

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**THE EFFECTIVENESS OF COUNTER TERRORISM STRATEGIES IN KENYA: A  
CASE STUDY OF EASTLEIGH LOCATION, NAIROBI COUNTY.**

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**(R52/80629/2012)**

**A Research Project Submitted in partial fulfillment of The Degree of Master of Arts in  
International Conflict Management**

**November, 2017**

**DECLARATION**

This research project is my original work and has not been submitted for any qualification of this or any other university.

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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor.

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## **DEDICATION**

This research project is dedicated to my family who have encouraged me to gain more knowledge, supported me through it and have always motivated me to be and do my best. Most importantly, to God who has given me the strength and opportunity and without whom I would not be able to accomplish all that I have.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

AP	Administration Police
ATPU	Anti- Terrorism Police Unit
CCTV	Close Circuit Television
CIPs	Commercial Important Persons
CNN	Cable News Network
EU	European Union
EC	European Commission
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
Forex	Foreign Exchange
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoK	Government of Kenya
GTTR	Global Terrorism on the Rise
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IEDs	Improvised Explosive Device
ISIS	Islamic States of Iraq and Syria
KDF	Kenya Defence Force
MRC	Mombasa Republican Congress
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCTC	National Counter Terrorism Centre

OCPD	Officer Commanding Police Division
OCS	Officer commanding police station
PSV	Public Service Vehicles
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
US	United States

## ABSTRACT

The world today faces a common problem which is terrorism. Countries continue to formulate counter terrorism strategies nevertheless; terrorism is still an issue being contended with. Although Kenya boasts of the most stable, effective and democratic government compared to all the countries in the Horn of Africa, the country in most recent years has experienced the most terrorist attacks which are a challenge to both intelligence and security services. Eastleigh particularly has been determined to be one of the sources of these terror attacks as it harbours most potential terrorists. Although counter terrorism strategies have been placed to provide a sense of assurance that the country is secure, their effectiveness may not be easily assessed. The study therefore, sought to determine the effectiveness of counter terrorism strategies in Kenya with particular focus on Eastleigh Location in Kamukunji Sub-county. The objectives of the study included to identify and analyse the counter terrorism strategies adopted by security organs in Eastleigh, examine the challenges in the implementation of established counter terrorism strategies in Eastleigh and how to curb the challenges of counterterrorism strategies. The study adopts the descriptive research design and data was analysed by descriptive statistics. The study finds out the main strategies used to be risk management strategies, police operations, intelligence services and random searches and raids. The study also finds that there are challenges which pose a limitation to how effective the counter terrorism strategies are in Eastleigh region; inadequate funds, inadequate training, increased youth radicalization and lack of public support. The study further looks at measures which may be incorporated in curbing the challenges experienced in countering terrorism such as; training, modernization, implementing counter terrorism laws and policies and increased public participation. The study thus concludes that to prevent conflicts and by extension terrorism then priority must be given in addressing underlying root causes of conflicts. The study recommends that the security agents should put measures to ensure increased public participation in countering terrorism. The study also recommends that Kenya and other relevant stakeholders should come up with National Counter Violent Extremism and Terrorism plans which should reflect a multiagency approach within government, NGOs, civil societies and general and affected-communities.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF EFFECTIVENESS OF COUNTER TERRORISM STRATEGIES

#### 1.0 Introduction

This study looked at the effectiveness of counter terrorism strategies in Kenya, focusing on Eastleigh in Nairobi County. The chapter covered the background to the study, the statement of the research problem, objectives of the study, research questions, justification of the study, literature review, knowledge gaps from the literature review, hypotheses, theoretical framework, research methodology, chapter outline, references and appendix.

#### 1.1 Background to the Study

Counterterrorism measures have been put in place over time through data collection, analysis, monitoring and evaluation. Although some of these measures have led to the decrease of terrorist activities in some areas, in some, terrorism has been exacerbated. The security threats posed by terrorism to the global community and the way forward have currently dominated the public discourse. A wide array of measures, consolidated efforts from different sectors and agencies and learning from past mistakes have contributed to improved counter terrorism strategies with time. Nevertheless, some regions still continue to be highly affected and vulnerable to terrorism.

According to the Global Terrorism Index 2016, there has been a continued rise of terrorism which is cause for serious concern today.<sup>1</sup> Terrorist groups with time have continued to expand into other countries for instance; the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and its affiliates have expanded into 15 new countries. Moreso, Boko Haram which was formerly in Nigeria is

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<sup>1</sup> Institute for Economics and Peace, *Global Terrorism Index 2016*, <http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Global-Terrorism-Index>.

also currently in Niger, Cameroon and Chad. Other countries that have also been affected by terrorism over the past years are Europe, USA, Turkey, France, Afghanistan, Syria, Iraq, India, Pakistan, Central African Republic, Somalia, Sudan, Kenya to mention a few.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, terrorist attacks and activities have globally led to rise in insecurity, fear and a higher perceived risk of terrorism.

In Germany, July 2016, separate incidences; a man blew himself up, an Iranian-German shot people, while another hacked passengers on a train. In France on the 14<sup>th</sup> July 2016, a terrorist in a lorry mowed down revellers on Bastille Day. In another attack, on January 7, 2015 in the Charlie Hebdo attack, two gunmen carried out an attack on the French Satirical Weekly Newspaper Charlie Hebdo in Paris killing and injuring many. In 2017 alone, terrorists attacked Spain by ploughing a van into crowds and thus killing people. In May, a lone suicide bomber detonated explosives in Manchester killing fans that were leaving a concert. These attacks were by such Islamic militant terror groups such as Al-Qaeda, ISIS and others were by Muslim individuals labelled as terrorists.<sup>3</sup> In the USA apart from the 11 September, 2001 attack which brought attention to terrorism in the world, there have also been shooting attacks, bombings, stabbing and vehicular attacks on people.<sup>4</sup>

Africa is no exception to terrorism as the terror attacks by radical groups have increased immensely. While global terror groups such as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and Al-Qaeda have made their presence felt in the region, other local groups are Boko Haram and Al-

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<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Alice Foster, "Terror Attacks Timeline: From Paris and Brussels Terror to Most Recent Attacks in Europe," *Express*, <http://www.express.co.uk/news/world/693421/>.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Wm. Johnston, *Terrorist attacks and related incidents in the United States*, Johnston's Archive, <http://www.johnstonsarchive.net/terrorism/wrjp255a.html>.

Shabaab.<sup>5</sup> These groups are on the offensive taking hold of towns, expanding and pushing their own political agenda. Boko Haram has claimed over 20,000 lives, displaced 2.6 million people, created 75,000 plus orphans and caused unimaginable damage financially.<sup>6</sup> In Somalia, Al-Shabaab continues to battle troops from African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and neighbouring countries such as Kenya. The group has increased its attacks on African Union bases, Somali government facilities and targets in Kenya. There has also been an emergence of a nexus between two deadly terrorist groups; Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab which could prove to be an even bigger problem for the region.<sup>7</sup> Generally most African countries have been affected directly or indirectly.

Lamu area has continued receiving waves of attacks. In July 2017 militants raided Pandanguo area and attacked a Police post, dispensary and a school destroying property. Improvised Explosive Devices attacks launched on a police vehicle killed pupils and policemen.<sup>8</sup> In the same month, Al-Shabaab also beheaded nine Kenyans in Lamu area.<sup>9</sup> In January 2016 Al-Shabaab claimed to have killed more than 100 Kenyan soldiers in El-Adde, a Somali camp near the border between the two countries.<sup>10</sup> Since November 2011 when the Kenya Defence Force (KDF) went to Somalia, the country has experienced an increase in number of terror attacks.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Ruchita Beri, *Rise of Terrorism in Africa*, Rise of Terrorism in Africa I Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, April 13, 2017, accessed October 2, 2017, [http://www.idsa.in/idsacomments/rise-of-terrorism-in-africa\\_rberi\\_130417](http://www.idsa.in/idsacomments/rise-of-terrorism-in-africa_rberi_130417).

<sup>6</sup> *Al-Shabaab behead nine Kenyans in Lamu attack*, Standard Digital, July 8, 2017, accessed September 20, 2017, <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001246629/al-shabaab-behead-nine-kenyans-in-lamu-attack>.

<sup>7</sup> Ruchita Beri, *Rise of Terrorism in Africa*, Rise of Terrorism in Africa|Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, April 13, 2017, accessed September 20, 2017, [http://www.idsacomments/rise-of-terrorism-in-africa-\\_beri\\_130417](http://www.idsacomments/rise-of-terrorism-in-africa-_beri_130417).

<sup>8</sup> *Al-Shabaab attack Pandanguo Police Post in Lamu*, Standard Digital, July 5, 2017, accessed September 20, 2017, <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001246140/al-shabaab-attack-pandanguo-police-in-lamu>.

<sup>9</sup> *Al-Shabaab behead nine Kenyans in Lamu attack*, Standard Digital, July 8, 2017, accessed September 20, 2017, <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001246629/al-shabaab-behead-nine-kenyans-in-lamu-attack>.

<sup>10</sup> Deutsche Welle ([www.dw.com](http://www.dw.com)), *Al-Shabaab attacks Kenya military base, dozens killed*, DW.COM, accessed July 27, 2017, <http://www.dw.com/>.

<sup>11</sup> D. Anderson and J. McKnight, *Kenya At War: Al-Shabaab And Its Enemies In Eastern Africa*, *African Affairs* 114, no. 454 (2015): 1-27.

While there are attacks that took place before November 2011, they were far in between and less vicious to evoke the level of outrage that has been experienced in the more recent years.<sup>12</sup>

Eastleigh is a busy, overpopulated area that is prone to violence. Terrorists use it as a safe haven due to the complexity of the region. It is characterized by deadly riots caused by clanism, ethnic and sectarian divisions, profiling and stereotyping of Kenyan Somalis and Somalis on a religious and ethnic level and illegal and underground markets which provide access to weapons which makes it easy to carry out attacks. There is also proof of presence of Al-Shabaab cells abetted by local Islamic clergy. Furthermore, thousands of dollars are transferred daily through a social network called hawala. The Kenyan security organs and other governments have singled out this global system as a tool making it easy for these terrorists to finance their activities as no documents are needed thus tracking is difficult.<sup>13</sup> Terrorists use it to plan and execute attacks in Nairobi and other areas as well. Terrorism and organized crime nexus is also a contributing factor. Moreso, the influx of legal and illegal immigrants has led to congestion in the suburb and uncontrolled development which has contributed to the area being a perfect hideout.

The national government of Kenya in collaboration with other organizations and security institutions have designed and adopted counter terrorism strategies in an attempt to prevent more terror attacks and terrorist havens in Kenya and in this case Eastleigh. However, the adopted counter terrorism strategies do not seem to achieve the intended results and instead there are more incidents of panic and uncertainty among Kenyans and more cases of terrorism case and point Eastleigh location.

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>13</sup> Mwaura Samora, *The Somali Question*, World Policy Blog, April 16, 2015, accessed October 2, 2017, <https://www.worldpolicy.org/blog/2015/04/06/Somali-question>.



## 1.2 Statement of the Problem

Terrorism continues to pose a serious threat to security in Eastleigh and its environs. So much has been done individually and collaboratively in response to terrorism by various stakeholders such as the Government, private sector, religious groups, civil society, regional and international community.<sup>14</sup> However, there is still no academic research that has been undertaken to examine the effectiveness of the adopted counter terrorism strategies in Eastleigh area. Eastleigh is still an area where recruitment and radicalization especially of youth continue to take place, harbouring of terrorists and continued terrorist attacks, and this leads to the question as to whether the counter terrorism strategies put in place are effective or not and to what extent, what is it that stakeholders are not doing well and more so, how come there are still terrorist activities and attacks in this particular area.<sup>15</sup>

The current rise in terrorist activities especially from 2014 has led to an increase in insecurity in Eastleigh. In June 2017, the anti-terror police unit arrested 80 people in relation to terrorism and radicalization.<sup>16</sup> Explosions and shootings over the past years have killed, injured people and led to the displacement of others. Because of the nature of the terrorist haven in Eastleigh and other parts of the country, tourist's numbers are affected because of travel bans placed on the country.<sup>17</sup> It has impacted the economy negatively and more so disrupts the livelihoods of individuals in this area and neighbouring environs as well. The question hence begs for an evaluation of the counter terrorism strategies currently in place. Therefore, this study sought to

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<sup>14</sup> Patrick Mutahi, and Mutuma Ruteere, *Where is the Money? Donor Funding for Conflict and Violence Prevention in Eastern Africa*, No. IDS Evidence Report; 217. IDS, 2017.

