

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**  
**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**THE ROLE OF CIVILIANS IN COMBATING TERRORISM: A CASE STUDY OF  
KENYA 2010- 2016 //**

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## DECLARATION

I, James Okumu hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Signed.......... Date..... 28 JUNE 2019 .....

James Okumu

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor;

Signed.......... Date..... 8/7/2019 .....

**Professor Ambassador Maria Nzomo, PHD**

## **DEDICATION**

**This study is dedicated to my wife and children**

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I acknowledge my supervisor Prof. Amb. Maria Nzomo, M.B.S, for guiding me throughout the entire research process, up to this successful end.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>AQIM</b>	Islamic Maghreb operating in the Sahara
<b>PLO</b>	Palestine Liberation Organization
<b>PSSD</b>	Posttraumatic Stress Disorder
<b>US</b>	United States

## **ABSTRACT**

In Kenya as in the rest of the world, terrorism is a huge challenge. It threatens to bring down state security and crumble economies. Terrorist attacks have happened in Nairobi, Mombasa, Mandera, Garissa and Wajir Counties in Kenya. The attacks have various targets such as churches, market places, public transport systems and military camps. The main aim of this study was to examine the role that the civilians ought to play in fighting terrorism in Kenya. Three specific objectives form the foundation of the study: to highlight the effects of terrorism on civilians, to establish the role of civilians in dealing with terrorism and to assess the challenges facing civilian capacity for addressing terrorism in Kenya. The globalization theory will anchor this study showing the effects of terroristic attack on civilians. The study found that civilian population is important in winning the war against terrorism. The study rejected the first hypothesis and pointed that there are significant effects on the civilian population in Kenya. This is due to the fact that as stated in the results, terrorism has brought a lot of suffering to the civilian population in Kenya. It has led to deaths, injuries, disruption of livelihoods among many such negative consequences. The study found that the civilian population has roles that they can play in eradicating terrorism. They can start from the point of view of community policing where they liaise with security agencies to eliminate potential terrorists amongst them. They may participate in campaigns aimed at eliminating religious fundamentalism which is usually a ground used by terrorists to recruit new members. Therefore the second objective was rejected and conclusion made that there are significant roles of civilians in fighting terrorism. The third hypothesis was also rejected since the civilian population has significant challenges in the fight against terrorism. The results of the study indicated that there are several challenges facing the civilian wish to combat terrorism in Kenya. They include; marginalization of youths, youth unemployment, indiscriminate arrests of youths and corruption. The study concluded that the civilian population has had direct and indirect effects emanating from the menace of terrorism in Kenya. Innocent people have been killed or maimed in the various terror attacks witnessed as well as loss of property and livelihood. The study concluded that the civilian population has a significant role in the fight against terrorism in Kenya. This is shown by the fact that the civilian population has been active in fighting terrorism through creation of community policing, reporting terror suspects to security apparatus and fighting religious terrorism. The study concluded that challenges exist that affect the ability of the civilian to emerge victorious in the effort to combat terrorism in Kenya. The study found that challenges such as marginalization of youths, youth unemployment, indiscriminate arrests of youths and corruption affect the fight against terrorism. The study suggests that the government should implement the various legal and policy frameworks such as National Police Service Act 2011 and other counter-terrorism policies to create awareness of the important role of the inclusiveness of civilian and the security agencies in combating terrorism.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

#### 1.1 Background of the Study

Terrorism is a major concern to global governments in modern global context. It is considered as a major concern to the existence of humankind and as such has been declared as an international threat to peace and stability of nations. The international laws of global states have uniformly labeled terrorism as an illegal threat to human existence. Terrorism is considered as a war crime with serious implications to international regulating engagement in war situation especially when subjected to civilians and non-military equipment and resources.

Through terrorism, fear has been harnessed to mankind as a result of terrorism with untold consequences to their well-being.<sup>1</sup> The aim of terrorism is to create fear on the civilian population with the intended aim of achieving political or even religious goals. Terrorism has the supreme goal of propagating fear and anxiety on the targeted population. The terror attacks usually are aimed at assisting the perpetrators of terrorism to accomplish their political or religious goals.<sup>2</sup> After propagating fear and anxiety on the targeted population, terrorists aim at instilling lingering fear of insecurity to the targeted population. This assist in furthering the cause of terror groups that even gets to the length of maiming and killing their victims.

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<sup>1</sup> United Nation. *UN reforms and terror war*. Retrieved on 25<sup>th</sup> October, 2018.

<sup>2</sup> Momanyi, Samwel. *Impact of Al-shabaab terrorist on Kenyan peace*. A Masters' Dissertation in Peace and Conflict Transformation. University of Norway, 2014.

Civilians are non-combatants and other personnel who in times of conflict may be caught in the midst of conflicts and either maimed or killed.<sup>3</sup> The threat of terrorism for the African continent is as serious as in the rest of the world. However, for the African continent, the vulnerability of the threat of terrorism is more pronounced to the people of the continent due to a number of reasons. These includes the presence of weak governing structures, porous borders, weak security structures, lack of coordination of security organs among many others.

Though almost all parts of the world are under some form of threat, Africa has some special circumstances that raise its vulnerability. The continent has some of the weakest governments in the world, its borders are porous and poorly manned, and many countries have weak security structures. There are many terrorist groups operating in Africa including Alshabab in Somali, Boko Haram based in Nigeria, Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb operating in the Sahara (AQIM) and the Lord's Resistance Army operating in Uganda. Alshabab is the most threatening terrorist organization in East Africa. The terror group has its major base in Somali with cell all over East Africa. Alshabab is affiliated to the globally identified Al Qaida terrorist organization. Al-Shabaab's attacks in Kenya and East Africa have been particularly severed and more frequent the last five years.<sup>4</sup> The focus of this study, however, is the Al-Shabaab attacks in Kenya

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<sup>3</sup> Momanyi, Samwel. *Impact of Al-shabaab terrorist on Kenyan peace*. A Masters' Dissertation in Peace and Conflict Transformation. University of Norway, 2014.

<sup>4</sup> Gatuiku, Peter. *Terrorism and countering terrorism in the Horn of Africa*. Maters Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 2014.

Each of the countries in the Horn of Africa which include Somalia, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Djibouti, Kenya, Uganda, Sudan and South Sudan suffers/or have suffered protracted political strife, arising from local and national grievances, identity politics and regional inter-state rivalries. The rise of the Union of Islamic Courts in Somalia, the Ethiopian invasion of Somalia to install the President Abdullahi Yusuf in power, the U.S. bombing raids aimed at suspected al-Qaida members, the Ethiopian-Eritrean War, the decade-long Somalia War, the emergence of Al-Shabaab, Kenya's Post election violence, and the Sudan-South Sudanese just ended War have highlighted the display of violence in its extreme form in the Horn of Africa.<sup>5</sup>

The Somali tragedy lies at the heart of developments with internal governance systems. 1991 marked the start of an endless murderous civil war, paving way for the emergence of contemporary terrorists. Terror in Somalia has been continually featured in international headlines since the past two decades where coordinated attacks can be launched from, as evident in the 1998 US embassy bombing and the subsequent attacks on the Kenyan soil.

Kenya has had terror attacks for a number of years now. In 1980, the Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi was attacked where 20 people lost their lives and more than 80 people were wounded.<sup>6</sup> In 1998, Kenya, alongside Tanzania was simultaneously attacked by Al-Qaida terrorist organization targeting USA interests. In Kenya alone, more than 200 people lost their lives with not less than 3,000 others being injured. In 2002, an Israel bound plane

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<sup>5</sup> Kaufmann, Simpson. *Anti-terrorism fight in Africa and the challenges*. Retrieved from Africom newsroom, 13<sup>th</sup> November 2018.

<sup>6</sup> Frey Benross. 'Terrorism and deterrence's. *European Journal of political Economy*, 20 (2) 22, 2015.

was attacked through a ground launched missile from Mombasa but was missed. Around the same time, terrorists exploded a bomb at Paradise hotel in Mombasa soon after the hotel had received 60 tourists. In this attack, thirteen people ten of whom were Kenyans and three Israelis were killed. Al-Qaida terror group claimed responsibility. From 2011, however, Al-shabab became the dominant terror group in Kenya.<sup>7</sup>

The Government of Kenya was caught flat footed on Saturday, the 21<sup>st</sup> of September, 2013 attack at the Westgate shopping mall. Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility and maintained it was a reprisal attack against the Kenya military operations in Somalia. This attempt to bomb the Mandera governor's convoy in 2015, and the Garissa University attack during which 148 students were killed

In September 2013, Al-shabab terror group attacked a busy mall in Nairobi, West Gate, frequented by Westerners in the country. Al-shabab claimed the attack was a retaliatory act against Kenya's military invasion into Somali. Kenyan security agents were accused of being caught flat footed in this attack. Other attacks included an Al-shabab massacre of 148 university students in Garissa University in 2015 and an attempted assassination of Mandera County governor the same year. This reflects other terror incidences with massive civilian casualty.<sup>8</sup>

These persistent attacks increasingly show that terrorists attacks within Kenya have mercilessly high levels of civilian sufferings with the government's capacity to combat

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<sup>7</sup> United States Department of Homeland Security. *Countering terrorism and extremism*. Retrieved on 14<sup>th</sup> October 2018.

<sup>8</sup> Momanyi, Samwel. *Impact of Al-shabaab terrorist on Kenyan peace*. A Masters' Dissertation in Peace and Conflict Transformation. University of Norway, 2014.

them being overwhelmed. It is within the context of this reality that this study attempts to scrutinize the role of civilians in combating terrorism in Kenya.

## **1.2 Statement of the Research Problem**

Terrorism is one of the biggest challenges facing Kenya and the world in general, serving as major threat to security and the economy. A number of terror attacks have been witnessed in Kenya with majority of the casualties as the civilian population. In 1980, the Norfolk Hotel was bombed by pro-Palestinian militants leading to the death of 20 civilians of different nationalities and wounding of 87 more.<sup>9</sup> The United States of America Embassy bombing in 1998 led to the death of 213 civilians with over 4,000 wounded, almost all being Kenyans. The attacks on Kikambala Hotel in Mombasa in 2002 resulted in the death of 13 civilians and 80 injuries.

Since 2012, the Al-Shabaab attacks in Kenya has led to an estimated over 600 people in Kenya losing their lives.<sup>10</sup> Some of the recent and worst terror attacks in terms of civilian casualties include the 2013 Westgate Mall shooting led to the death of 67 civilians with the Mpeketoni attacks in 2014 leading to the death of 60 civilians. The Garissa University attack on April 2 2015 led to the death of 147 people with majority of the casualties being university students. As witnessed from these statistics, Al-Shabaab is the biggest threat to the security of the country with the civilian population suffering from the numerous terrorist attacks.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Onamu Bernard. *Impact of terrorism in the Horn of Africa*. Masters Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 2014.

<sup>10</sup> Omondi, Amos. *Five Star Hotels in Nairobi: Effects of Terrorism on booking and reservations*. Masters Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 2015.

