

Kenya's Security and Foreign Policy Orientation Towards Al Shabaab Terrorist Group (2011-2020)

Benjamin Kipchirchir, Dr. Ichani Francis

Department of International Relations, Conflict and Strategic Studies of Kenyatta University, Kenya

Abstract: Does the security policy against Al-Shabaab affect Kenya Somalia bilateral relations? This study focused on the implications of Kenya's security policy towards Al-Shabaab on Kenya-Somalia diplomatic relations. The objective of this study was to examine Kenya's security and foreign policy orientation towards Al-Shabaab terrorist group. This study was guided by the following research question. What defines Kenya's security policy towards terrorism in reference to Al-Shabaab? This study was motivated by the very fact that current relationship between Kenya and Somalia indicates diplomatic fallout between the two nations. Moreover, the ongoing involvement of Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) operations and the ensuing maritime disputes seems to be aggravating the already frosty relations. This study was anchored on the rational choice theory and realism theory to help explain the upsurge of terrorism in Kenya. The study was done in Nairobi and involved actors in the Ministries of Defence, Internal Security and Foreign Affairs. The study also targeted workers in Somalia embassy in Nairobi. The target population of 1176 and sample size of 118 respondents and informants was used in the study. Primary data was obtained by use of interview guides, questionnaires and focus discussion groups. Secondary sources such as books, journals and academic papers were also used to gather data that corroborated field data. Collected data was analyzed and presented using charts and content analysis to arrive at a conclusion that terrorist acts are inhumane, ferocious, and posed a risk to international peace and mutual coexistence among countries. Based on the findings of the study, Al-Shabaab terror acts has been a major contributor to insecurity in the region threatening diplomacy. Consequently, Kenya's intrusion into Somalia to trail the Al-Shabaab has worsened the situation. Further, security policies put in place has not been effective enough to solve the Al-Shabaab menace and may be proving counterproductive. The Kenya's security policy international bodies from UN to EAC has enhance her war of terror and it has put Kenya in the forefront in the fight against terrorism. Kenya's ardent war on terror complicates the maritime dispute. The study's findings further noted the issue of refugees being the catalyst to terrorism. Generally, the findings provided a repository of knowledge and basis for policy dialogue on security policy and Kenya-Somalia relations. The study has recommended international bodies to have their bases in Mogadishu like UN headquarters and cooperation to be upheld as well as employment of African means of dispute resolution.

Key Words: Al-Shabaab, Diplomacy, Diplomatic Relations, Policy Orientation, Security Policy, Shifta Wars, Terrorist Activities

I. INTRODUCTION

Kenya's 2011 unilateral intervention in Somalia in pursuit of Al-Shabaab has raised a lot of concern over Kenya's security and diplomatic policy toward her neighbors. It is

perceived as radical departure from the good neighborliness policy that has influenced Kenya's foreign policy for decades. But has Kenya's multi-agency counter terrorism and violent extremism affected bilateral relations between Kenya and Somalia? This study focused on the implications of Kenya's security policy towards Al-Shabaab on Kenya-Somalia diplomatic relations. Kenya has had a problem in terms of diplomatic relation with her neighbor. Mostly, as a result of the activities of Al-Shabaab. Could it therefore mean that the frosty relations are a result of the military intervention? This is the primary motivation and focus on this research.

Terrorist activities have been felt globally, with great and regional powers bearing the highest cost of their actions. Terrorism traces back to the French Revolution. When the French government meted punitive measures against its people considered unsupportive to the course of the French nationhood. Since then, there have been a series of terror attacks around the world.

Terrorism has also evolved including its motives and strategies over ages. The US September 11 attack of 2001 and recent attacks such as the Shia Mosque attack in Afghanistan in 2011, Nigeria's Damaturu attack in 2011, Arabian Peninsula in Yemen in 2000, US embassy attack in Afghanistan in 2019, Israel August attack by terrorist crossing from Egypt in August 2011, India blast in July 2011 has become the turning point in the fight against terror.

The war on terror ushered by the United States in reaction to September 11, 2001 attacks has impacted on US relations with the Arab World. Since the 9/11 attack, the USA defined the Arab World the axis of evil threatening the existence of the American Society. Critic of American involvement in war of terror underscored that the US's significant interest in the Arab World is oil.

This formed the basis of their relations, and the US desire of waging war against Islamic states perceived to be supporting or sympathizing with terror. Thus the ultimate motive of war on terror is to access the boundless oil reserves in the Middle East (Byman & Moller, 2016).

