TERRORISM AND KENYA’S FOREIGN POLICY:
A CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS

BY

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UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY - AFRICA

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SUMMER 2016
DECLARATION

I, the undersigned hereby declare that this is my authentic and original work and has never been submitted to any other institution of higher learning other than USIU-A in Nairobi for academic credit. All materials obtained from other sources have been duly acknowledged and referenced.

Signature ........................................ Date ..............................

Kibor Robert Kibet  (I.D NO. 640644)

This thesis has been presented for examination with my approval as the appointed supervisor.

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DEDICATION

To my beloved wife, son, parents and siblings for being the constant inspiration and encouragement during this academic journey. I speak blessings beyond measure upon you.
ABSTRACT

Terrorism has increasingly become a global problem that affects all states in the international system in which Kenya is not an exception. Being a global problem, states have been thrown into disarray on how to address it yet one such way is exploiting tools of a state’s foreign policy to achieve global cooperation in the fight against Terrorism. This study therefore sought to provide a contextual analysis of terrorism and its dimensions, perspectives, factors that influence it and how it affects Kenya as a state. In addition, the study sought to examine Kenya’s foreign policy with a view to finding out how Kenya’s foreign policy has been shaped by terrorism and how the same has been affected by terrorism in the period between 1998 to 2015. It also examined whether the foreign policy response deployed by Kenya has been effective in combating terrorism. The study utilized instrumental approach as theoretical perspective due to its relevance to the topic of study. The study relied extensively on documentary and secondary sources of data such as scholarly and peer reviewed journals, academic literature, newspaper reports and other existing data on terrorism and its impact on a state’s foreign policy. The study has established Kenya’s foreign policy has not made a significant response to address terrorism more so in terms of addressing the issue of border control cooperation with the neighboring states. It has however not yet firmly dealt with the inherent institutional weakness that hinders the successful fight against terrorism. Kenya is also faced with financial challenges and makes the state unable to provide security for its citizens. However, it is evident that the threat of terrorism has enhanced cooperation between Kenya and other friendly states in the global war against terrorism and her external relations with other countries especially the western nations has soared and rightly so because this western nations have recruited Kenya as its strategic partner in the fight against terrorism in the Horn of Africa. The good working relationship between Kenya, the United States, Israel and Britain has benefitted Kenya more than any other nation in the horn of Africa.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION .................................................................................................................................... iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .................................................................................................................... iv
DEDICATION ........................................................................................................................................ v
ABSTRACT .......................................................................................................................................... vi
DEFINITION OF OPERATIONAL TERMS ....................................................................................... x
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS .................................................................................. xi

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION ................................................................................................. 1
1.1 Background to the study ............................................................................................................. 1
1.2 Statement of the Problem ........................................................................................................ 7
1.3 Objectives of the Study ............................................................................................................. 9
1.4 Research Questions ................................................................................................................ 9
1.5 Justification and Significance of the Study ............................................................................. 9
1.5 Hypotheses ................................................................................................................................ 10
1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study ....................................................................................... 10
1.7 Research Methodology .......................................................................................................... 11

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW .................................................................................... 13
2.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................................. 13
2.2 Contextual Analysis of Terrorism .......................................................................................... 13
2.3 Terrorism in the Kenyan context ............................................................................................ 16
2.4 Foreign Policy Responses ...................................................................................................... 17
2.5 Theoretical Framework ......................................................................................................... 22
2.6 Instrumental Approach .......................................................................................................... 22
CHAPTER THREE: AN OVERVIEW OF TERRORISM AND FOREIGN POLICY

3.1 Introduction .................................................................................................................. 24
3.2 Terrorism and its Various Definitions ........................................................................ 24
3.3 Terrorism and its Characteristics .............................................................................. 25
3.4 A Contextual Analysis of Terrorism in Kenya .......................................................... 26
3.5 Counter-Terrorism Interventions in Kenya ............................................................... 31
3.6 A Synopsis of Terrorism and Kenya’s Foreign Policy .............................................. 35
3.7 General overview of Kenya’s Foreign Policy Process .............................................. 35
3.8 Major Actors in Kenya’s Foreign Policy Process ...................................................... 45

CHAPTER FOUR: STUDY FINDINGS ............................................................................ 49

4.1 Introduction .................................................................................................................. 49
4.2 Impact of terrorism on Kenya’s Foreign Relations .................................................... 49
4.3 Kenya’s Foreign Relations with Ethiopia ................................................................. 52
4.4 Impact of Terrorism on Kenya’s Security. ................................................................. 53
4.5 Impact of Terrorism on Tourism Activities in Kenya? ............................................ 54
4.6 Chapter Summary ....................................................................................................... 56

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction .................................................................................................................. 57
5.2 Counter-Terrorism Interventions .............................................................................. 58
5.3 Conclusion ................................................................................................................... 60
5.4 Recommendations ..................................................................................................... 62
DEFINITION OF OPERATIONAL TERMS

Counter-terrorism Interventions

Refers to offensive interventions taken in response to terrorist acts. In the context of this study counter-terrorism interventions meant offensive interventions taken to prevent, deter and respond to terrorism. These were the legitimate interventions that the state uses to protect its citizens against terrorist activities.

Foreign policy

Foreign policy consists of self-interest strategies chosen by the state to safeguard its national interests and to achieve goals within its international relations milieu. In the context of this study it referred to the diplomatic efforts by Kenyan government to combat terrorism.

Security

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

Terrorism

Terrorism is the premeditated, deliberate, systematic murder, mayhem, and threatening of the innocent to create fear and intimidation in order to gain a political or tactical advantage, usually to influence an audience. For this study terrorism meant any act of terror that is unleashed on citizens with the aim to cause destruction of property, injuries, psychological trauma and death.
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>ATA</td>
<td>Anti-terrorism Assistance</td>
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<td>ASG</td>
<td>Abu Sayyaf Group</td>
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<td>ATPU</td>
<td>Anti-Terrorism Police Unit</td>
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<td>BBC</td>
<td>British Broadcasting Corporation</td>
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<td>CNN</td>
<td>Cable News Network</td>
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<td>FIU</td>
<td>Financial Intelligence Unit</td>
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<td>FRC</td>
<td>Financial Reporting Centre</td>
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<td>GWOT</td>
<td>Global War on Terror</td>
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<td>MFA</td>
<td>Ministry of Foreign Affairs</td>
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<td>NCTC</td>
<td>National Counter-Terrorism Centre</td>
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<td>OAU</td>
<td>Organization of African Unity</td>
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<tr>
<td>PFLO</td>
<td>Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine</td>
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<td>PLO</td>
<td>Palestine Liberation Organization</td>
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<td>POTO</td>
<td>Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance Act</td>
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<td>RDF</td>
<td>Rapid Deployment Force</td>
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<td>UK</td>
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UN: United Nations
US/USA: United States of America
WTC: World Trade Center
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Terrorism has increasingly become a global problem that affects all states in the international system. It has led to loss of life and property, and at the same time being seen as a threat to the existence of the human race. When terrorists attack a particular state the security apparatus seem to have been overwhelmed thus creating a situation where security is no longer guaranteed and fundamental freedoms like right to life, freedom of movement, and right to worship are severely curtailed.

Due to this adverse effect of terrorism, there has been a collaborated global effort coordinated by the Government of the United States of America (the US) to fight the vice. Liberalists believe that this vice can only be fought through the concept of collective security where an attack on one state is an attack on all states (Fleming, 1956). Realists on the other hand, argue that due to the anarchical nature of the international system each state should guarantee security to protect their citizens against any terrorist attack. Based on this reality, many states have therefore been forced to restructure their foreign policy behavior in line with global terrorist threats (Waltz, 1979).

Even though terrorism is a modern phenomenon the aspect of terror that is always associated with it has always been used by some states as a weapon against enemies for a long time. Nevertheless, terrorism has escalated into an international problem since September 11, 2001, when the world witnessed a new mode of terrorism as a result of dramatic and disparaging attack on the World Trade Center (WTC) and Pentagon in the United States of America (Grace & Makoto, 2008). With this great threat to peace and
security in the international system, terrorism has not been well defined or conceptualized (Alex, 1984). Terrorism is the use or threatened use of force designed to bring about political change. Terrorism constitutes the illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective when innocent people are targeted.

Terrorism is the premeditated, deliberate, systematic murder, mayhem, and threatening of the innocent to create fear and intimidation in order to gain a political or tactical advantage, usually to influence an audience (James, 1988). Terrorism is the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives (Coady, 2002).

These various definitions have made it hard to comprehensively conceptualize the term terrorism and thus difficult to develop effective and standardized counter-terrorism measures among the affected states in the international system. While there is some general agreement “that all acts of deliberate violence against innocent civilians and other non-combatants directed towards achieving specific political objectives belong to the genre of terrorism”, there remain serious differences in respect of violent reactions and resistant movements that emerge in situations where processes of peaceful resolution of political conflicts are denied and people are forced to struggle against repression, occupation or aggression (Khurshid, 2006).

There is also the issue of state terrorism, which still remains a bone of contention. For instance, there is no justifiable reason why the concept should be confined to individual and group behavior to the exclusion of the state’s use of arbitrary force against its own people and in respect of other nations and peoples. The authority of the state to use force
is conditional by legitimacy of actions. As such, the prohibition of terrorism sponsored by
the state from any conceptualization of terrorism is not acceptable in the scholarly circles
(Khurshid, 2006). Although the motives of terrorists may differ, their actions follow a
standard pattern with terrorist incidents assuming a variety of forms from airplane
hijackings, kidnapping, assassinations, bombings, suicide attacks among other forms of
violence (Sandler, 1992). Other than the casualties and physical destruction directly
carried by terrorist attacks, their actions inflict wider psychological, social, political, and
economic damage upon the societies they target. It is worth noting that due to terrorist
activities states have had to reformulate their foreign policy documents, and at times even
cut links with those perceived to be sponsoring terrorist attacks.

In the study of international relations, foreign policy consists of self-interest strategies
chosen by the state to safeguard its national interests and to achieve goals within its
international relations milieu (Macharia, 1999). It also refers to the course of action
designed by a state to achieve its objective in the international arena, hence it is a sum
total of a country's intention towards other states and non-state actors in the international
system.

Foreign policy is also the process whereby a state adjusts its actions to those of other
states so as to minimize adverse actions and maximize the favorable actions of foreign
states (Olatunde, Orwa, & Utete, 1987). According to Waltz (1979), foreign policy in
general, and alignments with other states in particular, are understood as a response to
systemic incentives in order to maximize the state’s security. The anarchic nature of the
international system, and the distribution of power among the actors within that system,
sets incentives for state behavior (Waltz, 1979). Accordingly, states align with others to
improve their relative power positions and security in the international state system (Waltz, 1979).

For instance, in the United States, several counter-terrorism interventions were developed following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. These interventions included the granting of authority to the president by the Congress to use military force against the suspected terrorists, financiers and sympathizers of terrorism on September 18, 2001, and the enactment of Patriot Act to provide required legal frameworks of waging war on terrorism in the USA and abroad. On November 13th the same year, the then president signed an executive order authorizing military tribunals to detain and conduct trials for noncitizens in the USA on terrorism related offences (Latimer, 2011). These interventions essentially altered the relationship between the United States and other states and also between her as a state and the citizens.

Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Act of 2001 and Antiterrorism Security Act of 2005 were also passed in Britain as a response to global terrorism. These pieces of legislation had effects on human rights because they legalized long detention without trial of terrorism suspects in contravention of the European Convention on Human Rights (Sidel, 2004). They also had provisions for freezing of suspected terrorist’s financial accounts during investigations without approval of courts. This denied the suspects right to be presumed innocent until proven otherwise. The same laws have been cited as the reason why there were harassments of citizens by police, repeated searches and mass detention of peaceful protestors in 2002 and 2003 during the USA-led war in Iraq and Afghanistan (Sidel, 2004). In the Philippines, the government’s response to intensified terrorism during the 1990s was generally through deterrence with military pressure coupled by
peripheral policies, addressing the various causes of intensified terrorism, although some peace negotiations were also attempted (Niksch, 2002 & Manalo, 2004).

Indeed, after the alleged Al Qaeda links in the early 1990s, the firearms strength of the influential terrorist groups, such as the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG), has increased steadily, and violent incidents of the ASG with the Armed Forces of the Philippines have also been intensified during the 1990s (Grace & Makoto, 2008). In Australia and India, counter-terrorism measures included the enactment of Australian Intelligence Organization (Amendment) Act of 2003 and the passing of Prevention of Terrorism Ordinance Act (POTO) of 2002 in India. The Indian Law enforcers invoked this Act’s provision to arrest and prefer terrorism charges on hundreds of civilians in the Eastern Indian State of Jharkaland following a mass action in the area. Security agencies also relied on the same laws in 2002 and 2003 to arrest and detain masses following a communal violence in the state of Gujarat (Sidel, 2004).

In Africa, almost all states have been victims of terrorist activities; however, States within the horn of Africa have constantly been vulnerably victims to acts of terrorism. The East African region for instance, is the most vulnerable to terrorism of all regions in sub-Saharan Africa. Efforts by regional actors to counter terrorism within the horn of Africa seems to have little impact as the region has continued to experience sequential episodes of terrorist acts (Kimunguyi, 2010).

According to Otenyo (2004), the first sign that Kenya had entered the terrorist circuit was in December 1980 when terrorists sympathetic to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) bombed part of the world famous Five Star Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi. At least 16 lives were lost and 100 people injured. In August 1998 US Embassy buildings in Kenya
and Tanzania were bombed, resulting in over 250 deaths and nearly five thousand injuries (Otiso, 2009). In November 2002 suicide bomber terrorists calling themselves ‘Army of Palestine’ attacked, wounded, and killed patrons at another Israeli owned Paradise Hotel in Mombasa (Otenyo, 2004). In September 2013, there was an insurgent attack on the Westgate Shopping Mall in Nairobi that led to the death of 67 individuals from various nationalities around the world, thus reiterating the reputation of Kenya as a hub for terrorism and violent extremism. Finally in April 2015 gunmen stormed Garissa University College, killing 147 students and injuring more than 79 others.

In a bid to develop counter-terrorism interventions, Kenya’s commitment to fighting terrorism is reflected not only in its domestic policy, that is, in measures taken within its borders, but also in its foreign policy and international relations. Since 1980, Kenya has offered military facilities to the United States to be used for operations of its Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), created by President Carter to promote geopolitical and strategic stability in the greater Gulf region; the facilities are widely used in the war on terrorism (Adar, 1995). The government also responded to 1998 US Embassy buildings bombing by deregistering six Islamic Charities and threatened to deregister more that were suspected of funding terrorism. It further investigated activities of Madrasas that were accused of teaching extremism and deported radical foreign Muslim clerics (Mogire & Mkutu, 2011).

Similarly, it published Anti-Terrorism Bill known as Suppression of Terrorism Bill of 2003 and thus enhancing surveillance and searches at airports, tourist destinations and embassies in 2003 (Mogire & Mkutu, 2011). In the same year National Counter-Terrorism Centre (NCTC) and Anti-Terrorism Police Unit (ATPU) were created to
provide institutional framework of combating terrorism threats (Munaita & K.J, 2004). The government also outsourced Scotland Yard Anti-Terrorism Police Unit to aid in training of local law enforcers on how to combat terrorism (Otiso, 2009). An important intervention was in October 2011, when the State dispatched its troops to Somalia as a response to increased terrorism activities from Al Shabaab.

According to World Organization Against Torture report (2012), the goal of the operation in Somalia dubbed “*Linda Nchi*” (a Kiswahili word meaning protect the nation) was to pursue terrorists, destroy, weaken their influence and ultimately create a buffer zone between Kenya’s border and Somalia. Additional counter-terrorism interventions were developed in 2012 such as enactment of Prevention of Terrorism Act of 2012 and establishment of Financial Reporting Centre (FRC). In an effort to adequately fight terrorists’ activities, the Kenyan State has since then enacted Security (Amendment) Bill, 2014 that amended twenty two legislations related to national security. The Bill also established Counter terrorism Centre.

### 1.2 Statement of the Problem

Kenya has witnessed the full wrath of global terrorism and as such become a major partner in the global war on terror since September 11, 2001 (Aronson, 2013). According to Otenyo (2004), Kenya has severely been hit by terrorist activities because it is popular explanation that Kenya is closely allied to US and Israeli interests and because of its proximity of easy-to-reach targets, especially American and Israeli nationals living in Kenya (Otenyo, 2004). There are also commentaries that suggest that African hospitality and perhaps more accurately administrative ineptitude, statelessness, and porous borders allow terrorism to thrive in Kenya (ibid).
In addition, (Adan 2005), argues that Kenya has become a major terrorist target due to its geographical location, ethnic composition, political stability, unstable neighbors, poverty, Islamic fundamentalism and laxity on the law enforcement agencies. The collapse of the Somalia government in 1991, has also contributed to Kenya being a major terrorist target since it has created a lawless society where crime and radical ideologies flourished (Agade & Mogire, 2011), and with powerful terrorist threat originating from the Al-Shabaab terrorist organization (Cronin, 1998).

Kenya's foreign policy since independence has been driven by the need to attract more foreign capital, maintain commercial links with neighboring states, ensure the security of her neighbors and consolidate the domestic political power base. In pursuance of those goals, Kenya maintained her independence in two different ways. First there was a dependence on the wider East African market. Secondly, there was a security dependence maintained in a defense agreement with Britain (Macharia, 1999).

Conflicted management has however, shaped Kenya foreign policy behavior in different periods. In the early 1960s, Kenya's foreign policy behavior was concentrated on the Shifta war in North Eastern Kenya. In the 1970s and 1980s Kenya affirmed commitment to multilateral political institutions, thus acted as a mediator at the behest of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Recently Kenya deployed its troops to Somalia to help restore order in the war torn country, a move that was driven by security concerns in its relations with other states.

As Kenya continues to be the target of terrorist attacks especially from the Al Qaeda and Al Shabab for its role in the Global War on Terror and military invasion of Somalia, there
is a need to restructure foreign policy behavior to reflect this reality. This study therefore sought to examine terrorism in the context of Kenya’s foreign policy.

### 1.3 Objectives of the Study
The objective of the study was to examine the effects of terrorism on Kenya’s foreign policy. Specifically the study sought;

1. To examine the impact of terrorism on Kenya’s foreign policy and international relations.
2. To examine the impact of terrorism on Kenya’s security situation.
3. To examine the impact of terrorism on tourism activities in Kenya

### 1.4 Research Questions
The study sought to answer the question: what are the effects of terrorism on Kenya’s foreign policy? Specific questions included:

1. To what extent has terrorism impacted on Kenya’s foreign policy and relations?
2. To what extent has terrorism impacted on the Kenya’s security?
3. To what extent has terrorism impacted on tourism activities in Kenya?

### 1.5 Justification and Significance of the Study
In the academic arena, the research is aimed to enrich existing literature and generate immense knowledge on the realignment of Kenya’s foreign policy in respect to terrorism and terrorist related activities in the Country.

It is also expected to bridge the knowledge gap existing in formulation and implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy in response to terrorism and terror related activities.
The research is also aimed at providing a framework for researchers and scholars to build on as they tackle the emerging trends in foreign policy formulation, implementation in response to increased terror activities in the country.

Despite Kenya being a victim of repeated terrorist attacks, not much literature is available covering the impact the threat has had on the country. Most of the literature only highlights the socioeconomic impacts of the threat such as how the threat of terrorism hurts Kenyan tourism sector. The findings of this study will inform actors in the foreign policy behavior and security agencies, in coming up with counter-terrorism interventions in an effort to fight terrorism. The study will also provide empirical evidence on the state’s performance on terrorism and security concerns during its war on terror. This forms the basis of future reference that can be cited by anti-terrorist crusaders, security agencies and even legal practitioners in law courts.

1.5 Hypotheses
This study will be guided by three hypotheses:

(a) Terrorism has occasioned realignment in the formulation and implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy.

(b) Terrorism has impacted negatively on the security situation in Kenya.

(c) Terrorism has impacted on the tourism activities in Kenya

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study
The study focused on the contextual analysis of terrorism and Kenya’s foreign policy process. The study focuses on the terror activities between 1998-2015 vis-a-vis the Kenya’s foreign policy behaviour in response to the terror activities in the country during the same period.
The major anticipated challenge to the study was how to access key informant interviewees. Terrorism touches on security issues which are always sensitive, classified and handle secretively. Due to this challenge the study heavily relied on existing documented literature and recorded interviews of key foreign policy actors in Kenya, scholars and world leaders regarding terrorist activities, security and counter-terrorism. Terrorism has attracted a lot of reactions from many quarters and therefore there are a lot of materials on the same and as such analyzing the large volume of data was a major challenge.

1.7 Research Methodology
The study relied extensively on documentary sources of data. These were scholarly and peer reviewed journals, academic literature and other existing data on terrorism and its effects on foreign policy. The choice of secondary data was informed by the availability of literature on the terrorism, foreign policy and the anarchy in the international system, and finally because of the challenge of accessing informant interviews in Kenya. Additional data were collected from reported interviews on print and electronic media available online both in video and print format. Libraries and organizational websites also provided access to some data.

The study targeted six institutions that could provide information on terrorism and foreign policy behavior. These included Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade and the Ministry of Interior and Coordination in Kenya, United Nations Security Council, and International Media Organizations including Aljazeera, CNN and BBC. The study made use of past and present information on world events regarding international terrorism and security that ranged from UN interventions in maintenance of peace and
security, international conflicts both intrastate and interstate and other events that had a direct correlation to the war on terror. The study also targeted research publications, academic journals and books that had extensively covered terrorism and foreign policy.

The data collected was subjected to content analysis guided by research objectives. This was done by grouping them in to thematic areas. The major thematic areas include: causes of terrorism, effects of terrorism, policy responses and counterterrorism interventions. The study then classified the data into groups each corresponding with the research objective. Their methodology was analyzed in order to establish patterns, similarities and differences before making conclusions drawn from the data. The outcomes of content analysis were used to produce descriptive analysis for the study.
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction
The study’s literature was organized into three broad themes associated with terrorism and foreign policy behavior. The first theme is on the contextual analysis of terrorism. The second theme focuses on terrorism in the Kenyan context. The final theme is on foreign policy responses by the Kenyan government.