<sup>11</sup> Momanyi, Samwel. *Impact of Al-shabaab terrorist on Kenyan peace*. A Masters' Dissertation in Peace and Conflict Transformation. University of Norway, 2014.

Although the war on terror has led to untold suffering on the civilian population, both the Government of Kenya and the international community have resulted in a military solution to the problem. There is little emphasis on the role of the civilians in dealing with the menace of terrorism. As stated by Gatuiku, the measures adopted by the Kenya government in confronting terrorism is counter-productive; the government focuses more on militaristic strategies in the fight against terrorism; and the government's militaristic approach has not been effective.<sup>12</sup>

Furthermore, the militaristic and state centric approach in countering terrorism such as crack downs, illegal detention, and extra-judicial killings of terror suspects and innocent victims has fueled terrorism. It is therefore crucial for the inclusion of non-state actors such as the civilians as soft-power measure of combating terrorism.<sup>13</sup> Despite the increasing deaths, injuries and suffering of the non-combatants on the face of terrorism, the specific roles of civilians in minimizing the negative consequences of terror attacks has not been well documented and defined in Kenya.

Additionally, few researchers in Kenya have focused on the role of civilian population in combating terrorism. Gatuiku<sup>14</sup> investigated the counterterrorism strategies in combating terrorism in Kenya. Momanyi<sup>15</sup> focused on the impact of Al-Shabaab terrorist attacks in

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<sup>12</sup> Gatuiku, Peter. *Terrorism and countering terrorism in the Horn of Africa*. Masters Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 2014.

<sup>13</sup> United States Department of Homeland Security. *Countering terrorism and extremism*. Retrieved on 14<sup>th</sup> October 2018.

<sup>14</sup> Gatuiku, Peter. *Terrorism and countering terrorism in the Horn of Africa*. Masters Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 2014.

<sup>15</sup> Momanyi, Samwel. *Impact of Al-shabaab terrorist on Kenyan peace*. A Masters' Dissertation in Peace and Conflict Transformation. University of Norway, 2014.



Kenya. It is against this background that this study sought to answer the question; what is the role of civilians in combating terrorism in Kenya.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

1. What are the effects of terrorism on civilians in Kenya?
2. What is the role of civilians in dealing with terrorism in Kenya?
3. What are the challenges facing civilian capacity for addressing terrorism in Kenya?

### **1.4 General Objective**

The overall objective of the study is to examine and analyze the role of civilians in combating terrorism in Kenya.

### **1.5 Specific Objectives**

1. To examine and assess the effects of terrorism on civilians in Kenya.
2. To analyze the role of civilians in dealing with terrorism in Kenya.
3. To assess the challenges facing civilian in addressing terrorism in Kenya.

### **1.6 Literature review**

#### **1.6.1 The effects of terrorism on civilians in Kenya**

Terrorism in the past decade has become both a national issue and international issue that require immediate attention due to its intensity. Terrorism has caused millions of lives globally, hundreds of thousands of lives regionally and thousands of lives in Kenya, leaving many children orphans and dozens of parents childless and those who live to tell the experience of this traumatizing event are left traumatized forever.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Omondi, Amos. *Five Star Hotels in Nairobi: Effects of Terrorism on booking and reservations*. Masters Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 2015.

Terrorism has led to a number of negative socio-economic and political effects on the civilian population. It has claimed hundreds of civilian lives, long term injuries and incapacitations, affected the enjoyment of individual rights and freedoms, and influenced the escalation in social animosities and religious tensions.

The objective of terrorists to be achieved through acts of terror is to negatively influence perception of the public about their governments. The terror groups intend to undermine the legitimacy or effectiveness of the governments. Though hiding under the caveat of religion, terror groups have a secular and rational political motivation. The terrorists try to create doubt and anxiety amongst citizens that their governments are not able to protect them. This explains their rationale of targeting civilians. Violent acts like bombing, beheadings and kidnapping are meant to incite maximum fear from the citizenry and are a means to an end.

Terrorists have used bombings and assassinations as frequent weapons in their struggle against autocracy. In Kenya, individual sympathetic to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) bombed the Norfolk hotel in Nairobi in December 1980 leading to civilian casualties<sup>17</sup>. Again, the 1998 American embassy bomb blast in Nairobi, and the bombing of the Paradise hotel in Kikambala in 2002 resulted in civilian deaths. Terrorists have always aimed at creating publicity for their acts, playing for audience and spreading their ideological message through the media.

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<sup>17</sup> Omondi, Amos. *Five Star Hotels in Nairobi: Effects of Terrorism on booking and reservations*. Masters Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 2015.

An attack many at times is usually followed by a communication taking credit for the act or laying out demands or explaining why it was carried out against that particular target with the aim of creating public anxiety. The 1998 bombings of the American Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania attracted wide media coverage due to the huge civilian deaths.<sup>18</sup>

Exposure to terrorism may place civilians at risk for short and long-term mental health problems and is likely to mobilize a range of internal and external coping resources. Research has shown that the negative effects of terrorism are not restricted to individuals who have been directly affected by terror attacks, and Posttraumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) symptoms have also been documented among people who were indirectly exposed to the attacks.<sup>19</sup>

### **1.6.2 The role of civilians in dealing with terrorism**

Civil military cooperation is one area where the security forces and the civilians can join hands in fighting terrorism. There was a time that the civilian population and the security forces were living in a state of mutual suspicion and distrust at the beginning of the terrorist insurgency in Africa. With time both the military and the civilians have realized that they need to cooperate and support each other in order to conquer the terrorists and restore law and order. Even after the terrorists have been fully cleared by the security forces, the relationship between them should be further enhanced.

The military may possess and operate the arsenals of violence to meet its objective in any challenging security situation. However in the case of terrorism, it requires more than the

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<sup>18</sup> Onamu Bernard. *Impact of terrorism in the Horn of Africa*. Masters Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 2014.

<sup>19</sup> Weinberg, Mitchell, Besser, Anthony, Campeas Micheal, Shvil Eli and Neria, Yomp. *Effects of terrorism on civilian livelihood*. New York: Columbia University, 2016.

use of force to conquer and hinder it from surfacing again. The forces that work on the minds of principally the radicalized youths to divert them into violence will not relent as the history in other parts of the world continues to show. Civilian cooperation is necessary to defeat terrorism.

A strong civil society human rights activists and journalists are important in any campaign against terrorists and there is the need to consider ways of relating with them. They are significant partners even if they may attack some of the practices they see on the part of the military. They are an important segment of society and could help strengthen the relationship between the military and the civilian population. It is necessary to point out that the military and civilians are both citizens of their country; none is superior to the other. It is critical to harness and enhance the relationship between the two towards building a more secure and safer society.<sup>20</sup>

In Kenya, the community policing dubbed 'Nyumba Kumi' (ten households) initiative was rolled out after the Westgate attack. The attack on West gate left Kenyans feeling highly vulnerable. There was local support for the foreign terrorists judging by the manner in which the terror act was executed. With the frequency and severity with which terror activities are being perpetrated by Kenyans, it is becoming clearer that the biggest threat to Kenyan national security through terror is emanating from local terror groups such as Al-Hijra who either act alone but in most cases with collaboration with foreigners. The government has introduced a community policing approach called 'Nyumba Kumi initiative' to increase intelligence as provided by locals against terrorism

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<sup>20</sup> Mua'zu Ibrahim and Kura Mohamoud. Enhancement of civil-military cooperation in Borno State, Nigeria. *The International Journal of Social Sciences*, 6 (2), 1-23, 2016.

but according to 'Nyumba Kumi' official, as a concept geared toward involving the civilians in the fight against terrorism in order to address all aspects of terror- related insecurity in Kenya.<sup>21</sup>

The involvement of the local civilian population in security provision is helping remove the impression in civilian's minds that security is a sole concern of the government. The public is appreciating more that the fight against terrorism is a combined effort for all with civilians and security agencies working together. The 'Nyumba Kumi' initiative is anchored on the public sharing as much information as they find important to security agencies and security agencies trying as much as possible to act based on it.<sup>22</sup> The model essentially places civilians at the core of the fight against terrorism. This model has disrupted terror initiatives already which otherwise would have been devastating to the populace.

### **1.6.3 The challenges facing civilians in addressing terrorism**

Civilians can be enablers of terrorist in the equal measure they can be a resource in countering the same. Civilians have a moral obligation to avail any information they attain that would impact on national security to government security agents. Though it is civilians who aid terrorism, the biggest loss resulting from it is borne by the civilians themselves. They are the one highly likely to lose their lives, their property or get injured. This reality should be a motivating factor for civilians to support security agencies in curbing terrorism. This could be done through reporting movements of suspected terror

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<sup>21</sup> Mwazighe, I.con. *Legal methods of confronting terrorism in Kenya*. California: Naval Post Graduate School, 2017.

<sup>22</sup> Mua'zu Ibrahim and Kura Mohamoud. Enhancement of civil-military cooperation in Borno State, Nigeria. *The International Journal of Social Sciences*, 6 (2), 1-23, 2016.

operatives, resource mobilization especially by private companies and involvement in programs that address radicalization.

In Kenya, civilian programmes like the 'Nyumba Kumi' initiative have faced legal hurdles. Initially, the 'Nyumba Kumi' did not have a legal backing. This resulted to poor coordination, and blame games between the police and local communities.<sup>23</sup> The lack of legal framework, however, was solved by the enactment of the National Police Service Act 2011.

### 1.7 Research Gaps

The approach to combat terrorism has chiefly focused on security organs as the sole agent to confront the reality of terrorism. As stated by United States Department of State<sup>24</sup> the incorporation of the civilian population is vital to the fight and eventual eradication of terrorism. Despite the establishment of the importance of civilians in the fight against terrorism, few studies have focused on the role of civilians in combating terrorism in Kenya. Most scholars have generally studied on the relationship between terrorism and the agencies countering it.

For example, Gatuiku<sup>25</sup> investigated the counterterrorism strategies in combating terrorism in Kenya. Other scholars have focused on the impacts of terrorism on the civilians, security forces and the governance of the country at large. For example,

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<sup>23</sup> Kawira Salome. Police reforms in Kenya: the war on terror. Masters Dissertation, University of Nairobi.

<sup>24</sup> United States Department of Homeland Security. *Countering terrorism and extremism*. Retrieved on 14<sup>th</sup> October 2018.

<sup>25</sup> Gatuiku, Peter. *Terrorism and countering terrorism in the Horn of Africa*. Masters Dissertation, University of Nairobi. 2014.

Momanyi<sup>26</sup> focused on the impact of Al-Shabab terrorist attacks in Kenya. The research gap in this study is that despite the increasing deaths, injuries and suffering of the civilian population on the face of terrorism, the specific roles of civilians in minimizing the negative consequences of terror attacks has not been well documented and defined in Kenya. Additionally, few researchers in Kenya have focused on the role of civilian population in combating terrorism.

