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VIOLENT EXTREMISM AND NATIONAL COHESION IN THE HORN OF AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA, NAIROBI COUNTY.

2010-2016

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis paper is my original work and has not been presented for the award of any degree at this University or any other academic institution.

Signature................................... Date...

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This research project paper has been presented for examination with my approval as the student's University Supervisor.

Signature.. Date..

DR. MUMO NZAU

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DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to my loving family for their support patience and belief they had in me throughout the study period.

It is dedicated to all conflict management experts and scholars who seek inspiration to change people's lives for the better.

Thank you and God bless us all.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

US   United States

CVE   Counter Violent Extremism

NCIC   National Cohesion and Integration Commission

ISIS   Islamic State of Iraq and Syria

ISIL   Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant

NCTC   National Counter Terrorism Center

KECOSCE   Kenya Community Support Center

KEMWA   Kenya Muslim Women Alliance

FGD   Focus group discussion

NACOSTI   National Commission for Science and Technology

OCS   Officer in Charge of Station

VEOs   Violent Extremist Organizations

AMISON   African Union Mission to Somalia

TFG   Transition Federal Government

MRC   Mombasa Republican Council

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ABSTRACT

Globally, the debate surrounding conflict violent extremism has emerged as an ardently contested area, notwithstanding the reality that a complete metamorphosis of violent extremism results to heinous acts of terrorism. Similarly, violent extremist today poses grave threats to national, regional and global security. To this end, violent extremism has dominated the agenda in numerous international conventions. Despite this, the nexus between violent extremism and national cohesion has not been looked into with uttermost significance. Moreover, relevant studies and scholars have acknowledged the impact of violent extremism without comprehensively linking it to national cohesion. The main aim of the study is to analyze his relationship. The specific objectives of the study were: to establish the link between the discourses of violent extremism and national cohesion; to assess the threats of violent extremism on national cohesion in Kenya and; to examine opportunities presented by violent extremism in the management of national cohesion in Kenya. The social process theory explains the causes of criminality and the role of institutions of society in dealing with tendencies of crime. The study adopted a descriptive research design and utilized random sampling in identifying respondents. The study incorporated reactions from 110 respondents within Nairobi County. These were technical employees of the NSCPBC and the (ATPU) all under the MICG, technical employees of the DNCV, technical employees of the NCIC , technical employees of the (NCTC) and technical employees of NGO's in the peacebuilding and conflict management fields. The results of the research suggest that there is a negative correlation between violent extremism and national cohesion and that social cohesion and security practitioners are yet to take advantage of underlying opportunities presented by violent extremism. The research has made several recommendations that are significant in addressing violent extremism and promoting national cohesion.

OPERATIONALIZATION OF CONCEPTS

National Cohesion	Also referred to in the study as Social Cohesion, is a state of existence where diverse communities harmoniously live together in Kenya. The concept has also been used to mean national unity, spirit of togetherness and ability to work hand in hand towards achieving common national goals.
Violent Extremism	A process whereby individuals or groups adopt radical views of the society and use violent means to advance their views in such a way that it undermines peaceful coexistence of communities in Kenya.
Crime	The study refers to crime strictly to mean violent actions undertaken by violent extremist groups

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Introduction

The study aims at examining the relationship between violent extremism on national cohesion in Kenya. It will establish the link between the discourses of violent extremism and national cohesion and evaluate existing strategies in addressing negative impacts of violent extremism on national cohesion. This chapter covers "the background of the study, statement of the research problem, the main and specific objectives, conceptual framework and hypothesis". It also discusses the justification for the study, hypothesis, methodology and chapter outline. It is significant to point that no literature review is contained in this chapter as should be; this is because the first specific objective of the research conducts a comprehensive review of discourses on violent extremism and national cohesion in its examination of relationship between the two concepts.

1.2 Background to the Study

The past few decades has seen violent extremism gain rapid attention globally. Activities from extremist groups have increased tremendously and have become fierce and more disastrous than ever experienced. World-wide, 2014 set history on number of deaths arising from terror activities increasing from "18,111 in 2013 to 32,685".[1] In Africa, the

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[1] Institute For Economics and Peace. Global terror index 2015. *Institute For Economics and Peace*, (2015) Accessed March 22, 2017, http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Global-Terrorism-Index-2015.pdf

geographic spread and frequency of attacks of militant Islamist groups has expanded steadily since 2010, with a peak in 2015.[2]

Notably, Kenya has been a target by these extremist groups. These groups have emerged as new challenges to a country that is still in a post conflict reconstruction stage after the Post-Election Violence of 2008. In the period under review (2010-2016) the number of organized violent extremist groups in Kenya increased by more than two-folds. Specifically, the Government of Kenya through the SPA and Internal Security declared 33 groups including the Al-Shabaab, an organized terrorist group from Somalia, as organized criminal groups in 2010.[3] Subsequently, in 2016, the Government through the Kenya Gazzette declared 89 groups as organized criminal groups.[4] In a span of six years the country had registered an increase of 169.6% of organized criminal groups.

In the reporting period, local groups and the Al-Shabaab, expanded their activities in the country resulting to major fatal attacks like the Westgate mall shootings of September 2013 where at least 67 people perished[5], the Mpeketoni attacks of June, 2014 where more than 60 people were brutally murdered[6], and the Garissa University College attacks of April, 2015 where 150 students lost their lives.[7] Other major attacks staged by

[2]Africa Center for Strategic Studies. "The Evolution of Militant Islamist Group Activity in Africa 2010– 2016," Africa Center for Strategic Studies, accessed March 22, 2017, https://goo.gl/qGcz50

[3]Kenya Gazzette. The Prevention of Organized Crimes Act (No. 6 of 2010), "Gazzette Notice No. 12585"*TheKenya Gazzette 2010,* 3819.

[4]Kenya Gazzette The Prevention of Organized Crimes Act (No. 6 of 2010), "Gazzette Notice No 10690" *TheKenyaGazzette 2017*, 4998.

[5]New York City Police Department. "Analysis of Al-Shabaab's Attack At The Westgate Mall In Nairobi, Kenya, 2013, "New York City Police Department" Accessed, March 12, 2017: http://www.shastadefense.com/KenyaWestgate-report-NYPD.pdf

[6]Independent Policing Oversight Authority. IPOA Report Following the Mpeketoni Attacks, 2014. "(Independent Policing Oversight, Authority, 2014) "Accessed March 12, 2017: http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/MpeketoniAttackMonitoringReport.pdf

[7]Study of Terrorism and Response to Terrorism.Background Report:Al-Shabaab Attack on Garissa University in Kenya, 2015. (National Consortium for The Study of Terrorism and Response to Terrorism, April 2015)" Accessed, March 12: https://www.start.umd.edu/pubs/STARTBackgroundReport_alShabaabGarissaU_April2015.pdf

local groups within the reporting period include the Suguta valley Massacre of November 2012 where 40 police officers and reservists lost their lives through the actions of bandits and the Kapedo Massacre of November, 2014 in which 21 administration police officers were killed by bandits.

Subsequently, as the number of extremist groups and their activities increased, the social cohesion index surged down. According to the last survey by the (NCIC) conducted in 2013, Kenya recorded a 56.6 percent cohesion index.[8] In 2016, the Commission Chairman Francis Ole Kaparo of the NCIC estimated the social cohesion index at 40 percent— worst point in the country's history.[9] This suggests a connection between the expanding number of extremist groups and the dwindling levels of national cohesion in Kenya. Consequently, the study will attempt to examine the relationship between violent extremism on national cohesion in Kenya and the effectiveness of the strategies put in place to address negative impacts of violent extremism on national cohesion.

1.3   Statement of the Research Problem

An evaluation of the numbers of violent extremist groups out lawed under relevant Kenya gazette notices between 2010 and 2016 as compared to the national cohesion index as reported in the social cohesion status reports by the NCIC within the same period will reveal a rather peculiar adverse relationship. Worth noting, the Kenya social cohesion index has reportedly been dropping with the rise of more outlawed criminal gangs.

[8]National Cohesion and Integration Commission. Status of Social Cohesion Report, 2013, (NCIC, 2013)" accessed March, 23, 2017:https://www.cohesion.or.ke/images/downloads/Cohesion%20Index%20Status%20of%20Social%20Cohesion%20in%20Kenya.pdf
[9] Graham Kajilwa, "NCIC: Kenya at its worst peace index" *Standard Media,* June 2016. Accessed March 23, 2017: https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000206139/ncic-kenya-at-its-worst-peace-index

To address this declining national cohesion index against an ever-rising number of violent extremist groups, the Government of Kenya and other stakeholders are implementing various strategies in an effort to promote national cohesion and cub insecurity by violent extremist groups in the country.

However, these strategies fail to recognize the relationship between violent extremism and social cohesion; and the possible impacts (threats and opportunities)of violent extremism on national cohesion. As a result, expected levels of effectiveness of these efforts often end up distressing the situation even further.

A study to examine the nexus between violent extremism and national cohesion will uncover useful insights on the strategies used to cub its threats on national cohesion and opportunities it presents for the management of national cohesion.

1.4   Research Objectives

The research identified one main objective and three specific objectives as discussed below.

1.4.1 Main Objective

The main objective of the research was to examine the relationship of violent extremism on national cohesion in Kenya.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

Specific objectives include:

1. To establish the link between the discourses of violent extremism and national cohesion

2. To assess threats of violent extremism on national cohesion in Kenya

3. To examine opportunities presented by violent extremism in the management of national cohesion in Kenya

1.5 Justification of the Study

Social cohesion practitioners in the horn of Africa have for a long time grumbled over unavailable information on a suspected connection between violent extremism and social cohesion. While it has for long time seemed like a comfortable affair to entertain and procrastinate the idea of establishing a scientific relationship between the two discourses, social practitioners and other related stakeholders in Kenya are currently running out of time. Recent analysis by the researcher reveals a rather inverse relationship between the rising number of violent extremist groups in 2016[10] and the dropping cohesion index as reported by the NCIC. For social cohesion practitioners this revelation makes it more apparent than ever that there is indeed a connection between the two discourses that perhaps if explored further might result in important insights on how to well manage social cohesion as well as national security as the country approaches its next general election in 2017.The unfortunate lack of such a scientific study therefore puts the country at a bigger risk of electoral violence perpetrated mostly by ethnic gangs, criminal gangs and other violent extremist groups within the country than ever before.

This study was timely and emerged when policy makers are in dire need to comprehend the relationship between violent extremism and national cohesion. Hence, this study will enable policy makers in the forging of a practical and effective strategy of addressing violent extremism while at the same time addressing national cohesion. The

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[10]Kenya Gazzette. The Prevention of Organized Crimes Act (No. 6 of 2010), "Gazzette Notice No 10690" TheKenya Gazzette 2017, 4998.

study will also share insights on better coordination of efforts by suggesting ways of eliminating duplication of roles by agencies involved. Equally important is the ability of the study to heighten the capacity of such institutions and individuals in taking advantage of the opportunities presented by violent extremism in the management of national cohesion.

To the academia the proposed research will contribute knowledge in an emerging field that is in need of advanced empirical research. Establishing the linkage between violent extremism and national cohesion will not only bridge the gap between researchers in conflict management and those venturing in security studies but also open up more areas of research that cut across the two disciplines.

To the general public, the proposed research will contribute in enhancing national cohesion leading to a prosperous and harmonious nation. To this end, the research will propose strategies to address negative impacts of violent extremism on national cohesion and uncover the opportunity presented by violent extremism, which relevant agencies and individual practitioners in the area of national cohesion and peace-building will take advantage of, in promotion of national cohesion.

1.6 Literature Review

This chapter on review of literature focuses on three parts. It analyses literature on violent extremism and national cohesion globally, in Africa and in Kenya. It assesses the relationship between violent extremism and national cohesion, violent extremism threats to national cohesion and further looks at the opportunities violent extremism creates for the promotion of national cohesion.

1.6.1 Violent Extremism and National Cohesion

For quite a long time both practitioners and scholars in the areas of conflict management and security and peacebuilding have assumed a relationship between violent extremism and national cohesion. Though not supported by empirical data, scholars seem to share a consensus that violent extremism has devastating effects on the levels of social cohesion in society. According to the NCIC, organized gang activity undermines cohesion within the community, between various ethnic groups, as well as within and towards state institutions.[11] Additionally, violent extremism presents a more serious threat to global peace and integration today than ever before.[12]This menace has become a matter of concern internationally especially within this era of globalization.[13]

Equally shared by scholars is the idea that high levels of social cohesion halt the manifestation of violent extremism in societies. In fact, scholars have recommended the strengthening of social bonds as one of many strategies used in countering violent extremism. Social harmony" is at the heart of resilient communities and any strategy to increase community resilience to counter violent extremism must both harness and enhance existing social connections and endeavor to not damage or diminish them".[14]Social cohesion and practices to build such cohesion can prevent potential extremism by reducing

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[11]National Cohesion and Integration Commission. "The Impact of Organized gangs on Social Cohesion in Kenya" (NCIC, 2017)

[12] Owen Frazer & Christian Nünlist. "The Concept of Countering Violent Extremism." *Center for Security Studies*, (Dec, 2015)

[13]Shreyasi Ghosh. "Understanding Terrorism in the context of Global Security." Socrates, (2015) Retrieved, March 22, 2017: https://dialnet.unirioja.es/descarga/articulo/5575882.pdf

[14] B. Heidi Elli and Saida Abdi. Building Community Resilience to Violent Extremism Through Genuine Partnerships. *American Psychological Association* (2017) Vol. 72, No. 3, 289 –300 0003-066X/17 Accessed, 5 May 2017: https://www.apa.org/pubs/journals/releases/amp-amp0000065.pdf

marginalization and encouraging communication between different communities.[15] The underlying assumption is that; community cohesion reduces the instances through which violent extremism can be reduced.[16]

Major General (Retired) Afsir Karim commenting on terrorist threats to India asserted that "transnational jihadi terrorism posed a great threat to India's national integrity and socioeconomic cohesion".[17] Karim observed the actions of different regional terrorist cells based in India and the factors that promotes terrorism for instance; ethnic and religious affiliations, bad governance, corruption among others. Further he explains the nature of various terror atrocities undertaken by these extremist and terror groups including intimidation and ethnic cleansing. He posits that transnational terrorism is a menace and a threat to unity, peace and stability of India.[18]

According to Karim, terror groups that are sponsored by members or governments from outside pose threats to territorial integrity of the affected country. He gives an example of allegations made against Pakistan's involvement in sponsoring terror activities in India and the infrastructure that the country has in place in support of jihadism across the region. Additionally, Karim speaks of ethnic and religious sponsored terror where

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[15] Allison D. Miller. "Community Cohesion and Countering Violent Extremism in the United States: A Case Study of Metro Detroit." (M.A Diss., Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 2017)

[16] Miller. "Community Cohesion and Countering Violent Extremism in the United States."

[17] Major General (Retired) Afsir Karim, 2004 "Terrorist Threats in India", *Science and Technology to Counter Terrorism Proceedings of an Indo-U.S. Workshop,* Goa, India, January 2004, pg. 25-20, available: https://www.nap.edu/read/11848/chapter/3#19

[18] Major General (Retired) Afsir Karim, 2004 "Terrorist Threats in India", *Science and Technology to Counter Terrorism Proceedings of an Indo-U.S. Workshop,* Goa, India, January 2004

communities are targeted for cleansing. Revenge attacks by ethnic and religious groups in India have created prolonged violent conflicts in the country.

Karim's analysis offers good insight to this study by informing the researcher on possible indicators in his pursuant of answers revolving the research question. However, Kenya and India face different challenges as far as extremism is concerned and Karim fails to give a global perspective on the subject. This shortcoming makes it very difficult to extrapolate his findings across different geopolitics. This gap allows the researcher to further explore the Kenyan case through while relying primarily on empirical data.

Other studies identify with the idea that levels of social cohesion could reduce or increase likelihoods of violent extremism rather than how violent extremism could affect social cohesion. Ellis, B. Heidi et al examined the protective factors responsible for perpetration of violence among young Somalis with a primary focus on the "role of community belonging and neighborhood cohesion in Canada". The study established that; "Somali community belonging was linked with a significant reduction in the odds of violence perpetration when neighborhood cohesion was low but increased odds of violence perpetration when cohesion was high".[19]Additionally the study findings illustrate a negative influence of increased cohesion on violent behavior. It suggests that increased cohesion could in fact be a basis for violence against outside groups.[20]

[19] Ellis, B & Abdi, Saida & Miller, Alisa & White, Matthew & Lincoln, Alisa. (2015). Protective Factors for Violence Perpetration in Somali Young Adults: The Role of Community Belonging and Neighborhood Cohesion. Psychology of Violence. 5. 10.1037/a0039610.
[20] Ellis, B & Abdi, Saida & Miller, Alisa & White, Matthew & Lincoln, Alisa. (2015). Protective Factors for Violence Perpetration in Somali Young Adults

Ellis, B. Heidi et al advance a very strong argument on how levels of cohesion can indeed affect violent extremism. They seem to share a nationalistic approach where citizens of country identify themselves as better than the rest and vow to protect and defend their entity against any form of adversary at any cost. This argument, however, is one-dimensional in that it fails to explore the possible impacts of violent extremism on national cohesion. That violent extremism can hinder levels of nationalism and result to a weakened political entity with less capabilities of safeguarding its sovereignty.

Research suggests that, not much is written on opportunities presented by violent extremism in enhancing social cohesion and integration. Terrorist attacks and violent extremism tends to increase feelings of patriotism in citizens.[21] "When bad things happen, the community pulls in closer. Differences that would normally be a basis for divisions become less important".[22] This phenomenon is what is known as the psychology of unity after a tragedy and it presents good opportunity to enhance social cohesion amongst affected communities.

In addressing the former question whether violent extremism presents opportunities for the promotion of national cohesion, many studies have focused almost primarily on how violent extremist groups, especially those of terrorism orientation, that have been able to galvanize their followers and sympathizers in a quest to build communities with shared values. For instance, Stig Jarle Hansen explains how Al-Shabaab in Somalia is able to maintain a centralized and unitary administrative structure despite the many sub-groups

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[21] David Hopkins. "The Psychology of Patriotism after Tragedy." *The Gavel,* APRIL 28, 2013, http://www.bcgavel.com/2013/04/28/the-psychology-of-patriotism-after-tragedy/
[22] Caitlin Gipson. "The Psychology of Unity after Tragedy." Apulife, 2013

within the larger organization.[23] According to Hansen, during the expansive phase of Al-Shabaab that took place between 2005-6, "Al-Shaabab was an ideal partner in the push for Sharia Court unification; it was the political group in Mogadishu that had most success in transcending clan—in fact it was one of the most multi-clan factions inside Mogadishu perhaps because of its ideology which claimed to transcend clan and ethnicity, seeing Islam as transcending such differences"[24]

Hansen's presents a factual view, that extremist groups could sometimes have a great number of sympathizers who unite and rally behind a course. This phenomenon is common amongst terrorist groups which typically appear to represent the agenda of a certain people against others. Consequently, to people they fight for, a terrorist group is commonly seen as a freedom fighter outfit or a liberation movement. Societies experiencing this phenomenon often form cohesive bonds and offer support to the terrorist group(s) against who they refer to as their adversary regardless of their geopolitical position (inside or outside the country).

