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INFLUENCE OF GEOPOLITICS ON KENYA'S NATIONAL SECURITY

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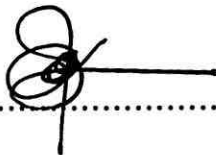
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**A Research Proposal submitted in partial fulfillment of a Master of Arts degree in
Strategic and Security Studies**

2021

DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for award of a degree in this university or any other institution of higher learning for examination.

Signature 

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This research project has been submitted with my approval as the University Supervisor in partial fulfillment for the award of Master of Arts in Strategic and Security Studies, University of Nairobi

Signature 

Date: 13th September 2021

DR. SOLOMON OWUOCHE

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research project to the Almighty God for the strength, knowledge, time, good health and the resources that He has granted me during the entire period of my study. I must confess that it was a long and painful journey and without the help of God and his gracious provisions, I would not have managed to come this far. May His name be glorified for ever and ever.

Secondly, I want to dedicate the project to my late parents, John Wambuma Oganyo and Mama Abisage Achieng Wambuma. They remain my heroes, even in death, for the values and principles which they imparted on me as a child. Their unfailing love even in times of ignorance, disobedience and failure have shaped my character and opened my world view to become a responsible and hardworking adult, now capable of managing my own life and family with ease. I attribute my professional and academic successes to my mother who would never allow me to give up on anything, even when faced with eminent failure. May their souls rest in eternal peace with the God whom they so much loved and served during their life time here on earth, until we meet in heaven.

More importantly I wish to appreciate my immediate family, my wife Florence and my children, Denise, Adrian, Elton and Tillah. Much as you were affected by my absence and resources meant for your comfort and wellbeing while pursuing this degree, I know that my graduation at such an advanced age will also motivate you to pursue higher academic achievements of your own. I acknowledge that your love and encouragement was the power that propelled me to work harder for the completion of this project, at least to serve as an example that neither age, responsibilities nor busy schedules can stop one from realizing their life's dreams.

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ABBREVIATIONS

KDF – Kenya Defense Forces

HOA – Horn of Africa

CO – Commanding Officer

KI – Key Informant

KII – Key Informant Interview

NFD – Northern Frontier Districts

EAC – East African Community

OCS – Officer Commanding Police Station

OCPD – Officer Commanding Police Division

SO-OPS – Staffing Officer Operations

ICAO – International Civil Aviation Organization

NGO – Non-Governmental Organization

CBO – Community Based Organization

UNICEF – United Nations International Children and Educational Fund

UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

Organization UNHCR – United Nations High Commission for Refugees

SALW – Small Arms and Light Weapons

CEWARN – Conflict Early Warning

MRC – Mombasa Republic Council

RAS – Refugee Affairs Secretariat

ICU – Islamic Courts Union

TFG - Transitional Federal Government of Somalia

AU – African Union

IGAD – Inter-Governmental Authority on Development

ABSTRACT

The study sort to establish the relationship between geopolitics and Kenya's national security. More specifically, the study looked at the relationship between porous borders and Kenya's national security and influx of refugees and how this has influenced Kenya's national security. The study was guided by the following three objectives; broadly the relationship between geopolitics and Kenya's national security, and more specifically the link between porous borders and Kenya's national security and the relationship between influx of refugees and Kenya's national security. Realism was used as the theoretical framework to offer insight into the problem being investigated. Both primary and secondary data were employed. Also, purposive and non-purposive survey techniques were used. The hypotheses for the study read as follows: geopolitics significantly influences Kenya's national security; porous borders significantly influence Kenya's national security and that influx of refugees significantly influences Kenya's national security. The three hypotheses were confirmed through field survey. The study found that poorly manned borders contribute significantly to illegal activities. The study concluded that negative perceptions refugees in Kenya, has been informed by the criminalization of Somali identity and the problematic relationship that has been experienced between Somali and its neighbours in the region.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the study

Before the political turmoil that rocked the country after the disputed general elections of 2007, it was obvious to every foe and friend that Kenya was one of, if not the most secure and stable countries in the East African Region. It was viewed by most international actors as the most suitable and peaceful location from where to observe and monitor activities taking place in the rest of the countries in the region that are usually the scenes of violent internal conflicts, hence many international organizations, including agencies of the United Nations founded their headquarters in Nairobi. Some of the international organizations and agencies located in Nairobi include the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO), United Nations International Children and Educational Fund (UNICEF) East Africa and UNICEF, Somalia, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and the United Nations Environmental Program. Additionally, Kenya became a safe haven for hundreds of thousands of refugees escaping from violent conflicts in their own countries. Consequently, Kenya is currently home to approximately five hundred thousand refugees (UNHCR, 2018) from Somalia, South Sudan, Rwanda and the DRC, to name just a few.

While Kenya enjoyed a state of peace for many years after its independence in 1963, most of its neighbours were sagging under the weight of internal conflict and political tension. Uganda experienced a series of political coups resulting to the ouster of seven Presidents including President Apolo Milton Obote, General Iddi Amin Dada, Yusuf Lule, Godfrey Binaisa, Paulo Muwanga, Bazilio Olara Okelo and Tito Okelo before President Yoweri Museveni finally ascending to power, also through a coup de 'tat. Other than these coups, Uganda has survived under the threat of terrorism perpetrated by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in the north of the country. Around the same time another group of insurgents with roots in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) was also terrorizing Ugandans in the western parts of the country. Later on in 2010, Uganda was to become a target of the Somali Al-Shabaab. The group attacked and bombed a social place where members of the public were

watching a televised World Cup match and killed about seventy (70) people. The reason for the attack was cited as Al-Shabaab's anger against the country for its support for AMISOM's operations against the group in Somalia.

Apart from Somalia and Uganda, Sudan experienced one of the longest internal conflicts against rebels in the South and around Darfur areas. Fortunately, after a lot of international mediation, the conflict with the South resulted to the creation of the world's newest state, South Sudan but trouble continued to simmer in Darfur despite intervention by the international community and agitation of the people of Darfur for self-determination.

Citizens of Rwanda experienced one of the worst civil wars in the form of the 1994 genocide that left almost one million Tutsis and moderate Hutus dead and more than two million people fleeing the country in just one hundred days. Even though it became obvious to the whole world that the problem in Rwanda was caused by widespread ethnicity, nepotism and misgovernance, the same vices continue to plague states of the world and Kenya has not been spared. In Kenya, national elections are still won and lost on the basis of tribal competition and the largest tribes still consider themselves superior to the smaller ones, causing deep resentment and disloyalty to regimes. Indeed, the worst conflicts yet witnessed in Kenya originated from political competition played out on the basis of tribal superiority.

Kenya's Geographic Formations.

Geographically, Kenya is located in the Middle of the East African Region, bordering the Indian ocean to the south, Somalia to the east, Ethiopia to the north, South Sudan to the north west, Uganda to the west and Tanzania to the south west. Although Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Eritrea, Rwanda and Burundi are not annexed to Kenya's territorial boundaries, they are still in very close proximity and activities in those countries affect Kenya to a very large extent. For example, whenever there are internal conflicts in these countries refugees flee to Kenya in the same manner that they flee to the immediate neighbours. Kenya shares Lake Victoria with Uganda and Tanzania, Lake Magadi with Tanzania, Mount Kilimanjaro with Tanzania and mount Elgon with Uganda. Kenya has a mixture of terrains ranging from low lands in the coastal area to plateaus in the central region and mountains in the central and western parts.

Agriculturally, Kenya boasts of tropical climate along the coast, arid and semi-arid in the highlands and the Great Rift Valley cutting across the middle of the country from the north down to the south. Even though only about fifty percent of the country supports agricultural productivity, especially the Rift Valley and central Kenyan highlands, the country has remained

food sufficient most of the years after independence. Although the arid and semi-arid lands otherwise known as the ASAL, in the north and north eastern parts of the country, are not agriculturally useful, they still support the country's economy through livestock production and tourism.

Despite the increased land division due to population explosion, central Kenya produces most of the food consumed in the capital Nairobi and beyond. Western and central Counties of Bungoma, Transzoia, Kakamega, Nyeri, Kiambu and Kirinyaga as well as parts of the Rift Valley such as Uasin Gishu, Kericho, Nandi, Narok, Kisii and Kajiado remain the major bread basket of Kenya with maize, wheat, sugar cane, tea and coffee, bananas and rice that form the major staple and commercial products. The coastal area, with its vast coastal tropical and dry savanna plateaus, being the home of the great wildlife including Kenya's big five; elephants, rhinos, lions, leopards and buffalos, is instrumental for tourism; the biggest foreign exchange earner for the country.

With these activities and a growing industrialization and the best developed infrastructure and service industry in the region, Kenya has sustained its food security and maintained national security through employment and education. In fact, Kenya has maintained a steady supply of skilled labour for the entire region. With the largest and busiest international airport and one of the most progressive airlines, Kenya Airways, Nairobi has also remained the hub of international travels and the envy of all in the region.

At independence in 1963, Kenya's forest cover amounted to about ten percent but with increasing human activity such as urbanization, expansion of agricultural and logging, this has since decreased to only six percent. Most of the existing forests in Kenya now happen to be around the major mountains, especially the Aberdares, Mau, Cherangani, Mt. Elgon and Boni forest in the coast. As such water catchment is slowly diminishing as well.

As such Kenya has remained attractive to international as well as regional visitors, all coming in with diverse cultural, political and social influences from their countries of origin. Most of these features have served Kenyans well but have also contributed negatively to the state of the country's national security. For example, some of the forests, especially Boni forest and Mt. Elgon which are located along the borders have also become havens for intruding insurgent groups such as the Al-Shabaab and the Sabaoti Land Defence Forces. The semi-arid climatic conditions in the north and north eastern Northern Frontier Districts have aided the entry and hybernation of the Somali insurgents.

Somali Al-Shabaab Insurgency

Even though Kenya had remained faithful to the African Union policy of non-interference with neighbours, the period immediately before 2011 witnessed several provocative events that prompted the Kenya government to deploy forces across the border with a view to forestalling cross border interferences by insurgents from across the border. Its worth remembering that the same period was marked by lack of an effective government in Somalia.

The post 2011 deployment of Kenya defense Forces to Somalia probably marked the turning point in Kenya's security index. The number and intensity of attacks on Kenyan soil only increased, with Al-Shabaab declaring Kenya as their primary target. The most immediate targets became Westgate mall (2013), Carissa University (2015) and Kenya defense Force's camp in Somalia, El-Ade (2015), in which both Kenyan nationals and foreigners lost lives. Fear and despondency followed and became permanent characteristics of life in Kenya as the government struggled to contain the scourge through show of force and soft power counter terrorism measures. Meanwhile the government also struggled with other issues including the refugee crisis in the country as well as the growing feeling of fear and helplessness among the population.

The ensuing sense of fear and helplessness caused a general upsurge of insecurity as demonstrated by terrorist attacks against civilian and government targets in various parts of the country. Meanwhile other forms of insecurity were such as inter-ethnic conflicts, especially in the north and north eastern parts of the country continued to plague the country (KNCHR, 2014). Figure 1 below shows some of the major causes of death in the country and hence the intensity of insecurity in the country between 2010 and 2014

Figure 1.

AREA OF SECURITY CONCERN	TOTAL NUMBERS
Number of deaths resulting from gunshots	1894
Number of deaths due to ethnic clashes	574
Number of deaths from armed robberies	260
Number of deaths from terror attacks	277
Number of police officers killed	91
Number of people displaced	180,300
Number of livestock stolen or killed	3682

Source: KNCHR 2014

This demonstrates that the state of insecurity in Kenya changed drastically in the period after 2010 following the deployment of the KDF into Somalia. The major question that was asked by many people in and out of the country was, what has caused this state of increased insecurity in the country?

The essence of this study therefore is to answer this question and assess the factors thereof. Some of the indicators of this state of insecurity obviously include the spate of terrorism experienced in the country during that period. The country's borders remained porous and the influx of refugees accompanied by the influx of Small Arms and Light Weapons that were imported illegally and used to fuel existing conflicts as well as ignite new ones.

1.2. Statement of the Research Problem

Kenya is one of the countries forming the East Africa Community (EAC) together with Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and South Sudan. It is also located at the convergence of the EAC and the Horn of Africa, a region that has suffered perhaps some of the fiercest and longest conflicts in the continent. It has had close interaction with the countries of the Horn of Africa, including Somalia, Djibouti, Ethiopia and Eritrea. Activities in both regions have therefore had an impact on the lives of Kenyans in one way or another. According to Professor Ali Mazrui, out of the five countries that share borders with Kenya, four of them; Ethiopia, Sudan, Somalia and Uganda have all experienced civil wars (Mazrui, 2008).

However, even though there would appear to have been so much violence and disruption of livelihoods around the region, Kenya seems to have been affected more by the civil war and breakdown of law and order in Somalia. It is also apparent that the situation in Somalia was more serious given that it resulted in the exile of President Said Barre and a complete extermination of the entire government. The level of anarchy was therefore extremely high. On the other hand, given the close proximity between Kenya and Somalia and kinship between the people of Somalia and those living on the Kenyan side of the northern border, it happened as would be expected that thousands of the fleeing Somali citizens sought refuge in Kenya.

However, this was not the first group of refugees to flee to Kenya. Refugees had started streaming into the country from as far back as 1963, mainly from Uganda, Sudan and Ethiopia during the political turmoil in those countries. Some refugees also entered Kenya from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The only challenge is that during that time the entry of refugees was less structured and the actual figures may not be available. At the same time, most of those who sought refuge in Kenya in those early years were easily integrated into the Kenya society by getting formal jobs and businesses with some even settling in the rural areas completely. In any case most of the refugees then were ordinary citizens without much wherewithal to influence the life of ordinary Kenyans.

On the contrary when Somali refugees started arriving in the country they appeared to be of very different status, many of them arriving with a lot of money and some even with weapons of war. As such they were quickly able to influence the lives of Kenyans by buying property and starting large enterprises. Somali refugees were also more aggressive in their quest for new livelihoods and quickly penetrated the society before the official settlement at the Dadaab Refugee Complex.

It is on the basis of this remarkable difference between the Somali refugees and the other refugees who settled in Kenya that this research proposes that they are more likely to have influenced the political and security landscape in the country more than the others. It is also notable that the turmoil in Somalia persisted for a much longer period and the number of refugees kept increasing every other year. The fact that there were Somali speaking people in Kenya even before the refugees arrived also tended to give them a sense of comfort and most of them were therefore not in a hurry to return home. Of course, the situation in Somalia never quite changed until now.

However, it was perhaps the decision of the government of Kenya to launch a military intervention into Somalia in 2011 that plunged the country into the depth of the region's security concerns. Although initially hailed as the best decision to tame the hitherto emerging Somali Al-Shabaab terror group, the decision was later to remain the worst nightmare for the country's peace and security environment. This move was of course preceded by several guerrilla-like cross border attacks against Kenyan territory and interests by the Somali groups. However, it can be argued that this move only helped to aggravate an already volatile situation, with the Somali groups already complaining as early as 2010 that Kenya was training the Somali National Army with the intent to wage war against the Islamic groupings that were already in full control of southern part of the country. Kenya's entry into Somalia was therefore seen by the Somalia factions as an affront to the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) which later morphed into Al-Shabaab. The group had already created a sense of order and security to the hitherto stateless state and was apparently a celebrated savior to the people (Mukoma, 2013).

Elsewhere, Kenya continued to deal with internal threats such as cattle rustling among its nomadic tribes from the north. These were, however, not viewed as a serious threat to national security, except for the fact that the practice of cattle raids between the Turkana, Pokot and the rest of the northern tribes, had lately morphed into more deadly acts where modern weapons such as AK 47 rifles were also employed. It is notable that even these weapons were actually acquired from across the border through the refugees. By the year 2000, most of the raids had graduated from traditional night cattle theft events to, sometimes, open day light violent attacks where villages are invaded and left in widespread grief and bloodshed. Earlier, cattle rustling was considered a harmless cultural practice (Kenya Human Rights Commission, 2010) and not really as the serious security threat that it later became. The earlier perpetrators were known to use crude weapons such as spears, swords, bows and arrows, mainly just to scare away resistance but deaths were rarely ever reported.

Additionally, Kenyans still continued to experience the the almost predictable violent political feuds between the major tribes that had become a common phenomenon associated with the country's national elections. These would range from pre-election tribal clashes in the Rift Valley pitting Kikuyus and the Kalenjin tribesmen up to 1997; to post election contests between former Prime Minister and Opposition leader Raila Odinga and former President Mwai Kibaki in 2007/2008 (Elder, Stigant and Claes, 2014).

Other security challenges included the agitation for secession of the coastal region by the Mombasa Republican Council (MRC), formed in 1999 with claims that the Coastal Region was being systematically marginalized by the successive government regimes in Kenya. This was accompanied by the slogan 'Pwani Si Kenya' and the onslaught of criminal activities as a way of pushing for self-determination of the region. Ironically, Kenya's security problems were more felt around the coastal and the North Eastern regions, otherwise known as the NFD. It looked more likely therefore that the two regions were set to become the epicenter of Kenya's insecurity.

1.3. Research Questions

This research work will be guided by the following questions: -

- i. Have the porous borders between Kenya and the neighbouring countries affected the state of its national security?
- ii. Has the influx of refugees into Kenya from the neighbouring states created an impact on its national security?

1.4. Objectives of the Study

1.4.1. General Objective

The main objective of this project was to examine the geopolitics of the East African sub region and its influence on Kenya's national security.

1.4.2. Specific Objectives

The following are the specific objectives of the study:

- i. To determine whether porous borders between Kenya and the neighbouring countries have contributed to the state of insecurity experienced in the country today.
- ii. To find out if the influx of refugees into the Kenya from the neighbouring states is a factor to the country's national security problem.

1.5. Justification of the Study

This research is justifiable on the grounds of three overall goals as follows:

1.5.1. Academic Justification

Although studies have been conducted in the areas of security and international relations that sought to assess the causes of conflict, terrorism and insecurity in general, very few have addressed the nexus between security and the location of a country. It has generally been assumed that insecurity is a natural phenomenon that all countries have to deal with. In fact, the most commonly mentioned causes of insecurity in Africa usually include corruption,

unemployment, underdevelopment and imbalanced national development, weak governance, tribalism and terrorism (Ibenegbu, 2019). Few, if any studies have been done that investigate the location of a country as the possible source of its insecurity and as far as Kenya is concerned there is none.

It is important to note that the causes of conflict in most African countries are derived more from internal than external dynamics and are mostly associated with internal conflicts (Zezeza, 2008). According to George Ibenegbu, Nigerian insecurity can be explained by issues of unemployment, corruption, imbalanced development, weak judicial systems, porous borders, influx of Arms, narcotics and terrorism. As opposed to the Kenyan situation where most terrorism is perpetuated by external forces, Nigerian terrorism is internally instigated.

Academically therefore, this is a barren area of research and this proposal is expected to generate both knowledge and enthusiasm among Kenyan scholars. It is expected that whatever gaps that this study might leave will quickly be covered through new research the study will inspire.

1.5.2. Policy and Administrative Justification

There is a history of uneasiness among Kenyan administrators on how to tackle the security threats that have emanated from the countries in the neighbourhood. Owing to Kenya's foreign policy based on non-interference with the affairs of other countries, Kenya has for a long-time avoided issue that may be viewed as interference by neighbours. This, on the other hand, has led to a situation where administrators have feared to tackle cross border issues that have consequently caused much suffering to Kenyans living in the border areas. It is therefore proposed that this study will go a long way in identifying the root cause of Kenya's insecurity and enriching policy formulation processes and enabling policy experts to understand the impact of these salient security threats. This will enable them to enact sound policies with recommendations for bold administrative actions. It will also help to guide cross border relations and shape regional relationships leading to effective integration.

