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**THE ROLE OF DIPLOMACY IN COUNTERING TERRORISM IN AFRICA, A CASE  
STUDY OF KENYA**

**A Research Project submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the award  
of Masters Degree in Diplomacy, University of Nairobi**

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**DECLARATION**

**This project is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other University or Institution**

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**This Project has been submitted with my approval as University Supervisor**

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## **DEDICATION**

I Thank God for his immense blessings and seeing me through during this whole process. I dedicate this to my family and much appreciation to them for the support all through.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those who have contributed to make this work a success.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

AOG – Armed Opposition Group

HRW – Human Rights Watch

HSM - Harakat al-Shabab al-Mujahideen

KDF – Kenya Defense Forces

LRA – Lord Resistance Army

NCTC – National Counter Terrorism Centre

NIS – National Intelligence Service

NSC – National Security Council

UN – United Nations

UNTSO – United Nations Truce Supervision Organization

US – United States

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## ABSTRACT

This study investigates the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism in Kenya. It scrutinizes the major terrorist attacks in the country and the strategies that have been employed thereafter to counter terrorism. The study assessed the diplomatic strategies employed to counter terror attacks in the country. The decision to deploy the Kenya Defense Forces in Somalia has been frequently questioned by many, however, this study goes a step further to explain the necessity and the rationale behind such endeavors. Therefore, the study sought to determine if the continued threat of terrorism led Kenya to pursue an 'international image management strategy' through military aid to Somalia in form of military diplomacy. Also, the study sought to establish the relationship between diplomacy and counter-terrorism. The investigation established diplomacy plays crucial role in countering terrorism. Further, there is statistical significance in the hypotheses test to accept the null hypothesis that there is a nexus between diplomacy and counter terrorism. For example, despite Kenya having a NO policy in negotiating with terrorists, following the kidnapping of the two Cuban doctors kidnapped on April 12 in Mandera by the Al Shabaab militants, they demanded Ksh150 million (\$1.5 million) in ransom. In order to negotiate for their release, community elders from both Mandera in Kenya and Bulahawo in Somalia, were sent to the village located between Buale and El-Adde to negotiate for the release of the doctors. Thus, diplomacy is a key instrument in countering terrorism. Secondly, supplementing Kenya's Defence Forces operation under Amisom in Somalia with diplomatic strategies can reduce the chances of a terror attack. Also, the formation of international alliances with countries that are willing to protect their allies against terrorism is also another important counter-terrorism strategy as opposed to making allies with countries that are conflicted in the subject of terrorism like Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Iran among others. The main instruments of data collection used in this research paper has been interview schedules and questionnaires. The main methodology of the research is mixed method, that is, both qualitative and quantitative. Effectively, the sample population has been selected using a stratified random sampling method. The collected survey data is analysed using the liberalism theoretical framework to establish the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism in Kenya. The study established there is need for the government to formulate actual counter-terrorism strategies that are specific to the type of terrorism that Kenya is facing, that is, incessant threats posed by Al-Shabaab. This can be done through the various arms of government. On the other hand, an independent study should be conducted on the effectiveness of the counter-terrorism strategies that

were employed in Kenya between the years 2013 and 2019 for the scope of this study limited the level of research add new knowledge.

## CHAPTER ONE

### BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

#### 1.1 Background to the study

According to Joseph Conrad, terrorism upsets people and it does so deliberately<sup>1</sup>. Terrorism is dynamic in nature and its pervasiveness is highly widespread across the globe. The threat of terrorism usually escalates beyond its physical scale. For example, terrorism in the United States of America was dwarfed by other everyday dangers before the 9/11 attack. However, the 9/11 attack escalated the dangers and definition of terrorism in the country. Terrorism shot to the top of the political agenda based on the physical casualties and the psychological effect which followed the attack. The damages caused by the 9/11 attack were very familiar to the damages caused by war. Even so, the attack had more fatalities in a single day than the deadliest Civil War in America. However, unlike war, the attack was restricted to a single place<sup>2</sup>.

Academicians and politicians have on various occasions argued about the definition of terrorism and the distinctions of the same from criminal violence or military action. The difficulties in labeling these heinous acts come from the fact that no single terrorist group as ever adopted the name ‘terrorist’ but it is rather applied to them by others. In most cases, the name is given to individuals, groups of individuals, and states who commit crimes against humanity. Politicians have also adopted the name in efforts of discrediting the opponents. This misuse of the term terrorism, among others, is among the major causes of the discrepancies in its definitions<sup>3</sup>.

Terrorism is not a new concept in the world for it dates as back as the 18<sup>th</sup> Century during the French Revolution. The first execution by guillotine was a sign of the beginning of the terror in Revolutionary France. In attempts to defend the country from its enemies, terror was declared as the ‘order of the day’ to preserve the revolution against its enemies. Among the victims of this terror were ordinary people who, for instance, supported the clergymen disputing the reorganization made to the Catholic church among other offenses. This is the earliest known origin of terrorism. At the same time, the revolution re-established and justified political violence<sup>4</sup>. The

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<sup>1</sup>Townshend, Charles. *Terrorism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Townshend. *Terrorism: A Very Short Introduction*. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Townshend. *Terrorism: A Very Short Introduction*. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Townshend. *Terrorism: A Very Short Introduction*. 39.

motivation to commit crimes against humanity, backed by some revolutionist's rationale, resembles modern terrorism where terrorists justify their actions for example with political injustice, and religion among others.

Most commonly, terrorism is conceived as an assault on the state. This gives rise to revolutionary terrorism which involves terrorism on different social contexts, that is, between nations, external colonial situations and internal colonial situations where individuals or ethnic groups oppress the others as described by EugeneWalter in the“siege of terror”<sup>5</sup>. Therefore terrorism, at least in contemporary society, relates to world politics. World politics, on the other hand, are controlled by various instruments actors,theories and diplomatic strategies. For that matter, diplomacy is used to mitigate terrorism since military warfare has at times proved ineffective.

According to Steve Smith et al, diplomacy play a greater role in explaining the behavior of a proto-caliphate like an Islamic State, or corporations like apple, or entities like the European Union However diplomacy can be applied to a wide range of actors as opposed to its traditional misconception where it is linked with states only. Christopher Hill gives a much broader definition of diplomacy which state that diplomatic strategies which are instruments of foreign policies are some of the official external relations conducted by an independent actor (usually states) in international relations<sup>6</sup>.

The interplay between diplomacy and terrorism is usually not clear to many. In a nutshell, by and large, diplomacy is proving effective in countering terrorism. Although researchers have had diverging opinions on the causes of terrorism, Eubank established that countries that have a democratic government are more prone to transnational terrorism as opposed to dictatorial regimes. Eubank et al went ahead to give some empirical evidence of their proposal. However, democracy is not directly related to transnational terrorism but to the behavior that is inherent in democratic governments<sup>7</sup>. Democratic governments, like the United States of America among others, usually employ similar strategies that make them vulnerable to transnational terror attacks.

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<sup>5</sup> Townshend. *Terrorism: A Very Short Introduction*. 39.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>7</sup> Saun, Burcu, and Brian J. Phillips. "Democracy, Foreign Policy, and Terrorism." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53, no. 6 (December 2009): 788-904. Accessed June 24, 2019. 878.

These types of policies, employed by democracies, involve active involvement in world politics and international relations. Such involvement attracts resentment from other states increasing the chances of a transnational terror attack. For instance, Kenya and Tanzania were attacked by the al-Qaeda in 1998 for being allies of the US. Also, Kenya's terror attacks have increased since Kenya's involvement in Somalia's civil war.

Therefore, a country that has active involvement in world politics has higher chances of a terror attack regardless of its regime. Therefore, a keen choice of diplomatic strategy can prevent terror attacks supposing the country has not established international enemies. However, diplomacy can also be used to counter terrorism in countries that are already prone to terror attacks through international cooperation and financial controls among other strategies. International cooperation involves the formation of international Anti-Terror agreements where nations pledge to help the victim country combat terrorism. Financial controls, on the other hand, involve freezing the terrorists' assets or destroying their financial system in the victim country and her allies to financially cripple the terrorist group.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

Many African governments have in the past used diplomacy to solve their problems. However, the role that diplomacy plays in countering terrorism has largely been undermined by African leaders to achieve the country's core national interest. The threat of violent extremism and terrorism has been largely pervasive. For example, despite Kenya having a NO policy in negotiating with terrorists, following the kidnapping of the two Cuban doctors kidnapped on April 12 in Mandera by the Al Shabaab militants, they demanded Ksh150 million (\$1.5 million) in ransom. In order to negotiate for their release, community elders from both Mandera in Kenya and Bulahawo in Somalia, were sent to the village located between Buale and El-Adde to negotiate for the release of the doctors. Thus, diplomacy is a key instrument in countering terrorism.

Further, despite Kenya being one of the contributing countries to peace keeping efforts in Somalia through the African Peacekeeping Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) where the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) troops are serving, terrorist attacks in Kenya have increased significantly notwithstanding committing boots on the ground in Somalia.

This is a clear indication of military limitation and thus governments require diplomatic methods since inception stages to subdue the terrorist threat. Kenya has a democratic governance system which dictates increased international relations between the country and the rest of the world. However, few literal materials exist to explain the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism especially transnational terrorism. Therefore, the study undertakes indepth analysis of the relationship between diplomacy and counter-terrorism. Based on that understanding, the study seeks to explain the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism in Kenya.

### **1.3 Research Objectives**

The study was guided by the following objectives;

#### **1.3.1 General Objective**

To determine the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism in Africa and in Kenya in particular.

#### **1.3.2 Specific Objectives**

This study pursued the following specific objectives;

- i) To establish the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism in Africa and the World
- ii) To examine the role of diplomacy in Countering Terrorism in Kenya.
- iii) To investigate how effective diplomatic strategy has been in countering terrorism in Kenya.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

- i) What has been the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism in Africa and the world?
- ii) What has been the role of diplomacy in Countering Terrorism in Kenya?
- iii) How effective has diplomatic strategy been in countering terrorism in Kenya?

### **1.5 Justification for the Study**

#### **1.5.1 Academic Justification**

The study outlined the relationship between diplomacy and terrorism in the world and more specifically in Kenya. By so doing, the study established the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism in Kenya and by extension the rest of the world. However, many scholars have neglected this particular relationship and focused their studies on diplomacy and terrorism independently.



### **1.5.2 Policy Justification**

Findings showed an interconnection between terror attacks and the developments of a country's failure to apply diplomacy. In that, failure to apply diplomatic strategies make a country prone to transnational terrorist attacks, for instance, Kenya continues to be attacked more despite KDF presence in Somlai. However, this is not to imply that Kenya should negotiate with the criminal transnational group, rather, to inject diplomatic engagements with non-state actors to address the vice. Also, diplomacy can be used to prevent terrorism, for example, through international cooperation, and financial controls among others. Kenya is still a target of terror attacks orchestrated by the Islamic terror group Al-Shabab. For instance, the most recent attack by the above-mentioned terrorists occurred on January 15, 2019, at Dusit hotel in Nairobi<sup>8</sup>. The terror attacks have increased between the years 2013 and 2019 compared to the last two decades. Therefore, it is prudent to conduct a study on the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism in Kenya.

The study is central in the search for a long-lasting solution to terrorism in Kenya and the world at large. Although research has been emphasized on security, an in-depth study on the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism will be necessary. The study findings should be helpful in contributing to counterterrorism efforts in the country. Using this study's findings, Kenya will be able to adopt diplomatic strategies that can be used to improve national security. Also, the findings can improve international trade and diplomacy as attacks decline and the country is deemed safe. In conclusion, the study will fill information gaps in the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism in Kenya.

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<sup>8</sup> "Dusit Attack Reveals 'new Generation' of Shabaab Recruits -." Daily Nation. February 21, 2019. Accessed March 09, 2019. <https://www.nation.co.ke/news/Dusit-attack-Nairobi-Al-Shabaab-recruits/1056-4991926-14pm3ikz/index.html>.

## 1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW

### 1.6.1 Background

According to Sir Harold Nicolson who was an English Diplomat born in Tehran, Persia, states that: “Diplomacy is neither the invention nor the pastime of some particular political system, but is an essential element in any reasonable relation between man and man and between nation and nation”<sup>9</sup>Diplomacy is also defined as “the art and practice of conducting negotiations between nations” in order to implement those policies and pursue those interests. Diplomacy is the main instrument of foreign policy, which consists of the broader goals and strategies that guide a state's interactions with the rest of the world through either Track One Diplomacy, Track Two Diplomacy or Track One and a Half Diplomacy. Diplomacy encompasses the myriad processes of formal and informal communication between and among states.

Terrorism can be traced back to the early resistance to movements related to politics. The first terrorist group was known as Sicarii which was a Jewish movement in the Middle East. Its main objective was to overthrow Romans. There existed a leader called Judas from Galilee who was the main man in this movement. He believed that the Jews are ruled by God and therefore the rule by the Romans was unnecessary. He targeted mainly those Jews who were deemed to be traitors and used tactics of killing fellow Jews when they were in a crowd. This can be said to be the origin of terrorist movements.<sup>10</sup> After this, there followed other terrorist activities. Among them is Guy Fawkes' attempt to reinstate a Catholic monarch. Though this attempt failed, it remains a clear example to use to illustrate this origin. The main motivation behind it was religion.

Terrorism is condemned globally as the illegal use of force and an unauthorized expression of political will. Therefore, terrorism is conducted by criminals, who possess some level of criminal skill. According to Peter J Phillips, all these terrorist groups require some source of funding and have therefore established an elaborate financial system that involves secret bank accounts, offshore bank accounts, front companies, and charities<sup>11</sup>. This financial system accounts for the funding of these terrorist groups and lone-wolf terrorists in addition to external funding from states

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<sup>9</sup> Nicolson, Harold. *Peacemaking 1919*

<sup>10</sup> Miller, Martin A. *The Foundations of Modern Terrorism*

<sup>11</sup> Martin, Gus. *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2018.,2.

and Individuals who stand to benefit from such attacks. Most terrorist attacks are after achieving a certain goal, although in some instances, terror attacks have unclear goals. For instance, terror attacks involving the Islamic State and the Islamic religion's ideology rarely have a clear objective or goals. After these attacks, Islamic terrorist groups like the Al-Qaeda, and the Somali based Al-Shabab among others, usually claim responsibility but never reveal their intentions or the goals behind the heinous acts.

In spite of the level of tragedy associated with such terror attacks, mostly lives lost and people injured, terrorism rarely succeeds in achieving its goals<sup>12</sup>. According to Martin Miller, reigns of terror, in the end, have always proved transient despite the illusion of power. For instance, Al-Qaeda's longtime leader Osama bin Laden terrorized the world with attacks across continents. However, his reign was finally terminated by the United States of America seal team. Although Adolf Hitler's reign was among the most dreaded ethnic cleansing, and political terrorism eras in the world, it was brought to an end preceding the end of World War II. Hitler's goal to annihilate Jews was not accomplished as well as his goal to rule the world<sup>13</sup>.

There are several major terrorist attacks that left a mark in world history. These attacks include the September 11 Attacks, 2007 Yazidi Communities Bombings, 2008 Christmas Massacres, and Camp Speicher Massacre. According to the American philosopher Michael Walzer, terrorism is the deliberate killing of innocent people at random in order to spread fear through the whole population and force the hand of its political leaders. According to experts, they disagree about whether terrorism is the wrong definition or just wrong as a matter of fact. They also do not agree on whether terrorism should be defined based on their aims or methods. The secretary general of the United Nations report described terrorism as any act that causes death or injury to civilians or non-combatants with the main aim of intimidating a population or compelling the government or an international organization to do or abstain from pursuing a given act.

Since 1994, the United Nations General Assembly has repetitively judged terrorist acts by means of the succeeding political description of terrorism: Criminal acts that are aimed at or planned to incite a state of terror in the community, a collection of persons or specific people for political

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<sup>12</sup> Miller, Martin A. *The Foundations of Modern Terrorism: State, Society and the Dynamics of Political Violence*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013., 7.

<sup>13</sup> Miller, Martin A. *The Foundations of Modern Terrorism*, 7.

devotions are in any circumstance indefensible, whatsoever the contemplations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or any other nature that may be invoked to justify them.

### **1.6.2 Democracy, Diplomacy and Terrorism**

There has been growing scholarly interest in the factors affecting or influencing terrorism. The main questions being, why are some states more vulnerable to terrorism than others? What is the relationship between democracy and terrorism? And what is the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism? Scholars have not been able to agree on these questions but rather present two opposing ideas. For example, Eyerman et al, argue that countries with the established democracies are less likely to experience transnational terrorist incidents. On the other hand, Eubank et al, argue that democracies provide a conducive environment for transnational terrorism and answer more likely to be targeted by his attacks<sup>14</sup>.

