KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION AND ITS IMPLICATION ON THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM: 1998 -2018

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DECLARATION AND APPROVAL

I declare that this thesis is my original work and that it has not been presented in any other institution of higher learning for an award of a degree.

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This thesis was conducted under our supervision and has been submitted with our approval as the university supervisors.

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DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to my loving parents, siblings and my daughter, Kylie Moraa, for being a source of motivation in my career and academic endeavors. I pray that this inspires my daughter and my siblings to work harder in their endeavors.

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May God Bless you.

ABSTRACT

Foreign policy remains the greatest mechanism that a country can use to pursue its national interests internationally. Kenya's foreign policy is based on diplomatic co-existence, protection of state security, and non-interference in the internal businesses of other states. In the recent past, Kenya has shifted its foreign policy to conform to the realities of terror incidences that have been witnessed in the country. Therefore, the study sought to examine the nexus between Kenya's foreign policy implementation and the fight against terrorism in Kenya. Specifically, the study sought to establish how Kenya's foreign policy has evolved in efforts to fight terrorism, determine the effectiveness of foreign policy strategies in the fight against terrorism and assess the opportunities of foreign policy instruments in the fight against terrorism. This study was informed by Political Realism and Instrumental Theory. The study utilized both qualitative and quantitative data. The study targeted the Ministry of Foreign affairs personnel, the diplomats, and security personnel drawn from the key security agencies. Mixed sampling techniques were used based on the characteristics of every sample category. The validity of the instruments was ensured through content analysis while reliability was realized through the internal consistency method. This study relied on primary data collection through the use of interviews and questionnaires and the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences was used to analyze the data. Findings indicated that Kenya's foreign policy had evolved to fight terrorism between the years 1998 and 2018 through the enactment of policies and legislation. This shows the commitment of Kenya to embracing foreign policy in addressing both domestic and international terrorism trends. The study also revealed that the foreign policy implementation strategies developed by Kenya to fight terrorism have been effective. For instance, Kenya has adopted and domesticated the United Nations Global Strategy and the Plan of Action on Preventing Violent Extremism through its National Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism. The study also found that Kenya has benefited from the opportunities of foreign policy instruments and military deterrence has been the most effective. The study concludes that Kenya's foreign policy has evolved in a bid to fight terrorism between the period 1998-2018. The foreign policy implementation strategies have been effective and Kenya has seized the opportunities of instruments of foreign policy like military deterrence to fight terror activities. The study recommends the need to realign and restructure foreign policy in Kenya to security and stabilize its relationship with neighbors to make it more responsive to the worrying and emerging terrorism trends and to rope in other states' participation within the region. The findings will greatly assist government policymakers and the political class in drafting and implementing policies that will govern the relationship between Kenya and other countries in fighting terrorism.

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OPERATIONALIZATION OF TERMS

Adequacy of the instruments: In this study, this term refers to expected achievements from the instruments of foreign policy. In this study, the interest will be on how economic, social, political and military instruments of foreign policy affect the fight against terrorism.

Anti-terrorism Measures: Refer to efforts that are intended for the prevention of terrorism in Kenya. Some of the anti-terrorism measures of interest in this study include international intelligence sharing, joint military training and operations as well as formation regional integration to address terrorism.

Counter Terrorism Measures: In this study, it refers to efforts that are more offensive in nature as they are designed to respond to terrorism acts. In this study the main interest is on military operations, diplomatic ties and signing of treaties.

Foreign Policy: In this study, it refers to a mix of interests and aims sought and protected by a given country and the ruling class involving its relationship with others, and the means and methods it uses to achieve and defend its interests and purposes.

Foreign Policy Implementation: Refers to the process by which Kenya actively apply their foreign policy in their relations with other states to achieve defense purposes and interests, and influence the preferred outcomes.

Foreign Policy Implementation Strategies: Refers to plans of action that Kenya has undertaken in implementing their foreign policy to achieve the preferred outcomes.

Instruments of Foreign Policy: Refer to rules, activities, strategies or a toolkit deployed to advance a Kenya's material interests and normative ideas.

Linda Nchi: Refers to an operation where the Kenya Defence Forces entered southern Somalia beginning in 2011. The Kenyan government declared the operation completed in March 2012, but its forces then joined AMISOM in Somalia.

Pillars of Foreign Policy: Refers to patterns of approach formed within the framework of foreign policy that aim to achieve the state's defence purposes and interests.

Security: In the context of this study, security was used to refer to state's concerted efforts to prevent terrorism attacks within Kenya.

Terrorism: In this study, it refers to unlawfully using force or violence towards property or persons to intimidate or coerce a state, civilians, or any of its part to further social or political objectives.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ATPU	Anti-Terrorism Police Unit
CVE	Countering Violence Extremism
GWOT	Global War on Terrorism
ICG	International Crisis Group
ISIS	Islamic State in Syria
JTTF	Joint Terrorism Task Force
KDF	Kenya Defence Forces
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NCTC	National Counter Terrorism Centre
NIS	National Intelligence service
NPS	National Police Service
NSCVE	National Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism
TIP	Terrorist Interdiction Program
TSC	Terrorism Security Committee.
UN	United Nations
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Science

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This section covers the background of the study, the statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, the objectives of the study and the research questions. Contained in this section is also the significance of the study, the scope of the study, limitation and the delimitation of the study. In addition, assumptions of the study both theoretical and conceptual frameworks are included. Through the specific objectives, the section endeavors to connect foreign policy and its influence in the fight against terrorism.

1.2 Background to the Study

In the field of international relations, foreign policy involves self-interest strategies selected by the state in safeguarding its national interests and achieving goals within its milieu international relations (Macharia, 2015). Olatunde, Orwa, and Utete (2017) stated that foreign policy is the process whereby a country moderates its actions with other states so as to maximize on the adverse actions and capitalize on favorable actions. Bojang (2018) notes that Foreign Policy decision making is one of the greatest mechanisms that a country can use to pursue its national interests in the international system. Bojang (2018) further reiterates that a good Foreign Policy would definitely lead a country to achieve its national interests and place itself rightfully in the international arena.

Foreign policy plays a functionality of diplomatic relations in the international arena. Kenyan diplomacy plays a role in maintaining strong ties which is the main goal of Kenya's foreign policy. (GoK, 2014). Maintaining these bilateral and multilateral

partnerships enables Kenya to maintain its interests and exercise its influence in the global environment. The Ministry of foreign affairs is charged with building such relationships with China, United States of America and in Europe. In return sustainable development is boosted and its strategic objectives met. On 2020, February, The MFA spearheaded the efforts to develop relationships between the FBI and Department of State, a move that was sought to create the very first partnership between FBI. This Kenyan-led relationship was geared towards fighting terrorism. (Abdullahi 2020).

Kenya's foreign policy behavior was noted to be inconsistent during President Kibaki and President Moi's governments as each one of them displayed a unique style of leadership which had substantial implication on the outlook of foreign policy. For instance, as opposed to a personalized style of President Moi, President Kibaki adopted a relatively decentralized approach on political leadership and foreign policy in general (Adar, 2007). Equally, the Kenyan foreign policy inconsistencies in the process of decision-making were influenced by the domestic political landscape which was characterized by mistrust (Hornsby, 2012; Kaburu, 2017). For instance, Kaburu (2017) reports that the president of the day, acting within his constitutional powers, excluded specific groups of people from the power of the state and positioned those with whom he perceived as sharing his worldview in strategic government portfolios such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Since Kenya's political independence, decision making on foreign policy is dominated overly by the presidency (Adar, 2015; 2007; Smith, 2012). However, this is not a unique scenario in the international relations practice as Nzomo (2016) argues, that the leaders at the top are the custodians of the state's vision in the field of diplomacy and international affairs, tasked with the mandate of identifying, shaping and prioritizing

strategies for the national interests' pursuit abroad. The presidential influence on foreign policy decision making in Kenya is premised on the conferred sovereign power bestowed in the presidency by the constitution which portrays him as the state representative in international affairs. To this end, the head of the state bears the authority over any multilateral and bilateral treaties, except on unique cases where the legislature is consulted, (Adar, 2007; Okoth, 2007).

Terrorism is a global challenge that has had negative effects in all the countries within the international system. According to Enders and Sandler (2014) terrorism is a deliberate use of force or propagating violence or threats to instill panic to victims in order to achieve a social or political goal. The Global Terrorism Database (2016) defines a terrorist attack as instilling fear by illegal use of violence or force to achieve social, political, religious, economic objective. Kibor, (2016) notes that terrorism has led to destruction of property and loss of life and at the same time being perceived as a major threat to human race existence. When terrorists lay attack on a given state, the security instruments are always overwhelmed leading to a situation where security cannot be guaranteed.

As a result of the adverse terror implications, there has been a concerted joint global attempt coordinated by the USA government to address the issue of terror networks. Feliming (2016) cited that liberalist hold the view that this vice can be fought only through the collective security concept where a terror attack on one state is an attack on the other countries. Otenyo (2017) noted that the first indication that Kenya had entered the circuit of terrorism was in 1980 December when sympathizers of the terrorist group of Palestine

Liberation Organization (PLO) group bombed part of the world-famous Five Star Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi. At least 16 sixteen lives were lost and hundred people were injured.

The US government has been at the forefront of fighting terror activities. Her interventions entailed the granting of authority by the Congress to the President in using military force against the terrorist suspects, sympathizers, and financiers of the September 18, 2001 terrorism attack and the Patriot Act enactment to offer needed legal frameworks for launching a war on terrorism abroad and the USA. In November of the same year, the US President signed executive order empowering military tribunals to conduct trials and detain non-citizens on offenses related to terrorism (Latimer, 2011). Essentially, these interventions altered the relationship between the United States and other states as well as between her citizens and her as a state.

The anti-terrorism Security Act of 2005 and the Anti-Terrorism, Crime, and Security Act of 2001 were also passed in the UK as a response to global terrorism as well as to improve foreign policy (Sidel 2014). These legislation pieces had ramifications on the human rights and foreign policy since they legalized long detention minus terrorism suspects' trial in violation of the European Convention on Human Rights (Sidel, 2014). Equally, there were provisions for freezing accounts of a suspected terrorist in the event of investigations without court approval. This is against the suspect's right to be presumed to be innocent until otherwise proven. The same legal frameworks have been marked as the justification for citizens' harassment by the police, impromptu searches, and mass arrests of peaceful protestors in 2002 and 2003 during the Afghanistan and Iraq USA-led war (Sidel, 2014).

The counter-terrorism measures in India involved the ratification of the 2002 Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance Act (POTO) while in Australia the counter-terrorism measures involved the enactment of the Australian Intelligence Organization (Amendment) Act of 2003. The enforcers of Indian Law invoked this provision of the Act to detain and press terrorism charges on many civilians in the Jharkaland Eastern Indian State following a mass action within the area. Security agencies also depended on the same laws in 2003 and 2002 to detain and arrest the masses following the state of Gujarat communal violence (Sidel, 2014).

Attempts by regional actors to prevent terrorism within the horn of Africa appear to have little implication as the region has endemically experienced systematic terrorism acts (Kimunguyi, 2010). In Nigeria Boko Haram terror groups have violently attacked the state's integrity and taken charge of 14 local governments leading to a compromised relationship between Nigeria and the neighboring states (Obamamoye, 2016).

According to the 2015 Global Terrorism Index, Somalia has been a hub for terror activities with rebellious terrorist groups employing different terror strategies. Somalia is considered to be one of the 10 most-affected countries by terrorism in 10 years and the country has experienced triple the number of attacks and deaths in 2014 than in 2013. Ambeyi (2021) noted that in 2013, the Al-Shabaab militant group estimated to comprise 8,000 soldiers claimed attacks on the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi which happened in 2013 September. This attack claimed the lives of 67 people, injuring 175 people. Somalia is said to employ Guerilla war as its main terror strategy as the group is structured like an insurgency force divided into 3 main command systems i.e. the military, law enforcement; and intelligence gathering (Institute for Economics & Peace, 2015).

In August 1998, the US Embassy in Kenya and Tanzania were bombed, leading to over 250 deaths and close to 5000 injuries (Otiso, 2009). In the month of November 2002, suicide bomber terrorists referred to them as the 'Army of Palestine', wounded, attacked, and killed patrons at Paradise Hotel owned by the Israelites within Mombasa (Otenyo, 2017). In September 2013 there was a terrorist attack at Westgate Shopping Mall within Nairobi leading to the demise of 67 individuals from various nationalities across the globe, this made Kenya be perceived globally as a hub of terrorism and violent extremism. In the year 2015, gunmen attacked Garissa University College, leading to the demise of 147 students and injuring over 79 students. On the top of the terror attack list is the recent DusitD2 complex attack in 2019 January within Nairobi in the Westlands area of Nairobi Kenya leading to the killing of more than 20 people.

In a bid to formulate counter-terrorism interventions, the commitment of Kenya to fighting terrorism is mirrored not only in its local or domestic policy but also in its international foreign relations and foreign policy. Since the year 1980, Kenya has been receiving military hardware from the US to be utilized for Rapid Deployment Force (RDF) operations, initiated by President Carter in promoting strategic and geopolitical stability in the entire Gulf region; the facilities are used widely in the fight against terror (Adar, 2015). The government of Kenya also responded to the US embassy 1998 bombing through the deregistration of six Islamic charities and also warned other NGOs suspected of funding acts of terrorism. It investigated further Madrasa's activities which were accused of spreading extremist beliefs and deporting foreign radical Muslim leaders (Mogire & Mkutu, 2011).

The World Organization Against Torture report (2012) asserts that the main purpose of the operation within Somalia known as "*Linda Nchi"* (a Swahili word meaning to protect the nation) was to pursue the terrorists, weaken and destroy their influence and ultimately create a buffer zone between Somalia and Kenya borders. Additionally, interventions of counter-terrorism were formulated in the year 2012 such as Prevention of Terrorism Act of 2012 enactments and formulation of Financial Reporting Centre (FRC).

In an attempt to address the issue of terrorism amicably, the state of Kenya has since then made a number of enactments such as Security (Amendment) Laws, 2014 which amended twenty-two legislations linked to the national security. The security Law also led to the establishment of the Counter terrorism Centre. Noteworthy is that very little has been documented with regard to the implications of foreign policy in the fight against terrorism in Kenya. In order to bridge this scholarly gap, this study therefore sought to evaluate the implication of foreign policy implementation and the implications it has on the fight against terrorism with a focus on the duration of 1998-2018.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Kenya's foreign policy is based on the ideologies of diplomatic co-existence, protection of state security, non-interference in the internal businesses of other states, non-alignment, and respect for the United Nations Charter and the Africa Union Charter. However, Kenya has shifted its foreign policy to conform to new realities of terrorism the fundamental principles notwithstanding. (Ambeyi 2021).

Even with the foreign policy shift, Kenya has continued to experience acts of terrorism of varying magnitudes in terms of fatalities and associated destruction. Thus far,

the terror incidences have resulted in deaths, thousands of people wounded or maimed besides the destruction of property of immeasurable value. Instructively, all these incidences were conducted by terror groups domiciled outside the country. This reality highlights an important dynamic of Foreign policy behavior that needs to be probed further to underscore the impact of foreign policy implementation and counterterrorism.

