

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**



**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**POST GRADUATE IN SECURITY AND STRATEGIC STUDIES**

**REVIEW OF RADICALIZATION AND ITS IMPACT ON KENYA'S NATIONAL  
SECURITY: CASE STUDY OF KENYAN COAST REGION (2010-2015)**

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**2017**

## **DECLARATION AND APPROVAL**

### **DECLARATION**

This research proposal is my original work and no one has presented it for a degree in any university or for any other award.

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Signature

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Date

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### **APPROVAL**

I confirm that the above named candidate under my supervision carried out the work presented in this proposal.

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## **LIST OF ABBRIVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

**MRC:** Mombasa Republican Council

**USA:** United States of America

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## **ABSTRACT**

This study seeks to establish the impact of radicalization on Kenya's national security using the case study of the Kenyan coastal region. The specific objectives of the study are to: determine the root causes and processes of radicalization; establish the elements of national security influenced by radicalization and identify the impacts of radicalization on Kenya's national security. The study reviews available literature concerning radicalization to appraise what different scholars have established and identifies existing knowledge gaps. Additionally, the study serves to give the government of Kenya and states in the international system suitable conclusions and recommendations on the impacts of radicalization on people's security and national security. The study uses a descriptive research design to present and analyze data answering the study's research questions. Descriptive research design depicts the variables precisely allowing the use of observations, surveys and case studies approaches to assemble the study's information. The research design does not look for any given particular relationship nor does it correlate two or more research variables. The study used a descriptive research design because the issue of radicalization is best analyzed through it.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

This chapter is an introduction and background of the study that gives a general view of the problem and its historical background. The chapter contains: the problem statement, goal and specific objectives, research questions, literature review, theoretical framework, justification, assumptions of the study, research methodology and the chapter outline of the study.

#### **1.1 Background of the Study**

The issue of radicalization has gained tremendous attention from military scholars, academicians and other interested parties across the globe. Radicalization is a high priority for public policy makers throughout the world because of its impacts on a state's national security and people's security. The deadly terror attacks in Madrid in 2004 and London transport network in July 2005 highlight threat posed by violent and radicalized individuals in any part of the world. This has made several governments study precursors, modes, processes and operational traits of radicalization; with the aim of de-radicalizing the radicalized. Despite global recognition that radicalization is a threat to states' security, most governments especially those of less developed state including Kenya, are yet to create the suitable remedies of radicalization, putting their national security in jeopardy.<sup>1</sup>

Empirical studies like that of Omar illustrate various impacts of radicalization on the world order. Historically, humanity has had a world order based on system values of various power

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<sup>1</sup>Anderson, Cyntia. Terrorism and Violent Extremism Awareness Guide. New York: GRC / RCMP - Division C Québec, 2017.pp.12-17



centers and their corresponding ideologies. The world order on the differences occasionally produces polarization and profound contradictions. On the contrary, radicalization tends to create a different world order based on different power centers comprising of extreme violence and extremism. Developing and designing counter-extremism measures demands a deep understanding of strategies used by extremists to recruit followers. Governments must examine the root causes of radicalization to understand the process of radicalization in order to come up with appropriate solutions for ensuring stability and national security<sup>2</sup>.

In Kenya, inadequate research has been conducted to establish actual impacts of radicalization on the country's national security despite its history of unconventional political happenings and extremism. The country is yet to establish why and how individuals radicalize and join terrorist including the Al-Shabaab and the MRC in Somalia and Mombasa respectively. The Al-Shabaab has an Islamist agenda while the MRC is after secession. Simenon argues that most Kenyan youths join extremist organizations in reaction to perceived collective punishment by the government due to a misguided notion that all Somalis and Kenyan-Somalis are terrorists. Thus, radicalization will continue to exist as long as Kenyans presume that their ethnic-religious identities are under threat.<sup>3</sup>

Poverty, unemployment and political marginalization are key factors causing Islamic radicalization in Kenya but can be resolved by inclusive policies and economic solutions. Youth unemployment and levels of political discontentments are extremely high. In this case, 75% of youths in Kenya remain unemployed after completing university education programs.<sup>4</sup> This continues to widen the gap between the rich and the poor which is a breeding

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<sup>2</sup>Ashour, Omar. *The De-Radicalization of Jihadists: Transforming Armed Islamist Movements*. New York: Routledge, 2009.pp.34-40

<sup>3</sup>Babak Akhgar, Simeon Yates. *Strategic Intelligence Management: National Security Imperatives and Information and Communications Technologies*. New York: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2013.pp.23-29

<sup>4</sup>Bruce Hoffman, William Rosenau, Andrew J. Curiel, Doron Zimmermann. *The Radicalization of Diasporas and Terrorism*. New York: Rand Corporation, 2007.pp.45-59

ground for increased radicalization in the country that affects the country's national security. In Kenya government resources are distributed based on ethnic, cultural or religious identities, increasing Kenya's instability since the have-nots are likely to radicalize to survive hard economic situations facing them. Radicalization in Kenya is accelerated by unfair distribution of resources, ethnicity, religion, poverty and unemployment. Radicalization threatens Kenya's national security elements that include territorial integrity, socio-political stability, economic stability, ecological balance, national cohesion, moral-spiritual consensus and external peace of Kenya.<sup>5</sup>

The term radicalization is widely used, but what is radicalization exactly, its causes and how to conquer it, is a frustrating experience among many governments across the globe. Empirical studies demonstrate that the causes of radicalization are diverse as they are abundant. Radicalization experts argue that it is ill defined, complex and controversial. However, the experts agree that radicalization is a process.<sup>6</sup> Radicalization as a concept lacks a direct relation to the actual explanatory power on terrorism's root causes. Policy makers introduced the concept into academia following the 2004 Madrid and the 2005 London train network bomb attacks. Since then, radicalization became a political agenda to be solved despite its lack of precise definition. Radicalization has remained central in terrorism and counter-terrorism studies and policy-making. Globally governments have concentrated on neutralizing homegrown Islamist political violence, while radicalization is the master signifier of this resolve and engendered a new way of viewing Muslim minorities. Implementing policies to de-radicalize those already radicalized has caused the formation of government-funded: advisors, entrepreneurs, scholars, self-appointed representatives and

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<sup>5</sup>Carolyn Goerzig, Khaled Al-Hashimi. *Radicalization in Western Europe: Integration, Public Discourse and Loss of Identity Among Muslim Communities*. Bolton: Routledge, 2014.pp.45-53

<sup>6</sup>Donnelly, Jack. *Realism and International Relations*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.pp.30-33

analysts with theological or psychological knowledge of radicalization processes to propose interventions for preventing extremism.<sup>7</sup>

Clark defines radicalization as a process by which groups and individuals go against established community norms in their behavior or thinking. Jihadi-Salafi ideology is the influences men and women of young age to carry out various radicalized activities across the globe. Radicalization in Kenya existed before Kenya's Military incursion into Somalia in 2011 and the subsequent Al-Shabaab's attacks on Kenyan churches, public places and restaurants. The first incident of radicalization in Kenya is the 7 August 1988 attacks against the embassies of USA in Kenya and Tanzania respectively.<sup>8</sup>

Clark posits that radicalized individuals that carried the attacks involve both locals and foreigners. Since then, the radicalization activities in Kenya have gradually lost its exclusive foreign trait, national and regional radicalization has expanded threatening the country's national security. The war in Somalia against the Al-Shabaab has resulted in increased radicalized attacks in Kenya. Analyzing between 2011 and 2015, Kenya has suffered more than 70 grenade attacks in Garissa Mombasa and Nairobi. The greatest large scale attack occurred on 2nd April 2015, at the Garissa University College killing 148 university students and staff and many others were injured. Another incident is the West-gate Shopping Mall attack that killed over 70 people and left more than 200 injured. Such occurrences demonstrate a significant visibility of the growing threat of radicalization Kenya's national security. The recent attacks also demonstrate that Al-Shabaab seeks to radicalize and recruit

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<sup>7</sup>Carolyn Goerzig, Khaled Al-Hashimi. *Radicalization in Western Europe: Integration, Public Discourse and Loss of Identity Among Muslim Communities*. Bolton: Routledge, 2014.pp.45-53

<sup>8</sup>Clark McCauley, Sophia Moskalenko. *Friction: How Radicalization Happens to Them and Us*. New Jersey: Oxford University Press, 2011.pp.30-32

more youths from various Kenyan regions by taking advantage of the economic challenges facing the country such as high unemployment rates.<sup>9</sup>

## **1.2 The Problem of the Statement**

Radicalization has become a key problem resulting in a more unstable and conflict prone world. The world continues to witness radicalized activities involving terror attacks through suicide bombings, grenade attacks, kidnappings and hijacking. Kenya continues to experience various terror attacks resulting from radicalization processes. Terrorist associated with the Al-Shabaab militant group in Somalia have carried out various attacks in Kenya and other countries. Such attacks include the Garissa University terror attack that resulted in the death of more than 148 students leaving many other injured and the West Gate Shopping Mall terror attack that left more than 70 people death and scores injured. Such terrorism activities have and continue to destabilize the country's National security.<sup>10</sup>

