

THE EFFECTS OF TERRORISM ACTIVITIES ON KENYA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS
WITH SOMALIA.

BY
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A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE
REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY,
MOUNT KENYA UNIVERSITY

SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
ON

28TH MARCH, 2025

DECLARATION AND APPROVAL

Declaration by the Candidate

I declare that this research project is my original work and has not been submitted to any other university, institution or any other examining body. No part of this research shall be reproduced without the consent of the author or that of the Mount Kenya University.

Signature



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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my dear wife Ann, my children Vanessa, Natasha, Tiffany and Andrian for their encouragement, support and prayers throughout the course.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank the Almighty Lord for His blessings during my research work. I also appreciate the efforts of my able supervisor Dr. Manswab Mahsen Abdulrahman, PhD, for his timely and constant guidance and support when writing this research project.



ABSTRACT

This research project investigated the impact of terrorism activities on Kenya's foreign relations with Somalia during the period from 2010-2024. It sought to establish how the two countries' relations have been shaped based on response to terrorism and the terrorist groups retaliation inside the two partner states. The research then shows the actual situation in a particular area that is rarely researched. The study was guided by three objectives; Analysis the background and extent of terrorist activities in Kenya and Somalia; examination of the strategies adopted by Kenya and Somalia governments to manage terrorism and; determination of the effects of terrorist threats on Kenya's foreign relations with Somalia. The study applied the Concept of Collective Security and realism theory of international relations to explain its findings. The concept of collective security is a wave of unity of purpose brought about by world states after facing great challenges of war. The situation amongst the people of Kenya and Somalia have complicated their foreign relations and thus the need for this research. This study will add new knowledge regarding the impact of terrorism on Kenya's foreign relations with Somalia.



Mount Kenya

University of Africa

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
EAC	East African Community
KDF	Kenya Defence Forces
NPS	Kenya National Police Service



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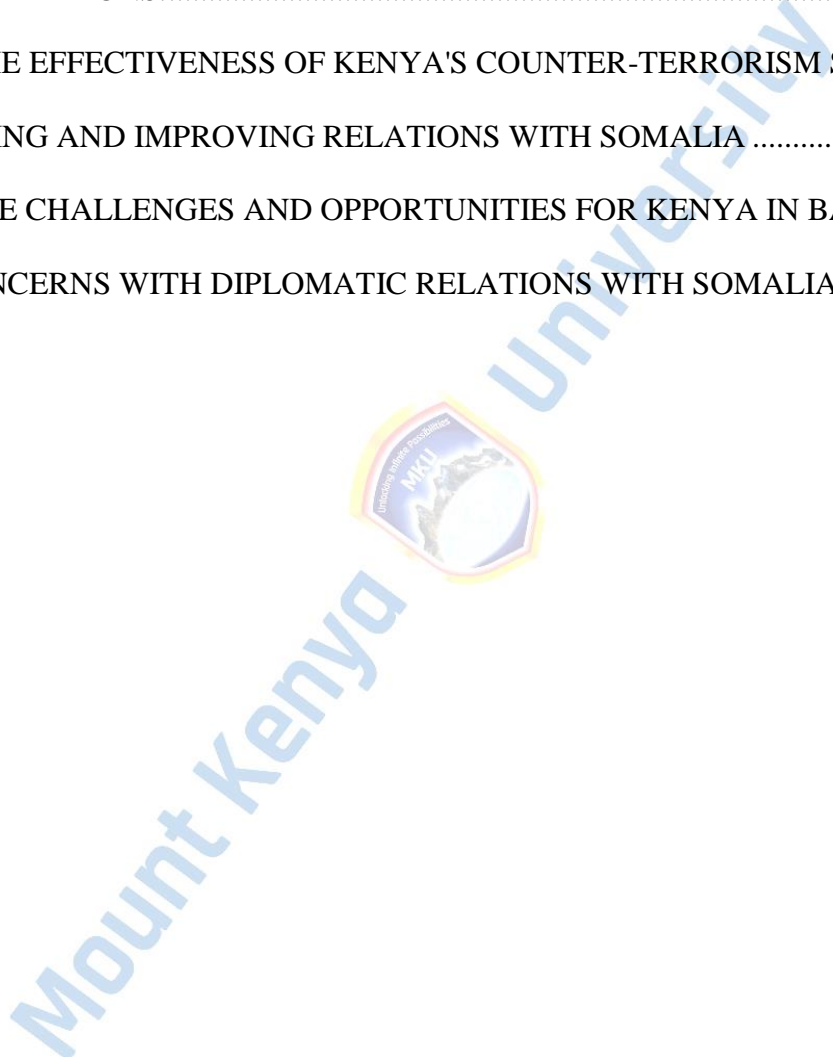
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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

The relationship between Kenya and Somalia has been historically intricate, marked by both cooperation and discord. The emergence of Al-Shabaab in the early 2000s represented a major turning point, as the organization commenced launching cross-border assaults into Kenya. These assaults have triggered a series of military, diplomatic, and economic reactions from the Kenyan government. Kenya's participation in the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and its military actions within Somalia are direct responses to the threat of terrorism. Furthermore, the arrival of Somali refugees in Kenya has resulted in humanitarian and security issues, which further complicate bilateral relations. This study aims to deliver a thorough analysis of how terrorism has influenced the foreign policy and diplomatic relations between Kenya and Somalia, underscoring the broader consequences for regional stability and international cooperation.

1.1 Background to the Study

Terrorism has emerged as a significant global threat, impacting various aspects of international relations, security, and economic stability. In East Africa, Kenya has been particularly affected by terrorist acts, especially those carried out by the Al-Shabaab militant organization. These acts have not only posed considerable security challenges but have also influenced Kenya's foreign relations with neighbouring countries, particularly Somalia. This study aims to explore the impacts of terrorism on Kenya's foreign relations with Somalia, examining the different consequences and the measures implemented to address these concerns.

Terrorism represents one of the greatest challenges facing Kenya specifically and the world at large. It poses a considerable threat to both security and the economy. The enemy is neither an individual nor a specific political system. In fact, it is not a belief system. The enemy is terrorism, defined as the deliberate, politically motivated violence executed against non-combatant targets by non-state actors or clandestine agents. Those who engage in terrorism, regardless of their particular secular or religious objectives, seek to undermine the rule of law and induce change through violence, fear, and anxiety among those affected by terror attacks. These terrorists also possess the mistaken belief that killing, kidnapping, extorting, robbing, and causing chaos to instil fear in individuals are legitimate forms of political action.

Forest (2011) argues that “terrorism is a global problem and not a limitation for Kenya. Each independent state in the world has been affected to alter its foreign policies aimed at securing its citizens to meet the new challenges of the 21st Century. ” Kenya introduced its Foreign Policy (2014) to guide Kenya’s foreign relations and diplomatic engagements with its partners and neighbours. The Policy is based on five interconnected pillars of diplomacy, which are: Economic; Peace; Environmental; Cultural and Diaspora.

1.1.2 Global Context of the Study

Globalization and modernization and wars cause sufficient frustration for some citizens of many societies, and potential insurgents can then find plenty of people to draw upon for recruits and support in attacks. This is evident in the current Syrian conflict which also spread into Iraq. The importance of modernization and globalization in contributing to terrorism has been demonstrated by the fact that any symbol of modernization becomes a legitimate target of attack such as the World Trade Centre Twin Tower, New York. Another factor that facilitates terrorism in the Middle

East and sub-Saharan Africa, for example, has been the presence of weak governments and failed states.

Terrorism significantly influences international relations, leading to collaborative counter-terrorism efforts among countries (Al-Khulaifi, 2018). The economic impact of terrorism includes market disruptions and reduced investment, as seen post-9/11 (Aziz & McCormick, 2021).

Regions affected by terrorism often experience socio-political instability and weakened political institutions (Enders & Sandler, 2006). International bodies like the United Nations work towards coordinated global counter-terrorism strategies (United Nations, 2018).

Different regions face unique terrorism threats that influence their regional dynamics, such as Al-Shabaab in East Africa (Gupta, 2020). Terrorism leads to humanitarian crises, necessitating global support from organizations like UNHCR (Schneider, Brück, & Meierrieks, 2010).

1.1.3 African Context of the Study

The African continent has its own share of terrorist threats similar to the other parts of the world. There are known terrorist organizations that control vast areas within Africa which include among others, the Al-Shabaab in Somalia, Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) in North Africa and the Boko Haram in Nigeria.

1.1.4 Kenyan Context of the Study

In Kenya, small scale attacks have been on the increase. Terrorist attacks and violent extremism have led to uncertainty in the investment climate, disrupted household spending and livelihood, discouraged Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and led to a reallocation of resources from growth-enhancing investment to spending designed to increase national security. According to the International Crisis Group, Somalia's invasion by the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) led to Kenya's

foreign policy changing with Kenya suffering over fifty separate attacks supposedly carried out by the Al-Shaabab and its sympathizers. The proximity of Kenya with war-torn Somalia justified the important evolving foreign policy aimed at combating terrorism.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Terrorism has become a significant threat to national and international security, creating complex diplomatic challenges for many countries. In the context of East Africa, Kenya has long dealt with the spillover effects of instability from neighboring Somalia, which is home to various extremist groups, most notably Al-Shabaab. This organization has not only targeted Kenyan territories but has also destabilized the diplomatic relations between Kenya and Somalia. The sustained terrorist activities across Kenya's borders with Somalia have heightened security concerns, disrupted economic activities, and strained diplomatic relations between the two nations.

Kenya's foreign policy towards Somalia has shifted considerably in response to terrorist threats, with impacts that reach beyond military or security measures. Kenyan forces have actively engaged in military operations within Somalia, but these efforts have, at times, led to increased tensions and accusations of interference in Somali sovereignty. The rise in terrorist attacks on Kenyan soil has necessitated a reevaluation of Kenya's foreign policy, particularly regarding cross-border cooperation, security pacts, and regional alliances. Yet, these adjustments, while aimed at curbing terrorism, have occasionally hindered diplomatic relations, affecting bilateral trade, migration policies, and regional stability efforts.

This research explored how persistent terrorism threats influence Kenya's foreign relations with Somalia, specifically examining the ways in which terrorism-related issues shape diplomatic strategies, foreign policy decisions, and regional cooperation. By investigating this topic, the

study is filling a critical gap in understanding the broader political and economic consequences of terrorism on diplomatic relations in East Africa.

Terrorism damages the public image of a country which in turn reflects the public image of the firms. Terror attacks have increased, are more lethal and consistent since the first major terror attack in Kenya in 1998. Foreign policy on the other hand has been dynamic and is evolving as emerging issues intensify.

The impact of terrorism activities on Kenya's foreign relations with Somalia investigated further where the current scholars have not adequately handled. Although previous studies investigating the impact of terrorism and foreign relationship on economies are relatively new, they are currently gaining popularity, following the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack in the United States and the surge in violent extremism and youth radicalization particularly in Africa and other parts of the world. With specific reference to Kenya, studies have focused on the uncertainty effects of terrorism and violent extremism on the tourism sector, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), the Nairobi Stock Exchange (NSE), effects on resource allocations and economies of counties. Most of these studies show that terrorist attacks have significant macroeconomic and sectoral costs. Macroeconomic costs on the other hand have an impact on the whole economy as measured by Gross Domestic Product (GDP), Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), exchange rates, imports/exports indicators whereas sectoral/microeconomic costs are welfare losses associated with losses to certain sectors of the economy, such as transport, energy, and telecommunications. Looking at Luwigi did a study on the effects of the threat of terrorism on hotel property while Wakanini studied the influence of terrorist activities on tourism business strategies. Most of the studies seen have focused on tourism industry. This study was intended to close the knowledge gap by focusing on foreign policy and answering the following questions:-

How does the extent of terrorism impact Kenya-Somalia international relations, and what strategies have both governments adopted to manage these threats, as well as the effects of such terrorist threats on Kenya's foreign relations with Somalia?

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The main purpose of this study was to investigate the impact of terrorism on Kenya-Somalia foreign relations. This was achieved by examining how terrorist activities affects their bilateral relations on international scale. Ultimately, coexistence between the two countries will improve not only International relations but also trade and economic relations between the two nations. In addition, the research was intended to provide solutions on how to manage terrorism not only between Kenya and Somalia but in different regions and nations as well.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study was to analyze the effects of terrorism activities on Kenya's foreign relations with Somalia. This study was guided by the following specific objectives;

- i) Analysis of the influence of terrorism on Kenya's foreign policy decisions towards Somalia.
- ii) Investigation of the socio-economic impact of terrorism on Kenya-Somalia diplomatic relations.
- iii) Evaluation of the effectiveness of Kenya's counter-terrorism strategies on maintaining and improving relations with Somalia.
- iv) Identification of the challenges and opportunities for Kenya in balancing security concerns with diplomatic relations with Somalia.

1.5 Research Questions

The study answered the following research questions;

- i) What is the influence of terrorism on Kenya's foreign policy decisions towards Somalia?
- ii) What is the socio-economic impact of terrorism on Kenya-Somalia diplomatic relations?
- iii) What is the effectiveness of Kenya's counter-terrorism strategies on maintaining and improving relations with Somalia?
- iv) What are the challenges and opportunities for Kenya in balancing security concerns with diplomatic relations with Somalia?

1.6. Justification of the Study.

Conflict appears more often between neighbouring countries and adjacency in itself creates opportunities to interact and room for misunderstanding, hence fighting. The outcome of conducting the study on the impact of terrorism activities on Kenya-Somalia foreign relations benefits different stakeholders: To start with, for government, the study would enable them to highlight some of the vital areas that may enhance positive trans-border relations amongst the two countries and even offer solutions to other countries facing the same stalemate.

Additionally, it would help restore the relations between the countries under study and promote peaceful co-existence between the communities. For scholars, the outcomes of the study helps to consolidate much needed knowledge that may create impact for students learning international relations. In addition, the future researchers will use it as a reference in related studies. For foreign missions, the study documented much needed information on international relations between Kenya and Somalia and the outcome would help cement their relations. The study is valuable to the policy makers because it will aid in determining which practices will suit them in dealing with effects of terrorism. This study report will be useful to the scholars, academicians and researchers in validating previous research, facilitating theory building in the area of

terrorism, Diplomacy and International Relations. This will also be a reference material for future studies on a similar topic.