Empirical evidence as provided by Eubank, provide support for the second proposal where democracies are more likely to be targeted by terrorists compared to other types of regime. However, there is no agreement or consensus on how democracies attract terrorism as opposed to the other regimes. For example, the United States of America was a target of the most devastating terror attack in the world also known as the 9/11. The attack is affiliated with al-Qaeda, an Islamic terrorist group mostly based in the middle east. The US is a democracy with established foreign policy executed through various diplomatic means and as the best military in the world but was still targeted by these terror groups.

However, according to Philips et al democracy is to not have a problem with domestic terrorism as opposed to other regimes<sup>15</sup>. In his article, Philips suggested that there's a relationship between democracy and transnational terrorism.. Using this new approach, the study was able to connect level ability of a country to terrorism with the type of diplomatic strategy they adopt.

The rationale behind this theory was based on a number of studies that show that states that exhibit a certain choice of diplomatic choice as an instrument of foreign policy are more likely to attract

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<sup>14</sup>Saun, Burcu, and Brian J. Phillips. "Democracy, Foreign Policy, and Terrorism." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 53, no. 6 (December 2009): 788-904. Accessed June 24, 2019. 878.

<sup>15</sup>Burcu, and Phillips. "Democracy, Foreign Policy, and Terrorism." 878.

transnational terrorism. For example, the states that are involved in international relations are likely to attract bad blood and hence terror attacks.

Democracy does not affect or influence terrorism directly, however, the trends in democracies and other regimes are based on existing policies and the governance systems tend to employ. Therefore, democratic governments are targeted by transnational terrorists because of the active involvement in world politics that they tend to employ. Similarly, other governance systems like dictatorship tend to employ opposite diplomatic strategies which discourage transnational terrorism but provides room for domestic terrorism<sup>16</sup>.

Studies conducted by Kegley and Herman 1997, Mansfield et al 2002, and Mitchel et al 1996 provided some evidence that suggested that democracies are more involved in international affairs compared to non-democratic government<sup>17</sup>. This increases the chances of creating resentment jealousy and enmity with other countries and this creates the basis for a terrorist attack. It is worth noting the inherent features of democracy do not make these countries vulnerable to terrorism but the behavioral patterns followed by democratic governments in their external environment.

According to Pape 2003, terrorists seek to remove the occupation of the democracies from their homeland. For example, when the United States stationed troops in Saudi Arabia, the number of attacks on democracies increased. By inflicting pain on the societies of the troopers, the terrorists express their discontent with the actions of the democracies.

Almost all democracies have an active foreign policy which explains why they seem to encourage transnational terrorism. Therefore, any regime that has an active foreign policy would still encourage transnational terrorism regardless of their views on democracy. Phillips et al identified three main foreign policy practices where diplomacy is employed as an instrument that may encourage terrorist attacks, that is, involvement in foreign policy crisis, alliance ties with other democracies, and the frequency of intervention in civil wars<sup>18</sup>.

If a state is involved in a projection of interest crisis, it is more likely to create enemies than friends. This hostility is usually pronounced in the countries that are directly affected but, in some cases,

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>17</sup> Burcu, and Phillips. "Democracy, Foreign Policy, and Terrorism." 879.

<sup>18</sup> Burcu, and Phillips. "Democracy, Foreign Policy, and Terrorism." 889.

might involve the mediators. In some other cases, these crises may become militarized increasing the chances of terror attacks by the countries that feel strong-armed. According to Anderton and Carter 2001, armed conflicts reduced trade and affect the economy globally which might cause resentment in the affected countries inspiring war and terror attacks<sup>19</sup>.

Alliances can also cause resentment by other nations. For example, a country that is allied to the United States has the potential of being attacked and resented by the enemies of the US. Coincidentally, almost all terror groups in the world seem to have a grudge with the United States for meddling in their affairs, and thus can attack any country that is allied to the United States. For example, the al-Qaeda attacked the US embassy in Kenya simply because Kenya is an ally of their nemesis. The United States has some unpopular foreign policy strategies that have stirred up resentment globally. For instance, the 2003 Iraq invasion, coca eradication in Latin America, and trade protectionism among others. Despite the fact that the US has aggravated these terrorist groups attacking the country is risky and thus the terrorists opt to devastate the allied countries<sup>20</sup>.

Intervention in civil wars are costly and risky and often cause resentment and retaliation. Intervening in civil wars reflect a country's commitment and involvement in other states' affairs. This might be a good strategy to improve a country's image but results in hostility and resentment by at least one of the warring sides. A good example is Kenya's involvement in Somalia civil war which has resulted in numerous attacks by the Somali affiliated terrorist group al-Shabaab. Although Kenya was successful in establishing some peace in Somalia, the defeated al-Shabaab group has attacked Kenya (the intervener) on several occasions. Therefore, the disadvantaged groups, more often than not, resent the intervener and seek revenge on them. Another example is when Syria intervened on the Lebanese civil war of 1988-1990, the intervention was successful but disadvantaged groups have sought revenge on various occasions<sup>21</sup>.

In summary, type of regime does not have a direct influence on the level of terrorism but it can be used to predict how a country will behave in its external environment and thus predict the likelihood of a transnational terrorist attack. Thus, a state's involvement in international relations dictates the vulnerability of a terrorist attack.

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<sup>19</sup> Burcu, and Phillips. "Democracy, Foreign Policy, and Terrorism." 890.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.,

### 1.6.3 The role of Diplomacy in Countering Terrorism

#### 1.6.3.1 Background

Now that we have established the relationship between diplomacy and terrorism it is worth looking into the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism in Kenya, Africa, and the rest of the world. Combating the international terrorism objectives of the United States government. Other countries especially members of the United Nations have also joined the mission of counter-terrorism in the world. Diplomacy has proved useful in the fight against terrorism where nations team up against terrorist groups in efforts of eliminating those groups completely.

Diplomacy plays a big role in achieving a nation's goals, and thus an opinion poll conducted by Chicago Council on foreign relations showed that the fight against international terrorism was cited on multiple occasions by the Americans. More than 70 per cent of the population, both the general public and selected opinion leaders, that was interviewed emphasized the importance of international terrorism<sup>22</sup>.

There has been some success in countering terrorism in the world, especially in the 20th century. The frequency of the terrorist attacks was cut in half during the mid- 1980s mostly by advancements in international relations through foreign policy and a shift in world politics<sup>23</sup>. The United States played an important role in this endeavor in conjunction with other western democracies. Diplomatic strategies adopted during this time provided for security cooperation between these democracies. The agreement provided for continued payment of dividends by these nations in the years to come to provide for counter-terrorism expenses.

However, the continued involvement of the United States in counterterrorism aggravated the al-Qaeda terrorist group. This led to a series of attacks targeted on the United States, for instance, the bombing of the World Trade Centre in New York in 1993, the Murray building in Oklahoma in 1995, and the US embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam 1998<sup>24</sup>. United States investment in counter-terrorism measures helped them solve these crimes with ease. The investment was in terms of monetary intelligence forces and international collaboration through foreign policy.

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<sup>22</sup> Pillar, Paul R. *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2003. 2.

<sup>23</sup> Pillar, Paul R. *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2003. 2

<sup>24</sup> Pillar. *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy*. 3.

Diplomacy is a key foreign policy instrument that can be used to counter terrorism in Kenya and the rest of the world. Diplomacy may not necessarily be applied to the terrorists themselves because most nations have 'a no negotiation with terrorists' policy. But may be used to persuade foreign governments to support the counter-terrorist measures<sup>25</sup>. For example, the United States counterterrorism diplomacy is not limited to the actions of the department of the state but entails cooperation from enlisted foreign counterparts. Therefore, diplomacy can be used to strengthen the country's counter-terrorism efforts without compromising its values.

Financial controls have also been used as a diplomatic tool to counter-terrorism. Every terrorist group requires funding or at least a form of the financial system to sustain itself if the funding is cut or the financial system is destroyed the terrorist group fails. Financial controls come in the form of international sanctions by a country or a group of countries to the states harboring terrorists. However, the application of financial controls has been controversial because sometimes it targets even the victims as well as wrongdoers<sup>26</sup>.

Other forms of financial controls include freezing the assets of suspected criminals or terrorists. This is a more accurate target of financial controls rather than sanctions on the entire country. Diplomacy might be applied in this case to require a united application of financial controls to specific terrorist groups by all countries. For example, if the United States freezes the assets of a certain al-Qaeda member it should also be an agreement with other countries to freeze the assets as well, completely rendering the terrorist group handicapped.

### **1.6.3.2 The World**

Saddam Hussein was among the most notorious terrorists of all time, alongside Osama bin Laden the leader of the al-Qaeda terrorist group. Saddam Hussein was the president of Iraq from 1979 to 2003. The United States government-linked to Iraq President to the well-known terrorist group and radical Islamist militant organization al-Qaeda. According to Hayes, the relationship existed between the years 1992 to 2003 and their allegations were backed by a series of secret meetings between the Al-Qaeda and the Iraqi Intelligence service<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>25</sup> Pillar. *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy*. 85.

<sup>26</sup> Pillar. *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy*. 93.

<sup>27</sup> Hayes. Stephen F. "Case Closed", *The Weekly Standard*. 24 November 2003; Volume 009, Issue 11.



The United States, following the 9/11 attack, were determined to battle terrorists from their roots as opposed to the foot soldiers. President George W Bush alleged that the al-Qaeda with the help of Saddam Hussein might conspire to launch a terrorist attack on the United States due to the country's involvement in the Iraq war. These allegations were backed by the independent 9/11 commission and by the defense reports among other intelligence bodies. On top of these allegations Saddam Hussein as committed various crimes against humanity that warranted his death sentence upon capture.

As part of the war against terrorism, President Bush froze Iraqi and Kuwait assets that were in the United States as part of their foreign policy strategy to control finances through economic diplomacy or destroy the terrorists' financial system through imposition of economic sanctions. By doing so, approximately \$30 billion was fenced off from Saddam Hussein effectively handicapping the president's reign on terror and possible assistance to the al-Qaeda terrorist group<sup>28</sup>. A virtual trade embargo was declared between the united states and it Iraqi government, for it was the hub of terrorists at the time, which led to Iraq becoming bankrupt owing to its 8-year war with Iran. Only humanitarian goods and services were exempted from this trade ban completely crippling the country and its affiliated terrorist groups.

Other countries, allies of the United States in the fight against terror and crimes against humanity, followed suit in the trade embargo as part of their foreign policy agreement on the fights against humanity. These actions followed a request from President Bush, who asked leaders from other industrialized countries to take similar actions on Iraqi and more precisely Saddam Hussein<sup>29</sup>.

#### **1.6.3.4 Kenya**

Since 2011 when KDF troops launched Operation Linda Nchi and lauched an incursion in Somalia to stump out Al Shabaab militants, Kenya shifted longheld peace diplomacy to military diplomacy. There has been high scale terrorist attacks in Kenya that have prompted the ministry of foreign affairs and international trade to formulate a foreign policy and make some alterations to the existing foreign policy in order to counter terrorism through diplomatic means. Among these

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<sup>28</sup> Farnsworth, Clyde H. "The Iraqi Invasion; Bush, in Freezing Assets, Bars \$30 Billion to Hussein." The New York Times. August 03, 1990. Accessed June 30, 2019. <https://www.nytimes.com/1990/08/03/world/the-iraqi-invasion-bush-in-freezing-assets-bars-30-billion-to-hussein.html>.

<sup>29</sup> Farnsworth, Clyde H. "The Iraqi Invasion; Bush, in Freezing Assets, Bars \$30 Billion to Hussein".

attacks include the Westgate Mall terror attack in 2013 that forced Kenya to formulate its first foreign policy since independence. The policy provided for counter-terrorism measures as a form of fight against terrorism. The Westgate Mall attack is among the many terror attacks caused by Kenya's involvement in the Somalia civil war.

The Kenya National Counter Terrorism Center is engaging in public diplomacy to counter terrorism through advocacy and engaging in social media diplomacy to fight the vice through public messages profiling actual and potential terrorists.

Some of the terrorist attacks in Kenya include the Westgate Mall attack in 2013, the Mpeketoni attacks, the US embassy bombing in 1998, and the Garissa University college attack in 2015 among others. Although the Westgate Mall siege in Nairobi did not cause major alterations in the country's foreign policy, Kenya and US relations became tighter resulting in increased engagement of the US in countering terrorism resulting from the horn of Africa. Tightening international relations boosts a country's image and makes it less susceptible to terror attacks. This is among the roles of foreign policy in countering terrorism in Kenya. Kenya has also exercised trade and travel bans on Somalia since al-Shabaab is based in Somalia.

As a result of numerous terrorist attacks affiliated with the al-Shabaab terrorist groups, Kenya imposed a ban on unaccompanied cargo from Somalia. The Kenyan aviation authorities banned all unaccompanied luggage on aircraft from Somalia because they can be used to smuggle terrorists in Kenya. All other planes from Somalia were supposed to land in Wajir, Kenya for security checks as a counter-terrorism measure. The aviation agencies reversed the directive permitting direct flights between Wajir and Mogadishu because of insecurity to the traveler's standards<sup>30</sup>.

This also represents the role of the foreign policy in countering terrorism in Kenya through sanctions, bans, and financial controls among others. The authorities warned that any cargo that is unaccompanied will be destroyed and the planes carrying it punished. The security measures have gone as far as to deny senior government officials entry in Kenya for the launch of a European Union-sponsored program on cross-border conflict management. However, Kenya is not keen on

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<sup>30</sup> Mutambo, Aggrey, Sam Kiplagat, Timothy Odinga, Charles Mwaniki, and Paul Wafula. "Kenya Bans Unaccompanied Cargo from Somalia." *Business Daily*. May 29, 2019. Accessed June 30, 2019. <https://www.businessdailyafrica.com/economy/Kenya-imposes-ban-on-unaccompanied-cargo-from-Somalia/3946234-5137162-r0w69hz/index.html>.

destroying relations with Somalia completely for other dignitaries have been permitted into Kenya after acquiring visas in Mogadishu<sup>31</sup>.

### **1.7 Existing Gaps in the study**

The study shows that diplomacy plays a critical role in the prevention of terror attacks in Kenya and by extension other nations. The existing studies cover the vast involvement of Kenya in diplomatic missions but these studies are yet to focus on the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism in the country. Therefore, minimal literary material exists on the role of diplomacy in promoting peace in Kenya and other war-torn countries. For instance, less documentation exists on the cause of the deployment of KDF in Somalia. The deployment of KDF was a form of military diplomacy more so defense and military aid. This is just an example of the ways diplomacy can be used to counter terrorism in the long run by uprooting terror groups from their base before they attack other countries. The ultimate goal of such diplomatic strategies is to safeguard the nation's economy and security since the prosperity of a country is dependent on the political stability of neighboring countries.

### **1.8 Theoretical Framework**

This research is based on liberalism theory, a school of thought in international relations theory, which is based on three principles. These principles involve international cooperation and mutual benefits, the involvement of non-governmental actors and international organizations in shaping state preferences, and rejection of power politics as the only possible outcome of international relations. The main focus of this theory is the improvement of international relations and the peaceful resolution of disputes<sup>32</sup>. Therefore, this school of thought emphasizes international institutions, like the United Nations, that facilitate the peaceful resolution of disputes around the globe. Also, the theory emphasizes on international trade since trade creates dependence and comradery reducing chances of conflicts among the countries. Finally, the school of thought emphasizes democracy which reduces the chances of inter-state war or acts of terrorism<sup>33</sup>.

Liberalism, as one of the schools of thought, originates from a Latin word that means 'free' thus advocates for the philosophy of freedom. Liberalists believe in spreading democracy through

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<sup>31</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>32</sup> Shiraev, Eric B. (2014). *International Relations*. New York: Oxford University Presses. p. 78.

<sup>33</sup> Shiraev. *International Relations*. 86.

cooperation as opposed to violent means of achieving world peace. Most states have the ‘do not negotiate with terrorists’ slogan, thus liberalism is not usually applied as a counter-terrorism measure. However, liberalism is a viable theory of achieving lasting peace and cooperation in international relations through democracy, peaceful resolution of conflicts, and international trade. Therefore, this study will use the liberalism, among other theories, to answer the research questions and test the null hypothesis.

Liberalism comes hand in hand with democracy which increases the chances of a transnational terror attack in the country. As established earlier in the study, democracy or liberalism cannot be directly linked to terrorism, however, the behavior inherent with the nations that have democracy leadsto their vulnerability to terrorism. As a result, the liberal theory can be used to further understand the relationship between diplomacy and terrorism in Kenya and the world at large. The reason for choosing this theory is that it illustrates how needs have to be met before going to the next level which is very closely related to terrorism in that it affects the needs of the society and therefore aid has to be offered for the good progression of the society. This is a relevant theory in that it shows safety as the second level after physiological satisfaction and can, therefore, be used as a data analyzing tool to check whether all the needs at a given level have been met. The emphasis level here is the safety one.