Even by the fact that foreign policy is critical in ensuring the national security in the country, particularly in counterterrorism and anti-terrorism response, very minimal studies have been conducted on foreign policy implementation and the fight against terrorism (Munaita, 2016, Otiso, 2009; Mogire & Mkutu, 2011 and Otenyo, 2017). Available studies focus on counter-terrorism approaches in the country and fail to address the implication of foreign policy. A study by Kaburu (2017) points to inconsistencies in decision-making and changes in administration as rightly affecting various facets of the country's foreign policy. However, the study does not deal with foreign policy implementation as it relates to the fight against terrorism in Kenya. Therefore, this study sought to address this scholarly knowledge gap by establishing the foreign policy implementation and its implication in the fight against terrorism.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to establish Kenya's foreign policy implementation and the implications it has on the fight against terrorism. This was achieved through discussion of Kenya's Foreign Policy relating to counter-terrorism and adequacy of the pillars and instruments of Kenya's foreign policy. The study also achieved its purpose by

examination of effectiveness of Foreign Policy implementation strategies and offer recommendations.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

1.5.1 General Objective

The general objective of this study was to establish Kenya's foreign policy implementation and the implications it has on the fight against terrorism with a focus on the duration of 1998-2018.

1.5.2 Specific Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of the study were to:

i. To establish how Kenya's Foreign Policy has evolved in efforts to fight terrorism between 1998-2018.
ii. To determine the effectiveness of foreign policy implementation strategies in the fight against terrorism in Kenya between 1998-2018
iii. To assess the opportunities of foreign policy instruments in the fight against terrorism in Kenya between 1998-2018.

1.6 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research question:

i. How has Kenya's Foreign Policy evolved in efforts to fight terrorism between 1998-2018?

ii. How effective are Kenya's foreign policy implementation strategies in the fight against terrorism in Kenya between 1998-2018?

iii. What are the opportunities of foreign policy instruments in the fight against terrorism in Kenya between 1998-2018?

1.7 Significance of the study

The study seeks to contribute to the body of knowledge as well as be beneficial to policymakers (Kombo & Tromp, 2006). Rising cases of terror activities are a major concern of the Kenyan government as there has been more than a ten-fold rise in the number of deaths from terror activities. Accordingly, the terror activities have seen many states take appropriate strategies to ensure peace and security within state borders and across the world are maintained (Gimba & Ibrahim, 2018). This study will significantly assist stakeholders in formulating and implementing effective foreign relations policies related to counter-terrorism efforts. The findings will also assist government policymakers and the political class in drafting and implementing policies that will govern the relationship between Kenya and other countries in fighting terrorism. The analysis will be used to draw lessons and make recommendations concerning Kenya's foreign policy responses to terrorism.

Sempijja and Nkosi (2019) did a study on Kenya's national counter-terrorism policies notably military pressure while Maluki (2019) sought to discover various counterterrorism strategies in Africa and specifically in Kenya. Injendi and Mwenesi (2018) studied Kenya's efforts to mitigate terrorism. The studies did not conclude on the adequacy or effectiveness of Kenya's foreign policy strategies. The findings of this study

will therefore contribute to the body of knowledge in the academic world and help future scholars and researchers in providing foreign policy and counterterrorism literature upon which their studies can be built. This study suggested areas for further studies where future scholars can extend knowledge in the area of foreign policy and the fight against terrorism. Additionally, the study is expected to bridge the existing knowledge gap in the implementation and formulation of a country's foreign policy regarding terror-related acts. This study was aimed to also offer a framework for scholars and researchers to build on as they address the emerging foreign policy trends in implementation, and formulation in response to the increased radicalization and terrorism activities in the country.

1.8 Scope of the Study

Creswell and Plano (2007) observed that the scope of the study refers to what the researcher intends to do, the manner in which the study will be conducted, the requirements of the study among other tentative parameters and assumptions. This study focused on Kenya's foreign policy implementation and its implications on the fight against terrorism during the period between 1998 and 2018. This period is considered relevant due to the gradual increase in terrorism activities and the changes that the country's foreign policy has undergone. The study further focused on how Kenya's foreign policy has evolved, opportunities of foreign policy instruments in the fight against terrorism in Kenya and implementation strategies mainly security strategies and anti-terrorism legislations. Due to foreseen challenges to reach external actors, time and budget constraints, the study was done within Nairobi in the institutional Headquarters where the respondents are based.

1.9 Delimitation

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) observed that delimitations refer to choices which a study should mention. They define the boundaries that a researcher has set within a study. This study targeted respondents from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of interior (NIS, NPS, ATPU) security experts, KDF and officers attached to NCTC. The respondents are well versed with security apparatus in the country and they are also involved in implementing the foreign policy with regard to fighting terrorism.

1.10 Limitations of the Study

According to Kothari (2004), limitations refer to the influences that the study cannot control. Due to sensitivity of the topic to security (involving terrorism) it was expected that some of the participants with crucial information tend to hold back or fear to share crucial security information to the study, especially the officers of junior ranks. Due to sensitivity of the topic involving terrorism some of the participants with crucial information tend to hold back or fear to share crucial security information fearing its implication on national security.

Confidentiality of information was guaranteed and the respondents informed that the findings of the research was meant to assist them at fighting terrorism in Kenya. The researcher also provided all the necessary documentation from relevant institutions, to prove that this was an authorized academic study that shall not affect national security.

1.11 Assumptions

According to Cressell (2003), assumptions refer to the things that to some extent are somehow out of the researcher's control, in the event they disappear it will bring irrelevancy to the study. The assumptions of the study were that participants were willing to participate in the study and that honesty in provision of answers was upheld. The study also assumed that the available data was recent and suitable. The researcher applied deep and intensive mechanisms in order to obtain up to date information. The study was conducted while assuming that the foreign policy of Kenya has evolved and is implemented using specific strategies.

1.12 Theoretical Framework

Creswell (2008), observed that theoretical framework refers to the structure that can support or hold a theory within a study or research. Further, Creswell (2008) noted that the main rationale of research should be either to connect study findings to a theory or create data from the theory. To possess new and existing knowledge, theory should create a conceptual framework to interpret the empirical knowledge application in a manner that is comprehensive. This study was guided by two theories, namely; the instrumental approach and Political Realism Theory.

1.12.1 Political Realism Theory

Political Realism Theory will be used to explain the nature, meaning, and challenges related to Kenya's foreign policy and the fight against terrorism. A major thinker behind Political Realism Theory was Hans J. Morgenthau (Morgenthau, 1973). The

character of a foreign policy can be ascertained through the examination of political acts and the foreseeable consequences of these acts. Policies that have been made and implemented can be discovered and from their foreseeable consequences, conclusions can be made on the intended objectives. The intention is to meet a certain problem of foreign policy under certain circumstances (Morgenthau, 1973).

Political Realism Theory looks for rational alternative principles which are likely to be effective at that moment (Prinza, & Rossi, 2017). The theory is concerned with issues of feasibility or giving autonomy to political theorizing through a fuller understanding of the sources of normativity in politics. Securing order, protection, safety, trust and the conditions of cooperation are concerns of the theory. Secondly, it seeks to discover the political arrangements that can address the foregoing concerns and also meet the demand for legitimating (Rossi & Sleat, 2014). Morgenthau was committed to discovering the certainty of international politics and an assertion of the dominance of power in international relations (Molloy, 2004).

The rational anticipation of potential trends detectable through a set of assumptions about the world offers a solution to a specific international relations problem (Molloy, 2004). Morgenthau regards selfishness, lust for power, and the need to dominate to be at the center of human existence and the cause of conflict. He holds that political leaders act and think to maximize power which is an essential element of international politics (Morgenthau, 1973). However; Political Realism Theory is accused of status quo bias by supporting a broad range of positions towards the status quo. The problem is more generally whether realists' commitment to working within the parameters of foreign policy with its normative standards limits their political imagination (Molloy, 2004).

The power which is Morgenthau's central concept is ambiguous as it can either be a means or an end in politics. If power is used as a means, then it does not describe the origin of international politics as claimed by Morgenthau. This does not allow for understanding actions by states independent of motives and ideological likings of political leaders (Prinza, & Rossi, 2017). Thus, it is not possible to define state actions by only referring to power, security, or national interest. Secondly, Morgenthau's contention that states exist in an anarchic international system and the risk of danger of war has been opposed. States align themselves with other states through treaties in a more cooperative and peaceful international society where state behavior is shaped by values and norms commonly shared (Prinza& Rossi, 2017).

Terrorism is and continues to be one of the most critical problems affecting foreign policy decision-makers. Political Realism Theory explains how the formulation and implementation of foreign policy that targets terrorism is adopted in addressing terrorism acts in Kenya. The theory further reveals how foreign policy decisions against terrorism in Kenya are made and how actions are taken at the international, government, and domestic levels. This includes actors, issues, and interests while physical, human, political, and economic resources are made available for policymakers. In Kenya, Political Realism Theory describes governments' priorities in foreign policy agenda based on interests, survival, and security in addressing the endemic terror attacks in the country. However, this theory fails to address the values of foreign relations which are paramount in fighting terrorism. Just like social relations, international relations are characterized also both by cooperation and conflict. The theory also ignores the element of cooperation among nations

which is paramount in the fight against terrorism across the globe. Hence the need for a second theory that addressed this gap.

1.12.2 Instrumental Theory

The proponent of instrumental theory is Kimberle *Crenshaw* (1998). This theory views terrorism as a deliberate political actor choice. According to the instrumental theory, the act of terrorism is an intentional choice by a specific actor. The organization as a unit serves to achieve collective values which entail radical social and political conditions changes. According to this theory, the terror network groups such as *Al-Shabaab* and Al-Qaeda act to acquire political ends. It is normally paramount to cite how the various terrorism acts are deliberated upon as the responses to external stimuli such as the government policies. This implies therefore that terror insurgency will be an outcome of some external factors to any particular terrorist's networks. Acts of terrorism may happen for several justifications; the value being sought is significantly paramount, the trying costs are low, the status quo is regarded to be intolerable or the succeeding probability is relatively high. Often, terrorists prefer using surprise attacks frequently while emitting terror to innocent citizens. The surprise attacks may be deduced to refer to the dearth of preparedness from the side of the defenders too much of the adversary's capabilities and intentions. (Richard, 1982).

At the same time, it can be cited as an intelligence function. Violence is perceived as intentional while terrorism refers to a political end. Thomas (2016) noted that terrorism is one way of violent coercion, a process of bargaining, premised on the power to intimidate and hurt as a substitute for the overt adoption of military force. So the government, as well as other actors such as the non-state actors, is seen as adversaries whose actions are

strategically taken and a terrorist organization aiming at changing the other actors' policies, actions, and decisions through utilizing violent ways. Hence, terrorists use violence in producing changes in the political governmental position, not the military potential destruction.

Premised on this approach, the terror groups are driven through cost-benefit analysis (Sidel, 2015, Crenshaw, 1990). They calculate the cost of not doing and doing an action and also the success probability of their actions. The tenets of this theory also opine that the success of any given activity on terrorism is defined by the accomplishment of the political ends for a particular terror organization. Conversely, Crenshaw (1988) cited that it is only a handful of terror groups who have acquired their ideological objectives. It can be asserted that this approach to the discipline of terrorism is among the most developed approaches to the rudiments of political science, it is comprehensible and simple (Crenshaw, 2018).

This is due to the intentions of the actors being deduced from their behavior guided by the logical rules. Additionally, this approach is satisfying intellectually and offers the scholars an easier context of study since the requirements of information over secretive terrorists are relaxed. It is influenced substantially by conflict studies, so it has a broad range as it is applied to the conflicting manner oblivious of the actors' identity (Crenshaw 1988). This theory has significantly informed the dependent variable of the study which is the fight against terrorism.

1.13 Conceptual Framework

Robson (2006) cites that a conceptual framework creates a relationship between the independent and dependent variables. It is the system of assumptions, expectations, concepts, beliefs, and theories that back up and inform research hence a key part of the design of research. Figure 1 is a conceptual framework illustrating the relationship between the main variables of the study. Independent variable, Kenya's foreign policy is represented by the evolution of Kenya's Foreign Policy, Foreign Policy implementation strategies, and opportunities of instruments of Kenya's foreign policy. All the independent variables have implications for the fight against terrorism, which is the dependent variable. Foreign policies formulated, nature of foreign policies, foreign policy trends, foreign policy pillars, foreign policy instruments, adequacy of efforts, security strategies, anti-terrorism legislation, and regional integration are the constructs of the independent variable. The constructs of the dependent variable are counterterrorism cooperation, intelligence-led policing, *deradicalization* programs, community policing, border control, and joint operations.

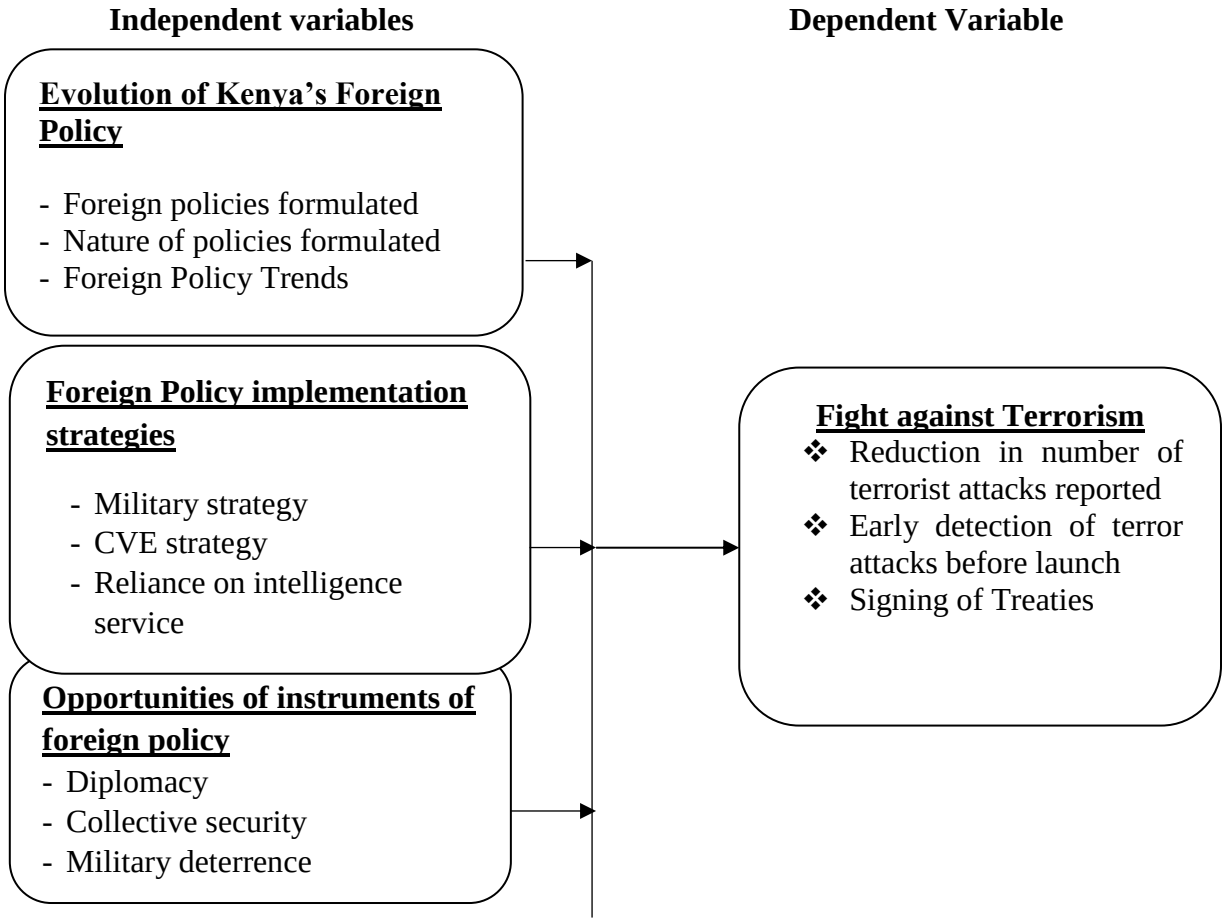

Figure 1.1 Conceptual Frameworks: Source (Researcher, 2022)

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the literature related to this study including, examining how Kenya's Foreign Policy has evolved in effort to fight terrorism between 1998-2018, assessing the adequacy of the instruments of Kenya's foreign policy in the fight against terrorism and examining the effectiveness of foreign policy strategies in the fight against terrorism.