It is with significant concern that bilateral relations between the US and the Arab world has been severed. The Islamic State (IS) has restructured the jihadist landscape and their fighting tactics has posed threat to national security. From a fair point of view, evolving conditions in the Arab world

continue to exacerbate resistance towards the US anti-terror campaign.

The resistance is likely to patent itself not only among the larger majority of intellectuals as well as religious elite who are crucial in influencing the political thoughts in the region but also affects the policies of those in power. The US is likely to witness severe opposition in pursuit of the interest.

Besides the US, Israel is one of the countries that has suffered the brunt of terror attacks, Furthermore, Israel's war with the Arab World has resulted in massive destruction of property and loss of life (Namwambah, 2020). Israel counter-terror measures have impacted on economies of neighboring states. The wars against terror groups have disrupted Israel relations with the Arab World. In some instances, bilateral relation has significantly been eroded.

In the Middle East, Israel relation with neighbors has been strained by the presence of groups that use force. Events dating back to the outbreak of the second Intifada in late 1999, the disruption of the Oslo process had ruined the cordial relation of the Israel with its neighbors. The current Israel – Palestinian conflict involving the government and the Hamas has deteriorated the relations and ruined the good image of the Israel.

Terrorism has dramatically affected Kenya-Somalia relations, especially as a result of border disputes. Somalia has accused the Kenyan authorities of interfering with its internal affairs and for external occupation. Diplomatic wrangles have been witnessed with Somalia recalling their Ambassador in Nairobi. Somalia also took Kenya to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in the current maritime dispute.

The two countries have now been on constant accusations of each other. Soon without any immediate effort to resolve these, Somalia will go back to its knees as the Al Shabaab quest to establish Islamic State will gain momentum to overthrow the government. Despite the negative side that the intervention has had on the two nations, it has also come with the positive impacts. Security has changed from worst to better since the onset of operation Linda Nchi. Tourism sector has seen some quite improvement since country's has issued travel advisories that scared scared away tourist. With the deployed of KDF to Somalia, the rate of radicalization has gone down compared to the period of 2011. Security in the coastal region improved drastically bringing back trade in the coastal region.

To address the menace of Al-Shabaab terrorist, awareness creation is vital and the public need to be sensitized on the dynamics of this non-state actor such as Al-Shabaab. Through this, it will go a long way in curtailing the spread of Al-Shabaab activities. Kenya and Somalia need to closely work together to fight the Al-Shabaab activities that destabilizes harmonize stay of neighbors.

Statement of the Problem

Although Kenya and Somalia have had a history of conflict before, the two states have enjoyed reciprocities until the rise of terror activities conducted by the Al-Shabaab. The terror attacks have negative impact on how Kenya and Somalia states relate. Ideally, neighbors in the global system should freely interact and carry out trade without restriction.

As neighbors, they also need guaranteed adequate security to help free movement of people and goods which translates into good diplomatic relations. Whereas Kenya enjoys these ideal diplomatic relations with other neighboring countries in East and the Horn of Africa, the relations with Somalia is somehow different.

Kenya and Somalia relations has seriously been interrupted by the upsurge in Al-Shabaab activities resulting into destruction of property and displacement of hundreds of people. The repercussion arising from terrorist acts is an issue requiring global attention as it poses threat to the international security and peace.

This all underpins has left Kenya as a soft target for Al-Shabaab because of the existence of various loopholes on the structure of security that exposes the country into imminent attacks by terrorist groups. The problem thus invites investigation on the effect of Al-Shabaab terror activities on diplomatic relations with Kenya and Somalia.

Although terrorism has been part of the major debates on the global arena, Kenya's role in containing Al-Shabaab is somehow proving to be futile in regards to the reciprocal relation between Kenya and Somalia.

Relations have been hit by manifested conflicts being experience on resources and border issues. Security policies drafted with the aim of curbing Al-Shabaab terror activities including the enactment of terrorism bill have yielded little fruits if any. Moreover, presence of Kenyan troops is considered as foreign occupation in Somalia. And thus, Kenya military presences abhorred. These and other perception that Kenya is fighting Islam have given Al-Shabaab the impetuous to attack Kenya even more.

Additionally, Somalia has accused the Kenyan authorities of interfering with its internal affairs and for external occupation. This study therefore, interrogated Kenya's foreign policy orientation towards terrorism and established the effects of continued terror attacks on Kenya- Somalia relations.

General Purpose of the Study

To examine Kenya's security and foreign policy orientation towards Al-Shabaab terrorist group.

Research question

What security policies towards terrorism are in place to combat terror vulnerability?