2.2 Contextual Analysis of Terrorism.
Terrorism as a concept is hard to define because of its many forms, objectives, contextual fluidity, and the array of perpetrators. According Alex (1984), it has been estimated that there are well over 100 different definitions of terrorism. In a general sense, terrorism is the premeditated use of violence to achieve certain objectives. In essence, terrorism is intimidation through violence (Mathewson & Steinberg, 2003). According to Ruby (2002), terrorism is a violation of established laws. This definition is always relied heavily by various states in justifying their terrorist actions against their own citizens. Terrorism can also be defined as the use or threatened use of force designed to bring about political change.

Additionally, terrorism is the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives (Coady, 2002). It has been argued that there are four major types of terrorist movements around the world namely; left-wing (leftist), right-wing (rightist), ethno-nationalist or separatist and, religious or sacred (Cronin, 2002). Each of these terrorism types has a different style and mode of behavior
that can provide insight into the likeliest manifestations of its violence and the most
typical patterns of its development (ibid.) Religious/sacred terrorism such as the one that
is being perpetrated by Al Qaeda network, dominate the international system.

It is regarded as dominant and dangerous of the following reasons. First it justify it cause
as a struggle of good versus evil and can easily incorporate a large section of humanity
especially when it is main theme is centred on the faithful/true followers versus infidels/
Apostates in Islam (Cronin, 2002). Second, its perpetrators can unleash unpredictable
terror at the command of deities unknown to non-adherents and without regard to any
earthly concerns such as people's feelings (ibid). Third, its perpetrators can act in
complete disregard of existing social or secular values or laws and may in fact be
interested in replacing such values (ibid). For instance, when Al Qaeda's Islamic
extremists attempts to impose Sharia (Islamic) law in multi-religious or secular societies
around the world (Sieff, 2003).

Fourth, its perpetrators may be motivated by grandiose apocalyptic visions and
disconnect from or work to overthrow existing social order (Cronin, 2002). Fifth, this
form of terrorism can garner broad global appeal and support that can complicate
measures to control it, not to mention that such measures may degenerate into full scale
conflict, especially when viewed with apocalyptic eyes e.g., some Islamic clerics view
US attempts to go after Osama Bin Laden as a Christian crusade that calls for Jihad (ibid)
and finally, unlike ethno-nationalist or separatist terrorist movements, the objective of
this type of terrorism is often not material gain (Cronin, 2002).

The causes of terrorism globally are numerous but as varied as the motivations of the
many types of terrorists that exist. However, the key motivations of terrorism include
ethnic conflict, political exclusion and the resultant insurrections, illicit drugs, environmental degradation, religious differences and socioeconomic exclusion or marginalization (Silberfein, 2003). In the Middle East which is believed to be the source of religious, poverty and underdevelopment is always attributed as the reason why majority are involved in terrorist activities. Frustrations with the slow pace of social reforms in the region, coupled with poor governance and lack of social services, facilitates the proliferation of terrorist groups that purport to offer solutions to the poor living conditions (Cronin 2002).

Since causes of terrorism are complex in nature, it is not easy to find solutions that can amicably address the situation, and furthermore any solution that is developed is bound to be controversial, just as disagreements exist in the very definition of terrorism. For example, if terrorism is partly caused by unequal access to the benefits of the global economy, then solutions to terrorism would include spreading the benefits of globalization more evenly across the globe (Cronin, 2002). Yet western economic powers appear unwilling to make the global capitalistic economic system more inclusive (ibid). It is therefore very important for the states to urgently come up with solutions that deal both with the religious fanatics who are the terrorists and the far more politically motivated states, entities, and people who would support them because they feel powerless and left behind in a globalizing world (ibid). If not so then terrorism is likely to continue occupying center stage in global affairs for a while to come.
2.3 Terrorism in the Kenyan context
Kenya has witnessed all four major types of terrorism namely; leftist, rightist, ethno-nationalist, and religious (Cronin, 2002). However, the most destructive devastating terrorist attacks have come from ethno-nationalistic and religious terrorism; this is so due to a definite historical sequence. Ethno-nationalistic terrorism was mostly experienced in Kenya towards the end of the country’s colonial rule in the 1950s when nationalist movements such as Mau Mau used terror to hasten the country’s independence (Edgerton, 1989). Mau Mau movements and its proponents unleashed violence and terror against the British army and eventually succeeding in making the colonial masters to relinquish power to the native Kenyans.

From the 1990s to date, Kenya has largely witnessed incidences of religious/sacred terrorism. This is most worrying and disturbing because the proponents of these attacks have no reservations about sacrificing innocent Kenyans in the process of achieving their goals. This type of religious terrorism which has been associated with Al-Qaeda networks, that been subjecting many states Kenya included to a series of devastating terrorist attacks that in most cases has led to the loss of lives, destruction of properties and injuries (Muendo, 2003)

Kenya has always been the target of terrorist attacks due to the reason that Kenya has traditionally aligned itself with the Israeli, the US and other Western Capitalist Nations. This alignment has benefitted Kenya economically and technologically thus influencing various developments in the country. The close relationship between Kenya and the West for instance, has led to outpouring of tourists from the west especially the U.S, Canada and the UK. Secondly, the presence of western investments, installations, diplomatic
corps, and the headquarters of international agencies in Kenya such as the UN as made it a center of attraction of terrorist groupings (Soke 2003). Furthermore, the country has close military relationships with a host of western countries e.g., US, Britain, Germany, Italy, France and Israel (Somerville, 2002 & Herman, 2002) and even many of them run their military bases in Kenya (Maina, 2004). This according to (Kelley, 2003) is a major attraction and target of anti-western terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda.

Kenya’s close ties with Israel also significantly contribute to terrorism in Kenya (Harman, 2002). This is because Israel is viewed by the terrorist groups such as the Al-Qaeda as anti-Muslims due to their stand against Palestine a predominantly Muslim state. This relationship is a major irritation to foreign and native Muslims who have repeatedly but unsuccessfully been calling for the severance of the relationship (Ali, 2003). Kenya has really benefited from this relationship, for instance, during the 1998 terrorist attacks, the Israel’s strong contingent of an Israeli Defense Force rescue team was the first to arrive for the rescue mission. Given that one of Al Qaeda's major grievances against the US is its support of Israel at the expense of Palestinians, it is not surprising that Kenya’s long pro-Israel stance is viewed by Al Qaeda as evidence of Kenya’s support of US policy in the Middle East. Whether right or wrong, this makes Kenya a bona fide Al-Qaeda target (Soke, 2003).

2.4 Foreign Policy Responses
In an effort to fight the destructive effects of terrorism, the Kenyan state has employed diplomacy as an instrument of its foreign policy behavior. Diplomacy has been instrumental in building political will and strengthening international cooperation. The diplomatic relations help in the promotion of cooperation and counter-terrorism
interventions with friendly nations that serve each other’s mutual interests. The various states are bound to reach to one another especially the allies and forge a multilateral approach in the fight against terrorism (Davis, 2007). This is driven by the fact that international terrorism has no boundaries and can happen any time. Through diplomatic efforts fugitive terrorist suspects can be deported or transferred to another state by relying on the extradition treaties which help in the application of criminal law among various states.

Diplomatic efforts in the fight of terrorism also include sharing of intelligence among states, thus discouraging potential terrorists from operating in those Nations and facilitate the monitoring of groups operating in the region. Since the 1998 US embassy bombing, the Kenyan government has fully cooperated with other states especially the US government in intelligence sharing and in giving US investigators access to investigate the incident. The Israeli government for instance was instrumental in the investigation of the incident following the 2002 terrorist attack in Kikambala, Mombasa (Adan, 2005).

Due to the diplomatic ties, the USA uses Kenya for logistical purposes while investigating terrorist attacks especially in the Horn of Africa. These diplomatic ties with the US and other Western state still exist despite the perceived strong opposition by a section of Kenyans mainly from the Muslim community.

Kenya’s foreign policy behavior is premised on one core interest which is the national interest. It encompasses national security, economic wellbeing, and territorial integrity. For Kenya to successfully pursue its national interest of maintaining security, it must cooperate with the US since it doesn’t have the capacity to effectively handle threats posed by international terrorism. A part from the western nations, the Kenyan
government has also sought the support of other countries in the Horn of Africa in an effort to fight terrorism. This cooperation among African nations has also facilitated intelligence sharing between them, enabling law enforcement agencies to combat the threat of international terrorism.

Similarly, Kenya has ratified twelve international UN counter terrorism conventions and protocols in order to boost its counter terrorism efforts on the diplomatic avenue (Adan, 2005). Kenya is also member of loosely structured organization under the umbrella “Global war on terror” spearheaded by the US government. Through the organization, Kenya plays a leading role in the Horn of Africa region by allowing the United States to use Kenya as a launching pad for counter terrorism interventions in the region, and the same time benefiting from intelligence sharing.

Another instrument that Kenya has employed in its foreign policy behavior in response to terrorist attacks is military invention. However, the military it has not been effectively used to combat terrorism due to the fact that traditionally, the role of maintaining law and order is vested in the Kenya Police. Military only come in handy when monitoring and protecting the borders through surveillance services and military intelligence to assess the threat. The lack of stability in Somalia has made it a safe haven for terrorist groups to operate their networks both regionally and internationally. Kenya therefore dispatched its troops to fight Al-Shabab militia and help restore peace and order in Somalia in particular and sub Saharan region in general with a view of creating a buffer zone in Southern Somalia, which is close to the border with Kenya (Miyandazi, 2012).

Due to the incursion by Kenyan troops into Somalia, Al-Shabaab group appeared to have been destabilized, however, more need to be done especially from the anticipated
Somalia government and the people of Somalia so as to completely dismantle the Al-shabab adherents. Apart from dispatching its troops to Somalia, the Kenyan government in a bid to protect and make its borders secure as a result of the increased terrorist attacks, the government through the military increased their surveillances and personnel along the Kenya-Somalia border thus sealing all the porous borders. It also collaborated with the French Navy in patrolling the Indian Ocean in an effort to keep the terrorists off the Ocean.

Kenyan government in its foreign policy behavior realized that information campaign was critical as a strategy to counter terrorism activities. At first especially in the aftermath of the terror attack against the US embassy in Kenya in 1998, the government was in a state of denial and did not conduct a fully-fledged information campaign to educate and enlightened the public on the need to cooperate and expose terrorists within their midst (Adan, 2005). Information campaign will enable the population to identify terrorists since they are part and parcel of the community and therefore do not operate in isolation. Due to lack of resources to conduct proper information campaign there was a perception that the country was a victim rather than a source of terrorist activities (Hassouna, 2002). Since the occurrence of terrorist attacks in Kikambala and Mombasa in November 2002, the Kenyan government has intensified its efforts on sensitizing its citizen on the domestic nature of Kenya’s terrorist threat. The government even acknowledged publicly the presence of terrorists in the2003, and then started to enlist the support from the population in the fight against terrorism (Cilliers & Sturman, 2002).