Unless the government of Kenya and the international community understand fully the root causes, process of radicalization, the national security elements that radicalization has impacts on and the actual impact of radicalization on the state's national security the country will continue to witness increased levels of insecurity.<sup>11</sup>

Previous studies have mainly focused on how radicalization processes results in terrorism activities. Other scholars have also put more effort on how marginalization of the minority in the society results in terrorism activities in the society. The available literature also demonstrates that several researchers have focused their research on the areas more vulnerable to radicalization than others have. However, all these studies have not critically

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<sup>9</sup>Clark McCauley, Sophia Moskalenko. *Friction: How Radicalization Happens to Them and Us*. New Jersey: Oxford University Press, 2011.pp.33-35

<sup>10</sup>Margaret L. Satterthwaite, Jayne C. Huckerby. *Gender, National Security and Counter-terrorism: Human Rights Perspectives*. New Jersey: Routledge, 2013.pp.18-20

<sup>11</sup>Geoffrey R. Marczyk, David DeMatteo, David Festinger. *Essentials of Research Design and Methodology*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2010.29-32

emphasized on the causes, processes and impacts of radicalization on a country's national security. Therefore, this lack of emphasis has created knowledge deficiencies regarding the issue at hand.<sup>12</sup>

The findings of this study will help the policy makers not only in formulating national policies, but also foreign policies regarding radicalization. The policy makers will use the information to formulate policies and laws that will help in encountering the spread of radicalization both within and out Kenya's boundaries. The study will help the government strengthen its national security by identifying the elements most influenced by radicalization. The study will also help the government establish the actual causes and processes of radicalization, thus help it to identify them earlier and stop them before affecting the National Security of the country. The study will also create awareness among government and private security agencies on the signs and symptoms of radicalized individuals, thus help them in stopping them from carrying out terror attacks to justify their means. Lastly, the study will also add to the available literature regarding the issue in question, thus helping future scholars and authors to use the information of the study as a source of reference.

### **1.3 The General Objective**

The study had the main objective of establishing impacts of radicalization on Kenya's National Security with the Coast region as the case study.

### **1.4 Specific Objectives**

The study aimed at obtaining the following specific objectives.

- I. To determine root causes and processes of radicalization along the Kenya Coast
- II. Establish the elements of National Security impacted by radicalization along the Kenyan Coast
- III. To identify the impact of radicalization on Kenya's National Security.

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<sup>12</sup>Dearey, Melissa. *Radicalization: The Life Writings of Political Prisoners*. New York: Routledge, 2009.40-44

## **1.5 The Research Questions**

- I. What are the root causes and processes of radicalization in Kenya?
- II. What are the elements of National Security impacted by radicalization in Kenya?
- III. What are the impacts of radicalization on Kenya's National Security?

## **1.6 Research Hypothesis**

The study tested the following hypothesis:

H0: Radicalization has an impact on Kenya's National Security

H1: Radicalization has no impact on Kenya's National Security

## **1.7 Justification Of The Study**

Many previous scholars focusing on radicalization have sought to emphasize on the causes of radicalization and their impact on economic, social and political status of the affected country. Besides, the scholars have only focused on the internal community's response to the issue of after the 9/11 attacks and the attacks that followed. This study acknowledges the importance of the previous studies carried out on the issue of radicalization, but it focuses at changing the focus of radicalization from such perspectives to perspectives like the impact of radicalization on the country's national security. Therefore, my study seeks to highlight that radicalization has significant impacts on Kenya's National Security.

To the Kenyan Policy-makers, therefore, this study adduce exceptional knowledge about radicalization that will help them formulate policies to counter radicalization in the country. The knowledge will also help the policy-makers and the government when formulating not only public, but also foreign policies specifically concerning radicalization and national security. The Kenyans in general shall obvious remain interested in establishing how radicalization activities have affected the national security of the country. Besides, it would provide the public more insights into the nature and individuals vulnerable to radicalization,

thus helping the society to counter such occurrences. In the academic field, the study will add to the available literature to help future academicians interested in the issue.

### **1.8.0 Literature Review**

This section contains a review of available literature based on the objectives of the study. The review identifies what various scholars, authors and researchers have and not established regarding the impact of radicalization on a country's National Security, thus establishing the knowledge gaps that this study seeks to fill. The section also contains the theoretical framework utilized by the study.

### **1.8.1 Introduction**

As a form of unconventional threat to the national security of states, radicalization has led to the need to devise methods for fighting against it, with governments adapting their security assessments and countermeasures to overcome radicalization. However, The challenge is that the existential threat that transnational radicalization from various groups pose for national security of the state has continued to increase in complexity making states predisposed to the need to rope in the support, either overt or covert actors both within and without the state a perspective to take a multipronged assault on radicalization. This has taken place through various approaches such as the use of force by the government through its military and police forces to counter radicalization that results in terrorism. However, despite all the effort the governments especially the Kenyan government lacks the knowledge on the actual impact of radicalization on its national security, thus the study seeks to establish this to help the government counter radicalization.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Craig Forcese, Kent Roach. *False Security: The Radicalization of Canadian Anti-Terrorism*. New Jersey: Irwin Law, Incorporated, 2015.45-52

### **1.8.2 Definition of Radicalization and National Security**

Silva states that radicalization has been of specific concern with states finding the need to address radicalization through various counter-radicalization measures. The underlying principle behind this is that when innermost state authorities lose legitimacy, non-state actors increase their capacities with a perspective of organization at grassroots levels, an underlying principle that augurs well with radicalization that results in terrorism because numerous terrorists remain initiated at transnational levels. Because of their capability to build closer networks, they increase their soft power and legitimacy over communities normally through radicalization process. Jean defines radicalization as the process of individuals or groups deviating from accepted and established community norms in thought or behavior. Besides, radicalization involves intolerance towards differing viewpoints and those who hold them. Other scholars such as Bolt defines radicalization as seeing issues in fixed black and white only and translating thought and belief into specific concrete planning and actions.<sup>14</sup> These two scholars have defined the concept of radicalization based on how individuals perceive it, but the scholars have not defined the concept based on its impact on national security of a state an issue this study seeks to fill.

### **1.8.3 The causes of radicalization**

Anderson et al. argues that radicalized activities carried out in Kenya usually targets people who are normally not the main targets to send a message to the targeted victims. In many incidents, innocent people become victims of radicalization that turns out as terrorism in Kenya. In addition, these attacks mainly serve the purpose of sending a specific message to the government of the day, or an influential part of the Kenyan society, but via innocent Kenyans without extensive security. The definition of terrorism given and used by numerous

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<sup>14</sup> de Silva, Eugenie. *National Security and Counterintelligence in the Era of Cyber Espionage*. New York: de Silva, Eugenie, 2015. pp.34-40



scholars illustrates the aspect that terror activities carried out by radicalized groups have just one core objective-to cause anxiety, fear and panic among the people. The radicalized groups obtain this objective through the utilization of violence against innocent civilian objects. Therefore, the main aim of radicalization in Kenya is to intimidate, coerce the Kenyan public and government to act in particular manner or just spread propaganda.<sup>15</sup> In this case, the scholar has explained the intention and objective of radicalized individuals and groups in Kenya, but the scholar failed to discuss the actual impact of radicalization on Kenya's National Security an issue this study seeks to present.

#### **1.8.4 Radicalization**

Melissa states that radicalization and violent activities that end up as terrorism are amongst the biggest threats to international security since the end of Cold War. Despite the fact that the expansion of the phenomenon intensified in the start of the 1990s, academic literature on the issue of radicalization fully developed after the 9/11 USA attacks. To legitimize their actions, radicalized individuals and groups depend on ideologies specifically religious doctrines. The violent extremism and religious radicalization took the global center stage during the 2000's. Besides, the Jihadi-Salafism urges people to radicalize through autonomous jihad via acts of terror against perceived adversaries. The ideology is the basis for action, identifies issues, drive recruitment and guides movements. The ideology serves as the inspiration for numerous individuals radicalizing across the world.<sup>16</sup> In this scenario, the scholar has explained the brief history radicalization and the ideology behind individuals and groups radicalizing daily across the globe, but the scholar did not establish the impact of radicalization on a country's national security a gap that this study seeks to fill.

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<sup>15</sup>Dearey, Melissa. *Radicalization: The Life Writings of Political Prisoners*. New York: Routledge, 2009.45-54

<sup>16</sup>Donnelly, Jack. *Realism and International Relations*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.pp.34-39

Alimi argues that radicalization has four distinct phases which are: pre-radicalization, self-identification, indoctrination and jihadization. Each of the radicalization phases remains unique and has particular signatures. Empirical studies illustrate that not all individuals go through these phases as many stop or abandon the processes at various points. Therefore, any individual going through the entire processes radicalize and could easily carry out radicalized activities that end up as terrorism activities. Research demonstrates that the intent of radicalization is as significant as the motivation.<sup>17</sup> Anxiety and fear form the main elements of radicalization that ends-up as terrorism, as they heighten effective communication and its effect upon a target audience. Therefore, the intent of radicalization is to create anxiety and fear among a wider population. However, fear and anxiety is the result of all violence, from an inherent tendency by humans to personalize violence against others or sympathize with the victims of the violence. Besides, the intent of terrorism is to try to draw upon these elements of human nature to inflict a psychological or physical response. Fear is an element of radicalization, its neither a distinctive trait of terrorism, nor is it necessarily first intent of majority of radicalized individuals or groups. Therefore, radicalized groups and individuals intend to influence the behavior of others by utilizing fear to trigger a response.<sup>18</sup> In this case, the response wanted relied on their objectives and motivation and might differ from instance to instance as might the audience. In this case, the author has clearly explained about the radicalization process, the intent of radicalized groups and individuals, but the author fails to explain the impact of radicalization on the country's national security a gap that this study seeks to fill.