2.2 Empirical Literature Review

2.2.1 Foreign Policy in an Effort to Fight Terrorism Between 1998-2018

According to Farag, (2018), the US has been dominant in global counter-terrorism efforts targeting Islamic terrorist groups through training of local forces, direct military action using US Special Forces and armed drones, and waging an ideological war as military, political and economic interests determine US foreign policy in the fight against terrorism. Acharya (2020) noted that after the September 2001 attack, the US declared a global war on terror focusing on al Qaeda and other terrorist threats and regimes that harbored terrorists. The policy is based on hard power or military action and soft power including economic and development aid, and political persuasiveness. Hard power is comprised of the threat of use of force to deter or coerce, and the actual use of military force (Acharya, 2020). As explained by Nye (2008), this entailed effectively combining soft and hard power or smart power.

Farag (2018) indicated that the East Africa Counter-Terrorism Initiative (EACTI) which was launched in 2003 led the US to offer military and police training, coast and border screening; tighten control over trans-border mobility, and anti-money laundering programs. These included the PIT computer system used by airports in East Africa to detect illegal entry and exit in the respective countries. According to Lind, Mutahi and Oosterom (2017), the US enacted counter-terrorism legislation and administrative policies including the US Patriot Act which gave the US security agencies wide jurisdiction and powers to deal with terrorism. Another one is the Bioterrorism Act aiming to ensure the acquisition of medical countermeasures while the International Emergency Economic Powers Act sought to disrupt terrorist financial support.

Apart from Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Syria and other areas designated by the US as active hostile areas included Yemen, Pakistan and Somalia. Nationals from these Muslim-majority countries were banned from entering the US while the intake of Syrian refugees was placed on hold indefinitely (Biegon & Watts, 2020). Soekarno (2019) in his study elucidates that Israel is one of the few democracies in the Middle East that has sought to protect itself from terrorist groups harbored by surrounding enemy states. Specifically, violence and war emanated from disputes between Israel and Palestine arising from Israel's policy of settlement in the Gaza Strip, West Bank, Golan Heights and East Jerusalem. Efforts by Iran to gain possession of nuclear weapons have led Israel to strengthen her military power and also formed her foreign policy agenda (Soekarno, 2019).

According to Khokhar (2020), Pakistan's foreign policy toward terrorism is geared toward eliminating Al Qaeda and related terrorists within areas under the control of the Taliban. A study of Canada's post-9/11 counter-terrorism policy by Carvin and Tishler

(2020) found that it was mainly reactionary, responding to rapidly changing US security issues. The country needed to sustain cross-border movement while protecting its sovereignty. Currently, however, Canada's legislation and policies aim to independently combat violent extremism, maintain a smart border for the protection of national interests, prevent air travel by potential terrorists and address challenges of emerging technology (Carvin & Tishler, 2020).

Maluki (2019) identified various states in Africa that made improvements in their counter-terrorism policies and strategies. Uganda, Tanzania, and Ethiopia enacted terrorism prevention laws to support counter-terrorism strategies. The countries are also involved in initiatives against counterterrorism by the African Union (AU) and Interpol. Ethiopia has sought to build its capacity to detect, mitigate and deter terrorist activity through ATA and membership in the Partnership for Regional East Africa Counter-terrorism and the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD). As a member of the Trans-Sahara Counter-terrorism Partnership (TSCTP), Senegal aims to defeat terrorism by solidification of regional counter-terrorism efforts and supporting military ties with the US. Similar legal and strategic collaborative efforts have been undertaken by Mali, Algeria, Mauritania, Niger, and South Africa (Ibid).

The implementation and formulation of foreign policy in Kenya further take aspirations and national values cognizance of the Kenyan citizens as constitutionally enshrined. Article 10 (2) of the constitution identifies national unity, patriotism, human dignity, rule of law, human rights, social justice, and democracy participation as national values under which the state policies including the foreign policy are promulgated (Constitution of Kenya, 2010). In practice, such values occasionally have been

compromised upon relying on the political environment. In addition to the constitution, Kenya's foreign policy choices are grounded by; African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya Sessional Paper of No.10/1965, Economic Management for Renewed Growth Sessional Paper of No 1/1986, ruling political parties' manifestos and national strategic development plans such as Vision 2030 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014).

Kenya's foreign policy can be viewed within the systemic and internal factors. Foreign policy internally is informed by the domestic political dynamics, which are characterized occasionally by exclusion and inclusion on the grounds of political and ethnic orientation and the incumbent idiosyncrasies. For instance, the political transition in Kenya from *a de jur*e one-party state to a 1990s multiparty state witnessed parliament increase in involvement in the process of foreign policy (Okoth, 2010; Adar, 2007). Equally, the foreign policy-making process acquires cognizance of the vital interests of the nations such as response to possible adversaries and territorial integrity. For instance, foreign policy in Kenya toward Somalia takes cognizance of the border historical dispute between the two neighbors and its effect on their interaction (Adar, 2007; 1994; Ringquist, 2011; Thompson, 2015).

Kenya's foreign policy externally is informed by the systemic realities as was the case of cold war politics, which made Kenya adopt non-alignment as an approach to international relations (Howell, 1968; Karanja, 1966; Munene, 2012). From Kenya's continental front, foreign policy was informed by the principles of Pan-Africanism such as the need for ensuring the total de-colonialization of the states in Africa. For instance, Kenya adopted an anti-colonialist posture by opposing the South African apartheid policy within the Organization of African Union (OAU) provisions (Orwa, 1994).

At the regional level in East African Community (EAC), Kenya has pursued more holistic foreign policies on counter-terrorism. Recent years have seen the policies adopted such as the free movement of individuals by the Partner States of EAC including Kenya, aiming at improving the economic and social integration among the citizenry of the community and the states (Kaburu and Adar, 2020). Additionally, foreign policy in Kenya has been grounded by the need for a more peaceful Horn of Africa through pacific means of resolving conflicts, and the adoption of both multilateral and unilateral approaches towards addressing terrorism within the region (Mwanika, 2015; Kaburu, 2017).

2.2.2 Effectiveness of Foreign Policy Strategies in the Fight Against Terrorism

In an attempt to address the destructive implications of terrorism, the governments across the globe have tapped into the gains of diplomacy as a foreign policy behavior instrument. Diplomacy has been vocal in building political will and empowering international cooperation. In America, the diplomatic ties assist in the cooperation promotion, and interventions on terrorism with nations considered to be friendly which serve each other mutual interests. The various countries are bound to reach out to one another particularly the allies and forge a multilateral approach in the fight against terrorism (Davis, 2017). This is informed by the fact that global terrorism has no boundaries and can occur at any given time. Through diplomatic measures, fugitive terror suspects can be transferred or deported to another state by depending on the treaties of extradition which assist in the application of criminal law among various states.

A study by Injendi and Mwenesi, (2018) in the UK cited that diplomatic attempts in the fight against terrorism include also sharing of intelligence among countries, hence deterring potential terrorists' networks from operating in those states and championing the

monitoring of groups that operate within the area. Since the US embassy bombing in the year 1998, the government of Kenya has holistically cooperated with other countries especially the government of the US in sharing intelligence and in giving the investigators of US security agencies access to investigating the incident (Agade & Mogire, 2011). The government of Israel for example was very key in the incident investigation following the 2002 Kikambala terrorist attack in Mombasa (Adan, 2005). As a result, the foreign relations, the US uses Kenya as a base for logistical mandate while conducting terror network investigations, particularly in the Horn of Africa. These diplomatic relations with other Western countries and the US still exist oblivious of the perceived strong opposition by a clique of Kenyans, especially from the Muslim communities.

In the Horn of Africa, governments are continually engaged in collaborations and partnerships to come up with strategies to enable them to confront terrorism through legislation and foreign policy shifts and improvements. The enhanced domestic and foreign policy is inspired by identifying gaps and trying to understand the metamorphosis of terror activities. For instance, Ethiopia softened its stance on tough foreign policy on Sudan which saw Sudan finally reciprocating and thawing its relationship with Ethiopia. (Ambeyi, 2021).

Anyona (2019) asserted that to enhance cooperation and collaboration in African Member states, Africa Centre for Studies and Research on Terrorism (ACSRT) was formed in 2004. This is charged with providing legal and technical advice as well as providing research expertise on counterterror strategies. Africa Centre for Studies and Research on Terrorism which is under the structure of the AU Commission and is based in Algeria. The

center was formed under the African Union Plan of Action on preventing and combating terrorism.

Kelly, (2020 noted that in 2004 in Nigeria, a Committee for Intelligence and Security Services in Africa was established to enhance counterterrorism strategies in a bid to facilitate partnerships and collaborations in the African security system. These forums continue to take center stage on African countries' political agenda in fighting terror activities. The forums have ensured mutual respect and collective security among the various Regional Countries forums.

Carvin and Tishler (2020) asserted that foreign policy behavior in Kenya is anchored on one core interest which is the national interest. It involves territorial integrity, economic well-being, and national security. For the country to fruitfully acquire its national interest in enhancing security, it should cooperate with the US since it does not bear the capacity of handling threats effectively from global terrorism. However, this proposed study holds the view that apart from the western countries, the government of Kenya has sought also other countries' support within Horn Africa in an attempt to boost its counter-terrorism efforts. These African nations cooperation has facilitated also sharing of intelligence among them, assisting law enforcement agencies in combating the international terrorism threat.

Kenya has enacted twelve UN counter-terrorism international conventions and protocols to boost its attempts on the diplomatic avenue on counter-terrorism measures (Crenshaw, 2018). Kenya is a member also of the loosely structured organization under the “Global war on terror” umbrella championed by the US government. Through the organization, the government of Kenya is playing a major role in the Horn of Africa by

allowing the US to utilize Kenya as a counterterrorism intervention launching pad within the region and at the same time drawing benefits from sharing of intelligence. Another instrument being employed by Kenya in its foreign policy behavior regarding terrorist response is military inventions.

Conversely, the military is not being considered to be effective in combating terrorism since traditionally, the mandate of upholding law and order rests with the National Police Service. The military comes in handy only when protecting and monitoring the borders through military intelligence and surveillance services to assess the threat. The absence of stability within Somalia makes it a terrorist group's haven to operate their networks both internationally and regionally (Injendi & Mwenesi, 2018). Therefore, Kenya dispatched its troops to combat the Al-Shabab militia and assist in restoring peace and order within Somalia in the specific and sub-Saharan region as a whole to create a buffer zone view within Southern Somalia which is close to the Kenyan border (Miyandazi, 2012). As a result of the Kenyan troop's incursion in Somalia, the terrorist group seems to have been destabilized, however, more needs to be carried out particularly by the Somalia government and the citizens of Somalia to dismantle *Al-Shabab* adherents completely.

In their study on terrorism and deterrence, Grace and Makoto (2018) cited that apart from sending its troops to Somalia, the government of Kenya in an attempt to safeguard and make its territories secure as a result of the heightened terror attacks, the government through the military increased their personnel and surveillances along with the territories of Kenya-Somalia hence sealing all the porous borders. It also made collaboration with the French Navy in patrolling the Indian Ocean in an attempt to keep the terrorist off the territorial waters. Adan (2005) on the other hand opined that the government of Kenya in

the conduct of its foreign relations realized that a campaign on information was crucial as a strategy against counter-terrorism acts. At first, particularly in the US embassy attack aftermath, the government was in a denial state and failed to carry out a fully-fledged information campaign to enlighten and educate the public on the need for joint operations and to expose terror networks in their midst.

Hassouna (2016) asserted that an information campaign seeks to enable the citizens to identify any suspicious terrorist activity within the community. As a result of the shortage of resources to carry out an efficient information campaign, there was a misconception that the country was seen as a victim rather than a terrorism source. Since the 2002 Kikambala terror attack, the government has significantly intensified civic education on the domestic terrorism threat nature in Kenya. Notably, the government acknowledged that terrorism was a serious threat to our national security and then began to enlist support from the citizens in addressing terror threats (Cilliers & Sturman, 2017).

Maluki (2019) indicated that gathering intelligence assist early terrorists' detection in time for the military or police officers to act. Kenya has made great achievements in the intelligence gathering arena which will assist the law enforcement agencies and intelligence services to develop effective counter-terrorism measures. Police officers should be versant with relevant intelligence which will assist them in dismantling and apprehending any groupings of terrorism within the country. For example, the US embassy terrorist attack in the year 1998 was blamed on the failure in intelligence sharing and law enforcement agencies to detect foreign and domestic terrorists freely operating within the country (Adan, 2005). Had there been a reliable law enforcement mechanism concerning

intelligence sharing, the militia who were assembling the bomb in a truck at River Road Nairobi may have been detected and stopped in carrying out the attack (Wee, 2015).

In conclusion, in its foreign policy behavior, the government of Kenya developed legislation regarding terror-related issues even though late after the insurgents had formed roots in the country. A number of these legislations such as the 2003 Suppression of Terrorism Bill were met with stiff opposition from parliamentarians, Muslim organizations, human rights organizations, and some individuals, especially from the Islamic faith who were greatly apprehensive that it may violate fundamental human rights and target particular communities, particularly the Muslim society. To address this suspicion, in 2012, the government drafted a bill to incorporate voices from human rights agencies and civic leaders. In 2012 October, the Bill was passed and became an Act. Before the Act was enacted, the government was in a position to prosecute those detained for indulging in terror activities utilizing the general criminal law which was not adequate as far as the terrorist mastermind's prosecution was concerned.

2.2.3 Opportunities of Instruments of Foreign Policy

Since the Cold War ended, the United States has struggled with foreign policy implementation on counterterrorism. With the Soviet Union's dissolution following the collapse of the Berlin Wall on November 9, 1989, the US virtually found overnight itself alone as the superpower world sole (Kaburu & Adar, 2020). At the top alone, with no conventional threats, such as another ideologically-opposed superpower anywhere on the policy makers' immediate horizon, both parties failed to define American national interests collectively. Indeed, the great tragedy was that the citizens failed to capitalize on a unique

opportunity in which we could shepherd an era of global peace and prosperity and bring many countries which are estranged into the fold (Yetiv, 2013).

According to Biegon and Watts (2020), the current US regime accentuates shared responsibilities, partners becoming independent of US assistance, and energy dominance. Achieving structural power within international relations and reciprocity with friendly states to weaken the appeal for jihadist terrorism were also given priority. The 2018 US National Defense Strategy builds on alliances, increased lethal force, and linked transnational terrorism to geostrategic issues by states. Biegon and Watts (2020) also opine that the use of armed drones has been expanded for targeted attacks to increase the geographic scope and strike quantity against Al-Shabaab in 2018 and 2019. Attacks launched by the US have utilized Special Operations Forces (SOF) and the Joint Special Operations Command (JSOC).

Among world history's rarest happenings, a period of benevolent sole hegemony was passed. To be considered fair, the mandate facing our country's policymakers was a major undertaking; the collapse of our greatest foe and the immediate national policy new need no doubt shocked the core of those whose life's work had been defeating and dismantling the communist threat (Ringquist, 2011). With the threat of disappearance that in many ways defined their personal and professional lives, the urgency and sense of finding a new cause was notably significant.