<sup>15</sup> John Harbeson, and P. N. Lyman, *The War on Terrorism in Africa*, (2013): 24.

<sup>16</sup> Lind, Jeremy Patrick Mutahi, and Marjoke Oosterom, 'Killing a mosquito with a hammer': Al-Shabaab violence and state security responses in Kenya,' *Peacebuilding* 5, no. 2 (2017): 118-135.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

examine the effectiveness of counter terrorism strategies that have been adopted to prevent more terrorism, mitigate and prepare for terrorist activities and attacks in Eastleigh suburb.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

The research questions that guided this study included;

1. What are the strategies adopted by the security organs in Kenya to counter terrorism activities in Eastleigh Location, Nairobi County?
2. What are the challenges security organs face in implementing the established counter terrorism strategies in Eastleigh Location, Nairobi County?
3. What measures should be put in place to curb the challenges of counter terrorism strategies in Eastleigh Location, Nairobi County?

### **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

The study specifically sought to:

1. Identify and analyse the counterterrorism strategies adopted by the security organs to counter terrorism activities in Eastleigh Location, Nairobi County.
2. Examine the challenges by security organs in the implementation of the established counter terrorism strategies in Eastleigh Location, Nairobi County.
3. Identify and analyse measures to curb the challenges of counterterrorism strategies in Eastleigh Location, Nairobi County.

## 1.5 Justification for the Study

Macionis explains that terrorism mutates, it changes face and shape from time to time thus demanding pro-activeness from intelligence and security agencies to counter it.<sup>18</sup> Formulation of policies to counter terrorism is key and the enactment and enforcement of the same is important as well.<sup>19</sup> Failure to prevent attacks has brought pressure to the Kenyan government and its agencies to ensure the safety of Kenyans. This study is relevant because it assists in the formulation and strengthening of policies to help the government deal with terrorism in the country and specifically in Eastleigh.

More so, this study is also relevant because it goes a long way to create reference by the future academicians. This will contribute to more knowledge of counter terrorism not only locally but will contribute as a case study to other areas in the country internally affected by terrorism. The study findings will contribute to the filling up of knowledge gaps in the study of violent security. Security professionals and students pursuing security related courses will make reference to this study's findings. Researchers carrying out security related studies will use this study's findings to get more information on counter terrorism strategies and their effectiveness in preventing terrorism activities.

The study findings will also enable the reduction in the number of attacks through prevention of deaths and loss of property; challenges faced in implementing counter terrorism strategies are managed and further measures to enhance effective implantation of counter terrorism strategies are provided. Therefore, using this study's findings, security organs will implement their counter terrorism effectively and strengthen existing strategies hence reducing terror attacks. The study findings will further enable improvement of the reputation of the country internationally thus

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<sup>18</sup> John J. Macionis, *Social Problems*, Pearson, 2013.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

attracting foreign direct and indirect investment including tourism. These will boost economic growth which is key to bringing about peace and unity among different communities and religious groupings in the Country.

## **1.6 Literature Review**

### **Counterterrorism Strategies Adopted by the Security Organs**

Terrorism has become a worldwide phenomenon and thus countries are becoming more and more engaged in counter terrorism measures. Terrorism is dynamic and measures must keep evolving to deal with the threat effectively. After the 9/11 terrorist attack in the United States of America, some of the counter terrorism measures that have been employed in the United States are utility of hard and soft power combined which entail military retaliation or reprisal, military pre-emption therefore, striking before terrorists do, commando raids, assassinations, hostage rescue missions and hard non-military strategies which include economic sanctions.<sup>20</sup> As for the use of soft power techniques deterrence, diplomacy, talking to terrorist groups for more understanding and conciliation and peace are key as well as developing of more anti and counter terrorism laws in relation to the dynamic nature of terrorism.<sup>21</sup>

The former President of the United States, Obama, endorsed the use of drones in the fight against terrorism. Although it was very successful in neutralizing terrorists, it also led to the harming or killing of innocent civilians.<sup>22</sup> Moreso drones today are a technology terrorists seem keen to use and therefore as much as it was a development in the fight against terror it is now also a threat.

Various countries in Africa have also employed tailor-made counter terrorism measures. Most of

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<sup>20</sup> Jordan Kiper, and Richard Sosis, "Why terrorism terrifies us," *Evolutionary Psychology and Terrorism* (2016): 103-123.

<sup>21</sup> Brigitte L. Nacos, *Terrorism and Counterterrorism*, 5th ed. (NewYork, NewYork: Routledge, 2016).

<sup>22</sup> Ibid

the countries affected by terrorism have come together on platforms of regional organizations and programs and such examples are; IGAD (IGAD Security Sector Program), AMISOM and PRACT. Various scholars and experts such as Martha Crenshaw, Bruce Hoffman, Walter Reich and many more have contributed greatly to the war and knowledge on terrorism. Nevertheless there are still gaps in literature on counter terrorism in areas vulnerable and affected by terrorism such as Kenya and specifically Eastleigh location.

Africa's dynamic and unique economic, cultural and religious background and more specifically Kenya, also contribute to effectiveness of counter terrorism strategies. A dynamic counter terrorism strategy is therefore important. Kenya continues to fight the war against terror on various fronts such as internationally, regionally and nationally. Some impediments, internal and external, still exist in so far as implementing and organization of the strategies. The East African Counterterrorism Initiative (EACTI), Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa continue to be forums where the fight against terror is a key agenda.

### **Challenges in the Implementation of the Established Counter Terrorism Strategies**

United States bureau of counter terrorism acknowledges that a lot of terrorist attacks have been successfully thwarted but sometimes a few slip through the intelligence and security systems. This success has been attributed to; clear definition of responsibilities, formation of crisis management teams and command, allocation of more resources and training of security personnel. The Government of Canada explains that part of the reasons why the counter terrorism strategy has worked in the country is because there is a clear definition of responsibilities and each organization is aware and performs its function with diligence in

accordance with the law.<sup>23</sup> Accordingly, the concerned agencies collaborate and share important information that is related to terrorism and act as a team.

In Canada for instance Border Services Agency, Canada Revenue agency (CRA), Canadian Air Transport Security Authority (CATSA), and Canadian Security Intelligence Services all work together in a war against terrorism. According to the Republic of Canada, more resources need to be allocated to security and intelligence agencies for research and development, training and acquisition of modern security equipment such as; full body scanners, X ray machines, explosive trace detectors and more.<sup>24</sup> Mueller and Stewart, say that the US government spent over one trillion dollars in the fight against terrorism between 2001 and 2011 further under scoring the need for adequate funding.<sup>25</sup>

In Kenya, despite the government incorporating the anti-terrorism activities in the annual budget and the Vision 2030, the counter strategies are yet to be fully effective.<sup>26</sup> This was brought to light by the Garissa University Terrorist attack that was on 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2015 in which the militant group of Al Shabaab and Al Qaeda stormed into the University killing 147 people and leaving more than 80 people injured. This raises questions to the overall preparedness of the state to counter terrorism as it took more than 12 hours to manage the siege despite four attackers being killed.<sup>27</sup> Additionally, the police personnel have been found to not be well trained on how to handle such situations and the use of modernized equipment. Therefore, this presents a huge

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<sup>23</sup> Melissa Ku, "Walking the Tightrope between National Security and Freedom of Expression: A Constitutional Analysis of the New Advocating and Promoting Terrorism Offence," *Appeal: Rev. Current L. & L. Reform* 21 (2016): 83.

<sup>24</sup> Ku, Melissa, (2016).

<sup>25</sup> John Mueller, and Mark G. Stewart, "Security and Money: Balancing the Risks, Benefits and Costs of Homeland Security," *Homeland Security Affairs: The Journal of the NPS Center for Homeland Defense and Security*.

<sup>26</sup>S. Ndombi, and C. Auya, Defensive Counterterrorism: Effectiveness of Screening on Preventing Terror Attacks in Institutions of Higher Learning in Nairobi, Kenya, *International Journal Series in Multidisciplinary*.Vol. 2, No. 1.(2016).

<sup>27</sup> S. Ndombi, and C. Auya, (2016).

challenge to the country which is still growing and developing in almost all sectors of the economy.<sup>28</sup>

### **Measures to Curb the Challenges in the Implementation of the Established Counter Terrorism Strategies**

Since 1990s, Kenya has experienced numerous terror attacks which have resulted in immense losses being accrued both economical and emotionally. The motives behind these attacks have not been well identified ranging from religious conflicts, political ideologies, marginalised nations to nationalist motives.<sup>29</sup> Additionally, the persistent terror attacks may be linked to the unstable neighbours surrounding Kenya such as Sudan and Somalia which make it much easier for terror planning and smuggling of illegal fire arms.<sup>30</sup> Youth radicalization also has contributed to the high prevalence rates of terror.

The negative effects brought about by terrorism activities such as decreased tourists and economic decline have necessitated the formulation of counter strategies. The counter strategies are aimed at identifying this potential threats and also responding to the terrorism acts as they happen.<sup>31</sup> According to Sander, the counter terrorism strategies may be categorized into two groups which include defensive and proactive. Proactive strategies involve direct confrontation of the terrorist groups while the defensive mechanism tends to protect and prevent the terrorism activities.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> T. Sandler, *Terrorism and counterterrorism: An overview*, Oxford Economic Papers. : Oxford University Press (2014).

<sup>30</sup> H.A. Soke, Somalia Flights Banned as Kenyan Government Steps Up Terrorism. *War, African Conflict Journal*(2003).

<sup>31</sup> A. K. Cronin, Behind the Curve: Globalization and. *International Terrorism. International Security*, (2002).27(3)

<sup>32</sup> S. M. Muhochi, Preventive Counter Terrorism Action': Case. *Study of Kenya, SSRN Electronic Journal* (2015).

Although these counter terrorism strategies provide a sense of assurance that the country is secure, their effectiveness may not be easily accessed. This is attributed to the fact that there are challenges faced that hinder the full maximization of the strategies. The challenge includes not only the security organs insufficiency, but also lack of corporation from the general public. According to Aronson, deletion of these challenges poses a huge risk for the occurrence of future terror attacks. This is because ineffective strategies are not any better than not having any strategies at all.<sup>33</sup>

Various measures have been suggested in addressing these challenges faced during implementation of counter terrorism strategies. As postulated by Sanders, the security organs ought to conduct a full evaluation and audit of the pre-existing strategies, the effectiveness and shortcomings experienced.<sup>34</sup> This will enable not only improving the already existing counter strategies but also lead to coming up with better and more improved ones.<sup>35</sup> Additionally, the public should be sensitized on the huge role that they play in ensuring their overall safety, while the government through the bodies formulated for curbing terrorism, such as Anti-Terrorism Police Unit, should ensure that all the police officers and agents are fully trained.

### **1.7 Summary of Gaps in Literature Review**

Literature review revealed that most of the previous studies on counter terrorism strategies have mainly focused on the causes of terrorism and identifying counter terrorism strategies. This study focused on analysing the effectiveness of the adopted counter terrorism strategies in preventing terrorism activities in target areas and the challenges security organs face in implementing the strategies in target areas like Eastleigh.

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<sup>33</sup> J. P. Jenkins, "Terrorism", *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid

<sup>35</sup> T. Sandler, (2014).



