

## Security-Diplomacy Nexus: Nature of Bilateral Cooperation in Kenya - India Military Diplomatic Relations Since 1963

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### ABSTRACT

*Bilateral and multilateral agreements have been one of the mechanisms through which growth and development have taken place. The newly created independent states of the Cold War period presented a major paradigm shift in international cooperation to include military diplomacy. Kenya and India being among these newly created states have had their cooperation where by the two countries have used their good diplomatic relations to bolster one another's military capabilities. The current study sought to put into perspective the conduct of bilateral relations between Kenya and India. The objective of this study was to examine the nature of bilateral cooperation in enhancing Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations since 1963. The study was anchored on power theory. The study adopted a descriptive research design. The study was carried out in Nairobi County, Kenya with a specific focus on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Defence Ministry, and Indian High Commission. The target population was 2500. The sample size for the study was determined using Yamane's (1967) formula to calculate the sample size, which was 250. Qualitative data obtained from interviews were analysed using narrative reports using thematic techniques. Quantitative data from the questionnaires was edited, coded, and entered into a computer spreadsheet in a standard format to allow descriptive statistics analysis. Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS) edition 24 and Microsoft Office Excel 2013 were used for the quantitative data. The findings of the study revealed that the nature of Kenya-India military diplomatic relations manifested in various forms including through High-profile visits by Kenyan and Indian officials to both states as a way of strengthening bilateral relations. Technological transfer was another way through which these two nations shaped their diplomatic relationship, particularly in information and communication technology (ICT). Additionally, Defense trade and trade agreements, Security Partnerships, Counterterrorism activities, Maritime Safety, and Peacekeeping missions were common areas of cooperation between Kenya and India. The study concludes that bilateral cooperation between Kenya and India has been instrumental in enhancing their military-diplomatic relations since 1963. The study recommends that, to better understand the nature of bilateral cooperation, Kenya and India should establish a permanent joint military commission to oversee and coordinate defense initiatives.*

**Keywords:** Bilateral, Cooperation, Diplomacy, Diplomatic Relations, Kenya-India, Military

### I. INTRODUCTION

After the Second World War, nations used agreements between two or more nations to facilitate growth and development. For example, Guzman (2018) argued that the United States has a set of agreements with countries in the North and South and with Asia, European, African, and Middle Eastern countries. These agreements are within military, trade and investment, cultural relations, diplomatic, and security domains. France, Britain, Australia, Canada, and other countries have these instruments. No one can deny the necessity and significance of bilateral and multilateral cooperation Guzman (2018); therefore, the constant expansion of the role of national, regional, and global institutions in the delivery of domestic and global affairs.

Countries that employ bilateral diplomacy, such as America, the United Kingdom, Canada, France, New Zealand, Australia, Japan, and South Korea, have invested in surveillance as well as human resources for preventing the development of nuclear weapons and ballistic missiles espoused by the United Nations Security Cooperation (UNSC) resolution 2023 (Council Foreign Relations, 2023). In this light, Dian (2019) mentions that, for the last seven decades, both South Korea and Japan have hardly been able to trust each other fully; however, it is high time to mention the security aspect coupled with the broader geopolitical features of the region. The distrust has caused mil-to-mil relations to suffer because people's lives are at stake in situations involving the foreign military. Whether a state is democratic or not, the state and its people should exist and develop. This is linked to any state's fundamental goals: for citizens and their safety in the stability of institutions (Kwon, 2018).

Besides, the AU offers a strategic outlook towards military collaboration. In its pursuit of stability and security objectives in Africa, it has a Peace and Security Council, peace operations, and conflict management. Thus, deploying

African countries' troops under AU banners to areas affected by warfare captures the underpinning philosophy of the desire for peace and unity (African Union, 2019). According to Becker (2020), military diplomacy is typically associated with the Western countries and colonialism paradigm, where the colonial powers have relations with their colonies. He also asserts that military diplomacy is critical in fostering African unity through Regional Institutions and Organizations. Consequently, through conducting joint military training, sports and games, exchange programs, defense attachés, and other peacekeeping missions, African states are gradually adopting and/or expanding on military diplomacy to promote the continent's security (Becker, 2020).

Although India has chosen not to compete directly with China in East Africa but to identify areas of interest, it has been expected to play the role of a partner in the process of African reformation not only from the African perspective but also from an international point of view. Kenya is a strategic nation within the African Continent and has attracted interest not only from the so called big players in the international system such as the US, UK, the EU and Japan as regard bilateral cooperation, but is also on the radar of great economies such as India. Therefore, Kenya is a leader in African development cooperation while redesigning their development partnerships with India (Dogga *et al.*, 2023).

### 1.1 Statement of the Problem

The diplomatic and military relations between Kenya and India have been convivial, and agreements have been based on mutual benefit in the past. However, a significant gap emerges when looking at the nature of those relations. The nature of this binary relationship is that Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations appear to tilt in many contours in favor of India, raising questions over equity and the strategic sustainability of this relationship (Jain, 2024). Thus, despite strong and long-standing bilateral relations between Kenya and India, military-diplomatic relations remain West and, hence, are not efficacious in making the cooperation effective in addressing the military inequalities between the two countries. Since Kenya's independence in 1963, collaborative military diplomacy with India has existed, yet India's military technology far surpasses Kenya's, creating concerns about inequality in defense collaboration. The nature of military diplomacy suggests that Kenya-India military-diplomatic relation generally tends to side with India because of militaristic decisions, eliciting questions about this partnership's balance, symmetry, and stability into a trade-off (Jain, 2024). Some of the areas of cooperation include, but are not limited to, military cooperation, trade and investment, education and culture exchange, diplomacy, and security. From the perspective of African countries, the cooperation of a nation-state with its military is a reaction to the complex cross-cutting threats that transcend national boundaries. Since Kenya's independence in 1963, collaborative military diplomacy with India has existed, yet India's military technology far surpasses Kenya's, creating concerns about inequality in defense collaboration.

### 1.2 Research Objective

This study aimed to examine the nature of bilateral cooperation in enhancing Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations since 1963.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Theoretical Review

The study was anchored on a theoretical framework. In line with study variables power theory was used to give the theoretical underpinnings of the nature of bilateral cooperation in enhancing Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations since 1963.

#### 2.1.1 Power Theory

The study was grounded on Power Theory. Tobore (2023) defined power as the possibility of how one particular actor in any social relationship resists having his way. Williams (2012), in a paper presented at the International Studies Association in Beijing, China 2012, suggested that the objects in the relationship of power should be referred to as actors. Because the term actor is very general, the actor can include an individual, a group, a role, an office, a government, a nation-state, or any other set of people. Williams (2012), in his post, refutes the idea that power is a possession of an individual; instead, he defines power as the group's properties, and that power only exists where the group continues to exist.

In Politics and International Relations, Thompson (1952) notes that the interest underlies all politics is power, and irrespective of the ultimate goal of international politics, the goal in any process of international politics is power. All states strive to increase their influence; international politics, therefore, is best described and understood as an attempt by one independent actor to exercise power over other actors. Therefore, it is correct to say that states differ more in their capacity to attain somewhat similar goals than in the goals pursued. According to Waltz, each state has an interest, an independent, formally equal political unit resorting, in the last instance, to its means for achieving its

objectives. In anarchic settings, the individual incentive is to place one's unit where it can fend for itself because no one else will.

The power concept, one of the international relations theories, offers a perspective from which the interaction of Kenyan-Indian military-diplomatic relations can be viewed. Power theorists who have applied Power Theory in the analysis of international relations include Hans Morgenthau, Kenneth Waltz, Joseph Nye, and Williams 2012. They have looked at different facets of power, its impact on diplomacy, and how power determines state behavior, and diplomacy. The strength of Power theory is that it acknowledges power differences among nations. A power distance is evident in Kenya-India military diplomacy, and India is clearly in favor. The nature of the relationship is skewed in favor of India due to the size and technological capacity of the Indian military (Arnold, 2011). This power imbalance does not take away the dynamics of the relationship. In addition, the power principle focuses on relative power, that is, power difference, which is the comparison between two actors. In this regard, India's superior military capacities, economic strength, and geopolitical impact considerably alter the balance of power. These are outcomes that Kenya cannot afford due to its limited military capacity and budgetary problems to enhance its military diplomatic relations with India. Williams (2012) proposed to call the objects in the relationship of power as actors. The term actor is inclusive and refers to individuals, groups, roles, offices, governments, nation-states, or other human aggregates. Williams (2012) defined power not as the property of an individual but rather argued that it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together.

Referring to the authors cited above, Waltz noted that balance of power politics exists where "two or more states coexist" in an anarchic political system where no superior authority is there to assist a failing state or to deprive any of requisite instrument it believes is requisite for its functioning (Indian Council of World Affairs, 2023, October 6). It has become a typical convention and reminder that the capability of others, particularly great power, is always a menace, never a solution. It means that weak states may not have any choice but to wish and pray that they substantially bet on early winners of a conflict so they have to survive and (at least some) other relevant interests (Indian Council of World Affairs, 2023, October 6). The argument is that every time two hegemonial powers are in confrontation, each constitutes an existential threat to security for the other; they must be enemies. Whether they like doing so or not, both must check and balance the other.

