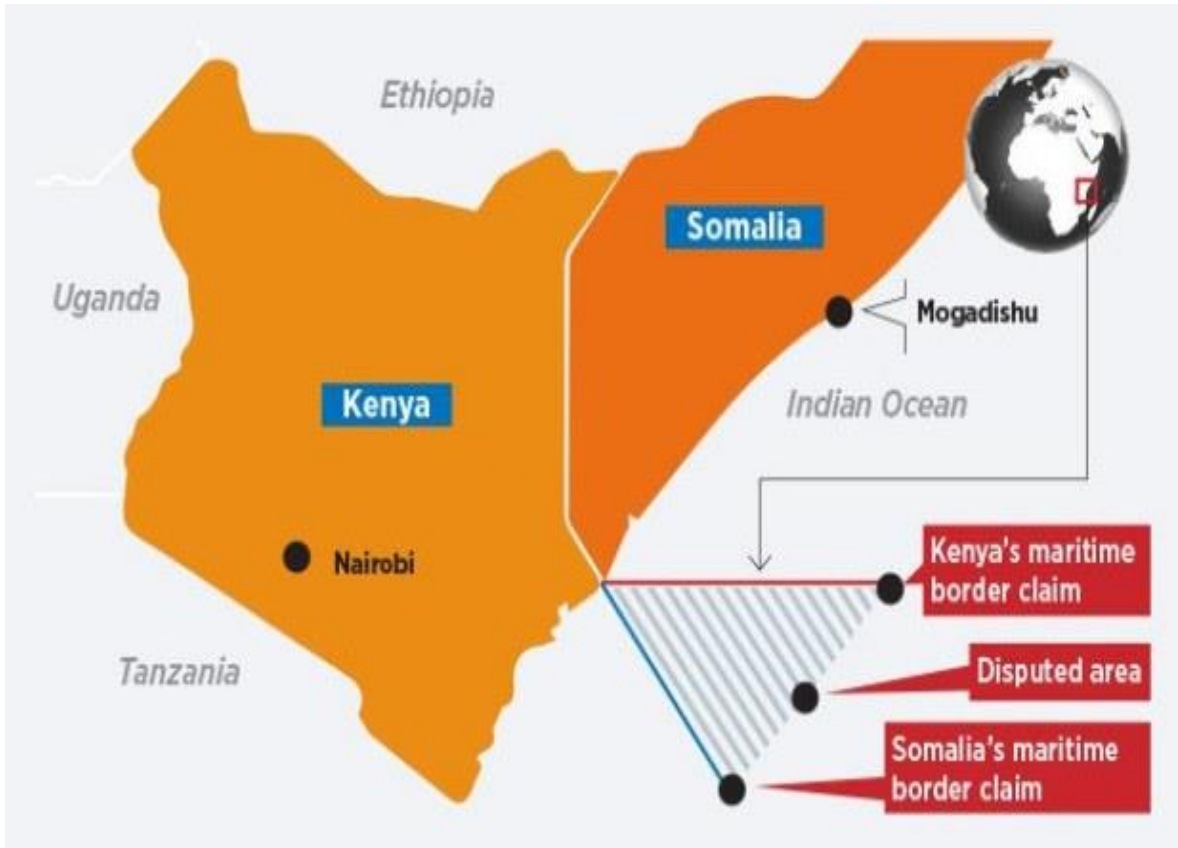
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APPENDIX III: MAP OF KENYA AND SOMALIA



Source: allAfrica.com