1.7 Significance of the Study.

This study report aimed to discover new knowledge regarding the impact of terrorism activities on Kenya's foreign relations with Somalia. It also expounded and elaborated how the Realism theory contributes immensely to the study of how states relate with their partners and neighbours while dealing with terrorism. Several groups will benefit from this research report on the impact of terrorism activities on Kenya's foreign relations with Somalia, including:

- i. Policymakers. The notable key points derivable from the research could inform for better formulation of government strategies and policies aimed at improving security and diplomatic relations. The research provides evidence-based recommendations for policymakers to develop effective counter-terrorism strategies and improve diplomatic relations.
- ii. Scholars and Researchers. The academics studying diplomacy and international relations, security studies and criminology, or political science will find valuable data and analyses to quote in their current and future studies.
- iii. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). These organizations are mainly focused on peacebuilding, humanitarian aid, or counter-terrorism and could use the well-researched findings to shape their programs and initiatives.
- iv. Security Agencies. The information on the dynamics of terrorism and its impact on foreign relations will assist a lot in developing effective counter-terrorism strategies. The security agencies will use the research to enhance security measures by offering insights

into the security challenges posed by terrorism and suggest measures to enhance national and regional security.

- v. International Organizations. World agencies like the United Nations or the African Union will benefit a lot from this research by getting information on the underlying regional security challenges so that they can offer better coordinated responses.
- vi. The Business Community. The Companies operating in the region and those with interests therein will get well researched information on how terrorism affects trade and investment opportunities.
- vii. The Media. The journalists who cover contemporary East African issues will find relevant context for reporting on security and diplomatic relations.
- viii. Promote Economic Cooperation: The research highlights the economic impact of terrorism and suggests ways to mitigate its effects on bilateral trade and investment.
- ix. Contribute to Academic Knowledge: Add to the existing body of literature on terrorism and international relations, providing a case study of Kenya and Somalia.
- x. Address Socio-Economic Issues: Identified socio-economic factors contributing to terrorism and propose integrated approaches that combine security and development initiatives.

By addressing these stakeholders, the research will foster more informed discussions and actions regarding terrorism and international relations in the region.

1.8 Scope of the Study

The main scope of this study was on the effects of terrorism on Kenya's foreign relations with Somalia. The study focused on the background and extent of terrorism between Kenya and

Somalia and how it impacts on the foreign relations between the two countries. Therefore, to cover this scope the study was conducted mainly in Nairobi County, Kenya comprising of state and non-state actors and Somali nationals resident in Nairobi. The study incorporated data from the individuals from the said individuals who are above eighteen years of age, representatives of the Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Standing Committee on National Security, Defence and Foreign Relations, representatives from the Somali embassy in Kenya. The duration of the study was conducted within the month of March, 2025.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

The study was conducted within Nairobi County by interviewing stakeholders based in the selected offices in the County. The data gathered might not overly represent general opinions of both Kenya and Somalia but it was intended to give an overview of their relations. With the constraint security, limited resources in addition to protocols in place, the researcher visited several Somali officials based in the capital, and thereafter incorporated the interviews of Somali nationals in Kenya and those based at the embassy.

1.10 Delimitations of the Study

The study used questionnaire interviews as they are the only tools of data collection available because of the sensitivity of the information that was required for study. However, it is a fact that the stakeholders based in Nairobi are busy individuals, and this made questionnaire interviews to be the most appropriate tool for this study. The researcher collected data from some busy individuals through an online questionnaire on Microsoft Forms and all the respondents were above the age of eighteen years as it is the legal adult age in Kenya.

1.11 Assumptions of the Study

- ✓ The researcher had the assumption that he would have no problems in getting information from the informants irrespective of the fact that there was some mistrust which inhibited the objectivity of the study.
- ✓ The study also assumed that the key respondents had no fear in disclosing their administrative information without fear of divulging organizational confidential material.
- ✓ The researcher also assumed that he would not encounter any difficulties in terms of co-operation from the respondents and that they would all give the anticipated information or data and not fear or shy away in giving out such required facts.

1.12 Operational Definition of Key Terms

- i. Terrorist: A member of a clandestine group fronting their actions by use of violence against non-combatants.
- ii. Terrorism: premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents.
- iii. Al-Shabaab: A terrorist outfit fighting from Somalia.
- iv. Al-Qaeda: A terrorist organization founded by Osama bin Laden that funds global terrorism by seeking allegiance from smaller outfits to further their cause.
- v. ISIS: A terrorist organization that split from the Al-Qaida.
- vi. Cross-Border Terrorist Attacks: Incidents where terrorists from Somalia conduct attacks in Kenya, impacting diplomatic and security relations. These attacks include bombings, kidnappings, and shootings that directly influence Kenya's security policies toward Somalia and its diplomatic stance.

- vii. **Transnational Terrorism:** Terrorist operations that cross the Kenya-Somalia border, involving actors or resources from both countries. This term encompasses the regional nature of terrorism, affecting how Kenya and Somalia approach cooperation or confrontation over shared security threats.
- viii. **Terrorist Networks:** The organized structures and linkages that facilitate terrorism across borders, including recruitment, financing, and logistical support. These networks, often extending into Kenya from Somalia, influence Kenya's demand for stronger border controls and intelligence collaboration.
- ix. **Border Management:** Policies and practices for monitoring and controlling Kenya's border with Somalia to prevent terrorist infiltration. Effective border management is central to Kenya's foreign relations, shaping policies on immigration, trade, and counter-terrorism cooperation.
- x. **Counter-Terrorism Policy:** Kenya's strategies and actions aimed at preventing and combating terrorism linked to Somalia. This includes military interventions, intelligence operations, and partnerships with other nations, all of which influence diplomatic relations with Somalia.
- xi. **State-Sponsored Terrorism:** Any potential indirect support or inability of the Somali government to control terrorist groups within its borders. This impacts Kenya's perception of Somalia as a reliable partner and shapes its diplomatic approach, whether supportive or critical.
- xii. **Intelligence Sharing:** Collaborative exchanges of security information between Kenya, Somalia, and international allies to combat terrorism. Intelligence sharing is a key aspect of Kenya-Somalia relations, determining levels of cooperation, trust, and effectiveness in counter-terrorism efforts.

- xiii. **Radicalization:** The process of individuals in Kenya or Somalia adopting extremist ideologies that may lead to terrorism. The spread of radicalization on both sides of the border influences Kenya's domestic policies and its diplomatic strategies with Somalia to address the root causes.
- xiv. **Public Perception:** Kenyan public opinion on Somalia, Somali nationals, and the threat of terrorism from across the border. Public perception influences Kenya's foreign policy decisions, potentially pressuring the government to adopt stricter measures in its relations with Somalia.
- xv. **Military Intervention:** Kenya's deployment of troops within Somalia (such as through the African Union Mission in Somalia, AMISOM) to counter terrorism threats. Military intervention affects diplomatic relations, as it may be seen as either a stabilizing effort or a point of tension between the two nations.
- xvi. **Terrorist Safe Havens:** Regions within Somalia where terrorist groups operate relatively freely due to weak governance, impacting Kenya's border security. The presence of these safe havens influences Kenya's demand for a more proactive security stance, affecting diplomatic talks on border control and military operations.
- xvii. **Humanitarian Impact:** The effects of terrorism on civilian populations, including displacement, refugee influxes, and humanitarian aid needs. This factor influences Kenya's refugee policies and its approach to Somalia, balancing security concerns with humanitarian obligations.
- xviii. **Refugee Influx:** The arrival of Somali nationals into Kenya due to terrorism and instability, placing strain on Kenyan resources and security. The refugee situation affects Kenya's foreign policy toward Somalia, as Kenya negotiates for support and cooperation to manage refugee camps and security concerns.

- xix. **International Cooperation:** Kenya's alliances and partnerships with global actors (e.g., the United States, United Nations, African Union) to combat terrorism in Somalia. These collaborations impact Kenya's foreign policy by shaping its diplomatic engagement with Somalia and signaling Kenya's role in regional stability.
- xx. **Economic Impact:** The consequences of terrorism on trade, investment, and tourism between Kenya and Somalia. Terrorism disrupts trade and damages economic ties, influencing Kenya's policies on cross-border trade, security measures, and diplomatic relations.
- xxi. **Proxy Warfare:** Any indirect involvement of third-party countries in the Kenya-Somalia conflict through support for terrorist or insurgent groups. This concept is crucial if external influences complicate Kenya's diplomatic relations with Somalia and shift regional security dynamics.
- xxii. **De-radicalization Programs:** Kenya's initiatives to rehabilitate individuals influenced by extremist ideologies, targeting at-risk populations in border regions. These programs represent Kenya's broader approach to terrorism prevention and contribute to Kenya's diplomatic narrative on peace and stability with Somalia.
- xxiii. **Smuggling Networks:** Illicit trade routes used by terrorist groups to move goods, arms, or people across the Kenya-Somalia border. These networks complicate foreign relations, as Kenya may press Somalia to curb smuggling as part of counter-terrorism cooperation.
- xxiv. **Peacekeeping Efforts:** Kenya's role in stabilizing Somalia through peacekeeping missions or multilateral military support. This term highlights how Kenya's commitment to regional peace can both strengthen and strain its relations with Somalia, depending on Somalia's reception of such efforts.

xxv. **Public Policy Response:** The specific laws and policies developed in Kenya to counter terrorism, including border security, immigration policies, and refugee management. These responses are influenced by Kenya's foreign relations with Somalia and impact how the two countries coordinate on issues like counter-terrorism and regional stability.

CHAPTER TWO - LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews existing literature on the impact of terrorism on international relations, with a specific focus on Kenya and Somalia. This part explores the kind of literature the researcher intends to review and reasons as to why he makes such opinions. Here the researcher is interested in showing how this study and other researchers conducted prior to this proposed study are interlinked by citing them briefly and chronologically to provide an essential reference material. Literature review was collected from the internet, books, journals and previous research and empirical findings from other scholars. It explores the theoretical framework of realism, empirical studies, and conceptual models relevant to understanding the dynamics of terrorism and its effects on bilateral relations. The review is structured to provide a comprehensive understanding of the topic, identify gaps in the existing research, and establish a foundation for the current study. The literature review provided the reader with an upto date account and discussion of the research findings.

2.1.1 The Concept of Collective Security

This is a wave of unity of purpose brought about by world states after facing great challenges of war. This researcher looked at how the United Nations uses this concept to bring states into roundtable agreements and help fight terrorism and foster world peace. There are several terrorist groups around the world and this makes it very difficult to curtail their actions. The concept of collective security has made the states to appreciate the need to come together in

fighting terrorism. He used the theory of realism to explain why collective security has never worked so effectively.

2.1.2 The Theory of Realism

The theory of Realism holds that the state is the principle actor in international relations, it is a unitary actor. Realists consider the principal actors in the international arena to be states, which are concerned with their own security, act in pursuit of their own national interests, and struggle for power. Thus, it is very difficult to fight terrorism given the nature of the states. Terrorist groups have increased during the 2010-2020 period but there are major groups which are present in Kenya. They have active sleeper cells and are very identifiable during their attacks on civilians to induce fear. The paper listed the various terrorist groups that have a major impact and presence in Kenya.

A study on Counter-terrorism noted that areas under the control of the Al-Shabaab had experienced many challenges as “obstruction of humanitarian assistance, including denial of access, has been a recurring problem in Somalia involving all parties to the conflict”. They further hold that humanitarian actors have relied, particularly over the 2010-2020 period, on remote management from neighbouring Kenya, as well as implementation of programmes through local partners and that obstruction of humanitarian assistance, including denial of access, has been a recurring problem in Somalia involving all parties to the conflict.

2.2 Empirical Literature

2.2.1 Empirical Review

Terrorism in East Africa Terrorism has significantly impacted East Africa, with Al-Shabaab being a major threat. Studies have documented the group's origins, objectives, and operations, highlighting its influence on regional security (Botha, 2014). Al-Shabaab's attacks in Kenya,

such as the Westgate Mall attack and the Garissa University attack, have underscored the group's capacity to destabilize the region (Anderson & McKnight, 2015). These attacks have led to increased security measures and military interventions, reflecting the realist emphasis on state security and power.

Kenya-Somalia Relations The historical and contemporary relations between Kenya and Somalia have been shaped by various factors, including territorial disputes, economic interactions, and security concerns. Research has shown that the presence of Al-Shabaab has exacerbated tensions and influenced diplomatic and military strategies (Mwangi, 2012). Kenya's military intervention in Somalia, known as Operation Linda Nchi, marked a significant shift in its foreign policy and highlighted the direct impact of terrorism on bilateral relations (Williams, 2014). This intervention can be understood through the realist lens as a strategic move to enhance Kenya's security and regional influence.

Global Impact of Terrorism Comparative studies on the global impact of terrorism provide insights into how different regions respond to terrorist threats. For instance, the global War on Terror initiated by the United States post-9/11 has led to increased international cooperation, intelligence sharing, and military interventions (Cronin, 2002). These studies offer a broader context for understanding the Kenya-Somalia case and the international dimensions of counter-terrorism efforts. The global response to terrorism underscores the realist emphasis on power and security in international relations.

Regional Cooperation and Counter-Terrorism Regional cooperation is crucial in combating terrorism in East Africa. The African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) has played a significant role in stabilizing Somalia and countering Al-Shabaab. Studies have highlighted the importance of regional bodies like the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in facilitating cooperation among East African states (Williams, 2014). These efforts include joint

military operations, intelligence sharing, and capacity-building initiatives to enhance regional security. Realism helps explain the motivations behind these cooperative efforts, emphasizing the pursuit of collective security and power balance.

Socio-Economic Factors Socio-economic factors such as poverty, unemployment, and lack of education are often cited as underlying causes of terrorism. Research indicates that addressing these root causes through development initiatives can reduce the appeal of extremist groups (Botha, 2014). In the context of Kenya and Somalia, socio-economic development is essential for long-term stability and peace. Programs aimed at improving education, creating job opportunities, and enhancing infrastructure can mitigate the factors that contribute to radicalization and terrorism. Realism acknowledges the importance of addressing these factors to ensure national security and stability.

2.2.2 The Extent of Terrorism on Kenya-Somalia International Relations.

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radicalization and terrorism. Realism acknowledges the importance of addressing these factors to ensure national security and stability.

2.2.4 Policy Analysis

Policy analysis involves examining the policies implemented by Kenya and Somalia to combat terrorism and their effectiveness. Kenya's counter-terrorism policies have evolved over the years, with significant measures including the establishment of the National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC), the enactment of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (2012), and the deployment of KDF in Somalia as part of AMISOM. These policies aim to enhance national security, prevent terrorist attacks, and disrupt terrorist networks.

Somalia, on the other hand, has faced significant challenges in implementing effective counter-terrorism policies due to its fragile state and ongoing conflict. The Somali government, with support from international partners, has made efforts to rebuild its security forces, improve governance, and address the root causes of terrorism. However, the presence of Al-Shabaab and other extremist groups continues to pose a significant threat to Somalia's stability and security.