According to Chome (2016), the war in Somalia is both unconventional and asymmetric since terrorists attack soft targets while differing greatly from KDF in military capabilities. However, military intervention has been found not always to be successful in preventing or stopping terrorist activities. Military activities may succeed to disrupt

terrorism but not stop these threats completely. These results have been attributed to Kenya's reluctance to strongly cooperate in some counter-terrorism efforts while resisting compliance in others.

Gimba and Ibrahim (2018) noted that national interest holds the central position in the formulation of foreign policy as guided by specific principles and influenced by external conditions. Oluoch (2017) identifies political instruments to comprise international alliances and diplomacy which is the use of tact and intelligence in conducting international relations. The result is to achieve a state's way in international politics and build international stability. According to Oluoch (2017), diplomacy includes arbitration done informally by diplomats on an issue and comes to a decision based on international law or formally through the International Court of Justice at The Hague. Thus, the international conference involves making decisions based on political discussion and not international law.

Lind *et al.,* (2017) note that informal diplomacy involves non-official persons accomplishing agreements. For example, the Vienna Convention sets out diplomatic relations and rules which define diplomatic relations between States and specifies rights, immunities and rules for international agreements. Lind *et al* (2017) further elucidate that when two or more Foreign Policy actors agree to cooperate on issues of common interest alliances are made. These can either be open or maintained secretly and formal or informal, that is with or without structures created to support and manage them.

Murky (2017) note that economic instruments engage strategies that include foreign Aid, economic sanctions and foreign economic policy. Foreign Aid improves how states relate with other states and accomplish their own foreign policy goals. Further, foreign Aid

may be used in a coercive manner when there is a link between the reception of Aid and certain policy objectives of the donor. This is through its effect on economic, human and social development as was used by the West during the Moi era. Murky (2017) concludes that foreign Aid is categorized into humanitarian, development and military aid.

Ali (2018) opines that humanitarian Aid is offered to relieve human suffering but does not tackle the causes while development Aid assists the state in social and economic advancement. Military Aid maintains the military balance of power and strengthens the military capabilities of recipient states that receive or buy military equipment and technology. To this end, Ali (2018) further notes that the US and Israel have been involved in the training and equipping of Kenya's military.

According to Sempijja and Nkosi (2019), military instruments may either be persuasive through military pressure, that is, a threat by a Foreign Policy actor to use military force, or coercively engage in war to achieve certain objectives. Another form of military pressure identified by Sempijja and Nkosi (2019) is deterrence where a state shows off its military force and equipment to warn another state not to act in a certain way. The possibility of actual warfare has made military pressure to be efficient in achieving foreign policy objectives and thus preventing physical conflict and preserving peace. This however has the inherent risks of escalating a conflict and resulting in actual war.

Gimba and Ibrahim (2018) revealed that foreign policy originates from the need to fulfill several objectives including national objectives namely protection of territorial integrity and independence and enhancing security and peace which in the case of Kenya in East Africa. Gimba and Ibrahim (2018) also opine that other sources of foreign policy objectives are promoting individual cohesion and highlighting the country's representation

and status in the world. Additionally, are advancing her economic success and her citizens, promoting international trade, and advancing interests and partnerships with the Kenyans in Diaspora. Anyona (2019) further identified five interlinked diplomacy pillars that make Kenya's foreign policy namely peace, economic, diaspora, environment and cultural pillars.

A study by Spanier (2017) reveals that war is characterized by lost lives and property destroyed, and entails a great amount of risk and cost. This includes the possibility of defeat leading to failure of the pursued foreign policy objectives, compromising other foreign policy interests and objectives and placing vital interests at stake. Oluoch (2017) noted that the deployment of KDF into Somalia under "*Operation Linda Nchi*" eventually took place since international law provides war as a legitimate course of action, especially for self-defense as articulated by Article 51 of the UN Charter.

2.3 Knowledge Gap

The literature review has shown that states align their policies to serve certain interests. In this study, the shift in foreign policy has been made to protect the country from terror incidences. The literature review has shown that Kenya transformed its relations with other countries to fight terror attacks. Further, the literature review shows that very limited studies have been focused on foreign policy implementation and counterterrorism. Studies by Grace and Makoto (2018) failed to address how the attempt by the Kenyan government to send her troops to Somalia affected its foreign policy hence presenting a knowledge gap that the current study will address. Adan (2005) on the other hand opined that the government of Kenya in its foreign associations realized that a campaign on information was crucial as a strategy against counter-terrorism acts. At first, particularly in the US

embassy attack, the government was in denial as it failed to carry out a fully-fledged information campaign to enlighten and educate the public on the need for joint operations and to expose terror networks in their midst. The knowledge gap in the Adan study is that it fails to link the effect of foreign policy to terrorism which forms the gist of the proposed study.

Carvin and Tishler (2020) asserted that foreign policy behavior in Kenya is anchored on one core interest which is the national interest. It involves territorial integrity, economic well-being and national security. To understand foreign policy behavior, a study on foreign policy implementation is required. This research, therefore, sought to fill the knowledge gap in regards to foreign policy implementation and counterterrorism which has been a focus for some time now.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research design, research site, target population, sampling methods, data collection methods, and research data collection instruments. It addresses the data analysis and the legal and ethical considerations.

3.2 Research Design

According to Philips (2008), research design refers to the conceptual construct within which research or a study is to be carried out. Peterson (2005), notes that a research design is utilized to structure the study to indicate how every key trajectory of the research project works jointly to try to address the research questions' central tendencies. The study used a mixed research design utilizing both quantitative and qualitative components. The study employed key informant interviews and an in-depth qualitative research design which was meant to collect information from experts who have firsthand information on foreign policy and its impact on counterterrorism between the period of 1998-2018. Additionally, this study used quantitative research techniques involving the use of questionnaires in collecting data.

3.3 Research Site

The site of the study was Nairobi city with field visits to be made to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government. Nairobi is preferred since it is where all government departments and international institutions are located. This site was also settled on due to ease of access to primary data

from key informant interviews and respondents including diplomats, ambassadors, high-profile academics, and security experts. This site enabled the researcher to overcome the foreseen challenges to reach external actors and also overcome time and budget constraints (Taherdoost, 2016). See Appendix IV for the map of the study area.

3.4 Target Population

Kothari (2004), states that a target population is a well-organized set of services, people, events, elements, households, or groups of elements that are under investigation. The study targeted 180 respondents drawn from targeted institutions' key departments in foreign policy and the fight against terrorism. The number was considered to be appropriate in the study and also bear the respondents who are more knowledgeable on issues of foreign policy and addressing of terrorism threats in the country. The study arrived at the target population by relying upon Human resource departments and published reports. These included 10 diplomats based at the United States of America Embassy, UK embassy, Somalia, Nigeria, and South Africa since they play a crucial role in a country's foreign relations and are knowledgeable on global counter-terrorism being that their countries have been victims of terrorism, 50 KDF and Ministry of Defense personnel based at the KDF counterterrorism department, 21 security consultants, 65 personnel from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and 24 Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government (MI& C of NG) personnel (NIS, NPS, ATPU) and 10 officers from NCTC. This number was appropriate since the targeted respondents have more experience in drafting counter-terrorism policies, addressing diplomatic wrangles, and drafting foreign policy documents as well as advising on national security interests. Key informant interviews were held with

security and intelligence experts from relevant government agencies such as the NIS, NCTC NPS, and ATPU.

3.5 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size

3.5.1 Sampling Procedure

Cressell (2003) noted that sample size is a representative portion of a single item from a wider group or population for a particular research or study. This study sought to utilize both probability and non-probability sampling methods to arrive at the sample size. The sampling method was based on the characteristics of every sample category. For diplomats/ambassadors, and security experts, this study utilized the purposive sampling method since these are experts who know about foreign policy processes and counterterrorism. For KDF personnel the study utilized a stratified sampling method. This is because the KDF personnel is stratified or grouped into various ranks which different job descriptions or roles. Finally, systematic sampling methods were utilized in the case of Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Interior personnel (NIS, NPS), and NCTC personnel since the number of targeted respondents is huge and may require a given pattern of selection and basis.

3.5.2 Sample Size

Cresswell (2009) observed that a sample size refers to the single item or representative portion from a wider population or group for a given study or research. This study utilized Yamane (1967) formula to calculate the sample size as calculated below.

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

Where: n= Sample size, N= Population size (in this case sample) e= Level of Precision (0.05).

n= 180/1+180(0.05)2

n= 124

Sample %=124/180x100= 68.89%

The study sample sizes were drawn from diplomats, ambassadors, KDF and Ministry of Defense personnel, security experts and personnel from MOF and the Ministry of Interior personnel totaling to 124. These are shown in table 1 below.

Table 1: Target Population and Sample size

Category	**Population**	**Sample size %**	**Sample Size**
Diplomats/ Ambassadors	10	68.89	7
KDF and Ministry of Defense personnel	50	68.89	34
Security experts	21	68.89	15
MOF personnel	65	68.89	45
Ministry of Interior personnel	20	68.89	16
NCTC	10	68.89	7
Total	**180**		**124**

3.6 Data Collection Method

This study relied on primary data collection through the use of interviews and questionnaires.

3.6.1 Development of the Instruments

According to Creswell (2008), data collection is the gathering of information needed to address a research problem. The study utilized qualitative and quantitative data

collection techniques. The participants who answered the questionnaires are diplomats/ambassadors, KDF, security experts, Ministry of foreign affairs personnel and Ministry of Interior personnel. Key informant interviews were held with security and intelligence experts from relevant government agencies such as the NIS, NCTC, NPS and ATPU. Additionally, qualitative data was also collected through document analysis in the study. Table 2 represents the data collection instrument of the study.

Table 2: Data Collection tools Matrix

Category	Instrument of Data Collection
Diplomats/ Ambassadors	Questionnaire
KDF	Questionnaire
Security experts	Questionnaire
MOF personnel	Questionnaire
Ministry of Interior personnel	Questionnaire
NIS, NCTC, NPS and ATPU	Key Informant Interview

3.6.2 Pilot Testing of Instruments

Creswell (2008) explains that a pilot study is carried out to test the validity and reliability of the instruments for data collection. A pilot study was done to test the reliability and validity of the data collection instrument. The pilot testing of the research instruments for this study was done at the Kenya Somali Embassy which represented the rest of the study areas in pre-testing the questionnaire and interview schedule. This allowed for modifications of the various questions to improve their clarity and completeness to the key informants and respondents. The results from the pilot study were neither included in the main study nor the final analysis (Taherdoost, 2016).

3.6.3 Reliability of Instruments

According to Kombo and Tromp (2006), reliability is the ability of a research instrument to consistently measure characteristics of interest over time. The less variation the instrument produces in repeated measurements of an attribute the higher the reliability. To ensure reliability, the researcher ensured that the interview questions drawn from the study are accurately coded. The study sought peer review to ensure that the questionnaire developed is sound in content and structure after which the supervisor was requested to review as well and give his input or opinion. Finally, in ensuring reliability in this study the responses obtained through the interview schedule and questionnaires were split into two halves and then scored independently to check correlation.

3.6.4 Validity of Instruments

Validity is the extent of measurement of what we intend to measure or the truthfulness of findings. By following the requirements of research in generating findings, validity also reduces researcher bias (Mohajan, 2017). Validation of the instruments was done by content validity. Content validity refers to the degree to which the sample of the test represents the content that the test is designed to measure. Content validity was achieved through subject matter expert review (Yoshida & Matsushima, 2017). Lecturers from the Governance Peace and Security Department were consulted during the development of the instruments. Additionally, this study utilized a test-retest approach in ensuring the content validity of the research instruments. This assisted in moderating any ambiguities or inconsistencies in the research instruments.

3.7 Data Processing and Analysis

Kombo and Tromp (2006) cite that data collection refers to evaluating what already has been collected in an experiment or survey and making inferences or deductions amicably. Further, Kombo and Tromp (2006) note that analysis of data entails the utilization of statistical or numerical measurement and testing for the hypothesis. Qualitative data were analyzed utilizing content analysis. This entailed the identification of information that was relevant to the questions and objectives of the research from the raw data, coding the information, and placing the data coded under diverse themes. The data was presented through continuous pros, figures, and tabular forms. On the other hand, quantitative data were analyzed using SPSS version 21.

3.8 Legal and Ethical Considerations

Ethics is a branch of philosophy, said to have been initiated by Aristotle, which takes human action as its subject matter (Seale et al, 2004). Before the commencement of this study, the study assured the respondents of their confidentiality and safety and was well informed that the main aim of the study was basically for academic purposes and hence the adduced information was not to be used to victimize them. This study acquired informed consent from the participants of the research who were also informed that they had a choice not to participate in the study at will before the end of the exercise of the study. Approval to carry out the study entailed getting a University research permit and also approval to carry out the study was provided by the National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation (NACOSTI).

The researcher requested the respondents not to mark their names anywhere on the questionnaire for anonymity. The confidential information was only accessed by the

supervisor and the researcher. The study adhered to the school's anti-plagiarism policy by acknowledging the sources of information and paraphrasing some of the scholarly works. Notably, the study utilized open-source intelligence and any other classified information was not targeted in this study since it may jeopardize the national security interest hence avoiding any form of tension between the researcher and the security agencies. Any other classified or crucial information in the fight against terrorism will not be published and high levels of professionalism, integrity, and confidentiality were maintained throughout data collection.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

Chapter four of this study comprises; data analysis, presentation of findings, and interpretation of findings in line with the specific guiding objectives of the study. The response mirror Kenya's foreign policy implementation and the implications it has on the fight against terrorism with a focus on the duration of 1998 to 2018 specifically focusing on establishing how Kenya's Foreign Policy has evolved in efforts to fight terrorism between 1998-2018, evaluating the effectiveness of foreign policy implementation strategies in the fight against terrorism in Kenya and assessing the opportunities of foreign policy instruments in the fight against terrorism in Kenya. The study analyzed the socio-demographic data followed by analyzing the study variables. The analysis of the respondents was carried out through descriptive statistics with the presentation of data done through interactive tables and figures. SPSS version 21 was used to analyze data.

4.2 Response Rate

Firstly, this study sought to find out the response rate of the respondents. According to the response rate represented in table 4.1, the study distributed 124 questionnaires. Out of the 124, 70% of the questionnaires representing 87 respondents were returned while 30% of the questionnaires representing 37 of the respondents were not returned. Out of the 87 respondents, 10 senior NIS, NCTC, NPS, and ATPU were additionally interviewed after a holistic key informant interview session. Creswell (2008) cited that any response which

is above 60% is considered satisfactory and adequate to make the findings of a study to be reliable. The findings are as presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Response Rate

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Responded	87	70%
Non-respondents	37	30%
Total	**124**	**100**

Source: Field Data, 2022

4.3 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

This section presents the various demographic categorizations of the study. Categorization was based on age, gender, academic achievement as well as the occupation of the respondents within the study area.

4.3.1 Response by Gender

Out of the 87 respondents who formed part of this study as represented in Figure 4.1 54(62%) who were a majority of the respondents were male while 33(38%) were female. This shows that the study was dominated by male respondents. It also shows that the field of policing and national security governance is dominated by the male gender going by the nature and masculinity of the security profession.