## **1.9 Hypotheses**

The study tested the following hypotheses;

- i) There is the influence of diplomacy in countering terrorism in Africa and the world.
- ii) There is a relationship between diplomacy and counter-terrorism in Kenya.
- iii) Effectiveness of diplomacy in countering terrorism in Kenya.

## **1.10 Research Methodology**

### **1.10.1 Introduction**

The research methodology defined the main activities in the research including, data collection, data analysis, how to measure the progress of the project and what constitutes the success of the research project.

### **1.10.2 Research Design**

The mixed methods approach was used in this research to obtain both quantitative and qualitative data. The methods complement traditional qualitative and quantitative research methods thus assuring the validity of the research. The alternative offered by this research method offers a practical and logical solution to the limitations of the traditional qualitative and quantitative research methods. The mixed methods approach uses these methods to conduct the study: induction, deduction, and abduction to identify patterns in the collected data. Using these mixed methods, the researcher was able to test the hypotheses proposed by the study and employ a set of explanations to understand the researchers' results.

Triangulation is employed in data collection to improve the study's validity. Data is mainly collected using questionnaires and interviews. These tools are applied to different types of samples in order to get different dimensions of the same data. Therefore, questionnaires and interviews were used by the researcher to collect data from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, the Ministry of Internal Security, and the Ministry of Defense. The study established the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism in Kenya.

### **1.10.3 Research Site**

The research was based in Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya and home to all the associated ministries and agencies. The study mainly utilized data and information from the National Counter Terrorism Centre Kenya, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, and the Ministry of Interior Security among others. Select individuals from these ministries and agencies were interviewed to provide the required information to test the null hypothesis. Among the pillars of the first Kenyan foreign policy, that was enacted by President Uhuru Kenyatta on November 2014, is the peace diplomacy pillar. Therefore, major players in the drafting and implementation of this foreign policy were also interviewed for their input in the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism in Kenya.

The study also involved the National Security Council because of their involvement with the NCTC. For instance, the NSC plays a major role in the management and the constitution of the National Counter Terrorism Centre, through the appointment of their director, and vetting additional institutions to become members. All these agencies and ministries work hand in hand

to achieve a peaceful, prosperous and globally competitive country, which is the vision behind Kenya's first foreign policy.

#### **1.10.4 Research Population**

The research mainly focused on diplomatic strategies adopted as counter measures to terror attacks in Kenya and East Africa. The study targeted the Director of National Counter Terrorism Centre, the Cabinet Secretary and or Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, the Cabinet Secretary and/ or Principal Secretary in the Ministry of Interior Security, Cabinet Secretary and or Principal Secretary Ministry of Defence Foreign Policy and Counter Terrorism Scholars like Professor Ambassador Maria Nzomo, Professor Peter Kagwanja. For instance, the NCTC existed by a decision of the cabinet in 2004. Individuals from the above-mentioned agencies and ministries formed of the group of people to whom the study wished to apply its findings.

In some special situations, the research extended its population to cover other ministries that had relevant information concerning the role of foreign policy in countering terrorism in Kenya. For instance, the Ministry of Tourism, Ministry of Defense, and the State Department for Immigration, Border Control and Registration of Persons among others. Select individuals from all these sectors formed the sample population of the study and aided in data collection.

#### **1.10.5 Research Sampling**

Due to the nature of the research topic, the study employed a stratified random sampling method in order to effectively describe the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism in Kenya. This type of sampling is composed of two sampling techniques. First, the simple random sampling that picks individuals from the research population or a stratum solely based on chance. Therefore, each member of the selected population has an equal probability of being selected to the study sample. Second, stratified sampling that divides the research population into various groups according to the information they possess. For instance, individuals who work in the ministry of Foreign Affairs were put in the same strata and so on. Eventually, the resulting sampling method was a stratified sampling complemented by a simple random sampling method.

The stratified random sampling method selected random individuals from all the agencies and ministries to make up the sample population to which the descriptive survey was conducted. Also, since the study also relied on secondary sources of data, the sampling method also played an important role in the selection of informative literature material that can be useful in testing the null hypothesis.

The sample size was selected using a simplified formula that was proposed by Yamane Taro<sup>34</sup>. The formula was used to calculate the sample size for proportions from different agencies and ministries. The formula used is shown below.

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + Ne^2}$$

Where, n is the sample size, e is the level of precision required by the study, and N is the population size. Assuming a population of 1000 and a precision level of 0.05 also called the confidence level in hypothesis testing. The sample size is given as shown below.

$$n = \frac{100}{1 + (100 \times 0.05^2)} = 80$$

However, the researcher considers an adjustment in the sample size to accommodate for unforeseen circumstances and comparative analysis of subgroups.

#### **1.10.6 Research Tools**

It involves conducting written and oral interviews and administering questionnaires to the sampled population. Therefore, interviews and questionnaires formed the basic tools of research for this study. These tools enabled data collection from the NCTC, the Ministry of Interior Security, and the State Department for Immigration, Border Control, and Registration of Persons. Interviews were conducted on department heads, team leaders, high commissioners, and other leaders to ensure a deep examination of the problem statement.

Questionnaires were sent out to the selected sample population to provide complementary information to the data collected through interviews administered to persons in charge of various

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<sup>34</sup>Yamane, Taro. 1967. *Statistics, An Introductory Analysis*, 2nd Ed., New York: Harper and Row.

departments that are in the research focus. The questionnaires had been tailored to get information on personal opinions regarding the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism in Kenya. Also, the questionnaires featured in educated opinions of the respondents regarding the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism. Educated opinions test the null hypothesis on a theoretical point of view rather than practical outcomes. In essence, these opinions test whether the diplomatic strategies implemented to counter terrorism are feasible at least theoretically.

The use of questionnaires and interviews allows for the collection of large amounts of data within a short period of time which is desirable for academic research projects. Also, these research tools were economical, especially because all the respondents are within Nairobi County and the country laws provide for the right to information, at least, up to a certain level. This follows the Access to Information Act of 2015, which obligates private, and public entities to explain their policies, decisions, and actions upon request<sup>35</sup>. The set objectives for this research facilitated the development of interview and questionnaires schedules.

Finally, the study also utilised existing literature material especially research projects related to the subject matter. Consulting on past researches on the topic ensured that the study was based on factual evidence as opposed to inferences. In conclusion, the researcher focused on collecting terrorism data, and the consequent shifts of diplomatic strategies adopted over the years. Also, data on the apparent success of the implemented aspects of diplomacy in countering terrorism was collected. The term apparent success is used because this aspect is based on the respondents' opinions on whether certain aspects of diplomacy are successful in preventing or reducing terror attacks in Kenya.

### **1.11.7 Data Analysis**

This study employed thematic data analysis, a form of qualitative research, as the principal data analysis method. Thematic analysis, as the name suggests, emphasizes the identification, examination, and recording of inherent themes or patterns in the data<sup>36</sup>. In itself, thematic analysis

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<sup>35</sup> Odero, Kenneth. "Kenya's New Access To Information Act Will Compel Public Entities To Disclose Information Upon Request." IAfrikan. Accessed March 16, 2019. <https://www.iafrikan.com/2016/09/13/kenyas-new-access-to-information-act-will-compel-public-entities-to-disclose-information-upon-request/>.

<sup>36</sup> Braun, Virginia; Victoria Clarke (2006). "Using thematic analysis in psychology". *Qualitative Research in Psychology*. 3 (2): 83



is an umbrella term representing a variety of data analysis approaches. The method is not only involved with mathematical data manipulation but also identifying implicit and explicit ideas within the data. Data analysis result in information that is in the form of percentages, bar graphs, and pie charts among other representations. The researcher identified themes arising from the analysis. However, further data collection was required to clarify the themes through interviews and questionnaires. The research went a step further to keenly identify the major concepts as per recommendations of the data sources and literature material<sup>37</sup>.

Data analysis is a crucial step in any research project for it focuses on establishing the complete and precise concepts on the role that diplomacy, through the ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, plays in countering terrorism in Kenya. Data analysis is a result driven procedure, for instance, data analysis in this research aimed at answering satisfactorily the research questions. Answering the research questions, in turn, accepts or fails to accept the null hypothesis

Thematic data analysis involved coding, which is the primary method that is used to develop themes or codes in data through the recognition of key events in data and encoding the event accordingly<sup>38</sup>. This form of data analysis involved coding, searching for themes, and naming of themes in a cost and time efficient manner.

#### **1.10.8 Instrument's Reliability and Validity**

This aspect of the research established the reliability and validity of the descriptive survey method used in data collection for this project. More so, the validity and reliability of the questionnaires administered in the data collection, and the reliability and validity of the interviews conducted on various department leaders, high commissioners, and team leaders. A descriptive survey is a quantitative data collection approach. According to Guest et al, more often than not quantitative data collection approaches elicit content validity. Conducting a pilot study was among the most efficient ways to establish the reliability and validity of the survey. The responses on the pilot study established a different data set that was used with the actual survey data to establish validity and reliability in the interviews and questionnaires.

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<sup>37</sup> Greg Guest, Kathleen M MacQueen and Emily E Namey, *Applied Thematic Analysis* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2012).

<sup>38</sup> Richard Boyatzis (1998). *Transforming qualitative information: Thematic analysis and code development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ensuring data consistency is also key for both primary and secondary sources in order to avoid diverging perspectives in the same research paper. Also, inconsistent data lead to the formulation of general concepts, as opposed to factual statements and concepts, regarding the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism. Additionally, the recommendations and conclusions were accurately drawn from the results derived from said instruments. Finally, the research collected adequate information to ensure data redundancy thus avoiding common problems that result in unreliable data or data collection instrument.

#### **1.10.9 Ethical Considerations in the Study**

The research involved the use of human subjects in data collection, therefore, the researcher sought research approval from the University of Nairobi. The review board determined if the research breaches human rights in any way and make a decision accordingly. This was a crucial process for both the university and the researcher for it protected both from any legal implications during the course of the research. In spite of approval, the participation of said human subjects is still voluntary and the researcher sought consent from the respondents. Having said that, the researcher, therefore, sent a letter of consent outlining the survey procedure, the purpose of the study, any benefits or risks, and alternatives to participation.

Additionally, the data obtained from these respondents was kept private and confidential and was not by any means be redistributed. The study tailored its questions to avoid the collection of personal information that was not relevant to the study or questions that put respondents in uncomfortable situations. In essence, the survey proces maintained the trust between the researcher and the respondent.

#### **1.10.10 Possible Limitations in the Study**

Bureaucratic red tape hindered the smooth progress of this research especially because the study was heavily reliant on data from government ministries. Since corruption is among the biggest hindrances to development in Kenya, the researcher anticipated bribes will be asked in exchange for information in these government offices. Also, securing an interview with some high-ranking government officials was challenging in spite of prior appointments. However, the researcher was optimistic that these challenges was a stepping stones as opposed to stumbling blocks.

## **1.11 Chapter outline**

This chapter has outlined explanation of what terrorism is perceived to be. The background of the study as well as the problem statement is explained. Other sections include the research questions which help in the development of the research objectives. There is literature about the origin, the concept of terrorism and the global view about it and followed by the hypothesis and justification of the study and then the theoretical framework. After this, there is the research methodology and the possible limitations of the study. The above sentiments basically help in outlining this chapter. Chapter two outline the role of diplomacy in countering Terrorism in Kenya.

Chapter three explains in depth the role of diplomacy in Africa and the World. Chapter four extrapolates the effectiveness of Kenyas diplomatic strategies in countering Terrorism.

Chapter five illustrates the data presentation and its analysis. Chapter six gives the conclusions and recommendations.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE ROLE OF DIPLOMACY IN COUNTERING TERRORISM IN KENYA

#### 2.1 Introduction

Kenya has faced a number of terrorist attacks in the past two decades, most of which are transnational terror attacks. So far, we have established that there is a relationship between the diplomatic strategy choice or its absence of the country and its prevalence to terror attacks. Therefore, diplomacy can be used to reduce the frequency of terror attacks in that country. As mentioned in chapter one, terrorism is an intentional affliction of harm to the innocents in order to pass a message to the responsible parties. Therefore, terrorism is deliberate, planned, and executed in a manner that reflects the terrorists aim and motivation. According to Bruce Hoffman, terrorists must gather intelligence and plan carefully because the success of a terror attack is for the terrorists' own survival<sup>39</sup>.

Terror attacks are more pronounced in Africa especially in countries like Kenya, Somalia, Uganda, Tanzania, and Nigeria. Zeroing in on Kenya, among the most devastating terror attacks were the bombing of the US embassy in 1998 which claimed close to 200 lives including 12 Americans. Other major attacks in Kenya include the 1980 Norfolk hotel bombing, the 2002 terrorist attacks in Kikambala, the 2013 Westgate shopping mall attack, Mpeketoni and Mandera attacks in 2014, the 2015 Garissa university college attack, and the 2019 Dusit D2 hotel attack in 2019.

All these attacks have influenced the evolution of Kenya's foreign policy and application of diplomatic strategies in attempts of countering terrorism in Kenya. Diplomatic engagements is defined as the sum total of events taken by a country outside her boundaries so as to promote its national interests abroad. The world does not have an individual government that can protect all its states; therefore, every state needs a foreign policy to protect their own interests which is implemented through diplomacy.

Therefore, this chapter will highlight major terrorist attacks in Kenya and the subsequent changes in foreign policy in order to protect its citizens from other terrorist attacks.

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<sup>39</sup> Bruce Hoffman. "Inside Terrorism"- *The Modern Terrorist mind-set; tactics, targets, tradecraft, and technologies*. 229-256 Columbia University Press, New York,

## 2.2 The Kenyan Foreign Policy and Diplomatic Choices

The Kenyan foreign policy is developed through coordination of various actors in the government, for example, the judiciary the foreign affairs ministry the parliament and the head of state. Its main objective is to promote a peaceful and prosperous Kenya through preferred diplomatic strategies employed to implement it. To attain this, the foreign policy advocates peace and security within the East African region and promotes trade within the region and the rest of the world under the pillar of peace diplomacy.

The Kenyan foreign policy has five interlinked pillars, that is, the economic diplomacy pillar; diaspora diplomacy pillar; environmental diplomacy pillar; peace diplomacy pillar; and the cultural diplomacy pillar<sup>40</sup>. Foreign policy advocates for diplomacy and thus emphasizes the importance of connection and building of partnerships between states. However, for any state to succeed it must have peace and stability and as well be surrounded by peaceful and stable nations. As a result, the peace pillar of Kenya's foreign policy focuses on maintaining better relations with other nations and as well preventing conflict through mediation and sometimes peacekeeping troops<sup>41</sup>.

The first well-defined Kenya's foreign policy was drafted in 2013 under president Uhuru Kenyatta soon after the Westgate mall terrorist attack. However, the piece pillar did not capture terrorism and counter-terrorism strategies which means the Kenyan foreign policy has a long way to go; before effectively mooting an effective diplomatic strategy to prevent and eliminate terrorist attacks altogether. Kenya has had more terrorist attacks from 2013-2019 period than the last two decades combined. This is not because of bad governance by the current president Uhuru Kenyatta, but due to decisions made by the previous government to intervene in Somalia's civil war. Failure to employ diplomacy as opposed to military intervention has proved to be a limitation in itself. As mentioned in the literature review section of this study, some diplomatic strategies, in this case, civil war intervention through military intervention can increase the chances of a transnational terrorist attack.

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<sup>40</sup> Kenya's Foreign Policy: Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2014) Nairobi: Government Press.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.,

### 2.3 Diplomacy and terrorism

Kenya gained its independence in 1963, at that point Kenya did not have a well-defined foreign policy. Shortly after independence, there was a mutiny in Tanzania which exposed some vulnerabilities in the newly formed Eastern African governments. For instance, the then Ugandan Interior Minister was taken prisoner, clearly indicating the need for a better diplomatic strategy choice to protect states against outside threats.

Following this concerns the parliament passed Sessional Paper No 10, titled *African Socialism and its Application to Kenya*<sup>42</sup>. This document was to guide Kenya's foreign policy and it implemented the capitalism in Kenya aligning the country with western powers through economic diplomacy. However, the relations between Kenya and the western powers were somewhat sour because these countries did not see any value in dealing with Kenya.

The fight for independence, especially in the countries bordering Kenya to the north lasted from 1963 to 1967 with numerous attacks on Kenyan citizens near the borders<sup>43</sup>. As a result, president Kenyatta saw the need for foreign aid through dollar diplomacy. Although Kenya had established relations with the United States, the country was unwilling to help since it saw no value in Kenya. Britain, on the other hand, were willing to protect their investment in Kenya and East Africa, thus offered to help president Kenyatta in a 'scratch my back I scratch yours' kind of a deal. This is an instance of how diplomacy can be used to counter terror attacks, especially from neighboring countries<sup>44</sup>.