A sound understanding of the subject of this study, based on research will be an important step towards informing, not only policy but also administrative action aimed at mitigating the security challenges facing Kenya, especially those that emanate from the neighbourhood. The understanding of these issues will also enable administrators to act decisively and bravely with a view to safeguarding Kenya's national interest against threats from the external environment. A keen understanding of the external environment will be key to making decisions regarding activities and threats that emanate from there.

1.6. Scope and Limitations

The study sought to examine the geopolitics of the region and to link the same to deterioration of Kenya's national security. Specifically, it sought to determine whether porous borders between Kenya and its neighbors as well as the influx of refugees into the country have impacted on Kenya's national security. The study therefore examines some of the geopolitical issues that have occurred in the region, that is Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Somalia, Ethiopia, South Sudan and Sudan.

To an extent these same issues have also that affect Kenya's relations with its immediate neighbours also apply to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda, Burundi and Djibouti to an extent. On the other hand, the study might appear like a review of the relations between Kenya and Somalia, which it is not, but that is because of the large extent to which Somalia actors and interests have found themselves engrossed in Kenyan politics, especially since the disintegration of Somali government after the exile of Somali's former President Said Barre. Additionally, the close interaction of Somali speaking people across the common borders has also played a role in the incorporation of personalities and the state of Somali into Kenyan affairs. Of worth to note also is the fact that of all Kenya's neighbours, Somali has the longest land border with Kenya and owing to the arid nature of the northern Kenya region, the border is more porous than the rest of Kenya's international boundaries.

Owing to the large extent of the area of study, this research is likely to face both time and financial constraints since the researcher may not afford to visit all the designated countries for purposes of collecting data. This is because the researcher is a full-time civil servant with limited time and resources.

1.7. Literature Review

There is quite a bit of literature that can be used to illustrate the extent to which some of Kenya's security challenges might have stemmed from the events in its neighbourhood. A lot of it will have to do with the escalation of internal violence and political chaos in the neighbouring countries and the effects of the spread of that violence in the region. Therefore, illustration of how proliferation of refugees and Small and Light Weapons into Kenya and the entire region affected relations between Kenyans and its neighbours. While relations at governmental levels remained largely cordial and government top leaderships continued to engage one another in seeking diplomatic solutions, at the grassroots, citizens and groups suffered and some took advantage of the situation for individual gain. Equally important is an examination of the era of colonial administration of the region and its impact on security. Factors such as the arbitrary demarcation of boundaries as well as some administrative policies such as Nicolo Machiavelli's Divide and Rule (Machiavelli, 1532). Some of these policies left the local communities so divided and hostile to one another that it was not going to be easy to unite them under unified administration after independence. In Kenya what led to the marginalization of the Northern Frontier District will help to illuminate the feeling and backwardness of those areas that resulted to feeling of belonging elsewhere and erosion of national identity.

1.7.1. Small Arms and Light Weapons

According to the dictionary of military and associated terms, Small Arms and Light Weapons is usually used to describe small weapons which are ordinarily carried by a single soldier without much constraint. They usually refer to guns such as pistols, revolvers, sub machine guns, assault rifles. Light machine guns, short guns, general purpose machine guns, hand held grenades and grenade launchers. These weapons are usually small in size and easily portable as opposed to heavy artillery such as anti-tank guns, anti-aircraft guns, cannons, mortars and vehicle born guns which are usually used in battle. Due to their small sizes and light weight, these weapons are easily transported one location to the other, especially from conflict zones to relatively peaceful areas. As such refugees have been identified as one of the various ways through which Small Arms and Light weapons are proliferate around the world. In particular, people who have been working in the security sector before breakout of conflict usually carry their arms, both as a source of security and as a means of survival while fleeing. Once in their countries of destination most refugees are tempted to sell them cheaply in the black market as they seek to support themselves in the camps or in the countries of refuge. As a matter of fact, therefore Small and

Light Weapons from the hands of asylum seekers easily fall into the wrong hands and are mostly used to facilitate armed conflicts as well as terrorism and crimes around the world. According to the International Peace Institute, these weapons are the biggest threat to international peace and security, development and human rights. The institute states that the world is currently chocking with over 800 million of these weapons in circulation and that they have been identified as a major obstacle to development in many parts of the world.

In the past two decades, the Sub Sahara African, the Great Lakes and the Horn of Africa Regions have experienced devastating armed conflict that has led to untold misery, loss of life and economic retardation. In the course of these conflicts, Small Arms and Light Weapons which have been the major tool for assault have been very easily accessible (Nganga, 2008).

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNDOC, 2009) indicates that most of the East African countries have grappled with the problem of small arms and light weapons for many years and that the same have become a major threat to peace and security in the region. Kenya has not been spared. In fact, the same report asserts that Kenyan cities of Nairobi, Kisumu and Mombasa have experienced the largest number of cases of violence and crime as a result of easy access to small arms and light weapons in the country. Most of these weapons have over time been traced to the neighbouring countries, especially Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan (SRIC, January – March, 2015). The report states further that in most cases of robbery and related crimes, small arms and light weapons were highly suspected to be the implements of crime. Needless to say, therefore, access to such weapons became much easier due to the escalation of internal and cross border conflicts in the said countries. Porosity of the borders between Kenya and its neighbours have obviously aided the cross-border activities, much to the detriment of peace and security in Kenya and the region. It is hence arguable that the same have contributed significantly to the state of insecurity experienced in Kenya in recent years. It has even been reported that increased insecurity in the main cities has caused a heightened demand for ownership of guns by people of the middle and higher middle classes in the country, hence the government is overwhelmed by applications for firearm licenses. This demand is informed by the high number of guns in circulation as well as gun related crimes in the country. This therefore presupposes that there is a high risk of being involved in gun related crimes in the major Kenyan urban centers. Invariably the most prevalent crime types include robbery, burglary, theft of motor vehicles, suicide, carjacking and homicides, all of which usually involve the use of illegal small arms and light weapons.

Owing to this situation, one wonders whether it is true in the case of Kenya that legitimate violence can only be committed by sovereign state or a government owned agencies as suggested by Hedley Bull among others. (Bull, 1977). The unfolding scenario is where violence is increasingly committed, with impunity, by individuals and other non-state entities to the disadvantage of helpless, unarmed and innocent civilian population. When such individuals and non-state actors begin to mete violence on ordinary citizens then the power and legitimacy of the state is seen to diminish. As a matter of fact, there is a general feeling that most African countries suffer great violence at the hands of externally based criminal entities owing to the lack capacity on the part of legitimate actors such as the police. Sandra J. Mclean, in *The Roots of African Conflicts* underscores this point the following statement;

'Such transactions occur outside the boundaries of legitimate state scrutiny, although in some cases with the support and cooperation of highly placed government officials. An important aspect of the regional dimensions of these transactions that tends often to be overlooked, and which is currently under-theorized, is the connectivity of the regional processes with other levels of interaction from the local through the global''

Sandra's quote above confirms the fact that security threats in some countries could be attributed to unchecked external influence and that this may be rightly or otherwise attributed to certain critical weaknesses within the state's security apparatus. In Kenya, the long period of apparent neglect and/or marginalization of certain areas, particularly the North Eastern border regions of Kenya may be seen as part of such weakness. The vacuum left by government administrative and security organs may have given room for extra-governmental authorities to develop and take charge.

Sabaoti Land Defense Force (SLDF)

Mount Elgon area in Western Kenya experienced another insurgency from around 2005 and 2008, from a self-declared armed group by the name of Sabaot land Defense Force that claimed to defend the rights of the poor and landless in the region. The group was armed with weapons such as AK47 rifles and perpetrated not less than six hundred (600) deaths and another sixty-six thousand people displaced from their homes in a period of about five years. Some of the atrocities committed included rape, torture and abductions. The group also torched houses and confiscated property of people who failed to cooperate with them. Most of the arms used by the group were reported to have been sourced cheaply from outside the country, especially Somalia

and South Sudan. Although this group was eventually subdued and some of its leaders killed, it left behind a trail of misery, death and destruction. The area has since remained a hotspot for crime.

1.7.2. The burdens of Colonial Legacy

By the time Kenya gained its independence from Britain in 1963 there were already countless internal conflicts in most of the neighbouring countries. In the East African sub region alone, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi had experienced several conflicts associated with politics and ethnic differences.

The colonization of Somalia by three separate powers; Britain, France and Italy, may itself be considered a major source of conflict for Somalia and the entire region. However, what is arguably the most potent source of trouble for Kenya was the manner of boundary demarcation which saw the Somali ethnic people dispersed haphazardly into the neighbouring states, Kenya included. This agreeably was the cause of the so-called Somali irredentism that was to inspire long drawn conflict in the entire region. The marking of the boundaries of the Italian Somaliland was highly contested and considered by many, as an interference with their existing kinship and traditional linkages in the region. (Zapata, 31st January, 2012). As the struggle to consolidate Somali speakers under one government gained momentum, it also generated very serious security challenges for the people across the region. Kenya happened to become the most affected by these challenges. (Ngugi, Friday 4th October 2013)

Although most scholars have shied away from confirming this as a fact, a few, like Professor Ali Mazrui contend that a lot of African conflicts can be linked directly or otherwise with the selfish policies of the colonial administration. The British administration of East Africa was not meant to develop the region but rather to establish a source of raw material for British industries and market for their finished products, hence it was not possible that they would be keen on developing the colony for future self-sustenance. Due to this lack of interest in developing the colonies, it's not a wonder that the colonial powers left behind a very weak legacy for statehood, devoid of internal stability and experience for self-governance. The same weak administrative structures were inherited by the new leaders and have proved unable to contain the citizenry and communities in peaceful coexistence with one other. Instead they have promoted negative ethnic competition and exclusion by those in power. It further promoted vices like corruption, nepotism and mediocrity, which are the root causes of under development, conflict and insecurity. Thus, Mazrui's assertion that failed and failing states inspired by personal gain, ethnic bigotry and competition have remained major sources of conflict in post-colonial Africa. Kenya, among many other African countries, is a product of the massive influences of the misrule and injustices of colonialism. For example, following the well-articulated principle of divide and rule, Kenya became independent as an already fragmented state with conspicuous forty-one tribes with divided loyalty. This was not made any better by the stereotypes labeled against each tribe by the colonial masters, ensuring that they continued to look at one another suspiciously rather than unite into one nation. Attempts by subsequent governments to unite these numerous tribes into one nation only continued to generate more divisions and hostility.

The above stated syndromes have therefore created and solidified the theory that colonial powers were least interested in the eventual development of the colonies but were rather interested in using them to achieve their individual interests and that of their mother countries abroad.

In deed if British colonialists' intentions for Africa were to serve the continent, then Kenya and the other former British colonies around the world would have been at the same level of development with Canada and Australia which were at similar status at the time. Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson trace the prosperity of the major world economies to the onset of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain and the impact of its quick spread to its colonies abroad, especially Canada and Australia (Robinson, 2012). The reason why this growth did not spread to Africa remains a matter of speculation. Hence the theory that the Dark Continent was only found useful for extraction of raw material and cheap labour for the benefit of the colonial master becomes very attractive. Other scholars who reinforce this theory include Walter Rodney in his incisive analysis of "How Europe underdeveloped Africa." Rodney suggests that there was a systematic and intentional process in which Europe colonized Africa just to use it as a source of raw material for its emerging industrial development. The introduction of capitalism was yet another scheme through which the traditional African modes of economic production, which would otherwise have led to gradual communal development, were disrupted and a type of competition introduced that was never to make sense to the African continent. After all, Rodney also examines the stages of development as spelt out by Karl Marx and recognizes that Europe also went through the stages of Communalism where resources were owned collectively, like was the case in Africa. However, this did not deter development in Europe as it did in Africa. Instead, when Europe colonized Africa, they sneered at communism as a primitive system of wealth creation, thus frustrating its implementation and transformation to newer systems of development such as capitalism, which later spurred growth in the rest of the world but Africa. Colonialism hence shielded the industrial revolution from affecting development in the African colonies (Rodney, 1981)

Furthermore, the existence of Somali speaking settlements inside the territories that later became Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya has continued to haunt the region with conflict of identity and competition until the present time. Somalia's dream to seek its "lost territory" was a direct consequence of the arbitrary demarcation of boundaries (Zoppy, 2012).

1.7.3. Marginalization of the NFD

Other than terrorism, under development and colonialism other factors used in analyzing Kenya's national security include a skewed resource distribution mode and a feeling of marginalization and impoverishment among people in certain areas. It has not escaped the mind of the researcher that the northern parts of Kenya, which were referred to, during the colonial period as the Northern Frontier Districts (NFD), have permanently remained marginalized and underdeveloped as compared to other parts of the country. The NFD, being naturally semi-arid and less productive agriculturally, have been viewed more as a liability to the state, hence left without development of critical infrastructure like roads, schools and health facilities. Although government administrative structures have always existed in these areas, they were sparsely placed and the people hardly felt the presence of the government as much. The inhabitants, mostly Somali speaking pastoralists, have therefore endured perpetual poverty and isolation from the rest of the population; severally falling victim to banditry and other cross border criminal activities associated with their Somalia and Ethiopian neighbours. This, coupled with their common kinship with the invaders and the push to annex that part of the country to Somalia, have tended to erode their sense of patriotism and belonging to the state of Kenya. The shifta insurgency of the 1980s was viewed as part of this irredentist attempt and usually also viewed as the origin of the scourge of terrorism against Kenya and Kenyan interests.

1.7.4. The Resultant Unemployment

According to the United Nations Human Development Index of 2017, Kenya had the highest rate of unemployment among its neighbours in the region. The report puts Kenya's unemployment rate at 39.1 percent compared to Tanzania, Ethiopia and Uganda's at 24, 21.6 and 18.1 percent respectively. More than eighty percent of the unemployed Kenyans are below 35 years of age making unemployment admissible as one of the probable causative factors of terrorism and insecurity in Kenya. The end result of this high rate of unemployment has been seen in high poverty levels in the several parts of the country, more so in the NFD. Characterized by a high poverty level of forty-two percent of its population of forty-four million, Kenya is therefore classified as one of the most unequal countries in the entire region. (UNICEF, 2018). Unfortunately, some of the worst affected areas happen to fall within the NFD.

The diagram below, extracted from the United Nations Human Development Index 2017 indicates the rate, by percentage, of unemployment in Kenya and some of its neighbouring countries in 2015.

Figure 3

Country	Unemployment Rate %
Kenya	39.1
Tanzania	24
Ethiopia	21.6
Uganda	18.1
Rwanda	17.1

Source: UNDP Index 2017

The Quest for Control of Political Power and Security.

As a result of the colonial experience and the actual standards of living in Kenya and Africa as a whole, most Africans were made to believe that they were not good enough to hold public offices in their own countries. In most places, the colonial powers had their own favourites among the local communities that could be entrusted with leadership and power, hence the ensuing bad blood among the local communities. Those to whom power was handed over by the colonial governments also made every effort to retain it against the interest of the rest of the communities. This subsequently became a point for severe and violent contestation for political power among the local people. Because the colonial powers used the system of divide and rule, the communities which were already seriously divided remained suspicious of one another long after the countries' independence. In Kenya, political power has since rotated only within Central and Rift Valley regions, a fact that has not gone down well with the rest of the communities. Even in the Rift Valley and Central, its has only been in the hands of three families.

What Barry Buzzan refers to as the struggle for control of state machinery became evident as a security threat in Kenya right from the time of independence when the first president, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta and his first Vice Jaramogi Oginga Odinga started to compete for control of state power. This power struggle has obviously become the precursor to some of the major conflicts experienced in Kenya such as the Mwakenya uprising, 1st August, 1981 coup attempt against

President Daniel arap Moi, change the constitution campaign and the numerous ethnic conflicts, particularly experienced around national election periods in the country; 1992, 1997, 2002 and perhaps the worst of them in 2007/2008. All these conflicts point to state of insecurity with its roots deep inside the government system itself. These events are acceptable as security issues because of their immense consequences on the loss of life and property as well as the negative effects on the ethnic disintegration in the country. They are also seen as the background upon which Kenya's ethnic differences and political marginalization of some communities in the country flourished. According to Barry Buzan, the line between peace, power and security is so thin that each one can trigger the other, either positively or negatively. In Kenya, the resultant effect has been more negative than positive. As communities and groups struggle for control of power there is high likelihood for upsurge of insecurity in the country.

It therefore brings to mind the question of whether or not Kenya and the other countries in the region have ever managed to develop sound political and leadership principles, policies and models that could be relied upon to unite all its people after the exit of the colonial governments. In the absence of this unity, as has been demonstrated, neither development nor peace and security would be achievable. Although this was the objective of the colonial policy of divide and rule, it is apparent that the new African leaders also adopted it for purposes of retaining power and helped vices like nepotism to thrive and eventually led to uneven development of their countries, much to the disadvantage of the people.

1.7.5. State Borders and Boundaries

It is difficult to conceptualize a country without borders with each other. While maps indicate lines demarcating states, ordinarily people imagine countries as entities that are enclosed and have controlled entry and exit points. Yet borders, the world over are rarely as well defined as people imagine. Contrary to ordinary imaginations that state boundaries are fixed and visible, there are scholars who even argue that state boundaries are neither permanent nor well defined. On the other hand, other than indicate the extent of a state's territory, boundaries also help people to define their identity with a particular state. (Westmoreland, 2015) In the absence of these boundaries, people's identities remain a matter of their own imaginations. This is particularly true in the case of people who live in the borderlands and share kinship across two or more states.

As a matter of fact, all the borders are occupied by communities from both sides of the neighbouring states. While in certain cases the border communities specifically identify with one of the states, the case in most African countries may be different because of the obvious lack of structures that demarcate those borders. Additionally, these border communities are a point of conflict because of their shared ancestry across the borders.

In the case of Kenya, the cross-border communities consist of Masaai and Luo tribesmen living between Kenya and Tanzania; Teso and Elgon Masaai between Kenya and Uganda and Somali clans across the border between Kenya and Somali. Even though in most cases the cross-border communities cause trouble between the bordering countries because of their common life styles, the case of Somali speakers can be singled out owing to the lack of a working government in the state of Somalia for many years. The existence of a vibrant border community in the NFD has complicated security situation in Kenya largely because of lack of policing from both sides. While Somali for many years did not have an effective government, Kenyan government appeared to have neglected the North Eastern areas since independence. This brings to mind the importance of border controls as a means of enhancing the national security of a state.

Saleh Yakubu, likens the role of the border in national security of a state to that of the skin to the body. He sees the border as the skin that covers the body and which is likely to expose the body to unforeseen dangers if penetrated by dangerous pathogens. He goes ahead to attribute Nigeria's security challenges to the porousness of the country's border which allowed into the country uninterrupted influx of criminals and arms from neighbouring countries, which, in his view is the

genesis of terrorism and drug trafficking in the country. He is of the opinion that no government can control what happens within its border if it does not control what passes through it (Yakubu, 2015). Similarly, Kenya lost control of activities in the north eastern part by failing to monitor entry and exit into and out of the country from Somalia in this region.

The scenario described above is only comparable to the situation on the border of the United States of America and its neighbours, especially Mexico which has remains a national security threat to the United States of America for years, yet it is extremely well guarded by the US Border security as well as other national security agencies in the country. Entry and exit points are clearly marked and controlled while people on either side of the border feel the presence of their government and understand the consequences of violating the set regulations. If, even with such measures, the U.S.A still experiences security challenges, then one should understand why the situation along Kenyan borders with its neighbours should be considered a complete security catastrophe and a matter of grave concern. This is because the formation of the state involves totally eliminating other states from the internal workings of a state. Westmoreland, 2015 states that the uncontrolled presence of foreign nationals amounts to the presence of that particular state. He argues that states are not the actual actors in international relations because it is the people who direct the behaviour of the state.

