

**THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL DYNAMISM AND
IMPLEMENTATION OF FOREIGN POLICY IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES.**

BILALI CHARLES BAMBO

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for any award in any other University.

Signature:.....

Date:.....

Bilali Charles Bambo

MIR-3-0387-1/2020

This thesis has been submitted with our approval as the university supervisors.

Signature:.....

Date:.....

Mr. Simon Kamau Muriithi

Signature:.....

Date:.....

Dr. Joshua O. Miluwi

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DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to Elizabeth Wanjiru my wife, and my children Mary, Maureen, Eve and Bilali Antony for the support and encouragement during the time of undertaking this study. I also wish to dedicate this work to the entire family of Mwareje Nzephe Mgwirani.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDMENT	iii
DEDICATION	iv
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
ABSTRACT	x
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.1.1 Foreign policy in the global perspective.....	1
1.1.2 Government administration and foreign policy in Africa.	3
1.1.3 Kenyan Foreign Policy	4
1.1.4 Uganda Foreign Policy	7
1.1.5 Tanzania Foreign Policy.....	8
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	13
1.3 Objectives of the Study.....	14
1.3.1 General Objective	14
1.3.2 Specific Objectives	14
1.4 Research Questions	14
1.5 Significance of the Study	14
1.5.1 Interest groups	14
1.5.2 Policy Makers	14
1.5.3 African Leadership	15
1.5.4 Future Researchers	15
1.6 Scope of the Study	15
1.7 Operational Definition of Terms.....	15
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	17
2.1 Introduction.....	17
2.2 Theoretical Orientation	17
2.2.1 Rational Choice Theory.....	17
2.2.2 Advocacy Coalition Framework Theory	19

2.2.3 Punctuated-Equilibrium (PE) Theory	20
2.2.4 Theoretical Framework.....	22
2.3 Empirical Review.....	24
2.3.1 Political System and Implementation of Foreign Policy	24
2.3.2 Interest Groups and Implementation of Foreign Policy	27
2.3.3 Leadership Traits and Implementation of Foreign Policy	28
2.3.4 Public Opinion and Implementation of Foreign Policy.....	30
2.4 Conceptual Framework.....	31
2.5 Operationalization.....	33
2.5.1 Brief Explanation of operational Framework.....	34
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	35
3.1 Introduction.....	35
3.2 Research Design.....	35
3.3 Target Population.....	35
3.4 Sampling Procedures and Sample Size.....	36
3.5 Data Collection	37
3.6 Data collection procedure	37
3.6.1 Data Collection Tool	37
3.6.2 Pilot Study	38
3.6.3 Instrument Validity.....	38
3.6.4 Reliability of the Instrument.....	38
3.6.5 Data Processing and Analysis.....	38
3.7 Ethical Considerations	39
3.8 Results of Pilot Survey.....	39
CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION.....	41
4.1 Introduction.....	41
4.2 Respondents' Background Information	41
4.2.1 Nationality.....	42
4.2.2 Years of Professional Experience	43
4.2.3 Level of Education.....	43
4.3 Political System and Foreign Policy Implementation.....	45

4.4 Interest Groups and Foreign Policy Implementation	49
4.5 Leadership Traits and Foreign Policy Implementation.....	53
4.6 Public Opinion and Foreign Policy Implementation	56
4.7 Change of Foreign Policy Orientation and Establishing New Foreign Partners	58
4.8 Inferential Analysis of Independent Variables	60
4.8.1 Pearson Correlation Coefficient of Dependent and Independent Variables	61
4.8.2 Multivariate Analysis.....	62
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	64
5.1 Introduction.....	64
5.2 Summary	64
5.2.1 Political System	64
5.2.2 Interest Groups.....	65
5.2.3 Leadership Traits	66
5.2.4 Public Opinion	66
5.3 Conclusions.....	67
5.3.1 Political System	67
5.3.2 Interest Groups.....	67
5.3.3 Leadership Traits	67
5.3.4 Public Opinion	68
5.4 Recommendations on Research Findings	68
5.5 Recommendations for Further Research.....	68
REFERENCES.....	69
Appendix I: Questionnaire	75
Appendix II: Introduction Letter From Kenya Methodist University	81
Appendix III: NACOSTI Licence.....	82
Appendix IV: List of Diplomats, Civil Societies, Political Parties, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.	84

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Theoretical Framework	24
Figure 2.2: Conceptual Framework	32
Figure 2.3: Operational Framework.....	33
Figure 4.1: Respondents' Distribution of Nationality	42
Figure 4.2: Political System and Foreign Policy Implementation	45

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Target Population.....	35
Table 3.2: Proportion of participant in every organization	37
Table 3.3: Reliability Test Results	40
Table 4.1: Response Rate.....	41
Table 4.2: Professional Experience.....	43
Table 4.3: Level of Education.....	44
Table 4.4: Category * Level of Education Cross Tabulation.....	44
Table 4.5: Effect of Political System on Foreign Policy Implementation in Africa	47
Table 4.6: Effect of Interest Groups on Foreign Policy Implementation in Africa	51
Table 4.7: Effect of Leadership Traits on Foreign Policy Implementation in Africa	54
Table 4.8: Influence of Public Opinion on Foreign Policy Implementation in Africa	57
Table 4.9: Change of Foreign Policy Orientation and Establishing New Foreign Partners	59
Table 4.10: Correlation Analysis	61
Table 4.11: Multiple Regression Analysis.....	62

ABSTRACT

Political dynamism is critical in foreign policy enactment in any country in the world, including Africa. Most countries have tried to implement its foreign policy differently without looking at political dynamism which is instrumental in the orientation of foreign policy of any given country. However, the concept of political dynamism has been viewed with different lenses by different scholars, but with the common understanding that “dynamism” implies application of different perspectives to evaluate existing or potential political situation. The study examined the relationship between political dynamism and implementation of foreign policy in African countries. Specifically, the study focused on the influence of political system, interest groups, leadership traits, and public opinion on implementation of foreign policy in Africa. The study was anchored on rational choice theory, advocacy coalition framework theory, and punctuated equilibrium theory. It adopted descriptive research design and involved a target population of 195 individuals comprising of diplomats, political parties, ministry of foreign affairs and civil society. Sampling was carried out using stratified sampling technique where 100 respondents were selected. Collection of primary data was carried out using a structured questionnaire where collected data was analyzed using descriptive and inferential methods. Analyzed data was presented using frequency distribution tables, figures and narratives. The findings revealed that political system significantly influenced policy making processes and implementation. Countries with stronger and stable political system in Africa tended to have vibrant foreign policy debates without fear of losing favour in the international community. However, challenges such as mega corruption and neocolonialism in most African states continue to affect foreign policy direction. Interest groups have continued to play a central role in petitioning governments of the day to implement certain policy documents favourable to the masses as opposed to the ruling class. But, there is the question of corruption and suppression of outdated political culture which were likely to ruin foreign policy implementation of a country. Leaders with certain characteristics, such as dictatorial tendencies, corruption mentality, emotional instability, and human rights abuse records tend to oversee or favour subjective foreign policy orientations. Leaders with condensing attitude, limited emotional intelligence, questionable integrity, and tough-headedness tend to pursue narrow and self-serving foreign policy directions at the expense of their citizens. Public opinion continues to play a central role in swaying views and influencing key decisions of political parties, political systems, and top leadership of the country, hence shaping their foreign policy direction. Inferential statistics also indicated that each of the four independent variables significantly and positively influenced foreign policy implementation in African countries. A number of recommendations were made, including for the African countries to allow alternative voices in political system for robust policy debates and implementation. Interest groups should also be allowed by the government of the day to operate freely so that they can participate in foreign policy implementation in an objective manner. Despite varied leadership traits in all leaders, foreign policy implementation should involve objective processes devoid of personal influences. Public opinion should be allowed to proactively shape foreign policy formulation and implementation in Africa.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

In Africa, interstate or international policy orientation is strongly founded on the country's long struggle for national liberation from colonial. Since assumption of its place as a sovereign states continent and an important player in the international relations arena upon attainment of 54 independences in the early 1960s, and 90s African countries has continued to witness change in their respective political administration regimes where different leaders always have their own foreign policy priorities contrary to the previous governments. Most countries have tried to implement its foreign policy differently without looking at political dynamism which is instrumental in orientation of foreign policy of any given state.

1.1.1 Foreign policy in the global perspective

Historically, foreign policy has developed a competition among different countries across the world. The USA can be viewed as the center of the direction to which foreign policy takes the world at the next level and that every American presidential successor pursued different tact to prevent any country in the world to dominate the center of power with both European, Asia and Africa. Despite the efforts of America institutions like Bretton woods, European Union, WTO, NATO, other countries like China, japan, south Korea, India, Germany, Russia, and recently brexit –Britain are likely to shift the hegemonic power from geopolitics to the era of global politics. it is in this context that foreign policy can be seen as a guiding tool when it comes to the working together of nations around the globe (Webber & Smith 2002).

Arab and African states cannot be ignored both politically and economically either, this is because they are imperative globally in shaping orientation as well as voting pattern of foreign policy. Scholars of international relations have trumpeted how the increase of flow of goods and services across the borders has boosted the relationship of countries in both economic and political with the help of foreign policy decision makers across the world. On other hand, the China-African relationship have sparked American to re-think its foreign policy with rest of the nations in the global arena due to frequently exchange of high levels visit between the two, claiming that its historical assistance because of international connections. In the contemporary world, there is emphasis about working together of nations for the sake of creating long-lasting relationships when

it comes to fulfilling the interests of every country in as far as their presence in other territories is concerned. The United Nations and other world bodies have been very instrumental in ensuring that there is a connection between countries which are determined to pursue their mutual interests abroad. However, sometimes foreign policy ties among different countries have not been as strong due to different individual interests. On the other hand, different players such as national leaders, NGOs and world bodies have come out strongly to influence the direction of foreign policy of a number of countries (Khara 2018).

In foreign policy, there is a perception of divided opinion on how this should be pursued, with some leaders considered to be very aggressive while others are viewed as meek or reconciliatory in the foreign policy approach. The strong-willed leaders are considered as being more inclined towards military approach while the more reconciliatory ones tend to engage in dialogue more than using force. In this sense, more aggressive leaders in pursuit of foreign policy are characterized by manipulation of other leaders as they display hunger for raw power. At the same time, more aggressive are solely driven by the interests of their respective countries. On the other hand, reconciliatory leaders have the interests of their states at heart as much as they do for other countries with which they engage with in foreign policy. In the world history, some of the leaders that have been termed aggressive include Hitler, Mussolini, Iddi Amin Dada, George W. Bush, Donald Trump, and King Jong-Un of North Korea. Conversely, the leaders that have been viewed as more conciliatory include Abraham Lincoln, Barack Obama, Sir Dawda Jawara and Emmanuel Macron of France. In foreign policy parlance, more aggressive world leaders have been labelled as 'hawks' while the more reconciliatory type has been termed as 'doves' (Mong'ina, 2018).

The covid-19 pandemic is changing the world 's foreign policy relationship in terms of its roots, supply of vaccines and the impacts it has caused, for instance the prediction path of virus, treatment, vaccines, economical decline and the impact of politics in the global context. This increased a sharp negative direction between the US and China foreign policy relations during the Trump presidency (Gewirtz, 2020).

1.1.2 Government administration and foreign policy in Africa.

Almost all African countries have the interest to attain international economic cooperation with the aim of deepening their foreign policy agenda. Although a number of African luminaries, including Nkrumah of Ghana, Nyerere of Tanzania, Kaunda of Zambia among others, were initially preoccupied with liberation of their respective countries, the need for interstate cooperation could not be ignored, especially if their foreign policy agenda were to be realized. This approach was reinforced by the fact that no country's own market could sustain them for the long-term, hence the need to reintegrate (Coulibaly, 2018). Over time, there has been need for the African continent to work towards cementing strong diplomatic relationships amongst its member countries. It is on this basis that most countries on the continent are progressively working to consolidate their international environment where all countries' contribution is recognized.

In Africa today, there is a concern that world bodies, such as the UN, are more preoccupied with finding peace rather than achieving common development objective for all like-minded African countries. Inadequate funding and challenges of weak political commands have been blamed for the inability of the African countries to achieve a decisive international working relation among the said countries. The leadership failure associated with this scenario has been witnessed not only on the African continent, but also across the rest of the world. Controversies emanating from this situation have seen an increase in refugees linked to internal displacements in a number of African countries. The idea of a United Africa has not been supported by all African leaders, hence causing two camps – with one side agreeing while the other had a contrary stand. Important to note is the fact that the opposing side had fears that the unity of African countries would lead to lose legitimate powers by some of the leaders (Green, 2016).

Despite the OAU's objective of promoting unity among the African states and coordinating cooperation efforts with the aim of eradicating colonialism in Africa, it attempted to create regional bodies that would increase chances of the countries working together for the sake of economic development on the continent. Some of the notable achievements of the OAU included formation of SADC, ECOWAS, and the EAC among others. Many of the African countries have been affected by numerous challenges, including poverty, conflicts related to politics of competition, internal as well as external conflicts, poor policy guidelines, and inadequate resources (Kabandula & Shaw, 2018). There is also the question of endemic corruption, political instability, and high

levels of unemployment. Likewise, the OAU's push for regional economic integration had the negative effect of divided interests among countries. Yet, since the formation of the AU, there has been an attempt to shift foreign policy ideologies where leaders are more preoccupied with the push for enhanced cooperation and integration among the member countries.

According to Jean Jacques Rousseau, when countries trade with each other, they do not go to war, but create peace and stability in their countries hence increasing chances of state growth and development. In the recent past a number of African states have made attempts to change their foreign policy directions in order to resist what has sometimes been viewed as external domination and interference. For instance, in Zimbabwe confiscation of the white farms was part of renewed efforts to deal with what the ZANU administration argued was to return to the indigenous Zimbabweans their land from the hands of the whites in the country. African countries today struggle with political and economic challenges despite regional integration serving as a foreign policy instrument meant to unify the countries through common trade (Kabandula & Shaw, 2018). Despite the efforts to address internal conflicts among some countries in the region, a number of them have not been able to completely withstand external pressures as individual entities.

At the moment, many African states are struggling with climate change issues, the effect of Covid-19 pandemic, and suppressed democracy, cyber-security, corruption, and high levels of unemployment among other challenges. Regarding suppressed democracy for instance, in 2017 and 2019 respectively the High Courts in Kenya and Malawi ordered reruns of presidential poll. Furthermore, Ugandan general elections were marred in violence and repression from the government in 2020, hence raising many questions regarding the state of democracy on the African continent and its foreign policy orientation.

1.1.3 Kenyan Foreign Policy

Kenya remains a major player in interstate politics East Africa where its foreign policy orientation is strongly founded on the country's long struggle for national liberation from colonial liberation. Since assumption of its sovereignty in global political arena upon attainment of independence in December 1963, Kenya has continued to witness change in its political administration regimes where different leaders always have their own priorities when it comes to what they want to pursue outside their internal governments' policy agenda as opposed to the pursuits of their predecessors.

Consequently, there has been witnessed numerous shifts in line with the belief systems and campaign manifestos of the regime in power at any given time. For instance, the 2002 general elections put to an end the Moi government's end, which had lasted for twenty-four-years. The coming into power of Mwai Kibaki changed the orientation of Kenya's foreign policy, especially in terms of significantly regulating external borrowing.

However, the coming in of Uhuru Kenyatta in 2013 led to a new refocus of the foreign policy where too much borrowing resumed again, with the pretext that the government wanted to emphasize infrastructural development. Much of the argument also related trying to realign Kenya's foreign policy agenda with Vision 2030, which locally was founded on the Big 4 agenda. Despite the refocusing of foreign policy by Uhuru's administration on external borrowing for mega infrastructural projects, critics have argued that much of the borrowed money have been diverted to individuals' pockets through corruption. Unlike during Moi's reign which was largely viewed as shaped by state power centered around the presidency, both Kibaki and Uhuru moved away from too much focus on political power consolidation to what a mixture of both politics and economic development. Earlier on, President Moi adopted an authoritarian approach to national leadership, but the ushering of the 2010 constitution tended to level the playing field for political pluralism hence opening the stage for more economic development. Prior to the change of the constitution in 2010, Kenya had witnessed political violence that proceeded the 2007 disputed elections that later saw the international community pushing for a more consultative foreign policy environment in the country.

According to Hornsby (2012), Moi capitalized on the loyalty he commanded from his close allies to pursue national interests that suited him more than majority of the Kenyan people. For instance, influential people holding key government positions used their offices to make foreign policy directions that may not have necessarily resonated with the common views of Kenyans. Prior to the 2010 constitution, President Moi invoked a number of sections that gave him power to initiate personalized foreign policy choices, by for instance using the special Branch to push for unilateral decisions even if at times they were viewed as being unpopular. These included unilaterally temporarily closing Kenya-Somalia border in 2001 to force Somali factional leaders to work together for the sake of what government insiders felt it was Kenya's internal stability (Nzomo, 2016).

At the time Kibaki was taking power in 2003, much of the foreign policy concern had shifted to mending the perception of Kenya in the global stance. Dwindling donor confidence in Kenya had to be restored in order to boost economic development of the country through reduction of poverty and creation of employment amidst a much more controlled foreign debt and external borrowing. Kagwanja (2012) further observes that President Kibaki emphasized the need for bilateral and multilateral initiatives with the US, China, and the EU countries in order to expand foreign policy players with the aim of rejuvenating Kenya's economic development agenda. Kibaki's foreign policy direction has largely been described as more decentralized than President Moi's at any given time in history (Green, 2016). Indeed, observers have pointed out that during Kibaki's regime, relevant government ministries and institutions were left to do foreign policy work without much interference from the Office of the President (Green, 2016). According to Kibati (2016), Kibaki consulted more widely, hence making him more accommodating in his foreign policy pursuits.