Analyzing these policies provides insights into the strengths and weaknesses of the current counter-terrorism strategies and highlights areas for improvement. It also underscores the importance of a coordinated and comprehensive approach that includes military, political, and socio-economic measures to effectively combat terrorism.

2.2.5 Comparative Analysis of Terrorism in Different Regions

A comparative analysis of terrorism in different regions provides a broader perspective on the nature of terrorism and the effectiveness of counter-terrorism strategies. Comparing the experiences of East Africa with regions such as West Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia highlights similarities and differences in the causes, impacts, and responses to terrorism.

For instance, in West Africa, groups like Boko Haram have exploited political instability, economic deprivation, and weak governance to establish their presence. The response to Boko Haram has involved regional cooperation through the Multinational Joint Task Force (MNJTF) and international support. In the Middle East, the rise of ISIS has led to significant military interventions by regional and international actors, as well as efforts to address the ideological and socio-economic factors contributing to radicalization.

These comparative insights can inform the development of more effective counter-terrorism strategies in East Africa by identifying best practices and lessons learned from other regions. They also underscore the importance of regional and international cooperation in addressing the transnational nature of terrorism.

2.2.6 Role of Regional and International Actors

The role of regional and international actors is crucial in supporting Kenya and Somalia's counter-terrorism efforts. Regional organizations such as the African Union (AU) and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) have played a significant role in facilitating cooperation among East African states. The AU's AMISOM mission has been instrumental in stabilizing Somalia and countering Al-Shabaab.

International actors, including the United States, the European Union, and China, have provided financial, military, and technical support to enhance the counter-terrorism capabilities of Kenya and Somalia. The United States, through its Africa Command (AFRICOM), has conducted airstrikes and provided training and equipment to Somali security forces. The European Union has supported capacity-building initiatives and provided funding for AMISOM.

Analyzing the role of these actors provides insights into the dynamics of international cooperation in counter-terrorism and highlights the importance of a coordinated and

comprehensive approach. It also underscores the need for sustained support and engagement from the international community to address the root causes of terrorism and promote long-term stability in the region.

The researcher intends this chapter to be quite comprehensive and offer a detailed analysis of the impact of terrorism on Kenya-Somalia relations valuable insights and contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics between terrorism, security, economic impact, and diplomatic relations.

2.2.7 Historical Context of Kenya-Somalia Relations

The historical context of Kenya-Somalia relations is essential to understanding the current dynamics between the two countries. Historically, the relationship has been influenced by colonial legacies, territorial disputes, and ethnic ties. The Shifta War (1963-1967) between Kenya and Somali secessionists seeking to join the Somali Republic is a significant historical event that has shaped the bilateral relations. The conflict over the Ogaden region and the subsequent involvement of Somalia in supporting insurgent groups in Kenya have further complicated the relationship.

Post-independence, the relationship between Kenya and Somalia has been characterized by periods of cooperation and tension. The collapse of the Somali state in 1991 and the rise of Al-Shabaab have had profound implications for Kenya's security and foreign policy. Kenya's decision to intervene militarily in Somalia in 2011 marked a significant shift in its approach to dealing with the threat posed by Al-Shabaab. Understanding this historical context is crucial for analyzing the current state of Kenya-Somalia relations and the impact of terrorism on these relations.

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Terrorism reduces capital stock of a country, threatens higher level of uncertainty, increases in counter-terrorism expenditure, and drawing resources from productive sectors for use in security and affects specific industries like tourism. It is history that terror causes investment to decrease immediately, income and consumption to decline with time. While confronting terror as a reactive measure, the optimizing government uses taxes to manufacture security weapons in order to reduce terror levels. (Abadie, 2007:7)

The estimated economic costs of the 9/11 attacks were \$14 billion for private sector, \$1.5 billion for state and local government, \$700 million for the Federal government and \$11 billion for rescue and cleanup operation. Consumer confidence in the USA had started to recover before 9/11 and was held back by psychological impact of the attack. Terrorism, like civil conflicts, may cause spill over costs among neighboring countries as terrorists campaign in a neighbour dissuades capital inflows, or a regional multiplier causes loss in economic activities in the terrorism ridden country to resonate throughout the region. (The European Journal of Political Economy, 2004)

Lenain (2002:5) states that the disruptions in the transportation system following any terrorist attack have illustrated the importance of efficient and open borders for the daily operations of firms. This has seen manufacturers slow down the rate of production, the recipients also suffer inadequacy of the products thus raising the prizes of commodity. The terror directed on Israel

with 1003 terror attacks from 2003 to 2018, the empirical evidence indicate that the terror did not affect the foreign exchange market but that the stock market was affected with stock prizes internalizing expectations of reduced future profits.

Sandler (2006:7) states that “the 11 day cumulative average abnormal returns were larger than on the Frankfurt, Paris, Toronto, Amsterdam, Switzerland, Italy and Hong Kong stock market than on the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE) following the 9/11 attacks. It was observed that these measures are especially enacted on borders and include closer inspections of people, vehicle and goods as well as more restrictive immigration regulations which affect domestic trade which will suffer higher transaction costs if new regulations prove costly for business. Terrorism has significant fiscal effects and both direct and indirect effects on growth.

2.2.11 The Strategies Adopted by the Kenya-Somalia Governments to Manage Terrorism.

Gaspar (2008:12) states that “human security redirects attention in discussions of security from the national or state level to human beings as the potential victims; beyond physical violence as the only relevant threat or vector; and beyond physical harm as the only relevant damage.”

Morgenthau (1993:29) argued about the state of nature states that it is presented as “international politics, like all politics is the struggle for power and whatever the ultimate aims of international politics power is always the immediate aim.” The desire to acquire power or see power as a means to an end pushes terrorist to try and perform their evil acts against the people to attract attention as one of their objectives. Terrorists need dominance, their formation and the motives they pursue differ but they are united by the major common thing of death to induce fear in targeted society. Campos (2009:1) however notes that “the best political weapon is the weapon of terror. Cruelty commands respect. Men may hate us. But, we don’t ask for their love; only for their fear.” This is the most feared literature as it can become very popular with radicalized groups which later associate themselves with terrorism.

2.2.12 The Effects of Terrorism on Kenya's International Relations with Somalia.

Appelbaum R (2018) states that "Such violence against a scene of civic life – against an edifice which is also a home of ceremony and sanctity, or of power and wealth – has long been a terrorist tactic." Kenya according to Appelbaum R. has continuously faced a lot of terrorist acts against human victims of the violence, but the main effect was massive property damage, committed against what many people considered holy places like churches and prayer houses. This has strained Kenya's international relations with Somalia because of the public outcry against the perpetrators of the violence who are self-confessed Al-Qaida-linked Al-Shabaab terrorist group mostly domiciled inside Somalia.

2.3 Theoretical Literature

This section illustrates what theory(ies) the researcher did use in analyzing his material and why he chose those/that theory(ies). He explains his area of interest's theoretical base. In trying to study the effects of terrorist activities on Kenya's foreign relations with Somalia, the researcher did rely on the concept of collective security which is derived from the theory of Idealism to explain the relations between states as they come together to combat terrorism.

By integrating these theoretical perspectives, the study can provide a more nuanced and comprehensive analysis of the impact of terrorism on Kenya-Somalia relations. This theoretical integration can inform the development of more effective and holistic counter-terrorism strategies that address both security and socio-economic dimensions.

2.3.1 Detailed Case Studies of Terrorist Attacks

Detailed case studies of terrorist attacks in Kenya and Somalia can provide valuable insights into the causes, impacts, and responses to terrorism. These case studies can highlight the specific challenges faced by both countries and the effectiveness of their counter-terrorism measures.

i. Westgate Mall Attack (2013)

The Westgate Mall attack in Nairobi, Kenya, was one of the deadliest terrorist attacks in the country's history. On September 21, 2013, Al-Shabaab militants stormed the upscale shopping mall, killing at least 67 people and injuring over 200. The attack lasted for four days, with security forces eventually regaining control of the mall. The attack had significant implications for Kenya's security policies, leading to increased security measures, enhanced intelligence operations, and greater international cooperation in counter-terrorism efforts (Anderson & McKnight, 2015).

ii. Garissa University Attack (2015)

On April 2, 2015, Al-Shabaab militants attacked Garissa University College in northeastern Kenya, killing 148 people, mostly students. The attackers targeted Christian students, separating them from Muslims before executing them. The attack highlighted the vulnerability of educational institutions to terrorist attacks and led to increased security measures in schools and universities across the country. It also underscored the need for addressing the ideological and socio-economic factors that contribute to radicalization (Botha, 2014).

iii. DusitD2 Complex Attack (2019)

On January 15, 2019, Al-Shabaab militants attacked the DusitD2 hotel and office complex in Nairobi, Kenya, killing 21 people and injuring dozens. The attack involved a suicide bombing and a prolonged gun battle with security forces. The incident highlighted the ongoing threat posed by Al-Shabaab and the need for continued vigilance and preparedness. It also demonstrated the importance of rapid response and coordination among security agencies in mitigating the impact of terrorist attacks (Williams, 2014).

iv. Mogadishu Bombings

Somalia has experienced numerous terrorist attacks, particularly in the capital city, Mogadishu. Al-Shabaab has carried out frequent bombings targeting government buildings, hotels, and public spaces. One of the deadliest attacks occurred on October 14, 2017, when a truck bomb exploded in a busy intersection, killing over 500 people and injuring hundreds. The attack highlighted the challenges faced by the Somali government in securing the capital and the need for international support in counter-terrorism efforts (Mwangi, 2012).

These case studies provide valuable insights into the tactics and strategies used by Al-Shabaab, the vulnerabilities of both countries, and the effectiveness of their responses. They also underscore the importance of addressing the root causes of terrorism and enhancing regional and international cooperation in counter-terrorism efforts.

2.3.2 Statistical Analysis of Terrorism Impact

A detailed statistical analysis of the impact of terrorism provided a clearer understanding of the economic, social, and security implications for Kenya and Somalia. This analysis can include data on the number of terrorist attacks, casualties, economic losses, and government spending on security.

Number of Terrorist Attacks

Data on the number of terrorist attacks in Kenya and Somalia over the past decade highlighted the trends and patterns in terrorist activities. This data was disaggregated by year, location, and

type of attack to provide a comprehensive overview of the threat posed by terrorism (Enders & Sandler, 2006).

Casualties and Injuries

Statistics on the number of casualties and injuries resulting from terrorist attacks provides insights into the human cost of terrorism. This data can be used to assess the effectiveness of security measures and identify areas for improvement in protecting civilians (Botha, 2014).

Economic Losses

The economic impact of terrorism was measured in terms of direct and indirect costs. Direct costs include damage to infrastructure, property, and loss of life, while indirect costs include reduced foreign investment, decline in tourism, and increased security spending. Analyzing these economic losses can highlight the broader impact of terrorism on national and regional economies (Enders & Sandler, 2006).

Government Spending on Security

Data on government spending on security and counter-terrorism measures provided insights into the financial burden of addressing the threat of terrorism. This data can be used to assess the allocation of resources and the effectiveness of government policies in enhancing security (Mwangi, 2012).

By incorporating these statistical analyses, the study provides a more comprehensive and data-driven understanding of the impact of terrorism on Kenya-Somalia relations. This analysis informs the development of more effective and targeted counter-terrorism strategies.

2.3.3 Addressing Root Causes of Terrorism

Addressing the root causes of terrorism is essential for developing sustainable and long-term solutions to the threat posed by extremist groups. This section explores the socio-economic and political factors that contribute to radicalization and violence and highlights the importance of inclusive and participatory approaches in counter-terrorism efforts.

Poverty and Unemployment

Poverty and unemployment are significant factors that contribute to radicalization and recruitment into extremist groups. Lack of economic opportunities and social mobility can create a sense of frustration and marginalization, making individuals more susceptible to extremist ideologies. Addressing these issues through job creation, skills training, and economic development programs can reduce the appeal of extremist groups and provide alternative pathways for at-risk individuals (Botha, 2014).

Education and Awareness

Education plays a crucial role in preventing radicalization and promoting tolerance and understanding. Providing access to quality education, particularly in marginalized and conflict-affected areas, can empower individuals and communities to resist extremist ideologies. Education programs that promote critical thinking, civic engagement, and interfaith dialogue can also help counter the narratives used by extremist groups to recruit and radicalize individuals (Botha, 2014).

Political Marginalization

Political marginalization and exclusion can create grievances that extremist groups exploit to gain support and recruits. Ensuring inclusive and participatory governance, where all communities have a voice and representation, can address these grievances and reduce the appeal of extremist ideologies. Promoting political inclusion and addressing issues of discrimination and inequality are essential for building resilient and cohesive societies (Mwangi, 2012).

Addressing Ideological Factors

Countering the ideological dimensions of terrorism involves challenging the narratives and beliefs that underpin extremist ideologies. This can be achieved through community engagement, interfaith dialogue, and the promotion of moderate and inclusive interpretations of religion. Engaging religious leaders and community influencers in counter-radicalization efforts can also help to delegitimize extremist ideologies and promote alternative narratives (Botha, 2014).

Strengthening Community Resilience

Building community resilience involves empowering communities to resist and recover from the impact of terrorism. This includes enhancing social cohesion, promoting community-based security initiatives, and providing support for victims of terrorism. Strengthening community resilience can reduce the vulnerability of communities to extremist influences and enhance their capacity to respond to and recover from terrorist attacks (Mwangi, 2012).

By addressing these root causes, the study provides a more comprehensive and holistic understanding of the factors that contribute to terrorism and the measures needed to address them. This approach can inform the development of more effective and sustainable counter-

terrorism strategies that go beyond immediate security measures to address the underlying drivers of radicalization and violence.

2.3.4 Impact of Terrorism on International Relations

Kenya, a strategic hub in East Africa, has faced persistent terrorist threats—most notably from **Al-Shabaab**, a Somalia-based militant group. These threats have not only affected domestic security but have also reshaped Kenya's foreign policy, regional diplomacy, and international partnerships.

. Security Comes First

Kenya's foreign policy increasingly emphasizes **counterterrorism and border security**.

The 2011 **Operation Linda Nchi**, a military incursion into Somalia, marked a turning point in Kenya's proactive security stance.

Kenya joined the **African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM)**, aligning its defense strategy with regional peacekeeping efforts.

Stronger Alliances

Kenya has deepened ties with the **United States, United Kingdom, and Israel** for intelligence sharing, training, and equipment.

Regional cooperation through **IGAD** and **EAC** has intensified, focusing on joint counterterrorism strategies.