According to Mogire and Agade 2011, the first incident of a transnational terrorist attack was the terrorist attack plot planned for 28<sup>th</sup> January 1976 by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine<sup>45</sup>. The group had planned to shoot down an EL AL passenger plane during the scheduled stopover in Nairobi<sup>46</sup>. The attack was not successful due to a successful intelligence sharing between the Kenyan government and the Israeli government. This strengthened the relationship between Kenya and Israel whilst emphasizing the importance of diplomacy in countering terrorism

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<sup>42</sup>*African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya*, Sessional Paper No. 10, 1965

<sup>43</sup> Rono Jona, "Kenya Foreign Policy" *Africa Foreign Policies Stephen Wright (ed.)* (Colorado: West view Press, 1999)

<sup>44</sup> Rono Jona, "Kenya Foreign Policy"

<sup>45</sup> Mogire, E., & Agade, K.M. "Counter-terrorism in Kenya". *A Journal of contemporary African Studies* 29(4) , 473-491, 2011. 474.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*,

especially transnational terrorism. As a result of improved international relations between the countries, Kenya assisted Israel by refueling the planes during the rescue operation of their hostages in Uganda. However, these terrorist groups were successful during the second attempt on Norfolk hotel in Nairobi in 1980, where 15 people lost their lives<sup>47</sup>.

President Jomo Kenyatta's regime was succeeded by Moi's presidency which was regarded by western powers as corrupt and dictatorial. After the 1982 coup d'état, Moi advanced his foreign policy tactics to include a diplomatic tactic of sending his ministers abroad to praise his government<sup>48</sup>. During this regime, there were two major terrorist attacks in Kenya that are the Norfolk hotel bombing in 1980 and the US embassy bombing in 1998. The former was due to Kenya's relations with Israel and was carried out by the Popular Front of Liberation of Palestine, while the latter was due to Kenya's relations with the United States of America and was carried out by the al-Qaeda<sup>49</sup>.

The attack was coordinated by suicide bombers and it occurred on August 7, 1998. At around 10 in the morning, these bombers parked outside the US embassies in Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, and Nairobi in Kenya<sup>50</sup>. These bombers detonated their bombs almost at the same time causing detrimental impacts both countries. The bombings claimed about 213 people in Nairobi and 11 people in Dar es Salaam and as well injured more than 4 000 people in Nairobi and 85 in Dar es Salaam<sup>51</sup>. The bombings caught the attention of the United States, leading to the Federal Bureau of Investigations putting Osama bin Laden, leader of the Al-Qaeda terrorist group, in their top ten most wanted fugitives list. This approach also shows the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism. However, the policy was not especially successful since the same terrorist group went ahead to attack the United States in the most devastating terror attack in the country commonly known as the nine-eleven attack.

As a result, there was increased cooperation between Kenya, the US, and Israel in the war against terrorism. Following the aftermath of September 11, 2001, the United States founded the Global War on Terror (GWOT) which Kenya became a major partner since it had been a victim of terror.

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>48</sup> Orwa D. Katete, "Continuity and change, Kenya's foreign policy from Kenyatta to Moi". 318.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>50</sup> "U.S. Embassy Bombings". U.S. Department of State website. Archived from the original on 5 August 2007.

<sup>51</sup> "Frontline: The trail of evidence - FBI executive summary". PBS.org. Retrieved 17 March 2019.

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/binladen/bombings/summary.html>

The United States did not intervene in the attempted attacks of 1976 and the attack of 1980 because they believed that this was isolated attacks and had nothing to do with the West until their embassy in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam were attacked on the same day by the al-Qaeda.

Attack on the US embassy was devastating to Kenya because more than 200 people lost their lives and thousands were injured. This forced Kenya to start a comprehensive counter-terrorism strategy through diplomacy, first by joining Global War on Terror. The investigation was done by the United States government and the Kenyan government hand in hand, despite their previous sour relations. It was discovered that the attacks were purely foreign, with little assistance from Kenyan Citizens, contrary to the initial assumption that Swahili Muslim groups were involved. Relations between Kenya and the US improved tremendously in their united efforts to counter future terror attacks, where Kenya was added to the US Anti-Terrorism Assistance Program<sup>52</sup>. The ATA program has trained more than five hundred Kenyan Security Officials in the United States of America to prepare Kenya for future attacks<sup>53</sup>. In addition, many more Kenyan Security Officials have been trained in the US designated facilities located in East Africa<sup>54</sup>.

Another major terrorist attack occurred in 2002 when the al-Qaeda-affiliated group bombed an Israeli-owned hotel in Mombasa. Also, the same group shot a surface-to-air missile on a passenger plane departing from Mombasa airport. The man behind these attacks was Fazul Abdullah Mohammed who also planned to bomb the newly-built US embassy in Nairobi in 2003<sup>55</sup>. However, improved cooperation between Kenya, Israel, and the United States, despite a change of regime in 2002 where former president Mwai Kibaki was elected, prevented the poorly planned attack<sup>56</sup>.

President Kibaki regime was free of terrorist attacks apart from the attacks in Mombasa in 2002 and the attempted attack in 2003. However, he was behind the decision to deploy the Kenyan military in Somalia which aggravated the Somali based terrorist group al-Shabaab. This was the

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<sup>52</sup> Mogire, E., & Agade, K.M. "Counter-terrorism in Kenya"

<sup>53</sup> Ploch, L. (2010). *Countering Terrorism in East Africa: The US Response*. Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>55</sup> Adan, H.H. Maj. (2005). *Combating transnational terrorism in Kenya*. Retrieved from Defense Technical Information Center.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.,



biggest security gamble since independence and was based on a series of border kidnappings<sup>57</sup>. The decision was approved by select leaders without any consideration of the possible consequences of their decisions<sup>58</sup>. The decision has led to an unending series of attacks across the country by the al-Shabaab group. As mentioned earlier, since the intervention of the Kenya Defense Force in Somalia, there have been more terrorist attacks in Kenya since 2013 to 2019 than the last two decades combined.

In 2013 Kenya elected its fourth president Uhuru Kenyatta. In the first year of his regime saw the end of a decade without an international terrorist attack. On September 21, 2013, a popular upper-class shopping mall Westgate in Nairobi was sieged by a group of militants where more than 62 civilians died. Many of the civilians were citizens of western countries which led to Kenya developing its first official Foreign Policy since independence in an effort to counter terrorism and promote peaceful East Africa.

The attack was retaliation on Kenya's involvement in Somalia affairs since the Somalia affiliated terrorist group al-Shabaab took responsibility for the attack. Also, the attack was meant to cripple Kenya economically by targeting hotel which has foreign citizens. This is because Kenya relies heavily on tourism as a source of revenue and at that point, Kenya was declared 'not safe to visit'<sup>59</sup>.

According to Adan 2005, Kenya is not targeted at random but there are certain factors that make Kenya prime target terrorist attack. For example, Kenya is bordered by very unstable neighbors, poverty, corruption, Islamic fundamentalism and relaxed law enforcement among others.

## **2.4 Conclusion**

International relations, through diplomacy can subdue transnational terrorism and it is the best weapon against terrorism. Kenya has struggled with terrorist attacks since independence due to their relations with countries like Israel, and the United States of America. These countries have tried to help their ally, Kenya, in the fight against terrorism including funding, intelligence, and training Kenyan security officials. However, since 2013, the terror attacks on Kenya are as a result

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<sup>57</sup> "The Kenyan Military Intervention in Somalia." The Crisis Group. Accessed June 25, 2019. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/kenya/kenyan-military-intervention-somalia>.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.,

of her own actions and not affiliation to any outside country. Their involvement in the Somali Civil war is the cause of increased terror attacks in Kenya.



## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **THE ROLE OF DIPLOMACY IN COUNTERING TERRORISM IN AFRICA AND THE WORLD KENYA**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

In the previous chapter, we established the relationship between diplomacy and terrorism. In observation of general patterns in terrorism, we established that democracies are more prone to transnational terrorism compared to other types of regimes. However, democracy does not influence terrorism directly but creates more chances of a terrorist attack based on diplomatic strategy choice or lack of it. That is, democracies have active involvement in global politics which involves diplomatic engagements, international alliances, and intervention in civil wars.

For example, Kenya's lack of diplomatic strategy on Somalia case which has largely seen over reliance on military intervention has exacerbated the chances of a transnational terrorist attack, and the theory was proven by the number of terrorist attacks from 2013 to 2019.

The number of terror attacks since Kenya's involvement in Somalia's civil war exceeds the overall total of terrorist attacks from 1963 to 2012. Also, United States involvement in the civil wars in the middle east increased terror attacks both in the country and the country's allies. For instance, the 1998 terror attacks on the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were as a result of the countries allied with the United States.

All these terror attacks have influenced changes in these countries diplomatic strategy choices in an effort to combat transnational terrorism. According to the Chicago Council on foreign relations, the United States of America is among the top countries that have raised arms against terrorism in their country and the world at large. Polls conducted by the same group indicated that more than 70% of the sample population emphasized the importance of the fight against terrorism. United States' alert on terrorism was heightened by the September Eleventh attack that devastated the country and the entire world.

### 3.2 Major Terrorist Attacks in Africa and the World

Reuters, a famous international news organization, listed some of the major terror attacks in Africa and the rest of the world that were committed the al-Qaeda<sup>60</sup>. On February 26, 1993, Osama bin Laden as the leader of the al-Qaeda terror group was associated with the bomb that killed 6 people under the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York, United States. The bomb was planted in a truck that was parked below the North Tower of the World Trade Center. According to Whitlock, the bomb was a 606 kg Urea Nitrate-Hydrogen gas that was intended to make the North Tower of the WTC crash into the South Tower, effectively paralyzing the US economy<sup>61</sup>.

The attack involved Ramzi Yousef and Eyad Ismoil, who drove a yellow Ryder van into the lower Manhattan and parked it in the public parking garage situated underneath the Northern Tower of the World Trade Center. The van was parked in the B-2 section of the parking garage where it exploded with a 4.5 km/s velocity after Yousef ignited the 20-foot fuse and fled. The bomb was successful in disrupting daily operation of the World Trade Center by destroying the main electric powerline and the emergency lighting system. Many people including 17 kindergarteners were trapped in the elevators and the towers were filled with smoke<sup>62</sup>.

Other damages included a disruption in the towers' power line led to a loss of signal to the newest New York's radio and television stations for nearly a week. The attack resulted in the loss of life of 6 people, composed of 5 Port Authority employees and a businessman whose car was parked in the garage. However, despite few death cases, more than 1042 people were injured during the attack especially during the confusion succeeding the attack and the evacuation phase. Some people tried to leave the building after the explosion by jumping off the roof, which led to the 28 victims being lifted off from the scene by helicopters. After the bomb, about 15 people were reported to have received traumatic injury and 20 more complained of cardiac problems<sup>63</sup>.

Reuters' lists also included the June 25, 1996 bomb that killed 19 American soldiers and wounded more than 400 people that were near the U.S military housing complex in Saudi Arabia. The

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<sup>60</sup> "TIMELINE - Major Attacks by Al Qaeda." Reuters. May 02, 2011. Accessed July 14, 2019. <https://www.reuters.com/article/idINIndia-56711920110502>.

<sup>61</sup> Whitlock, Craig (July 5, 2005). "Homemade, Cheap and dangerous – Terror Cells Favor from Simple Ingredients in Building Bombs". The Washington Post. Archived from the original on October 6, 2008

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.,

explosion was planted in a fuel truck in the case of suicide bombing. The attack was also associated with the Al-Qaeda terrorist group led by Osama bin Laden<sup>64</sup>. All the al-Qaeda attacks were executed using the same ammo. For instance, a similar attack occurred in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam on August 7, 1998, simultaneously. The attack also involved a bomb planted in a truck which resulted in the death of more than 224 people. More than 5,000 people were injured in the explosion and the attempts by the victims to escape the scene.

In the case of Africa, among the most notable transnational terror attacks in Africa include the simultaneous attacks by al-Qaeda on the United States' Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Sources indicated that the attack happened 8 years after the United States moved peacekeeping troops to Saudi Arabia. The decision can be attributed to the response to the aftermaths of Iraq's Invasion of Kuwait. The al-Qaeda terrorist group, led by Osama bin Laden, were rumored to be based in Saudi Arabia which is home to Islamic holy cities like Mecca and Medina.

The then president of Iraq, Saddam Hussein, ordered an invasion of Kuwait which was a small and oil-rich country. The attack, also called Iraq's Invasion of Kuwait, raised concerns from other nations which were forced to intervene. According to CNN, Saddam Hussein was trying to amass wealth from the oil-rich country in order to pay the expenses of the eight-year-long war between Iraq and Iran. The consequent terrorist attacks arising from Iraq's invasion of Kuwait have influenced changes in foreign policies across the entire world in an effort to combat terrorism in Kuwait, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and all the other victim countries in Africa and other continents.

September 11, 2001, has remained the single most devastating terrorist attack in the history of the United States and the world at large. The incident involved a series of four coordinated attacks on the World Trade Center. The terrorist group behind the attack was the al-Qaeda which is also associated with many other devastating terror attacks across the globe. The attack resulted in the death of around 2,996 people and more than 6,000 people were injured in the blast. The attack involved three hijacked planes that were forced to crash into major US landmarks destroying the Twin towers of the World Trade Center and another one crashed into the Pentagon<sup>65</sup>.

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<sup>64</sup>"TIMELINE - Major Attacks by Al Qaeda." Reuters. May 02, 2011.

<sup>65</sup>"TIMELINE - Major Attacks by Al Qaeda." Reuters. May 02, 2011.

The fourth hijacked plane crashed in Pennsylvania leading to a total of more than 3,000 deaths. The United States, in turn, launched the 'War on Terror' for the attack redefined the definition of terrorism. For that matter, the 9/11 influenced the US invasion to Afghanistan to try and depose the Taliban for the attack was associated with the Islamic-extremists led by Osama bin Laden. Many countries strengthened the anti-terrorism legislation and contributed to counter-terrorism efforts in the US and the rest of the world.

The main reasons behind the attack were to send a message to the US in retaliation of their support to Israel and the presence of US troops in Saudi Arabia. By destroying the World Trade Center, the attack crippled the US economy grossly and resulted in the closing of Wall Street until September 17. The attack also led to improved relations between countries in the globe while they supported the US in their grieving and counter-terrorism strategies. In solidarity, countries introduced the anti-terrorism legislation consequently freezing bank accounts suspected to belong to the al-Qaeda and other terrorist groups.

Other terrorist attacks that have caught the attention of the world include the attack on the southern Tunisian island of Djerba where more than 5 Germans lost their lives alongside five Tunisians and one Frenchman on April 11, 2002<sup>66</sup>. The attack was orchestrated by the Jemaah Islamiyah terrorist group which is associated with the al-Qaeda. In another instance, on November 28, 2002, three suicide bombers in three cars blew up a hotel in Mombasa killing more than 15 people<sup>67</sup>. On the same day, a second attack targeted on a passenger plane failed, where two missiles narrowly missed the Israeli Arkia Boeing 757. Once again, al-Qaeda claimed responsibility for the attack.

Another terror attack in Casablanca, Morocco claimed the lives of about 45 people and wounded about 60 people in 2003. According to a statement released by Osama bin Laden, he admitted that the al-Qaeda will be targeting Christians, Jews, and their collaborators<sup>68</sup>. This is iterated the attack in Baghdad on October 31, 2010, where gunmen attacked a church during a Sunday mass. About 52 hostages were killed including the police. The atrocities were committed by an Iraqi terrorist group that was affiliated with the al-Qaeda.

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<sup>66</sup> "TIMELINE - Major Attacks by Al Qaeda." Reuters. May 02, 2011.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.,

### **3.3 The Role Diplomacy in Countering Terrorism in Africa and the Rest of the World.**

The terror attacks in the Kenya Capital and Tanzanian city aggravated transformations of diplomatic strategies in attempts to prevent further terror attacks. Since the attack was among the various attacks directed towards the United States as listed above, the then president of the US Bill Clinton declared Osama bin Laden as Washington's biggest enemy. The United States diplomatic choice was amended to try and fight terrorism from its source in the middle east. Several cruise missiles were launched at sites in Sudan and Afghanistan.

United States involvement in the civil wars in the middle east increased for writers estimated that the attack on the two east African countries was precisely eight years after the United States placed troops in Saudi Arabia. Osama bin Laden declared war on the United States on August 23, 1996, although many people did not pay attention to the threat. The threat materialized after the 1998 terror attack on the US embassy in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam which led to the first public acknowledgment of the existing war between al-Qaeda and the US, by the president of the country<sup>69</sup>.

The interplay between diplomacy and terrorism has fueled and curbed terrorism in the world. For instance, terrorism forced the United States to send troops to Saudi Arabia in response to Iraq's attack on Kuwait. Letters written by Osama bin Laden indicated that their primary concern was the presence of US troops in Saudi Arabia<sup>70</sup>. This led to the al-Qaeda leader waging war on Jews and Christians and their collaborators. Several attacks by the same terrorist group aimed at sending a message to the United States both on US soil and her allies<sup>71</sup>.