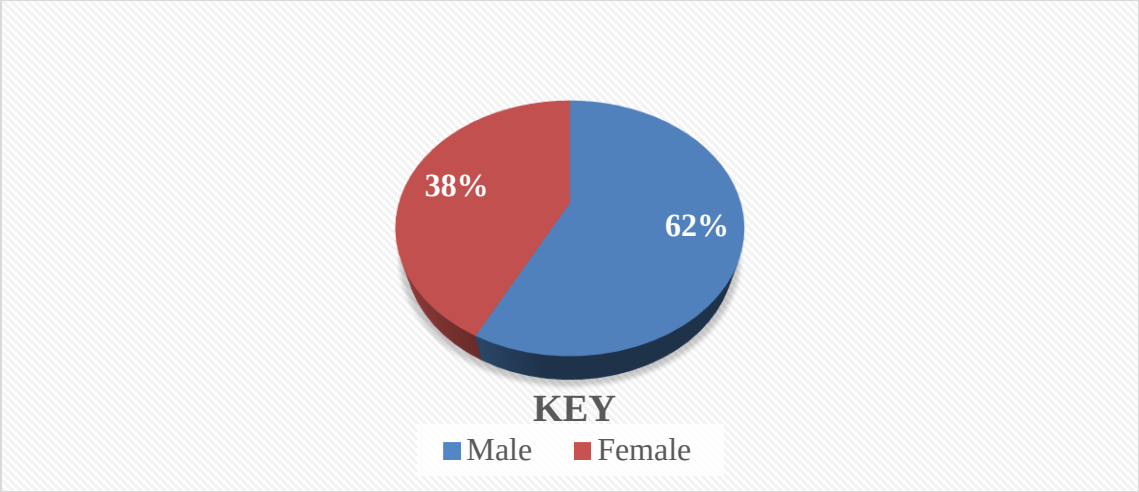

Figure 4.1 Responses on Gender, Source: Field Data, 2022

Additionally, the majority of the respondents indicated that they were working with the Ministry of foreign affairs and had participated in several foreign affairs activities whose main aim was to have a global concerted effort in the war against terror across the globe and East Africa as well. The majority of them noted that they had participated in drafting strategic foreign affairs policies which have been pivotal in ensuring the fight against terrorism in the country. A significant percentage of the respondents also came from diplomats/ambassadors, KDF, security experts, Ministry of foreign affairs personnel, and Ministry of Interior personnel.

4.3.2 Response to the Length of Service in the Current Organization

This question was filled by NPS officers who included Diplomats/ Ambassadors, KDF and Ministry of Defense personnel, security experts, MOF personnel, Ministry of Interior personnel, and NCTC. Regarding the duration of service in the current occupation, the findings indicated that the majority of the respondents had served between 6-10 years accounting for 36.8% of the sample respondents, for less than 5 years the category was

presented by 12(13.8%), 11-15 years was presented by 28.75, while over 10 years was presented by 18(20.7%) as depicted in Table 4.2 below. The length of service within an institution plays a fundamental role in determining experience in handling issues and dealing with related issues on Kenya's Foreign Policy implementation and the implications it has on the fight against terrorism with a focus on the duration of 1998-2018.

Table 4.2 Response on the Length of Service on the Current Organization

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Under 5 years	12	13.8%
6-10 years	32	36.8%
11-15 years	25	28.7%
Over 15 years	18	20.7%
Total	**87**	**100**

Source: Field Data, 2022

4.3.3 Respondent`s Level of Education

This study also sought to find out the educational qualification of the respondents. The results presented in Figure 4.2 shows that majority of the respondents had a first degree. This places them in a vantage position to understand the constructs in the questionnaire and offer appropriate feedback. This was represented by (40) 46% of the respondents. The findings also indicate that a greater number of the respondents had attained a secondary level of education (KCSE). This was represented by (4) 5% of the respondents. Those with a form six certificate were represented by (20) 23% of the respondents. Notably, the diploma holders were represented by (15) 17% of the

respondents while (8) 9% cited post-graduate degrees. In this study, education was important in understanding the topical issue as well as participating in the process of data collection. The findings are represented in Figure 4.2.

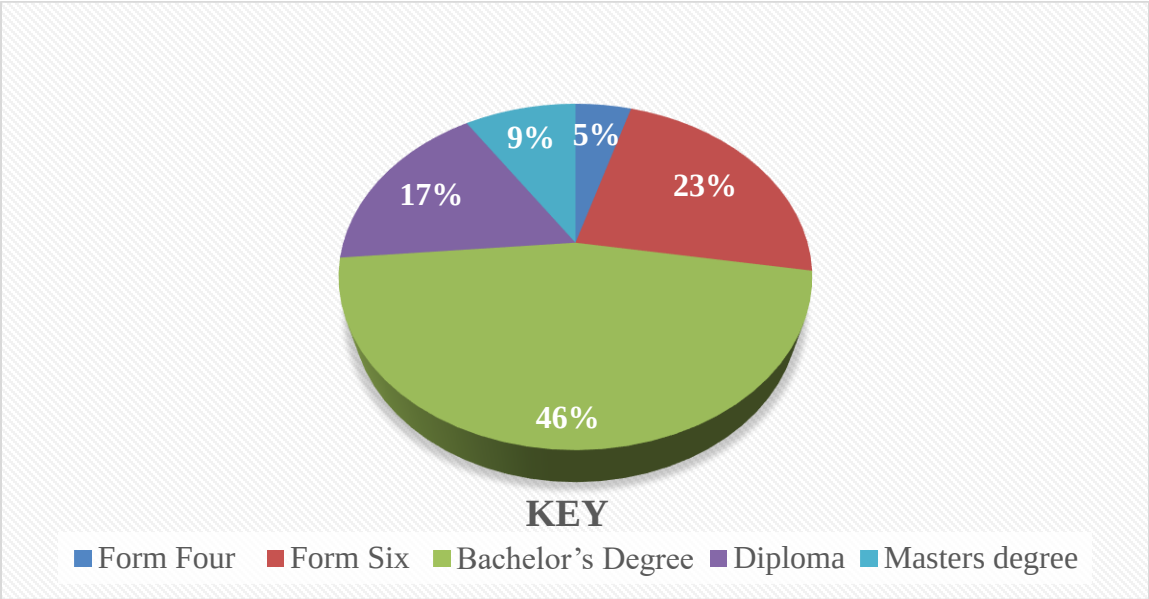

Figure 4.2 Response on Education Level, Source: Field Data, 2022

4.4 How Kenya's Foreign Policy has Evolved in Efforts to Fight Terrorism Between 1998-2018

The first objective of the study sought to determine how Kenya's Foreign Policy has Evolved in Efforts to Fight Terrorism Between 1998-2018. The objective was operationalized through; foreign policies formulated, nature of foreign policies formulated, and foreign policy trends.

4.4.1 Whether Terrorism Fight Has Been Successful in Kenya

The findings indicated that some of the counter-terrorism strategies incorporated by the country to address the issues surrounding the changing nature of terrorism include;

heightened border patrols, formation of specialized policing units such as ATPU, Border Patrol Unit (BPU), administration police service special operations unit, community policing, intelligence-led policing, Nyumba Kumi Initiative, '*Operation Linda Nchi*', legal frameworks, Financial Reporting Centre which deals with money laundering issues meant to finance terror activities, joint task forces and inter-agency coordination. However, all this is yet to make any meaningful impact on terror attack prevention in the country.

To date, Kenya has had several terror attacks with significant devastating effects. Some of the serious terrorist attacks in the country include the Norfork Hotel bombing in 1980, the USA embassy bombing in 1998 in Nairobi, the 2002 Kikambala Hotel Bombing, 17 attacks in 2012 within Nairobi, Mombasa, Garissa, Wajir, and Dadaab, Westgate Mall attack in 2013, Mpeketoni attack in 2014, Garissa University attack in 2015 and the latest one being Nairobi DusitD2 complex attack among other lesser terrorist attacks.

4.4.2 Why the Terrorism Fight on terrorism is yet to be Successful in Kenya

Although several measures have been adopted in understanding the dynamics of terrorism in terms of their mode of attacks (for instance; cyber-terrorism, lone ranger attacks, *Marauding Terrorist attacks), recruitment, funding, and dissemination of terror-related information remain a nightmare to the security agents.* This shows that the fight against terrorism in Kenya is still far from over. This calls for more impetus to address this problem through holistic foreign policy development and implementation which aims to address the challenge of global and domestic terrorism.

4.4.3 Extent of Kenya's Foreign Policy Evolved in Effort to Fight Terrorism

The study sought to determine the extent to which Kenya's foreign policy evolved to fight terrorism between the years 1998 and 2018. The response was measured in terms of extremely, moderately, slightly, and not at all. The study noted that the majority of the respondents cited that they moderately agree that Kenya's foreign policy evolved to fight terrorism between the years 1998 and 2018. This was indicated by 42.5% of the respondents. Additionally, 25.3% indicated extremely, 23% cited slightly while 9.2% of the respondents indicated not at all. The understanding of whether Kenya's foreign policy evolved to fight terrorism between the years 1998 and 2018 was key in determining the commitment of the country to embracing foreign policy in addressing both domestic and international terrorism trends. The findings are mirrored in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Extent Kenya's Foreign Policy Evolved in Effort to Fight Terrorism

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Extremely	22	25.3%
Moderately	37	42.5%
Slightly	20	23%
Not at All	8	9.2%
Total	**87**	**100**

Source: Field Data, 2022

4.4.4 Foreign policy legislations that have been developed by Kenya in response to terror attacks between 1998-2018

As one of the pivotal areas of state policy, foreign policy assumes a leading role in areas linked to diplomatic missions from the year 1998 to date. The Kenyan foreign policy also seeks to uphold strong multilateral and bilateral links which is another significant goal of the foreign policy implementation in Kenya. Enhancing traditional friendly ties as well

as creating of new relationships assist Kenya in exercising the influence and champion for its national interest across the globe. Traditional ties, such as those with the countries in Africa, are primarily maintained through regional organizations such as the East Africa Community and the African Union. The MFA from 1998 to 2018 was committed in boosting the strategic relationships between Kenya and such countries like Europe, China, and US. These relationships assist Kenya in her sustainable development efforts and acts as a force multiplier in the international arena as well as serving its strategic regional goals.

In addition to this, terrorist activities might redefine the sympathy and solidarity expressed by Kenya towards her neighbors within the East Africa Community. It therefore implies that Kenya, alongside her neighbors within the region may put aside the sometimes-serious differences in policy which they had geared against another. Overall, it is hypothesized that foreign policy in Kenya will possibly never be the same; even as the magnitude and frequency of terror-related activities seem to be reducing.

4.4.5 Foreign policy legislation impact in the fight against terrorism in Kenya and Why?

Since terrorism threat is a global concern, the MFA has been fostering strategic alliances and partnerships with the leading world organizations and superpowers in offering more drive in the fight against terrorism. Between the year 1998-2018, Kenya has also been at the forefront through the Ministry of Foreign affairs in engineering the efforts to develop partnerships between the Department of State and the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the fight against terrorism. Such strategic moves were aimed at helping Kenya in developing first Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF) outside the US. This Kenyan-

led JTTF is a multi-agency counterterrorism investigation force within Nairobi. Some of other concerted efforts include the Global War on Terrorism which aims at giving more impetus in addressing terrorism in Kenya and across the globe.

4.4.6 Statements on Evolution of Kenya's Foreign Policy in the Fight Against Terrorism

These statements on evolution of Kenya's Foreign Policy in the fight against terrorism were aimed at understanding the importance of foreign policy on a Likert scale rating. The findings of the study indicate that 50% of the respondents strongly agree that Kenya has adopted and domesticated the UN Global Strategy as declared by the UN Secretary General on Preventing Violent Extremism through its National Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism.

This was further supported by mean = 3.776, SD = 0.687. Additionally, 45% (mean=3.415, SD=0.589) of the respondents who cited that they strongly agreed that in line with Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy Kenya has been devoted to acting urgently in preventing and combating terrorism in all forms displayed by terrorists, 48% (mean=3.121, SD=0.787) cited that they strongly agree that Kenya has approved and domesticated all international conventions against international organized crimes, 50% (mean=3.654, SD=0.658) indicated that they strongly agree that Kenya has been involved in international operations by assigning military in Countering Violent Extremism in the international arena, 55% (mean=3.879, SD=0.752) of the respondents that they strongly agreed that Kenya has signed important bilateral partnerships in counter-terrorism with key member states to improve the fight against terrorism, 53% (mean=3.546, SD=0.852) of the

respondents strongly agreed that Kenya has enhanced strong regional police and judicial cooperation partnerships through intelligence sharing within the regional integration bodies to improve the fight against terrorism,58% (mean=3.548, SD=0.603) of the respondents cited that they strongly agree that Kenya has enhanced homeland security through enhancing security in airports and major stores in the country. The findings are presented in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Statements on Evolution of Kenya's Foreign Policy in the Fight Against Terrorism

Evolution of Kenya's Foreign Policy	SA	A	D	SD	Mean	Std Deviation
Kenya has adopted and domesticated the UN Global Strategy as declared by the UN Secretary General on Preventing Violent Extremism through its National Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism	50%	30%	10%	10%	3.776	0.687
In line with Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy Kenya has been devoted to act urgently in preventing and combating terrorism in all forms displayed by terrorists	45%	40%	10%	5%	3.415	0.589
Kenya has approved and domesticated all international conventions against international organized crimes.	48%	25%	20%	7%	3.121	0.787
Kenya has been involved in international operations by assigning military in Countering Violent Extremism in the international arena	50%	30%	15%	5%	3.654	0.658
Kenya has signed important bilateral partnerships in counter-terrorism with key member states to improve the fight against terrorism	55%	29%	10%	6%	3.879	0.752
Kenya has enhanced strong regional police and judicial cooperation partnerships through intelligence sharing within the regional integration bodies to improve the fight against terrorism	53%	30%	10%	7%	3.546	0.852
Kenya has enhanced homeland security	50%	32%	10%	8%	3.548	0.603

Source: Field Data, 2022

In an interview with one of the senior NIS operatives in the country, the study noted that;

> *The evolution of foreign policy in Kenya has been changing across the globe due to a number of reasons. One of the leading reasons is the heightened surveillance and formation of regional integration agencies whose main aim is to combat terrorism as well as the Global War on Terror (GWOT). For instance, the country has also embraced a number of international treaties and joint military operations such as Operation Linda Nchi which aims at improving the fight against terrorism within East Africa* ***(Source: Key Informant 1, 2022, April, 24th)***

4.5 Effectiveness of Foreign Policy Implementation Strategies in the Fight Against Terrorism

The second specific objective of the study sought to determine the effectiveness of foreign policy implementation strategies in the fight against terrorism. The specific objective was measured in terms of military strategy, CVE strategy and reliance on intelligence service. The findings are subsequently presented below.