This form of opportunity for cohesion is very closely related to what the study seeks to explore. However, this study focuses on cohesion bonds that are formed to deal with violent extremist groups and their actions at a national level. Unlike Hansen's study that draws attention to "Group Cohesion" this study focuses on national cohesion an area that Hansen's analysis does not provide literature.

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[23]Stig Jarle Hansen, *Al-Shabaab In Somalia: The History and Ideology of a Militant Islamist Group, 2005-2012(London:C.Hurst & Co Ltd, 2013)*

[24]Stig Jarle Hansen, *Al-Shabaab In Somalia: The History and Ideology of a Militant Islamist Group, 2005-2012(London:C.Hurst & Co Ltd, 2013), 34*

1.6.2 Violent extremism and National Cohesion in Africa

The rise in terrorist attacks and radicalization to violent extremism has affected the national security of many countries in Africa and have resulted to; loss of lives, affected economic growth and development, scared away investors, disrupted peace and stability.[25]The presence of *Al Shabaab* terrorist group in neighboring Somalia has led to increased security threats to Kenya. Recurrent countries such as Somalia and Kenya have been worst breaking news headlines in the recent past. Neighboring countries in East Africa (particularly Uganda and Tanzania) have also experienced violent extremism in their territories.[26]As a result, violent extremism has become a key issue, on both, the regional and national security agenda.[27]

In North Africa, terror attacks have intensified with militants spreading into new areas, such as Mauritania; regional groups have linked up with Al-Qaeda, forming of the (AQIM).[28]In the west, the actions of Nigerian violent extremist groups, "Boko Haram, have left thousands of people dead and displaced".[29]By 2005, the Boko Haram united with Nigerian terror groups under the MEND umbrella to advance their course and effect; tactics

[25]Marisha Ramdeen. "Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism in Africa" (ACCORD, 2016). Retrieved March, 2018 from: http://www.accord.org.za/conflict-trends/countering-terrorism-violent-extremism-africa/
[26]José Luengo-Cabrera and Annelies Pauwels. "Countering violent extremism: The Horn of Africa" European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS), April, 2016: https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/196749/Brief_14_CVE.pdf
[27] Peter Romaniuk, Tracey Durner, Lara Nonninger& Matthew Schwartz (2018) What Drives Violent Extremism in East Africa and How Should Development Actors Respond?, African Security, 11:2, 160-180, DOI: 10.1080/19392206.2018.1488560

[28]Mc Quaid, J. "Terrorism and Violent Extremism in North Africa."(Alexandria: CNA Analysis and Solutions, 2009). Available at: https://www.cna.org/CNA_files/PDF/D0021634.A1.pdf[Accessed 24 Oct. 2017]
[29]Marisha Ramdeen. "Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism in Africa" (ACCORD, 2016).

of this new umbrella movement included "sabotage, theft, property destruction, guerrilla warfare and kidnapping".[30]

In a different study conducted by Rawlings Akonbede on terrorism in Nigeria and its implication to national security highlights the effects of terrorism and other forms of violence perpetrated by conflict violent extremist in Nigeria in three broad areas: social effects, economic effects and political effects.[31]Akondele explains that actions of violent extremist groups in northern Nigeria have threatened the unity and impeded economic progress as well as political development of the country. He identified a number of social effects of terrorism including destruction of the normal social life by forcing displacement of people, loss of lives and most importantly the actions of terror have created a rift between the ethnic communities involved and affected directly or indirectly by the violence.

Politically, Akondele noted that terror activities jeopardize the civil rights and basic liberties of the people as guaranteed by the constitution and that terror activities in Nigeria have pushed further the ethnic polarization between the north and south.[32] This according to him is as a result of activities of the Islamic sects in unleashing terror and the counter response strategies deployed by the security forces that tend to abuse the people's liberties in their implementation.

[30]Stephanie Hanson. "MEND: The Niger Delta's Umbrella Militant Group" (Council on Foreign Relations, 2007) Accessed March 3, 2017; https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/mend-niger-deltas-umbrella-militant-group
[31]Rawlings Akondele, "Understanding Nigeria Terrorism, its Implications to National Peace, Security, Unity and Sustainable Development: A Discuss" *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science (Mar. - Apr. 2013), PP 100-115,* http://www.iosrjournals.org/iosr-jhss/papers/Vol8-issue5/L085100115.pdf?id=6092

[32] Rawlings Akondele, "Understanding Nigeria Terrorism, its Implications to National Peace, Security, Unity and Sustainable Development: A Discuss" *IOSR Journal Of Humanities And Social Science.*

As observed by Akondele, not only the actions of violent extremist groups pose a threat to national cohesion but also the counterstrategies deployed by the security forces in charge of protecting the citizen. These strategies if not well crafted and regulated can cause stigmatization, rifts between communities and community labelling on their implementation.

Whilst these terror groups are prevalent in the continent, they have destabilized the entire continent.[33]The impact of violent extremism on the political, social and economic security has destabilized the peace and social cohesion in the affected countries.

1.6.3 Violent Extremism and National Cohesion in Kenya

Extremely violent terrorist attacks have been orchestrated in Kenya which cannot be well comprehended without taking into account the presence of the primary violent extremist terror group-Al-Shabaab which has been conducting a violent insurgency in Kenya continuously.[34]However review of literature indicates that Kenya also experiences violent extremism from non-Islamic groups within its population. Notably, Local organized criminal groups in Kenya disrupt peace through contributing to lawlessness, increased insecurity, tensions and violence within and between ethnicities.[35]In 2016, the GoK through a gazette notice issued a list of 90 outlawed criminal gangs.[36] These rag-tag militia gangs operate in various parts of the country with varied vested interests and their activities

[33]Marisha Ramdeen. "Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism in Africa" (ACCORD, 2016)
[34]Andrew Glazzard, Sasha Jesperson and Tom Maguire. "Conflict and Countering Violent Extremism: Case Studies." (Royal United Services Institute, 2015). Retrieved March 4, 2017:https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/57a0897aed915d622c00022f/61525-Conflict_and_Countering_Violent_Extremism_Case_Studies.pdf
[35]National Cohesion and Integration Commission. "The Impact of Organized gangs on Social Cohesion in Kenya" (NCIC, 2017)
[36] Kenya Gazette, *The Prevention of Organized Crimes Act No. 6 of 2010*, "Gazette Notice No 10690" The Kenya Gazette (Dec, 2016): 4998.

range from armed robberies in major cities, assassinations to cattle rustling in the rural areas.

The rise of secession calls, particularly from the coastal indigenous tribes is also threatening the nation's tranquility. The Mombasa Republican Council officially formed in 1999 as a separatist group on the Swahili Muslim coast is both a community and political movement campaigning against political and economic discrimination against Kenya's coastal peoples and, since 2008, complete secession from Kenya based on long-standing separatism from the interior.[37]

Kenya has complex web of other security-threatening organized individuals for instance "vigilante groups" and "violent gangs" referred as "uncivil society". They constitute a *"Janus faced"* nature and slide between roles as legitimate providers of social services and societal aggressors of their own communities".[38]With their activities mainly concentrated in Central Kenya, particularly in Nairobi slum dwellings, the Mungiki Movement forms a major part of such actors. In societies characterized by a tapestry of 'partial sovereignties' such actors assumes the role of the state and create different channels of production exemplified by extortion and illegitimate taxation.[39]The Mungiki have been accused of spreading terror and undertaking unsanctioned killings for various socio-economic and political reasons all in the interest of enriching neglected youths in their communities.

[37]Andrew Glazzard, Sasha Jesperson and Tom Maguire. "Conflict and Countering Violent Extremism: Case Studies." (Royal United Services Institute, 2015).

[38]Erik Henningsen&Peris Jones , 'What kind of hell is this!' Understanding the Mungiki movement's power of mobilisation, *Journal of Eastern African Studies,* (May, 2013): 1-13, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17531055.2013.794532

[39]Comaroff, John and Jean Comaroff, eds.,*Law and Disorder in the Postcolony*, (Chicago:University of Chicago Press, 2006)

Mungiki is famous for extortion of money from poor people especially those living in slums and those involved in matatu business.[40]Despite various efforts to quell the Mungiki menace by the Kenyan government, which include use of lethal force, media reports occasionally indicate Mungiki's continued operations within the capital city and selected areas of central Kenya.

In a study conducted by Samuel Mukira Mohochi on Kenya preventive counter terrorism action, focus is directed to the various counter terrorism legislations that threatened the civil liberties, constitutional rights and rights on non-discrimination of the people. Muhochi noted that, in 2002, Kenya undertook both legislative and executive approaches of ensuring compliance with SC resolution 1373 of 2001.[41] These measures entailed the enactment of Act no 9 of 2009 PCML Act and a rather aggressive attempt to introduce a counter-terrorism legislation, ST Bill in 2003, "that made provisions to make it illegal for one to wear or relate themselves with items associated with terrorism". This bill became contentious and faced a lot of opposition especially from the Muslim community who viewed it as an act of discrimination, labelling and stigmatization. Other opposing views included others pointed by "Nzamba Gitonga" indicating that the bill was not protecting human rights and freedom with a risk of abuse by state agents even when there was no terrorism threats and religious and racial discriminatory.[42] This bill together

[40]Ibid

[41]Samwel Mukira Mohochi, "Preventive Counter Terrorism Action': Case Study of Kenya" Research Gate, (April 2011),
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228214415_%27Preventive_Counter_Terrorism_Action%27_Case_Study_of_Kenya
[42]Nzamba Kitonga, 'The Fight Against Terrorism in East Africa: Comments and Observations' East Africa Law Society. Available at http://www.ealawsociety.org/Joomla/UserFiles/File/fight_Nzamba.pdf[Accessed on the 18th September 2017] PP 2-3

with a second version of itself, the Anti-terror bill 2006, floated three years later did not see the light of day and forced the government to implement counter-terrorism activities without the guidance or provisions of the law between the years 2003 to 2012. As such, the risk of discrimination and human rights abuse conducted in the name of national security became even more profound during this period.

As observed by Samwel Mukira Mohochi, the "counter terrorism activities in the country target Muslim inhabited areas in Nairobi, counties bordering with (Mandera, Wajir) Somalia and the Coastal strip that is inhabited with predominant Muslim Arab-Swahili communities bringing to the fore allegations of discrimination on the basis of ethnicity and religion in its operations".[43] According to a report by AI, between 2002 and 2004, many Kenyans were arrested and detained by anti-terror units and the police without being given any reasons whatsoever. While conducting security operations, the state agents; "suspected, stopped, searched, arrested" and were held in confined custody primarily due to their ethnic background.[44]

At the backdrop of a new wave of terror attacks, Kenya passed the PT Act, 2012 despite opposition from the Muslim community and several human rights watch organizations. Muslim leaders described the bill as a tool that targeted the community and infringed on certain constitutional rights. A similar bill, the Security Laws (Amendment)

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[43]Samwel Mukira Mohochi, "Preventive Counter Terrorism Action': Case Study of Kenya" *Research Gate,* (April 2011): 4-6,
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228214415_%27Preventive_Counter_Terrorism_Action%27_Case_Study_of_Kenya

[44] Amnesty International, Kenya: The Impact of "Anti-Terrorism" Operations on Human Rights, 23 March 2005, AFR 32/002/2005, available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/42ae982b0.html[accessed 18 September 2017] Pp 9.

Bill 2014, was enacted soon after the Westgate terror attacks of 2013. The bill introduced provision on holding suspects, media restrictions and information provision. Once again, this bill was fiercely opposed by the opposition and the Muslim community citing threats it posed on the civil liberties of the citizens.[45]

The impact of these legislations was seen in the coming year where the Kenya police and other counter-terrorism agencies launched frequent coordinated security-swoops to flush out terror suspects in the Eastleigh area – a predominantly Somali-Muslim neighborhood. These security operations were condemned by the Muslim community and the human rights organizations who described them as unjust and abusive to human rights. The Somali community felt targeted by the government and as retaliation organized miniature demonstrations around the Eastleigh metropolitan. However, the demonstrations had little or no impact since the massively deployed policemen in the area were always quick in restoring order.[46]

Samwel Mukira Mohochi indeed advances useful points in support to the claim that some of the counter-terrorism strategies in Kenya have contributed to ethnic divisions, discrimination and hatred. The counter-terrorism actions are a consequent of violent extremism and therefore act as sub-variable in the question whether violent extremism affects national cohesion. Mohochi's analysis seems to suggest that victimization, labelling

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[45] Deutsche Welle, 'New anti-terror laws passed in Kenya despite opposition' *August, 2014*, http://p.dw.com/p/1E76M

[46] Justus Wanga, ''Eastleigh traders relocate with billions in crackdown aftermath,'' *Daily Nation*, June 14, 2014, http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Eastleigh-traders-relocate-with-billions-in-crackdown-aftermath/1056-2349118-1jtkp7z/index.html

and unfair targeting by authorities on individuals, tribes, religions and communities has affected the social cohesion in Kenya. However, such an impact is more visible when addressing vertical cohesion (citizen – government bonds) rather than horizontal cohesion (community cohesion) and presents a gap that this research seeks to address.

1.6.4 Gaps

The analysis of literature revealed some gaps yet to be addressed through empirical study. Notably, there is a strong sense towards a relationship between violent extremism and national cohesion. However, this relationship is more so assumed and not empirically studied. Additionally, the type of correlation between the two variables remains unknown. Further, many scholars have observed how cohesion dynamics within violent extremist groups influence the members' collective action rather than how violent extremism affects national cohesion.

The review of literature also suggested a loose form of negative influence posed against national cohesion by violent extremism through actions of violent extremist groups or counter actions from legitimate agencies. However, this influence has not been a subject of empirical study and appears to many scholars as an assumption rather than fact.

The review of literature found little evidence to support the existence of opportunities presented by violent extremism in the promotion of national cohesion. Notably, the psychology of unity after a tragedy, a phenomenon discussed in the literature review, presents a foundation to the idea that opportunities to foster unity can emanate from shared tragedies. However, the literature does not categorically stipulate the opportunities presented by violent extremism in fostering national cohesion.

This study seeks to address the aforementioned gaps and offer critical recommendations to all stakeholders in the area of national cohesion and conflict management as well as other related fields.

1.7   Theoretical Framework

The research utilized the social process theory in its explanations. This theory was useful in explaining causes of criminality and the role of institutions of society in dealing with tendencies of crime. Theorists of the social process theory attest that "criminality is a consequence of individual socialization and the interaction people have with the various organizations and processes of the society".[47]This implies that individual's decision towards crime or violent conflicts results from a summation of bad interactions with existing structural arrangements in the society. In this respect, the social process theory is more or so an offshoot of the structural conflict theory that explains group conflict as a result of failing structures in society—structures that fail to guarantee fair competition towards scarce resources.

It posits that; "good socialization and good behavior equates to minimal likelihood of conflict, while; bad behavior brings individuals into conflict with organizations and their society".[48]This theory presents a good foundation in understanding the relationships between insecurity (described here as bad/conflict behavior) and national cohesion (described here as good individuals' interaction with/within institutions).

[47]Larry J. Siegel, "Criminology,"(Belmont, California: Thomas Wadsworth, 2005)
[48]Targeted Outrage, "Structural Theory of Conflict," Target Outrage, 2005: Accessed March 23, 2017: http://targetedoutrage.blogspot.co.ke/2005/09/structural-theory-of-conflict.html

1.7.1 The Social Process Theory

It views crime activities as a result of different people debating and interacting with different social structures and institutions in the society. All human beings can become criminals if they result in to relations that are destructive.[49]As relates to the study, the first branch (social learning theory) explains how socialization can inform radicalization into violent extremist groups. Individuals, through bad interactions, adopt bad behaviors which in turn pushes them to seek people of like mindedness in carrying out shared criminal agendas. This is especially true and in line with our liberal understanding of membership attainment within criminal gangs, terror groups as well as within violent ethnic groups aggressively competing for resources. The social learning branch also views that different people get to know of criminal behaviors and activities as much as learn modest behavior through the continuous socialization process.[50]

The second branch (social control theory) explains the society's role in the overall control of crime tendencies. Social structures in society are key in controlling the risk of crime. In any functioning society fairness and justice in all spheres should be guaranteed by the ruling class through the existing institutional framework. Sadly, this is not always the case. This branch of the theory therefore explains the role of the various governmental and NGO's in controlling and managing conflicts which largely influence might people into crime (violent extremism).

[49]Larry J. Siegel, "Criminology,"
[50]Ibid

The control theory asserts that "all people have the potential to become criminals but their bonds to conventional society prevent them from delinquency behavior".[51]This presumes the existence of strong and healthy vertical and horizontal cohesion within society. The more positive relations there are between the ruling class and its citizens as well as between citizens themselves the less likely chance for the development of criminal tendencies within that society.

The third branch (labelling theory) is key in explaining how stereotyping and other forms of negative labeling can contribute to violent actions. People often become what society believes they are. In this light, negatively labelled individuals are likely to become criminals. For instance, labelling a community as terrorist may lead to members of that community adopt aggressive decisions towards terror activities. The idea of negative labeling in this context is almost synonymous to discriminatory approaches—either ethnic, racial or class discrimination—leading to none or poor social cohesion.