These attacks led to changes in diplomatic engagements for the world's developed economies and developing economies as well. For instance, the United States emphasized the importance of the fight against terrorism more than ever through military diplomacy. Alliances and agreements were formed by several nations mostly members of the United Nations. These agreements stipulated

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<sup>69</sup>Tierney, Dominic. "Al-Qaeda Has Been at War With the United States for 20 Years." *The Atlantic*. March 06, 2017. Accessed July 14, 2019. <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2016/08/twenty-years-war/496736/>.

<sup>70</sup> Tierney, Dominic. "Al-Qaeda Has Been at War With the United States for 20 Years." *The Atlantic*. March 06, 2017. Accessed July 14, 2019

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*,



ways of combating future terrorist attacks as well as collaboration in the ongoing fight against terrorism.

An article developed by the United Nations' Office of Counter-Terrorism proposed four counter-terrorism strategies, that is, addressing the conditions that are conducive to the spread and thrive of terrorism. Second, preventing and combating terrorism actively. Third, building States' capacity and strengthening the role of the United Nations in conducting its mission statement. Finally, ensuring and enforcing human rights and the rule of law through the International Criminal Court among other counter-terrorism strategies<sup>72</sup>.

Since the United Nations is an international organization created as a successor to the defunct League of Nations, decisions made by the organization are fueled by the member nations' foreign policies. In addition, the decisions can influence changes of cooperation strategies to counter-terrorism in the member states and other non-member nations. Therefore, the UN is the best international tool that has the best chance to fight terrorism in Africa and the rest of the world. The strategies were developed and agreed upon by the member nations as was adopted by the consensus in 2006<sup>73</sup>.

The United Nations was formed on October 24, 1945, immediately after the end of the Second World War, with a membership of 50 nations. Despite the fact that UN membership is composed of all the major superpowers in the world all its members, including developing countries in Africa, have equal representation in the United Nations General Assembly. The largest intergovernmental organization in the world was formed to prevent future world wars by advocating for peace and mediating transnational conflicts. The United Nations has been successful in general, in terms of achieving its primary objectives 'preventing world wars', however, the organization has been criticized for failure or aggravating transnational conflicts on various occasions. A few decades after its formation, the United Nations was presented with a new world problem called terrorism.

Attempts by the UN to counter diverse terror attacks to their member states proved impossible including indulgence of peacekeeping troops in attempts to fight terrorism from its roots. This prompted the generation of a unified counter-terrorism strategy that was agreeable and enforceable

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<sup>72</sup>"UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy | Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force." United Nations. Accessed July 14, 2019. <https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/en/un-global-counter-terrorism-strategy>.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.,

by all her member states through the implementation of the reformed foreign policies<sup>74</sup>. The strategies listed above are the perfect example of how diplomacy can be used by African countries and the rest of the world to address the conditions conducive for the spread of terrorism, prevent and combat terrorism, build their state's capacity to prevent and combat terrorism through UN collaboration, and to ensure respect for human rights<sup>75</sup>.

The Global counter-terrorism strategies were adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on September 8, 2006, where all the member states for the first time agreed to a common counter-terrorism strategy. These member states include the founding members of the organization like the Republic of China, the Soviet Union, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America among other signatories. The membership is open to the entire planet thus every continent is adequately represented in the United Nations. For instance, African countries like Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, South Africa, and Ghana among others; are members of the United Nations and were behind the formulation of counter-terrorism strategies.

On the section of addressing the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism, the strategy proposes a resolution of prolonged conflicts like the Horn of Africa civil war which has provided a conducive environment for the spread of terrorism. For instance, the al-Shabab, a terrorist group that is based on the Horn of Africa has terrorized East African countries especially Kenya. The attacks are a form of resistance to the implementation of the above-mentioned counter-terrorism strategy.

The middle east is also known for harboring terrorists especially the notorious al-Qaeda group. The group is believed to be based in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and other war-torn African countries like Sudan and Somalia among others. The al-Qaeda was designated as a terrorist group by various entities, that is, the United Nations Security Council, The European Union and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

All these terrorist groups require a conducive environment to thrive and spread as agreed during the formulation of the strategy by nations unanimously. Therefore, countries through diplomatic engagements have tried to destroy these conducive environments through peaceful resolution of

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<sup>74</sup> "UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy | Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force." United Nations. Accessed July 14, 2019.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.,

conflicts in countries torn by civil war and sometimes using military force to drive the terrorist groups out their base and create a civilization in those areas.

For example, there have been efforts to restore a functioning government to Somalia since its collapse in 1991<sup>76</sup>. Various Somali opposition groups took up arms and began rebelling against the Barre government where they managed to overthrow the government in 1991. On the collapse of the government, these clan-based opposition groups started to fight for power to replace the overthrown government. The struggle for power continued till 1992 where the customary law temporarily collapsed<sup>77</sup>. As a result, the country went to chaos, diminishing chances of the reestablishment of a functioning government.

Civil unrest and lack of law in the country created a conducive environment for the development of terrorist groups. There have been rumors that al-Qaeda has a base in Somalia due to a barely established governance. Somalia is the base of various terrorist groups including the notorious al-Shabab. In spite of deteriorating peace in the country, the United Nations tried to rectify the situation by employing UNOSOM I which were UN military observers and were followed by UN peacekeepers in 1992<sup>78</sup>.

UNOSOM, the United Nations Operation in Somalia, was the first mission by the United Nations to Somalia in an attempt to restore peace in the country through a UN-brokered a ceasefire. By so doing the UN was trying to destroy the environment that promotes terrorism. However, the UN mission, among other subsequent attempts to restore peace in the country have been unsuccessful. Major reasons for the failure are well established terrorist groups, based on a terrain they understand best, and with no interest in restoring peace in the country.

The United Nations employed their second UNOSOM mission in 1993 which based mainly based on the southern side of Somalia, the heart of the conflict. The missions also provided humanitarian aid to the suffering of innocent citizens. The missions were authorized to use all the necessary means to deliver the humanitarian aid and as well as mediate the conflict according to Chapter VII

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<sup>76</sup> Central Intelligence Agency (2011). "Somalia". *The World Factbook*. Langley, Virginia: Central Intelligence Agency. Archived from the original on June 10, 2009.

<sup>77</sup> Ken Menkhaus, "Local Security Systems in Somali East Africa," *Fragile States and Insecure People*, 2007, 73

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.,

of the United Charter<sup>79</sup>. Countries like Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda, Tanzania, and the United States contributed soldiers on various UN-sanctioned missions to Somalia, and missions sanctioned by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD).

As a result of involvement by the above-mentioned countries in the Somalia civil war, in attempts to address environments that are conducive as terror groups hideouts or bases, the countries created transnational enemies. The al-Shabab with the help of other Islamic-extremist terrorist groups have on various occasions mounted terror attacks in those countries. However, as a matter of fact, almost all governments 'do not negotiate with terrorists' meaning these terror attacks have aggravated the war on terror and attempt to destroy possible environments that may harbor terrorists.

Some of the major attacks by the al-Shabab terrorist group and other African based terrorist groups like Boko Haram include the failed uprising against Nigerian government that resulted in more than 1000 people dead and the subsequent attacks that led to the terror group controlling a large portion of Nigeria's Borno state<sup>80</sup>. The terror groups operate in insecure areas like neighboring Cameroon, Chad, and Niger<sup>81</sup>. Other attacks include like Mpeketoni massacre, Dusit d2, and the Westgate mall attacks in Kenya.

In light of addressing the conditions and environments that are conducive to spreading terrorism in Somalia, Kenya decided to single-handedly destroy the conditions that strengthen the al-Shabab terrorist group in Somalia. On October 16, 2011, the Kenyan troops crossed the Somalia border in an attempt to drive the al-Shabab terrorists out the country and reinstall a functioning government. However, the troops were able to drive out al-Shabab out their bases and installed a barely functioning government, but al-Shabab is still a major threat to Kenya and other East African countries. Therefore, the strategy approved in the UN General Assembly in 2006 is effective in combating although it is not a fool-proof strategy. The UN in conjunction with the United States

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<sup>79</sup> "United Nations Operation in Somalia I – (Unosom I)". United Nations. Archived from the original on April 8, 2011. Retrieved January 29, 2012.

<sup>80</sup> "Facing the Challenge of the Islamic State in West Africa Province." Crisis Group. May 23, 2019. Accessed July 14, 2019. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/west-africa/nigeria/273-facing-challenge-islamic-state-west-africa-province>.

<sup>81</sup> "Facing the Challenge of the Islamic State in West Africa Province." Crisis Group. May 23, 2019. Accessed July 14, 2019.

of America has also tried to restore peace in the Middle East, for example, in Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan among other countries.

The second strategy that was proposed by the United Nations, involves measures to prevent and combat terrorism. The strategy involves unanimous controls where the nations agreed to enforce restrictions to a known terrorist group by denying the terrorist access to finance and any other means that can facilitate the terrorists to carry out their attacks, access their targets or acquire the desired impact of their attacks<sup>82</sup>.

Among the basic ways of combating or preventing terrorism is through international cooperation on security. For instance, relations between countries in East Africa provided an opportunity for security agreements and sharing of intelligence. Improved internal security measures and checks, especially for foreigners in the major eastern African countries, make it had for the terrorists to reach their targets. During the world's wake to the threat posed by terrorism, most nations established National Intelligence services to try and prevent terror attacks. Relations between countries, established through foreign policies, allow for sharing of intelligence between nations combating and preventing terrorist attacks collectively.

For instance, the United States of America signed a deal with India agreeing to share military-intelligence enabling intelligence and military cooperation between these democracies<sup>83</sup>. According to Rajesh and Nancy, the high-level meeting involved the US defense secretary Jim Mattis, the US secretary of state Mike Pompeo, and the Indian representatives, that is, the External Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj and the Defense Minister Nirmala Sitharaman<sup>84</sup>. The meeting was aimed at deepening ties between the two countries which can be helpful in preventing and combating terrorism through military support and intelligence sharing.

Among the measures proposed by the United Nations as part of preventing and combating terrorism in the member countries. The member states thus agreed to abide by and improve on the following measures of combating and preventing terrorism in the world. First, improving

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<sup>82</sup> "UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy | Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force." United Nations. Accessed July 14, 2019. <https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/en/un-global-counter-terrorism-strategy#poa1>.

<sup>83</sup> Roy, Rajesh, and Nancy Youssef. "U.S., India Sign Military-Intelligence-Sharing Agreement." *The Wall Street Journal*, September 6, 2018. Accessed July 14, 2019.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*,

international cooperation like in the case of the US and India mentioned above<sup>85</sup>. By so doing these countries will be able to share and exchange timely and accurate information concerning possible terror attacks or other terrorist-related information.

Second, these countries also agreed to refrain from tolerating terrorists, instigating or facilitating or financing terrorist activities. These countries thus collectively take appropriate practical measures to ensure their region does not become a terrorist installation territory. Third, the nations agreed to strengthen cooperation among states, combating all sorts of crimes that can be used to facilitate terrorism, for instance, drug trafficking among others. This just but a sample of the detailed measures stipulated in that strategy.

It is also important to improve the country's capacity to combat and control terrorism. However, this strategy is almost the same as the first two strategies proposed by the United Nations. This strategy involves voluntary contributions to the UN in the fight against terror and encourages terrorism measures like informal terrorism meetings with other nations among others. The final strategy involves measures to ensure respect for human rights for all and the rule of law as the bases of the fight against terrorism.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

All these strategies involve the various diplomatic methods and their role in countering terrorism in Africa and the rest of the world. The interplay between democracy, diplomacy and terrorism is a topic that has not been given proper attention by scholars despite the importance of terrorism in the modern world. Democracies like the majority of the United Nations member states have vibrant diplomatic strategies that reduce the chances of a transnational terror attack. As mentioned earlier, democracies tend to employ similar strategies that make them vulnerable to terrorist attacks.

The first step to combating and preventing terrorism by nations should be analysing the use of dipomacy to try and minimize the chances of a transnational terror attack. Since Kenya's involvement in the civil war, Kenya has been a target of terrorist attacks by the Al-Shabab which

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<sup>85</sup> "UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy | Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force." United Nations. Accessed July 14, 2019.

is a military limitation. Thus diplomacy should be an alternative to supplement the military intervention.

Finally, it is worth noting that some counter-terrorism strategies can increase the chances of a transnational terror attack. For example, addressing the conditions that promote the spread of terrorism like lack of good governance, civil unrest, war-torn countries, lack of an established rule of law and religious discrimination. Attempts to install a governance system in a civil war-torn country can attract hatred and possible retaliation. Also, interventions in a country's civil war can attract enmity and increase the chances of a transnational terrorist attack. Therefore, the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism is a delicate topic that requires keen attention and study. Application of diplomatic strategies developed by either nation independently or international organizations in countering terrorism is all beneficial.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **THE EFFECTIVENESS OF KENYAN DIPLOMATIC STRATEGIES IN COUNTERING TERRORISM**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

proposed in the new foreign policy has not been 100% effective as statistics show. Kenya formulated its first foreign policy, since independence, in 2014 with five key diplomacy pillars. The policy emphasized on promoting national peace and prosperity, clearly outlining the pillars that can help the country achieve the set goals. Through the ministry of foreign affairs and international trade, several strategies have been implemented under said pillars, to promote peace and national prosperity. The efforts were inspired by numerous terror attacks in Kenya. Since the year 2013, after Kenya deployed troops in the horn of Africa in efforts of debasing the Al-Shabab terrorist group from Somalia, almost all the terrorist attacks are linked with the said terrorist group.

Among the major terrorist attacks in Kenya include the bombing in Nairobi of 1975 which resulted in the murder of JM Kariuki, the Norfolk hotel bombing in 1980, the bombing of the United States Embassy in Nairobi in 1998, the bombing of Kikambala Hotel in Mombasa and the Arkia Missile attack, the al-Shabab bombings of 2012, the subsequent Al-Shabab attacks in Kenya like Mpeketoni attacks, the Westgate mall, the Garissa university attacks and the Nairobi DusitD2 complex attack in 2019.

There have been other lesser incidents of terror attacks in Kenya, for instance, a petrol bomb was thrown into the crowds during a 'NO' campaign rally on June 13, 2010. The attacks occurred in Uhuru park despite were five people were killed and 75 people injured.

#### **4.2 Counter-Terrorism Strategies**

As mentioned earlier, the definition, forms, and the whole concept of terrorism are highly dynamic and thus creates challenges in formulating effective counter-terrorism strategies. Simply, counter-terrorism strategies that work in the current day may not work as effectively five years down the line. Therefore, terrorism has become a worldwide problem that democracies and non-democracies



continually develop counter-terrorism strategies in an effort to curb the heinous effects of terrorism in their nations.

According to John Macionis, the main causes of conflict or war include cultural and religious differences, perceived threats, wealth and power, ethnic or social problems, and political differences<sup>86</sup>. Failure to resolve all these issues and differences leads to frustration in the society which eventually leads to aggression. In this regard, such aggression can lead to acts of terrorism. Therefore, counter-terrorism is the sum total of practices, techniques, and strategies that are adopted by the government in response to threats of terror or actual terror attacks<sup>87</sup>. On a global perspective, the United Nation member countries have adopted the counter-terrorism strategies developed in 2006 in a unanimous agreement<sup>88</sup>. The strategies entailed promoting national, regional and global peace through united counter-terrorism efforts and programs. In 2014, the Counter-Terrorism Strategy developed by the UN in 2006 was revised to include preventive measures like addressing the conditions conducive for the spread of terrorism.

The attack on the World Trade Complex on September 11, 2001, that led to the deaths of about 3000 people and injuries to more than double the amount, triggered the formulation of various counter-terrorism strategies in the country and across the world<sup>89</sup>. The attack was planned and executed by the Islamic terrorist group the al-Qaeda following the United States, involvement in the middle east crises<sup>90</sup>. The attack, just like the Nuclear bombing in Nagasaki and Hiroshima in Japan during World War II, had long term effects on the citizens of the country and more so the citizens affected by the aftermath of the war. More people died out of respiratory diseases and cancer caused by the attack since the twin towers of the World Trade Complex collapsed devastating the people in, around, and near the complex<sup>91</sup>.

The United States of America, therefore, employed both hard power counter-terrorism strategies like military reprisal, assassinations, rescue missions, striking before terrorists, and soft power

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<sup>86</sup> John J. Macionis, *Social problems*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (USA: Prentice Hall, 2009).

<sup>87</sup> Adebayo E. Adeemi, Mahmoud N. Musa, *Terrorism and Political Violence in West Africa: A global perspective*, July 2015.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>89</sup> Moghadam, Assaf. *The Globalization of Martyrdom: Al Qaeda, Salafi Jihad, and the Diffusion of Suicide Attacks*. Johns Hopkins University. (2008). p. 48.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>91</sup> Matthew J. Morgan (August 4, 2009). *The Impact of 9/11 on Politics and War: The Day that Changed Everything?* Palgrave Macmillan. p. 222

counter-terrorism strategies like economic sanctions to nations allegedly harboring terrorist groups or leaders of various terror groups<sup>92</sup>. Other forms of soft power strategies employed by the United States involved diplomacy where the country sought help from other developed and developing nations around the globe to help them in their fight against terrorism. These allied nations were supposed to engage the military where necessary in the fight against terrorism and as well enforce sanctions to the nations sanctioned by the United States due to terrorism-related matters.