## 2.2 Empirical Review

Over time, states realised that persuasion was key to fostering relations. Indeed, states became aware of the fact that demonstration was often more effective than application of force. However, the carrot and stick principle became a handy tool for setting up interstate relations. It is not surprising to observe the use of force in the military sense as the infiltrated 'muscle' into negotiations. Military and diplomacy are the oldest foreign policy tools that have been employed since the earliest times by the states. Thus applied, diplomacy is blended with other tools apart from the military to comprise economics and subversion, which are in the category known as mixed diplomacy. On this premise, diplomacy is a communication medium, and the threat to use other instruments is passed through other parties (The High Commission of India, 2022).

The classical example is the United States, where European command forces were diminished in 1989 from about 240000 to a force of 100000 people. In general, the United States handed over the local government overseeing installation by 60% in the 1990s. Similarly, United States European Command (EUCOM) altered geography in the South and East to participate in Eastern European and African regions. After 2004, the trend towards a declining number was revealed with the global posture review, and the Base Realignment and Closure (BRAC) 2005 was echoed in the source by Buzan and Hansen. The U.S. Navy has also created other means of improving its outreach by naming global fleet stations that will allow for setting up independent activities that will help perform the general operating functions in the region by using adaptive standardised packages. This is the same with the military, whose participation is significant in functioning (Masters, 2019).

In Africa, for instance, many of the organisations present in the regions were not initially established to deal with issues such as conflict. For example, Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD) has primarily focused on the development of the North-East Africa region, but over time, it has encroached on the role of bringing peace and security back, especially in Sudan and Somalia. In the recent past, African regional institutions have shifted gears on the logical responsibility for promoting peace and security within the region (Chan, 2019). Without solving the conflicts that have become worldwide, there is no chance of development, economic unification, and growth. Most goals are very hard, if not practically impossible, to achieve in environments that are characterised by turbulence. This is why African regional and sub-regional organisations have been significantly engaged in security and conflict management through conflict prevention or mediation (Chan, 2019).

As is the case with most countries, India needs to realise its goals and pursue its foreign policy agenda. OPC's Rajagopalan on military diplomacy explained that strategy is among the tools to manage a country's diplomacy. India has not been very active in this respect, but the Indian authorities are trying to be more assertive to obtain the maximum

relative gains. Rajagopalan further presents what she sees as a definition of military diplomacy (Jain, 2024). She explicates military diplomacy as the practice of foreign affairs by the men in uniform or the civilians at desks within the ministries of defense. Besides, its role has expanded to incorporate defence exchanges, substantially in combined training with other foreign countries' militaries. Thus, military diplomacy has been more elaborate with the Chinese, though their definition of military diplomacy looks slightly different, encompassing only foreign affairs conducted by defense institutions and armed forces.

Among them could be identified the 1890 Anglo-German Agreement, also termed as the Helgoland-Zanzibar treaty, regarding which it can be noted that most, if not all, the emerging colonial concerns of Great Britain as well as Germany in Africa were resolved through this treaty. Although the treaty signed in 1890 aimed at swapping Helgoland for Zanzibar, the Anglo-German colonial frontier and conflict over Africa, especially in East Africa, was the major reason for such a treaty (Johnson, 2002). These two small islands of Zanzibar and Helgoland (also known as Heligoland), the former a part of modern-day Tanzania and later a part of Germany in the North Sea, proved to occupy a strategic place in this accord and had a major role in several other European territorial exchanges (Johnson, 2002, pp.). Although India has not competed with China head-on in East Africa, they have sought to carve a niche market in areas where China is not fully involved; it has been more of a partner in Africa's development, not only from within Africa but also from other parts of the world. Old-style development agencies of the USA, UK, and Japan are now interested in active partnership with India for African development cooperation, though they are modifying their development-related relationship with India only (Dogga *et al.*, 2023).

### III. METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Research Design

A descriptive research design was used for this study. This design was useful in gathering respondents' attitudes and opinions on various social issues using questionnaires and interviews.

#### 3.2 Research Approach

The study used mixed method approaches. In this regard, both qualitative and quantitative approaches (QUAN + QUAL) were applied in the process of data collection and analysis as well as presentation of findings.

#### 3.3 Study Population

The study was conducted in Nairobi County, Kenya, focusing on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Defence Ministry, and the Indian High Commission. The selected study was informed by high-level diplomacy visits between Kenya and India since independence in 1963 and inter-changing military exchange programs. Kenya and India are members of the United Nations, Non-Aligned Movement, Commonwealth of Nations, G-77 & G-15, and Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation and mostly work together on these forums.

#### 3.4 Target Population

This included military officials, diplomats, policymakers, and experts with knowledge of the historical and contemporary aspects of the relationship. The researcher also targeted individuals who have held or currently hold significant positions in the Indian government and military, especially those involved in shaping and implementing policies related to bilateral cooperation with Kenya. The researcher included academics and researchers specializing in international relations, security studies, and diplomatic history. They provided scholarly perspectives on the efficacy of bilateral cooperation over time. In addition, the researcher considered individuals with practical, on-the-ground experience in military exchanges, joint exercises, or other collaborative initiatives between India and Kenya. Their firsthand experiences offered valuable insights.

#### 3.5 Sample Size

In determination of the sample size, the researcher used Yamane's (1967) formula to calculate the sample size which was 250 respondents from a target population of 2500 respondents. This was done as follows:

$$n = N / (1 + Ne^2)$$

Where: n = minimum sample size

N = Population

E = precision set at 95% (5% = 0.05)

Hence;  $n = 2500 / 1 + (2500 \times 0.0025)$

n = 250 participants

Additionally, the researcher used purposive sampling in identifying key stakeholders involved in military diplomatic relations between Kenya and India as indicated Table 1.

**Table 1***Sampling frame for KIIs from Kenya and India*

<b>KII Respondents from Kenya</b>	<b>Target Population</b>	<b>Sample size</b>	<b>Sampling technique</b>	<b>Data collection method</b>
Senior Officials from the Defense Ministry	10	1	Purposive	Interview Schedule
Senior Officials from the Foreign Affairs Ministry	10	1	Purposive	Interview Schedule
Officials from IPSTC	10	1	Purposive	Interview Schedule
Senior Military Officials	10	1	Purposive	Interview Schedule
Security and Defense Analysts	10	1	Purposive	Interview Schedule
	<b>50</b>	<b>5</b>		
<b>KII respondents from India</b>	<b>Target Population</b>	<b>Sample size</b>	<b>Sampling technique</b>	<b>Data collection method</b>
Indian Military Attachés:	10	1	Purposive	Interview Schedule
Indian Defense Attachés:	10	1	Purposive	Interview Schedule
Officials from the Indian High Commission	10	1	Purposive	Interview Schedule
Indian Consulate Officials	10	1	Purposive	Interview Schedule
Indian Business Representatives in the Defense Sector	10	1	Convenience	Interview Schedule
Indian Defense Contractors or Advisors	10	1	Purposive	Interview Schedule
	<b>60</b>	<b>6</b>		

### 3.6 Sampling Technique

The study in this section applied stratified random sampling with the proportional allocation method to obtain the sample of the phenomenon to be studied. Stratified random sampling involves stratification or segregation of sampling elements, followed by random selection of the subjects from each stratum. From a sample of 250 as determined in the previous section, the researcher used stratified sampling method to get respondents specifically from various study locations including the Kahawa barracks, Lang'ata barracks, Waterworks Camp, Kenya Army Ammunition Depot.

The researcher used purposive sampling in identifying key stakeholders involved in military diplomatic relations between Kenya and India. This included military officials, diplomats, policymakers, and experts with knowledge of the historical and contemporary aspects of the relationship. The researcher also targeted individuals who have held or currently hold significant positions in the Indian government and military, especially those involved in shaping and implementing policies related to bilateral cooperation with Kenya. The researcher included academics and researchers specializing in international relations, security studies, and diplomatic history. They provided scholarly perspectives on the efficacy of bilateral cooperation over time. Also, the researcher considered individuals with practical, on-the-ground experience in military exchanges, joint exercises, or other collaborative initiatives between India and Kenya. Their firsthand experiences offered valuable insights. In this study, the researcher employed a purposive sampling technique to select respondents from the Indian side, specifically choosing one individual from every ten in the strata of the identified categories: Indian Military Attachés, Defense Attachés, officials from the Indian High Commission, Indian Consulate officials, Indian business representatives in the defense sector, and Indian defense contractors or advisors. This approach ensured each stratum contributed a representative with specialized knowledge pertinent to Kenya-India military-diplomatic relations.