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<sup>17</sup>Eitan Y. Alimi, Lorenzo Bosj, Chares Demetriou. *The Dynamics of Radicalization: A Relational and Comparative Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.pp.23-29

<sup>18</sup>Jayakumar, Shashi. *State, Society and National Security: Challenges and Opportunities in the 21st Century*. New York: World Scientific, 2016.pp.45-49

### **1.8.5 Reasons for joining radicalized groups**

Majeed suggests that radicalized groups such as the Al-Shabaab and MRC in Kenya involve one of the most active radicalized groups in the country. The young people joining radicalized groups join them due to various reasons. For instance, communities struck by poverty, illiteracy, disease and bitter hopelessness easily join such radicalized groups to carry out terrorism activities as a form of revenge. Besides, social inequality, marginalization and exclusion contribute to more people radicalizing across the globe especially in Kenya.<sup>19</sup>The aspect that the Kenyan government has alienated the youth from situations of economic deprivation, sense of injustice, political uncertainty and tensions and lack of hope have made numerous people to join radicalized groups to fight for justice. Drugs, oppression, misery, starvation, prejudices, despair for lack of perspectives has also made numerous youths in Kenya to radicalize as form of hope regarding their future. The aspect that extremist groups in Kenya target the youth poses a huge threat to the national security of the country.<sup>20</sup>In this scenario, the author has clearly explained the reason why individuals radicalize, but the author has not established the impact of radicalization on the country's national security, thus creating a gap that this study seeks to fill.

Farhad argues that a country's national security comprises of its cherished values and beliefs, people's culture, governance institutions, cohesion and nation's well-being remain protected permanently. National security depends on territorial integrity, socio-political stability, ecological balance, external peace, cultural cohesion, moral-spiritual consensus, economic solidarity and strength. Viewed from a political stability angle, Kenya can achieve peace and harmony among its citizens by eliminating discriminations based on creed, ethnicity or social status to enhance national security. The government and citizens should be involved in nation

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<sup>19</sup>Johnson, Perri. *Principles of Methodology: Research Design in Social Science*. New York: SAGE, 2011.pp.25-29

<sup>20</sup>Khader, Majeed. *Combating Violent Extremism and Radicalization in the Digital Era*. New York: IGI Global, 2016.pp.33-39

building respecting constitutional democracy, the rule of law and human rights. Such practices help the government to ensure national security for its people.<sup>21</sup>

On territorial integrity, any state must guarantee continuous inviolability of its territorial space and ensure effective control through governance mechanism. This involves preserving a country's key economic zones and protecting them from illicit intrusions and illegal resource exploitation. To create economic strength and stability, Kenya must continue to embrace a free-market economy of responsible entrepreneurship premised on respecting the dignity of labor, social conscience and protecting public interests. Thus, must entrench an economic regime in which people control their lives, livelihoods and economic destinies. Ecological balance is guarantees a stable national security, hence Kenya should pursue a stable ecological balance.<sup>22</sup> In this respect, the government must acknowledge that national survival is grounded on effective natural environment conservation inspite of agricultural and industrial expansions and population growth.

The government must support sustainable development alongside social justice to ensure national security. In terms of cultural cohesiveness, the Kenyan government must govern people's lives using a common standard set of values and beliefs premised on high ethics and morals; that are drawn from the Kenyan heritage so as to create a Kenyan identity which transcends the ethnic, religious and linguistic differences. To ensure national security Kenyan government must guarantee the availability of a moral spiritual consensus among its people.<sup>23</sup>

In this scenario, the government must propel Kenyans using a nationwide inspired vision, and manifest in words and actions, by national pride, patriotism and advancing statewide

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<sup>21</sup>*Khosrokhavar, Farhad. Radicalization: Why Some People Choose the Path of Violence. Bolton: New Press, 2017.pp.34-37*

<sup>22</sup>*Lieberman, Joseph. Violent Islamist Extremism, the Internet, and the Homegrown Terrorist Threat. New York: DIANE Publishing, 2010.45-49*

<sup>23</sup>*Margaret L. Satterthwaite, Jayne C. Huckerby. Gender, National Security and Counter-terrorism: Human Rights Perspectives. New Jersey: Routledge, 2013.pp.23-29*

objectives and goals. Lastly, Kenyan government must consider its external peace to ensure peace. In this respect, the government should foster cordial and constructive relations with all states. In the same vein, the government must follow an independent course, free from foreign control, interference and aggression.<sup>24</sup>The author has clearly explains what Kenya's national security entails and what the government needs to carry out to maintain a stable security for the state and that of the state, but the author has failed to establish the impact of radicalization on the country's national security, thus creating a gap that this gap seeks to fill.

### **1.8.6.0 The Theoretical Framework**

The part of the study contains the theory that the study has used to underpin its findings to the issue of radicalization and its impact on Kenya's National Security. The theory provides the proponents that will help in identifying the impact of radicalization on national security.

#### **1.8.6.1 Constructivism**

This perspective associates the cultural structures to identities. This perspective will focus on environmental structures that shape the country's norm, identities and government policy. Therefore, the main components of this theory include identities, norms, environmental relations and cultural institutions. The effects of a country's norm remain fundamental in building national policies and interests. Therefore, scrutinizing the case under study, I the researcher will look at the norms and environmental relations that motivate the youth in joining radicalized militant groups that influences the national security of Kenya and other countries in the world.<sup>25</sup> The constructivist theory acknowledges cultural norms of Kenya that involves the political, social and economic aspects of life. Therefore, norms address issues covered through approaches that treat interests exogenously since norms do not remain

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<sup>24</sup>McDonough, David S. *Canada's National Security in the Post-9/11 World: Strategy, Interests, and Threats*. New York: University of Toronto Press, 2012.pp.34-41

<sup>25</sup>Samuel. *Realist Constructivism: Rethinking International Relations Theory*, 2010.,pp.34-40

dormant but change with social interaction, thus understanding this normative process remains significant for this theory. In conclusion, one could not define security exclusively without reference to inter-subjective perceptions, but one must also consider other aspects as well.<sup>26</sup> Perceptions of insecurity and security remains associated with values, identities and beliefs. Constructivism theory focuses on how inter subjective practices between actors result in interests and identities created in the process of interaction, rather than those that created prior to the interaction. Besides, constructivism sees sovereignty as the most important institution in international society. This is because sovereignty provides a state with its territorial rights and determines its fundamental political units. The theory also recognizes the legal use of force because it plays a central role in international politics, initially affecting and shaping state's security policies. This approach sees the legal utilization of force as influential in structuring the constraints and incentives; international actors have a tendency to react towards them.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, the theory will help in identifying how cultural proponents relate in the Kenya result in radicalized individuals, thus influencing the country's national security.

### **1.8.7 Limitations of the Study**

The study provides insight knowledge on the impact of radicalization on Kenya's National Security. The study will also help the government identify the vulnerable population to radicalization, thus help in encountering the impact. The study also gives the policy makers; the government and private security agencies with most suitable conclusions and recommendations that will help the government to mitigate the issue of radicalization in Kenya, thus acquire a stable National security for the nation and for the people.

The study has the below limitations:

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<sup>26</sup>Wendt, Alexander. *Social Theory of International Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.,pp.54-60

<sup>27</sup>Wendt, Alexander. *Social Theory of International Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000. ,pp.34-40

- I. Biasness: Depending on various intentions of authors, scholars and researchers that wrote the data contained on the secondary sources of information that I the researcher will use, one might have given biased or untrue information from personal opinions. I the researcher will mitigate the issue of biasness by incorporating the most credible sources of information from liable sources.
- II. Out dated sources of information: some information sources used by the study might be outdated based on period written. To mitigate this the researcher only reviewed documents written since the year 2000 to 2017 containing current information on the research topic.

### **1.8.8 Assumptions of the Study**

The study has the below only assumption:

The authors and scholars of secondary sources that the study will use had honesty and genuine intentions.

### **1.9.0 Research Methodology**

This section of the study contains the research design the study used and the location under study.

#### **1.9.1 Research Methodology**

The study used descriptive research design to present the data answering the study's research questions. Descriptive research design depicts the variables in an exact manner. The design uses observation, surveys and case studies methods to collect data during the study. The research design does not look for any particular relationship nor does it correlate two or more research variables. Besides, the design allows I the researcher to obtain more information through description. The study used secondary sources of information that include journal articles, books, newspapers reviews, reports and empirical studies by other scholars to present

the data that will help in answering the research questions. Descriptive research design assists the researcher to identify research variables and theoretical constructs that could further remain investigated or analyzed through other ways. Lastly, the design helps in an indirect manner of testing of a model or situation that one could not study in any other manner.<sup>28</sup> I the researcher decided to use this research design due to the nature of the situation under study that only allows this form of design. Besides, I the researcher lack time and permission to go to the study locale in person given the nature of my work.