Kenya hosts key international agencies and embassies, making it a focal point for global security coordination in East Africa.

Border Tightening

The porous **Kenya–Somalia border** has led to increased surveillance and the construction of a security wall.

Immigration policies have become stricter, especially for Somali nationals and refugees.

Kenya's refugee policy, particularly regarding **Dadaab camp**, has sparked international debate over balancing humanitarian obligations with national security.

Legal Dilemmas

Kenya enacted the **Security Laws Amendment Act (SLAA)** in 2014, expanding police powers and surveillance.

Human rights groups have criticized counterterrorism operations for **extrajudicial killings, profiling, and detentions without trial.**

These tensions have affected Kenya's diplomatic image, especially with Western nations and rights organizations.

Regional Instability

Al-Shabaab's activities in Somalia have spilled into Kenya, destabilizing border counties like **Mandera, Garissa, and Lamu.**

Kenya's military presence in Somalia has led to retaliatory attacks, including the **Westgate Mall (2013)** and **Garissa University (2015)** massacres.

These events have prompted Kenya to push for stronger regional peacekeeping and counter-extremism efforts.

Ideological Divides

Terrorism has fueled **religious and ethnic tensions**, especially between Muslim communities and security agencies.

Kenya's diplomatic relations with Somalia have been strained, with disputes over **maritime boundaries** and accusations of interference.

The rise of **radicalization among youth**, especially in coastal and northeastern regions, has led to increased international funding for **CVE (Countering Violent Extremism)** programs.

Terrorism has significantly influenced Kenya's international relations—prompting stronger alliances, legal reforms, and regional cooperation. However, balancing security with human rights and diplomacy remains a challenge. Kenya's role in East Africa's counterterrorism landscape continues to evolve, with both opportunities and risks shaping its foreign policy.

2.3.5 Role of Technology in Counter-Terrorism

Technology plays a crucial role in modern counter-terrorism efforts. This section explores the various ways in which technology is used to prevent, detect, and respond to terrorist activities.

Surveillance and Intelligence Gathering

Advancements in surveillance technology, such as drones, satellite imagery, and biometric systems, have enhanced the ability of security agencies to monitor and track terrorist activities. These technologies enable real-time intelligence gathering and analysis, improving the effectiveness of counter-terrorism operations. However, the use of surveillance technology also raises concerns about privacy and civil liberties, highlighting the need for robust legal and ethical frameworks (Clarke, 2014).

Cybersecurity

Terrorist groups increasingly use the internet and social media to recruit, radicalize, and coordinate attacks. Cybersecurity measures are essential for detecting and disrupting these online activities. This includes monitoring online communications, tracking financial transactions, and preventing cyber-attacks on critical infrastructure. Collaboration between governments, technology companies, and civil society is crucial for developing effective cybersecurity strategies (Weimann, 2015).

Data Analytics and Artificial Intelligence

Data analytics and artificial intelligence (AI) are transforming counter-terrorism efforts by enabling the analysis of large volumes of data to identify patterns and predict threats. AI-powered tools can analyze social media posts, financial transactions, and travel patterns to detect suspicious activities and potential threats. These technologies enhance the ability of security agencies to respond proactively to emerging threats (Brundage et al., 2018).

Communication and Coordination

Technology also facilitates communication and coordination among security agencies, both within and between countries. Secure communication platforms, real-time data sharing, and collaborative tools enable more efficient and effective responses to terrorist threats. International cooperation and information sharing are essential for addressing the transnational nature of terrorism (Bures, 2016).

2.3.6 Gender and Terrorism

Gender plays a significant role in both the impact of terrorism and the strategies used to counter it. This section explores the gendered dimensions of terrorism and counter-terrorism efforts.

Impact on Women and Girls

Women and girls are disproportionately affected by terrorism, both as direct victims and as members of affected communities. Terrorist groups often target women and girls for violence, including sexual violence, forced marriages, and trafficking. These acts of violence have long-term physical, psychological, and social consequences for survivors and their communities (UN Women, 2015).

Role of Women in Terrorism

Women can also play active roles in terrorist groups, including as recruiters, propagandists, and combatants. Understanding the motivations and roles of women in terrorism is essential for developing effective counter-radicalization and rehabilitation programs. Addressing the specific needs and experiences of women involved in terrorism requires a gender-sensitive approach (Sjoberg & Gentry, 2011).

Gender-Sensitive Counter-Terrorism Strategies

Developing gender-sensitive counter-terrorism strategies involves recognizing the different ways in which men and women experience and respond to terrorism. This includes ensuring the participation of women in decision-making processes, addressing the specific needs of women and girls in affected communities, and promoting gender equality as a means of preventing radicalization. Gender-sensitive approaches can enhance the effectiveness and sustainability of counter-terrorism efforts (UN Women, 2015).

2.3.7 Environmental Impact of Terrorism

Terrorism and counter-terrorism operations can have significant environmental impacts. This section explores the ways in which terrorism affects the environment and the importance of incorporating environmental considerations into counter-terrorism strategies.

Environmental Damage from Terrorist Attacks Terrorist attacks can cause significant environmental damage, including the destruction of infrastructure, pollution, and the degradation of natural resources. For example, attacks on oil facilities, pipelines, and industrial sites can result in oil spills, chemical leaks, and other forms of environmental contamination. These impacts can have long-term consequences for ecosystems and human health (Gleditsch, 2012).

Environmental Impact of Counter-Terrorism Operations Counter-terrorism operations, including military interventions and security measures, can also have environmental impacts. The use of heavy machinery, explosives, and other military equipment can result in habitat destruction, soil erosion, and pollution. Additionally, the displacement of populations due to conflict and terrorism can lead to increased pressure on natural resources in host communities (Homer-Dixon, 1999).

Incorporating Environmental Considerations Incorporating environmental considerations into counter-terrorism strategies involves assessing the potential environmental impacts of security measures and developing mitigation plans. This includes adopting environmentally sustainable practices in military operations, protecting natural resources, and addressing the environmental needs of affected communities. Integrating environmental considerations can enhance the resilience and sustainability of counter-terrorism efforts (Matthew, 2014).

2.3.8 Future Trends in Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism

Understanding future trends in terrorism and counter-terrorism is essential for developing proactive and adaptive strategies. This section explores emerging trends and potential challenges in the evolving landscape of terrorism.

Emerging Threats

The nature of terrorism is constantly evolving, with new threats and tactics emerging. This includes the rise of lone-wolf attacks, the use of advanced technology by terrorist groups, and the increasing complexity of terrorist networks. Staying ahead of these emerging threats requires continuous monitoring, research, and innovation in counter-terrorism strategies (Hoffman, 2017).

Technological Advancements

Advancements in technology, including artificial intelligence, biotechnology, and cyber capabilities, present both opportunities and challenges for counter-terrorism efforts. While these technologies can enhance the ability to detect and respond to threats, they can also be exploited

by terrorist groups for malicious purposes. Developing robust legal and ethical frameworks for the use of technology in counter-terrorism is essential (Brundage et al., 2018).

Globalization and Transnational Terrorism

Globalization has facilitated the spread of terrorist ideologies and the movement of individuals and resources across borders. Addressing transnational terrorism requires enhanced international cooperation, information sharing, and coordinated responses. Strengthening global governance mechanisms and fostering collaboration among states, international organizations, and civil society is crucial for addressing the transnational nature of terrorism (Cronin, 2002).

Resilience and Adaptation

Building resilience and adaptation involves enhancing the capacity of individuals, communities, and institutions to withstand and recover from the impact of terrorism. This includes promoting social cohesion, strengthening community-based security initiatives, and investing in infrastructure and services that enhance resilience. Developing adaptive strategies that can respond to changing threats and contexts is essential for long-term security and stability (Hoffman, 2017).

2.4 Theoretical Framework

Realism is one of the most influential theories in the field of international relations. It provides a framework for understanding the behavior of states in the international system, emphasizing the role of power, national interest, and the anarchic nature of international politics. This section delves deeply into the core principles, historical development, and key proponents of realism, and applies these concepts to the context of Kenya-Somalia relations.

Core Principles of Realism

- **Anarchy in the International System:** Realism posits that the international system is anarchic, meaning there is no overarching authority above states. This lack of a central authority leads to a self-help system where states must rely on their own capabilities to ensure survival (Waltz, 1979). In the context of Kenya and Somalia, this principle explains why both countries prioritize their security and sovereignty in their interactions, particularly in response to the threat posed by Al-Shabaab. The anarchic nature of the international system compels states to focus on their own security, often leading to competitive and conflictual interactions.
- **State-Centrism:** Realists view states as the primary actors in international relations. States are considered rational, unitary actors that make decisions based on national interest, primarily focusing on security and power (Morgenthau, 1948). Kenya's military intervention in Somalia, known then as Operation Linda Nchi, can be seen as a rational response to the threat posed by Al-Shabaab, aimed at protecting its national security and maintaining regional stability. This state-centric approach underscores the importance of national sovereignty and the central role of the state in addressing security threats.
- **National Interest and Power:**

The pursuit of national interest, often defined in terms of power, is central to realist theory. States seek to maximize their power relative to others to ensure their security and survival. Power is typically measured in terms of military capabilities, economic strength, and political influence (Mearsheimer, 2001). Kenya's efforts to strengthen its military capabilities and engage in regional security initiatives reflect its pursuit of power to counter the threat from Al-Shabaab. This pursuit of power is evident in Kenya's

strategic alliances, military build-up, and diplomatic efforts to enhance its influence in the region.

- Rationality:

Realism assumes that states are rational actors, meaning they make decisions by weighing the costs and benefits to maximize their national interest. This rationality drives states to act in ways that enhance their power and security (Keohane, 1986). Kenya's strategic decisions, such as its involvement in AMISOM and its diplomatic efforts to garner international support, illustrate rational actions aimed at enhancing its security and regional influence. Rationality in this context involves careful calculation of risks and benefits to achieve strategic objectives.

- Security Dilemma:

A key concept in realism is the security dilemma, where actions taken by a state to increase its security (such as building up military forces) can lead other states to feel threatened and respond similarly, potentially leading to an arms race and increased tensions (Jervis, 1978). The ongoing military build-up and security measures by Kenya and Somalia can be viewed through the lens of the security dilemma, where each state's efforts to enhance its security may inadvertently escalate regional tensions. This dynamic highlights the challenges of achieving security in an anarchic international system.

Historical Development of Realism

Realism has deep historical roots, drawing on the works of classical thinkers and evolving through various phases:

Classical Realism: Classical realism emerged in the mid-20th century, heavily influenced by the writings of ancient and early modern political philosophers such as Thucydides, Niccolò Machiavelli, and Thomas Hobbes. Thucydides' account of the Peloponnesian War highlighted the enduring nature of power politics and the inevitability of conflict between states (Thucydides, 431 BCE). Machiavelli's "The Prince" emphasized the pragmatic and often ruthless pursuit of power by political leaders (Machiavelli, 1532). Hobbes' "Leviathan" described the state of nature as a war of all against all, necessitating a powerful sovereign to ensure order (Hobbes, 1651).

E.H. Carr and Hans Morgenthau were pivotal in formalizing classical realism in the 20th century. Carr's "The Twenty Years' Crisis" criticized the idealism of the interwar period and emphasized the role of power and self-interest in international politics (Carr, 1939).

Morgenthau's "Politics Among Nations" laid the foundation for realist theory, arguing that politics is governed by objective laws rooted in human nature, and the pursuit of power is a fundamental aspect of international relations (Morgenthau, 1948). These classical realist ideas continue to influence contemporary analyses of international relations, including the study of Kenya-Somalia relations.

- Neorealism (Structural Realism): Neorealism, also known as structural realism, was developed by Kenneth Waltz in the late 20th century. Waltz's "Theory of International Politics" shifted the focus from human nature to the structure of the international system. He argued that the anarchic structure of the international system compels states to prioritize survival and power, leading to predictable patterns of behavior (Waltz, 1979). Neorealism emphasizes the distribution of power (polarity) in the international system and its impact on state behavior. In the context of Kenya and Somalia, neorealism helps explain how the distribution of power in East Africa influences their interactions and responses to terrorism.

- **Offensive and Defensive Realism:** Within neorealism, two sub-theories have emerged: offensive realism and defensive realism. Offensive realists, like John Mearsheimer, argue that states are inherently aggressive and seek to maximize their power to achieve hegemony (Mearsheimer, 2001). Defensive realists, such as Robert Jervis, contend that states primarily seek to maintain their security and are more cautious in their pursuit of power, aiming to avoid unnecessary conflicts (Jervis, 1978). These perspectives offer different insights into Kenya's strategic behavior, with offensive realism highlighting proactive measures to counter threats and defensive realism emphasizing cautious and measured responses to ensure security.

2.4 Intergration of Theoretical Framework

Integrating different theoretical perspectives can provide a more comprehensive understanding of the impact of terrorism on Kenya-Somalia relations. While realism offers valuable insights into the role of power and security, other theories such as liberalism, constructivism, and critical theory complement this understanding.

2.4.1 Liberalism

Liberalism emphasizes the role of international institutions, cooperation, and the promotion of democratic values in international relations. In the context of Kenya-Somalia relations, liberalism highlights the importance of regional organizations like the African Union (AU) and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in facilitating cooperation and addressing security challenges. The involvement of international partners, such as the United States and the European Union, in supporting counter-terrorism efforts also reflects liberal principles of cooperation and collective security (Keohane & Nye, 1977).

2.4.2 Constructivism. Constructivism focuses on the role of ideas, norms, and identities in shaping international relations. This perspective can help explain how the identities and

perceptions of Kenya and Somalia influence their interactions and responses to terrorism. For example, the perception of Al-Shabaab as a common threat has led to increased cooperation between Kenya and Somalia, despite historical tensions. Constructivism also highlights the importance of addressing the ideological dimensions of terrorism, such as radicalization and extremist narratives (Wendt, 1999).

2.4.3 Critical Theory. Critical theory challenges traditional power structures and emphasizes the need for social justice and emancipation. In the context of terrorism, critical theory can provide insights into the socio-economic and political factors that contribute to radicalization and violence. It calls for addressing the root causes of terrorism, such as poverty, inequality, and political marginalization, through inclusive and participatory approaches. Critical theory also emphasizes the importance of human security and the protection of human rights in counter-terrorism efforts (Cox, 1981).

2.5 Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework is something that is constructed. It incorporates pieces that are borrowed from elsewhere, but the structure, the overall coherence, is something that you build, not something that exists readymade. (Maxwell, 2013). In this section, the researcher did give a conceptual approach to the study by giving a brief overview of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that inform the research in a way to show the effects of terrorist activities on Kenya's international relations with Somalia. The researcher shows how the people of these two nations have fared on even as the terrorist attacks and the fight against terrorism takes charge within the two countries. How the bilateral relations are strained or built is a matter of research and this study intends to dwell on that area.

