# **UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**



# **Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies**

# Research paper

# ASSESSING NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGIES IN COMBATING TERRORISM IN AFRICA: CASE STUDY OF KENYA

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## **DECLARATION**

This research project is my original wo	This research project is my original work and has not been submitted for examination in this			
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# **DEDICATION**

This research is dedicated to my wife and my children.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I take this precious moment to thank everyone who contributed immensely to the end of this thesis whose support and encouragement led to a successful journey of the research.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMISOM - African Union Mission in Somalia
ATPU - Anti-Terrorism Police Unit
AU - African Union
EA - East Africa
EU - European Union
JTTC - Joint Terrorism Task Force
KDF - Kenya Defense Forces
LRA - Lord's Resistance Army
NCTC - National Counter Terrorism Center
NSSDI - National Security Strategy Development and Implementation
OAU - Organization of African Unity
ODHCR - Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights
SSA - Sub-Saharan Africa
UK - United Kingdom
UN - United Nations

US - United States

#### **ABSTRACT**

Combating terrorism in Africa has been collective task involving the effort of the government through regional and international cooperation. Kenya has battled the emergence of terrorism since the 1975 Nairobi bombing, 1980 Norfolk Hotel bombing, 1998 United States embassy, 2002 Kikambala hotel bombing, 2013 Westgate Mall shooting, to the recent Mpeketoni attacks in 2014, Garissa attack in 2015 and the ongoing rebellion in North Eastern Kenya and parts of Somalia by Al Shabaab and Al Qaeda members. To prevent further causalities and improve the economic status of the Kenya, strategies have been put forward by relevant authorities to curb the menace. Different scholars have argued that with proper national security strategies, succeeding in the fight against the terror groups would be achieved. Data collection involved various tools such as interviews, secondary sources from the document reviews and other relevant sources such as cyberspace. The target population included government officers and the civilians. The data was analyzed using MS Excel and the results presented in tabular forms. The findings of the study are the budgetary allocation, training methods and the national strategies which plays a vital role in planning, acquiring sophisticated weapons in managing terror related activities. This has improved the security status of the nation.

This study will be crucial in various sectors in the combating insecurity due to terrorism within the country and also in the regional level. Recommendations highlighted in the study includes increasing the budgetary allocation to the military, creating awareness the nature of terrorism to the people, cooperating multi-national agencies and Non-governmental bodies and lastly implementing stiff and strict laws against terrorism.

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#### **CHAPTER ONE**

#### 1.0 Backgroundto the Study

Terrorism can be described as a form of activities that are against the well-being of the society, where terrorists attempt to influence the beliefs of their enemies and population they wish to control. Through violence, they portray their ability and strength in order to produce fear from their enemies and obedience, and find support of their activities from followers. Kenya has had a series of terrorism activities since the 1975 Nairobi bombing, 1980 Norfolk Hotel bombing, 1998 United States embassy, 2002 Kikambala hotel bombing, 2013 Westgate Mall shooting, to the recent Mpeketoni attacks in 2014, Garissa attack in 2015 and the ongoing rebellion in North Eastern Kenya and parts of Somalia by Al Shabaab and Al Qaeda members. <sup>1</sup>

After 9/11 bombings, successive UN resolutions i.e. resolutions 1373/01, 1624/2005 and 1377/01, the Kenyan government was forced to adopt counter-terrorism strategies which included reforms in legislative approaches, trainings and multi-lateral collaborations with likeminded nations including the UK and US.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Simeon MokayaMomanyi. The Impact of Al-Shabaab Terrorist Attacks in Kenya. The Arctic University of Norway, available at: <a href="https://munin.uit.no/bitstream/handle/10037/9848/thesis.pdf?sequence=1">https://munin.uit.no/bitstream/handle/10037/9848/thesis.pdf?sequence=1</a> (accessed on 11 September, 2020)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> UN Security Council, Letter dated 2002/09/29 from the Chairman of the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 1373 (2001) concerning Counter-terrorism addressed to the President of the Security Council, 31st July 2002, S/2002/856, available at: <a href="http://ods-ddsny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N02/517/02/IMG/N0251702.pdf">http://ods-ddsny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N02/517/02/IMG/N0251702.pdf</a>? [accessed 10 September, 2020] pp 3

With regards to adoption and participation in anti-terrorism measures, Kenya affirmed its commitment to the already eleven existing international treaties and conventions it had once signed and ratified two more conventions, including seven at the African Union.<sup>3</sup> It further prioritized the implementation of structural and practical actions to counter-terrorism since 2005. The leading factors contributing to this prioritization included Kenya's international counterterrorism obligations relevant to the UN Security Council resolutions; its geographical location which is next to Somalia and previous attacks on external interests into the country including the US and Israel; as well as Kenya's strategic partnership in fighting terrorism.

As much as the Kenyan government has tried to enact counterterrorism measures, it has failed to bring about substantial success in combating terrorism. However, it has sought various ways in dealing with the challenge, including establishment of bodies such as the National Intelligence Service which is supported by the US Anti-Terrorism Assistance program; the Anti-Terrorism Police Unit (ATPU); Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTC) and the National Counter-Terrorism Center (NCTC). Additional programs supported by the US and EU have also been implemented, such as the Terrorist Interdiction Program which screens travelers arriving and leaving airports and border crossings.<sup>4</sup>

However, tackling terrorism challenges across the country also raises more concerns on human rights infringement, especially since Al-Shabaab attacks increased in the East Africa region. The relationship between the two, i.e. human rights and counter-terrorism measures, cannot be overemphasized. The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODHCR) argues that states' counterterrorism measures cannot succeed if their strategies do

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Reprieve and Redress, Kenya and Counter Terrorism: A Time for Change, February 2009 Available at: <a href="https://www.redress.org/.../Kenya%20and%20Counter-">www.redress.org/.../Kenya%20and%20Counter-</a>

Terrorism%205%20Feb%2009.pdf (Accessed on 12 September, 2020) Pp 34

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Combating Terrorism Center "Al-Qaeda's Mis-Adventures in the Horn of Africa Case Study

Kenya"
http://www.ctc.usma.edu/aq/pdf/Harmony%20II%20Chapter%204%20Kenya.pdf pp11

not fall within the realm of human rights standards.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action states that any acts of terrorism aims to destroying human rights, the rule of law and democracy (UN General Assembly 1993).<sup>6</sup>

In order to fight terrorism, counterterrorism measures require human rights standards to ensure its implementations does not undermine democracy and protection of civilians. On the other hand, human rights need counterterrorism measures to ensure a healthy thrive of human rights. However, it appears that Kenya as well as other nations forget the relationship between counterterrorism and human rights when dealing with terrorism, making it a national priority above human security.

For the success on counterterrorism measures, its root causes need to be tackled in order to bring about a positive output. These factors lead to frustration, anger and alienation, especially if they have an influence to a certain group of people within the country.<sup>7</sup>

Not much has been written on counterterrorism laws mostly affecting human rights in East Africa, which have great influence in tackling terrorism challenges. Studies show that the root causes of terrorism will never be addressed as long as governments are guided by self-interest and the belief of self-righteousness in imposing ways they think are right to others. This study intends to focus on analyzing and assessing national strategies that have been adopted through Africa, using Kenya as the case study.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>OSCE ODIHR (2008) Countering terrorism, protecting human rights. A manual. Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, Warsaw Poland

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> OHCHR (2008) Human rights, Terrorism and counter-terrorism. <a href="http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/Factsheet32EN.pdf">http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/Factsheet32EN.pdf</a>. Accessed 12 September, 2020

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Kanu AI (2006) The African union. In: International cooperation in counter-terrorism: the UN and regional organizations in the fight against terrorism, by G Nesi, 175.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Hinde, R. (2004). 'Root causes of terrorism' (2002). Accessed 13 September, 2020

#### 1.1 Statement of the Problem

Nations have built up important sectors of the economy including health of citizens and funding of military modernization projects. With the emergence of terror related activities in the country, the improvement of the military security has significantly played a crucial role in minimizing the impacts caused by terrorism. Challenges arise in when countries have to transfer finances on fighting against terrorism and radicalization of its citizens both within and without the nation. These affects development goals put up in various sectors that would promote nationalism, and limit growth of nations.

This study therefore examines the assessment of the progressing national security strategies incorporated that would help in combating terrorism in and out of Kenya.