### **1.9.2 Chapter Outline**

The following is the chapter outline of the study:

#### **Chapter 1: Introduction**

The first chapter of the study contains the introduction, background of the study, the problem of the statement, the literature review, the theoretical framework, justification of the study, assumptions and the research methodology used during the study. The second chapter contains information about the causes and processes of radicalization. The third chapter contains the elements of national security that radicalization does have an impact on. The fourth chapter contains the research findings based on the research objectives. The fifth chapter contains the summaries of the study, conclusions as well as the most suitable recommendation about the issue in question.

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<sup>28</sup>John. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches.* (London, 2013), pp. 45-50



## CHAPTER TWO

### THE CAUSES AND PROCESS OF RADICALIZATION ALONG THE COASTAL REGION IN KENYA

#### 2.1 Introduction

The issue of radicalization is one of the most discussed topics since the year 2004/2005. Most scholars have put more emphasis in establishing the root causes of radicalization among the youth across the globe specifically Kenya. Politicians have identified a variety of causes of radicalization that end as terrorism. Some of these perceived causes of radicalization by some politicians include increased levels of poverty in a given community, disease, bitter hopelessness and illiteracy. Marginalization and exclusion, and social inequality too cause radicalization in many societies in the international system<sup>29</sup>. In countries like Costa Rica, starvation, violation of fundamental human rights, political oppression, injustices, prejudices, misery, despair for lack of perspectives results in increased radicalization in the society. Radicalization also takes place through a given process, thus an environment supporting radicalization must exist for radicalization to occur.<sup>30</sup> This section of the study discusses in details the causes of radicalization, the models and process of radicalization in Kenya specifically along the Kenyan coast.

#### 2.2 The Causes of Radicalization in the Kenyan Coast

Despite the past extremism plus unconventional political developments in Kenya, comparatively little research has taken place to establish the cause and the process people

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<sup>29</sup>Ashour, Omar. *The De-Radicalization of Jihadists: Transforming Armed Islamist Movements*. New York: Routledge, 2009., pp. 45-50

<sup>30</sup>Botha, Anneli. *Terrorism in Kenya and Uganda: Radicalization from a Political Socialization Perspective*. London: Lexington Books, 2016. Pp 13-19

become radicalized, thus becoming terrorists in the end. East Africa specifically Kenya has witnessed a burgeoning youth population that defines a country's national security environment. Population growth over the last few decades has made Kenya one of the youngest countries in the world scholars have projected that it could continue. Similarly, violent extremist organizations have remained active in the country extending their impact in a number of areas in the country. Extremist groups sustain themselves by continuously radicalizing individuals into their groups particularly by recruiting youths through various radicalization processes.<sup>31</sup>

Research demonstrates that there is a difference between radicalization and violent extremism. In this case, radicalization takes place when the thinking and behavior of a person become considerably different from how majority of the members of their community and society view social issues and participate politically. Empirical studies state that only a few individuals radicalize in a community and they could come from a diverse range of national, ethnic, political and religious groups. In addition, research demonstrates that becoming radicalized does not automatically mean that an individual engages or will engage in violent or dangerous behavior. Radicalized individuals seek to transform the society positively since in most cases their behavior does not pose danger to the community. In contrast, violent extremism results from individuals who decide that terror and violence justify obtaining political, ideological or social change. Thus, violent extremism is an annex of radicalization which uses violence to obtain particular goals.<sup>32</sup>

Experts analysing the causes of radicalization have established a range of aspects and motivations that could influence an individual to radicalize, and from there possibly commit extremist violence. Some of the causes of radicalization include misunderstanding, personal

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<sup>31</sup>Clark McCauley, Sophia Moskalenko. *Friction: How Radicalization Happens to Them and Us*. Bolton: Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp 32-40

<sup>32</sup>Gideon, Lior. *Special Needs Offenders in Correctional Institutions*. New York: SAGE, 2012.pp 39-44

relationships, radical ideology influence, individual and social exclusions, and perceived injustice by a community. In terms of a radical ideology, scholars have established that the presence of a literal and strict understanding of an ideological belief is a major aspect which causes people to resort to violent extremism. Individuals radicalize through subscribing to extreme ideologies through the internet. In addition, the aspect that many of these individuals have limited understanding of their own ideological position accelerates the radicalization rate among individuals in the Kenya coast<sup>33</sup>. Researchers have established that people who radicalize to spread violence often misunderstand the very ideology they claim to identify with. Another cause based on ideology and limited understanding is that there is deliberate misguiding of religious followers, through ignorance or illiteracy to promote a variety of political Islam, thus causing radicalization that transform to violent extremism. Lack of critical thinking and digital literacy skills causes the consumption and imitating material without critically understanding and analyzing its underlying arguments causes radicalization which transforms to violent extremism.<sup>34</sup>

Based on personal relationships and influence, the influence of personal and social relationship drives radicalization and extremism in the Kenyan coast. Relationships and influence among radicalized individuals takes place face-to-face or through other media like the internet. In this case, most people join extremist group in the coast for social reasons. In the Kenyan coast, youths are most vulnerable to violent extremism through the influence of close relationships specifically among themselves. Along the Kenyan Coast, radicalization takes place through personal face-to-face relationships, but there are some radicalize through

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<sup>33</sup>Jackson, Richard. *Routledge Handbook of Critical Terrorism Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2016. Pp, 67-72

<sup>34</sup>Joffé, George. *Islamist Radicalisation in Europe and the Middle East: Reassessing the Causes of Terrorism*. New Jersey: I.B.Tauris, 2013. Pp, 80-88

involvement with radical group through the internet by sharing views and radicalize in a virtual environment.<sup>35</sup>

Scholars have established individual identity and wider problems of marginalization, racism and social exclusion catalyze radicalization and potentially violent extremism along the Kenyan Coast. Issues around identity and a sense of belonging remain significant underlying aspects in assisting drive individuals towards radicalization and extremism. Some of the personal and individual aspects that results in radicalization and then violent extremism in the Kenyan coast include tensions of a variety of cultural loyalties and allegiances, the implications of lack of belonging, rebellion against community and family norms. In addition, yearning religious and cultural authenticity, the need for approval, sensation seeking and attention seeking by those with fractured self-esteem contributes to high rates of radicalization in the Kenyan Coast.<sup>36</sup>

Socio-cultural aspects such as marginalization, racism and social exclusion contributes greatly in the levels of radicalization in the Kenyan coast. This involves marginalizing minority groups from mainstream society, causing exclusion and insularity of minorities to preserve their unique cultural identities and the negative experience of discrimination specifically for Muslims. Researchers have also identified that emotional vulnerability as the major risk aspect that predisposes Muslim involvement in radicalization of individual along the Kenyan Coast, including anger, vulnerability, domination, guilt, shame and alienation. Such emotions increase when linked to feelings of being culturally displaced and searching

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<sup>35</sup>Murray, E. *Disrupting Pathways to Genocide: The Process of Ideological Radicalization*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2015. Pp 91-99

<sup>36</sup>Paul Bramadat, Lorne Dawson. *Religious Radicalization and Securitization in Canada and Beyond*. New York: University of Toronto Press, 2014. Pp 56-62

for spiritual guidance, and arise in times of transition where issues like identity crisis enhance susceptibility to extremism.<sup>37</sup>

Another cause of radicalization is the perceived injustices against an individual's community or family and the resulting frustrations. Research demonstrates that the war in Somalia against the Al-Shabaab militant group by the Kenya armed forces serves as the focal point for the capacity of extremist groups to maintain and attract support. In addition, the identification with the suffering of Muslim victims internationally predisposes an individual to Islamic extremism. Lack of courage to admit that extremism of all kinds exists is another cause of radicalization and then extremism. In this case, despite the pain and atrocities inflicted on our community by radicalized individuals we still somehow downplay the seriousness of the issue of radicalization. Many people still live in the world of denial that people never radicalize and have no potential to commit crimes against humanity. Therefore, such occurrences make it challenging to encounter radicalization, thus making it take roots causing more problems.<sup>38</sup>

Grievances, institutional and structural aspects, military and foreign policy and jihadist ideology are the major causes of radicalization and violent extremism in Kenya. These aspects make Kenya vulnerable to radicalization. They include the relatively advanced infrastructure and economy that facilitate freedom of movement to access numerous of targets, neighboring instable states like Somalia, porous borders and weak governance in criminal justice, security and rule of law which hinder adequate action against radicalized

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<sup>37</sup> *Religious Radicalization and Securitization in Canada and Beyond*. New York : University of Toronto Press, 2014. Pp 44-59

<sup>38</sup> Rinehart, Christine Sixta. *Volatile Social Movements and the Origins of Terrorism: The Radicalization of Change*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013. Pp 66-69

people. The strong economy and infrastructure in Kenya seem counterintuitive as it makes Kenya more vulnerable to radicalization and violent extremism.<sup>39</sup>