Intelligence gathering enables early detection of terrorists in time for law enforcement officers or the military to act. Kenya has strived in this area to gather intelligence that
will aid the intelligence services and law enforcement agencies to effectively develop counter-terrorism interventions. Law enforcement should be equipped with relevant intelligence that will enable them to dismantle and apprehend any terrorist groupings in the country. For instance, the 1998 terrorist attack on the US embassy in Nairobi was blamed on the failure on the part of intelligence and law enforcement agencies to detect domestic and foreign terrorists freely operating within the country (Adan, 2005). Had there been an effective intelligence and law enforcement mechanisms, terrorists who were assembling the bomb in the truck in River Road Nairobi would have been detected and their actions nipped in the bud (Wee, 2004).

Finally in its foreign policy behavior, Kenyan government developed legislations on terrorism related issues even though a bit late in time after terrorists had established roots in the country. Some of these legislations such as the Suppression of Terrorism Bill 2003 were met with stiff opposition from individuals, human rights organizations, Muslim organizations, and some parliamentarians especially from the Islamic faith who were apprehensive that it would infringe on basic human rights and target specific communities, especially the Muslim community. To shade off this suspicion, the government drafted a bill in 2012 to incorporate concerns from civic leaders and human rights organizations. The Bill was passed and became an Act in October 2012. Before the enactment of the Act, the government was able to prosecute those arrested for engaging in terrorist activities using the general criminal law which was inadequate as far as the prosecution of masterminds of terrorist acts was concerned.
2.5 Theoretical Framework
Several theoretical perspectives have been advanced by many scholars to theorize terrorist behavior. They include; psychological theory and organizational theory. This study is premised on instrumental approach due to its relevance to the topic of study. The other theoretical perspectives focuses more on the organization and psychological factors rather than on the reasons that make groups resort to terrorism, why terrorists commit such heinous acts on innocent citizens and at the same time justifying the use of violence during such attacks.

2.6 Instrumental Approach
According to this approach, the act of terrorism is a deliberate choice by a political actor (Crenshaw, 1998). Based on this approach terrorist organizations act to achieve political ends. It is equally important to note that different acts of terrorism are explained as responses to external stimuli, like government policies. This therefore means that terrorist attacks will be a result to some factors external to any terrorist groupings. Terrorist actions may occur for several reasons; value sought is overwhelmingly important, the costs of trying are low, the status quo is intolerable or the probability of succeeding is high. Terrorists often prefer to use frequent surprise attack while emitting terror on innocent citizens. The surprise attacks can be deduced to mean lack of preparedness from the defender’s side to the much of adversary’s intentions and capabilities (Richard, 1982). And at the same time it could be explained as a function of intelligence.

Violence is seen as intentional and terrorism is a means to a political end. According to Thomas (1966), terrorism is one form of violent coercion, a bargaining process based on
the power to hurt and intimidate as a substitute for the use of overt military force. So governments and other actors such as the non-state actors are perceived as rivals whose actions are taken strategically and a terrorist organization aims to change other actors’ decisions, actions, and policies by using violent means. Terrorists therefore use violence to produce a change in the government’s political position not the destruction of military potential. According to this approach terrorist groups are driven by cost benefit analysis (Hermann and Hermann 1990, Sick 1990, Crenshaw 1990). They calculate the cost of doing and not doing an action and also the probability of success in their actions. The proponents of this approach also argue that the success of any terrorist activity is defined in terms of accomplishing the political ends for a given terrorist organization. However, according to Crenshaw (1988), very few terrorist organizations achieved their full ideological objectives.

It can be argued that this approach to the study of terrorism is one of the most developed approaches to the subject in the discipline of political science, it is simple and comprehensible (Crenshaw, 1988). This is because the intentions of actors are inferred from their behavior according to logical rules. Also, this approach is intellectually satisfying and provides researchers with a rather easier context of study since information requirements about secretive terrorist organizations are relaxed. It is substantially influenced by conflict studies, so its range is extremely broad as it is applied to all manner of conflict regardless of the identity of the actors (Crenshaw 1988). Based on these strengths instrumental approach will be very useful for this study.
CHAPTER THREE: AN OVERVIEW OF TERRORISM AND FOREIGN POLICY

3.1 Introduction
It is important to note that there are no universal and objective standards of what terrorism and who terrorists are; rather the word is often used to delegitimize the position of those who are not part of the dominant social groups. The term terrorism has become a common narrative in the contemporary society, it has become a primary term, similar to concepts such as freedom and democracy (Nimmer, 2011). However, the word terror which is associated with terrorism is over 2100 years old. According to Roberts (2002) terrorism was coined to describe the systematic order of terror used to rule the reluctant citizenry of the 18th century France (Roberts, 2002). Jackson (2007) defined terrorism as an uncivilized way for some social actors to advance their irrational goals, but according to social constructivists, the language of terrorism is often used to construct the evil order, and thus the word terrorism is a construction (Jackson, 2007).

3.2 Terrorism and its Various Definitions
Even though the term terrorism has been in existence for long, there is still no consensus on what constitute terrorism or terror. Various scholars have offered various definition of terrorism. Notably, Laquer (1987) has defined terrorism as the use of violence, a method of combat or strategy to achieve certain targets (Laquer, 1987). Hoffman (2006) on the other hand, defined terrorism as the use of violence designed to have far reaching psychological repercussions beyond the immediate victim or target, conducted by an organization with an identifiable chain of command and perpetrated by sub national groups or non-state entity (Hoffman, 2006). Hoffman (2006) further defined terrorism as
the systematic use of violence to create a general atmosphere of fear in a population with the objective of achieving a particular political objective (Hoffman, 2006). The definition of terrorism has evolved over time, but its political, religious and ideological goals have practically never changed (Sloan, 2006).

3.3 Terrorism and its Characteristics
Many scholars however, agree that terrorist activities attract some universal characteristics that harm economies in various direct ways such as loss of lives, and indirect ways such as the direct loss of physical capital, destruction of property, unemployment, and economic breakdown (Klein, 2007). In developing countries, terrorism is known to result in reduction in direct foreign investment, as potential investors seek safer locations to avoid putting the lives and property of both domestic and foreign workers at risk (Bandyopadhyay, Sandler, & Younas, 2013). Terrorists are also known to attack infrastructures that are critical to a given country; threats of terrorist attack on infrastructures globally include the electricity sector targeting transmission lines and communication channels (Zimmerman, et al., 2004).

Terrorists perform acts of terror in order to alter public perception of the government’s overall legitimacy or effectiveness; they have predominantly secular motivations and a rational political reason for their acts. By means of creating doubt in the hearts of citizens that their government can protect and provide for them thereby inherently causing an increase in civilian casualties that can be blamed on the government the terrorists are fighting against.
Historically, terrorism activities have been carried out by non-state actors against states in order to compel the later to yield to the demands of the former. This coercion mechanism has been used by terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda to pursue its ideological objectives. For instance the 1998 US embassy bombings was an attack directly against Americans and its allies with the expectation that cumulative graphic casualties would prompt the US and its allies to withdraw their troops from the Middle East, in particular Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Afghanistan Criminal acts such as bombing, beheadings, assassinations and kidnapping are often used by terrorists as a means to the end of whatever objective they sets out to accomplish (Razaaq, 2003).

3.4 A Contextual Analysis of Terrorism in Kenya
A part from the Mau Mau, in their bloody struggle for independence in the 1950s, Kenyans regarded the movement as heroic freedom fighters whereas the British who were the colonial masters considered them terrorists (Conley, 1963). Terrorism has been a foreign phenomenon until the country experienced its first terrorist attack in on new year eve in December 1980. The attack was witnessed in a hotel owned by a Jewish investor (Norfolk Hotel) in the capital city of Kenya, where a bomb exploded killing 20 people, 80 people injured and the building partially destroyed. It was later discovered that the attack was masterminded by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) to protest Kenya’s permission to Israeli soldiers to refuel in Nairobi during the Entebbe hostage crisis. However, PFLP denied government of Kenya’s statement that the movement was responsible for the attack, and cautioned that “Israel might use such reports as justification for raids against guerilla bases in southern Lebanon and (Israel’s) terrorist activities against the Palestinians” (Adan, 2005).
After this unfortunate terrorist occurrence, the subsequent years witnessed a relative calm as far as terrorist activities are concerned. Due to this calmness Kenya did not bother to enact any legislation to address crimes related to terrorism or develop diplomatic relations meant to achieve counter-terrorism interventions. Kenya was however, forced back to the drawing board following the subsequent two terrorist attacks, and thus redefining the government’s understanding of the threat of terrorism to its national interests and more so the pillar of National security. The government had to reorganize its national security strategy, and place counter-terrorism interventions at the center. The impetus for this shift was occasioned by the terrorist attack on the US embassy in Nairobi’s city centre on the 7th of August 1998, the twin attacks of Paradise hotel in Kikambala and the attack on departing Israeli aircraft en route to Tel Aviv in 2002 (Adan, 2005).

The US embassy terror attack in Nairobi was the deadliest ever in Kenyan history. It claimed the lives of about 220 people and 5,000 people left with injuries most of whom were the staff at Ufundii Co-operative House and Co-operative House which then housed the Teachers Service Commission. This attack which also occurred simultaneously with another attack in US embassy in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania killing 11 and injuring another 70, was masterminded by Al-Qaeda network led by their architect and leader Osama Bin Laden. It is argued that the US embassies both in Kenya and Tanzania were attacked because they were easily accessible and relatively unprotected, making them particularly easy targets. In Kenya and elsewhere in east Africa, bombing is one of the most frequent means that terrorist have used in almost all the attacks.
Following this heinous and devastating terror attack on the US embassy in Nairobi, the Kenyan government declared war on terror and swore to bring the perpetrators to justice. The US and Kenya governments’ intelligence agencies stepped up the search for the terror masterminds. Even with the terrorist attack of such great magnitude, there was no deliberate effort from Kenyan government to initiate a comprehensive national counter-terrorism strategy or foreign policy interventions that would inform its own war on terror, neither did it cooperate with regional countries in crafting a joint program for counter-terrorism interventions. Kenya was still in a state of denial and only advanced the argument that it was a peace loving nation and cannot harbor criminal elements such as terrorists. This laxity by Kenyan government to craft counter-terrorism intervention strategies was based on false assumption that Kenya was merely a victim of terrorist attacks but not a source or a target (Adan, 2005).

In addition to this assumption, there were also other internal factors such as a corruption in the law enforcement and immigration system, poor financial reporting mechanisms, inadequate intelligence system, and inadequate legislation to deal with terrorist related offences. Due to these loopholes terrorists found a breeding space in the Kenyan territory (Davis, 2007). The trial of terror suspects of US embassies bombing in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 that took place in New York exposed the existence of a terror network that had taken root in Kenya, as a result of weak immigration and security laws (Adan, 2005). Due to corruption prevalent in the immigration system at the time, foreign residents of the Kenyan Al-Qaeda cell attained citizenship and set up small businesses and Muslim NGOs.
It is in regard to these attacks and the subsequent attack on the World Trade Centre in the US on September 11, 2001 that marked the beginning of the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT). Following these attacks, the US bombed a Sudanese-based chemical factory, suspected to have links with the then Al-Qaeda mastermind Osama bin Laden. Missiles were also fired into Afghan-Pakistan border where Taliban militia and Osama bin Laden were reported to be operating from. These would be the first shots of what has become to be known as the GWOT (Davis, 2007). Kenya became fully involved with GWOT which was spearheaded by the US government, and has since then been an active member of this loosely structured organization.