1.8   Hypotheses of the Study

1. There is a nexus existing between violent extremism and national cohesion.

2. Violent extremism presents threats to national cohesion

3. Violent extremism presents opportunities for the management of national cohesion in Kenya.

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[51]Larry J. Siegel, "Criminology,"

| VIOLENT EXTREMISM

(Activities by Criminal Gangs, Terrorist groups, Ethnic militia) | ←→ | NATIONAL COHESION

(Peace, rule of law, ethnic tolerance and diversity, equity and equality) |
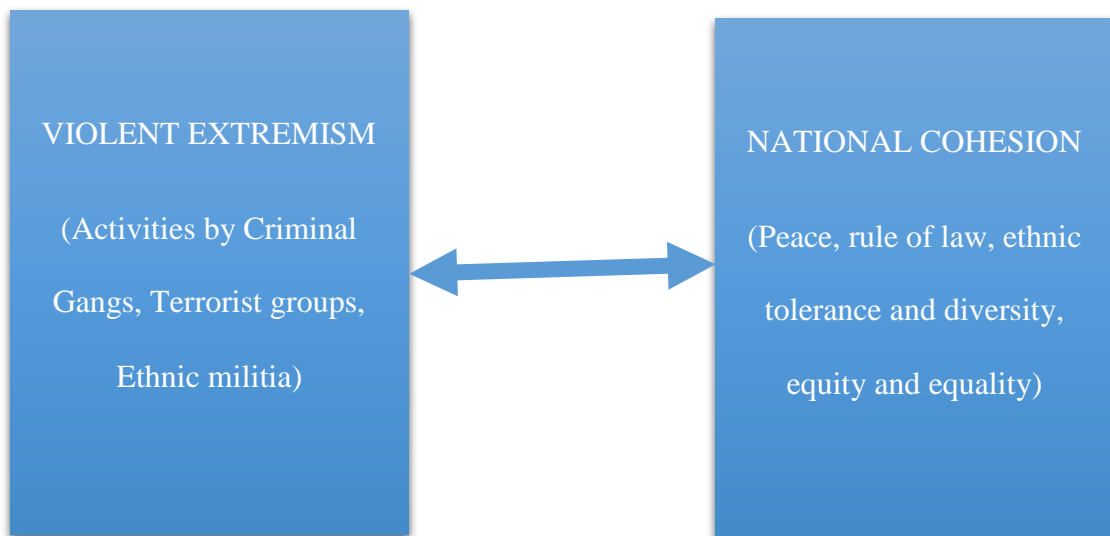
Figure 2.1: Relationship of variables
Source: Research data

1.9   Research Methodology

This chapter highlights the "Research design, study area, study population, sampling, data collection, validity and reliability of data collection instruments, validity, reliability, data analysis and presentation, limitations, ethical considerations and assumptions".

1.9.1 Research Design

In particular, this study took a survey approach and utilized discussions and interviews to gather information. The design utilized mixed methods under qualitative and quantitative techniques.

1.9.2 Study Area

The study was conducted in Nairobi City where the researcher had a choice for selecting the respondents and was favored by a number of factors. The fact that Nairobi is the capital city of Kenya therefore harbors headquarters offices of all the sampled organizations in the study exposing the researcher to broad spectra of respondents (cohesion and security practitioners). In addition, Nairobi is the most cosmopolitan province in Kenya.[52] This key feature helped the study in its discussions on social cohesion. Further, there is a general consensus among the public that Nairobi harbors more gangs than any other county. According to Mwangi Muiriru, out of the 89 outlawed gangs in 2016 many operated in Nairobi County.[53]

1.9.3 Study population

A study population constitutes people of interest to the researcher.[54]A total of 146 respondents (social cohesion and security practitioners) were targeted for the research. These were technical employees of the national steering committee on PBCM and the

[52]Felicia A. Yieke, Ethnicity and Development in Kenya: Lessons from the 2007 General Elections 14 (Kenya Studies Review: 3, 3, 5-16, 2010). Accessed Nov 5, 2017. http://kessa.org/yahoo_site_admin/assets/docs/p8_20_Felicia_A_Yieke_Kenya_Studies_Review_KSR-december_2011.351102108.pdf

[53]Mwangi Muiriru, "Gang leaders very slippery, making it hard to fight vice," *Daily Nation,* February 15, 2017.

[54]Singh, Y. K., and Ruchika Nath. Research methodology. (New Delhi: A.P.H. Publishing Corporation, 2010).

ATPU all which lie under the "ministry of interior and coordination of national Government", technical employees of the directorate of national cohesion and values, technical employees of the NCIC technical employees of the NCTC and technical employees of a number of randomly selected NGO's in the peace-building and conflict management space e.g. ACORD Kenya, ICPC and Arc Peace Kenya. The study targeted these population categories because involvement in conflict violent extremism and national cohesion within the study area.

1.9.4 Sampling

Sampling helps a researcher to draw generalizations, improve effectiveness and reduce bias. The chances of making mistakes are more especially when dealing with the entire population as opposed to when dealing with a sample.[55]In addition to its advantages, sampling is carried out because it is impossible, impractical or extremely expensive to collect data from all the members of a study population.[56]

The main consideration in determining the sample size is keeping it manageable.[57]The research utilized the stratified sampling technique in selecting respondents from the target population. The study used the following formulas:

[55]Ngau, P., & Kumssa, A.. Research Design, Data Collection and Analysis: Training Manual. United Nations Center for Regional Development (2004)

[56]Nachmias, C.F., and Nachmias, D. *Research Methods in the Social Sciences, 5thEdition.* (London: Arnold, 1996).

[57]Neuman, W.L. *Social research methods qualitative and quantitative approaches*. 4th Edition. (Allyn & Bacon, Needham Heights,2000), 23-45

$$ss = \frac{Z^2 * (p) * (1-p)}{c^2}$$

Where:

Z = Z value (e.g. 1.96 for 95% confidence level)

p = percentage picking a choice, expressed as decimal

(0.5 used for sample size needed)

c = confidence interval, expressed as decimal

(e.g., 0.04 = ±4)

ss = Z 2 * (p) * (1-p)/c 2

Where:

Z = Z value (e.g. 1.96 for 95% confidence level)

p = percentage picking a choice, expressed as decimal

(.5 used for sample size needed)

c = confidence interval, expressed as decimal

(e.g., .04 = ±4)

ss = sample size

Correction for Finite Population

newss = ss/ 1+ ss-1/ pop

Where: pop = population

The researcher estimated the total number of active social cohesion and security practitioners working on violent extremism and social cohesion in Nairobi at about 5000. This figure included members from government agencies as well as NGO's, CBO's and FBO's. The researcher used this figure as the overall population size. The researcher was aware of the dangers the estimate posed to the overall result of the sample size if it happened to largely veer off from the actual number of active practitioners. However, due to lack available data on all registered practitioners in the areas of security and cohesion an estimate was necessary.

To determine the sample size (SS) "a 95% confidence level with a confidence interval of + or − 8 was applied". The study was given the worst case picking percentage (50%). The population size was 5,000 respondents.

Consequently:

$$146 = \frac{1.96^2 *(.5)*(1-0.5)}{0.08^2}$$

The study partitioned the sample size as shown in table 1:

Table 1: Partitions of Respondents

Social cohesion practitioners (peacebuilders and conflict managers in government and non-governments organizations)	Security personnel (respondents from government institutions in charge of security)
73	73

Source: Field data, 2017

1.9.5 Sampling Procedures

The researcher utilized the stratified sampling technique in selecting respondents. This sampling technique gave every respondent was represented. More importantly, it allowed the researcher to group respondents into two strata based on a characteristics that influenced the variables being measured. From each group a simple random sample was drawn. The first group comprised of social cohesion practitioners. These are the policy makers, overseers and implementers of matters national cohesion and integration. The last group comprised of security personnel. They are the enforcers of the law and policy makers in all matters security in Kenya.

1.9.6 Data Collection

The researcher collected data from respondent using questionnaire especially those respondents who are inaccessible on some days. The researcher constructed these items based on the objectives of the study. The questionnaire was the major tool to use during the study.

The researcher utilized materials such as textbooks, newspapers, magazines and articles that were relevant to the study. These supplemented the data collected using questionnaires.

1.9.6.1 Questionnaires

In this study, Primary data was collected using paper form questionnaires. One questionnaire was designed to gather information from both categories of respondents.

The questionnaire design included two sub-parts which were strictly focused on obtaining information about the specific objectives that describe the sub-parts. The questions were subjected to Likert scale to ascertain the level of agreement for a given statement.[58]For instance, the questionnaires comprised of the questions with scaling points which included; "Strongly Agree, Agree, Neutral/No opinion, Disagree, and Strongly Disagree".[59] In the current study, paper form questionnaires were administered by the data collectors to the various groups of respondents.

1.9.6.2 Validity

To test the validity of the research instruments, the questionnaire was submitted to other researchers for critique and cross-examination. Additionally, the instrument was subjected to a pilot exercise to avoid overlooking errors. A pilot survey "is a strategy used to test the questionnaire".[60]A proper pilot study sample should be at least 10 percent -30

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[58]Saul McLeod, Likert Scale. *Simple psychology,* (2008).Accessed November 5, 2017: https://www.simplypsychology.org/likert-scale.html

[59] Julie Ponto. Understanding and Evaluating Survey Research. *Journal of the Advanced Practitioner in Oncology*(2015). Accessed November 5 2017: https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4601897/

[60]Sarah Mae Sincero. Pilot Survey. *Explorable,* (Jan 2012). Accessed Feb 04, 2018: https://explorable.com/pilot-survey

percent of the total sample size projected for study.[61]In this case, 10% of 146 respondents gave the researcher the sample size of 15 respondents for the pilot study. It helps to determine ambiguous questions that needed restructuring. Additionally, the time taken to answer some questions was unacceptably long because of lack of clarity. The researcher restructured those questions and utilized the Likert scale to simplify responses and improve on clarity.

1.9.6.3   Reliability

Using the piloting phase, 5 respondents were isolated for a stability test. In a period of 10 days the 5 respondents were subjected to the data collection tools and their responses were analyzed and compared in every two days to determine the reliability of the questionnaires. The stability testing obtain a stability correlation coefficient (r) of 0.73 through repeated testing. "Correlation coefficient (r) values are considered well if $r \geq 0.70$".[62]Therefore, this indicated that the instruments were good enough to guarantee same results under different conditions and time.

1.9.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

The data obtained from the field study was organized, sorted, edited, coded and tabulated. The data was sorted and categorized according to the objectives or research questions. This promoted information flow in report writing. Collected data was edited for accuracy and

[61] Connelly Saul McLeod.Likert Scale. *Simple Psychology,* (2008).Retrieved Feb 04: https://www.simplypsychology.org/likert-scale.html
[62]Singh AS, Vik FN, Chinapaw MJ, Uijtdewilligen L, Verloigne M, Fernández-Alvira JM, et al. *Test-retest reliability and construct validity of the ENERGY-child questionnaire on energy balance-related behaviours and their potential determinants: The ENERGY-project.* (Int J BehavNutrPhys Act, 2011) 8:136.

completeness. Editing was done to ensure that the questionnaires were in line with the objectives. As such, it were transcribed and then organized in themes and categories that emerged. Pearson correlation was used to analyze the relationship between the variables.

1.9.8 Assumptions of the Study

The following were the assumptions of the study:

i.   All respondents would give honest and sincere answers.

ii.   The sample chosen was representative of the total population.

iii. Respondents were willing to provide the required information.

1.9.9 Limitations of the Study

The limitations of the study are "those characteristics of design or methodology that hinder the interpretation of the findings from a research study".[63]One limitation that the researcher encountered was the absence of previous research on the subject under investigation. However, the researcher overcame this limitation by focusing his first objective on the analysis of important discourses in social cohesion and violent extremism to assess the nexus between the two variables.

The researcher also experienced longitudinal limitations. These are limitations that arise as a result of constraints of unavailability of time.[64] The researcher had a set due date of the assignment at hand. Unlike fulltime researchers whom are less likely to face this

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[63]Price, James H. and Judy Murnan. "Research Limitations and the Necessity of Reporting Them." *American Journal of Health Education,*(2004) 35 66-67.
[64]Aguinis, Hermam and Jeffrey R. Edwards. "Methodological Wishes for the Next Decade and How to Make Wishes Come True." *Journal of Management Studies*, January 2014. 51: 143-174;

type of limitation the researcher was confined to conducting and submitting a complete research paper within six (6) months. This limited period to conduct the research might have, in some way or another, influenced the entire design of the research and compromised on the findings of the study. However, the researcher was able to complete the study within the required period by strictly abiding to a work plan that had strict timelines of activities and actions.

1.9.10 Ethical Considerations

Ethical considerations entail adhering to laid down procedures which ensure adoption of appropriate code of conduct.[65]Ethical considerations entail the need to conduct research under the confines of law.[66]There are at least seven (7) ethical considerations to consider in social research. The current study adhered to all of them as discussed below:

1.9.10.1 Voluntary Participation

In ensuring voluntary participation, the researcher embedded the following message in the cover page of the all questionnaires;

> "Your participation is voluntary. You may refuse to
>
> participate or may discontinue your participation at
>
> any time during process. While we cannot
>
> compensate you for your time, your participation

[65]Blumberg, B, Cooper D.R, & Schindler P.S. Business Research Methods (McGraw Hill: Berkshire 2005).
[66]Stephen Ifedha Akaranga and Bretta Kavutha Makau. Ethical Considerations and their Applications to Research: a Case of the University of Nairobi. *Journal of Educational Policy and Entrepreneurial Research,*(2016) ISSN: 2408-770X (Print), ISSN: 2408-6231 (Online) Vol. 3, N0.12. 2016. Pp 1-9

will be invaluable to our project as we seek an

understanding of the influence of county

government's recruitment procedures on attainment

of national cohesion and integration in Nairobi

county Kenya."

Additionally, all research assistants, during data collection, were instructed to read the aforesaid message to participants and make sure they understood that they (participants) could at any time they wished abandon the interviewing process.

1.9.10.2 Informed Consent

The ethical principle of informed consent means that "prospective research respondents must be certainly aware about the procedures and risks involved in any particular research and must give their free consent to participate in each".[67]To ensure informed consent, the researcher provided an informed consent letter that explained the nature and objective of the study, contact details of the researcher, what was expected of respondents, the methods of obtaining the data among other things (*see appendix 2: informed consent letter*). The letter also prompted for consent to be given before commencement of the study interview. To protect the anonymity of the participant's names were not prompted.

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[67]Martin Bulmer. Social Research Ethics: An Examination of the Merits of Covert Participant Observation (Ed.). (Teaneck, NJ: Holmes & Meier Publishers 1982). Accessed Feb, 8 2017: https://philpapers.org/rec/BULSRE

1.9.10.3 Confidentiality

Confidentiality of information presented constitute a fundamental undertaking by any researcher to protect the privacy and individual identity of each informant.[68]It is upon the researcher(s) to deter anybody outside of the project from relating individual respondent(s) with their responses. In the study, during data collection, the researcher utilized a minimum number, two (2), of research assistant in order to control the access and flow of data. The two research assistants were under strict instructions not to breach confidentiality requirements. Access to obtained data was only restricted to the researcher.

1.9.10.4 Anonymity

Maintaining the identity of respondents unknown throughout the research period is both an ethical consideration as well as a principle of astute research. The anonymity of the respondents safeguards them from researchers themselves and the consumers of the knowledge produced.[69]Anonymity of respondents starts with omitting the identity of respondents. This was also communicated to the respondents prior to filling in the questionnaires. Respondents were asked to ensure they didn't give their names and personal identification information (e.g., name, address, Email address, etc.).

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[68] Karen Kaiser. "Protecting Respondent Confidentiality in Qualitative Research. *US National Library of Medicine National Institutes of Health,* (2009). Accessed Feb 8 2017 :https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2805454/
[69]William M.K. Trochim. Ethics in Research. (Social research methods, 2006) Accessed Feb 8 2017: https://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/ethics.php

1.9.10.5 Risk of Harm

To protect participants from risk of harm, the researcher endeavor to determine possible risks of the study and their management. It was determined that there would be no physical harm. However, the researcher determined that psychological harm to job seekers as a result of the study might be witnessed. The study had a slight chance of rejuvenating levels of discomfort and stress on their part. To minimize this risk participants were made fully aware of the potentials for harm that could have emanated from the study. Additionally, contacts of the researcher and a counselling facility in Nairobi County were provided for purposes of reporting sensitive cases of stress/psychological harm resulting for the study. The research authorization from the NACOSTI was sought. All other licensing requirements were sought as well.

CHAPTER TWO

VIOLENT EXTREMISM AND NATIONAL COHESION IN AFRICA

This chapter presents an in depth look of violent extremism and national cohesion and provides a situational analysis on the impact of violent extremism on national cohesion in the region. Based on the conceptual model presented under the hypothesis the current study understands violent extremist organizations (VEOs) as constituting organized criminal gangs, terrorist groups, ethnic militias and intra-state insurgency organizations. It is therefore important to point out that these VEOs have come to be important non state actors (often violent) influencing both conventional and human security at intra-state level within the Global South. Similarly, the current study examines the impact of violent extremism on national cohesion. To this end, therefore, the parameters used to measure national cohesion include peace, rule of law, ethnic tolerance and diversity as well as equity and equality.

2.1 Violent Extremism in Africa

As a process, violent extremism remains earmarked as a high priority area currently dominating national security, international security as well as academic discourses. This is because, upon full maturity, activities of VEOs sometimes equate to terrorism disrupting economies, leading to loss of lives and polarizing once peaceful nation states. Today, Africa remains a playing field and a haven for VEOs due to endemic corruption and bad governance structures that characterize its socio-economic, political and security apparatus.

The presence of "*Boko Haram* in the northern Nigeria, the Sahel in Mali, the Ambazonia crisis in Cameroon and the al-Shabaab in the greater horn of Africa," epitomize four VEOs that have become important players in peace and security discourses. This section examines the two VEOs and their influence on cohesion in Africa.

The threat posed by extremist violent groups pose a great security threat to state survival and international security stability.[70]The anti-colonial era movements generated many anti-western ideologies which have characterized many jihadist movements and religious fundamentalist and extremist particularly in Middle East and in Africa.[71] These movements call for conservative religious norms and rule as a counter for modern societies' social evils blamed on western ideologies. However, this ideas spread to all over Africa where there were colonial legacies exhibited by colonial boundaries which ensured polarity and security threats to nation-states from which these violent terrorist groups exerted their authority.[72]

In both Nigeria and Somalia the violent extremist groups started with agitating for political changes characterized by overthrow of despotic governments and only concerned with domestic issues. While they emerged as homogenous groups they evolved over time

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[70]J. D. Hallowanger. The rise of terrorism in Africa. Commentary (Front Page Africa. 10 February 2014) Available:https://frontpageafricaonline.com/op-ed/commentaries-features/665-the-rise-of-terrorism-in-africa

[71]J. Moore. The Evolution of Islamic Terrorism: An overview. Public Broadcasting Service (PBS, 2016). Frontline. Accessed March 9, 2016,https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/target/etc/modern.html

[72]Institute for Economics & Peace. Global terrorism index 2015.*Institute for Economics and Peace* (IEP, 2015). Available: http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Global-Peace-Index-Report-2015_0.pdf

and established networks in other countries. These violent groups operate mainly in border regions where there is limited presence of government. The polarity of colonial boundaries challenges inter-state movements of such elements enabling them to access hinterland, hence challenging both state and regional security stability.

Recently, cooperation between national and international jihadist groups have intensified. For instance, in 2012, Somalia based "Al Shabaab" declared allegiance to "al Qaeda" terrorist movement with an eminent shift to align with the ISIL. In "2015, the Islamic terror group in Nigerian-Boko Haram, publicly announced allegiance to ISIL leader the late Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi".[73] These terror networks facilitate not only ideological drive but also provide material and operational support. The internationalization jihadist movement offers environment for facilitating international recruitment of jihadists.