Scholars such as Raymond argue that Kenya attracts terrorists due to its best infrastructure facilities in the region as it makes it easier for radicalized individuals to operate a cell in Kenyan than in any other East African country. Good infrastructure and economic stability in Kenya eases travel, communication and access to resources hence facilitates the spread of radicalization and violent extremism. Weak criminal justice and border security and the availability essential services particularly in the Kenyan coast increases Kenya's vulnerability to radicalization and terror. Ineffective security apparatus, unguarded borders and widespread corruption gives radicalized groups freedom of movement, allow the development of hide outs, and ease in coordinating operations logistics. Kenya's weak criminal justice system encourages impunity among radicalized groups as suspects caught usually bribe to evade justice or the sheer incompetence in the criminal justice system results into no prosecutions. Such weaknesses enable radicalized suspects to go free and foster police abuses because of state's inability to effectively utilize the law.<sup>40</sup>

Kenya's geographical proximity to unstable states including Somalia and Sudan along with its inability to adequately safeguard its borders includes other issues that cause radicalization and violent extremism. In respect to this, extremist groups including the Al-Shabaab send adherents across the border to spread and entrench jihadist ideologies as movements between Kenya Somalia seem easier. Grievances among Muslims and other minority community fuel cause radicalization in Kenya. The grievances include inadequate political representation, discrimination, illiteracy, unemployment and widespread human rights abuse by the security

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<sup>39</sup>Thomas. M. Pick, Anne Speckhard, Beatrice Jacuch. *Home-grown Terrorism: Understanding and Addressing the Root Causes of Radicalisation Among Groups with an Immigrant Heritage in Europe*. New York: IOS Press, 2009. Pp 25-31

<sup>40</sup>Torres, Julian A. *Exploring the Causes of Islamic Radicalization and Recruitment and the General Strain Theory in Identified Terrorists*. London: Regis University, 2013. Pp 55-65

forces through anti-terrorism tactics. All these aspects have accelerated the processes and number of people radicalized along the Kenyan Coast, thus negatively affecting Kenya's National Security levels.<sup>41</sup>

### **2.3 The Process of Radicalization**

Various scholars and psychological experts have established that radicalization is a process and it takes place in stages. In addition, radicalization takes place through commitment of an individual towards a particular course. Research demonstrates that the process through which this commitment forms creates the radicalization process as discussed below. Empirical studies demonstrate that radicalization process comprises three aspects that results in intense commitment. The first aspect is at the individual level that represents the radical personal motivation. This aspect identifies the aim that the individual seeks through radical channels. The second aspect is the group ideology and approaches radicalization from the cultural level. This aspect acknowledges that an individual's choice remains determined through the cultural setting in that he or she remains entrenched. The third aspect approaches radicalization from a social point of view by understanding that it is a process steeped in-group dynamics.<sup>42</sup>

#### **2.3.1 Motivation**

The motivational approach addresses the individual's reason for radicalizing. Studies demonstrate that groups radicalize due to religious or political reasons, but individuals radicalize due to reasons including: social status, honor, humanitarian, monetary benefits accrued, loyalty to a leader, injustice, and desire to enter heaven. These aspects indicate that individuals radicalize to obtain a status of someone, respect from others or achieve a sense of

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<sup>41</sup>Veldhuis, Tinka M. *Prisoner Radicalization and Terrorism Detention Policy: Institutionalized Fear or Evidence-Based Policy Making*. New Jersey: Routledge, 2016. Pp 45-54

<sup>42</sup>Ashour, Omar. *The De-Radicalization of Jihadists: Transforming Armed Islamist Movements*. New York: Routledge, 2009. Pp 55-67

self-esteem or value. Such findings demonstrate that all these aspects that trigger individuals to radicalize point to the quest for significance.

Individuals radicalize through loyalty to a leader for the leader to bestow him or her with feelings of significance. Studies demonstrate that motivation to obtain significance does not remain key always, and only influence behavior after activation.<sup>43</sup> Theoretically, the search for significance establishes three circumstances for the arousal. The first circumstance is the loss of significance, wherein an individual feels insignificant due to some form of humiliation, dishonor, injustice or shame. Such individuals easily undergo radicalization to re-affirm their significance among others. On the other hand, if the loss of significance takes place due to one's group the entire group radicalizes. In this case, an individual does not undergo loss of significance, but attacks take place at groups that the person belongs. Given the significance of group identity to one's feelings of worth such actions might be the profound motivating influence on the person resulting in radicalization and violent extremism. Finally, some people seek radical means due to the opportunity for significance gain the give. Such people never view these means as a means to restore or prevent loss of significance, but contain merely drawn through alleged significance gain that might come.<sup>44</sup>

### **2.3.2 Group Ideology**

The second stage in the process of radicalization is the group ideology. In the group ideology, the individuals select the means through which they would obtain the goal set after awakening their quest for significance. The means through which the individuals attain their goal remains bound by one's culture. Even though such individuals remain seeking for ways in which they could earn uniqueness and importance, they do so through socially shared and

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<sup>43</sup>Murray, E. *Disrupting Pathways to Genocide: The Process of Ideological Radicalization*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2015. Pp 101-105

<sup>44</sup>Paul Bramadat, Lorne Dawson. *Religious Radicalization and Securitization in Canada and Beyond*. New York: University of Toronto Press, 2014. Pp 77-82



cultural ideologies. Therefore, being a member of a violent, radicalized group is a means of obtaining significance.<sup>45</sup>

An ideology is a collective belief system subscribed to by a group. The time when the group faces a threat, the ideology guides their defense as the pre-eminent task rewarded by veneration and glory. In addition, the sustained existence and well-being of the group are among the most sacred values to the group members. Protection of such values through all means possible is an individual's utmost duty rewarded by group's respect and recognition. Empirical studies demonstrate that ideology remains relevant to radicalization because it identifies radical activities like terrorism and violence as the means towards personal significance. Such function of means is central to any terrorism justifying ideology irregardless of its religious ideology, socialist ideology, or ethno-nationalist ideology.<sup>46</sup>

Numerous radical justifying ideologies identify grievance, culprit and method as main ingredient for radicalizing individuals. The first step of radicalizing individuals includes identifying of the grievance. After the identification of the grievance, the ideology blames an out-group as responsible for perpetrating the grievance. Lastly, the ideology must give a solution to the problem by identifying an effective morally warranted method for cleaning one's group from the dishonor. These three-radicalization ingredients ideologies remain adequate in convincing societies to rally around their culture to mercilessly annihilate others, thus easily radicalizing individuals.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Joffé, George. *Islamist Radicalisation in Europe and the Middle East: Reassessing the Causes of Terrorism*. New Jersey: I.B.Tauris, 2013. Pp 34-41

<sup>46</sup>Clark McCauley, Sophia Moskalenko. *Friction: How Radicalization Happens to Them and Us*. Bolton: Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp 56-66

<sup>47</sup>Gideon, Lior. *Special Needs Offenders in Correctional Institutions*. New York: SAGE, 2012. Pp 23-29

Jackson, Richard. *Routledge Handbook of Critical Terrorism Studies*. New York: Routledge, 2016. Pp 89-92

The other process of radicalization includes the social process. In this case, psychologists have established that ideologies contain shared reality. In addition, ideology includes hopeful magnifications or social illusions that become validated through social consensus. Other scholars have also stated that individuals never blindly turn into particular ideologies, but turn to those ideologies anchored in shared group beliefs. Therefore, commitment to ideology remains fostered through social connections and the substantial group pressure on individuals.<sup>48</sup>

## **2.4 Summary**

This chapter contains the causes of radicalization in the Kenyan coast and the processes of radicalization. The chapter concludes that radicalization is process and the major causes of radicalization along the Kenyan coast include: individual identity, social exclusion radical ideology, personal relationships, influence, misunderstandings, and perceived injustice against person's community

## **2.5 Key Findings**

The chapter found out that radicalization takes place along the Kenyan coast due to the aspect of extremist seeking to obtain their main course of intimidating, coercing the Kenyan public and government. In addition for the extremist groups to obtain their objective they must have a force, thus they keep on recruiting the most vulnerable individual especially the youth and refugees from Somali.

The chapter acknowledged that poverty, illiteracy, diseases and bitter hopelessness among members of the community along the coast and other parts of Kenya causes radicalization as it makes people to join the extremist groups easily. Such individuals join radicalized groups as a form of revenge.

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<sup>48</sup>Veldhuis, Tinka M. *Prisoner Radicalization and Terrorism Detention Policy: Institutionalized Fear or Evidence-Based Policy Making*. New Jersey: Routledge, 2016. Pp 45-53

The chapter established that radicalization takes place along the coast because the previous and current government has alienated the youth from situations involving economic deprivation and political uncertainty and tension, lack of hope and sense of oppression. Such occurrences have made many individual to join radicalized groups along the coast such as MRC to fight own justice and fairness. In addition misery, drugs, starvation, prejudices, despair for lack of perspectives has caused many youths to radicalize along the coast as a form of hope in terms of their future.

The chapter also found out that individuals subscribe to radical ideologies online without their knowledge radicalize, thus joining and extremist groups that use violence cause anxiety, fear anxiety, fear and terror among Kenyans and the government.