### **1.8 Hypotheses of the study**

**H<sub>01</sub>:** There are no significant effects of terrorism among the civilian population in Kenya.

**H<sub>02</sub>:** There are no significant roles of civilians in handling terrorism in Kenya.

**H<sub>03</sub>:** There are no significant challenges of civilian efficacy in addressing terrorism in Kenya.

### **1.9 Academic Justification of the Study**

The researcher observed that few studies have focused on the role of civilians in combating terrorism in Kenya. Most scholars have generally studied on the relationship between terrorism and the agencies countering it. For example, Gatuiku<sup>27</sup> investigated the counterterrorism strategies in combating terrorism in Kenya. Other scholars have focused on the impacts of terrorism on the civilians, security forces and the governance of the country at large. For example, Momanyi<sup>28</sup> focused on the impact of Al-Shabab terrorist attacks in Kenya. This study sought to fill this gap by highlighting, explaining and determining the role of civilians as a tool for combating terrorism in Kenya.

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<sup>26</sup> Momanyi, Samwel. *Impact of Al-shabaab terrorist on Kenyan peace*. A Masters' Dissertation in Peace and Conflict Transformation. University of Norway, 2014.

<sup>27</sup> Gatuiku, Peter. *Terrorism and countering terrorism in the Horn of Africa*. Maters Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 2014.

<sup>28</sup> Momanyi, Samwel. *Impact of Al-shabaab terrorist on Kenyan peace*. A Masters' Dissertation in Peace and Conflict Transformation. University of Norway, 2014.

## **1.10 Policy Justification**

Policy makers dealing with terrorism should find this research valuable in contributing to the much needed research on issues pertaining to the role of civilians in fighting terrorism. The policy makers should find this study significant since it will disseminate crucial information on the need to incorporate the services of the civilians in combating terrorism. The policy makers will also gain valuable knowhow on the role of civilians in fighting terrorism. The continued and sequential attacks by terrorists like Al-shabaab in Kenya can only mean that the current existing counter terrorism measures are ineffective and this study will form a platform of highlighting the need for corrective actions by policy makers.

## **1.11 Theoretical Framework**

### **1.11.1 Rational Choice Theory**

Rational choice theory holds that a person will make a choice that aligns best with their individual preferences. The theory fronted by Cornish and Clarke reasons that when individuals engage in criminal activities, they have done their rational calculations to maximize pleasure and minimize painful consequences.<sup>29</sup> Individuals will commit crime when they estimate the benefit of engaging in the crime outweighs the cost of the same.<sup>30</sup> Benefits could be both tangible and intangible. Tangible benefits include monetary gains while intangible benefits could be psychological including the thrill of breaking the law.

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<sup>29</sup> Cornish Bunn and Clarke Victor. *The issue of crime in USA*. New York: Springer-Verlag, 2006.

<sup>30</sup> Nagin Dave and Paternoster Richard. The theory of social differences. *Journal of Criminology*, 32 (4), 581, 2013.



Some of the losses an individual may consider include their calculation of chance of punishment and severity of the same or the moral regret they are likely to suffer.<sup>31</sup>

Offender will do a calculation of chances of success before deciding to engage in a crime.

Cornish and Clarke divides these decisions into two; criminal involvement decisions and criminal events decisions.<sup>32</sup> Involvement decisions include deciding to engage or withdraw from criminal activities. Events decisions involve deciding the kinds of crime to engage in and the tactics to employ.

Terrorists in most cases are rationale beings who decide on the most appropriate actions to achieve their objectives while minimize exposure to risk in the eventual sense of it.<sup>33</sup>

Sandler, Tschirhart and Cauley reasons that terrorists will chose a tactic to use based on the extent to which it shields them from personal risk or confrontation with authorities.<sup>34</sup>

This explains why high risk activities like hijackings and kidnappings are not a favorite for terrorists. However activities easy to carry out with little chance of notice such a bombings are more common.

The rational choice theory does not mean that terrorist will make good decisions. It only states that the decisions made make some good level of attempt to consider costs and benefits however quickly or rudimentarily poor they end up being. Moreover, there are

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<sup>31</sup> Nagin Dave and Paternoster Richard. The theory of social differences. *Journal of Criminology*, 32 (4), 581, 2013.

<sup>32</sup> Cornish Bunn and Clarke Victor. *The issue of crime in USA*. New York: Springer-Verlag, 2006.

<sup>33</sup> Dugan Law, Lafree Guster and Piguero Almond. Testing the rational choice model. *American Society of Criminology*, 2005.

<sup>34</sup> Sandler, Thomas, Tsschrihart, John and Cauley James. A theoretical analysis of transnational terrorism. *Journal of Review of Political Sciences*, 77 (1) 77.

several other variables involved in making this rational decision.<sup>35</sup> Three major variables involved include expected cost of possible punitive measures if caught, the chance of getting arrested, the probability of getting a conviction and the severity of the resulting punishment. When the legal consequences of engaging in terrorism increase, the appeal of terrorist activities decreases. At the same time, when the costs of terror activities both tangible and intangible increase, decisions to engage in terror decline.<sup>36</sup>

Potential terrorists will observe the success rates of acting terrorists and if they calculate the probability of success as adequately high, they are likely to uptake the behavior. Costs terrorists will consider before engaging including chance of physical injury or death, probability of capture, being imprisoned or getting tortured.<sup>37</sup> Rational Choice theory reasons that crime can be deterred by applying right public policies. Policies created should make terrorists activities very expensive for terrorists to engage in and reduce their chances of success.<sup>38</sup>

Enders and Sandler discuss the choice process occurring between the terrorists and the intervening governments.<sup>39</sup> The first is that terrorists will need to decide the extent of resources being allocated to terrorists activities and those assigned to non-terror ones. Second the resources assigned to terrorisms have to be allocated to different modes of

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<sup>35</sup> Silke Andrew. *Becoming a Terrorist: Victims and Society Perspective*. NJ: Hoboken, Wiley, 2017.

<sup>36</sup> Sandler, Thomas, Tschirhart, John and Cauley James. A theoretical analysis of transnational terrorism. *Journal of Review of Political Sciences*, 77 (1) 77.

<sup>37</sup> Frey Benross. Terrorism and deterrence's. *European Journal of political Economy*, 20 (2) 22, 2015.

<sup>38</sup> Dugan Law, Lafree Guster and Piguero Almond. Testing the rational choice model. *American Society of Criminology*, 2005.

<sup>39</sup> Sandler, Thomas, Tschirhart, John and Cauley James. A theoretical analysis of transnational terrorism. *Journal of Review of Political Sciences*, 77 (1) 77.

operationalization.<sup>40</sup> The government policies intervene in the sense that they may be inhibitive or relatively supportive of terrorisms. These are considerations terrorists will put in place when deciding how to allocate the resources assigned to terror especially when choosing the best tactics.

The theory of rational choice will be critical in explaining the behavior of civilians and their role in countering terrorism as well as the government's role and leadership in fighting terror. The theory will help explain the motivations behind civilian's engagement in countering terrorism. Understanding of civilian's engagement in anti-terror war has not been well explained in previous studies yet its value in addressing terrorism sustainably is undisputed especially in Kenya.

### **1.12 Limitations of the Study**

The limitation encountered in this study ranged from information bias where participants were selective on the kind of choices and answers they provided to the researcher. This is based on the fact that the topic on terrorism which has a root in religion is sensitive and respondents are not comfortable at tackling them. The researcher ensured that the participants were relaxed and comfortable in giving responses on terrorism through informing and assuring them that the research is academic based. Getting a direct contact with Kenyan Somalis, Somali refugees living in Kenya and Muslim leaders as participants with requisite knowledge of terrorism and willingly taking part in the study posed a challenge.

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<sup>40</sup> Frey, Benross. Terrorism and deterrence's. *European Journal of political Economy*, 20 (2) 22, 2015.

### **1.13 Research Design**

The method used for data collection was based on the exploratory nature of the research using descriptive survey design. This is a type of non-experimental research design for collecting and analyzing data in order to describe the problem in its current status. Descriptive surveys design is used in preliminary and exploratory studies to allow researchers gather information, summarize, present and interpret for the purpose of clarification.<sup>41</sup> This method is appropriate due to its capacity to establish the role of civilians in combating terrorism in Kenya.

Research design is the overall strategy for integrating the different components of the study in a coherent and logical way. Cooper and Schindler define research design as a blueprint for conducting a study with maximum control over factors that may interfere with the validity of the findings.<sup>42</sup> This is because the primary purpose of a descriptive research is determining frequency of occurrence of a phenomenon. The research approach adopted was qualitative where the researcher took an active role as an observer and explored different settings, emotional reactions and attitudes of the informants as documented.

### **1.14 Research Population**

A population is the larger group from which the sample is taken as per Sekaran and Bougie.<sup>43</sup> This study was conducted in Nairobi County, specifically in Eastleigh neighbourhood where the civilians have experienced frequent terrorism attacks.

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<sup>41</sup> Welman, John, Kruger, Simmon and Mitchell Bunn. *Research methodology* (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition). Oxford University Press.

<sup>42</sup> Cooper Gill and Schindler Peter. *Business Research Methods* (10<sup>th</sup> Edition). New York: Irwin/McGraw-Hill, 2012.

<sup>43</sup> Sekaran Ujman and Bougie Richard. *Business Research Methods* (6<sup>th</sup> Edition). Chichester, West Sussex; John Wiley & Sons Inc, 2009.

### **1.15 Sampling Frame**

A sampling frame is also defined by Welman, Kruger and Mitchell as a list of the source material or device from which a sample is drawn.<sup>44</sup> In this study there was no complete list of population but community policing leaders, elders, youth and women leaders in Eastleigh constituted the sampling frame.

### **1.16 Sample and Sampling Technique**

Sampling is an element of data collection, and is defined by Bryman and Bell as the fragment or section of the population that is selected for the research process.<sup>45</sup> The study utilized an analysis of primary data provided through the use of questionnaire as well as secondary information in journals, articles and other scholarly materials on the subject of terrorism. Questionnaires were distributed to community policing leaders, elders, youth leaders and women leaders were interviewed.

### **1.17 Data Analysis and Presentation**

The data collected was mainly analyzed qualitatively. Quantitative data was then generated through the use of SPSS software and presented in frequency tables.

### **1.18 Chapter Outline**

Chapter one introduces the topic of our research study, by first setting the broad context of our research study, the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, literature review, hypotheses, justification, theoretical framework, and the methodology of the study. Chapter two provides the background of the relationship between civilians and fight against terrorism. Chapter three analyzes the data captured in the previous chapter in

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<sup>44</sup> Welman, John, Kruger, Simmon and Mitchell Bunn. *Research methodology* (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition). Oxford University Press.

<sup>45</sup> Bryman Annod and Bell Ehad. *Business Research Methods*. Oxford University Press, 2011.

the light of the hypotheses and theoretical framework already stated. Chapter four finally provides the conclusions of the study, recommendations and provides suggestions on areas for further study.

## CHAPTER TWO

### GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE OF TERRORISM

#### 2.1 Introduction

Terror attack that happened in USA in September of 2001 has seen as a defining moment in the fight against terrorism worldwide. The terror attack brought much attention globally to the devastating potential of terrorist groups. Some critics however feel that the event only made terrorism be more stereotyped to be attached to Muslims. Indeed some have reasoned that terrorism is now seen as synonymous to Islamic violence.<sup>46</sup> Terrorism however is a much broader concept.