Al-Qaeda executed Kenya’s third major terrorist attack On November 28, 2002. The attack was inform of two Strela 2 (SA-7) surface-to-air missiles fired at Israeli charter jet taking off from Moi International Airport in Mombasa en route to Tel Aviv with over 261 passengers on board but narrowly missed it (Eichstaedt, 2010). A truck-bomb was detonated just outside the lobby of the Israeli-owned Paradise Hotel in Kikambala along the beach, north of Mombasa five minutes later. Casualties of this attack were 15 people killed and 80 injured in the attack. From this attack it was now evident that Al-Qaeda’s attention had shifted from the US to Israel with the perceived vulnerability of both targets a clear incentive for their selection (Downing, 2009). Surprisingly, before this attack there had been warnings of an impending attack on western targets, prompting countries such as the UK, and Australia to issue travel warnings to their citizens traveling to Kenya (Adan, 2005).
These attacks confirmed to the Kenyan government a sad and unfortunate reality that the country acted as a safe haven for cells allied to Al-Qaeda. Due to this reality, the government, for instance, in May 2003, admitted the presence of a terrorist network in the country, releasing credible intelligence regarding impending terrorist attacks on western targets. This sad reality also enabled the Kenyan government to renew its commitment to comprehensive and effective counter-terrorism strategies by forming the ATPU and headed by a senior commissioner of police. ATPU helped to and bring together law enforcement officials trained in counter terrorism operations.

Another deadly terrorist attack was witnessed in Kenya in September 2013 on the Westgate Shopping Mall in Nairobi. This insurgent attack made international headlines and claimed the lives of 67 people cutting across different nationalities from all over the world. This attack again dented the reputation of Kenya internationally by reiterating that Kenya is a hub for terrorism, violent extremism, and factionalism. Kenya continues to attract terrorist activities from various terrorist groups chief among them Al-Qaeda network for its role in the Global War on Terror and 2011 military incursion into Somalia. It has become clear that the insecurity stemming from terrorism in Kenya does not remain restricted to the confines of the country. The implications of further instability, therefore, affect global security and create a critical need for successful anti-terrorism policies that promote the Global War on Terror (Kefa, 2009).

The major incidence occasioned by these frequent small attacks on the Kenyan territory was on April 2015, when gunmen stormed Garissa University College, killing 147
students and injuring more than 79 others. The militant group and Al-Qaeda offshoot, Al-Shabaab, which the gunmen claimed to be from, took responsibility for the attack. The gunmen took over 700 students’ hostage, freeing Muslims and killing those who identified as Christians (Mutambo & Hajir, 2015). These security threats have led to a shift in Kenya’s security foreign policy attention.

The frequent terrorist attacks in Kenya can be explained in terms four fundamental factors (Downing, 2009). Prime to these factors is the fact that, Kenya provides a target-rich environment for terrorists because of its relatively advanced economy and its long-standing ties with the UK, US, and Israel. The functioning sovereign government in Kenya has also been viewed as a factor since most terrorist groups from the neighboring Somalia view it as a threat to their existence, however, this view has been increasingly a subject to public opinion. Another factor is the weak governance system in Kenya which suffers in a number of critical areas, such as security and the criminal justice system. This weak governance therefore dampens the spirit of those Kenyans who might have relevant information from providing it to the relevant authorities. Finally, the presence of Muslim population at the Kenyan coast who are disaffected minority (ibid), provides both Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab, networks an environment in which they can operate with less security pressure than anywhere in Kenya. This therefore makes Kenya an attractive place for both Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab to operate (William, 2005).

3.5 Counter-Terrorism Interventions in Kenya

Kenya’s commitment to fighting terrorism is reflected not only in its domestic policy, that is, in measures taken within its borders, but also in its foreign policy and
international relations. Since 1980, Kenya has offered military facilities to the United States to be used for operations of its Rapid Deployment Force (RDF), created by President Carter to promote geopolitical and strategic stability in the greater Gulf region; the facilities are widely used in the war on terrorism (Adar 1995). According to the U.S. Department of State Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism, “There has been ongoing law- Kenya is a member of the African Union (AU), which, in September 2002, met in Algiers for a conference on counterterrorism. The conference laid out a course of action for implementation of the 1999 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention on Preventing and Combating Terrorism, and it decided to create an Algeria-based African Terrorism Study and Research Center. The AU is a firm supporter of UN Security Council Resolutions 1373 and 1269. The former “requires states to prevent and suppress the financing of terrorist acts” whereas the latter “reaffirms that the suppression of acts of international terrorism, including those in which states are involved, is an essential contribution to maintaining international peace and security.” Kenya’s recent experience with acts of terrorism has affected its public psyche and led to counterterrorist reactions in its domestic and foreign policies.

Kenya is committed to the war on terrorism at home and abroad, through bilateral cooperation, most notably with the United States, and through multilateral cooperation based on membership in international organizations and participation in international conferences. After considering terrorism in Kenya’s recent history, the next section presents perceptions on terrorism from an exploratory survey in Kenya.

Frequent terror attacks and networks across the horn of Africa region especially Kenya are creating a shift in the security systems. There is no any single state in the region that
can claim it is absolved from terrorist attacks. It is therefore important these states to discuss and chat a way forward and reaffirms the commitment of the partner states between governments, private sector and security institutions in fighting the vice. An effective and comprehensive counter-terrorism policy must go beyond uncompromising efforts to thwart those who seek to harm the citizens. Cooperation among states involved is paramount and crucial to the fight against terrorism, and various states must ensure that new terrorist recruits do not come to take the place of those that have defeated. (Benjamin, 2008).

The cooperation at sub regional level especially within East African Community should be encouraged and if possible a partnership of military and other related forces within the community should be instituted to assist in tracking of terrorists groups. A successful story in line with this line of argument was witnessed in 2010 when the suspects in the July 2010 Kampala terrorist attacks were extradited from Kenya and Tanzania to Uganda (ibid). This therefore means that if the member state encourages information and intelligence sharing then a huge step in the fight against terrorism shall have been achieved.

Kenya being an active member of the GWOT a US led organization has benefitted immensely from the US government’s Anti-terrorism Assistance (ATA) program focused on building law enforcement capacities in the areas of border security, investigations, and crisis response, and on the institutionalization of counter-terrorism prevention and response capabilities. In the horn of Africa and the continent at large, Kenya plays a major role in the counter-terrorism intervention strategies. The US anti-terrorism assistance also includes packages such as customs and border patrol assistance which has
a multinational training component including Kenya for rural border patrol units such as those in the Kenya Police Service and the Kenya Wildlife Service. Kenya also established an Anti-Terrorism Police Unit, the Joint Terrorism Task Force (later disbanded), a National Counter-Terrorism Centre, and a National Security Advisory Committee through the assistance program from US government.

Kenya has cooperated to capture terrorist suspects fleeing violence in Somalia, and has allowed a significant level of US military activity in the eastern part of the country. These various efforts have disrupted terrorist operations in the region. In terms of legislations to counter terrorist activities, Kenya has enacted various legislations namely; Prevention of Organized Crime Act 2010, Proceeds of Crime and Anti-Money Laundering Act 2011, and Prevention of Terrorism Act 2012 which together provided a strong legal framework under which to prosecute acts of terrorism. The Prevention of Terrorism Act 2012 was amended to strengthen the criminalization of financing acts of terrorism and passed in 2013. Through this amendment, the Kenyan government established the police and the Financial Intelligence Unit (FIU) as the institution responsible for collection of data and reports pertaining to terrorist activities. This amendment also formalized the process for freezing assets, deeming a person a suspected terrorist, and sharing information between government agencies.

With this dedicated efforts in the fight against terror from the Kenyan government, The September 2013 Al-Shabab attack on Nairobi’s Westgate Shopping Mall focused the world’s attention on Kenya and its counter-terrorism efforts, highlighting significant shortcomings in the Kenyan security forces’ response. The attack appeared to strengthen
Kenyan resolve to fight al-Shabab, including increased operations by Kenya Defence Forces units under the AU Mission in Somalia

3.6 A Synopsis of Terrorism and Kenya’s Foreign Policy
Kenya has never had a clear and well-structured foreign policy document since independence. However, after the promulgation of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 especially after the 2013 general elections, the ministry of foreign affairs and international trade developed an elaborate foreign policy document with several pillars carrying the key aspirations of national interest. The foreign policies as contained in various government documents then, were very hard to interpret and also difficult to be understood by the outside world. According to Mwagiru (2009) the study of management of the diplomatic service and foreign policy does not entail the study of the practical aspects of diplomacy. He further argued that the study covers diplomatic policies in certain areas of diplomacy such as; administering foreign policy; administration of the diplomatic service which include posting policy, training policy; implementing strategic plans for the government and prioritizing foreign policy (Mwagiru, 2009). He therefore, suggests that the management of foreign policy should be more concerned with how foreign policies that have already been formulated can best be implemented. And since majority of those involved in the implementation of foreign policy are in the diplomatic service, managing that service goes hand in hand with managing foreign policy.

3.7 General overview of Kenya’s Foreign Policy Process
In order to comprehensibly understand the conduct and formulation of Kenya’s foreign policy, it is important to first recognize Kenya’s political system with a view to
understanding its significance in the policymaking process. The Constitution of Kenya was promulgated in August of 2010, and with it the conduct of foreign policy has changed drastically since most institutions such as the judiciary, parliament, and the electoral commission are not subservient to the president as it were in the old Constitution (Angawa, 2010). The President does not have powers anymore to appoint High Court judges and electoral commissioners, to dissolve parliament, and to control the national budget. These powers have now been conferred to the parliament, which now constitute two houses, the National Assembly and the Senate. Members of parliament are elected by the general population but parliament has had little power to address public grievances. It is worth important to note that even with the old constitution, especially since 2003, the National Assembly had made huge step in establishing a committee system, which included oversight committees.

Under the old Constitution, the conduct of foreign policy in Kenya was the prerogative of the President. The President was the initiator, articulator and director of foreign policy. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) as it was referred to then, was in charge of giving advice and execute policy in consultation with the President. Several personalities, such as the minister of foreign affairs, permanent secretary, other related ministries, institutions, organizations, and agencies participated in the foreign policy formulation and decision making. It is therefore important to note that the ministry of foreign affairs was only a facilitator, coordinator and a steward of the country’s foreign policy; the various government agencies were complementary actors in the conduct of foreign policy (MFA, 2011).
Kenya’s foreign policy direction has since independence been designed and guided by various fundamental basic and universally recognized norms. These included among others; respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states and preservation of national security; good neighborliness and peaceful co-existence; peaceful settlement of disputes; non-interference in the internal affairs of other states; non-alignment and national self-interest; and the adherence to the Charters of the United Nations (UN) and the African Union (AU) (MFA, 2011).