Current security strategies have not succeeded in removing the geographic footprint of terror groups which expound the ideology of violent extremisms in African continent. This is exemplified by the constant terror attacks against Kenyan nationals in their own country orchestrated by a Somalian-based armed militia group al Shabaab. The most recent security threat by the terror group (it claimed responsibility) was meted on Kenyans on a Mandera bound Bus by the militia group and gallant Kenyan nationals have lost their

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[73]Daniel Boffey and Agencies, "Boko Haram declares allegiance to Islamic State." *The Guardian,* March 2015. Accessed March 12, 2016,https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/07/boko-haram-suicide-bombers-50-dead-maiduguri

lives.[74] Adding to the other recent terrorist attacks, where in 2019 Kenyans continue to be killed and terrorized by al shabaab militia group in their own country posing a stringent security debate which needs further academic and research-based security sector reform which informs a cohesive national identity amidst fighting violent extremism. There is an urgent need for a concerted national security counterterrorism efforts geared towards addressing the systemic security lapses which disturb national cohesion in its wake.

The implementation of development oriented security policies has resulted into initiating of counterterrorism approaches, such as "countering violent extremism (CVE) and preventing violent extremism (PVE) initiatives which seek to address root political and socioeconomic causes of violent extremism".[75] These approaches need constant review to establish their effectiveness in the delivery of a cohesive, secure and terror-free nation state while confronting violent extremism threat.

Another study of different countries especially in Africa that have been involved in this menace included; "Nigeria, Cameroon, Niger, Mali, Kenya, and Uganda revealed several other key security issues and areas of concern." Citing the Afrobarometer policy report on several African countries "about four in 10 Kenyans (45%), Nigerians (39%),

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[74]Richardson, M. T (2019). *Geopolitics of Horn of Africa: Security sector Reforms in a geo-political globalization.* Unpublished Thesis. Nairobi.

[75]Zeiger, S., &Aly, A. (Eds.) (2015). Countering violent extremism: Developing an evidence-base for policy and practice. Perth, Australia: Curtin University. Available at http://www.hedayah.ae/pdf/cve-edited-volume.pdf

and Malians (38%) cited security-related issues as one of the top three problems facing their countries; roughly double the average (19%) across 36 countries surveyed in 2014/2015".[76]Citing the same source, the report revealed that "in Lake Chad region: Nigerians were more likely to believe that there was local and international support for extremist groups like *Boko Haram* (33% on average across a range of potential sources) than their counterparts in Cameroon (11%) and Niger (12%).[77] In Kenya and Uganda: Public approval of the government's response to extremism was considerably lower among Kenyans (44%) than among Ugandans (83%)".[78]

[76]Afrobarometer Policy Paper No. 32. June 2016.   Violent extremism in Africa: Public opinion from the Sahel, Lake Chad, and the Horn of Africa
[77]Ibid
[78]Ibid

Violent Extremism and National Cohesion at the Lake Chad Basin

Since the year 2009, "*Boko Haram*, a territorial VEO" has wreaked mayhem in Nigeria. Currently, the terror group continues to terrorize northern Nigeria with insurgency which destabilizes continental stability and national security. State centric responses to the wipe out the militia have been directed largely on the government's urge to remove the VEO through military approaches and increase s intelligence among state security actors.[79]While these response approaches have weakened violent extremism (CVE) they have failed to at least take cognizance of the underlying root causes of the "*Boko Haram* "problem.

The geographical scope of the Lake Chad Basin region comprises of; "Nigeria, Niger, Chad and Cameroon is terrorized by *Boko Haram*". The illegal acts performed by both the "*Boko Haram*" and state security agencies under the counter-insurgency campaign against the outlawed group resulted loss of many lives in the years of 2009 and 2016.Its estimated that around "2.4 million" had been displaced and this resulted into a severe food crisis that affected"6.6 million: people more.[80]In line with this study the actions of the "*Boko Haram*" posed threat to peace and security of the affected nation states and thus negatively impacted on their national and regional cohesion.

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[79]Adelaja, Adesoji & Labo, A. & Penar, E. Public Opinion on the root causes of terrorism and objectives of terrorists: A Boko Haram case study. Perspectives on Terrorism (2018). 12. 35-49.
[80]Ojochenemi J. David, Lucky E. Asuelime and Hakeem Onapajo. "The Socio-Economic Drivers." (Springer Briefs in Political Science, 2015). Retrieved May, 2017: https://www.morawa.at/annotstream/2244007717556/PDF/David-Ojochenemi/Boko-Haram.pdf

In one of its simplest senses, the phrase "*Boko Haram"* implies that the education system from the western countries is prohibited and therefore, its influence in the region is considered a sin, while at the same time westernization is sacrilege.[81]However, research has revealed other motives and motivations of the group which include "unemployment, poverty, economic problems, dislike for the incumbency, extreme religious feelings, extreme political ideology as well as manipulation by the political class".[82] In addition, the major objective of the VEO is vengeance against state security forces. With its defined goal to create a hardline Islamic state in Nigeria, *"Boko Haram"* is strongly opposed to every element of westernization of the Nigerian society. Further, the group holds the belief that the country's wealth is concentrated in pockets of a few political elites in the Christian-dominated South.[83] The study observed that wealth disparity and relative deprivation led to the North South divide is are determinants of violent extremism ideologies propagated by the *"Boko Haram"*. Their activities negatively affected religious and ethnic intolerance in Nigeria.

This terror group surpassed "IS" as the world's most lethal and violent extremist organization with around,"512 casualties "which increases yearly.[84]However, this was blamed on the Nigerian government for fail of imposing stringent measures and policies to curb the activities of this illegal group. AI (2015) reported that "military forces had extra judicially executed more than 1,200 people since the insurgence begun and arrested".

[81]Femi Owolade, "Boko Haram: How a Militant Islamist Group Emerged in Nigeria." (Gatestone Institute, 2014). Retrieved May, 2017: https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/4232/boko-haram-nigeria
[82]Adelaja, Adesoji&Labo, A. &Penar, E. Public Opinion on the root causes of terrorism and objectives of terrorists: A Boko Haram case study.
[83]Femi Owolade, "Boko Haram: How a Militant Islamist Group Emerged in Nigeria."
[84]Institute for Economics & Peace. (IEP, 2016). Global terrorism index 2015.

"However, at least 20,000 people, mostly young men and boys exposing them to acts of extreme torture".[85]

Evolving from a local insurrectionary group to a terrorist organization, its scope of operation had also expanded internationally beyond the confines of the state of Nigeria. In their effort to get global attention, killing and abduction of foreign nationals were deliberate attempts to export its extremist agenda in the region, particularly to Niger, Cameroon and Chad which have all experienced the sect in its cruel form.[86] The current study argues that when acts by VEOs are not adequately dealt with at the intra-state level they are more likely to be internationalized. Extremist organizations and ideologies are can pose security threats at both the national and international levels.

Apart from expanding in scope of operation, *Boko Haram* established links with various terrorist formations for human and material resources support. The group is affiliated to such other armed groups as the *Ansar Dine, al-Quaeda* of Mali in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and the MUJAO (UNSC, 2015). It's allegiance to the ISIS, the ISIL and its association with Al Qaida, the AQIM, and "*Jama'atu Ansarul Muslimina Fi Biladis-Sudan* (Ansaru)"are strong indications of its external expansions and linkages.[87] This study argues that the effect of uncontrolled extremist agenda can be of infinite proportions to

[85]Amnesty International. "Stars on their shoulders, blood on their hands(Amnesty International, 2015)"Retrieved May
42017:https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/AFR4416572015ENGLISH.PDF
[86]Femi Owolade, "Boko Haram: How a Militant Islamist Group Emerged in Nigeria." (Gatestone Institute, 2014). Retrieved May, 2017: https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/4232/boko-haram-nigeria

[87]Fineman Guy Goyei, "Nigeria's Boko Haram and its Security Dynamics in the West African Sub-Region" (*Journal of Language, Technology & Entrepreneurship in Africa,* Vol.9 No. 1 (2018). Accessed May, 2018. https://www.ajol.info/index.php/jolte/article/view/170521/159945

peace and security within a nation and beyond therefore negatively impacting the parameters of national cohesion.

2.1.1.1   Activities of the*Boko Haram* and Counter Responses

When it broke out first, "*Boko Haram"* it castigated non-Islamic practices among the populace in northern inhabited Muslim area. It was not violent till 2009 when police crackdown started, many of the group members were arrested and others killed for instance its leader led by Mohammed Yusuf. The execution of its leader spread anger amongst its member's against security officers and innocent civilians. In the end of the violent crackdown "Boko Haram" had transformed and became a lethal killer group with high level of destruction and displacement of people in northern Nigeria.[88] The terror group repeatedly apply heinous models for instance "suicide bombings and assassinations, roadside shooting and car hijacking, kidnapping and bomb explosions to express their discontentment against what it considers as enemies".[89]The terror group has constantly, wreaked havoc on government installations, killed civilians and destroyed both private and government property.[90] Terrorist deaths have increased in the recent past with the figures rising from"1,595 in 2013 to 6,118 in 2014".[91] These fatalities made the terror group the deadliest and destructive terrorist group in the current world.

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[88]Institute for Economics & Peace. (IEP, 2016). Global terrorism index 2015.

[89]M. Lewis and Hilary Matfess. "The Boko Haram insurgency, by numbers," Washington Post, October 6, 2014, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2014/10/06/the-boko-haram-insurgency-by-the-numbers/?utm_term=.b8b0b3200cb2.

[90]Amnesty International. (2015). "Stars on their shoulders, blood on their hands: War crimes committed by the Nigerian military," (Amnesty International. June, 2015), 5, https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/AFR4416572015ENGLISH.PDF

[91]Institute for Economics & Peace. (IEP, 2016). Global terrorism index 2015

The terror group is responsible for displacement of millions of people and disruption of economic activities which has occasioned a catastrophic economic deprivation in Nigeria. The group has intensified fear and anxiety among the population greatly reducing their productivity. According to Karimi & Duthiers *Boko Haram* "attacks drew large public criticism and media outrage from around the globe after it kidnapped schoolgirls from Chibok in 2014 causing international condemnation and government outrage".[92]Additionally, the terrorist group abducted other schoolgirls in 2018 from Dapchi.

Due to mass displacement of people and intensified destruction of property, the federal government of Nigeria in collaboration with other international agencies approved a military response to diffuse the security impasse which had engulfed the country. The military response rescued Borno state, Yobe state and Adamawa states where the attacks had intensified and most lethal. Consequently, the military facilitated the rescue and recapture of Maiduguri and expelled *Boko Haram* to Sambisa forest where they have been subdued and weakened.

Although the government and the security agencies effectively subdued the menace of Boko Haram, it never happened without a word. A lot of criticism was meted on the security agencies for being extra lethal and abandoning human rights card. A report by T.I indicated that "the Nigerian armies were unable to defeat *"Boko Haram"* because of increased cases of graft in the hierarchy of the defense sector and poor funding which

[92]Faith Karimi and Vladimir Duthiers, "Nigerians demand government to more to bring home kidnapped girls." CNN News, May 5, 2014. Retrieved:https://www.cnn.com/2014/05/01/world/africa/nigeria-abducted-girls/index.html

occasioned led to lack or inadequate resources and equipment's to fight the illegal group".AI has gone ahead to accuse the Nigerian military of "committing war crimes against humanity" as a result of the mass incarceration, lethal interrogations and unlawful arrest of suspected "Boko Haram" members and sympathizers who died in masses army run detention facilities.[93]

2.1.2 The Red Dragons, Tigers and Ambazonia Defence Forces (ADF) of Cameroon

The republic of Cameroon which is "a bilingual and multicultural country known for its protracted stability and its strong international alliances with France and the US, is slipping into a protracted human rights crisis in the largely Anglophone North-West and South-West regions that border Nigeria". From 2016, the Anglophone Cameroonians have posed serious concerns of being secluded by the majority Francophone and consequently have been agitating for secession and for their political autonomy. The agitation for political autonomy has led to creation of the Ambazonia Defence Forces and the Red Dragons a well as Tigers who espouse extremism in their agitation. This group have sprung up to fight for English-leaning people to secede from Francophone Cameroon. Since 2016, there has been greater mobilization on the part of English-speaking people to engage lawyers and teachers as well as students to mount protests against "francization" of their country.[94] In retaliation, the government of Cameroon led by the security agencies initiated

[93]Amnesty International. (2015). "Stars on their shoulders, blood on their hands: War crimes committed by the Nigerian military"

[94]Human Rights Watch. "These Killings Can Be Stopped" Retrieved February 4, 2017, https://www.hrw.org/report/2018/07/19/these-killings-can-be-stopped/abuses-government-and-separatist-groups-cameroons

a heavy clampdown on the protesters which led to mass arrests of demonstrators and killing of many civilians including maiming children and women.[95]

Since the events of 2016, brutal crackdowns by state security agencies have pushed local populations into joining the violent extremist groups (Ambazonia Defence Forces, the Red Dragons and the Tigers). According to the Human Rights Watch, these militia groups sprung up after a series of crackdowns on mass protests fronted by teachers and lawyers over alleged government lack of recognizing all education systems in the "North West" and the "South West "in addition to economic disparity.[96]

To rally support and advance their extremist agenda, the groups relied on African mythology, imagery and a well-established presence on social media.[97]Just like in the Rwandan genocide, these violent extremist groups used symbolization and dehumanization to perpetrate violence against their subjects. *"We need to buy sugar cane and groundnuts* "Such phrase was used metamorphic ally to ask for funding to purchase guns and bullets. The sugarcane in this case referred to militia groups calling for funding to purchase guns while groundnuts signified bullets.[98]

Since the inception of violence in 2016, the UN estimates about 20,000 Cameroonians to have fled to Nigeria.[99]Additionally, the (ICG) estimated the various

[95]Human Rights Watch. . "These Killings Can Be Stopped"
[96]Human Rights Watch. . "These Killings Can Be Stopped"
[97]Ibid
[98]Human Rights Watch. . "These Killings Can Be Stopped"
[99]Zongo Peter. "This is a genocide': villages burn as war rages in blood-soaked Cameroon" *The Guardian,* May 30, 2018. Retrieved: https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2018/may/30/cameroon-killings-escalate-anglophone-crisis

groups challenging the government in Cameroon to comprise of close to 500 militia fighters clustered in a number of groups. According to the Human Rights Watch,[100]"the most militant and well-known violent extremists 'groups include; The ADF, the SOCADEF, the LRD, the ASDC, the SCDF and the MGW,"

2.1.3 Violent Extremism in Mali and the Sahel

Being a landlocked country located in West Africa, Mali is has approximately12 million people. Majority lives along the Niger River.[101]The country is divided into two geographic spaces; Southern Mali also known as Green Mali which concentrates 90% of the population comprised mainly of blacks, and Northern Mali crossed by Sahel AND Sahara which is populated by the Touareg and Arab nomads extending across and beyond the Malian borders. The northern region, traditionally a cross roads and exchange area, recently became a smuggling spot for illicit arms, drugs and human trafficking. Terrorist groups including (AQIM) found a haven in northern Mali where they have developed their activities since 2007.The extremist organizations claimed responsibility for more than 70 kidnappings in Mali, Mauritania, Algeria Tunisia, Niger and Nigeria.

In August 2011, the collapse of Gaddafi's Libyan regime led to a massive return of heavily armed Touareg soldiers to the northern region of Mali and Sahel. This fostered the

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[100]Human Rights Watch. . "These Killings Can Be Stopped"

[101]Andrew ClarkPascal, James Imperato and Kathleen M. Baker.In *The new encyclopaedia Britannica*, "Republic of Mali." Encyclopædia Britannica, 2018. Accessed November 2, 2018: https://www.britannica.com/place/Mali

development of secessionist movements in 2012 led by the MNLA).MNLA initiated a series of successful attacks against Malian army bases. The Malian army poorly equipped and under-trained, was defeated in multiple encounters. Soldier's frustration resulted in a coup on the 22nd of March 2012 against the central government. Following the March 2012 coup, the Malian army progressively lost control of northern Mali to secessionist movements and on the 6 of April 2012 Azawad declared independence.

On the ground the situation became increasingly complex due to the additional presence of the Ansar Dine, loosely translated as "Defenders of the Faith," militant Islamic group which pushed for radical Islam and immediate application of the Islamic law. Initially, MNLA and Ansar Dine operated in joint efforts against the central government. However, internal conflicts quickly erupted and triggered a dispute between the former allies for control of the region.

Following MNLA's eviction from northern Mali in April 2012, the Islamists imposed Sharia law and in tune destroyed unique shrines, tombs and mausoleums including world heritage sites in Timbuktu, the ancient city of gold. Effective takeover of northern Mali by extremists continue to weaken the already collapsing central government while neighboring States feared widespread regional fragilization, development of secessionist movements and massive influx of refugees. Burkina Faso, Niger and Mauritania supported a rapid military intervention. Algeria which has 1300 km of porous borders with Mali advocated a negotiated solution even as members of AQIM and Salafist movement born of the Algerian Civil War entered Mali.

Present since colonial times, France maintained military and economic interests in the region including in uranium mines. It is also affected by the fact that several hostages are held by Islamist movements across the region. In 2012, ECOWAS launched negotiations with MNLA and Ansar Dine. In addition to talks a military intervention was developed by African troops with UN support. In January 2013, the situation escalated and accelerated as Rebels crossed the symbolic North-South separation line on the 10th and took over Kona a strategic passage-point to Bamako. This attack was the trigger for a French military intervention; an operation which was requested by the Malian government and approved by the UN.

Recently, the threat of violent extremism in Mali especially in the northern region of the country has become one of the most threatening security scare for countries in West Africa. This is partly because an anticipated rise of jihadist groups introduced, to what started as a separatist rebellion by the Tuareg (MNLA)in 2012,new complexities that perpetuated new conflicts in a country that was once considered a model of democracy in Africa. It is that a terrorist group capitalized on the weakened Army and the ensuing unrest in the north to overthrow the government which was accused of corruption and indecision.[102]According to Alexander, two factors contributed to Mali's protracted instability. Firstly, failure to institute a political solution to domestic problems and secondly, constant flow of weapons and armed combatants from Libya increasingly

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[102]Karlijn Muiderman. "Sahel Watch: a living analysis of the conflict in Mali." The Broker (blog). Dec 2014. Accessed November 2017. https://www.thebrokeronline.eu/sahel-watch-a-living-analysis-of-the-conflict-in-mali/

destabilized Mali.[103]Despite the French intervention that allowed for the imposition of an interim government and mobilization of international peacekeepers, the onslaught on civilians and innocent people continue unabated.[104]

The 6 years crisis in Mali has drastically reduced the sense of belonging among Malians who continue to suffer in the hands of illegitimate groups. According to Amara, the continued attacks in the country have led to many fleeing and seeking asylum in the neighbouring countries. This has led to serious health and food crisis with different institutions facing challenges in combating the crisis.