It can be traced to the French Revolution. This proves that terrorism is an old idea which cannot be fairly and solely connected to Islam. Schmidt's typology of terrorism shows the broad aspects of terrorism. Schmidt's differentiates between five types of terrorism. The left wing terrorism otherwise referred to as social revolutions, right wing terrorisms that is race motivated, terrorisms anchored on a singular issue, nationalists terrorisms based on separatist ideologies and lastly religion driven terror.<sup>47</sup>

In the old time terrorism was more connected with nationalists or revolutionary movements. In the modern era though, this has changed. Scientifically, modern era terrorism are categorized by such aspects as them being more assertive, ruthless and showing greater violence. Terror network are also presenting with a more complex

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<sup>46</sup> United States Department of Homeland Security. *Countering terrorism and extremism*. Retrieved on 14<sup>th</sup> October 2018.

<sup>47</sup> USAID, *Drivers of extremism and terrorism*. Retrieved on May 16<sup>th</sup> 2018.

structural network. Giddens observes that modern terrorism has a wider global spread driven by the motivation to restructure the world order.<sup>48</sup>

Gupta reasons that the highly violent nature of modern day terrorisms has brought with it devastating effects on individual's lives, collapse of states, destruction of property and historical artifacts that have existed for centuries, use of state of the art weaponry and massive exploitation of transport and communication infrastructures.<sup>49</sup>

The structure through which terror activities are organized is critical in defining new age terrorism and differentiating different aspects of its terrorism. Terror groups are comparable to network organizations. The activities of the terror groups are coordinated through intricate networks. Even before existence of Al-Qaeda and before the defining 9/11 terror event, groups existed that aimed at redefining the world order and structure of power. The most notable were the communist groups attempting to establish a communism at a global level.<sup>50</sup>

The argument that terror activities are deadly and more violent cannot be grounded on advancement in technology and sophistication of weaponry because terrorists have not been noted to use sophisticated weapons of mass destruction. Network content being

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<sup>48</sup> USAID, Drivers of extremism and terrorism. Retrieved on May 16<sup>th</sup> 2018.

<sup>49</sup> Kaufmann, Simpson. *Anti-terrorism fight in Africa and the challenges*. Retrieved from Africom newsroom, 13<sup>th</sup> November 2018.

<sup>50</sup> United States Department of Homeland Security. *Countering terrorism and extremism*. Retrieved on 14<sup>th</sup> October 2018.



witnessed in modern era terrorism is not an invention of terrorist groups but has been there for many years before.<sup>51</sup>

## 2.2 The Drivers of Terrorism

Terrorism has certain push factors that have been driving it. These include poverty, marginalization, discriminatory tendencies, low levels of employment especially amongst the youths, and others. However, not all variable driving terror has been exhaustively identified to date.<sup>52</sup> A 2009 study indicated that poverty is the single strongest driver of terrorism followed by high rates of unemployment, political alienation, corruption, and high economic limitations. It needs well-coordinated, sustainable and perhaps expensive interventions to address these factors. The push factors identified are common across the globe even in regions where terrorism remains low indicating they are not the only factors responsible.<sup>53</sup>

It is hence important to consider whether there are other pull factors feeding terrorism. Al-Shabaab members for example are reported to receive an average of 100 USD per month. Some scholars have considered the social status one attains by engagement in terrorism. Members of terror groups tend to get admired, feared, and respected in the communities supportive of terror. A desire to seek adventure is also a possible factor though it is not considered as strong as social status variable.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> United States Department of Homeland Security. *Countering terrorism and extremism*. Retrieved on 14<sup>th</sup> October 2018.

<sup>52</sup> Ribetti, M. (2010). *Conflict in intra-state conflicts and small wars and insurgencies*. UNDP, New York.

<sup>53</sup> Ken Menkhaus. The intervention of Kenya in Somalia. Retrieved on 11<sup>th</sup> November, 2018.

<sup>54</sup> Ken Menkhaus. The intervention of Kenya in Somalia. Retrieved on 11<sup>th</sup> November, 2018.

Terrorism is a global problem with estimates by various global bodies indicating that on average terrorism incidences and threat levels are on the rise. Globally, the United States of America is the leading country in the fight against terrorism. The USA has heavily invested in working with other countries of the World to ensure that terrorism at home and abroad is curtailed.<sup>55</sup>

When the USA started its global effort to fight terrorism; most notably in the Middle East after September 2011 attack, the approach was largely militaristic. Critics argued that USA abandoned its global acclaim as defender of human rights by disregarding that in pursuit of terrorists. Pressure has since been mounted on USA to have a more comprehensive, holistic and sensitive approach to fighting terrorism. Critics argue that the approach emphasized should of necessity assure liberty and freedoms of all, observing human rights of all including the terrorists.<sup>56</sup>

Reliance on military and law enforcement approaches alone to fight terror have proven frustrating for many countries including the US. The UN Global Counter Terrorism Strategy, an agency against terrorism, defines a holistic approach to counterterrorism as one that endeavors to tackle conditions facilitative to spread of terrorism, and one that is anchored on rule of law and human rights.<sup>57</sup>

Organization for security and cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which is an association of states, committed to fighting terrorism states that agencies tasked to fighting terror, must do so within the confines of strict observance of basic human rights and freedoms. This

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<sup>55</sup> USAID, Drivers of extremism and terrorism. Retrieved on May 16<sup>th</sup> 2018.

<sup>56</sup> Ken Menkhaus. The intervention of Kenya in Somalia. Retrieved on 11<sup>th</sup> November, 2018.

<sup>57</sup> UNDP. *Articulating the pathway of the impact of terrorism in the Kenyan economy*. Issue No.1 of 2017.

would require the countries to establish a comprehensive strategy that focuses on preventing and countering violent extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism. OSCE, 2011 Bucharest Plan of Action had acknowledged that terrorism is best addressed by focusing beyond militaristic approaches to address other social, economic and political factors. Putting resources to economically empowering communities susceptible to radicalization was identified by these countries as one way to counter conditions facilitative of spread of terrorism.<sup>58</sup>

### **2.3 Effects of terrorism in Kenya**

The effects of terrorism in Kenya have been felt on the physical infrastructure, physical and human resources, productivity and economic growth. Terrorist attacks have negatively affected household spending and led to reallocation of resources from development related to security related investments. Businesses have had to pay higher premiums to cater for the increased terrorism related risks increased labor costs due to higher costs of hiring. Businesses have had to invest more in security related aspects such as security cameras, metal detectors and other sophisticated security installations.<sup>59</sup>

Key pillars of Kenyan life have been affected by terrorism. Education and health provision have been severely affected by terrorism in Kenya due to flight of teachers and health workers.<sup>60</sup> There has been constant kidnapping of tourists in Kenya. The kidnappings were meant to raise funds for Al-shabab terrorists.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> UNDP. *Articulating the pathway of the impact of terrorism in the Kenyan economy*. Issue No.1 of 2017.

<sup>59</sup> Ken Menkhaus. *The intervention of Kenya in Somalia*. Retrieved on 11<sup>th</sup> November, 2018.

<sup>60</sup> Ken Menkhaus. *The intervention of Kenya in Somalia*. Retrieved on 11<sup>th</sup> November, 2018.

<sup>61</sup> Ribetti, M. (2010). *Conflict in intra-state conflicts and small wars and insurgencies*. UNDP, New York.

### 2.3.1 Education Sector

The effect of terrorism on education has been immense. Teachers have been killed in Kenya by terrorists mainly in North Eastern parts of the country. In 2015, at the height of terror attacks in these regions over 800 teachers refused to report to work for fear of their lives. In Mandera County for example half the teachers in secondary schools who were not natives of the Somali dominated community and region refused to report to work in early 2015 leaving students to teach amongst themselves.<sup>62</sup>

Teachers in terror prone parts of the country spend most of their time concerned about their security rather than conducting research and preparing lessons for their students. Classes have regularly gone unattended with many teachers spending most of their time seeking transfers from these terror infested regions.<sup>63</sup> This has led to the plummeting of the standards of education in the region than at any other time in the history of Kenya.

Several education institutions have had to close in coastal and North Eastern parts of the country where terrorism is rampant. After terror attack by Al-shabab militants killed over 140 students in Garissa University in 2014, the university was closed down for more than two years with students being transferred to other universities in safer parts of the country.<sup>64</sup> Parents in these terror prone regions of Kenya have resulted to stopping their children from attending schools for fear of attacks by terrorist on their way to and from

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<sup>62</sup> Ken Menkhaus. *The intervention of Kenya in Somalia*. Retrieved on 11<sup>th</sup> November, 2018.

<sup>63</sup> UNDP. *Articulating the pathway of the impact of terrorism in the Kenyan economy*. Issue No.1 of 2017.

<sup>64</sup> Ribetti, M. (2010). *Conflict in intra-state conflicts and small wars and insurgencies*. UNDP, New York.

school. This has affected the already marginalized regions even further with literacy levels expected to dip even further while other regions in the country are progressing.<sup>65</sup>

Students in North Eastern regions of the country that has experienced lethal terrorist's attacks have been left with severe psychological conditions that have hampered their ability to learn. When Garissa University was attacked and over 140 students killed, many surviving students were later diagnosed with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder, PTSD. Even when offered with opportunities to continue with education in other universities across the country, many opted not to continue with studies at all.<sup>66</sup>

In other incidences, terrorists have targeted education infrastructure such as classrooms. In coastal regions of the country, schools and learners have immensely encountered terror-related experience specifically in Mpeketoni after attacks by Al-shabab terrorists. The management of institutions of learning has also been severely affected by terrorist attacks. In addition, experienced and highly educated education officials have been killed, injured or kidnapped by terrorists. This has deterred other officials of their caliber from taking up jobs in those terrors prone parts of the country, severely affecting the standards of learning.<sup>67</sup>

### **2.3.2 Tourism Sector**

Terrorist main intention is to disrupt the way of living of their victims and influence political direction of the countries or regions they attack. One way the terrorists have done this is by attacking the tourism sector in Kenya. Tourism has been one of the

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<sup>65</sup> Ken Menkhaus. *The intervention of Kenya in Somalia*. Retrieved on 11<sup>th</sup> November, 2018.

<sup>66</sup> Mwazighe, Leon. *Legal methods of confronting terrorism in Kenya*. California: Naval Post Graduate School, 2017.

<sup>67</sup> Kawira Salome. *Police reforms in Kenya: the war on terror*. Masters Dissertation, University of Nairobi.

leading sectors in Kenyan economy. Tourism contributes to over 27% of the country's foreign exchange with a quarter of the nation's GDP being attributed to the sector. Nine percent of the total Kenyan employment is contributed by the tourism sector.