Kenya’s foreign policy since independence has been influenced by various factors; chief among them is Kenya’s national interest. This national interest has manifested itself in the pursuit of economic advancement and development, the pursuit of political security and stability, geo-political factors, and increasing regional integration. Security/peace and stability has been considered the precondition to social and economic development. The government’s commitment to guarantee the security of its people and the preservation of national integrity and sovereignty within secure borders underlies the desire to advance national interests by guaranteeing a secure political environment for development.

Economic development has also played a principal role in shaping Kenya’s foreign policy. The need to pursue an open economic policy and the demand for foreign capital and investment flows, including Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and Overseas Development Assistance, has influenced Kenya’s approach to foreign policy. In Africa especially the East Africa region, Kenya’s foreign policy has been shaped by factors such as the presence of overlapping ethnic community across borders and the fact that Kenya is a littoral state of the Indian Ocean which influences its relations with landlocked neighbours. International and regional co-operation form a major component of the
foreign policy of any country. This cooperation is necessary due to the fact development and prosperity of Kenya are closely tied with her neighbours in the region. With the dawn of globalization and liberalization, the country’s external relations are being governed more and more by the need to promote a favourable environment for trade and investment (MFA, 2011).

Since independence until the end of cold war, the history of Kenya’s foreign Policy comprised of two regimes, namely; that of President Jomo Kenyatta and President Daniel Arap Moi. During this time the idiosyncratic variables of these two leaders and the fact that the country strictly adhered to its economic and ideological blueprint shaped the conduct of foreign policy. President Kenyatta, a Pan-Africanist and the founding father of the nation was the first to initiate foreign policy process immediately after Kenya became a Republic in 1964 (Nyangena & Kenyatta, 2003). He took a pragmatic approach in conducting national affairs and in policy formulation (ibid). Foreign policy concentrated on promoting and intensifying relations in Eastern Africa and Western Europe where Kenya’s interest rested upon.

According to Susan Gitelson Kenya adopted a low key practical stance to foreign policy due to the fact that the foreign policy of small states depend on their leaders policy preferences (Gitelson, 2011). This pragmatism can be linked to constitutional conferences held in the Lancaster House in the 1960s that led Kenya’s to independence (Speich, 2009). Secondly, the nation’s economic and ideological platform titled *Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965 on African Socialism and Its Application to Planning in Kenya*; that institutionalized and prioritized economic planning as the means to achieve growth and national progress (ibid). Kenya adopted a technocratic perspective to the achievement of
national goals and reliance on economic expertise while using this foundational
document as a major policymaking tool including in its foreign affairs (ibid).

This economic prioritization came to determine Kenya’s international posturing during
the cold war (Gitelson, 2011). Kenya thus adopted the principle of non-alignment through
extensive relations with both sides of the divide (the US and the Soviet Union) enabling
the country to maximize the receipt of aid and achieve assurances of support in times of
crisis. Kenya also maintained cordial relations with the United Kingdom, in terms of
continued trade and military training. It also developed and maintained relations with
communist powers such as Russia and China who provided aid and other forms of
technical assistance to the country (ibid). This extensive interactions with the western
powers enabled Kenya to be elected to the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in
1973. It also enabled Kenya to host many major international conferences and granted the
opportunity to host the location of the United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP)
headquarters in its capital Nairobi-the first in Sub Saharan Africa.

By ensuring such maneuverability, the pragmatic approach enhanced the country’s
prestige, while facilitating both international and regional trade. It also enabled the
acquiring of a wide variety of ODA for the country for the purpose of achieving
economic development and stability (ibid). However, critics point out that the Kenyatta
presidency increasingly became overly paternalistic and patriarchal; unaccommodating to
divergent views and depended mainly on achieving consensus through loyalty that
developed into ethnic politics whose manifestation was the political isolation, detention
and assassination of political leaders (Nyangena & Kenyatta, 2003).
Kenya’s foreign policy under Moi regime was more of a presidential choice, more aggressive and consequently more controversial. It was highly centralized and reflected his self-interest in defending his government against international and domestic criticism. Moi thus became more interested in neutralizing those perceived to be opposed to him.

He centralized and personalized power in the image of the ‘Nyayo’ philosophy (Swahili for footsteps) that mirrored Kenyatta’s style of leadership and cloaked in the aspirations of peace, love and unity in an attempt to stand out as a nationalist in his own right. To ensure his grip on power, he systematically usurped the functions of the other institutions of government to the extent that the principle of separation of powers was rendered ineffectual. This was because he associated insecurity and instability with open criticisms and challenges to his policies and style of leadership.

Patronage and loyalty were the main characteristic of Moi’s leadership style and governance became an authoritarian system in which the president delegated no responsibilities and became involved in almost everything in the country including the individual rights of people. Corruption, nepotism and tribalism became systematically rampant in government. The economy began to decline and human rights abuses became widespread. The assassination, repression, arbitrary arrests, political trials, torture and detention without trial of dissidents reminiscent of the colonial era became common place. This was because Moi viewed human rights as alien Eurocentric conceptions inconsistent with African values and culture. He also perceived activists as unpatriotic, disloyal and ungrateful individuals influenced by ‘foreign masters’.

Internationally, Moi concentrated on boosting Kenya’s image through participating in military peace keeping missions and negotiation of peace agreements under the auspices
of the Commonwealth, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the United Nations (UN). The country maintained its traditionalist approach but intensified working for its interests through international organizations which it was party to. It also took part in conferences and became signatory to many international charters such as the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights adopted in Nairobi in 1986, yet it did not care for its implementation (Adar, 1995). This enhanced the nation’s prestige both continentally and internationally but it could not stem the wave of criticism over governance especially in an international environment characterized with the end of the cold war and constant domestic pressure with the decline of the economy; increasing corruption and human rights violations. In the regional level, Moi put the Nyayo philosophy into practice in the following areas: good neighbourliness, peacemaking and peacekeeping (Macharia, Nyunya, & Adar, 1995).

During Moi’s regime foreign policy making process was highly controlled by the head of state, this control was seen during the single party era and during the multi-party system. Introduction of multi-party system during Moi’s era was as a result of external pressure from donor agencies that started attaching conditionality’s on donor funds and aid. This conditions from the donor agencies and the western powers interfered with the internal policies of the country and in the end interfered with the foreign policy implementation (Brown, 2006).

Kibaki’s regime (2003-2013) on the other hand, rejuvenated Kenya’s desire to maintain a strategic position at the regional and international levels that depended on how issues were responded to beyond her borders. The external factors such as liberalization, attainment of Millennium Development Goals, Peace and Security, International
Terrorism, piracy and drug trafficking, were factors to consider during formulation and implementation of foreign policies (Barkan & Cooke, 2001).

In contrast to the two presidents, it is important to note that president Moi maintained the centre stage while Kibaki maintained a low profile in matters of foreign policy formulation and implementation. The foreign policy during president Kibaki’s was a mixture of regional, continental and global foreign policy interests set out during Moi’s presidency that remained unaltered (Murunga & Nasong’o, 2006). According to Murunga (2007) Kibaki’s foreign policy making and implementation process proceeded with less interference in handing of foreign policy issues by the ministry of foreign affairs and International Cooperation and other state and non-state actors (Murunga, 2007). Kibaki’s presidency provided a relative open political, social and cultural environment for state and non-state actors to carry out their duties. Space for criticism was created and public pressure and groups also came in the formulation and implementation of foreign policy during Kibaki’s era unlike in Moi’s regimes (Steeves, 2006).

President Kibaki embarked on several bilateral and multilateral initiatives, which reopened doors to donor confidence in Kenyan’s foreign policy formulation like the establishment of Kenya Anti- Corruption Commission (KACC) at the helm of fighting corruption in Kenya. The body facilitated analysis and thorough investigation of all the appointment procedures of top key government appointees such as the Permanent Secretaries and Ambassadors. This enabled the key policy makers to be non-partisan to the head of state in decision making and at the end results affected the nature of foreign policy formulation and implementation process along with relationships with other countries (Otieno, 2005).
Regional peace and security was very important during Kibaki’s regime, Kenya played a significant role in mediating the peace processes in both the former Sudan and Somalia and even sent soldiers to Somalis to help in peacekeeping. Kibaki was known to maintain a low profile in the management of Kenya’s foreign policy formulation and implementation by involving other departments and parties like the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Vice President in the diplomatic negotiation of Kenya’s foreign policy implementation and formulation (Hornsby, 2013). With the promulgation of the new Constitution in 2010, the nature of foreign policy making in Kenya changed drastically since the powers consolidated at the head of state was substantially reduced and distributed to other key government departments and ministries were included in decision making process. Kenya’s foreign policy was then realigned to capture the new Constitution which was designed to be in tandem with the emerging realities.

Under the new Constitution functions such as international trade were included with the foreign policy function, on dual citizenship; the government enlightened Kenyans on important developments and urged all citizens who gave up their citizenship in order to secure their livelihoods, to carry on contributing to building their country through increased investments and financial remittances (Otieno, 2005). Foreign policy goals reflected the aspirations of the new constitution. The system of governing changed to a devolved system as power was distributed amongst other government bodies and individual representatives like the office of the prime minister who was also involved in the policy formulation and implementation. These opened wider consultation within the various departments in foreign policy making and implementation. Before any policy or
treaty was implemented, it had to pass various stages like the agenda setting, policy legitimating, policy and policy evaluation as the end result.

Even with the promulgation of the Constitution, 2010, the state actors in Kenya’s foreign policy have not changed much, they includes the head of state, Parliament, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Judiciary and other vital ministries such as the Ministry of Finance, Defence, Commerce and Tourism. These state actors are authorized to speak and act on issues of foreign relations that concern specific tasks. However, the head of state remains the top diplomat in the formulation and conduct of foreign policy. He represents the state in international meetings, conferences and summits (Obado, 2011). The conduct, formulation and implementation of foreign policy begins and ends with the head of state who is the president. He is responsible for the appointments of ambassadors in consultation with the parliament, who represent him in other states and all of them report directly to him thus making him a key figure in foreign policy process.

According to Clarke & White (2005), Kenya’s foreign policy serves as a tool used to pursue, promote and protect the national values, interest and security abroad. In this regard, the economic pillar aims to achieve robust economic engagement in order to secure Kenya’s social economic development and prosperity that will ensure Kenya becomes a middle income and industrialized economy by the year 2030 (Clarke & White, 2005). The cultural pillar aims to use culture as a vital role in international relations especially through the use of Kiswahili language as the pedestal of our engagement with foreign cultures and the renowned Kenyan personalities including athletes in order to exert greater influence on domestic, regional and international exchanges. These pillars are anchored on core priorities and strategies for bilateral and multilateral engagement.
It is important to note that Kenya’s interactions with other countries go beyond states, such that countries may be seen to interact with other major non-state actors such as international organizations, non-governmental organizations and even multinational organizations (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2001). This implies that foreign policy touch a lot on such organizations that influence states’ actions in the international arena, those closest to the action are the bureaucratic agencies that countries maintain to develop and carry out foreign policy.

