



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION, A CASE STUDY
IN KENYA.**

BY

GORDON ODHIAMBO

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FOR THE MASTER'S DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AT THE
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OF NAIROBI**

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University or Institute of Higher learning.

Signed *Gordon Odhiambo* Date 10/11/2022

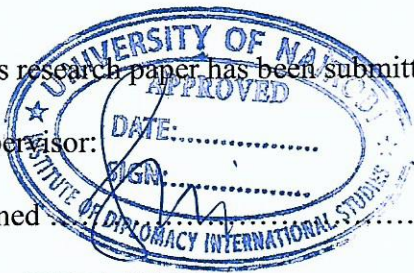
GORDON ODHIAMBO

REG: R50/38930/2020

This research paper has been submitted for examination with my approval.

Supervisor:

Signed



Date

14/11/2022

DR. ANITA KIAMBA

DEDICATION

This study is wholly dedicated to my dear wife Agnes Oloo who in times of despair encouraged me and gave me hope. She became a source of encouragement providing both moral, spiritual and financial support at all times and always encouraging me never to give up even when it was evident that it was impossible to make further progress.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

KANU	Kenya African National Union
WHO	World Health Organization
USA	United States of America
NCKK	National Council of Churches in Kenya
CEC	Catholic Episcopal Conference
PNU	Party of National Unity
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
WHOFBNP	White House Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships
USAID	United States Agency for International Aid
RGA	Religion and Global Affairs
EACC	East Africa, known as the East Africa Christian Alliance
ICCC	International Council of Christian Churches
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
OAU	Organization of African Union
EAC	East African Community
ROC	Russian Orthodox Church

ABSTRACT

Religion is a crucial factor that has been deeply associated with the existence of human beings. Religion is the belief in and adoration of a supernatural entity or being that is thought to have a powerful controlling influence on our life.. Religion provides guidelines that supposedly shape humans to be on the "right" path in life. Thus religion shapes human behavior and identity. Historically, religion offers a spiritual impact that shapes society and communities. Therefore, religion plays a significant role in foreign policy formulation, either negatively or positively. In the twenty-first century, one of the most important obstacles to intrastate and interstate interactions has emerged from the role and effects of religion. Recently, faith has emerged as an essential explainer of international relations. Religious institutions play a vital role in shaping foreign relations. For example, the Apostolic See is the church's jurisdiction or the overall overseer of the catholic churches worldwide. It has been known for contributing to foreign policy formulation and affairs worldwide for centuries. Additionally, there is a new and unresolved question regarding the role and effects of religion in the creation of foreign policy. International relations experts are motivated to conduct research and discover solutions by the existence of contentious and complex issues involving the inclusion of religion in the development of foreign policy. Empirical studies possess different opinions concerning different beliefs and adherence to international relations. Moreover, scholars have extensively researched whether religion fuels international warfare since the end of the cold war. The study aims to ascertain how religion influences the creation and formulation of foreign policy. The study seeks to understand religion's theoretical and empirical role in foreign policy development, focusing on the case of Kenya and other nations. The research aims to assess religion's impact on foreign policy formulation in Kenya. It is impossible for scholars to overlook the mass information on the role of religion in foreign policy that was created by scholars who came into being before this study. Theoretical perspectives from international relations and comparative politics will enable the study to establish a thorough framework for comprehending the role religion plays and its influence on the development of foreign policy. Considering that different countries adhere to various religions makes evaluating religion's influence on other states' foreign policy difficult. It is difficult for states with similar religions and beliefs to go into war. Therefore, it is easy for states with other faiths to go into battle or fail to reach a standard agreement on conflict resolution matters. Additionally, a state's faith plays a significant role in international relations. In civilization theory, belief might lead states to relate differently depending on the type of religion. Religious inheritances can influence the role and impact of religion on foreign policy formulation. Researchers categorize religion as culture in most cases, and its content is organized and theorized as culture. Religion is a component of the state's culture and a source of identity for the state, which influences the development of foreign policy. Moreover, religion shaped in institutions shapes the state's foreign policy and the interests attached. According to the constructivist approach, culture provides the logic through which states can prioritize and rationalize interests in terms of foreign policy formulation. Religion is part of a culture. Therefore, scholars characterize it with beliefs, norms, and practices, thus providing a setting for right living and pursuing vital interests. Additionally, researchers cannot address religion separately; therefore, politics and the state's claims must be included, specifically in states where religion plays a significant role in decision-making.

Key Words

Foreign policy formulation, religion, international relations (I.R.).

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.0 Introduction

Religion shapes individual behavior and forms part of leaders' identity in the community. Religion outlines the relationship between people of different faiths who live in a shared society. The paper shows the impact of religion on foreign policy formulation in Kenya, proving that there is no distinction between religion and foreign policy when it comes to international relations. This chapter will provide detailed information on background information, problem statement, objectives, research questions, hypotheses, research justification, literature review, theoretical framework, research, methodology, and study scope and limitations.

1.1 Background Information

Religion has long been associated with a country's political structure. The incorporation of religion and politics is known as "the geopolitics of religion." The link between politics and religion is built to serve the country's political interest, national objectives, and interstate relations¹. When considering a country's national interest, politicians must incorporate faith to help favor domestic politics and cross-border relations.

At the level of global interactions, religion remains an unfathomed challenge and insecurity that states face. Religion endangers the development of foreign policy in the twenty-first century because of the World War II and Cold War events. Additionally, researchers consider religion to be a determinant in analyzing the formulation of foreign policy. Religion and foreign policy formulation constantly remain inseparable; hence scholars cannot avoid the fact that religion influences foreign policy formulation. States possess different religions; therefore, other conditions must respect religion while deciding and agreeing on foreign policy formulation.

A state's religious heritage influences foreign policy formulation and interaction with other states globally. Religion determines enemies and allies to specific nations, thus influencing foreign policy formulation. The study of how religion interferes with policy formulation, its impact, and

¹ Dodds, Klaus. *Geopolitics*, 3rd ed. oxford, UK: oxford university press, 2019.

the interactions with existing national political arrangements remains poorly understood. Further studies on religion and foreign policy formulation should be conducted, enabling future researchers in a well-dominated and resourceful field.

1.1.2 Religion in the United States of America Foreign Policy

The United States of America has heavily incorporated religion into the formulation of its foreign policy since the end of the Cold War. Through the first amendment, the American constitution prevents the government from possessing or exhibiting any authority over religion and that religion should be exercised freely². It's crucial to remember that the American constitution divides the two branches of government from religion and not religion from decision-making participation. Religious leaders and the congregation can air views and grievances concerning foreign policy formulation to the public, which means that the United States of America jurisdiction recognizes the significance of religion in the formulation of foreign policy³. The state occupies an unmatched position because it gives and protects the right to freedom of worship and the ability to take part in decision-making through public involvement.

During the reign of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, scholars state that he utilized religion to form the cold war⁴. The President used phrases such as "When God comes in, communism has to go" and researchers believe that the President used God to mean Christianity. It is important to note that domestic issues such as religion and culture shape foreign policy. Christianity dominates the American community, and therefore, the state's foreign policy is majorly shaped by Christianity while still considering other religions such as Islam and Hinduism.

Religion and foreign policy scholars argue that George Bush and Jimmy Carter possessed similar presidential styles and ruling. The afore-mentioned leaders used evangelical presidential techniques but slightly differed in how they conducted foreign policy with the Middle East. The

² Chaplin, Jonathan, and Robert Joustra. *God and global order: The power of religion in American foreign policy*. Baylor University Press, 2010

³ Seiple, Chris. "Finding Faith in Foreign Policy: Religion & American Diplomacy in a Postsecular World. By Gregorio Bettiza. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. Xvi+ 318pp. \$74.00, hardcover." *Politics and Religion* 13, no. 3 (2020): 671-677. [doi:10.1017/S1755048320000425](https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755048320000425)

⁴ Seiple, Chris. "Finding Faith in Foreign Policy: Religion & American Diplomacy in a Postsecular World. By Gregorio Bettiza. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. Xvi+ 318pp. \$74.00, hardcover." *Politics and Religion* 13, no. 3 (2020): 671-677. [doi:10.1017/S1755048320000425](https://doi.org/10.1017/S1755048320000425)

prominence of Christianity in the United States of America and Islam in the Middle East fuels continuous clashes between the states. To conclude, the USA and the Middle East relations and religion influence, thereby claiming that religion shapes the opinions of international policymakers and their constituents. Additionally, faith influences the environment in which international decision-makers operate.

Religion acts as a tool in international politics and foreign policy, and in most cases, religion has been utilized to maintain and acquire political territories. International, global religious leaders offer consultative services on global issues. For instance, the Pope is considered influential in terms of extensive diplomatic, spiritual and cultural influence on over 1.3 billion Catholics and the Christians outside the Catholic faith. Additionally, the Pope participates in leading the world's largest non-governmental benefactor of healthcare and education.

The Islamic region uses its capacity to retaliate on violated issues and instill fear through violence—the Islamic religion, especially the states that believe in Allah, use religion for counterattacking purposes. There exist numerous attacks associated with Islamic states. The attacks communicate international grievances and issues that should be addressed immediately. For instance, Al-Qaeda attacked New York in 2009. The demand for respect from the United States of America by the Islamic group resulted to the damage of property and death of people⁵.

1.1.3 Religion in Russia's foreign policy

Various scholars have argued that religion is a predominant factor that has shaped the current outlook of Russia towards its international relations policies⁶. Historically, religion in Russia is known to provide individual identity and behavior. Religion impacts how the Russian society views the outside world due to the Russian nationalism and imperialism linked to the Russian orthodox civilization. Religion diplomacy influences how Russia formulates its foreign policy formulation, thus leading to soft diplomacy.

⁵ Ilardi, Gaetano Joe. "The 9/11 attacks—a study of Al Qaeda's use of intelligence and counterintelligence." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 32, no. 3 (2009): 171-187. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100802670803>

⁶ Mankoff, Jeffrey. *Russian Foreign Policy: The Return of Great Power Politics*, 2nd ed. Plymouth, UK: Rowman & Littlefield publishers, 2012.

President Vladimir Putin ascended into power in the year 2000. He restored the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) as the mighty body responsible for shaping the common national values inside and outside the country. The church has been known to strengthen its roles internationally⁷. The alliance between the Orthodox Church and Moscow has been recently cemented to search for what they term shared common Russian values that concern the Russian identity domestically and internationally⁸. The ROC is a crucial player among local interest groups that impact and drive Russian foreign policy. The church supports the emergence of a new nationalist Russian identity and protects the Russian policy⁹. The church guides the formulation of specific policy issues and has recently pushed for the reunification of the eastern Slavic orthodox people. Moreover, the ROC has led to the emergence of the Russian multipolar international system that focuses on reinstating traditional values in former Soviet Union (USSR) countries¹⁰.

The country describes its values as conservative and anti-western. According to Vladimir, Russia is neither an Asian nor a western country. Russia has adopted religion as a soft power that has made the government adopt the use of extra force to promote its national values abroad. The takeover of Crimea by Russia from Ukraine in 2014 and Russia's invasion of Ukraine in 2022 are two examples of how Russia makes use of religion to justify its foreign policy decisions.

1.1.5 Religion in Saudi Arabia's Foreign Policy

Islam is one of the most influential faiths across the world. In Saudi Arabia, Islam is the main religion that is practiced. It is approximated that ninety-five Saudis practice Islam¹¹. Most of the Islamic republic's faith is the key player in social, political, and military simulation. In the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, religion is employed as the critical ideological fortress for the people in leadership positions¹². Islamic activism is the main constituent of most Middle Eastern countries'

⁷ Velikaya, Ann A., and Greg Simons. *Russia's Public Diplomacy: Evolution and Practice*, 2nd ed. London, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2019.