Kenya has witnessed severally terrorist's attacks deliberately targeting tourists in the country for the last two decades. Terrorism has been proven to affect tourism in Kenya. For every 1% increase in terrorism related fatalities in Kenya, tourism drops by 0.1% which translates to 157 million losses in revenue per year.<sup>68</sup>

Western governments including Britain and USA have severally issued travel advisories to their citizens in Kenya due to the terror attacks. These countries contribute the most tourists to Kenya. Such advisories have therefore impacted negatively on the economy. Gitu (2013) reported that the country has lost more than 128 million dollars in the period of the travel advisories of 2012/2013 alone. Following a spate of tourists' kidnappings by Al-Shabab terrorist in Kenya coastal regions in 2014, there was great anxiety on the effect of such attacks on Kenyan economy with the coast region contributing over 65% of tourist destinations in the country. In the year 2014/2015, Kenya has been losing approximately 1 million US dollars per day due to drop in tourism attributed to terror related insecurity incidences.<sup>69</sup>

### **2.3.3 Economic Impact of Terrorism in Kenya**

Terrorism affects a countries economy in a number of ways. It affects the foreign direct investment (FDI), increases uncertainty that affects general investment, affects optimal

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<sup>68</sup> USAID, Drivers of extremism and terrorism. Retrieved on May 16<sup>th</sup> 2018.

<sup>69</sup> UNDP. *Articulating the pathway of the impact of terrorism in the Kenyan economy*. Issue No.1 of 2017.

allocation of resources, expected company's profits results to decreased foreign exchange and stock markets.<sup>70</sup> Terrorist attacks have had a negative impact on Nairobi Stock Exchange. Terror attacks have made investors panic with the resulting uncertainty hitting the NSE badly. Increased financial instability and rising cost of doing business in Kenya have to a significant extent been attributed to terrorism attack.

A study by Wesley and Lumumba showed that terrorism decreased the value of stock at Nairobi stock exchange on the day of the terrorist attack. Terrorism inflicts fear on people to buy stock. Destruction of physical infrastructure also affects projected profitability of companies.<sup>71</sup> High incidences of terrorism can affect the flow of investments in a country. Direct destruction of infrastructure, rising cost of security, increased human labour costs that results from expertise people refusing to work in a terror prone area requiring higher levels of incentives and other uncertainties resulting from terrorism may make investors hesitant to bring their resources into the country.<sup>72</sup>

Terrorism has affected distribution of resource allocation in Kenya. The government are being diverted from investments that would spur growth to security related ones. The government of Kenya has in the recent years increased its investment and spending in the fight against terrorism. The government is spending about 1.3 billion US dollars per year to fight terror compared to a budget of 0.6 billion US dollars apportioned to health sector.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> USAID, Drivers of extremism and terrorism. Retrieved on May 16<sup>th</sup> 2018.

<sup>71</sup> UNDP. *Articulating the pathway of the impact of terrorism in the Kenyan economy*. Issue No.1 of 2017.

<sup>72</sup> Ribetti, Mann. *Conflict in intra-state conflicts and small wars and insurgencies*. UNDP, New York, 2010.

<sup>73</sup> USAID. Drivers of extremism and terrorism. Retrieved on May 16<sup>th</sup> 2018.

A study by Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies in 2017 indicated that terrorism was adversely affecting economies of counties that are terror prone mostly in coast and North Eastern regions. The 2013/2014 terror attacks in Nairobi targeting small businesses and public service vehicles significantly affected the economy of this county that controls over 60% of Kenyan economy<sup>74</sup>.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **CIVILIAN INVOLVEMENT IN FIGHTING TERRORISM**

#### **7.1 Introduction**

In 2001, United States of America was heavily attacked by Al-Qaida group of terrorists. USA responded with a heavy military campaign in Afghanistan and other parts of Middle

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<sup>74</sup> Frey Benross. Terrorism and deterrence's. *European Journal of political Economy*. 20 (2) 22, 2015.



East. However, the massive American military campaign was criticized as inappropriate response to terror. The offensive strategy to fight terror was seen to undermine the values of liberty and human rights that had been the American trade mark for years. This dismayed American allies around the world and made them reluctant to cooperate with USA. Military approach was perceived as informed by poor understanding of the Jihadists, and had made the threat to terrorism worse. The campaigns gave the terrorists ammunition to recruit more people in the guise of fighting off the oppressive Americans<sup>75</sup>.

The so called offensive strategy used by Americans globally to counter terror and other militaristic and forceful strategies are informed by narrow perception of security and alienates the very populations that would help the world in preventing spread of terrorism. Large scale military campaigns, as has been the experience of Americans in the Middle East, easily works to the hands of the terrorists in so many other ways as well. The terrorists gain critical military tactics and establish new networks of support that enable them to raise funds and acquire weapons. However much caution is applied, military options will result to deaths and injuries of innocent civilians. Together with other alienating results of the force approach, the local population feels discriminated against, making them sympathetic of the terrorists cause.

In 2011, Kenyan government sent its military in Somali to fight terrorists. Similarly forceful interventions against terrorism have been done in Muslim dominated parts northern Kenya. Military interventions have only resulted to resentments by the Somali

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<sup>75</sup> Ken Menkhaus. The intervention of Kenya in Somalia. Retrieved on 11<sup>th</sup> November, 2018.

community. The Somali community in Kenya now feels treated unfairly by Kenyan security forces and has no trust for the forces.<sup>76</sup>

The massive shortcomings of a pure military and law enforcement approach to fighting terror has brought to the fore the reality that the public, individuals and communities are a critical part in the fight against terrorism. Many countries are developing strategies that are civilian oriented and that put public participation in ensuring efficient, effective and sustainable prevention of terrorism. The initiatives are locally tailored and driven from the grassroots. They draw from partnership of various stakeholders in the civilian and disciplined forces sphere.<sup>77</sup>

## **7.2 Civilians Involvement in Combating Terrorism**

Civilian approach in counter terrorism requires support of local communities, media, business entities, civil society amongst others.<sup>78</sup> If civilian engagement in fighting terror is well planned and strategically thought out, it has great chances to make tangible and sustainable efforts to prevent terrorist activities and related extremist behaviors. However, a poorly conceived and executed strategy of civilian involvement runs the risk of doing more harm to the fight against terrorism than not engaging the civilians at all. For a working, efficient and results oriented civilian engagement to fight terror to be realized it must be based on facts and objectives that are strategic in positions<sup>79</sup>.

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<sup>76</sup> Amnesty International. Somalis and scapegoating in the terror war in Kenya. Retrieved on September, 11<sup>th</sup> 2018.

<sup>77</sup> Momanyi, Samwel. *Impact of Al-shabaab terrorist on Kenyan peace*. A Masters' Dissertation in Peace and Conflict Transformation. University of Norway, 2014.

<sup>78</sup> Ken Menkhaus. The intervention of Kenya in Somalia. Retrieved on 11<sup>th</sup> November, 2018.

<sup>79</sup> Ribetti, Mann. *Conflict in intra-state conflicts and small wars and insurgencies*. UNDP, New York, 2010.

Civilian partnership with security agencies to counter terrorism has its benefits. It enables the security agencies to monitor the situation and take timely action. The partnership and information exchange enables the security departments to receive feedback on how their counter terrorism efforts are perceived by the public. This enables them to refine them even further to avoid antagonizing the public. The exchange enables the security agencies to understand how security threat posed by terrorists is received by the public and how it affects their day to day activities.

Partnership with civilian populations in anti-terror efforts also helps security organs evaluate how ready a community is to partner with security agents to address terrorism. The collaboration with civilians helps the agencies tailor their way of communicating with the public better and develop better strategies of engaging civilians in fighting terrorism. The success of civilian engagement in anti-terrorism campaigns is pegged on some key factors. The different parties involved must recognize clearly their different roles, status and resources in the partnership. All parties must be committed to the process. They should be transparent, and open so that there can be a common understanding of the issues at stake.

The expectations of all players should be made clear so that those that cannot be achieved from the partnership get clarified. All parties whether civilian or from disciplined forces should be engage based on mutual trust, equality, and respect of independence of all stakeholders. It is important for the military and civilians to be ready to identify common objectives and interests explore different alternatives so they arrive at compromised

positions agreeable to all, and eventually develop plans of actions that are beneficial to all.<sup>80</sup>

### **7.2.1 Local communities and counter terrorism.**

Terrorism will always have a local dimension. There are those localities that terrorists recruit, hide, find support or operate. Unfortunately acts of terrorisms negatively affect local communities, even those that are sympathetic to terrorists. An approach that considers local situations and which are locally based is required to address terrorism. It is with this logic that many countries fighting terror have put local communities at the center of their efforts<sup>81</sup>.

A community oriented approach to countering terrorism is premised on trust between community members and the military or law enforcement figures. The approach should of necessity seek support of local communities in policy formulation, implementation and evaluation of various strategies and measures. Efforts to engage the community in counterterrorism measures stand a better chance of working if they are driven by the safety of the community rather than state security.

Local communities-oriented approaches to countering terrorism are aimed at strengthening public confidence in the counter terrorism measures. This makes the efforts of the military or other uniformed forces gain legitimacy in the eyes of the community enhancing their chances of success. State authorities should emphasize and demonstrate accountability to the public about their counter terrorism measures and especially those people most directly affected. The authorities should seek every opportunity to

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<sup>80</sup> Ken Menkhaus. *The intervention of Kenya in Somalia*. Retrieved on 11<sup>th</sup> November, 2018.

<sup>81</sup> Silke Andrew. *Becoming a Terrorist: Victims and Society Perspective*. NJ: Hoboken, Wiley, 2017.

demonstrate openness, seek dialogue with local communities in coming up with counter terrorism policies and implementation<sup>82</sup>.

Organizational changes required for implementing a community involvement in fighting terrorism and grounded philosophy should consider management aspects, structural issues internal to the security agencies such as the military or the police, and level of community and state organization. Significant effort should be placed at decentralizing resource management decision making to field level officers from senior and mid-level management. To encourage front line officer who are likely to be in direct contact with local communities, the organization of the departments should make them more self-directing with senior officers offering guidance, and coordination support. The communication in the departments should depart from top down to bottom up approaches<sup>83</sup>.

Training and mentoring of military and police officers especially those involved in counter terrorism should go beyond technical training to a wider skills set such as communication, development of trust, conflict management, innovation in addressing community concerns, human rights and gender aspects, raising awareness on related stereotypes, problem solving skills, and capturing adequately the concerns of the community. Reward systems in the human management policies of police departments should include community policing aspects.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Esposito John and Dalia Mogahed. *The thinking of Muslims*. Think Gallup Press, 2008.

<sup>83</sup> Essays UK. *Role of civilian in fighting terrorism*, retrieved on 12<sup>th</sup> September 2018.

<sup>84</sup> Open Society Foundation. *Reduction of ethnic profiling in the European Union*. Handbook of Good Practices, New York, 2013.