President Uhuru Kenyatta's foreign policy has been guided by five interrelated pillars, namely peace, economic, diaspora, environmental, and cultural. However, the important role by other key players in the integration of the foreign policy cannot be ignored. Furthermore, Uhuru's foreign policy pursuit has also been dominated by Kenya's strong push for foreign direct investment and enhancing of exports market in the international market. Specifically, Kenya's foreign policy under President Uhuru has been driven by a strong desire to protect Kenya's autonomy in the global space and promotion of regional and international integration and cooperation. Furthermore, Kenya still remains vibrant in its foreign policy pursuit within the region through AU while continuing to promote the relationship with other major players in foreign policy pursuits (Kaburu, 2017).

Despite President's vigorous foreign policy pursuit in the region, there have been certain shortcomings related to some of Kenya's neighbours in the East African region. For instance, the losing of oil pipeline connection from Uganda to the port of Lamu which was instead diverted by Uganda to Tanzania was viewed a major blow to his foreign policy agenda in the region. Kenya is slowly mislaying its grips as an economic hub in EAC, Other countries in the region including Congo which is not a member of EAC, have also opted to divert its Kenya port business to Tanzania claiming poor Kenya's economic policies.

Additionally, Tanzania under Magufuli did not have favourable foreign policy orientation towards Kenya and President Uhuru. For instance, the burning of chicken by Tanzania's authority was viewed as a major blow to the foreign policy integration and cooperation between the two countries in the recent past.

1.1.4 Uganda Foreign Policy

As a major player in the East African region in terms of economic and political development, Uganda continues to influence major decisions that touch on foreign policy of the countries sharing a common border. Despite the country being landlocked, Uganda has continued to claim its space in foreign policy among its peers in the East African community. Even before gaining its independence in 1960, Uganda's foreign policy agenda was mainly about opening trade to the Indian Ocean. After completion of the railway line from Mombasa to Kampala, trade relation with Kenya became Uganda's major foreign policy preoccupation (Smith, 2012). However, the economic dynamism difference between Uganda and Kenya in the 1980s eventually culminated into hostilities between the two countries. Later, Uganda experienced conflicts within and outside its borders that rekindled the need to seek for new partnerships with other neighbouring countries.

After Iddi Amin's coup d'état of 1971, Uganda remained far more aligned to the capitalist than socialist philosophies both economically and politically (Okoth, 2007). Amin's reign was dominated by a more aggressive and unpredictable foreign policy direction as his administration exhibited frequent threats to the neighbouring countries both militarily and in terms verbal attacks. Furthermore, Amin's foreign ministry officials were frequently left unsure of whether to take the president's word regarding foreign policy directives. At worst, the unpredictable nature of Amin's foreign policy agenda proved too expensive to execute by line ministry officials. In the process, Uganda became more isolated in foreign policy. President Museveni's takeover of Ugandan leadership in 1986 saw a major foreign policy shift where the country made several trade agreements with its East African counterparts, including Kenya and Tanzania. Despite Museveni's endearment to other countries in the region through several trade agreements, the relationship was marred by suspicions where the rest of the countries suspected that Museveni was bound to sponsor dissidents to overthrow the leadership of those countries.

During his first years in leadership, the leadership traits of President Museveni pushed him to get more associated with Libya and the Eastern bloc. Yet, this did not auger well with Kenya which

was more inclined towards the Western bloc. The situation was even complicated more by the fact that more of Uganda's trade and development assistance came from the West (Okoth, 2007). Museveni's seemingly shift of foreign policy stance towards the Western bloc, this removed the hitherto suspicions hence electing president Museveni as the Chair of the Organization of African Union (OAU) in 1990.

Currently, there are a number of foreign policy initiatives between Kenya and Uganda. For example, recently Presidents Kenyatta and Museveni signed a number of bilateral trade agreements between their two countries. Some of these included the need for Uganda to increase its sugar exports and enhance poultry export to Kenya. There were also agreements for Uganda to lift its ban on beef imports from Kenya and utilize Kenya's petroleum facility in Kisumu. On the other hand, Kenya also offered Uganda land for building dry port in Naivasha. According to the Citizen (2020), recently Uganda signed with Tanzania a 3.5 billion dollars' oil pipeline deal, hence ostensibly denying Kenya the chance of building the facility that would have enabled it to transport its oil to Lamu. That move was taken on pretext by Ugandan president that the Tanzania's Tanga port was going to be cheaper than using the Kenyan Lamu port.

1.1.5 Tanzania Foreign Policy

Tanzania has witnessed remarkable foreign policy alterations right after the integration of Tanganyika and Zanzibar in 1964 (Mwanika, 2015). These are manifested in all spheres of the country's being, including in politics, culture, and in the economy. Tanzania has continually attempted to restate its autonomy in the region. Furthermore, notable foreign developments have been witnessed in Tanzania as it adapts to increased political space due to multiparty politics and more liberalized economy in the international arena. At the same time, Tanzania has tried over time to consolidate its principles of foreign policy based on more equity, territorial integrity, trade and stock promotion while at the same time promoting bilateral trade relations (Mwanika, 2015).

Mwalimu Julius Kabarage Nyerere, as the founding father of Tanzania initiated foreign policy agenda for the united republic of Tanzania 's foreign policy under the presidential circular number 2 of 1964. Over the years, the content and conduct of the foreign policy in Tanzania has been funneled by those ideologies and objectives that include the territorial integrity, protection of freedom, justice and equal opportunity, political independence and safeguarding sovereignty of the United Republic of Tanzania, among other things. All the strategies were important in helping

in the struggles against colonialism, racism, and promotion of African Unity. At the same time, Tanzania's foreign policy has been progressive in terms of opening democratic space and enhancing integration with the neighbouring states. Although some analysts and critics have sometimes viewed Tanzania's preoccupation to be on domestic as opposed to interstate policy pursuits for the most part, social equity has been at the center of its foreign policy debate for the longest time, especially when considered alongside the Ujamaa philosophy. In collaboration with Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Nyerere worked tirelessly to put Tanzania in the world map.

Every country's foreign policy must be contextualized within its international environment. This is no exception to Tanzania which continues to experience changes in foreign policy amidst political and economic dynamics where the emphasis lies in international cooperation. In the recent past, Tanzania, like many other international players, is keen on consolidating its foreign policy for the sake of integration with its neighbouring countries. Following the shift in international foreign policy arena, Tanzania may be forced to adapt to the new scenario where the priority should be about its core national interests, including supporting non-alignment policy and the South-South Cooperation. Furthermore, Tanzania should strive towards enhancing its economic diplomatic relationship among other African countries in the region. Furthermore, the country should endeavor to enhance its bilateral engagements where the emphasis lies on economic and political cooperation. In this sense, Tanzania must be ready and willing to actively participate in regional foreign policy discussions.

Tanzania plays a major role in promoting economic integration within Eastern African region. Over many years, Tanzania has continued to earn tremendous respect in the African Union (AU), thus reaffirming the African foreign policy agenda of enhancing unity among the peer countries (Kabandula and Shaw, 2018). Tanzania's current foreign policy is fashioned alongside the philosophy of socialism, popularly known as Ujamaa, which is historically traced to the country's founding father, Mwalimu Julius Kabarage Nyerere. The philosophy was further rooted in the African liberation model which has been very instrumental in also assisting other Southern countries while at the same time trying to expand regional economic liberation with assistance of Southern African Development Community (SADC) member states.

The standard set by Mwalimu Julius Nyerere who ruled between 1964 and 1985 has persistently influenced his successors' foreign policy direction. These include Presidents Ali Hassan Mwinyi

(1985-1995), Benjamin Mkapa (1995-2005), and Jakaya Kikwete (2005-2015) that significantly influenced the regions geopolitics and foreign policy orientation. Nevertheless, president Magufuli's foreign policy completely shifted from that of his predecessors since his election in 2015. Foreign policy analysts have argued that Magufuli's reign focused more on domestic policy as opposed to foreign policy, thereby being viewed as practicing isolationist foreign policy tune. For instance, he made very few foreign trips, with all of them within the East African region. At the same time, he avoided a number of bilateral and multilateral foreign engagements that required him to travel outside his country.

Although he hosted a number of international leaders in what would be seen as closely working with other countries' heads of states for a close foreign policy engagement, his failure to attend swearing-in ceremonies of any head of states seemed to contradict foreign policy of his predecessors. Furthermore, Magufuli's foreign policy practices in the East African region painted him as not particularly caring about the impact of his actions on foreign policy relations with his neighbouring countries. For instance, when Magufuli's administration burnt chicken exported from Kenya and impounded animals which were alleged to have trespassed into Tanzania, the tension it created between Kenya and Tanzania was viewed as jeopardizing Kenya's and Tanzania's foreign policy that had been as stable for many years.

To understand political dynamism properly, we must try to understand its meaning from a wider perspective. In its basic meaning, dynamism implies the enthusiasm with which countries engage others politically and economically as they pursue their national and international interests (Shauna, 2008). While dynamism as a concept has been viewed as encompassing various connotations, the overriding characteristic is interstate relations as nations pursue their domestic and international political and economic agenda. According to Hornsby (2012), foreign policy dynamism involves political decisions that have significant ramifications on how the country is run and how resources are divided among individual and group entities. Green (2016) defines foreign policy as activities by given states towards changing behaviours of other states when it comes to considering interests of countries that are fronting those policies. Drutman (2016) further posits that political dynamism focuses on four important reform areas, namely congressional elections, interest groups, congressional staffing, and congressional organization. He further

argues that political system requires reform despite the complexities of politics. However, this argument may not entirely apply to all regimes in the world.

According to Dadush (2015), by studying foreign policy change, scholars get a unique opportunity to understand the dynamic process of policy decision-making and the elements that underpin its existence. Yet, Huxsoll (2003) argues that foreign policy has over the years been seen to be associated with foreign powers in their quest to dominate world socio-economic field. Since the Cold War, the debate in the foreign policy realm has been on how developed nations are trying to influence how the world operates in every important aspect of life. In this sense, developing nations have been neglected in the debate, especially in the African context. Developing countries have been disadvantaged due to insufficient financial and human resources that limit their full potentials when it comes to taking up their positions in the world stage. However, foreign policy should not be viewed as entirely the preserve of developed countries or what sometimes is referred to as the superpowers (Coulibaly, 2018).

Although change has always been associated with foreign policy, maintaining similar behaviours over time has also been to dominate foreign policy, especially if the concerned countries are not under any pressure to institute any changes that could redefine their stance on international matters (Bilgili & Weyel, 2012). This perspective holds true in both international and African contexts. For instance, the foreign policy pursuit in South Africa has been predominated by the development agenda since the apartheid end in 1994. The country therefore should strive to strengthen a working relationship with other nations in order to expand its market potentials. Based on this reality, the focus of foreign policy of South Africa is divided into two parts. First, it examines two aspects of South Africa's post-1994 Africa policy: the country's role as a regional norm-setter and its ability to establish regional cooperation among other governments on the African continent. The second aspect involves focusing on the foreign policy objectives of key African driving countries, which have the potential to impact the speed of regional cooperation and integration, either positively or negatively.

According to Adar (2015), foreign policy in Africa is frequently influenced by domestic political developments, as demonstrated in Nigeria's case where military coups d'états have not provided the answers to internal political problems. Hence, Nigeria should develop the idea, understand, and embrace this from now on. Nigerians are capable of creating a culture of political discourse

and discussion between opponents. Encouraging political discussion as the primary means of resolving crises will demonstrate to the international community that Nigerians are mature politically, deserving a respected place in the international community (ACP EU Migration Action, 2017).

Africa's foreign policy has been characterized by consistencies and inconsistencies with regard to decision making structure. This has been occasioned by changes in administration, with foreign policy decision making structure reflecting the incumbent's leadership style, the issue area and the decision making environment (Kaburu, 2017). For example, Kenya achieved her political independence during the cold war, a systemic reality that saw the founding president Jomo Kenyatta; through Session Paper No. 10 of 1965 adopt political non alignment as one of the principles upon which Kenya's foreign policy was founded. It is however notable that Kenya's foreign policy remains evidently consistent in terms of the guiding principles, with only but minimal alterations in response to dynamics within the international system. Primarily, Kenya's foreign policy is anchored on sanctity of sovereignty and territorial integrity, equality among sovereign states, peaceful resolution of conflicts, adherence to international customs and values, and peaceful coexistence with neighbours and other states (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014).

Shift in political administration has been witnessed with leader's actions to manipulate the constitution through its legislative and judiciary systems to extend the presidency's term limit, for instance in Africa, the Uganda and Rwanda governments' top Uganda's Yoweri Museveni and Rwanda's Paul Kagame have recently changed their constitution to extent their term limit, contradicting the wish of other political and economic leaders and the country as a whole (Okoth (2007). Scholars have done less on investigation of relationship between political dynamism and foreign policy in Africa. This research study delves deeper to find out the disconnect between the dynamics of politics and the implementation of foreign policy in Africa, and why there is a rise in economic inequality while political engagement continues to decline. The study will also try exploring political dynamism and how this influences orientation of foreign policy in African countries. It is against the aforementioned that this study seeks to address these gaps.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Successive administrations in Africa have had notable episodes of continuities and alterations in foreign policy pursuits. That explains why the continent has also had a change in its domestic political environments occasioned by constitutional and legal reforms which have had implications for its foreign policy. Different actors notably Ministries of Trade, Foreign Affairs, the Presidency, the legislature and non-state actors also continue to have different perspectives on foreign policy agenda in the country. In addition to this lack of coordination, there is an apparent disconnect in foreign policy whenever there is a change in political administration.

In additionally, African foreign policy orientation is strongly founded on the country's long struggle for national liberation from colonial liberation. Since assumption of its place as a sovereign continent and an important player in the international relations arena upon attainment of 54 independences between 1960s and 90s, African has continued to witness change in its political administration regimes where different leaders always have their own foreign policy priorities contrary to the previous governments. In the process, the African countries foreign policy has over time experienced numerous shifts in line with the belief systems and campaign manifestos of the regime in power at any given time. Underlying these belief systems are the political dynamics which are often viewed from the perspectives of political system, interest groups, personality traits of a political leader at the helm of governance of the country, and public opinion on foreign policy. Often, the aforementioned factors are as dynamic and varied as the governments of the day.

Past regimes in Africa have had different inclinations when it comes to foreign policy, more so in line with their campaign manifestoes and national development priority agendas. Despite different countries argument that its national development priority areas are intended to propel the country into prosperity in line with the Vision 2030 development blueprint, political dynamics are currently blamed for the government's veering off its objectives. Additionally, political alignments and realignments, or what has otherwise been viewed as unending coalition building in the country, is often considered as overshadowing the government's foreign policy and national development agenda (Bogonko, 2019). It is against the aforementioned that this study sought to address these gaps.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of the study was to determine the relationship between political dynamism and implementation of foreign policy in African countries.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The study tackled objectives below:

- i. To examine the influence of political system on implementation of foreign policy in Africa.
- ii. To assess the impact of interest groups on implementation of foreign policy in Africa.
- iii. To establish the effect of leadership traits on implementation of foreign policy in Africa.
- iv. To analyse the influence of public opinion on implementation of foreign policy in Africa.

1.4 Research Questions

The research addressed the research questions below:

- i. To what extent does political system influence implementation of foreign policy in Africa?
- ii. To what extent do interest groups impact implementation of foreign policy in Africa?
- iii. To what extent do leadership traits affect implementation of foreign policy in Africa?
- iv. To what extent does public opinion influence implementation of foreign policy in Africa?

1.5 Significance of the Study

The findings of the research will be useful to different beneficiaries including interest groups, African leadership, as well as future researchers.

1.5.1 Interest groups

Interest groups will benefit from the study findings by gaining in-depth insights into the relationship between political dynamism and implementation of foreign policy. It aims to enhance knowledge and skills on how to effectively implement foreign policy with the aim of enhancing the democratization process.

1.5.2 Policy Makers

The findings will be useful to the legislature, the judiciary, the executive and leaders of political parties in making appropriate policies that will be of use to the country's foreign policy agendas. Such policies will be instrumental in the general development and integration of Africa.

1.5.3 African Leadership

The research will greatly benefit government leadership as well as other actors in Africa, since it will influence foreign policy implementation successfully. This will lead to effectiveness in both government bureaucracy, and interest groups' performance in different spheres of development.

1.5.4 Future Researchers

Lastly, the findings will be useful to the academia by providing literature with regard to relationship between political dynamism and implementation of foreign policy which has not been studied much.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study mainly delved into political dynamism as a function of implementation of foreign policy in African countries. The study focused in Africa and was done over a period of one year. The study targeted ambassadors, political parties, civil societies, and ministry of foreign affairs.

1.7 Operational Definition of Terms

Dynamism: according to this study, it is a shift or change in African government administration as new interests emerge.

Foreign Policy: Hornsby (2012) describes this concept as the relationship between and how a country behaves with another in the global context. In this study's context, this refers to strategy pursued by African countries to secure national interests externally in the international system.

Interest group: Keohane and Milner (2016) define interest groups as individuals who come together with the purpose of pushing for a specific agenda in a country. In the African context of this study, this relates to a social group which has defined interests that may span across political, social, and/or economic spheres of a society.

Leadership traits: according to Metka and Siegel (2011), this entails the way of behaviour of a leader in relation to the country's operations. In the African context of this study, these are characteristics of a top government leader relating to his or her leadership style and attitude based on his collective vision for the country.

Political: in this study's context, it is a set of activities relating to government or public affairs of African countries and associates with decision making process in power relations between groups or individuals.

Political Dynamism: According to Drutman (2016), political dynamism focuses on four important reform areas, namely congressional elections, interest groups, congressional staffing, and congressional organization. In the context of the current study, it is an attempt to work within the African political system that exists, playing to the strengths of Colonial beliefs, coup d'état, it is our time tribal beliefs traditions and using the institutions of governments for African leaders' self-interest benefit wherever a shift of power occurs in new admiration in African countries.