⁸ Velikaya, Ann A., and Greg Simons. *Russia's Public Diplomacy: Evolution and Practice*, 2nd ed. London, UK: Palgrave MacMillan, 2019.

⁹ Van Harpen, Marcel H. "The Political Role of the Russian Orthodox Church." *national interest*, November 19, 2019. Accessed June 21, 2022. <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/political-role-russian-orthodox-church-97647>.

¹⁰ Van Harpen, Marcel H. "The Political Role of the Russian Orthodox Church." *national interest*, November 19, 2019. Accessed June 21, 2022. <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/political-role-russian-orthodox-church-97647>.

¹¹ Helfont, Samuel. "Islam in Saudi Foreign Policy: The Case of Ma'ruf al-Dawalibi." *the international history review* 42, no. 3 (May 2019), 449-464. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2019.1613671>.

¹² Helfont, Samuel. "Islam in Saudi Foreign Policy: The Case of Ma'ruf al-Dawalibi." *the international history review* 42, no. 3 (May 2019), 449-464. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2019.1613671>.

foreign policy behavior¹³. In Saudi Arabia, Islam is the primary tool that provides the basis for searching for allies and providing financial, political, and leadership support for other states. Saudi Arabia employs the Islamic faith as a functional tool to promote and influence its foreign policy and how the kingdom relates to other countries like Britain and the United States of America¹⁴.

In the Arab world, Saudi Arabia is depicted as a strong Islam country due to the presence of the holy cities of Medina and Mecca. According to various research studies, Islam plays a role in the strong unity experienced in Saudi Arabia since it exists as a single religion. Thus, it influences the type of studies, economics, and politics in the kingdom. The Saudi foreign policy ensures that the Kingdom maintains strong allies with Islamic republics like the United Arab Emirates (UAE). According to the Saudi Arabia Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Kingdom has adopted the concept of embracing peace and providing peaceful solutions to differences among Islamic states¹⁵. The kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) is renowned for offering financial support to Muslim-based groups worldwide to sustain its influence on external matters.

1.1.5.1 Exporting Wahhabism to the Outside World

Wahhabism is an Islamic revolutionist group associated with the Sunni Muslims of Saudi Arabia¹⁶. The group advocates for the "purification of Islam" by rejecting any Islamic theology and philosophy written after the death of Prophet Muhammed¹⁷. The group focus calls for strict adherence and adoption of the teaching of the Koran and hadiths¹⁸. The KSA has managed to protect its religious and national values through the group through staunch practices. The Islamic

¹³ Helfont, Samuel. "Islam in Saudi Foreign Policy: The Case of Ma'arif al-Dawalibi." *the international history review* 42, no. 3 (May 2019), 449-464. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07075332.2019.1613671>.

¹⁴ Yungui, Wu. "The Influence of Islam over the Foreign Policies of Contemporary Islamic Countries." *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (in Asia)* 5, no. 3 (2011). http://mideast.shisu.edu.cn/_upload/article/dc/a8/516b324541b397b494938cdfd3f4/04f9994d-bbd1-4321-bc7d-d58c6c689e39.pdf.

¹⁵ Yungui, Wu. "The Influence of Islam over the Foreign Policies of Contemporary Islamic Countries." *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies (in Asia)* 5, no. 3 (2011). http://mideast.shisu.edu.cn/_upload/article/dc/a8/516b324541b397b494938cdfd3f4/04f9994d-bbd1-4321-bc7d-d58c6c689e39.pdf.

¹⁶ Valentine, Simon R. *Force and Fanaticism: Wahhabism in Saudi Arabia and Beyond*. London, UK: Hurst & company, 2015.

¹⁷ Valentine, Simon R. *Force and Fanaticism: Wahhabism in Saudi Arabia and Beyond*. London, UK: Hurst & company, 2015.

¹⁸ Mandaville, Peter. *Wahhabism and the World: Understanding Saudi Arabia's Global Influence on Islam*. London, UK: Oxford university Press, 2022.

frontiers have been able to maintain and spread the country's foreign policies through the teachings. The Saudi Monarch has created Islamic Charitable organizations responsible for developing and penetrating the domestic and international mainstream policies that guide their followers internationally¹⁹. These groups have formed and spread Islamic ideologies based on Wahhabi Islamic doctrines (Tawheed)²⁰. The World Association of Muslim Youth (WAMY), whose membership is represented by more than 600 youth organizations worldwide, has members in over 55 different countries, according to its official website. Wahhabism is used to promote political ideology as a foundation to build the interstate relation between the kingdom and other nations worldwide²¹.

1.1.6 Religion Influence on Israeli Foreign Policy

Jewish is the main religion that is practiced in Israel. Israel's internal and external political scene is established to revolve around the Jewish tradition and religion. The Israel constitution is based on the book of Torah and the Talmud. The Jewish norms are a political player that has affected the international relation between Israel and other nations, like the Israel- United States relationship²². To understand Israel's foreign policy, it is essential to understand the nature of local politics in Israel. Historically, Israel was a nation formed as a haven for the Jews. During the proclamation of independence in 1948, the government declared Israel the home of Jews worldwide. Therefore, the Israeli government has since established policies that will protect the Jews both inside and outside the country. It is significant to note that Israeli citizenship can be granted to non-Jews; however, the immigration policy is set to favor the Jews and provide them with many social benefits.

¹⁹ Valentine, Simon R. *Force and Fanaticism: Wahhabism in Saudi Arabia and Beyond*. London, UK: Hurst & company, 2015.

²⁰ Mandaville, Peter. *Wahhabism and the World: Understanding Saudi Arabia's Global Influence on Islam*. London, UK: Oxford university Press, 2022.

²¹ Mandaville, Peter. *Wahhabism and the World: Understanding Saudi Arabia's Global Influence on Islam*. London, UK: Oxford university Press, 2022.

²² Shmuel SANDLER, Judaism and the state, in Jeffrey HAYNES (edited by), *Routledge Handbook of Religion and Politics*, New York, Taylor & Francis Group, 2008, pp. 128

1.1.7 Religion, Politics and I.R. in Africa (A Case Study of South Africa)

Religion in eastern and southern Africa is quite similar from various perspectives. Christianity, Islam, and traditional African religion are the three main faiths practiced in the southern region of the continent²³. However, it is essential to note that the three religions contain similarities, like the belief in an existing superior that guides and controls the universe. Religion is deeply rooted in Africa and thus considered the reality of everyday life. In South Africa, the context of religion and culture is inseparable, influencing political and social life.

African National Congress (ANC) and Christianity have a long history together. First off, the ANC party was established in a church in 1912²⁴. The founding members of the party were the clergy. The church served as a haven for the freedom fighters during the fight for independence. Therefore, the values of the ANC party are derived from Christian teachings. The church supported policies that promoted democracy and equality in southern Africa.

In recent years the church has developed a realm in modern politics. The church contributes and helps in the formulation of domestic and international policies. It is evident that the church plays a critical role and influences various government policies formulated in South Africa. Therefore, religion is essential in developing foreign policies in eastern and Southern Africa.

1.2 Problem Statement

Religion is crucial in formulating foreign policy. This study shows that religion is a fundamental aspect of mankind and, as such, plays a significant role in Kenya's development of foreign policy. Kenya is a secular state; Christianity occupies the most prominent position in religious domination. Religion plays an essential role in the political world, referring from a historical perspective, and Kenya experiences the impact of religion on foreign policy formulation. For instance, after independence during Moi's tenure, Kenya experienced tribalism, nepotism, corruption, and human rights abuse. The government in charge conducted the leadership under one

²³ Beyers, Jaco. "Religion as political instrument: The case of Japan and South Africa." *journal for the study of religion* 28, no. 1 (2015), 2413-3027. http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1011-76012015000100008.

²⁴ Beyers, Jaco. "Religion as political instrument: The case of Japan and South Africa." *journal for the study of religion* 28, no. 1 (2015), 2413-3027. http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1011-76012015000100008.

party, Kenya African National Union (KANU). Religion had not taken shape in foreign policy formulation. The President did not engage with religious leaders on governance, politics, and foreign policy formulation.

In the age of globalization, religion enables states to focus on sources of legitimacy, soft power, and group identity. Additionally, belief allows conditions to play a role in international relations through institutions and leaders, transnational religious movements and issues, and religious views. For the past decades, Kenya has not managed to experience religion's role in foreign policy formulation. Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) should work closely with religious leaders in consultation on matters related to foreign policy formulation. Religion possesses the capacity to influence foreign policy formulation through norms, beliefs, values, and beliefs.

After several years of one-party ruling until 1992, Kenyan churches, through the National Council of Churches in Kenya (NCCCK), Catholic Episcopal Conference (CEC), political opposition, and the international community were hard-pressed to abolish the independence constitution of 1963, specifically section 2A hence pushing Kenya to the position of multipart.

Additionally, during Mwai Kibaki's ruling period, religious leaders relaxed on governance and foreign policy matters since they had previously worked with Mwai Kibaki against the KANU administration. Mwai Kibaki worked closely with religious leaders such as Mutava Musyimi. The President appointed Mutava Musyimi as the chairperson of the Anti-corruption steering committee. The chairperson indicated incapacity to independently identify severe corruption cases associated with the state. Additionally, the religious leaders later engage in politics through contesting and are elected by chance. Elected members of parliament participate in decision-making and foreign policy formulation. For instance, after resigning from NCCCK, Mutava Musyimi contested for a parliamentary seat and became the elected Member of Parliament. The contestant chose the ruling party, the Party of National Unity (PNU). The above concludes that religious leaders play roles in foreign policy formulation, especially after being introduced to leadership positions. The desire to perform better in foreign policy formulation connects with national leadership.

In Kenya, religion has restricted the Committee of Experts from achieving amendments in the constitution, which advocated for abortion and the Kadhi law courts. Kenya experienced advocating for human rights through religion in 2005 when protesters demonstrated outside Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) party offices and demanded that the constitution amendment respect human life by withdrawing the abortion bill. Upon publishing the constitution, the NCCK and the Catholic Church requested the removal of the abortion clause and Kadhi courts. The NCCK and the Catholic Church demanded equality when it came to religion.

Unfortunately, sometimes religion can be used for personal gains. In 2007, Kenya experienced post-election violence, and religion contributed to the outcome. Religious leaders sidelined themselves and prophesied their winning candidate, catapulting the chaos level, especially after the announced results. In addition, during the COVID-19 period, churches condemned politicians who used churches and other places of worship as gathering points. Religious leaders emphasized the importance of adhering to government directives regarding COVID-19 protective measures.

Recently, the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) chairperson happens to be a religious leader. Rev. Kobia warns Kenyans against using terms that propagate hate speech and provoke violence in Kenya's ninth August 2022 elections. Some Kenyan politicians term the warning as a strategy to invent their hate speech and use the NCIC as a political tool. Religious leaders advise the government on suitable actions and events that catapult the state to a unique position.

1.3 Objectives

1.3.1 Main Objective

- ❖ To analyze the influence of religion in foreign policy formulation in Kenya.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

- ❖ To investigate the importance of religious influence in the formulation of foreign policy.