Law enforcement officers must be closely integrated in the community for partnership with communities to work. Officers should do their policing in the community with a level of consent from the community, as well as generally improving their services to the public. This will enhance their legitimacy in the eyes of these communities. Efforts to involve communities should be sensitive to the differences inherent in even homogenous looking communities and complexity of the relationships in those communities. The policies and practices of community involvement should be alert to gender, ethnic, religion, political and historical differences alongside strains that may come with.<sup>85</sup>

In principle, state authorities should engage all local community members in the terror prone or affected regions. The authorities should be careful to involve only the community members posing as the leaders of the community because they may not be representing community interests. Police should be keen to engage marginalized and hard to reach community members or those who are considered to be at particular risk of being recruited to violent radicalism.<sup>86</sup>

There are situations where the military, police or other state authority interested in community engagement will establish that certain community organizations or individuals are not committed to non-violence. Even if such are not engaged in terrorism, the non-commitment to its opposition should make the state actors cautious about engagement with such. The short and long term benefits of engaging such categories of community members should be assessed so that the state agencies involved will decide

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<sup>85</sup> European Union. *Preventing discrimination and ethnic profiling*. EU Guide: Luxembourg, 2010.

<sup>86</sup> United States Department of Homeland Security. *Countering terrorism and extremism*. Retrieved on 14<sup>th</sup> October 2018.

how to empower such individuals and in which parts of their operations they should be involved in.

For example such people could be used to draw people who are likely to be directed in the path of violent extremism away from such direction. However this category of community members may be ambiguous about non-violence or commitment to human rights and social cohesion and so should not be trusted with such tasks. Law enforcement officers should be aware of the fact that cooperation with certain individuals in the community may be perceived as legitimizing them and hence caution should be applied to clarify the importance of such individuals to authorities.<sup>87</sup>

There are certain forms of perorations that are so sensitive that state authorities may want to limit the extent to which they involve the local communities. In situations where it is important for the community to be engaged and information shared, such should be shared only with very trusted community members who have voluntarily accepted to be taken through security vetting.

The military or any other state authority involved in collaborating with local community members should develop a requisite set of skills specifically communication, empathy, sensitivity, perceptiveness and self-awareness. Law enforcement authorities should learn to read situations where local communities are unfriendly of their efforts to curb terrorism. In such situations the officers should identify why people's attitudes and behaviors are negative. They should then put extra efforts to ensure the trust and cooperation of the communities. In particular the state agencies may want to capture

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<sup>87</sup> Bill Durodie. *Terrorism and community resilience in UK*. Chatham House Briefing Paper, p 5, 2010.

clearly the grievances of the community and not try to reframe them to fit their agenda. The military or police officers involved in engaging communities should explain to the community members the mandate, either legal or organizational, that they have clarifying what they can or cannot do<sup>88</sup>.

The security officers involved in community partnership to fight terrorism should be visible to the community, know and be known by the local community, capable of engaging and mobilizing community members towards the fight against terrorism, and proportionately respond to security or terrorism situations affecting the community members. The officers should be accountable of their actions and their outcomes as they engage the community<sup>89</sup>.

Military or organizational agencies partnering with local communities should ensure that the team tasked with community outreach is diverse to meet the dynamic of the specific local communities. They should introduce easily visible and accessible military or police points and facilities. The security departments should ensure that patrol services are not just done after emergencies but all through so that relationship with communities can be established in relatively calm scenarios. Security forces involved in community partnership to counter terrorism should be aware of the legislations both locally and internationally, that guide law enforcement officers in counter terrorism and specifically civilian engagement.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Cornish Bunn and Clarke Victor. *The issue of crime in USA*. New York: Springer-Verlag, 2006.

<sup>89</sup> Muslims for Human Rights (MUHURI). *Human rights abuses by the anti-terrorism police in Kenya*. New York: Open Society Foundations, p 23, 2013.

<sup>90</sup> Basia Spalek, Salwa El-Awa and Zahra Laura. *Police and Muslims engagement against terror in Birmingham*. Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2016.



### **7.3 Holistic Approach to Civilian Engagement**

Many underlying social economic problems are the root causes of terrorism in given communities. Some of the tensions are raised by inter or intra community challenges. These tensions may be resulting from one incidence or a string of events over a period of time. It could even be a series of unrelated events.<sup>91</sup> This may necessitate security agencies to move beyond handling immediate security concerns to empowering communities so that they build resilience against terrorism. This is likely to make the counter terrorism efforts sustainable in the long term. They are also meant to make the community less reliant on security agencies for their security concerns in general and terrorism prevention efforts in particular.

Some of the empowerment initiatives the security officers could engage in and that could have an positive impact on the counter terrorism efforts include training community members on accessing certain information and records that could help them in their security, how to mobilize larger community in their security outreach programs, how to stimulate and sustain media interest in the security operations and how to resource mobilize locally and from other public sources and how to frame their concerns to influence policy.

#### **7.3.1 Media and Communication**

The media play a key role in seeking, receiving and imparting ideas and information. They can be used to counter terrorist's propaganda. Communication to counter terrorist's narrative needs to be deliberate and strategic making use of both traditional and emerging

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<sup>91</sup> Muslims for Human Rights (MUHURI). *Human rights abuses by the anti-terrorism police in Kenya*. New York: Open Society Foundations, p 23, 2013.

media outlets. Appropriate and effective communication is at the core of civilian involvement in countering terrorism.

A balance needs to be established when communicating counter terrorism efforts in a bid to win the hearts and minds of civilians. If too little information is given, this is likely to lead to public anxiety. If too much detail is provided, it may result to breach of security in the counter terrorism measures or jeopardize court processes involving terrorism. Insensitive communication can also alienate certain categories of the community especially those stereotyped as terrorists. This could make such communities even more uncooperative with security agencies<sup>92</sup>.

Governments and civil societies are using these media outlets to promote alternative tolerant voices. The alternative narrative should dissuade violence, speak up for victims of terror and encourage solidarity with them. The media should use their position of influence responsibly. Hate speech or material that can be used to incite people should not be presented as something that people should emulate<sup>93</sup>.

Terrorists will use real life issues that affect local populations to get recruits. An appropriate approach of civilian engagement requires understanding the grievances raised by terrorist recruiters, identifying those that are genuine and making serious attempts to address them. Those that are propagandist in nature needs to be countered by the voices communities will find credible. The terrorist's ideologies need to be proven factually wrong and countering ones given to the very populations targeted by terrorists. Some

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<sup>92</sup> Ribetti, Mann. *Conflict in intra-state conflicts and small wars and insurgencies*. UNDP, New York, 2010.

<sup>93</sup> Basia Spalek, Salwa El-Awa and Zahra Laura. *Police and Muslims engagement against terror in Birmingham*. Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2016.

credible voices could include reformed terrorists or individuals who had taken the path of violent extremism but disengaged at some point. Governments should be careful not to take initiatives that legitimate terrorist acts that provide fodder for terror groups to exploit.

Military or police departments should regularly communicate with civilians on their counter terrorism efforts and not just when attacks occur. They should regularly update concerned civilians on the current state of threat to terrorism, without exaggerating or minimizing it. This will inspire a sense of credibility from the public. At all times the military or police departments should remind the public what their role is in the fight against terrorism and what the departments are doing to ensure the safety of the public against terrorists<sup>94</sup>.

The public need to be continuously informed on how they can protect themselves against terrorists, how to note suspicious behavior that could indicate a terror suspect, and measures they can take to inform authorities about such characters. Communities and civilians should not be punished for wrong information as long as it has been shared in good faith. Civilians need to understand how valuable the information they give to security agencies is in countering terrorists<sup>95</sup>.

Military and police departments have a duty to communicate to civilians how terrorist attacks are planned and executed so that the public can understand their response. The public needs to understand that security agencies often respond to terrorism based on

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<sup>94</sup>Mua'zu Ibrahim and Kura Mohamoud. Enhancement of civil-military cooperation in Borno Stae, Nigeria. *The International Journal of Social Sciences*. 6 (2), 1-23, 2016.

<sup>95</sup> Micheal. *The bombing of Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi*. Retrieved October 18, 2017,

incomplete intelligence pictures or conflicting information making their efforts hard and in some cases failed. This way the public will maintain confidence in the efforts of their security agencies appreciating the difficult conditions they counter terrorists under<sup>96</sup>.

Security agencies should be prepared to engage not only mainstream but emerging media outlets including the social media in countering terrorism. It should be clear within the military or police departments who are mandated to engage the media on terrorism issues. Security agencies should have access to trained and experienced personnel in media relations. The security departments involved in combating terrorism should have adequate knowledge of the media technology and key media outlets which they should be ready to pro-actively engage in an impartial manner. The agencies should avoid being involved in feuds with the media or too defensive of their anti-terror positions. This will create an impression to the public that they are open to criticism and contribution from civilians on counter terrorism efforts<sup>97</sup>.

To further inspire public confidence to share information with them, the security organs should never share information with the media that could jeopardize their civilian sources of intelligence against terror. Field officers should be empowered to share with the media in a regulated manner, information about their engagement with the local communities and how it is helping them fight terror. Where they have terror related information beyond

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<sup>96</sup> Masinde Ben, Buiguit, Samson and Mang'atu Kieron. Temporal effects of tourism in Kenya. *International Journal of Finance*. 8 (12), 20, 2016.

<sup>97</sup> Mua'zu Ibrahim and Kura Mohamoud. Enhancement of civil-military cooperation in Borno State, Nigeria. *The International Journal of Social Sciences*. 6 (2), 1-23, 2016.

their scope to address, the field level officers should be trained on refereeing the media to the right sources within their departments<sup>98</sup>.

### **7.3.2 Religious Institutions**

State and security agencies working to prevent terrorism should engage with religious institutions in their counter terrorism efforts. The religious institutions have severally been targeted by terrorist. Religious institutions can provide usable feedback on how their communities are affected by anti-terror initiatives. Religious leaders have in many instances globally helped state organizations tailor their anti-terrorism efforts more effectively and sustainably.

Religious leaders easily gain information about preaching that are radicalizing and share those with security officers if there is a good working relationship between them. This helps security agencies evaluate whether anti-terror initiatives are gaining community support. Religious leaders are best placed to counter some of that propaganda used to recruit for terrorists especially when it is religion based<sup>99</sup>.

Anti-terror efforts should not in any way stereotype or stigmatize any religion or people's beliefs. Many countries fighting terror have actually avoided, in their policies, to connect any religion with terrorism. Terrorists use religion to whip emotions that drive terrorists but looking deeper at their overall objectives, religion is just but a cover.

To facilitate effective partnership with religious and faith based organizations, security agencies should base their partnership on accurate assessment of demographics of various

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<sup>98</sup> Mua'zu Ibrahim and Kura Mohamoud. Enhancement of civil-military cooperation in Borno State, Nigeria. *The International Journal of Social Sciences*, 6 (2), 1-23, 2016.

<sup>99</sup> Micheal. *The bombing of Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi*. Retrieved October 18, 2017,

players in religious sector. They should demonstrate knowledge and sensitivity to various religious beliefs of relevance to their efforts against terrorism even when they practice different religions. Security agents should make sure they communicate their belief that terrorism is not based on certain religions. This will enhance the confidence of most religious leaders to engage with them without fear of stigmatization or stereotyping<sup>100</sup>.