Political System: refers to a legitimate establishment with the aim of gaining or holding power and pursuing its objectives in terms of the economic and political development of a country (Kaarbo et al, 2013). In the context of this research, the concept means African individuals who come together with the aim of ruling a country differently using political parties for either development or parties' self-interest also known as tyranny of numbers. In addition, it refers the way African Assembly or elected leaders tend to rule in altering of laws and using deep-state system to orient African foreign policy whenever a change occurs in Africa countries.

Public Opinion: refers to inclusivity of opinions regarding an important aspect of a majority in any given country (Russell Reynolds Associates, 2015). In the context of this study it is the collective view of the African people on a specific political or topical issue and the attitudes or opinions of the population. public opinion in Africa tends to dictate and frame the way in which election takes its direction.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The chapter critically analyzes the theories anchoring the study and deal with review of past literatures on political dynamism and implementation of foreign policy. The chapter also outlines conceptual framework that documents a diagrammatic link between the independent and dependent variables.

2.2 Theoretical Orientation

This study employed three theories in studying its subject matter. The insufficiencies of each theory are complemented by the other in the process of finding a link between the theories and the study variables. Further to this, each of the theories has a different perspective that addresses matters of foreign policy behavior. This study was therefore guided by Rational Choice theory, Advocacy Coalition Framework Theory, and Punctuated-Equilibrium (PE) model.

2.2.1 Rational Choice Theory

The rational Choice theory was initiated by Adam Smith to feature the tenets of free-market economy in the middle of the late 1770s. The theory further postulates that people always use rational judgments when making decisions related to their life endeavours. At the same time, people usually pursue their own interests more than they would care about those of the people around them. Through rational theory, individuals are thought to make their life options based on cost-benefit analysis. Based on the theme of the current study, leadership style, skills, attitudes, and action plan would determine the outcome of foreign policy of a country since these factors revolve around the personality traits of a leader who may have personal achievements to care about more than those of his or her political nemesis.

According to Levin and Milgrom (2004), rational choice theory is used in decision-making in an environment that requires a leader to weigh and the risks and benefits associated with whichever decisions are made. For example, since foreign policy of a country is about choices that are more favourable to the country's top leadership at any given time, this would imply that rational choice theory is effectively relevant in anchoring this research (Tversky & Kahneman, 1986). The theory's policy-oriented approach mirrors the personal characteristics of a leader when it comes to making important decisions of the magnitude of domestic and international policy orientation. At

any given time, personal pursuits override those related to the majority of the populace. In the context of this study, it would mean that political leaders' crafting of foreign policy direction has very little to do with what the majority of the electorate want. Rather, even if the preferences happen to match those of the electorate and other political competitors of the leader at the helm of the country's leadership, then that is likely to be coincidental. Ultimately, individual leader's actions are driven by what serves that leader more conveniently.

Accordingly, rational choice theory advances the argument that there will always be justification by leaders as to why they took a given direction in their decision-making on important national issues, such as foreign policy of a country. The human's egoistic tendencies underlie the justification for the use of rational choice theory, especially as viewed in the context of political choices which usually have huge ramifications on the country's management. Important to note however is the argument that whether decision is right or wrong may not matter. Rather, what may matter more is the fact the outcome of the decision is more cost-effective than if the opposite position would instead thrive (Levin & Milgrom, 2004).

As a model widely used to explain social phenomena, rational choice theory emphasizes the actions of individuals much the same way the model underlines the role of politicians in important policy issues in the country. In the political field, the theory is readily used to provide those in government the basis of making certain policy decisions that may not necessarily auger well with political competitors' preferences. Yet, given that politics is driven by more or less individual interests of those in political offices, rational choice theory often comes handy to provide justification for certain policy positions even if they do not necessarily rhyme with the preferences of the electorate. Sometime, it is a question of making options based on rewards and costs rather than looking at what is right or wrong if a particular decision was to be made (Levin & Milgrom, 2004).

Despite its explanation about why some leaders should not be faulted for certain decisions they undertake as long as those decisions were the most rational at that particular time, rational choice theory has been criticized for being unrealistic, by assuming that people will always have the time to rationally weigh their options before they arrive at final decisions. In this sense, the theory is viewed as incapable of accounting for non-self-serving actions that may call for helping other irrespective of existence of reward for those offering the assistance (Tversky & Kahneman, 1986).

It has also been argued that a number of individuals make decisions based on circumstances as opposed to having ample time to critically weigh their actions on the basis of cost-benefit analysis. In this sense, rational choice theory may fail to provide a strong basis for justification for such actions. Despite the criticism of the theory, the model explicitly captures decision-making in the political arena, especially given that for the most part the political class has to always think about their policy actions on the basis of what benefits them more as opposed to what is necessarily right at any given time.

2.2.2 Advocacy Coalition Framework Theory

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) was propagated by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1988). The theory emphasizes the role of stakeholders in important decision making processes, such as foreign policy as influenced by interest groups and public opinion. The theory was further mooted on the presupposition that institutions will always be involved in policy formulation process. Nonetheless, it may be right to argue that, as the advocacy coalition framework theory seems to suggest, that interest groups and public opinion have a significant role to play in foreign policy making process. For instance, party ideologies, manifestos, organizational structure, membership base, and political coalitions tend to influence foreign policy of the government of the day. Furthermore, there is the central role played by mass media, opinion polls, and public interest groups when it comes to pushing for policy formulation (Dolan, 2003).

According to Sabatier (1988), advocacy coalition denotes individuals that may come together from elected leaders, interest groups, academicians and other cadres of social groups that have a similar agenda of policy formulation. Such coalitions tend to push for coordinated efforts towards a common position in as far as public policy is concerned. Cairney (2012) further posits that through advocacy coalition theory, different actors tend to come together to articulate important policy positions. Through such concerted efforts, foreign policy formulation may become relatively easier and more effective. Furthermore, the belief systems as fronted by a coalition of stakeholders become critical is mobilization of a common position in as far as public policy formulation is concerned (Weible, 2007).

The advocacy coalition framework theory further argues that although the state is a leading actor in foreign policy process, the role of different players cannot be ignored. These include NGOs, the

media, and pressure groups among others. There is also the question of different government agencies, such as presidential commissions and advisory bodies whose input in foreign policy formulation and negotiation processes cannot be wished away (Sapru, 2006). However, the state is often seen as influencing policies that suit the political class at the helm of the leadership of the country as opposed to the interests of majority of the citizens. In this sense, the private sector and NGO actors are denied the opportunity to be part of the mainstream policy making processes. The advocacy coalition framework theory is used to neutralize the government's role in the foreign policy making hence incorporating the interests of other beneficiaries through coalition of ideas.

Through advocacy coalition framework theory, though viewed as a major stakeholder in the policy making efforts, government's voice is neutralized such that other players can also be equally heard. Whichever the interests that are catered for under such circumstances, the general public is seen as standing to gain more through nonpartisan advocacy and lobbying. Despite the celebrated role of advocacy coalition framework theory in foreign policy formulation, in the African context this role is seen as reduced due to the overriding role played by the governments as major actors in the policy making processes. This implies that the government or its representatives would always want to take control of the foreign policy initiatives due to vested interests. Yet, according to Egonmwan (2013), the private sector often tends to engage technocrats in giving direction to policy making hence proving alternative views to those of the government. Furthermore, the private sector is often given the benefits of doubt in giving direction in policy formulation due to its ability to make use of research expertise in this process.

2.2.3 Punctuated-Equilibrium (PE) Theory

This theory was initiated by thinkers like True, Jones and Baumgartner (1993). The theory tries to give knowledge and guidelines on how political systems such as single party, two party, one dominant party and multiparty systems play roles in policy implementation in a country. In this sense, the punctuated equilibrium theory argues that political system always interferes with the foreign policy of a country or state at any given time and this is because of the changes that occur at every election cycle. The argument is that the leadership of African countries works harder to manipulate the laws and norms of the past regimes in order to replace them with their own (Zahariadis, 2007). In this sense, it means that major plan of action in the government are always interfered with by both the incoming and the outgoing regimes in the national system.

The interference may include changes of different policies that suited different regimes and the regime in power. This kind of regime change are always witnessed during a new regime, for instance the unschooled bureaucratic men and women might be brought in the system with no knowledge of running it. Even though policy implementation is supposed to be progressive regardless of the regimes in power, a number of policies in any government's administration have been twisted by incoming regimes to suit certain interests. This can be witnessed with policies approaches developed in most of the countries in the world during the mid-1990s by two blocs of the second world war that give in-depth examination of how foreign policies can fit into African system by planting unknown wars also known as proxy wars in competition of looting the economy and making more friends on their side of the bloc (Ostrom, 2005).

Dynamics of politics plays a vital role on the administration of governments in Africa and also in the global context. Although it is painted that Africa foreign policy has been oriented towards dependency since majority of the countries on the continent acquired self-rule between 1960 and mid-90s, the foundation and direction of political systems in Africa has always been determined by its former colonies for its domestic and international political economy. For instance, for African countries to qualify for a grant they must bow down to the super powers in the global context. This is to say that for a country to qualify for the loans or grants from the IMF, it must accept conditions such as changing the constitution, shifting from single party to two party systems, or two party from one dominant party to multi-party systems.

The punctuated equilibrium theory further mirrors political systems and their roles in foreign policy implementation. Over time, smaller political parties tend to be ignored by the voters by favouring major and dominant parties (Zahariadis, 2007). At the same time, weaker parties are forced to enter into coalitions for the sake of winning power or becoming part of those in power at that particular time. In this sense, the parties are viewed as trying to balance their acts on the basis of what is at stake. Hence, the aspect of equilibrium can be seen at play where the stakes at hand seem to account a lot when parties are making decisions whether to join certain coalitions or not.

Although punctuated equilibrium theory was initially more directly applicable to the American politics due the high level of democracy in the US, the model is also clearly applicable in the African context, especially from the context of increased multiparty politics on the continent (Ostrom, 2005). The role of political institutions in policy formulation however remains clear

regardless of the continental context in which the theory is being applied. For instance, many African countries today are fast gravitating towards pluralism in terms of party politics. Hence, this calls for a lot balancing when it comes to making decisions related to policy agenda for the party or coalition of parties in power. Under such circumstances, the punctuated equilibrium theory envisions a situation where political parties have to declare their interests before they can come together under coalitions for the sake of pursuing power.

Even though, political discussions must be centered on interests related to subsystems driven by individual interests but which must find a meeting point around which to craft coalition agreements. The balancing act must be done carefully, where interests of all key players must be accommodated. On the other hand, lack of transparent and thorough discussions is likely to lead to mistrust hence negating the spirit of parties working together. Furthermore, punctuated equilibrium theory postulates that party values systems and constitutions should be considered when balancing out on which party in a coalition gets what share of the government should there be a coalition arrangement.

Punctuated equilibrium theory further argues that in the course of political subsystems balancing on how to share roles in governance arrangement, competing interests should be shelved. Otherwise, too much competition can easily lead to bad blood hence disintegrating discussion processes. Although political systems are often driven by competing party interests where the status quo is likely to be maintained for a long time depending on the party or coalition of parties in power, the theory advocates for careful balancing in order for parties to accommodate one another's overriding interest. In a sense, there must be a give-and-take scenario as opposed to winner-take-it all situation. In the African political context today, this would help to explain why coalitions are common in a number of countries.

2.2.4 Theoretical Framework

Brief explanation of theoretical frame work on Figure 2.1.

2.2.4.1 Rational Choice Theory

The theory postulates that people will use their rational judgments when making decisions that will be more beneficial to them compared to others. This position is geared towards maximization of an individual's self-interests, where those of other people do not matter as much. In this sense,

rational choice theory may be limited to decisions that benefit individuals as opposed to those that work in favor of the majority of the citizens. By applying rational choice theory, political leaders tend to have justification for their policy stances. In a more realistic analogy, the theory would emphasize leadership style of individual leaders, their leadership skills, attitudes, and action plans. Thus in this study, this theory forms a basis on relationship between leadership traits and implementation of foreign policy in Africa.

2.2.4.2 Advocacy Coalition Framework Theory

Advocacy coalition framework theory presumes that policy-making process must not be a preserve of just a few individuals. Rather, coalition of ideas from different players is required in the policy making process based on individual or institutional policy framework positions. The model further emphasizes party ideologies, manifestoes, and organizational structure as the cornerstones of policy making orientations. At the same time, effectiveness of political coalitions or players must be seen in terms of their ideas with regard to policy formulation and application. Besides the central role of the government or that of its representatives in the policy making process, other important players may include interest and pressure groups that have relevant knowledge on how government systems operate. On this basis, the theory will therefore form a basis for an assessment of the impact of interest groups and public opinion on implementation of foreign policy in Africa.

2.2.4.3 Punctuated Equilibrium (PE) theory

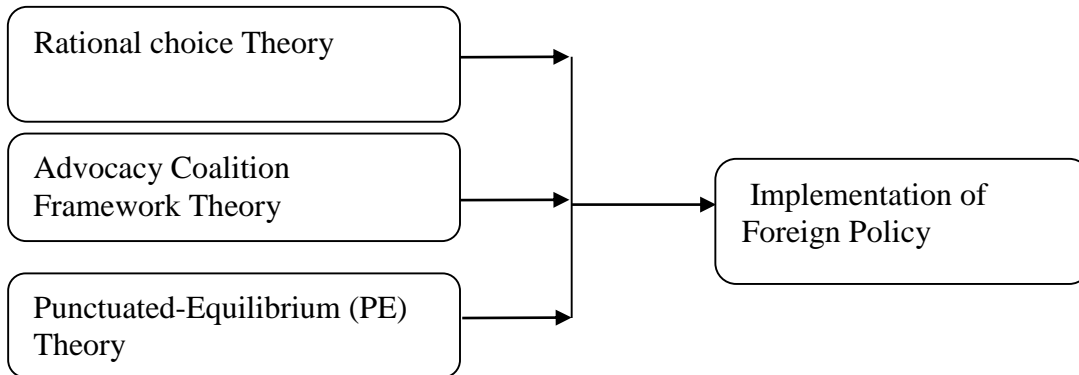
Punctuated equilibrium theory largely talks about balancing between the interest of different players when arriving at a position with regard to implementation of policy. Furthermore, politics plays a critical role in policy formulation and execution, hence the need for careful negotiations and balancing when it comes to making important policy formulation and execution position. In the process, partisan interests must also be interrogated in order to arrive at a more conciliatory agreement.

Since punctuated equilibrium theory is about balancing of each player's political inclinations in the policy making process, there must be mechanisms for an effective assessment of all the proposals by different parties to the negotiations. Depending on the model of party systems, extra efforts may be required in the discussions. For example, naturally, more negotiations may be required where more than one political parties are involved in the discussion on how to acquire or

maintain political power. Therefore, this theory mainly expounds and highlights the relationship between political system and implementation of foreign policy in Africa. The relationship between the three theories and implementation of foreign policy is highlighted in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1:

Theoretical Framework



Source: Adopted from Adam Smith (1770s), Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1988), Jones and Baumgartner (1995).

2.3 Empirical Review

2.3.1 Political System and Implementation of Foreign Policy

Execution of foreign policy of a country can be influenced by a number of factors, including political entities as well as government bodies. According to Chikezie (2011), political systems, which are dictated by individuals in leadership positions depending on the governance structures, naturally dictate the kind of decisions likely to be arrived at. In single-party political systems for instance, the government of the day may not be facing any formidable oppositions, hence the likelihood that there will not be tough negotiations. In such conservative political systems, foreign policy tends to be more isolationist in the international diplomatic circles since the top leadership of the country is not usually given immense pressure with the aim of being more accommodating in foreign and domestic policy making. An example of countries associated with isolationist foreign policy due to closed-up political systems may include Myanmar and North Korea, among others.

Some foreign policy analysts have argued that in more democratic political systems, execution of foreign policy is sometimes more complicated in comparison with authoritarian governments (Dacumos, 2015). Since in democratic regimes citizens have the leeway to express their opinions rigorously and in a more transparent environment, policy making processes tend to take too much time as every interest group wants to be listened to and their opinions considered. Such scenarios can be associated with political systems experiencing multiparty politics where policies have to be interrogated by very many political players before they can reach enactment stage. There is also empirical evidence that democratic leaders are tempted to respond to almost all public demands in the course of policy formulation and execution (Kaarbo et al, 2013). Furthermore, in a democratic political system, too many players are given the leeway to participate in decision making processes, hence often derailing realization of the final outcomes. Fair and ready involvement of all key government institutions – the executive, the legislature, and judiciary – can often cause unnecessary delays or complete derailment in foreign policy implementation.

At the same time, according to Kaarbo et al (2013), in a democratic political system, too many players tend to claim position in the policy making and implementation process. Under parliamentary governance system, parliament and the executive are mistakenly seen as collaborating in pushing for a certain common policy agenda hence denying the chance for a more robust debate before arriving at a final decision. On the contrary, presidential systems tend to have a stronger parliament where the executive is vigorously challenged before executing any policy decision. A close working relationship between parliament and the presidency has often been viewed as detrimental to making good foreign policy due to common political interests. The same position may not manifest if there is clear separation of legislative and executive powers. In the worst case scenario, presidential systems can lead to too much haggling between the two arms of government, hence derailing foreign policy formulation and execution. On the same score, one-party systems may tend to have a more biased foreign policy orientation due to lack of a strong system for checks and balances. On the other hand, though multiparty systems are famed for a more transparent democratic space, in terms of policy implementation, such systems may present room for too much conflicting views which can easily lead to sabotaging of policy making processes.