With regard to the definition of state, it would be a prudent argument to state that the areas of Kenyan territory with settlements of Somali speaking people may cease to be referred to as part of the state of Kenya. This is because these parts then fail the definition of a state as a community of people with similar culture and language. Because of the exclusive and massive presence of Somali speakers in this part of the country, it essentially becomes part of a foreign land and not Kenya.

1.7.6. Maintenance of Law and Order

The concept of social order is one that is seen to be at the center of a secure and predictable life in society. In the thoughts of Thomas Hobbes, the need for social order was the justification for establishment of the institutions of government, which he refers to as social contract (Hobbes, 1651) Hobbes' thoughts conform to a situation of social order as the end state of a social contract which relieves citizens from the 'State of Nature' where every man depends on his own strength and wit for survival. He believed that governments were created by the citizens who agreed to cede their individual rights so that order and security are guaranteed for everybody. Therefore, a situation that negates isorder and predictability of life and property is contrary to the expectations

of societal living. The disposition of discrepant parts means that a society that lives in harmony must have certain systems that operate at cross purposes with each other. For example, in a state, the political, economic and social systems must exist to counteract with each other in order for order to prevail. Bull further sees social order as a situation where citizens of a state are willing to, and voluntarily obey prescribed rules of conduct and the law of the state. Hence, whatever causes citizens or part of the citizenry to disobey the rules of conduct or laws, becomes a threat to social order and security (Bull, 2012).

1.7.7. Globalization

The concept of Globalization has been understood in different ways by various scholars. While a majority of them commonly define globalization as the inter-connectedness of cultures, languages, communication and living habits across the world. It is also viewed by many to refer to the various emerging trends that affect the means of production around the world. To economists, globalization is seen as a means of enhanced economic interactions among business organizations, markets and consumers as well as labour and skills. It refers to the unrestricted movement of information, goods and technology among various parts of the globe. (Velocity Global, 2020). This includes the influence that such unrestricted movement causes to organizations, states and individuals in those places. Through enhanced technological changes, various parts of the world are affected by the happenings in faraway places. Accordingly, globalization has affected human beings across the world, not only by improving their livelihoods through opportunities but also by introducing new threats to their lives (Schott). As a matter of fact, globalization has affected every aspect of life; through influence of one part of the world, many other regions have opened up to new ideas, skills, knowledge, habits and opportunities that end up changing their lives either for positively or negatively as the case may be. Similarly, there are those who view globalization in terms of easy facilitation and enhancement of international trade. In this case, international trade has flourished and enabled rich individuals and multinational organizations to benefit from far flung destinations in terms of availability of raw materials, labour, skills and markets.

On the other hand, globalization has also been mentioned as a threat to the existence of the nation state and its sovereignty, owing to its capacity to enable unrestricted access into the state. Of particular the main impediment to state sovereignty is the free movement of information and technology which have also altered and modified the lives of citizens. Globalization has also contributed to far-reaching consequences on the political and social-economic wellbeing of peoples across the world. To a large extent it accounts for how much some world economies have benefited from international and regional economic alliances while it has led to the unfortunate death of some giant enterprises (Brown and Ainley, 2005). However, some scholars have tried to explain globalization in the context of unrestricted access to every imaginable place on earth. This school of thought presupposes a situation where national territorial boundaries are literally non-existent. That reasoning is further firmed up by Philippe Legrain when he argues that globalization binds up people of the world through economic, trade, investment and

migrations. He says that the movement across borders, of people, money and goods and services, brings together people of distant lands (Legrain, 2003). This also means that the people who are brought together by globalization are also of diverse origins, languages, cultures and political orientation.

1.7.7.1. Impact of Globalization

Although it is possible to see globalization entirely in economic terms, it is also important to look at the general impact on states and the international society as a whole. Globalization is generally about the sharing of experiences, cultures, currencies, goods and services across countries. All this sharing is happening as a result of that international trade. Some of the factors that have helped that international trade to flourish include development of technology, especially in the fields of communication, infrastructure and manufacturing, military and administration. These same factors have affected the lives of individuals, organizations and states in various parts of the world in more or less the same way. Therefore, people have adopted cultures and behaviours that were hitherto alien to them and some of which are extremely detrimental to their lives. They have adopted new ways of doing things including religions, education and governance, and this new knowledge has affected lives across geographical political and social borders. The end result may be a significant shift in the traditional viewpoint of countries' national security paradigms. The changes that have occurred through these happenings are numerous and diverse in manner. Some countries have benefitted while others have simply been used by others to achieve their national interests. Similarly, non-state actors have also emerged with far reaching implications and trends of interaction. Globalization has not spared even governments from their harmful effects. It has exposed states to new threats linked to various economic, political, technological, ideological and military power and influences, hence effects include security related issues related but not limited to cross border activities such as refugee influx, terrorism and arms proliferation. According to Stavros Dimas, security cannot just be defined as the absence of war since it depends on it depends on diverse factors which are sometimes related but often factors including political, social, economic, and environmental interests of the concerned actors (Dimas, 2007). Across the world Globalization has resulted in the loss of national sovereignty, transformation of national cultures, degradation of the environmental and tremendous change of social behaviour (Dalcicek, 2011). This writer concurs that Globalization can change people's norms, values and behavior over time and that this can result to serious consequences on their lives.

Other consequences include occurrences of negative phenomena such as transnational organized crime including drug trafficking, sex trade, money laundering, trade on counterfeit goods, smuggling, human trafficking and chemical dumping (Williamson, 1998).

Globalization has been explained by various theories. The World-Systems theory tends to look at the world as one unified unit and not as a composition of individual states. Accordingly, the state does not exist in a vacuum but operates within a system that incorporates broad economic, political, and legal frameworks (Wallerstein, 1974). Therefore, it is arguable that it is impossible for any state to operate in complete isolation of events that take place in its neighbouring states but will be affected both positively and negatively by the events and actions of fellow states in its neighbourhood. This is why it is important to analyze the state of Kenya's national security in terms of the rest of the countries in the region.

Modernization is another theory that effectively explains the phenomenon of globalization. While some analysts generally assumed that modernization would take advantage of globalization to spread uniformly to all parts of the world, reality has slowly dawned that this will probably never happen. In deed many others have attested to the very serious paradoxes of the development theory, noting that the world has developed in the most uneven manner. While countries in the north have achieved great strides in physical development, citizens of countries in the south continue to wallow in pervert and un employment despite expanding world production and entrepreneurship. This is also despite the increasing rate of affluence, the world over. Somehow, it is also agreeable that the expansion of affluence has created an increased appetite for consumption, with the aftermath of very high levels of poverty in the south.

This therefore disproves the assumption of modernization that poor countries can ride on the back of developed countries to achieve their own development. In deed Dependency theory has strongly criticized this theory by asserting that the developed countries actually exploit the underdeveloped ones in their quest for development (Andre Gunder Frank, 1966). Dependency theory presupposes that Developed countries have become rich at the behest of poor and undeveloped ones which supply them with raw material, cheap labour and power for their industries, that their relationship is not based on equal terms since the poor south has no power to resist the rich North (Andre Gunder, 1969).

Although globalization has been noted to cause many positive impacts on the lives of people around the world, it has also had very serious impacts on the security in terms of influence and

control of the state on populations. Of particular, it has opened ways for the citizenry to operate more independently of state controls. This is not without negative influence on state security. On the other hand, this independence has also caused challenges to human security.

1.8. Theoretical Framework

1.8.1. Realism

This research work is based on the theory of Realism. As a theory of international relations, Realism tends to explain the way states behave in the international system where, unlike in the national arena there are governments with legitimate instruments of violence. In the case of a state, the government is totally in charge and takes responsibility to punish wrong doers, compensate or cause to be compensated those who are wronged in the society. The nation is endowed with organs such as the police force to ensure law and order is maintained and the military to ensure that the whole territory is secured against any form of external aggression. Realism reminds us that this kind of arrangement does not exist in the international system to regulate behaviour of states against one another. It therefore means that the international system where each state is independent and unaccountable to one another, is a state of lawlessness and disorder. Each state is forced to take charge of its own affairs including security and comfort and make sure that other states do not interfere with it. A state therefore only hopes that other states will recognize its sovereignty and desist from aggressive behaviour towards it. In order to achieve that however, states must build their own capacity to either physically or psychologically warn fellow states of its ability to defend itself in case of aggression. This is referred to as "rational action". Therefore, states invest heavily on establishing strong military and similar capabilities.

The theory of Realism makes very simple and realistic assumptions about the nature of the international system derived from the very nature of man. According to Thomas Hobbes, man is inherently selfish and independent minded. He envisions the status of man before the advents of governments which he refers to as a "state of nature". In the state of nature Hobbes sees a state in which every man depended on his/her own strength and wits for survival and the stronger ones have better prospects for survival than their weaker neighbours. He therefore argues that during that time life was "short and brutish" because the weak individuals had no one to protect them against the stronger ones. There was no consideration on the basis of justice, rights, ethics or morality. The ruling philosophy was only that of power, strength and self interest and therefore it was only prudent for man to form alliances that could guarantee the acquisition of power and

strength to safeguard self-interest. Due to this lack of a universal authority over every human being, Hobbs believed that man's actions were therefore guided by his instinct to remain alive against the overwhelming potential for bodily harm, loss of material and sentimental possessions and even death. This realization was so powerful that it guided man into a discussion with one another that culminated to the agreement and formation of a committee to which everyone surrendered their rights for self-rule in exchange for collective protection and guarantee of agreed rights; thus, the emergence of governments that gradually evolved to become what we have today.

However, some scholars who have analyzed Hobbs works also think that he had a different view of human beings. Apart from being overly self-interested and aggressive against one another, some scholars interpret his thinking that he viewed man as being very needy and yet vulnerable, a fact that therefore compounded his helplessness in a state of disorder and uncertainty.

Despite its very persuasive view on the effects of the nature of man on international relations, many scholars have since abandoned this view of realism, considering it inadequate, archaic and subjective. They have reasoned that Hobbs view on the nature of human being were unscientific and difficult to measure. Hence more recent scholars like Kenneth Waltz have come up with a new form of realism which is not based on the nature of human beings but on the instability and chaotic nature of the international system. Therefore, rather than use man, Walz has used the state as the level of analysis, stating that states have to behave in a certain way owing to the restrictions they face in the international system. Waltz Structural Realism blames the structure of the international system which is basically chaotic for lack of a universally accepted "Police Force" therefore compelling states to behave rationally in their pursuit of national interest. (Camisao, 2018). In his three levels of anaysis, Waltz recognizes the contribution of the three leves, the individual, the state and the state system in the behaviour of states in the international system. However, he still seems to agree with Hobbs to the extent that the behaviour of the individual remains absolutely critical in determining the overall behoaviour of the state and hence the international system as well (Singer, 1959). The two also agree to the fact that the international system is amnachic; that there is no universal superior authority to mediate between states in the event of conflicts among them and that states, just like man in Hobbs thesis, are always in competition with one another in the pursuit of their national interests. He therefore proposes that states pursue peace and security through cooperation and alliances when they have coinciding interests. Similar to the behaviour of man, states also compete for power and they are similarly endowed unequally with power. The more powerful states also have the same tendency

like man to try to impose their authority on the less powerful ones. These structural or neo-realist theorists as they are known, tend to blame the structure of the international system for the lack of order and absence of binding authority. They therefore contend that this absence of order is what compels states to be constantly in pursuit of power in order to protect themselves against other states which might be more powerful. Waltz is among Defensive Realists who lament over the unnecessary cost of war. They also believe that war is always a result of irrational decision making among leaders and that the use of force among states makes the world unsafe as it leads to unending arms race among states. They therefore believe that national leaders should strive more towards establishing cooperation and alliances in order to achieve international peace.

Realism's main assumptions are based on the imperfections on human behavior (Donnelly, 2009). They believe that international politics are generally characterized by conflict because of the differences in opinion and self-interests of national leaders against each other. While scholars of other theories like constructivism and liberalism blame structures and other forces for world problems like conflicts, Realism is very clear that it's all about human behavior. As such they believe that the main characteristic of international politics is conflict, which is part and parcel of human nature. They believe that human beings are inherently evil and always intend to do evil things against each other. Realism emphasizes that the biggest danger in politics is ego and passion which are the major drivers of the thought and actions of man and the 'tragic presence of evil in the actions of man' (Morgenthau, 1946) The primary supposition of authenticity is that the state is the major actor in international relations.

Although other actors exist, such as the individual, sub national and international organizations, their capacity and influence are usually limited since they operate from within the state. Second, the state is recognized as a unitary actor whose actions encompass the interests of multiple individuals. Public interests, particularly in the midst of war, lead the state to talk and act with one voice (Donnelly, 2009). This reasoning assumes that leaders will always act rationally and objectively and only take actions aimed at strengthening the state and not to serve their individual interests. This theory therefore emphasizes the use of reason and pragmatic decision making in order to overcome the effects of self-interest and biased consideration. However, it is also notable that the environment of decision making is usually marred with circumstances that limit the options of the leader, usually forcing them to make irrational choices, (Bull, 1977). In this manner, they can do little to get away from the truth of intensity legislative issues.

A similarly important assumption of this theory is that there is never any action or decision taken by any state with the sole intention of assisting a fellow state. Leaders are therefore warned to be careful whenever any action is taken by another state which seems to favour them. A pragmatist would therefore be suspicious even with the act of Kenya's involvement in Somalia, purportedly to help stabilize the horn of Africa state. As a matter of fact, the KDF intervention in Somalia would end up with some positive dividends for Somalia, but Kenya would ultimately remain the major beneficiary. While the possibility that some of Somali factions, such as the transitional government, would benefit from the defeat of Al Shabaab remains a reality, its notable that these factions would have been more harmful to Kenya than to Somalia. The apparent contradiction to this theory in this case is the fact that Al-Shabaab, a sub national actor and not a state, is now the main threat to Kenya's survival.

Similarly, Kenya's interventions in the entire East Africa and the Horn of Africa regions can be viewed just in the same way. While Kenya has always projected the image of the big brother in East Africa, its pretty obvious that the leadership has always been interested in taking advantage of its position to benefit economically from the sister states. On the other hand, Kenya has also remained the most affected with the security issues affecting the two regions, hence its active involvement in the peace process between Sudan and South Sudan, its readiness to host the refugees fleeing from conflict from Sudan, South Sudan, Ethiopia, Rwanda and Somalia. Consequently, all these countries have been looking up to Kenya as the most preferred destination for its people during times of conflict. As a matter of fact, it's understood by all and sundry that Kenya's stability, peace and prosperity also depends largely on the prevalence of peace and security in the neighbourhood. As rightly noted by Tavolato about Kenya's entry into the United Nations Security Council as a non-permanent member, the fresh outbreak of conflict in Ethiopia, the uneasy relations between the various political factions in South Sudan and the disputed elections in Somalia, are expected to impact negatively on peace and security in Kenya (Tavolato, 2021). Therefore one can conclude that Kenya's entry to the Security Council was an opportunity for the country to sort out its own security agenda with its neighbours more than an opportunity for service to the region.

1.9 Definition and Operationalization of Concepts

National Security

Public security alludes to the provision of security of a country state. The term paints a picture of one providing guard services to the country including its residents, economy, and organizations. Although its generally viewed as an obligation of the government, national security is actually the concern of all citizens. However, for purposes of this study, national security is viewed as the defense of a state, its territory, government, sovereignty, citizens and territory, against internal and external threats.

Although the major hypothesis is that the major threats to Kenya's national security have emanated from external sources, there is a general assumption that security could also be threatened by internal factors including bad governance and poor leadership, non-cooperation, discontent by citizens which can sometimes breed revolutionary behaviour and even negative political competition. Examples of discontentedness by citizens can be traced to the 2010 Arab spring which dislodged a number of regimes from power. In his book, "Why Nations Fail", Steven Levitt cites the causes of the Arab revolution as poverty, corruption and the long and insensitive elite regimes of President Hosni Mubarak that had allowed leaders to enrich themselves by amassing wealth out of public resources, leaving the people poor and helpless. These causes include poorly distributed political rights and economic opportunities (Robinson, 2013)

Border Communities

The term border communities are used to refer to the communities that forms and lives in the land adjoining the border of a country. In the context of this study border communities refers to the communities that live on either side of the border of Kenya and its neighbours. It's important to state that these communities usually face unique challenges due to their situation. In most cases the boarder communities rarely feel a sense of belonging to either government owing to the social and physical distance between them and their respective governments. In such communities, the social and economic regimes that develop are usually semi-legal due to the absence of government agents in those areas. Outright illegal organizations also develop and thrive in the same void, while the citizens give them an almost legal recognition.

Geography

This concept is used in this research to refer to specific physical features including the location and land use that define the state of Kenya. These features include the nature of the landscape

such as mountains, hills, valleys, forests, lakes and rivers. It also includes weather and climatic conditions. Geography determines, not only the space but also land use and capability to produce food and attract wildlife. Geographically Kenya is defined in terms of the east African and the Horn of Africa regions. In terms of geography Kenya is a physical place that is definable by name or by a set of coordinates such as latitudes and longitudes. It is also definable by its location next to its neighbours; Tanzania, Uganda, Somalia, Ethiopia and South Sudan but its also a neighbour to the Indian Ocean.

Geopolitics

This concept is used to refer to the activities of man as well as the natural occurrences associated with a particular geographical location on earth. It is a confluence of politics and geography and the manner in which they impact on a region. The geopolitics of a particular country or region may include activities of other areas external to that particular place but which have a general bearing on that particular place. In this research geopolitics include the national, regional and international politics that may potentially affect the events of Kenya.

Influx of Refugees

Refers to the arrival or entry, usually uncontrollable, of large numbers of refugees in a country, from a disastrous occurrence in another country. In this study influx of refugees refers to the arrival and entry of large number of refugees in Kenya. **Porous Borders:** Refers to a situation where the geographical border between independent states is neither well defined and marked nor well protected and as such may allow uncontrollable entry and exit of people and goods into the territory of a foreign country.

1.10. Research Hypotheses

This research proposal is anchored on the following hypotheses:

- i. Porous borders between Kenya and its neighbors have contributed significantly to insecurity in the country.
- ii. The influx of refugees into the Kenya from the neighboring states have significantly influenced the country's national security.

1.11. Conceptual Framework

The independent variable in the study is Geopolitics explained in terms of porous borders and influx of refugees. These inputs influence Kenya's National Security which is the dependent variable in the study as shown in the figure below.

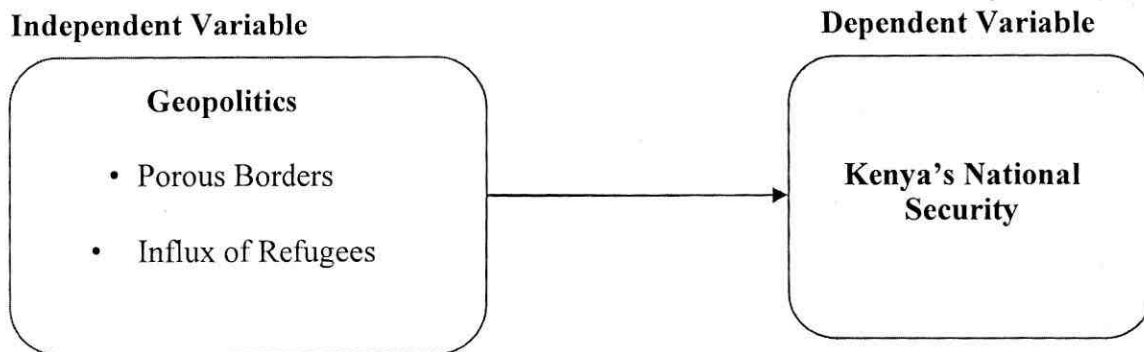


Figure 2.1. Conceptual Framework

Source: Author (2020)

1.12. Methodology

This study employed descriptive survey method, this method was preferred because descriptive researches determine and give an account of the situation as it is on the ground. It will help to describe possible behavior, attitudes, values and characteristic of the phenomena. This study used qualitative research design to enable the researcher to analyse the information in a systematic way in order to come up with some useful conclusions and recommendations.