Religious leaders should be made to understand how their proactive involvement in the war against terrorism is helping curb terrorism and ensuring security of their people. Efforts should be made to ensure that some religions don't appear favored in the partnership to fight terror. Security agencies should engage religious leaders across board encouraging them to speak in one voice against terrorism and in support of victims of terror. In Kenya, working with religious leaders from all religions has been hailed to ensure that it could contribute to addressing xenophobia against Kenyan Somalis and Muslims, and the perception that radicalization only affects these communities. Case studies have shown there are Christians who have been radicalized and turned to violent extremism<sup>101</sup>.

### **7.3.3 Civil Society Organizations**

Many governments and security agencies have come to appreciate the critical role played by civil society in various countries and how that resources can be tapped into to fight terror. The society has platforms through which public and networks share information. Civil groups including community based groups and women organizations are known not

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<sup>100</sup> Mua'zu Ibrahim and Kura Mohamoud. Enhancement of civil-military cooperation in Borno Stae, Nigeria. *The International Journal of Social Sciences*, 6 (2), 1-23, 2016.

<sup>101</sup> Mwazighc, Leon. *Legal methods of confronting terrorism in Kenya*. California: Naval Post Graduate School, 2017.

only for providing critical information to security agencies but also standing in solidarity with terror victims.

Specifically, civil society organizations have been useful in partnership with security agencies fighting terror through raising awareness of nature of terrorism threat and applicable laws that are useful to counter that. The organizations have spear headed research on conditions conducive to terrorism. This has helped support the development of a better understanding violent extremism and terror. Civil societies in Kenya have been in the fore front conducting research in counter terrorism measures that could help stemming the recruitment and mobilization of the youth into criminal enterprises, gangs and extremist movements<sup>102</sup>.

Civil society has also undertaken a lot of activities to promote human rights in the context of fighting terror. They have been pivotal in promoting rule of law as well as promoting democratic accountability. The organizations have been particularly instrumental in enhancing social cohesion and addressing social economic factors that underlie terrorism. They have achieved this through by creating safe environments through which communities can discuss their differences hence averting possible conflicts.<sup>103</sup>

Civil society have in the past advocated strongly for solidarity with victims of terrorism by providing them with support and projecting their voice in their communities and policy makers in their specific countries. The organizations have had the confidence to delegitimize voices of terror by offering an alternative narrative of peace, stability and

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<sup>102</sup> Muslims for Human Rights (MUHURI). *Human rights abuses by the anti-terrorism police in Kenya*. New York: Open Society Foundations, p 23, 2013.

<sup>103</sup> Mwazighe, Leon. *Legal methods of confronting terrorism in Kenya*. California: Naval Post Graduate School, 2017.

prosperity. They have directly engaged with individuals on the path of violent and extreme radicalizations and steered them into a path of peaceful coexistence in the community.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### CHALLENGES FACING CIVILIAN IN FIGHTING TERRORISM

#### 8.1 Introduction

Partnership of community members with the security agencies have been faced by a myriad of problems. Security agencies have failed to have standardized operating procedures to engage communities in anti-terror efforts. There is no clear information sharing, reporting and recording protocols. This has not only failed to provide strategic approach in counter terrorism partnerships with communities but at times put collaborating community members in harm's way.

Security agencies are not adequately trained and supported in community engagement in counter terrorism. There have not been adequate channels of two way communication between the security agencies and community members. This has put the thrust of the partnership at risk and left both parties suspicious of each other. Security agencies and communities have developed severe misunderstandings at times. In most cases this results from the state agencies failure to identify, understand, and be sensitive to different dynamics and tensions between communities. These differences could be on religious, cultural, ethnic or political perspectives<sup>104</sup>.

Commitment of resources for community engagement in counter terrorism has been limited. This has resulted to initiatives of community engagement being started for them to be abandoned half way<sup>105</sup>. Eventually the community members perceive state agencies

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<sup>104</sup> Onamu Bernard. *Impact of terrorism in the Horn of Africa*. Masters Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 2014.

<sup>105</sup> Open Society Foundation. *Reduction of ethnic profiling in the European Union*. Handbook of Good Practices, New York, 2013.

as uncommitted in seeking their help to fight terror. In reciprocation, the community members withhold critical information from security agencies that could help prevent terrorist activities<sup>106</sup>.

Traditional counter terrorism strategies have continued to dominate even when security agencies parrot need for community involvement. They have focused on strategies like police stop overs, house searches, covert operations and intelligence gathering. As such, they have only served to marginalize and even stigmatize some communities and individuals. This has destroyed a sense of trust between the community and security agencies<sup>107</sup>.

In Kenya, security agencies have relied on violent and forceful ways to address terrorism in the country. Some of these efforts have resulted to serious violation of human rights and profiling of Somali populations as terrorists. Terrorism is underpinned by a narrative of marginalization. Stigmatization of youths in North Eastern Kenya and coast regions have only made them mistrust security agencies and will hardly want to volunteer information to them. There has been evidence that anti-terror operations in Nairobi's Eastleigh area, Garissa, Mandera, Wajir and Mombasa have had security agencies use excessive force.<sup>108</sup>

In Kenya, there is no comprehensive approach to civilian engagement in fighting terrorism. This has resulted to a counter terrorism strategy that focuses on security

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<sup>106</sup> United States Department of Homeland Security. *Countering terrorism and extremism*. Retrieved on 14<sup>th</sup> October 2018.

<sup>107</sup> Omondi, Amos. *Five Star Hotels in Nairobi: Effects of Terrorism on booking and reservations*. Masters Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 2015.

<sup>108</sup> Momanyi, Samwel. *Impact of Al-shabaab terrorist on Kenyan peace*. A Masters' Dissertation in Peace and Conflict Transformation. University of Norway.

aspects of the issue. It does not dig deep into the social economic and political aspects that fuel terrorism from underground. The approach being used in Kenya fails to use a multi stakeholder perspective. This has failed to make good use of key knowledge and experience of such people as religious leaders, youth groups, civil society and private sector. This has resulted to anti-terrorism efforts that are not only expensive, and alienating but unsustainable in the long term with little community support. Efforts for community engagement in anti-terror war in Kenya have turned into surveillance or spying on the community members<sup>109</sup>.

It can be a challenging endeavor for communities and police to exchange information. This especially so because the degree of trust and mutual understanding among the security agencies and the civilians are very low. Even after strong and time consuming efforts are made to address this problem, rumours and misinformation easily crumbles all that effort.<sup>110</sup> There has been a lot of optimism about civilian involvement to counter terrorism with particular enthusiasm at local community partnership. This resulted to efforts such as Nyumba kumi (Ten households as basic security units). However such have failed to curb terrorism right from the grassroots before it blossoms. Terrorism is often a low-incidence, highly complex and multidimensional problem. Community members have failed to note terrorists building in their midst due to the secrecy usually involved<sup>111</sup>.

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<sup>109</sup> United States Department of Homeland Security. *Countering terrorism and extremism*. Retrieved on 14<sup>th</sup> October 2018.

<sup>110</sup> Esposito John and Dalia Mogahed. *The thinking of Muslims*. Think Gallup Press, 2008.

<sup>111</sup> Kaufmann, Simpson. *Anti-terrorism fight in Africa and the challenges*. Retrieved from Africom newsroom, 13<sup>th</sup> November 2018.

While engaging with communities, security agencies have relied on individuals who do not represent true interests of the community. Some of the individuals selected do not enjoy acceptability at community level. Selective engagement of certain communities for partnership has created suspicions amongst community members with some appearing favored over others. In other instances the selected communities grow stereotyped as terrorists.

State agencies have collaborated with individuals, groups or organizations who have not unequivocally committed to non-violence and respect for universal human rights. This has resulted in reliance on such individuals to disseminate peace at grassroots only for them to present ambiguous positions about terrorism to their local communities or in worse cases support terrorism in hiding while appearing to support non-violence in the open. Some of the collaborators with the security agencies have actually turned to be informers for the terrorist organizations<sup>112</sup>.

People who have been observed to be on the risk path of terrorism need to be redirected to different path off radicalization. It is not an easy task to identify such individuals. It is a very sensitive issue since radicalization does not happen to alienated categories of people but those that seem well integrated in the community. It requires a keen eye from people close to the victims to observe specific deviation in behaviors<sup>113</sup>. When those close to the radicalizing individuals have noted behaviors indicative of such, they have not known where to report that, how do it sensitively, considering the radicalizing people

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<sup>112</sup> Kaufmann, Simpson. *Anti-terrorism fight in Africa and the challenges*. Retrieved from Africom newsroom, 13<sup>th</sup> November 2018.

<sup>113</sup> Micheal. *The bombing of Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi*. Retrieved October 18, 2017.

are close to them. In other cases such have reported to security agencies only for them not to be taken seriously<sup>114</sup>.

Terrorism is mostly in Muslim dominated populations. These communities have been discriminated and stigmatized for such a long time that any efforts to win their hearts and minds often bears little fruits. Engaging religious leaders in fight against terrorism has experienced many challenges. Historically, tensions have existed between religious and state institutions. The grievances have touched on discrimination, and denial of freedom of worship and practice of religious rituals. The security agencies have been accused of profiling certain religions as facilitative of terror.<sup>115</sup>

Religions present many dynamics that are often very complex in nature. Divisions within religions that may seem uniform in nature makes it difficult to have the various functions arrive at a consensus. Some of the differences could be based on ethnicity, cultural or doctrinal. In many instances state agencies have engaged religious leaders only to realize they do not have the mandate or respect of the local communities. Some religious leaders fail to accurately represent the positions of their followers in anti-terror summits. Some religious leaders are disinterested in the fight against terrorism even when they have resources and influence. Other religious leaders have held a firm perception that they could do nothing to prevent terror even when they have the resources and influence in that line.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Weinberg, Mitchell, Besser, Anthony, Campeas Micheal, Shvil Eli and Neria, Yomp. *Effects of terrorism on civilian livelihood*. New York: Columbia University, 2016.

<sup>115</sup> Micheal Armstrong. *The bombing of Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi*. Retrieved October 18, 2017,

<sup>116</sup> Sageman Mann. *Understanding of terror networks*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012.

Civil societies have faced a lot of challenges working with security agencies in the fight against terror. This has greatly hampered the influence they could have had in countering violent extremism and radicalization. Civil societies have had to work in environment with unduly restrictive laws and regulations. Civil society organizations have not been perceived as equal partners in countering terrorism. They have in most cases been seen as a nuisance with their human rights agenda.

Security agencies have attempted to manipulate the organizations to achieve their policing agenda rather than work with the organizations from a point of common objectives. The organizations have been treated with suspicion even when there have been no adequate grounds for that. Civil society members have in many cases failed to be offered adequate protection by security forces often resulting to their physical harm including death in the hands of terrorists.

**CHAPTER FIVE**  
**RESULTS OF DATA ANALYSIS**

**9.1 Introduction**

This chapter highlights the results of data analysis of the views on the role of civilians in combating terrorism in Kenya. The analysis was based on three specific objectives; to examine and assess the effects of terrorism on civilians in Kenya. to analyze the role of civilians in dealing with terrorism in Kenya and to assess the challenges facing civilian in addressing terrorism in Kenya.

**9.2 Demographic information**

The demographic data focused on gender and occupation of the participants in the targeted population in Eastleigh, Nairobi.