In states' foreign policy development, change remains inevitable. However, a number of factors at the level political system dictate the changes. Foreign policy analysts have also argued that characteristics of political party manifestoes which often tend to embody political system at any given time are likely to derail foreign policy implementation (Adar, 2015). For instance, when there is too much squabbling in the ruling political party, much of the government energies are likely to be spent addressing party internal affairs rather than developing and implementing attractive foreign policy directions. The current situation in Kenya's Jubilee and United Democratic Alliance (UDA) may serve as an example where multifunctioning of a political party in power can lead to poor foreign policy administration and general national development outcomes. Furthermore, foreign policy analysts have postulated that different political systems may create insurmountable hurdles when it comes to making effective decisions on foreign policy revisions as dictated by the best interests of a larger section of the country (Mong'ina, 2018).

A number of challenges related to political systems affect implementation of policy implementation. According to Murenzi (2013), lack of clear governance structures and inadequate human resources negatively affect political groupings, such as political parties or governments when it comes to policy initiation and execution. Furthermore, there is the question of poor coordination of political affairs, which is critical in coming up with common political positions on domestic and foreign policy. Despite the important revelations by Murenzi (2013), the study was conducted in Indonesia, hence the need for the current research in the Kenya context. At the same time, Morgenthau conducted a study in Nigeria to understand the challenges faced by political systems in developing nations in as far as implementation of foreign policy is concerned. The study noted that unstable political parties were part of the reasons states in Africa did not have strong foreign policy orientation. However, the current research is imperative in the context of Kenyan policy formulation and execution alongside the background of political systems in the country.

Mwagiru (2012) carried out another study in Uganda to assess the relationship between political systems and foreign policy formulation. The findings revealed that dictatorial political systems contributed to weak foreign policy direction. Lack of clear mechanisms for interrogating government policy proposals led the government of the day to dictate policy direction without facing any serious criticism from other stakeholders. However, since every country faces its own

unique political dynamism, the current study will be important to focus on wider research variables, such as political system, interest groups, leadership traits, and public opinion.

Ringquist (2011) as cited in Kaburu (2020), carried out a study on the influence of political institutions on policies related to domestic and international affairs in Africa. Despite the revelations by the past study, the variables of the study were limited unlike the current research. Furthermore, the past study was carried out almost 10 years ago, hence calling the need for the current study which will focus on Kenyan political system and implementation of foreign policy. Another study was conducted by Sen and Tyce (2018) on the influence of political dynamics on implementation of foreign policy in Malaysia and Thailand. However, the study was based in Asian countries, which may not exhibit similar political dynamics. Similarly, Pritchett et al. (2018) carried out a study on the relationship between political system and formulation of foreign policy. However, despite the findings indicating a direct relationship between the two, the study site was different from where the current study will be based.

2.3.2 Interest Groups and Implementation of Foreign Policy

Modern political dispensation can never operate devoid of political parties. Besides, the role of interest groups in democratic processes and implementation of foreign policy cannot be overemphasized (Krovtz, 2011) Interest groups tend to shape political debates of any given country through voicing of concerns considered to be popular with those members of the society that are not able to give their views in policy making forums because they lack the ability and knowhow. Despite the popular feeling that multiparty political systems allow a more liberalized environment for many groups to participate in policy making processes, critics of this system argue that multiparty government systems give room for conflicting views and interests to thrive, hence often derailing foreign and domestic policy formulation.

Different scholars have emphasized the important role played by organized interest entities on foreign policy implementation. The forum provides an opportunity to all different groups to bargain for what would be viewed as cutting across majority of the members of the political divide. It is through such processes that many players in the political field feel appreciated, hence getting the chance to give their input and contributions for the sake of enacting alternative policies. Yet, Keohane and Milner (2016) argue that coalitions and pluralism in the political arena do not always guarantee free space for all interest groups to be listened to. Even in what may appear as a more

democratic political dispensation, there are still weaker players that do not get the chance to be heard. However, organized interest entities stand a better chance to petition the political class in leadership position to be more accommodating during policy making processes (Crush, 2011). For instance, it is common to see leaders from labour organizations jostling for space so that their ideas can be incorporated in the mainstream government policy direction or orientation.

Increased involvement of pressure groups in policy making process is becoming the norm in many countries. According to the commonwealth Secretariat (2018), this approach is intended to encourage participation of many voices in governance of the country through inclusive policies. In this sense, interest groups can be viewed as supporting policy formulation actors that mediate between members of the public and government decision-making systems. Manan (2017) argues that interest groups must be seen from the perspective of mobilization of financial, structural, and human resources for the sake of expanded political space, such as in the policy making fronts. It is expected that interest groups would play a significant role in human rights championing.

Interest groups are individual that come together with aim of scoring a goal by trying to unblock and open chains that surround the day to day operation of the government of the day in terms of political and economic point of view where the effort and steps by interest group help to close foreign policy making gaps. Scholars in foreign policy normally combine the study with security but not looking at the major connectors of foreign policies such as political system, interest groups, leadership traits and public opinion. But to achieve these goals, it must still recruit bigger numbers, its norms of operation, its leaders. The interest groups tend to fight for the rights of the citizen of a country in Africa and the global context by sending strong signal and voices which most of scholars may not have unlocked. For instance, Maisel and Berry (2010) and Finger (2018) did not study the relation that interest groups carry along with its implications on foreign policy implementation in terms of ideology, manifesto, membership base, organizational structure and number of political parties in the global context.

2.3.3 Leadership Traits and Implementation of Foreign Policy

Leaders usually occupy an important space in foreign policy making processes. It has generally been argued that characteristics of a leader are often reflected in the final policy guidelines, be it at local, national, or international levels (Metka & Siegel, 2011). Since it is individuals that usually

make decisions, it has been theorized that at the end of the process of making rules and enacting systems for governance, personal traits of the individuals in leadership positions will predominantly feature. For instance, more aggressive leaders are thought to be more likely to impose their personal ideas into the final product of the laws. This may be contrary to the leaders who are normally more diplomatic in their approach where they tend to give leeway to a wider range of actors when it comes to mooted government policies.

Personality of a leader remains central in influencing the direction of policies, at both domestic and international arena. Dictatorial heads of states are for instance famed for imposing their personal stands into the creation of national or international agendas for the country. According to Mong'ina (2018), a leader's values and beliefs about what is right or wrong for the country will always feature in the foreign policy of that country. That may explain why successive governments are almost always determined to change foreign policy directions immediately they seize power. It has also been argued that leaders constitutionally have the onus to give direction to their countries in as far as foreign and domestic policy orientation is concerned. Hence, it is this realization that makes a number of leaders to impose their personal characteristics onto the common citizens through policy guidelines (Nzomo, 2016).

In the international policy orientation, some leaders have been termed as 'hawks' while they are those who have been referred to as 'doves'. In this sense, more aggressive leaders are thought to fall in the former category while the latter category accommodates those that are more conciliatory in their international policy pursuits (Nzomo, 2016). The so-called doves will often try to be reluctant in using force in their international conflict resolution. On the other hand, the "hawks" will readily employ force when addressing their foreign policy concerns. Mong'ina (2018) further postulates that more aggressive leaders tend to be manipulative in policy formulation and execution where they always wish to dominate. The tendency to manipulate others in national or international policy pursuits leaves room for dominance by those who wield more power.

On the contrary, more conciliatory leaders have the affinity to work closely with other varied players in the foreign policy formulation and execution levels. Despite the sharp difference between aggressive and conciliatory leadership, either side has its merits and demerits. For instance, known world aggressive foreign policy actors such as Hitler, Mussolini, George W. Bush, Donald Trump, and King Jong-Un of North Korea have made a great mark in world politics

because their foreign policy approach left several countries hurt in terms of political and economic international relations. On the other hand, the perceived more conciliatory world leaders, such as Abraham Lincoln, Barack Obama, Sir Dawda Jawara and Emmanuel Macron of France, are also always remembered for their impact in world politics due to their accommodating nature of the foreign policy orientation (Mong'ina, 2018). Leadership style and personal traits of leaders all over the world continue to impact foreign policy not only within their national boundaries, but also across other states. According to Nzomo (2016), a mixture of aggressiveness and conciliatory approach to foreign policy would be more desirable since this allows more flexibility in handling international policy issues depending on the situation at hand.

2.3.4 Public Opinion and Implementation of Foreign Policy

Public opinion is one of the critical elements in foreign policy formulation and implementation. Opinion polls, mass media, social media, and public meetings play a critical role in shaping the reasoning of all stakeholders in policy initiation endeavours. According to Plaza and Ratha (2011), there are a number of ways that the opinion of the masses can shape policy direction and outcomes in a country. For instance, the public could exert pressure on the government and key players, and through selection of particular political actors with specific lines of thought. Similarly, after taking offices, the political class may tend to take a certain political direction for the sake of appealing to their electorate. This means that the foreign policy orientation may not necessarily be the right pathway, but due to vested interests they become necessary.

Pande (2018) also posits that political leaders at the country's top management also sometimes take certain policy directions because they do not want to antagonize their allies, where some of them could be having totally opposing views depending on personal interests of the groups. In more advanced democracies, leaders often make use of opinion polls when they want to understand foreign policy direction that will be more agreeable to majority of the people and groups they lead. In America, for instance, before making major political decisions such as going to war with other countries, the country's leadership must rely on public opinion (Pande, 2018).

Scholars in foreign policy have tried to close both eyes on how to study the obstacle that cause to slow down or not implement the foreign policies of African countries and indeed the global context (Russell Reynolds Associates, 2015). This emerging obstacle on the implementation of foreign

policy by the political dynamics has created a major disaster in almost every country in the world. Public opinion can be viewed in terms of opinion polls, mass media, and public meetings that create steps for unlocking road blocks to more expanded foreign policy space. Furthermore, public opinion tends to remove bureaucracies in foreign policy implementation by forcing policymakers to be more accommodating and outward looking rather than being closed in their policy execution process. Implementation of foreign policy has usually been connected with security but not looking at major measures of implementing policies.

As much as the media is famed for shaping foreign policy of a number of countries in the world, sometimes there is no room for the media to dig deeper into certain issues of public interest due to closed governance systems. For instance, in what is viewed as less democratic systems, the media is usually restricted to covering just the surface of the issues in the political arena (Russell Reynolds Associates, 2015). In dictatorial regimes, there is not free flow of information, hence limiting the role of public opinion in foreign policy formulation and execution. At the same time, there are certain media houses whose agenda may not be in synch with what the majority of the citizens aspire for (Smith, 2012).

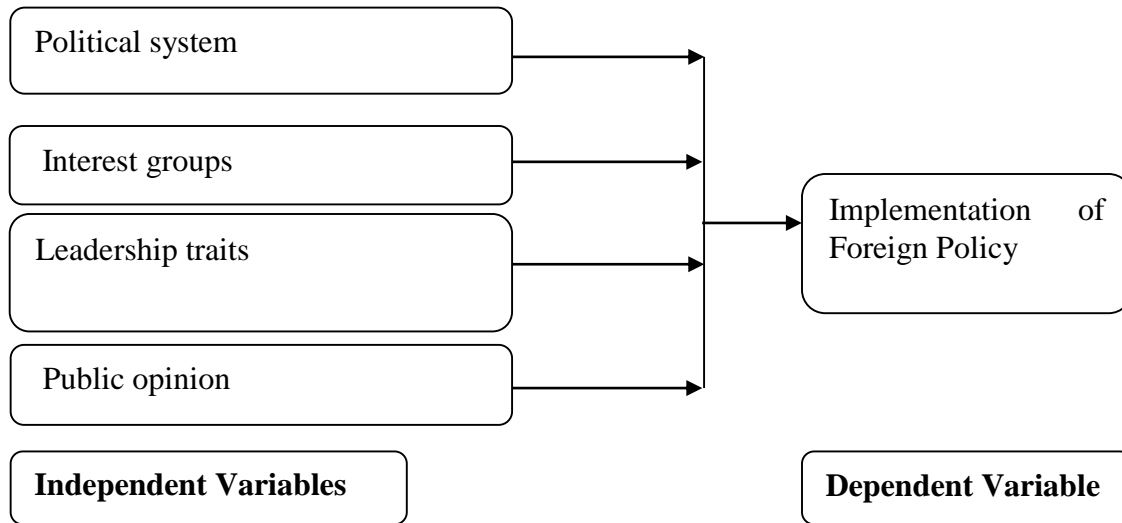
According to Utouh and Mutalemwa (2015), although the role of public opinion is increasingly becoming popular, especially in the wake of social media, these channels are sometimes not given serious considerations by certain political regimes. Yet, there is no doubt that the media has become more vibrant today as opposed to what the situation was ma bout a decade ago. Members of the public are nowadays more and better informed about the goings-on in government circles due to a more developed media, hence being able to influence public policy orientation.

2.4 Conceptual Framework

Conceptual framework presents a diagrammatical relationship between the independent and the dependent variables. Therefore, this study will seek to determine the relationship between political dynamism and implementation of foreign policy in Africa. The independent variables in this study are political system, interest groups, leadership traits, public opinion. The dependent variable will be the implementation of foreign policy. Figure 2.2 shows the conceptual framework.

Figure 2.2:

Conceptual Framework



Source: Researcher (2021)

Brief Explanation of the Conceptual Framework Figure 2.2

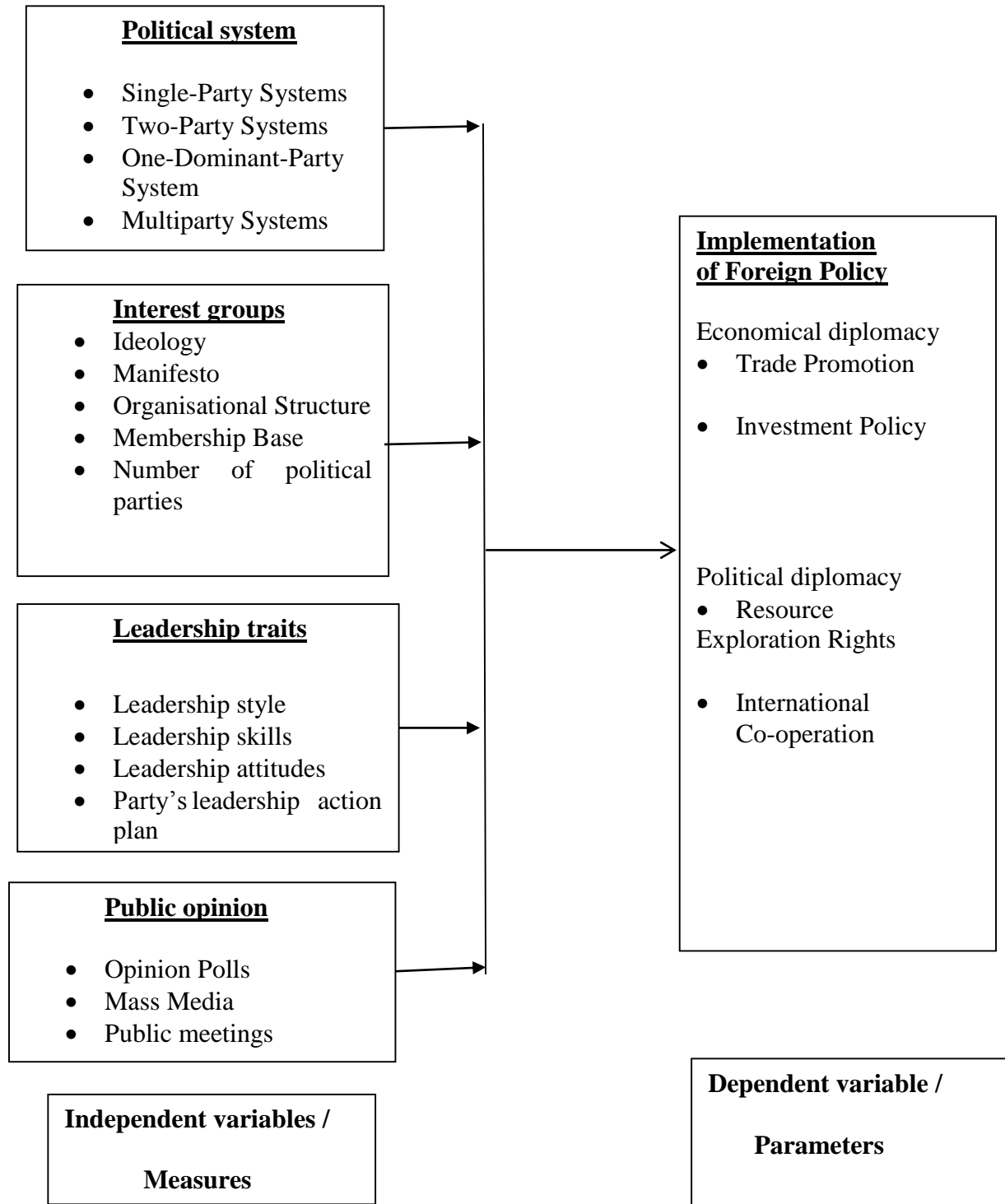
As demonstrated above, the predictor study elements will include political system, interest groups, leadership traits, and public opinion which will influence implementation of policies. All four predictor variables will be analyzed to understand how they contribute to policy execution. Hence, political system will be viewed from the perspective of a number of sub-variables. At the same time, interest groups will be analyzed on the basis of groups which have a greater influence in foreign policy. They can further be considered as diverse formations standing in between the mass public and the government.

In the context of this study, leadership traits will be analyzed on the basis of individuals who make decisions related to running of the state. Hence, personality is important in a positive way to the understanding of foreign policy implementation. In this sense, public opinion sets public agenda and ultimately influences foreign policy decisions.

2.5 Operationalization

Figure 2.3:

Operational Framework



Source: Researcher (2021).