The purposive sampling method was chosen because it allowed for the intentional selection of respondents who possess deep expertise and are directly involved in the military-diplomatic interface between Kenya and India. This strategy is justified by the need to gather rich, detailed information from the most knowledgeable individuals, thereby enhancing the study's validity and reliability. By selecting one (1) respondent from every ten (10) in each category, the researcher ensured a diverse yet focused representation of perspectives, allowing for a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics at play. This method also facilitated a manageable sample size that could be thoroughly analyzed within the scope of the study, ensuring that the data collected was both relevant and insightful.

### 3.7 Data Collection Methods

The study used both primary and secondary data. In using primary sources, data was collected from selected respondents using interviews and questionnaires, while secondary data was collected using document analysis.

### 3.8 Data Analysis

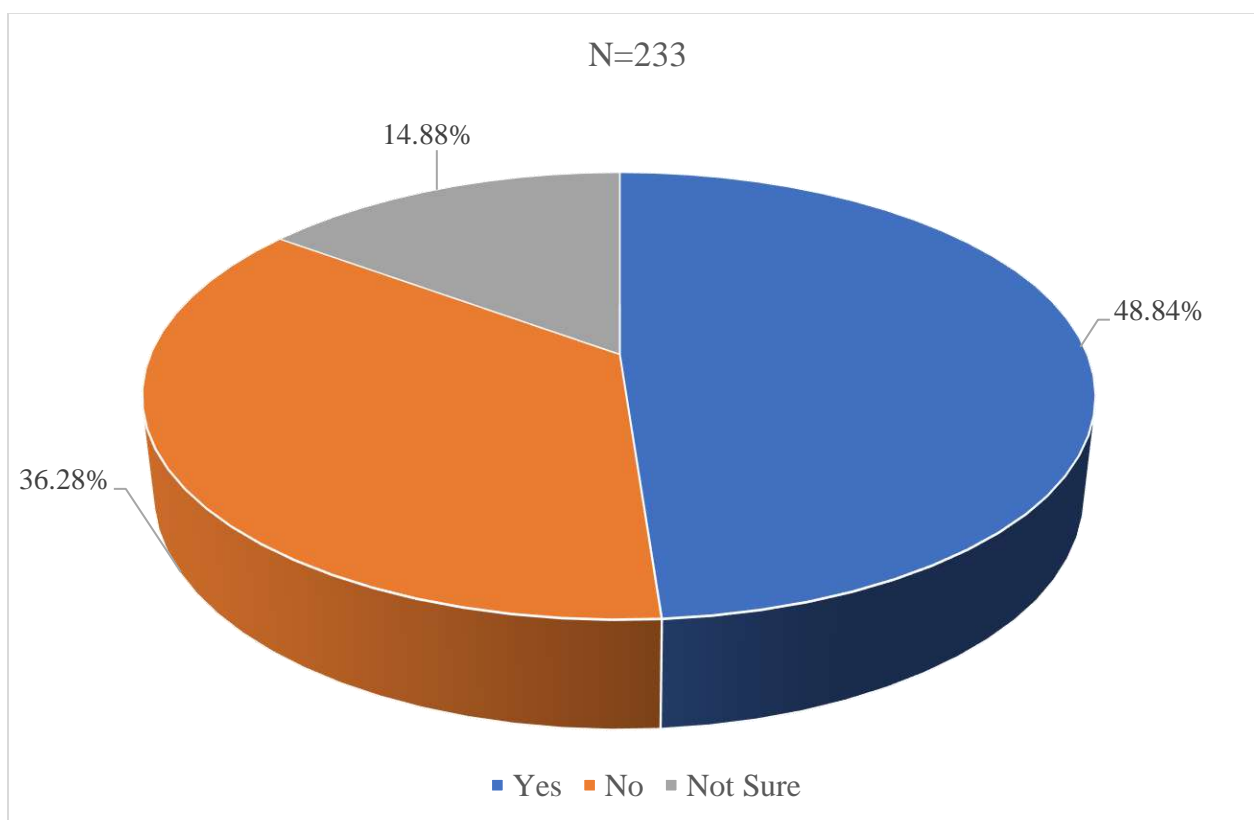
Qualitative data obtained from interviews were analyzed transcribed and analyzed using thematic techniques and presented the form of narrative reports and thematic techniques. Quantitative data from the questionnaires was edited, coded, and entered into a computer spreadsheet in a standard format to allow descriptive statistics analysis. Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS) edition 24 and Microsoft Office Excel 2013 were used for the

quantitative data. The data was presented in descriptive form in terms of frequencies and percentages. The study's findings were then presented in tables, bar charts, and pie charts.

#### IV. FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

##### 4.1 Whether there is Awareness of Bilateral Relations between Kenya and India

The study examined whether there is awareness of bilateral relations between Kenya and India. Out of 233 respondents, 105(48.84%) said yes to the inquiry, 78(36.28%) said no, and 50 (14.88%) were not sure whether there are Kenya-India bilateral relations. The results are illustrated in Figure 1.



**Figure 1**  
*Awareness of Bilateral Relations between Kenya and India*  
 Source: Field Data, 2024

The study examining awareness of bilateral relations between Kenya and India paints the picture in halves, as seen by the respondents. Of the 233 questionnaires administered, only 105 respondents, or 48.84%, indicated they understood the bilateral relationship between Kenya and India. This group seems to form a good proportion of the population; people will have a fair understanding of the diplomatic, economic, and cultural relations between the two countries. This was due to historical relations, trading relations, military exchange programs, and the presence of the Indian community in Kenya. On the other hand, 78 respondents, 34.67%, affirmed that they did not know these bilateral relations. This large percentage suggests some lack of public awareness due to both governments' lack of outreach or dialogue. This may mean that while there are formal networks, the connection is not as public, and people are not aware of the details of the networks. Such lack of awareness may be detrimental to the provisions of the bilateral partnership since public support and understanding are very important requisites of global dynamics.

Furthermore, about 50 respondents were asked to guess or express uncertainty in the following responses, and 22.22% were unsure whether there were bilateral relations between Kenya and India. This uncertainty means there is confusion in the public domain on the relationship, which points to a level of knowledge where people bargain to give an accurate and definitive answer about the relationship. This discovery implies increasing awareness and optimising relations between the two countries. It, however, revealed that although most of the population is aware of the Kenya-India bilateral friendly relations, there is so much ignorance and vague information among many. To build those ties, both countries might require employing more public diplomacy to ensure the shared cooperation is visible to the populations of the countries involved.

In light of the preceding statement, one of the respondents stated that:

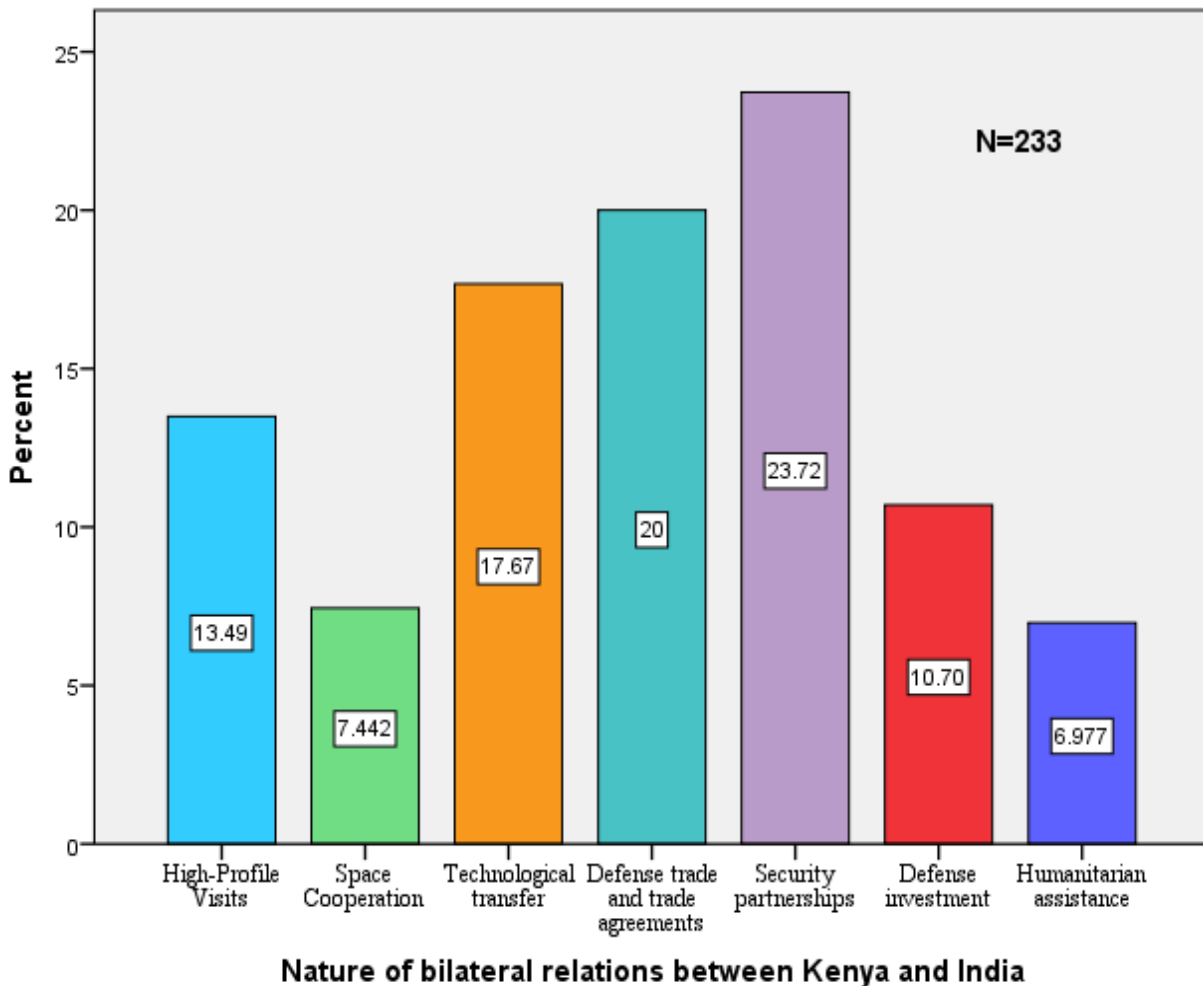


“This awareness shows a gradual realisation of the strategic and economic cooperation between the two countries. That being said, there are still a significant amount of people who either do not know or are unsure of the relations existing between the countries; there is a great need for the public to become more informed about these relations and to recognise the role and effectiveness of the bilateral cooperation being achieved” (Interview with KII at the defence ministry, 7/10/2024, Nairobi).

The observation established in the study correlates with the literature on public knowledge of international bilateral relations. Yi and Sun (2022) expound that countries need to comprehend and appreciate reciprocal relationships for diplomacy for nations to forge progressive working relations. Further, the work (Jain, 2024) proves that many respondents know about the relations between Kenya and India, strengthening the proposition that strategic partnerships become more recognised and influential. However, in line with Gupta (2024), more research is needed to close the public awareness and understanding gaps. Specific efforts in education and communication could improve awareness in areas where information is missing, and particular attention should be paid to international partnerships. According to Raga *et al.* (2021), sharing information on bilateral relations is important for encouraging active public participation and improving diplomatic ties.

#### 4.2 Nature of Bilateral Relations between Kenya and India

Several factors influence the relations between Kenya and India. Thus, this study analysed the form of interactions of international relations between Kenya and India. Out of 233 respondents, 29(13.49%) indicated that Kenya-India bilateral relations are characterised by high-profile visits, 16(7.44%) stated that it manifests itself through space cooperation, 38(17.67%) reasoned that technological transfer characterises the relations, 43(20%) stated defence trade and trade agreements as an element defining relations between Kenya and India. Besides, 51(23.7%) stated security partnership as an element of relations, 23 (10.7%) indicated defence investment as a factor, and 15 (6.97%) reasoned that humanitarian assistance defined relations between Kenya and India (High Commission of India Nairobi, 2022). The results are illustrated in Figure 2.



**Figure 2**  
Nature of Bilateral Cooperation between Kenya and India

The study identifies several factors that determine the nature of bilateral relations between Kenya and India. The research shows a full spectrum of visits from the top leadership, space collaboration, technology sharing, defence and trade ties, security cooperation agreements, defence purchases, and humanitarian aid. Such elements signify the respondents' impression and have been captured in the current scholars' works analysing the shifting trends of Kenya-India relations.

233 respondents were asked the question, and 29 (13.49%) showed that Kenyan-India bilateral relations are high-profile visits. This is in conformity with the many scholarly opinions that hold the diplomatic visits as central in reaffirming bilateral relations. Official business trips by representatives of both countries' heads of state and government, ministries, departments, and agencies in the innovation dialogue provide opportunities for political and economic partnership and the signature of new documents and statements of the significance of cooperation Gupta (2024) reveals that such visits nudge the signing of MoUs that serve as a framework for enhanced cooperation in sectors of trade, education, and defense.

An emerging issue mentioned in the study is space cooperation, mentioned by 16 of the respondents (7.44%). This is a new developing sector of cooperation between Kenya and India. ISRO has assisted Kenya in acquiring satellite technology and capacity building by training Kenyans in weather/ climate change, disaster preparedness, management, and telecommunication. As Singh (2023) puts it, the collaboration between India and African countries, including Kenya, is a strategic move towards acquiring Indian soft power and majors of development cooperation in the Global South region.

Out of the 215 respondents, the following responses were made regarding the elements of Kenya-India relations, of which 38(17.67%) mentioned technological transfer. This is according to current literature, which asserts that India has been Kenya's source of cheap technology, specifically ICT, pharmaceutical, and renewable energy, to mention but a few. As stated by Dogga et al. (2023), the technology transfer between India and Kenya has enhanced the SME segment in Kenya and promoted innovative and entrepreneurial systems.

Of the respondents, 43 (20%) assumed that defense trade and trade agreements were the major features marking the bilateral relation. This is in line with previous studies pointing out trade as one of the factors that ought to be enhanced for enhanced cooperation between Kenya and India. India is Kenya's second-largest trading partner, and Kenya's export products to India include Pharmaceuticals, machinery, and textiles, among others. Also newer to the list is the defense trade, where India has been selling military hardware and training to Kenyan forces. According to Raga et al., (2021), defense trade has become a paramount part of the relations between India and the African nations as it considers the security and stability of the African continent to be in tune with its strategic interests.

The least experienced element was the security partnership mentioned by 51 respondents, which comprised 23.71%. This finding implies that security cooperation is an important feature of the bilateral relationship. Each country has been countering terrorism and has been sharing intelligence and maritime security, particularly in the Indian Ocean. Gupta (2024) said that the security cooperation between Kenya and India is within the framework of regional security for countering pirates, terrorists, and other cross-border security risks. Out of 23, as much as 12 percent mentioned defence investment; this was due to the increasing emphasis on defence infrastructures and capacities. Indonesia has supported Kenya in overhauling its defence standards through training, consultation on equipment, and support in the development of structures. According to (Dogga et al., 2023), such investment plans form part of India's more significant long-term engagements in defence diplomacy in Africa to enable African countries to solve their security concerns.

In light of the foregoing, one of the respondents stated that:

*“India has embarked on a strategic engagement in Kenya's defence modernisation process, training, and facilities that accent our loyalty toward long-term defence relations across the African continent. In boosting defence cooperation, we not only improve bilateral ties but also assist in stabilising the region's security situation. This approach is in line with India's wider approach of assisting African countries to deal with their security concerns and build enduring, bilateral relationships”* (Interview with KII at the defense ministry, on 10/7/2024, Nairobi).

Lastly 29 participants (12.89%) knew humanitarian aid as the defining factor of the Soviet-American relationship. India has been humanitarian towards Kenya, especially during disasters like the current situation of droughts and pandemics. This aligns with India's wider development partnership framework, which focuses on health, education, and disaster management in Africa (Gupta, 2024). The study's analysis shows that multiple factors underlie the relations between Kenya and India and that they all play an important role in enhancing cooperation. Based on the relevant academic sources of the modern period, these elements emphasize the bilateral relationships of diplomacy, high technology, defense, security, and humanitarian concerns.



#### 4.2.1 High-Profile Visits

International working visits between Kenya and India are significant in enhancing bilateral relations. Such visits by heads of state and ministers enhance regional political, economic, and defense relations by having close consultations between such political and economic entities. They increase the identification of shared goals and common goals in areas such as trade, security, and technology cooperation. These visits help to build the basis for a long-term healthy partnership between the two nations by suggesting compatibility and interest in each other's progress. Concerning the study's findings on high-profile visits as a strategic dimension of the Kenya–India bilateral relations, the information gathered from the respondents was supplemented by existing literature.

Given the foregoing, one of the key informants averred that:

*“The constant interchanges of delegation between the two countries demonstrate the level of commitment of the two in realising a synergy. Most of the agreements are signed during these visits”* (Interview with KII at the defence ministry, on 11/7/2024, Nairobi).

These findings are underscored by scholarly works that underscore the key emphasis of high-level diplomacy on promoting bilateral relations. Similarly to the previous studies, Gupta (2024) pointed out that political attention and support are vital to creating appropriate conditions for negotiations, and high-profile visits can contribute to the enhancement of that effect. Such trips led to the establishment of significant MOUs, which paved the way for future cooperation in numerous fields, including defence, trade, and technology.

In light of the foregoing statement, another respondent remarked,

*“In essence, unlike a simple sportsman's handshake or hug for the camera, when our leaders come over, they do not come just to shake hands and move on. They focus on real factors that impact our commerce and defence”* (Interview with KII at the defence ministry, on 10/7/2024, Nairobi).