- ❖ To examine the influence of religious beliefs on the development of foreign policy.
- ❖ To investigate the relationship between international relations theories and religion.
- ❖ To explore how international relation theories, comparative politics, and religious potential avenues can influence foreign policy formulation in Kenya.
- ❖ To understand how religious bureaucracy designed to manage internal affairs can be turned outward and employed to achieve foreign policy goals in Kenya

1.4 Research Questions

- ❖ What are the diplomatic impacts of foreign policy that have a religious or non-religious aspect?
- ❖ Do religious institutions have a role in Kenya's foreign policy formulation?
- ❖ What is the link between religion and foreign policy?

1.5 Hypothesis

- ❖ Religious convictions influence foreign policy formulation in Kenya.
- ❖ There is a strong relationship between religion and international relations in Kenya
- ❖ Religious bureaucracy meant for internal can be overturned and formulated to achieve foreign policy goals.
- ❖ Kenya directly connects religion, comparative politics, international relations, and Foreign policy formulation.

1.6 Research Justification

1.6.1 Academic Justification

The study will provide information on the relationship between the formulation of foreign policy and religion. The research demonstrates that religion in Kenya plays a critical role that impacts both domestic and international relations, thus affecting the country's foreign policy. The study will benefit states by providing knowledge about why religion should be involved in foreign policy formulation. The study will make it possible to comprehend how religion influences the creation of foreign policy for academic purposes.

1.6.2 Policy Justification

The beliefs that religion is the most important factor to consider when formulating foreign policies that impact how Kenya's government relates to other nations worldwide are valid. The findings of this study may apply to other East African countries. Religion helps criticize or praise the government on occasions related to foreign policy formulation. Faith participates in foreign policy formulation through engagements that entail the provision of consultative knowledge. Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) requires religious contribution toward foreign policy formulation. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs cannot work independently, for it must consider spiritual knowledge and practices.

1.6.3 General Public Justification

Through collecting information directly from members of the public and various religious organizations, this research will provide specific information on how religious convictions impacts the formulation of international relations and foreign policy. Regarding the general public, individuals will understand the capacity occupied by faith in foreign policy formulation.

1.7 Operationalization Key Terms and Concepts

Religion- Religion refers to the adoration and belief in an overpowering, personal deity or deities.

Foreign Policy- The overall ideas that dictate the activities and relationships of one country in its relations with other countries. The growth of foreign policy depends on domestic considerations, other countries' policies, plans, or strategies for advancing particular geopolitical goals.

International Relations- international relations is how two or more countries interact with and honour each other, especially in political, economic, or cultural relationships.

Politics- Politics refers to the process of making decisions collectively for the benefit of a large group of people living in a certain environment (most often a nation). Politics therefore refers to a process rather than an entity. The political system requires certain elements to function in order for the process to continue. These elements aid in the peaceful functioning of a society.

Geopolitics- geopolitics refers to politics or international relations as influenced by the geographical area and factors.

Government- the government is the political system by which a country or community is run and regulated

Nationalism- identification with one's nation and support for its interests, especially to the exclusion or detriment of the interests of other nations

Fundamentalism- fundamentalism refers to strict adherence to the basic principles of any subject or discipline.

Liberal theology- a form of religious thought that establishes religious inquiry on the basis of a norm other than the authority of tradition.

Kenya - A country to the East of Africa that attained independence from British rule in 1963

1.8 Literature Review

This part of the research focuses on hypothetical and practical literature reviews. The study explores the previous work by authors, researchers, and scholars in an academic literature review. Furthermore, the research highlights analysis, findings, and recommendations concerning the research gap in the helpful literature review.

1.8.1 Theoretical Literature Review

1.8.1.2 Role of Religion on Foreign Policy Formulation

Religion inheritance in states plays a vital role in international relations and foreign policy formulation. States with common religious backgrounds tend to interact freely, and settling on common ground regarding foreign policy formulation tends to be achievable²⁵. On the other hand, states with different religious backgrounds find it somehow to agree on some aspects. Therefore, conditions are advised to consider respect for one's religion and understand the differences that

²⁵ Fox, Jonathan. "Religion as an overlooked element of international relations." *International Studies Review* 3, no. 3 (2001): 53-73. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1521-9488.00244>

come with religion. States achieve foreign policy formulation either bilaterally or multilaterally after implementing respect towards other states' religions.

States understand how religion plays an essential role in foreign policy formulation. States' leadership and politics interact with belief through thorough consultations to conclude what fits the citizens. In most cases, religion acts incapacity to develop policies that benefit states economically, socially, culturally, and politically²⁶.

Religion influences international relations and foreign policy formulation in three significant ways. One, religion influences the world perception of policymakers and their citizens by shaping the environment they operate²⁷. Religion plays a vital role in individual decision-making. Government leaders formulate laws according to what they refer to as acceptable norms and values²⁸. Therefore, leaders develop domestic and international policies regarding the norms guided by religion.

A good example is that most countries have criminalized abortion because most beliefs do not support abortion. Religious association and persuasion often motivate religious communities to advocate peace-related government policies²⁹. Additionally, religious groups actively support reconciliation and harmony and resist repression. In short, religion can be used by foreign policymakers to push and provide support for their policies among the citizens and politicians. However, the audience, like constituents and leaders, can use religion to disagree with the policies. Thus religion creates a significant influence on foreign policy formulation.

Secondly, states consider religion as an authentic political decision and action tool. Religion and politics have a common objective: to obtain political power and use it to achieve their ambition. Thus, the two factors must work together to monopolize and achieve maximum power to rule their subordinates. The incorporation of religion and politics is referred to as the integration

²⁶ Fox, Jonathan. "Religion as an overlooked element of international relations." *International Studies Review* 3, no. 3 (2001): 53-73. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1521-9488.00244>

²⁷ Stramer, Janicke. *U.S. Foreign Policy and Religion during the Cold War and the War on Terrorism: A Study of how Harry S. Truman and George W. Bush Administrations Procured Public Support for Warfare*. Edwin Mellen Press, 2012.

²⁸ Fox, Jonathan. "Religion as an overlooked element of international relations." *International Studies Review* 3, no. 3 (2001): 53-73. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1521-9488.00244>

²⁹ Fox, Jonathan. "Religion as an overlooked element of international relations." *International Studies Review* 3, no. 3 (2001): 53-73. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1521-9488.00244>

and sharing governance model³⁰. In most cases, states' political ideologies, like nationalism, fundamentalism, and liberation theology, are associated with various religious orientations. Different factors like laws represent the similarities between politics and religion are divine commands, education contains some aspect of religion, the sacred being is present in an institution in the political domain, and the religious order determines the social class in a country³¹.

The third influence includes the ability to cross the border in aspects such as internal conflicts with international repercussions. In international relations, religion influences world views in two different ways. Firstly, religion influences the policy maker's views and then impacts his decisions. Most lawmakers in various countries derive their decisions from religion; thus, they feel their choices are the best. This, however, affects other countries with different beliefs and thus can lead to war.

1.8.1.3 Role of Religious Institutions in Foreign Policy Formulation

Religious institutions influence foreign policy formulation through religious leaders. Religious institutions such as churches, mosques, and temples practice their beliefs, influencing foreign policy formulation. States cannot go contrary to what religious institutions believe in, whether for positive or negative gain. While making decisions, international states must adhere to religious institutions' guidelines and beliefs. Religious institutions also provide consultation services on formulating foreign policy. The institutions grant nations Information, enabling the governments to refrain from ending in unprintable deals.

Religious institutions provide educational information to citizens and leaders. Most schools in Kenya are sponsored and affiliated with different religious denominations. The presence of education in school means that spiritual virtues are cultivated in the community, thus influencing the political decisions in regard affecting the formulation of foreign policy. Religious institutions

³⁰ Beyers, Jaco. "Religion as political instrument: The case of Japan and South Africa." *journal for the study of religion* 28, no. 1 (2015), 2413-3027. http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1011-76012015000100008.

³¹ Beyers, Jaco. "Religion as political instrument: The case of Japan and South Africa." *journal for the study of religion* 28, no. 1 (2015), 2413-3027. http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1011-76012015000100008.

are actively involved in local politics in many ways. The formulation of both domestic and international policies must be tailored to align with the sacred body.

Religious institutions are part of the non-state actors in foreign policy formulation. The influence of religion in international relations dates from post -world war. Private voluntary organizations (PVOs) affiliated with religion have long been established to help advise countries' internal and external policies. For example, the catholic relief organization has evolved to help reshape and develop the relationship between developing countries and other parts of the world. The development agencies play a vital effect in reshaping and affecting the formulation of foreign policy in different parts of the world.

1.8.1.4 Nexus between Religion and Foreign Policy

Scholars, researchers, and academicians find challenges in identifying the role of religion in foreign policy formulation. Several questions concerning faith in governance emerged and persisted in the twenty-first century. Researchers still find answers concerning the role of religion in foreign policy formulation, state politics, and government. Faith positively promotes foreign policy by advocating for the best outcomes. Religion ensures that the formulated policies do not go against humanity or contribute to human rights violations. Religious leaders, institutions, and believers work together with the government to implement policy through public participation. States that value religion takes religious opinion in foreign policy formulation with seriousness. International leaders understand that faith shapes morals and would not advocate for anything associated with striking threats to human life.

1.8.2 Empirical Literature Review

Internationally, religion has, over time, shaped foreign policy formulation. In the United States of America (USA), foreign policy formulation works hand in hand. Since the administration of President George W. Bush, the government has made several commitments and discussions towards engaging religion and faith-based communities in matters of foreign policy formulation. The government understands the impact religion can deliver on foreign policy formulation. In 2001, the U.S. government established the White House Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood

Partnerships (WHOFBNP)³². Additionally, offices and centers work collaboratively with religion in the USA for better performance. The offices, departments, and centers include; the United States Agency for International Aid (USAID), Labor, Education, and Commerce.

Moreover, the State Department formed the Religion and Global Affairs office (RGA). The office composes of three principals, whereby each principal represents their religion. In-depth consultations on foreign policy formulation occur between the state and the RGA principals. RGA recognizes that numerous societies globally understand the power of faith in global affairs, especially in shaping policy outcomes and political discourses³³.

During President Donald Trump's tenure, the government-held discussion on the impact of eliminating RGA. Fear affected the state and foreign affairs department on where Trump would downsize America's diplomacy by eliminating the RGA office. The American government would have made a mistake by doing away with the adequate tools established and the entire office. The United States of America values religion in foreign policy formulation; therefore, the state understands the consequences of doing away with RGA. Instead of eliminating the impactful office, diplomacy experts advised the government to equip the office with tools to catapult to better performance.

Additionally, the USA's RGA does not guarantee smooth interaction between the state and religion. In most cases, the religion and foreign policy discussion do not make recommendable interactions. There is a need for American diplomats and religious leaders to advance USA foreign policy and its interests associated. In addition to the challenges that religion faces with the American government, the U.S. Constitution bars the federal government from assuming positions regarding religion. The USA government cannot discontinue working with religion concerning foreign policy formulation.

In East Africa, states respect religion and its constituents. In East Africa, religion influences many different aspects and leadership philosophies. During the post-colonial period, religion aided in condemning injustices and advocated for democracy and human rights, public health,

³² Ilardi, Gaetano Joe. "The 9/11 attacks—A study of Al Qaeda's use of intelligence and counterintelligence." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 32, no. 3 (2009): 171-187. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10576100802670803>

³³ Hamilton, Lee. *Faith-based diplomacy: Trumping realpolitik*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2003.

dictatorship, political instability, and poor health services³⁴. Additionally, the religious body of East Africa, known as the East Africa Christian Alliance (EACA), works in opposition to the Africa Conference of Churches. The EACA belongs to the East Africa International Council of Christian Churches (ICCC) and criticizes East African states for actions that might threaten human life. Having several regional branches makes it a balanced equation while participating in the decision-making agenda concerning the East African community.