Specific objective

The specific objectives of this study was:

To examine Kenya's security and foreign policy orientation towards Al-Shabaab terrorist group.

Theoretical framework

This scholarship's general score was founded on the rational choice theory, which argues that actors with specific preferences and interest act accordingly to achieve them. It implies that within the international system, actors act logically, not in a manner of working judiciously or decently but--- act in a goal-motivated way (Paternoster et al., 2017).

Their actions thus are input rational without necessarily being output reasonable. The actors have a concise interest in accumulating resources and working in a specific manner to achieve their objectives. Actors in the international system are maximizers of utility whereby the screen gathers intelligence at hand and synthesizes available options accordingly.

According to this school of thought, terrorist activities are rational since their motives are well calculated, and payoffs targeted to execute in any of their operations. For example, the Westgate attacks, as well as the 9/11 crisis, have motives. The rational theorist's underlying assumption is that actors are atomistic, self-interested, and logical in their pursuit (Barnes & Sheppard, E2017).

Their primary concern is the pursuit of their motivated interest. The Al Shabaab terrorists are rational and capable of establishing efficient ways to achieve their vested interest within any given geographical location.

The rational choice theory has its strength in providing a unified framework in human behavior understanding. This theoretical model is the most rigorous and the most general theory of social action advance in this century.

This theory has got its weaknesses, ranging from its tendency to provide scanty information and ambiguity, creating difficulty for scholars to make coherent choices. Human beings' actions are complex, and other theories may provide a better understanding of how it takes place. Furthermore, realism theory also plays a vital role in understanding terrorist actions. As per this theory, the primary actor in the global system is the state. Survival is key concern for a state hence they pursue their own interest.

The state is the only legal authority and any other force is not recognized. States feel insecure about the action of their neighbors hence have an impact on state diplomacy. To them terrorism is politically instigated and aim at non-combatants. Though theories are important in the understanding of this scholarship, a major critique is that they solely concentrate the individuality of terrorist instead of outlining the motive behind their activities.

Additionally, these theories have inclined to cheap politics sidelining rather than identifying those in the acts of terrorism from non-combatants.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

The research used the cross-sectional descriptive survey research design. It involved case studies and surveys. The design was used to describe general or specific behavior and attributes that were observed and measured by the study. These included what defines Kenya's security policy towards terrorism in reference to Al-Shabaab, the effect of Al-Shabaab's terror activities on Kenya.

It also described Kenya's counter-terrorism strategies and its effects on the diplomatic relations between her and Somalia. Finally, it described bilateral strategies to restore Kenya-Somalia severed relations amid the ongoing war on Al-Shabaab.

Cross-sectional descriptive survey design was the best convenient and suitable research strategy for practical analysis of non-quantified topics and issues (Mugenda, 2008). It further allowed integrating both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods. In terms of time management, it is less time-consuming than quantitative experiments (Almalki, 2016).

This particular study sought to examine the impact of terrorism on diplomatic relations between Kenya and Somalia. This research design was considered proper since its preciousness categorizes it in giving a holistic understanding of a research topic. This design also helped the study identify significant variables that was found within the study's mapped locations.

Although the study was on Kenya's security policy towards Al-Shabaab terror activities and its implication on Kenya-Somalia diplomatic relations, it was conducted within Nairobi City County. This site was diligently selected since it played a host to the specific study locations, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government, and the embassy of the Federal Republic of Somalia.

These locations were essential to the researcher in collecting the necessary data and information from the selected respondents and key informants. They had first-hand knowledge in informing enquiry on Kenya's security and foreign policy.

This denotes to any group of people, institutions or objects with shared characteristics. The definite target population for this particular study was the officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, officials from the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government, and officials from the Federal Republic of Somalia embassy in Kenya, officials in the Ministry of Defense, foreign policy experts, lecturers and scholars.

A review of terrorism reports was also done to find more information on Al-Shabaab activities. Groups discussion was also held with people selected based on researcher judgement.

Sampling procedure is the technique that research uses in selecting the part of target population in order to test hypotheses concerning the entire study population. The researcher used a simple random sampling and purposive sampling technique.

A sample size ranging between 10-50% was suitable when handling descriptive research design. This was arrived at from 1176 target population from where 260 are officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 250 officials from the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government, 240 from Defence Ministry, 150 foreign policy experts, 100 lecturers and scholars and 176 from embassy of Federal Republic of Somalia.

A sample size of 10% was sufficient as long as it allowed for consistency in data analysis and analysis for the importance of variance between approximations. A sample of 118 respondents representing 10% of the total population was appropriate in purposive sampling.