This perspective emphasises the functions of such visits, which extend from gestures of goodwill all the way down to deals in trade, security and culture. These visits are routine in focus and act as a platform for enhancing cooperation and resolving bilateral issues to strengthen the strategic bilateral partnership between Kenya and India. Moreover, Guzman (2018) notes that official trips increase confidence and analysis of nations between themselves. They make it possible for leaders to sit down and discuss bilateral issues affecting their countries personally, thus creating time to learn other areas of partnership. Such interactions are important to keep up the pace of bilateral cooperation and guarantee that both countries still aim their activities at achieving these goals.

#### 4.2.2 Space Cooperation

Currently, space cooperation has become one fundamental aspect of Kenya-India relations as the two countries seek to expand technological partnerships. This kind of relationship benefits India's space technology and advanced satellites and harnesses Kenya's consolidation position to realise cooperation objectives in satellite telecommunications, earth observation, and scientific exploration (Froehlich *et al*, 2021). Thus, both countries have stated and unexpressed goals through cooperation in space exploration to improve their standard in space technology and to also solve regional problems like weather, climate change, disaster response and management and so on (Froehlich *et al*, 2021). This shift of focus on space cooperation shows the enhanced dynamics and novelty of Kenya-India relations, particularly in the aspect of innovation diplomacy. Research evidence establishing space cooperation as an important aspect of Kenya-India relations based on the study is well elaborated and supported by respondent's observations and research findings.

In light of the foregoing statement, another respondent observed that:

*“Satellite technology has been helpful to Kenya through cooperation with India. As partners, we have been able to enhance our efforts to arrive at the right weather predictions or disaster response. This is not just a technology thing but all about fostering our ability to harness issues individually”* (Interview with KII at the Indian Consulate, on 22/7/2024, Mombasa).

The relationship described the benefits of space cooperation between the two countries and how India has helped to improve Kenya's infrastructure and capacity regarding development through technology. These observations are underpinned by scholarly works which assert that space cooperation is a strategic area in South-South relations. According to Froehlich *et al* (2021) there is strategic cooperation in space with Indian and African countries, including Kenya, which is strategic in supporting developmental agendas for the Global South and strengthening technology and infrastructure. As such, it is believed that this cooperation aims to promote development, climate change adaptation, and communication in partner countries.

Another respondent stated that:

*“Space cooperation between Kenya and India is a model example of how developing nations can help each other to develop. Today, with the help of India, Kenya is moving forward in fields we never even dreamed of, such as satellite communication and studying our environment. Knowledge ain't power in the 21st century; let others know who can power themselves when the tables turn tomorrow”* (Interview with KII at the Indian Consulate on 22/7/2024 Mombasa).

In the foregoing, statement, it is essential to point to the potential gains of the cooperation, where the emphasis is on something different than the utilisation of the technology itself and on the success, which has a more distant aim: the development of the independent Kenyan initiative in the field of space activities. Gurjar (2023) notes the same thought and states that such affiliations are highly relevant to Indian diplomacy as these are beneficial for both parties. Technology and expertise have to do with improving the present, creating a foundation of what is likely to be achieved, and building self-sufficiency in space technology for countries such as Kenya.

#### 4.2.3 Technological Transfer

The research findings on technological transfer as an essential area in Kenya-India relations have received adequate consideration from the respondents and current theoretical literature. Technological transfer between these two nations has been key in determining the nature of their relations about ICT, health, and renewable energy.

In light of the foregoing statement, a respondent averred that,

*“India has supplied Kenya with relatively cheap technologies for a long time. For instance, in the pharmaceuticals sector, Indian firms have supplied us with cheaper generic drugs, taking health care to the door-step of many. It is, therefore, essential to recognise that this technology transfer is not solely centred on tangible products; it is centred on what we learn in the process. From the case of the Indian experience, our local industries have benefited in terms of learning and the ability to expand”* (Interview conducted with KII at the defence ministry on 22/7/2024, Nairobi).

This remark demonstrates how India has revolutionised the contribution it has rendered towards Kenya's technological sectors, not only in areas that are relevant to the public sector but also in sectors that are central to the public interest. The respondent has more emphasis on the pharma sector, which is more important to India, which is recognised as the pharmacy of the world for producing the cheapest generic medicines. Technological transfer in this sector has not only ensured the enhancement of available health facilities in Kenya through the importation of essential medicines but has also encouraged the growth of the local pharmaceutical industry.

In view of the prevenient assertion, another respondent observed that:

*“The experience with India has enabled us to tap into advanced technology on renewable sources of energy. There have been a lot of advancements in the generation of solar power with the help of knowledge and technology imported from India. This has not only helped us achieve our energy requirement but also placed Kenya on the region map regarding renewable energy. In as much as this may have been the case, the training provided by Indians and the support from experts from India have been important in this area”* (Interview with KII at the defence ministry, on 22/7/2024, Nairobi).

This statement brings out the fact that technology imposition is significant in the area of renewable energy as an area of competitiveness, which India has enhanced Kenya's progress. At the same time, Kenya aims to achieve fossil fuel independence, and the technology and knowledge from India have been instrumental in increasing the country's solar energy generation. This partnership assures Kenya of its short-term energy requirements while at the same time being in line with the country's sustainable energy goals. These findings are further reinforced by the literature as we discuss the tenets of technological transfer in Kenya-India relations. As pointed out by Gurjar (2023), technology transfer from India to Kenya is one of the most important sectors of South-South cooperation. This is a strategy where two developing countries exchange their technology and experience with each other with the aim of progressive development. For instance, through technology transfer, the sectors in Kenya, including health, energy and ICT, have experienced certain transformations. These are not simply commercial arrangements but are much more within the existing framework of capacity enhancement and environmental management.

Sagwa *et al* (2024) explain further the roles and significance of technological transfer with special reference to the Kenyan economy in the year 2024. He postulates that the technology and expertise that have been sourced from India have enabled the SMEs in Kenya. In this respect, the availability of cheap ICT solutions, for example, has allowed Kenyan actors to increase productive efficiency and competitiveness on the international level. It has further boosted diversification and, therefore, employment opportunities for sustainable development. Furthermore, (Raga *et al.*, 2021) suggest that technological cooperation can foster enduring cooperation by developing dependencies between two nations that are favourable for both parties. The process of technology transfer that India extends to Kenya benefits Kenya by providing a way to solve some of its problems, thus creating a ready market for India's products and services. This vested interest assures that both nations (commonly referred to as partners) benefit from their affiliation and hence improve their relations.

Another broad field of military cooperation between Kenya and India is in the sharing of defence technology, which, in essence, defines the two countries' defence capability and positioning (Indian Council of World Affairs, 2023, October). Therefore, this study seeks to identify the characteristics of defence technology transferring from the structural realism perspective and advance the strengths and importance from the global and African views.

In view of the foregoing finding, one of the Key Informants revealed that:

*“Defence technology transfer between Kenya and India relations embraces development projects, technological exchanges, and capacity improvement. For instance, India's advanced defence sector has made it a prominent dealer of assorted technologies, including military ones, for the Kenyan military. This cooperation is supposed to enhance the defence support and assistance of Kenya as a country in issues of security”* (Interview with KII on 27/6/2024, Nairobi).

In support of the antecedent view, Sagwa *et al.* (2024) posit that joint development projects have also been unravelled to act as one of the primary functions of technology transfer within defence technology. According to the study, there is increased collaboration between India and Kenya in ongoing projects to develop homegrown defence equipment. For example, Indian defence firms are in production and security deals with Kenyan counterparts to develop surveillance and reconnaissance systems for the regional security environment Sagwa *et al.* (2024). It not only assists Kenya with providing modern technology but also advances technological progress in its defence sector.

The other mechanism is the direct transfer of technology through such practises as technology licensing, joint ventures and franchising. As a result of the research, the study discovered that India had gifted Kenya improved military assets, including communication equipment, Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAVs) famously known as drones and armored vehicles. Such transfers are always followed by core training programmes to make sure that the Kenyan personnel are capable of effectively using and administering the equipment (Jain, 2024). Some of the capacity-building initiatives also apply to this cooperation. This study found out that up-to-date Indian trainers are still preparing Kenyan defence personnel in several aspects, including cyber security, electronic warfare and Aerospace Engineering. These programmes that are conducted at Indian defence academies, therefore, seek to increase the capabilities of Kenyan military troops (Jain, 2024).

From the matters concerning defence technology transfer, cooperation in defence technology has had some positive effects. In doing so, the study affirmed that joint development projects have led to the provision of unique solutions to Kenya's security needs through the development of defence assets. For example, the design of specific UAVs to be used in border watches has given Kenya a better approach to controlling its borders (Sagwa *et al.*, 2024). Moreover, the sale of complex anti-smuggling arms and ammunition has a lot boosted the calibre of the Kenyan defence force. Studies found that the acquisition of modern communication equipment and armoured vehicles improves troop mobility and the effectiveness of Kenyan forces (Saballa, 2023). In addition, the enhancement of training programmes has produced human resources that are prepared to manage complicated defence technologies, thereby boosting the country's general defence capacity.