#### 1.2 Research Questions

The following research questions will guide this study:

- 1. What is the average amount allocated t the military from the national budget in fighting terrorism?
- 2. Which training methods are used in fighting terrorism across Africa, with Kenya in particular?
- 3. What are the various national strategies in fighting terrorism from civilians to governmental approach all over Africa?

#### 1.3 Objectives

#### 1.3.1 General objective

This study aims to assess national strategic approaches in fighting terrorism in Kenya

#### 1.3.2 Specific objectives

- 1. To assess the trend of local budget allocated on military operations against terrorism
- 2. To understand training methods against terrorism from a military perspective

3. To analyze different strategies in fighting terrorism from civilians and multiorganizational approach.

#### 1.4 Literature Review

#### 1.4.0 Genesis of National Security to Combat Terrorism.

Africa has battled various forms of terrorism and terror related activities. Al Shabab which operates in East Africa, Boko Haram in West Africa and mostly operates in Nigeria, and Lord's Resistance Army in Central Africa. This problem has been rampant in the horn of Africa and paved the way for the African leaders engaging in efforts to prevent the occurrence of terrorism and combating it. This involved the approaches and initiation of regional peace and stability with intervention in the continental matters which are terrorism and international crimes. With rapid instability in African continent, there was emergence for the measures to put on hold the escalating fears of internal and international terrorism.

#### 1.4.3 Trends of National Securities in Combating Terrorism

Kenya experienced the first and one of the most terrifying US Embassy terror attack in 1998 which the Al-Qaeda claimed the responsibility. The bombing act which left dozens of people dead and others in critical conditions led to the government taking measures to prevent threats related to terror groups. Although much has not been achieved due to strategies put in place due to the dynamic and progressing nature of the terror attacks. Kenya has established its efforts in counterterrorism by having an expanded security forces with highly trained skills. This trend has increased both internally and externally by having large troops of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Hentz, James J., and Hussein Solomon. 2017. *Understanding Boko Haram: terrorism and insurgency in Africa*.

security personnel in Somalia under the umbrella of AMISOM in peace keeping mission.<sup>10</sup> The effectiveness of the country to support such troops has been beneficial in combating terrorism along the borders of Kenya and Somalia.

Modern military tools have been secured and the information sector in terms of the intelligence has been of a great use both locally and at international level. Initially, Kenya has had the issue of ethnic clashes, cattle rustling and robbery which did not require sophisticated weapons. The development of national strategies in collaboration with international support has maintained the country's image in the fight against terrorism and its eradication. Consequently, the national budget in the security sector has been boosted as compared to the previous years. This has improved the sector immensely and the motivation of curbing the terror activities whose impact has been felt on infrastructure development and human existence.

International aid has been of great importance in the fight against unpredictable Al-Shabaab terror attacks. Kenya has been on the forefront and united by the international communities by receiving and sharing of intelligence reports, experiences in handling of terror groups and terror related effects, advanced technological support, and military trainings. Hared argues that the government of Kenya utilized its instrument of power to eradicate terrorism threats and initiated a grand national strategy on war against the extremist after the attack in 2002 in Mombasa. <sup>11</sup> Through the trends of national securities in combating terrorism in Kenya, it would be important to sideline the ones that are ineffective and consider those that can be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>2020.https://www.researchgate.net/publication/338689491\_article\_Kenya's\_counterterroris m measures.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup>Hared, Hassan Adan. 2005. Combating transnational terrorism in Kenya and whether the Kenyan government effort to fight terrorism is effective in reducing the transnational terrorism threat in the country. Fort Leavenworth, KS: US Army Command and General Staff College. http://cgsc.cdmhost.com/u?/p4013coll2,349.

able to be utilized in safeguarding the country against terrorism and other related international crimes against humanity.

#### 1.4.4 Countering the Changing Terrorism Threat

Terrorism activities arises from a certain version of unsatisfied political or economic power. The changing trends of terrorism has left a gap in preventing their occurrence. Originally, terrorism activities were evidently against a given political affairs and if the demands were not met, they would strike and get public support. Terror activities have recently been of massive impact due to the dangerous modern weapons being used. This leads massive casualties in a single terror attack. Lesser argues that the new terrorism tactics are more lethal, highly global and it is characterized by the dense network of organization. He also suggests that the sponsorship of the terror activities has been privatized which requires a myriad of intelligence reports and information to tackle. This has become a challenge to the national securities in combating crime.

The progress of terrorism networks are hard to foresee the likelihood of their existence. They are turning away from the normal political and religious war to resistance against the penetration of new cultures and fight for negligence of a given state to meet their needs. The funding of their activities remains a misery to many as it has turned from internal donors to individual's organization. Other source of funding may arise from kidnaps and drug activities. The move from normal weapon use to biological and chemical weapons also pose as a great challenge which has adverse and mass destruction effects. The places that are targeted by the terror groups also keeps on varying. Churches as witnessed in Mpeketoni, learning institutions, shopping places and hotels where the number of people present is usually high.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Lesser, Ian O. 1999. *Countering the new terrorism*. Santa Monica, CA: Rand. http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&scope=site&db=nlebk&db=nlabk&AN= 20493.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Lesser, 2

#### 1.5Conceptual Theoretical Framework

Using Kenya as a Case Study to evaluate the strategies used by the national security in combating terrorism in Africa, various institutions both local and international communities have staged up war against terrorism and challenges faced in search of peace and stability in the region's different dimensions due to the magnitude of the diverse effects of terrorism. The fight against terrorism is a worldwide problem which needs great support and cooperation from member states. This global network of terrorism has to be cut off and establish a firm military capacity to counter terrorism, adequate intelligence information and financial support to keep the fight at a distant.

#### 1.5.1 Diplomacy Approach

Diplomacy approach has been on the forefront in fighting terrorism among member states. According to Pesto, diplomacy has incorporated representatives of the citizens' society, informal sectors, intellectual settings of the nations and also non-governmental organizations to root out the cause of terrorism<sup>14</sup>. Initially, traditional diplomacy was involved but with the increase in threats around the world, it is one of the best approaches in combating terrorism in the world. Modern diplomacy is slowly taking its course due to the ever rising and changing state of terrorism attacks.

Sub-Saharan Africa has experienced insecurity challenges due to infiltration of terrorism activities and the support of the group from some countries such as Iran and Iraq. This has complicated the matter due to weak governance in African countries, corruption and existence of multicultural ethnic groups which hinders the fight against terrorism. National Security Strategy Development and Implementation has stepped up to address key sectors

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup>Pesto, Harris. "The Role of Diplomacy in the Fight against Terrorism." *Connections* 10, no. 1 (2010): 64-81

that should be strengthened in stemming out security challenges at regional and sub-regional levels. Rotberg suggests strategies that should have a long term solution and also US involvement to combat terrorism in African countries<sup>15</sup>. Although strategies put forward to fight terrorism are far from bearing fruits, the nature and tactics used by the terrorists should be carefully analyzed and implement long term mitigation methods. This is due to the fact terrorism has changed their way of attack and majored in killing innocent people in hotels, schools and malls as recently observed in Kenya.

External involvement in the fight of terrorism has been and should not undermined. Diplomacy has played a key role in their approaches with other organizations and this can only be achieved at young stage of terrorism development in a given country.

#### 1.5.2 Psycho-Social Theory

Terrorism is a multi-dimensional activity that assembles all aspects of political, social and economic practices. In its form, it is difficult to understand the origin of terrorism unless scholars have argued about different theories relating to terrorism. According to De La Corte the origin and explanation of the terrorism has diverse views in conjunction to macro psychological. Psychological and psychosocial approaches can be used to derive the originality and hence combating terrorism. <sup>16</sup> Significantly the approaches has born fruits with analysis of individual psychology, environmental interaction gives a complete road map to why individuals engage and involve themselves in terrorism acts.

Formation of terrorism groups is based on different values and perspectives. The alignment of political and social injustices has been on the forefront in emergence of terror groups du to social interactions. Basically, social interactions with individuals of different social status

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup>Rotberg, Robert I. 2005. *Battling terrorism in the Horn of Africa*. Cambridge, Mass: World Peace Foundation. http://site.ebrary.com/id/10120607.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>De La Corte, Luis. "Explaining Terrorism: A Psychosocial Approach." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 1, no. 2 (2007).

creates an opportunity in radicalization. In order to combat such type of terrorism, psychosocial theory paves a way of dealing and unearthing ways of how individuals join terrorism and its affiliated functions. Environmental upbringing and set-up also promote individual attitudes towards engagement in such vices that ruins the positive growth of the society.