Charlatans and rogue religious leaders have hijacked religion in East Africa. In Uganda, religious leaders have turned into cults. The practices make the state doubt spiritual capacity in foreign policy formulation. The Ugandan practice of religion entails blackmailing and misleading congregations³⁵. Religion should fight for knowledge within the community, but the Ugandan religious community does the opposite. The government believes that religion should lead the assembly to the light. The religious bodies, institutions, and leaders in Uganda do less in foreign policy formulation since the government cannot trust some of the developments practiced³⁶.

1.8.2.1 Religion in Kenya (Relationship between Religion, Politics, I.R. and Foreign Policy formulation in Kenya)

Religion in Kenya

The demographic distribution shows that about eighty percent of Kenya's population are Christians, followed by Islam at eleven percent, Hindu at two percent, and traditional African religion at one percent³⁷. The Christians are further sub-dived into different denominations, with Catholics and Anglican denominations containing the highest number of followers. It is essential to know that Kenya is a secular state; thus, there are few numbers of professed atheists.

³⁴ Snyder, Jack. "Religion and international relations theory." *Adam Akademi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 2, no. 2(2011).

³⁵ Omona, Andrew David, and Uzziah Maate Kiriaghe. "Religion and Development in Uganda." *Religion and development in Africa* (2020): 259.

³⁶ Snyder, Jack. "Religion and international relations theory." *Adam Akademi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 2, no. 2 (2011).

³⁷ "ArcGIS Hub." n.d. www.opendata.go.ke. Accessed August 7, 2022. <https://www.opendata.go.ke/-Environment-And-Natural-Resources/2009-Census-Volume-2-Table-12-Population-by-Religi/jrmn-krnf..>

According to the Kenyan constitution, religious freedom is a fundamental principle. The new constitution states that there is "no state religion" in Kenya. This means that religious discrimination is highly prohibited. The Kenya Law guarantees the freedom of worship, practice, teach and observe any religion. However, it is essential to note that any new church and faith-based Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) must register with the government.

In Kenya, religion is deeply intertwined with politics. The political culture is distinguished into three categories: the system, process, and policy. This research will focus on the interdependence between religion and foreign policy formulation in Kenya. Aspects of policy are associated with people's ideologies, perceptions of a good society, and opinions on the concerns that politicians should address. It is essential to understand the relationship between religion and politics in Kenya.

In Kenya, religious leaders have been critical political actors since independence. Although the role of religious leaders in politics is a topic of intense debate, there are no formal limitations preventing religious leaders from actively participating in politics and policy formulation. The Kenyan Government considers the religious leaders as the moral voice, thus encouraging their active participation in political parties and advocacy. For example, Religious leaders were actively involved in the 2004 and 2010 formulation of the Kenyan constitution. Religious leaders have been involved in numerous spheres of society, politics, and the economy, and they have played a number of significant roles. Religion influences the common perception that religious identity is important to many Kenyans.

Religious leaders have been elected and nominated for different political positions. During the colonial period, the state used missionaries to penetrate various parts of the country. The apostles provided education and built schools, thus influencing the local people to adapt to new ways of living. The colonial government used Christianity as an influence to legitimize its government and action. Thus the role of religion in politics began during the colonial era. After independence, the government adopted religious ideologies. For example, religious clergy is invited to offer prayers in other denominations during government functions. This indicates that the Kenya religion provides an evident fascination with the country's political culture.

Religious leaders also play oppositional roles in Kenyan politics. During the tenure of president Moi, the country faced political, social, and economic challenges. Due to the tensions, the President resorted to replacing the secret ballot voting system with the queue system. Various religious leaders opposed the move in 1986. Most religious leaders pressured the government, which led to the multiparty system's legalization, and helped oversee and train election officials in the 1992 general elections.

1.8.2.2 Religion and Politics in Kenya Post Independence Period

The Kenyan constitution, after independence, did not adopt any religion since the primary purpose was to make the country a secular state. However, the state did not succeed in separating the correlation between religion and politics. Post-independent Kenya shows how religion is a deep-rooted affair in matters of politics and constitution; a good example is a national anthem where the first line states, "oh God of all creation." Kenyans consider religion as the overall way of life. Religion is a crucial matter that is part of the country's culture and handed down from one generation to another. During the reign of the second president of Kenya, his Excellency Daniel Arap Moi, he ruled as a devoted Christian and visited various churches during Sunday mass. President Moi often combined bible verses with his nation's address, thus incorporating religion and politics. The President associated with the fundamentalist churches like the Baptist and Assembly of God churches grew at an alarming rate. The fundamentalist church is known for its utmost support of the government. Up to now, the church plays a vital role as most leaders use them to support their stay in political leadership positions in the country. President Moi's regime received extra support from the fundamentalist churches under the umbrella body of the United Evangelical Churches of Kenya (UCEK).

In Kenya, religion takes two sides in foreign policy formulation. Due to doubts, some religious practices do not promote connection to foreign policy formulation. Researcher pose questions on some of the thoughts associated with spiritual practice. Developed doubt about religious capacity in foreign policy formulation exists in a high percentage. In terms of public participation through religion, numerous actions towards change and practice the proper steps should be employed. Religious leaders must use their platform to address the illiteracy level in foreign policy formulation by creating awareness programs

Conversely, religion helps the state formulate and implement foreign policies. Religious leaders, institutions, and bodies play a significant role in protecting the community. Additionally, some religious leaders make decisions on national leadership hence participation and contribution to foreign policy formulation. Kenya highlights the same regarding religion and politics in barring dirty politics in church. The church during and after elections calls for peace, unity, and harmony. The globe partners with states that promote peace and the practice are advanced through the United Nations Security Council. (UNSC).

Religious leaders promote foreign policy formulation through interaction and discussions with the state. For instance, religion emphasized the importance of social distance during the COVID-19 period by advising people not to attend places of worship. COVID-19 pandemic involved the globe in implementing guidelines that saved millions from death. States that did not follow the World Health Organization (WHO) guidelines on COVID-19 got exclusion from international participation and interaction. Religious institutions collaborated with the government to implement safety during the COVID-19 period.

1.9 Summary of Research Gap in Literature Review

Researchers have paid more attention to the impact of religion on foreign policy in the literature review. The researchers have focused on both downsizing and uplifting the capacity of religion for foreign policy formulation. Additionally, the researchers have identified strengths in religion regarding foreign policy formulation. However, researchers have not yet identified the damage caused by religion by brainwashing followers and misleading the community on matters of international relations. Individuals get blindfolded by scoundrel religious leaders and ignore any foreign policy concerns, affecting foreign policy formulation negatively.

1.10 Theoretical Framework

1.10.1 Confucianism Theory

Confucianism as a religion and international relations theory highlights the importance of morality and personal ethics. Confucianism is an ancient Chinese belief in promoting what befits

the community while avoiding what must hurt states³⁸. While considering Confucianism, international leaders and policymakers might go against what the theory advocates. Researchers need to understand the impact of Islamic groups, the Falun Gong, and the Christian fellows on world politics³⁹. Religion possesses the capacity to undermine or reinforce policies that the state makes.

The Confucianism theory consists of three beliefs: virtues of the superior fellow, compassion, and love of humanity. In collaboration with Confucianism theory, religion helps states understand limits towards foreign policy formulation. In most cases, international interactions that go against Confucianism's central beliefs tend to reach zero goal achievement. Confucianism also advocates treating human life with dignity and avoiding incidences resulting in cruelty, heartlessness, and pride. Confucianism theory encourages a world of order.

Confucianism theory is derived from four principles: respect for autonomy, beneficence, neutrality, and justice. The theory's central tenets guide the importance of "self-legislation," legislation to train people, interact with others with respect, and uphold morality⁴⁰. The approach is an essential factor that should be considered during foreign policy formulation⁴¹. The theory helps the state develop laws leading to a peaceful correlation with other countries.

Considering Confucianism theory, states would not go into war and later realize their mistake. The principles attached to the Confucianism theory should constantly guide states while involving themselves in foreign policy formulation⁴². The existence of principles of the idea must be done through religious practice to achieve harmony and peace in international relations. The theory promotes international peace by encouraging state and religious leaders to focus on what

³⁸ Jiang, Yi-Huah. "Confucian political theory in contemporary China." *Annual Review of Political Science* 21 (2018): 155-173. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-041916-020230>

³⁹ Jiang, Yi-Huah. "Confucian political theory in contemporary China." *Annual Review of Political Science* 21 (2018): 155-173. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-041916-020230>

⁴⁰ Bell, Daniel A. *China's New Confucianism: Politics and Everyday Life in a Changing Society*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008.

⁴¹ Bell, Daniel A. *China's New Confucianism: Politics and Everyday Life in a Changing Society*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008.

⁴² Jiang, Yi-Huah. "Confucian political theory in contemporary China." *Annual Review of Political Science* 21 (2018): 155-173. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-041916-020230>

benefits the community. Interestingly, Confucianism theory discourages selfish interests while engaging in foreign policy formulation.

1.10.2 Secularization Theory

Additionally, scholars identify the rise and fall of secularism in international interactions. Unlike nationalism, religion during times of war helps devotees rationalize self-sacrifice for the benefit of the community⁴³. Scholars understand the reason for reducing religious attendance, not belief through secularism theory. People still believe in religion but attending religious gatherings diminishes in the current generation. Individuals focus more on religious beliefs than religious attendance in the contemporary world. The separation between religious beliefs and religious attendance brings out the secularization theory.

Religion declines as societies develop; therefore, states should not be surprised. States will consider secularization theory while formulating foreign policy in the future. The decline in religious attendance cultivates the rise in secularism. Aspects of holy secularism depend on individual perception of the secularization theoretical model. Additionally, the religious attendance of a state is majorly affected by the state's level of development in terms of education and health⁴⁴. In conditions where underdevelopment dominates, religion thrives highly⁴⁵. In developed states, religious belief dominates rather than religious attendance. Therefore, foreign policy formulation in developed and developing countries through religious involvement takes different shapes and paths.

The growth of secularism theory comes hand-in-hand with development. In foreign policy formulation, the development achieved early paves the way to making decisions. Implementation of secularism becomes automatic in sectors where leaders and individuals understand their aim in foreign policy formulation. In developing countries, secularism increasingly takes shape as time

⁴³ Dhima, Kostanca, and Matt Golder. "Secularization Theory and Religion." *Politics and Religion* 14, no. 1 (2021): 37-53. doi:10.1017/S1755048319000464

⁴⁴ Petito, Fabio. "From Freedom of Religion or Belief (FoRB) advocacy to interreligious engagement in foreign policy." *Global Affairs* 6, no. 3 (2020): 269-286. <https://doi.org/10.1080/23340460.2020.1845098>

⁴⁵ Dhima, Kostanca, and Matt Golder. "Secularization Theory and Religion." *Politics and Religion* 14, no. 1 (2021): 37-53. doi:10.1017/S1755048319000464

passes, and many states embrace the impact. For instance, Kenya is a secular state, and foreign policy formulation emphasizes following beliefs and not necessarily attendance.

1.11 Relevance to the study.

The Confucianism and secularization theories are essential to this research since they help understand how religion impacts foreign policy in the country. Kenya is a country that practices diverse faiths. Each religion has a significant impact on local politics and the daily lives of the populace. Religion primarily impacts the formulation of local and international government policies.