Al-Shabaabin the Greater Horn of East Africa

The word "Al-Shabaab", means "the Youth" in Arabic. It is the most dangerous and lethal terrorist group aimed at removing the Somalia government and destabilize regional civilizations.[105] The Al Shabaab is a terrorist group with approximately 5000 combatants. The group has been linked to the "Al-Qaeda". The Al-shabaab formalized their allegiance to Al-Qaeda through a video tape which brought the whole message to global audience.[106] Apart from financing and logistical support to each other, the group also offers safe habitat for other fighters from the Al Qaeda in the East Africa region.[107]It calls for adoption and

[103]Yonah Alexander. "Terrorism in North Africa and the Sahel in 2015."Potomac Institute; Seventh Annual Report (March 2016). Accessed Feb 2, 2017:
https://www.potomacinstitute.org/images/TerrNASahel2015.pdf
[104]Karlijn Muiderman. "Sahel Watch: a living analysis of the conflict in Mali."
[105]Mapping Militant Organizations. "Al Shabaab." Stanford University. Last modified January 2019.
https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/al-shabaab
[106]CNN Wire Staff. "Al-Shabaab joining al Qaeda, monitor group says." CNN, 10 Feb. 2012. Web. 10 Oct. 2015.}} {{Berger, J.M. "Al Qaeda's Merger." *Foreign Policy*, 15 Feb. 2012. Web. 10 Oct. 2015. Lahoud, Nelly. "The Merger of Al-Shabaab and Qa'idat Al-Jihad." *CTC Sentinel* 5, no. 24 (Feb. 16, 2012) Web. 31 Oct. 2015.
[107]Page, Jacqueline. "Jihadi Arena Report: Somalia - Development of Radical Islamism and Current Implications." International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, 22 Mar. 2010. Web. 20 Aug. 2015.

interpretation of Sharia law, the terrorist group wishes to Islamize the whole of Somalia with Sharia law and consequently has orchestrated various deadly terrorist attacks in Mogadishu and exported the same to Nairobi where it has claimed responsibility for killing hundreds of people (civilians) and the 2010 terror attacks in Kampala.

After the fall of Said Barre, the Somalia dictator felled three decades ago the country has never seen security and it swings between a pariah state and a banana republic. This saw the rise of warlords who curved out their own territories for clan control within Somalia. The Al shabaab terror group was birthed by Union of Islamic Courts. These courts originated from clan system which was established in Somalia following the fall of central government. The need for these clans to protect themselves made them establish a military arm which assumed the name Al Shabaab.

In early stages of its formation, Al Shabaab gained a lot of support from the Somalia people due to its military actions against warlords who had divided the country into fiefdoms. The Al-Shabaab removed such warlords from power and weakened their influence in Somalia, an action that led to the people perceiving them as saviors. The youth in Somalia were particularly impressed by these actions and in their quest for relevance and recognition in a country that only knew war, they sort to join the group contributing to its growth in numbers.

The international community joined efforts and instituted an interim government of Somalia to eradicate Al Shabaab. Consequently, the TFG of Somalia, under the leadership

of President Abdullahi Yusuf was established. As a counter to the internationally recognized government, the Al Shabaab established similar structures for governing which imposed extortion on the local population through illegal taxation in a bid to raise funds and remain relevant.[108]Consequently, Ethiopia incurred Somalia in 2006 to support the TFG in regaining control of Mogadishu. Following the Agreement between the UN backed TFG and the Islamic courts who claimed control over several parts in Somalia, Ethiopian forces withdrew from Mogadishu in 2009 and UN peacekeepers took over.[109]

Consequently, the AMISOM comprising of national armies of Kenya and Uganda, as well as Burundi joined the UN peacekeepers in stabilizing Somalia an operation which is currently active.[110]Created by the AUPSC the AMISOM is regional peacekeeping force with an overriding mandate to support TFG and governance structures erected by AU to stabilize Somalia and manage Al-Shabaab's influence and territory control in the country.

[108]Harnisch, Christopher. "The Terror Threat from Somalia: The Internationalization of Al Shabaab." *Critical Threats Project*, American Enterprise Institute, 12 Feb. 2010. Web. 20 Aug 2015.
[109]*Somalia Business Law Handbook, Volume 1: Strategic Information and Laws*. Washington, D.C.: International Business Publications, USA, 1 Jan. 2012. Print.
[110]Harnisch, Christopher. "The Terror Threat from Somalia: The Internationalization of Al Shabaab." Critical Threats Project, American Enterprise Institute, 12 Feb. 2010. Web. 20 Aug 2015. Page, Jacqueline. "Jihadi Arena Report: Somalia - Development of Radical Islamism and Current Implications." International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, 22 Mar. 2010. Web. 20 Aug. 2015.

CHAPTER THREE

VIOLENT EXTREMISM AND NATIONAL COHESION IN KENYA

Since its independence in 1963 Kenya has been known to the rest of the world as a relatively peaceful and hospitable country. However, this reputation does not exclude it from occasional spells of violence whether internally or externally instigated. In recent years Kenya has faced several violent encounters stretching from a coup attempt in 1982, electoral violence, terror attacks, secession threats and increased criminal gang activity. In every occasion that these have occurred the social cohesion of its people has been questioned.

The lack of cohesion and recognition of violence as a means of settling disputes has in countless times been associated with both push and pull factors that characterize violent extremism. Push factors like marginalization, inequalities, discrimination, denial of rights and civil liberties and environmental historical and social economic grievances whether the actual or perceived. Pull factors include the appeal presented by violent extremists groups that make it easier for members of the society to prefer violent extremism as an alternative to the natural order for example; extremist groups may be a source of services, employment and money as well as outlets for grievances or the promise of hope justice and a sense of purpose. This chapter examines the actions of major violent extremist groups in Kenya and their impact on social cohesion

3.1 The Mungiki Movement

The Mungiki movement is perhaps the largest and most notorious violent extremist group in Kenya's history. According to Henningsen and Jones, it started its operations in

1980's.[111]Historically, the group is known for performing ritualistic killings including beheadings, torture, skinning, disablement and extortion through violent means. The sect became a matter of national concern during the land clashes and disputes in 1992 election.[112] Members of the Mungiki audaciously claim to be descendants of the Mau-Mau Movement, a liberation outfit that fought for Kenya's independence in pre-colonial times. Notably, the Mungiki believe that, they are still driven by the same agendas as the Mau-Mau Movement, to fight for land, freedom and religion. Their main agenda is restore the Traditional norms, values and practices of the Kikuyu community which they perceive abandoned and advocates for abolition of Western values and lifestyle.[113]As NLCOIL posits, Mungiki "area religious movement clothed with diverse aspirations ranging from political to religio-cultural and socio-economic liberation".[114]

It is recorded that Mungiki was established as a defense outfit to protect the Kikuyu tribe from attacks by external tribes, especially the Kalenjin who occupy a large part of the Rift Valley region. According to Craze, the Mungiki operated as a defense force against Kalenjins who were perceived to attack the "Kikuyu community" who settled in the "Rift Valley region".[115]

As time progressed the Mungiki, assumed a much more urban set-up and participated in influencing the elections of the country in multiple ways. For example, the Mungiki were

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[111]Henningson, Erik, and Peris Jones. "'What Kind of Hell is This!' Understanding the Mungiki Movement's Power of Mobilisation."*Journal of Eastern African Studies.*Vol.7, No. 3.

[112]Joshua Craze. "Who are the Mungiki?" *The Waste Books*(Blog). October 05, 2007. Accessed: https://www.joshuacraze.com/blog/2007/10/5/who-are-the-mungiki.html

[113]Henningson, Erik, and Peris Jones. "'What Kind of Hell is This!' Understanding the Mungiki Movement'sPower of Mobilization.

[114]Norway.. Country of Origin Information Centre. "Kenya: Mungiki - Abusers or abused?"LandInfo, 29 January 2010. Accessed March, 2017: http://www.landinfo.no/asset/1123/1/1123_1.pdf

[115]Joshua Craze. "Who are the Mungiki?"

used in countless times by the political class to disrupt electoral processes in the central region during the Moi regime. President Moi however, used Mungiki to acquire more votes and supporters by harassing and exploiting those who oppressed him.[116]A pattern where political leaders in Kenya were using the Mungiki and other violent extremist groups began to emerge and in the period beyond 1997 the Mungiki became more violent and fierce. They also used this opportunity to increase their avenues of making more money through illegal activities. This included controlling the public transport especially the Nairobi matatus, providing and supplying illegal electricity especially in the slums where it was difficult to track as well as taking advantage of failure of police to provide private security.[117]

In 2002, when President Moi was removed from power through a successful electoral process, other gangs saw an opportunity to come into the limelight to challenge Mungiki's control especially over the local transport system in Nairobi. On a single day 10 people lost as Mungiki rivals fought to take control in "Nairobi's Flamingo and Lake View estates". In response the Government of Kenya outlawed the movement in the same year.[118]The USD of State's Country Reports on HRP for 2010 stated that "the Mungiki sect was outlawed because it espoused political views and cultural practices that were controversial in mainstream society". "It ran protection rackets, particularly in the public transportation sector, and harassed and intimidated residents".[119]

[116]Joshua Craze. "Who are the Mungiki?"
[117]Joshua Craze. "Who are the Mungiki?"
[118]Norway.. Country of Origin Information Centre. "Kenya: Mungiki - Abusers or abused?"
[119] United States (US).. Department of State. "Kenya." Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2010.(US Gov, 8 April 2011). Available: http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/hrrpt/2010/af/154352.html

After Moi withdrew his support the sect was left vulnerable to government harassment and exploitation which resulted to negative implications on the illegal group. It's estimated that, majority left the group and become Christians by mid-2004.[120] Things went from bad to worse for the Mungiki as reports came out indicating that they had now become victims of extra judicial killings. A government led operation to squash the Mungiki movement through elite policing unit code named *"kwekwe"* is believed to have killed Mungiki members in large scores. Many went into hiding and left the capital city of Nairobi for the rural areas in fear.

3.1.1 Impact of the Mungiki on National Cohesion in Kenya

The activities of the Mungiki and their methods including propagation of ethnic hatred through violence, disruption of the electoral process and economic extortion all had negative impacts on the social cohesion of the people of Kenya.

It is understood that social cohesion has a positive correlation with economic prosperity of a people. Populations that exhibit good livelihoods with less taxation and zero extortion tend to be more cohesive due to the resulting high wages and other forms of earnings. On the contrary, populations that experience more taxation and exhibit extortion and other economic crimes by the political class or illegitimate groups exhibit more conflicts and experience low levels of social cohesion. Mungiki activities affected the livelihoods of the many Kenyans. It can be argued that their actions slowed down the economy from time to time and created a non-conducive environment for growth and prosperity. Activities like extorting the public transport system (Matatu sector) brought

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[120]Joshua Craze. "Who are the Mungiki?"

fear and major losses to matatu—bus owners. In 29 May 2013, the BBC reported "a case of a matatu that was set ablaze in Gatundu town after the operator allegedly declined to give the money to the sect".[121] Consequently, it was reported that "several matatu operators had received death threats from the sect if they refused to comply with their orders".[122]

Reports have also indicated that the Mungiki extorted other businesses including local retail markets for farm produce, retail kiosks, motorcar repair shops and barbershops among others. Failure to pay the sect its illegal operational fees would result in kidnappings, torture and even death. According to the Norwegian Country of Origin Information Centre, "citizens, who were unable or unwilling to pay operational fees to the Mungiki, risked being kidnapped, tortured or even killed".[123]Mungiki's involvement in the business sector created a loss sense of belonging and more citizens were losing hope as to whether the Government of Kenya could indeed guarantee their protection as a legitimate entity. The increased loss of confidence in the government's law and order apparatus, as a result of violent actions from the Mungiki, eroded the sense of nationhood, trust, peace and prosperity amongst the people of Kenya.

The use of violent extremist groups to disrupt and influence electoral processes and other political outcomes is not new in Africa. Violent extremist groups have often been used to displace voters in the eve of elections or to violently create unstable environments where election rigging is possible during voting. These actions usually have a detrimental impact on the social cohesion of a nation/region in more ways that imagined. First, the

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[121] British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). "Kenyan Police Ordered to use 'Deadly Force'." (BBC Monitoring International Reports via Factiva, 2013)
[122]Ibid
[123]Norway... Country of Origin Information Centre. "Kenya: Mungiki - Abusers or abused?

violence unleashed on a group(s) on the eve of elections or during the election usually exhibits undertones of ethnic hatred and dehumanization. This becomes a recipe for disaster if left to go unchecked. Second, is the risk of retaliatory attacks on innocent civilians thereafter, a risk that could ignite a civil war in any country. The Mungiki were used as such instruments in previous regimes in Kenya. In most cases they clashed with politicians especially during campaigns and elections.[124]Their actions in the political arena also opened new opportunities for other violent extremist groups to take part in politics as more politicians in Kenya scrambled for associations with criminal gangs in order to win electoral positions. This and other factors have eventually led to a culture of electoral violence in Kenya which is an indicator of poor national cohesion. Further, "on 4th January 2013, Kenyan newspaper The Star reported that Maina Njenga, former Mungiki leader, was also included in the ICC charges relating to the Kenya's post-election violence of 2008, as he is believed to have been contacted for the purpose of securing Mungiki services".[125] It cannot be ruled out therefore that, the activities of the Mungiki Movements negatively affected all the parameters of social cohesion as identified by this study including the rule of law, equity and equality, ethnic tolerance and diversity as well as peace.

3.2   The Mombasa Republican Council (MRC)

The MRC is arguably the first organized violent extremist group to ever call for secession of the Coastal region in Kenya's history. The organization fueled by push factors

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[124]Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada. "Kenya: The Mungiki sect, including organizational structure, leadership, membership, recruitment and activities…" Research Directorate, Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, Ottawa, 2013. Available: https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/eoir/legacy/2014/03/21/KEN104594.E.pdf
[125]Oliver Mathenge. "Maina Njenga Included in ICC Charges." *The Star Newspaper*, (Nairobi) 4, January 2013. Available: http://www.thestar.co.ke/news/article-101456/maina-njenga-included-icc-charges

mainly marginalization and seclusion, demanded its secession from mainland Kenya aiming to establish an independent self-governing entity for the coastal people. The MRC backs up its secession call on an alleged agreement they claim proves that the coastal region was never a part of Kenya. In 1985, "an agreement was made between Great Britain and Zanzibar under the supervision of the government in which Mombasa was to remain a Protectorate under the British before Kenya's independence".

However, following detailed discussions on the agreements amendments it was established that, the coastal region was instrumental to the country's GDP and development as well as Mombasa port which too was important to the EA region in general.[126] Following the "1963 Lancaster negotiations between the British and the Kenyans" an agreement was reached and signed which diminished hopes for autonomy of the coastal people. However, the MRC made another claim, indicating that another agreement signed in 1963 existed between the then Sultan of Zanzibar and Kenya's first President, Jomo Kenyatta. The agreement allegedly established that the coastal region put under a 50 years lease under the Kenyan government after which an automatic revert of ownership would be triggered to restore it to its original owners, the indigenous coastal people. According to the MRC, the lease period expires in 2030. As reported by Mohammed, "the claim that there are other documents indicating that another agreement signed in 1963 by the then prime minister Jomo Kenyatta and his Zanzibar counterpart Mohamed Shante gave the

[126]Mohammed Hussein "MRC Special Series Part 1." *YouTube.* Apr 17, 2012.https://youtu.be/erLXWI0uEVo

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provision of a 50-year lease which meant that the government was to return the coastal strip onto the indigenous people by 2030".[127]

The MRC claims almost gave the organization an overnight popularity in the eyes of the coastal people who are believed to experience marginalization whether real or perceived. In addition, the Council coined and used the phrase, "Pwani sio Kenya—the coast is not Kenya" to popularize the organization objectives on social media platforms, rallies, in churches and Mosques. The organization quickly gained popularity amongst the youth in the coast and within a short period of time acts of organized violence undertaken by a radicalized youth emerged. Even though its leaders came out in many different occasions to denounce the violence, the organization's activities had already caught the attention of the ruling government and action was underway to destroy the outfit.

Eventually, the government revealed close links between the separatist movement and the Al-Shabaab and pinpointed some Mosques with the Mombasa Island as hubs for youth radicalization. Sources within government indicated that the MRC had been ranked only second to the al-Shabaab in terms of national Security threats.[128] As a result, the MRC was declared an illegal organized criminal group through a gazette notice issued in 2010. This primarily banned the organization from carrying out any activity including public forums.

In 2012, the group announced its plans to stop the 2013 general election from taking place in the coastal region until their demands to be heard were considered. They demanded

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[127]Mohammed Hussein "MRC Special Series Part 1."
[128]Mohammed Hussein "MRC Special Series Part 1."

that the government remove their illegal tag and organize for dialogue. This did not happen since the government of Kenya in October, 2012 utilized its force in hunting down and arresting MRC leaders and their members ahead of the general election.

3.2.1 Impact of the Mombasa Republican Council on Social Cohesion

Separatist's movements can be seen in one part as revolutionary/ freedom movements or destruction to peace and tranquility. To those seeking to secede, such movements remain a matter of life and death since the course if just and desirable. To those against the secession such movements will almost appear to manifest as terrorism or worse a direct attack to the interests and wellbeing of the nation by a few dissatisfied/ greedy individuals. This was true in the case of the MRC movement. Consequently, coastal leaders had divided opinions on the subject. Leader from the upcountry, held a common stand that the MRC was equally a terrorist organization with bad motives against the sustainability of peace in the country. To most of them, the issues of marginalization and seclusion were perceived and not actually true. Whereas the coastal leaders agreed that marginalization and seclusion were real in the coast they differed on the approach taken by the MRC in addressing such grievances.

Divided opinions on the agenda of the MRC amongst political leaders eventually transcended to the people. Residents in coastal region held different opinions on the matter with most of the indigenous people supported the MRC course while the rest held the same position held by the government of Kenya that the MRC was an outlawed group that did not deserve an audience. These divided opinions caused suspicions amongst residents and negatively affected social cohesion especially in the South Coast where the MRC agenda

had immensely been felt and accepted. It was reported on countless occasions that civilian violence had been witnessed in different coastal constituencies with the worst happening on Sep 29, 2012 where it was alleged 14 members of the MRC were killed by villagers for taking oaths in a forest in Tsangatsini village, Kilifi county. MRC denied the allegations indicating that the government of Kenya was killing innocent civilians in the name of MRC; that no MRC member had been killed or found taking an oath in the forest. As to whether the positions held by government and the MRC on the killings were right or wrong, the fact remains the same, that separatists' movements have negative impact on the social cohesion of a nation. Indeed, the activities of the MRC were negatively affecting all the parameters of social cohesion as identified by this study including the rule of law, equity and equality, ethnic tolerance and diversity as well as peace.