#### 1.6 Justification of the Study

The justification of this research is based on the mutual benefits of a stable and progressing nation structured and engineered to meet the social, economic and political spheres of the people. Terrorism provides a probability of political instability, stimulates violence, radicalization and division among the netizens and eventual state failure. For instance, Boko Haram which loosely translates to "western education is forbidden" initiates a platform of resistance against civilization and western culture with proposition of an Islamic state in the region<sup>17</sup>.

Terrorism is an international crime against humanity which should be prevented by all measures and requires the support of member states to achieve. Therefore, the need for this research is far fetching addressing the challenges posed by the country in fighting terrorism, understanding the effects and strengthening military operations in future attempts of eradicating the menace.

#### 1.7 Hypotheses of the Study

- H0 There is no significant relationship between budget allocations on military operations in fighting terrorism.
- H1 Training has not had major impact on eliminating terrorism activities in Kenya.

<sup>17</sup>Hentz, James J., and Hussein Solomon. 2017. *Understanding Boko Haram: terrorism and insurgency in Africa*.

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 H2 – Civilians and multi-organizational approach has not been effective in fighting terrorism in Kenya.

#### 1.8 Scope/ Limitations

This being a self-financed project, the extent and depth of study was limited to only so much available funds. The time available to conduct an in-depth analysis was limited due to the global pandemic.

Some materials and documents were highly classified in the target countries, hence the researcher to a large extent relied on open-source information available on the web including books and journals.

It was not also possible for the researcher to travel to target countries of study to collect valuable data. The researcher therefore relied on archived data and viewed videos available on the web to have an understanding of the reality on ground.

#### 1.9 Methodology

The terms used in this section would be research design, study area, population sample design and sampling techniques. Sources of data includes quantitative and qualitative data.

#### 1.10 Data Processing And Analysis

Data would be collected and analyzed. The analyzed data would be presented in tabular and frequency distribution using excel software.

#### 1.11Chapter Outlines

The study will consist of five Chapters.

Chapter one provides the background of the study and highlights effects of terrorism in Africa. It also includes the Statement of the Problem, Research Questions, the

Objectives of the study, Justification, Literature Review and the Conceptual Framework. This is followed by the methodology adopted by the study and hypothesis it seeks to validate.

Chapter two entails security strategies in combating terrorism in Africa.

Chapter Three, trends and challenges of national security strategies in combating terrorism in Kenya.

Chapter Four the impact of national security in combating terrorism in Kenya.

Chapter Five analyses the finding of the study, conclusion and recommendations of the research.

#### **CHAPTER TWO**

#### SECURITY STRATEGIES IN COMBATING TERRORISM IN AFRICA.

#### 2.0 Introduction

This chapter highlights significant development theories in fighting terrorism in Africa through strategies undertaken by the member nations and remains a misery in combating the act. In deep understanding, international communities have not been left out on the issue of terrorism with its diverse networks working across the world. Fighting terrorism in the modern era faces challenges with the evolution of innovation and technologies that have been globalized with the spread of mass communication and weapons of mass destruction. <sup>18</sup> Uniting African countries in the fight against the arising terrorism threats would be beneficial in stabilizing the region for economic, social, and political prosperity. The major theories assessing national security in combating terrorism can be categorized as hegemonic stability theory, conservative primacy, and liberal internationalism theory.

#### 2.1 Hegemonic Stability Theory

Africa is mostly divided into regional blocks in which a given state has supreme regional power. The hegemon country utilizes its military and economic powers to bring peace and stability in the region due to control of major economic, security, and political affairs. Lack of this stability decreases the security of the state nation and the formation of splinter groups due to weak security forces to protect its citizens. <sup>19</sup> Hegemonic stability theory outlines

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Ėmanuilov, R. ÎA, and Andreĭ ÎAshlavskiĭ. 2011. Terror in the name of faith: religion and political violence. Boston: Academic Studies Press. http://dlib.eastview.com/browse/book/23485.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The United States. 1996. A national security strategy of engagement and enlargement: The White House. [Washington, D.C.]: [The White House].

mechanisms to effective strategy approach and inner engagement force. The formation of the Organization of African Unity Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism majorly focused on the elimination of terrorism and all forms that are associated with threatening, disorienting the normal working of a state or its people should be dealt with according to the international codes of conduct.<sup>20</sup> Terrorism has hugely impacted negatively and the need to stem out the menace calls for the United Nations to intervene in the fight against it. More so, the United Nations has adopted various forms of terrorism and its operations to curb and suppress international terrorism<sup>21</sup>. The theory also expounds on a deep engagement approach to create favorable security, economic robust, and also beneficial diplomatic relations. Enhancement of stability and peace in Africa, this strategy would be vital in strengthening major regional powers by having a hegemon and balance security matters with international threats arising from the affiliate member states.

The deep engagement approach manifests itself in safeguarding the countries' interests from terrorism and local instability although conflicts arising outside the regional powers would less assist. Supporting failed nations to counter neutralize tribal wars, civil conflicts, and humanitarian calamities would only be determined and depend on the magnitude in the mainstream of the region. The strengthening of military force in the region and beyond helps to enforce the already existing in the operation may be costly but the positive impact is felt in terms of marinating order the region. The democracy of a region is completely supported by a deep engagement approach while military involvement is minimal. Hegemonic stability theory involves the application of benevolent and coercive approaches in maintaining superiority in the region of interests. This helps entirely in fighting against terror groups.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>United Nations. 2019. International instruments related to the prevention and suppression of international terrorism.
<sup>21</sup> in the United Nations. 2.

#### 2.2 Liberal Internationalism Theory

Liberal internationalism is built on the fact that a liberal nation should mediate over other nations to achieve a free state in their endeavors. Over the past decades, Africa has experienced some of the worst violent conflicts and armed wars that has caused stir in the domain of the world politics. With modern African countries revisiting, utilizing, and aligning themselves from their colonial powers the art of foreign culture and development. Most African countries being third world countries, the emergency of armed militia groups has been witnessed in Nigeria, Kenya, Somalia and Egypt with international links. Taylor argues that lack of development and over dependency have compromised the formation of an independent state.<sup>22</sup> United nations in partnerships with other international bodies have tried to bring peace and stability in Guinea-Bissau although the outcome is minimal.

The fight against terrorism in Africa began in early 1990s in Sudan when Osama bin Laden planned an attack against the Hosni Mubarak, the president of Egypt. This led to international intervention particularly the US to counter terrorism in the Africa. In its quest to stem out terrorism in the region, the US government deployed troops to capture, search the terrorists in the region, and maintain peace which they believed that it was a hideout for the terrorists which had taken asylum. The main objectives of the liberal internationalism theory are to sustain and spread the US international order with other stake holders. This strategy also incorporates provision of military support to the affected nations as for the case of AMISOM troops in Somalia in sustaining regional security. Global threat leads to global solution. Terrorism has been a security challenge not only in Africa but world in general

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Taylor, Ian. "The Liberal Peace Security Regimen: A Gramscian Critique of Its Application in Africa." Africa Development / Afrique Et Développement 42, no. 3 (2017): 25-44. Accessed October 7, 2020. http://www.jstor.org/stable/90018133.

Lyman, Princeton N., and J. Stephen Morrison. "The Terrorist Threat in Africa." Foreign Affairs 83, no. 1 (2004): 75-86. Accessed October 7, 2020. doi:10.2307/20033830.

which calls for the international community to reinforce military support to combat the activity. Liberal peace keeping mission by international bodies considers and enhances technical support to the national governments, priority missions, encouraging democracies, upholding human rights and development of existing security forces to handle any emergence of terror groups.<sup>24</sup> Liberal internationalism plays a key role in maintaining peace and stability in the region with great influence on current places experiencing terror threats. Africa has greatly benefited from this strategy in the fight against terrorism. Advancement of technology and weapons by the militia groups although remains a hard nut to crack in most African countries, and thus involvement by the superpower countries in neutralizing terror threats in the region alleviates the gravity of the matter.