1.13 Research Methodology

This section describes the research methodology. Additionally, it includes the target population, making it possible to achieve the desired goals. Another consideration in this sector involves instruments, data collection techniques, and procedures.

1.13.1 Research Design

The research study used both quantitative and qualitative methods of research. Descriptive research design has been utilized in collecting Information concerning religion and foreign policy formulation. The study used written interviews and questionnaires for primary data collection. Secondary data is obtained from written research and study materials on the internet. The descriptive research design elaborates on the reality of phenomena and their physiognomies. In addition, the descriptive research design grants the Researcher the ability to study the current issue by describing exciting variables. The study indicated that religion plays an essential role in foreign policy formulation.

1.13.2 Data Collection

1.13.2.1 Data Collection Technique

Data were collected from primary and secondary sources, including interviews and published journals. The Information collected relates to religion and foreign policy formulation in Kenya and globally. Additionally, documents present the Information well concerning religion and

foreign policy, and any researcher can easily access them. Spending quality time for interviews and secondary sources of Information guarantees a researcher quality information and assurance in research.

1.13.2.2 Study Site

The research was conducted within Nairobi, Kenya. The Research visits were done between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and one on one interviews of a few employees of the foreign embassies.

1.13.2.4 Target Group

The target population consists of individuals from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry consists of a cabinet secretary, the principal secretary, ambassadors for bilateral and political affairs, and multilateral and international relations. The target population was achieved as per availability of and reliability of response to religion and foreign policy formulation. The target group information is captured in the table below.

Institution	Strata	Population
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multilateral and International Relations 	10
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bilateral and Political Affairs 	12
Total		22

1.13.2.3 Data Collection Procedure

This study relies on both primary and secondary sources of data. Through an intense search for Information from what past researchers found, the study came up with factual Information on religion and foreign policy formulation. Additionally, data collection through interviews with the two chairpersons of multilateral and international relations and bilateral and political affairs

affirms that the Information presented offers a better understanding of the role of religion and foreign policy formulation. The interviews were contacted online through zoom technology.

1.13.2.4 Data Analysis Method and Presentation

The data collected from the study were analyzed using qualitative and quantitative methods. In this study, the qualitative method of data analysis aids in explaining the quantitative Information hence bringing credibility and validity to the collected information.

1.14 Ethical Consideration

The following are the ethical considerations that guided the scholar during this research:

Plagiarism: all the borrowed information is well cited, and the Researcher did not copy any researcher's work.

Confidentiality: anonymity and privacy were guaranteed to respondents who requested. Anonymity is vital since most respondents work for the Ministry of foreign affairs.

Consent: during data collection, the scholar produces letters of permission from the relevant institutions that were provided to aid in the research.

1.15 Scope and Limitation of The Study

The scholar interviewed twenty-two individuals working from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The interview was time-consuming since it relied on the availability of high-profile employees. However, this was mitigated through the use of email and zoom calls. By conducting the research using an online platform, the Researcher could control the financial costs that would have otherwise been used on transport. Collecting data from ministry employees is challenging since some of them feel there will be a conflict of interest to say some private information that can affect their jobs. This was solved by hiding and protecting the identities of the interviewees, thus gaining trust and receiving maximum cooperation from them.

1.16 Chapter Outline:

Chapter One: Introduction and Background

This chapter introduces the study of religion and foreign policy formulation through problem statement, background information, introduction, objectives, justification, questions, theoretical and empirical literature review, research gap, research design, and data analysis.

Chapter Two: Impact of Religion on Kenya's Foreign Policy Formulation

This chapter provides factual information on religion's impact and role in foreign policy formulation.

Chapter Three: The Link Between Religion And Foreign Policy Formulation In Kenya

This section examines the nexus between religion and foreign policy formulation. The investigation is based on a theoretical and practical point of view

Chapter Four: Research Methodology

This segment encompasses the methodical structure that was used to conduct the study. This segment explores the primary and secondary data used during the research. Primary data is the information gathered directly from respondents.

Chapter Five: Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendation

This chapter provides in-depth summaries, conclusions entailing research findings, and recommendations on areas concerning the study that require further research.

CHAPTER TWO: IMPACT OF RELIGION ON KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION

2.1 Introduction

This chapter analyzes the impact of religion on Kenya's foreign policy formulation. The chapter contains a critical analysis of foreign policy formulation in Kenya. In addition, the chapter also analyses religion's role in foreign policy development and implementation. Foreign policy formulation across the world contains various similarities and differences based on geographical, political, and religious factors.

2.2. Empirical Review

The empirical review presents the literature related to the study. The review will cover the literature about the objectives of the research.

2.2.1 Religion

Religion is crucial in nurturing national values such as tolerance, righteousness, forthrightness, integrity, openness, and peace. These values are cardinal for growth of sound economic and democratic political institutions. The democratic political systems and economic structures of Africa are still egregiously underdeveloped. Weak financial institutions and the nearly complete absence of strong opposition parties in nations like Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, and many others are clear indicators of underdevelopment. The lack of openness and transparency within political, economic, and governing bodies as well as among leaders impedes social advancement since it encourages corruption and stifles the growth of civil societies. The transference of religious values to these realms and the indirect influence of religious culture on economic and political culture may be advantageous for Africa's financial and political institutions. In African traditional religion, the promotion of ideals in society is accomplished by including the person in society's activities through communal involvement.

The fundamental essence of indigenous spirituality and morality is this act of engagement in community life and immersion in society⁴⁶. In this sense, morality and spirituality are inextricably linked. The family environment serves as the foundation for the individual's immersion in the community, which then moves on to the house or compound (the extended family), the village, and the clan (the community). Each of these levels of community involvement is congruent with the moral development of the individual, who is also responsible to the community. Through religious rites and lessons, parents and community members help children develop their moral character as well as their religious absorption. African Christianity is influenced by the relationship between spirituality and morality as well as the immersion and moral development processes seen in African traditional religion. Through Bible study, catechism, and other methods of spreading the word of the Bible, Christianity gives attention to the moral development of the family-like church community. Despite the terrible socio-political and economic circumstances of African nations, religious teachings that try to instill morality play a significant role in fostering optimism.

2.2.2 Influence of Religion on Foreign Policy Formulation

In Kenya, foreign policy is described as simple formal laws that affect the state's and other nations' economic, humanitarian, social, military, and cultural factors. Generally, religion plays different roles in people's lives. Religion is a fundamental factor that significantly influences individuals' views, and values thus considered a backbone of identity and legitimacy. Therefore it is clear that religion influences the way of livelihood for different people in the society, thus affecting domestic and foreign policy formulation.

Religion influences foreign policy formulation through individual leaders. In Kenya, the member of parliaments is the lawmakers. The country's political structure is set so that leaders are responsible for the country's political decisions. The American President Dwight D. Eisenhower, a well-known Presbyterian, is credited with framing the Cold War in terms of religious factions during World War II: "When God comes, Communism has to go." This affected the United States of America's relations with other non-Christian countries while he was President⁴⁷. President

⁴⁶ Currey, J. *Religion in Africa: Experience & Expression*. Michigan, SOM: university of Michigan, 1994.

⁴⁷ Rabe, Stephen G. *Eisenhower and Latin America: The Foreign Policy of Anticommunism*. chapel hill NC: The University Of North Carolina press, 1988.

Eisenhower adopted policies to abolish communism and adopt civil human rights. Religion is regarded as a source of an individual's perception of power outside of himself, meaning power that guides and supports him with constant provisions of constraint and reinforcement. In international relations, religion is a factor of unity.

In foreign policy formulation, religion provides the basis, concepts, and thinking focused on the country's sovereignty; in Kenya, religious semantics advocate for certain ethics that are vital concepts required for foreign policy formulation. The different ideas about religion are essential factors in the country's foreign policy. Political and religious leaders constitute the vortex through which faith and belief influence the formulation of political decisions involving foreign policy. It is important to note that a nation's religious tradition is most likely to affect the overall alignment toward its foreign policy.

It is essential to understand that most studies have focused on the relationship between religion and the local politics of a country. However, studies have attributed a connection between religion and the foreign diplomacy of a nation. It is crucial to understand how quickly and easily conflicts may be resolved among nations that have similar religious convictions if one wants to comprehend the function of religion in international diplomacy.

2.2.3 Role of Religion in Foreign Policy Formulation

Various scholars argue that there is a direct connection between religious authority, government, and foreign policy formulation across the globe; despite the direct influence of religion over the policy makers, religious beliefs aid in shaping the process of foreign policy formulation⁴⁸. Religious leaders act by highlighting several policy issues that are considered to be important in foreign diplomacy. Therefore, religion is a necessary party that must be involved in policy formulation.

The influence of religion on international diplomacy has been negatively impacted by the globalization of the role of religion in politics. Religion helps shape societal norms, thus

⁴⁸ Smock, David. 2008. "Religion in World Affairs: Its Role in Conflict and Peace." United States Institute of Peace. February 1, 2008. <https://www.usip.org/publications/2008/02/religion-world-affairs-its-role-conflict-and-peace>.

influencing a country's domestic and international policies⁴⁹. The political leaders formulate policies that accommodate every religious belief. Thus, the global system creates a multi-dimensional approach that relies on foreign relations and improves the country's diplomacy worldwide.

Religions play an essential role in public opinion and public diplomacy. This has led to a rise in religious diplomacy globally. Therefore, religion has made a general understanding of matters implementation and formulation of foreign affairs into a country's public affair⁵⁰. When the citizens understand the importance of foreign policy helps ensure the people represent their country well.

2.3. Theoretical Framework

2.3.1 Structuralism

Religious structuralism is a concept focusing on human relationships rather than individual interactions⁵¹. In foreign policy formulation, religious structuralism is an essential factor. Religion has a significant influence on how people think and feel, which is important for forming international connections. Various research studies acknowledge that religion influences individual beliefs and how people think. Structuralism theory assumes that the citizens are not well knowledgeable about foreign policy issues facing the country; thus, religion plays an active role in providing necessary information on the topic. The theory is an essential factor in this study as it allows for explanations that help understand the correlation between religion and foreign policy formulation in Kenya and Africa as a continent.

2.3.2 Religious Pluralism

Religious pluralism theory is a situation where every human being with diverse faith is allowed or has the freedom to worship and express their opinions⁵². Kenya is an excellent example

⁴⁹ "Religion and Foreign Policy: Bridging the Divide." n.d. Council on Foreign Relations. Accessed August 7, 2022. <https://www.cfr.org/event/religion-and-foreign-policy-bridging-divide>.

⁵⁰ Ozkan, Mehmet. 2021. "How Religion Shapes Foreign Policy? An Explanatory Model for Non-Western States." *Religions* 12 (8): 617. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12080617>.

⁵¹ Hinnells, John. *The Routledge Companion to the Study of Religion*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2009.

⁵² Prodromou, Elizabeth H. "U.S. Foreign Policy and Global Religious Pluralism." *Oxford University Press*, December 2008, 297-324. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195323405.003.0012>.

of religious pluralism in Africa. It is a state with a majority of Christians but also home to various other religions and cultural groups like Islam and Hinduism. Religious pluralism in Kenya is crucial since it holds that all denominations are significant in national and international affairs matters. Pluralism encourages people to protect their sovereignty by safeguarding their fundamental human rights and interacting with other nations according to their conscience. This means that religious pluralism encourages foreign policy formulation in the country.