**9.2.1 Gender of the respondents**

As shown in Table 5.1, majority of the participants are males with a percentage of 65% with females constituting 35% of the total number. Thus, security situation on the issue of terrorism seem to have men in the forefront in this community.

<b>Gender</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Total</b>
Community leader	5	0	5
Elder	5	0	5
Youth leader	3	2	5
Women leader	0	5	5
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>Percentage</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>100</b>

**9.2.2 Occupation of the residents**

Results from Table 5.2 shows that an equal population of persons concerned with security issues in Eastleigh was captured in the study representing each 25% of the participants.

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Community leader	5	25
Elder	5	25
Youth leader	5	25
Women leader	5	25
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>

### 9.2.3 Drivers of terrorism in Kenya

The results in Table 5.3 show that the root causes of terrorism in Kenya may be grouped into three categories: economic, political and social issues. On the aspect of socioeconomic causes, it's imperative to note that specific issues leading to the menace of terrorism range from corruption, bad governance, terror war, illiteracy and low income especially from the point of view of the youthful population. Marginalization of the society especially on the youthful population of the citizens is the major breeding ground for terrorism. Kikulen supports this finding since he also suggested that poverty, unemployment and the general discrimination of the youths from gainful employment is the major cause of terrorism in the developing countries.

<b>Drivers of terrorism</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Economic- corruption, low income, unemployment	15	75
Political- bad governance, marginalization	18	90
Social issues-religious fundamentalism, illiteracy, marginalization	15	75

### 9.2.4 Direct effects of terrorism

The effects of terrorism among the community as shown in Table 5.4 shows that it has led to a number of effects. They include arresting of community members by security forces (90%), loss of life of family members (75%) and increased insecurity (75%) among many such cases. This shows that the civilian population just like the security organs has



had significant effect from terrorism that has disrupted their modes of living. This support the assertion that terrorism has the potential of disrupting the entire fabric of the community and nation affecting the way of life of humanity as expounded by the international law.<sup>117</sup>

<b>Effect of terrorism</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Increased insecurity	15	75
Loss of livelihood	11	55
Loss of life of family members	15	75
Maiming of family members	13	65
Arrest of members by security organs	18	90
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>

#### **9.2.5 Effect of fighting terrorism by civilians**

The civilian population has been active in fighting terrorism through creation of community policing (75%), reporting terror suspects to security apparatus (75%) and fighting religious terrorism at 65% as shown in Table 5.5. this shows that the civilian population has a great role in fighting terrorism. The statement support a report by Human Rights which stated that civilian approach in combating terrorism is part of the multi-agency approach and defeating the menace. If well-coordinated, civilian engagement has a great chance of success in eliminating terrorism.<sup>118</sup>

<b>Effect of fighting terrorism</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Creation of community policing	15	75
Enhanced vigilance	11	55
Reporting terror suspects to security organs	15	75
Fighting religious fundamentalism	13	65
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>

<sup>117</sup> Sageman Mann. Understanding of terror networks. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012.

<sup>118</sup> USAID. Drivers of extremism and terrorism. Retrieved on May 16<sup>th</sup> 2018.

### 9.2.6 Assistance needed by civilian in fighting terrorism

From the results in Table 5.6, the respondents stated that the authorities should assist the civilians in several ways in combating terrorism in the community. They include creation of awareness on dangers of terrorism (85%), eradication of corruption (80%) and youth employment (75%). This show that civilian require a lot of support from stakeholders in the fight against terrorism. This is due to the fact that they usually suffer massively from terrorism.

<b>Effect of terrorism</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Creating awareness on dangers of terrorism	17	85
Community policing	13	65
Trusting the people to fight corruption	12	60
Eradication of corruption	16	80
Youth employment	15	75
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>

### 9.2.7 Results of the community effort in combating terrorism

Some of the tangible and positive results of the community effort in combating terrorism include; decrease in cases of violent terrorism (90%), emergence of a vigilant society (75%) and decrease in cases of insecurity (75%). This is an indicator that involving the civilians in the fight against terrorism has positive effects in eradicating the problem. This is supported by Amnesty International suggestion that many countries have seen the importance of developing strategies that are civilian oriented and that put public participation in ensuring efficient, effective and sustainable prevention of terrorism. The

initiatives are locally tailored and driven from the grassroots and have tangible results in eradicating terrorism.<sup>119</sup>

<b>Results of combating terrorism</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Decreased cases of insecurity	15	75
Active community policing	11	55
Vigilant society	15	75
Decrease in religious fundamentalism	13	65
Decrease in incidences of violent terrorism	18	90
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>

### 9.2.8 Challenges facing the civilian in combating terrorism

The results showed that the main challenges facing the civilian in combating terrorism includes marginalization of youths (85%), youth unemployment (80%), indiscriminate arrests of youths (75%) and corruption at 75% as per the respondents. This indicates that engaging the civilians in fighting terrorism is still a challenge and especially so among the youths who are prone to terrorism. As shown by<sup>120</sup> Masinde, Buiguit and Mung'atu, anti-terrorism efforts that are not only expensive, and alienating but unsustainable in the long term with little community support. Efforts for community engagement in anti-terror war in Kenya have turned into surveillance or spying on the community members.

<b>Challenges in combating terrorism</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Continued marginalization of youths	17	85
Corruption	14	70
Indiscriminate arrests of youths	15	75
Youth unemployment	16	80
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>

<sup>119</sup> Amnesty International. Somalis and scapegoating in the terror war in Kenya. Retrieved on September, 11<sup>th</sup> 2018.

<sup>120</sup> Masinde Ben, Buiguit, Samson and Mang'atu Kieron. Temporal effects of tourism in Kenya. *International Journal of Finance*, 8 (12), 20, 2016.

### 9.2.9 Way forward in fighting terrorism

The results show that the way forward in combating terrorism among the civilian includes eradicating corruption (85%), putting more resources in fighting terrorism (80%), youth employment (75%) and civilian inclusiveness in the fight against terrorism at 70%. This shows that the issue of fighting terrorism is a multi-pronged effort that requires involvement of military and civilian cooperation. This shows that there is need to involve the civilians more in the fight against terrorism to overcome the menace. As stated by Masinde, Buiguit and Mung'atu <sup>121</sup> Kenya lack a comprehensive approach to civilian engagement in fighting terrorism. This has resulted to a counter terrorism strategy that focuses on security aspects of the issue. The approach being used in Kenya fails to use a multi stakeholder perspective.

<b>Way forward in combating terrorism</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Civilian inclusiveness in terrorism	17	85
Committing more resources in fighting terrorism	16	80
Eradicating corruption	17	85
Solving the problem of youth employment	15	75
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>

<sup>121</sup> Masinde Ben, Buiguit, Samson and Mang'atu Kieron. Temporal effects of tourism in Kenya. *International Journal of Finance*, 8 (12), 20, 2016.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **10.1 Introduction**

This chapter highlights the summary of the role of civilian in fighting terrorism in Kenya. It then provides a conclusion and summary of the findings.

#### **10.2 Summary**

It is notable that in the fight against terrorism many countries, the inclusiveness of the civilian population had not been taken seriously. This is despite the fact that, the civilians usually bear the greatest burden of sufferings and related consequences of terrorism. The civilian population has a major role to play in the fight against terrorism. The study rejects the first hypothesis and point that there are significant effects on the civilian population in Kenya. This is due to the fact that as stated in the results, terrorism has brought a lot of suffering to the civilian population in Kenya. It has led to deaths, injuries, disruption of livelihoods among many such negative consequences. This is also notable from the many cases of terrorism in Kenya as cited in the study.

The study found that the civilian population has roles that they can play in eradicating terrorism. They can start from the point of view of community policing where they liaise with security agencies to eliminate potential terrorists amongst them. They may participate in campaigns aimed at eliminating religious fundamentalism which is usually a ground used by terrorists to recruit new members. They may also be vigilant to ward off terrorists from living in their midst and hence planning and executing cases of terror.

Therefore the second objective was rejected and conclusion made that there are significant roles of civilians in fighting terrorism.

The third hypothesis was also rejected since the civilian population has significant challenges in the fight against terrorism. The results of the study indicated that there are several challenges facing the civilian wish to combat terrorism in Kenya. They include; marginalization of youths, youth unemployment, indiscriminate arrests of youths and corruption. The civilian population has the moral authority of provision of intelligent information to the security forces.

Though the civilians are able to assist the government in confronting terror, they are affected greatly by the menace of terrorism. This is through loss of lives, bodily and psychological maiming. This showed that engaging the civilians in fighting terrorism is still a challenge and especially so among the youths who are prone to terrorism.

### **10.3 Conclusion**

The study concluded that the civilian population has had direct and indirect effects emanating from the menace of terrorism in Kenya. Innocent people have been killed or maimed in the various terror attacks witnessed as well as loss of property and livelihood. Other effects include indiscriminate suffering through arrests of community members by security forces and increased insecurity among many such cases. The study concluded that the civilian population has a significant role in the fight against terrorism in Kenya.

This is shown by the fact that the civilian population has been active in fighting terrorism through creation of community policing, reporting terror suspects to security apparatus

and fighting religious terrorism. The study concluded that there are challenges that affect the civilian while confronting terrorism in Kenya. The study found that challenges such as marginalization of youths, youth unemployment, indiscriminate arrests of youths and corruption affect the fight against terrorism.

#### **10.4 Recommendations**

1. Implementation of the various legal and policy frameworks such as National Police Service Act 2011 and other counter-terrorism policies should be undertaken by the government to create awareness of the important role of the inclusiveness of civilian and the security agencies in the fight against terrorism.
2. The government needs to move to the grassroots to empower community leaders, elders, youths and women leaders since they are the main link in the community in the fight against terrorism.
3. The government needs to create employment opportunities for the disillusioned youths who need to be engaged in order to dissuade them from terrorism.
4. Corruption should be eliminated in the society since it is the major sphere that is fueling the increase in terrorism right from the porous borders to the urban areas in Kenya.

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**APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE**

**TICK AND FILL AS APPROPRIATE**

- 1. What is your occupation?
  - a) Community policing leader ( )
  - b) Elder
  - c) Youth leader ( )
  - d) Women leader ( )
- 2. What is your gender?
  - a) Male ( )
  - b) Female ( )

**PART A: EFFECTS OF TERRORISM ON CIVILIANS IN KENYA**

- 3. What are the drivers of terrorism in Kenya?  
.....  
.....  
.....
- 4. Explain how you have been affected by terrorism  
.....  
.....  
.....

**PART B: ROLE OF CIVILIANS IN DEALING WITH TERRORISM IN KENYA**

- 5. How have the civilian been active in fighting terrorism?  
.....  
.....  
.....
- 6. What should the authorities assist the civilians in combating terrorism in the community?  
.....  
.....  
.....

7. Are there tangible and positive results of the community effort in combating terrorism in your locality?

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**PART C: CHALLENGES FACING CIVILIANS IN DEALING WITH TERRORISM IN KENYA**

8. What do you consider to be the challenges of civilians in fighting terrorism?

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9. What is the way forward in civilian involvement in fighting terrorism

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