This study used various data collection instruments ranging from the use of questionnaires, focus group discussion, interviews and content analysis. Furthermore, to adequately get information on the topic, use of secondary data like books from various authors, journals and crucial literatures to aid in comparing what is there on the area of study was incorporated in the study. These data collection instrument were complimented by the engagement of foreign policy experts and scholars with adequate knowledge in matters security and terrorism. The researcher administered questionnaires on 94 respondents selected proportionally from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government and the Embassy of Somalia in Kenya.

Primary data was gathered from one-on-one interactive interviews with officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Interior and Coordination of National Government, Defense Ministry, foreign policy experts, lecturers and scholars and representative from the Embassy for Somalia. The researcher did the administration of the research instrument during the pilot and the actual study. Permission to research within the selected area was obtained. The researcher personally visited the Ministry officials in charge of handling foreign affairs, security issues and diplomatic affairs in the Embassy of Somalia in Kenya to make prior logistics to meet the relevant respondents.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Questionnaire Return Rate

118 questionnaires were distributed according to the groups of respondents indicated. The questionnaires that were returned were 94 on successful completion while 24 never got back to the researcher since the target respondents had some

commitment and others were out of the country on official duties. This gave a return rate of 80% which as per Mugenda and Mugenda (2013), response rate ranging from 70% going upward is suitable for a research.

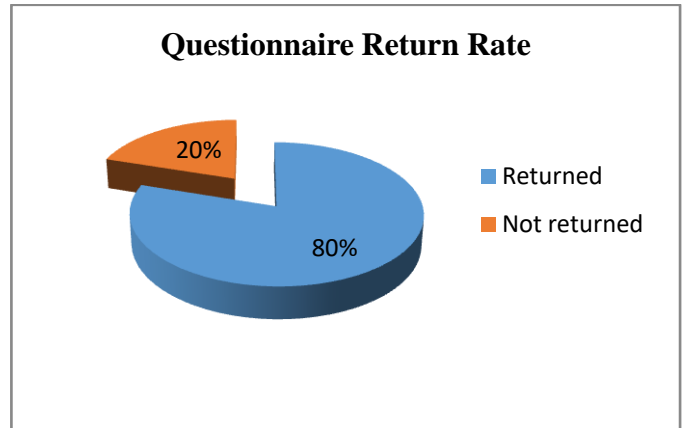


Fig. 1: Questionnaire Return Rate

Source: Field Data, 2021

Gender of the Respondents

Kenya's Security policy towards Al-Shabaab and its implication on diplomacy brings together stakeholders cutting across all gender. The research sought to obtain data from both the male and female respondents to establish the extent of the Al-Shabaab effect on the security of male and female residents in the country. The gender response was as shown below.

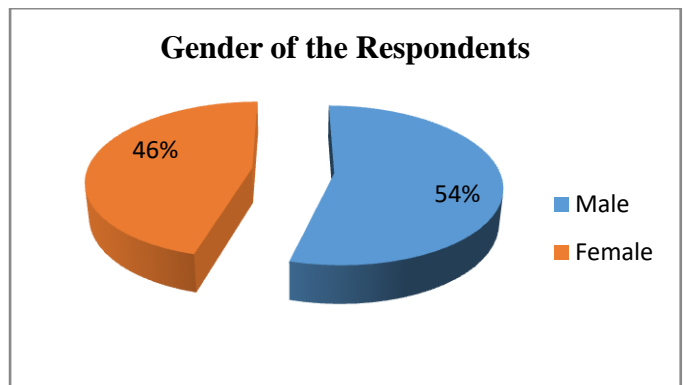


Fig 2. Genders of the Respondents

Source: Field Data, 2021

Duration of Service of the Respondents in their respective positions

The research sought to determine the respondents' duration of service in the target ministries and the embassy. This period of stay inferred the stay of foreign policy experts and the lecturers and scholars, while the time of service implied those of the ministry officials and embassy staff. The aim of this was to get to know the level of experience one had on Kenya's security policy and Al-Shabaab terror activities. The findings are indicated in the figure below.