#### 2.3 Conservative Primacy

Conservative primacy relies on the values of the old ways in conjunction with political institutions with the aim of using domestic information to solve a given issue in a state. This restores people's values and engages them in national interests in maintain peace and stability. Although the theory gives an upper hand the spread of democracy, the fact of counter-terrorism still remains the focal area of conservative primacy. The introduction of Traditional law which helps in identifying terror groups and taking into consideration the massive effect of their actions and apprehend them. <sup>25</sup> This also tries to establish the links and formation of terror groups in the region by having a strong network on the operation of unwanted states aiding the spread of extremism. ALSHABAB began their operations as a movement opposing the corrupt regime that was in place and failing to control the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Cavalcante, Fernando. 2014. "The Influence of the Liberal Peace Framework on the United Nations Approach to Peacebuilding in Guinea-Bissau\*". *RCCS Annual Review*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup>Jenkins, Brian Michael. 2011. Stray dogs and virtual armies: radicalization and recruitment to jihadist terrorism in the United States since 9/11. Santa Monica, CA: RAND.

retrogressive economic problems experienced by the Somalis<sup>26</sup>. In advancing peace in Africa, the use of African troops in solving terrorism affecting African development is a great stride towards the fight of terrorism. The establishment of AU has greatly impacted in the strengthening security in Africa by coming up with strategies and models in combating terrorism.<sup>27</sup>Additionally, the cooperation between AU and UN have empowered weak nations by increasing security personnel among the umbrella of the demarcated regional powers. Internal matters of the people modify the stability of the country. Consequently, priority to challenges facing locals such conflict reduction and improvement in the wellbeing of the people paves way for insurgency of terrorism.

The theories suggests that for successful war on combating crime, all sectors and regional blocs should come together as terrorism is a global challenge that needs global participation. The root sources terrorism should therefore be identified, advance using he required method of combating, neutralizing and eventually victory will be seen. Support from the international, and regional blocs is therefore very important in tackling terrorism both globally and locally.

#### 2.4 National Security Strategies in Combating Terrorism in Kenya

Kenya has witnessed some of the worst terror attacks in the world which has claimed lives and destruction of properties. The attacks have been largely attributed by the porous borders and invasion of Kenya troops in peace keeping mission in Somalia under the watch of AMISOM. With increase in insecurity in the country, measures were put in place to counter

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>Bachmann, Jan, and Jana Hönke. "'Peace and Security' as Counterterrorism? The Political Effects of Liberal Interventions in Kenya." African Affairs 109, no. 434 (2010): 97-114

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Sinai, Joshua, Jeffrey Fuller, and Tiffany Seal. "Effectiveness in Counter-Terrorism and Countering Violent Extremism: A Literature Review." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 13, no. 6 (2019): 90-108

the act of terrorism which had adverse effect on the economic growth of the country and the social living of the people affected immensely. The national strategies in combating terrorism according the ministry of foreign affairs involves the 4Ds that was incorporated by the international approaches and principles to defeat the enemy. The 4D strategy (Defeat, Deny, Diminish and Defend).

Defeating terrorists' networks requires powerful input of resources ranging from military personnel, political muscles and the use economic resources. External and internal partners are also involved in the fight as terrorism is borderless in order to bring peace and stability in the region. Forest argues that for a successful or mission failure in counter-terrorism, factors that contributes to the national security policy should be considered and the threats posed by the terrorist well understood in order to defeat them.<sup>28</sup> Proper intelligence gathering should be of great importance with increase in technological advancement to taste victory in the fight of terrorism.

Terrorism is a worldwide network that operates and undertakes its mission under high finances. According to Chidozie, ALSHABAB militants operates in some countries by raising funds through other groups such as ISIS and ALQAEDA in order to carry out their activities.<sup>29</sup> These activities include, training, recruiting, planning and executing their attacks in a given country. The financiers of terror groups should be held responsibly to defeat the act of terrorism.

Diminish and prevention of upcoming of terror groups by counter-radicalization. Any avenue thought to promote terrorism like corruption, inequitable distribution of resources,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>Forest, James J. F. 2007. *Countering terrorism and insurgency in the 21st century: international perspectives*. Westport, Conn: Prager Security International. http://ebooks.abc-clio.com/?isbn=9780313080531.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup>Chidozie, Felix, and Segun Joshua. 2015. "Al-Shabaab: an emerging terrorist group in Somalia". *African Renaissance*. 12 (1): 81-105

marginalization, political instability and lack of employment among the youths to be dealt with conclusively.

#### **CHAPTER THREE**

# TRENDS AND CHALLENGES OF NATIONAL SECURITY STRATEGIES IN COMBATING TERRORISM IN KENYA

#### 3.0 Introduction

This Chapter focuses on assessing the trends and the challenges of national security in combating terrorism in Kenya to strengthen ties in the fight against terrorist activities. In the past decades, Kenya has witnessed an increase in terror attacks along the Kenya-Somali border, Mandera, and Isiolo. According to Prestholdt, Kenya has experienced a high rate of terror attacks, which is perceived to be transnational terrorism and linking to Kenya nationals to the activities<sup>30</sup>. This has brought various challenges in tackling the issue due to camouflaging terror groups' development and innovation. Terrorism is a continuous act with various mechanisms of terror beyond normal understanding. Consequently, if all efforts are channeled towards the vices exhibited by terrorism, success will be witnessed in the long run.

#### 3.1 Challenges of National Security Strategies in Combating Crime in Kenya

The challenges of national security strategies in combating terrorism in Kenya are determined by the development of terror-related activities, varying in intensity and approaches depending on funding levels, security sector priorities, and policies. Challenges experienced in combating terrorism are discussed below;

#### 3.2.1 Marginalisation

Terrorism has been greatly influenced by this factor as minority communities feel sidelined by government projects and initiatives. The consequence of perceived discrimination by the state results in an uprise of the movement against the government. Marginalization against the cultural beliefs, religion, and representation in development projects by the government contributes immensely to the growth of vices in the society, including terrorism.

<sup>30</sup>Prestholdt, Jeremy. "Kenya, the United States, and Counterterrorism." *Africa Today* 57, no. 4 (2011): 3-27

Youths of the nation feel neglected in their motherland's social developments; hence they look for an alternative way to earn a living. That funding terrorism takes advantage of this situation with the promise of high pay. According to Mawere, the attributes of poverty have supported the increase in terrorism recruitment.<sup>31</sup> The logic behind youths in terror attacks is exhibited by the act of radicalization and promise of money.

Unequal development in the country breeds an unstable and unconducive environment for creating groups that turn against regimes that neglect their basic needs. This deviates the peaceful coexistence of society and the escalation of violence (Crenshaw, 1981).<sup>32</sup> The movement can forcefully impose measures that oppose the ruling government and, therefore, increase violence and terrorism.

#### 3.2.2 Socio-Economic Situations

Due to the collapse of various social sectors and economic hubs of the community, the youths' average lives and other people have been on the struggling end. This prompts the agency of easy money and, in turn, leads to involving in terrorism. Unemployment among the people has degraded their social status, and this demeaning situation leaves the youth hopeless and looks for an alternative to support themselves. Consequently, lack of social amenities, employment opportunities have heavily dragged the youths into doing the impossible to meet their daily bread.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup>Mawere, Munyaradzi. "The Marginalization and Impoverishment of Africa: Reversing the Causes and Consequences of Poverty in Africa." In *Jostling Between "Mere Talk" & Blame Game? Beyond Africa's Poverty and Underdevelopment Game Talk*, edited by Mawere Munyaradzi, 1-12. Mankon, Bamenda: Langaa RPCIG, 2018.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup>Crenshaw, Martha. "The Causes of Terrorism." Comparative Politics 13, no. 4 (1981): 379-

Incorporating the economic crisis that does not favor growth and development of the youths' skills to pursue certain projects that generate income has greatly contributed to the radicalization of the majority of the youths to seek better alternatives of obtaining resources easily without struggle. Krieger et al. denote the need to provide social and material support to the community. The cultural diversity of the society should be respected<sup>33</sup>. The economic maturity of the state ensures the safety and protection of its citizens. The cushioning of the people from harsh economic environments motivates positive development and less involvement in the vices that can harm the youths and the nation.

Religion has been magnified to allow the growth of terror-related activities. This alienates the truth of the religion, whose basis is to unite the people. The teachings that include the superiority of the beliefs have negatively impacted the vices' growth and can trace back some of the incidences the terror attacks have occurred in churches. Religious motivation creates boundaries among the citizens, instilling fear, and the outcome discriminates the difference in the beliefs<sup>34</sup>. Violence arises due to the protection of one's faith and belief, which, if not respected, results in the splinter groups that align to protect their faith.