Religious pluralism is essential during foreign policy formulation since it encourages intelligence and open-mindedness. Religious pluralism supports democracy both in domestic and international relations. In the Kenyan political structure, religious pluralism promotes peaceful co-existence among citizens, thus directly transmitted to the country's international relations. Religious pluralism is achieved through training and sustainability toward human development in foreign policy formulation. Pluralism directly influences Kenya's foreign policy formulation by providing information that encourages co-existence, thus shaping the Foreign policy formulation process through lawmakers and the general public

2.4 Chapter conclusion

This chapter explores the impact of religion on Kenya's foreign policy formulation. The section analyzes how religion influences foreign policy development and implementation. Religion affects foreign policy formulation by influencing policymakers. Secondly, religion provides the basis, concepts, and thinking focused on the country's sovereignty; in Kenya, religious semantics advocate for certain ethics that are vital concepts required for foreign policy formulation. In foreign policy formulation, Religious structuralism is an essential factor. Religion has a significant impact on how people think and behave, which helps shape how international relations are formulated. Religious pluralism in Kenya is crucial since it holds that all denominations are significant in national and international affairs matters. Pluralism encourages people to protect their sovereignty by safeguarding their fundamental human rights and interacting with other nations according to their conscience

CHAPTER THREE

THE LINK BETWEEN RELIGION AND FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION IN KENYA

3.0 Introduction

This section explores the relationship between religion and foreign policy. The investigation is based on a theoretical and practical point of view. The researcher must comprehend the development of Kenya's foreign policy in order to comprehend the relationship between religion and foreign policy formulation. The scholar studies Kenya's philosophical values contribute to the country's foreign policy formulation.

3.1 History of Kenya's Foreign Policy

Kenya attained control and management of its foreign policy immediately after independence in 1963⁵³. The nation's foreign policy served as a guide for its active involvement in regional and global events. Post-independence foreign affairs matter was developed to guide the doctrines safeguarding the national interest and maintaining the newly acquired independence. Additionally, foreign policy foster and promote African regional unity, endeavor to bring about world peace and a peaceful resolution of conflicts on both a regional and worldwide scale, protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the nation, and foster goodwill among neighbors. Moreover, the need for developing foreign policy post-colonial era arose due to the lack of economic and political development and the country's national security. The nation's foreign policy and diplomatic approach, however, have developed in recent years with a strong emphasis on defending and advancing the nation's national interest. The country's foreign policy formulation and affairs have focused on domestic and international affairs.

Kenya's foreign policy has been reshaped following the country's history and culture. After gaining independence in 1963, the Kenya government understood that it was important for the state to underline its position on the regional and international map and thus joined the

⁵³ Ministry of foreign affairs kenya. *introduction- foreign policy*. kenya: ministry of foreign affairs kenya, n.d. <https://mfa.go.ke/historyfp/>.

Organization of African Union (OAU)⁵⁴. The country's move to join the African Union was the need to uphold self-governance and help fight for the decolonization of Africa as a continent. The peoples hugely influenced by this move need to protect their culture and their religious ways of operation. Africa needed to come together after gaining its independence, and the Christian Missionary Zeal was the movement's inspiration. As a result, Kenya's foreign policy has developed over time, concentrating on Pan-Africanism as a virtue motivated by religion.

The first president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, placed a strong emphasis on promoting free trade and foreign investment during his administration⁵⁵. Foreign policy formulation after independence aimed at creating solid relations with western nations to gain investments and create a developed economy. During Kenyatta's administration, the government's main aim was to make peace with its neighbors, especially Somalia, thus preventing irredentism from Somalia. The establishment of the East African Community (EAC) in 1967 was prompted by the peace and stability among the surrounding nations⁵⁶. After independence, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and the President were directly in-charge of the state's foreign policy ideas and the formulation process.

Following President Jomo Kenyatta's passing in 1978, Kenya experienced a smooth power transition to Vice-president Daniel Moi, who was in power at the current time. During the tenure of president Moi, the country faced various challenges like coup attempts in 1982, increased tribalism, corruption, and resistance from citizens⁵⁷. The second president received both local and international criticism for his leadership style. Due to the multiple challenges, Moi's ruling style was categorized as a dictatorship. President Moi's regime was hostile due to the lack of respect for human rights and freedom of expression; thus, the country's domestic affairs were terrible. However, the President coordinated the nation's foreign policy to present it as peaceful. President

⁵⁴ Ministry of foreign affairs kenya. *introduction- foreign policy*. kenya: ministry of foreign affairs kenya, n.d. <https://mfa.go.ke/historyfp/>.

⁵⁵ Okumu, John J. "Some thoughts on Kenya's foreign policy". *The African Review: a Journal of African Politics Development and International Affairs*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (1973): P. 263

⁵⁶ Maberu, Faith. "Kenya's Foreign Policy in Context (1963–2015)." *South African Journal of International Affairs* 23, no. 3 (2016): 366-367

⁵⁷ Ododa, Harry. "Continuity and change in Kenya's foreign policy from the Kenyatta to the Moi government". *Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (1986): 47-57

Moi's foreign policy led the country to the involvement of Peacekeeping missions by the Kenyan military in collaboration with the United Nations (U.N.) and the African Union (A.U.)⁵⁸.

Kenya's foreign policy experienced radical evolution during the tenure of the third president of Kenya, President Mwai Kibaki. The inauguration of the new constitution in 2010 influenced the shift of the country's foreign policy. The new constitution led to changes in foreign diplomacy since it focused on supporting democracy as its pillar. The recent changes in foreign diplomacy were categorized into the nation's three pillars: economic, peace, and environmental diplomacy⁵⁹. President Kibaki enhanced Multilateralism, which led to the strengthening of the regional and international groups. Kibaki's government focused on strengthening the regional bloc like the EAC to help improve regional trade by reducing tariffs. The country's foreign policy aligned with the East through various partnerships. Kenya achieved Multilateralism with the Eastern world was achieved through multiple economic blocs like Japan under the Tokyo International Conference on Africa Development (TICAD), and other Asia-Pacific nations, under the New Asia-Africa Strategic Partnership, comprise the Africa China Corporation (FOCAC) (NAASP). Kenya and other African states now have fresh potential to forge new Asia-African relations as a result of the growth of Asia's dynamic economy, particularly China and India⁶⁰. The new regional initiatives from the Asian nations provide Kenya and other African nations with prospects for greater cooperation in the multilateral fora. Additionally, they offer an opportunity to bargain for increased market access, trade facilitation, the promotion of foreign direct investment, and acceptance and support of such missions.

3.2 The 2014 Foreign Policy

Kenya achieved a significant milestone in foreign policy in 2014 during the reign of President Uhuru Kenyatta. The foreign policy document was written to provide the country's framework for international relations. The document was published to help create awareness of

⁵⁸ Wanyama, Leonard. "Selected Cases In the Conduct Of Kenyan Foreign Policy Since 1992". Masters Diss., University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 2011. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/39669766.pdf>.

⁵⁹ Nzau, Mumo. "The Strategic Art of Appeasing Old Lovers while Courting New Friends: Kenya's Foreign Relations in Retrospect". In *Kenya after 50: Reconfiguring Historical, Political, and Policy Milestones* by Kithinji, Michael Mwenda, Mickie Mwanzia Koster, and Jerono P. Rotich. African Histories and Modernities. 2016. Pages 137-164

⁶⁰ Howell, John. "An Analysis of Kenyan Foreign Policy." *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 6, no. 1 (1968): 29- 48.

the nation's diplomatic relations and the strategic guidance towards Kenya's foreign policy and formulation. The 2014 Vision The goal of foreign policy is to make Kenya a secure, thriving, and globally competitive nation. Through creative diplomacy, the objective is to "project, promote, and preserve Kenya's foreign interests and image, and contribute to a just, peaceful, and equitable world." The nation's national ideals serve as the basis for its foreign policy⁶¹. The new diplomacy document is based on the five pillars: Peace, economy, culture, environment, and international relations.

Kenya's philosophy and national values guiding foreign policy formulation include:

- Unity
- Justice and liberty
- Peace
- Patriotism

Various institutions are essential in achieving Kenya's foreign policy. The policy structure and implementation involve the executive (President, cabinet, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Parliament and the county governments, and other agencies like religious bodies and cultural leaders.

3.3 Relationship Between Religion and Foreign Policy Formulation

Religion is considered a source of authority and guidance for the people. Kenya is a free state where citizens can practice their beliefs without fear and prejudice. Various studies have proved a strong relationship between religion and politics in Kenya. This means the leaders in power are guided by their individual beliefs. According to the research conducted, it is evident that the state's foreign policy is based on national values like peace and love. Kenya's national values are the beliefs shared by the country's citizens. The national values were derived from the common values like patriotism, peace, and love that are a common ground for the distinguished beliefs like Islam and Christianity that are practiced in the country.

⁶¹ Ministry of foreign affairs kenya. *introduction- foreign policy*. kenya: ministry of foreign affairs kenya, n.d. <https://mfa.go.ke/historyfp/>.

Religion ensures that the formulated policies do not go against humanity or contribute to human rights violations. Religious leaders, institutions, and believers work together with the government to implement policy through public participation. States that value religion takes religious opinion in foreign policy formulation with seriousness. Kenyan politicians understand that faith shapes morals and would not advocate for anything associated with striking threats to human life.

3.4 Role of Religion in Conflict Resolution in Kenya

Religion plays a vital role in preventing and resolving conflict in Kenya. Conflict in Kenya is inevitable due to tribalism, corruption, and political differences. However, religion can be viewed as a motive for violence and war. In Kenya, religious organizations have worked hard to promote and enhance peace. Spiritual virtues promote positive community virtues like peace and reconciliation.

Religious organizations played a humanitarian and peace-building role during the Post-Election Violence (PEV) that occurred in 2007. Kenya is recognized for being a peaceful nation, hence the beginning of the Post-Election Violence was not anticipated. Numerous religious institutions intervened by offering psychosocial counseling to deal with trauma issues brought on by the loss of lives and infliction of emotional and bodily suffering. Additionally, it handled the distribution of both food and non-food commodities. Additionally, church leaders participated in workshops to develop their ability for conflict resolution and fostering peace. The Christians, Muslims, and Hindus all participated in joint ecumenical services that were also held. Finally, the Council participated in influencing the adoption of laws in the Kenyan Parliament, including the Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation Act, the National Cohesion and Integration Act, the Constitutional Review Act of 2008, and the Witness Protection Act.

3.5 Religion and Regional Integration

Recently, African states have focused on creating and promoting regional integration. Since its independence, Kenya has focused on participating in and promoting regional integration. Integration is vital since it enhances free trade, encourages a common market for goods and

services, and promotes a customs union⁶². The report from the African Regional Integration Index claims that the EAC is the fastest growing bloc regarding regional integration. Religion plays a vital role in shaping and promoting regional integration.

Religion creates an avenue and attitude based on common beliefs and values, which is crucial in creating a positive and ecumenical approach to developing a country's social, political, and economic system of a high integration level. Various scholars argue that religion can be viewed as a source of dynamic integration due to the shared value. Religion creates unity across borders, thus considered a unifying factor across various nations.

Religion is the common factor influencing the region's integration in the Middle East. The Arab League countries are considered the second largest group in shared interests and assets⁶³. However, the Arab countries have not been able to promote a solid regional bloc due to cultural, religious, and language differences. Religion Plays a vital role in the Gulf region, such that Economic blocks like the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) and the Islamic State (I.S.) depend on religious factors.