The chapter also found out that the aspect of identity that results in radicalization in Kenya coast includes identity and a sense of belonging, the tensions of multiple cultural allegiances and loyalties, community norms or rebellion against family forces numerous individuals to radicalize along the Kenya coast. Besides, yearning for cultural and religious authenticity and the need for attention and approval particularly for those whose fractured self-esteem makes them strive to feel like someone rather than no-body triggers and contributes to radicalization of various individuals along the Kenyan coast

## CHAPTER THREE

### RADICALIZATION AND NATIONAL SECURITY

#### 3.0 Introduction

This section of the study defines national security. This section of the paper also focuses on Kenya's national security in details since it is the country of study.

#### 3.1 Defining National Security

The concept of national security does not contain a generally accepted definition in the field of strategic and security studies. To support the statement a number of scholars such as Anderson claim that the field of security studies lacks a common understanding of defining security, how to conceptualize it and its most relevant research questions.<sup>49</sup> The scholar continues to argue that the term security remains uncertain in content and format since it refers to various sets of values and issues. McSweeney terms security as an elusive term that resists definition as it remain employed in multiple purposes through individuals, academics, governments and corporations. On the other hand, the concept national security does not put itself to a precise formulation. The concept deals with a broad variety of risks regarding whose probabilities we have little knowledge and of contingencies whose nature we could faintly perceive.<sup>50</sup>

Based on the above statements, the term security means various things at different times, and numerous authors have tried to define the concept of security. Swiss states that in general

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<sup>49</sup>Anderson, James. *Creating Strategic Vision: Long-range Planning for National Security*. New York : DIANE Publishing, 2012.Pp. 23-30

<sup>50</sup>Best, Richard A. *National Security Council: An Organizational Assessment*. New Jersey: DIANE Publishing, 2010. Pp 33-37

security associates itself to survival, being free from harm inflicted by others and the protection from threats to existence. The academic meaning of security refers to the protection of valued things like life, nation-state, democracy, identity, property and language. Wolfer describes security both in subjective and objective point of views. The objective perspective terms security as a measure of the absence of threats to acquired values while subjectively, security is the lack of fear that such values might be attacked. Based on the above arguments, national security entails the protection of a sovereign state, its citizens and national interests from any form of insecurity detrimental to the functioning and existence of the country.<sup>51</sup>

National security of a state involve a situation where the country's cherished beliefs and values, culture of locals, governance institutions, unity, welfare and well-being of people and state remain permanently protected and continuously enhanced. National security relies on territorial integrity, socio-political stability, ecological balance, cultural unity, economic solidarity and strength, external peace and moral-spiritual consensus. In terms of political stability, a state must obtain peace and harmony among all citizens regardless of ethnic origin, creed or social status to boost national security. In addition, the government and the people should engage in nation building under the rule of law, constitutional democracy and the whole respect for human rights. Such practices assist a state's government to ensure national security for its people.<sup>52</sup>

In terms of territorial integrity, the demographic pattern changes concept suggest that any state must ensure non-intrusion of its national territory and its effective governmental control. This involves the preservation of the country's exclusive economic zones and its protection from unwarranted incursions and illegal resource exploitations. Based on economic solidarity

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<sup>51</sup>Cameron, Marc. *National Security*. New York: Pinnacle Books, 2015. Pp 34-41

<sup>52</sup>Franklin D. Kramer, Stuart H. Starr, Larry K. Wentz. *Cyberpower and National Security*. New York: Potomac Books, Inc, 2009. Pp 50-54

and strength, each state must vigorously pursue a free-market economy through responsible entrepreneurship based on social conscience, respect for the dignity of labor and concern for the public interest.<sup>53</sup>

### **3.2 Kenya's National Security**

Numerous scholars and researchers have increasingly acknowledged that development and security of any society have a direct relationship. Security influences a country's development process while insecurity disrupts or prevents the achievement of development programs. Development of any society provides well-being to a population. Therefore, any country must ensure national security for successful development process that results in a social well-being of the citizens.<sup>54</sup> The Kenyan government has the responsibility to ensure national security to its citizens. National security of Kenya entails state security that involves security of persons, properties, institutions and national territory. In addition, national security includes human security, environmental security and social security. Ensuring this national security for Kenya as a country, the government must ensure the protection against external and internal threats to Kenya's sovereignty and territory, its citizens, their rights, , property, peace, and prosperity among other national interests.<sup>55</sup>

Kenya uses various measures to achieve its national security including diplomacy to mobilize allies, marshalling economic power for cooperation, maintaining her military effectively. Additionally, Kenya achieves its national security by implementing anti-terrorism measures, maintaining a civil defense, emergency preparedness measures and executing national disaster laws. The government ensures resilience and redundancy of critical infrastructure,

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<sup>53</sup>Johnson, Loch K. *National Security Intelligence*. New Jersey: Polity, 2012. Pp 12-17

<sup>54</sup>Khader, Majeed. *Combating Violent Extremism and Radicalization in the Digital Era*. New York: IGI Global, 2016. Pp 34-42

<sup>55</sup>Kristen Boon, Douglas C. Lovelace. *Discerning President Obama's National Security Strategy*. London: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp 66-70

use of intelligence to detect and deter threats and espionage to protect classified information. Lastly, the government uses counter-intelligence services or the police to protect the country from internal threats that might hinder the national security of Kenya.<sup>56</sup>

The elements of Kenya's national security include military security, economic security, environmental security, political security, security of energy and natural resources. In this case, military security entails the ability of the state to defend itself to deter military aggression. Political security entails the capability of the social order and particularly addresses against the state's sovereignty. Environmental security entails environmental issues that threaten the national security of a nation in any way. The economic security refers to the freedom to follow choice of policies to develop a state's economy in the way desired, forms the essence of economic security. Lastly, the security of natural resources including water, oil, land, minerals and energy sources.<sup>57</sup>

In Kenya, various stakeholders and bodies constitute the security services that ensure a stable national security for the state and for the people. In this case, all the departments and state agencies whose principal mission is to give security or protection to the state and the people. Security services in Kenya include the armed forces, intelligence services, Wildlife services, police, border guard, civil defense, customs, fire services and emergency medical services. The country also contains private or established diplomatic representations in International Organizations like UN.<sup>58</sup> All these services assist in protecting the state and security of people and the process of economic and social development. Some of the threats to national security include radicalization and terrorism, natural and human-made disasters. Such natural

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<sup>56</sup>Paleri. *National Security: Imperatives and Challenges*. London: Tata McGraw-Hill Education, 2008. Pp 45-50

<sup>57</sup>Ploch, Lauren. *Countering Terrorism in East Africa: The U. S. Response*. New Jersey: DIANE Publishing, 2011. Pp 88-90

<sup>58</sup>Romm, Joseph J. *Defining National Security: The Nonmilitary Aspects*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 2009. Pp 45-56

and human-made disaster threats include earthquakes, volcanoes, floods, tsunamis and accidents. The other threats include organized crime, money laundering fraud, hostage taking, smuggling, piracy, drugs, human trafficking, armed robbery and banditry. Lastly, ethnic, land, chieftaincy and religious disputes, protest movements and rebellions form part of threats to Kenya's national security.<sup>59</sup>

In Kenya, globalization has also become a threat to the country's national security. The new facilities of transport, free movement of goods and people, science and technology progress specifically ICT have influenced the world life, thus enabling radicalization and terrorism to spread in the country and the world. Globalization also makes trafficking of illegal goods, terrorism, money laundering ease in Kenya and the world at large. Therefore, globalization forms part of an asset for humanity, but also a source of threats to national security of the country. According to James and Kings in Kenya, various issues like states weakness and fragility, dictatorial regime, injustice, exclusion, discrimination and corruption contributes to the increased levels of radicalization in Kenya especially along the Coast. In addition, political instability, economic and financial challenges, rivalries between ethnic groups, elections associated violence, various religious beliefs and ideologies serves as threats to Kenya's national security.<sup>60</sup>

Kenya as a country experiences weakness and fragility when it finds it challenging to exert its authority throughout the national territory particularly the North eastern region and the coastal region to take charge of all the state's activities, or to meet the requirements of its population, thus hindering the stability of the country's national security. The Kenyan government to some extent seem dictatorial, thus it deprives its population from their rights

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<sup>59</sup>V. P. Horbulin, O. F. Byelov, O. V. Lytvynenko. *Ukraine's National Security: An Agenda for the Security Sector*. London: LIT Verlag Münster, 2010. Pp 33-37

<sup>60</sup>Wadie E.. Said, Wadie E. Said. *Crimes of Terror: The Legal and Political Implications of Federal Terrorism Prosecutions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp 40-44



and prevents freedom of expression causing frustration, discontent and revolt. Therefore, such occurrences like frustration, revolt and discontent among the Kenyans increases insecurity in the country resulting in a threat to the national security.<sup>61</sup>

Kenya faces a threat to its national security through increased levels of corruption, discrimination, exclusion and injustice. In this scenario, such practices causes disorder and secession, rebellion and coup d'état attempts like that in 1982. In addition, such phenomenon results in the citizens not trusting their leaders thus cause a threat to the country's national security. Political insecurity in Kenya is the greatest threat to national security since independence. The political instability attracts radicalized criminals, terrorists and all categories of individuals taking advantage of the disorder. The instability does not enable the country's institutions to thrive and function normally, thus causes disorder resulting in underdevelopment. Therefore, political instability results in threats to the country's national security.<sup>62</sup> Kenya's national security faces a threat from the financial and economic challenges facing Kenyans. In this case, Kenyans have and continue to witness economic difficulties felt in commodities scarcity and rising prices. Such economic challenges have forced both the youth and the elderly to radicalize easily, thus posing a threat to the country's national security. The other threat to the country's national security is the issue of ethnic rivalries, religious beliefs and ideologies. In this case, Kenya contains more than forty-two tribes each competing for political, social and economic prosperity. Such rivalries cause threat to national security as people compete for scarce resources and power. In conclusion, the country needs to address all these issues to ensure a stable national security for the state and for the people.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>61</sup>Watson, Cynthia Ann. *U.S. National Security: A Reference Handbook*. New York: ABC-CLIO, 2008. Pp 101-115

<sup>62</sup>Cameron, Marc. *National Security*. New York: Pinnacle Books, 2015. Pp 45-54

<sup>63</sup>Franklin D. Kramer, Stuart H. Starr, Larry K. Wentz. *Cyberpower and National Security*. New York: Potomac Books, Inc, 2009. Pp 34-45

### **3.3 Summary**

This chapter contains radicalization and Kenya's national security. The chapter concludes that radicalization affects Kenya's national security directly based on the elements of national security.

### **3.4 Key Findings**

The chapter found out that the concept of national security has no general accepted definition in the strategic and security studies field. However, security has various meanings depending on one uses the term. Security refers to the survival, being free from harm inflicted by others and the protection from threats to existence. On the other hand, national security involves the protection of sovereign nation-state, its national interests and its citizens from any insecurity detrimental to its running or survival.

The also found out that the elements of national security that promotes the national security of nation depends on the political stability, ecological balance, territorial integrity, economic solidarity and strength, cultural cohesiveness, moral-spiritual consensus and external peace.

On the other hand, the chapter found out that radicalization affects the territorial integrity of Kenya as a country. In this perspective, radicalization hinders Kenya from ensuring a permanent inviolability of its national territory and its effective control by the government. Radicalization also hinders Kenya from preserving its exclusive economic zones like the tourism industry and the protection from unlawful incursions and illegal resource exploitation, thus affecting the national security of the state.

The chapter found out that radicalization affects other elements of Kenya's national security such as political security, military security, environmental security, security of energy and natural resources. Radicalization affects Kenya's ability to defend itself from both external and internal aggression as it invests more on countering radicalization than in development. Radicalization affects the ability of Kenya to command social order such as addressing the

threats to sovereignty of the country. Therefore, radicalization affects all elements of Kenya's national security, thus making Kenya especially the coastal region to experience unstable national security levels.

Radicalization alters the social norms of people along the Kenyan coast and Kenya as a whole due to the consistent presence of radicalized activities in their lives. The unanticipated tactics and strategies of violence utilized by radicalized groups along the Kenyan coast brings about daily concerns, anxiety and heightened risks of sudden, violent or death changes people's actions, expectations, outlooks and interactions with each other.

The chapter also found out that radicalization affects a country's national security by affecting the political stability of Kenya particularly along the coast region. In this view, radicalization activities through their strategies and tactics like kidnappings and cyber attack results in political challenges as the Kenyan government struggles to maintain a semblance of order and legitimacy amidst the issues of terror. Such struggles hinder the stability of a country's national security. Radicalization also destroys the economic development of Kenya, thus enhancing national security instability as the government struggles to secure itself economically.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

#### 4.0 Introduction

This section of the study contains the research findings and discussion based on the research objectives. The section also contains the theoretical underpinnings of the issue of radicalization along the Kenya coast and national security.

#### 4.1 Findings Based on Objectives

The study's first objective was to determine the root causes and process of radicalization along the Kenyan coast.

Based on the review of the secondary data used during the study radicalized activities taking place along the Kenyan coast normally target people usually not the actual targets to pass a message to the main targeted victims. Radicalization takes place along the Kenyan coast because it is through radicalized activities that the extremist groups could pass a particular message to the government of the day or an influential region within the Kenyan society. Therefore, passing of a message to the government of the day through radicalized activities is a cause of radicalization along the Kenyan coast.<sup>64</sup>

The fact that radicalized activities end up as terrorism, it causes anxiety, panic and fear among Kenyans. Based on this view, extremist group acknowledge that it is through radicalization they could obtain their main objective of causing anxiety, fear and panic among the people of Kenya. Therefore, radicalization takes place along the Kenyan coast due to the aspect of extremist groups seeking to obtain their main course of intimidating, coercing the Kenyan public and government. In addition, for the extremist groups to obtain their

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<sup>64</sup>Dearey, Melissa. *Radicalization: The Life Writings of Political Prisoners*. New York: Routledge, 2009.45-54

objectives they must have a force, thus they keep on recruiting the most vulnerable individuals especially the youth and the refugees from Somalia.<sup>65</sup>

The research established that radicalization takes place along the Kenyan coast due to various reasons. In this scenario, the individuals radicalizing do so due to different reasons. In addition, various aspects contribute to such individuals making a choice to radicalize. The study acknowledged that poverty, illiteracy, diseases and bitter hopelessness among members of the community along the coast and other parts of Kenya causes radicalization as it makes people to join the extremist groups easily. Such individuals join radicalized groups as a form of revenge. The other cause of radicalization along the Kenyan coast is the social inequality, marginalization and exclusion that make numerous individuals to radicalize in Kenya particularly along the coast region. The study established that radicalization takes place along the Kenyan coast because the previous and current government has alienated the youth from situations involving economic impoverishment and political uncertainty and tension, lack of hope and sense of oppression. Such occurrences have made many individuals to join radicalized groups along the coast such as MRC to fight for their own justice and fairness. In addition, misery, drugs, starvation, prejudices, despair for lack of perspectives has caused many youths to radicalize along the Kenyan coast as form of hope in terms of their future.<sup>66</sup>

The study established that the burgeoning youth population in Kenya over the last decade causes radicalization along the Kenyan coast. The youth population defines Kenya's national security environment. In this perspective, the extremist groups take advantage of the growing population and continuously radicalize individuals into their groups specifically by recruiting youths via different radicalization processes. In addition, the study also established that

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<sup>65</sup>Dearey, Melissa. *Radicalization: The Life Writings of Political Prisoners*. New York: Routledge, 2009.45-54

<sup>66</sup>Khader, Majeed. *Combating Violent Extremism and Radicalization in the Digital Era*. New York: IGI Global, 2016.pp.33-39

radical ideology, limited understanding, personal relationship and finance, identity and social exclusion causes radicalization along the Kenya coast.<sup>67</sup>

Individuals subscribe to radical ideologies online with or without their knowledge radicalize, thus joining radicalized and extremist groups that use violence to cause anxiety, fear and terror among Kenyans and the government. In this view, the Kenyan society lacks a literal and strict understanding of a given ideological belief that should prevent people more especially the youth from radicalizing. Therefore, this contributes to various people lacking understanding of their own ideological position, thus accelerating the rate of radicalization along the Kenyan coast. Another cause of radicalization in terms of ideology and limited understanding is that there is deliberate misguiding religious followers by either ignorance or illiteracy to encourage a range of political Islam hence causing radicalization that result in violent extremism. Lack of critical thinking and literacy skills among the youths along the Kenyan coast allows them to consume and regurgitate materials without critically engaging with underlying arguments makes people to radicalize and transform into violent extremists.<sup>68</sup> According to this study, personal relationship and influence causes radicalization along the Kenyan coast. Such relationships occur through the media or on a face value nature. Therefore, people radicalize along the Kenyan coast due to various social aspects. In this case, radicalization takes place when already radicalized individuals have personal relationship and influence with those innocent and wishing to radicalize as a form of revenge, securing the future and fighting for their justice and fairness. On the other hand, the study established that identity and wider problems of marginalization, social exclusion and racism serves as a catalyst of radicalization along the Kenyan coast. The aspects of identity that results in radicalization in the Kenya coast include identity and a sense of belonging. In this

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<sup>67</sup>Clark McCauley, Sophia Moskalenko. *Friction: How Radicalization Happens to Them and Us*. Bolton: Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp 32-40

<sup>68</sup>Gideon, Lior. *Special Needs Offenders in Correctional Institutions*. New York: SAGE, 2012.pp 39-44

perspective, lack of belonging, the tensions of multiple cultural allegiances and loyalties, community norms or rebellion against family forces numerous individuals to radicalize along the Kenyan coast. Besides, yearning cultural and religious uniqueness and the need for attention and approval particularly those with fractured self-esteem makes them strive to feel like someone rather than no-body triggers and contributes to radicalization of various individuals along the Kenyan coast.<sup>69</sup>

The study found out that socio-cultural aspects like marginalization, social exclusion and racism forces individuals along the Kenyan coast. Such issues include rejection of minority groups by the mainstream society, the phenomenon of self-exclusion and insularity and discrimination and racism against Muslim community. These feelings cause anger, alienation and shame among the minority groups in the coast, thus forcing them to radicalize. Lastly, the study established that Kenya's proximity to unstable Somalia contributes to the increased rates of radicalization along the Kenyan coast. In this perspective, extremist groups like the Al-Shabaab send adherents across the porous border enabling spread of jihadist ideologies as travel between Kenya and Somalia seems easier.<sup>70</sup>

The second objective of the Study was to establish the elements Kenya's National Security influenced by radicalization along the Kenya Coast.