This study used primary data which entailed visiting the field in order to collect raw data from specific professionals from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government. The individuals who were interviewed were identified through snow balling method by their colleagues who were known to the researcher.

This helped the researcher to get a clear view of the relationship, if any, between the geopolitics and Kenya's national security. The study will use purposive sampling method since it allowed the researcher to interview the specific persons who have the required information with respect to the objectives of this study. Data collection was mainly determined from both secondary and primary sources. For primary data semi-structured interviews technique was used. This is because the researcher visited different ministries and the context may vary, without altering the objectives of this study.

For secondary data both formal and informal information gathering were used through document analysis of literature review, journals, books, grey data and the internet. This technique also allowed literature review of both theoretical and empirical. The data collected in this research included definitions, opinions, specific knowledge and also background information which is related to the geopolitics and Kenya's national security. The data collected was purely qualitative and was analyzed by employing content analysis which entailed observation and a detailed description of the phenomena that comprised objectives of this study.

Data collected was analyzed by linking it to existing, and also integrating it with other relevant concepts and theoretical framework. Data analysis was done interpretatively by synthesizing, categorizing and organizing data into patterns that depicted the description of the phenomena. Permission to carry out the study was sought from the relevant ministries and organizations which included the university, ministry of foreign affairs, and ministry of interior coordination. Participants of this study were assured of both anonymity and confidentiality and they were

assured that this study was mainly for fulfilling academic purposes only and no victimization or intimidation whatsoever would arise from participating in this study.

1.13. Proposed Chapter Outline

This study presented the following five chapters. Chapter one presented the introduction or the background information, statement of the problem, objectives and research questions, literature review, justification and hypotheses of the study, theoretical review as well as methodology that was used to carry data collection.

Chapter two presented concept of geopolitics and its possible linkages to Kenya's national security. Chapter three outlined the historical background of insecurity in Kenya: the problem of porous borders. Chapter four outlined the impact of refugee influx into Kenya. Chapter five presented the conclusions derived and recommendations of the study

CHAPTER TWO

THE CONCEPT OF GEOPOLITICS

2.1. Introduction

Although International Relations is usually viewed as an independent area of study, most scholars of IR have conceded to the fact that it may not be possible to study International Relations without expressly making reference to geology. This is because Geopolitics is generally defined as the linkage between the earth or land and the activities of man, in other words politics. The term is coined from two Greek words 'geo' which means earth or land and 'politics' the activities of man.

One of the main proponents of the concept of geopolitics, Mayer Mahan, studied the importance of geography on politics and asserted that geography is extremely important in analyzing the socio-political, economic and military power of a state. In his thesis, he asserted that the geography of a state determined its rate and ability to develop in all spheres. For example, he stated that Great Britain managed to become a great power simply because of its location and ability to control the seas around it. (Mahan, 1890). Mahan believed that control of the seas was important in developing strong state security, especially the military but it was also the key to economic success as it opened sea transport and international trade. Therefore, a country with large ocean fronts has the advantage of sea ports and cheap water transport that can help it in import and export of goods and services from and into the country. A long coast line is therefore advantageous for development of maritime commercial enterprises as well as strong naval bases for defense of the country. Conversely, a landlocked country is disadvantaged because it has to seek the use of the sea through its neighbours. Similarly, expansive land territory also gives a state the advantage of both food security and accommodation of a large population that is capable of defending that country against any possible external invasion.

It is therefore obvious as demonstrated there above that it is not possible to ignore the merits and demerits of geopolitics when analyzing security of any part of the world. If a country is made up of large areas or plain and arable land, its people are also likely to be hard working and that country is likely to become food secure. It is also harder to take any military offensive against this kind of land since the invading armies will be visible from very far. On the contrary, a mountainous country stands the risk of attacks and is unlikely to attain food security. However, it

is also important to note that these geographical advantages will only pay dividends if the leaders make use of them and develop strategic policies as well as forge formidable political and security alliances with its neighbours. It may be notable here that Kenya has the advantage of a long coastal border and a number of landlocked neighbours of which it could take advantage to develop. Whether this has been used to the advantage of the country or otherwise is what remains to be seen.

Among the authors who argue for the importance of geography in analyzing a national security include Spykman (1938) who contends that topography is the most significant factor when it comes to defining the area of a state. He goes ahead to say that topography is also part and parcel of the most important element of what a state becomes as it contributes immensely to its strategic value. This illustrates the permanency of topographical components in molding the international nature of states in contrast with many other variables that form a state. It is on this premise that the promoters of land, sea and air as elements of state power derive their thinking from the geological conditions of states.

Another scholar, Mackinder supports this argument and explains that the genuine equalization of political power of a state involves all the necessary geological conditions of a state (Mackinder, 2014). In his Heartland Theory, Mackinder argues that the driving factor of the US and Russian foreign policies towards Central Asia was its strategic importance based fundamentally on its geographic location and its vast endowment in natural resources (Suban Kumar Chowdhury and Abdullah Hel Kafi, 2015). In his analysis, the area's strategic importance is derived from its river basins, the seas and its centrality in the region, for which neither of the two powers could ignore the region. Thus, the US policies around the world, both economic, social and political, have largely been determined by her need to exploit and block the rest of the world, especially China and Russia from the natural resources, especially oil in the Central Asian countries. It is therefore evident that both the United States of America and Russia are focused on gaining full control of Central Asia for extractive purposes and nothing else.

It is therefore arguable that Kenyan foreign policies towards its neighbours are also informed by its hegemonic desires in the region. Having gained an important leading status in the region, Kenya would naturally need to extend its power and control beyond East Africa. However, such expansionist desires might also have impacted negatively on the country due to the economic, social, military and political demands.

2.2. Topography and Politics

Topography incorporates the collaboration among individuals and indigenous habitats in relation to the environment. The connections between man and climate usually results in two main things: one, impact of the climatic conditions on man and his activities and secondly, the impact of man and his activities on the ensuing climatic conditions. It likewise refers to the intricate connections among individuals and space, individuals and places and human relations among themselves through monetary, social and political activities. While, 'Legislative issues' are characterized as the study of government; that part of morals which has to do with the guidelines and administration of a country or the conservation of its security, harmony, the safeguard of its reality and rights against unfamiliar control or the growth of its resources and assets, and the insurance of its residents in their privileges, with the protection and improvement of their ethics (Webster Online Dictionary). In this manner, governmental issues refer to the craft of the executives of public merchandise, administration, and force, among the people of a specific region.

Both geology and governmental issues are interrelated and influence each other in remarkable ways. Among the natural factors that influence individuals' behaviour is the atmosphere and it has been suggested that it also explains man's racial distinction of skin tone, size, and shape and other behaviour. For example, it's generally believed that people born in very cold places, like in the Polar regions are usually short while those in very hot climate are less active than their counterparts. Consequently, Edward Hayes outlines four conditions that he believes affect people's lifestyles and social conditions or causal relations between the activities of their associates. These include the geographic conditions under which they live, their natural physical environment, the technical developments in their living environment and their psychophysical conditions (Hayes, 1914). He argues further that a country's geographic conditions determine the size of its populations, economic activities, social behaviour and the rate of physical development. The economy is also affected by the availability or lack of resources such as raw materials, minerals, climatic conditions, skilled and unskilled labour, type of infrastructure as well as the supply and demand factors. Hayes further says that stagnation in development may also be caused by certain geographic features such as mountains, swamps, forests and deserts which hinder faster communication and more sedentary living. He asserts that "lawlessness is the natural consequence of inaccessibility" and explains that people who live in such places usually feel no need for protection because their enemies can hardly reach them.

It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the physical geographic conditions over some parts of Kenya may have over time contributed to certain types of insecurity. For example, the dry and hot climate in the north eastern parts of the country might have cause a feeling of lethargy among the inhabitants which was later exploited by external forces. The absence of viable economic activities might also push people to other less regulated forms of economic ventures like cattle theft, smuggling and human trafficking. These activities can develop into serious threats to security and peace for the entire country.

Furthermore, information on the geology of country may kindle conflict or determine the result of conflict between antagonistic groups. In this regard, Haushofer's celebrated proclamation is worth mentioning. He asserts that the best educated succeeds in the last fight. (Kahneman, 2003). The implication is that the best army may not win a battle unless its critically analyses the details of battlefield in terms of topography and politics and takes advantage of the same. This recommends that topography plays an important part in power relations. The significance of geological on the State has been acknowledged since time immemorial. Aristotle noticed that Athens had slopes and an ocean harbour that facilitated business to grow and this became the basis of its development and security and subsequent superiority among the Creek states. Aristotle calls attention to the fact that the geographical locations helped in creating states and that many large states were created on enormous plain land (Norris, 2009). The small nations in hilly terrain and the large and the level zones of South America are good examples of this contention. The connection among governmental issues and topography was again found in the composition of Jean Bodin in the Sixteenth Century. In "Six Livres de la Republica", Bodin said that the quality of states fluctuates with changes both in atmosphere and geology. Since public character varies as per the climate at that point so should the political structure of the states. Bodin expounded this thought by asserting that occupants of cold atmospheres and those living in mountainous areas are more focused and bold; in this way they have been able to build strong armies and protect their nations against aggressors. Plain territories then again, are susceptible to intrusion, since they are hard to guard (Norris, 2009).

Bodin steadfastly maintained that the physical atmosphere, disposition and capabilities of man just as the political framework of administration are general elements of nature. In spite of the fact that, Bodin was a devotee to the ecological effect on governmental issues; he accepted that human thinking can be influenced by the natural environmental factors of their dwelling.

In the Seventeenth Century, Montesquieu applied world geology to world legislative issues. He was concerned particularly with the impacts of the atmosphere and geography on the existence of human beings; their laws and political frameworks. He likewise talked about the importance of landmasses and Islands on the political opportunities they presented to their inhabitants. Montesquieu repeated some previous thoughts by confirming that political opportunities the atmosphere were closely related and that warm atmosphere, for instance led to oppression and servitude of the occupants of such land (Norris, 2009). Like Aristotle, Montesquieu felt that plain scenes supported huge domains while sloping and uneven territories cultivated the sentiment of autonomy and longing for freedom. He accepted that individuals living in the inland territories had higher respect for opportunity than landlocked individuals. Montesquieu supported the fact that the physical climate decides the destiny of individuals and their political organizations. However, he said that human development, over time will, eventually free them from these negative effects of nature (Norris, 2009).

The significance of Geography in global relations is likewise acknowledged by Hans Morgenthau, a pragmatist scholar of International Relations. While talking about components of national power, Morgenthau (2001) makes reference to 'Topography' as one of the predominant elements which determine the National Power of a state. He characterizes the elements of state power as generally evolving through time and space but recognizes geology as the steadiest factor whereupon the intensity of a state depends. For example, cites the case of the mainland region of the US which is isolated from various landmasses by waterways 300 miles wide toward the east and in excess of 6000 miles wide toward the west as a perpetual factor that determines the security and economic well being of the United States (Morgenthau 2001). This factor guarantees the security of the US by limiting odds of intrusion except through the designated sea and air ports. Despite the fact that there is an overall advancement in the innovation of transportation and warfare, each country needs to assess its geological factors while defining its entry and exit points.

Morgenthau additionally made reference to common resources such as food, natural minerals oil coal and iron as components of national strength. For Morgenthau, international legislative issues depend on the battle for power, a reality that is essential for public endurance. Furthermore, the possibility of atomic war has increased the significance of the size of an area of potential damage. So as to make an atomic danger believable, a country requires a domain sufficiently enormous to distribute its population. Something else, little estimated domains will conceal the range of atomic devastation and thus sabotage its atomic security. Hence, in these terms, the larger states such as the US, Russia, and China; France, Israel and Britain, with more modest territories have all pursued the leading position in the quest for atomic power.

2.3. The various Geopolitical Perspectives

International relations scholars have introduced a progression of perspectives of sources of national power connections and how they are influenced by topography (Child, 2005). The major international viewpoints are; Maritime international point of view; the mainland international viewpoint; the Aerospace international point of view, and the Resource international viewpoint.

The Maritime Perspective:

This viewpoint depends solely on control of the seas as the most ideal approach to extend national power, and is critical to turning it into a politically influential nation. To build up maritime power, a state needs to control the ocean paths and bases in significant and key regions under its jurisdiction. Thus, the state can control communication, transport and development of military resources in a given region. This will not only ensure the safety of the state but also give it an opportunity for forming critical alliances against potential external intrusion.

The Continental Perspective:

This point of view sees armed forces and control of land masses as the vital factor to building up national power and influence. Naval forces and air forces serve principally to move and support officers in the field, and it is viewed as a definitive instrument for maintenance of national security of a state. This view assumes that large territories are more important for national security.

The Aerospace/Aviation Perspective

The aviation point of view was an aftereffect of the mechanical headway in the field of international warfare. It turned out to be a critical function of military aircraft in the World War I. The creation of key aircraft and the Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM), fit for conveying atomic warheads, had constrained the international scholars to recognize the part of air power in war system and in this manner in international relations. One of the major contenders of this aerospace international viewpoint was Alexander de Seversky.

The Resource Perspective

The asset international point of view is a moderately recent world view. It got its substance in the Oil Crisis of 1973. This viewpoint is fixated mainly with the scramble for and acquisition of scant oil assets and other energy assets just as other vital natural minerals.

2.4. Geopolitics and International Relations

States seek various means of engaging other members of the international system in order to extract from them what is of their own national interests at any given time. The compositions of A.T. Mahan, "The Influence of Sea Power upon history" (1660-1783) exposes the forces that led to the emergence of maritime race between America, England, Germany and Japan which combined to deliver warships and reinforce their ocean capacity to to exploit the water resources around them. The approach of Adolf Hitler of Germany was incredibly affected by the international thoughts of lebensraum (Haushofer's thoughts). After the end of World War II, the Cold War started between the two super powers; Capitalist United States and Communist Soviet Union. Both of them attempted to spread their impact and Soviet Union became a formidable force in Eurasia. To check the spread of socialism in Europe, the US embraced the arrangement of 'regulation of socialism.' Here Spykman's model of Rimland on geological articulation is relevant. In its efforts to neutralize the USSR, the US adopted the approach of coalitions, especially with the NATO in Europe, CENTO in West Asia, SEATO in South East Asia and ANZUS in the Pacific Ocean front but despite winning the battle ended up polarizing the entire world along two divisions.

Meanwhile, the extensions of NATO in Caspian district, US-NATO association in Afghanistan, and its alliances in the Central Asian area are still viewed as a danger by Russia and China to date. This progression has deliberately summoned protective reactions by China and Russia, which geopolitically think about these locales as their territories. They are developing in respective vital coordination and closer bounds with Iran, a significant political player likewise viewed fearfully by the NATO-US association. The above argument goes a long way to prove the significance of geology and its impacts, not only on legislative issues of countries from multiple points of view but even on international conflicts. Geological resources of any nation is bound to have profound effects on the international strategy of that State. Subsequently, it influences the design of the global spatial system. In the old occasions, various geographers depicted the kind of political establishments that would be fundamental in the given geological setting. Yet, the contemporary international scholars watch the geological setting regarding how it tends to be utilized to extend control and accomplish world incomparability. It implies that they are worried about the international strategy suggestions and geological significance of the given international conditions.

In this section, the researcher has made an attempt to discuss the different international systems; Continental, Maritime and Air power international viewpoints. However, from the discussion it has become apparent that none of the models is completely able to stand on its own as the source of national power for any state. Distinctive international scholars have tried to dissect each of the models using the viewpoints of their own disciplines, without much success. Although most of their ideas of international setting have been well supported, they all agree that none of the viewpoints can stand alone without the support of the other. Furthermore, they have all tend to arrive at the conclusion that the way to national stability lies in only in a combination of structures; that is land power, ocean force or air power as well as resource power. In any case, these viewpoints are reciprocal and supplementary to one another. In order to acquire international status, each state needs to tap into each of the views. The need for progressive research is to investigate and establish a connection between Central Asia and China from international point of view. The noteworthiness of area, space and separation is in connection with Central Asian region and China. Likewise, the components that are at play in the international setting of Central Asian area and China will be considered in the international investigation.

2.5. European Geopolitics

With respect to scholarly convention and history, the concept of geopolitics promptly brings to mind the state of Germany before the major world wars. For some analysts, the concept international relations alludes to a German science; created and applied by Germany in its military journey to conquer the whole world. The writings of Wickham Steed and George Kiss contend that international relations was the creation of reliable German points and theory. This unavoidable impact of German way of thinking and German ideas might be found in everything from Fichte's Speeches to the German Nation, to the blood and soil considerations of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck and Kaiser Wilhelm II, and from Carl Schmitt, Hegel, Schlegel, and Chamberlain to Adolf Hitler, whose lines of thought in numerous regards showed an unequivocal consistency. The German Empire, established in 1871 with the political unification of the West and East Germany, before long became a significant power on the European mainland. The domain was broken down in 1918 after the First World War and lost quite a bit of its territory to the Versailles Treaty. In 1933 Adolf Hitler became chancellor and in 1939 Germany attacked Poland, which became the trigger for the devastating Second World War.

All through this period, international relations served Germany as a public educational undertaking intended to stir individuals from a sentiment of bogus security and to show them the interconnectedness of social and political factors upon the global society. As indicated by Kiss, the German outlook, formed intensely by Kantian and Hegelian ideas, was profoundly influenced by Germany's misfortunes in the Thirty Years War and the triumphs of Napoleon on the German soil. In the last investigation, it would not be right to contend that both the hypothesis and practice of international affairs has had an easy relationship with the German soul, German higher culture, the German language, and in this way eventually with the German character. Germany has hence used international affairs from multiple points of view to the in favour of the nation. Friedrich Ratzel, Rudolf Kjellen and Karl Haushofer, end up exposing these relationships to the very core of international relations.

Concerning improvement of their ideas, it is critical to take note of Haushofer's dichotomy between political topography and international relations. He characterized international affairs as a device and direction for political activity. For him international relations are the hypothesis of political functions incorporated into their topographical setting, which lead to and must come to be the geographic soul of the state. International affairs as the geographic heart of the state advance international strategy techniques to grow or fortify the state, or possibly to forestall the effects of opposing forces that attempt to contract or debilitate it. His principle point was to develop an international vision that would take into consideration both regional development and frontier securing for Germany, which became captive to the Versailles Treaty.

2.6. US Geopolitics

American international relations were dictated by the celebrated Monroe Doctrine until the First World War. The Doctrine was advanced by President James Monroe in his yearly message to Congress in 1823 where he recognized that the Old World and New World had various frameworks and needed to remain in particular circles. The Doctrine pronounced that the United States would not meddle in the battles between European forces and any attempt by a European entity to control the Western Hemisphere would be seen as an antagonistic demonstration against the United States. Notwithstanding this, while the very long-term power battle was heightening in Europe, the new intensity of the Fourth World was taking shape. The Spanish-American battle of 1898 was the main American foreign victory and subsequently established the primary split in the convention.

Because of rising need, America's first specialists and international scholars began to generate speculations by the turn of the century. With the point of fortifying the intensity of their nation, these planners set about creating conventions for a neo-sea maritime incomparability and the American naval force had started to challenge the idea that it was only Britain that managed the waves (Acemoglu, and Robinson, 2012).

Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840-1914), one of the most notable American scholars of international relations was a maritime official and antiquarian who in 1890 published "The Influence of Sea Power upon History," 1660–1783. In the book, Mahan contended for the incomparability of ocean control over land power, and that maritime predominance was the major rule and premise of international strategy. Mahan's work won quick acknowledgment and was broadly reviewed in Great Britain and Germany. Despite the fact that Mackinder in his renowned work of 1904 gave little consideration to the Forth World, both the British and the Germans took Mahan's seriously. Mahan impacted the development of maritime powers in the years preceding World War I, particularly in Germany. In addition, his qualification of land and ocean powers kept on impacting international masterminds all through the Cold War, as Mahan had additionally upheld a collusion with Britain to offset Eurasian land-powers.

Mahan held the conviction that the US would develop into a force to reckon with in the entire globe. The manner in which he imagined the US accomplishing this objective was through the development of its maritime powers. All in all, so as to turn into a force to be reckoned with, the USA previously needed to build up its power in the high seas. He additionally declared that international law and methods for law and strategy were of optional significance though power was the premise of international strategy. The beginning of the First World War formally denoted the end, or from another vantage point, the augmentation, of the Monroe Doctrine. The USA claimed that it ventured into the First World War because of its obligation for international good.

2.7. Central Asian Geopolitics

International relations are viewed as additional scientific practices and studies which consider the cycle and standards of the improvement of states, regions and the world in general, considering the impact of the frameworks of geological, political, financial, military and other variables. Above all else is the conspicuous reality of geology, fringes and area of these states. The subsequent factor is that these states have remarkable ethno etymological links with neighboring

states. The third purpose incorporating Central Asian developments inside an international structure is that of the manner in which states characterize their identity in order to have some impact in the international system changes from time to time and from place to place. A distinctive element of the book is its emphasis on the long-standing strict, ethnic and social behaviour of the groups of people in the area.

In Jed C. Snyder, ed., *After Empire: The Emerging Geopolitics of Central Asia* (1995) the analyst argues that every one of the five Central Asian states is probably going to develop in their own separate individual ways, propelled by particular public interests. He further explains that the main point of interest is the degree of Russia's impact in Central Asia and its drawn-out implications for the area's security. In this section John Anderson analyzes Central Asia's quest for new global allies in the Western, Islamic and Asian worlds, noting that by and large the intrigue or conceivable outcomes of contribution by these states is often very restricted. The impact would seem to remain as sharp as could be expected. Significant parts like Perestroika years' quest for character, public structure and Islamic factor, and the international legislative issues of Central Asia are of most extreme significance to understanding the current security issues of the region.

The beginning of the Uighur ethnic gatherings (Turks) is best perceived as a progressive development through progressive phases of connection with the Chinese country, examined by Dru C Gladney in his article, "The Ethno beginnings of the Uighur", *Central Asian Survey* vol. 9 no. 1 1990. In this article the ethno beginning after Hobsbawm's keen investigation of the designed convention by gatherings of individuals trying to characterize themselves and reclassified by neighborhood forces of domain, the writer examined the ethno beginning of the Uighur as an ongoing ethnic collectivity re-made rationalistic association with envisioned verifiable custom and international necessities. In the later parts, he depicts the joining of Xinjiang into China and the character of the modern Uighur people group. The fuse of Xinjiang area into China in legitimate manner is demonstrated by Han movement, correspondence, instruction and word related movements since 1940. This will assist us with understanding the complex personalities and multiethnic character of the People of Xinjian.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF INSECURITY IN KENYA: THE PROBLEM OF POROUS BORDERS

3.1. Introduction

By the opening of the twenty first century, the question of border security had become a key concern to both scholars and state practitioners in the areas of state security throughout the world. In the United States of America, the events of the 11th September 2001 became a major turning point for the manner in which governments looked at border security issues. While the ordinary connotation of a national border is usually that of a defined demarcation between two or more independent states, that notion was quickly eroded by the emergence of insecurity, especially international terrorism. One even imagined borders in the sense of a secured compound only accessible through defined and controlled entry and exit points. Yet borders across the world are not as clearly defined; many states have hardly practice authority over all their territories while many other borders simply exist on paper while immigrants practically walk across national borders without even the knowledge that they are leaving or entering foreign countries. In Africa, in particular, the problem of national security has been largely compounded by the lack of effective borders and border controls. African states largely lack any systematic mechanism for control of their borders while there are various ethnic communities who occupy space that that is between two or more states, hence the concept of porous borders. The vast lengths of such borders are poorly, if at all, manned. This facilitates uncontrolled human activity between distinct and sovereign neighbouring states (Dupeyron, Emmanuel Brunet-Jailly et Bruno, 2007).

The absence of these controls between the borders of states is what has given rise to criminal activities including smuggling, human trafficking and terrorism elements who take advantage of border weakness to cross national borders at will and violate the security of respective states. One of the most common cross border activities is the illegal and uncensored movement of goods across state borders without being subjected to government customs and duties for the sake of revenue collection by the concerned states. This free movement is, in most cases against the interest of states and is the beginning point of cross border insecurity.

Having suffered a number of setbacks on its tourism industry on account of Al-Shabaab attacks, the government of Kenya decided, in 2010, to wage a military assault on the group by deploying the Kenya Defense Forces into the neighbouring Somalia. While Al-Shabaab as well as its

Middle and Far Eastern associates of Al-Qaeda, who were responsible for the earlier attack on the US Embassy in Nairobi in 1998 did not essentially appear to pose a serious threat to Kenya since it had not declared interested in Kenya as its primary target, the subsequent deployment of the KDF into Somalia bred more targeted attacks on Kenyan indigenous interests. Interestingly, the group had earlier treated Kenya as an ally that would provide them with the opportunity to revenge on the United States and other Western enemies. Hence when Kenya took the step of pursuing them into Somalia, they were both surprised and angered. It was like an act of betrayal. To Al-Shabaab, Kenya had interfered in the domestic politics of Somalia and on that basis was a became an enemy. The consequences were terrorist attacks by the Al-Shabaab operatives on Kenyan soil and interests. The spate of attacks came in quick successions and were obviously intended to intimidate the population and dissuade the state from interfering with Al-Shabaa's existence and safe haven in Somalia.

The following table summarizes the major attacks and numbers of lives lost in each of them since the year 2013. It is notable that several other attacks of smaller magnitude are not covered in the table. One major feature of these attacks is that they all targeted Kenyan indigenous targets, especially of security nature, whether in or outside the country. While most of the attacks were carried out inside the country, some of them, such as the El-Ade KDF attack, were carried out against Kenyan interests inside Somalia.

The table below summarizes some of the most severe Al-Shabaab attacks on Kenyan territory between 2013 and 2016.

S/NO	Target	Date of Attack	No. of Reported Deaths
1.	Westgate Mall, Nairobi	21/9/2013	67
2.	Mpeketoni, Lamu	15/6/2014	50

3.	Mpeketoni 2, Lamu	17/6/2014	15
4.	Garissa University College, Garissa	2/4/2015	147
5.	Gikomba Market, Nairobi	16/5/2015	10
6.	Mandera Highway Bus shooting, Mandera	22/11/2015	28
7.	Mandera Quarry Shooting, Mandera	2/12/2015	36
8.	El Adde KDF Attack, Somalia	15/2/2016	200
9.	Baure roadside attack, Lamu	14/6/2015	8 KDF soldiers
10.	Merti Vbied attack, Isiolo	18/2/2018	Nil

Source: Author (2020)

NB: The reported cases of death are considered to be conservative since the government was trying to minimize the psychological effect of the attacks on the population. Further there were other casualties who ended up with severe injuries and perhaps succumbed later but follow up on such cases was extremely difficult. Further still the amount of property destroyed and the psychological torture meted on the soldiers and their families is not quantifiable.

3.2. Employment of Military Strategy to counter Terrorism

While the deployment of KDF into Somalia was itself initially viewed as a change of tactic in dealing with terrorism as a major threat to national security, the decision itself turned out to become a dilemma that required the government to continuously review in order to find the best approach to the security problem. However, situation quickly worsened and called for a more proactive move. Kenya eventually resorted to seeking external alliances and partners to tackle the problem. The first of such efforts was to seek to integrate the KDF into the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). By the end of 2012 Kenya had joined forces with Uganda, Burundi and Djibouti and Ethiopia to try and contain Al-Shabaab. However, the reaction of the Al-Shabaab was quick and decisive, with attacks against civilian targets around the border with Kenya and in Uganda as well. The Westgate Mall attack was the most dreaded and served as a wake-up call for the government, more like the 9/11 attack on the US.

From the accounts of some of the survivors of these attacks, the attackers were of varied nationalities, including Kenya but a majority of them were of Somali origin, a pointer to the fact that the attacks were perhaps all planned in Somalia. There were also the so-called foreign fighters that were recruited from around the world to make the group appear more international and astutely organized. This would send the government back to the drawing board in order to try and identify al-shabaabs international allies.

As would be expected, Kenya took steps and formulated efforts to strengthen the government of Somalia in order to eliminate the vacuum within which the group operated in Somalia. Such measures included engagement with the international community to seek assistance in stabilizing and strengthening the state of Somalia with a view to fighting Al-Shabaab. Kenya's campaign, against the group including seeking to have it listed under the United National Security Council Resolution 1267, as a terrorist group alongside Al Qaeda, Taliban and ISIL. However, these efforts did not bear fruit as the application was rejected in 2018.

It should not be forgotten that prior to Al-Shabaab's provocative acts in 2010, the government of Kenya had tried to remain neutral in terms of the security situation in the Horn of Africa, especially Somalia. The country even avoided the temptation to join forces with Ethiopian to dislodge the Islamic Courts movement from power in Mogadishu and Kismayu around 2006. On the other hand, Kenya played a very active role in the Somalia Peace process which benefitted immensely from Kenya's diplomatic influence in the entire region. In fact, the role and impact of Kenya's diplomatic charm is credited with the state of relative peace and security in the entire

region. In fact, Kenyan mediators like General Elijah Sumbeiwyo, Ambassador Bethwell Kiplagat and Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka became household names within the IGAD owing to their roles in the peace processes in Somalia and Sudan. Their mediation and diplomatic engagement in the region successfully placed Kenya on the international diplomatic platform.

During the interview conducted on 12th November, 2019 one respondent from the police service said that border security is only achievable through complete securitization, especially of the border communities. His opinion is that most countries suffering from border security issues have implemented various strategies including what he termed as “borderization” of security. Another respondent stated that some of these strategies are very expensive and include erecting border walls such as what Kenya is doing along the Kenya Somalia border at Mandera. He says that governments need to go to great lengths to curtail threats such as terrorism which pose great danger to governments and their populations.

The main finding here is that with advent of international terrorism, the issue of peace and security, especially along the Kenya Somalia border, has remained of key concern to the government of Kenya. This situation has been exacerbated by the persistent attacks among the communities living along the border. Like other types of violent conflicts, cross border insecurity has resulted to displacement, loss of lives, destruction and loss of property and livelihoods, among other gross human violations. These phenomenon occurrences are also common among pastoralist communities that experience cattle rustling and similar conflicts emanating from their nomadic life style as they move in search of pasture and water for their herds.

3.3. Seeking International Support to counter Al-Shabaab

Another strategy that Kenya thought would ensure its security from Somalia was to help the country deal with the wave of Islamic extremism that started to exhibit through Al-Qaeda related Al-Shabaab terrorist group. Al-Shabaab, though was seen to be a byproduct of the Union of Islamic Courts that seized the opportunity to restore order and governance in Somalia following the breakdown of law and order, was soon seen to have links with the Middle East based international terror group Al-Qaeda. Al-Qaeda had already put its signature on a number of attacks on Western interests in East Africa, Kenya included. The abduction of Western tourists from Kenya was just but the last straw that broke the camel’s back. Therefore, even as Kenya sought to pursue the insurgents into Somalia, the intention was purely to tame the tide of insecurity along its borders and discourage the terror group from launching its attacks on Kenyan interests. However, this turned out negatively and instead emboldened the group’s resolve to fight against Kenya itself.

If initially Al-Shabaab targeted non-Kenyan interests in Kenya, the entry of the KDF into Somalia exposed Kenya as the real enemy. This led to a number of attacks on Kenya's own interests, including the KDF itself. Some analysts have asserted that Kenya made a serious mistake by venturing into Somalia because at that time most of the insurgent attacks were only limited to the sparsely populated and least developed areas of the NFD which are close to Somalia.

However, from the perspective of national security, a nation has no business becoming one if it does not have the capacity to fully control the territory defined by its borders (Herbst, 2000). It was not possible for Kenya to ignore security challenges on any part of its territory and still claim to be concerned with its national security. Therefore, despite the long and porous border between Kenya and Somalia, Kenyan military troops entered Somalia and pronounced its interest in preserving its territorial integrity.

That notwithstanding, Kenya has taken numerous other measures to secure itself from Somalia insurgency through strengthening the government of Somalia. After helping to establish the TFG with the help of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and international partners, Kenya went ahead to host the new government for an extended period before it relocated to Mogadishu. Even subsequently, it was in Kenya where personnel to man major Somali government institutions were trained and inducted. This included the police service, military and election officials. This is to mean that Kenya played a key role in trying to help Somalia return to the form of a fully functional state, all in the hope of achieving peace and security back at home. It is the position of this paper that all these activities costed Kenya dearly and it would not have taken all the trouble, except for the hope of achieving its own national interest in the form of peace and national security.

In another interview on 15th November, 2019 on respondents from the ministry of interior said that the government of Kenya has engaged with various actors to resolve the escalation of matters between Kenya and Somalia through diplomatic means. To this end various peace initiatives have been initiated, both in Kenya and Somalia towards conflict mitigation, prevention and resolution along the common borders. Another respondent agreed that various such initiatives have come through the CEWARN-IGAD mechanism incorporating government agencies, civil society, NGOs, CBOs, as well as District Peace Committees.

3.4. How Porous Borders induced insecurity in Kenya

As a country Kenya shares territorial borders with five neighbours. These neighbours include Ethiopia; about 750 kilometers, Somalia, some 680 kilometers, South Sudan, about 300 kilometers, Tanzania and Uganda, with about 700 kilometers each. In addition, Kenya also has a running coastline of about 1,420 kilometers along the Indian Ocean. In total therefore, Kenya's borderline runs for cumulatively to five thousand kilometers. In short, nineteen out of Kenya's forty-seven administrative counties lie on the border with a foreign country. That is slightly over forty percent of the counties and represents a huge part of the population. However, apart from the counties bordering Uganda such as Trans Nzoia, Bungoma and Busia, which also happen to be the country's bread basket, the rest of the border counties are arid and semi-arid, with the major pre-occupation of the inhabitants being pastoralism and cross border illicit trade. This cross border illicit trade, colloquially referred to in Kenya as 'magendo' is largely facilitated by the porousness of the border and weak government policing in those areas. With only a handful of security establishments along the border, the communities in these regions have fashioned their own cross border lifestyle that is independent of any government-based security arrangement.

The border lifestyle is mainly characterized by an economy based on smuggling of goods across the border. Sadly, this economy is largely facilitated through corruption involving security agencies, particularly, the police and immigration. As a result, the work of government officials in these areas is marked with laxity and ineptitude as they also thrive on the same practices. For example, the Institute for War and Peace Reporting stated that the perpetrators of the Westgate Mall attack in September, 2013 had entered the country by road through manned border points (Kaberia, 2014) and contends further that corruption has played a big role in the entry of illegal immigrants and goods into the country. It blames it, not only on corruption but also the lack of cooperation, outright competition and mistrust among security agencies but the state has tried to address this through a multi-sectoral approach with a central command and better results were witnessed during the DusitD2 rescue operation in 2019. Because of this improved response and coordinated operation, the attack resulted to less loss of lives and property.

The NFD that borders Somalia is reported to have suffered most from such attacks with numerous reports of insecurity including terrorism, crime, uncontrolled migration, and illicit trade (Annette Weber, 2012). This state of affairs is hence attributed to the proximity to the

border, common language across the border and systemic neglect by successive governments, hence underdevelopment. This has made it easier for the insurgents to cross into Kenya, wage attacks and return to their country undetected. This has hence made the citizens in the area susceptible to recruitment into Al-Shabaab.

In an interview conducted on 18th November, 2019 one respondents from the ministry of interior stated that while the government is generally concerned about security in these regions and takes measures in relation to terrorism, illegal trade, smuggling, proliferation of drugs and firearms, members of the public sometimes show no concern but, in most cases, express fear of terrorism more than anything else. For this reason, it's difficult to rely on information from members of the public. He says that many times, members of the public are easily intimidated by the terrorist who live among them as they plan to execute some of their heinous acts. Another respondent agreed that in response to these threats, national institutions such as Parliament and the concerned Ministries, Departments and Agencies usually react by developed policies to address the them he confirms that formulation of policies to address particular emerging security concerns is a common practice as exemplified by US President, Donald Trump's reaction against Mexican migration when he vowed to build a wall along US-Mexico border blaming the immigrants for drug trafficking and other crimes in the US. He therefore justifies all the measures taken by the government of Kenya to deal with the issues along its border with Somalia.

In an interview conducted on 19th November, 2019 a respondent from the Ministry of Interior opined that while proximity to the Somali territory and the significant Muslim population in Kenya were viewed as some of the factors that facilitated Al-Shabaal activities in Kenya, the immediate trigger was the entry and operation of the KDF/AMISOM in Somalia that angered the group most and informed their reaction by targeting Kenyan interests in and outside the country. The KDF, under the auspices of AMISOM, have intensified its operations against the militants in Bardera, Gedo, Afmadow, and Lower Juba region. Another respondent affirmed that it was the double thronged strategy of targeting Al-Shabaab inside Somalia and a multiagency approach within Kenya that led to quick and significant success in controlling their activities in the country. He avers that Somalia has stabilized, to a large extent and even allowed a semblance of government since the advent of KDF in Somalia, a fact that has even generated confidence of the international community to start returning to the country.

3.5. Criminal Cross Border Activities

According to Nigeria's ThisDay on line news www.ThisDay.news.com most of the terrorist activities in the north of the country have been ascertained to be the work of foreign insurgents who enter the country, carry out attacks and exit quickly before law enforcers catch up with them. It says that the attacks are carried out mainly along the country's border with Cameroon, Chad and Niger. The writer blamed these attacks and other illegal activities on the country's long and porous land borders. Like Nigeria, Kenya's thousands of kilometers of poorly manned borders contribute significantly to illegal activities which include terrorism, trafficking of illegal arms and ammunitions, human trafficking and evasion of taxes through entry of counterfeit goods through unmarked border points. This causes the government to lose money, both in the form of revenue and heavy expenditure towards employment of various forms of response mechanisms. Similarly, the goods so trafficked are neither monitored nor inspected to ensure safety for consumption by the populations. These illegal practices not only enhance the chances of importation of diseases and pollution of the environment but also lead to a high rate of disaffection on the part of the citizens against their government.

In the Trafficking of persons Report 2019, the United States of America's Department of State has mentioned Kenya as a source, destination and transit point of victims of human trafficking in the region (US Department of State, 2019). The report attributes the practice to both porous borders and corruption among public officers, particularly police officers. Additionally, the vice of human trafficking is thought to be closely linked to other vices like drug trafficking with some of the victims of trafficking being forced to carry small quantities of drugs to their destination. Cases of human trafficking through the Libyan borders in North African states are cited as proof of this practice and lend credence to the fears expressed by Kenyans about the movement of refugees and other persons across the border from Somalia and other parts of the region.