From a global perspective, the author realised that the Kenya-India defence technology relations meet structural realism assertions. According to Thompson, in the framework of structural realism, the state seeks to accumulate power and attain the highest degree of power by forming alliances and possessing efficient weapons. If we consider the transfer of defence technology from India to Kenya as a strategic partnership move, India's security and standing in the region will certainly be strengthened by aiding a strategic ally.

In the context of Africa, this cooperation may be severed as a benchmark for regional cooperation in this sector. This research also revealed that the relations of Kenya and India present other countries in Africa with good models of undertaking relations with technologically advanced countries. This is particularly relevant to the African Union's vision of boosting the defence industry within the continent through innovation and indigenisation (African Union, 2019).

#### **4.2.4 Defense Trade and Trade Agreements**

The knowledge of the respondents and the current literature enhance the findings on the defence trade and trade agreements as fundamental aspects of Kenya-India relations. Trade and bilateral trade policies have shaped the relations between the two countries in terms of trade relations and security in the past and in the future years (Gupta, 2024). One respondent highlighted the importance of defence trade by stating that:

*“As a result of this defence trade between Kenya and India, our military has been fortified. In this regard, we have procured several military products from India that have also been relevant in the course of the reformation of our defence forces. It may, however, be pointed out that the focus is not just on purchasing this hardware but also accompanies it with training and maintenance by Indian technicians. This partnership ensures that our forces receive everything they need in terms of equipment, as well as being prepared for present-day security threats”* (Interview, KII, defence ministry, 22/7/2024, Nairobi).

Consequently, the foregoing statement that the defence trade is not only diversified but also relatively between Kenya and India forms the basis of this comment. It is not limited to the sale of goods; it includes the provision of the enabling technology and information that is necessary to make the end user products functional in their intended environment of application, which is the military. As stated above, the respondent tries to rely on training and maintenance in order for the benefits of such business relations to last long and equip the defence forces of Kenya to act independently and effectively. Science also extends these observations through the analysis of the military and commercial potential and impact of defence trade and trade cooperation. Gupta (2024) noted that the defence trade

between India and the African nations, including Kenya, is central to India's foreign policy. This is because it can be effective in building the capacity of its friends through arming and training them while forging hegemony in the region at the same time. This rationale is consistent with India's inherent interest in building various political formations that will enhance stability in the area.

Another respondent remarked on the broader impact of trade agreements, stating that:

*“By free trade agreements with India, these potentials/blisses unveiled a lot for our businesses. India is also an important trading partner, and the measures that we have established increase the ease of exporting our products to their market. In return, we have observed that there is a flood of products of Indian origin that are cheap and of good quality. This has not only helped our economy but also provided the consumer with more options. The business of arms trade is just a commercial facet of this multi-faceted economic cooperation that is mutually advantageous to both nations”* (Interview with KII at the defence ministry, on 22/7/2024, Nairobi).

This perspective shows why defence trade is tagged on the economic cooperation between Kenya and India. The respondent pointed to the fact that all the agreements benefit, thus stressing that the given relation is bilateral as both countries have benefited from each other's experience in trade deals and other interactions in the sphere. Furthermore, Gupta (2024) explains the economic aspect of trade relations between India and Kenya and points out that the agreements between the two countries have introduced a large scale in the procedure of bilateral trade. India has become Kenya's sixth-largest trading partners with exports, including pharmaceuticals and Heyper Text Marked Language (HTML) machinery, among others. They have eased market access for Kenyan firms to penetrate the Indian market and vice versa for India's products to penetrate the Kenyan market (Jain, 2024). Although defence trade constitutes a narrow niche of economic relations, it has connected to this large economic relationship through enhancing security, which is a basic necessity for Kenya's conducive environment for investment.

In his book, Dogga *et al.* (2023) shows the relevance technology as contributing factor to defense in the South-South Cooperation Strategy of India. In regards to Defence trade with Kenya, the study observes that rather than focus on just business, India has embraced the Defence diplomacy doctrine where relations are not just for the sale of technological items but also cooperation in capacity building and knowledge sharing. This approach makes it possible to ensure that all the gains derived from defense trade are in some way meaningful to the growth of the Kenyan defence sector. Along with expanding the database of research resources, the findings on defence trade and trade agreements between Kenya and India are backed by concrete respondent and scholarly data. In the military aspect, defense trade has provided a paramount contribution in developing the capability of Kenya's defense forces, while on trade, the trade agreements have fostered economies' growth and mutual gains. Such an intricate entanglement reveals two important facts: first, it is crucial to develop cooperation in terms of defence as well as trade; second, the improvement of the latter will only strengthen the bilateral bond of both states and make them more secure and prosperous. These initiatives' success brings out the fact that Kenya-India relations have further room to transform into even more mutually beneficial.

#### 4.2.5 Security Partnerships

The established findings on security partnerships as a keystone in Kenya-India relations are backed by highly descriptive respondent data and validated by current literature findings. Security cooperation between Kenya and India has produced great impacts in handling regional security challenges, enhancing the security of the two nations (Raga *et al.*, 2021).

In light of the foregoing, the respondents noted that:

*“India has been very helpful in augmenting our security efforts. In terms of counterterrorism or intelligence sharing, their experience has put a lot into our arsenal. For instance, we witnessed the recent regional conflicts; Indian intelligence helped to avert several security threats to us. This is not an empty formality; it is a component that has to be delivered in order to improve safety regimes in the region”* ( KII at the Indian Consulate, Mombasa 22/7/2024).

This increases the understanding of how deep the security cooperation indeed is, as one shows raw intelligence, not formal arrangements that can be conceived of as sharing, which strengthens Kenya's security operations. This is because the respondent has highlighted counterterrorism as one of the major areas of mutual and evident success, which is proof of the actual use of the concept of strategic partnership in the protection of states and regions against terrorism. These findings are also corroborated by literature as we discuss the related literature on security partnerships between Kenya and India with an emphasis on the wider benefits thereof. The High Commission of India (2022) asserted that security compromises, particularly those between the Kenyan and the Indian government, remain instrumental in fixing the regional security dials. They enable countries to combat terrorism and other international crimes, protect the seas, and exchange intelligence, which is a measure of checking stability in an area that is already presumed to be contaminated with several threats. India's participation in Kenya's security efforts replicates a strategic model of participation in securing relations that improve regional security and enhance its strategic power.

In consonance with the antecedent view, another KII respondent commented that:

*“The cooperation in the security aspect has provided a number of innovations in terms of security for India and for the region in general. Their help in enhancing security at sea has been particularly significant because of Kenya's geographical location on the Indian Ocean. The Indians have availed themselves of enhancing the methods of coastal surveillance and escortship that are vital to protecting sea resources and preventing acts of piracy. Based on this partnership, our national security has been so strengthened well”* (Interview with KII at the Indian High Commission, on 22/7/2024, Nairobi).

The foregoing statement points to the centrality of maritime security relations. This focus on maritime security and piracy shows the importance of the Indian Ocean coast in Kenya and explains how the Indian experience in terms of training has been vital in improving maritime security in Kenya.

Explaining security partnerships, Dogga et al. (2023) point out that the South-South Cooperation approach would not be complete without a look at how security partnerships fit into India's strategy. The purchase of security assistance from India, including training, hardware and technology, assists the Kenyan security framework with reference to India's foreign strategy of intensifying relations with developing nations and encouraging security on the regional level. This approach deals with the current security threats and fosters a long-term partnership and cooperation within the security niche of various states/regions.

In addition, Yi and Sun (2022) aptly emphasise that such cooperation is crucial to improving the security architecture of the area. Through this kind of security cooperation, both Kenya and India are able to build up the security architecture for the region while combating the threats of insecurity that characterise the region. This is part of a broad plan to make sure both nations strengthen themselves to be in a position to respond to the numerous threats found within that region, such as terrorism, piracy, and regional conflicts.

#### 4.2.6 Humanitarian Assistance

The quantitative analysis of respondents' opinions and current academic literature confirms the role of humanitarian assistance in Kenya-India relations. Humanitarian aid is a reflection of enhancing the partnership between Kenya and India in humane rescue operations and sustainable development (The High Commission of India, 2022).

In support of the foregoing view, one of the KIIs revealed that:

*“That is why it can be claimed that India has been a very good ally in our humanitarian operations, at least in cases of humanitarian crises. For instance, when there was a recent drought in Kenya, India provided core products and services on water management. These funds were useful in offering the needed help that will enable assessment to clean water and solve issues related to the drought. This has really helped many, and their word is proof that most of them are really interested in helping humanitarian causes”* (Interview with KII at the defence ministry, on 22/7/2024, Nairobi).

This statement addresses the ground welfare of the Indian communities to learn skills and availability of supplies in humanitarian situations. Sharing details of any area of interest of his choice in order to support this, the respondent shows how it is possible to have an appropriate assistance delivery system that is directed both to the needy and at helping in developing solutions that will be sustainable as well.