## 1.8 Hypotheses

The study sought to test the following research hypotheses;

- **H<sub>1</sub>:** Effective counter terrorism strategies lead to the eradication and reduction of terrorism
- **H<sub>2</sub>:** Ineffective counter terrorism strategies lead to increase in terrorism

## 1.9 Theoretical framework

### Human Needs Theory

This study was grounded on the human needs theory by John Burton who adopted ideas originally from Abraham Maslow's human needs theory.<sup>36</sup> He then expounded on some of its tenets and applied it to conflict resolution. He perceived human needs as development essentials. If the needs were not met it would then lead to them being acquired in a relentless and forced or intense manner; hence leading to conflict and in this case terrorism. He further explained that human essential needs are personal fulfilment, safety, identity, self-esteem, cultural security, participation, freedom and distributive justice which are generally fairness in resource distribution.<sup>37</sup>

Human needs theory looks at unmet needs of an individual, group or community level leading to conflict; that is the unmet needs of security and identity of those living in Eastleigh; being denied legitimate identity as Kenyans or opportunities personally or nationally, the fact that they are targets of profiling and stereotyping, also not being recognised as refugees and at times being threatened or forced to return to war torn Somalia deeply and increasingly contribute to this area being an area where terrorists sprout from and also where they are harboured.

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<sup>36</sup> Abraham H. Maslow, "A theory of human motivation," *Psychological review* 50, no. 4 (1943): 370.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

The human needs theory is an important aspect of conflict studies and conflict resolution.<sup>38</sup> This theory assisted the researcher to pinpoint the reasons as to why Eastleigh is a terrorist haven and also why it is affected by terrorist attacks. Moreso, it helped to pinpoint what are the areas counter terrorism strategies should focus on apart from hard elements of counter terrorism strategies.

### **1.10 Research Methodology**

Research methodology in general describes the procedure that was to be used in conducting this study.

### **1.11 Research Design**

Research design is the procedure which the researcher employs in order to achieve the objective of the research. According to Cooper and Schilnder, a research design is a framework for specifying the relationship among the study's variables and outlines procedures for every research activity.<sup>39</sup> Further to that, Maxwell and Joseph, define research design as arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a way that combines their relationship with the purpose of the research.<sup>40</sup> This study employed a descriptive research design.

This survey has several advantages; First, it allows a great deal of data to be collected at one time second, less expensive and appropriate when the time of gathering data is short. Third, its versatility makes it an overwhelming choice of researchers for collecting primary data.<sup>41</sup> This design is deemed more appropriate because the researcher wants to establish the existing

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 35.

<sup>39</sup> D. R. Cooper and P. S. Schindler, *Business Research Methods (8th edn.)*, (McGrawHill: New York, 2003).

<sup>40</sup> Joseph A. Maxwell, *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach*, Vol. 41. Sage publications, 2012.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

situation in terms of counter terrorism strategies adopted by security agents in Eastleigh suburb and their effectiveness in preventing terrorism attacks in the area.

Adding to the above descriptions, Hargie and Tourish, noted that descriptive design is one of the effective ways of describing a situation the way it exists.<sup>42</sup> It therefore means that descriptive research design will help the researcher describe counter terrorism strategies used to prevent terrorism activities in Eastleigh Location and describe how effective the strategies are.

The study used both quantitative and qualitative approaches. According to Mugenda and Mugenda, quantitative approach facilitates the collection of data in numerical terms while qualitative approach describes the attitudes based on view, opinion and perception.<sup>43</sup> In this study questionnaires will be used to obtain and collect numerical data while structured interviews and open ended questions will collect qualitative data.

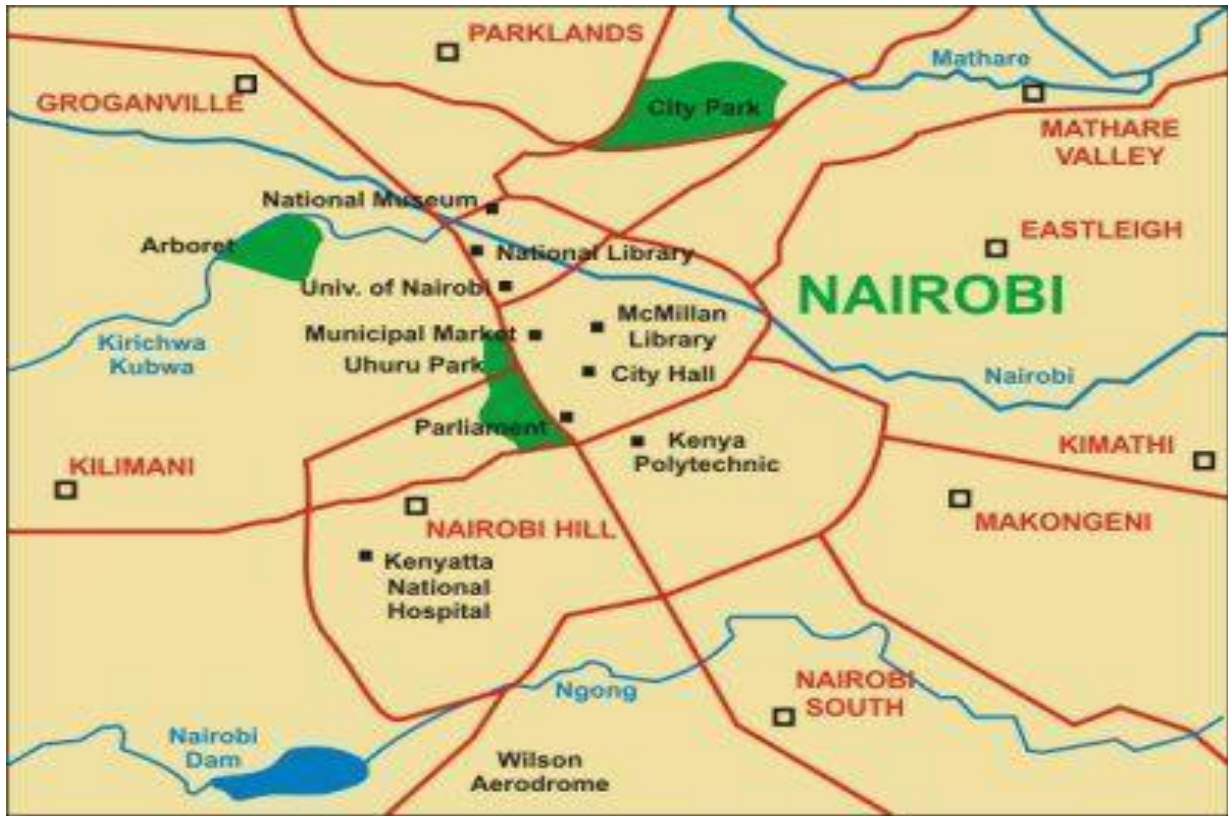
### **1.12 Study Area**

The study was conducted in Eastleigh, a suburb of Nairobi City located east of the central business district (CBD). It is found in Kamukunji Sub-county in Pumwani Division. It borders Mathare, Pumwani, Huruma, Kariakor, and Buruburu as shown in Figure 1 and Figure 2. Administratively, Eastleigh is divided into two: Eastleigh North Ward and Eastleigh South Ward. The study covered the two Ward Administrative Units. Eastleigh area is regarded as the most chaotic and violent community.

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<sup>42</sup> Owen Hargie, and Dennis Tourish, eds. *Handbook of communication audits for organisations*. Psychology Press, 2000.

<sup>43</sup> D. M. Mugenda, and A. Mugenda, *Research Methods; Quantitative and Qualitative Research*, (2003).



**Figure 1: Map showing Eastleigh within Nairobi City**

Source: [Kenya Google Satellite Maps - Maplandia.com](https://www.maplandia.com) (2017)



**Figure 2 Map showing Eastleigh and its surroundings**

Source: Map data (2017)

**1.13 Target Population**

This study targeted personnel employed in the security organs in Kenya to work at Eastleigh including, but not limited to Kenya Defence Forces, the National Intelligence Service, the National Police Service, public administrators and private security agents whose security officers are working in Eastleigh area. This population was chosen as they are directly involved with the counter terrorism strategies thus the most conversant with the study topic.

**1.14 Sample Size, Frame and Techniques**

A sample is a small representative part of a population, which has similar characteristics as the population. The purpose of sampling is to establish the representativeness of what is being studied and, conversely, reduce bias. Purposive sampling was used to select those to be interviewed to help get the right information. The purposive sampling used was the quota. In quota sampling the enumerator is instructed to continue sampling until the necessary “quota” has been obtained in each stratum.

For the purpose of this study the number of respondents was determined using below formula where the population is less than 10,000 from Mugenda and Mugenda.<sup>44</sup>

$$nf = \frac{n}{1 + n)N}$$

Where nf is desired sample size, when the population is less 10,000

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<sup>44</sup> Mugenda, O. and Mugenda, *Research Methods: Quantitative and qualitative approaches* (2003).

N is desired sample when the population is more than 10,000

N is estimate of the population size.

$$\text{Sample size} = \frac{157}{1 + \left(\frac{157}{307}\right)}$$

= 157 Respondents

**Table 1 Sampling Frame**

<b>Category of Respondents</b>	<b>Desired Sample</b>	<b>Sampling Technique</b>
Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government	25	Purposive selection
Kenya Defence Forces	50	Random Sampling
National Intelligence Service	50	Random Sampling
National Police Service	7	Purposive Selection
Private Security Agents	25	Random Sampling
<b>Total</b>	<b>157</b>	

*Researcher, 2017*

### **1.15 Data Collection**

The study comprised both qualitative and quantitative data. Primary data was collected using questionnaires and interview schedules. The study used a structured questionnaire with both

open-ended and closed-ended questions. Open-ended questions collected qualitative data while closed-ended questions collected quantitative data. The questions were designed in a manner that there was flexible questioning and the follow up questions gave an opportunity to the respondents to express their views more on the questions asked.

Questionnaires were distributed and administered to the selected security officers working or in charge of Eastleigh Location as well as inhabitants of the area. The researcher also conducted face to face in-depth interviews with selected key informants using an interview schedule. Interview schedules helped the researcher get the in-depth information by asking in-depth questions that generated qualitative data.

### **1.16 Data Analysis**

After the questionnaires were received back, they were edited, coded and data tabulated. Editing ensured the completeness, consistency and readability while coding allowed transferability of data to the computer. Tabulation enabled the data to be arranged in an orderly manner.<sup>45</sup> The study adopted both quantitative and qualitative methods. This aided in analyzing and generating information. A narrative technique was used to analyze qualitative data, while statistical summaries were used for quantitative data and comparison purposes. The interpreted data was represented in the form of tables.

### **1.17 Ethical Considerations**

The greatest concern in protecting the subject's interests and wellbeing is the protection of their identity. To ensure confidentiality, all information that was provided by the respondents was not shared with unauthorized persons. The researcher achieved this by ensuring anonymity of the

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<sup>45</sup> M. Zikmund, *Business Research Methods*, 9th ed. Australia: South-Western Cengage Learning, (2013).

respondents and byS assuring respondents that the information they provided remained confidential. Therefore, questionnaires were numbered and did not bear the name of the respondents. The researcher also ensured that all data and any form of information collected from the organizations and respondents was not used in any other purpose except for the academic purpose for which it was intended.

Further the researcher requested and obtained permission to carry out the study from relevant authority including the University of Nairobi, NACOSTI as per appendix II, Security Organs, and any other relevant organization for the study. Caution was taken in administering questionnaires to avoid any mistrust between the respondents and the researcher. Each questionnaire was accompanied by a cover letter seeking permission from the respondent signed individually as recommended by Gay.<sup>46</sup>

### **1.18 Scope and Limitations**

The study was conducted at Eastleigh Location in Nairobi City County that is regarded as the a chaotic community due to ethnic rivalries. Administratively, Eastleigh Location is divided into two: Eastleigh North Ward and Eastleigh South Ward. The study covered the two Ward Administrative Units. This study targeted personnel employed by security organs in Kenya to work at Eastleigh including, but not limited to Kenya Defence Forces, the National Intelligence Service, and the National Police Service.

However, there were two main challenges experienced during the process of data collection for the study. Firstly, there was limited access to confidential information and documents held by security and intelligence agencies. This was mitigated by writing a request letter in advance to

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<sup>46</sup> Gay, *The social environment and human behavior: A diversity perspective*, Pearson College Division, 1996.



the relevant authorities and made follow ups through phone calls. Secondly, there was fear to disclose sensitive information by the respondents due to consequences. This was addressed by ensuring confidentiality of information and that it would be used only for academic purpose. Lastly, there was a language barrier i.e. data collectors were not able to understand the language used in the questionnaire. This was mitigated by training the data clerks on how to fill the questionnaires to get the best results.