The widening gap between the rich and the poor stimulates the formation of the splinter and harmful groups and seeks to gain unlawful resources. Consideration of support from the terror-related networks, expansion of the groups through recruitments, and supplies of weapons with the hope of retaining the lost glory. Consequently, the distribution of terror-related activities can be summed in terms of the operations and regions heavily linked with terrorism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>Crenshaw, Martha. "The Causes of Terrorism." *Comparative Politics* 13, no. 4 (1981): 379-99.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup>Hoffman, Bruce. "Religion and Terrorism." In *Inside Terrorism*, 81-130. New York: Columbia University Press, 2006.

#### **3.2.3 Political Interests**

Kenya has experienced political turmoil over the years, with major tribes sheltered under the umbrella of given political affiliations. The potential threat to the fight of terrorism in Kenya has heavily been contributed by the politicians' political interests luring energetic and youthful Kenyans. The impact has been as tremendous as the political will agitates for the neglected rights in society. Still, in reality, the agendas of selfish leaders are being met. Sadly, the youths are used as a tool to gain mileage, and in return, they are left helpless.

Political leaders also protect the vices committed in society as they perceive that the government is targeting their society to root out terror-related groups. This has promptly promoted radicalization from the society level due to the loyalty upheld to their political kingpins. Additionally, the leaders only gang up during certain functions to address the real issues affecting society when in need.

#### 3.2.4 Lack of Funds in Crucial Sectors of Fighting Terrorism

Terrorism is a worldwide phenomenon that requires financial support to combat. The financial crisis in sectors that are on the lookout for the prevention of terrorism can really hinder the progress of combating terrorism by all means. To fight terrorism, a high intelligence level should be incorporated. Recruitment and training of the officers, acquisition of modern technologies and weapons should be invested heavily to obtain a permanent solution to terrorism. Immigration departments should also be on high alert to prevent intruders who might be terrorists. Protection of borders along the areas prone to terrorism should be paramount.

Attah considers the prevention of finance sources attributed to the growing networks of terrorism. This will be a big blow to the organizations that support terrorist activities in the

country<sup>35</sup>. Collective responsibilities among the member states, regional blocs, and international support would turn the fight against terrorism from a failing one to a successful mission. Inadequate finance in the country has literary slowed the fight against terrorism. Consequently, to succeed in the fight against terrorism, well-equipped machinery, and modern methods of engaging terrorism should be applied. Due to lack of funds, and infrastructure improvement is hindered, paving the way for the terror-related groups' penetration to find their way in the country, hence harming the Kenyan people. This factor also contributes to the inadequate and proper tools for security operators to handle the everchanging trends of terrorism.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Attah, Christiana Ejura. "Financing Terrorism in Nigeria: Cutting off the Oxygen." *Africa Development / Afrique Et Développement* 44, no. 2 (2019): 5-26.

#### **CHAPTER FOUR**

# THE IMPACT OF NATIONAL SECURITY IN COMBATING TERRORISM IN KENYA

#### 4.0 Introduction

This Chapter focuses on assessing the impact of National security in combating terrorism in Kenya. Consideration of the practical recommendations on how the foreign aid can strength the security challenges in combating terrorism. This study uses the Ministry of security explanation of aid effectiveness, as one of the criteria of measurement of impact, where a given project is able to achieve set goals and objectives over a period of time; and, the degree to which such achievements are sustainable. In order to find the effectiveness and the impact of national security, one must consider at how best national assistance transfers are designed to security and support growth-promoting activities.

#### 4.1 Impact on National Integration

The most crucial moment for economic and political growth among member counties is the presences of the peace and stability. This idea of regional integration would only occur due to the existence of a tranquil environment among the neighboring countries such as Somalia, Ethiopia and Uganda. The outcome of positive regional integration is based on the stable security and mutual understanding between the member countries and unite to drive out terrorism<sup>36</sup>. Kenya has experienced bad relationship with Somalia due to the instability in the regions caused by the terrorism activities. This has been witnessed in Kenya when a tourist was kidnapped by the terrorist and taken to Somalia, creating a long-term feud among the countries. Consequently, increase in threats of terrorism would cause a big challenge in regional integration which is the basis of economic growth. Improved services among the trading partners would also increase as Kenya security is enhanced and tightened to fight any

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>Eke, Jude Uwakwe, and Kelechi Johnmary Ani. "Africa and the Challenges of Regional Integration." *Journal of African Union Studies* 6, no. 1 (2017): 63-80.

terrorism attack in future. Regional and global integration in Kenya depends heavily on the security strategies and the foreign aid in the fight of terrorism<sup>37</sup>. Due to improved securities, Kenya has been the only Eastern African countries to have direct flights from Nairobi to New York City in USA.

Although there some challenges facing Kenya in terms of regional integration, terrorism remains the main challenge and the Kenyan security forces are on the forefront in the fight against the terrorism using sophisticated weapons. Modernization of the military to have high level of skills and also engage in safeguarding the border against intruders in terms of terror related activities.

#### **4.2** Impact on the Economic Development

Terrorism has been the main cause to the economic decline in the Kenya. This has been witnessed the decrease in small scale business which have been indirectly or directly in terms of consumption and marketing. The increased persistent of terrorism and the political instability has degenerated the economic hub of Kenya and thus paves the way for the fall of the country's GDP<sup>38</sup>. Several studies suggest that terrorism has a negative effect to tourism and hence the effect is so diverse to the point of collapsing of some of the tourist's hotels. Recently, the terrorism activities have been taking place in five-star hotels which are the main accommodating places for the tourists who jets in the country. Consequently, studies shows that due to economic depreciation in some sectors in Kenya has been the main cause of terrorism<sup>39</sup>. Poverty increases due to destruction of the property and the employment opportunities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>Amir, Faaiz. "CPEC and Regional Integration." *The Pakistan Development Review*, 2016, 579-96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup>Meierrieks, Daniel, and Thomas Gries. "Causality between Terrorism and Economic Growth." *Journal of Peace Research* 50, no. 1 (2013): 91-104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>Piazza, J. (2011). Poverty, minority economic discrimination, and domestic terrorism. *Journal of Peace Research*, *48*(3), 339-353.

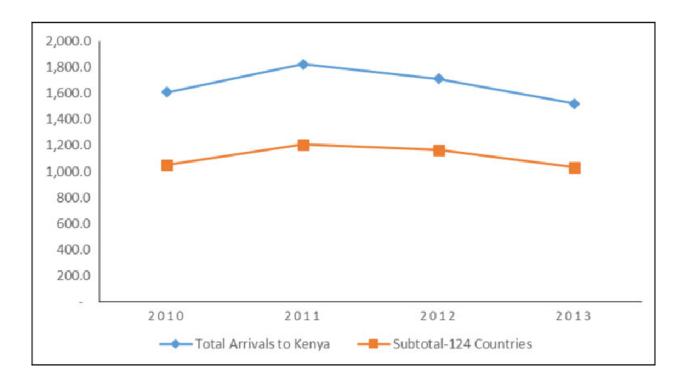


Figure 1:Showing the effect of terrorism on demand from tourism 2010-2013.

The above figure shows the decline of tourism activities in Kenya within the period when it experienced high rates of terrorism attacks. This has significantly decreased due to tightened security levels within and out of the country.

Due to the stability of the country brought by the national securities in combating terrorism, robust business has boomed and mushrooming. This has clearly indicated the ability of the economy to develop based on the secure place of work, market and also other business premises. Stable environment for the investment and economic growth is thus paramount and essential to the increase in the counties GDP.

#### 4.3 Impact on Social Well Being

With increased security and decreased terrorism levels, social places have been enhanced in the region where some of them were closed in the past. This has made it possible for the interaction of the people within and beyond borders due to greater achievement in the security levels of the country. Improved social activities have been witnessed and safeguarded for the well-being of the Kenyans and beyond the borders. Sporting activities has been the core tool in maintaining a stable and crucial bonding with other social and economic activities taking place. The enhancement of the social places has been key to the tightening of the security with the aim of decreasing terrorism threats in the country. Consequently, cultural integration is vital in the progress of the society. Although the trauma, fear and other negative effects experienced. Terrorism activities are the main cause in determining the social and the political situations of the country. Kenya has tremendously, heeded to the building of the past bridges caused by the effect of terrorism<sup>40</sup>. This has been achieved through the celebration of the national securities who died on the line of duty and the victims of the associated activities supported and counseled to the point of accepting the fate of the terrorism. For the prosperity of the country, security has been on the forefront in the maintaining the social norms and promoting integration among the Kenyans.