In light of the aforementioned assertion, another respondent argued that:

*“Indian sources have been very effective in financing Kenya's health and education sectors. There are reports that Indian NGOs have played their part in the construction of schools and clinics in the backward areas, from which many Kenyans have benefitted through education and health. Such support helps a lot in enhancing relations between our countries and demonstrates India's real concern for our progress”* (Interview with KII at the defence ministry, on 22/7/2024, Nairobi).

This view explains the fact that India's disaster response is not only limited to crisis response but also involves development cooperation as well. When the respondent talks of educational and healthcare support, such support in putting up structures and capacity of structures in Kenya's education, health and other sectors fosters positive structures, relations and development. The findings are further supported by a compilation of scholarly works. Supporting this, Gupta (2024) states that humanitarian assistance constitutes a part of the South-South cooperation where donor countries such as India assist the recipient countries on the basis of equal understanding and learning processes. Indian humanitarian assistance strategy, as reflected through its aid to Kenya, therefore covers not only the delivery of humanitarian aid but also possible developmental projects that aim to tackle the causes of the humanitarian crisis head-on. This is consistent with India's larger diplomatic outlook, which seeks to fortify relationships through functioning cooperation and institutional development.

Yi and Sun (2022) have written about the role of international humanitarian help, establishing that when a state extends help to another, the latter ends up indebted, and the former receives some bargaining power. Focusing on the case of Kenya and India, humanitarian aid in this country has focused on meeting the exigent needs and has also been part of developmental aid, hence strengthening the bilateral relations between the two countries. The investment in

healthcare, education and infrastructure support areas are indications of treatment to Kenya's welfare and development, thus strengthening the cordial diplomatic relations between the two nations. Additionally, Guzman (2018) delves into the issue of humanitarian aid as a tool for opening up engagements and shedding light on this rationale to open up humanitarian aid for deeper cooperation, uncovering how it results in other interactions that cover trade besides security. The humanitarian aid that India has offered has probably strengthened the general cooperation with Kenya and opened up new fields of cooperation for the two countries.

Therefore, understanding the strategic sectors of military cooperation between the two countries based on the study provided insights into areas of concentration between Kenya and India. Thus, counterterrorism was another area that was distinguished as important by 14.2% of respondents. This reassured the two countries, Kenya and India, that they were in unison with each other in the fight against terrorism and other security challenges in the region. The external cooperation sector might also include another important point, which 37,2% of respondents identified as important – maritime safety. Because both countries had and continued to have vast maritime interests and since the security of sea lines for trade and commerce was paramount, cooperation in this domain was essential for improving maritime security and, thus, economic stability.

#### 4.2.7 Counterterrorism

In the last decades, due to the globalisation of the issues related to terrorism, counterterrorism was considered one of the key priorities of cooperation in the military field (Leriari, 2020). Therefore, as modern terrorists are connected within the international networks, effectively using such international resources as communication and financial systems, cooperation in the Military area has become crucially important. Various types of cooperation include sharing intelligence information, training, capacity development, and executing operations (Leriari, 2020). This paper is authored to provide an investigation of counterterrorism as a type of military cooperation on the international level, focusing on the peculiarities of some cases and the general provisions that govern similar relationships.

Organisation of counterterrorism cooperation is primarily organised on the basis of intelligence sharing worldwide. Al Qaeda and ISIS are global organisations, and that is why there has to be an alliance to counter terrorism in various parts of the world. This is with the formation of agencies that are involved with the formation of platforms that allow for the sharing of information, such as the International Criminal Police Organisation [INTERPOL] and the Counterterrorism Committee of the United Nations Security Council. For instance, the Five Eyes grouping of intelligence agencies from the United States, UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand was a good example of intelligence sharing that increased the capacity of each member to identify terrorists and effectively respond to them (Sobol et al., 2023).

Another of the topics of counterterrorism cooperation is conducting military exercises and training sessions together. They enable the armed forces of various nations to fine-tune their cooperation and enhance their tactical and strategic efficiency at multinational and national levels. For example, an exercise like "Eager Lion," which took place in Jordan with participating countries, including over thirty like the United States and some Arab and European countries, is for counterterrorism and other security threats (Sobol et al., 2023). These exercises mirror typical conditions with a view to helping forces to fine-tune the processes for integrated approaches to terrorist occurrences.

In view of the foregoing, one of the KII stated that:

*"Terrorism and counterterrorism cooperation between Kenya and India lies at the core of improving our security. The valiant efforts we've made toward sharing knowledge, conducting drills and exercises, and utilising technology have made us much more capable of defeating terrorism. In addition to improving the practical preparedness of our operations, this fully opens possibilities of advancing awareness on the nature of the threat that our forces need to prepare for in order to protect our citizens"* (Interview with KII at the defence ministry, on 23/7/2024, Nairobi).

The preventent statement was supported by an official at the Indian military attaché, who stated that:

*"Two such countries are India and Kenya, and both have an elevated resolve to fight terrorism in all its manifestations. Counterterrorism cooperation is one of the key components of the defence relationship, and it has helped our intelligence sharing, training capacity, and joint operations. It is still relevant when dealing with the transnational threats posed by terrorism, as it fosters stability in the region and the security of our nation"* (Interview with KII at the High Commission of India, on 27/7/2024, Nairobi).

In this area, cooperation is focused on training activities, transferring equipment, and providing technical assistance. For instance, counterterrorism through building the counterterrorism capacity of its member states is the key role of the Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF) Leriari, 2020. The GCTF is an international forum that trains personnel in related law enforcement agencies and draws legal counterterrorism frameworks for use in defeating acts of terrorism, a coordinated response to terrorism noticed in the GCTF of 2018.

Eradicating terrorist organisations in cooperation is the paramount form of counterterrorism cooperation. For example, there is the Global Coalition against ISIS, which consists of 83 countries, and cooperation in the military

sphere proves the effectiveness of these activities. This coalition has contributed air support, reconnaissance, and floor support to blunt ISIS and minimise its space management in Iraq and Syria (Sobol et al., 2023). Due to the complexity of such operations, great emphasis is placed on the need for cooperation and coordination of operations amongst countries, and that is why there is a need for frameworks to be put in place to direct cooperation between armed forces.

Terrorism cooperation on the international level has certain basic principles. These are trust, acknowledgment of each other sovereignty, commitment to the respect of international law, and recognition of human rights. Trust is elementary because countries rely on each other for sensitive information and actual coordination (Sobol et al., 2023). Sovereignty guarantees that International cooperation is put into practice with the approval of the host nation without an imposition that can reduce legitimacy and the support from stakeholders.

For this reason, counterterrorism operations must respect international law, which strengthens it. International-level laws have provisions for the use of force and also for humans, such as the United Nations Charter. The concentration on human rights enables the realization that human rights are not violated when fighting terrorism, which is crucial for winning the people's trust and thus preventing people from becoming terrorists due to violations of their rights (Sobol et al., 2023).

For instance, counterterrorism cooperation between Kenyans and Indians is an example of another new forms of cooperation in security issues, namely counterterrorism. The two countries, being in the regions of high risk to terrorism, understood the importance of the creation of a strategic partnership in combating terrorism. A breakdown of the findings focuses on the following: The extent of collaboration between Kenya and India in counterterrorism operations, the modality of their collaboration, and the results yielded from it.

Currently, Kenya and India have developed good cooperation between the two countries in fighting terrorism, intelligence sharing, training, and other aspects of enhancement exercises. Such cooperation can be characterised as comprehensive and is built on established bilateral partnerships with the use of multilateral formats. Another factor that enhances rigorous cooperation is the exchange of information relating to acts of terrorism, which takes place through diplomatic offices and bureaus. It has been used to succeed in preventing other attacks and in disintegrating terrorist groups within these borders and across them (Yi & Sun, 2022).

Military-derived counterterrorism cooperation between Kenya and India comprises training, technical cooperation exercises and dialogue. The Indian government has been keen on training the Kenyan military and police in issues of counterterrorism, among other fields of training. For instance, the officers of the National Defence Academy of Kenya, as well as the College of Defence Management, have trained in Indian institutions (The High Commission of India, 2022). The intention of these programmes is to enhance the effectiveness of Kenyan forces in fighting terrorism.

#### 4.2.8 Maritime Safety

Maritime safety forms one of the critical niches of mutual cooperation between Kenya and India because both countries consider the preservation of naval territories to be critical. This cooperation is needed in order to deal with the challenges of piracy and maritime terrorism, among others, which are unbecoming in the security of the Indian Ocean region (Indian Council of World Affairs, 2023, October 6). In this study, the feasibility, dynamics, and effects of Kenya and India's security cooperation in maritime security as per international and African assessments are also under consideration.

Another area of cooperation in maritime security between Kenya and India includes naval exercises, capacity building, and the sharing of intelligence and technical support. The two nations have agreed to enhance their capabilities and readiness of the naval forces and exercise cooperation between the partners. For instance, there is the Induction—Kenya Defence Cooperation (IKDC) and the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS), which is a formation where both navies exercise and undertake exercises to achieve realistic tasks in the waters (Indian Council of World Affairs, 2023, October 6).