### **1.19 Chapter Outline**

Chapter one covers introduction and background of terrorism over the years and also highlights the effectiveness and need of counterterrorism strategies in Eastleigh area.

Chapter two will look at identifying and analyzing the strategies adopted by the security organs in Kenya to counter terrorism activities in Eastleigh Location, Nairobi County.

Chapter three looks at the challenges by security organs in the implementation of the established counter terrorism strategies in Eastleigh Location, Nairobi County.

Chapter four covers identifying and analysing measures to curb the challenges of counterterrorism strategies in Eastleigh Location, Nairobi County.

Chapter five summary, conclusion and recommendations. This chapter will highlight on the key summaries from each chapter and suggestions for further research.

## CHAPTER TWO

### COUNTER TERRORISM STRATEGIES ADOPTED BY SECURITY ORGANS IN KENYA

#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter covers the first part of the project. It looks in a detailed manner, identifies and analyses counter terrorism strategies adopted by security organs in Kenya. It also reviews literature relevant to the study's focus of counter terrorism strategies. The chapter explores the descriptive overview of the research area on counter terrorism strategies adopted by Kenyan security organs and generally the Kenyan Government. Additionally, it looks at the exact counter terrorism strategies that have been adopted and implemented in Eastleigh and the findings obtained from the study.

#### 2.1 Counter Terrorism Strategies at the Global Level and Regional Level

The main causes of both war and conflict have been established to be grouped into four main categories. This includes perceived threats, cultural and religious differences, wealth and power, political differences, and ethnical and social problems.<sup>47</sup> When differences are not embraced or when issues are not resolved then these particular things lead to build up of frustration and therefore eventually cause aggression. In this regard, the counter terrorism implies the practices, tactics, techniques and strategies the government and its operatives adopt in response to terrorist threats.<sup>48</sup> Counter terrorism strategies should employ inclusiveness and ensure that all sectors in a community are involved in the war against terror.

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<sup>47</sup> John J. Macionis, *Social Problems*, 4th ed. (USA: Prentice Hall, 2009).

<sup>48</sup> Adebayo E. Adeyemi, Mahmoud N. Musa, *Terrorism and Political Violence in West Africa: A Global Perspective*, July 2015.

Countries have been determined to use varying counter terrorism strategies which range from the security apparatus using military strategies and also softer mechanisms which prioritise the human needs. Taking the global perspective, the United Nation member countries have adopted measures to combat terrorism based on the Counter Terrorism Strategy which was formulated in 2006. This focuses on promoting national, regional and international counter terrorism efforts and programs.<sup>49</sup> It was later reviewed in 2014 to include the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism and to address such issues.<sup>50</sup>

The approaches to counter terrorism are noted to include; review of terrorism related law, recruitment and training of more law enforcement officers, increased budgetary allocation and development and implementation of contingency plans. Particularly, East Africa constitutes one of the most vulnerable to terrorism as compared to the rest of sub-Saharan Africa.<sup>51</sup> This is attributed to the fact that almost all the countries have been victims of the terrorist attacks. These may be caused either by the country's nationals or by extra-national targets such as the Western targets that are located in the regions. Preventing terrorism is thus a key area in many counter terrorism strategies in the world today.

## **2.2 Counter Terrorism Strategies in Kenya**

Kenya has in the recent past proven to be highly vulnerable to terrorism attacks as evidenced by the numerous cases that have happened since the 1990s. This has raised concern for not only the government but also the regulatory bodies to come up with a mechanism to minimize the risks of terror activities. As such, the Kenya National Strategy was formulated in 2016 in developing a

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> "UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy/Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force," United Nations-Counter Terrorism Implementation Task Force, accessed October 10, 2017, <https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctif/en/un-global-counter-terrorism-strategy>.

<sup>51</sup> S. Ndombi, and C. Auya, (2016).

national task geared towards promoting national security.<sup>52</sup> This plays a big role in ensuring that all the relevant ministries and agencies adopt the appropriate mechanisms in both preventing and countering terrorism.

The Kenya Police Service was introduced in 1887 and has since been faced by a great pressure to ensure effective and efficient service delivery to the citizens. Hence, the introduction of the Kenya Police Strategic Plan (2003-2008), it aims at catering for both internal development of the police force and also promoting the welfare of the citizens. This was further boosted by the 2013-2017 strategic plans which are still in progress. All these are aimed at providing guidelines onto how the police organ conducts their operations.<sup>53</sup> This has been supported by the public awareness campaigns that have enabled build good rapport with the public.<sup>54</sup>

Additionally the efforts of the Kenyan government in countering terrorism over the years, has been aided by the establishment of the National Counter Terrorism Centre. This is a coordination centre which counters the violent terrorist activities including the operationalization of the National strategy on countering violent extremism and the support for international missions on the war against terrorism like the presence of Kenya in Somalia. The CT mechanism in Kenya includes two main groups namely; the military and intelligence frameworks. It also includes the efforts of NSAs as seen in the de-radicalization efforts of the GoK and NSAs like UNDP, USAID and other Community Based Organizations.

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> GoK., *Kenya National Strategy*, Nairobi, Government Printer (2017).

<sup>54</sup> The Kenya Police Service Strategic Plans, (2004; 2008).

### 2.3 Counter Terrorism Strategies in Nairobi County, Eastleigh Location

According to the Global Terrorism Index 2014, Kenya is ranked as twelfth, one of the highest ranking countries which are affected by terror.<sup>55</sup> The study found out that the government's response has been to tackle the underlying problems which are mainly the increased Somali refugee inflow, who have migrated and settled as urban refugees in Eastleigh. Since the 1990s, Eastleigh has transformed from predominantly a residential area to a profit making business centre with a wide range of retailers and wholesalers. This has led to increased competition to the Asians who had predominantly occupied the region.

The area was established and referred to as the 'Little Mogadishu' owing to the large population of refugees in the region who are mainly of Somali origin. Currently, Eastleigh has over 350,000 inhabitants who include mostly Somali Kenyans as well as registered Somali refugees.<sup>56</sup> However, Eastleigh which is the new hub of trade networks both locally and internationally, is frequently targeted by the state securities to arrest and identify illegal migrants.<sup>57</sup> The area has experienced numerous terrorist attacks which worsened in November 2012, which was followed by five more attacks in the following months thus making the area a primary concern with regards to curbing terrorism attempts in Kenya.

In response to the rise in terror attacks, the respondents indicated that there has been implementation and beefing up of new police squads and units with more equipment at utilities to prevent terrorism from happening and punishing the culprits. The agencies which were found out to have been set up include Anti-Terrorism Police Unit, National Counter Terrorism Center,

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<sup>55</sup> G. Kamberelis, and G. Dimitriadis, *Focus groups: From structured interviews to collective conversations*, (London:Routledge, 2013).

<sup>56</sup> UNHCR, *Kenya: Somali Refugees, UNHCR Factsheet*, 20 January, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2014).

<sup>57</sup> E. Lochery, *Rendering Differences Visible: the Kenyan State and its Somali Citizens*, African Affairs (2012) 111.445: 615–39.

National Security Intelligence Service and the National Security Advisory Committee. Eastleigh region constitutes one of the most vulnerable areas to the terrorism having been the target of most attacks done in Kenya. This has seen numerous counter terrorism strategies being put in place by the security bodies. The strategies that were found out to be put in place at Eastleigh by the study include;

### **2.3.1 Intelligence Services**

The intelligence services in Kenya were introduced after the embassy bombings that occurred in 1998 through the National Security Intelligence Service. The intelligence service later gained recognition globally and was added to the Antiterrorism Assistance Program in the US.<sup>58</sup> This body aims at not only detecting and investigating any possible threats before they happen but also advising the security agents on any possible threats. The intelligence services were also found out to protect the interest of all genres either political or comical and also ensuring that the security personnel have adequate clearance required.<sup>59</sup>

Intelligence services are thus both a process and a product and have played an important role in diplomacy and warfare throughout history. According to Pashley, and Cools, the body is mandated to provide the guiding principles on how investigations are undertaken in operations and measures of its effectiveness.<sup>60</sup> Therefore, the intelligence services at Eastleigh region play a big role in giving the security organs assurance of the current security positions.<sup>61</sup> However, compared to the developed countries, Nairobi and Eastleigh regions lack the utilities and resources to undertake proper intelligence services due to the high cost involved.

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<sup>58</sup> "NSIS Historical Background", *National Security Intelligence Service*, 2006, Archived from the original on October 2017.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> V. Pashley, and M. Cools, Private intelligence services: their activities and role in public-military intelligence strategies, *Journal of intelligence studies*, 7, (2017), 131-139.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

The security agencies rely mostly on traditional intelligence services which may not be as effective as the new and modernized intelligence systems that are mainly operated using IT and software integrations. Therefore, as postulated by GoK, the security organs mainly rely on the intelligence gathered by UK, US and other friendly nations with regards to the activities of major terror activities.<sup>62</sup> This strategy therefore despite its potential in mapping terror activities both locally and beyond the borders, it is still to be fully implemented in Kenya.

### **2.3.2 Risk Reduction Strategies**

Risk reduction strategy was found out to gain popularity as a key counter terrorism strategy in both detecting and preventing terror attacks. Risk reduction is a process that involves identifying, assessing and mitigating of risks of a calamity.<sup>63</sup> It aims at minimizing socio-economic exposures and approach to deal with environmental among other hazards. The strategies adopted at Eastleigh included automation of services, metal detectors and electronic detection systems in buildings, frequent checks and search in interest areas, closing of major/significant roads and managing random security checks in public.

The risk management strategies aim at eliminating the key risk factors from terrorism. As described by Murty, there exists four main risk factors namely explosions, arsons, armed attack, biological and nuclear attacks and others such as cyber terrorism, terrorism and unauthorized surveillance. The factors act as a potential source of damage and harm if not well controlled or detected. The effects of these risk factors has been experienced in Kenya during numerous

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<sup>62</sup> GoK, *Economic survey, Kenya National Bureau of Statistics*, Ministry of planning, Nairobi, Government Printer (2014).

<sup>63</sup> E. Mogire, and K. M. Agade, Counter-terrorism in Kenya, *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 29 (4), (2011),473-491.

occasions such as the 1998 U.S Embassy bomb attack that has never been forgotten since its occurrence due to the large number of people who died.

Though the Government of Kenya recognizes the importance of the risk management system, the risk reduction strategy was found out to face additional challenges that act as a hindrance to their execution. Most of the respondents stated the challenges to include; inadequate policy and legal frameworks through which the risk strategies are implemented, weak disaster management capabilities in organizations and communities, inadequate co-ordination and integration among the ministries and inadequate regional linkages. Thus the risk management teams were not fully ready to respond to any impending terror attacks in the regions.<sup>64</sup>

This is supported by Odhiambo, Maito and Onkware, who argue that putting risk measures could be as simple as restricting entry and it plays a significant role in minimizing the terrorist attacks in a particular region.<sup>65</sup> Through screening, the risks of terror activities happening are highly minimized and the citizens are given a sense of security amongst themselves. Hence, the government should station law enforcement officers at “critical sites” to man the movement of the public entering and leaving the buildings.<sup>66</sup>

### **2.3.3 Security Operations**

Security operations were found to have been put in place to ensure that there is full maximization of security at all times and at all places. One of these operations in Eastleigh region is the Operation Usalama Watch. According to Lechery this is a counter terrorism strategy which

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<sup>64</sup> United Nations, *Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 29 June 2012*, Geneva.

<sup>65</sup> Odhiambo, Maito and Onkware, 2013.

<sup>66</sup>D. O. Opon, P. G. Okoth, and K. Onkware, Immigration Border Control Human Resource Challenges and Opportunities Affecting Counter-terrorism Strategies in Kenya, *International Journal of Education and Research*, (2015),3 (5), 301.



involves measures to both identify and remove individuals who are in the country illegally. Most of these are mainly Somali who have ethnic profiling. The Operation Usalama Watch was launched in April 2014, and it saw over 6,000 police officers and Soldiers deployed in Eastleigh. It was justified as a counter terrorism strategy as it acted to remove the foreign nationals.