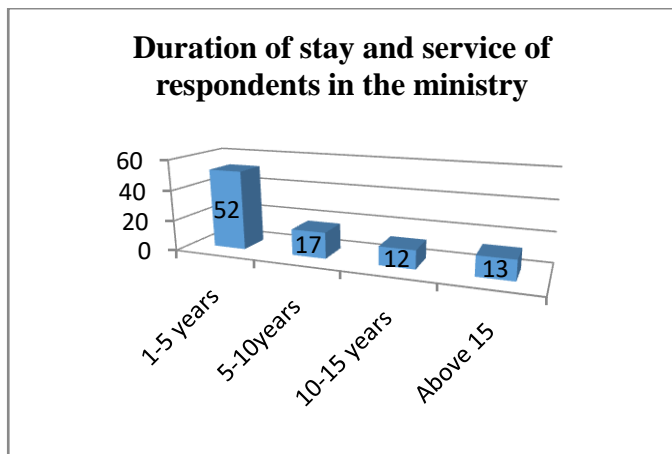


Fig.3: Duration of stay and service of respondents

Source: Field Data, 2021

As depicted by the above figure, 52% of the respondents had served for a period of between 1-5 years, 17% worked for 5-10 years, and 12% had served for 10-15 years while 13% had stayed for above 15 years. The results indicate that majority of the respondents had been in service between 1-5 years implying that matters security and foreign policy has not had well experienced personnel therefore contributing majorly to the constant diplomatic fall between the Kenyan and Somalia authorities.

Kenya's Security and Foreign Policy Towards Al-Shabaab

This section presents the findings as per objective one of the study that sought to examine Kenya's security and foreign policy orientation towards the Al-Shabaab terrorist group. The study noted that, within the African continent, Kenya plays a vital role on issues of collective security and foreign policy.

In partnership with Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES), Kenya has promoted discussions on means of getting trust and peace-building schemes of winning collective security in the region (Nagar & Malebang, 2016). Kenya's territorial neighbors are growing rougher day in day out, and the only weapon left for the country is a security and foreign policy capable of addressing this all problem. With the upsurge of Al-Shabaab coupled with the embroiled maritime dispute, Somali has defrayed relations between the two states.

Kenya is concerned with the security threats arising from Al-Shabaab, maritime disputes, and the refugee camps. Therefore, it is positioning itself at odds with the international community over how they handle its affairs, especially on maritime boundary disputes.

The Security issue can be addressed by driving a plan on a broader regional context that entails cooperation with the AU and other regional blocks (Wilkins, 2015). According to the informants from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kenya needs to take a more strategic and less tactical approach in foreign and security policy decision-making in the Horn of Africa.

This all is achieved by embracing the following:

Non-interference

The policy of non-interference is a philosophy which discourages meddling in the internal politics and businesses of other nations. States should allow their counterparts to conduct their affairs independently without having to influence their direction of policies they make. This principle is entailed in the international law and States need to respect and uphold it in other to maintain order in international system.

As it had been brought out in the Nicaragua case, the policy of non-interference has been stressed and given heavy weight in forming the basis of the judgment hence countries need to limit themselves to their jurisdictions.

Respondents were requested to specify to what extent has Kenyan authorities interfered with the affairs of Somalia. The results were as indicated in the table below.

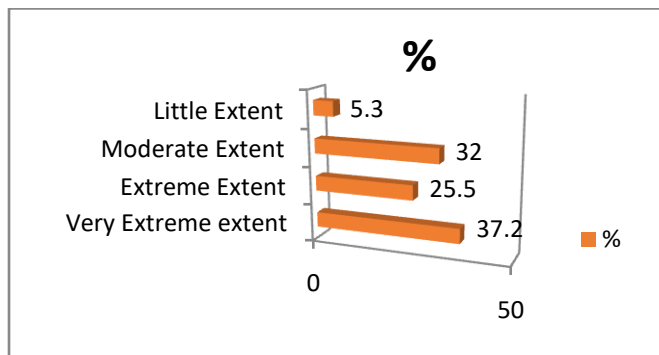


Fig. 4: Respondents Rating on Principle of Non-Interference of Affairs of other States.

Source: Field Data, 2021

The figure above indicated that the majority of the respondents, 37.2% opined that there was interference from government authorities to the internal affairs of the Somalia government to a very extreme extent, 25.5% indicated that it was to an extreme extent. In comparison, 32% indicated that it was to a moderate extent and 5.3% to a small extent. These figures obtained implied that the fallout being experience in diplomacy between Kenya and Somalia and the upsurge in Al-Shabaab activities was as a result of the involvement in the internal affairs of Somalia by the Kenyan authorities.

This is in agreement with the work of Vorrath, (2014) that in the case of DRC and Somalia, interference by other states has led to the loss of trust by receiving states hence bringing about diplomatic wrangles. Kenya had participated in operation Linda Nchi in 2011 that saw KDF soldiers sent to fight Al-Shabaab in Somalia and this was a clear advent of interfering with the affairs of Somalia.