#### 4.4 Impact on Saving and Investment

Kenya has been the biggest spenders in the fight against terrorism. The government has invested heavily on security. Less resources used in the fight against terrorism would be used to drive other economic sectors that needs funds. Consequently, investors could opt to create business away from the danger zones due to the unpredicted forms of threats from the Al-Shabaab. There has been a sharp decline in investment during the sporadic attacks from the Al-Shabaab and the resulting operation Linda Inchi invading the Somalia leading to less saving. This is a fine indicator on the effect of terrorism on the saving and investment.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup>Ekici, Niyazi, and HuseyinAkdogan. "Structural Equation Modeling of Terrorism Perception: New Correlates of Perception Formation." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 14, no. 5 (2020): 63-76

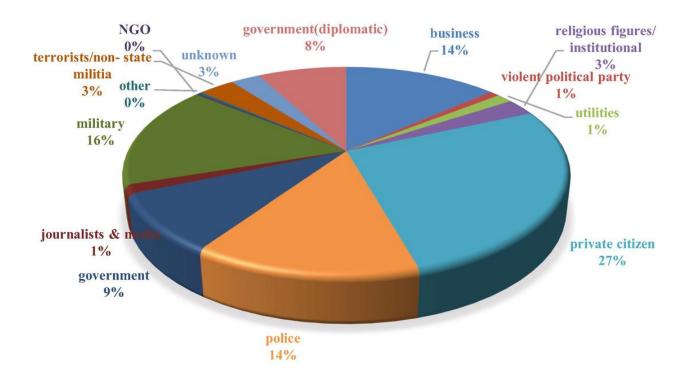


Figure 2: Terrorism impact on business.

This has been attributed by the fact that terrorism is a global menace that has to be stemmed out due to its diverse effect on the business and other organs that depends on the savings and investment. Additionally, significant amounts of spending are observed in the government and the security organs while minimum percentage is observed to be aligned to the private sectors and the citizens.

#### 4.5 Impact on Political Stability

Political stability has been enhanced with the long term's goals set to achieve the political world. Kenya has recently been a state of political stability due to decreased terror threats. The political atmosphere has cooled and the development of the government plans and projects. The effect of political instability breeds and increases the rate of terrorism. This is because of unequal distribution of economic growth that favors the region that has the bigwigs.

#### **4.6 International Relations**

The security of a country is a warm welcome to other countries as they can relate well with the peaceful country. Diplomatic relations of Kenya and other countries has been tremendously well with the involvement of the international bodies that engages the country positively. This has tightened the security and good relations with the neighboring countries at large. More so, terrorism hinders international relations with other countries as instability of the country due to terrorism has been the root cause of poor relations with the countries like Somalia.

#### **CHAPTER FIVE**

#### THE FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.0 Introduction

The main concern of the study was to assess national strategic approaches in fighting terrorism in Kenya. The data was collected from secondary sources through the experimental survey, which involved the interviews. This research aimed to determine how national strategies ascertain in preventing external attacks from terror-related activities.

The study used descriptive data and quantitative methods to collect and analyze data from recognized and confidential research reports. Other crucial information was derived from close sources that regarded the information to be highly sensitive.

The key sources of information were carried out through interviews and marked to be of great importance in determining our nation's stability in terms of securing the citizens against terrorism. The respondents involved in the study were 20, and all of them participated inclusively in the interview.

The respondents were supportive and gave the information willingly, considering the matter's sensitivity and the impacts it brought to the whole nation and the world at large. The responses were positives and suggested useful solutions to overcome the fight against the terror-linked activities in our country and Africa at large.

The common response regarding the development of useful strategies in combating terrorism was that there should be an elaborate way to minimize the outcome with the previous trends of terror activities in the country. This is through the active channels of improving people's social life and alleviating the poverty index.

Provision of important amenities that would help increase the nation's economy hence decreasing the rate of involvement in risky acts of terrorism by the youths. Through this, a

reduction in terror-related activities would be increased and decreasing the tensions among the people. The data was then analyzed by the use of excel software and the Stata to relate the descriptive data

.

Therefore, the objective of this study is to assess national strategic approaches in fighting terrorism in Kenya and how the strategies help maintain the peaceful coexistence between the terror groups and the citizens. More so, the improvement that has been witnessed.

#### 5.1 National Strategic Approaches in Fighting Terrorism in Kenya

The first objective was to assess the local budget trend allocated on military operations against terrorism in Kenya.

#### 5.1.1 Amount allocated to the military in the financial year.

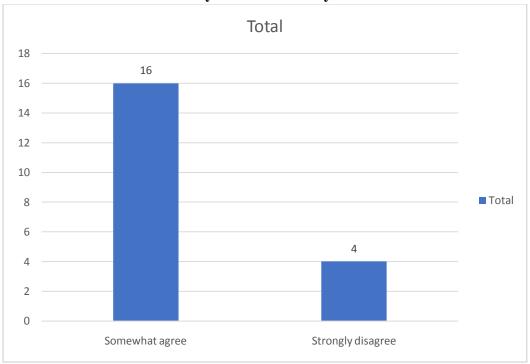


Figure 3: Amount allocated to finance military every year.

From the above bar chart, it was noted that 80% of the respondents, to some extent, agree that the budget allocation towards the military was sufficient in supporting the military operations in fighting terrorism. They quoted the incidences in which the national budget had a series of addition compared to the previous financial years with increased yearly recruitment of the military officers, hence increasing human power. Also, increased technological advancement and improved military infrastructure proved to be due to increased funding from the budget. 20% of the respondents cited that the military budget was not sufficient.

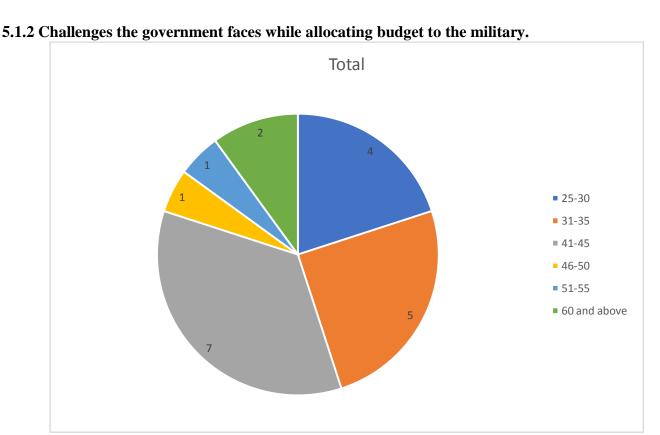


Figure 4: Challenges facing the government while allocating budget to the military.

The above pie chart represents the outcome of the government's challenges while allocating budget to the military. 20% of the respondents attribute the government's ability to allocate finances to the military as corruption has rooted in the country. More so, the

economy's collapse has given a major setback in allocating a substantial amount of money to combat terrorism in the country and beyond.

The uncertainties prove the most rampant and inconsistent factor to consider while allocating money to military operations. 35% cited the comparison of other countries in terms of the military budget and the country's involvement in other peacekeeping missions in other countries. In comparison, 5% of the correspondents align the value of investing in the military gathering of information to enhance military security operations. The military allocation has been increasing each year to cater to any eventualities of terrorism.<sup>41</sup>

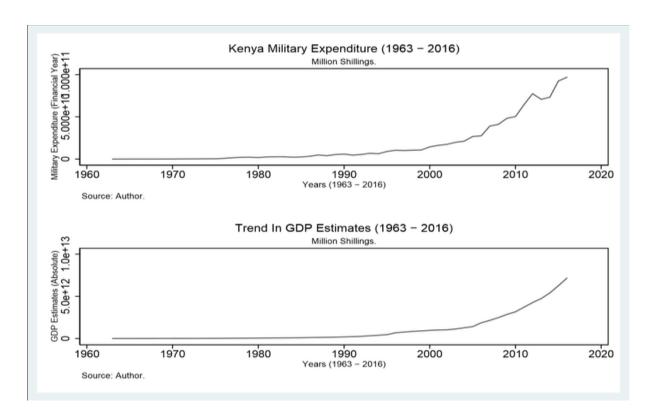


Figure 5: showing the trend of the military budget allocation to combat terrorism and other security-related matters. African Review of Economics and Finance Conference Proceedings of the 2018 African Review of Economics and Finance Conference.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup>African Review of Economics and Finance Conference Proceedings of the 2018 African Review of Economics and Finance Conference - Scientific Figure on ResearchGate. Available from: https://www.researchgate.net/figure/Kenya-Military-Expenditure-trend-versus-GDP-Absolute-values fig3 337759958

#### 5.2 To understand the military training methods.

The second objective was to understand training methods against terrorism from a military perspective. This also incorporated the civilians on how they view the military training methods towards combating terrorism in Kenya.