Ironically, counter-terrorism strategies enforced by a country or her allies usually increases the chances of a terrorist attack. For instance, there were several, planned and unsuccessful, terrorist attacks on the United States following the 9/11 attack and the subsequent measures to counter-terrorism in the country and the rest of the world. There have been numerous attempts of terror attacks during George W Bush's government, Barrack Obama's government, and the current administration led by Donald Trump. Although not all these attempts can be attributed to the al-Qaeda terrorist group that has been devastating the whole world, especially allies of the United States of America, these attempted terror attacks have drastically influenced many counter-terrorism strategies. This is because the country has zero-tolerance on any acts of terrorism, whether national or transnational terrorism, following the 9/11 attack.

After numerous attempts and failures on attacking the world's superpower, the terrorist groups have diverted their attention on the allies of the country especially developing economies. This is among the major causes of increased terror attacks on democracies as stipulated in the earlier sections of this study. Studies suggested that the formation of international allies increases the chances of a transnational terrorist attack, more so with developed nations whose foreign policy has created numerous enemies across the globe. For instance, Kenya, a country of interest in this study, was attacked on August 7, 1998, in an explosion that exploded near the basement of the United States Embassy in Nairobi, that resulted in more than 200 deaths and even more injuries<sup>93</sup>. Tanzania was also a victim of the same attack, mainly due to her ties with the United States. The

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<sup>92</sup> Jordan, Kiper, and Sosis Richard. "Why terrorism terrifies us." *Evolutionary Psychology and Terrorism* (2016):103-123.

<sup>93</sup>Bennett, Brian "Al Qaeda operative key to 1998 U.S. embassy bombings killed in Somalia". (June 12, 2011). *Los Angeles Times*.

attack happened exactly the same day on the United States' Embassy in Dar es Salaam, as the attacks on the US embassy in Nairobi, within a difference of a few hours according to Bennet<sup>94</sup>.

All these attempted attacks on United States soil and the attacks on the country's embassies in Kenya and Tanzania among other countries around the world were as a result of the counter-terrorism strategies employed after various terror attacks before the 9/11 attack, the aftermaths of the most devastating terror attack in the whole world, and the subsequent attempted or successful terror attacks. Therefore, most counter-terrorism strategies may attempt to prevent terrorism in a particular nation of the whole world but instead result in increased terror attacks due to increased terrorist enemies or enmity with a certain terrorist group.

In the case of Kenya, some counter-terrorism strategies have been successful in curbing transnational terrorism whilst other strategies have led to increased transnational terrorist attacks in Kenya. For instance, Kenya, under the governance of the former president Mwai Kibaki intervened in Somalia's civil war with the aim of driving out the al-Shabaab terrorist group that is mainly based in the war-torn country. The decision was a counter-terrorism strategy aimed at creating a buffer zone between Kenya and the al-Shabaab by reinstating the Unstable Somalian government to help the country in the war against al-Shabaab in a mission called 'Operation Linda Nchi' loosely translated to 'Protect the Country'<sup>95</sup>. According to Straziuso, Kenya had not actively engaged in Somalia's civil war prior to this bold move which is commonly referred to as an invasion to Somalia<sup>96</sup>. In an attempt to explain the rationale behind Kenya's involvement in the civil war, we can establish that Kenya trying to uproot the problem from its source. That is, after various attacks in Kenya and the neighboring democracies by the al-Shabaab terrorist group, Kenya sought to uproot the al-Shabaab group from their stronghold, that is, the war-torn horn of Africa. However bold and theoretically valid, the counter-terrorism strategy among other strategies employed by Kenya have led to increased terror attacks in Kenya since the deployment of the Kenya Defense Force in Somalia compared to the decades before. In this chapter, the researcher

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<sup>94</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>95</sup> Williams, Paul D. "Joining AMISOM: Why Six African States Contributed Troops to the African Union Mission in Somalia." *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 12, no. 1 (January 2, 2018): 172–92.

<sup>96</sup> Straziuso, Jason; Mwihiia, Joe. "Kenya to pursue militants into Somalia to protect border after spate of European kidnappings". (15 October 2011). Associated Press.

will analyze the various strategies employed by the Kenyan government in attempts of countering transnational terrorism in the country.

### **4.3 Kenyan Counter-Terrorism Strategies and their effectiveness**

Since the first major terrorist attack in 1975, Kenya has experienced several other major and minor terror attacks, with the largest number concentrated between the years 2011 and 2019, which resulted in economic and emotional losses for the citizens of the nation and the country at large. Up to the year 2010, the major causes of these attacks were attributed to religious conflicts mostly between the Islam and the other religions in Kenya, political ideologies which constituted to national terrorism, and marginalized communities which also resulted in intra-national terrorist attacks.

However, since Kenya's involvement in Somalia's civil war, the country has been faced with more transnational terrorist attacks compared to the last two decades prior to the year 2010. The main cause of these terror attacks is revenge on the country that disoriented al-Shabaab's uncontrolled operations in Somalia due to the country's unstable governance system. However, the motives behind terrorist attacks in Kenya have not been well identified especially in the periods prior to the year 2010, part from the terror attack on the United States Embassy which was due to close ties between Kenya and the US, although theories point towards political, and religious conflicts in the country and between the country and other nations<sup>97</sup>.

According to this study, we have established the main causes of transnational terrorism is the country's allies, involvement in other countries civil wars, and foreign policy crises, a behavior which is inherent in democracies compared to the other regime types. Kenya, being a democracy and without active diplomatic strategies to counter the terror threat, Kenya has become highly vulnerable to terrorism especially after implementing a counter-terrorism strategy that was not well evaluated by the existing government. Almost each terror attack has instigated the formulation of a counter-terrorism strategy by the government and as well led to the formation of various regulatory bodies to focus on mitigating terrorism in Kenya. For example, the country developed the Kenya National Strategy in 2016 aimed at gearing the country towards national peace

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<sup>97</sup>Ndombi, S., and Auya, C. "Defensive Counterterrorism: Effectiveness of Screening on Preventing Terror. 2016

following major terrorist attacks like the Westgate Mall, and the Garissa University attack to mention just but a few<sup>98</sup>.

All the relevant ministries and regulatory bodies formulated and adopted various strategies in attempts to prevent and countering terrorism as stipulated in the national strategy. The strategy was launched by the Kenyan president Uhuru Kenyatta to prevent and counter Violent Extremism and terrorism. According to the president, in an article released by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, violent extremism and terrorism are driven by fanatical ideologies and savage violence which threatens the very essence of Kenya as a democracy, and the economic development of the country<sup>99</sup>. In addition, the terrorists are opposed to the fabric of democracies which is based on equality, respect for the rights of women and all human beings, pluralism, and the freedom of religion. The president went ahead to illustrate the atrocities committed by these violent extremists and terrorists in their efforts to change the course of humanity or exert revenge on innocent citizens for the sins of the entire nation<sup>100</sup>.

Kenya has prioritized counter-terrorism over the past decade based on the number of attacks in the country. Among the most basic counter-terrorism strategy that is employed by the country is the use of the Kenya Police Service in preventing terrorism and collecting intelligence of terror threats. The police force was established in the year 1887 during the initial stages of colonization by the British to serve and protect the citizens of Kenya from threats within the country<sup>101</sup>. Since then, the ordinance police evolved until it gained its current name in 1920 with the newly created Kenya Colony<sup>102</sup>. Several strategies have been formulated with the aim to ensure effective and efficient service delivery especially with the gaining traction in the terrorism subject.

For instance, the Kenya Police Strategic Plan (2003-2008), was formulated with an aim to promote the citizens' welfare through assuring security within the bounds of the country and also enhance internal development of the force. Other counter-terrorism strategies formulated to boost the efforts of the service in ensuring peace include the 2013-2017 strategic plans<sup>103</sup>. These plans

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<sup>98</sup> Ndombi . "Defensive Counterterrorism".

<sup>99</sup>"President Kenyatta Launches Strategy on Countering Violent Extremism." Ministry of Foreign Affairs. September 07, 2016. Accessed August 09, 2019. <http://www.mfa.go.ke/?p=744>.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>101</sup>Sommer, Hans-Martin. "History of the Police in Kenya 1885-1960"

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>103</sup>GoK., *Kenya National Strategy*, Nairobi, Government Printer (2017).

informed the force on proper operation and conduct of the force in efforts to counter-terrorism. The plans entailed the creation of public awareness of the terrorism situation in Kenya including creating a good rapport with the public to promote intelligence collection and subsequent prevention of terror attacks<sup>104</sup>.

Based on the numerous police checks that have been implemented in the country in almost all public places and the free and open information sharing with the police. Terror attacks have been effectively thwarted by the Kenya Police Service. For instance, the police foiled a major terror attack that was targeting Nairobi and arrested Al-Shabaab agents with heavy firepower<sup>105</sup>. After a fierce gunfight with the suspected al-Shabaab agents which resulted in the death of one gunman and the arrest of the other two, the police uncovered a cache of arms including five automatic rifles and 36 grenades. Also, the terrorists' car was loaded with explosives for it was supposed to be used as a Vehicle Borne Improvised Explosive Device (VBIED) in other words a bomb on wheels<sup>106</sup>.

Based on the arms discovered by the Kenya police in February 2018, the terror attack would have been devastating to Kenya. The gunfight and the arrest occurred in Merti, Isiolo County. The police with the help of the Kenyan citizens began a big police operation to arrest the accomplices of the terrorists. An investigation done on the terrorists' car revealed that the car was assembled in El-Adde, Somalia confirming the identity of the terrorist group to be al-Shabaab<sup>107</sup>. This is a case example of how effective some of the counter-terrorism strategies employed by the Kenya government have been in countering terrorist attempts in Kenya.

Kenya was ranked twelfth as the most affected by terrorism in 2014 by the Global terrorism index based on the number of terror attacks in the country especially between the years 2013 and 2019<sup>108</sup>. Almost 80% of these attacks are connected with the al-Shabaab terrorist group which is based in Somalia. According to the study, the main cause of the increased terror attacks in the country and

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<sup>104</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>105</sup> "Police Foil Major Terror Attack Targeting Nairobi, Arrest Al-Shabaab Agents – PHOTOS." Nairobi News. February 18, 2018. Accessed August 11, 2019. <https://nairobi.news.nation.co.ke/news/police-foil-major-terror-attack-targeting-nairobi-arrest-al-shabaab-agents-photos>.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>108</sup> Kamberelis G., and Dimitriadis G. *Focus groups: From structured interviews to collective conversations*, (London: Routledge, 2013)

the subsequent insecurity in the country is the increased number of Somali refugees in Kenya. Most of these illegal immigrants have settled in urban areas like Mombasa and Nairobi especially in Eastleigh, Nairobi. Eastleigh has transformed over the years from a residential area to a business center which majorly dominated by the Somali ethnic group composed of actual legal Kenyan citizens, registered refugees from Somalia, and other illegal immigrants<sup>109</sup>.

With a population of about 350, 000 inhabitants which a mostly from the Somali ethnic group, the area has experienced numerous terror threats and actual terror attacks especially from the year 2012 when Kenya actively intervened in the Somalia civil war<sup>110</sup>. The area is also targeted because it is a thriving business locality from both local and international business. Due to the importance of the area a trading business area in the country, it has become a priority in the country to try and curb terrorism in the area and the country at large.

As a result, Kenya formulated a strategy that included the implementation of new police squads in the area and an increase in the number of law-enforcers in the region. The country also equipped these police officers with the necessary utilities to counter-terrorist and punish arrested culprits. Among the most devastating terror attacks in Eastleigh include the simultaneous bombing of two cafes barely 300 meters apart which resulted in the death of 6 people and injuries to several dozens of people<sup>111</sup>. The attack was meant to create a state of terror in Kenya and hence affect Kenya's revenue as a form of retaliation against the country for invading Somalia. As a result, the Australian government issued a travel advisory, warning its citizens from traveling to Kenya due to the insecurity level in Kenya. Despite efforts to minimize illegal immigrants in the country, Kenya has not been able to completely eliminate the lot.

Among the main counter-terrorism strategies employed by the country include the formulation of the first foreign policy that tries to address terrorism in Kenya and the region in general. The foreign policy includes a peace diplomacy pillar that dictates peace and stability of Kenya, the region and the whole world is essential to the economic wellbeing and Kenya's own stability<sup>112</sup>.

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<sup>109</sup> UNHCR, Kenya: *Somali Refugees, UNHCR Factsheet*, 20 January, United nations High Commissioner for refugees (2014).

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>111</sup>"6 Killed in Twin Terror Blasts in Eastleigh." Nairobi News. April 01, 2014. Accessed August 11, 2019. <https://nairobineews.nation.co.ke/editors-picks/6-killed-in-twin-terror-blasts-in-eastleigh>.

<sup>112</sup>The Republic of Kenya, "Kenya Foreign Policy" November 2014.

The pillar, therefore, gives Kenya a go-ahead to intervene in other countries civil war's in an effort to achieve its own interests<sup>113</sup>.

As a result, Kenya has continued to help Somalia reinstate a stable government by driving out the terrorist group Al-Shabaab that is based on the country. By driving al-Shabaab out their own base, it disables their operations prohibiting them from launching a devastating terror attack on Kenya or other nations. In theory, the counter-terrorism strategy makes sense and seems practical, however, upon execution. The strategy was highly ineffective for it has led to increased terror attacks in the country with the latest attack in January 2019 in Nairobi that was targeted as Dusitd2. Therefore, the counter-terrorism strategy

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<sup>113</sup> Ibid.,



## CHAPTER FIVE

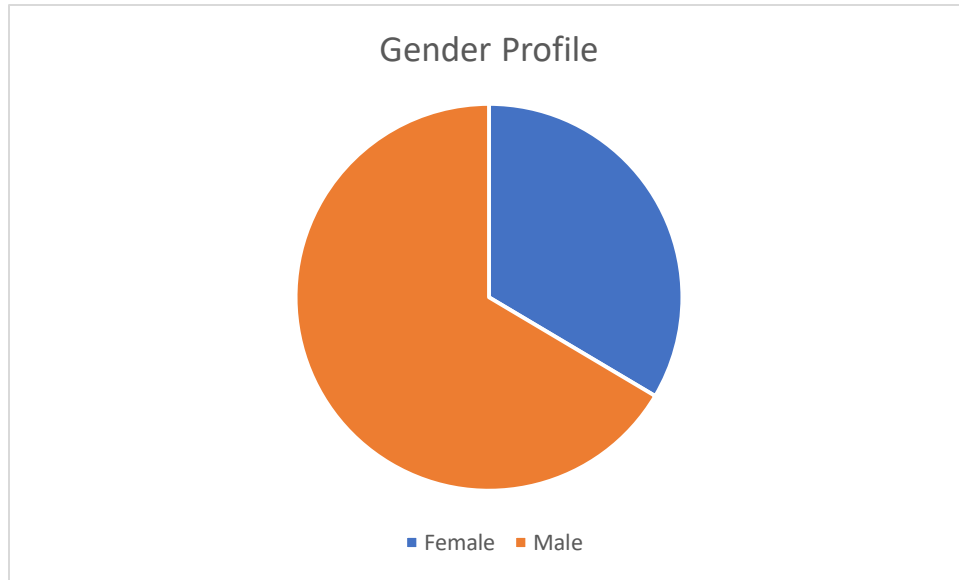
### DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on presenting and analysing the data collected by the researcher during the course of the study. Primary data was strictly collected using interviews and administering questionnaires to the sampled research population. The response to the questionnaires administered was acceptable where 63 out of the total questionnaires sent out were corrected filled or returned to the researcher. The questionnaires and the interviews were tailored to the target samples according to the nature of data to be collected. Data collection was divided into two major subjects, that is, the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism in Kenya and the effectiveness of the counter-terrorism strategies employed by the Kenyan government.

The data collection process was delayed to take a total of three weeks and 2 days for questionnaires were not returned in time. The researcher was obliged to follow up with the questionnaires personally by making visits and personal calls to various offices. With a response rate of 90% the researcher concluded the data collection process due to time constraints.

Due to the nature of the study, the research could achieve gender equity, as is the case with most government offices. The main offices targeted in this study included the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, the National Counter-Terrorism Committee, the Ministry of Internal Security, and other key offices like the ministry of defense, immigration, and registration of persons among others. Other respondents included the general public who provided key information on the effectiveness of the counter-terrorism strategies employed by the Kenyan government. Having said that, the gender profile of the respondents in this research including both the interviews and the questionnaires is shown in Figure 5.1.