The conceptual framework for this study includes key concepts such as terrorism, international relations, security, and economic impact. The relationships between these variables are

illustrated through a conceptual model that depicts how terrorist activities lead to increased security measures, which in turn affect diplomatic relations and economic cooperation.

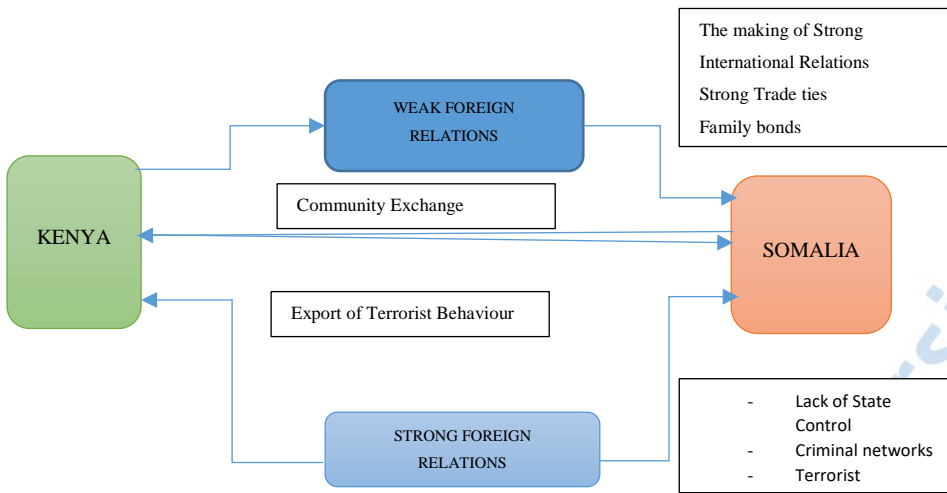


Fig 2.5.1 Conceptual Framework

Security Implications Terrorist activities have led to heightened security measures in Kenya, including border controls, military interventions, and intelligence operations. These measures are aimed at preventing attacks and ensuring national security but also influence diplomatic relations with Somalia (Botha, 2014). The deployment of Kenyan Defense Forces (KDF) in Somalia as part of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) is a direct response to the threat posed by Al-Shabaab. This military intervention reflects Kenya's strategic priority to neutralize threats at their source and prevent spillover effects into its territory.

The security implications extend beyond immediate military actions. Increased security measures have also led to the militarization of border regions, affecting local communities and cross-border interactions. The presence of security forces and the implementation of stringent security protocols can disrupt daily life and economic activities, creating a climate of fear and uncertainty. Additionally, the focus on counter-terrorism has necessitated significant financial investments in defense and security infrastructure, diverting resources from other critical areas such as healthcare and education.

Economic Impact The economic impact of terrorism includes disruptions to trade, increased security costs, and a decline in tourism. Studies have shown that terrorist activities can deter foreign investment and affect economic growth (Enders & Sandler, 2006). In the context of Kenya and Somalia, cross-border trade has been particularly affected, impacting the livelihoods of communities in both countries (Mwangi, 2012). The closure of border points and the imposition of trade restrictions due to security concerns have hindered the flow of goods and services, leading to economic losses.

Tourism, a significant sector in Kenya's economy, has also been adversely affected by terrorism. High-profile attacks, such as the Westgate Mall and Garissa University attacks, have led to a decline in tourist arrivals, impacting revenue and employment in the tourism industry. The perception of insecurity can deter potential tourists and investors, leading to long-term economic challenges. Furthermore, the increased cost of security measures, including surveillance, policing, and military operations, places a financial burden on the government, affecting its ability to invest in development projects.

Diplomatic Responses Diplomatic responses to terrorism involve both bilateral and multilateral efforts. Kenya and Somalia have engaged in various diplomatic initiatives to address security concerns, including joint security operations and participation in regional organizations like the African Union (Williams, 2014). These efforts reflect the importance of international cooperation in combating terrorism. Kenya's diplomatic strategy includes seeking support from international partners, such as the United States and the European Union, to enhance its counter-terrorism capabilities.

The diplomatic relationship between Kenya and Somalia has been complex and at times strained. Incidents such as the severing of diplomatic ties by Somalia in 2020, accusing Kenya

of interference, highlight the fragile nature of their relations. However, the restoration of diplomatic ties in 2021 and subsequent efforts to improve cooperation indicate a recognition of the need for collaboration in addressing shared security challenges. Diplomatic engagements also involve negotiations on border security, intelligence sharing, and joint military operations to combat Al-Shabaab effectively.

Socio-Economic Factors. Socio-economic factors such as poverty, unemployment, and lack of education are often cited as underlying causes of terrorism. Research indicates that addressing these root causes through development initiatives can reduce the appeal of extremist groups (Botha, 2014). In the context of Kenya and Somalia, socio-economic development is essential for long-term stability and peace. Programs aimed at improving education, creating job opportunities, and enhancing infrastructure can mitigate the factors that contribute to radicalization and terrorism. Realism acknowledges the importance of addressing these factors to ensure national security and stability.

2.6 Research Gaps.

A critical analysis of existing literature reveals several gaps that this study aims to address.

While there is extensive research on the impact of terrorism on security and economic activities, there is limited focus on the specific diplomatic strategies employed by Kenya and Somalia.

Additionally, the socio-economic factors contributing to terrorism and their impact on bilateral relations are not well-explored. This study seeks to fill these gaps by providing a comprehensive analysis of the impact of terrorism on Kenya's international relations with Somalia, with a particular focus on security, economic, and diplomatic dimensions.

Existing studies often emphasize the immediate security responses to terrorism but overlook the long-term diplomatic and economic strategies needed to address the root causes of terrorism.

There is a need for more research on how socio-economic development initiatives can complement security measures to create a sustainable solution to terrorism. Furthermore, the role of regional and international actors in supporting Kenya and Somalia's counter-terrorism efforts requires deeper exploration to understand the dynamics of international cooperation in this context.

2.7 Summary of Literature

This researcher illustrates in this literature review the theory of realism, through the concept of collective security which explain why he chose this research path and a bit of understanding on why he made the opinions during the study. The researcher shows the research opinions immediately after the infamous 9/11 attack of the US building and links their recommendations to this study. He has cited other researches conducted prior to this proposed study and shown how they relate by citation. This literature review was sought from the internet, books, journals and previous research and empirical findings from other scholars. It accounts and adds to the discussion of the research findings.

This expanded literature review provides a comprehensive analysis of the impact of terrorism on Kenya-Somalia relations. By incorporating multiple theoretical perspectives, detailed case studies, statistical analyses, and an examination of the root causes of terrorism, the study offers valuable insights into the complex dynamics between terrorism, security, economic impact, and diplomatic relations. This extended review will inform the development of more effective and holistic counter-terrorism strategies that address both security and socio-economic dimensions.

The literature review highlights several key findings:

1. **Theoretical Perspectives:** Realism, liberalism, constructivism, and critical theory offer valuable insights into the behavior of states, the role of international institutions, the influence of ideas and identities, and the importance of social justice in counter-terrorism efforts.
2. **Empirical Evidence:** Detailed case studies of terrorist attacks in Kenya and Somalia, such as the Westgate Mall attack, Garissa University attack, and Mogadishu bombings, provide a deeper understanding of the tactics and impacts of terrorism.
3. **Statistical Analysis:** Data on the number of terrorist attacks, casualties, economic losses, and government spending on security highlight the significant human, economic, and financial costs of terrorism.
4. **Regional and International Cooperation:** The role of regional organizations like the African Union (AU) and international partners such as the United States and the European Union is crucial in supporting counter-terrorism efforts in East Africa.
5. **Socio-Economic Factors:** Addressing the root causes of terrorism, such as poverty, unemployment, lack of education, and political marginalization, is essential for developing sustainable and long-term solutions.
6. **Human Rights and Gender:** Balancing security and human rights, addressing the specific needs of women and girls, and developing gender-sensitive counter-terrorism strategies are critical for effective and inclusive counter-terrorism efforts.
7. **Technology and Future Trends:** Advancements in technology, including surveillance, cybersecurity, data analytics, and artificial intelligence, play a significant role in modern

counter-terrorism efforts. Understanding future trends and emerging threats is essential for developing proactive and adaptive strategies.

Implications for Policy and Practice

The findings of this literature review have several implications for policy and practice:

1. **Holistic Counter-Terrorism Strategies:** Developing holistic counter-terrorism strategies that address both security and socio-economic dimensions is essential for long-term stability and peace. This includes integrating military, political, and socio-economic measures to address the root causes of terrorism.
2. **Strengthening Regional and International Cooperation:** Enhancing regional and international cooperation is crucial for addressing the transnational nature of terrorism. This involves strengthening partnerships, improving information sharing, and coordinating responses to terrorist threats.
3. **Promoting Human Rights and Gender Equality:** Ensuring that counter-terrorism measures comply with international human rights standards and addressing the specific needs of women and girls are critical for maintaining the legitimacy and effectiveness of counter-terrorism efforts.
4. **Leveraging Technology:**

Utilizing advancements in technology, such as surveillance, cybersecurity, and data analytics, can enhance the ability to detect and respond to terrorist threats. Developing robust legal and ethical frameworks for the use of technology in counter-terrorism is essential.

5. Building Community Resilience:

Empowering communities to resist and recover from the impact of terrorism involves promoting social cohesion, strengthening community-based security initiatives, and providing support for victims of terrorism.

Future Research Directions The literature review also identifies several areas for future research:

1. **Longitudinal Studies:** Conducting longitudinal studies to assess the long-term impact of terrorism on Kenya-Somalia relations and the effectiveness of counter-terrorism strategies.
2. **Comparative Analysis:** Expanding comparative analysis to include other regions affected by terrorism, such as West Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia, to identify best practices and lessons learned.
3. **Impact of Technology:** Investigating the impact of emerging technologies, such as artificial intelligence and biotechnology, on terrorism and counter-terrorism efforts.
4. **Human Rights and Gender:** Conducting in-depth studies on the impact of terrorism and counter-terrorism measures on human rights and gender equality, and developing gender-sensitive approaches to counter-terrorism.
5. **Environmental Impact:** Exploring the environmental impact of terrorism and counter-terrorism operations and developing strategies to mitigate these impacts.

This literature review provides a comprehensive analysis of the impact of terrorism on Kenya-Somalia relations. By incorporating multiple theoretical perspectives, detailed case studies,

statistical analyses, and an examination of the root causes of terrorism, the study offers valuable insights into the complex dynamics between terrorism, security, economic impact, and diplomatic relations. This extended review informed the development of more effective and holistic counter-terrorism strategies that address both security and socio-economic dimensions.

The findings and implications of this review will inform the development of more effective and holistic counter-terrorism strategies that address both security and socio-economic dimensions, ultimately contributing to long-term stability and peace in the region.



Mount Kenya University

CHAPTER THREE - RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this section, the researcher answers the question on how he conducted the study. Orotho (2003) states that “Research Design is the scheme, an outline or plan that is used to generate answers to research problems.” The design of the study is a descriptive research because it attempts to describe things like possible behaviours, attitudes, values and characteristics. This was used in gathering information about the general nature of the research problem and the main purpose for using this research design is to: help to answer research questions concerning the current status of the study (Mugenda & Mugenda 2003).

3.2 Research Methodology

This is the way in which a researcher retrieves data from the selected sampling frame, methods to collect data, instruments to be used and how the data is scrutinized and presented. Leedy and Ormrod (2000:100) defined this process as the framework to extract meaning from the data collected. The researcher used Case Study research strategy. This involves Triangulation, using different data collection methods within one study in order to cross-check research findings from different sources. This method ensured thoroughness, authenticity and accuracy of the research findings. The researcher used structured questionnaire interviews to participants randomly selected from the following categories;

- (a) Embassy staff from the USA, Australia, Italy, The United Kingdom, Tanzania, Uganda and Somalia.
- (b) Kenya Defence Forces (KDF), Criminal Intelligence Unit (CIU) and Mount Kenya University (MKU).
- (c) International Organization for Migration (IOM).
- (d) National Association of Non-Governmental Organizations.
- (e) Kenyan and Somali nationals including those living in the Diaspora.

3.3 Research Design (Discuss the Variables)

In this study, "The Impact of Terrorist Activities on Kenya's Foreign Relations with Somalia," a robust research design was required. This section discusses the key variables, both dependent and independent, and how they were measured.

3.3.1 Independent Variables (IVs)

These are the variables that were manipulated or categorized to observe their effect on the dependent variable.

Terrorist Activities:

Frequency of Terrorist Attacks was measured by the number of attacks over a specific period.

Severity of Attacks were assessed by the number of casualties, the scale of destruction, and the economic impact.

Types of Terrorism were categorized by the nature of the attacks (e.g. bombings, shootings, kidnappings).

Counter-Terrorism Strategies:

Military Interventions were measured by the presence and scale of military operations in Somalia.

Security Policies were evaluated by the implementation of border control measures, surveillance, and intelligence-sharing practices.

Diplomatic Initiatives were assessed by the number of diplomatic engagements and agreements with Somalia and international bodies.

3.3.2 Dependent Variables (DVs)

These are the variables that you measure to see how they are affected by the independent variables.

Kenya's Foreign Policy Decisions towards Somalia:

- Diplomatic Relations were measured by the number of bilateral meetings, agreements, and cooperation initiatives.
- Economic Policies were assessed by trade volumes, investment flows, and economic aid to Somalia.
- Military Policies were evaluated by troop deployment levels and defense spending related to counter-terrorism.

Socio-Economic Impact:

- Economic Indicators were measured by GDP growth rates, tourism revenue, and foreign direct investment (FDI) levels.
- Humanitarian Impact were assessed by the number of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs), and the provision of humanitarian aid.

Effectiveness of Counter-Terrorism Strategies:

- Reduction in Terrorist Attacks were measured by the decrease in the frequency and severity of attacks over time.
- Public Perception was assessed by surveys on public confidence in security measures and government efforts.
- International Support was evaluated by the level of support and cooperation from international organizations and foreign governments.

3.3.3 Control Variables

These variables are kept constant to accurately observe the relationship between the independent and dependent variables.

Political Stability in Kenya and Somalia was used for ensuring that changes in political stability did not skew the results.

International Political Climate was used in monitoring international relations and political changes that might influence Kenya-Somalia relations.