This security operation was thus put in place to deal with and deport all immigrants who are suspected to engage in illegal activities.<sup>67</sup> The operation strategy was successful in arresting many refugees in March 2016 who were located in not only Eastleigh region but also other environs in Nairobi. They were later detained and relocated in the refugee camps. However, the security operations have been met with criticism by many Muslim cleric, opposition political leaders and human right activists who termed the measures excessive and biased towards the Somali people.<sup>68</sup>

Specifically, Michelle Kigali, Deputy Regional Director for Eastern Africa at Amnesty International states that “Operation Usalama Watch’ is being used as a pretext for the blanket punishment of the Somali community in Kenya. They have become scapegoats with thousands arrested and ill-treated, forcibly relocated and hundreds unlawfully expelled to a war-torn country.” This therefore necessitates the police officers to be highly vigilant during conducting of these operations to ensure no discrimination among the individuals and households that are searched.

### **2.3.4 Community Policing**

Community policing as described by Abdulrahamah, is termed as a paradigm shift in which the end users of the police services which are the community members are fully engaged in ensuring

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<sup>67</sup>Kefa. O, *Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery*, (p.107), Kenya Studies Review (2009).

<sup>68</sup> D. O. Opon, P. G. Okoth, and K. Onkware, *International Journal of Education and Research*, 301.

that security is maintained. This was established to act a long way in also promoting justice and quality police service in Eastleigh. The community based counter terrorism differs from the traditional policing in that it requires the police and community residents to share their powers and mandates.<sup>69</sup> As postulated by Coquilhat, three key factors ought to be implemented in the community based strategies namely; community partnership, change management and problem solving.

According to Fielding, community based approach arose mainly due to the rapid change in the crime conditions which rendered most policing attempts to be ineffective. Additionally, the demised trust among and towards the police force by the community necessitates their involvement as established by a study conducted by Davis, Henderson and Merrick in Brazil. Therefore, through this the security organs are able to get a localised response which highly improves police efficiency and accountability. Also any existing loop holes and challenges pertaining to the pre-existing strategies are easily identified and solved.<sup>70</sup>

For community policing to be effective, public seminars and rallies should be conducted so as to educate the citizens concerning the role of the police and about how community involvement will help strengthen the security initiatives. This is similar to China where emphasis is put on the collective responsibility including both community cooperation and community consent. The counter terrorism attacks are maintained both through local and political structures that conform to the collective community protection.

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<sup>69</sup> J. Coquilhat, *Community Policing: An International Literature Review*, (New Zealand: New Zealand Police 2008).

<sup>70</sup> R.C. Davis, N. J. Henderson and C. Merrick, 'Community Policing: Variations on the Western model in the developing world', *Police Practice and Research*, Vol. 4, No. 3,(2003) pp. 280-300.

There were however challenges which are associated with the community policing implementation in the region. According to Baker it creates an imbalance as the community is viewed largely as a tool rather than a agent in minimizing crime and terrorist attacks. This is attributed by the fact that the community is expected to provide valid and reliable information to the police while the police themselves do not offer any information to them.<sup>71</sup> Additionally, it was found out that there are limited resources and funding to expand the Community Policing Programs.

In Kenya, community policing as a counter terrorism strategy was initiated in 2003. As per Kenya Police Annual Report, it involves combining the efforts and resources of the government agencies and the community members. This was aimed at bridging the gap between the police and the community.<sup>72</sup> This resulted in the recent introduction of the Nyumba Kumi Initiative; community policing initiative. The strategy was formulated in attempts of engaging the community more in preventing and curbing terrorism in the area.<sup>73</sup> Though this has gained much success in the rural settings, it is yet to gain popularity in the urban settings such as Eastleigh.

### **2.3.5 Random Searches**

The police at Eastleigh region also conduct anti-terrorism operations and usually subject suspects to random searches. These mainly range from premises of the detainees, their documents, bank records, photographs and other items that are at times seized. This is aimed at determining illegal immigrants who are likely to be potential terrorists. The searches are supported by studies

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<sup>71</sup> Davis, R. C., Henderson, N. J., and Merrick, C., 'Community Policing: Variations on the Western model in the developing world', *Police Practice and Research*, Vol. 4, No. 3,(2003) pp. 280-300.

<sup>72</sup> Kenya Police , *Community Policing*, Retrieved from the Kenya Police official website [www.kenyapolice.go.ke](http://www.kenyapolice.go.ke)(2014).

<sup>73</sup> E. Mogire and K. M. Agade, Counter-terrorism in Kenya, *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 29 (4), 473-491(2011).

conducted such as Chumba, C. (2012) who conducted a study on community policing and its effect on terrorism in Kenya.

The periodic screening occurs as a result of the perception that the Somali residing in Eastleigh are perceived to have wealth which is deemed to originate from illegal activities.<sup>74</sup> The police however have been established to be inefficient in terms of taking advantage of this screening as an excuse to extort and arrest the residents. Despite requirements in Kenyan law for a search warrant no search warrants are shown during these searches and thus the process has received much criticism.<sup>75</sup> This is because it raises concern on the exact validity of the searches.

This has seen IPOA launch investigations where the police were found not to observe the human rights protection during the random searches. The officers were found to demand bribes, harassing and assaulting the residents.<sup>76</sup> Yet, there was some public support of the operation due to the negative perceptions about Somalis as criminals and terrorists.<sup>77</sup> While the immediate effects of this operation may not be easily noticed, it results in short term economic consequences.

## **2.4 Effectiveness of the Counter Terrorism Strategies**

Effectiveness in the adoption and implementation of strategies relates to how well the strategy successfully achieves its intended goals.<sup>78</sup> This entails the communication, interpretation, adoption and actions of the intended strategies. Each of these, not necessarily following each

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<sup>74</sup> HRW, *Kenya: Third Imam Killed in 2 Years. Investigate, Prosecute Murders and End Cycle of Violence*, 4 April, [www.hrw.org/news/2014/04/04/kenya-third-imam-killed-2-years](http://www.hrw.org/news/2014/04/04/kenya-third-imam-killed-2-years) (accessed October 2017).

<sup>75</sup> Amnesty International report of 2005 Amnesty International, *Kenya: Somalis scapegoated in counter-terror crackdown* (2017).

<sup>76</sup> IPOA *Operation Sanitization Eastleigh Report, 'Usalama Watch'*, July, Nairobi: Independent Policing Oversight Authority (2014).

<sup>77</sup> R. Warah, "Eastleigh Crackdown Offers Major Opportunity for Bribe-taking and Harassment by Police", *Sahan Journal*, 16 April(2014).

<sup>78</sup> Ploch, (2010).

other but cannot be separated. At Eastleigh, the government of Kenya has made several attempts in countering terrorism. These include training and employing the police personnel, and formation of special agencies such as anti-terrorism police and National Counter Terrorism Centre.

The intelligence service has been successful in both detecting and stopping terrorism attacks before they happen.<sup>79</sup> The lack of effective intelligence and law enforcement contributed to the failure to deter the 2002 terrorist attacks and the subsequent terrorist attacks that have occurred in the country to date. The Government has heightened security measures including more security personnel in volatile regions. Emergency drills are also conducted to equip the citizens with the required skills and expertise in countering terrorism in Eastleigh. The importance of drills has been supported by scholars both locally and internationally.

Adoption of technology to enhance security in Eastleigh has increased effectiveness of counter terrorism strategies; technological advancement include use of CCTV camera surveillance and metal detectors has significantly acted to minimise the risk of terrorism attacks. The number of attacks has also reduced significantly with the area becoming more secure. This has seen the residents reduce their fears and continue with their daily routine activities. Business activities have also normalized as a result of these improved activities.<sup>80</sup>

However, the counter strategy initiatives themselves have not been fully efficient on how they are conducted. Specifically, some residents indicate that only the Muslims and ethnic Somalis are unfairly targeted without taking to consideration the other people. Hence, the root causes of the terror risk are not fully addressed including radicalization, poverty, unemployment of various

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<sup>79</sup> Anderson, D. M., and McKnight, J. Kenya at War: Al-Shabaab and Its Enemies in Eastern Africa, *African Affairs*, 1-27(2014).

<sup>80</sup> USIU/KSG, (2013), *Crime Prevention Report Phase 2*, Nairobi: USIU/KSG.

communities. Additionally, some police officers were indicated to participate in unethical practices such as bribes, which limited their efficiency as the suspected terrorists and known gangs would be left free.

## **2.5 Study Findings**

This section presents the findings of the study on causes of terrorism at Eastleigh, the available counter terrorism strategies and how efficient the strategies are as per the research objectives.

### **2.5.1 Causes of Terrorism at Eastleigh**

The study sought to determine the causes of terrorism in the Eastleigh Region. The findings obtained as shown by Table 2 show that based on the responses, corruption was found to be the major cause with a mean of 4.08. This was followed by poverty and unemployment of the youth causing terrorism in Eastleigh as the respondents agreed with a mean of 3.96. The respondents were however moderate on the other causes of terrorism as ethnic and religious conflicts had a mean of 3.65, youth radicalization had a mean of 3.77 whereas revenge had the least mean of 3.36.

This thus implies that the main cause was perceived to be corruption within the security agencies and the least cause was revenge among the residents. This was further supported by the interview responses where mishaps in the security agencies themselves were linked to be the main causes of terrorism in the area. Karacasulu, holds that malpractices among the police force pose a great challenge to how they conduct their operations. This is because they will tend to lean more

towards fulfilling their self-interests thus neglecting their expected duties which expose the citizens to risk.<sup>81</sup>

**Table 2 Causes of Terrorism**

Causes	Mean	Std Dev
Ethnic and religious conflicts within Eastleigh area causes terrorist attacks	3.65	0.6583
Radicalization process of the youth is a major cause of terrorist attacks in Eastleigh area	3.77	0.6753
Corruption within law enforcement agencies is a factor causing terrorist attacks in Eastleigh	4.08	1.0071
Revenge is a major cause why terrorist attacks happen in Eastleigh.	3.39	0.4925
Poverty and unemployment of the youth causes terrorism in Eastleigh	3.96	0.9037

*Source, Researcher 2017*

### **2.5.2 Counter Terrorism Strategies**

The study also sought to find out which counter terrorism strategies have been put in place in Eastleigh. The results obtained as shown by Table 3 reveal that the most used strategy was using counter terrorism strategies which includes screening, patrols and impromptu raids, access control with a mean of 3.57. The respondents however were neutral on the adoption of the other strategies namely effective intelligence services, counter terrorism policies, and building up of

<sup>81</sup>N. Karacasulu, (2015, Sept), *Security Challenges and U.S. Strategy*, <http://csis.org/program/security-challenges-and-us-strategy-middle-east>.

teams to counter terrorism. However, implementation of a contingency plan to respond to emergencies was determined to be used the least indicating it still needed improvement.

The reason for the increase in popularity of screenings, patrols and access controls is because, unlike intelligence practices and contingency plans, they are easier to implement and put into action. On the contrary, Njogu, states that they are not effective in countering terrorism as most of the personnel are not well trained on how to use the screening gadgets and also there is scarcity of resources. Hence, though this strategy may be successful in discouraging terror activities, it is not well equipped.<sup>82</sup> While Schmid adds that there is no standard counter-strategies to be used by organizations and states as they can all be substituted or complemented with each other.<sup>83</sup>

**Table 3 Counter Terrorism Strategies**

Counter terrorism strategy	Mean	Std Dev
Your security organisation has an effective intelligence service which detects and investigates threats before they occur	3.32	0.4633
Your security organisation develops reviews and implements policies to counter terrorism as stated in the aviation security program which allocates responsibilities to each organization	3.18	0.5558
Your security organisation implements a counter terrorism strategy which includes screening, patrols, access control	3.57	0.6832

<sup>82</sup> R. Njogu, Kenya's anti-terrorism strategy must evolve to target all facets of t his war. *Daily Nation*, p. 13.(2015, April 20).

<sup>83</sup> A. P. Schmid (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research*, (Oxon: Routledge, 2011).