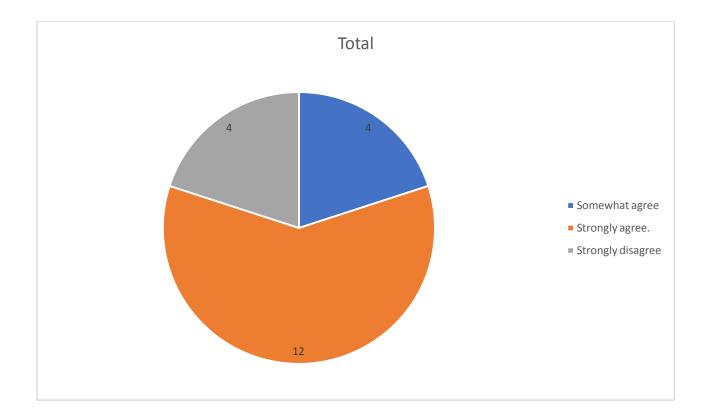


Figure 6: understanding military training methods.

The consolidation of military training is crucial in combating terrorism in the country.

60% of the correspondents attributed to the military training's confidential nature and therefore were not well equipped in determining the military personnel pieces of training.

20% believe military training is based on modern world pieces of training in superpower countries. In comparison, the remaining 20% agree that military training is part of combating terrorism and the manner they train. From the military perspective, crucial and confidential information is protected against the law.

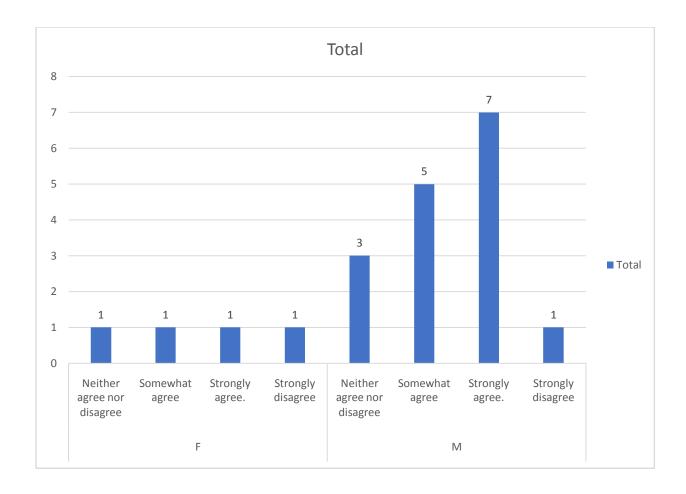


Figure 7: government effectiveness in combating terrorism

It was evident that males were more confident in giving the government the effect of protecting being on the good course of redeeming the country from terrorism. The information shows males' versatility towards the first-hand experience in terms of military intelligence concerning the terror-related groups in the country. Simultaneously, the females always depend on secondary information relating to the terror threats and attacks.

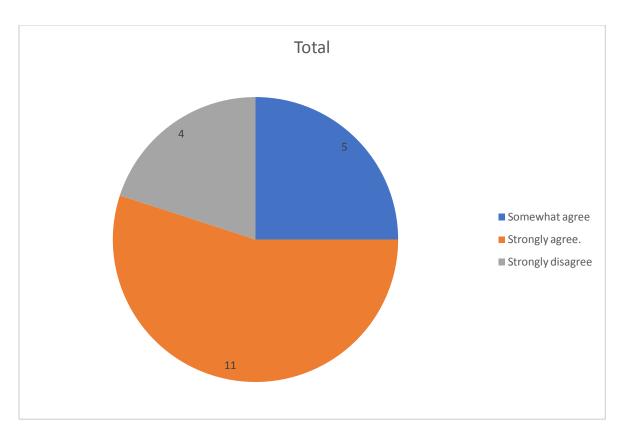


Figure 8: Government preparedness in combating terrorism

From figure 5, it was concluded that 55% of the respondents alludes to the government's effort in terms of preventing and carrying out swift actions in neutralizing the enemies. From the previous attacks, the government acted swiftly in securing the incidences that the terror groups ambushed. Gathering the intelligence reports and information has been the main root of the government's preparedness in stemming out terrorism.

The yearly recruitment of the country's military personnel has been tremendous and given an upper chance of maintaining a stable and secured boundary for the people. 25% of the respondents gave reluctant feedback due to the delays and increased fatalities from the terror attacks. Consequently, the lack of highly equipped tools for combating terrorism also gave an upper hand in giving the suggestions of combating terror attacks. At the same time, 20% did not acknowledge the preparedness of the government towards combating terrorism.

### 5.3 Strategies in fighting terrorism from civilians and multi-organizational approach

The third objective was to analyze different strategies from the civilians and the multi-organizational approach. The respondents denoted the strategies the government had put and applauded the move. This was because consistent and highly trained military personnel are assigned tasks that require their skills both in the field and also in the theoretical applications of military knowledge. Attribution of sophisticated weapons and other highly accurate arms and intelligence officers' use is crucial in shaping the core of terrorism in the country.

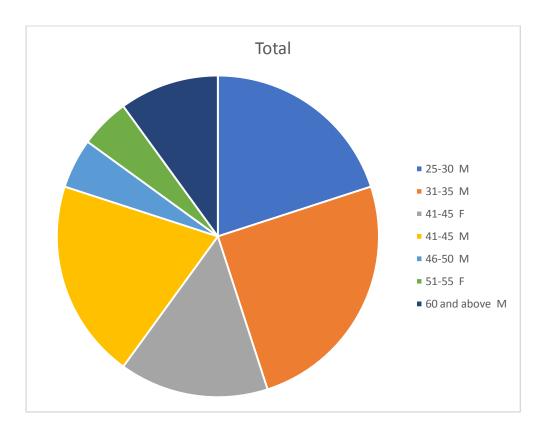


Figure 9: Different strategies in fighting terrorism from civilians and multi-organizational approach representation using bar charts.

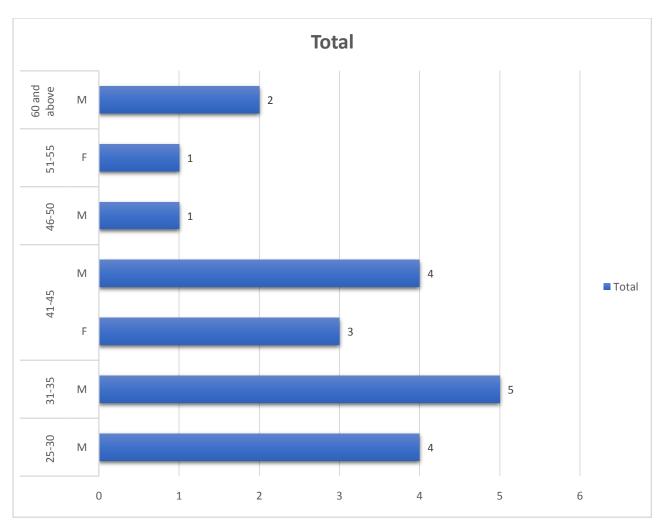


Figure 10: Different strategies in fighting terrorism from civilians and multi-organizational approach representation using bar charts.

The involvement of the external organization in the fight against terrorist activities in the country has been fruitful. The shaping of immigration services, crackdown on the use of illegal and smuggling goods within and outside the country has been at the forefront in the fight against terrorism.

In conclusion, the long-term consequences of the national strategies in combating terrorism have positively impacted determining and bringing stability to the country. This has kept the terror threats at bay, increased stability within and outside the boundaries. Improved security at all points of great use and possible attack. Increased surveillance within the country with the help of other multi-organization on eradicating terrorism in the country.