In East Africa, the principles that domicile the EAC bloc include good governance, settlement of disputes, accountability, transparency, adherence to the rule of law, and democracy. The guiding principles are based on the communal virtues of the people of East Africa and are derived from the shared values of all religious denominations in the region. The first line of the anthem of the East African Community, "Ee Mungu Twaomba Ulinde," indicates that religion is the backbone of the regional bloc⁶⁴. The Anthem encourages the people of East Africa to pursue the values of hard work, unity, and patriotism derived from the virtues of various religions that domicile the East African Community⁶⁵.

⁶² Deng, LA 1998. *Rethinking African Development: Towards a Framework for Social Integration and Ecological Harmony*. Asmara: Africa World Press.

⁶³ Dr. John Duke Anthony, "Gulf Cooperation Council Establishes Unprecedented Joint Military Command," National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations, (December 11, 2014), <http://ncusar.org/blog/2014/12/gcc-joint-militarycommand/>

⁶⁴ "East African Anthem | Oxford University Press East Africa Ltd." n.d. Oxford.co.ke. Accessed August 11, 2022. <https://oxford.co.ke/eastafricananthem>.

⁶⁵ "EAC Emblems." n.d. Wwww.eac.int. Accessed January 6, 2022.

https://www.eac.int/security/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=72:press-release-eac-popularises-its-peace-and-security-programme&catid=13:top.

Religion can enhance regional integration through public sensitization⁶⁶. In Kenya, public members lack enough information on regional integration matters. The lack of knowledge is attributed to less sensitization by the government on the integration of the regional issues. Religious organizations like the NCKK can use their platform to educate the public. Sensitization helps the public understand foreign policy and diplomacy issues facing the country, leading to the formulation of policy for regional integration.

3.6 Negative impact of religion on Kenya's Foreign Policy Formulation

3.6.1 Faith-Based Foreign Aid

Faith-inspired organizations (FiOS) are crucial in Kenya's civil society. The Aga Khan Foundation (AKF), Islamic Relief Worldwide (IRW), Catholic Relief Services (CRS), World Vision, and small local grassroots organizations are just a few of the Kenyan faith-based organizations. The majority are well-established players in Kenya's institutional landscape, however many reap the benefits of connections and support from abroad, and some spark debate due to their positions and interpersonal connections. Organizations motivated by religion frequently collaborate with authorities, other development partners, and increasingly, businesses in the private sector. The organizations might negatively impact the country's foreign policy alignment⁶⁷. Religious-based development partners impact the country's economic development; thus, policy formulation and implementation might be done to favor the organizations.

3.6.2 Religious Conflicts

Religious conflicts involve physical disagreements that arise due to differences in faith. In recent years, Kenya has experienced a strain in interreligious relations, especially in Christian-Muslim relations. Interreligious strain relation between the two religions has grown due to the terrorist attacks in Kenya. In 1998, the United States of America embassy based in Nairobi was

⁶⁶ Miller, Leon, and Gordon L. Anderson. 2009. "RELIGION'S ROLE in CREATING NATIONAL UNITY [with COMMENT and REJOINER]." *International Journal on World Peace* 26 (1): 91–138. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/20752875>.

⁶⁷ Haynes, Jeffrey. 2013. "Faith-Based Organisations, Development and the World Bank (Abstract)." *Revue Internationale de Politique de Développement* 4 (1): 49–64. <https://doi.org/10.4000/poldev.1376>.

attacked. The attack was linked to the Al-Qaeda militia. The attack led to the closure of various Muslim non-governmental organizations believed to be associated with the terrorist group. Moreover, the introduction of the anti-terrorism bill that was formulated after the Garissa university attack in 2014, most Muslims felt the government targeted them. Religious conflicts might affect domestic policy formulation and the country's foreign policy formulation.

3.9 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter establishes that there is a deep connection between Religion and foreign policy formulation. The section explores the history and evolution of Kenya's foreign policy before and after its independence. Kenya gained direct ownership and intervention in its foreign policy after gaining independence. During the tenure of President Jomo Kenyatta, the country's foreign policy focused on protecting the country's sovereignty through regional integration. This chapter established that religion plays an essential role in foreign policy formulation in various ways. First, religion influences the formulation of foreign policy by influencing the individual political leaders and individuals directly involved in the formulation of diplomatic policies. Moreover, faith in Kenya is a vital factor that helps promote peaching and enhance conflict resolution. Therefore, the religious role of conflict resolution affects the formulation of foreign policies in Kenya. Religion also strengthens regional integration, thus helping the nation's sovereignty. However, religion can negatively impact the formulation and implementation of foreign policy in Kenya in various ways. Kenya is ranked as a developing nation; therefore, it hugely relies on donations. The faith-based organization contributes to the second largest group of donors; thus, foreign policy formulation might be negatively influenced.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This segment encompasses the methodical structure that was used to conduct the study. The primary and secondary sources of information used in the research are examined in this section. Data collected from respondents directly is referred to as primary data. Information that has been taken from other sources and is pertinent to this study is known as secondary data. Secondary data is collected from peer-reviewed sources like journals, books, periodicals, and government publications.

4.2 Research Design

The research study used both quantitative and qualitative methods of research. Descriptive research design has been utilized in collecting information concerning religion and foreign policy formulation. The study used written interviews and questionnaires for primary data collection. Secondary data is obtained from written research and study materials on the internet. The descriptive research design elaborates on the reality of phenomena and their physiognomies. In addition, the descriptive research design grants the researcher the ability to study the current issue by describing exciting variables. The research used a comparative analysis method of the study. The research employed comparisons of how religion affects foreign policy formulation in different countries. The study pursued to explain how religion influences foreign policy formulation in Kenya. The comparative analysis approach research design is suited for this research as it provides an understanding of the global view on how religion affects the formulation of foreign diplomacy in various countries.

4.3 Data Collection

Data were collected from primary and secondary sources, including interviews and published journals. The information collected relates to religion and foreign policy formulation in Kenya and globally. Additionally, documents present the information well concerning religion and foreign policy, and any researcher can easily access them. Spending quality time for interviews and secondary sources of information guarantees a researcher quality information and assurance in research.

4.3.1 Data Collection Procedure

This study relies on both primary and secondary sources of data. Through an intense search for Information from what past researchers found, the study came up with factual Information on religion and foreign policy formulation. Additionally, data collection through interviews with the two chairpersons of multilateral and international relations and bilateral and political affairs affirms that the Information presented offers a better understanding of the role of religion and foreign policy formulation. The interviews were contacted online through zoom technology.

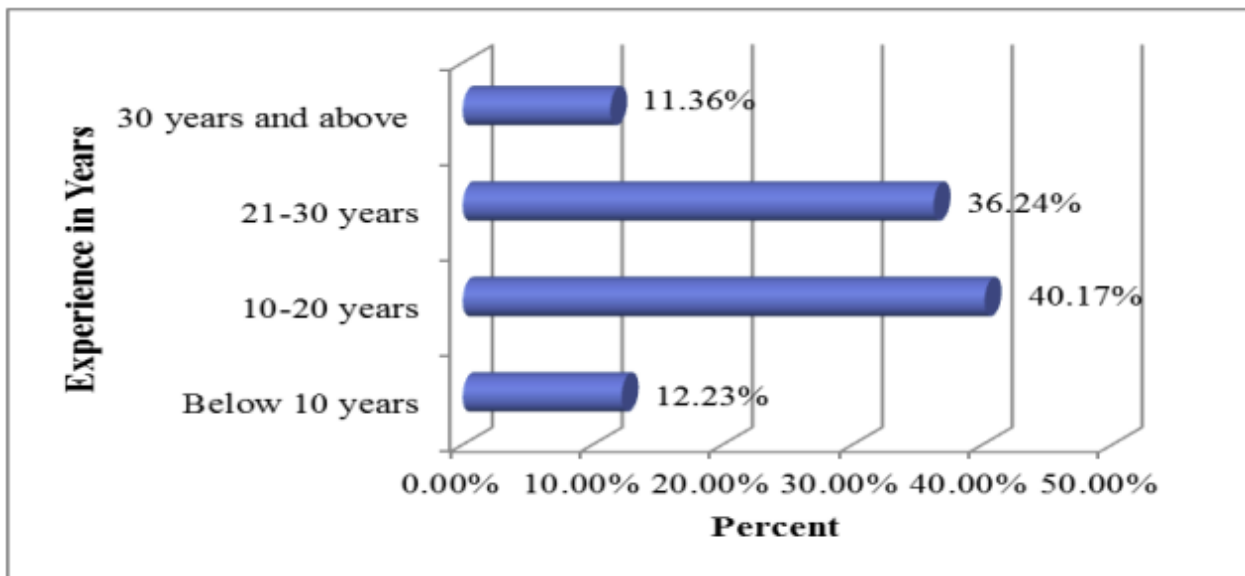
4.4 Data Analysis Method and Presentation

The data collected from the study were analyzed using qualitative and quantitative methods. In this study, the qualitative method of data analysis aids in explaining the quantitative Information hence bringing credibility and validity to the collected information.

4.4.1 Demographic Data

4.4.1.1 Years of Professional Experience

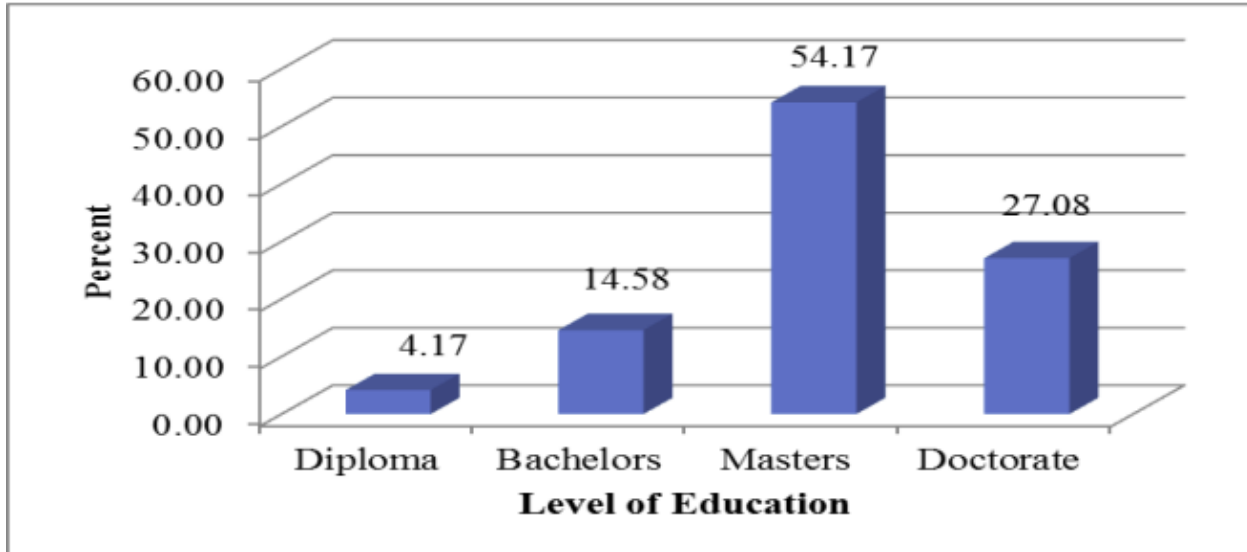
The interviewees were asked about their years of experience in foreign policy. The result is represented below.



The number of responders falls between ten to twenty years of professional experience in foreign diplomacy matters. The graph above indicates that the interviewees have a vast knowledge of the topic of foreign policy formulation and diplomacy.