Your security organisation implements a contingency plan to respond to emergencies including terrorist attacks	2.76	0.2731
Your security organisation implements a team approach as a strategy to counter terrorism	3.03	0.3121

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*Source, Researcher 2017*

### **2.5.3 Efficiency of the Counter Terrorism Strategy in Eastleigh**

The study aimed at finding out how efficient the counter terrorism strategy was in curbing terrorism in Eastleigh region. The findings as shown by Table 4 indicate that strategies were yet to be fully effective in maintaining security in the region. The most effective was screening of passengers which resulted to detection and retrieval of prohibited items thus preventing terrorist attacks and the least being the security sector allocating responsibilities to each security agency thus eliminating ambiguity in matters security. Additionally, as per the interviews conducted, less than 50% of the counter terrorism strategies implemented were fully effective. This raises concern as defective strategies may not meet the intended purposes.

**Table 4 Efficiency of the Counter Terrorism Strategies**

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>
Intelligence Service/Criminal investigation services have detected and stopped terrorist attacks before they occurred	3.43	0.5743
The security sector allocates responsibilities to each security agency thus eliminating ambiguity in matters security	2.95	0.5616
Screening of passengers has resulted to detection and retrieval of prohibited	3.91	0.9227

items thus preventing terrorist attacks

The emergency drills conducted to prepare and fine tune response procedures 3.27 0.9743

to mitigate situations after an attack has been effective

The adoption of technology to enhance security in Eastleigh has increased 3.27 0.8200

effectiveness of counter terrorism strategy.

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*Source, Researcher 2017*

#### **2.5.4 Hypotheses Testing**

The following were the two hypotheses for the study;

**H<sub>1</sub>** When counter terrorism strategies are effective, terrorism reduces

**H<sub>2</sub>** When counter terrorism strategies are not effective, terrorism increases

The findings of the study leads to the acceptance of both two hypotheses i.e.H<sub>1</sub> and H<sub>2</sub>. This implies that there exists a direct relationship between the efficiency of counter terrorism strategies and the terrorism levels. Therefore the reason why there may still be terrorism risks could be due to the available strategies not being fully effective. This concurs with Nacos, who postulates that security organizations should maximize mostly on their counter strategies if they are to maintain stability in their countries.

#### **2.6 Chapter Summary**

Challenges in implementation of counter terrorism strategies continue to face countries in the world and in this case Kenya. Kenya has made significant strides in enacting counter terrorism

strategies aimed at protecting the citizens from terrorism.<sup>84</sup> The Eastleigh region particularly has been found to gradually shift from a high risk terror zone to a more secure area. The chapter has reviewed the counter terrorism strategies which have been successful in countering terrorism in Eastleigh region. This includes; risk management strategies, police operations, intelligence services and random searches.

However, these have been subject to criticism due to the propensity of these counter terrorism strategies. This is because the impending terror risk is not addressed despite security being increased. Additionally, some of these counter strategies have been established to violate the basic human rights. Therefore the study addressed these challenges that hinder the effectiveness of this counter terrorism strategies in the next chapter.

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<sup>84</sup> B. Rohwerder, *Conflict Analysis of Kenya*, University of Birmingham, GSDRC, (Birmingham: U.K. 2015).

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **CHALLENGES BY SECURITY ORGANS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF COUNTER TERRORISM STRATEGIES IN EASTLEIGH LOCATION**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

There have been a number of challenges in the fight against terror in Eastleigh region and the entire country as well. The challenges arise from sources that are both internal and external to the organization of security organizations. This section reviews these challenges which limit the efficiency of counter terrorism in Eastleigh Region.

#### **3.1 Preconditions Terrorism in Eastleigh Region**

Kenya boasts of the most stable, effective and democratic government compared to all the countries in the HOA. However, despite all these, the country in most recent years has experienced the most terrorist attacks against Western targets. Particularly, Eastleigh has been determined to be one of the sources of these terror attacks as it harbors most potential terrorists. The causes of terrorism in Eastleigh have been established to vary greatly, based on the prevailing conditions.

This may include the ethnical and religious conflicts within the Eastleigh area. Also, radicalization tends to increase the number of youth being involved in the terrorism activities. Additionally, the officers also may get corrupted by the terrorism groups so as to ‘cover’ their unethical operations. While unemployment renders most youth to be idle thus highly like to engage in the activities. As the region is near the Nairobi environs, it is centrally placed therefore most preferred.

### **3.2 Challenges by Security Organs in the Implementation of Counter Terrorism Strategies in Eastleigh Location**

The changing nature of terrorism activities both in the developed and developing countries makes it imperative to fully tackle this problem. Fears of advancement in weapons by terrorists to chemical, biological and nuclear weapons continue to be on the rise. As such, despite formulation of numerous strategies, the states and regions remain vulnerable to future terrorist attacks. This thus shows that there exist challenges which act as a barrier to fully counter terrorism. The challenges that limit the implementation of counter terrorism strategies in Eastleigh Location were established to include;

#### **3.2.1 Inadequacy of Funds**

According to Kiggundu, availability of adequate funds and resources is very crucial for the development of any particular firm.<sup>85</sup> Particularly, those firms that are well funded experience minimal difficulties in adopting and implementing strategies. They are also able to fully expand their operations and accomplish their set objectives. Therefore, firms having low capital level struggle to survive and are usually at a high risk of being insolvent and collapsing. In this regard, the main challenge facing the implementation of the counter terrorism strategies is due to inadequate funds. Though the Government of Kenya was found to allocate sufficient money through the annual budget in ensuring security is well maintained, the strategies still remain ill funded. Davis argues that the main cause of this could be due to the mismanagement of funds in

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<sup>85</sup> Moses N.Kiggundu, "The challenges of management development in sub-Saharan Africa," *Journal of Management Development* 10, no. 6 (1991): 32-47.

the police agencies themselves.<sup>86</sup> The managers and those in charge of these strategies tend to use a larger portion of their funds to satisfy their self-interests.<sup>87</sup>

The organizations are therefore not able purchase the required resources and deploy additional personnel. This limits the ability to purchase modernized equipment and gadgets to curb the terrorist activities. Hence, the police welfare is relatively low which refers to their general conditions, not only in the work place but also their personal life. The police and security personnel were found out to have poor living and working conditions, which highly affected their efficiency and dedication to fully implement the counter strategies and to serve lawfully.<sup>88</sup>

Despite the police being given a salary increment in the recent past, the salaries are still insufficient to cater for their needs.<sup>89</sup> Police remuneration as compared to other security personnel and public servants, it is very low and this has been used by some of the officers as a justification for their engagement in criminal activities like corruption and facilitation of criminals. This raises the need to ensure that there is need to come up with mechanisms to ensure proper management of funds.

### **3.2.2 Insufficient Training**

Effective trainings aid in developing new police attitudes, skills and knowledge. This must endeavour to target the pre-existing misconceptions.<sup>90</sup> However, assessment of most security personnel in crime prevention and control reveals that the lapses in adequately responding to

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<sup>86</sup> J. Davis, *Africa and war on Terrorism*, (New York, Amazon, 2010).

<sup>87</sup> S. Pampinella, *The Effectiveness of Coercive and Persuasive Counterinsurgency Practices since 1945*, *Civil Wars*, 17(4), (2016) 503-526.

<sup>88</sup> W.B. Nyamwamu, W.N. Atambo, C. Munene, and W. Okibo, (2012), Role of employee welfare services on performance of the National Police Service in Kenya, A case of Kish Central, *International Journal of Arts and Commerce*, 1 (7), 75-95.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> O. Karimu, O. and A.F. Osunyikanmi, Comparative analysis of police accountability in Nigeria and United States. (2012), *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, (11), 251-257.

crimes results mostly due to the police not being adequately remunerated and ill equipped for their delegated responsibilities. They are not fully aware that in the recent volatile environment, the terrorists are more advanced using modernized equipment and their plans are intelligently planned.

Davenport, and Saunders, argue that these problems may arise due to the policy makers catering for the police welfare such as through training programs. The trainings are thus minimal focusing mostly on riot drills and not mostly on paramilitary.<sup>91</sup> Researchers have also confirmed the presence of low performance among the police agents.<sup>92</sup> Also, the security agents have not been able to embrace use of modern technology in its operations. This is attributed to the fact that they are reluctant to change from the old manual ways. There is therefore low service delivery due to the slow pace in modernization of infrastructure and the failure to amend police regulations so as to allow for proper modernization of police operations.

### **3.2.3 Lack of Public Support**

Also, it was established that lack of full cooperation from the community members is an issue. The communities mainly perceive the task of countering terrorism to be purely the work of the officers. Therefore they make minimal efforts to be vigilant especially in relation to terrorism. This is despite the introduction of the 'Nyumba Kumi' initiative which aims at promoting community members' participation. Most of those appointed as the ambassadors are not conversant with their roles and do lack incentives for motivation.

The members of the public are also poorly trained on their role in policing as they have not fully appreciated their role in cooperating with the police so as to ensure that security prevails.

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<sup>91</sup> Terence Davenport, and Christopher Saunders, *South Africa: A modern history*, Springer, 2000.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

Therefore, they do not cooperate with the security in providing vital information which will be helpful in combating terrorism in the region.<sup>93</sup>

### **3.2.4 Increased Youth Radicalization**

Another challenge that was found to deter effectiveness of the counter terrorism strategies in Eastleigh region is increased youth radicalization. Radicalization acts to increase the amount of terrorists operating in the region.<sup>94</sup> Owing to the fact that over one-third of Kenya's population of 40 million are young people (18-35 years old), and a large number are unemployed and out of school, making them particularly vulnerable targets for extremist recruiters. Hence, the radicalization aims to exploit the existing fissures and fault lines including relative deprivation, high unemployment, lack of education, political marginalization.<sup>95</sup>

Most of the terrorist attacks in the country have been carried out by local youth radicalized and recruited by Al Shabaab. After radicalization, the youth are taken to Somalia where they are equipped with the expertise, skill and trained to undertake terror activities. Hence they become lethal and potentially harmful to citizens. They are recruited to perform terrorism activities in Eastleigh region and other areas thus making it difficult to completely eradicate terrorism.<sup>96</sup>

According to Ploch though the terrorist attackers used to be foreign internationals in the early years, the terror groups prefer to recruit the youth groups from non-Muslim communities in order to raise little or no suspicions to the local security. The UK government proposes a prevent

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<sup>93</sup>H. Hassan, *Dynamism of Terrorist Threats in Kenya*, Research Project, University of Nairobi, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (2015).

<sup>94</sup>R. Coker, *Prevent toolkit*, London, (SW: 157 Group Publishers, 2015).

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> W. Kihara Andrew , *Community Policing best way to arrest run away insecurity*, Daily Nation, p. 12(2007).



strategy that is aimed at preventing youth radicalization.<sup>97</sup> According to this strategy, the community is sensitized on the basis and effects of radicalization. This may be through campaigns, dialogues, and intelligence systems which act to stop attacks and disorganize the terror activities.

### **3.2.5 Lack of Modern Technology**

Davis postulates that curbing terrorism activities has been hardened greatly by the modernization of technology. Particularly, technology has been found to ease how the terrorists undertake their transactions such as media propaganda, money transfer, communication and overall terrorist operations activities and. Attributed to the fact that Nairobi has significantly made strides in the technological advancement it makes it highly prone to the terrorist attacks.

Additionally, the terrorists are able to familiarize themselves with the available counter strategies, and how to evade them.<sup>98</sup> The non-availability of modern and sufficient equipment in the counter terrorism sectors tends to handicap it in terms of its law enforcement role. The inadequacy of facilities besides limiting the efficiency of the police also endangers life in case of occurrence of terror.<sup>99</sup> This shows that despite their being resistance among some individuals, it is essential to modernize the activities at the anti-terrorism sectors.

### **3.3 Study Findings**

This section represents the study findings with regards to the challenges experienced in implementing the counter terrorism strategies.

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<sup>97</sup> Her Majesty Government (2009), *Pursue, prevent, protect, prepare: the United Kingdom's Strategy for countering international terrorism*, London in text; Reference Hmg (2009).

<sup>98</sup> Davis, 2010.

<sup>99</sup> E. C. Onyeozili, Obstacles to effective policing in Nigeria, *African Journal of Criminology and Justice*, 1(1), (2005), 32-54.