3.3   The Al -Shabaab and their Activities in Kenya

The history, origin and primary agenda of the Al-Shabaab is discussed comprehensively in chapter 2 of this document. However, it is important to note that the Al-Shabaab identified Kenya as its primary terror attack target long before KDF invasion into Somalia in 2011. Before then the Al-Shabaab had carried out sporadic attacks on civilians in Kenyan notably in Garissa, the Coast and in Nairobi Eastleigh area. These initial attacks were informed by the quest to expand the group's operational ambitions beyond the Somalia border. It can be argued nevertheless, that their most aggressive attacks came after KDF invaded Somalia in a western sponsored mission to regain territories held by these illegal groups in the country and help in restoring a stable governance system in Somalia. This illegal group posited that, they targeted Kenya in order to force the

government to withdraw the troops from its country.[129] However, this would provide an opportunity for this illegal group to expand its territories in the Somalia and also in EA region.

In addition to violent attacks, the Al-Shabaab intensified its non-violent operations in Kenya by capitalizing on both push and pull factors to recruit youths into the organization. These youths were then expected to return and lodge attacks on Kenyan soil as part of their reparation and revenge on the government. Youths from marginalized areas of Kenya became more vulnerable to recruitment especially those in the coast and northern regions of Kenya.

In 2013, the Al-Shabaab lodged one of the most terrifying and longest terror attacks in Kenya. They included attacks on "Nairobi's Westgate Mall" where over 67 people lost their lives and others injured.[130] In response to the attacks, the government of Kenya through the Kenya police embarked on mission to flush out the attackers especially on illegal Somali immigrants and refugees located in different parts of the country.[131]This instigated feelings of mistrust towards the Somalis living in Kenya and segregation and exclusion amongst people of Somali origin in the country.

In 2015, the Al-Shabaab attacked "Garissa University College" in Kenya, where also 148 people lost their lives and several injured especially students. The public have been pressuring the government to make amendments on the security chief in most targeted

[129]Iaccino, Ludovica. "Kenya Garissa University massacre: Five worst attacks by al-Shabaab terrorists." International Business Times, 8 Apr. 2015. Web. 20 Aug. 2015.
[130]Crisis Group. "Al-Shabaab's attacks in East Africa: A timeline" Crisis Group, 12 OCTOBER, 2018: https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/al-shabaabs-attacks-east-africa-timeline
[131]By Jason Patinkin. "Somalis in Kenya Face Mistrust." *Cristian Science Monitor.* June 17, 2014: Available: https://www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2014/0617/Somalis-in-Kenya-face-mistrust

areas by this illegal group, as well as integrate the youths in developmental projects in order to prevent them engaging in these heinous acts.[132]

3.3.1 Impact of Al-Shabaab on Social Cohesion in Kenya

There is an established positive correlation between the economy and social cohesion. Increased economic growth promotes an increase in the social cohesion of a people. However, the vis versa is also true. A poor economy affects social cohesion negatively. Terrorism/ terror activities usually have a detrimental effects on the economy of the affected country in many ways.

Kenya's economy has faced a high magnitude of negative impacts since the first Al-Shabaab attack on its soil. In October 2017, the UNDP released "a comprehensive policy brief on the economic impact of terrorism and violent extremism on the Kenyan economy". The policy brief highlighted that, "the impact of terrorism and violent extremism on the Kenyan economy is through the uncertainty effects on the tourism sector, foreign direct investment, the Nairobi Stock Exchange, and effects on resource allocations and economies of counties. The policy brief shows that terrorism and violent extremism have led to destruction of infrastructure and physical and human capital with dire consequences on productivity and economic growth in the economy. Furthermore, the increase in the number of terrorism incidents has led to businesses facing higher operating costs including high insurance premiums, enhanced security measures and high labour costs to attract workers. In urban areas, massive investments have gone into expensive installations such as security cameras, metal detectors and advanced security systems to

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[132]Crisis Group. "Al-Shabaab's attacks in East Africa: A timeline"

avert terror attacks. Although such efforts have yielded positive results, the economic cost is massive considering that these resources could have gone into more productive investments."[133]

Judging by the policy brief, it is clear and evident that Al-Shabaab activities have impacted negatively on the national cohesion of Kenya not only through their impact on the economy but through other ways like increased mistrust directed towards people of Somali origin living in Kenya. These people have had their sense of belonging abused through acts of exclusion and segregation in many spheres of society including social gatherings. Terror attacks have therefore negatively impacted on the indicators of social cohesion including peace, rule of law, equity and equality as identified by this study.

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[133]UNDP. "Policy Brief: Articulating the pathways of the impact of terrorism and violent extremism on the Kenyan economy." UNDP, 2017. Issue No: 1/2017. Available: https://www.undp.org/content/dam/kenya/docs/SPAU/Policy%20Brief%20-%20%20impact%20of%20terrorism%20&%20violent%20extremism%20on%20economy.pdf

CHAPTER FOUR

VIOLENT EXTREMISM AND NATIONAL COHESION IN KENYA: AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

This chapter presents data analysis results and discussions of the study findings guided by the overall objective of the study to examine the relationship between the violent extremism and national cohesion in Kenya. The study targeted technical employees of the NSC on PBCM and ATPU all under the technical employees of the DNCV, technical employees of the NCIC, technical employees of the NCTC and technical employees of a number of randomly selected NGO's in the peacebuilding and conflict management sphere. Out of the targeted size of 146 respondents the researcher was able to get 110 respondents. This therefore contributed to 75.34% of the participants which is sufficient.[134]

4.1   General Information on Respondents

This section discusses "the gender, age and educational level of respondents". The data obtained gives insight on gender distribution and education levels of respondents. Obtained data on age distribution were important in ensuring only adults were involved in the research.

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[134]Blumberg, B, Cooper D.R, & Schindler P.S. Business Research Methods, (McGraw Hill: Berkshire, 2005)

4.1.1 Gender of Respondents

The findings obtained show that 74 (67%) of the participants were male while (36) 33% were female. Therefore, this shows that both genders were equally presented.[135]
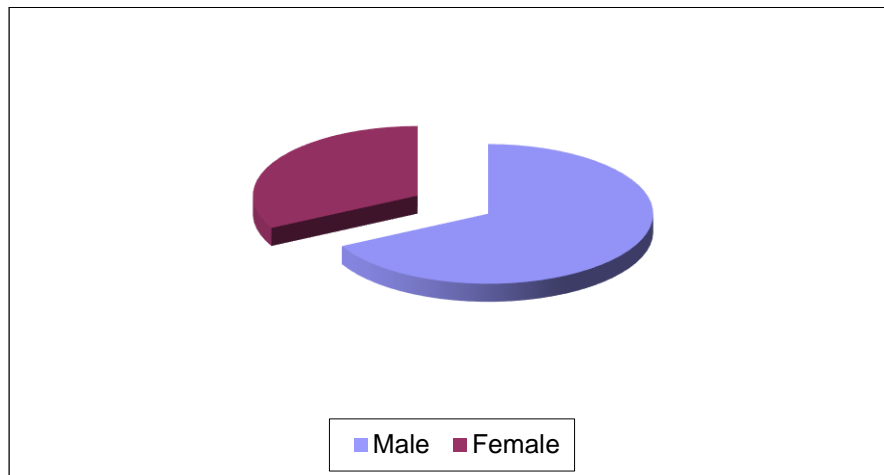
Figure 4.1: Gender of Respondents

Source: Field Data, 2017

4.1.2 Age of Respondents

Data collected and analyzed showed that a majority 50 (45.5%) of the respondents were at the economically active population age group, 25-35 years. The smallest number of respondents 13 (11.8%) was registered under the age bracket of 18 – 24 years. Beyond the economically active age population age group the results show the number of

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[135]United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women. Equal Participation of Women and Men in Decision-Making Processes, with Particular Emphasis on Political Participation and Leadership, United Nations, last modified October, 2005. Accessed Feb 23 2017: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/eql-men/FinalReport.pdf

participants reducing. The age group of 35-44 registered 25(22.7%) respondents and that of 45-54 registered 22 (20%) respondents as shown in Figure 4.2.
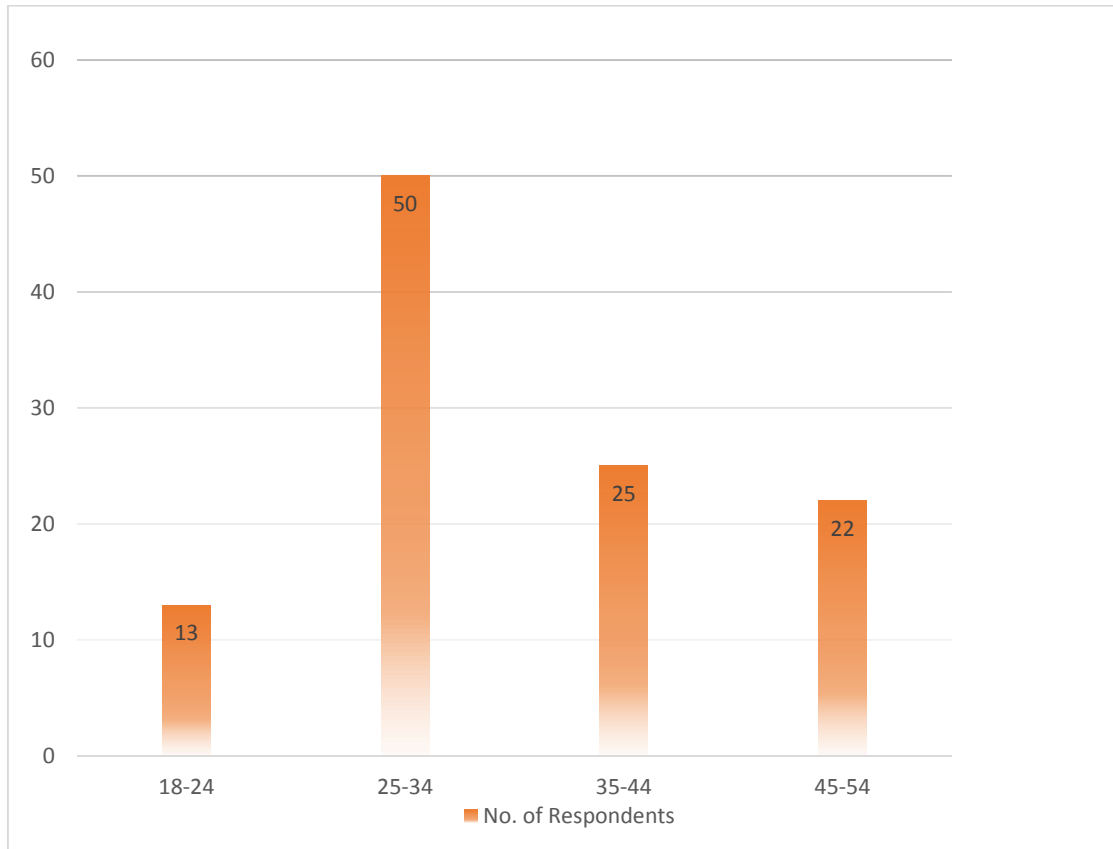
Figure 4.2: Age of Respondents

Source: Field data, 2017

4.1.3 Education Level of Respondents

The figure below 4.3 presents the level of education of the participants (Field data, 2017). The level of education among the respondents varied considerably. A majority, representing 45 (40.9%) were undergraduate degree holders, 33 (30%) were master's degree holders, 19 (17.2%) had diplomas and only 13 (11.8%) were holders of secondary

certificate of education. The high number of undergraduate degree holders comprised of project managers, a placement that does not require an advanced degree.
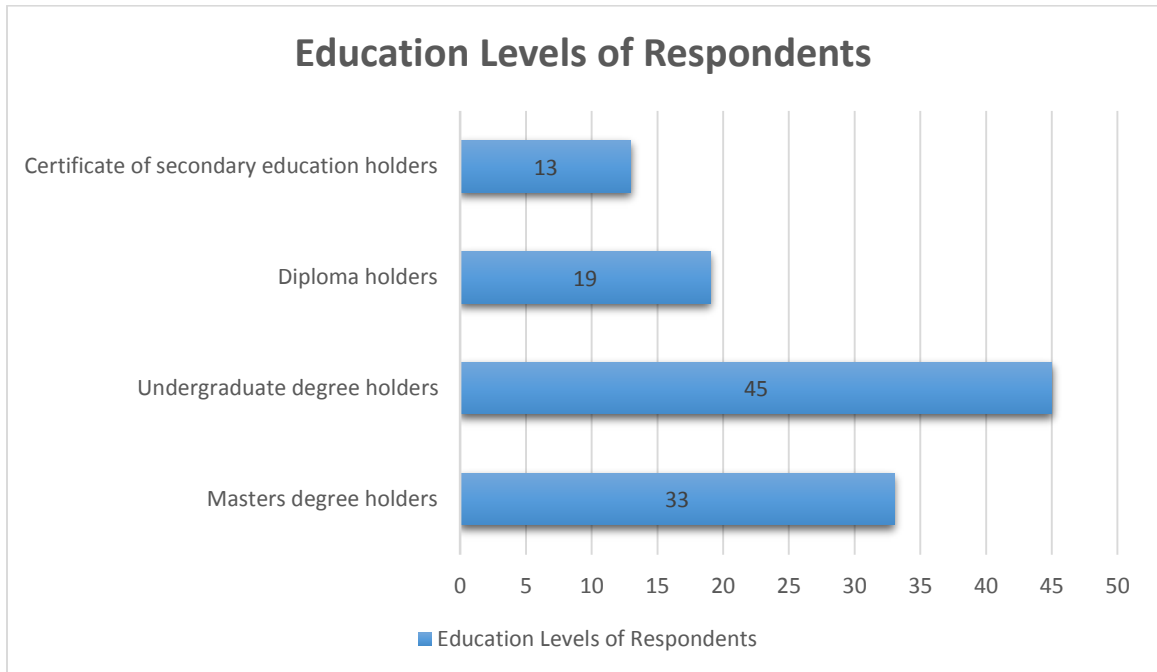
Figure 4.3: Education Level of Respondents
Source: Field Data, 2017

4.1.4 Establishing links between the discourses of violent extremism and national cohesion

The research sought to establish relationships between the discourse of violent extremism and national cohesion. In realizing this objective the researcher interrogated various secondary data on the two variables as discussed below:

4.1.4.1 Influence of violent extremism on national cohesion

The research sought to find out if the government policy on national cohesion outlined the influence of violent extremism on national cohesion as a way of establishing a relationship between the two variables. To this end, the research examined the Government's blueprint in the promotion of national cohesion, "*the Sessional Paper No.9 of 201"3* on NCI.

This policy stipulates different challenges encountered approaches and strategies in the process of encouraging national cohesion. The approaches include maintaining law and order as well as promoting rule of law. Consequently, violence and criminal activities that occur in all areas as well as the negative image portrayed by the public on police are issues that need to be addressed in the promotion of cohesion and integration.[136] This form of problem identification suggests a relationship between violent crime and national cohesion. However, it is important to note that the policy does not categorically state that violent extremism is hindering national cohesion in Kenya, it is implied throughout the whole document that insecurity manifested as violent crime hinders the enhancement of national cohesion in Kenya.

A recent study by the (NCIC) suggested that gangs were hindering national cohesion in Kenya. According to the study, organized gangs are a key factor to social disintegration since they are used as tools of disrupting community and national

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[136]Directorate of National Cohesion and Values. Sessional Paper No. 9 of 2013 on National Cohesion and Integration, 2013. (Nairobi, Government Press 2013) Accessed 4 March, 2017: http://www.cohesionandvalues.go.ke/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Sessional-Paper-No.-9-of-2013-on-National-Cohesion-and-Integration.doc

cohesion.[137] Indeed the influence of gangs on national cohesion in Kenya has reached alarming levels with their involvement in the electoral processes. As noted by the NCIC,[138]

> "Organized criminal groups disrupt peace through contributing to lawlessness, increased insecurity, tensions and violence within and between ethnicities. Ahead of the elections, their continued operation undermines people's trust in state institutions. Moreover, the fact that the said gangs are formed and composed along ethnic identities and protected by the elite from the said communities, enhances the ability of politicians to mobilize the gangs with the aim of meting out violence on other ethnic groups during the impending polls."

This indication of how violent extremist groups affect national cohesion in Kenya affirms the connection between the two variables.

4.1.4.2 Building national cohesion as a strategy for fighting violent extremism

There is a lot of literature on fighting violent extremism. Different scholars propose different strategies in dealing with violent extremism but only a few mention the building of national cohesion as a strategy. The research sought to establish a connection between national cohesion and violent extremism by investigating whether the enhancement of

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[137]National Cohesion and Integration Commission. The Impact of Organized Gangs on Social Cohesion in Kenya. (NCIC, 2017) p.82
[138] Ibid

national cohesion could hinder the advancement of violent extremism and its negative impacts.

According UNDP, "at the national and local levels, an increase in the levels of inclusion and tolerance will lead to better governance of diversity, and to societies better inoculated against violent extremism."[139] Building better horizontal relationships increases a community's resilience against violent extremism. This is means that it is important for a society to embrace inclusion, tolerance for diversity and national unit. Any outrageous forms of socio-political exclusion and inequalities are bound to create a favorable environment for the emergency violent extremism. The UNDP also believes that engaging the youth in building social cohesion is a step in the right direction when dealing with violent extremism.[140] Societies need to engage the youth in peace-building and countering radicalization. However, the society and the government should include all the youths in decision making so that they can air their opinions and views and this can reduce their engagement in political violence.[141]Political violence of this nature is more often organized and carried out by groups with a common agenda that galvanizes the members.

There is need for the government to ensure a sense of belonging to a certain group or community as well as inclusion to the matters important to the nation for all citizens in order to address violent extremism.[142] It has been theorized that strengthening ones identity

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[139] United Nations Development Programme. Preventing Violent Extremism Through Promoting Inclusive Development, Tolerance And Respect For Diversity. (UNDP, 2016). Accessed 5 March, 2017: http://www.undp.org/content/dam/norway/undp-ogc/documents/Discussion%20Paper%20-%20Preventing%20Violent%20Extremism%20by%20Promoting%20Inclusive%20%20Development.pdf

[140]United Nations Development Programme. Preventing Violent Extremism Through Promoting Inclusive Development, Tolerance And Respect For Diversity. (UNDP, 2016)

[141] Ibid

[142] B. Heidi Elli and Saida Abdi. Building Community Resilience to Violent Extremism Through

within their ethnic and religious orientation is a good strategy in fighting violent extremism. However this view has in multiple cases been challenged especially when analyzing violent extremism with religious orientation. A better strategy would be to consider the social bridging of connections between communities.

Closely related to the building of connections with one's larger identity is the strengthening of social bonds between communities and their governments to address challenges of violent extremism. The strengthening of vertical social cohesion is important in both preventing violent extremism and in establishing mitigating responses to violent attacks by extremists. Further, most studies shows that social ties and networks reduce the possibility of recruitment and radicalization to violent extremism.[143] Through such research governments affected by violent extremism like Kenya have responded by establishing measures that aim at bridging the gap between citizens and the government in security matters for instance the community policing initiative (*nyumba kumi initiative*) and is undertaking reforms to restore police service into a citizens friendly force.