3.8 Major Actors in Kenya’s Foreign Policy Process
According to Russet and Starr (1989), foreign policy of a state is the output of that state into the global system (Russet & Starr, 1989); It is a set of guides to choices being made about people, places, and things beyond the boundaries of the state. It includes all that a state chooses to do or not do outside its borders. It links the activities inside the state and the outside world. It puts the state into communication with the external world (ibid). The outside/external world also referred to as international system is made up of many actors; individuals, organizations and other states. The conduct of foreign policy process in Kenya is vested on the head of State (President). The president appoints the cabinet secretary in charge of the foreign ministry whose responsibility is that of advice and execution of foreign policy in consultation with the President. The appointment of the cabinet secretary and other diplomats/envoys representing Kenya abroad must be vetted and approved by the National Assembly as per the Provisions of the Constitution.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs plays the role of a facilitator, co-coordinator and a steward of the country’s foreign policy; the various government agencies are complementary actors
in the conduct of foreign policy (MFA, 2011). The ministry of foreign affairs also is mandated with the responsibility of dealing with matters related to the actions of states and non-state actors in the international system. The ministry co-ordinates the work of ambassadors and heads of missions, it obtains also information which is used in foreign policy decision making process. The conduct, formulation and implementation of Kenya’s foreign policy have attracted different actors. These actors can be broadly grouped into two namely; domestic and external actors. The domestic actors include; the executive, the legislature, the judiciary, and civil society. The external actors include; international law, international organizations and multilateral donors together with international public opinion.

These actors influence the foreign policy at varies degrees depending on which institution wields much power than the other and on the personalities that head them from time to time (ibid). It is worth to note that the foreign policy of any state is the combination of principles and norms, which guide or determine relations between that state and other states or bodies in the international system. Domestic factors in Kenya and majority of African countries, is dominated by the executive branch of the government which is the chief actor in foreign policy making process and implementation. The executive is headed by the President and has the final word on matters pertaining to foreign policy. The presidency, parliament, ministry of foreign affairs and international trade, judiciary and ministry of finance, defense, and commerce are institutional actors in Kenya's foreign policy (MFA, 2011). As the top diplomat in the country, the president accredits diplomatic envoys, signs credentials given to the head of diplomatic missions, and authorizes a delegate to sign a treaty when he is not present.
In addition to the executive branch are the judicial and legislative arms of government. The legislature which is basically the parliament approves and ratifies important foreign policy decisions. Legislatures become an important actor in foreign policy process in the sense that they determine whether or not a given foreign policy is to be pursued. In making the policies, parliamentarians must ensure that they take on board the wishes of the electorate so that the policies they come up with do enjoy public support. Any leader who fails to satisfy the wishes of domestic constituents’ risks being evicted from his/her position (Putnam, 1988). This means that parliament formulates policies and establishes committees/structures. This includes foreign relations committee that oversees the implementation of foreign policy. Judiciary on the hand interprets inter-state agreements as well as legislations dealing with foreign relations thus shaping the policy direction. A legal decision by the judiciary is binding and it acts as an advisory body for both the executive and parliament in the foreign policy decision making process.

External factors in Kenya’s foreign policy making process includes actors such as inter-state organizations e.g. the African Union (AU); inter-state non-governmental organizations and international organizations of a universal character such as the United Nations. Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) also plays a role in foreign policy. At the regional level, Kenya’s foreign policy borrows heavily from the AU, the predecessor of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), which was established in 1963 with the aim of promoting the unity and solidarity of African States; co-coordinating and intensifying their co-operation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa; defending their sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence; eradicating all forms of colonialism from Africa; promoting international co-operation, giving due regard to the
Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; and coordinating and harmonizing members‘ political, diplomatic, economic, educational, cultural, health, welfare, scientific, technical and defence policies.

Another important actor in the conduct and formulation of Kenya’s foreign policy process are the Kenyans in the diaspora. In recognition of this fact, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has formulated a Diaspora Policy and by focusing on Kenyans in the Diaspora, the Kenyan government intends to tap into its potential to facilitate the country‘s political, economic and cultural regeneration and development. Kenya is also a signatory to the AU’s Constitutive Act (2001), which promotes the participation of African professionals within the continent and in the Diaspora and Kenya’s Diaspora diplomacy, will seek to advance this agenda (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2009).
CHAPTER FOUR: STUDY FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction
Terrorism especially the new form of terrorism has increased tremendously in the international system. Kenya is among the country in the African continent that has been severely hit by this menace. This chapter aims at analyzing the effects of terrorism on Kenya’s foreign policy, and in doing so, analyze to what extent has terrorism impacted on the Kenya’s foreign relations with other states especially with the western nations such as the US, Britain Israel among others and even its relation with other countries in the horn of Africa; analyze to what extent has terrorism impacted on the security of Kenyans; and finally, to what extent has terrorism impacted on the tourism in Kenya.

4.2 Impact of terrorism on Kenya’s Foreign Relations.
In order to answer this question the study first sought to know if Kenyans knew what terrorism is all about. From the empirical study done by Onamu (2015), Kenyans from all walks of life understand what terrorism is all about and even mentioned relevant examples such as the 1998 terrorist attack at the US embassy in Nairobi, the Westgate Mall attack, Garissa University terrorist attacks and Thika Road Matatu bombings as the face of terror in Kenya. The respondents confirmed to have heard about terrorism with the basic denominator being cited as the killing of innocent victims (Onamu, 2015). From the same study, media was the source of information to majority of Kenyans as far as terrorist activities were concerned. This therefore means Kenyans relied heavily on the media for awareness and sensitization purposes (ibid).
In analyzing the foreign relations with western nations especially the US, the found out since 1990s, the US government initiatives have transformed from the African Crisis Response Initiative (ACRI) to the African Contingency Operations Training and Assistance program (ACOTA), Global war on Terror (GWOT) and the Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI). US government has very much involved with the activities in the Horn of Africa as far as terrorism is concerned. Since 1980 and, more recently early 1990s, the United States has had informal military access to Kenyan facilities in exchange for military assistance. The defense approach has facilitated this access to Kenya, demonstrating one of the benefits of this type of approach. In October 1993, the U.S. led Task Force Ranger (composed primarily of Special Operations forces) engaged Somali militia forces in Mogadishu, which resulted in the deaths of 18 American soldiers. As a result of American deaths, the US forces withdrew in March 1994, but later returned in February 1995, to complete withdrawal of UN forces the following month (Brown, 2006).
In addition to its military to military relations, the history of US engagement in Kenya’s political, economic and social spheres has created a sound ally for the Department of Defense (DOD) in East Africa, strategically significant due to Kenya’s useful position astride the western Indian Ocean as well as its support for Western interests in the region (Kagwanja, 2007). In its relations with Kenya the US has also collaborated with other western nations such as British, and French. For instance in early 2002, the U.S. military directed intelligence assets to conduct surveillance and reconnaissance missions over parts of Somalia while collaborating with the British, and French aircraft in taking photographs of suspected terrorist (specifically, al Qaeda) training sites and facilities. Later that year, established the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA), which arrived in the region in December and went ashore to a former French Foreign Legion outpost, Camp Lemonier, in May 2003.

During the terrorist attack that struck the Kenyan port town of Mombasa in November 2002, the Kenyan government heightened state of security, plain-cloth police and the US Marines were deployed throughout the Kenyan capital of Nairobi in the vicinity of embassies and soft targets such as foreign residences and an outdoor shopping center frequented by Westerners. The British Marines were also deployed to conduct missions along Kenya’s borders with Sudan and Somalia. In this case, U.S. policy was reactive again favoring the defense approach to counter-terrorism (Chau, 2008). Security cooperation has long been an important aspect of Kenyan-U.S. relations, underscored by airbase, port access, and over-flight agreements since the Cold War.
4.3 Kenya’s Foreign Relations with Ethiopia

In the horn of Africa the two countries are part of the strategic Horn of Africa sub-region. The Horn of Africa sub-region is situated at the southern end of the Red Sea, near the Strait of Bab al-Mandab, across from the Arabian Peninsula. It provides a prime spot from which to project power and provide rear area support for military intervention in the Middle East and Persian Gulf. It is believed that the Horn of Africa is a potential breeding ground for terrorism. According to Chau (2008), the Horn of Africa has emerged as an important staging area, training center, and a favored place to target U.S. interests. Chau (2008) further argue that most of the Horn of African countries overwhelmingly expressed their support for the US led efforts on the war against terrorism shortly after the September 11 attacks on New York and Washington (Chau, 2008).

Some Horn of African countries are sharing intelligence and are coordinating with Washington to fight terrorism in the sub-region. The governments of Kenya and Ethiopia are working closely with U.S. officials to prevent fleeing Al-Qaeda members from establishing a presence in Somalia. The Horn of Africa may not be as important to the United States in this phase of the war against terrorism as Pakistan, but in the next phase of the terror war the Horn of Africa may prove to be key (Chau, 2008). Counterterrorism strategies in Ethiopia and Kenya are therefore driven by the US. The two countries have had strong diplomatic and military cordial relations since the Cold War era. The US has supported the two countries militarily and economically. US foreign policy makers also seem to view the two countries as occupying a strategic geo-location in the Horn of Africa and have kept in a friendly engagement.
4.4 Impact of Terrorism on Kenya’s Security.

In analyzing the security issue vis-a-vis terrorist activities in Kenya, it is important to reiterate that Kenya has been a target of international terrorism including organized crime such as fraud, drug trafficking, piracy, human trafficking, smuggling, banditry, and global warming and other environmental crisis such as cyber-crime and cyber security threats, and globalization among other security threats. However, it has become clear that the insecurity stemming from terrorism in Kenya does not remain restricted to the confines of the country. The implications of further instability, therefore, affect global security and create a critical need for successful anti-terrorism policies that promote the Global War on Terror (Kefa, 2009).

Terrorist activities carried out in Kenya in the 80s up to early 2000s had a profound impact on the Kenyan national psyche and sense of security. Although terrorist attacks were targeted primarily at Americans and Israelis, editorial comments and letters to editors in major news outlets suggest that most Kenyans saw the attacks as assaults on their sovereignty and social peace (Krause & Otenyo, 2005). Further observations suggest that Kenyans condemned the “evil acts” of terrorism while insisting that their country should not be an arena for “clashes of civilizations” or war involving foreigners. Given that Kenya depends on tourism, with about 2.5 million people earning their livelihood from tourist-related dollars, heightened insecurity due to terrorism poses a serious threat to Kenya’s economy.

The terrorist attacks on the United States on 11 September 2001 gave terrorism an unprecedented global meaning. Because terrorists had inflicted death, destruction, pain, and suffering in the world’s most advanced and powerful country, terrorism became more
than a local or regional news item about hijacking of airplanes related mostly to tensions and conflict in the Middle East (Krause & Otenyo, 2005). Global publicity of the 11 September attacks marked the beginning of a new terrorist-conscious world. In Kenya, the official reaction was to arrest terrorists and prosecute them according to the law. A new police unit was established to hunt down terrorists, and politicians and other leading personalities led in issuing warning against terrorism and violent extremism. Terrorism was perceived as a public security threat that the government had to eliminate (Krause & Otenyo, 2005).