2.5.1 Brief Explanation of operational Framework

Political system will be measured in terms of Single-Party Systems, Two-Party Systems, One-Dominant-Party System, and Multiparty Systems. Interest groups will be analyzed based on ideology, manifesto, organizational structure, membership base, and number of political parties. On the other hand, leadership traits will be measured based on leadership style, leadership skills, leadership attitudes, and party's leadership action plan. Lastly, public opinion will be analyzed using opinion polls, mass media, and public meetings. Execution of policies will be measured through its tool of diplomacy on two indicator lines: Political indicator will be analyzed based on international cooperation and resource exploitation rights policy while economic indicator will be measured in terms of trade promotion and investment policy.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The section presents methodology used by this research. Therefore, it focuses on tools, process, procedures that were applied to arrive at research objectives. It describes the research design that was used, target population, sampling frame, sample size and sampling techniques that were used for accomplishing the study objectives.

3.2 Research Design

The study used descriptive research design. This approach helped to answer the ‘what’, ‘where’ and ‘how’ questions as the study related predictor and the outcome of the research (Reilly & Norton, 2016). Adoption of this design was informed by the fact that the research problem had been well designed and the objective for the researcher was to conduct field survey by going to the participants for the purpose of explaining certain features, based on their own understanding about the problem under study (Creswell, 2013; Da Silva, 2017). Descriptive surveys design also produced huge amounts of information at fairly low charges.

3.3 Target Population

According to Cooper and Schindler (2011) target population involves people and occasions that cover what is wanted in terms of facts and can answer extensive questions. This further involves elements to be measured for the purposes of determining the outcome of the study (Walliman, 2017). The research focused on collecting data from the diplomats, political parties, civil society and Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kenya. The target population was 195 participants.

Table 3.1:

Target Population

Organization	Population
Embassy	105
Political parties	66
Civil societies	23
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1
Total	195

3.4 Sampling Procedures and Sample Size

Sampling is important in presenting the researcher with a manageable number of participants (Bell et al, 2018). It must involve elements with some kind of uniformity such that the research findings can be generalizable to other similar populations across time and space (Ventresca & Mohr, 2017). Stratified random sampling technique was used to sample persons in every stratum. Stratified sampling provides elements in each group to be proportionately selected. The participants included diplomats, political parties, civil society, academicians, and Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kenya.

A sample size of 100 participants was arrived at through Yamane's Formula as demonstrated below.

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

$$195 / (1 + (195 * (0.05 * 0.05)) + 4 = 100 \text{ participants}$$

Where: n-is the sample size

N- is the target population

e-is the margin of error (5% Confidence Interval at 95% Confidence Level)

Using the stratified sample formula, the number of participants in every group was calculated.

Stratified sample formula is presented as dividing the size of the entire sample by target population size and multiplying this with the number of participants in every stratum.

Table 3.2:

Proportion of participant in every organization

Organization In strata	Number of participants in sample	Number of persons in sample	Percentage
Embassy	105	$105*96/195=52$	52%
Political Parties	66	$66*96/195=32$	32%
Civil Society	23	$23*96/195=11$	11%
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1	$1*96/195 (+5) =5$	5%
Total	195	100	100%

3.5 Data Collection

Primary data was collected by dropping and picking structured questionnaire (Lindlof & Taylor, 2017). At the same time, depending on prevailing circumstances, questionnaires were directly administered to the participants by the researcher (Cropanzano & Mitchell 2005; Dillman et al. 2014).

3.6 Data collection procedure

Before the researcher began to gather the data, a written permission was sought from relevant authorities. The researcher gave the respondents a short introduction on the purpose of the study in line with the research objectives and guaranteed the participants of confidentiality of the information that they provided. The collected data was reviewed for completeness and consistency in order to carry out statistical analysis.

3.6.1 Data Collection Tool

Questionnaire was partitioned into sections in order to capture background information of the respondents and substantive data relating to specific objectives of the study. The questionnaire was most suitable for collection of primary data owing to the ease of collection and organization of collected data associated with the tool. Furthermore, the questionnaire is easier to code data in preparation for data entry and analysis.

3.6.2 Pilot Study

Before the actual data collection, validity and reliability of the instrument was tested (Leon & Kraemer (2015). The sample for pilot study was picked from similar organizations but which was not to be involved in the actual study so as to avoid bias. Returned questionnaires helped the researcher to revise instruments for collection of the right data.

3.6.3 Instrument Validity

According to Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2015), the researcher addressed the conceptions of content-related validation; internal consistency; construct related validation; and criterion-related validation.

3.6.4 Reliability of the Instrument

Reliability increases transparency and decreases opportunities for biasness (Singh, 2014) and hence ensuring neutrality, and trustworthiness (Saunders, 2016). The researcher used the Cronbach's coefficient alpha to check the internal consistency in responses on a scale and evaluated the reliability of the measures. The Cronbach's coefficient alpha is a scale value of -1 and +1. An alpha level of 0.70 or above was acceptable (Cronbach, 1951) though. The Cronbach's alpha (α) value of 0.7 and above implies an acceptable measure of internal consistency (Abbot & McKinney, 2013).

3.6.5 Data Processing and Analysis

The researcher coded the data for entry into SPSS sheet. After data entry, screening and cleaning of the data was done. Tabulating collected data to identify and checking any errors, assumption of violation, incompleteness, misclassification and gaps in the information that were obtained from the respondents was recommended Cooper and Schindler (2011). The data was analyzed descriptively and inferentially where quantitative data was processed using frequencies and percentages and presented using tables and figures. Additionally, it was presented using narratives.

The regression model for the study is: $Y = \beta_0 X_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \beta_4 X_4 + \varepsilon$

Where:

Y = foreign policy implementation

X₁ = political system

X₂ = interest groups

X_3 = leadership traits

X_4 = public opinion

ε = Error Term for the regression model

$\beta_0 X_0$ = Beta Coefficient

β_1 , β_2 , β_3 & β_4 were the regression coefficients for the variables X_1 , X_2 , X_3 , & X_4 respectively. Overall, significance of the model was tested using analysis of variance by use of F statistics at 95% confidence level whereas the coefficient of determination R^2 was used to show the contribution of independent (predictor) variables on the dependent variable (outcome of the study).

3.7 Ethical Considerations

Respondents were informed about the intention of the study before they could make up their minds to participate. Furthermore, data collected was treated confidentially. The researcher ensured that there was no discrimination. The researcher also sought for approval and permission to conduct the study from relevant authorities before embarking on data collection. The respondents' consent to participate was always sought from them and they were informed that they had the right to decline participation without any fear of reprimanding by the researcher, or anyone else.

3.8 Results of Pilot Survey

Before conducting the final study, pilot testing was carried out where 10 respondents were selected from the four categories involved in the study. The 10 respondents used in the pilot study were selected using stratified sampling technique, and constituted 10% of the sample for the actual study (Cooper & Schilder, 2011). They were excluded from the final study to avoid bias. Based on the analysis of the pilot data and as illustrated in table 3.3, all the 4 variables gave Cronbach's Alpha coefficient values greater than 0.7.

Table 3.3:

Reliability Test Results

Organization	No. of Items	Cronbach's Alpha Coefficients
Political system	4	0.739
Interest groups	5	0.753
Leadership traits	5	0.725
Public opinion	5	0.735

Source; researcher (2021)

From the findings in table 3.3, political system, interest groups, leadership traits, and public opinion had 4, 5, 5, and 5 items respectively, with the variables having Cronbach's Alpha values of 0.739, 0.753, 0.725 and 0.735 in that order. Therefore, each of the 4 independent variables had a correlation coefficient of than 0.7; which implied that the research instrument provided a relatively good measure and hence fit for application in the final study (Field et al., 2012). The results of the pilot study were excluded from the final data analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents analyzed data and discusses the findings in line with the study objectives. The general objective of the research was to determine the relationship between political dynamism and implementation of foreign policy in African countries. Specifically, the study examined the influence of political system; assessed the impact of interest groups; established the effect of leadership traits; and analyzed the influence of public opinion on implementation of foreign policy in Africa.

4.2 Respondents' Background Information

The respondents were categorized as embassy officials, political parties' representatives, civil society key members, and ministry of foreign affairs officials in Kenya.

Table 4.1:

Response Rate

Category	Sample Size		Response Rate	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)
Embassy	52	52	37	71
Political parties	32	32	23	72
Civil society	11	11	7	64
Ministry of foreign affairs	5	5	4	80
Total	100	100	71	71

Source: Researcher, (2021)

As demonstrated in table 4.1 above, out of the 100 sampled respondents, 71 of them managed to successfully participate in the study. This translated to 71% response or questionnaire return rate. Despite the variance in terms of percentage representation in every stratum, the minimum was 64% questionnaire return rate by the civil society groups. However, according to Kothari (2013), any response rate of 60% and above is very good for an objective analysis and interpretation of

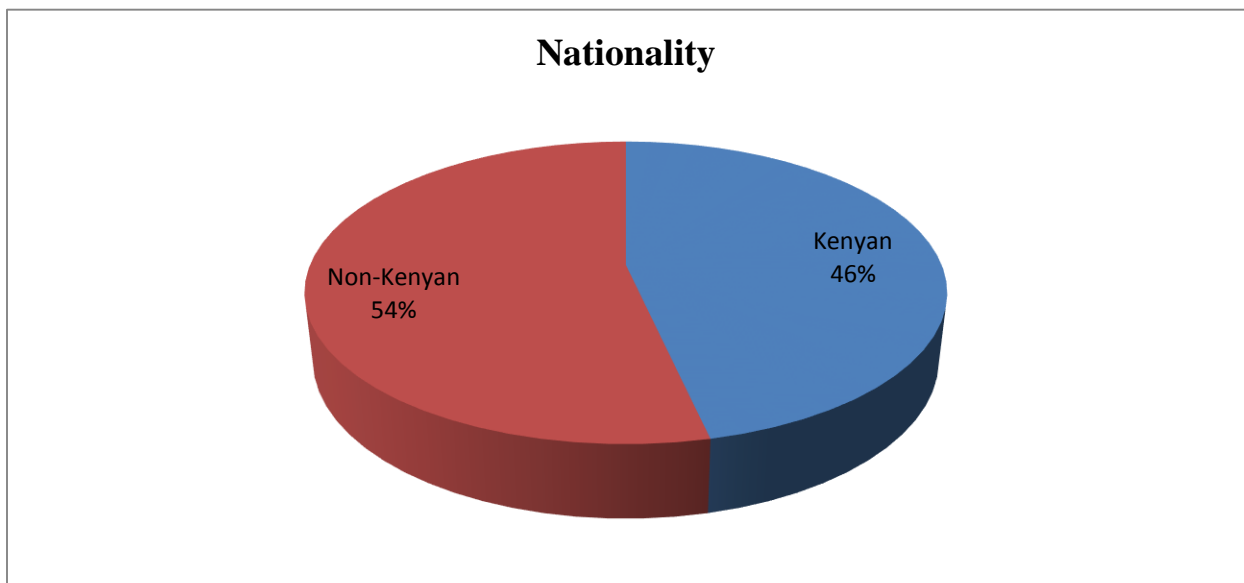
the findings for addressing the research objectives. Hence, 64% for the civil society was very satisfactory for unprejudiced analysis.

4.2.1 Nationality

The respondents were asked about their nationality, and the summary of the findings is presented in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1:

Respondents' Distribution of Nationality



Source: Researcher, (2021).

As demonstrated in figure 4.1, 46% (33) of the respondents were Kenyans whereas 54% (38) of them were non-Kenyans. Nationality of the respondents was important in determining their varied views related to the relationship between political dynamism and foreign policy implementation in Africa countries. This was informed by the fact that not all countries may have similar political systems and/or operational structures for interest groups' activities or public opinion space for involvement in foreign policy implementation.

4.2.2 Years of Professional Experience

The respondents were asked about the number of years they had spent in their respective professions. The responses are summarized in table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2:

Professional Experience

Years	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Below 5	16	23
6 to 15	20	28
16 to 30	26	37
31 & above	9	13
Total	71	100

Source: Researcher, (2021)

Based on the statistics in table 4.2 above, 37% (26) of the respondent had practiced in their respective professions for 16-30 years, 28% (20) for 6-15 years, 23% (16) for less than 5 years, and 13% (9) had been practicing for 31 and above years. Overall, the respondents had sufficient professional experience, hence were able to give credible data for helping to adequately answer the research question.

4.2.3 Level of Education

The respondents were asked about their level of education to establish their understanding of the subject matter of the study and credibility of the data they shared. Table 4.3 provides summary of these responses.

Table 4.3:*Level of Education*

Level	Frequency (n)	Percentage (%)
Certificate	3	4
Diploma	19	27
Bachelor	25	35
Masters	15	21
Doctorate	9	13
Total	71	100

Source: Researcher, (2021)

From the statistics in table 4.3, 35% (25) of the respondents had bachelor degrees, 27% (19) diploma, 21% (15) masters, 13% (9) doctorate, and 4% (3) had certificate. Generally, 96% (68) of the respondents had a minimum academic qualification of a diploma. Hence, the respondents were very well informed about the subject of the study and therefore were able to give reliable data for sufficiently addressing the research questions.

Table 4.4:*Category * Level of Education Cross Tabulation*

Category	Level of Education					Total
	Certificate	Diploma	Bachelor	Masters	Doctorate	
Embassy	0	7	15	10	5	37
Political parties	3	8	6	4	2	23
Civil society	0	4	2	0	1	7
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	0	0	2	1	1	4
Total	3	19	25	15	9	71

Source: Researcher, (2021)

From the statistics in table 4.4, all the 3 respondents with certificates came from political parties. At the same time, 7 of those with diplomas came from the embassies, 8 from political parties,

while 4 of them were from the ministry of foreign affairs. Regarding the respondents with bachelor degrees, 15 belonged to the embassies, 6 to political parties, while 2 each came from the civil society and ministry of foreign affairs. On those with a masters' degree, 10 came from the embassies, 4 from the political parties, and from the ministry of foreign affairs. Finally, 5 respondents with doctorate degree belonged to the embassies, 2 came from the political parties while 1 each came from the civil society and the ministry of foreign affairs. The findings further indicated that most of the generally highest educated respondents came from the embassies, with the highest (5) PhD holders.

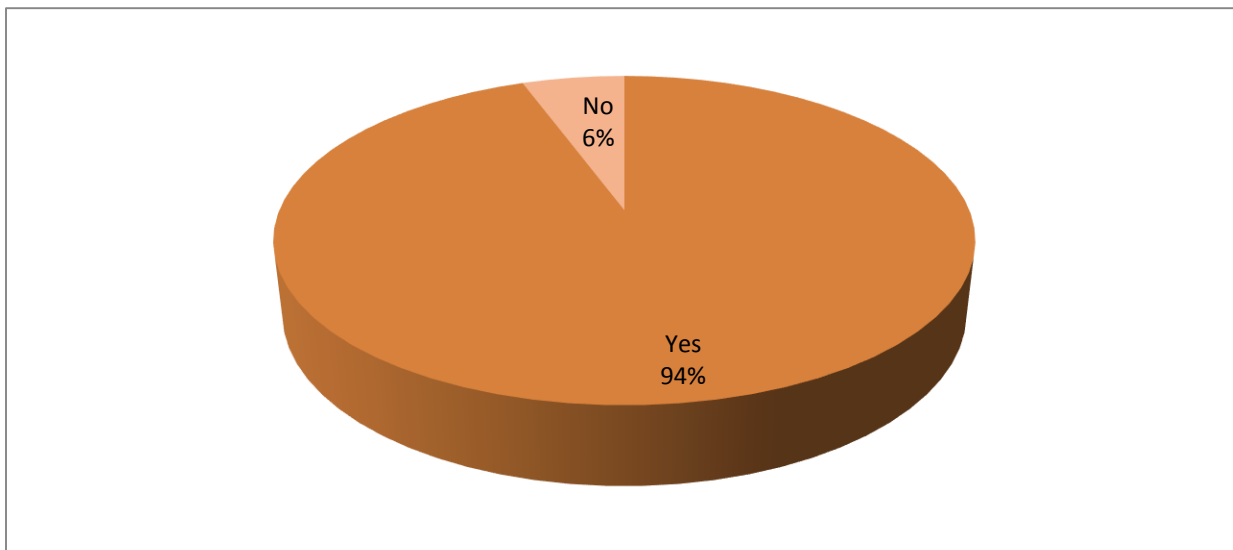
4.3 Political System and Foreign Policy Implementation

The first objective of the study was to examine the influence of political system on implementation of foreign policy in Africa.

Asked whether they agreed that there is a relationship between political system and implementation of foreign policy, 94% (67) of the respondents said yes whereas 6% (4) said no. Figure 4.2 presents summary of these responses.

Figure 4.2:

Political System and Foreign Policy Implementation



Source: Researcher, (2021)

In explaining the relationship, there was a feeling that the political system of a nation has commensurate effect on democracy or otherwise and tends to determine how national objectives are guided and delivered in relation to other states' interests. Furthermore, since a country's political parties might have different ideologies when it comes to foreign policy, it is obvious that every political party in power is likely to push for different foreign policy agenda from the previous one in power. Similarly, single-party states might pursue exclusionist foreign policy objectives since they are not facing a lot of pressure from other key political players. For instance, a single party state might have an inclination towards a single foreign policy as opposed to a multiparty state. Since politics is about the interests of those in leadership positions before they think about national interests, political system always influences the direction of a country's foreign policy both domestically and internationally. Despite there being generally accepted parameters influencing foreign policy for every states, personal interests of those within the political system tend to interfere with implementation of foreign policies.

There was also the question of capabilities of a state when it comes to implementation of foreign policy where 97% (69) of the respondents affirmed whereas 3% (2) of them had a varied opinion. A state's strength in foreign policy pursuit is best manifested by the foreign policy tools and instruments adopted. For instance, a country with strained economic resources might compromise so many of its values so as to attract foreign investment. This proves that countries with limited resources might have foreign policies that favour foreign countries in order to attract foreign investments to boost their economic base.