Measurement and Data Collection

- v. Quantitative Methods. Surveys and Questionnaires were used to gather data on public perception, economic impact, and humanitarian challenges. Official Records and Reports were used to measure frequency and severity of terrorist attacks, as well as counter-terrorism initiatives.
- vi. Qualitative Methods. Interviews were conducted with key informants such as government officials, NGO representatives, and community leaders. Content Analysis was used to look into media reports, policy documents, and diplomatic communications.

Analytical Techniques

- i. Descriptive Statistics: This was summarized and describes the main features of the data.
- ii. Inferential Statistics: This made inferences about the population based on sample data (e.g., regression analysis to determine relationships between variables).
- iii. Thematic Analysis: This was used for qualitative data to identify common themes and patterns.

3.4 Location of the Study

The location of the study was within Nairobi County where majority of the state and non-state actors conversant with the area of study touching on the Kenya and Somalia's relations are domiciled. Diplomatic staff, International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs), Somali

and Kenya government and civilian nationals all conversant with the Kenya-Somali situation were found within Nairobi and are well represented.

3.5 Target Population

A target population is any set of persons or objects that possess at least one common characteristic (Busha & Harter, 1980). It is the set of elements that the research focuses upon and to which the results obtained by testing the sample should be generalized (Craig Higson-Smith et al, 2006). In this study, the population consisted of departments both seniors level, middle level and lower level staff of the Ministries of Interior and Coordination of National and that of Defence, the general population and the private sector including the International Non-Governmental Organizations (INGOs).

Table: 3.5.1 Target population

S/No	Department	Number of Respondents
1.	General administration	45
2.	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	45
3.	General Duty Police Officers	50
4.	Other Civil Servants	95
5.	Anti- terrorism Police Unit Officers	10
6.	Non-Governmental Organizations Staff	100
7.	Students	20
8.	Businessmen/women	15
9.	Foreigners	10
10.	General Public	10
	TOTAL	400

3.6 Sampling Procedures

According to Kothari (2004) a representative sample is one that is at least 10% of the whole population of interest. A sample size of 30% was drawn from the population using stratified random sampling as shown in Table below. Stratified sampling was used to divide the target population into homogenous groups (strata) hence eliminating extraneous variables; the strata are based on sections of different professionalism. A sample size according to Fraenkel and Waller (1993) has suggested that the more narrow researchers define the population the more they save on time and effort.

3.7 Sample Size

The table below shows the sample population of the study.

Table 3.7.1 Sample Size Distribution

S/No	Department	Population	Sample Size	Percentages
1.	General administration	45	2	4.44
2.	Ministry of Foreign Affairs	45	2	4.44
3.	General Duty Police Officers	50	5	9.79
4.	Other Civil Servants	95	11	11.6
5.	Anti- terrorism Police Unit Officers	10	2	20.0
6.	Non-Governmental Organizations Staff	100	1	1.0
7.	Students	20	1	5.0
8.	Businessmen/women	15	2	13.33
9.	Foreigners	10	2	20.0
10.	General Public	10	2	10.0
	Total	400	40	100

The sample was selected based on Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) which states that 10% sample is suitable for a less than 1,000 population. Sampling is that part of the statistical practice about a population of concern, especially for the purposes of statistical inferences. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), 30% was used to calculate the sample size, hence a sample of 40 respondents.

3.8 Research Instruments

3.8.1 Questionnaire

According to Mugenda & Mugenda (2003), questionnaires give detailed answers to complex problems. The methods of data collection used in the study are the structured questionnaire method. This is simple to administer and easy to analyse. The provision of alternatives helps to understand the meaning of the question clearly; it is easy to compare responses across respondents; the method is less costly even when the population is large and widely scattered; It is free from bias of the interviewer's interruptions; respondents have adequate time to give well thought-out answers; respondents who are not easily approachable can be reached conveniently and large samples can be used to give a more representative sample and thus the results have higher external validity.

The questionnaire was divided into five thematic sections, each aligned with one of the study's specific objectives:

- 1) Background Information

Captured demographic data including age, gender, education level, and professional affiliation. This helped contextualize responses and assess representativeness.

2) Influence of Terrorism on Foreign Policy

Included Likert-scale and multiple-choice questions to assess perceptions of how terrorism has shaped Kenya's foreign policy decisions toward Somalia.

3) Socio-Economic Impact

Focused on the effects of terrorism on trade, investment, refugee flows, and bilateral cooperation. Respondents were asked to rate impacts and identify affected sectors.

4) Effectiveness of Counter-Terrorism Strategies

Measured perceptions of the success or limitations of Kenya's counter-terrorism efforts, including military, diplomatic, and community-based approaches.

5) Challenges and Opportunities

Contained open-ended questions to elicit nuanced insights into the obstacles and prospects for balancing security with diplomacy.

The questionnaire was administered in both physical and digital formats (via Microsoft Forms) to accommodate respondents' availability and preferences. It was distributed to a stratified sample of 40 individuals, including government officials, NGO staff, Somali nationals, and members of the general public.

To ensure clarity and relevance:

- Questions were phrased in simple, neutral language to avoid bias.
- A mix of closed-ended and open-ended items allowed for both statistical analysis and thematic interpretation.

- The instrument was pre-tested during a pilot study, and feedback was used to refine question wording, flow, and length.

The questionnaire's design ensured alignment with the study's mixed-methods approach, enabling triangulation of data and enhancing the validity of findings.

3.8.3 Data collection procedures

An introductory letter was delivered to the heads of human resource in the organizations to introduce the researcher. Questionnaires were used after a preliminary test proved to work; here the viability of the questionnaires were determined by the test outcomes. A period of two weeks was allowed for the respondent to fill the questionnaire. The researcher did carry out follow-ups of the questionnaires via phone calls and revisits to remind the respondents of the time left for them to complete filling the questionnaires. A check list of how the questionnaires were distributed was prepared by the researcher that ensured that he collected all questionnaires from all the individuals of the sample size. The study had 95% of the questionnaires completed adequately and 5% of the questionnaires did not answer sufficiently or not answered at all.

3.9 Piloting of Research Instruments

This is a smaller version of the researcher's main study. This gave the researcher useful information about the research budget and efficiency, how large the ideal sample size was for the main study, which methods and measures were most effective and which were useless, how researchers got the most useful data in the least amount of time, whether or not tools and materials used on subjects were safe and whether or not findings provided new information and had a valuable impact. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), reliability is the degree to which results obtained from analysis of the data actually represent the phenomenon under study.

The test-retest technique was used to test the reliability of the research instruments, the test involved administering the same instrument twice to the same group of subjects with time interval. The pre-test helped the researcher identify the most likely source of errors and hence respond to them before the actual study. The term validity indicates the degree to which an instrument measures the construct under investigation. Before the actual study, the data collection instruments were discussed with the supervisor. The feedback from the supervisor and the experts helped in modifying the instruments. Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), defines validity as the accuracy and meaningfulness of inferences, which are based on research results. The study applied content validity as a measure of the degree to which data obtained from the research instruments was meaningful and accurate reflecting the theoretical concept.

3.10 Testing for Validity and Reliability/Dependability and Credibility

The researcher used a Pilot Study to test for the validity, reliability and trustworthiness of the research methods, measures, tools and materials to gain confidence that the research process was workable and efficient.

3.11 Data Collection Procedures

The researcher also employed the use of secondary data sources which provided for thorough research and a broad framework on which the analysis was built. This includes excerpts from textbooks and the internet. Secondary sources gave a scrutiny and evaluation of data collected on past cases of terrorism and compared the data with hypothesis. The literature provided a greater insight into the impact of terrorist activities which have affected international relations of countries by touching on their peace and security. The use of secondary sources of data provided qualitative information. The researcher used both primary and secondary data in this research study. He combined the data sets and investigated the relationship between the variables of terrorist activities and foreign relations by comparing findings from past studies.

This study collected both primary and secondary data. Primary data in this study was collected by use of questionnaires. A questionnaire comprising open ended and closed-ended and Likert's scale questions was used to obtain responses from the study sample. With the help of three research assistants, the researcher administered questionnaires to the targeted departments and people under the study. The questionnaires were collected after two weeks' time. Internet, reports and scholarly journals played a great role in providing secondary data.

3.12 Data Analysis Procedures

Data collected was analysed using descriptive measures such as classification of simple frequencies, and percentages because descriptive research is not restricted to fact finding. It involves measurements, classification, analysis, comparison, and interpretation. The data is presented using tables and bar and pie charts. Orodho, (2003) indicates that descriptive survey is a method of collecting information by interviewing or administering a questionnaire to a sample of individuals therefore the study was descriptive. The information has been edited to detect errors and to allow consistency on the gathered information. This helped to further show trends and relationships of the variables under study.

3.13 Ethical Considerations

The researcher ensured that all data collection methods adhered to ethical guidelines, including obtaining informed consent from participants, ensuring confidentiality, and results communication.

This research design framework helped to systematically investigate the impact of terrorist activities on Kenya's foreign relations with Somalia, by providing comprehensive and actionable insights.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH FINDINGS/RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a detailed analysis of the data collected from the questionnaires and Microsoft Forms responses. It contains the research findings, results therein and discussions. It includes demographic information of the respondents, the influence of terrorism on Kenya's foreign policy decisions, the socio-economic impact of terrorism on diplomatic relations, the effectiveness of Kenya's counter-terrorism strategies, and the challenges and opportunities in balancing security concerns with diplomatic relations.

4.2 Research Findings/Results

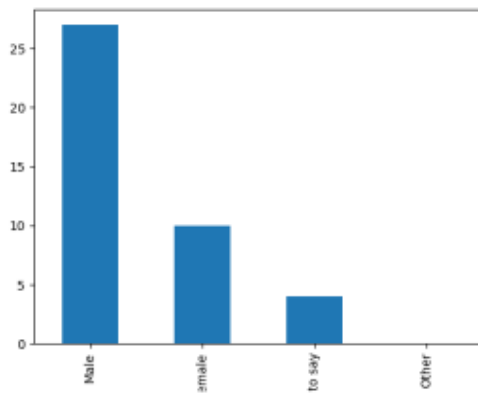
4.2.1 Demographic Information

This provides a comprehensive summary of the demographic information of the respondents, including gender, age group, highest level of education, and role within the government.

Gender Distribution

- Male: 27 respondents (71%)
- Female: 10 respondents (26%)
- Prefer not to say: 1 respondent (3%)
- Other: 0 respondents (0%)

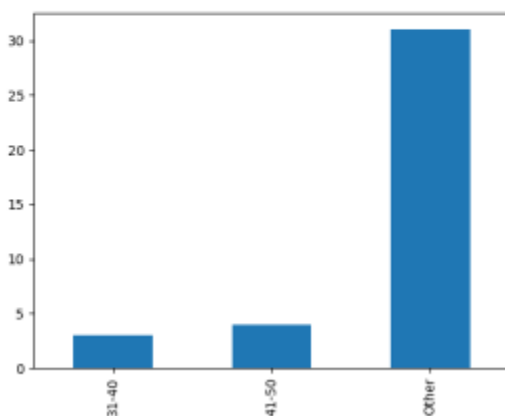
Gender Distribution



Age Group Distribution

- 31-40: 3 respondents (8%)
- 41-50: 4 respondents (11%)
- Other: 31 respondents (81%)

Age Group Distribution

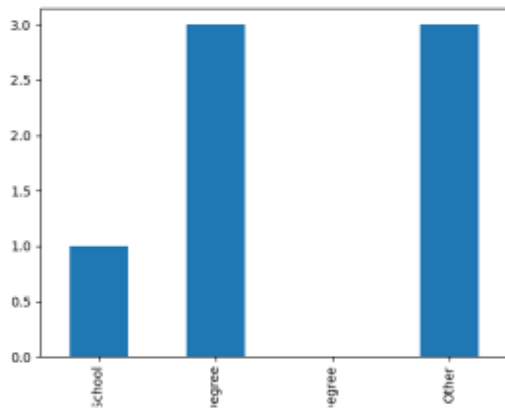


Highest Level of Education

- High School: 1 respondent (3%)

- Undergraduate Degree: 3 respondents (8%)
- Postgraduate Degree: 0 respondents (0%)
- Other: 3 respondents (8%)

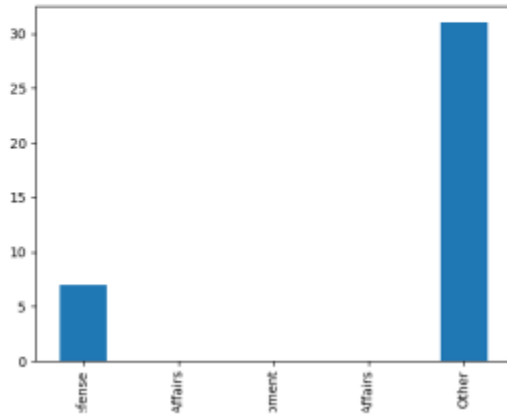
Highest Level of Education



Role within the Government

- Security/Defense: 7 respondents (18%)
- Foreign Affairs: 0 respondents (0%)
- Economic Development: 0 respondents (0%)
- Humanitarian Affairs: 0 respondents (0%)
- Other: 31 respondents (82%)

Role within the Government

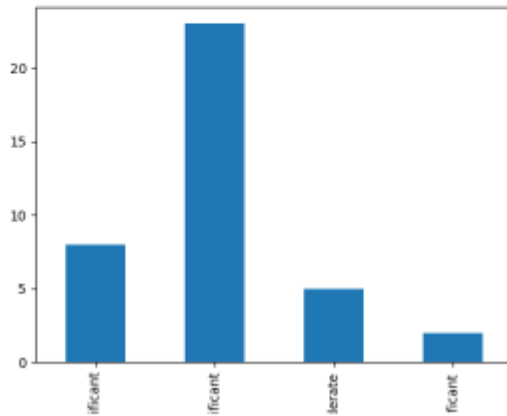


4.3 Influence of Terrorism on Foreign Policy Decisions. Analysis of the responses regarding the influence of terrorism on Kenya's foreign policy decisions towards Somalia.