*Figure 5.1 Gender of the Respondents*

The actual numbers are represented in Table 4.1

	No	Percentage
Female	57	34%
Male	113	66%

*Table 5.1: Gender Profile of the Respondents*

The study also considered the rank or the positions held by the respondents in order to calculate weights for the responses provided which can be used in data analysis. This is especially critical in evaluating the counter-terrorism strategies developed by the government and the effectiveness. Positions can help the researcher identify individuals who were involved in the strategy formulation process or have an active role in the implementation of said strategies from respondents expressing their opinions without full knowledge. This does not disregard personal

opinions for the general public was indulged to express their opinions on the effectiveness of the diplomatic strategies employed by the government. As shown in Table 5.2, only 3 principal secretaries could respond to the questionnaires sent out, and 7 departmental chairs. The majority of the information was collected from civil servants in the various ministries listed in the target population earlier in the study and the general public. The mode of gender collection employed on the general public was a short oral interview to investigate the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism in Kenya, and the effectiveness of the counter-terrorism strategies employed.

<b>Position</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Principal Secretaries	3	2%
Departmental Chairs	7	4%
Civil Servants	53	31%
General Public	107	63%

*Table 5.2: The Positions held by the Respondents*

## **5.2 Results and Analysis of Data**

The study aimed at establishing the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism in Kenya through analysis of data collected from experts in the field and the responses given by the Kenyan citizens on the subject matter. For this case, we start by analysing the responses on the first and the simplest question on the questionnaires and the interview guide. The question was a true or false question where 100% of the respondents managed to provide their opinion on whether ‘diplomacy can be used to counter-terrorism in Kenya’. As shown in Table 5.3, majority of the respondents, who composed of the general public and civil servants in various ministry agreed that diplomacy can be used as a counter-terrorism tool in Kenya.

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
TRUE	156	92%	92%
FALSE	14	8%	100%

Table 5.3: Response to the Role of Diplomacy in Countering Terrorism in Kenya

We can establish that the majority of the Kenyans recognize the role of diplomacy in countering terrorism in Kenya. For the respondents who implied that foreign policy does not contribute to counter-terrorism strategies, the research questions provided for an option to state their best hope for countering terrorism in Kenya. Majority of the respondents implied that upgrading the internal security of the country is the best hope for countering terrorism in the country. A minority suggested cross-checking all Somali affiliated people in Kenya to eradicate immigrants in the country while the rest did not have an opinion on the matter as shown in Figure 5.2.

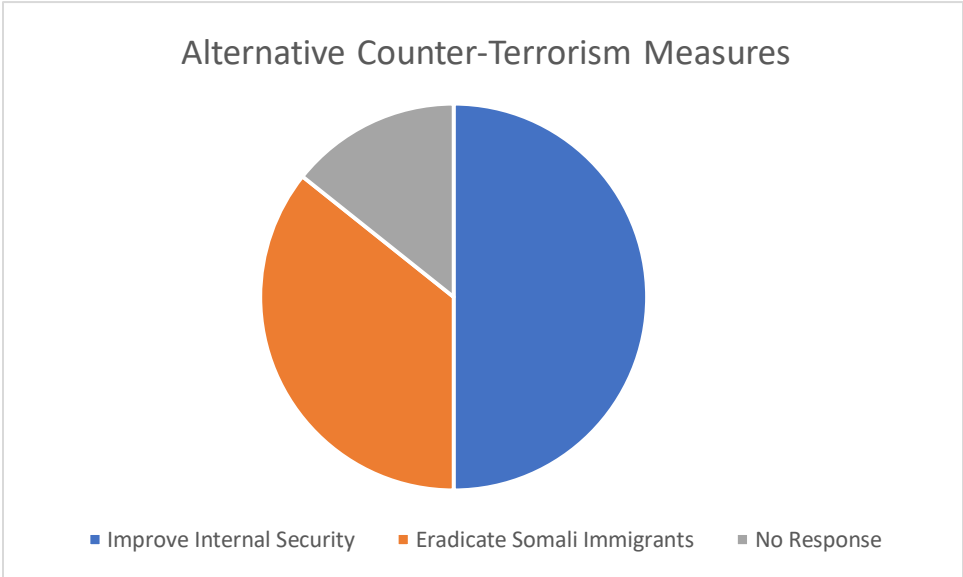


Figure 5.2: Alternative Counter-Terrorism Measures to Diplomacy

The above data was collected on the portion of respondents who did not believe that diplomacy played a crucial role in countering terrorism in Kenya.

The study went ahead to investigate whether some diplomatic strategies choices or lack of it can cause or increase the probability of a terror attack. The questions used in the interview and the first section of the question were simple True or False. According to the data shown in Table 5.4, 64% of the responses agreed that some diplomatic strategies or lack of it can cause or increase terror attacks in Kenya. Going further to ask the same question, but adding an example of Kenya's involvement in Somalia civil war and the subsequent increase in terror attacks since then, changed the percentage of the people who agreed with the theory from 64% to 81% as shown in Table 5.5.

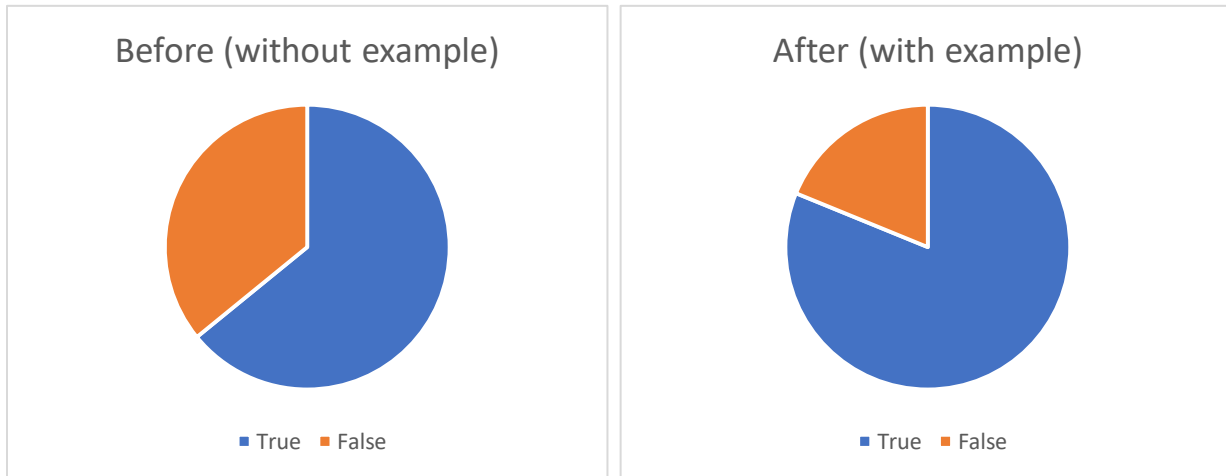
<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Cumulative Percentage</b>
TRUE	109	64%	64%
FALSE	61	36%	100%

*Table 5.6: Response to whether Diplomacy choice or lack of it can Cause an increase in Terror Attacks*

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Cumulative Percentage</b>
TRUE	138	81%	81%
FALSE	32	19%	100%

*Table 5.6: Response to whether Diplomacy choice or lack of it can Cause an increase in Terror Attacks (with an example)*

The results can be visualized better in Figure 5.3 where the two Pie charts are put side by side to clearly show the change before and after the example. The change, according to the researcher, can be attributed to respondents not clearly understanding the question or lacking case examples of how diplomatic strategies or lack of it can increase the probability of a terror attack. Having said that, clarification of the question caused a significant change in the responses given by the respondents as shown below.



*Figure 5.3: A Comparison between responses to the question “...does diplomatic strategies or lack of it increase the probability of terrorism”*

The research was also interested in establishing the views on some of the ways diplomatic choices or lack of it can increase the probability of a terror attack, specifically the three main causes discussed earlier in the study. These ways include active involvement in world politics, alliances with ‘hated’ countries, and involvement in other countries civil wars. Therefore, transnational terrorism is usually a form of retaliation to the actual culprit country or her allies to send a message to the former. The responses on whether the above-mentioned diplomatic choice actively influence the probability of terrorism in Kenya as presented in Table 5.7.

A similar approach was used, like the previous question, where the respondents were given the question without explanations or examples and then the same question is administered with case examples to check if the responses changed. The approach is useful in order to establish the

reliability of the responses given eliminating indecision or wrong response due to not clearly understanding the question. For this study, several respondents left some of the choices blank in the first phase of the question. However, the total number of responses changed as well as the responses given in the second phase of the question.

a) Active involvement in world politics increases the probability of terrorism?			
Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
true	110	65%	65%
false	40	24%	88%
no response	20	12%	100%
b) Alliances with 'hated countries' increase the probability of terrorism?			
Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
true	130	76%	76%
false	10	6%	82%
no response	30	18%	100%
c) Involvement in other countries' civil wars increase the probability of terrorism?			
Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
true	132	78%	78%
false	18	11%	88%

no response	20	12%	100%
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*Table 5.7 The Responses on the three-part Question without examples.*

Table 5.8 represents the responses to the three-part question upon provision of relevant case study examples to each part.

a) Active involvement in world politics increases the probability of terrorism?			
<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Cumulative Percentage</b>
true	134	79%	79%
false	23	14%	92%
no response	13	8%	100%
b) Alliances with 'hated countries' increase the probability of terrorism?			
<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Cumulative Percentage</b>
true	151	89%	89%
false	10	6%	95%
no response	9	5%	100%
c) Involvement in other countries civil wars increase the probability of terrorism?			
<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Cumulative Percentage</b>
true	161	95%	95%
false	3	2%	96%

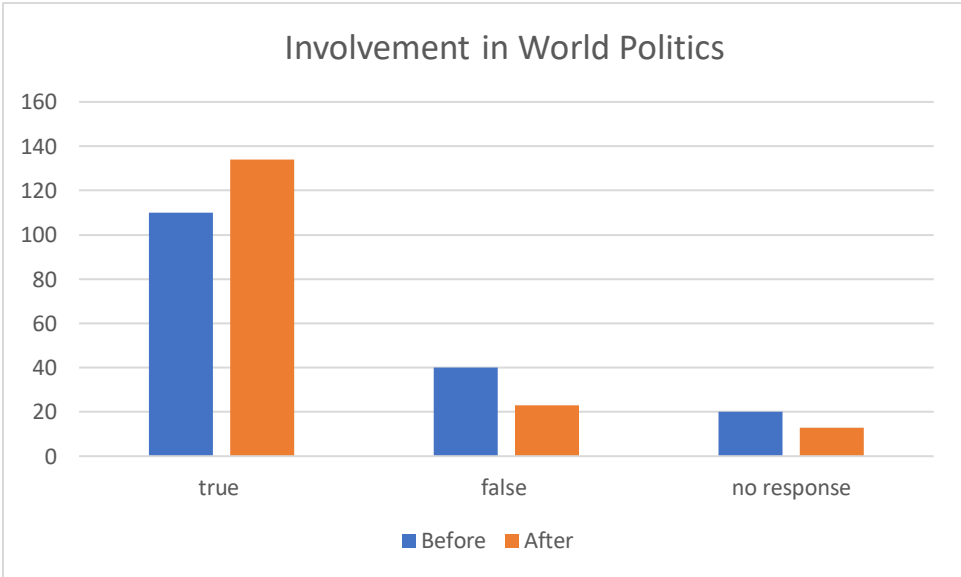


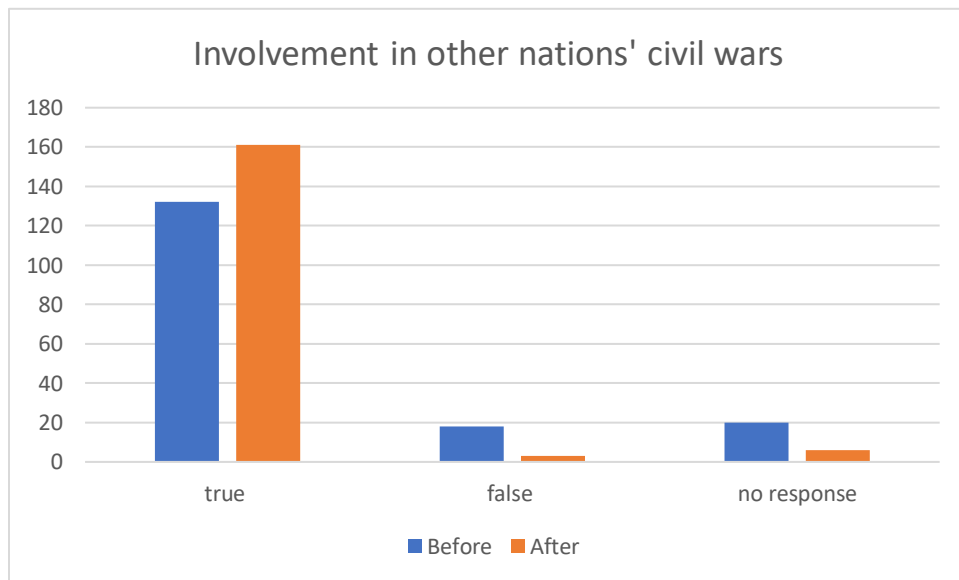
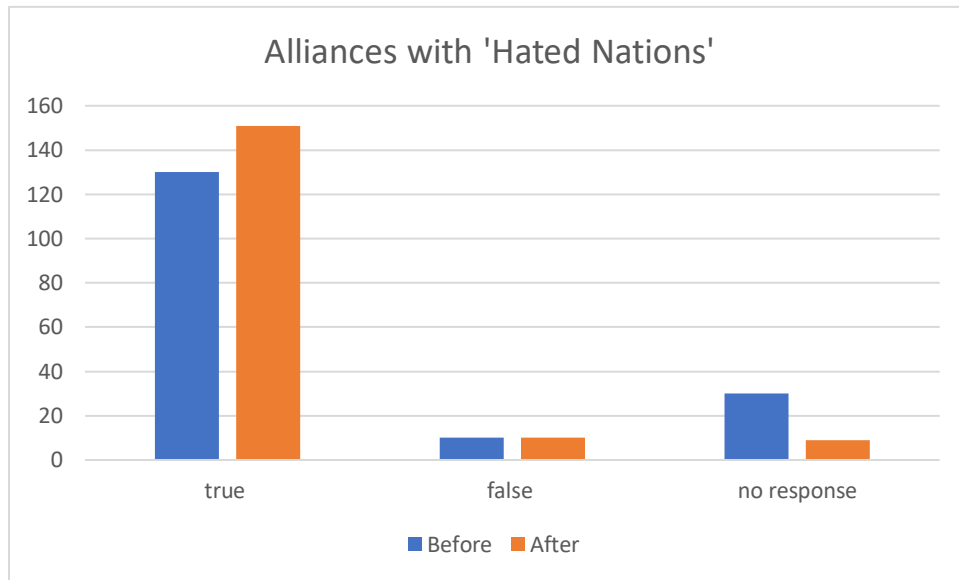
no response	6	4%	100%
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Table 5.8 The Responses on the three-part Question with relevant case study examples

It is worth noting some of the respondents who had abstained from answering the survey questions formed an opinion most of which was positive or in support of the fact that said diplomatic choices or lack of it increased the chances of terrorism since all these practices are bound to create animosity between nations.

Based on the results from this question, involvement in world politics is among the least scoring foreign policy strategy with 79% score in terms of promoting transnational terrorism, although majority agreed it has the potential to increase the chances of a terror attack to the nation. On the other hand, almost all respondents agreed that involvement in other countries’ civil wars is the leading cause of transnational terrorism based on general knowledge or informed by the examples given for the second phase of the question. Since all the respondents are from Kenya, they easily relate with the repercussions of the country’s involvement in Somalia’s long continuing civil war. The responses can be graphically visualized in the bar graphs shown in Figure 5.4





*Figure 5.4: Illustration of the responses with and without examples*

As illustrated by the data and analyses presented in this section of the study, there is a relationship between diplomacy and terrorism. There is statistical significance in the hypotheses test to accept the null hypothesis that there is a significant relationship between diplomacy and the probability

of a transnational terror attack. Having established the main ways how Kenya's diplomatic strategy choices or lack of it has affected terrorism in Kenya, addressing the diplomacy strategies or practices or lack of it that promote or increase the chances of a terror attack is among the most important and potentially effective counter-terrorism strategy. For examples, supplementing Kenya's Defence Forces operation under Amisom in Somalia with diplomatic strategies can reduce the chances of a terror attack. Also, the formation of international alliances with countries that are willing to protect their allies against terrorism is also another important counter-terrorism strategy as opposed to making allies with countries that are conflicted in the subject of terrorism like Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Iran among others.