Capabilities of a country usually predict foreign policy in terms of its geographical, population, and natural resources. Other factors to be considered may include the military might or equipment for war, as well education level of its citizens. A country tends to be feared and respected when its capabilities are noticed or seen by other countries; and this may be said to be rich in both politically and in terms of economic stability. Conversely, foreign policy implementation tends to be more rigid when considering states with high capabilities since they can easily dictate to others when it comes to their priorities.

There was a unanimous affirmation that party system matters a lot when it comes to implementation of foreign policy in Africa. It further emerged that implementation of foreign

policy decisions is highly pegged on party systems and system of governance of different states. There were also sentiments to the effect that party systems do matter a lot when implementing foreign policy. This is because the political party in power will often align itself with foreign friends and thus advocating for its interests disguised as those of the nation at large. And it may twist the foreign policy direction of a country either positive or negatively, depending on the party ideologies. Further, on a 5-point Likert scale, different propositions were used to analyze the effect of political system on implementation of foreign policy in Africa. Table 4.5 presents the summary for the response regarding the effect of political system on foreign policy implementation in Africa, where four propositions were used to measure this variable.

Table 4.5:

Effect of Political System on Foreign Policy Implementation in Africa

Statement	1=strongly disagree <i>f(%)</i>	2=disagree <i>f(%)</i>	3=neutral <i>f(%)</i>	4=agree <i>f(%)</i>	5=strongly agree <i>f(%)</i>	Total <i>f(%)</i>
Single-party systems are more effective when it comes to implementation of foreign policy agenda in Africa.	16 (23)	34 (48)	2 (3)	17 (24)	2 (3)	71 (100)
Two-party systems face more challenges when implementing foreign policy in Africa.	0 (0)	17 (24)	16 (23)	38 (54)	0 (0)	71 (100)
One-dominant party system does not usually face pressure on implementation of foreign policy in Africa.	16 (23)	6 (8)	17 (24)	30 (42)	2 (3)	71 (100)
Multiparty system has not been very effective in foreign policy implementation in Africa.	2 (3)	15 (21)	19 (27)	32 (45)	3 (4)	71 (100)

Source: Researcher, (2021)

The effect of political system on implementation of foreign policy was analyzed as in table 4.5 and was demonstrated as $x_1, x_2, x_3, x_4 = Xa$. Based on the findings in table 4.4, 71% (50) of the

respondents disagreed that single-party systems are more effective when it comes to implementation of foreign policy agenda in Africa. At the same time, 27% (19) of them agreed with this proposition whereas 3% (2) had neutral views where they neither agreed nor disagreed. Also, 54% (38) of the respondents agreed that two-party systems face more challenges when implementing foreign policy in Africa. Conversely, 24% (17) of them disagreed with this proposition while 23% (16) were not sure. There were also mixed reactions regarding whether one-dominant party system does not usually face pressure on implementation of foreign policy in Africa, with 45% (32) of the respondents agreeing with this suggestion while 31% (22) disagree. Twenty-four percent of them (17) stood middle ground, neither agreeing nor disagreeing. A similar trend was noted regarding the assumption that multiparty system has not been very effective in foreign policy implementation in Africa where 49% (35) of the respondents agreed, 24% (17) disagreed while 27% (19) held a neutral ground.

On the general opinions regarding any challenges political system might be facing when it comes to foreign policy implementation in Africa, there were a number of suggestions. National capabilities in terms of the strength of the economy tended to sway foreign policy, with such challenges as corruption and neocolonialism significantly influencing the direction of foreign policy. Similarly, huge public debts are a major hindrance to the implementation of foreign policies that are favourable to African countries, with a number of countries on the continent tending to twist their foreign policy positions in order to suit their international lenders. Political system may however face challenges in implementation of foreign policies due to different political parties' ideologies. There were a number of occasions when the government had to change foreign policy orientation in order to block or hinder voting patterns in the national assembly so that its interests can be served better. In Kenya for instance, the concept of 'tyranny of numbers' has often been applied in parliament to introduce foreign policy documents that do not generally articulate the interests of the common voter; but all in the name of advancing interests for the political class in power. Government of the day may also weaken political parties by corrupting the members that represent those parties in parliament so that they can always directly or indirectly support the government foreign policy positions.

The findings of this study relate to a number of previous studies done on this subject. Kaarbo et al (2013) noted that democratic leaders are tempted to respond to almost all public demands in the

course of policy formulation and execution, hence derailing swift execution of policy. Furthermore, in a democratic political system, too many players are given the leeway to participate in decision making processes, hence often complicating the process of the final outcomes. Fair and ready involvement of all key government institutions – the executive, the legislature, and judiciary – can often cause unnecessary delays or complete derailment in foreign policy implementation.

However, Dacumos (2015) noted that in more democratic political systems, execution of foreign policy is sometimes more complicated in comparison with authoritarian governments. Since in democratic regimes citizens have the leeway to express their opinions rigorously and in a more transparent environment, policy making processes tend to take too much time as every interest group wants to be listened to and their opinions considered (Adar, 2015). Such scenarios can be associated with political systems experiencing multiparty politics where policies have to be interrogated by very many political players before they can reach enactment stage.

As revealed by the current study, Mong'ina (2018) found out that different political systems may create serious hurdles when it comes to making effective decisions on foreign policy revisions as dictated by the best interests of a larger section of the country. Situations presenting too much squabbling in the ruling political party cause much of the government energies to be spent addressing party internal affairs rather than developing and implementing attractive foreign policy directions. In Kenya, constant squabbling between Jubilee party and United Democratic Alliance (UDA) may serve as an example where multifunctioning of a political party in power can lead to poor foreign policy administration and general national development outcomes.

4.4 Interest Groups and Foreign Policy Implementation

The second objective of the study was to assess the impact of interest groups on implementation of foreign policy in Africa. Asked to explain how interest groups influence implementation of foreign policy in Africa, the respondents attributed the influence to track II and Track I as well as half-diplomacy. It also emerged that interest groups lobby political parties in Africa into implementing foreign policies that are friendly to their interests. This was viewed both in terms policy and practice especially with regard to the donors' money and the whole question of funding for NGOs and other key non-governmental players in state governance discourses. There have been cases where interest groups create a wave on where the implementation of foreign policies

should face and in this case they might force the government of the day to change or shift their earlier policies. Interest groups might also petition the government administration of the day on the policies that may not favour its interests, by shaping public opinion where the people are mobilized and lobbied towards a particular policy direction. Some of the interest groups are also known to lobbying and facilitating public unrest in order to push certain agendas favourable to certain political players. In this sense, interest groups are central in foreign policy implementation.

Furthermore, on a 5-point Likert scale, different propositions were used to analyze the effect of interest groups on implementation of foreign policy in Africa. Table 4.6 presents summary for the response regarding the effect of interest groups on foreign policy implementation in Africa, where six propositions were used to measure this variable.

Table 4.6:*Effect of Interest Groups on Foreign Policy Implementation in Africa*

Statement	1=strongly disagree <i>f</i> (%)	2=disagree <i>f</i> (%)	3=neutral <i>f</i> (%)	4=agree <i>f</i> (%)	5=strongly agree <i>f</i> (%)	Total <i>f</i> (%)
Most interest groups in Africa have no concrete ideologies for giving direction to foreign policy implementation	3 (4)	5 (7)	12 (17)	44 (62)	7 (10)	71 (100)
Interest groups with clear manifestos usually have a stronger impact on foreign policy implementation	2 (3)	5 (7)	9 (13)	36 (51)	19 (27)	71 (100)
Interest groups must have a clear organizational structure to impact foreign policy implementation	1 (1)	6 (8)	5 (7)	43 (61)	16 (23)	71 (100)
The bigger the membership base for interest groups, the stronger voice they have to push for implementing of foreign policy	0 (0)	17 (24)	0 (0)	19 (27)	35 (49)	71 (100)
Political parties have influence on foreign policy implementation in Africa	5 (7)	12 (17)	0 (0)	38 (54)	16 (23)	71 (100)
The civil society is very instrumental on foreign policy implementation	7 (10)	16 (23)	15 (21)	25 (35)	8 (11)	71 (100)

Source: Researcher, (2021)

The influence of interest groups on implementation of foreign policy was analyzed as in table 4.6 and demonstrated as $x_1, x_2, x_3, x_4, x_5, x_6, = \mathbf{Xb}$. From the statistics in table 4.6, 72% (51) of the respondents agreed while 11% (8) disagreed with the proposition that most interest groups in Africa have no concrete ideologies for giving direction to foreign policy implementation. Seventeen percent (12) of them held neutral grounds. A similar trend was observed regarding the

suggestion that interest groups with clear manifestos usually have a stronger impact on foreign policy implementation, with 78% (55) agreeing, 10% (7) disagreeing while 13% (9) were unsure. Also, 84% (59) of the respondents agreed with the proposition that interest groups must have a clear organizational structure to impact foreign policy implementation. On the other hand, 9% (7) of them disagreed while 7% (5) were not sure. Similarly, 76% (54) of the respondents agreed while 24% (17) of them disagreed with the suggestion that the bigger the membership base for interest groups, the stronger voice they have to push for implementing of foreign policy. There were also mixed reactions regarding the proposition that political parties have influence on foreign policy implementation in Africa, where 77% (54) of the respondents agreed whereas 24% (17) of them disagreed. Regarding the proposition that the civil society is very instrumental on foreign policy implementation, 46% (33) of the respondents agreed, 33% (23) disagreed, whereas 21% (15) of them were not sure.

Regarding the respondents' general opinions about any challenges interest groups might be facing when it comes to foreign policy implementation in Africa, different suggestions were provided. Some of the responses included the fact that foreign policy implementation is heavily dependent on administration of the day which may dictate what suits them better as opposed to what is right for the entire citizenry. There was also the question of corruption and outdated political culture which were likely to ruin foreign policy implementation of a country. At the same time, some governments ensured that interest groups were divided through corrupting of its top members, or buying them off or creating counter groups that would make attacks on the other groups. For example, in Kenya when KNUT was seen to be very strong on its advocating for certain policy direction, the government of the day created a counter attack interest groups called KUPPET. Another challenge that interest groups face is unjustifiable arrests or intimidation from the government, or its members are arbitrarily tortured, deported, disappearing without trace or getting killed. Such threats may silence the voices of the interest groups, hence influencing government's foreign policy agenda or orientation. Biased treatment of some interest groups by the government of the day tends to create avenues for skewed foreign policy implementation, which in most cases tends to favour the government's side when it comes to what to be given priority.

As noted by other previous studies, the current study noted that interest groups are indispensable in foreign policy implementation process. However, many government systems in Africa do not

give interest groups ample space to operate. For instance, Keohane and Milner (2016) established that coalitions and pluralism in the political arena do not always guarantee free space for all interest groups to be involved in policy making process. Despite this challenge, organized interest entities stand a better chance to petition the political class in leadership position so that there is more democratic involvement of other parties in policy debates and practices (Crush, 2011).

According to the Commonwealth Secretariat (2018), constant use of interest groups in policy making process is intended to encourage participation of many voices in governance of the country through inclusive policies. In this sense, interest groups can be viewed as supporting actors of policy formulation that mediate between members of the public and government decision-making systems. Manan (2017) also noted that interest groups participate in resource and financial mobilization, structural, and human resources in order to encourage expanded political space to allow effective policy debates and making. In this context, interest groups are viewed as individual that come together with aim of trying to unblock and open chains that surround the day to day operation of the government of the day in terms of policy and practices intended for objectivity and fairness.

4.5 Leadership Traits and Foreign Policy Implementation

The third objective of the study was to establish the effect of leadership traits on implementation of foreign policy in Africa. Asked to explain how leadership traits influence implementation of foreign policy in Africa, it emerged that this happened through Track I diplomacy. A leadership that is inclined towards capitalism is likely to marshal foreign policy that could touch on the economic, social, and political lives of the masses in the country. Also, different leaders tend to behave differently because of how and where they were raised. Leadership traits generally involve the behaviour, skills and attitudes that a leader might bring to his or her leadership style. Religion, tribes, and geographical space of a country normally shape its political leaders. For instance, political ideologies of a country or a section of the country may dictate how a number of leaders are likely to behave when it comes to foreign policy implementation.

It has been argued that there may be a high probability that political leaders in Congo, Kenya, or Tanzania will generally display different leadership style due to the nature of politics in their respective countries. Depending on the nature of a leader, they may tend to resolve matters

diplomatically or go to war. Other leaders have resorted to jailing their political opponents because they cannot withstand criticism. Under such instances, foreign policy implementation process cannot be inclusive. At the same time, such a scenario is likely to lead to skewed foreign policies that meant to serve just a few individuals in a country, such as top political leaders and big businesses owned by a few influential people in the country. Pragmatic leaders are known to seek advice or compromise personal interests for the sake of common good for their countries as opposed to rigid leaders that can easily adopt dictatorial tendencies in serving their narrow interests.

Furthermore, on a 5-point Likert scale, different propositions were used to analyze the effect of leadership traits on implementation of foreign policy in Africa. Table 4.7 presents summary for the response regarding the effect of leadership traits on foreign policy implementation in Africa, where four propositions were used to measure this variable.

Table 4.7:

Effect of Leadership Traits on Foreign Policy Implementation in Africa

Statement	1=strongly disagree <i>f(%)</i>	2=disagree <i>f(%)</i>	3=neutral <i>f(%)</i>	4=agree <i>f(%)</i>	5=strongly agree <i>f(%)</i>	Total <i>f(%)</i>
Leadership style can be a major roadblock to foreign policy implementation in Africa	2 (3)	3 (4)	1 (1)	33 (46)	32 (45)	71 (100)
Proactive leadership skills tend to be more persuasive in foreign policy implementation	3 (4)	11 (15)	2 (3)	48 (68)	7 (10)	71 (100)
The attitude of a leader can significantly influence foreign policy implementation	3 (4)	5 (7)	4 (6)	49 (69)	10 (14)	71 (100)
There is a direct relationship between party's leadership action plan and foreign policy implementation	5 (7)	20 (28)	5 (7)	24 (34)	17 (24)	71 (100)

Source: Researcher, (2021)

The effect of leadership traits on implementation of foreign policy was analyzed as in table 4.7 and demonstrated as $x_1, x_2, x_3, x_4 = Xc$. As illustrated in table 4.7, 91% (65) of the respondents agreed that leadership style can be a major roadblock to foreign policy implementation in Africa. On the other hand, 7% (5) of them disagreed while 1% (1) was unsure. A similar trend in response was noted regarding the proposition that proactive leadership skills tend to be more persuasive in foreign policy implementation, where 78% (55) of the respondents agreed, 19% (14) disagreed while 3% (2) of them neither agreed nor disagreed. Also, 83% (59) of the respondents agreed that the attitude of a leader can significantly influence foreign policy implementation, while 11% (8) disagreed and 6% (4) were unsure. As to whether there is a direct relationship between party's leadership action plan and foreign policy implementation, 58% (41) of the respondents agreed, 35% (25) disagreed while 7% (5) of them did not agree or disagree.

On general comments regarding the effect of leadership traits on foreign policy implementation in Africa, the respondents had varied views. From a general point of view, a country's foreign policy is dependent on the activities used to advance the nation's objectives abroad; which is largely dictated by leadership traits of a leader. For instance, leaders who have records for human rights abuse may not be popular in the international scene to advance foreign policy agenda. Furthermore, leadership traits sometimes shape the orientation of foreign policy implementation in terms of skills, attitude, emotional intelligence, integrity, social influence, religion and strong communication skills that may contribute to a wider country's foreign policy implementation.

A leader's traits may also manifest in leadership style as a reflection of his or her personal or individual differences when it comes to implement certain policy issues. Finally, the background of a leader, such as how the leader was raised up, also matters on the leadership style. The implementation of foreign policy matters a lot but, the hindrances such as corruption might bring war and not peace thus affecting the economy of a country. Also, leadership traits play an important role in building a country in terms of trust and belief systems. Leadership traits define the leadership style which in turn influences the methods of implementing plans and moderating factors.

The current study noted the importance of leadership qualities or traits in implementation of foreign policy. This was largely a reflection of revelations by previous studies. Mong'ina (2018)

established that personality of a leader remains central in influencing the direction of policies, at both domestic and international arena. Dictatorial heads of states are for instance famed for imposing their personal stands on creation of foreign policy for the country. Further, Nzomo (2016) noted that a leader's values and beliefs about what is right or wrong for the country will always feature in the foreign policy of that country. That may explain why successive governments are almost always determined to change foreign policy directions immediately they seize power. Like the current study, Pande (2018) noted that leaders constitutionally have the onus to give direction to their countries in as far as foreign and domestic policy orientation is concerned. However, sometimes the leaders' traits affect the direction they are ready to take in this endeavour.

4.6 Public Opinion and Foreign Policy Implementation

The fourth and final objective of the study was to establish the influence of public opinion on implementation of foreign policy in Africa. Asked to explain how public opinion influences implementation of foreign policy in Africa, the respondents reiterated the importance of public opinion as a key public policy tool. Political parties, political systems, and top leadership of the country might be swayed by public opinion when shaping their foreign policy. Public opinion is always a tool of framing the orientation of a country's foreign policies. For example, opinion of critics in a country can twist or shape the direction of foreign policy implementation. Due to wide spreading use of information communication technology today, public opinion tends to move speedily, hence influencing how the government of the day conducts its business when it comes to the kinds of policies it is prioritizing. Furthermore, since democracy is becoming a popular form of governance in the world, it is expected that through public opinion most citizens will have a say in the running of a country's affairs hence also influencing foreign policy implementation.