4.5.1 Effectiveness of Foreign Policy Implementation Strategies in the Fight Against Terrorism

This study noted that 27(31%%) of the respondents indicated that Kenya's foreign policy implementation strategies on addressing the terror activities between the period 1998-2018 was very effective. Further, 36(41.4%) of the respondents cited that the strategies were effective, 10(11.5%) indicating that the strategies were moderately effective, 9(10.3%) citing that the strategies were ineffective while 5(5.7%) of the

respondents indicated that the strategies were very ineffective. The effectiveness of foreign policy between 1998-2018 was paramount in determining the most successful foreign policy initiatives and strategies which have been successful in determining the fight on terrorism in Kenya. The findings are reflected in Table 4.5

Table 4.5 Effectiveness of Foreign Policy Implementation Strategies in the Fight Against Terrorism

Response	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
Very Effective	27	31%
Effective	36	41.4%
Moderately Effective	10	11.5%
Ineffective	9	10.3%
Very Ineffective	5	5.7%
Total	**87**	**100**

Source: Field Data, 2022

In agreement to this, one of the senior NCTC officer in the country, noted during the interview that;

> *Fighting global terrorism is now a major objective of the state. There is a major support for this attempt within various government branches, across the political spectrum and among the publics in Kenya. The concerted effort in the fight against terrorism is mirrored in the national foreign policy implementation, earmarked in 2014 by the Jubilee Government. The current president has on various occasions categorically indicated that engagement with oversees and*

neighborhood cooperation remains a cornerstone of the foreign policy implementation in Kenya ***(Source: Key Informant 2, 2022, April, 26th)***

4.5.2 Statements on the Effectiveness of Kenya's Foreign Policy Implementation Strategies in the Fight Against Terrorism

Table 4.6 represents findings on the statements on the effectiveness of Kenya's foreign policy implementation strategies in the fight against terrorism in the period between 1998-2018. The findings of the study indicate that 45% of the respondents to a great extent cited that Kenya has adopted and domesticated the UN Global Strategy and the Plan of Action on Preventing Violent Extremism through its National Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism (NSCVE). This was further supported by mean = 3.895, SD = 0.569. Additionally, 55% (mean=3.568, SD=0.698) of the respondents noted that they agree to a great extent that Kenya has given priority to fostering respect for human rights and the rule of law in its long-term efforts to combat terrorism by way of arrests and prosecution of terrorists, 40% (mean=3.262, SD=0.798) observed that they agree to great extent that Kenya has deployed the military to participate in a number of international operations related to the fight against international terrorism.

Moreover, 60% (mean=3.258, SD=0.898) showed that they agreed that Kenya is involved in preventing terrorist organizations getting hold of weapons of mass destruction or materials for the production of such weapons, 58% (mean=3.569, SD=0.745) of the respondents that they agreed to a great extent that Kenya has enacted legislative and financial controls to combating the financing of terrorism while 52% (mean=3.398, SD=0.786) agreed to a great extent that Kenya has established effective international

routines for combating terrorism by enhancing international cooperation through police and intelligence gathering. The information on the statements on the effectiveness of Kenya's foreign policy plays a paramount role in gauging the achievements and contribution of foreign policy evolution in the fight against terrorism. The findings are presented in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6 Statements on The Effectiveness of Kenya's Foreign Policy Implementation Strategies in the Fight Against Terrorism

Statements on The Effectiveness of Kenya's Foreign Policy	Great extent	To some extent	Neutral	Least extent	**Mean**	**Std Deviation**
Kenya has adopted and domesticated the UN Global Strategy and the Plan of Action on Preventing Violent Extremism through its National Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism (NSCVE)	45%	30%	20%	5%	3.895	0.569
Kenya has given priority to fostering respect for human rights and the rule of law in its long-term efforts to combat terrorism by way of arrests and prosecution of terrorists	55%	35%	5%	5%	3.568	0.698
Kenya has deployed the military to participate in a number of international operations related to the fight against international terrorism	40%	32%	10%	8%	3.262	0.798
Kenya is involved in preventing terrorist organizations getting hold of weapons of mass destruction or materials for the production of such weapons	60%	20%	15%	5%	3.258	0.898
Kenya has enacted legislative and financial controls to combating the financing of terrorism	58%	25%	10%	7%	3.569	0.745
Kenya has established effective international routines for combating terrorism by enhancing international cooperation through police and intelligence gathering	52%	38%	5%	5%	3.398	0.786

Source: Field Data, 2022

In agreement to this, a key informant interview with one of the ATPU officers indicated that;

> *The 1998 terror attack on the US embassy mad e defining moment on the fight against terrorism in the country through collaborative approach. Even after the attack, the foreign policy of the country in the fight against terrorism was in denial still, the ideology was that Kenya is regarded to be a peace-loving country and does not have units of terrorism, hence the incorporated policy was among the diplomatic nature. The representatives of Kenya met with Madeline Albright, USA secretary of State and cooperated with the investigative agencies in the US. No wider national counter-terrorism strategy was actually initiated; neither was there an attempt to actually cooperate with the regional countries in drafting a joint foreign affairs program on terrorism prevention. The government lax approach was to formulate a counter-terrorism strategy anchored on the believe that Kenya was a mere victim of, not a terrorism target. Intelligence sharing among countries discourages potentially terrorists from operating in those countries and facilitates the groups monitoring within the region. After the US embassy attack in 1998, the GoK cooperated fully with US government in sharing of intelligence and in giving investigators access to incident investigations.* ***(Source: Key Informant 3, 2022 April, 18th)6***

Additionally, in agreement to the findings of the study, one of the NPS officers attached at the NPS headquarters during key informant interview indicated that;

> *In order to address the threat created about by international terrorism, the state through its foreign policy adopted the utilization of diplomacy. Diplomacy assists*

> *in building political will and provide great impetus on international cooperation. The diplomatic front exchanges help in the counter terrorism promotion in cooperation with countries considered to be friendly which assist in serving the mutual interest of each other. The mere fact that global terrorism has no boundaries makes it paramount for the governments to reach out their allies and neighbors in forging a multilateral effort in addressing the fight on terrorism threat. The foreign policy assists the other national power instruments in various ways. For instance, treaties on extradition assist in the criminal law application by assisting in the extradition of fugitive terror suspects* ***(Source: Key Informant 4, 2022, April, 2022April 19th)***

In response to failures of these foreign policy implementation strategies between the year 1998-2018, one of the NIS top officers noted that;

> *There has been a feeling that holistic cooperation with the US in the campaign against terrorism may lead to the country being targeted often. The diplomatic cooperation with the United States and other Western nations in counter terrorism operation exists still despite the hostility by a significant percentage of the population. On its own, Kenya does not have the capacity in handling effectively international terrorism. The cooperation between the US and Kenya in matters to do with terrorism is facilitated by economic interests and the national security in Kenya. The absence of security undermines seriously Kenya's economic interest which is a major pillar of Kenya's National Counter Terrorism Strategy foreign policy between the year 2004-2013.* ***(Source: Key Informant 4, 2022 April, 20th)***

4.6 Opportunities of Foreign Policy Instruments in The Fight Against Terrorism in Kenya

The last specific objective of the study sought to assess the opportunities of foreign policy instruments in the fight against Terrorism in Kenya. The specific objective was measured in terms of diplomacy, collective security and military deterrence. The findings are subsequently presented in various themes highlighted below.

4.6.1 Opportunities of Foreign Policy Instruments in The Fight Against Terrorism in Kenya

This study had an interest in determining some of the statement which applies to the opportunities of foreign policy instruments in the fight against Terrorism in Kenya within the period 1998-2018. The study revealed that 40% (mean=4.152, SD=0.985) shows that a significant portion of the respondents agreed to a great extent that military deterrence is paramount in countering terrorism, 50% (mean=4.123, SD=0.879) cited to a greater extent that that Kenya has been in the fore front of preventing wars in the global arena, 55% (mean=4.874, SD=0.879) indicated that to a great extent, there has been enhanced operational speed, coordination and technology aimed at detecting, deterring and disrupting the activities of terror attacks, 45% (mean=4.253, SD=0.789) cited that they agree to a great extent that Kenya has identified opportunities for counterterrorism partnership at global arena, 47% (mean=4.587, SD=0.658) of the agreed to a great extent that military use has proved effective in reducing terror linked activities in Kenya while 54% (mean=4.358, SD=0.896) asserted that they agreed to a great extent that Kenya's foreign Diplomatic relationships has affected the fight against terror attacks in the country.

It was important to understand some of the statement applies to the opportunities of foreign policy instruments in the fight against Terrorism in Kenya within the period 1998-2018 since they play a crucial role in auditing the success of foreign policy in the fight against terrorism in the country. The findings are presented in Table 4.7

Table 4.7 Opportunities of Foreign Policy Instruments in The Fight Against Terrorism in Kenya

Opportunities of Foreign Policy Instruments in The Fight Against Terrorism in Kenya	Great Extent	To Some Extent	Neutral	Least Extent.	**Mean**	**Std Deviation**
Military deterrence is paramount in countering terrorism	40%	32%	20%	8%	4.152	0.985
Kenya has been in the fore front of preventing wars in the global arena	50%	20%	20%	10%	4.123	0.879
There has been enhanced operational speed, coordination and technology aimed at detecting, deterring and disrupting the activities of terror attacks	55%	30%	10%	5%	4.874	0.879
Kenya has identified opportunities for counterterrorism partnership at global arena	45%	35%	15%	5%	4.253	0.789
Military use has proved effective in reducing terror linked activities in Kenya	47%	30%	20%	3%	4.587	0.658
Kenya's foreign Diplomatic relationships has affected the fight against terror attacks in the country.	54%	30%	10%	6%	4.358	0.896

Source: Field Data, 2022

In agreement to this, one of the key informant interviews from NCTC revealed that;

> *Foreign policy in Kenya serves as a tool being utilized in pursuing, protecting and promoting the national interest, values and security abroad. In this regard, the economic pillar seeks to acquire a robust economic engagement in order to secure social economic growth in Kenya and prosperity which seeks to ensure that Kenya becomes an industrialized economy and a middle-income economy by the year 2030. The cultural pillar seeks to adopt culture as paramount pillar aiming to use culture as vital mandate in international relations. These pillars are premised on core strategies and priorities for multilateral and bilateral engagement.* ***(Source: Key Informant 6, 2022, April, 19th).***

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION, SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion, summary, conclusion and recommendations of the study. This is premised on the findings of the study which are discussed and presented in the previous chapters. The study determined several findings which make a direct contribution to policy formulation and knowledge. Recommendations both for further studies as well as practice and policy have been made.

5.2 Discussion of Findings

This study sought to assess Kenya's foreign policy implementation and the implications it has on the fight against terrorism with a focus on the duration of 1998 to 2018. The task entailed; establishing how Kenya's Foreign Policy has evolved in efforts to fight terrorism between 1998-2018, evaluating the effectiveness of foreign policy implementation strategies in the fight against terrorism, and assessing the opportunities of foreign policy instruments in the fight against terrorism in Kenya as well reviewing of past studies with the view of establishing and seeking to bridge the key academic gaps which were presented in the studies. This was made possible through in-depth library research. This study adopted a descriptive survey design and quantitative research design as the key approach to guide the study.

5.2.1 How Kenya's Foreign Policy has evolved in efforts to fight terrorism between 1998-2018

The study noted that 42.5% of the respondents cited that they moderately agreed that Kenya's foreign policy had evolved to fight terrorism between the years 1998 and 2018. Additionally, 25.3% indicated that they extremely agreed, 23% agreed slightly while 9.2% of the respondents indicated that foreign policy had not evolved at all. The understanding of whether Kenya's foreign policy had evolved to fight terrorism between the years 1998 and 2018 was key in determining the commitment of the country to embracing foreign policy in addressing both domestic and international terrorism trends.

The findings are supported by Ruschmann, & Marzilli. (2005) argue that to effectively fight terror activities, countries allied with the USA have to employ several strategies from military force, diplomacy, cyber security, and coming up with regulations and policies. diplomatic means, cyber security, military courts, and putting in place regulations. The military force policy enacted in September 2001 is the most applied strategy by the US government.

The findings also agreed with Latimer (2011) that Interventions in fighting terror activities by the US government entailed the granting of authority by the Congress to the President in using military force against the terrorist suspects, sympathizers, and financiers of the September 18, 2001 terrorism attack and the Patriot Act enactment to offer needed legal frameworks of launching the war on terrorism abroad and the USA. In November of the same year, the US President signed executive order empowering military tribunals to conduct trials and detain non-citizens on offenses related to terrorism.

The findings are supported by Okoth (2010) and Adar (2007) who cited that Kenya's foreign policy can be viewed within the systemic and internal factors. Internally, Foreign policy is informed by the domestic political dynamics, which are characterized occasionally by exclusion and inclusion on the grounds of political and ethnic orientation and the incumbent idiosyncrasies. For instance, the political transition in Kenya from *a de jur*e one-party state to a 1990s multiparty state witnessed parliament increase in involvement in the process of foreign policy. Adar (2007), Ringquist, (2011), and Thompson, (2015) equally noted that the foreign policy-making process acquires cognizance of the vital interests of the nations such as response to possible adversaries and territorial integrity. For instance, foreign policy in Kenya toward Somalia takes cognizance of the border historical dispute between the two neighbors and its effect on their interaction (Adar, 2007; 1994; Ringquist, 2011; Thompson, 2015).

Additionally, the findings of the study indicate that 50% of the respondents strongly agreed that Kenya has adopted and domesticated the UN Global Strategy as declared by the UN Secretary-General on Preventing Violent Extremism through its National Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism. This was further supported by mean = 3.776, SD = 0.687. Additionally, 45% (mean=3.415, SD=0.589) of the respondents cited that they strongly agree that in line with Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy Kenya has been devoted to act urgently in preventing and combating terrorism in all forms displayed by terrorists, 48% (mean=3.121, SD=0.787) cited that they strongly agreed that Kenya has approved and domesticated all international conventions against international organized crimes, 50% (mean=3.654, SD=0.658) indicated that they strongly agreed that Kenya has been involved in international operations by assigning military in Countering Violent Extremism in the

international arena, 55% (mean=3.879, SD=0.752) of the respondents that they strongly agreed that Kenya has signed important bilateral partnerships in counter-terrorism with key member states to improve the fight against terrorism, 53% (mean=3.546, SD=0.852) of the respondents strongly agreed that Kenya has enhanced strong regional police and judicial cooperation partnerships through intelligence sharing within the regional integration bodies to improve the fight against terrorism,58% (mean=3.548, SD=0.603) of the respondents cited that they strongly agree that Kenya has enhanced homeland security.

The findings are in line with Munene (2012) who noted that Kenya's foreign policy is externally informed by the systemic realities as was the case of cold war politics, which made Kenya adopt non-alignment as an approach to international relations. From Kenya's continental front, foreign policy was informed by the principles of Pan-Africanism such as the need for ensuring the total de-colonialization of the states in Africa. For instance, Kenya adopted an anti-colonialist posture by opposing the South Africa apartheid policy within the Organization of African Union (OAU) provisions.

Kaburu and Adar, (2020) further noted that at the regional level in East African Community (EAC), Kenya has pursued more holistic foreign policies on counter-terrorism. Recent years have seen the policies adopted such as the free movement of individuals by the Partner States of EAC including Kenya, aiming at improving the economic and social integration among the citizenry of the community and the states. Additionally, foreign policy in Kenya has been grounded by the need for a more peaceful Horn of Africa through pacific means of resolving conflicts, and adoption of both multilateral and unilateral approaches towards addressing terrorism within the region.

5.2.2 Effectiveness of Foreign Policy Implementation Strategies in the Fight Against Terrorism

This study noted that 27(31%%) of the respondents indicated that Kenya's foreign policy implementation strategies for addressing the terror activities between the period 1998-2018 have been very effective. From the study, 36(41.4%) of the respondents cited that the strategies have been effective, 10(11.5%) indicated that the strategies are moderately effective, 9(10.3%) noted that the strategies were ineffective while 5(5.7%) of the respondents indicated that the strategies were very ineffective. The effectiveness of foreign policy between 1998-2018 was paramount in determining the most successful foreign policy initiatives and strategies that have been successful in determining the fight against terrorism in Kenya. A study by Injendi and Mwenesi, (2018) in the UK cited that diplomatic attempts in the fight against terrorism also include sharing of intelligence among countries, hence deterring potential terrorists' networks from operating in those states and championing the monitoring of groups that operate within the area.