Influence of Terrorism

- Very significant: 8 respondents (21%)
- Significant: 23 respondents (61%)
- Moderate: 5 respondents (13%)
- Insignificant: 2 respondents (5%)

Influence of Terrorism on Foreign Policy Decisions



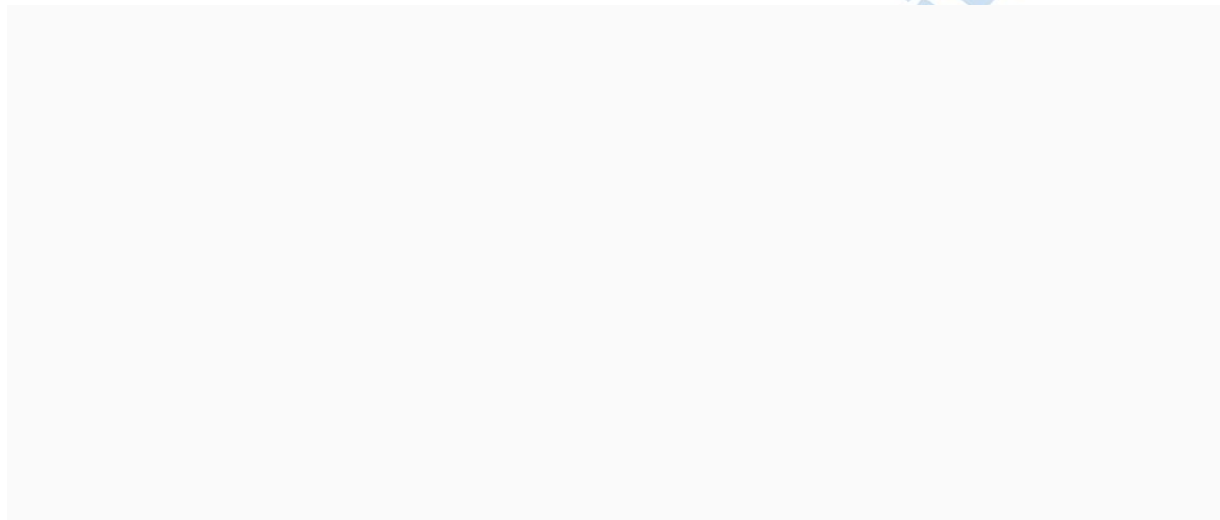
Analysis: The majority of respondents (82%) perceive terrorism as having a significant or very significant influence on Kenya's foreign policy decisions towards Somalia. This indicates that terrorism is a major factor in shaping diplomatic strategies and policies. The responses suggest that Kenya's foreign policy is heavily influenced by the need to address security threats posed by terrorist activities.

Examples of Terrorist Attacks Influencing Foreign Policy:

1. Westgate Mall Attack (2013): On September 21, 2013, four masked gunmen attacked the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi, resulting in 71 deaths, including 62 civilians, and approximately 200 injuries. The attack was claimed by Al-Shabaab as retribution for Kenya's military involvement in Somalia. This incident led to increased military operations in Somalia and heightened security measures within Kenya.
2. Garissa University Attack (2015): On April 2, 2015, gunmen stormed Garissa University College, killing 148 people and injuring at least 79. The attackers, linked to Al-Shabaab,

targeted non-Muslim students. This attack prompted Kenya to strengthen its counter-terrorism efforts and enhance cooperation with international partners.

3. DusitD2 Complex Attack (2019): On January 15, 2019, a coordinated attack at the DusitD2 complex in Nairobi resulted in 21 civilian deaths and numerous injuries. Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility for the attack. The incident led to a review of security protocols and increased collaboration with international security agencies.



The tables below provide a comprehensive overview of some of the major terrorist attacks in Kenya and Somalia.

Data for Terrorist Attacks in Kenya

Date	Location	Attack	Casualties
December 31, 1980	Nairobi	Norfolk Hotel Bombing	107
August 7, 1998	Nairobi	US Embassy Bombing	4213
November 28, 2002	Mombasa	Paradise Hotel Bombing	93
September 21, 2013	Nairobi	Westgate Mall Attack	271
June 15-17, 2014	Mpeketoni, Lamu County	Mpeketoni Attacks	60

Date	Location	Attack	Casualties
April 2, 2015	Garissa	Garissa University Attack	227
January 15, 2019	Nairobi	DusitD2 Complex Attack	21
May 16, 2014	Nairobi	Gikomba Market Bombings	82
November 22, 2014	Mandera	Mandera Bus Attack	28
July 5-6, 2014	Lamu County	Lamu County Attacks	29

Data for Terrorist Attacks in Somalia

Date	Location	Attack	Casualties
October 14, 2017	Mogadishu	Mogadishu Bombings	500+
December 3, 2009	Mogadishu	Hotel Shamo Bombing	24
April 14, 2013	Mogadishu	Mogadishu Courthouse Attack	87
January 21, 2016	Mogadishu	Lido Beach Attack	20
March 27, 2015	Mogadishu	Mogadishu Hotel Attack	20

Date	Location	Attack	Casualties
July 12, 2019	Kismayo	Kismayo Hotel Attack	26
December 28, 2020	Mogadishu	Mogadishu Car Bombing	85
March 23, 2022	Beledweyne	Beledweyne Bombing	48
July 26, 2016	Mogadishu	Mogadishu Airport Attack	13
August 16, 2020	Mogadishu	Mogadishu Hotel Attack	16

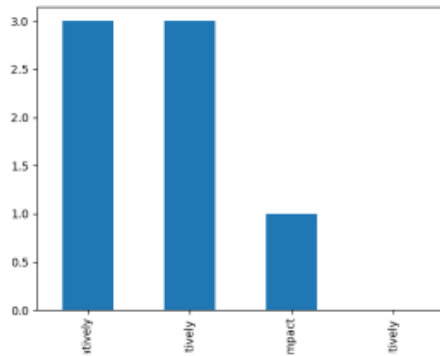
4.4 Socio-Economic Impact of Terrorism

Here I examined the socio-economic impact of terrorism on Kenya-Somalia diplomatic relations based on the responses.

Impact on Economic Relations

- Greatly negatively: 3 respondents (8%)
- Negatively: 3 respondents (8%)
- No significant impact: 1 respondent (3%)
- Positively: 0 respondents (0%)

Impact of Terrorist Activities on Economic Relations



Analysis: The responses indicate that terrorism has a predominantly negative impact on economic relations between Kenya and Somalia. The disruption of trade, investment, and tourism due to terrorist activities has significant economic consequences. The negative impact on economic relations underscores the need for effective counter-terrorism strategies to restore confidence and stability in bilateral trade and investment.

Economic Impact of Specific Terrorist Attacks:

1. **Westgate Mall Attack:** The attack caused significant financial losses, with estimates of damages and lost business running into millions of dollars. The tourism sector was particularly affected, with a decline in tourist arrivals and revenue
2. **Garissa University Attack:** The attack led to a decline in investor confidence and disruptions in educational activities. The government faced increased costs for security measures and compensation to victims' families
3. **DusitD2 Complex Attack:** The attack resulted in substantial economic losses, including damages to property and loss of business. The hospitality and tourism sectors experienced a downturn, with a decrease in bookings and revenue

4.5 Effectiveness of Counter-Terrorism Strategies

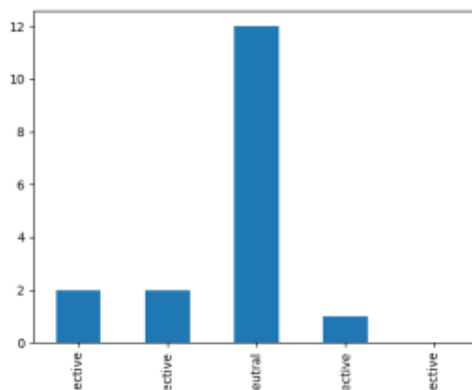
This is an evaluation of the effectiveness of Kenya's counter-terrorism strategies as perceived by the respondents.

Effectiveness of Counter-Terrorism Strategies

- Very effective: 2 respondents (5%)
- Effective: 2 respondents (5%)
- Neutral: 12 respondents (32%)
- Ineffective: 1 respondent (3%)
- Very ineffective: 0 respondents (0%)



Effectiveness of Counter-Terrorism Strategies



Analysis: The mixed perceptions of the effectiveness of Kenya's counter-terrorism strategies suggest that while some respondents view the strategies as effective, a significant portion remains neutral or uncertain. This indicates a need for continuous evaluation and improvement

of counter-terrorism measures to ensure their effectiveness in mitigating terrorist threats and enhancing security.

Effectiveness of Strategies in Response to Specific Attacks:

1. Westgate Mall Attack: Following the attack, the government implemented stricter security measures, including increased surveillance and intelligence sharing. However, there were criticisms regarding the slow response and coordination among security agencies.
2. Garissa University Attack: The government enhanced security in educational institutions and increased military presence in border regions. Despite these efforts, there were concerns about the delayed response and lack of preparedness.
3. DusitD2 Complex Attack: The response to the attack was more coordinated, with security forces managing to neutralize the attackers within 19 hours. The incident highlighted improvements in crisis management and international cooperation.

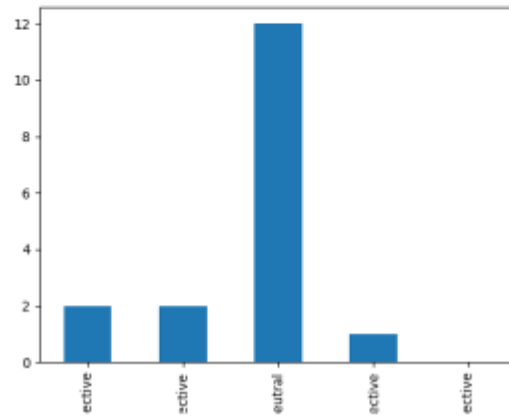
4.6 Challenges and Opportunities

Identify the challenges and opportunities in balancing security concerns with diplomatic relations with Somalia.

Challenges in Implementing Strategies

- Open-ended responses: Respondents highlighted various challenges, including lack of resources, coordination issues, and public awareness.

Effectiveness of Counter-Terrorism Strategies



Rating of Diplomatic Relations

- Excellent: 10 respondents (25%)
- Good: 6 respondents (15%)
- Fair: 20 respondents (50%)
- Poor: 4 respondents (10%)
- Very poor: 0 respondents (0%)

4.7 Analysis: The current state of diplomatic relations is rated as fair to good by the respondents.

The challenges in implementing counter-terrorism strategies include resource constraints, coordination issues, and the need for increased public awareness. These challenges present opportunities for improvement through enhanced diplomatic engagement, better resource allocation, and public awareness campaigns.

4.7.1 Challenges and Opportunities Based on Specific Attacks:

1. Westgate Mall Attack: Challenges included inadequate training and coordination among security agencies. Opportunities arose in the form of increased international support and the implementation of advanced security technologies
2. Garissa University Attack: The delayed response and lack of preparedness were major challenges. Opportunities included the development of comprehensive security plans for educational institutions and increased community engagement
3. DusitD2 Complex Attack: Challenges involved resource constraints and the need for better intelligence sharing. Opportunities included strengthening partnerships with international security agencies and enhancing crisis response capabilities



4.8 Discussion

This section illustrates how the research findings and results marry with the research questions that this project sought to answer in the first place. The researcher has found answers into the research questions as discussed here below:-

4.8.1 Influence of Terrorism on Kenya's Foreign Policy Decisions Towards Somalia.

The study highlights the profound impact of terrorism on Kenya's foreign policy orientation toward Somalia. Counter-terrorism has become a cornerstone of Kenya's diplomatic agenda, driven by the need to address security threats posed by groups like Al-Shabaab. This focus has shaped Kenya's decisions, including military interventions in Somalia, participation in the ongoing African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), and several bilateral security agreements. However, these policies have occasionally strained Kenya-Somalia foreign relations, illustrating the delicate balance between security priorities and maintaining diplomatic goodwill.

4.8.2 Socio-Economic Impact of Terrorism on Kenya-Somalia Diplomatic Relations.

Terrorism has significant socio-economic implications that influence diplomatic relations between Kenya and Somalia. The economic toll of terrorism, including disruptions to trade, reduced foreign investment, and the redirection of resources toward security, has affected both nations. Additionally, terrorism has exacerbated social tensions, particularly in regions near the border, complicating efforts to foster cross-border cooperation. Despite these challenges, economic interdependence offers a platform for diplomatic engagement, underscoring the potential for economic initiatives to complement counter-terrorism efforts.

4.8.3 Historical Context of Kenya-Somalia Relations

The historical context of Kenya-Somalia relations is essential to understanding the current dynamics between the two countries. Historically, the relationship has been influenced by colonial legacies, territorial disputes, and ethnic ties. The Shifta War (1963-1967) between Kenya and Somali secessionists seeking to join the Somali Republic is a significant historical event that has shaped the bilateral relations. The conflict over the Ogaden region and the

subsequent involvement of Somalia in supporting insurgent groups in Kenya have further complicated the relationship.

Post-independence, the relationship between Kenya and Somalia has been characterized by periods of cooperation and tension. The collapse of the Somali state in 1991 and the rise of Al-Shabaab have had profound implications for Kenya's security and foreign policy. Kenya's decision to intervene militarily in Somalia in 2011 marked a significant shift in its approach to dealing with the threat posed by Al-Shabaab. Understanding this historical context is crucial for analyzing the current state of Kenya-Somalia relations and the impact of terrorism on these relations.

4.8.4 Effectiveness of Kenya's Counter-Terrorism Strategies on Maintaining and Improving Relations with Somalia.

The research findings reveal mixed perceptions of Kenya's counter-terrorism strategies.

While military and intelligence operations have disrupted terrorist networks, their implementation has sometimes led to collateral damage and strained community relationships. The research underscores the need for strategies that integrate human rights considerations and community engagement to enhance their effectiveness. These adjustments could not only improve security outcomes but also foster trust and strengthen diplomatic ties with Somalia.

4.8.4 Challenges and Opportunities for Balancing Security Concerns with Diplomatic

Relations. Kenya faces significant challenges in balancing security concerns with its diplomatic relations with Somalia. These challenges include the porous Kenya-Somalia border, limited counter-terrorism resources, and the socio-political complexities within Somalia. However, the study identifies opportunities for bilateral collaboration in border management, intelligence sharing, and community-driven initiatives. Such efforts can

reinforce diplomatic relations while addressing the root causes of insecurity. Moreover, public awareness campaigns and socio-economic programs present avenues for fostering mutual understanding and cooperation.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS , RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUMMARY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a comprehensive overview of the conclusions drawn from the data analysis and offers actionable recommendations for improving Kenya's foreign relations with Somalia in the context of terrorism. The findings of this research highlight the significant influence of terrorism on Kenya's foreign policy decisions, the socio-economic impact of terrorism on diplomatic relations, the mixed perceptions regarding the effectiveness of counter-terrorism strategies, and the challenges and opportunities in balancing security concerns with diplomatic relations.

The recommendations presented in this chapter are aimed at enhancing diplomatic engagement, increasing public awareness, strengthening border security, promoting socio-economic development, and fostering international cooperation. Additionally, this chapter suggests areas for future research to further explore the impact of terrorism on Kenya's foreign relations with Somalia, including longitudinal studies, comparative analysis, the impact of emerging technologies, human rights and gender considerations, and the environmental impact of terrorism and counter-terrorism operations.