Additionally, on a 5-point Likert scale, different propositions were used to analyze the effect of public opinion on implementation of foreign policy in Africa. Table 4.8 presents summary for the response regarding the effect of public opinion on foreign policy implementation in Africa, where three propositions were used to measure this variable.

Table 4.8:***Influence of Public Opinion on Foreign Policy Implementation in Africa***

Statement	1=strongly disagree <i>f(%)</i>	2=disagree <i>f(%)</i>	3=neutral <i>f(%)</i>	4=agree <i>f(%)</i>	5=strongly agree <i>f(%)</i>	Total <i>f(%)</i>
Opinion polls tend to create a wave on implementation of foreign policy in Africa	10 (14)	17 (24)	19 (27)	19 (27)	6 (8)	71 (100)
Mass media plays a central role in foreign policy implementation in Africa	7 (10)	11 (15)	4 (6)	35 (49)	14 (20)	71 (100)
There is a relationship between Public meetings and foreign policy implementation in Africa	0 (0)	19 (27)	13 (18)	36 (51)	3 (4)	71 (100)

Source: Researcher, (2021)

The influence of public opinion on implementation of foreign policy was analyzed as in table 4.8 above and demonstrated as $x_1, x_2, x_3 = Xd$. As demonstrated in table 4.8, 38% (27) of the respondents disagreed with, 35% (25) agreed with while 27% (19) were not sure about the suggestion that opinion polls tend to create a wave on implementation of foreign policy in Africa. As to whether mass media plays a central role in foreign policy implementation in Africa, 69% (49) of the respondents agreed, 25% (18) disagreed while 6% (4) were unsure. A similar trend in response was noted regarding the proposition that there is a relationship between public meetings and foreign policy implementation in Africa, where 55% (39) of the respondents agreed, 27% (19) disagreed while 18% (13) were unsure.

There were also general views regarding the influence of public opinion on foreign policy implementation in Africa. A number of top political leaders for the country were keen on aligning foreign policy decisions through public opinion influence in order to care for national interests. There were also attempts by a number of leaders to use public opinion in African countries to influence political parties in as far as implementation of foreign policy was concerned. In more democratic countries, the opinion of members of the public greatly shapes the direction foreign policy formulation takes. This is because the most democratic countries give their citizens a chance

to exercise their democratic rights as they contribute to the nature of policies that would serve them better. However, most countries with single- party rule tend to block the voice of public opinion, hence directing foreign policy formulation at the whims of the country's top leadership.

Similar to the revelations by previous studies, the current study emphasized the importance of public opinion in shaping public debates of priority to the citizens. This included policy debates and formulation. Russell Reynolds Associates (2015) noted that there is emerging obstacle on the implementation of foreign policy by the political dynamics. Public opinion can be viewed in terms of opinion polls, mass media, and public meetings that create steps for unlocking road blocks to more expanded foreign policy space. Furthermore, public opinion tends to remove bureaucracies in foreign policy implementation by forcing policymakers to be more accommodating and outward looking rather than being closed in their policy execution process. Implementation of foreign policy has usually been connected with security but not looking at major measures of implementing policies.

Regardless of the importance of media in shaping foreign policy of a number of countries in the world, sometimes there is no room for the media to dig deeper into certain issues of public interest due to closed governance systems. In less democratic systems, the media is usually restricted to covering just the surface of the issues in the political arena. Utouh and Mutalemwa (2015) added that in dictatorial regimes, there is no free flow of information, hence limiting the role of public opinion in foreign policy formulation and execution. At the same time, Smith, (2012) revealed that there are certain media houses whose agenda may not be in synch with what the majority of the citizens aspire for.

4.7 Change of Foreign Policy Orientation and Establishing New Foreign Partners

It also emerged that change of foreign policy orientation played a key role for countries in Africa to establish new foreign partners.

Table 4.9:***Change of Foreign Policy Orientation and Establishing New Foreign Partners***

Statement	1=strongly disagree <i>f(%)</i>	2=disagree <i>f(%)</i>	3=neutral <i>f(%)</i>	4=agree <i>f(%)</i>	5=strongly agree <i>f(%)</i>	Total <i>f(%)</i>
New foreign policy implementation leads to a change in foreign policy orientation	0 (0)	19 (27)	12 (17)	24 (34)	16 (23)	71 (100)
The change in foreign policy orientation increases international trade between nations	11(15)	16 (23)	14 (20)	30 (42)	0 (0)	71 (100)
The change in foreign policy orientation improves economic, financial and structural support in a country	2 (3)	17 (24)	16 (23)	29 (41)	7 (10)	71 (100)
The change in foreign policy orientation improves diplomatic relations between nations	10 (14)	11 (15)	7 (10)	26 (37)	17 (24)	71 (100)
The change in foreign policy orientation leads to a change in the perception towards political and social relationship	7 (10)	8 (11)	10 (14)	39 (55)	7 (10)	71 (100)

Source: Researcher, (2021)

Change of foreign policy orientation and establishing new partners analyzed as in table 4.9 and demonstrated as $y_1, y_2, y_3, y_4, y_5 = Y$. As statistics in table 4.9 shows, 57% (40) of the respondents agreed that new foreign policy implementation leads to a change in foreign policy orientation. On the contrary, 27% (19) of them disagreed while 17% (12) were unsure. At the same time, 42% (30) of the respondents agreed with, 38% (27) disagreed with, while 20% (14) were not sure about the view that change in foreign policy orientation increases international trade between nations. Also, 51% (36) of the respondents agreed with, 27% (19) disagreed with while 23% (16) of them were unsure of the proposition that change in foreign policy orientation improves economic, financial

and structural support in a country. At the same time, 61% (43) of the respondents agreed with, 29% (21) disagreed with, while 10% (7) were unsure whether change in foreign policy orientation improves diplomatic relations between nations. As to whether change in foreign policy orientation leads to a change in the perception towards political and social relationship, 65% (46) of the respondents agreed, 21% (15) disagreed while 14% (10) of them were unsure.

Finally, there were a number of recommendations regarding implementation of foreign policy in Africa in the context of political dynamism. Documentation of foreign policy agenda, democratization of governance systems, and robust global engagement were imperative for proper implementation of foreign policy in Africa. Also, African governments need to carry out civic education to enlighten the public about the importance of foreign policy to a country. Lack of civic education might expose the public to corrupt political parties who formulate foreign policies based on their interest and not the masses or public interests. There is also need for countries to have leadership that has capacity to negotiate, mediate and possess both economic and political skills so that they can implement foreign policies that tend to benefit Africa as a whole.

Because the implementation of foreign policies depends on a country's national interests in the global context, African countries must direct or face its foreign policy orientation towards rich countries for their benefits. The benefits should be viewed from the context of infrastructural, economic, and political development as well as humanitarian aid or assistance. The benefits towards implementation of foreign policy include non-barrier trade, non-imposing of sanctions and general trade boost, education sponsorship, military assistance, climate change assistance, and foreign direct investments benefits among others. Also, Public welfare and opinion should always form the basis of foreign policy implementation where countries advance the democratic space, human rights safeguarding and the best practices in the implementation of foreign policy.

4.8 Inferential Analysis of Independent Variables

The study focused on four independent or predictor variables, including political system, interest groups, leadership traits, and public opinion. These were inferentially analyzed to establish each one's strength of the influence on implementation of foreign policy in African countries. Pearson correlation analysis was used to examine the relationship between political dynamism and implementation of foreign policy in African countries. Additionally, multiple regression analysis

was applied to understand the nature of the relationship between the predictor and the dependent variable or the outcome of the study. The study used level of significance of 5% which allowed the researcher 95% confidence level in establishing the relationship between the independent and dependent variables. The responses to each of the variables were demonstrated in order to generate a new set of variables for the purpose of regressions.

4.8.1 Pearson Correlation Coefficient of Dependent and Independent Variables

The study sought to examine the relationship between political system, interest groups, leadership traits, and public opinion as the independent variables, and implementation of foreign policy as the dependent variable or outcome of the study. Since both the independent and dependent variables were in a ratio scale, the Pearson correlation coefficient analysis was performed, as demonstrated in table 4.10.

Table 4.10:
Correlation Analysis

		Foreign policy implementat ion	Political system	Interest groups	Leadership traits	Public opinion
Foreign policy implementation	Pearson Correlation	1				
Political system	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2- tailed)	.631** .000	1			
Interest groups	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2- tailed)	.525** .000	.633** .000	1		
Leadership traits	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2- tailed)	.591** .000	.132 .203	.428** .000	1	
Public opinion	Pearson Correlation Sig. (2- tailed)	.645** .000	.121 .000	.423** .000	.433** .000	1

****.** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Source: Researcher, (2021)

Based on the statistics in table 4.10, there was a positive and a significant relationship between the independent variables (political system, interest groups, leadership traits, and public opinion) and the dependent variable (foreign policy implementation).

4.8.2 Multivariate Analysis

A multivariate regression analysis was performed to determine the strength of the influence of political dynamism on implementation of foreign policy in African countries. A summary of the regression coefficients with P-values of individual variables used in the study is presented in table 4.11.

Table 4.11:

Multiple Regression Analysis

Predictor	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
	β	Std. Error	Beta		
Constant	4.121	0.041		1.531	0.000
X ₁ Political system	0.532	0.109	0.4121	3.312	0.001
X ₂ Interest groups	0.321	0.037	0.301	1.510	0.000
X ₃ Leadership traits	0.351	0.047	0.209	2.231	0.002
X ₄ Public opinion	0.291	0.064	0.411	2.233	0.003

a. foreign policy implementation

Source: Researcher, (2021).

Base on the statistics in table 4.11 above, the following model was established: $Y=4.121+0.532X_1+0.321X_2+0.351X_3+0.291X_4+ \epsilon$ where Y represents foreign policy implementation, while X₁, X₂, X₃, and X₄ stand for political system, interest groups, leadership traits, and public opinion respectively. The findings further indicated that taking all factors at zero, the constant was 4.121, implying the level of foreign policy implementation. But, a unit increase in political system when all other factors remained constant would lead to a 0.532 improvement in foreign policy implementation. Furthermore, at 5% level of significance and with $P=0.001 < 0.05$, this implied that political system had a strong influence on foreign policy implementation in African countries.

The findings further indicated that with all other factors assumed to be at zero, a unit rise in interest groups would lead to a 0.321 improvement in foreign policy implementation in African countries. Also, at 5% level of significance where $P=000<0.05$, this signified a positive effect of interest groups on foreign policy implementation. At the same time, a unit improvement in leadership traits when all other factors remained constant would result into a 0.531 performance in foreign policy implementation in African countries. At 5% level of significance where $P=002<0.05$, it further meant that leadership traits positively influenced implementation of foreign policy in African countries.

The findings also showed that a unit improvement in public opinion, when all other factors were presumed to be at zero, would result into a 0.291 performance in foreign policy implementation. At 5% level of significance where $P=003<0.05$, the statistics further meant that public opinion had a positive effect on foreign policy implementation in African countries. In conclusion, with coefficients of values 0.532, 0.321, 0.351 and 0.291 respectively, it meant that each of the independent (predictor) variables (political system, interest groups, leadership traits, & public opinion) had a significant influence or impact on implementation of foreign policy, as the dependent variable or outcome of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents summary, conclusions and recommendations based on the objectives of the study. The summary addresses the findings related to the influence of political system; impact of interest groups; effect of leadership traits; and influence of public opinion on implementation of foreign policy in Africa.

5.2 Summary

The study sought to determine the relationship between political dynamism and implementation of foreign policy in African countries. A sample size of 100 respondents were selected from a target population of 195 made up of embassy officials, political parties' representative, civil society groups, and Kenyan Foreign Ministry officials. However, due to the dynamics of fieldwork, 71 respondents were successfully involved in the study, making questionnaire return rate of 71%. Background information of the respondents included their professions, nationality, experience in their respective offices, and level of education. This information was important for informing credibility of data collected from different respondents in various capacities.

5.2.1 Political System

On the influence of political system on implementation of foreign policy, the study established that political system of a nation has commensurate effect on democracy or otherwise and tends to determine how national objectives are guided and delivered in relation to other states' interests. Different ideologies for different political parties in power significantly determined direction and orientation of foreign policy of a given country. Also, personal political interests for the political elite often determined the kind of political pursued by a state at any given time. Similarly, countries exercising multiparty politics tended to have stronger foreign policy orientation as opposed to those that abhorred party pluralism. Countries with stronger and stable economies in Africa also tended to have vibrant foreign policy debates compared to poor states which stood the risk of being dictated to and directed by foreign donors in their foreign policy pursuits.

There were however, a number of challenges by political parties in power that weakened African countries' foreign policy positions. Mega corruption and neocolonialism were also some of the common challenges facing foreign policy formulation and implementation in Africa. Huge public debts are also a major hindrance to the implementation of foreign policies that are favourable to African countries. In Kenya, the concept of 'tyranny of numbers' has often been applied in parliament to introduce foreign policy documents that do not generally articulate the interests of the common voter; which was a reflection of many African states. Governments of the day have also often tended to weaken political parties through 'buying' of respective party leaders in order to cease harsh criticism of governments' bad foreign policy directions.

5.2.2 Interest Groups

Interest groups have continued to play a central role in pushing for certain foreign policy directions in Africa. Their roles include petitioning governments of the day to implement certain policy documents favourable to the masses as opposed to the ruling class. Through mobilization and lobbying of the citizens, interest groups have forced countries in Africa to alter their policy positions for the sake of the countries' development in general. Despite the critical role played by interest groups in foreign policy implementation, the process sometimes is heavily dependent on government administration of the day which may dictate what suits them better as opposed to what is right for the entire citizenry.

There is also the question of corruption and suppression of outdated political culture which were likely to ruin foreign policy implementation of a country. At the same time, some governments ensured that interest groups were divided through corrupting of its top members, or buying them off or creating counter groups that would make attacks on the other groups. Another challenge that interest groups may face is unjustifiable arrests or intimidation from the government, or its members being arbitrarily tortured, deporting foreign officials to their countries or some of the officials being killed or disappearing without trace. Such threats may silence the voices of the interest groups, hence influencing government's foreign policy agenda or orientation. Biased treatment of some interest groups by the government of the day tends to create avenues for skewed foreign policy implementation.

5.2.3 Leadership Traits

Characteristics of a leader were found to have significant influence on foreign policy implementation in Africa. For instance, a leadership that is inclined towards capitalism is likely to muzzle foreign policy that is liberal in nature. Depending on the nature of a leader, they may tend to resolve matters diplomatically or by using war as a tool to settle differences. There are leaders who have resorted to jailing their political opponents for example because they cannot withstand criticism. Such a scenario would render foreign policy implementation process a preserve for a few hence devoid of public endorsement. Skewed foreign policies have often tended to serve the top leadership and influential political and business cliques at the expense of the masses. Pragmatic leaders are famed for readily seeking second opinions on critical matters of the state as opposed to rigid leaders that can easily adopt dictatorial tendencies in serving their narrow interests through biased foreign policy pursuits.

From a general viewpoint, a country's foreign policy is dependent on the activities used to advance the nation's objectives abroad; which can largely be dictated by leadership traits of a leader. Leaders with human rights abuse records may not freely pursue fair foreign implementations in the international community. Leaders with condensing attitude, limited emotional intelligence, questionable integrity, and tough-headedness are likely to pursue self-serving foreign policy directions as opposed to what is generally good for their citizens. The study also noted that social background of a leader, such as how the leader was raised up, also influences leadership style. This can also ruin a country's moral fabric in terms of low levels of trust and belief systems.

5.2.4 Public Opinion

The study reiterated the importance of public opinion as a key public policy tool. Public opinion played a central role in swaying views and influencing key decisions of political parties, political systems, and top leadership of the country, hence shaping their foreign policy direction. Public opinion is always a tool of framing the orientation of a country's foreign policies. The wide application of information communication technology today has led to easy spread of information among members of the public, hence influencing how the government of the day conducts its business when it comes to the kinds of policies being prioritized.

A number of top political leaders for the country were keen on aligning foreign policy decisions through public opinion influence. There were also attempts by a number of leaders to use public opinion in African countries to influence political parties in as far as implementation of foreign policy was concerned. However, most countries with single- party rule tend to block the voice of public opinion, hence directing foreign policy formulation at the whims of the countries' top leadership.

5.3 Conclusions

Based on the findings, a number of conclusions were made.

5.3.1 Political System

On the influence of political system on implementation of foreign policy, the study concluded that political systems play a central role in influencing foreign policy implementation in Africa. Also, countries exercising multiparty politics tended to have stronger foreign policy orientation compared to those critical of party pluralism.

5.3.2 Interest Groups

Interest groups have continued to significantly impact on foreign policy directions in Africa. They are very instrumental in petitioning the government to implement certain policy documents favourable to the masses as opposed to the ruling class. However, there are challenges facing interest groups in Africa most African states, including dictatorial government regimes imprisoning, torturing, abducting, or even killing top leadership of interest groups. There are also cases of forceful deportation of foreign officials viewed as too critical of the government; hence sabotaging efforts meant for vigorous debates on foreign policy implementation.

5.3.3 Leadership Traits

Characteristics of a leader significantly influence foreign policy orientation and direction. Leaders with tendencies of dictatorship are always opposed to alternative views in policy making process. Emotional leaders also tend to make hasty policy decisions which can be detrimental to the general wellbeing of citizens and the country at large.

5.3.4 Public Opinion

Public opinion remains central in swaying public views and influencing key decisions of political parties, political systems, and top leadership of the country, hence shaping their foreign policy direction. There were also attempts by a number of leaders to use public opinion in African countries to influence political parties in as far as implementation of foreign policy was concerned.

5.4 Recommendations on Research Findings

Since foreign policy implementation depends on a country's national interests in the global context, African countries must allow alternative voices in political system for robust policy debates and implementation. Interest groups should also be allowed by the government of the day to operate freely so that they can participate in foreign policy implementation in an objective manner. Despite varied leadership traits in all leaders, foreign policy implementation should involve objective processes devoid of personal influences. Public opinion should be allowed to actively shape foreign policy formulation and implementation.