Since the US embassy bombing in the year 1998, the government of Kenya has holistically cooperated with other countries especially the government of the US in sharing intelligence and in giving the investigators of US security agencies access to investigating the incident. The government of Israel for example was very key in the investigations following the 2002 Kikambala terrorist attack in Mombasa (Adan, 2005). As a result, the foreign relations, the US utilizes Kenya as a base for logistical mandate while conducting terror network investigations, particularly in the Horn of Africa. These diplomatic relations with other Western countries and the US still exist oblivious of the perceived strong opposition by a clique of Kenyans, especially from the Muslim communities.

The findings of the study indicated that 45% of the respondents to a great extent cited that Kenya has adopted and domesticated the UN Global Strategy and the Plan of Action on Preventing Violent Extremism through its National Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism (NSCVE). This was further supported by mean = 3.895, SD = 0.569. Additionally, 55% (mean=3.568, SD=0.698) of the respondents noted that they agree to a great extent that Kenya has given priority to fostering respect for human rights and the rule of law in its long-term efforts to combat terrorism by way of arrests and prosecution of terrorists, 40% (mean=3.262, SD=0.798) observed that they agreed to a great extent that Kenya has deployed the military to participate in several international operations related to the fight against international terrorism. This was supported by Grace and Makoto (2018) in their study on terrorism and deterrence by citing that apart from sending its troops to Somalia, the government of Kenya in an attempt to safeguard and make its territories secure as a result of the heightened terror attacks, the government through the military increased their personnel and surveillances along with the territories of Kenya-Somalia hence sealing all the porous borders. It also made collaboration with the French Navy in patrolling the Indian Ocean in an attempt to keep the terrorist off the territorial waters.

Adan (2005) on the other hand opined that the government of Kenya in the conduct of its foreign relations realized that a campaign on information was crucial as a strategy against counter-terrorism acts. At first, particularly in the US embassy attack aftermath, the government was in a denial state and failed to carry out a fully-fledged information campaign to enlighten and educate the public on the need for joint operations and to expose terror networks in their midst.

Moreover, 60% (mean=3.258, SD=0.898) showed that they agreed that Kenya is involved in preventing terrorist organizations from getting hold of weapons of mass destruction or materials for the production of such weapons. This agrees strongly with the argument by Abdullahi, (2020) that the United States enacted a national strategy for Counteracting Weapons of Mass Destruction Terrorism in 2018 and actively works with other countries to prevent and rebuff ISIS and other terror groups an opportunity to execute their interests. Numerous partnerships have also been introduced by the international community to proactively fight weapons of mass destruction The USA also provides training and financial support to partner states to be able to proactively fight terror activities and related materials.

According to 58% (mean=3.569, SD=0.745) of the respondents, Kenya has enacted legislative and financial controls in combating the financing of terrorism. This agrees with Abdullahi, (2020) that the Kenyan state has developed a Counter-terrorism Financing and Anti-Money Laundering Policy which is aggressive legislation in disrupting and preventing financial flows and transactions related to terror activities at home and abroad. 52% (mean=3.398, SD=0.786) agreed that Kenya has established effective international routines for combating terrorism by enhancing international cooperation through police and intelligence gathering. This agrees with Carvin and Tishler (2020) who asserted that the government of Kenya has sought other countries' support within Horn Africa in an attempt to boost its counter-terrorism efforts. These African nations cooperation has facilitated also sharing of intelligence among them, assisting law enforcement agencies in combating the international terrorism threat.

5.2.3 Opportunities of Foreign Policy Instruments in the Fight Against Terrorism in Kenya

The study revealed that 40% (mean=4.152, SD=0.985) shows that a significant portion of the respondents agreed to a great extent that military deterrence is paramount in countering terrorism, and 50% (mean=4.123, SD=0.879) cited to a greater extent of Kenya being at the forefront of preventing wars in the global arena, 55% (mean=4.874, SD=0.879) indicated that they agreed to a great extent that there has been enhanced operational speed, coordination, and technology aimed at detecting, deterring and disrupting the activities of terror attacks, 45% (mean=4.253, SD=0.789) cited that they agreed to a great extent that Kenya has identified opportunities for counterterrorism partnership at global arena, 47% (mean=4.587, SD=0.658) of the agreed to a great extent that military use has proved effective in reducing terror-linked activities in Kenya. The findings are in line with Anyona (2019) who noted that the military pillar places great importance on cohesion, alliance and the building of partnerships.

The military pillar ensures that Kenya's national interests are guaranteed and safeguarded to secure her socioeconomic interests. Peace and stability are conditions that are necessary for every state to develop and prosper. Moreover, Anyona, (2019) cited that the pillar pursues improved international relations and the prevention of conflict. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2014) revealed that after the Westgate Mall attack, Kenya's national interest based on adherence to territorial integrity defined her foreign policy towards Somalia. However, it could have been appropriate for the peace pillar to include security, terrorism, and counter-terrorism strategies.

According to Sempijja and Nkosi (2019), military instruments may either be persuasive through military pressure, that is, a threat by a Foreign Policy actor to use military force, or coercively engage in war to achieve certain objectives. Another form of military pressure identified by Sempijja and Nkosi (2019) is deterrence where a state shows off its military force and equipment to warn another state not to act in a certain way. The possibility of actual warfare has made military pressure to be efficient in achieving foreign policy objectives and thus preventing physical conflict and preserving peace. This however has the inherent risks of escalating a conflict and resulting in actual war.

While 54% (mean=4.358, SD=0.896) asserted that they agreed to a great extent that Kenya's foreign Diplomatic relationships have affected the fight against terror attacks in the country as Kenya is seen as an enemy for supporting the 'hated' countries for instance the US, it was important to understand some of the statement that applies to the opportunities of foreign policy instruments in the fight against Terrorism in Kenya within the period 1998-2018 since they play a crucial role in auditing the success and utilization of foreign policy opportunities in the fight against terrorism in the country.

The findings are supported by Davis (2017) who noted that diplomacy has been vocal in building political will and empowering international cooperation. In America, the diplomatic ties assist in the cooperation promotion, and interventions on terrorism with nations considered to be friendly serving each other's mutual interests. The various countries are bound to reach out to one another particularly the allies and forge a multilateral approach in the fight against terrorism. This is informed by the fact that global terrorism has no boundaries and can occur at any given time, anywhere. Through diplomatic measures, fugitive terror suspects can be transferred or deported to another state

by depending on the treaties of extradition which assist in the application of criminal law among various states.

Mogire & Mkutu (2011) additionally pointed out that Kenya published the Anti-Terrorism Bill dubbed Suppression of Terrorism Bill of 2003 to improve searches and surveillance at airports, destinations of tourists, and embassies in the year 2003. In the same year, Anti-Terrorism Police and National Counter-Terrorism Centre (NCTC) were created to offer an institutional framework for addressing threats of terrorism (Munaita, 2016). The government also outsourced the Scotland Yard Anti-Terrorism Police Unit to assist in the training of police officers on how to deal with emerging trends of terrorism (Otiso, 2009). Among the key intervention was in the year 2011 in October when the Kenyan state sent its troops to Somalia as a response to increased activities of terrorism from the Al Shabaab militia group.

5.3 Summary of Findings

The following summary informed the study based on the study-specific objectives;

5.3.1 How Kenya's Foreign Policy has evolved in efforts to fight terrorism between 1998-2018

The study noted that the majority of the respondents cited that they moderately agreed that Kenya's foreign policy evolved to fight terrorism between the years 1998 and 2018. This was indicated by 42.5% of the respondents. Understanding whether Kenya's foreign policy evolved to fight terrorism between the years 1998 and 2018 was key in determining the commitment of the country to embracing foreign policy in addressing both domestic and international terrorism trends. The study noted that enhancing traditional

friendly ties as well as creating new relationships assist Kenya in exercising its influence and championing its national interest across the globe. Traditional ties, such as those with the countries in Africa, are primarily maintained within regional organizations such as the East Africa Community and the African Union.

The study noted also that Kenya has had several terror attacks with significant devastating effects. Some of the serious terrorist attacks in the country include the Norfork Hotel bombing in 1980, the USA embassy bombing in 1998 in Nairobi, the 2002 Kikambala Hotel Bombing, 17 attacks in 2012 within Nairobi, Mombasa, Garissa, Wajir, and Dadaab, Westgate Mall attack in 2013, Mpeketoni attack in 2014, Garissa University attack in 2015 and the latest one being Nairobi DusitD2 complex attack among other lesser terrorist attacks. This calls for the need of adopting proactive measures such as foreign policy implementation which may be a game-changer in the fight against terrorism.

5.3.2 Effectiveness of Foreign Policy Implementation Strategies in the Fight Against Terrorism

This study noted that 36(41.4%) of the respondents cited that they indicated that Kenya's foreign policy implementation strategies have been effective in addressing the terror activities between the period 1998-2018. The effectiveness of foreign policy between 1998-2018 was paramount in determining the most successful foreign policy initiatives and strategies that have been successful in determining the fight against terrorism in Kenya.

The key informant interview revealed that fighting global terrorism is now a major objective of the state. There is major support for this attempt within various government branches, across the political spectrum, and among the public in Kenya. The concerted

effort in the fight against terrorism is mirrored in the national foreign policy implementation, earmarked in 2014 by the Jubilee Government. The current president has on various occasions categorically indicated that engagement with oversees and neighbourhood cooperation remains still to be a cornerstone of the foreign policy implementation in Kenya. Moreover, the study noted that diplomacy assists in building political will and provide great impetus to international cooperation.

The diplomatic front exchanges help in the counter-terrorism promotion in cooperation with countries considered to be friendly which assist in serving the mutual interest of each other. The mere fact that global terrorism has no boundaries makes it paramount for the governments to reach out to their allies and neighbors in forging a multilateral effort in addressing the fight against the terrorism threat. The foreign policy assists the other national power instruments in various ways. For instance, treaties on extradition assist in the criminal law application by assisting in the extradition of fugitive terror suspects. The diplomatic cooperation with the United States and other Western nations in counter-terrorism operations exists still despite the hostility from a significant percentage of the population. On its own, Kenya does not have the capacity in handling effectively international terrorism. The cooperation between the US and Kenya in matters to do with terrorism is facilitated by economic interests and the national security in Kenya.

5.3.3 Opportunities of Foreign Policy Instruments in the Fight Against Terrorism in Kenya

The study revealed that 40% of the respondents agreed to a great extent that military deterrence is paramount in countering terrorism, 50% cited to a greater extent that Kenya

has been at the forefront of preventing wars in the global arena, and 55% indicated that they agreed to a great extent that there has been enhanced operational speed, coordination, and technology aimed at detecting, deterring and disrupting the activities of terror attacks, 45% cited that they agreed to a great extent that Kenya has identified opportunities for counterterrorism partnership at global arena, 47% of the agreed to a great extent that military use has proved effective in reducing terror-linked activities in Kenya while 54% asserted that they agreed to a great extent that Kenya's foreign Diplomatic relationships have affected the fight against terror attacks in the country. It was important to understand some of the statements that applied to the opportunities of foreign policy instruments in the fight against Terrorism in Kenya from the period 1998-2018 since they play a crucial role in auditing the success of foreign policy in the fight against terrorism in the country.

5.4 Conclusion of the Study

5.4.1 How Kenya's Foreign Policy has evolved in efforts to fight terrorism between 1998-2018

This study was guided by two theories, namely; the Instrumental Approach and Political Realism Theory which were informed by the specific objectives of the study. The instrumental approach argues that acts of terrorism are responses to external stimuli, like government policies and actions. This, therefore, means that terrorist attacks will be a result of some factors external to any terrorist grouping. Terrorists employ surprises and therefore can be assumed to mean a lack of preparedness from those attacked. Equally, it could be explained as an act of intelligence from the attacker's side. The study revealed that the fight against terrorism requires a holistic approach and there is a need to employ both hard and

soft diplomacy through multilateral and diplomatic foreign ties. Political Realism Theory explains how the formulation and implementation of foreign policy that targets terrorism is adopted in addressing terrorism acts in Kenya. The theory further reveals how foreign policy decisions against terrorism in Kenya are made and how actions are taken at international and domestic levels.

Political realism theory emphasizes the role of competitiveness and the conflictual side of states by making a supposition that all states are driven by national interests or better said national interests disguised as moral worries. In demonstrating this towards terrorists, Kenya has implemented holistic policies aimed at weakening the terrorists on Kenyan soil. The government also conducts searches on profiled places at airports, supermarkets, and within institutions. Areas like Lamu, Mandera, Lamu, Garissa, and Mandera believed to be terrorists dominated are also searched.

5.4.2 How effective Kenya's foreign policy implementation strategies have been in the fight against terrorism in Kenya between 1998-2018

Various issues have emerged from the study. Radical terror groups carry out their attacks successfully in foreign countries either with passive or active support from the indigenous population who at some point get indoctrinated to such groups. The study noted that the majority of the marginalized youths especially within the coastal area are more easily convinced to join the terror networks hence making the fight against domestic and international terrorism to be a nightmare. Additionally, the study also indicated that the shortage of resources in fighting terrorism was marked as a key issue that was affecting the war on terrorism in Kenya and the implementation of foreign policy effectively.

To implement the policies, the governments need various resources to fuel their operations. However, as a result of the government's unlimited needs with constrained resources, it may be hard for the government to fully finance its activities on anti-terrorism without appropriate external support. Additionally, the state actors operate between institutions which constrain them continually while addressing the tension between international and domestic society. The study established that radicalization and religious extremism were pivotal to emerging issues in counter-terrorism initiatives. This issue was pronounced more in the Coastal area between the non-Muslim and the Muslim population and this had adverse implications for the war on terrorism.

Kenya's efforts in counter-terrorism are hindered by both external and internal challenges. Internally, the challenges oscillate from the availability to coordination and planning mechanisms. For the external challenges case, the agencies tasked with counter-terrorism are struggling with weaker links in intelligence and information exchange, the global pattern changing order, global powers' interests' differences, and the weak regionalism as evident with the frequent wrangles in the East African Community. Hence the study concludes that an effective fight against terrorism through the implementation of foreign policy has been slowed down by both international and domestic aligned setbacks.

5.4.3 The opportunities of foreign policy instruments in the fight against terrorism in Kenya between 1998-2018

On the impacts of external security environments, the study noted that the external environment poses high insecurity. For instance, failed states that border Kenya such as South Sudan and Somalia have affected the process of foreign policy in Kenya. The

insecurity issue that led to political instability in these countries has significantly affected the implementation of the foreign policy process. Heightened political temperatures in neighboring countries jeopardize the foreign policy of a country both indirectly and directly as a result of the border security risks. Over the last two decades, Kenya has reviewed consistently her foreign policy in line with the global terrorism contemporary realities and among the key foreign policy was in the year 2011 in October when the Kenyan state sent its troops to Somalia as a response to increased activities of terrorism from the Al Shabaab militia group.

This has been revealed through the revision of the existing statutes on the prevention of terrorism and international accords ratification. Besides, the current President of Kenya, Uhuru Kenyatta has adopted the first-ever foreign policy strategy which gears partly at confronting and addressing terrorism as a global threat to security. Hence, the study concludes that Kenya has been at the forefront in adjusting her foreign policy to the presented realities perspectives by modern terrorism acts. The local intuitions mandated with responding to international terrorism have been considered to be less effective in executing their mandate greatly as a result of the structural challenges. As a result, the current study concludes that although the local institutions on counter-terrorism have the potential to fully suppress terrorism, intertwined objectives, inadequate financing, inadequate human capital development and shortage of modern tools have led to slow strides in these agencies' execution.