Recent unfortunate terrorist attacks have posed a huge security threat to Kenyans. A case in point is in April 2015, when gunmen stormed Garissa University College, killed 147 students and injured more than 79 others. The militant group and Al-Qaeda offshoot, Al-Shabaab, which the gunmen claimed to be from, took responsibility for the attack. The gunmen took over 700 students hostage, freeing Muslims and killing those who identified as non-muslims (Mutambo & Hajir, 2015). These security threats have led to a shift in Kenya’s security foreign policy attention. It is therefore important to affirm that from this study terrorism has greatly impacted on the security of the Kenyan citizenry.

4.5 Impact of Terrorism on Tourism Activities in Kenya?

Finally, the study sought to analyse to what extent has terrorism impacted on the tourism in Kenya. Terrorists have acknowledged the political significance of international tourism and have consistently and tragically communicated this through their targets. When terrorist activities targets tourism sector, the impact can be disastrous and the consequent events can result in a serious tourism crisis (Sonmez, Yiorgos, & Tarlow, 1999). Tourism has been one of the leading industries in Kenya as well as a major contributor towards the
Kenyan economy and a leading foreign exchange earner (Gitu, 2003). Kenya has relied heavily on international tourists in the past. Following acts of terrorism, such as the bombing of the United States embassy in Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya; the bombing of Paradise beach hotel in Mombasa, a major city; and a near fatal rocket launched grenade attack on an aircraft; and the Westgate mall attack. The tourism industry has suffered a great blow.

Kenya has had its fair share of terrorism attacks, some of which directly targeted tourists. For instance, the 1998 US embassies attack in both Kenya and Tanzania that was masterminded by the Al Qaeda scared and disrupted the flow of tourists in Kenya. These acts of terrorism restrict travel activity until the public’s memories of the publicized events fade away. Terrorist activities that targets tourism can be viewed as a major disaster to the destination and the ensuing events can give birth to a serious tourism crisis (Sonmez, Yiorgos, & Tarlow, 1999). As a consequence of the US embassy bombing, major hotels in Kenya received numerous cancellations. The US embassy in Kenya was severely damaged and the news spread throughout the world via the media.

The other attacks especially on the Kenyan coast such the Paradise Hotel in Kikambala and the two rocket propelled grenades that were fired at an Israeli airliner at the Moi International Airport, Mombasa. These attacks triggered fears in the hospitality industry, with tourism suffering a setback due to a drop in the number of incoming tourists (Agutu, 2003). Both attacks specifically targeted Israeli tourist interests on Kenyan soil.
Following these acts of terrorism, and due to imminent terror alerts from intelligence, Western governments, led by the United States, Britain and a number of European countries, issued travel advisories to all their citizens against traveling to Kenya.

The Kenya Tourism Federation stated that the suspension of British Airways regular and charter planes flying to Nairobi, coupled with travel advisories, closed down access to 90% of Kenya’s overseas markets. The country was losing an estimated amount of over 1 billion Kenya shillings ($128 million) per week. In addition to the revenue loss, at stake were over 500,000 direct jobs and another 2.5 million indirect jobs (Gitu, 2003).

4.6 Chapter Summary
The study has found that The Western nations led by the US have established foreign relations with Kenya and other countries within the horn of African. These relations have been largely beneficial to Kenya, however, at times the actions of these western nations can be detrimental to the Kenyan economy. According to Lecey (2004) tourism which is the driving force of Kenya’s economy, has been paralyzed because these actions such as the imposition of travel bans on the citizens of the United States, Germany, Great Britain, and other countries traveling to Kenya due to the fear of terrorist attacks (Lecey, 2004). Similarly Barkan and Cooke (2001) argue that the military strikes against Afghanistan after the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks led to the disruption of Kenyan tea exports to Pakistan and Afghanistan (Barkan & Cooke, 2001). Such bans and restrictions greatly affect Kenya’s economy, the decline of which resulted in many Kenyans, especially those along the coast, losing their jobs and, thus, aggravating the already widespread unemployment.
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction
This study set out to analysis terrorism and Kenya’s foreign policy, and doing so the study sought to understand the effects of terrorism on Kenya’s foreign policy. Specifically the main objectives of the study were; to examine to what extent has terrorism impacted on Kenya’s foreign relations with other states; to what extent has terrorism impacted on the security of Kenyans; and finally, to what extent has terrorism impacted on tourism activities in Kenya. It examined the various definitions of terrorism, causes of terrorism, characteristics of terrorism, and counter-terrorism interventions by Kenyan government in combating terrorism including the policy responses. It also evaluated various impact of terrorism within the Kenyan society especially on their security and on Kenyan tourism industry. This chapter summarizes the findings and concludes the key issues emerging from the study and ends with recommendations and areas for further research.

On the contextual analysis of terrorism in Kenya, the study found out that majority of Kenyans are aware or had a basic idea of what terrorism is with the common denominator being the orchestrations of violence on innocent victims including loss of lives and wanton destruction of properties. From the study it is right to argue that the Kenya’s response to terrorism especially in the early 1980s and early 90s was poor. In fact Kenyan government kept on denying the fact that Kenyan territory was a hub for terrorist activities, and that Kenyans were peace loving individuals who could not engage
themselves in criminal activities such as terrorism. It is only in the late 1990s following the heinous attacks on the US embassies both in Kenya and Tanzania that Kenyan government took the issue of terrorism seriously and even enacted legislations and at the same time developing comprehensive and elaborate national counter-terrorism strategies and interventions.

5.2 Counter-Terrorism Interventions

It was inherent from the study that a number of counter-terrorism interventions have been instituted by the Kenyan government to combat terrorism. However, Kenya has continued to face a number of challenges in its effort to combat terrorism. This has been occasioned by institutional weakness and various factors such as corrupt immigration officials and poor immigration/border laws, radicalization of the Kenyan youths based on some fanatical doctrines, poorly trained and ill equipped police force, poor planning and general lack of preparedness, the present day terrorist are well educated, highly sophisticated, leave among other Kenyan citizen thus making it difficult to uncover them posing a great challenge to the Kenyan security. In addition, there is also lack of total commitment and collaborated efforts from the international bodies such as the United Nations. Due to these weaknesses the state is not able to provide adequate security to its citizens and thus making Kenya a soft spot for terrorist activities.

Most of the terrorist attacks on the Kenyan soil are always intended for a number of reasons both regionally and internationally. These reasons include; the most important one is the fact that Kenya is directly linked to the western nations such as the US, Britain and Israel and most terrorist network strike to protest this association. The other reasons
are Kenya geographical location within the horn of Africa; the invasion of Somali land by Kenyan troops; and the minority Muslim population along the Kenyan coast who feel marginalized and thus being susceptible to the machinations of terrorist networks. Due to terrorist activities Kenya has joined the Global War on Terror and work hand in hand with the major powers especially the US government to fight this vice. Kenya’s external relations are therefore shaped to a large extent by the need to make Kenya secure and free from terrorism. To this end, the study confirmed the hypothesis that terrorism has an impact on Kenya’s foreign relations with other states.

Terrorism in Kenya has resulted in security fears which in turn has resulted in a number of ripple effect such as turn off for investments thus impacting on Kenyan economic growth, killings resulting in population displacement, affecting the health sectors, education sectors and infrastructural development. The Kenyan tourism has also been impacted negatively due to the dented image abroad due to security concerns. This affirms the both the second and third hypotheses that terrorism has impacted on the security of Kenyans and also on tourism sector.

The study also examined the role of the key actors and institutional players in Kenya’s foreign policy and instruments that Kenya has employed in its foreign policy responses. The study found out that even with the promulgation of the Constitution, 2010, the President is still the dominant actor in Kenya’s policy process. He is the top diplomat and his decisions are final since he determines the country’s external relations with other states. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade is one of the dominant
players in the foreign policy process. The ministry coordinates all interest groups in foreign affairs issues, ranging from businesses and foreign missions, immigration department to ethnic interest groups and organized labour organizations that seek to shape the Kenya’s defense, diplomatic, and trade policies.

The Ministry also through the media plays important roles in informing the public and seeking to shape public perceptions of the world. The study also established that through the Ministry, Kenya conducts foreign policy by maintaining friendly relations with the governments of other countries. On the instruments employed by Kenyan government, the study established that the Ministry always employs intelligence and information sharing with other countries on matters terrorism. This has enabled Kenya to work closely with the intelligence service within other countries because such cooperation provides essential information that is crucial for the fight against terrorism. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs also links up Kenya with international organizations such as the UN to accomplish its foreign policy aims which range from international treaties and development agenda set from the international front.

5.3 Conclusion
Several issues emerged from the study. One of the issues that have emerged from the study is that terrorist groups succeed in carrying out attacks in foreign countries either with active or passive support from the indigenous population who at times join these groups. The study found out that the minority dissatisfied Muslim populations at the Kenyan Coast are readily recruited in to the terrorist networks thus making the terrorist cells in the country hard to dismantle. The study also established that lack of resources to
fight terrorism was identified as a key issue affecting the war against terrorism in Kenya and effectively implements foreign policy. To implement policies, governments need resources to finance operations. However, due to unlimited needs of the government with limited resources, it may be difficult for the government to fully finance its anti-terrorism activities without external support. In addition, State actors operate between institutions that continually constrain them while managing the tension between domestic and international society.

The study further established that religious extremism and radicalization were key emerging issues in the fight against terror in Kenya. This issue was more pronounced in the Kenya coast between the Muslim and non-Muslim population, and this had adverse on the war against terrorism. On the effects of external security environments, the study established that the insecure external environment such as the insecurity in experienced in countries that neighbors Kenya such as Somalia and South Sudan affected foreign policy process in Kenya. The issue of insecurity that led to political instability in these countries has indeed affected foreign policy process. Political temperatures in neighbouring countries threaten to downplay the country’s foreign policies both directly and indirectly due to border security threats. Piracy also emerged as another key external environment factor especially along the Kenyan coastal shore, which has affected international trade between Kenya and the rest of the world. Finally, high level of unemployment among Kenyan population and especially the youths and the issue of poverty in general have complicated the war on terror. Most of these groups fall prey to the terrorist networks for economic reasons.
5.4 Recommendations
The study makes the following recommendations.

1. The study recommends that the Kenyan government should employ both bilateral and multilateral approach in its foreign policy implementation and build partnerships with other like-minded states and international organisations in tackling terrorism financing and should be an active participant to the international legal attempts to crack down on terrorism financing and other related crimes such as money laundering.

2. The study recommends the need to restructure and realign Kenya’s foreign policy on security and good neighborliness to make it more responsive to the emerging and worrying trends of terrorism and to rope in the participation of other states in the region.

3. The study further recommends that the state makes available adequate resources both in terms of skills and finances for terrorism and counter-terrorism strategies.

4. The study recommends enhance bilateral training of security forces between Kenya and other nations like the U.S, the U.K, Israel among others where a common security approach on the global fight against terror can be emphasized and embraced to improve response to thwart any planned terror attack.
References