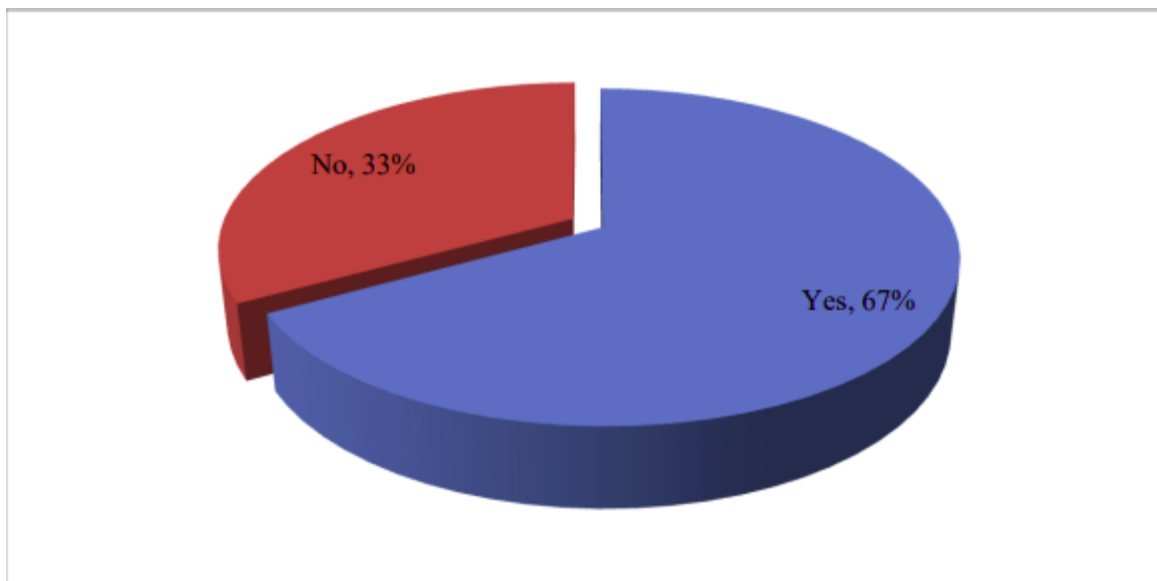
4.4.1.2 Level of Education

The interviewees were asked to state the level of education that they have achieved.



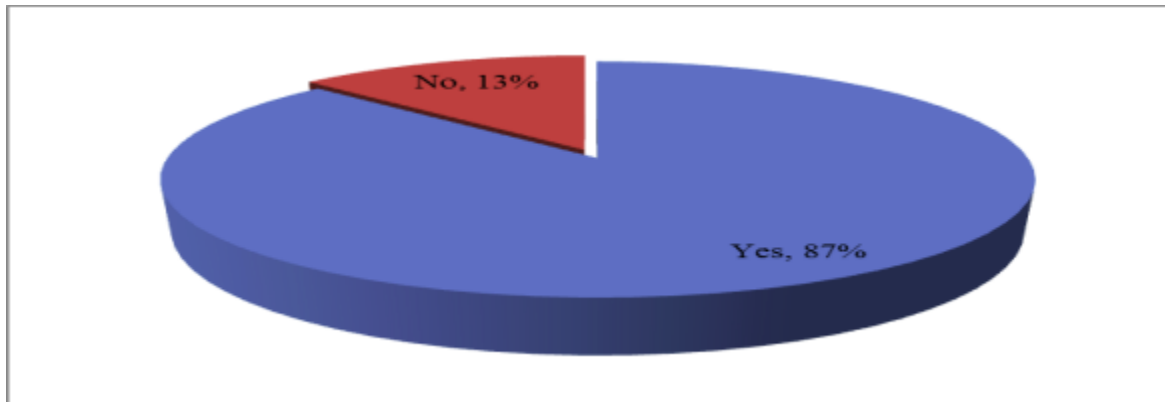
The results indicate that most respondents have attained masters followed by Doctrate while Bachelor's and Diploma take the third and fourth place respectively.

4.4.1.3 Effect of Religion on Foreign Policy Formulation in Kenya



Most respondents agree that religion plays a crucial role in foreign policy formulation in Kenya.

4.4.1.4 How Religion Affects Politics, Democracy, and Multilateralism In Kenya



Most respondents agree that religion positively and negatively affects Kenya's politics, democracy and multilateralism.

4.5 Chapter Conclusion

The research measured the interviewees' vast knowledge and profound professional experience. The majority of respondents demonstrated thorough understanding of Kenya's foreign policy development and implementation, as well as the place of religion in it. The majority of respondents concur that religion affects Kenya's domestic and foreign policy making.. The majority of the respondent agreed that it is crucial to integrate religion and foreign policy formulation. According to this chapter, Kenya subscribes to the doctrines of religious pluralism and structuralism in matters of international diplomacy. Religious pluralism theory is a situation where every human being with diverse faith is allowed or has the freedom to worship and express their opinions, while religious structuralism is a concept focusing on human relationships rather than individual interactions.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATION

5.0 Introduction

This section contains the research summaries, conclusion, and recommendations of the study. The conclusion summarizes the findings and provides an overview of the study. The study's main aim was to understand religion's role in foreign policy formulation and investigate the interconnection between religion and foreign policy formulation in Kenya. The recommendation part provides insightful ideas that can be adopted to help understand the relationship between religion and foreign policy formulation. The study recommendations focus on improving the connection between religion and foreign policy in Kenya.

5.1 Summary

Religion has often been an overlook area in foreign policy formulation and implementation. Political science is a subject categorized under social science and thus known for sideline the concrete phenomenon of religious involvement in matter policy formulation and implementation. However, this study proves that religion greatly influences foreign policy formulation, especially in Kenya. The study explores the link between religion and foreign policy formulation in Kenya by comparing the same with other countries like Israel, Russia, Saudi Arabia, and the United States of America.

This study established that religion impacts foreign policy formulation in different ways. To begin with, religion influences foreign policy formulation by influencing individuals responsible for policy formulation. Policymakers derive and align specific policies according to their religious teaching and beliefs. In Kenya, the government works with various religious leaders, especially in formulating domestic policies, which can later be used in foreign policy formulation. Religion plays a role in sensitizing the public about foreign policy and international relations, thus impacting the people on the country's sovereignty, and this affects the formulation of foreign policy. Religious structuralism is a concept that explores the role of religion in educating and informing the public about various policy matters. Religious pluralism encourages people to protect their sovereignty by safeguarding their fundamental human rights and interacting with

other nations according to their conscience. Therefore religious pluralism plays a vital role in foreign policy formulation in Kenya.

According to Confucianism, religion promotes morality, national values, and individual ethics, which are important in foreign policy formulation. Therefore the theory promotes values that benefit the country regarding peace and sovereignty. The theory is derived from the traditional Chinese religion. In Kenya, foreign policy is described as simple formal laws that affect the state's and other nations' economic, humanitarian, social, military, and cultural factors. Foreign policy has evolved since the country gained independence in 1963. The five pillars of peace, economics, culture, environment, and international relations serve as the foundation of Kenya's foreign policy at the moment. The 2014 foreign policy document was derived from Kenya's national values and Philosophies like peace, patriotism, and justice, which are common ethical values from different religions.

Generally, religion plays different roles in people's lives. Religion is a fundamental factor that significantly influences individuals' views, and values thus considered a backbone of identity and legitimacy. Therefore, it is clear that religion influences the way of livelihood for different people in the society, thus affecting domestic and foreign policy formulation.

5.3 Conclusion

Based on research objectives, the study established that:

5.3.1 How Religion Influence is Critical in Foreign Policy Formulation

Religion affects foreign policy formulation by influencing policymakers. Secondly, religion provides the basis, concepts, and thinking focused on the country's sovereignty; in Kenya, religious semantics advocate for certain ethics that are vital concepts required for foreign policy formulation. In foreign policy formulation, Religious structuralism is an essential factor. The role played by religion is critical in shaping the opinions and ideas needed for formulating international relations. Religious pluralism in Kenya is crucial since it holds that all denominations are significant in national and international affairs matters. Pluralism encourages people to protect their sovereignty by safeguarding their fundamental human rights and interacting with other

nations according to their conscience. Religious leaders make decisions on national leadership hence participation and contribution to foreign policy formulation

5.3.2 Role of Religious Convictions in Foreign Policy Formulation.

Religious leaders act by highlighting several policy issues that are considered to be important in foreign diplomacy. Religion helps shape societal norms, thus influencing a country's domestic and international policies. The political leaders formulate policies that accommodate every religious belief. Thus, the global system creates a multi-dimensional approach that relies on foreign relations and improves the country's diplomacy worldwide.

Religion is crucial in shaping and influencing public diplomacy and public opinion. Religious diplomacy has increased widely as a result of this. Therefore, religion has made a general understanding of matters implementation and formulation of foreign affairs into a country's public affair. When the citizens understand the importance of foreign policy helps ensure the people represent their country well.

5.4 Recommendations

- a) Train religious leaders, policymakers, and diplomats on the significance of religion in the formulation and execution of foreign policy. The ministry of foreign affairs and religious organizations must understand that partnership between them is inevitable. Religious leaders must be trained on their role in public sensitization on governance and policy formulation in Kenya.
- b) Establish an effective religious diplomacy policy. Kenya can introduce an approach to state that it supports every religious denomination. This should incorporate how religion influences the formulation of its international policies.

5.5 Areas of Further Research

This study focused on understanding religion's role in foreign policy formulation in Kenya. The study investigated how religion has a role in shaping foreign policy around the world by studying various countries like South Africa, Israel, and the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. According to the report, religion is a crucial factor in determining foreign policy, and Kenya should take this

into account when handling diplomatic issues. However, understanding how religion affects the implementation of foreign policy will be crucial. The study suggests more research be done on the methods required to use religion diplomacy as a weapon for Kenya's foreign policy development and execution.

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QUESTIONNAIRE

Part A: Personal History

- 1) Profession/Occupation.....
- 2) Nationality.....
- 3) Years of professional experience (Please tick below)
 - a) Below 10 years
 - b) 10-20 years
 - c) 21 -30 years
 - d) 30 years and above
- 4) Level of Education
 - a) Diploma
 - b) Bachelors
 - c) Masters
 - d) Doctorate

Part B: Role of Religion in foreign policy formulation

1. What is your religion?.....
2. Do you agree that religion affects foreign policy formulation (Yes or No)
3. Explain your answer.....
.....
.....
4. Does your religious convictions influence or motivate your role in foreign policy formulation (Yes or No)..... (If yes, kindly explain).....
.....
5. When the government formulates policies on various issues (for example, policies on the economy and Regional Integration issues), do you analyze and critique them from your religious convictions? (Yes or No)
Please explain.....
6. Should religion be considered when formulating government policies at the national and international level?(Yes or No) Why?.....
.....

7. Do your religious convictions determine whether you support or oppose various foreign policies that are being implemented? (Yes or No).....
8. Do you think that religious organizations and institutions such as the National Council of Churches in Kenya (NCCK), the Hindu Council of Kenya (HCK), and the Supreme Council of Kenyan Muslims (SUPKEM), among others, play a crucial role in nurturing national cohesion and development thus impacting foreign policy formulation? (Yes or No) Explain.....

APPENDIX B INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. What religion do you profess?.....
2. Do you think religion can be separated from politics and governance? (Yes or No)
Explain your answer.....
.....
.....
3. Do you think religious leaders are involved in foreign policy formulation in Kenya?
.....
.....
.....
4. Is religion involved in policy-making at both domestic and international levels? Kindly explain how.....
.....
.....
5. What role should religion play in politics and governance? Explain
.....
.....