The soldiers were accused to have gone further to engaging in other activities rather than what their missions' objectives making the Somalia authorities unhappy.

The principle of non-interference is vital in promoting peace and security. Sovereign governments are not allowed by international law to interfere with the affairs of others unless acting in self-defense (Xhambazi, 2017). In the advent of the security threat from the Al-Shabaab, Kenya took it upon itself to send troops to Somalia, hence eliciting mixed reactions that eventually watered down diplomatic relations between the two nations. According to the opinions of foreign policy experts' informants.

Kenya has not had the political good will to address security issues internally before escalating them to the international community. The study found out that Kenya should not have engaged Mogadishu directly but should have used other models in solving the Al-Shabaab menace by empowering the government of Somalia to deal with the arsonist internally.

Political Patronage

Political patronage refers to favoritism in sharing of state coffers on criteria of partisan loyalty. Official who are supposed to be the symbol of national unity uses their position they hold in government in rewarding their cronies hence infiltrating the trust from the public. Political patronage manifested itself in 1963 during the Shifta wars where ethnic division polarized conflict between Somalis in Kenya and those in Somali land. From the time of 1963 Northern Frontier District (NFD), Kenya-Somalia relations have had controversies. NFD was a succession conflict involving Somalis who wanted to secede from Kenya and be part of Somalia. The NFD worsen the relationships between Kenya and Somalia as the issue of territorial boundaries was brought to center stage with no party willing to loss their land.

The ethnic Somalis wanted to join their kinsmen in Somalia and therefore it was difficult to separate those creating diplomatic conflicts. It is perceived that diplomacy never gets to be upheld when constraints emanate from political patronage. The government of Kenya and that of Somalia has long coexisted and worked together as good neighbors, but things are worst with the rise of violent extremism.

Political patronage relates to corrupt practices in the running of government affairs. Political patronage is an active actor in the derailment of international cooperation between states and the running of affairs both internally and externally (Della Porta & Vannucci, 2017).

The notion was inherited in Africa from Post-Colonial rulers who gained their loyalty by redistributing resources as patronage. As brought about by the influential theory of Martin Shefter, political patronage arises from the capture of the state to build a party by political intercessors (Kenny, 2015).

From the analysis of opinion leaders, Kenya played the game on Somalia that resulted in the duo having a bad relationship. Foreign policy experts, Lecturers, and Scholars within Nairobi County under review were asked to indicate how political patronage has sabotaged diplomacy between Kenya and

Somalia and how it had precipitated terror attacks from the Al-Shabaab on the scale of extreme extent, moderate and small extent.

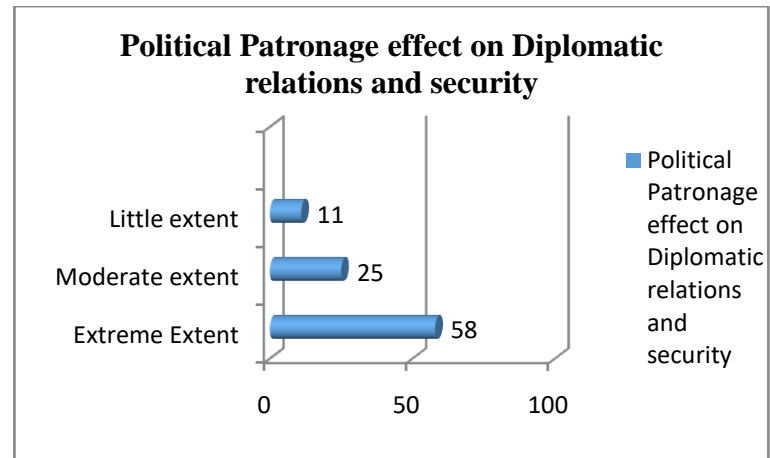


Fig. 5: Foreign Policy Experts, Lecturers and Scholars Rating on Political Patronage Effect

Source: Field Data, 2021

The results above show that 58% of the reached respondents from the foreign policy experts, Lecturers and scholars indicated that political patronage had affected diplomatic relations to an extreme extent. 25% indicated that the political patronage effect had impacted diplomacy to a moderate extent, while 11% indicated to a small extent.

Following focused group interviews with scholars from Kenya University, the study found out that the maritime dispute that arises from the perceived oil rich Indian Ocean is as a result of political patronage in which there are individuals in both governments interested in exploiting the resources for them on benefits. This eventually has led to polarization of politics in the maritime cases making it more difficult to solve it both locally and internationally.