#### 5.4 CONCLUSION

The research was based on three objectives which provided the guiding role in the research. These objectives were to assess the trends of the local budget allocated on military operations against terrorism, secondly, the analysis of different strategies in fighting terrorism from civilians and multi-organizational approach and thirdly, to understand the military training methods against terrorism from a military perspective in combating terrorism in Africa, particularly in Kenya. The above objectives were thoroughly researched on and the information obtained from the relevant persons and authorities. The research analyzed the early work done on the national security measures to curb the fight against terrorism, and the main concern was Kenya, which had faced various forms of terrorism in Africa with devastating effects. Crucial information was obtained from people with vast experience in combating terrorism in and out of the country.

Kenya has the most and highly trained military personnel, which has been and still at the forefront of the fight against terrorism in Somalia. With the involvement of the international bodies and the African Union under the umbrella of AMISOM, tremendous achievements have been met, and the destruction of the terror groups' main strongholds has been eliminated. Consequently, the national military budget has been significant to the military personnel. Most African countries have a big challenge in financial matters, and Kenya being one of them depicts faces the same problems. The government's strategies to combat terrorism have been adversely formulated and generated from various organizations and developed countries.

The study shows that cooperation among member states has been vital for the country to fight against the militia, and Kenya has exceptionally performed against terrorism. It has given a good example in Africa how strategies coupled with finance and individual pieces of training from the military have helped a lot in the fight against terrorism. Other researches have also

overwhelmed and given measures in which Kenya could employ and win the war against terrorism.

Therefore, Kenya's effort to expand the national budget allocated to the military has significantly helped reinforce and provide sufficient protection within the country from terror-related activities. Previous studies suggest that heavy investment in military activities plays a major role in safeguarding the country from external attacks. Budgetary allocation trends affect several parameters such as the military personnel's recruitments to serve in the country, technological and modern equipment, gathering of the intelligence reports, which is essential in mapping and highlighting the possible threats within the country. Much effort has been tried, and observable care.

This paper established that the trend of budget allocation to the military, the nature of the training methods, and the various international and national strategies have been crucial in combating terrorism in Kenya.

#### **5.6 RECOMMENDATIONS**

The following are recommendations based on the conclusions from the paper, which would be beneficial when properly utilized by the government in combating terrorism in Kenya.

## 1. Increase in the local, national budget allocated on military operations against terrorism

The government should increase its budgetary allocation in military operations against terrorism. This would play a crucial role in determining the human resources, military organization, and preparedness to fight against war. Consequently, acquiring advanced technological instruments in obtaining information that helps in preventing future eventualities. The government should also increase the local budget funding to cater to the growing insecurity threats and curb the increasing gap in military personnel in the country.

#### 2. Understanding the nature of terrorism by the people

Due to the cruel nature and adverse effect of terror attacks, the government should engage the people on the various forms of terrorism exhibited by the people. This includes public awareness and involving different sectors of the community in dealing with terrorism. More so, involving society in managing terrorism would provide a crucial opportunity to gather preliminary reports and information about terror planning.

#### 3. Increasing the number of military personnel

The study outlines the need to increase the number of military personnel. This would provide sufficient security within the country and in the social habitats hence preventing terror attacks. The military also should be highly trained in dealing with simple ways of terror, which has significantly changed due to technological development. The provision of extreme expertise to the military would be advantageous in responding to all terror attacks.

#### 4. Strengthening diverse strategy approaches towards combating terrorism

The study recommends an improvement on the methods and strategies involved in combating terrorism. This involves modern approaches and the use of old methods in combating terrorism.

# 5. Corporation from the non-governmental perspective and the community in general

The study recommends maximum cooperation from all stakeholders from the community level to international bodies in the fight against terrorism. This would be beneficial in mapping out and preventing the radicalization of young individuals in terror groups. Society should be at the forefront by providing information through religious activities against terrorism.

#### 6. Implementation of stiff laws against terrorism

The legislatures and lawmakers should come up with stringent measures to curb the growth of terrorism. This involves heavy fines and related jailing of the culprits involved in terrorism.

#### 5.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study was limited in obtaining information from selected individuals with extensive knowledge of the thesis, which proved to be too descriptive rather than statistical. Therefore, using a specific method of analysis of descriptive data was somehow difficult. With the emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic globally, Kenya being affected adversely had slowed the data collection. Also, collecting information from older adults seemed to be difficult due to the high risk of spreading the disease. The pandemic also restricted movement hence sometimes leading to skewed information due to the locality orientation.

#### 5.8 SUGGESTED AREAS OF FURTHER STUDIES

Despite the study achieving the set objectives, the following further studies to be carried out.

- a) The study suggests that places prone to terrorism such as M Mandera, Garissa,
   Wajir, and Lamu to be considered. This would be crucial in obtaining information that would help in combating terrorism in Kenya.
- b) To carry out further studies in terror-prone countries to compare the dos and don'ts in combating terrorism.

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#### Appendix I.

#### Questionnaire

#### Introduction

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Ramadhan Mwafinga Rashid, a student from the University of Nairobi. I am currently carrying out an academic research study as part of a requirement of the Post graduate degree. The purpose of the research is to assess national security strategies in combating terrorism in Africa: case study of Kenya. I would appreciate you taking a few minutes to fill this questionnaire. The data collected from this research will be used for academic and research purposes only. Your participation is completely VOLUNTARY and ANONYMOUS. The information will be kept strictly CONFIDENTIAL. For any inquiry, kindly call me on 0727357060 or email to: zarwi2003@gmail.com.

## ANNEX

## ANNEX I INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

PART 1: Biodata

1. Name of RespondentDesignation
Organization
2. Sex: [ ] Male [ ] Female
3. Age: [] 25-30 [] 31-35 [] 36- 40 [] 41-45 [] 46-50
[ ] 51-55 [ ] 60 and above
4. Highest level of education attained:
[] Primary education [] Secondary education [] College education
[ ] University education [ ] other
5. Please indicate your professional affiliation.
[] Government agencies [] SAGA
Development Partner Development Partner

6. Nati	ona	lity: [] Kenyan [] British [] other (indicate)
PART	1I:	
On a	scal	e of 5, indicate how you agree with the below statements where 5 = Strongly
agree,	4 =	Somewhat agree, 3 = Neither agree nor disagree, 2 = Somewhat disagree, and
1 = St	ron	gly disagree.
7.	Th	e Government of Kenya has been effective in combating terrorism in Kenya.
	0	Strongly agree.
	0	Somewhat agree.
	0	Neither agree nor disagree.
	0	Somewhat disagree.
	0	Strongly disagree.
8.	Th	e amount allocated each year to finance military activities is enough.
	0	Strongly agree.
	0	Somewhat agree.
	0	Neither agree nor disagree.
	0	Somewhat disagree.
	0	Strongly disagree.
9.	Th	e national strategies employed to fight terrorism in Kenya are very effective.
	0	Strongly agree.
	0	Somewhat agree.
	0	Neither agree nor disagree.
	0	Somewhat disagree.
	0	Strongly disagree.

10. Very little has been done to secure Kenyans from terror attacks.

	0	Strongly agree.
	0	Somewhat agree.
	0	Neither agree nor disagree.
	0	Somewhat disagree.
	0	Strongly disagree.
11.	Th	e Kenyan government is always prepared to react to attacks from militia groups.
	0	Strongly agree.
	0	Somewhat agree.
	0	Neither agree nor disagree.
	0	Somewhat disagree.
	0	Strongly disagree.
12.	Ia	m aware of training methods that the Kenya Defense unit uses to fight terrorism.
	0	Strongly agree.
	0	Somewhat agree.
	0	Neither agree nor disagree.
	0	Somewhat disagree.
	0	Strongly disagree.
13.	Ke	nyans are aware of terrorism activities and well prepared in case of an unexpected
	att	ack.
	0	Strongly agree.
	0	Somewhat agree.
	0	Neither agree nor disagree.
	0	Somewhat disagree.
	0	Strongly disagree.

## PART 1II:

14.	. What a	are some	of the o	challenges	that Ken	ıya's gove	ernment	faces while	allocating
	budget	t	owards	com	nbating	terro	orism	in	Kenya?
			• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •						
15.	Why do	you thin	nk militia	groups sti	ll find it e	easier to at	tack hig	hly secured	places?
	••••								

16. What do you think the Kenyan government can do better when it comes to disast	ter
preparedness?	
17. Any other comment?	

18.	What are some of the approaches/methods that developing countries use to combat
	terrorism in Kenya?