### 3.3.0 Challenges in Implementing Counter Terrorism Strategies

The study investigated the challenges which hinder the implementation of the counter terrorism attacks in Eastleigh. The results as shown by Table 3.2 indicate that the most faced challenge was inadequate training and inadequate funding in the security organizations. These tend to act as a limit barrier in not only acquiring but also utilizing modern terrorism equipment. However, unclear definition of law was the least experienced challenge showing that there were no legal barriers in the implementation of the counter terrorism strategies.

In a similar way, Opon, on study on the immigration border control discovered that the human resource is amongst the main challenges facing counter terrorism in Kenya. The study found that the respondents in the security agencies were not adequately trained, had poor working conditions, no sufficient working tools and no attractive remuneration.<sup>100</sup> Therefore insufficient training and lacking the necessary resources makes countering terrorism difficult as they are mismatched as compared to modernized equipment of the terrorist attackers; While a study by Oino and Sorre, further added that lack of adequate funding and lack of well-coordinated efforts was the greatest hindrance in compacting terrorist acts in the country.<sup>101</sup>

**Table 5 Challenges in Implementing Counter Terrorism Attacks**

<b>Challenge</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std Deviation</b>
Insider threat	3.12	0.4019
Inadequate funding	4.64	0.6845

<sup>100</sup> P. Oino and B. Sorre, *Impact of Terrorism on the Society: The Kenyan Experience*, <http://ir.mu.ac.ke:8080/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/1862/Peter%20Oino.pdf>, 2014.

<sup>101</sup> D. O. Opon, P.G. Okoth and K. Onkware, Immigration Border Control Human Resource Challenges and Opportunities Affecting Counter-terrorism Strategies in Kenya, *International Journal of Education and Research*, 3 (5), 301, 2015.

Inadequate training	4.30	1.0688
Shortage of law enforcement officers	3.77	0.6626
Unclear definition of law	2.67	0.4141

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*Source, Researcher 2017*

It is also important to note that measures to curb challenges of counter terrorism strategies are key especially examining and strengthening the counter terrorism measures that have been put in place already before coming up with others.

### **3.4 Chapter Summary**

This section reviewed some of the challenges which pose a limitation to how effective the counter terrorism strategies are. These challenges include inadequate funds, inadequate training, increased youth radicalization and lack of public support. No matter how well the strategies have been formulated, without addressing these challenges, it wouldn't be possible to counter this potential terrorist threat. The study will put across possible suggestions on how the effectiveness of these strategies may be enhanced.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### MEASURES TO CURB THE CHALLENGES OF COUNTER TERRORISM STRATEGIES IN EASTLEIGH LOCATION, NAIROBI COUNTY

#### 4.0 Introduction

Despite the formulation of strategies, the security in Eastleigh is not fully beefed up and as such there is still possibility of terrorist attacks.. This raises the need to plan approaches on how the effectiveness of the strategies may be enhanced. As stated by Kinyanjui, and Juma, any institution that lacks frequent evaluation of strategies is most likely to incur damages. The strategic planning ensures proper service delivery and increases the ability of the security agencies to attain their set goals and targets.<sup>102</sup>

Hence, improving the efficiency of the counter terrorism strategies in target areas such as Eastleigh area would require to first solving the underlying challenges to the already pre-existing strategies before formulating new ones. This will enable the identification of the weak areas and responding to them appropriately. The section reviewed some of the measures that may be put in place so as to ensure that the counter terrorism strategies are fully effective.

#### 4.1 Measures to Curb the Challenges of Counter Terrorism Strategies

The following measures are suggested in curbing the challenges of counter terrorism strategies in Eastleigh Location.

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<sup>102</sup> N. J. Kinyanjui, and D. Juma, Investigate the effect of strategic plans implementation on performance in Kenya's public universities, A case study of the University of Nairobi, *European Journal of Business Management*, 2(1), (2014),161-173.

#### **4.1.1 Procurement of Modern Equipment**

The effectiveness of counter terrorism may be improved through procuring modern equipment in the organizations. This will ensure they are adequately equipped to respond to any particular terrorism situation.<sup>103</sup> Hence, most resources will require to be added to this sector. The government should allocate adequate resources in terms of the transport vehicles and communication gadgets so as to enhance their communication and movement. In addition, the construction of forensic science labs will go a long way in identification and prosecution of the suspects.<sup>104</sup>

In addition, there is need for the modernization of equipment and services being used by the police officers and security agents in general and the government should increase the allocation of budget to the police service so as to be able to modernize the infrastructure and ensure proper remuneration of the officers. A central electronic data bank needs to be set up by the police service and be interlinked with the county offices for ease of keeping records, sharing and access of information. This will ensure effectiveness and efficiency.<sup>105</sup>

#### **4.1.2 Counter Terrorism Laws**

The lack of proper counter terrorism laws in Kenya has resulted in problems being experienced over the past years. According to Otele, the Kenyan government terms terrorism to be an anti-state violent activity undertaken by non-state entities and mostly under religious motives.<sup>106</sup> This definition however does not take into consideration the political, ideological and criminal rationales regarding terrorism activities. Additionally, parliament has not been successful in

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<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> Katumanga, and Ngunyi, 2014.

<sup>105</sup> Otele, *Strategic Change Management at Interim Independent Electoral Commission of Kenya*, (Unpublished Master's Research Project), University of Nairobi, Kenya (2012).

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

encompassing official anti-terrorism laws and policies. Taking the Anti-Terrorism Bill of 2006 for example; it was not passed into law despite it receiving a massive public outcry. The country therefore operates without proper anti-terrorism laws.

The lack of the comprehensive legislation hence places the Kenyan law enforcement officials culpable of violating the human rights, mostly of the Muslim community due to no strict legislation. Presthold, notes that the intelligence officials have been found to use unethical methods of obtaining information from the suspects. Thus Kenyan criminal law does not specifically provide for terrorism, but for crimes encompassed by terrorism. This necessitates that the counter terrorism laws be evaluated to ensure that they are sufficient enough in their emphasis in curbing and dealing with terrorism as per the National Counter Radicalization Strategy.<sup>107</sup>

#### **4.1.3 Recruitment and Training of Additional Security Personnel**

Recruitment and training of more police/security was also suggested to be essential in ensuring that there is an adequate taskforce to counter the terrorists.<sup>108</sup> Whereby, recruitment entails the deployment of additional security personnel and training refers to equipping them with the necessary skills so as to perform their expected duties. Particularly, the recruitment process is the most crucial part as poor selection would result in poor performance regardless of the amount of training and resources available. A proper procedure and guidelines should be implemented to ensure that the recruitment process is as per the required standards.

As pertaining to the trainings, the current syllabus used for police training should be reviewed; this will ensure that their training do not focus more on the physical training but other disciplines

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<sup>107</sup> O. Kefa, *Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery*, (p.107), Kenya Studies Review (2009).

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

also. The service should also provide incentives aimed at encouraging the police officers to pursue higher learning in their careers.<sup>109</sup> This is supported by Sawyer and Foster who argue that the government should ensure that they have effective police forces prior to the initiation and implementation of the counter terrorism strategies.<sup>110</sup>

#### **4.1.4 Withdrawal of KDF Forces from Somalia**

Several individuals expressed their dissatisfaction in the invasion of the Kenya Defense Forces in Somalia. They argue that the move was much uncalled for thus the government ought to withdraw the forces from Somalia so as to restore peace in the country.<sup>111</sup> This is because the rise in terror activities increased significantly after the deployment of KDF in Somali. Therefore there is the perception among the respondents that withdrawing the KDF forces would significantly reduce the terrorism levels and significantly boost counter terrorism attacks.

This is in line with the research conducted on '*The roots of radicalization: Citizens' views on the causes and solutions for insecurity in Kenya*'. The inclusion of Somalia and return of semblance of peace proved to be a daunting task, since other former initiatives by United Nations and United States of America with more resources and military might and experience had failed. A logical conclusion is that a military approach alone to counter a complex conflict cannot work.<sup>112</sup> Hence, so as to prevent attacks that may result due to retaliation efforts, the withdrawal of KDF is deemed to be necessary.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> M. Katumanga, and M. Ngunyi, *From Monopoly to Oligopoly of Violence. Nairobi: The Consulting House*, (2014).

<sup>110</sup> Reid Sawyer, and Michael Foster, "The resurgent and persistent threat of al Qaeda," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 618, no. 1 (2008): 197-211.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> D. Green Police Reforms: Helping police fight crime more effectively, <https://www.gov.uk/government/speeches/damian-green-speech-on-police-reform>, (2013).

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

#### **4.1.5 Enhanced Police Relations**

Police-community relations must improve to foster trust as part of a holistic, multisystem approach that acknowledges the importance of family and environment and the vulnerability of young people. There is also the need for a reward system for volunteers who give information that would prompt quick responses that may lead to the identification and prosecution of the terrorist suspects. The reward systems will thus act as not only an incentive to the public but also a motivating factor. Education has also proven to be one of effective ways to not only spot terrorists, but also preventing them from performing their deeds. The citizens should be educated on how to respond to terrorist attacks and the actions they should undertake including where to report the suspicious activities and attacks.

Additionally, the youth should also be sensitized on the importance of shunning away radicalization and terrorism activities. This could be through tutorials and workshop sessions.<sup>114</sup>

The private sector may also contribute to countering terrorism through: cooperation with security agencies in technological innovations to strengthen capabilities of the security agencies; cooperation with relevant government agencies in stemming financial flows to extremists and resource mobilization for corporate social responsibility. This will ensure that the security companies have adequate funding and resources to ensure that they are fully equipped to counter terrorism in the region.

#### **4.1.6 Enhanced Financial Management**

Financial management practices are the standard operating procedures developed by an entity to assist in executing accounting, financial reporting, budgeting and other financial activities. This ensures that all the transactions are undertaken in an orderly and well managed manner.

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<sup>114</sup> R. Coker, (2015).



Incorporating financial management practices has been theorized to have a positive influence on the performance of many strategies. The respondents stated that the financial management practices should therefore be put in place to ensure that there is no mismanagement of funds in the sectors, which has been a great challenge and hindrance to overall development.

Financial accountability should also be enhanced to ensure that there are adequate funds to oversee the counter terrorism strategies. This could be through following the NCTC guidelines whereby those parties that are in charge of implementation are held accountable for ensuring that the resources reach the delegated parties through the Annual Work Plans and are used accordingly. Accountability at the NCTC will ensure that proper records and controls are well maintained so as to ensure accuracy and reliability of the financial systems. This is of great importance because mismanagement and inadequate funds was established to be a major challenge facing the efficiency of the counter strategies.

#### **4.2 Study Findings**

The study also sought to determine how the challenges facing the implementation of the counter terrorism strategies may be curbed. The findings of the study as shown by Table 6, the measures suggested included allocating more resources to counter terrorism, recruiting and training more police and procurement of modern equipment which were agreed on by most of the respondents. The measures of enhancing effectiveness were suggested to mainly address the underlying challenges before coming up with new strategies. Additionally, Naomi recommends that all stakeholders should be consulted during the formulation of these strategies so as to ensure full effectiveness is attained.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Naomi Carmon, ed. *Neighbourhood policy and programmes: Past and present*, Springer, 2016.

**Table 6 Measures to Curb the Challenges of Counter Terrorism Strategies**

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std Dev</b>
Constructing primary screening and watchtowers	3.18	0.4691
Procurement and deployment of modern equipment at security stations in Eastleigh area	4.07	0.8764
Reviewing counter terrorism law and full implementation	3.35	0.4875
Allocation of more resources to counter terrorism	4.01	0.8427
Recruitment and training of more police/security	4.04	0.8737

*Source, Researcher 2017*

### **4.3 Chapter Summary**

The chapter has reviewed some of the possible solutions to the challenges that are faced with the counter terrorism strategies. These include modernization of the operations, enacting, strengthening and following counter terrorism laws, increasing the financial sustainability, public education and promoting the public contribution. This will go a long way in countering terrorism in the region.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.0 Introduction

This chapter gives a detailed summary of counter terrorism mechanisms used in the Eastleigh region, the effectiveness of counter terrorism mechanisms in Kenya, challenges experienced and any possible solutions to the challenges. The chapter further outlines the conclusion of the study and recommendation of the study.