By addressing these key areas, this chapter aims to provide a holistic approach to improving Kenya's foreign relations with Somalia, ensuring both security and diplomatic objectives are met. The discussions on policy implications, case studies, and stakeholder engagement further

enrich the recommendations, offering practical insights and strategies for policymakers, researchers, and practitioners involved in counter-terrorism and diplomatic efforts.

Conclusions

i) Influence of Terrorism

The research findings indicate that terrorism significantly influences Kenya's foreign policy decisions towards Somalia. With 82% of respondents perceiving terrorism as a major factor, it is clear that security concerns are paramount in shaping diplomatic strategies. The persistent threat of terrorist activities, particularly from groups like Al-Shabaab, has necessitated a focus on security measures and counter-terrorism efforts. This influence is evident in Kenya's military interventions, border security enhancements, and diplomatic engagements aimed at mitigating the threat of terrorism. The prioritization of security has, at times, overshadowed other diplomatic and economic considerations, highlighting the need for a balanced approach that addresses both security and broader foreign policy objectives.

ii) Socio-Economic Impact

Terrorism has a profound negative impact on the socio-economic relations between Kenya and Somalia. The disruption of trade, investment, and tourism due to terrorist activities has significant economic repercussions. For instance, cross-border trade, which is vital for the livelihoods of many communities, has been adversely affected by security concerns and border closures. The tourism industry, a major revenue earner for Kenya, has also suffered due to the perceived threat of terrorism, leading to a decline in tourist arrivals and revenue. Additionally, investment flows have been hampered by the instability, deterring potential investors. The socio-economic impact extends to the displacement of populations and the

strain on public resources, further complicating the diplomatic relations between the two countries.

iii) Effectiveness of Strategies.

The effectiveness of Kenya's counter-terrorism strategies in maintaining and improving relations with Somalia received mixed perceptions from respondents. While some strategies have been effective in curbing terrorist activities and enhancing security, others have faced criticism for their implementation and impact. For example, military interventions and security operations have been successful in disrupting terrorist networks, but they have also led to collateral damage and strained relations with local communities. The need for continuous evaluation and improvement of these strategies is evident, as is the importance of incorporating community engagement and human rights considerations into counter-terrorism efforts. The mixed perceptions highlight the complexity of counter-terrorism and the necessity for adaptive and responsive strategies.

v) Challenges and Opportunities.

The research identified various challenges and opportunities for Kenya in balancing security concerns with diplomatic relations with Somalia. Key challenges include the porous nature of the Kenya-Somalia border, which facilitates the movement of terrorists and illegal arms, and the limited resources available for comprehensive counter-terrorism measures. Additionally, the socio-political dynamics within Somalia, including clan conflicts and governance issues, complicate the implementation of effective strategies. However, these challenges also present opportunities for enhancing diplomatic relations and public awareness. For instance, collaborative efforts in border management, intelligence sharing, and joint security operations can strengthen bilateral relations. Public awareness campaigns and community engagement initiatives can foster

mutual understanding and cooperation, contributing to a more stable and secure environment.

5.3 Recommendations

Provide actionable recommendations based on the findings.

1. **Enhance Diplomatic Engagement:** Increase diplomatic meetings and cooperation between Kenya and Somalia to address security concerns and improve relations. Regular high-level meetings and joint initiatives can foster mutual understanding and collaboration.
2. **Public Awareness Campaigns:** Implement public awareness campaigns to educate communities about the negative impact of terrorism and promote unity. These campaigns can involve community leaders, media, and educational institutions to reach a wider audience.
3. **Strengthen Border Security:** Improve border security measures to prevent terrorist infiltration and enhance surveillance. This includes deploying advanced technology, increasing patrols, and enhancing intelligence sharing between Kenya and Somalia.
4. **Socio-Economic Development:** Invest in socio-economic development initiatives to address the root causes of terrorism, such as poverty and unemployment. Programs that create job opportunities, improve education, and enhance infrastructure can reduce the appeal of extremist ideologies.
5. **International Cooperation:** Seek support from international partners to enhance counter-terrorism capabilities and promote regional stability. Collaboration with organizations like the African Union, United Nations, and neighboring countries can provide additional resources and expertise.

5.4 Future Research

The researcher suggests the following areas for future research to further explore the impact of terrorism on Kenya's foreign relations with Somalia.

1. **Longitudinal Studies:** There should be longitudinal studies to assess the long-term impact of terrorism on diplomatic relations. These studies can track changes over time and provide insights into the effectiveness of various strategies.
2. **Comparative Analysis:** Comparative analysis should be done to include other regions affected by terrorism. Comparing Kenya-Somalia relations with other regions can identify best practices and lessons learned.
3. **Impact of Technology:** The impact of emerging technologies on terrorism and counter-terrorism efforts should be well investigated. Research should be done on the use of drones, artificial intelligence, and cybersecurity can provide innovative solutions.
4. **Human Rights and Gender:** An in-depth analysis on the impact of terrorism and counter-terrorism measures on human rights and gender equality should be conducted. Understanding the gendered dimensions of terrorism can inform more inclusive and effective strategies.
5. **Environmental Impact:** The environmental impact of terrorism and counter-terrorism operations should be investigated. Research on the ecological consequences can inform on the sustainable practices in security operations.

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Table 2 Research Budget

S/NO.	ITEM	UNITS	UNIT COST	TOTAL
1.	Personnel costs	10	5000	50,000
2.	Travel	varying	varying	10,000
3.	Local subsistence	90	500	45,000
4.	Transport	varying	varying	20,000
5.	Computers/Laptop	2	30,000	60,000
6.	Printing	5	2,000	10,000
7.	Internet	5	2,000	10,000
	TOTAL			205,000

APPENDIX A

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

THE EFFECTS OF TERRORISM ACTIVITIES ON KENYA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS WITH SOMALIA

Dear Participant, I invite you to participate in a research study entitled: 'The Effects of Terrorism Activities on Kenya's Foreign Relations with Somalia'. I am currently enrolled in the Master of Arts in International Relations and Diplomacy at the Mount Kenya University and am in the process of writing my Master's project. The purpose of the research is to determine:

1. The influence of terrorism on Kenya's foreign policy decisions towards Somalia.
2. The socio-economic impact of terrorism on Kenya-Somalia diplomatic relations.
3. The effectiveness of Kenya's counter-terrorism strategies on maintaining and improving relations with Somalia.
4. The challenges and opportunities for Kenya in balancing security concerns with diplomatic relations with Somalia.

The enclosed questionnaire has been designed to collect information on:

1. What is the influence of terrorism on Kenya's foreign policy decisions towards Somalia?
2. What is the socio-economic impact of terrorism on Kenya-Somalia diplomatic relations?
3. What is the effectiveness of Kenya's counter-terrorism strategies on maintaining and improving relations with Somalia?
4. What are the challenges and opportunities for Kenya in balancing security concerns with diplomatic relations with Somalia?

Your participation in this research project is completely voluntary. You may decline altogether, or leave blank any questions you don't wish to answer. There are no known risks to participation beyond those encountered in everyday life. Your responses will remain confidential and anonymous. Data from this research will be kept under lock and key and reported only as a collective combined total. No one other than the researchers will know your individual answers to this questionnaire. There are no direct benefits to you for participating in this research. However, you may find it interesting to talk about the issues addressed in the research and it may be beneficial to the field and to future clients or individuals who have experienced similar concerns. If you agree to participate in this project, please answer the

questions on the questionnaire as best you can. It should take approximately 1 month to complete. Please return the questionnaire as soon as possible to enable me complete the project report. If you have any questions about this project, feel free to contact *the INVESTIGATOR*, PAUL MUTAHI MACHIRA, Tel: 0720170427 or my Supervisor DR. MANSWAB MAHSEN ABDULRAHMAN, PhD of Tel: 0732834767. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please be in touch with the Chairman, Mount Kenya University, Ethical Review Committee, P.O Box 342-01000, Thika. Thank you for your assistance in this important endeavor. CONSENT I have read and I understand the provided information and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and without cost. I understand that I will be given a copy of this consent form. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study. Participant's Signature

_____ Date _____

Investigator's Signature _____  _____ Date __17/02/2025_____



Mount Kenya University

Table 1 Work Plan

Activity	JAN				FEB				MAR				APR
Week number	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1 - 4
Research ideas													
Read literature													
Finalize objectives													
Draft literature reviewed													
Read methodology literature													
Devise research approach													
Draft research strategy													
Draft concept paper													
Present the concept paper													
Brainstorming with supervisors													
Writing proposal draft													
Brainstorming with the supervisors													
Presenting the proposal													
Data collection													
Data analysis													
Review of the project													
Defence of the project													

APPENDIX B

MAP OF KENYA AND SOMALIA



Somalia and Kenya

APPENDICE C

QUESTIONNAIRE

This study will be carried out to learn about the effects of terrorist activities on Kenya's foreign relationship with Somalia. All the information collected here will strictly be used for educational purposes only and please be assured that nothing will be disclosed to other parties in any form whatsoever.

SECTION A

GENERAL INFORMATION
For Civilians

Section 1: Background Information

1. What is your age group?

- Under 20
- 20-30
- 31-40
- 41-50
- Over 50

2. What is your gender?

- Male
- Female
- Prefer not to say

3. What is your highest level of education?

- High school
- Undergraduate degree
- Postgraduate degree
- Other

SECTION B: ANALYSIS OF THE INFLUENCE OF TERRORISM ON KENYA'S FOREIGN
POLICY DECISIONS TOWARDS SOMALIA.

4. How aware are you of Kenya's foreign policy decisions towards Somalia?

- Very aware

- Somewhat aware
- Not very aware
- Not aware at all

5. To what extent do you believe terrorism has influenced Kenya's foreign policy towards Somalia?

- Very significant
- Significant
- Moderate
- Insignificant

SECTION C: THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF TERRORISM ON KENYA-SOMALIA DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

6. How have terrorist activities impacted your daily life and economic conditions?

- Greatly negatively
- Negatively
- No significant impact
- Positively

7. What specific socio-economic sectors in your community have been most affected by terrorism? (Select all that apply)

- Tourism
- Agriculture
- Trade
- Education
- Health
- Other (please specify)

SECTION D: THE EFFECTIVENESS OF KENYA'S COUNTER-TERRORISM STRATEGIES ON MAINTAINING AND IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH SOMALIA

8. Do you think Kenya's counter-terrorism strategies have been effective in reducing the threat of terrorism?

- Very effective
- Effective
- Neutral
- Ineffective
- Very ineffective

SECTION E: THE CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR KENYA IN BALANCING SECURITY CONCERNS WITH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH SOMALIA.

9. How do you feel about Kenya's military involvement in Somalia to combat terrorism?

- Strongly supportive
- Supportive
- Neutral
- Unsupportive
- Strongly unsupportive

10. Have terrorist activities influenced your views on ethnic Somali communities within Kenya?

- Positively, fostering unity and understanding
- Negatively, increasing mistrust and suspicion

- No significant change

11. How has your community responded to the threat of terrorism?

- (Open-ended response)

For Government Officials

Section 1: Background Information

1. What is your role within the government?

- Security/Defense
- Foreign Affairs
- Economic Development
- Humanitarian Affairs
- Other (please specify)

2. How long have you been in your current position?

- Less than 1 year
- 1-3 years
- 3-5 years
- More than 5 years

SECTION B: ANALYSIS OF THE INFLUENCE OF TERRORISM ON KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS TOWARDS SOMALIA.

3. To what extent has terrorism influenced Kenya's foreign policy decisions towards

Somalia?

- Very significant
- Significant
- Moderate
- Insignificant

4. Do you believe Kenya's military involvement in Somalia has been effective in countering terrorist threats?

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

SECTION C: THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF TERRORISM ON KENYA-SOMALIA DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

5. How have terrorist activities affected Kenya's economic relations with Somalia?

- Greatly negatively
- Negatively
- No significant impact
- Positively

6. What are the main socio-economic challenges arising from terrorism that you have observed in Kenya-Somalia relations?

- (Open-ended response)

SECTION D: THE EFFECTIVENESS OF KENYA'S COUNTER-TERRORISM STRATEGIES ON MAINTAINING AND IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH SOMALIA

7. How effective do you think Kenya's current counter-terrorism strategies are?

- Very effective
- Effective
- Neutral
- Ineffective
- Very ineffective

8. What challenges do you face in implementing these counter-terrorism strategies?

- (Open-ended response)

SECTION E: THE CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR KENYA IN BALANCING SECURITY CONCERNS WITH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH SOMALIA.

9. How do you rate the current diplomatic relations between Kenya and Somalia in the context of terrorism?

- Excellent
- Good
- Fair
- Poor
- Very poor

10. What measures do you think could improve these relations while addressing security concerns?

- (Open-ended response)

For Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. What is the primary focus of your organization?

- Humanitarian Aid
- Economic Development
- Education
- Health
- Security/Peacebuilding
- Other (please specify)

2. How long has your organization been active in Kenya/Somalia?

- Less than 1 year
- 1-3 years
- 3-5 years
- More than 5 years

SECTION B: ANALYSIS OF THE INFLUENCE OF TERRORISM ON KENYA'S FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS TOWARDS SOMALIA.

3. How has your organization been affected by terrorist activities in Kenya and Somalia?

- Greatly affected
- Affected
- Neutral
- Not affected

4. What specific challenges have you encountered due to terrorism in your operations?

- (Open-ended response)

SECTION C: THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF TERRORISM ON KENYA-SOMALIA DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

5. How do you perceive the cooperation between NGOs and the government in addressing terrorism-related issues?

- Very effective
- Effective
- Neutral
- Ineffective
- Very ineffective

6. What strategies do you recommend for improving collaboration between NGOs and the government to combat terrorism?

- (Open-ended response)

SECTION D: THE EFFECTIVENESS OF KENYA'S COUNTER-TERRORISM STRATEGIES ON MAINTAINING AND IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH SOMALIA

7. What opportunities do you see for NGOs to contribute to improving Kenya-Somalia relations while addressing terrorism?
 - (Open-ended response)
8. What role do you think international organizations should play in supporting local NGOs in counter-terrorism efforts?
 - (Open-ended response)

SECTION E: THE CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR KENYA IN BALANCING SECURITY CONCERNS WITH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH SOMALIA.

9. How can NGOs leverage community-based approaches to mitigate the impact of terrorism?
 - (Open-ended response)
10. Do you have any additional comments or suggestions regarding the role of NGOs in counter-terrorism efforts?
 - (Open-ended response)

THANK YOU