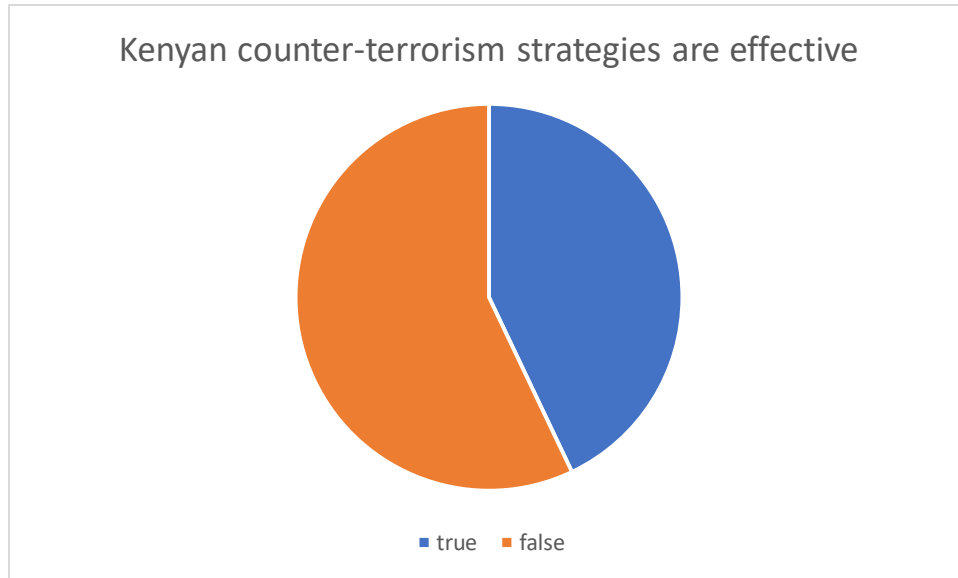
Moving to the second part of the survey, the effectiveness of the counter-terrorism strategies employed by the Kenyan government, the survey questions were versioned in a similar manner as the first part of the survey. The first and simplest question was to establish the views of the sampled population on the effectiveness of the counter-terrorism strategies employed in Kenya, in the period ranging between 2013 and 2019.

The question asked the respondents if the Kenyan counter-terrorism strategies were effective, that is, in their own opinion. The data is shown in Table 5.9 where the majority of the respondents, although by a small percentage, believed that the strategies were not effective. For this question, all the 170 sampled respondents had an opinion which was nowhere near to unanimous as shown below.

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Cumulative Percentage</b>
TRUE	73	43%	43%
FALSE	97	57%	100%

*Table 5.9: Response to the effectiveness of Kenyan counter-terrorism strategies*

The data can be visualized in Figure 5.5 for easier comparison of the results

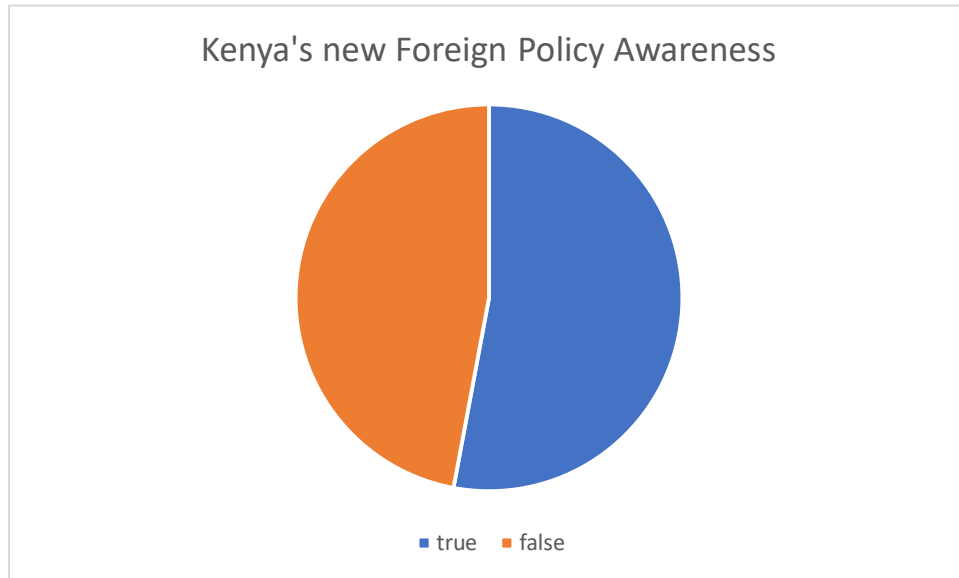


**Figure 5.5: Representation of the effectiveness of Kenyan counter-terrorism strategies**

The figures shown above were not surprising since terror attacks in Kenya have increased in the years between 2013 and 2019 compared to the years prior despite numerous counter-terrorism strategies. The study went ahead to investigate how many people knew that Kenya formulated its first foreign policy since independence. The results for this case were shocking for only a little over half of the population knew about the new diplomatic engagements which were developed in 2014’s Foreign Policy. On the subject of how the new foreign policy addresses terrorism or peace in Kenya and the region, the numbers were even more devastating as shown in Table 5.10 and illustrated in Figure 5.6.

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
true	90	53%	53%
false	80	47%	100%

*Table 5.11: Kenya's awareness of the new Foreign Policy*



*Figure 5.6: An Illustration of Kenyans' awareness of the new Foreign Policy*

As mentioned earlier even few people were conversant with the contents of the new foreign policy in terms of how it addresses the issue of terrorism in Kenya and hence peace and prosperity in Kenya. Also, the study included an optional question where the respondents who were familiar with the foreign policy could list the main pillars especially the peace diplomacy pillar among others. This part of the survey was well completed by the respondents in the ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade compared to other ministries. The data is shown in the tables below

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
true	36	21%	53%
false	54	32%	100%

*Table 5.12: Response to Actual Knowledge of the contents of the Foreign Policy*

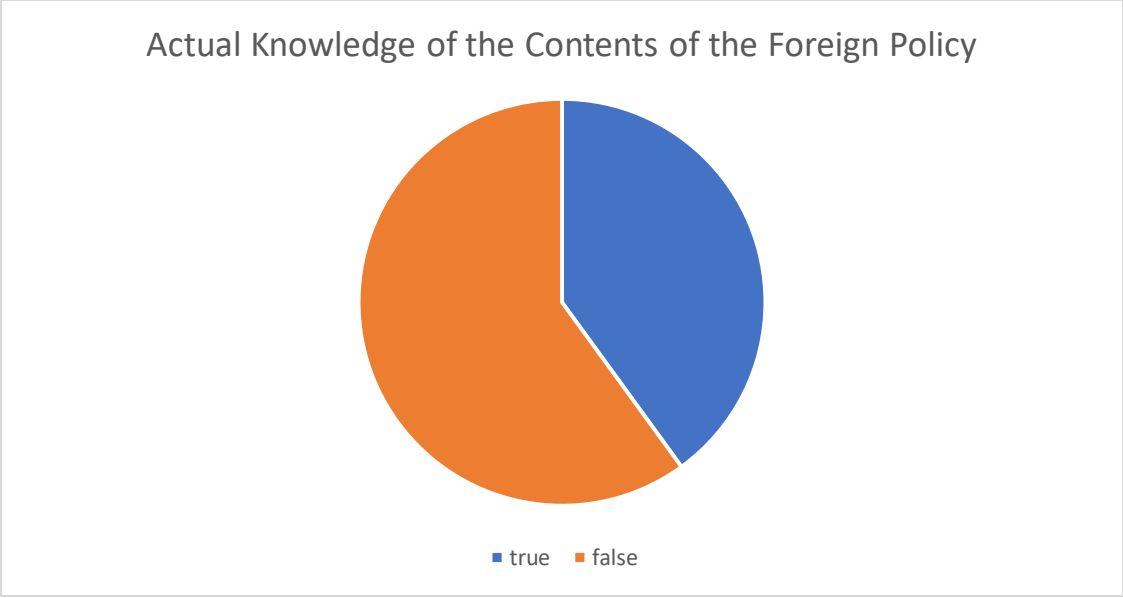
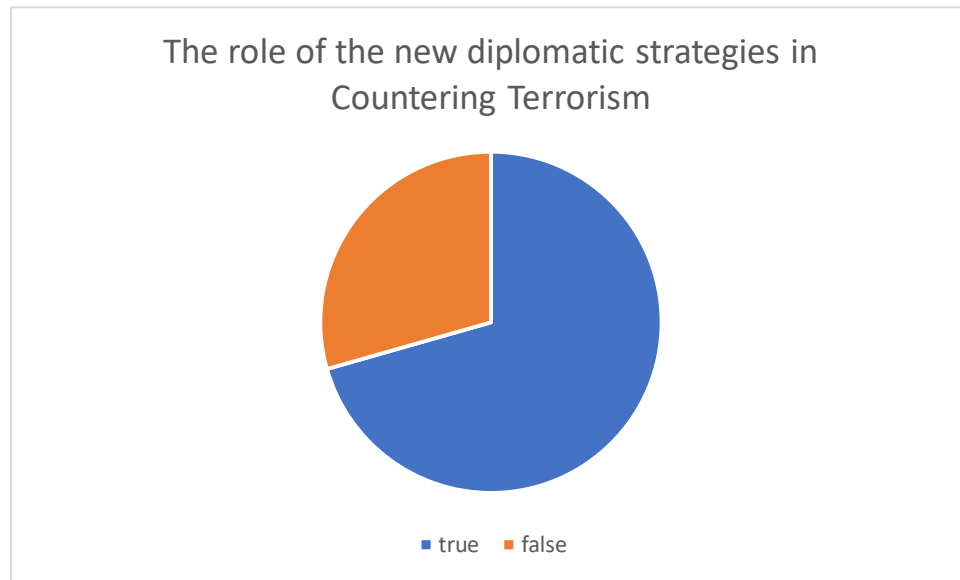


Figure 5.7: Illustration of the level of Awareness of the contents of the Foreign Policy

Only 36 people had an idea of what the new Kenyan Foreign policy entailed and the number reduces even more for the number of people who actually know how diplomacy addresses the issue of terrorism to 17 as shown in Figure 5.8.

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
true	17	10%	53%
false	19	11%	100%

Table 5.13: People conversant with how the new diplomatic strategies addresses terrorism



*Figure 5.8: Illustration of the people conversant with how the new diplomatic strategies addresses Terrorism*

Finally, the study evaluated the effectiveness of the counter-terrorism strategies employed by the government especially the strategies formulated in the new foreign policy under the pillars of diplomacy. Although the initial tally of the effectiveness of the Kenyan counter-terrorism strategies is included in this analysis, more weight is given to the 17 respondents who understood the role of the new Foreign policy in countering terrorism. The results are represented as follows

Response	Frequency	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
true	12	70%	70%
false	5	30%	100%

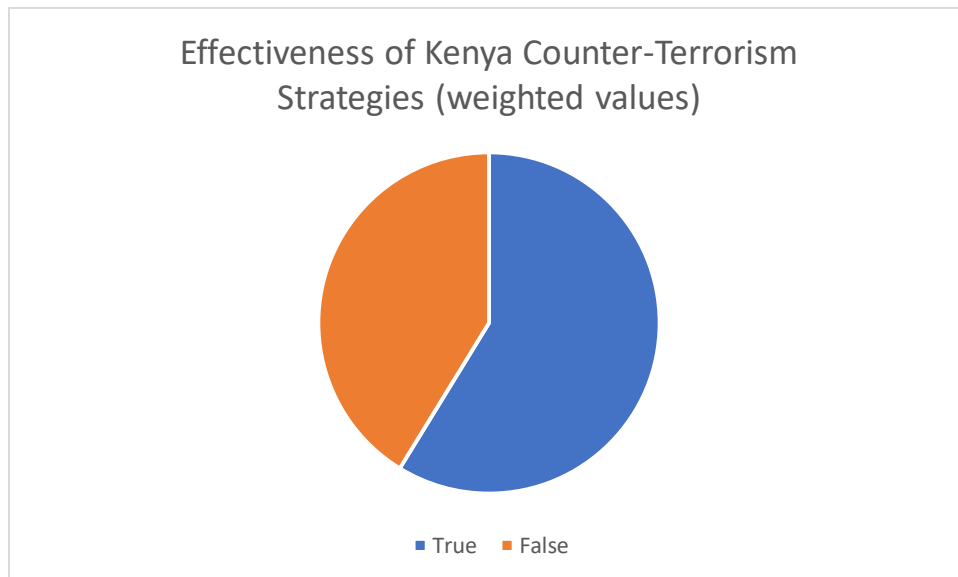
*Table 5.14: The new Diplomatic strategies effectively addresses the terrorism situation in Kenya*

The experts agreed that the new diplomatic strategies effectively addressed the terrorism situation in Kenya with a vote of 12 out of 17. The data may be biased in the sense that most of these people are from the ministry responsible for formulating foreign policy. However, out of

the total 170 people surveyed in this study, 12 is not sufficient to tip the scale in the case of the effectiveness of Kenya's counter-terrorism strategies even with weighted computations as shown in Figure 5.9.

response	W=1	W=3	Frequency	Percentage
True	78	12	114	59%
False	80		80	41%

*Table 5.15: Weighted Score for the effectiveness of Kenyan Counter-terrorism strategies*



*Figure 5.10: An illustration of the effectiveness of Kenyan counter-terrorism strategies*

There is no statistically significant evidence to accept the null hypothesis that states that Kenya's counter-terrorism strategies are effective. Also, the research population did not have an acceptable number of people who are conversant with counter-terrorism strategies to make an informed decision on their effectiveness.



## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.1 Conclusions**

The study established the nexus of a country's diplomacy as a tool of countering terrorism. It is an established fact that democracies are by default prone to terror attacks, not because of their regime, but because of the inherent diplomatic choices. For instance, active involvement in world politics, forming alliances with 'hated countries', and involvement in other countries' civil wars are among the main foreign policy practices that are inherent to democracies like Kenya that promote terrorism. Therefore, diplomacy has the potential to influence the probability of a terror attack negatively and positively as well.

Among the main counter-terrorism strategies employed by Kenya include the development of the country first foreign policy that has adequately addressed the dynamic terrorist threats in the country. The policy involves the peace diplomacy pillar that advocates for the promotion of peace throughout the region in order for the country to prosper. However, such strategies like Kenya's involvement in Somalia's war has caused more terror attacks than preventing them. In essence, foreign policy especially when it comes to counter-terrorism strategies is a very sensitive subject for it can worsen the situation as opposed to countering terrorism. Therefore, Kenya's counter-terrorism strategies ought to be revised and tailored to address the specific problem, that is, Al-Shabaab.

#### **6.2 Recommendations**

##### **6.2.1 Recommendations for policies or Policy Recommendations**

There is need for the government should formulate actual counter-terrorism strategies that are specific to the type of terrorism that Kenya is facing, that is, incessant threats posed by Al-Shabaab. This can be done through the various arms of government.

There is compelling need for the legislature to come up with counter-terrorism legislations that responds to the current terrorism challenges. The executive on the other should encompass the non-state actors and civilians in implementation of these laws so as to have desired results while the judiciary plays the all important role of interpreting the same laws. Use of diplomacy to address regular acts of terror from various nations and terror groups should be adopted as a general strategy. The government should also promote awareness of terrorism for the general public and the various strategies or practices of countering-terrorism in Kenya to promote citizen cooperation in counter-terrorism efforts in Kenya through Nyumba Kumi and community policing initiatives. This is evident where the explanation or provision of examples during the data collection process resulted in changes in their opinions indicating they do not understand the whole concept of terrorism and measures to counter terrorism in Kenya.

### **6.2.2 Recommendations for further studies or Academic Recommendations**

An independent study should be conducted on the effectiveness of the counter-terrorism strategies that were employed in Kenya between the years 2013 and 2019 for the scope of this study limited the level of research. Also, the researcher should formulate easy questions, preferably with examples of explanations because the majority of the Kenyan population are oblivious on the role of diplomacy and counter-terrorism.

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## QUESTIONNAIRE

### Instructions

1. Answer all the provided questions with the best of your knowledge
2. Put a mark in the provided spaces in each question.

### SECTION A: Background of the Respondent

1.

Position.....  
.....

2. Experience/Period in office

1-5 years                    [            ]

6-10 years                 [            ]

More than 10 years      [            ]

### SECTION B: Diplomacy and Counter Terrorism

3. is there any relationship between Diplomacy and Counter Terrorism?

YES [            ]

NO [            ]

4. If YES, how has diplomacy aided in playing a role in Countering Terrorism in Kenya and the World?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

.....  
.....  
**SECTION C: Effectiveness of diplomatic strategies in Countering Terrorism**

5. Has diplomatic strategies been effective in countering Terrorism?

YES [        ]

NO [        ]

6. If YES, How?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**SECTION D: Challenges in Countering Terrorism in Kenya**

7. Are there any challenges that are experienced in countering terrorism in Kenya?

YES [        ]

NO [        ]

8. If YES above, what are some of them?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

9. Are there any efforts that have been put in place to counter these challenges?

YES [            ]

NO [            ]

10. If YES above, which ones are they?