In reference to the prevent thoughts, one of the KII stated that:

*“Maritime safety is one of the main fields of cooperation between Kenya and India. A mutual commitment to safeguarding the sea lines of communication in the Indian Ocean guarantees the security and protection of seaborne trade, suppression of piracy menace, and conservation of the coastal features. One of the major achievements has been through training, experience sharing, drilling jointly with Kenya or holding a naval fleet, and experiences held in naval, land or air events we have boosted up the maritime security, facilitating their economic growth and stability in the region”* (Interview with KII at the High Commission of India, on 28/7/2024, Nairobi).

Another focal area of this cooperation has been the capacity-building measures. Training: India has been training the Kenyan navy, and the topics of the training mainly include piracy, search and rescue, and enforcement of maritime laws (Indian Council of World Affairs, 2023, October 6). These programmes, as run in Indian naval academies and instituted, enhance the professional capacity and turn-up of Kenya naval personnel.

In the sphere of maritime safety, cooperation is affected primarily through exchanges of information. These two countries have also formulated how best to exchange information in real-time concerning various sorts of threats faced in the seas, including piracy, smuggling, and other suspect activities. This intelligence sharing enhances early warning to counter or respond to any event that occurs in the maritime domain. It supports these endeavours by incorporating other forms of assay monitoring and aerial photographs of the maritime environment to supplement maritime domain awareness (MDA), as described by Sagwa et al. (2024). This technical cooperation consists of supplying naval equipment and equipment maintenance services to improve Kenya's capability in the marine sector. Such aid involves the supply of patrol boats necessary for any patrol process at sea and radar and communication equipment (Sagwa et al., 2024). However, it is also noteworthy that India has built and financed some shipbuilding and repairing yards that will facilitate sustainable support for naval deliveries in Kenya.

In view of the foregoing, one of the KII stated that:

*“Future cooperation in maritime safety between India and Kenya proves our constructive relations to protect the Indian Ocean region. In projects of common understanding on surveillance, search and rescue, naval cooperation, and exercise, we have enhanced our cooperation in handling maritime threats. Thus, this cooperation not only protects the interests of our nations but also contributes to the stability and security of the entire region”* (Interview with KII at the High Commission of India, on 28/7/2024, Nairobi).

In the following analysis of Kenya and the Indian players in maritime safety, there is evidence of positive relations between the two countries. First, the naval exercises have enhanced the standard and compatibility of the two Navies to launch cooperative operations (Saballa, 2023). This is particularly so given that the threat of using the sea as a means of transport is not unidimensional and ever-dynamic in the IOR. For instance, the manoeuvres have offered a clear example of their capability to execute integrated naval exercises in piracy havocking and search and rescue operations, which would improve the security of the relevant maritime space.

Secondly, regarding the measures under capacity building, the operational capability of the Kenyan Navy has greatly been enhanced. The Curtailment training has helped Kenyan naval personnel gain wider knowledge in areas such as navigation, combat, and provisions of the law with regard to seas. These improved characteristics can be observed in Kenya as the country becomes more assertive in executing independent functions in the maritime domain and participates in CMF and other international multinational maritime security, as observed by the African Union (2019).

Further, common intelligence collaboration processes have been used extensively to identify and counter naval threats. The flow of information between the two nations has also helped the two counterparts improve their response to security incidents, reducing piracy and other evils in their seas. The partnership in technology has improved the ability to monitor and patrol Kenyan territory, boosting security in the Kenyan sea (Saballa, 2023).

On an international level, it becomes apparent that Kenyan participation in the seaborne trade with India is only a small component of larger moves in the cumulative world structure to preserve order in the Indian Ocean region, seen as the world's shipping channel. This cooperation is in support of such measures as the Code of Conduct in the fight against piracy and armed robbery against ships in the WIO region as well as the Gulf of Aden (Muli, 2011). Thus, both countries are already participating in these initiatives and, therefore, promote the improvement of the safety and security of international maritime shipping.

As far as the African region is concerned, it is beneficial to understand relations specific to maritime security cooperation under the region's framework. This has given rise to the realisation that it is, in fact, reciprocal to fight the security threats at sea that other nations experience. The African Union, in the 2050 African Integrated Maritime Strategy, captures such cooperation as a way of enhancing good governance and security on African waters. Such partnership deals, therefore, set the Kenya and India model that other African countries followed (African Union, 2019).

#### **4.2.9 Peacekeeping Missions**

One of the areas that pointed out the partnership between Kenya and India in military cooperation is the support of peace keeping operations. The specific objectives of this research are to explain the standing and future prospects of Kenya-India military cooperation in regard to peace support operations both internationally and in the region. This research confirmed the broad cooperation between Kenya and India in development, training, and stabilised peacekeeping during numerous UN missions. For a long time now, both countries have been participating in United Nations peacekeeping missions, and at the moment, many soldiers from these countries are in different parts of the world. With this cooperation, they hope to enhance the effectiveness of their contribution to and support of international peacekeeping agendas.

The three core components of this collaboration are joint training and pointing out that the Indian military academies with institutions such as the CUNPK in New Delhi provide Kenyan military personnel training. These programmes consist of various aspects regarding peace operations, including conflict resolution, protection of civilians,



and executing peace support operations as per the United Nations charter (Dogga *et al.*, 2023). Besides building on the capacity of the Kenyan military personnel, this training also harmonises the perception of PK operations and techniques.

Another important process is the sharing of skills. The research established that India, in most cases, sends its most experienced peacekeepers to Kenya for seminar and workshop engagements. These exchanges present chances to exchange the events and the implications of field assignments with one another. As an example, the Indian peacekeeping contingent has given the raw experiences in operation archived from the deployment in South Sudan and DRC in which the understanding of how to mobilise through the number of challenging aspects of peacekeeping missions has been obtained (Guzman, 2018). As it is seen, the joint movement towards the mission of peace has resulted in quite a positive manner. This study also revealed that co-deployment and knowledge sharing enhance the operational readiness and efficiency of Kenya's peacekeeping mission. As the news has it, trained troops in India and Kenya have produced better outcomes in the protection of persons and security in their distraught regions (African Union, 2019).

In light of the previous statement, one of the respondents argued that:

*“In other words, the experience obtained during the joint peacekeeping operations in Kenya with the Indian response is very useful in increasing the level of security of the conflict zone. Increased cooperation and common training sessions have led to reinforced outcomes for troops that were involved in UN operations. Along with the enhancement of its operation capacity, this partnership also asserts our strategic vision of world peace and security”* (Interview with KII at the Ministry of Defence, Nairobi, 3/7/2024).

Likewise, the study noted that Kenyan and Indian forces have successfully cooperated in different UN operations. They have jointly served at missions such as the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) and the United Nations Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO). In total, they have contributed to the peace by offering humanitarian support to these regions and contributing to the peacebuilding process (United Nations, 2020).

Analysing collectivity from the theoretical framework, the study showed that the cooperation between Kenya and India in the area of peacebuilding is in conformity with the United Nations' aims and purposes. They are also among the principal troop-contributing countries of the United Nations peacekeeping missions, affirming their concern for international peace and security. It increases UN operations, as both organisations work in parallel and can achieve synergy based on their strengths and expertise (United Nations, 2020).

In the African scenario, this cooperation represents a relatively advanced maturation of regional cooperation in peace support operations. The study also laid the basis for the fact that the cooperation in research between Kenya and India should serve as an example for other African countries. This is especially because of the African Union, which has sought to enhance the facilitation of peace support operations within Africa through practices like the African Standby Force (ASF) (African Union, 2019).

## V. CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

### 5.1 Conclusions

It is the finding of the study that bilateral relations between Kenya and India have promoted the two countries' military-diplomatic relations since 1963. This cooperation has also allowed knowledge sharing and information exchange as well as the exchange of training activities, which helped to enhance remarkably the two countries' military capacities. Some of the things, notable the modernization of Kenya's defense forces, have been a result of skills and tactical training that the Indian military training programs offer to Kenyan forces. Moreover, bilateral military exercises have created mutual trust and coordination so as to increase the efficiency of the two armed forces and counter threats to regional security. However, it revealed that some areas could still use enhancement, which include –the frequency of adoption of joint exercises and the use of newer areas such as cyber security in cooperation. This has been demonstrated by continuing diplomatic endeavours, including high-level diplomatic trips between the two states to cement the fact that military collaboration is one of the key large principles of relations.

### 5.2 Recommendations

The study recommends that, Kenya and India establish a permanent bilateral Defence Commission to enhance the appreciation of the modalities of the current bilateral cooperation. This commission involved them in the sharing of training, conducting exercises, and engaging in capacity-building programmes. Further, there is a need for the two countries to consider diversification of cooperation in relatively new fields of cyber security, artificial intelligence, space exploration, and others. Greater financial investment in collaborative processes for developing defense technology will only strengthen the partnerships. It is important to have frequent diplomatic and military interactions at a high level to guarantee continuity of political commitment with regard to strategies.

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