Building community resilience against violent extremism also entails the reprogramming of affected communities to influence their actions in the wake of an attack from violent extremist groups. Often proposed is the strengthening of communal ties/bonds to allow for healing and support during a difficult moment. This idea creates an unorthodox opportunity to promote social cohesion. Worth mentioning is the Psychology of Unity after Tragedy. A view held by psychologists that humans tend to come together and help each

Genuine Partnerships. *American Psychological Association* (2017) Vol. 72, No. 3, 289 –300 0003-066X/17 Accessed, 5 May 2017:https://www.apa.org/pubs/journals/releases/amp-amp0000065.pdf
[143] B. Heidi Elli and Saida Abdi. Building Community Resilience to Violent Extremism Through Genuine Partnerships.

other after tragedies strike. Observing the reactions of American citizens after the 9/11 and the Boston marathon bombings Caitlin Gipson, freelance writer and marketing consultant in Reedley, posits that during and after horrid events and tragedies USA citizens usually unite and support each other by spreading peace messages.[144]In her work she determines that this propensity to come together during and after a tragedy has its basis in social psychology. A lot of research in this area has revolves around two questions, why people always want to help others during a tragedy and why at a national level people tend to pull together during and after national disasters or tragedies? In addressing the former question, Professor, Joy M. Bustrum, Psychology Department, Azusa Pacific University stated, "help arises from compassion and care, not just concern for our own comfort—that empathy is core to our makeup.[145]"

In summary, through the analysis of several discourses on both violent extremism, the research established a negative correlation between the two variables. As levels national cohesion increase, violent extremism is hindered and vice versa. The research recognized that the established inverse relationship between the two variables is not a definite prove of causation. As a result, further study was undertaken to assess the nexus between the two concepts as discussed below. Additionally, the strength of correlation was not determined empirically, however in its examination of the nature of relationship the study clearly demonstrated the magnitude of influence that the two variables exert on each other through the surveying of expert opinion.

[144]Caitlin Gipson, "The Psychology of Unity after Tragedy," (Apulife, November 4, 2013). Accessed 4th Feb, 2017: http://www.apu.edu/articles/21012/
[145]Caitlin Gipson, "The Psychology of Unity after Tragedy,"

4.1.5 Assessing Threats of Violent Extremism on National Cohesion in Kenya

The research study aimed at establishing if violent extremism is a threat to national cohesion in Kenya. To get a general view, participants were asked whether they thought violent extremism influenced levels of national cohesion. Using a Likert scale the study established that 64.5% (71) of respondents strongly agreed that indeed violent extremism influenced levels of cohesion in Kenya. An additional 33.6% agreed with the thought and only two participants held no opinion.
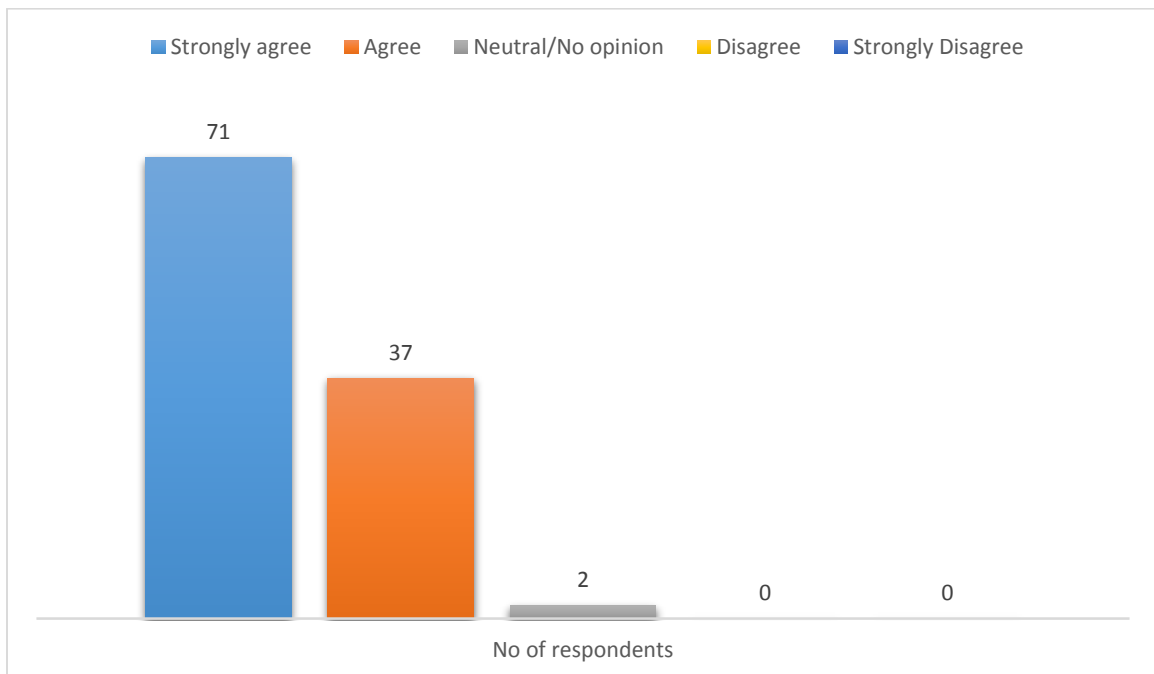
Figure 4.4: Influence of Violent Extremism on National Cohesion

Source: Field data, 2017

4.1.5.1   Violent extremism and how it affects the parameters of social cohesion

The study assessed the impact of violent extremism on the five parameters (peace, rule of law, ethnic tolerance and diversity, equity and equality) of national cohesion as

defined by the Directorate of National Cohesion and Values in Kenya.[146] Participants were asked to point out the levels at which violent extremism hinders the attainment of the 5 parameters. The study established that an aggregated 60.9% (67) strongly held strong opinions that violent extremism did not enhance national cohesion but hindered its attainment.

Table 2: How violent extremism affects parameters of national cohesion

Source: Field data, 2017.

Do violent extremist groups hinder the attainment of the following parameters of social cohesion:					
	Strongly agree	**Agree**	**Neutral/No opinion**	**Disagree**	**Strongly disagree**
Rule of law	64 (58.1%)	46 (41.9%)	0	0	0
Equity and Equality	67 (60.9%)	41 (37.3%)	2 (1.8%)	0	0
Ethnic tolerance and Diversity	66 (60%)	44 (40%)	0	0	0
Peace	84 (76.4%)	26 (23.6%)	0	0	0

Source: Field data, 2017

Rule of Law

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[146] Directorate of National Cohesion and Values. "National Cohesion Training Manual," (DNCV, 2011) Accessed 5th Feb 2017: http://www.cohesionandvalues.go.ke/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/National-Cohesion-and-Integration_training_manual.pdf

This is a pillar for growth of the economy which promotes democracy through good governance, inclusivity and protects human rights.[147] This means that for any society to function properly in harmony the rule of law need not be threatened. Respondents' views were in tandem with this notion since a majority of them, 58.1%, affirmed that violent extremism hindered the promotion of rule of law. A further 41.9% shared the same opinion but with a little less conviction.

Equity and Equality

The importance of equity and equality in strengthening social cohesion cannot be over-stated. Inequalities that persist overtime raise a further concern that the unity of the society itself might be affected.[148] A unified society exhibits high levels of equity and equality. Respondents, 60.9% (67), strongly agreed that violent extremism hindered attainment and promotion of equity and equality in Kenya.

Peace

Peace denotes an environment without violent conflict. A cohesive society should be free from violent conflicts that threaten its peace. All 110 respondents agreed that violent extremism threatens peace. Among them 84 (76.4) strongly agreeing.

Ethnic tolerance and Diversity

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[147]Andrew Ozanian, Why rule of law is the bedrock of sustainable development. *World Economic Forum* (Sept, 2015). Accessed March 7, 2017: https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2015/09/why-rule-of-law-is-the-bedrock-of-sustainable-development/

[148] J.G Reitz et al. Multiculturalism and Social Cohesion. (Springer Science + Business Media B.V, 2009) p.123

It's worth noting that, interaction and engagement of different ethnic groups results to reduction in possibility of violence and negative attitude and behaviors towards each other.[149] This means that members of a society are more likely to build high levels of ethnic tolerance if positive interactions with different ethnic groups are permitted and enhanced. This in turn leads to improved social cohesion if the interactions remain positive. Respondents found violent extremism a challenge in the process of promoting tolerance and diversity. A majority number comprising of 60% (66) of the respondents viewed violent extremism as a factor that hinders ethnic tolerance and diversity in Kenya.

4.1.5.2   Other aspects of social cohesion hindered by violent extremism

Participants were asked to identify other aspects of social cohesion hindered by violent extremism. Key amongst the identified responses included:

Table 3: Other aspects of social cohesion hindered by violent extremism

Source: Field data 2017

	ASPECT OF SOCIAL COHESION	FREQUENCY
a)	Low public confidence towards the security agencies and government at large.	56 (50.9%)
b)	Low sense of belonging and inclusiveness.	47 (42.7%)
c)	Low public trust in the electoral institutions and processes.	35 (31.8%)
d)	Slowed socio-economic development.	16 (14.5%)

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[149] Pettigrew, T., and L. Tropp. "A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* (2006) 90 (5): 751–783. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.90.5.751.

4.1.5.3   Use of violent extremism to pursue political agendas

The research sought to find out whether violent extremism affected the political stability of the country in further determining its threats against national cohesion. Participants responded differently according to the following statement: in Kenya, violent extremist groups have sometimes been used/misused by interested parties to:

Table 4: Use of violent extremism to pursue political agendas

Source: Field data 2017

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral/No opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Violent extremists influence voter preferences, decisions and voter turnout during elections in Kenya	91.8 % (101)	08.1% (9)	-	-	-
Violent extremists promote violence against government policies and decisions e.g. marginalization.	-	90% (99)	10% (11)	-	-
Violent extremists undertake ethnic violence	96.4 % (106)	3.6% (4)	-	-	-

Violent extremists influence voter preferences, decisions and voter turnout during elections in Kenya

The results indicated an overwhelming number of respondents, 101 (91.8%) strongly supporting the idea that violent extremism influences voter preferences, decisions and turnout during every electioneering period in Kenya. This tends to give an idea how

entrenched and influential violent extremist groups have become and the level of threat they pose to the leadership selection and general wellbeing of the nation. A further 8.1% held a similar opinion but with less conviction.

Violent extremists promote violence against government policies and decisions

Violent extremists are often used by the political class to push or even set political agendas. The biggest support of gangs is solicited from and given by politicians.[150] Kenya has experienced such influence in various occasions and ways. For instance, in the near past Kenya experienced sporadic violent activities from violent extremists pushing for calls of secession in the coast and Nyanza regions. According to the results of the study, a majority of respondents, 90% (99) shared the opinion that violent extremists promote violence to influence government policies and decisions. Only 11 (10%) were undecided about the notion. This was in tandem with the findings of the NCIC that indicated that besides engaging in physical violence, organized gangs engaged in and magnify the effects of inflammatory remarks, hate speech and incitement to violence.[151]

Violent extremists undertake sponsored ethnic violence

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[150] National Cohesion and Integration Commission. The Impact of Organized Gangs on Social Cohesion in Kenya. (Nairobi City, NCIC Publication, 2017)

[151] National Cohesion and Integration Commission. The Impact of Organized Gangs on Social Cohesion in Kenya.

The study also looked at the idea of violent extremists taking part in carrying out ethnic violence. Ethnic violence is the worst case scenario resulting from weak social cohesion. According to the results the study established that indeed this was the case. An overwhelming 106 (96.4%), agreed to the idea that violent extremist groups undertook ethnic violence for one reason or another.

4.1.5.4 Violent extremism and likelihood for political violence in Kenya

In a further attempt to determine the threat of violent extremism against national cohesion, the study posed a generalized question whether violent extremist groups could influence the emergency of political violence in Kenya? The results indicated that 88.1% (97) believed that activities of violent extremists could indeed cause political violence especially during elections.

Table 5: Violent extremism and political violence in Kenya

Source: Field data, 2017

Yes	Not Sure	No
88.1% (97)	5.4% (6)	6.3% (7)

4.1.6 Opportunities presented by violent extremism in the management of national cohesion in Kenya

Placing its argument on the Psychology of Unity after Tragedy, the study sought to find out whether or not violent extremism presented opportunities to promote national cohesion in Kenya.

4.1.6.1 Familiarity with the Psychology of Unity after Tragedy

Since the target population for the study only comprised of practitioners in the security and cohesion sector, the study sought to understand their familiarity with the Psychology of Unity after Tragedy. The study found out that a majority of practitioners 93, (84.5%) had not heard of this notion before. However after clarification of the premises that make up the Psychology of Unity after Tragedy, respondents were found to resonate with the main tenets of the notion. The lack of information on this notion among practitioners casts light on the much felt absence of social cohesion initiatives subsequent to attacks by violent extremist groups in Kenya.
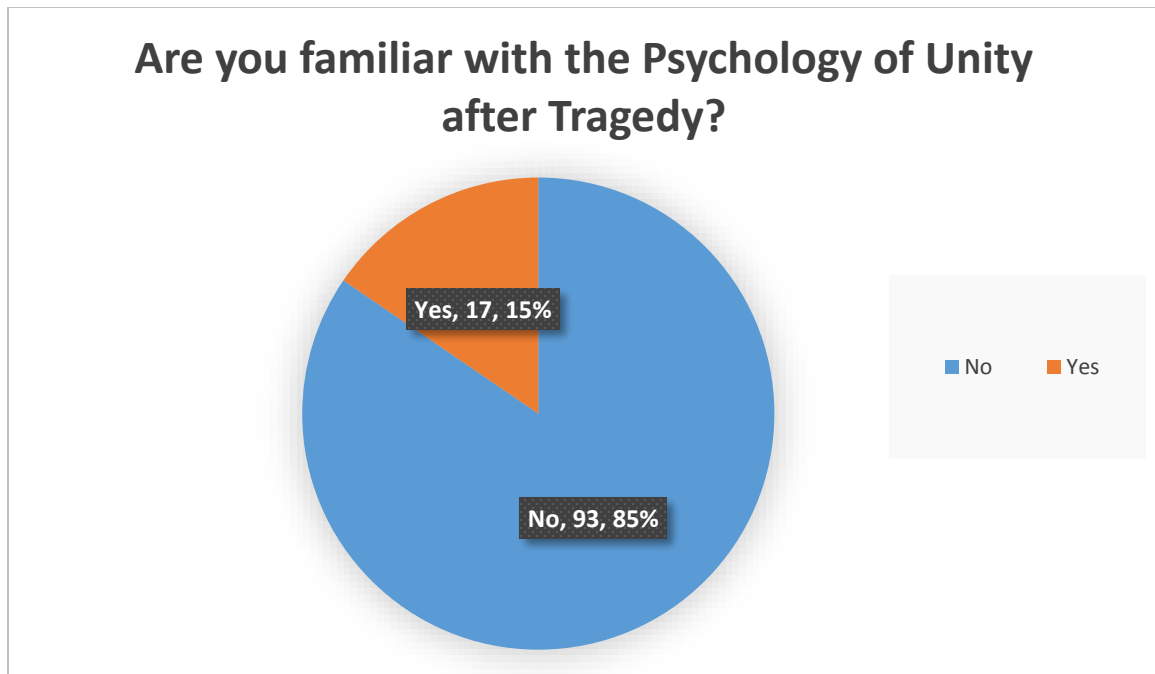
Figure 4.5: Familiarity with the Psychology of Unity after Tragedy

Source: Field data, 2017

4.1.6.2   General reaction of Kenyans after violent extremism attacks

The study sought to establish if or not Kenyans reacted with a common identity and unity in the wake of violent extremist attacks. According to the psychology of Unity after Tragedy, communities embrace a sense of unification and often share a common stand against the oppressor after attacks.[152] The study established that indeed Kenyans respond in big numbers to undertake rescue missions and other forms of aid immediately after such attacks however very little is done in building community resilience against violent extremism.

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[152]Caitlin Gipson, "The Psychology of Unity after Tragedy," (Apulife, November 4, 2013). Accessed 4th Feb, 2017: http://www.apu.edu/articles/21012/

Table 6: General reaction of Kenyans after violent extremism attacks

Are Kenyans known to turnout in large numbers in response to violent extremists' attacks regardless of their race, ethnicity, and education or gender?				
Strongly agree	**Agree**	**Neutral/No opinion**	**Disagree**	**Strongly disagree**
79 (71.8%)	31 (28.2%)	0	0	0

Source: Field data, 2017

4.1.6.3 Promoting social cohesion in the building of resilience against violent extremism

In response to violent extremist attacks the study sought to establish whether or not practitioners in the sectors of social cohesion and security considered the promotion of social cohesion as a strategy in the building of resilience against violent extremism. The study acknowledged that practitioners in the security sector did not consider the promotion of social cohesion as a strategy against violent extremism. Consequently, they do not implement any deliberate programmes to promote social cohesion when dealing with violent extremism. When asked about *nyumba kumi*, the community policing strategy by the Kenya Police , they responded by describing it as an *Intruder Alert System* and not as a social cohesion programme.
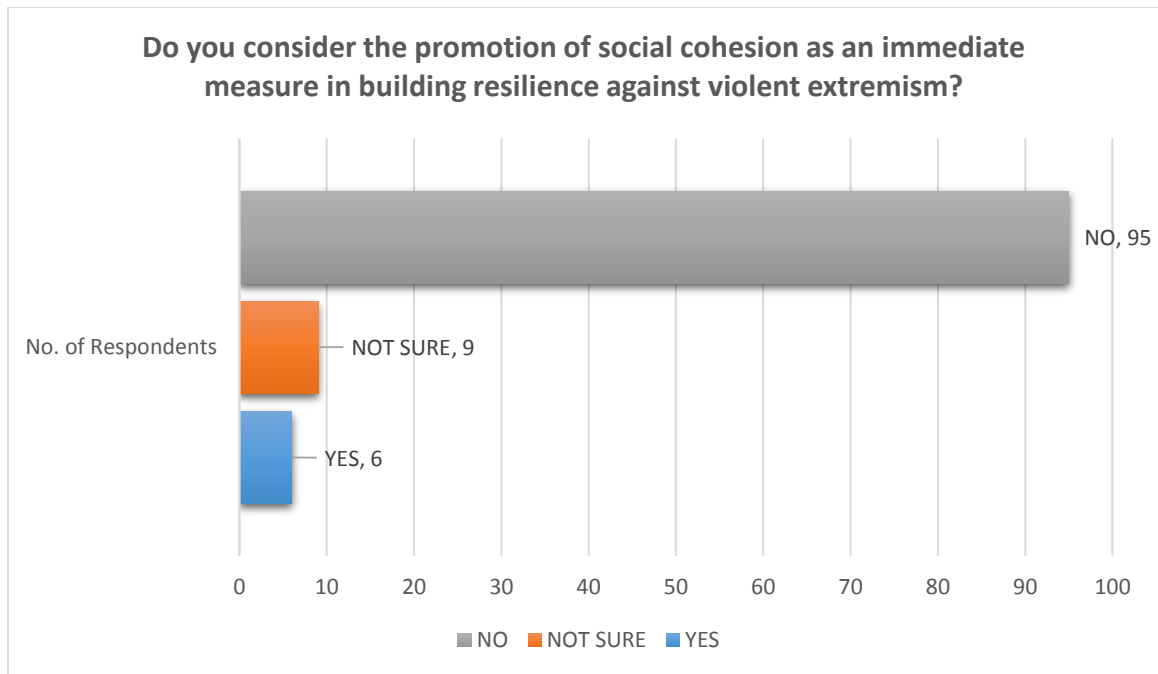
Figure 4.6: National cohesion for the building of resilience against violent extremism

Source: Field data, 2017

From the results, 86.4% (95) of respondents acknowledged that they had never considered promoting national cohesion as a strategy in the building of resilience against violent extremism following attacks. This result gives an important insight on the lack of social cohesion programming to address negative impacts of violent attacks from extremist groups. In contrast, only 5.5% (6) of respondents considered the promotion of national cohesion as a way of building resilience against violent extremism while 9 (8.2%) respondents stood on the fence.