In an interview conducted on 22nd November, 2019, one respondent from the police service blames the porosity of the border between Kenya and Somalia for the great surge of insecurity in the border counties of Wajir, Garissa, Mandera and Tana River. This porosity is further complicated by lack of effective policing of the border due to inadequate presence of security infrastructure. There are some settlements along the border area without border demarcation such as El Wak which therefore serve both Somalia and Kenya and with no official border crossing points. This means that cross border movements are not controlled and residents enter and leave

their countries at will. Another respondent agreed that this matter also causes confusion in the minds of the residents as to whether they belong to Kenya or to Somalia. In this case it is even hard to determine where the people's loyalty lies.

Another respondent from the interior ministry reinforces these sentiments by saying that civilians, particularly, non-Muslims, have been the primary target of Somali attackers. Christian residents of the border towns have severally been waylaid while using public transport in the area, where they have been isolated and killed in cold blood. Militants are also known to target government infrastructures and equipment such telecommunication masts, buildings and vehicles. The destruction of infrastructure in such an underdeveloped region has had the effect of curtailing government service delivery and provision of security to the population.

3.6. Disputed Territories

The problem of porous borders is further compounded by the issue of disputed territories which has drawn Kenya into two longstanding disputes with Uganda on one hand and South Sudan and Ethiopia on the other. Although the dispute between Kenya and Uganda over Migingo island, which measures only about 200 meters square and is a fishing hub for Kenyan and Ugandan fishermen in Lake Victoria, is usually dismissed as insignificant, the one with South Sudan and Ethiopia over Ilemi Triangle has remained a long-standing dispute that threatens to degenerate into open hostility (Nene, 2007). Some analysts have even opined that blown out conflict between the two countries is perhaps only delayed by the existing instability in the new state of South Sudan but remains a potential source of serious conflict in the region.

According to Nene, Ilemi Triangle is a confluence of organized and armed bandits from Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia and South Sudan. Although the ownership of this territory has not been established officially, the security implications of its neglect are already being felt in the countries involved and Kenya stands to suffer as much. This is perhaps due to Kenya's standing as a more developed democracy among the three countries involved. Migingo, on the other hand has remained a constant source of trouble between Ugandan authorities and Kenyan fishermen on the island, a situation which threatens relations between Uganda and Kenya and to a larger extent the efforts at integration of the East African Community.

Notably, relations between Kenya and Somalia have lately suffered considerably following the maritime dispute between the two countries, a matter that has flared on to the International Court of Justice. Although Kenya claims that the two countries signed a Memorandum of

Understanding in 1979 that gave it rights over the disputed territory, Somalia, in 2019, violated that MOU by selling rights for oil and gas prospecting for seven blocks in the same area. This action has led to a long drawn diplomatic row between Somalia and Kenya with Kenya demanding that Somalia withdraws its bids for those blocks. Although proposals have been made for peaceful resolution of this dispute through dialogue and mediation, the two sides have remained adamant. (Mumma-Martinon). It is most unlikely that this dispute would have started if oil and gas deposits were not discovered in the area.

Accordingly, as it is clear in this case, most territorial disputes among African countries are instigated by the discovery of mineral resources on hitherto marginalized territories (Okumu, 2010). He continues to argue that the disputes are worsened by the lack of clearly defined and marked boundaries, availability of trans-boundary resources and security matters. In the case of the Ilemi triangle, speculations over unexplored oil resources have increased the value of the territory to its contestants and increased its potential as a source of conflict.

In an interview conducted on 28th November, 2019, a respondent from the ministry of foreign affairs disagreements regarding trans-limit assets have stood out generally over the most recent couple of years, outskirts security has been tenacious and remained the principle center in fringe relations all through the area over numerous years, with steers stirring, drug dealing, illegal exploitation, pirating of Small and Light Weapons, and robbery of vehicles over the fringes all including in the economy of the borderlands. Other security issues identify with fearful oppressor exercises, unlawful and undocumented settlements through illicit outskirts focuses by networks that have family members on the two sides of the fringe, and unlawful cross-fringe exercises, for example, the utilization of crowds of young men as sources for human dealers and observing the developments of government watch organizations. He proceeds to express the opinion that borderlands with mineral assets will in general experience progressively successive debates, over land; they experience wilderness, security cautions, and severe political trades between the particular governments. He gives instances of ongoing cases like the Albert bowl, riding the Uganda–DRC fringe, the Elemi Triangle that is challenged by Kenya, Sudan and Ethiopia, and the Lake Victoria's Misingo Island among Kenya and Uganda. He affirmed that contention is consistently famous in such regions, even between the neighborhood networks and typically will in general raise whenever the nearby networks are denied the occasions to abuse the normal assets accessible in there.

3.7. The influx of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs)

The methodology whereupon the Government of Kenya tends to instances of expansion of Small Arms and Light Weapons, is established on the rule that reasonable, long haul advancement and success for all Kenyan residents must be guaranteed in a protected and secure climate, liberated from dangers of armed clashes. The legislature accepts that to establish such an environment, it's important to distinguish, comprehend and in this manner address all the components that cause, fuel and empower instability and armed struggle in Kenya. It's imperative to note that such endeavors are not likely to accomplish much unless they are forcefully implemented and unless they win the support of the local communities whose lives are directly affected by the illegal practices.

The multiplication of small arms and light weapons is a prompt security challenge to people, social orders, and states far and wide and a tremendous obstacle to national and regional security advancement. Needless to say, that small arms are instrumental in fueling conflict among communities, increase of criminal activities and spread of fear among the general population. They additionally undermine government programs meant to benefit the local populations. In this regard, much of East Africa and the Horn of Africa is overwhelmed with small arms and light weapons and is constantly under serious threat.

The major concern here, however, is that access to these small arms and light weapons has become very easy in the wake of conflict in the entire neighbourhood. The issue is made more serious by the lack of controls along the border and the ease with which people cross the borders unhindered while the border communities, being pastoralists, have over the years become used to the practice of cattle rustling. While these pastoralists traditionally used crude weapons such as spears and arrows in perpetuating this practice, the advent of small arms have raised the premium in this practice. The easy access of small arms has therefore altered the mode of cattle rustling to a very lethal, armed practice. This change has also changed the intention of cattle rustling and made it a highly commercial venture where gangs are employed to raid pastoralist communities and collect herds of cattle that are immediately turned over to the market for profit. This commercialization of cattle rustling would probably not have occurred if small arms and light weapons were not readily available as they now are. The same weapons would not have been readily available if the country's borders were not as porous as they presently are.

On the other hand, easy access to these guns has attracted a great amount of interest to the frontier counties from where the guns are transported to other counties and urban areas. In most of the conflict zones in the entire region, access to guns is guaranteed because of the state of insecurity where guns are easily available. In non-conflict urban areas such as Nairobi and Mombasa, small arms are commonly used to commit crimes like murder, robbery and vehicle theft. Although the government of Kenya is making serious efforts to address crime, these efforts are usually frustrated by the easy access to guns in the region.

In an interview with a respondent from the security sector, the KII stated that insecurity along the borderlands is directly attributed to the easy access to and misuse of SALW from war ravaged countries. This has a direct effect on the economic security of such neighbourhoods. He cited Dadaab refugee camp in Garissa and the surrounding areas as an example of this phenomenon. Dadaab is close to the Kenya Somalia border and absorbs the effects of events such as famine, draught and conflicts that take place inside Somalia. Reports have blamed criminal activities such as robbery, kidnapping and smuggling of counterfeit goods in the area to the easy access of SALW from Somalia. Due to these occurrences, the government often has to impose security measures such as curfew in the affected areas, which in turn hurts genuine businesses. These, among other factors, have of course impacted negatively on private investments and the general development of the region. Availability and misuse of arms, has had negative impact on social services such as healthcare, food and education. Cultural lifestyles, for example the requirement for children to look after their parents' cattle; pastoralist lifestyle and frequent conflict also force schools to close for long durations while many children drop out of school. The few and under capacitated health facilities available are ever engaged in responding to victims of victims of conflict, specifically those who have been injured by the SALWs at the expense of the usual healthcare needs such as immunization of children, mother child clinics and general health education. Generally, the life of the people in these communities is dominated with fear and the instinct for survival. Civil servants in those areas were actually compensated by a hardship allowance because of the ravages of the environment which were not just limited to the harsh environmental conditions but the possibility of losing life through small and light weapons as well.

Come to the post terrorism period the same areas have continued to experience serious challenges owing to easy movement of terrorists from the neighbouring countries through the porous borders. Despite the presence of security agencies, Somali Islamists have crossed the border with sophisticated weapons and attached residents, particularly non-Muslims, with a view to subduing the local communities to support their course. Subsequently, some non-local inhabitants, particularly those in the teaching and medical professions, have abandoned their engagement in those areas for fear of their lives.

From the field survey and the data collected the researcher has been able to demonstrate the viability of the hypothesis that porous borders between Kenya and its neighbors have contributed significantly to insecurity in the country. From the findings it was also established that poorly manned borders contribute significantly to illegal activities which include terrorism, trafficking of illegal arms and ammunitions, human trafficking and evasion of taxes through entry of counterfeit goods through unmarked border points. This causes the government to lose money, both in the form of revenue and heavy expenditure towards employment of various forms of response mechanisms. For example, the government has now resorted to an expensive venture of constructing a border wall. Government has also had to continuously increase the security budget in order to maintain vigilance in the area. Similarly, the goods so trafficked are neither monitored nor inspected by government agencies to ensure their safety for consumption by the populations. In deed the market in the entire area is awash with goods trafficked from Somalia, Yemen and other Middle Eastern sources with little or no verification of production standards. From the various interviews conducted, the researcher is convinced that most of the arguments presented by the respondents added weight to the hypothesis.

CHAPTER FOUR

IMPACT OF THE INFLUX REFUGEES INTO KENYA

4.1. Introduction

Although Kenya has experienced relative peace for most of the time since its independence, it has also had a long history with the problem of refugees of the neighbouring countries fleeing from internal conflicts in their countries. This is mainly due to the history of conflict that has endured in the region since pre-colonial years. As a matter of fact, most, if not all of Kenya's neighbours have gone through protracted internal conflicts that have resulted to displacement of populations. The peaceful environment in Kenya and the country's proximity to the conflict zones in the region have been the two main factors favouring refugee settlement in the country. For that matter, over time, Kenya has hosted refugees from Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, South Sudan, Somalia and Ethiopia in equal measure. While Uganda has experienced both internal and external conflicts since 1962, Rwanda's genocide of 1994 was phenomenal. South Sudan and Somalia, however, have endured the longest of both internal and external conflicts in the entire region.

The table below gives the identities and symbols of the various Key Informant Interviews who participated in the study: Their responses and opinions will form the bulk of this chapter.

Table 4.1: KIIs

SYMBOL	IDENTITY
KII.1	Refugee
KII.2	Secretary, Ministry of Interior, Nairobi
KII.3	Director, Ministry of Foreign Affairs
KII.4	Police Officer, Ministry of Interior, Nairobi
KII.5	Protection Officer, UNHCR
KII.6	Refugee

Source: Author (2020)

4.2. The Dilemma and obligation of states that host refugees

It is generally assumed that all states have accepted and operate under the international obligations to receive and accommodate anybody who declares to have “a well-founded fear of persecution because of their race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social or political grouping or political opinion; and is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin” as per the definition of a refugee by the 1951 Refugee Convention. However, some analysts have argued that the extent to which states are obliged to admit and host refugees that report to their territories and seek asylum has not been addressed adequately by any existing international conventions. While the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights expressly provides for the rights of all people to seek and enjoy asylum in any country, the 1951 Refugee Convention does not give an express provision for the same. As a matter of fact, there are many governments that are yet to ratify that convention. Likewise, as much as states are bound by the principle of “*non-refoulement*” which provides that no refugee or asylum seeker shall be returned to their country of origin “where their life or freedom would be threatened on account of their race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular group or political opinion” the international law does not expressly oblige states to provide asylum to such refugees. The concept of “*non refoulement*” which is derived from a French language meaning no right to return, is usually used only to refer to refugees who are already registered within a particular state. Hence a refugee is only one who has been accepted and accorded the status. Those arriving at the frontiers can and have severally been denied entry even when they plead to have real threat against their lives in their country of origin. Hence the process of verification of refugees before they are admitted and given full recognition as refugees has remained extremely long and tedious in some countries. In the process some have been forced to return to the same conditions that they were trying to run away from.

Secondly, the role of receiving states to determine the status of a person as a refugee is not exclusively defined and there are various intervening factors, solely depending on the conditions at the country of destination. Interestingly this inconsistency is demonstrated by the fact that an individual may fail to be granted the refugee status in one country and succeed in the next state. Further, the 1951 Refugee Convention does not determine the duration of stay in the country of refuge, even after being accepted. As a result, many refugees have overstayed in their countries of refuge, even long after the conditions in their home countries have changed for the better. Although it talks about a well-founded fear of persecution, the convention allows the receiving

state to determine when that well-founded fear ceases to prevail and the state has a right to review the immigration status of such a person without any further reference.

It therefore follows that despite the existence of international conventions and the international law to safeguard the status of refugees, states still have a wide leeway of deciding the fate of refugees in their territories. Needless to say, therefore that much of the responsibility toward refugees is assigned to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), the receiving state bears much of the burden of hosting them and naturally therefore deserves to have more say on whether or not to admit them. On the other hand, some states have also realized that they can take advantage of the presence of refugees in their countries in order to attract the support offered by international refugee agencies. Such countries therefore would compete for such opportunities with a view to cashing in on the various refugee programs for their own benefit. Despite this, much of the burden is still born by the state in terms of consequences of hosting refugees. Of major concern are the subsequent security and environmental outcomes that host countries have to endure for many years afterwards. What is to be born in mind is that refugees occupy space in the territory of the receiving state and due to their large numbers, like in the case of Kenya as well as their cultural orientation in their place of origin, they may become a huge burden to the environment. Take for example the case of Dadaab and Kakuma refugee camps in Kenya, the environment has deteriorated to serious levels due to cutting of trees for charcoal burning as a source of fuel for cooking and as a source of income. More often than not the available facilities are hardly enough to accommodate the large numbers of refugees.

It is a fact that some poor countries have used the presence of refugees in their national territories only to become an opportunity to solicit international assistance from rich states in the west and international humanitarian organizations. Such organizations include the UNHCR itself, the International Refugee Assistance Project (IRAP), Mercy Corps, Save the Children, UNICEF and Catholic Relief Services. Others are the World Food Program (WFP), International Organization for Migration (IOM), Lutheran World Federation (LWF), International Rescue Committee (IRC) and Jesuit Refugee Services (JRS). Locally in Kenya such organizations include the National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) and a number of local non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs).

The international obligation of state governments in the management of refugee affairs is therefore fairly limited and to services such as vetting the applicants to ensure the genuine status, or the so-called well-founded fear and ensuring security of the new entrants into the country, just as well as the citizens and handing them over to the UNHCR for further processing. Although

governments vet the refugee candidates, their role is sometimes limited to only ensuring that the candidate is not a threat to their national security. The main vetting responsibility which includes establishing in each case, the well-founded fear of persecution from their country of origin, is of course the preserve of the UNHCR. Part of this responsibility is to screen and ensure that the applicant is genuine and poses no security threat to the receiving state. In Kenya, the enactment of the Refugee Act in 2007, and later creation of the Department of Refugee Affairs Secretariat (RAS) under the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government has since offered the much-needed link between the government and international organizations in managing refugee affairs in the host country.

One of the greatest fears that the receiving states have about refugees is usually that they may “import” with them undesirable elements that may threaten the security of the receiving state. Many times, refugees enter or attempt to enter territories of the receiving states while in possession of harmful staff; particularly for those arriving directly from conflict zones have a tendency to carry firearms and ammunitions. They help in trafficking of firearms and ammunitions and there is also the fear of human and drug trafficking. Remember that most of the time they are escaping from situations of conflict where access to guns and other deadly weapons is common place. Dadaab and Kakuma camps in Kenya have proved this fear true due to the frequent emergence of Al-Shabaab elements that use the camps as a safe haven to plan and launch attacks in the country. Cases of kidnapping of tourists as well as piracy on the Indian Ocean were severally reported from the Daddaab camp before the launch of the Linda Nchi Operation. Furthermore, the challenge of distinguishing genuine refugees from insurgents is so great due to the commonality of race and the fact that some refugees would usually escape from the camps to live with their local kinsmen. Some actually sneak back to their countries of origin and participate in the conflict before sneaking back. The failure of the government and the UNHCR to confine them to the camps further complicates this challenge.

It is therefore clear that states usually get caught up between the genuine intention to honour their obligations under international conventions to provide asylum to refugees, and their national obligations to maintain peace and security in their territories. In an attempt to promote security, especially in the post 2011 period, the government of Kenya came up with a raft of measures including attempts to close down Dadaab, the largest camp in the region in 2016. That decision, to close down Dadaab and repatriate more than 250 of its inhabitants on security grounds was, however, stopped after an intervention in court which termed it as an act of group persecution. The government was hence left with the option of dealing with the situation as it

was despite its grave security implications. Other efforts to address those challenges, including the creation of an enabling environment for refugees' coexistence with local communities did not bear much fruit.

4.3. Major Causes of Refugee Influx into Kenya

It is notable that every member state of the East African and the Horn of Africa Regions has been confronted with issues of refugees which have affected them from inside and outside. In spite of the fact that the nature and extent has differed fundamentally from one nation to the next, until 1989, Kenya had been more of a refugee receiving than generating country. However, due to politically instigated ethnic clashes of the 1990s Kenya generated huge numbers of internally displaced people, popularly known as the IDPs. According to UNHCR, the number of IDPs in Kenya increased from 14,400 in 1991 to about 500,000 in 2012. Somewhere in the range of 1991 and 1992, there was an incredible upsurge in the number of Ethiopian refugees into Kenya because of the flare-up of conflict in Ethiopia.

The Ethiopian refugees accused their government of numerous acts of violation including detention without trial, forced conscription and various forms of persecution. Kenya became the preferred destination because of the government's indiscriminate receptibility. No wonder, Kedemech Demeke, an Ethiopian refugee who had lived in Kenya for many years and was totally assimilated commended his host country, Kenya for exemplary reception and hospitality adding that Ethiopian refugees were indebted to the people of Kenya for their hospitality in the course of the protracted conflict in their country. In his own words, "Kenya has become my country. I maintain my business here and most of our people live in up market residential areas such as Kiliman in Nairobi. We are grateful to the people of Kenyan, the government and the civil society for being so compassionate and supportive to the entire refugee community"

Similarly, owing to the protracted conflict in Somalia, many Somali people fled their country and settled far and wide in the region. Kenya, in particular was very attractive owing to a number of factors including proximity as well as the presence of Somali speaking people. Somali refugees felt completely at home being in Kenya. Over time, and with the semblance of peace, a few of them returned to Somalia but kept coming back to Kenya. However, what was seen as the return of stability in Somalia and Ethiopia was very short lived as hostility recurred every now and then. Hence only a small part of the refugee community managed to return home while the rest stayed and even sought alternative third country relocation. Many of them, through the assistance of the UNHCR, found homes elsewhere including Europe, America and Australia. Conflict and instability in the region contributed a lot to the decision by many of them not to return home.

Civil war persisted despite the intervention of Kenya and the international community and the regional states. However, through the AMISON peacekeeping efforts, the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia has been able to survive and put up a show against the insurgent Al-Shabaab efforts by the international Community to ensure the prevalence of peace in the country. The situation has been aggravated by drought and famine in the land that forced even more people to flee into Kenya, at least in search for food and water (Brown).