5.5 Recommendations of the Study

The following recommendations guide the study; -

5.5.1 How Kenya's Foreign Policy has evolved in efforts to fight terrorism between 1998-2018

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kenya has the mandate to advocate for the greater ties at the United Nations Security Council Counter-Terrorism Security Committee. Kenya has the opportunity to make use of its UNSC non-rearmament membership in championing a significant share in terms of regional support in the fighting against terrorism. Additionally, the MFA has the mandate of developing and implementing appropriate policies which will help in the fight against terrorism. The ministry should champion the interest of Kenya as an East Africa regional hegemony in the fight against terrorism and other types of organized crimes. Moreover, the MFA needs to ensure that Kenya identifies new opportunities for international-level counter-terrorism collaboration.

5.5.2 How effective Kenya's foreign policy implementation strategies have been in the fight against terrorism in Kenya between 1998-2018.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has the mandate of leading the efforts in seeking international cooperation in the formation of a control mechanism to combat money laundering and counter-terrorism financing. Besides, through developed states' collaborative efforts, the MFA can fortify the alliances on mutual collaboration on cyberterrorism and cyber-security. This can champion the establishment of a regional center for cyberterrorism surveillance in Kenya. Also, the agencies of the governments mandated with handling emerging and contemporary terrorism forms should be helped in acquiring quality development of capacity in readiness for modern terrorism evolving nature.

5.4.3 The opportunities of foreign policy instruments in the fight against terrorism in Kenya between 1998-2018

There is a need for the Kenyan government to improve resource and financial allocation to the MFA and other stakeholders in the pursuit of seeking long-term international collaboration in the fight against terrorism. The MFA needs to collaborate with the judiciary in making sure that cases linked to international terrorism uphold formal mutual legal assistance procedures in expediting the period of such cases. The UNSC needs to assume more proactive and robust actions in reprimanding Kenya to make sure that its strategies for counter-terrorism need to comply with its obligations to international human rights. The study recommends that there is a need to realign and restructure Kenya's Foreign Policy on security and stable neighbors to make it more responsive to the worrying and emerging trend of terrorism and rope in other states' participation within the region.

5.6 Suggestions for Further Studies

The main focus of the study was on foreign policy implementation in the fight against terrorism. There are peripheral aspects of foreign policy behavior that the current study failed to consider as part of the framework for the research. Hence, future studies need to incorporate such areas. the study was significantly limited to MFA and the security experts' views drawn from NPS, NCTC, ATPU, and NIS, yet there are many government agencies such as parliament and the judiciary which play a leading mandate in the fight against terrorism. Hence, subsequent studies need to engage such stakeholders in their studies. The study suggests that there is a need to conduct research on the effect of adequate available resources both in form of finances and resources on counter-terrorism and

terrorism strategies. The study recommends that there is a need to conduct a study on security forces bilateral training between Kenya and other developed countries such as Israel, the U.K, U.S in the global fight against terror.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: INTRODUCTION LETTER

Date 21st January, 2022

Africa Nazarene University,

P.O. Box 53067-00200

Nairobi, Kenya

Dear Respondent,

RE: REQUEST FOR RESEARCH DATA

I, Esther Nyaboke Kenyanya, a Masters student in Governance, Peace and Security, in the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies of Africa Nazarene University, wish to undertake a study on: *"Kenya's Foreign Policy and Its Implications on the Fight against Terrorism: 1998 -2018''*. I therefore, sincerely request you to assist in filling this questionnaire.

Please note that any information you give will be treated with extreme confidentiality and at no instance will it be used for any other purpose other than for this thesis. Your assistance will be highly appreciated. I look forward to your prompt response.

Thanks for your cooperation.

Yours sincerely,

Esther Nyaboke Kenyanya

…….

Student-Africa Nazarene University

APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire schedule is meant to collect data for my Master of Science in Governance, Peace and Security. The title of the study is evaluating Kenya's Foreign Policy implementation and the implications it has on the fight against terrorism with a focus on the duration of 1998-2018. You have been selected as one of the respondents, and if you consent to participate, you are kindly requested to be sincere with your answers. Please note that any information you will give will be treated with utmost confidentiality and privacy, and will only be used for academic purposes.

SECTION A

Kindly fill and tick where appropriate.

Background information

1. What is your gender?

Male [ ] Female [ ]

2. What is the name of the organization/Agency that you work for?

……

3. How long have you worked within the above organization/Agency?

a] Under 5 years [ ] b] 6-10 years [ ]

c] 11-15 years [ ] d] Over 15 years [ ]

4. What is your highest level of your Education?

Form four [ ]

Form six [ ] Diploma [ ]

Bachelor's Degree [ ] Masters [ ]

Others; (please specify) ……...

SECTION B: HOW KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY HAS EVOLVED IN EFFORTS TO FIGHT TERRORISM BETWEEN 1998-2018

5. In your opinion, has the fight against terrorism in Kenya been successful?

……

6. Justify your response in regard to question 5 above.

……

7. To what extent has Kenya's foreign policy evolved in effort to fight terrorism between the years 1998 and 2018?

A. Extremely [ ]

B. Moderately [ ]

C. Slightly [ ]

D. Not at all [ ]

8. What are the foreign policy legislations that have been developed by Kenyan government in response to terror attacks between 1998-2018?

……

……

9. In response to question 8 above, which foreign policy legislations have had an impact in the fight against terrorism in Kenya and why?

……

……

10. The following are statements on evolution of Kenya's Foreign Policy in the fight against terrorism. To what extent do you agree or disagree? **Tick as appropriate. (4. Strongly agree, 3 Agree, 2 Disagree, 1 strongly disagree).**

		4	**3**	**2**	**1**
	Statement	**Strongly agree**	**Agree**	**Disagree**	**Strongly disagree**
a	Kenya has adopted and domesticated the UN Global Strategy as declared by the UN Secretary General on Preventing Violent Extremism through its National Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism				
b.	In line with Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy Kenya has been devoted to act urgently in preventing and combating terrorism in all forms displayed by terrorists				
c.	Kenya has approved and domesticated all international conventions against international organized crimes.				

d.	Kenya has been involved in international operations by assigning military in Countering Violent Extremism in the international arena				
e	Kenya has signed important bilateral partnerships in counter-terrorism with key member states to improve the fight against terrorism				
f.	Kenya has enhanced strong regional police and judicial cooperation partnerships through intelligence sharing within the regional integration bodies to improve the fight against terrorism				
h	Kenya has enhanced homeland security				

11. In your opinion, how else would you say Kenya's foreign policy has evolved in the fight against terrorism between the period 1998-2018?

……

SECTION C: EFFECTIVENESS OF FOREIGN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES IN THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM

12. How effective would you say Kenya's foreign policy implementation strategies have addressed the terror activities between the period 1998-2018?

A. Very effective [ ]

B. Effective [ ]

C. Moderately effective [ ]

D. Ineffective [ ]

E. Very ineffective [ ]

13. Please give reasons to your answer in 12 above.

……

14. The following are statements on the effectiveness of Kenya's foreign policy implementation strategies in the fight against terrorism in the period between 1998-2018. Kindly rate the effectiveness using **4- Great Extent, 3- To Some Extent, 2. Neutral-1. Least Extent. (Tick as appropriate)**

		4	3	2	1
	Statement	Great extent	To some extent	Neutral	Least extent
a	Kenya has adopted and domesticated the UN Global Strategy and the Plan of Action on Preventing Violent Extremism through its National Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism (NSCVE)				
b	Kenya has given priority to fostering respect for human rights and the rule of law in its long-term efforts to combat terrorism by way of arrests and prosecution of terrorists				
c	Kenya has deployed the military to participate in a number of international operations related to the fight against international terrorism				
d	Kenya is involved in preventing terrorist organizations getting hold of weapons of mass destruction or materials for the production of such weapons				
e	Kenya has enacted legislative and financial controls to combating the financing of terrorism				
f	Kenya has established effective international routines for combating terrorism by enhancing International cooperation through police and intelligence gathering				

15. In your view, which other foreign policy implementation strategies have been effective in the fight against terrorism in Kenya?

……

16. How has Kenya's Foreign Policy implementation strategies transformed the fight against terrorism between 1998-2018?

……

17. What are the failures of these foreign policy implementation strategies in 16 above?

.....

SECTION D: OPPORTUNITIES OF FOREIGN POLICY INSTRUMENTS IN THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM IN THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1998-2018

18. Rate the extent to which the following statement applies to the opportunities of foreign policy instruments in the fight against Terrorism in Kenya within the period 1998-2018: **4- Great Extent, 3- To Some Extent, 2- Neutral, 1-Least Extent. (Tick as appropriate)**

	Statement	4	3	2	1
		Great Extent	To Some Extent	Neutral	Least Extent.
b	Military deterrence is paramount in countering terrorism				
c	Kenya has been in the fore front of preventing wars in the global arena				
d	There has been enhanced operational speed, coordination and technology aimed at detecting, deterring and disrupting the activities of terror attacks				
e	Kenya has identified opportunities for counterterrorism partnership at global arena				
f	Military use has proved effective in reducing terror linked activities in Kenya				
g	Kenya's foreign Diplomatic relationships has affected the fight against terror attacks in the country.				
h	Kenya has been able to defend international peace and security through collective military action against aggression				

19. How do you think the foreign policy instruments below have influenced Kenya's fight against terrorism?

a) Diplomacy……..

b) Collective security……..

c) Military deterrence…….

APPENDIX III: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

This key informant interview schedule is meant to collect data for my Master of Science in Governance, Peace and Security. The title of the study is on establishing Kenya's foreign policy and the implications it has on the fight against terrorism with a focus on the duration of 1998-2018. You have been selected as one of the respondents, and if you consent to participate, you are kindly requested to be sincere with your answers. Please note that any information you will give will be treated with utmost confidentiality and privacy, and will only be used for academic purposes.

i. How serious is the problem of terrorism in Kenya?

……

……

ii. Kindly narrate the historical attacks in the country and how they have affected national security

……

……

iii. Which foreign policy legislations have been developed in response to terror attacks in Kenya between 1998-2018?

……

……

iv. In your own view, do you think the foreign policy legislations developed by Kenyan government in response to terror attacks between 1998-2018 have had an impact?

……

……

v. Which foreign policy strategies have been employed by Kenyan government in fighting terrorism in the period between 1998-2018?

……

……

vi. Kindly comment on the effectiveness of Kenya's foreign policy strategies in fighting terrorism between 1998-2018?

……

……

vii. How has Kenya's Foreign Policy strategies transformed the fight against terrorism between 1998-2018?

……

……

viii. What are some of the failures of these foreign policy counter terrorism strategies?

.....

.....

ix. Do you think the foreign policy instruments has had an impact in the fight against terrorism in Kenya?

……

……

x. How do you think the foreign policy instruments below have influenced Kenya's fight against terrorism?

Diplomacy

……

……

Collective Security

……

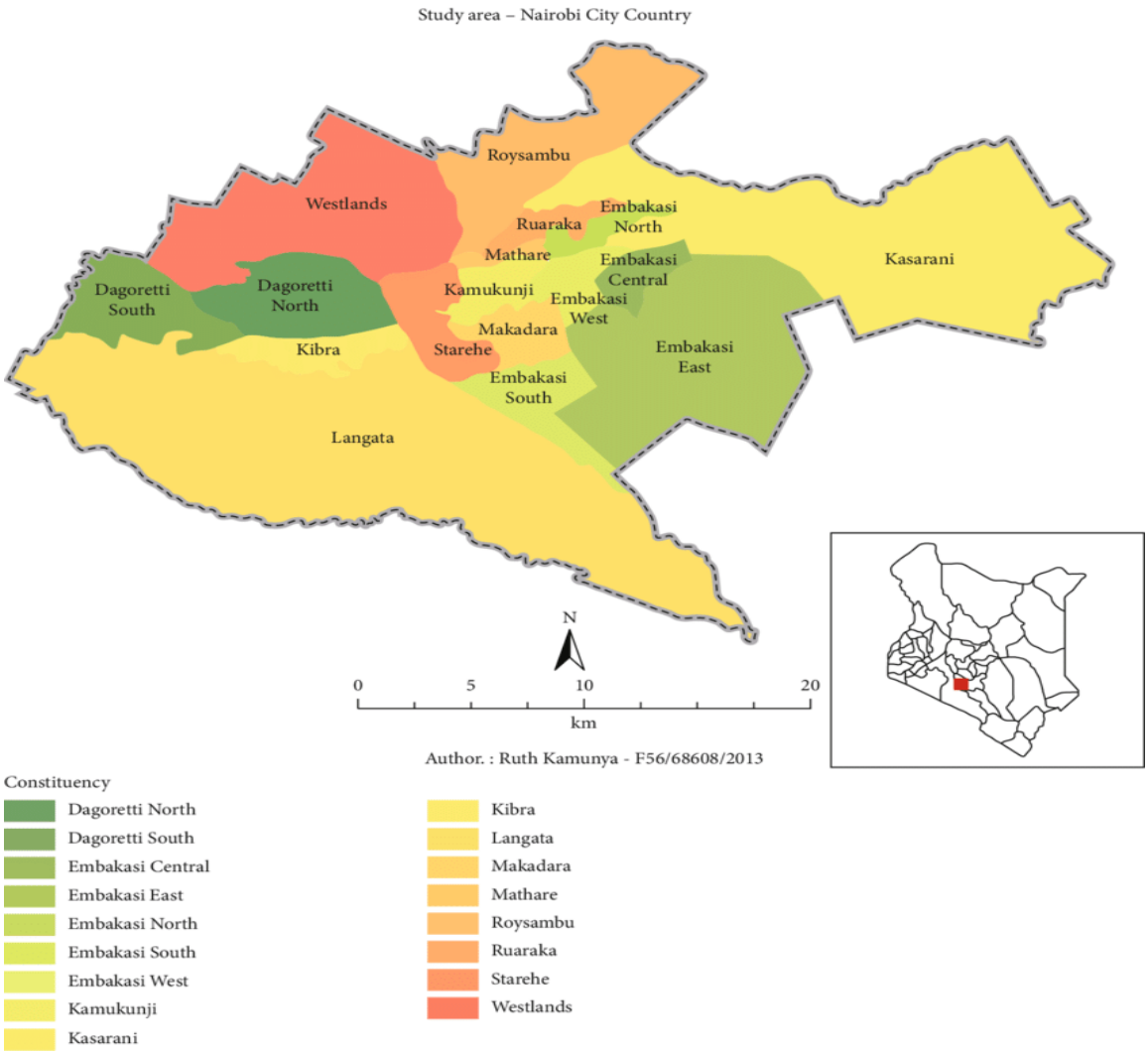
……

Military deterrence

……

……

APPENDIX IV: MAP OF STUDY AREA



Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (2022)

APPENDIX V: FIELD RESEARCH LETTER

AFRICA NAZARENE
UNIVERSITY

9th March 2022

RE: TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Esther Nyaboke Kenyanya (18S03DMGP005) is a bonafide student at Africa Nazarene University. She has finished her course work and has defended her thesis proposal entitled:

-

"Kenya's Foreign Policy Implementation and its Implications on the Fight Against Terrorism: 1998 - 2018".

Any assistance accorded to her to facilitate data collection and finish her thesis is highly welcomed.

Rodney 2. Reed

Prof. Rodney Reed

DVC, Academic & Student Affairs.

APPENDIX VI: NACOSTI RESEARCH PERMIT

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Ref No: **788381**

Date of Issue: **18/March/2022**

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This is to Certify that Ms.. Esther Nyaboke Kenyanya of Africa Nazarene University, has been licensed to conduct research in Nairobi on the topic: KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY IMPLEMENTATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM: 1998 -2018 for the period ending : 18/March/2023.

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