Pacific Settlement of Disputes

This is the process of settling existing differences of states by adjudicators of their choice by adhering to the rule of law. In Chapter IV of the UN Charter, provides for pacific settlement of disputes in pursuit of maintaining global peace and security. Member States of the UN embrace this principle by agreeing to abide by the said provision and that any arising dispute is brought to the attention of the body of UN.

Somalia and Kenya have tried their best to apply negotiations in an effort to resolve their disputes but no much significant progress has been achieved. The two heads of States with foreign affairs ministers have been in the negotiating table but due to the dynamics of the issues, meaningful results are yet to be realized. The Arusha Accord played a significant role in trying to resolve Kenya-Somalia boundary dispute.

President Kenyatta of Kenya and PM Mohammed of Somalia signed a memorandum of agreement that could end their conflicts. They agreed to end the border fighting and bring

back their normal relations. Furthermore, the ICJ in their final determination of boundaries case ruled in favor of Somalia and Kenya was left in the crossroad with no clear road map on ending the maritime dispute. This has put the relations further in a limbo as the contested area still attracts a lot of interested parties.

Chapter IV of the UN Charter also provides for the use of mediation to settle disputes and Kenya and Somalia have tried this route. They have engaged neutral parties under the Mediation Support Unit that was established by Kofi Annan. The two heads of States have had mediations to solve the diplomatic issues and we are yet to see the fruits. In the matter of the maritime dispute, ICJ has been heavily relied on.

Kenyan foreign policy has not been well defined to incorporate pacific settlement of disputes in cases of emerging territorial disputes (Ahmed, 2016). According to informant from the embassy of Federal Republic of Somalia, both Kenya and Somalia have not put in place mechanisms to handle disputes among them. This study found out that the employment of pacific settlement of the dispute with non-state actors like Al-Shabaab is very difficult since there is no nation willing to bring on the round table an aggressor of the kind of Al-Shabaab.

This research further found out that to a larger extent, the application of pacific settlement of disputes has not been utilized to boost diplomatic relations between states and minimize rising Al-Shabaab cases. These findings correspond to the findings of Ingiriis, (2018) that the issue of conflicts with Somalia needs pacific settlement but international bodies have not prioritized it to help the hailing State. Pacific dispute settlement seems to be a tool not yet exhausted in settling conflicts in the Kenyan side and this is manifested by the motives and the way they approach such matters. Political goodwill is lacking in the leadership of Kenyan government hence giving room for conflicts to reemerge after a while.

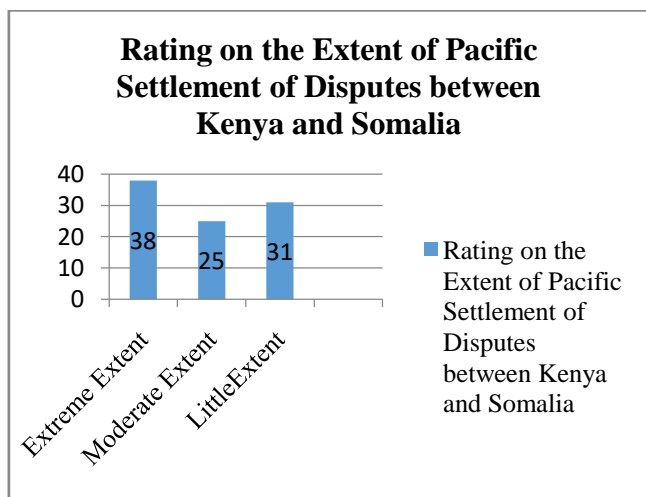


Fig. 6: Ministries Rating of Pacific Settlement of Disputes on Coastline

Source: Field Data, 2022

Security Policy

Like the US core interest in Somalia of preventing the country from turning into a refuge zone for the Al-Shabaab militants to plot attacks globally, Kenya has worked like any other concerned state to prevent Al-Shabaab from spreading in Somalia. The US security policy uses diplomacy to a larger extent in order to rally their friends and also detach threats. The US policy further uses their economic prowess in promoting cooperation and they maintain an effective army to fight and defeat terrorist. According to the informant from the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government, Kenya has worked on a security policy geared towards taming the Al-Shabaab.

Following this revelation, there is hope that Kenya is in the right track in the fight against terrorism. The constant attacks by the Al-Shabaab prompted Kenya to prioritize counter-terrorism policies and strategies. This has mainly hankered on border security, where heightened security surveillance and patrols are conducted. Legislation has been passed that helps give the powers to our security apparatus to deal with the terror suspects. This is a milestone since it helps reduce the rate of radicalization. In conjunction with the AU, Kenya have open bases in Somalia that conduct surveillance and gather intelligence on Al-Shabaab activities and this security policy is in agreement with Barton, (2018) research in which he alludes to China opening military base in Djibouti and also playing an important role by contributing in peace talks in South Sudan.

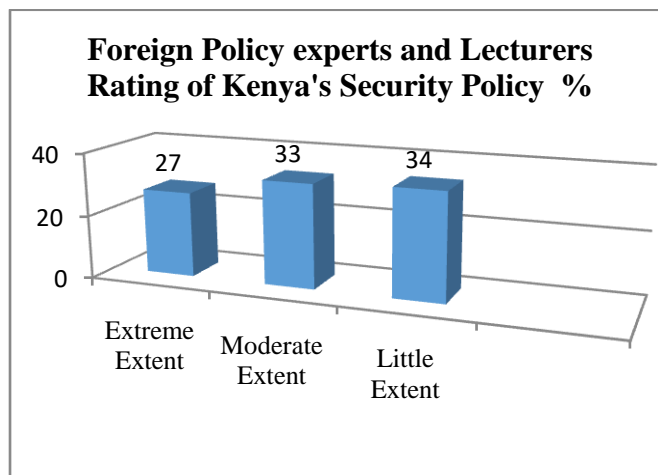


Fig. 7: Foreign Policy Experts and Lecturers Rating on Security Policy

Source: Field Data, 2021

From the figure above, 34% of the respondents' responses were to a very little extent that Kenya had a security policy capable of handling the dynamics of terrorism. 33% said that to a moderate extent while 27% response was to an extreme extent. The study found out that security policy in place had not serve its purpose of curbing Al-Shabaab attacks indicating the presence of some loopholes that needs to be addressed. Security policy that adopts multispectral approach to terrorism is vital in the fight against terrorism.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

- i. The Study has emphasized Kenya's security and foreign policy towards Al-Shabaab in the wake of the war on terrorism. The Study further analyzed the effects of Al-Shabaab terror activities and counterterrorism strategies. Every stakeholder was involved in the study area, and they came up with recommendations that could help in the fight against Al-Shabaab.
- ii. All the targeted population was involved in the study area, from the relevant ministry officials to lecturers and scholars. Every respondent played a key role in restoring fallen diplomatic ties between Kenya and Somalia. The focused interviews with foreign policy experts indicated that Kenya had very well-designed security and foreign policies. Still, the major problem was the lack of commitment in implementing them.
- iii. Despite the challenges that arise in the restoration of fallen diplomatic ties between Kenya and Somalia, there are strides made by the international community and the regional bodies to unite and settle the existing differences. These efforts include using the ICJ to determine the territorial case over the maritime issue. The Study notes that the Ministry of foreign affairs has called for the reopening of embassies to help bring onboard both parties involved in the dispute and embark on peaceful settlement of their differences.

Recommendations

- i. Good diplomatic relations between States are essential for realizing economic growth and prosperity. Since the fallout was associated with the interference and violation of Somalia's sovereignty and territorial integrity, the two States need to separate their differences and engage in bilateral talks. The main mode to be employed to realize lasting peace between Kenya and Somalia is for the UN and other international bodies to speed up the opening of embassies and headquarters in Somalia to make the country productive hence shunning away evil activities.
- ii. The current state of security being experienced between Kenya and Somalia needs Mogadishu to exercise political astuteness by reducing tensions. This will give the two countries a chance to deepen cooperation and give way for stable bilateral relations. The outside actors should forge at working with the UN and AU special envoys in pressing leaders on all corners involved in the conflict to reduce, sign ceasefire and engage in dialogue to curb further tensions that threaten stability in the region.
- iii. The maritime dispute, since Somali opted for the Eurocentric legal system as it could be mediation;

both countries need to pursue political and diplomatic options within the context of African nature since legal means cannot incorporate political-diplomatic options. It is important to understand that no matter what, we all remain neighbors and that we shall share vital resources hence the need for peaceful coexistence. The ICJ should also consider factoring in the African dispute resolution since it is an African problem.

Areas for further research

The issue of Kenya's security policy and diplomatic relations needs to further call for future studies in cross border trade and its role in integration. This will go a long way in strengthening cooperation between Kenya and Somalia. Studies also need to be done on what happens next after the maritime disputes to prepare countries for managing future problems.

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