In one of the Key Informant Interviews conducted by the researcher, a respondent who worked as a protection officer in one of the Refugee Camp recounted the dilemma that many refugees go through in their camps. He said that owing to the bad conditions of life in the refugee camps, nobody would choose to live as a refugee in a foreign land. "Most of us were forced from our homes by the circumstances that existed there. We would perhaps be dead if we did not flee to seek asylum out here" the most prevalent reason for seeking refuge was conflict and violence meted on them in their home countries. They usually leave home with the hope of getting a better life in the countries of refuge. The most devastating thing is that most countries lack a credible conflict resolution mechanism so that once conflicts begins, they seem to go on and on forever, hence disrupting lives drastically and permanently. Many of the conflicts simply change in nature and intensity but hardly ending. Many people's human and political rights are violated, they lose economic opportunities and they are destined to live in fear in their own homes for ever, thus preferring to leave the country. Many times, they do not even know where they are going but they are happy as long as they are able to flee their homes and live in peace elsewhere. Unfortunately, many never receive that peace even in their countries of asylum. Many are those who get a shock of their lives to discover that the same conditions prevail even in the places where they relocate to. The same conflicts are exported across borders to their new settlements and so they are constantly on the run. In addition, many times refugees also encounter hostility from the host population and they have to depend on humanitarian assistance by international organization

4.4. The impact of refugee influx in Kenya

The influx of refugees has caused not only economic but political and security impacts to Kenya. Security wise, the emergence of Al-Shabaab terrorists has been felt by both Kenya and its neighbour including Uganda and more so by the Transitional Government of Somalia (TFG) (Jacobsen, 2002). The Human Rights Watch has even made claims to the effect that both Kenya and Somalia being the main sufferers, even collaborated in recruiting young Somali refugees from the camps in Kenya to help fight off the Islamist insurgents. Some of them have been recruited to wage a propaganda war against the Islamists in their own country.

Despite this, serious challenges have persisted in the main refugee camps. Resources, for example, water, education and healthcare facilities are over stretched, and there is high probability of poor health among both children and adults, causing more fear of flare up of conflicts among the camp occupants. The host communities around Dadaab and Kakuma have in deed blamed their lack of basic amenities on the influx of refugees to their localities (Kiswii, 2013). Many local people contend that they are forced to travel very long distances in search of water even for domestic purposes. Apart from compounding the problem of food insecurity, there is even more prevalence of intra community conflict in those areas. The fact that both local people and the refugees themselves are majorly from pastoralist communities who depend on livestock for their livelihoods, the presence of the refugees causes a conflict of interest. Moreover, the refugee settlements have interfered greatly with their pasture and the number of their livestock has equally reduced drastically.

The immense pressure on the scarce water resources for domestic and pastoral use is another source of conflict between the refugees and local people. Besides, refugees are frequently viewed as a security threat to the host community due to their demands as well as their experience in conflict environment back in their country of origin. For instance, around Kakuma Refugee camps, the local Turkana tribesmen always accuse the Dinka tribesmen of South Sudan of assaulting their women while cutting down trees for charcoal and firewood. There have likewise been various instances of cattle theft that although not directly associated with the refugees are still blamed on their presence. A few local people further complain of night attacks in which they lose their cattle but do not know the identity of the assailants (Lee, 2014). Such incidents have been cited as one of the reasons for the local communities to seek to be armed in order to secure themselves. In order to make good use of the acquired firearms, the communities also mobilize their youngsters and stir their anger against refugees. The demand for firewood and charcoal

usually leads to deforestation that causes serious strain on the climate and the viability of rain in such areas. Hence most of the areas occupied by refugees usually remain dry and unsuitable for any agricultural activity. What's more is that this resource depletion itself becomes a source of tension between the refugees and the local community (Lorenz, & Koigi, 2016). Researchers have gone further to generate statistics that indicate that the guns acquired by the local to safeguard their property and lives are also used in commission of several other criminal acts within and out of the localities (Mandel, 1997).

In another Key Informant Interview the respondent from the Ministry of Interior alluded to a direct relationship between proliferation of small arms into Kenya with the influx of refugee into the country. He cited the northern parts of Kenya as the main source of firearms that are used in commission of crimes in the major urban centers in the country such as Nairobi, Nakuru and Mombasa. He confirmed that the demand for guns is so huge that they are sold openly, just like other legal commodities, in the border towns of Mandera, Wajir and Garissa. He further stated that buying a gun in such areas is as cheap and easy as buying a goat in the market. In the same area itself, cases of gun use are so prevalent that most crimes such as cattle rustling, kidnapping and clan disputes always involve the use of guns. Similarly, the pastoral communities in the north have openly stated their dependence on guns for the protection of their lives and property. Most of those guns are of course illegally acquired from across the border. Generally speaking, therefore, illegal guns have altered lives very significantly in Kenya. Both urban and rural areas of Kenya have experienced a surge of gun related incidents, causing immense concern to security agencies.

The introduction of sophisticated firearms has led to far reaching consequences such as social disintegration and increasing violence that people resort to in order to resolve long standing conflicts within their communities. Gun trade has flourished as a means of livelihood and even for asserting control and influence over territories, for retribution assaults and heightening arms races between rival networks. When all is said and done, the increase in population coupled with the rising rates of illiteracy has also heightened the need for firearms and the refugee camps have come in quite handy for this demand. On the other hand, the proliferation of organizations, especially local and international NGOs around refugee camps has caused unprecedented scramble for opportunities. While most of these organizations have developed policies to favour refugees, the locals have also come out strongly to demand their share of the same opportunities, hence causing lethal competition and rivalry among communities. (Milner, 2000). Of course,

these policies are aimed at supporting the immigrants in their effort to settle and alleviate their suffering associated with migrating and loss of livelihoods.

Non the less the local communities also feel entitled to opportunities that emerge in their localities. They hence tend to blame the government for allowing a situation where foreigners are favoured for jobs against their own interests. The burden then rests on the shoulders of the government to find a plausible explanation but also to provide alternative opportunities for the local people. Hence the need for establishment of sustainable projects for communities becomes one of the avenues used by governments to harmonize relationships between refugees and the host communities. This harmonization is impossible when one of the parties is, or feels left out of development. They must all be made comfortable enough so that they stop looking at each other as rivals. In most cases, the host communities that view refugees as intruders who take advantage of local opportunities that are otherwise meant for the “owners”

4.5. Kenya's Policy on Refugees

The Refugee Act was enacted in Kenya in 2006, to actualize the 1951 United Nations Convention Related to the Status of Refugees, the 1967 Protocol and the 1969 OAU Convention. The advancement of the Act followed a time of continued support by UNHCR and other international humanitarian organizations. The Act typifies refugees into two fundamental clusters; legal refugees and at first sight displaced people, and spells out the conditions for the avoidance and withdrawal of refugee status. This incorporates the individuals who have perpetrated violations either outside or inside Kenya, have double identity and can look for asylum in their second nation, or individuals from countries which do not have specific conditions for acquiring refugee status (Mogire, 2009).

Enactment of the Refugee Act likewise gave birth to the Refugee Affairs Secretariat (RAS) which bears the obligation of overseeing, organizing and dealing with all issues pertaining to refugees in the country. Its responsibilities include vetting of refugee applicants, enrolling them and organizing them in camps. RAS is also charged with the general management and administration of refugee camps in the country and ensuring that those who are supposed to reside in the camps do not leave the camps without authority. It is notable that when refugees leave the camps and find alternative settlement outside the camps is when conflicts ensue between them and the host communities. A Refugee Affairs Committee, likewise settled under the Act, is responsible for notifying the UNHCR of sanctioned refugee movements as well as other administrative issues that occur.

In a KII with an internally displaced person (IDP) in Kenya, the respondent expressed fear that the growing number of refugees and internally displaced persons in the country had grown so much that the government faced serious challenges in managing them under the existing refugee laws. He stated that there was a huge number of refugees operating from outside the refugee camps. It is the opinion of this Key Informant that the government had lost control of the refugee camps and that gives refugees a lee way to operate from within the communities. Ofcourse one of the key objectives of the UNHCR is to manage the integration of refugees into the host communities but this integration has to be managed in a structured manner and there are specific programs for this integration. This loose and ungoverned integration has allowed refugees to compete with locals even for jobs in the market. Many refugees have hence entered the job market in professions such as nursing and education. Others have also established businesses by partnering with local people while others scramble for menial jobs in the neighbourhoods.

The Act additionally decides the boundaries for the Refugee Status Determination (RSD) measure through which applications for refugee status are surveyed. Upon entry into the country, refugee applicants are given a grace period of as long as 30 days appear before RAS committee for verification before they are issued with Asylum Seekers Certificates. This certificate gives them the legal status in the country (Mwagiru, 2000). Those who fail the test in the committee are still allowed to appeal for reconsideration of the Appeals Board. Those who are issued with certificates are further entitled to a Refugee Identification Pass and can apply for a Conventional Travel Document, which can enable them to travel to selected countries. While within the camps, RAS issues movement permits to registered refugees with genuine excuse to travel out of the camps.

Notwithstanding the high convergence of displaced people into the country, Kenya has, to a great extent, actively sought have an open-door policy towards refugees coming from the region. The country has indiscriminately admitted refugee from all its neighbours. This open-door policy is clearly demonstrated by the ever-swelling number of refugees into the country and the humane manner in which they are treated by the government. One understands that Kenya has always made effort to treat its neighbours in a brotherly manner, a fact which has otherwise failed to be reciprocated. Accordingly, thousands of Somali immigrants have been admitted into Kenya and awarded refugee status while thousands more have found their way into the country through illegal dubious means. This, however, has proved to be extremely counterproductive since it has worked in favour the Al-Shabaab insurgents in their quest to revenge against Kenya for its incursion into Somalia. In its response to this threat the government moved to curtail the freedom

of refugee in the country. This was done mainly by introducing more stringent measures in the process of vetting refugee applicants and containing the registered ones inside their respective camps. (Niklaus, 2003). This move somehow helped to control the perceived connections between refugees, especially the ones from Somalia and their insurgent brothers inside the Al-Shabaab cells inside Somalia. Kenya has also remained faithful to the international conventions requiring that no refugee or displaced person is compelled to return to the same environment from where they fled for fear of persecution due to their race, religion, faith or political opinion, without their consent.

4.6. Refugees and their role in Political instability in Kenya

Although Neo-Realist scholars hold the view that the state is the only referent object of security and refuse to recognize the security impact caused by non-state actors, proponents of the concept of Human Security do recognize the delicate balance between the state and other actors in security. For them the state is just but one of the referent objects and as some argue, the state can become the biggest danger to its own security by ignoring other actors. (Niklaus, 2003). Barry Buzan is one of those critical thinkers whose ideas greatly differ with the Neo-Realist theory of state-centrism as opposed to human security. As far as he is concerned, 'Political security concerns the hierarchical strength of states, frameworks of government and philosophies that give them authenticity. Financial security concerns access to resources, account and markets important to continue adequate degrees of government assistance and state power. Cultural security concerns the manageability, inside worthy levels states of advancement of customary examples of language, culture, character and custom (Okumu, 2010). The perception of refugees as being a security threat is one of the factors that inspired the introduction of strict measures to contain refugees inside their camps.

In an interview conducted on 8th December, 2019 a respondent who was a refugee said that Somali refugees have been viewed as a threat to security in Kenya and have suffered undue discrimination. He said that the refugees "have suffered Human right abuses at the hands of the security personnel who view them as a source of insecurity. This has all happened as a result of the prevalence of conflict and violence that has persisted back in Somalia and the deteriorating relationship between Somalia and Kenya." "Of course, as ordinary people who have come to Kenya in pursuit of a life away from conflict, we are very grateful to the government and people of Kenya, but we know that there are a few elements that have continued to cause trouble in our two countries. We don't support them but nobody will believe us when we say that we support the government of Kenya. We know how much Kenya has suffered in its attempts to help

Somalia get back to normal life and how much it has been frustrated by the clan differences and the determination of Islamists to take control, not only of Somalia but the entire region. Even within the refugee communities in the camps, there have been reports of elements that work closely with the Al-Shabaab in trying to destabilize the country. We know that Kenya is justified in trying to eliminate them and we also blame them for making it harder for innocent Somali nationals to seek refuge in Kenya.” This Key Informant contends that the government of Kenya ought to recognize the situation of Somali refugees and allow them to live freely and seek honest livelihoods in Kenya. He stated that some of the refugees are highly skilled and should be permitted to use their skills to contribute to development of the country. They recognize Kenya as their second home and desire to see it develop without hindrances of insecurity perpetuated by insurgent elements from Somalia. As a matter of fact, there are many Somali tribesmen in Kenya who genuinely want to cooperate with the government to stamp out the menace of terrorism because they feel that it is interfering with the only peaceful haven that they have in the region.

4.7. The Impact of Refugees on National Security

Considering the most ordinary definition of a refugee as a person who crosses international borders due to well-founded fear upon his life and one who is faced with imminent human rights abuses, Betts and Loescher both refer to them as the “prima facie evidence of human rights violations and vulnerability” in Africa. The situation in their countries subjects them to persecution and deprivation. They lose their rights, identity and means of livelihood therefore having to leave the comfort zones in their homes, their kin and all that they are familiar with and cross borders in search of alternative identity and livelihoods abroad (Okumu, 2010). Some literature, however, views refugees not only as a consequence of insecurity but also as a source of insecurity and conflict in their country of origin while others in deed view them as a threat to security in the receiving country and the entire region.

In an interview conducted on 8th December, 2019 another respondent who was a Somali refugee said that refugees have generally been blamed for causing insecurity in Kenya because of the prevailing conflicts in their countries of origin. Somalia, for one, has gone through successive decades of clan conflicts followed by years of repressive and violent Islamist campaigns that have not spared even the successive governments. Governments that have been perceived to be against Islamism have had it difficult to survive. These conflicts, unfortunately, have not remained restricted within the country but have been exported to every place where the Somali people have fled to, Kenya being one of the major culprits. Due to this, scholars and analysts have rightly termed the scenario as internationalization of the Somali conflict to neighbouring

states. All Somali speakers in their respective abodes are been viewed as a source of conflict, creating the fear that such conflict may spread to all the surrounding areas.

In the recent past, however, there has been a paradigmatic shift in refugee and security studies which has led to analysts and policy-makers being persuaded to consider refugees as a security threat everywhere they go instead of viewing them purely as asylum-seekers and as people who need protection and shelter. Therefore, the question of whether Kenya remained true to its international obligation towards refugees may become a difficult one to answer. Kenya, of course has had to adopt new approaches towards refugees owing to the nasty experiences with the threat of terrorism. In Kenya, the government as well as the general public has had a negative perception of refugees, seeing them as a real threat to their well-being in the country. As such, even in the scholarly world, refugees have now earned themselves that negative tag as perpetrators of violence and conflict.

These questions have motivated concerted discussion among scholars, some of whom have begun to vie refugees as a real international security concern. At the same time, shifts in security studies, emerging with the end of the Cold War, have reinforced the perception and analysis of refugees as a security threat. This perception has fallen squarely within the Realist paradigm where refugees form part of a country's security threats emanating from the external environment. (Veebel, & Markus, 2015). This consideration has opened the way for several non-military variables to security such as populations, immigration, refugees, environment, and crime among many other social issues that have now become subjects of security studies.

Trivedi and Patil, evaluate the connection between refugees, immigration and security in the 21st Century. They conclude that succeeding years have witnessed a developing enthusiasm for the connection between development and presence of immigrants and the support of neighborhoods, public, territorial and international security. They refer to various advancements as a way of explaining this phenomenon.

In various circumstances, refugees are an unnecessary burden to governments. For example, relations between Tanzania and Burundi soured in 1995 when Burundi blamed Tanzania for helping and furnishing Burundi refugees with claims that Tanzania was preparing to use them to attack their own motherland (Bariagaber, 2006). This is a demonstration of the fact that countries do not trust even their own citizens that have already left their territory. Governments are always

suspicious that such people may express their bitterness with the circumstances back home and become vulnerable to turn against them.

In many instances refugees have participated in and been used to determine even the result of political processes in their country of origin. This has happened in Somalia, Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Uganda. In some cases, they have been used as the fronts through which existing governments are overturned. Uganda and Rwanda are some of the best examples. Therefore, there is evidence that foreigners may design formal brutal assaults against the host nation using refugees in their own land (Acemoglu, & Robinson, 2012). This kind of violence may include acts of terrorism, like what Al-Shabaab group has unleashed against Kenya and other forms of political violence that induce fear among the host community. All these have been perpetrated in Kenya, the latter usually experienced among Ethiopian nationals living in Marsalis, Kenya. Such clan instigated violence can cause serious instability in a country since they end up engaging the local security apparatus of a country.

Refugee camps situated in areas close to conflict zones frequently expose the refugees to vulnerability against combatants in such areas. Having escaped from conflict themselves, some are usually willing to reengage, perhaps in retaliation and sometimes in fresh pursuit of their interests. A genuine model is the Dadaab camp in Wajir which has substantial numbers of Somali refugees. Being close to the border with Somalia enables some of the combatants sneak back and take part in the conflict at home and sneak back to their camps. The prevailing conflict and lack of proper and stable government in Somalia compounds the efforts of Kenyan security forces to reinforce their position at home (Bairoch, 2013).

However, refugees do not concede to the fact that they are responsible to the influx of small arms and light weapons and hence insecurity in their new countries of residence. Speaking in defense of refugees in an interview conducted on 10th December, 2019 a respondent who was a refugee stated that the influx of small arms and light weapons into the country is not the work of refugees but of illegal traders and criminals who operate amidst the populations from both sides of the borders. He maintained that genuine refugees fleeing from conflict hardly ever involve themselves in criminal activities. He said that refugees are ever keen to secure their host country for fear of having to return to their conflict prone countries. Hence, they obey the laws and adhere to the regulations in the camps. He also said that those genuine refugees also suffer the

negative effects of illegal guns in the country either when they are used against them or because they are viewed suspiciously by the local population and security agencies. The criminals, on the other hand, have established markets for their illegal products where fellow criminals across the border access them easily. In the past it was established that some refugees used to arrive in the country right from the conflict zones, still carrying their guns. However, most of such applicants were always willing to surrender their guns to authorities. None the less there were criminals among them who took advantage to enter the country with weapons concealed. For them the main motivation was to sell the weapons for purposes of survival. Those who enter the country of asylum are in deed the problem of most governments, yet the UNHCR is completely unable to intervene and help governments deal with this menace.

Another respondent confirmed that all types of firearms are available in the northern parts of Kenya, with pistols being available for sale for as little as fifty US Dollars. This availability has attracted attention of criminals from as far away as Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu. Fueled by corruption among the law enforcement agencies, networks of illegal arms dealers have emerged in Kenya and the entire region. In fact, Nairobi has become known as the center of illegal arms trade with an intricate web that is made up of the dealers, security personnel and politicians. Unscrupulous security officers complicate this web by hiring out their official firearms to criminals at a fee. Others double up as criminals, having themselves also acquired illegal guns for private use in cahoots with professed criminals during their free time. The most affected parts of Nairobi are Eastleigh, Kiambiu, Pumwani and Kayole which are also known to be hideouts for criminal gangs. In these estates, illegal guns are as common place as there are illegal gangs. have notoriously been mentioned as places where guns are easily available. It is unfortunate that some of these places like Eastleigh, are also dominated by people of Somali origin, hence the belief that they are connected to the origin of the guns.

The above scenario lends credence to the perception that refugees can be the source of serious security concerns to the receiving states, especially if the cause of seeking refuge is connected to an ongoing conflict in the country of origin. A conflict situation like Somalia, where the presence of government is minimal can easily become a conduit for Small Arms and Light Weapons into the more peaceful and secure neighbourhoods like Kenya. As it were, Kenya presently suffers from the multiple origins according to Human Rights Watch, 2017, the government of Kenya had destroyed by burning about five thousand two hundred and fifty illegal guns in 2016 alone.