#### 5.1 Summary

The Eastleigh region in Kenya has in the recent past experienced security threats of varying forms and intensities. The region harbours majority of the Somali population hence the name ‘Little Mogadishu’. This has however caused the rise of sectarian and ethnic divisions in the region.<sup>116</sup> Eastleigh region has thus experienced many terrorist attacks in the region in Kenya which raises concern. Despite numerous attempts being made in countering terrorism through counterterrorism strategies, the area still remains vulnerable to future terrorist attacks. The study therefore sought to determine the available counter strategies in the region, any challenges faced and the possible solutions.

##### **5.1.1 Counterterrorism Strategies Adopted by the Security Organs to Counter Terrorism Activities in Eastleigh Location, Nairobi County.**

The study found the main strategies used to be; risk management strategies, police operations, intelligence services and random searches. More so it discovered the need to establish and needed to incorporate both the use of police agencies and also community involvement in

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<sup>116</sup> C. Ombati, *11-suspected-Al-Shabab and two kdf soldiers killed in botched attack*, 2015.

counterterrorism strategies. The most effective was screening of passengers who has resulted to detection and retrieval of prohibited items thus preventing terrorist attacks and the least being the security sector allocating responsibilities to each security agency thus eliminating ambiguity in matters security. This study thus shows that there exists a direct relationship between the efficiency of counter terrorism strategies and the terrorism levels.

The results concur with the findings obtained by Ploch on his study on Countering Terrorism in East Africa.<sup>117</sup> The study suggests that the counter strategies have proved to be successful in countering terrorism in the region. However, they have been subject to criticism due to the propensity of the counter terrorism strategies and terrorism itself. This is because the impending terror risk is not addressed despite security being increased. Additionally, some of these counter strategies have been established to violate the basic human rights. This contradicts the study by Katumanga, and Ngunyi, on Monopoly to Oligopoly of Violence in Nairobi, whereby they found out that the available counter terrorism strategies were fully effective.<sup>118</sup>

### **5.1.2 Challenges by Security Organs in the Implementation of Counter Terrorism Strategies in Eastleigh Location, Nairobi County.**

The study found that there are challenges which pose a limitation to how effective the counter terrorism strategies are in Eastleigh region. These challenges include inadequate funds, inadequate training, increased youth radicalization and lack of public support. The most faced challenge was inadequate training and inadequate funding in the security organizations. This tends to act as a limit barrier in not only acquiring but also utilizing modern terrorism equipment. No matter how well the strategies have been formulated, without addressing these challenges it

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<sup>117</sup> L. Ploch, *Countering Terrorism in East Africa: The U.S. Response*, Congressional Research Service.

<sup>118</sup> M. Katumanga, and M. Ngunyi, *From Monopoly to Oligopoly of Violence*, 2014.

wouldn't be possible to counter this potential terrorist threat. The challenges arise from sources that are both internal and external to the organization of security organization.

### **5.1.3 Measures to Curb the Challenges of Counterterrorism Strategies in Eastleigh Location, Nairobi County.**

The study further found out various measures which may be incorporated in curbing the challenges experienced in countering terrorism. These are need for the modernization of equipment and services being used by the police officers , the counter terrorism laws were suggested to be reviewed so as to ensure they cover all the legal aspects pertaining to combating terrorism, recruitment and training of more police/security. This was suggested to be essential in ensuring that there is adequate taskforce to counter the terrorists, while the citizens should be educated on how to respond to terrorist attacks and in promoting community involvement in enhancing security. This will ensure that the counter strategies will meet their desired targets in making Eastleigh secure and conducive for all citizens.

## **5.2 Conclusion**

Terrorism is now deliberated as the paramount danger to peace globally. And as such government agencies and international bodies have a responsibility to undertake all essential action to safeguard human rights within and without the country's jurisdiction from extremism. National CT strategies must contribute to, rather than undermine, these policy objectives. The study concludes that there are counter strategies that have been put in place in the Eastleigh region. However, these strategies are concluded not be fully effective in curbing or bringing an end to terrorism as there were certain challenges that were experienced. Asamoah argues that regions with ongoing conflicts, poor social and economic environments provide safe havens for

the nurturing of crime-terror nexus. The study thus concludes that to prevent conflicts and by extension terrorism then priority must be given in addressing underlying root causes of conflicts such as poverty, unemployment, human rights violation, injustice, corruption, marginalization and impunity. The study further concludes that to fully minimize the risks of terrorism attacks in Eastleigh and Kenya at large, these challenges experienced ought to be fully addressed. Additionally, measures should be placed to ensure that the counter terrorism strategies fully accomplish the objectives in which they are intended for.

### **5.3 Recommendation**

Based on the study's findings, the study makes a number of recommendations. To begin with, the study recommends that the security agents should put measures to ensure increased public participation in countering terrorism. This will provide opportunities for the security agencies to interact with locals and develop good rapport hence learning and gaining more insight about the community and effectively gathering intelligence. The study also recommends that there should be further efforts in increasing manpower and training the police and military on modern counter terrorism technologies and tactics. Through this, the available personnel will have the knowledge and expertise on how to respond to terrorist situations.

The study also recommends that Kenya and other relevant stakeholders should come up with National Counter Violent Extremism and Terrorism plans which should reflect a multiagency approach within government, NGOs, religious communities, communities and affected communities. Additionally, the study recommends audit and scrutiny of the security agencies so as to ensure that they are well capable and trained for their respective positions. Moreover the study also recommends law makers to strengthen laws against terrorism and also formulate others in relation to the changing capacity of terrorism today and its activists.

Since all successful counter-radicalization and counter-extremist initiatives are local, the study recommends that there is an opportunity for county governments to address radicalization through preventive measures of livelihoods investments in youth at risk. Additionally, this study recommends diversification in counterterrorism strategies put in place. As such, both traditional and nontraditional strategies such as diplomacy and legislations may all be used in combating terrorism.

#### **5.4 Suggested Areas for Further Studies**

Despite the study accomplishing its objectives, the following areas arose and necessitate further studies.

1. The study suggests that a comparative study to be conducted in other countries such as Nigeria and Tanzania. This will enable the determination of any similarities and dissimilarities and also strengthen the fight against terrorism in Africa.
2. The study was only concentrated in Eastleigh Region. Thus, a similar study covering other regions in Kenya is recommended so as to enable comparison.
3. To conduct further studies at a different time frame so as to determine whether the situation would have changed.

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## Appendix I. Questionnaire

### Introduction

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Samini Magogo, a Masters student from the University of Nairobi. I am currently carrying out an academic research study as part of a requirement of the Master's degree. The purpose of the research is to establish and examine the effectiveness of counter terrorism strategies that the Government of Kenya has put in place to safeguard Eastleigh Area from terrorism activities. I would appreciate you taking a few minutes to fill this questionnaire. The data collected from this research will be used for academic and research purposes only. Your participation is completely VOLUNTARY and ANONYMOUS. The information will be kept strictly CONFIDENTIAL. For any inquiry, kindly call me on 0704000571 or email to: [saminimagogo@gmail.com](mailto:saminimagogo@gmail.com).

### SECTION A:DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

*(This section appreciates the background information of the respondent.)*

1. Please indicate your age group: Under 20yrs  21-30 yrs  1-40yrs   
41-50yrs  over 50yrs

2. Indicate your gender.

a. Male  b. Female

3. Indicate Level of formal education

Primary  Secondary  Diploma  Degree   
Masters  PhD  Others: .....

1. Indicate your Religion

Christian  Muslim  Others (specify) .....

7. Please indicate your organization

National Police Service  National Intelligence Service  KDF   
Private Security

8. Please indicate your position in the Organization

Manager  Supervisor  Employee

9. How long have you worked in your organization?

Less than 1 year  5 years  15 years  than 15

**NB: In sections B, C, D & E, please fill in the spaces provided using the given scales below:**

Strongly Disagree (SD) = 1 Disagree (D) =2 Neutral (N)=3 Agree (A)=4

Strongly Agree (SA)=5

**SECTION B: COUNTER TERRORISM STRATEGIES**

10. The following statements are meant to identify the types of counter-terrorism strategies adopted in Eastleigh

Counter terrorism strategy	SA (5)	A (4)	N (3)	D (2)	SD (1)
Your security organisation has an effective intelligence service which detects and investigates threats before they occur					
Your security organisation develops reviews and implements policies to counter terrorism as stated in the aviation security program which allocates responsibilities to each organization					
Your security organisation implements a counter terrorism strategy which includes screening, patrols, access control					
Your security organisation implements a contingency plan to respond to emergencies including terrorist attacks					
Your security organisation implements a team approach as a strategy to counter terrorism					

11. The following statements are meant to identify the factors that may cause terrorist attacks in Eastleigh that led to the adoption of the above mentioned counter terrorism strategies.

Statement	SA (5)	A (4)	N (3)	D (2)	SD (1)
Ethnic and religious conflicts within Eastleigh area causes terrorist attacks					
Radicalization process of the youth is a major cause of terrorist attacks in Eastleigh area					
Corruption within law enforcement agencies is a factor causing terrorist attacks in Eastleigh					
Revenge is a major cause why terrorist attacks happen in Eastleigh.					
Poverty and unemployment of the youth causes terrorism in Eastleigh					

12. What are any other causes of terrorist attacks in Eastleigh that have led to your organisation to come up with Counter Terrorism Strategies:

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**SECTION C: EFFECTIVENESS OF COUNTER TERRORISM STRATEIES.**

13. The following statements are meant to identify factors contributing to the effectiveness of counter terrorism strategy in Eastleigh.



Statement	SA (5)	A (4)	N (3)	D (2)	SD (1)
Intelligence Service/Criminal investigation services have detected and stopped terrorist attacks before they occurred					
The security sector allocates responsibilities to each security agency thus eliminating ambiguity in matters security					
Screening of passengers has resulted to detection and retrieval of prohibited items thus preventing terrorist attacks					
The emergency drills conducted to prepare and fine tune response procedures to mitigate situations after an attack has been effective					
The adoption of technology to enhance security in Eastleigh has increased effectiveness of counter terrorism strategy.					

14. What are the other factors contributing to effectiveness of counter terrorism strategy in Eastleigh?

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**SECTION D: CHALLENGES TO IMPLEMENTATION OF COUNTER TERRORISM STRATEGIES**

15: The statements below are meant to identify the challenges to implementation of counter terrorism Strategy in Eastleigh

Challenge	SA (5)	A (4)	N (3)	D (2)	SD (1)
Insider threat					
Inadequate funding					
Inadequate training					
Shortage of law enforcement officers					
Unclear definition of law					

16. What other challenges do you think affects the implementation of counter terrorism strategy in Eastleigh?

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**SECTION E: WAYS FOR IMPROVING EFFECTIVENESS OF COUNTER TERRORISM STRATEGIES.**

17. The following statements are meant to identify options of improving counter-terrorism strategies in Eastleigh suburb

Question	SA (5)	A (4)	N (3)	D (2)	SD (1)
Constructing primary screening and watchtowers					
Procurement and deployment of modern equipment at security stations in Eastleigh area					
Reviewing counter terrorism law and full implementation					
Allocation of more resources to counter terrorism					
Recruitment and training of more police/security					

18. Suggest any other suggestion that may improve effectiveness of counter terrorism strategies in Kenya

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**THANK YOU**

## **Appendix II: Interview Guide for Key Informants**

### Questions

1. What counter terrorism strategies are used by your organization to manage terrorism activities in Eastleigh area?
2. How effective are the Counter terrorism strategies adopted by your organization?
3. What are the challenges your organization face in the implementation of counter terrorism strategies?
4. How can these challenges of implementation of counter terrorism strategy be overcome?
5. Suggest ways/options of improving the effectiveness of counter terrorism strategies in target areas like Eastleigh.

**THANK YOU.**

**Appendix III: Time and work schedule for the research project**

	Activity	Jan - March	April - June	Jul- August	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
1	Initial Concept sent to Supervisor							
2	First meeting with Supervisor to discuss concept							
3	Background study and problem formulation							
4	Proposal preparation							
5	Submit Proposal to Supervisor for review							
6	Further reading and revise proposal as per supervisor's comments							
7	Defend proposal							
8	Revision of proposal							

9	Data collection and analysis							
10	Finalize and submit Final Thesis Project							