The study established that the concept of national security has no general accepted definition in the strategic and security studies field. However, security has various meanings depending on one uses the term. Security refers to the survival, being free from harm inflicted by others and the protection from threats to existence. On the other hand, national security involves the protection of sovereign nation-state, its national interests and its citizens from any security threat and attack. Kenya's elements of national security entails the country's cherished values

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<sup>69</sup>Joffé, George. *Islamist Radicalisation in Europe and the Middle East: Reassessing the Causes of Terrorism*. New Jersey: I.B.Tauris, 2013. Pp, 80-88

<sup>70</sup>Paul Bramadat, Lorne Dawson. *Religious Radicalization and Securitization in Canada and Beyond*. New York: University of Toronto Press, 2014. Pp 56-62

and beliefs, local people's culture, governance institutions, unity, welfare and well-being as a country and people remain permanently enhanced and protected.<sup>71</sup>

The study established that the elements of national security that promotes the national security of nation depends on the political stability, ecological balance, territorial integrity, economic solidarity and strength, cultural unity, moral-spiritual consensus and external peace. Radicalization along the Kenyan coast affects the political stability of the nation. In this case, radicalization ruins the peace and harmony among the citizens. Radicalization activities in the country hinder people from participating in nation building, thus affecting the economic development of the state resulting in unstable national security. On the other hand, the study established that radicalization affects the territorial integrity of Kenya as a country. In this perspective, radicalization hinders Kenya from ensuring a permanent inviolability of its national territory and its effective governance mechanisms. Radicalization also hinders Kenya from preserving its exclusive economic zones like the tourism industry and the protection from unlawful incursions and resource exploitation, thus affecting the national security of the state.<sup>72</sup>

The study also established that radicalization affect other elements of Kenya's national security such as: political, military and environmental security, security of energy and natural resources. Radicalization affects Kenya's ability to defend itself from both external and internal aggression as it invests more on countering radicalization than in development. Radicalization affects the ability of Kenya to command social order such as addressing the threats to sovereignty of the country. Therefore, radicalization affects all elements of Kenya's

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<sup>71</sup>Franklin D. Kramer, Stuart H. Starr, Larry K. Wentz. *Cyberpower and National Security*. New York: Potomac Books, Inc, 2009. Pp 50-54

<sup>72</sup>Kristen Boon, Douglas C. Lovelace. *Discerning President Obama's National Security Strategy*. London: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp 66-70



national security, thus making Kenya especially the coastal region to experience unstable national security levels.<sup>73</sup>

The third objective of the study was to determine the impact of radicalization on Kenya's National Security along the Coast

The study established that radicalization along the Kenyan coast has various effects on the country's national security. In this view, radicalization activities results in terrorism that extremist group use to acquire social, political and economic objectives. In the course of obtaining set aims and objectives by radicalized groups, radicalization activities carried out results in various impacts on the country's national security. Radicalization alters the social norms of people along the Kenyan coast and Kenya as a whole due to the consistent presence of radicalized activities in their lives. The unanticipated tactics and strategies of violence utilized by radicalized groups along the Kenyan coast brings about daily concerns, anxiety and heightened risks of sudden, violent or death changes people's actions, expectations, outlooks and interactions with each. Such social changes hinder the national security of Kenya as a country. In addition, radicalization affects a country's national security as it results in various psychological effects to the people along the Kenya coast and Kenya as a whole. In this perspective, people living along the Kenyan coast experience frequent violence, thus develop coping mechanisms to adapt to their situation. Surroundings with prolonged violence the unacceptable usually becomes acceptable and normal hence resulting in different psychological disorders. People experiencing psychological difference becomes a threat to the countries national security. For instance, some individuals become violent and uncontrollable, thus hindering the stability of national security in Kenya. The study also established that radicalization affects a country's national security by affecting the political stability of the country and in Kenya particularly along the coast region. In this view,

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<sup>73</sup>Kristen Boon, Douglas C. Lovelace. *Discerning President Obama's National Security Strategy*. London: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp 66-70

radicalization activities through their strategies and tactics like kidnappings and cyber attack results in political challenges as the Kenyan government struggles to maintain a semblance of order and legitimacy amidst the issues of terror. Such struggles hinder the stability of a country's national security. Radicalization also destroys the economic development of Kenya, thus enhancing national security instability as the government struggles to secure itself economically.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>74</sup>Ploch, Lauren. *Countering Terrorism in East Africa: The U. S. Response*. New Jersey: DIANE Publishing, 2011. Pp 88-90

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION**

#### **5.0 Introduction**

This section of the study contains the brief summaries of all chapters namely: chapter one, two, three and four and their conclusions.

#### **5.1 Summary**

Chapter one of the study contain a brief introduction of the study with the background of the study, the problem of the statement, the general objective of the study, research questions, the literature review, the justification of the study, limitations of the study and the assumptions of the study. In addition, the chapter contains the research methodology and the theoretical framework that guides the study. The chapter concludes that radicalization is a major threat to Kenya's national security particularly along the coast. In addition, radicalization is an issue that the Kenyan government should take into account to ensure a stable national security for the people and for the country. Therefore, if the Kenyan government does not formulate strategies and policies that counter radicalization, the country will continue to experience unstable national security for its people and state. The second chapter contains the causes of radicalization in the Kenyan coast and the processes of radicalization. The chapter concludes that radicalization is process and the major causes of radicalization along the Kenyan coast include radical ideologies, misunderstandings, personal influences and relations, individual and social exclusions, and perceived injustices. The third chapter contains radicalization and Kenya's national security. The chapter concludes that radicalization affects Kenya's national security directly based on the elements of national security. The forth chapter contains the research findings based on the objectives of the study. The chapter concludes that there are

specific causes of radicalization, radicalization affects elements of Kenya's national security and radicalization has specific impacts on the national security of Kenya particularly along the coast region.

## **5.2 Conclusions and Recommendations**

The study concludes and acknowledges that radicalization is a threat to Kenya's national security particularly the coastal region. The study established that social identity, oppression, misery, prejudice, marginalization of community along the mainstream society, political instability, proximity to unstable states and the flow of refugees contributes to radicalization of individuals along the coast region of Kenya. In addition, the study established that radicalization takes place due to limited understanding of the ideology that people stand for through radicalized activities. The access and availability of the internet also has contributed to the increased levels of radicalization witnessed along the Kenyan coast region.

The study also concludes that national security of Kenya entails the protection of the state and the people with those cherished values of the people and state. The elements of Kenya's national security affected by radicalization activities in the coast include economic security, political security, environmental security, military security, security of natural and energy resources. In addition, the study established that Kenya's national security relies on cultural cohesion, socio-political stability, territorial integrity, external peace, ecological balance, economic solidarity and strength, and moral-spiritual consensus.

## **5.3 Recommendations**

The study recommends that the government of Kenya must fight corruption since it breeds insecurity in the coastal region and Kenya as a whole. The insecurity due to corruption hinders the stability of Kenya's national security. Therefore, the Kenyan government must ensure serious anti-corruption efforts across the country particularly along the Kenyan coast. The government should also invest on training in anti-corruption and good governance,

strengthening professional ethics and collaborative efforts. Such efforts should take place through institutional structures and legislative measures but also stop impunity and change of attitudes among the youth as the future leaders of the nation.

The government of Kenya should ensure an equal society as the best way to encounter radicalization in the Kenyan coast and Kenya as a country. In this case, the government of Kenya must alter the concentration from a formal, aggressive and militarized war against radicalization to prevention and enhancement of economic and political inclusivity. The government must give specific attention to increased social justice and inclusion by providing equal chances for employment and education. Therefore, the government must build a more unified national political culture and to carry its duties and responsibilities across ethnic divisions on shared interests. The government must ensure multipartism that provides people real political alternatives and not a multiparty of political parties. Such measures will hinder extremist ideologies from finding its supporters easily. Lastly, on equal society, the government of Kenya must pay more attention to the role of religion and associated conflicts in the coastal region and Kenya as a whole.

The other recommendation is that the Kenyan politicians must learn to work across political party territories. In this view, the Kenyan politicians must admit the degree and extent of the threat of radicalization and begin working together across political alliances and parties, instead of game blaming and increasing ethnic animosities in the country. Such blame games among Kenyan politicians discourages political participation by citizens and weakens democracy. Lastly, the Kenyan government must ensure better opportunity for the youth by paying much more attention to the youth by increasing opportunities for political participation, employment and education. Therefore, the youth require participating productively in politics, which build a united Kenya grounded on common values holding prospects of change through democracy to stop new recruitments.

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