Most, if not all these guns were estimated to have entered the country from the conflict zones of Somalia, Sudan and Ethiopia. The most likely entry points have been identified in the northern parts of Kenya, particularly, Turkana (Kakuma) and the north-east (Dadaab's Ifo, Dagahaley, and Hagadera).

In these camps, UNHCR reports show that security occurrences including death and grievous harm are common occurrences among refugees. It is also reported that the refugees have developed what some analysts call, a 'firearm economy' where guns are also hired out for use in the cattle rustling ventures of the local people.

The state of insecurity in Kenya has even caused suspicion that some of the so-called refugees may actually be operatives of Al-Shabaab Islamists on terrorist mission in Kenya. As a matter of fact, security investigation carried out on some of the past terrorist attacks in Kenya were actually planned from some refugee camps in Kenya. This is evidence that some registered refugees have been involved in terrorist planning and execution in Kenya. This notwithstanding the denial by the refugee community as well as other organizations in their Defence. An example of this kind of involvement of refugees in local and external conflicts is also visible from the Goma refugee camps in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) from where the infamous Interahamwe rebels used to launch attacks inside Rwanda in 1994. Efforts of the host country to eliminate such groups can be so daunting because of the complicity of cross border operations (Bairoch, 2013). Such groups become very vicious in their mode of operations because they understand the nature of the conflict as well as the terrain and the enemy that they are fighting against. Remember that these people have earlier been involved in the same conflict in the same environment hence are well acquainted with both environments. Back in the country of refuge, they are capable of taking part in local events such as politics, commerce as well as crimes.

To comprehend the impacts of refugees on security, one ought to likewise zero in on the different degrees of security examination. Therefore, from a security point of view there is a one understands that state security can be undermined by both internal and external factors. Refugees are both internal and external by the fact that they originate from the external environment but operate inside the host country. From the point of view of the country of origin, they may be viewed as insiders operating from the external environment. Therefore, for a state to secure itself adequately there is need to ensure nonintervention of external forces in the country's security

arrangements. United Nations Monitoring Group on Somalia in its 2008 report indicated that Shabaab and Hizbul Islamist operatives crossed into and out of Kenya from Somalia with relative ease owing to their mastery of unmarked routes and entry/exit points as well as their ability to compromise the Kenyan government officials (Bernstein, and Weiner, 2002). These are some of the weaknesses of Kenya's open-door policy towards its neighbours.

4.8. The Impact of International Refugee laws on National Security

Despite the difficulties experience from refugee communities, the international law still provides that receiving states should ensure the safety of refugees under their respective jurisdiction. This is notwithstanding the nasty experiences that countries such as Rwanda have gone through. UN Resolution 1208 reaffirmed that the essential obligation of host nations is to guarantee the security of refugees and regular citizen. this includes the provision of basic freedoms and rights, nor can refugees be forced to return to their countries of origin as long as they still feel threatened therein (Berti, 2015).

As already demonstrated in the case of Rwandan refugees operating from camps in the DRC, it is a common occurrence for nations to develop strained relations with their neighbours owing to the activities of refugees across their borders. Similarly, Burundi frequently made similar allegations against Tanzania for supporting, harbouring and arming rebels that frequently destabilized the government in the 1990s. Reacting to these allegations, Tanzanian Parliament reaffirmed its commitment and stated that the country was performing its international obligation of protecting the lives of refugees within its territory and would continue to do so at every cost. Despite such spirited defense from the government of Tanzania, both Burundian and Rwandan refugee were later to be returned home owing to fears of destabilizing peace in the region. (Brown, 2005). However, when Kenya attempted to return Somali refugees, its actions were opposed and condemned by numerous forces around the world. This is despite the obvious repercussions of keeping Somali refugees in Kenya.

In an interview on 10th December, 2019 a respondent who was a Protection Officer at the UNHCR said that most host nations would prefer to have refugees confined in camps outside the regular settlements in order to be able to monitor their activities and ensuring that they are not involved in the internal security affairs of the state. When governments do not ensure this

confinement, refugees have been proven to be a source of great political instability and insecurity in the host countries.

For that matter, the presence of thousands of refugees from various political backgrounds in the region has been a matter of great concern to nations, including Kenya. In Kenya the matter has been a subject of debate in parliament and various security forums in the country. as a consequence, the conflicts in the neighbourhood, especially Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia, and Eritrea have always spread into the country through the involvement of protagonists inside the refugee camps and those who are left loose into the population. Al-Shabaab activities can be cited as some of the effects while some other incidents of conflict have been directly associated with the Oromo Liberation Front of Ethiopia, Ogaden and Somali clan conflicts. Phenomena like famine in Somalia, Ethiopia and South Sudan have all been felt in Kenya.

In another interview, another respondent, a UNHCR Protection Officer, on his part blamed the international community for failing to champion the rights of refugees in order to ensure that they are treated the same way in every country of residence. He particularly expressed disappointment with funding processes and complained that some refugees wait for so long before their cases for upkeep and settlement are heard and addressed by the respective authorities while issues of their citizenship are also left pending for so long. He blamed the new order of things where individual countries are hesitant to take in refugees and integrate them into the local communities for fear of insecurity. He, nonetheless, praised a few nations which have held on to the old approaches. Tanzania, for instance, is in record for taking in and completely incorporating displaced people from Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda and Somali into the local networks. However, the same Tanzania is in record for perpetrating some of the worst atrocities, including forceful repatriation against refugees.

As much as governments are entitled to making own decisions on whether or not to admit foreigners into their territories, especially those who have violated the laid down conditions for admittance, it is incumbent upon every government in the world to treat such people humanely, always upholding their rights. The dilemma faced by most governments, however, is whether it is possible to guarantee such rights and still maintain national security which is always threatened by illegal entry. It is on this basis and consideration for national security above other

things that proponents of human rights of refugees have blamed Kenya's reactions against Somali refugees. Even the move to repatriate them to their country was vehemently opposed.

In spite of the fact that the various approaches have disregarded the legal entitlements of displaced persons to opportunities for development in the host country, (UN Refugee Convention, Article 31(2)) and UNHCR have both failed to contest the same.

4.9. The Legal framework for Refugee protection in Kenya

Prior to 1991, the Kenyan government applied impromptu regulatory frameworks to admit refugees into the country and it worked perfectly well owing to the relatively small numbers then. At that time there were less restrictions and many of them were able to integrate freely into the local community in the country. They were also able to take up employment and exercise their skill in various sectors. Owing to lack of internationally recognized conventions and laws on management of refugees, for a long time before the enactment of refugee laws Kenya depended on migration laws in terms of identification, vetting and registration of refugees arriving into the country. Neither were there structured procedures for their residence and integration into the community. Afterwards, an impromptu board was set up to manage refugee affairs (Jacobsen, 2002).

Another KII with a UNHCR Protection Officer, the respondent said "... .. one of the major problems hindering human and objective treatment of refugees in Africa is the perceptions of the local people and the lack of a universally agreed definition of the term. Hence many nations came up with their own definitions and procedure of management.

4.10. Refugee Influx and Insecurity

The absence of an effective government in Somalia for almost thirty years and the ensuing lawlessness in the country has not only threatened security in Somalia itself but has also had profound negative influence on its neighbouring states. The lack of an effective government opened room for lawlessness in which Islamist groups and war lords took advantage to advance their ulterior Islamist agenda in the entire region. When they first tested the water in Somalia and managed a degree of success, they decided to expand their territory to all the locations inhabited by Somali speakers. They made it extremely difficult for formal governance structures to thrive in the country and frustrated mediation and intervention efforts by the international community. As one of the countries that are home to Somali speaking people, Kenya has carried a big burden

of the result of the lawlessness in Somalia. Kenya also spent a lot of its efforts and resources in a bid to restore normalcy in Somalia, without much fruit. In fact, Kenya suffered even for the efforts that it put forth as well as from pressure from its own Somali speaking population back at home.

A cross section of the Muslim faithful in the country even blamed the government of trying to suppress Muslim rights in the guise of dealing with problems of terrorism perpetuated by Somali citizens. The Institute of War and Peace Reporting (IWPR) put it even more concisely, that the lack of an effective government in Somalia for so many years resulted to the country's population not even understanding the meaning of the rule of law. As a matter of fact, then the need to bribe their way into Kenya therefore comes naturally. The bigger problem is that by doing so they end up corrupting the moral and social fabrics of the population of Kenya. This practice, other than corrupting the society has also been used extensively by the insurgent groups in their recruitment and radicalization of the local population. Subsequently, it has aided terrorist attacks in which hundreds of innocent lives have been lost. The practice is further exemplified in the way of life that is exhibited in the Kenyan business neighbourhood of Eastleigh where contraband goods imported illegally from the Middle East and elsewhere dominates the market.

4.10.1. Consequences of a Weak Somali Government

Owing to the collapse of government and the attendant degeneration of the Somalia society and governance structures, it was impossible for Kenya, as a close and brotherly neighbor, to remain quiet and aloof in the face of breakdown of order that threatened its own peace and security. In fact, KDFs incursion into Somalia in 2010 itself was as a result of the threat posed by Al-Shabaab insurgents when they started to infiltrate into the Kenyan territory with attacks and abduction on tourists. Important to note is that the Al-Shabaab had erupted in Somalia owing to the vacuum created by lack of an effective national government in place. It's also notable that Kenya had been instrumental in the formation of the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) of Somalia, which was actually launched in Nairobi and operated from close to three years before relocating to its seat in Somalia.

For entities like Al-Shabaab and its precursor, the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), the creation of a legitimate government like the TFG as well as the incursion of the KDF were two serious blows to their existence which had to be countered by every means. That may just explain the serious

bitterness against Kenya and why it became a primary terrorist target to Al-Shabaab. Before these two events, the Islamists had entrenched themselves as the only “legitimate” authority in Somalia. Although obviously with neither the Islamists, which appealed to the them on the basis of strict observation Islamic religious practices and its resolve to maintain and even expand Islamism in Somalia and the entire region (Hansen, 2013). Creation of an Islamic caliphate extending to Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti quite appealed to extremist Muslims in the entire region and won the Islamists favour and support. It was later to become the ground on which radicalization and recruitment into terrorism in Kenya was to be anchored.

The TFG was indeed midwived by Kenya in the realization of the dire consequences of insecurity in Somalia with its negative influence on Kenya and the entire region. As a neighboring state, Kenya took all the measures that it could reasonably be expected to take, including those many attempts to help Somalia’s government to become stable again so that the country could resume normalcy and majorly among them were the steps to midwife a legitimate and effective government that would be recognized across the clan and Islamic spectrum, hence the formation of the TFG. On this it’s generally acceptable that Kenya did its best and in good faith, to forge cordial relations with Somalia as a sovereign state.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Summary of Findings

The overall finding of the study is that various factors have contributed to the deteriorating state of peace and security in Kenya. These factors include, but are not limited, to porous borders that have contributed to poor management of movement of people and goods into and out of the country. Issues of immigration and particularly easy entry of criminal elements into the country have therefore impacted negatively on the country's security. Consequently, the country has witnessed various illegal activities including terrorism, trafficking of illegal arms and ammunitions, human trafficking, evasion of taxes as well as entry of counterfeit goods through unmarked border points.

Through this weakness the government lost millions of shillings that would have been spent on development programs to benefit the citizens. This money, lost in the form of uncollected revenue and taxes as well as huge expenditure on policing programs, was a loss not only to the government but the general population as well. Further, huge amounts of money was spent by the government on programs aimed at shoring international support towards stabilizing the Somali government itself. As a matter of fact, Kenya made every effort to ensure that Somalia regained its former political stability so that the two countries would resume a cooperative relationship. At the same time, Kenya also undertook similar diplomatic, peace and security engagements with Sudan that led to the self determination of the people of South Sudan. From the international and humanitarian point of view and as good neighbours Kenya earned much credit through these mediatory acts. However, the country lost heavily in terms of cost of national development and in safeguarding the interests of its own people, some of whom felt neglected and had to pay high taxes to finance these acts. This was done in the spirit of good neighbourliness and the understanding that unstable neighbours would mean instability in the country and the entire region. Therefore, Kenya engaged in heavy expenditure by employing various forms of response mechanisms in order to redeem its suffering neighbours.

Similarly, the illegal trafficking of goods including foodstuff from Somalia into Kenya posed grave danger to the Kenyan population. The goods so trafficked neither monitored nor inspected to ensure their safety for consumption.

Secondly, the high influx of refugees from the neighbouring countries such as Uganda, Rwanda, into Kenya, Southern Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia, are deemed to have contributed significantly to the state of insecurity in Kenya. During the political upheavals in Rwanda and Uganda, a lot of the refugees who camped in Kenya ended up seeking and obtaining, in competition to Kenyans, opportunities for economic advancement. There are Kenyans who still blame the presence of refugees in Kenya for their lack of opportunities in education, employment and business. For example, the entire Eastleigh area in Nairobi was taken over by rich refugees from Somalia while some from Ethiopia settled in big numbers around Kilimani and Hurligham areas. On the other hand, its also notable the settlement of refugees in the camps, especially Daddab and Kakuma resulted in serious environmental degradation and competition for scarce resources. To this end many Kenyans felt disenfranchised of their right as citizens.

It is also apparent from the Key Informant Interviews conducted that the onset of Al-Shabaab terrorism marked the beginning of active insecurity in Kenya. Despite the hitherto existing cattle rustling and communal tension among the pastoralist communities, the country still felt relatively safe until Al-Shabaab came to the scene. This helps to prove the hypothesis that porous borders and influx of refugees into the country are the two most important factors leading to serious insecurity in Kenya. The two factors are closely related to the onset of international terrorism through Al-Shabaab, that generally changed Kenya's political, social and economic landscape.

The various arguments advanced by the Key Informant Interviews have added weight to the hypotheses, that influx of refugees and porous borders may have contributed significantly to insecurity within the borders of the Republic of Kenya.

The study found that despite all the laws and international conventions that define the obligations and responsibilities on states, national governments and citizens, the receiving states usually end up bearing a huge burden as a result of the presence of refugees within their territories. Invariably the challenges on security posed by factors such as arms proliferation, importation of conflict, environmental degradation around the camps and competition for scarce resources are worth considering as potent threats to the national security of any state. The researcher presents the security challenges outlined above, i.e. protracted conflicts, criminal activities and terrorism in the case of Kenya as evidence of this argument.

The study found that negative perceptions against refugees in Kenya, have been informed by the criminalization of Somali identity and the problematic relationship that has characterized the existence of Somalia and its neighbors in the region. Although states are not obliged by any national or international conventions to admit refugees into their territories, Kenya has continued to accept refugees from around the region owing to the obvious risk of death back in their countries. Moreover, Kenya has always considered most of its neighbours as sister nations owing to the historical ties among their citizens, who were arbitrarily separated by the colonial borderlines. This is particularly in consideration of the commonness of the people such as the Somali speakers across Somalia and Kenya, Maasai speakers across the borders of Tanzania and Kenya and the Luos across Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. However, especially in the case of Somalia and due to the Al-Shabaab attackers, indigenous Kenyan citizens have continued to pile pressure on the government to act decisively by not only stopping the continued acceptance of refugees but even repatriating the ever-expanding refugee community in Kenya back to their respective countries of origin. They have even urged the government to reevaluate its relations with Somalia as well as the engagement of KDF soldiers operating within the AMISOM in Somalia. As far as they are concerned, KDF's operations in Somalia has caused untold misery to Kenyans. What's more is that the Al-Shabaab terrorists had severally vowed to continue launching attacks on Kenya until the government would find it fit to withdraw KDF from Somalia.

Although insecurity in the mount Elgon areas of Western Kenya involving the Sabout Land Defense Force might have been politically instigated, it would not have gone to that extent if the group did not have easy access to arms and ammunition. Reportedly an AK47 rifle was sold for about fifteen thousand shillings while ammunition was easily available locally. This indicates that there were also a number of local factors that contributed to insecurity, not only in the Mount Elgon area but in the entire country as well.

5.2. Conclusion

From the field survey and the data collected the researcher concluded that poorly manned borders contribute significantly to illegal activities including terrorism, trafficking of illegal Small Arms and Light Weapons as well as ammunitions, human trafficking and evasion of taxes through entry of counterfeit goods into the country through unmarked border points. This caused the government to lose money, both in the form of revenue and heavy expenditure towards employment of various forms of response mechanisms. One of these responses was an attempt

by the government to construct a border wall stretching 708 kilometers between Kenya and Somalia from the Indian Ocean to Mandera. The motivation behind building was majorly to bring to an end the perennial cross border problems of illegal trafficking in goods and persons as well as the Al-Shabaab menace. However, the project ended up with only ten kilometers of barbed wire instead of the original plan of a sophisticated concrete wall reinforced with CCTV cameras.

The trafficked goods were of questionable quality yet were not inspected by the government to ensure their suitability for use. As such some people may have suffered from diseases and deficiencies caused especially by consumption of unworthy products. These would eventually result to a population that is both unhealthy and unproductive.

The researcher also concluded that despite all the laws and international conventions that define the obligations and responsibilities of the states in terms of receiving, accepting and managing refugees, national governments and particularly Kenya, in this case, ended up bearing a huge burden as a result of the presence of refugees in the country. Invariably the challenges on security posed by factors such as arms proliferation, importation of conflict, environmental degradation around the camps and competition for scarce resources are worth mentioning as some of those burdens. The emanifestation of these challenges have been seen in some of the protracted conflicts in the country, criminal activities and terrorism all in which illegal arms and ammunitions have been used.

The researcher also concluded that negative perceptions and criminalization of Somali refugees have affected all other refugees in the country and bred conflict with local communities. The same has contributed to the poor relations between the two otherwise friendly neighbours.

Although states are not obliged to admit refugees into their territories, Kenya has continued to accept Somali refugees because of the obvious risk of death back in their country. Despite this humanitarian consideration, Kenyans still feel that the government needs to reevaluate this decision for the sake of the country's national security.

The researcher also concluded that there are a number of local intervening factors that have contributed to the deterioration of security in the country. These factors included inefficiency in local administration, inefficiency and corruption among border control agencies.

From the various interviews the arguments presented by the various respondents added weight to the approval of the hypothesis.

5.3. Recommendations

Kenya should enhance its partnership with Somalia government to ensure that Somalia contributes more concretely on border line security concerns. Somalia government has largely been contained in Mogadishu with little involvement in security of the country beyond that.

Kenya should form stronger partnership with other African countries in the Horn of Africa especially Ethiopia to address border concerns arising from Somalia. Kenya and Ethiopia both share long border lines with Somalia and would have a lot of experiences to offer each other in establishing common front to the security risks. Both countries have Somali populations in their territories but Ethiopia has experienced far less security risks, such as terrorism as compared to Kenya. Kenya may want to study what Ethiopia does differently to ensure its security.

Kenyan security agencies should be more sensitive to human rights concerns of both Kenyan Somalia and the Somalia in the country as refugees. This way security bodies will win the hearts and minds of Somali community and have it easier to attain intelligence on terror networks in and out of Somalia.

Though devolved governance in Kenya is involving Somali community in North Eastern Kenya more strongly, the clan system is further marginalizing small communities. Either through county level legislations or ad hoc inter-clan agreements, ways should be established to ensure that small clans are fully involved in county development and politics to avert inter clan conflicts in the future.

Kenya Security agents should endeavor to leverage on use of technology to enhance security enforcement expected as a result of its border wall with Somalia. Development of infrastructure and social economic factors in the border region to enhance the social wellbeing of the local population will be ultimate requirement to have for a sustainable regional security devoid of terrorist activities.

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