5.5 Recommendations for Further Research

Further research should be carried out on the challenges of foreign policy implementation in Africa and how to address them.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: QUESTIONNAIRE

I am a student at Kenya Methodist university, school of Business and Economics in the department of International Relations pursuing a master of Arts in international relations specializing in diplomacy. I am carrying out a research on “**The relationship between political dynamism and implementation of foreign policy in African countries.**” The main aim of this research is to examine the extent to which political dynamism has relationship with implementation of foreign policy in Africa. This questionnaire is designed to get information from Embassies, political parties, civil societies and ministry of foreign affairs. Information shared will be used for academic purposes only and the findings will be made available through a publication by this thesis.

I sincerely thank you all for your cooperation.

Name: Bilali Charles Bambo.

Tel-mobile no. 0722326836

Email: thebambos@gmail.com

PART A: Background Information

1. Professional /occupation
2. Nationality.....
3. Number of years of professional experience
 - a. Below 5
 - b. 6 to 15
 - c. 16 to 30
 - d. 31 and above
4. Level of education
 - a. Certificate
 - b. Diploma
 - c. Bachelor
 - d. Masters
 - e. Doctorate

PART B: Political System.

5. Do you agree that there is a relationship between political system and implementation of foreign policy? (choose one).

- i) Yes
- ii) No

6. If your answer in 'a' above is yes, then explain why you think political system has relationship on implementation of foreign policy.-----

7. Do the capabilities of a state predict foreign policy?

- Yes No

Explain your answer.....

PART C: Party system

8. Do party system matter on implementation of foreign policy in Africa.

.....

9. Using a 5-point Likert scale where 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neutral, 4=agree, and 5=strongly agree, please give your opinion on the following regarding the effect of political system on implementation of foreign policy in Africa.

Statements	1	2	3	4	5
i. Single-party systems are more effective when it comes to implementation of foreign policy agenda in Africa.					
ii. Two-party systems face more challenges when implementing foreign policy in Africa.					
iii. One-dominant party system does not usually face pressure on implementation of foreign policy in Africa.					

iv. Multiparty system in Africa. has not been very effective in in foreign policy implementation in Africa.					
v. Please give a general opinion regarding any challenges political system might be facing when it comes to foreign policy implementation in Africa.					

PART D: effect of interest groups

10. Explain how interest groups influence implementation of foreign policy in Africa

.....

11. Using a 5-point Likert scale where 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neutral, 4=agree, and 5=strongly agree, please give your opinion on the following regarding the effect of interest groups on implementation of foreign policy in Africa.

Statements	1	2	3	4	5
i. Most interest groups in Africa have no concrete ideologies for giving direction to foreign policy implementation.					
ii. Interest groups with clear manifestos usually have a stronger impact on foreign policy implementation.					
iii. Interest groups must have a clear organizational structure to impact foreign policy implementation.					
iv. The bigger the membership base for interest groups, the stronger voice they have to push for implementing of foreign policy.					
v. Political parties have influence on foreign implementation in Africa.					
vi. The civil society is very instrumental on foreign policy implementation.					
vi. Please give a general opinion regarding any challenges interest groups might be facing when it comes to foreign policy implementation in Africa.					

PART E: effect of leadership traits

12. Explain how leadership traits influence implementation of foreign policy in Africa

.....

13. Using a 5-point Likert scale where 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neutral, 4=agree, and 5=strongly agree, please give your opinion on the following regarding the effect of leadership traits on implementation of foreign policy in Africa.

Statements	1	2	3	4	5
i. Leadership style can be a major roadblock to foreign policy implementation in Africa.					
ii. Proactive leadership skills tend to be more persuasive in foreign policy implementation.					
iii. The attitude of a leader can significantly influence foreign policy implementation.					
iv. There is a direct relationship between party's leadership action plan and foreign policy implementation.					
ii. Please give a general opinion regarding leadership traits on foreign policy implementation in Africa.					

PART F: Relationship of public opinion

14. Explain how public opinion influences implementation of foreign policy in Africa

.....

15. Using a 5-point Likert scale where 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neutral, 4=agree, and 5=strongly agree, please give your opinion on the following regarding the effect of public opinion on implementation of foreign policy in Africa.

Statements	1	2	3	4	5
i. Opinion polls tend to create a wave on implementation of foreign policy in Africa					
ii. Mass media plays a central role in foreign policy implementation in Africa					
iii. There is a relationship between Public meetings and foreign policy implementation in Africa..					
iv. Please give a general view regarding public opinion on foreign policy implementation in Africa					

PART G: Change of foreign policy orientation establishes new foreign partners

16. Using a 5-point Likert scale where 1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=neutral, 4=agree, and 5=strongly agree, please give your opinion on the following regarding the effect of public opinion on establishing new foreign partners in Africa.

Statements	1	2	3	4	5
i) New foreign policy implementation leads to a change in foreign policy orientation.					
ii)The change in foreign policy orientation increase international trade between nations.					
iii) The change in foreign policy orientation improves economic, financial and structural support in a country.					
iv) The change in foreign policy orientation improves diplomatic relations between nations.					

v) The change in foreign policy orientation leads to a change in the perception towards political and social relationship.					
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17. What are your recommendations on implementation of foreign policy in Africa?

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Appendix II: INTRODUCTION LETTER FROM KENYA METHODIST UNIVERSITY



NAIROBI CAMPUS

Kisumu Street, P.O. Box 45210-00100 Nairobi, Tel: +254 020 224517/22247/887, Fax: +254 020 2246160, E-mail: nairobicampus@kemu.ac.ke

19th August 2021

Executive Secretary
National Council for Science and Technology
P.O Box 30623 – 00100
NAIROBI

Dear Sir/ Madam,


RE: BILALI CHARLES BAMBO- MIR-3-0387-1/2020

This is to confirm that the above named is a bona fide student of Kenya Methodist University pursuing a Masters of Arts in International Relations.


Bilali is undertaking a research study on "The relationship between political dynamism and implementation of foreign policy in African Countries. To successfully complete his research work, He requires relevant data in his area of study.

In this regard, we kindly request your office to issue him a research permit to enable him collect the data for his academic research work.


We thank you in advance for your cooperation.

KENYA METHODIST UNIVERSITY
Youth Building, P.O. Box 45210, NAIROBI

19 AUG 2021
Dr. Evangeline Githungo
ASSOCIATE DEAN, RESEARCH DEVELOPMENT & BOARD OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES
ADMINISTRATION

Appendix III: NACOSTI LICENCE




REPUBLIC OF KENYA



**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION**

Date of Issue: 06/September/2021

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This is to Certify that Mr. BILALI BAMBO CHARLES of Kenya Methodist University, has been licensed to conduct research in Nairobi on the topic: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLITICAL DYNAMISM AND IMPLEMENTATION OF FOREIGN POLICY IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES, for the period ending : 06/September/2022.

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Mobile: 0713 788 787 / 0735 404 245
E-mail: dg@nacosti.go.ke / registry@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke

Appendix IV: List of Diplomats, Civil Societies, Political Parties, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Part of diplomatic missions List in Kenya. currently, there are 92 embassies/high commissions in Nairobi and 1 consulate. In addition, there are 2 consulates and 1 assistant high commission offices in Mombasa while the capital city of Kenya hosts 4 permanent mission of the United Nations. Diplomatic missions in Nairobi: Embassies and High Commissions.

1. Algeria 2. Angola 3. Argentina 4. Australia 5. Austria 6. Bangladesh 7. Barbados 8. Belarus 9. Belgium 10. Botswana 11. Brazil 12. Burkina Faso 13. Burundi 14. Canada 15. Chile 16. China 17. Colombia 18. Congo-Brazzaville 19. Congo-Kinshasa 20. Costa Rica 21. Cuba 22. Czechia 23. Denmark 24. Djibouti 25. Egypt 26. Eritrea 27. Ethiopia 28. Finland 29. France 30. Germany 31. Ghana 32. Greece 33. Holy See 34. Hungary 35. India 36. Indonesia 37. Iran 38. Iraq 39. Ireland 40. Israel 41. Italy 42. Japan 43. Jordan 44. Kuwait 45. Libya 46. Malawi 47. Malaysia 48. Mexico 49. Morocco 50. Mozambique 51. Netherlands 52. Nigeria 53. Norway 54. Oman 55. Pakistan 56. Palestine 57. Philippines 58. Poland 59. Portugal 60. Qatar 61. Romania 62. Russia 63. Rwanda 64. Saudi Arabia 65. Sahrawi Republic 66. Senegal 67. Serbia 68. Sierra Leone 69. Slovakia 70. Somalia 71. South Africa 72. South Korea 73. South Sudan 74. Sovereign Military Order of Malta 75. Spain 76. Sri Lanka 77. Sudan 78. Sweden 79. Switzerland 80. Tanzania 81. Thailand 82. Tunisia 83. Turkey 84. Uganda 85. Ukraine 86. United Arab Emirates 87. United Kingdom 88. United States 89. Venezuela 90. Yemen 91. Zambia 92. Zimbabwe Permanent missions to the United Nations, Nairobi office. • Kenya • Poland • United States • European Union (Delegation) Consular missions. Nairobi • Cameroon (Consulate General) Mombasa • India (Assistant High Commission) • Tanzania (Consulate General) • Uganda (Consulate)

Source: ministry of foreign Affairs-Nairobi

Part of the List of Civil Society organizations that have been accredited in Kenya and the UN

Organization	Acronym	Country
1.Africa Fair Trade Network operating	Fairtrade	Kenya
2.African Institute for Development Policy	AFIDEP	Kenya
3.African Women’s Development and Communication	FEMNET	Kenya
4.Institute of Economic Affairs	IEA	Kenya
5.Kenya Human Rights Commission	KHRC	Kenya
6.Mkokoteni Aid Development Organization	MADO	Kenya
7.Pan-African Climate Justice Alliance	PACJA	Kenya
8.Reality of Aid Africa Network	ROA Africa	Kenya
9.South &Eastern African Trade & Negotiation Institute	SEATINI	Kenya
10.Tax Justice Network–Africa Limited	TJN-AFRICA	Kenya
11.The Green Belt Movement	GBM	Kenya
12.Vision Welfare Group	VWG	Kenya
13.Amnesty International	AI	London, UK.
14.Maendeleo ya wanawake	MW	Kenya
15.National council of women of Kenya	NCWK	Kenya
16.The African women development & comm. Network	AWDCN	Kenya
17.Kenya bankers Sacco society	KBSS	Kenya
18.Society of crop Agribusiness Advisors of Kenya food watch	SOCOA	Kenya
19. National Council of Churches of Kenya	NCCK	Kenya
20.Kenya Law Society	KLS	Kenya
21. East Africa Civil Society Organization forum	EACSOF	Kenya
22 World Movement for Democracy	WMDK	Kenya
23. Kenya water & sanitation civil society network	KEWASNET	Kenya
24. Kenya network of people living with Aids	KENWA	Kenya
25. Islamic Human Rights Commission	IHRC	Kenya
26. Kenya Organic Agriculture Network	KOAN	Kenya
27. Kenya alliance for the advancement of children	KAACR	Kenya
28. Central Organization of Trade Unions	COTU	Kenya
29. African Union	AU	Africa
30. European Union	EU	Ethiopia

Part of political parties List in Kenya

Coalition	Party	Abbr.	Leader	Ideology	Senate	Assembly
Jubilee	<u>Jubilee Party Chama Jubilee (Swahili)</u>	JP	<u>Uhuru Kenyatta</u>	<u>Kenyan nationalism</u> <u>National conservatism</u> <u>Economic liberalism</u>	34 / 67	172 / 349
	<u>Kenya African National Union</u>	KANU	<u>Gideon Moi</u>	<u>Kenyan nationalism</u> <u>Conservatism</u>	3 / 67	10 / 349
	<u>United Democratic Alliance</u>	UDA	<u>William Ruto</u>	<u>Conservatism</u>	0 / 67	1 / 349
	Total				38 / 67	186 / 349
NASA	<u>Orange Democratic Movement</u>	ODM	<u>Raila Odinga</u>	<u>Social democracy</u> <u>Civic nationalism</u> <u>Social liberalism</u>	20 / 67	76 / 349
	<u>Wiper Democratic Movement – Kenya</u>	WDM-K	<u>Kalonzo Musyoka</u>	<u>Social democracy</u>	3 / 67	25 / 349
	<u>Amani National Congress</u>	ANC	<u>Musalia Mudavadi</u>	<u>Social liberalism</u>	3 / 67	14 / 349
	<u>Forum for the Restoration of Democracy – Kenya</u>	FORD-K	<u>Moses Wetangula</u>	<u>Social democracy</u>	1 / 67	12 / 349
	<u>The Patriotic Party Chama Uzalendo (Swahili)</u>	CCU	<u>Maur Bwanamaka</u>	<u>Liberal democracy</u>	1 / 67	1 / 349
	<u>Muungano Party</u>	MP	<u>Fabian Muli</u>		0 / 67	1 / 349
	Total				28 / 67	125 / 349
None	<u>Economic Freedom Party</u>	EFP	<u>Billow Kerrow</u>		0 / 67	5 / 349
	<u>Maendeleo Chap Chap Party</u>	MCC	<u>Alfred Mutua</u>		0 / 67	4 / 349

<u>Local Party</u> <u>Chama Cha Mashinani</u> (Swahili)	CCM	<u>Isaac Ruto</u>		0 / 67	2 / 349
<u>Kenya National Congress</u>	KNC	<u>Manson Nyamweya</u>	<u>Human rights</u> <u>Social justice</u> <u>Democracy</u>	0 / 67	2 / 349
<u>Kenya People's Party</u>	KPP			0 / 67	2 / 349
<u>Peoples Democratic Party</u>	PDP			0 / 67	2 / 349
<u>New Democrats</u>	ND			0 / 67	1 / 349
<u>Party of National Unity</u> <u>Chama cha Umoja wa Kitaifa</u> (Swahili)	PNU	<u>Mwai Kibaki</u>	<u>Conservatism</u> <u>Liberal democracy</u>	0 / 67	1 / 349
<u>Democratic Party</u> <u>Chama cha Demokrasia</u> (Swahili)	DP	<u>Joseph K. Munyao</u>	<u>Conservatism</u>	0 / 67	1 / 349
<u>Frontier Alliance Party</u>	FAP			0 / 67	1 / 349
<u>National Agenda Party</u>	NAP			0 / 67	1 / 349

Name	Ideology	Created	Notes
<u>Agano Party</u>	N/A	2006	N/A
<u>Alliance for Real Change</u>	N/A	2010	N/A
<u>Communist Party of Kenya</u>	<u>Communism</u> <u>Marxism-Leninism</u>	1992	Formerly known as the Social Democratic Party.
<u>Conservative Party</u>	<u>Conservatism</u>	N/A	N/A
<u>Democratic Action Party</u>	N/A	N/A	Part of <u>Azimio La Umoja</u>
<u>Federal Party of Kenya</u>	<u>Federalism</u>	2007?	N/A
<u>Kenya African Democratic Union – Asili</u>	N/A	2006	N/A
<u>Kenya Social Congress</u>	N/A	1992	N/A
<u>Maendeleo Democratic Party</u>	N/A	2007	N/A

<u>Mazingira Green Party of Kenya</u>	<u>Green politics</u>	1997	Formerly known as the Liberal Party of Kenya.
<u>National Rainbow Coalition – Kenya</u>	N/A	2005	Created after the <u>2005 Kenyan constitutional referendum</u> .
<u>National Labour Party</u>	N/A	2004?	N/A
<u>National Party of Kenya</u>	N/A	2002?	N/A
<u>National Rainbow Coalition</u>	<u>Social democracy</u>	2002	N/A
<u>National Vision Party</u>	N/A	2008	N/A
<u>Party of Development and Reforms</u>	N/A	2012	N/A
<u>Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya</u>	N/A	1992	N/A
<u>Peoples Party of Kenya</u>	N/A	1996	N/A
<u>Restore and Build Kenya</u>	N/A	2012	N/A
<u>Safina</u>	<u>Liberalism</u>	1995	N/A
<u>Shirikisho Party of Kenya</u>	N/A	1997	N/A
<u>Sisi Kwa Sisi</u>	N/A	2002?	N/A
<u>United Democratic Movement</u>	N/A	1999	N/A
<u>Unity Party of Kenya</u>	N/A	2011	N/A
<u>Kenya National Democratic Alliance</u>	N/A	1992	N/A
<u>Madaraka People's Movement</u>	<u>Socialism</u> <u>Progressivism</u>	2005	Identifies as a <u>youth-focused</u> party.
<u>Forum for the Restoration of Democracy – Asili</u>	N/A	1991	N/A
<u>Independent Economic Party</u>	N/A	N/A	N/A
<u>Kenya African Democratic Development Union</u>	N/A	2006	N/A
<u>National Alliance of Kenya</u>	N/A	N/A	N/A
<u>United Democratic Alliance</u>	N/A	2020	N/A
<u>Eagle Alliance</u>	N/A	2013	Minor opposition coalition.
<u>Pamoja African Alliance</u>	N/A	N/A	Part of <u>Azimio La Umoja</u>

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS KEY DEPARTMENTAL LIST

1. Bilateral and political affairs (DG)
2. Multilateral and International Affairs (DG)
3. Foreign Service Administration(DG)
4. Foreign Service Academy(DG)
5. International Conference, Media Events and Communication. (DG)

NOTE: The Principal Secretary is the accounting officer that Oversees all domestic and international foreign affairs while the head of the ministry who's is the Cabinet secretary coordinates all function that includes Bilateral and multilateral treaties both regional and international.

Source: ministry of foreign Affairs - Kenya