4.1.6.4 Actions that will enhance social cohesion if undertaken subsequent to attacks from violent extremist groups

The study sought to find out whether or not the following actions if undertaken subsequent to violent attacks would enhance social cohesion in affected societies. Such actions if found influential to the levels of social cohesion would define an opportunity for social cohesion practitioners to promote national cohesion subsequent to attacks from violent extremist groups.

Table 7: Social cohesion actions

Source: Research data, 2017

	ACTIONS	YES	NOT SURE/SOMEWHAT TRUE	NO
a)	Designing and executing rescue operations and other assistive actions with a collective sense of national unity and patriotism	75.5% (83)	24.5% (27)	
b)	Recognizing and rewarding individuals who demonstrate exemplary bravery in assisting and rescuing victims of violent extremist attacks	71.8% (79)	14.5% (16)	13.6% (15)
c)	Documenting success stories from rescue operations and other assistive actions for memorialization.	63.6% (70)	23.6% (26)	12.7% (14)

d)	Adoption of a national day/week of tribute to all victims of violent extremist attacks in Kenya	73.6% (81)	26.4 (29)	

Designing and executing rescue operations and other assistive actions with a collective sense of national unity and patriotism

It is important for the government agencies and other rescue parties to undertake their duties in consideration of national unity and patriotism when responding or undertaking rescue operations subsequent to violent extremists' attacks. Their discipline, organization and general demeanor should reflect loyalty and love for the country. This not only strengthens support from the citizens but contributes largely to the feelings of nationhood. A majority of respondents, 75.5% (83) resonated with the idea that this action would indeed increase social cohesion bonds (both horizontal and vertical cohesion). Meaning that an opportunity for practitioners to promote cohesion can be tied to this action. A few respondents, 24.5% were undecided, however none disagreed with the notion.

Recognizing and rewarding individuals who demonstrate exemplary bravery and character in assisting and rescuing victims of violent extremist attacks

The idea of having national heroes to push for collective aspirations is not new. We need heroes first and foremost because our heroes help define the limits of our

aspirations.[153] In this regard then, heroes are more than the people we admire and wish to emulate. They are trendsetters and makers of character and personalities. Recognizing and rewarding individuals as national heroes for their actions in the rescuing of victims of violent extremism will go a long way in changing the negative attitudes and beliefs of members towards each other and towards the government. A majority of respondents, 71.8% (79) agreed that this action would foster social cohesion in society. This means that through this action an opportunity for practitioners to promote national cohesion presents itself. In contrast, 15 (13.6%) of respondents did not see this action contributing to the enhancement of national cohesion; most of whom identified corruption and unfair recognition of heroes as impediments to the action.

Documenting success stories from rescue operations and other assistive actions for memorialization

History is preserved through proper documentation and storage of information. However, rescue operations and actions have not enjoyed proper coverage and documentation. The common practice in Kenya like in many African countries has been to document all other events during a tragedy/attack but not success stories emanating from rescue operations and assistive actions. The study sought to determine whether or not documentation of such stories would enhance social cohesion levels following an attack by violent extremist. It established that 63.6% (70) of respondents agreed with the action, suggesting that an opportunity to practitioners to promote national cohesion by

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[153]Scott LaBarge. Heroism. Markkula Center for Applied Ethics (January, 2000). Accessed 6 March 2017: https://www.scu.edu/ethics/focus-areas/more/resources/heroism-why-heroes-are-important/

documenting success stories from rescue operations and other assistive actions indeed exists. On the other hand, 14 (12.7%) thought otherwise and 26 (23.6) were undecided.

Observation of a national day/week of tribute to all victims of violent extremist attacks in Kenya

The idea of designating national days to raise awareness on important issues affecting the society has been proven effective over the course of history. For instance, the UN spared some days and years to commemorate specific events and debates in order to further its objectives and goals through creating awareness and actions.[154] Kenya does not observe any national day, week or year dedicated to victims of violent extremism despite losing thousands of citizen's lives in the hands of violent extremist groups over the years. The study established that 81 (73.6%) believed that this action would enhance national cohesion and strengthen communal bonds. Meaning that this action presents an opportunity for practitioners to promote social cohesion subsequent to attacks by extremists.

[154]United Nations, International Days. (n.d). Accessed March 7, 2017:
http://www.un.org/en/sections/observances/international-days/

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The study examined the relationship between the violent extremism and national cohesion in Kenya. More specifically, it established the link between the discourses of violent extremism and national cohesion, assessed the threats of violent extremism on national cohesion and examined opportunities presented by violent extremism in the management of national cohesion.

5.1   Summary

The findings obtained show that there is a nexus between violent extremism and national cohesion. More precisely the two variables share a negative correlation. In addition, the study established that violent extremism is a threat to national cohesion. More specifically, violent extremism hindered the attainment of peace, rule of law, ethnic tolerance and diversity, equity and equality, and sustainable development.

Accordingly, the findings established that, violent extremism can result to lack of inclusivity and marginalization of some communities in matters important to the nation, lack of confidence and trust with the institutions mandated with electoral process in a country as well as inhibit economic growth and sustainable development.

Further, the research established that violent extremist groups in Kenya are often used to pursue political agendas. More specifically, violent extremists through use of

physical violence and threat to violence influence voter preferences, decisions and voter turnout during elections in Kenya, promote violence against government policies and decisions and carry-out sponsored ethnic violence.

The study also established that violent extremist groups had the ability to influence the emergency of political violence in Kenya, through incitement, use of physical force and other inflammatory actions.

The study also proved the existence of a poor familiarization of the *Psychology of Unity after Tragedy,* among social cohesion and security practitioners that inform the backbone of opportunities presented by violent extremism.

The study established that social cohesion and security practitioners do not consider the promotion of social cohesion as a strategy against violent extremism. Consequently, they do not implement any deliberate programmes to promote social cohesion when dealing with violent extremism.

The study established four opportunities for practitioners to promote social cohesion as a strategy that can deployed subsequent to attacks when addressing violent extremism. These are:

    a) Designing and executing rescue operations and other assistive actions with a collective sense of national unity and patriotism.

    b) Recognizing and rewarding individuals who demonstrate exemplary bravery and character in assisting and rescuing victims of violent extremist attacks.

c) Documenting success stories from rescue operations and other assistive actions for memorialization.

d) Observation of a national day/week of tribute to all victims of violent extremist attacks in Kenya.

5.2 Conclusion

It's imperative to conclude that there exist negative nexus between national cohesion and violent extremism meaning that increased cohesion hinders the advancement of violent extremism and vice versa. Majorly, violent extremism is a major threat to the social cohesion in Kenya since it affects not only the parameters of social cohesion but also leads to situations that are difficult to reverse for instance deteriorated levels of public trust and confidence towards the government. Additionally, violent extremist groups have affiliation with the political class and through their actions can influence the emergency of political violence in Kenya. Finally, the study concluded that there are several opportunities to build cohesion that are presented by violent extremism.

5.3 Recommendations

This study has provided a comprehensive analysis on the relationship of violent extremism and national cohesion, the threats exerted by violent extremism on national cohesion and the opportunities presented by violent extremism in the promotion of national cohesion. Following the analysis the study makes the following recommendation.

To reduce the risk of a civil war emerging, diminishing trust from the public in different institutions mandated with electoral process and slowed socio-economic

development the Government and other social cohesion agencies undertaking tasked with the mandates to promote and secure national cohesion in Kenya should consider violent extremism as a major threat to national cohesion in their programming. They should come up with working strategies to reduce and eradicate the negative impacts of violent extremism. Such organizations should also focus on building social cohesion as the main strategy against violent extremism and dedicate enough resources to its end. Further social cohesion practitioners and security agencies should build synergies and collaborate in formulating viable actions against violent extremism.

To deal with the political elite that sponsor violent extremism in Kenya, the study recommends strict punishments through the law. The legislature has perhaps the most important role in ensuring this is realized. The study recommends enactment of strict laws to persons of the political elite implicated in cases that question their involvement with violent extremists groups. All other persons like rich businessmen found guilty of sponsoring violent extremism should face the severe side of the law as well.

The study established a poor familiarization of the Psychology of Unity after Tragedy, among social cohesion and security practitioners that inform the backbone of opportunities presented by violent extremism.

The study established four opportunities for practitioners to promote social cohesion as a strategy that can deployed subsequent to attacks when addressing violent extremism. It further recommends all social cohesion and security practitioners to adopt and take advantage of the four opportunities as revealed by the study:

a) To design and execute rescue operations and other assistive actions with a collective sense of national unity and patriotism.

b) To recognize and reward individuals who demonstrate exemplary bravery and character in assisting and rescuing victims of violent extremist attacks.

c) To document success stories from rescue operations and other assistive actions for memorialization.

d) To observe a national day/week of tribute to all victims of violent extremist attacks in Kenya.

5.4 Suggestions for Further Research

There are areas beyond this study that if well understood could create more insight on how violent extremism relates to national cohesion. The researcher suggests research on the following areas/topics:

- An empirical research to determine the direction and strength of the correlation that exists between violent extremism and national cohesion.

- A study to determine effectiveness of community resilience against violent extremism in Kenya.

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Appendix I: Research Work Plan

YEAR 1												
Task	**Q1**	**Q1**	**Q1**	**Q2**	**Q2**	**Q2**	**Q3**	**Q3**	**Q3**	**Q4**	**Q4**	**Q4**
Activity 1: Primary data collection	█	█										
Activity 2: Data entry and analysis		█	█									
Activity 3: Thesis write up				█	█							
Activity 4: Presentation of preliminary findings					█							
Activity 5: Thesis correction					█	█						
Activity 6: Thesis examination and defense							█	█				
Activity 7: Final submission									█			
Activity 8: Dissemination of results										█	█	█
Activity 9: Graduation												█
Activity 10: Attend Conference			█			█				█		

Appendix II: Informed Consent Letter

INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

Title of Study:

Violent Extremism and National Cohesion in the Horn of Africa: A Case Study of Kenya, Nairobi County.2010-2016

Principal Researcher and Contact Information:

Student Researcher's Name: Emmanuel P. Kaingu

The University of Nairobi, IDIS

Email: phillip.kaingu@gmail.com

Tel: +254 723322539

Supervisor: Dr. Mumo Nzau

The University of Nairobi, IDIS

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Tel: +254 721 288 744

Purpose of Study:

To examine the relationship between the violent extremism and national cohesion in Kenya.

Introduction:

I am a Masters of Arts student at the UoN final year. I am conducting a research project as part of my M.A project. I am working closely with my supervisor, Dr. Mumo Nzau, who is the main contact person for this project. I would like to know if you would be willing to take part in a research study that examines the relationship between the violent extremism and national cohesion in Kenya. The study seeks to gather data on the violent extremism and cohesion matters.

Procedures:

You will be asked to complete a paper form questionnaire on the subject. The questionnaire will be administered by a research assistant whom we have vetted and recruited. The research assistant is also expected to read for you the information on the questionnaires cover page.

Confidentiality:

All the information you provide will be strictly confidential, and your name will not appear on the questionnaire. Instead, your questionnaire will contain an identification number that is known only by the principal investigator of this study. This identification number is used to note that you have returned your questionnaire and will not be attached to the general survey itself.

Note on the Voluntary Nature of Participation and Statement on Compensation:

Your participation is voluntary. You may refuse to participate or may discontinue your participation at any time during the online survey. While we cannot compensate you for your time, your participation will be invaluable to our project.

Informed Consent: The Principle and the Reality

Research should be conducted with one's informed consent. The participants in research must be informed of what the study is all about so as to make their own judgment on whether to participate or not (Trochim, 2006). For the purpose of this research we will require your full acknowledgement that it is in your own free will, after understanding the demands of the research that you are participating in the study.

Information about This Study:

You will have the opportunity to ask, and to have answered, all your questions about this research by e-mailing or calling the principal researcher, whose contact information is listed at the top of this letter. All inquiries are confidential.

Participant's Agreement Statement:

If you agree to participate in our study, we would appreciate your signing and date to this form. (Name not required)

****

I have read the information provided above. I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

_____ _____

Signature and Date

Thank you.

Sincerely

Appendix III: Research Budget

Budget Items	Quantity	Cost/Unit	Year 1 Amount (KES)
8.1. Expendable supplies			
Printing papers (research instruments, preliminary findings, thesis for defense and complete thesis)	25 rims	500.00	11,500.00
		Sub-total	**11,500.00**
8.2. Equipment NOT APPLICABLE			
NONE	NONE	NONE	NONE
8.3. Local travel			
Field work travel expenses for the researcher for 30 days	30	400.00	12,000.00
Field work travel expenses for 2 research assistants for 14 days	28	200.00	5,600.00
Allowance for 2 research assistants for 14 days of Field work	28	1,000.00	28,000.00
		Sub-total	**45,600.00**
8.4. Documentation, publication costs, conferences			
Printing of **research instruments** @ 5 shillings per page by 400 instruments of 10 pages each	4,000	5.00	20,000.00

Printing of **preliminary findings** for presentation at the faculty @ 5 shillings per page by 250 pages (estimated thesis size) by 9 copies	2,250	5.00	11,250.00
Printing of **thesis** for defense at the faculty @ 5 shillings per page by 250 pages (estimated thesis size) by 9 copies	2,250	5.00	11,250.00
Loose leaf notebooks (<200 pages A4 size)	3	133.33	400.00
Pens (assorted types and color)	1 dozen	220.00	220.00
Data analysis software: SPSS standard (**1 license**)	1	20,000.00	20,000.00
PDF suite professional (**1 license**)	1	9,000.00	9,000.00
Sony digital voice recorder with built-in USB (4 GB memory)	1	15,000.00	15,000.00
Binding Costs (Preliminary findings and thesis for presentation at the faculty)	Lump sum		10,000.00
Publishing cost in a peer reviewed journal	2	20,000.00	40,000.00
Conferences and workshops	3	10,000.00	30,000.00
Booking of venue for 2 FGDs with the youths each at an estimated cost of 7,000 shillings within the study	2	8,000.00	16,000.00
		Sub-total	**183,120**
Yearly Budget			**240,220.00**
Total			**240,220.00**

Appendix IV: Checklist for Pilot Study

Points to check

1. Does each question measure what it is supposed to measure?
2. Are all the words understood?
3. Do all respondents interpret the question in the same way?
4. Are all response choices appropriate?
5. Is the range of response choices actually used?
6. Do respondents correctly follow directions?
7. Does it create a positive impression that motivates people to respond?
8. Do the questions flow in a conversational manner?
9. How long does it take to complete?
10. Does it collect the information you want?

Appendix V

Questionnaire

This survey is used in partial fulfillment of the Master's Degree in International Conflict

Management at the University of Nairobi. It is anonymous and confidential. Please answer

the questions careful and truthfully. Thank you.

Fill in the following:

Personal Information:

Organization/Occupation:				
County of residence:				
Number of years you have lived in the County:				
Gender:	**MALE**		**FEMALE**	
Age:				

SECTION 1: Threats of violent extremism on national cohesion

1. Does conflict violent extremist affect the levels of national cohesion in Kenya?

Tick the box which corresponds most to your view.

Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral/No opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree

2. Do violent extremist groups hinder the attainment of the following parameters of

   social cohesion:

Tick the box which corresponds most to your view.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral/No opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Rule of law					
Equity and Equality					

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral/No opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Ethnic tolerance and Diversity					
Peace					
Sustainable development					

3. In Kenya, violent extremist groups have sometimes been used/misused by interested parties to:

Tick the box which corresponds most to your view.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral/No opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Influence voter preferences, decisions and voter turnout during elections in Kenya					
Promote violence against government policies e.g. marginalization.					
Undertake ethnic violence					

7. Activities by violent extremist groups can influence the emergency of political violence in Kenya?

Tick the box which corresponds most to your view.

Yes	Not Sure	No

8. Can you identify some aspects of social cohesion that have been hindered by violent extremism in Kenya?

…………………………………………………………………………………………..
…………………………………………………………………………………………..
…………………………………………………………………………………………..

Turn page:

SECTION 2: Opportunities presented by violent extremism in the promotion of national cohesion.

1. Are you familiar with the Psychology of Unity after Tragedy?

   YES ☐   NO ☐

2. Are Kenyans known to turnout in large numbers to help victims of violent extremists' attacks regardless of their race, ethnicity, and education or gender?

Tick the box which corresponds most to your view.

Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral/No opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree

3. Following attacks from violent extremist groups, do you consider the promotion of social cohesion as a strategy in the building of resilience against violent extremism?

Tick the box which corresponds most to your view.

YES	NOT SURE	NO

4. Do attacks by violent extremist groups present opportunities for practitioners in social cohesion and other stakeholders to strengthen national cohesion bonds?

   YES ☐   NO ☐

Turn page:

5. Will the following actions enhance social cohesion if undertaken subsequent to attacks from violent extremist group(s)?

Tick the box which corresponds most to your view.

	ACTIONS	YES	NOT SURE	NO
	Branding rescue operations and other assistive actions with a collective sense of national unity and patriotism			
	Recognizing and rewarding individuals who demonstrate exemplary bravery in assisting and rescuing victims of violent extremist attacks			
	Documenting success stories from rescue operations and other assistive actions for memorialization.			
	Adoption of a national day/week of tribute to all victims of violent extremist attacks in Kenya			

…THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION…