

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**EFFECTIVENESS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM STRATEGIES IN THE HORN OF AFRICA
REGION: A CASE STUDY OF LAMU COUNTY**

By:

NAME: JOHN WACHIRA WANJIKU

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LECTURER: DR. MARTIN OUMA

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DECLARATION

I declare that this project is my original work and has not been submitted for examination for any degree in this or any other university.


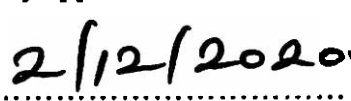
Signed.......... Date..........

John Wachira Wanjiku

R52/11465/2018

Declaration by the Supervisor

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor.

Signed.......... Date..........

Dr. Martin Ouma

Lecturer,

Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi

DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to my mother, Jane Wanjiku, brothers and sisters who supported me financially, morally and for their encouragement during the period of learning and writing the research project.

I love you all.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

For the facilitation of my work from the start to the completion, I would like to sincerely appreciate the efforts by my supervisor Dr. Ouma who through his professional guidelines, commitment and patience, I was able to complete my project in time. I also acknowledge my colleagues at my work place who were very supportive.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ATP	Anti-terrorism police
ATPU	Anti-Terrorism Police Unit
AQIM	Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
CBRN	Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear
CCTV	Close Circuit Television
CNN	Cable News Network
EC	European Commission
EU	European Union
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoK	Government of Kenya
GTTR	Global Terrorism on the Rise
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IEDs	Improvised Explosive Device
ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
ISIS	Islamic States of Iraq and Syria
KDF	Kenya Defense Forces

KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
KPSP	Kenya Police Strategic Plan
MRC	Mombasa Republican Council
MUHURI	Muslims for Human Rights
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCTC	National Counter Terrorism Center
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NIS	National Intelligence Service
NPS	National Police Service
NSAC	National Security Advisory Committee
NSIC	National Security Advisory Committee
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PSV	Public Service Vehicle
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
UN	United Nations
UNGCTS	United Nations Global Counter- Terrorism Strategy
US	United States

ABSTRACT

Terrorism is a major danger to the world and safety at domestic, regional and international levels. It challenges the basic principles of law, justice, human rights and freedom and proves to be an affront to international bodies such as the UN, Global Covenant and the AU Constitutive Act of Africa. It threatens states' territorial sovereignty, security and stability. Effective counter-terrorism approaches can critically mitigate risks and deleterious effects of terrorism. In Kenya, the government through various security agencies, has engaged in counter terrorism operations. There have been continued attacks in Kenya by terrorist elements prompting the GOK to advance counter terrorism strategies and adopt robust counter-terrorism mechanisms in fighting terrorism. This study has been prompted by continued attacks by suspected Al-Shabaab terrorists in Lamu County despite the GOK adopting numerous counter terrorism strategies in its operations. The general objective of this study was to evaluate the effectiveness of counter-terrorism strategies being adopted in managing terrorism in the Horn of Africa and moreso the challenges faced while managing terrorism in Lamu County, Kenya. The study was guided by the following specific objectives: evaluate counter-terrorism strategies employed by the GOK in Lamu County; determine institutional frameworks being utilized by the GOK in Lamu County and examine challenges in implementing counter terrorism strategies by the GOK in Lamu County. The study adopted as a theoretical framework, the human needs theory. The study also employed survey research design which entailed the use of ex post facto research design employing mixed method approach. The target population was members of the GOK, religious leaders, council of elders and administrators (chiefs and county commissioner) in Lamu County. The study used both probability and non-probability sampling methods. Members of the GOK comprising NCOs and members of the inspectorate were first stratified then randomly sampled to generate 157 respondents. Purposive sampling assisted this study in selecting 12 GOK gazetted officers as well as 23 chiefs, 1 county commissioner, 25 council of elders and 33 religious leaders. Data collection was through interactive questionnaires and non-interactive document analysis. A pilot study was carried out in Lamu County. The reliability of the instruments was determined through the calculation of a correlation coefficient between the first and second administration. The instruments were tested for validity through consultation and discussion with supervisors. The data collected was analysed by use of descriptive statistics, through qualitative and quantitative techniques. The study has found out that conducting patrols, access controls and screening of persons are the most impactful counter terrorism practices attained so far. Curfew and large numbers of security personnel have proved to bear positive results in countering terrorism. The counter terrorism strategies are faced with several challenges including corruption. For effective counter terrorism, the challenges have to be addressed sooner than later. This study recommends community policing programs to be prioritized in funds allocation. Lawmakers should also make more stringent laws so that everybody will fear engaging in corruption especially when terrorism is the centre of interest.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This study looked at the effectiveness of counter terrorism strategies in Kenya, focusing on Lamu County. This chapter presents “background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study and corresponding research questions”. The chapter further delineates justification of the study, literature review, knowledge gaps from the literature review, hypotheses, theoretical framework, research methodology, chapter outline and references.

1.1 Background to the study

Terrorism has been a great threat and challenge to security. It has virtually affected every corner of the globe. It puts at risk citizens in countries all over the world. It also remains a threat to international stability and prosperity. Terrorists are deemed able to illegally cross country borders, set up cells, identify and study targets and launch terror attacks. The terrorist groups and people are able to increase the terror threats and continue to spread all over the world.

Terrorists make use of modern technology to aggravate the effect of the terror attacks while endorsing traditional and modern means. They also access and make use of chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear (CBRN) role and cyber capabilities.¹ The spread of terrorism is eased by absence of peace and porous security thereby promoting radical ideologies, fundamentalism, intolerance and bigotry. Global Terrorism Index of 2016 recons there has

¹ Hunsicker, A. (2006). Understanding International Counter Terrorism. Washington: Universal Publishers.

been a continued rise of terrorism which is a cause for serious concern today. Terrorism has employed political and religious strategies with international awareness being felt through disastrous and extraordinary terror attacks in the United States (US) especially for the case that took place on September eleventh 2001. That occasion was not just one in isolation threatening peace and security. However, it brought a new dimension of terrorism worldwide. Unites States of America (USA) has also been experiencing shooting attacks, bombings, stabbing and vehicular attacks on its people. ²

A number of terrorist groups have stamped their impact in many countries. Terrorist groups such as Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL) and its affiliates have expanded into 15 new countries. In Africa, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) made a resolution in 1992 directing a facilitative collaboration and coming together of all member states. This step was to reduce and stop occurrence of extremism. ³ Between 1990 and 2003 the continent had a record of 6,188 fatalities from 299 terror attacks. These statistics put Africa as the second most hit continent in the world map after Asia. Unlike in the 1970s where the terror groups were held together and operated as one group, now many changes have taken place and new terror groups operate on the basis of cash. ⁴

Statistics show that 2.6 million people have been displaced, 20,000 lives have been lost and over 75,000 people have been orphaned due to Boko Haram's terror attacks. This has also significantly lead to financial instability among the people and countries at large. In Somalia, African Union

² Mahajan, R. (2002). The New Crusade: America's War on Terrorism. Monthly Review. Retrieved from <http://monthlyreview.org/2002/02/01/the-new-crusade-americas-war-on-terrorism>. (Retrieved on 2 April, 2018).

³ Cilliers, J. & Sturman, K. (2002). "Africa and Terrorism: Joining the Global Campaign." Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria.

⁴ Bunker, R. (2005). Networks, Terrorism and Global Insurgency. Routledge, London.

Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) are faced with the hostility of Al-Shabaab. The neighboring countries such as Kenya have also endured Al-Shabaab's wrath. The terrorist group has claimed to have attacked Somali government facilities. The group is also on record admitting to have targeted different locations in Kenya. Tanzania and Kenya are among the first countries on the continent to encounter the new wave of terrorism as their Capitals, Dar es Salaam and Nairobi respectively, experienced bombings in August 1998.

There has also been collaboration of Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab especially in African countries such as Congo and this may deteriorate the peace and security situation in the continent.⁵ In January 2016, a Somali camp by the name El-Adde was attacked by Al-Shabaab whereby over 100 Kenyan soldiers died.

Since 2011, Kenya has faced an upsurge of terror attacks whereby lives are lost and properties destroyed. The explosions and killings are facilitated by Al-Shabaab in opposition to Linda Nchi operation which started on 14th October 2011 involving Somalia and Kenyan military troops deployed to Somalia with the aim of dislodging terrorists from their strongholds. By 2014, the terror attacks started having negative impacts on the Kenya's tourism industry forcing the European Nations to issue travel warnings and caution to their citizens against visiting Kenyan coastal regions. The Kenyan tourism sector experienced a downward trend in numbers of foreign tourists and thus the economy was devastated.

Attacks that happened before 2011 did not elicit much attention as those thereafter. First, there was Al-Qaeda bombing in Nairobi that targeted the US embassy in the 1998. On 21st September, 2013 terrorists stormed and unselectively opened fire on every person that they

⁵ Ruchita Beri, Rise of Terrorism in Africa, Rise of Terrorism in Africa|Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, April 13, 2017, accessed September 20, 2017, http://www.idsacomment.com/rise-of-terrorism-in-africa-beri_130417. Al-Shabaab attack Pandanguo Police Post in Lamu, Standard Digital, July 5, 2017, accessed September 20, 2017, <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001246140/al-shabaab-attack-pandanguo-police-in-lamu>.

faced in Westgate mall Nairobi. In that attack 70 people died, 175 were injured and many others held hostage. That incidence left 18 foreigners dead. Those foreigners were of the following nationalities; “Ghana, India, South Africa, China, Britain, France, Canada, New Zealand, and Netherlands”.⁶ Al-Shabaab which is an Islam group based in Somali, accepted that they were responsible for the attack on twitter. Additionally, in an intensive interview with Al Jazeera, the al-Shabaab spokesman said that Westgate mall was chosen because many foreigners frequent the premises.

Initially, conflict between Kenya and Al-Shabaab started in Lamu. The conflict has escalated over time. A number of occurrences happened in Lamu that made Kenyan military to invade Somali land. In September 2011, Al-Shabaab kidnapped a British couple from a hotel near Lamu inland. Three weeks later, the Islamist group kidnapped a French woman from another hotel. Such actions made it clear that the terrorist group meant trouble for the country and hence the trigger for the launch of Operation Linda Nchi by the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) that took effect on 14th October 2011.

Lamu has suffered multiple conflicts and there is continuous growth of terrorist threat. First, in June 2014, Mpeketoni Township was raided and more than 60 people killed and it was suspected to be Al-Shaabab terror group. During that incidence, Mpeketoni Police Station was raided and everybody who interacted with the attackers was killed. The same year, 2014, Madera County was attacked by Al-Shabaab where 60 people were left dead. On 22nd November 2014, a public service vehicle (psv) travelling from Madera to Nairobi was attacked by gunmen who killed 28 people among them teachers and government officials who were non-

⁶ Mamdani, M. (2013). Senseless and Sensible Violence: Mourning the Dead at WestgateMall. Aljazeera, September 26. Available at <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/09/senseless-sensibleviolence-mourning-dead-at-westgate-mall-201392563253438882.html> (Accessed 27 March 2018).

Muslims. Later, Al-Shabaab owned up the killing of 36 people working in a quarry not far from Madera County. Majority those whose lives were terminated were non-Muslims. Al-Shabaab also attacked Garissa University College in April 2015. In that raid 147 students were killed and hundreds others were seriously injured. The planning of that attack was reportedly associated with Al-Shabaab's Commander, Mohamed Kuno Gamadheere.

The Kenyan governments together with other organizations and security institutions have employed various counter terrorism strategies to curb terror attacks in the country. Nevertheless, there seems to be ineffectiveness in those counter terrorism strategies adopted and therefore the need to investigate those inefficiencies.

1.2 Problem Statement

The county of Lamu has had experiences of acts of terror over the years and this has attracted attention to various stakeholders such as the Government, private sector, religious groups, civil society, regional and international community. The attention has called for capacity building, police raids and patrols, ambushes and intelligence gathering. Despite these government's mitigation measures in place, acts of terrorism have thrived in the county and lives have been lost and properties destroyed. The counter terrorism measures have not satisfactorily yielded results by either being deficient themselves or they have not been well facilitated in the anti-terrorism fight in Lamu county. There is no adequate academic research undertaken to examine the effectiveness of the counter terrorism strategies employed in the County.

Terrorism has been boosted by weak political, social and economic structures in Africa. In countries such as Somali, stifles and civil wars have fostered terrorism. Kenya has experienced attacks in such regions as Nairobi, North Eastern and Coast. Lamu can be considered as the region where the current conflict with Al-Shabaab started and the recurrent events led to

Kenya's military invading Somalia. It started with Al-Shabaab kidnapping a British couple who were on a sailing holiday in a hotel close to Lamu Island in September 2011. After three weeks, the al-Shabaab group also took a French woman from a different hotel. Due to these and other kidnappings along Kenya-Somali border, Linda Nchi operation was launched by KDF in October 2011.

In June 2014 Mpeketoni and Mporomoko areas were attacked in Lamu County. Other attacks on the Kenyan soil are attributed to retaliation to countering terrorism measures. Those measures include large contingents of police deployed and operation Linda Boni. Lamu County is greatly associated with tourism where foreign tourists bring resources to the country. The proceeds from tourism attribute to around 15 per cent of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP). A number of foreign tourists have been kidnapped by Al-Shabab militants in Lamu and that does not augur well with countries of origin of those tourists and the international community which acts as a watchdog. Such countries have issued travel bans in Kenya while others have done it in specific areas such as the coastal region. Travel bans affect tourism by making the numbers of tourists subside. When tourism is negatively affected, the economy also suffers as livelihoods of those working in the sector deteriorate and their dependents also feel the impact. Terrorists continue to use Boni forest as their conveyance point to get in and out of Somali. They have also not only conducted training in Boni forest but also launched several severe terror attacks in Lamu County in spite of the government's adoption of counter terrorism strategies. The question hence begs for an evaluation of the counter terrorism strategies being put in place in Lamu County.

1.3 Research Questions

This research is guided by the following questions:

- i. What are the counter-terrorism strategies being employed by the Kenyan Government in Lamu County.
- ii. How effective are institutional frameworks being utilized by the Kenyan Government in Lamu County.
- iii. What are the challenges being faced in the implementation of counter-terrorism strategies by the Kenyan Government in Lamu County.

1.4 Research Objectives

The general objective of the study is to evaluate the effectiveness of counter-terrorism strategies being adopted in managing terrorism in the Horn of Africa.

The specific objectives are:

- i. To evaluate the counter-terrorism strategies being employed by the Kenyan Government in Lamu County.
- ii. To determine the effectiveness of institutional frameworks being utilized by the Kenyan Government in Lamu County.
- iii. To investigate the challenges faced in the implementation of counter-terrorism strategies by the Kenyan Government in Lamu County.

1.5 Literature Review

1.5.1 Theoretical Literature Review

This section discusses two theories; relative deprivation and realism which have a great link to the terror activities in Lamu County.

Relative deprivation theory is triggered by the reference group which has comparison of oneself and the fortunes that one have. The person gets frustrated because he feels that he is deprived of what he rightfully deserves and he connects that frustration to his reference group. He has value expectations which are never fulfilled. The value expectations can be attributed to reference groups or status that individuals identify themselves with, some could be from past conditions, others are from abstract ideal situations while others get such expectations from standards articulated by leaders. In the Lamu County case, the Al Shabab are said to have had a rough time with Kenyans while doing fishing in the Indian Ocean and there are contested areas of fishing. That hitch has caused the Somalia militia group to start attacks in Lamu County. This comes as a result of deprivation of their right to access certain resources in the ocean and hence their retaliation through attacks that have led to loss of lives and destruction of properties in Lamu County.

Realism theory is attributed to the state being the main actor. The state protects its foreign policies and endeavors to rein supremacy and dominance over others. When Al shabab attacked several areas of Lamu County, the government of Kenya had to retaliate. It is that retaliation that gave rise to the '*Linda Nchi Operation*' to counter the militia group's attacks in Kenya. There were also many troops of members of National Police Service deployed in Boni Forest where some militia members thrived. To stamp authority to supremacy and dominance of the state the Linda Nchi Operation was expanded to Somalia where the militia group had been gaining momentum.

1.5.2 Empirical Literature Review

The concept of terrorism

There is no definite definition of the concept terrorism.⁷ Terrorism is dynamic and measures must keep evolving to deal with the threat efficiently. Many scholars interested in the topic seek to know who has the authority to provide definitions for terrorism as well as the terrorist acts. It is at that juncture that they contend who is responsible to categorize acts as either legitimate violence or not. According to the experts, the law enforcement agencies definition of terrorism matches to about 83% with the definition of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and about 40.5% match with the definition of state departments. However, the definition of terrorism by the law enforcement agencies has a low match with the academic definitions. The FBI's definition states that terrorism is the illegal use of force or causing violence against people or property as a way of intimidating or coercing a government, citizens or any structure thereof, in advancement of political or social scheme.⁸

The meaning of terrorism is contextual and keeps on changing over time and following its dynamic nature it has been continuously changing since its first utilization. The origin of terrorism can be traced from the word terror. Further, it is a modern political concept that was first captured in the English language during the times of French revolution.⁹ Contemporary imperial states such as Britain, France and other expansionists have the advantage of power in stating their violence as legitimate or right while considering the violence of others as illegal or of

⁷ Schmidt, A. P. & Jongman, A. I. (1988). *Political Terrorism*. Amsterdam: Transaction Books
Weinberg, L., A. Pedahzur, and S. Hirsch-Hoeffler. 2004. The challenges of conceptualising terrorism. *Terrorism and Political Violence* 64: 777-94.

⁸ Kinsman, G. & Gentile, P. (2010). *The Canadian war on queers: National security as sexual regulation*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

⁹ Eagleton, T. (2005). *Holy Terror*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Education. London: Z Books.

terrorist nature. Worldwide, four main types of terrorism movements are recognized. They are, the religious or sacred movement, the left-wing movement, the ethno-nationalist movement and the right-wing movement. They all have different styles and mode of behavior. Between the 17th and the 19th centuries is when the first wave of the movements happened during the era of break up world empires. It was experienced during French Revolution when the Jacobins who were the ruling class in France, through their leader MacMillan Robespierre had enemies of the revolution killed. The second wave occurred because of decolonization in the mid-1990s and was perpetrated by non- governmental groups. These were acts by non-state actors who were using Guerrilla tactics to propel ethnic nationalism and anti-colonial sentiments. Religious terrorism is usually committed by the Al-Qaeda and has been experienced globally. Terrorism can cause intense brutality regardless of the type.

Terrorism groups with the aim of promoting nationalistic agenda have formed in most parts of the world. For instance, the Irish Republican Army which was formed following the quest by Irish Catholics to isolate themselves from the Great Britain and be independent as a republic. Likewise, the Kurds in Iraq, Syria, Iran and Turkey have been seeking national autonomy for over a century. Another terrorism group focusing on nationalism is the Sri Lankan Tigers of Tamil.

Recently, the focus on terrorism has increased significantly making it part of everyday life. For tens of years, terrorists have launched attacks in different parts of the world resulting in severe destructions of human life and property. Despite the efforts put in place to combat terrorism, there is no guarantee that the world will achieve a zero-terrorism society. Terrorism has varieties of objectives, methods, targets and organizational forms.¹⁰ Presently, terrorism has become the

¹⁰ Bartolucci, V. (2010). "Analysing elite discourse on terrorism and its implications: the case of Morocco." *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 3(1), 119-135.

basis of defining international politics. Also, after the 9/11 attacks, scholars indulged in studies and researches relating to the topic of terrorism. The 9/11 remains the most destructive attack launched by terrorists to date.

Terrorism has also been experienced in Africa to a great extent as the terrorists have launched a couple of attacks. A substantial impact has been made by the Islamic States of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), Al-Qaeda, Islamic groups in the continent independently or with the help of local terror groups such as “Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab”. This has left many African countries being affected directly or indirectly.

In Kenya, with reference to 2012 Act of preventing terrorism, a terrorist act is defined as an act or action which entails subjecting violence to a person. This may entail risking a person’s life, other than the one committing the act which may lead in severe damage of property or develop a major risk to the safety or health of the citizens following the illegal use of explosives or firearms associated with release of any toxic, dangerous radioactive or hazardous substance. Also, if the act interferes with the working of an electronic system thus disrupting the provision of important services to the public as well as prejudicing national security or public safety. Its aim is to terrify or cause panic among the citizens and to intimidate or force the government or any institution to do or desist from any act. Also, it may be aimed in disrupting social, economic religious or political structures of a country. The terms terrorism and terrorist act are defined by paying close reference to the definitions provided by the Kenyan government.

Counter terrorism Strategies employed by the Security Organs and Agencies

Different stakeholders, security personnel, policy makers and scholars have for a long time explored root causes of individuals engaging in violence and crime activities in order to formulate

solutions suitable for terrorism and other crimes. However, lack of a definite definition of terrorism and contradicting opinions by different scholars, hinders the efforts of formulating suitable strategies to counter the vice. Nevertheless, it is possible to relate identifiable patterns, locations, known causes and dynamics which in turn can help in coming up with specific solutions. The process of mitigating terrorism involves both long and short term strategies which involve building trust between the population and the government as well as adopting offensive and defensive measures.

Offensive strategies involve cooperation and coordination between intelligence community, security agencies and the presidency. If there is need to use military the intelligence sends a signal to the security personnel. The defensive measures entail management of crisis, prevention and reconstruction. Further, long-term strategy entails arresting, prosecuting and imprisonment of leaders of the terror groups, perpetrators and sympathizers as well as supporting the victims of these inhumane acts. Several scholars have emphasized that absence of terrorist network leaders weakens its capacity to carry its activities in the short run as they always recruit other new members. This was witnessed in Nigeria where the killing of Boko Haram leader Ustaz Mohammed Yusuf, ignited more attacks and conflicts on the Nigerians. This case scenario proves that the use of military force alone cannot solve the terrorism problem.

To succeed in getting solutions there has to be a consideration and address to the conditions that give rise to terrorism. There is also need to consider counter-narrative measure of rehabilitation and reintegration as stipulated in the United Nations Global Counter- Terrorism Strategy (UNGCTS). To successfully combat terrorism globally, member states are advised to engage their efforts on 'prevention, detection, intervention and rehabilitation and reintegration'. Sometimes developing a global strategy on a paper is very easy but implementing it becomes very

difficult especially when politics and rivalry hinder a resolution to pass. A similar scenario is witnessed in several countries where leaders lay blame on each other. Absence of cooperation between community and the academic experts who have specialized in issues of terrorism has led to stagnation in terrorism research. Therefore, there is need to explore more strategies that will effectively assist in combating terrorism and Lamu County can provide a ground for such a noble exercise.

Challenges in the Implementation of the Established Counter Terrorism Strategies

In the recent years, terrorists have adopted the use of technology and mobile phones to send wrong information and recruit more people especially the youth into terror groups. Terrorism and counter terrorism strategists are not left behind. Technology has thus eased communication among terrorists and radicalization process. Cyber terrorism or bullying is also a familiar phenomenon. Hacking of government and private sector websites has also been witnessed whereby in China and Russia the hackers do it for economic or espionage motives. Technology played part in Paris attack where dozen lives were lost as the terrorists applied encrypted communications to escape detection.

Terror threats in Africa are growing in numbers from North Africa to the rest of Africa. ISIL has emerged with a certain force that raises a great concern. The ISIL challenge comes at a time when Africa is facing the challenge of persistent older terrorist organizations such as Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (Al- AQIM). Political stabilization and democratic consolidation is also another challenge. For instance, absence of an effective government in Somali has made it prone to terror attacks as terrorists have found a safe haven where they can carry out their terror activities. Somalia's neighbors such as Kenya are at risk of being affected.

The Kenyan terrorism case is highly associated with lawless Somalia and porous border. Lawlessness in Somalia has greatly contributed to increased proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW), radicalization and other crimes. This has prompted many Somalis to seek refuge in Kenya, an opportunity that terrorists have taken advantage of as their numbers have continued to go up. Its proximity to the coastline has eased movement of illegal goods to other countries especially in Mombasa, Kenya.¹¹ Kenya has been on the receiving end due to KDF invasion in Somalia through *Operation Linda Nchi* which has seen the country witness several terror attacks perpetuated by the Alshabaab. The terror group has used this operation as the root cause in almost every attack meted at Kenya. The terror group has launched more than sixty attacks on the Kenyan soil as a result of that offensive intrusion in Somalia.¹² The attacks have claimed lives of civilians and police in Lamu County and the nation at large.

1.6 Justification of the study

Policy justification

This study envisages contributing immensely on counter terrorism policy formulation as well as strengthening implementation as it is involved in academic development. Terrorism is never static and on the contrary it mutates thereby changing face and shape.¹³ It is therefore imperatively crucial for the intelligence and other security agencies to be on high alert in combating terrorism. The Kenyan government has received great critics for failure to put the safety of Kenyans first especially when an attack takes place and information emerges that

¹¹ Agbiboa, D. E. (2013a). "Al-Shabaab's Dangerous Affair with Al-Qaeda." *Journal of Social, Political and Economic Studies* 38(4)

¹² Macharia, J. (2014). "Bombings Threaten Kenya Growth Goals, Open New Strains with Wary West". Reuters.

¹³ John J. Macionis (2009), *Social Problems*, 4th ed. USA: Prentice Hall

intelligence had mitigation measures pre-empted to the government. Initially when attacks were not prevalent, counter terrorism measures were not given much attention and very few researches were conducted on counter terrorism in Kenya. Researches that have been done thereafter have little information on counter terrorism strategies and the influence on performance. This study intends to fill the knowledge gap by making a milestone in investigating counter terrorism strategies, their effectiveness in performance and enumerate the challenges faced in managing terrorism in Lamu County, Kenya.

Academic Justification

The knowledge and ideas that are generated by this study are useful as tools of reference in the war against terrorism and may provoke the need for further research by the academicians and other scholars. For development and stability of a nation to be achieved, law enforcement becomes critical in providing security to ensure economic and social development. The study's findings do enhance a reduction of attacks which comes with prevention of loss of lives and damages to property. It unearths challenges faced in implementation of counter terrorism strategies and the measures that should be undertaken to manage those challenges. The findings further uplift the image of the country in the international community and therefore reap heavily from foreign direct and indirect investments including tourism. This makes the economy be on a positive trajectory thereby boosting peace and security among the citizens.

1.7 Research Gaps

The study has established some gaps in the counter measures initiated by the government to counter terrorism in the country. It assesses how effective the strategies are in the fight against terrorism and

the challenges security organs face in implementing the strategies in target locations such as Lamu County.

1.8 Hypothesis

The study seeks to test the following research hypotheses;

- **H1:** Effective institutional frameworks lead to the reduction of terrorism in Lamu County
- **H2:** Ineffective counter terrorism strategies have led to increase in terrorism in Lamu County

1.9 Theoretical Framework

The Human Needs Theory

The study utilizes Human need theory to conceptualize the issues surrounding terrorism and counter measures enacted by the government of Kenya. The theory is pioneered by John Burton. In the context of conflict resolution, a “genuine resolution is one that enables the parties involved to achieve their values and goals without compromise”.¹⁴ Conflicts arise due to non-negotiable needs not being met. Such non-negotiable needs include; “identity, recognition, security of the identity groups and societal values”.¹⁵

According to some human needs theorists such as Norwood, conflict and disputes arise when people scramble for scarce resources in the society in order to satisfy their human needs.¹⁶ It is clear that the shortage of satisfiers leads to conflict and not the nature of the needs themselves.¹⁷

¹⁴ Abraham H. Maslow (1943), "A theory of human motivation," *Psychological review* 50, no. 4

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ Norwood, G. (1999). Maslow's hierarchy of needs. The Truth Vectors (Part I). Retrieved May 2002, from <http://www.deepermind.com/20maslow.htm>

¹⁷ James, W. (1892/1962). *Psychology: Briefer course*. New York: Collier.

For the case of Lamu County the conflict has escalated to terrorism. The human needs theory depicts a scenario where the security and identity of those living in Lamu County and the coastal region in general has led to calls of secession. The Mombasa Republican Council's (MRC) slogan that 'Pwani sio Kenya' depicts identity and opportunities deprivation of a group. The MRM had to be met with force using the security organs of the country. The human needs theory is of assistance in determining why Lamu County has had terror attacks and terrorism engagements. It also identifies other counter terrorism strategies that should be emphasized and applied rather than use of force.

1.10 Research Methodology

Research methodology refers to the procedure that is employed in conducting the study.

1.11 Research Design

In undertaking the research, the researcher has made use of descriptive research design as the study sought to determine the counter terrorism strategies and their efficiency in Lamu County. Descriptive research seeks to find out the factors that are associated with certain occurrence, outcomes, conditions or type of behaviors. This method is helpful in that it is less expensive and it is effective when constrained with time limit. It also confirms collection and analysis of data to assess the reliability, variability and performance in determining possible relationships between variables.

Descriptive research design involves the collection of data in order to determine the current status, relative incidence and condition of the study problem. Questionnaires were utilized in obtaining

and collecting numerical data while structured interviews and open ended questions assisted in collecting qualitative data as provided in appendix I.¹⁸

1.12 Study Area

The study took place in Lamu County, Kenya which constitutes one of the 47 counties in Kenya. It covers approximately 6,273.1 Km² and it is surrounded by beach coastline.¹⁹ The county's population consists of indigenous communities who include; "Swahili, Arab, Koreni, Boni and Orma". Another community present is Kikuyu who have migrated from central region. The communities in the county practice farming, mining, fishing among other activities as their source of livelihood. The region is endowed with natural resources or minerals which boosts the source of income for the surrounding community. The county consists of two constituencies. First is Lamu East Constituency with Faza, Basuba and Kiunga divisions. The Second is Lamu West with 7 divisions namely Witu, Bahari, Hongwe, Mkunumbi, Hindi, Mkomani and Shella. The County is a hub for 10 wards, 23 locations and 38 sub-locations.²⁰ Figure 1.1 presents the map of Lamu County with the various administrative units.

The county was preferred as a reference tool for this study because it has witnessed incessant terror attacks which have led to massive destruction of properties and loss of lives. Its close proximity to Boni forest and Somalia which are safe havens for terrorists makes it prone to terror attacks.

¹⁸ Mugenda, M. O & Mugenda, A. (2003). Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches. Nairobi. African Centre for Technological Studies, Kenya.

¹⁹ GoK, (2004). National Policy on Community Policing: Nairobi: Government Printers.

²⁰ Lamu County Intergrated Development Plan (CIDP), 2013 - 2017.

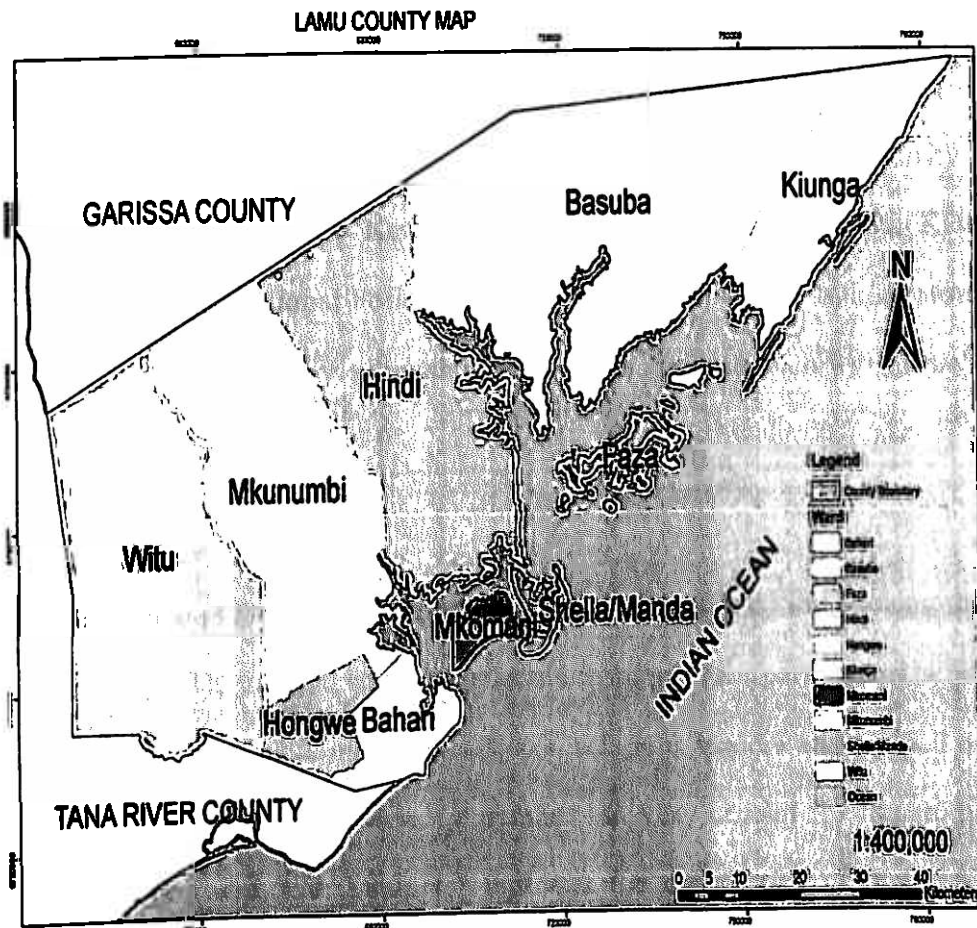


Figure 1.1: Map of Lamu County

Geographical Coordinates: Latitude:
 1° 40' and 2° 30' S Longitude: 40°
 15' and 40° 38' E Elevation: 308m (1
 010ft)

Source: Arch. Peter Otieno, 2018
 Cartographer, Siaya County

1.13 Target Population

In research, population is “a complete group of objects or elements relevant to a particular research project because they possess the information the research project is designed to collect and analyze”.²¹ This study aimed at targeting personnel working in security organs and religious leaders in Lamu County, Kenya. The security personnel include; KDF, National Intelligence Service (NIS), National Police Service (NPS) and public administrators such as the county commissioner and the chiefs together with other ‘private security agents’ working in Lamu County.

1.14 Sample Size

Both simple random and purposive sampling techniques were utilized in choosing the sample size that informs the study. The sample size was selected from relevant participants who included the county commissioner, the chiefs, gazetted officers, religious leaders and council of elders. The expectation was that they would be few in number but very crucial for the study result. The total targeted population was 259. Table 1.1 indicates the distribution of the target population. Table 1.2 shows the distribution of the sample size.

²¹ Babbie, E. (2013). *The Basics of Social Research*. Wadsworth, CA: Cengage Learning Press.

Table 1.1 Target Population

Category	Target Population
Senior Officers (Inspectors positions and above)	73
Gazetted Officers	12
Chiefs	23
Council of Elders	73
Religious Leaders	77
County Commissioner	1
Total	259

Source: Field Data 2020

To arrive at the sample size, Yamane's formula was used. The formula is

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where

n= sample size

N= population size

e= precision level usually (0.05)²

When fitted into the formula:

$$n = 259 / (1 + 259(0.05)^2)$$

$$= 259 / (1 + 0.6475)$$

= 157.207891 Approximately 157 respondents

Table 1.2 Sample size

Category	Sampling Strategy	Sample Size
Senior Officers (From Sergeants)	Random	63
Gazetted Officers	Purposeful Sampling	12
Chiefs	Purposeful Sampling	23
Council of Elders	Purposeful Sampling	25
Religious Leaders	Purposeful Sampling	12
County Commissioner	Purposeful Sampling	1
Total		157

Source: Field Data 2020

1.15 Data Collection

The researcher made use of a questionnaire which captured both qualitative and quantitative data. The questionnaire captured important themes in each of the objectives which informed the study. It was divided into subsections that included both open and closed-ended questions. The

questions were designed in a manner that is flexible questioning and had subsequent follow up questions that gave respondents an opportunity to express their views more on the questions.

1.16 Data Analysis

The interviewers gave the questionnaires to the researcher, they were then edited, coded and data tabulated. Editing ensured the completeness of the questionnaires, consistency and readability while coding allowed transferability of data to the computer. Tabulation made it easy for the data to be arranged in an orderly manner. In analyzing and generating information, both quantitative and qualitative methods were employed by the study. For the analysis of qualitative data, a narrative technique was used while statistical summaries were used for quantitative data and comparison purposes. The interpreted data was presented in figures and tables.

1.17 Ethical Considerations

The researcher ensured confidentiality of all the information acquired and would not share it with any unauthorized persons. The information obtained from the respondents was exclusively and solely to be used for this academic purpose and not for any other. The researcher also sought permission to carry out the study from relevant authorities including the University of Nairobi and NACOSTI as per appendix IV. The researcher ensured that every questionnaire was to go together with an accompanying cover letter seeking permission from the respondent as per the recommendations of Gay.²²

²² Gay 1996., *The social environment and human behavior: A diversity perspective*, Pearson College Division

1.18 Scope of Limitation

The study took place in Lamu County that has experienced terrorism to a great extent. The study was conducted in the two constituencies. First, Lamu East constituency was covered together with its divisions Faza, Basuba and Kiunga. Secondly, Lamu West constituency was also part of the study as well as the constituency's administrative divisions that include "Witu, Bahari, Hongwe, Mkunumbi, Hindi, Mkomani and Shella". The study covered the 10 wards, all the 23 locations and their 38 sub-locations. The study targeted those personnel employed and working in security organs and religious leaders in the county. Such personnel include; KDF, NIS, NPS, public administrators such as the county commissioner and chiefs as well as private security agents' working in Lamu County.

1.19 Chapter Outline

Chapter one covers introduction and background of terrorism over the years and also highlights the effectiveness and need of counter terrorism strategies in Lamu County.

Chapter two dwells on identifying and analyzing the strategies adopted by the security organs in Kenya to counter terrorism activities in Lamu County.

Chapter three focuses on determining the effectiveness of institutional frameworks being utilized by the Kenyan Government in Lamu County.

Chapter four looks at the challenges faced by security organs in the implementation of the established counter terrorism strategies in Lamu County.

Chapter five covers summary, conclusion and recommendations. It also highlights on the key summaries from each chapter and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

COUNTER-TERRORISM STRATEGIES BEING EMPLOYED BY THE KENYAN GOVERNMENT IN LAMU COUNTY

2.0 Introduction

This chapter covers the first part of the project. It identifies and analyses counter terrorism strategies adopted by security organs in Kenya. It also carries with it literature relevant to counter terrorism strategies. It explores the descriptive overview of the research area on counter terrorism strategies adopted by the Government of Kenya. In addition, this chapter looks at the exact counter terrorism strategies that have been adopted and implemented in Lamu County as well as the findings obtained from the study.

2.1 Counter Terrorism Strategies Employed Globally and Regionally

In broad terms, counter terrorism refers to “proactive security strategy put in place by the government to prevent terrorism”.²³ Counter terrorism aims at preventing massive destruction of properties, infrastructures and lives in the long run. It is associated with such activities as revealing terrorists hideouts and ensuring the safety of security personnel in countering attacks.

There are three categories of counter terrorism. The first one involves ‘diplomatic interactions, financial controls, military force, intelligence, and covert actions’. The second one consists of legal use of force and formulating acts to fight terror attack. The last one involves targeting terror activities, for instance laying ambushes and protecting vulnerable targets. Different countries use varying counter terrorism strategies which range from the security apparatus

²³ Martin, G. (2003). *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks.

using military strategies and also softer mechanisms which prioritize the human needs. Member countries of the United Nations combat terrorism with reference to the Counter Terrorism Strategy which was formulated in 2006. The strategies emphasizes on enhancing the effectiveness of counter terrorism measures.²⁴ In 2014, the strategy was reviewed to accommodate conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism and how to address terror issues. The counter terrorism approaches employed such measures as review of terrorism related law, recruitment and training of more law enforcement officers, increased budgetary allocation as well as development and implementation of contingency plans. East Africa was considered most vulnerable to terrorism as compared to the rest of sub-Saharan Africa because almost all the countries in this region have been victims of the terror attacks. Preventing terrorism is therefore a key thematic area in many counter terrorism strategies in the world today.

2.2 Counter Terrorism Strategies Employed in Kenya

Kenya has experienced various terror attacks since 1990s. It is after the 9/11 attack that counter terrorism strategies were taken seriously due to the attack's shock to the whole world. That attack displayed a clear message that the country was highly susceptible to terrorism. Those attacks have proved that the country is highly vulnerable and susceptible to terrorism. Regulatory bodies get concerned by these attacks and they are tasked to develop a mechanism to minimize the risks of terror. In pursuit of that, the Kenya National Strategy was formulated in 2016 and tasked with developing a national task geared towards promoting national

²⁴ Lutz, J. M. & Lutz, B. J. (2004). Global Terrorism. London: Routledge.

security. All government ministries, departments and agencies are supposed to employ appropriate mechanisms in both preventing and countering terrorism.

The country has a robust Kenya Police Service that was established 1887. However, the body suffers great pressure in ensuring effective and efficient service delivery to the citizens despite the government's efforts in strengthening it. The government has come up with several developments such as Kenya Police Strategic Plan (KPSP) of 2003-2008 which boosts the police capacity to counter terrorism and the 2013-2017 strategic plans whose implementation is ongoing.²⁵ There are several changes associated with these strategic plans which include police curriculum review incorporating antiterrorism training, changing of the name from force to service, their attire and unifying of the Kenya Police and Administration Police who were previously two distinct police units. Numerous public awareness campaigns have been ran to build good rapport with the public.

The Kenyan government has progressively established and developed the National Counter Terrorism Centre which serves as a coordination centre to counter violent terror activities. The Centre has made tremendous developments in relation to military and intelligence frameworks.

2.3 Counter-terrorism Strategies Employed in Lamu County

After every attack experience in Lamu County, the GoK has always heightened the number of security personnel in the area. There have also been efforts geared towards training of security agencies and provision of sophisticated equipment to fight terrorism. Moreso, the security personnel in the country have been trained in other countries on how to counter terrorism. The police curriculum has also undergone review to accommodate antiterrorism training.

²⁵ The Kenya Police Service Strategic Plans, (2004; 2008).

The response to the rising number of terror attacks, respondents were for the opinion that GoK has increased and brought in new police squads and units with sophisticated equipment at utilities to curb terrorism and get hold of the culprits. There were agencies set up which include Anti-Terrorism Police Unit (ATPU), NCTC, NIS and the NSAC.²⁶ Lamu County constitutes one of the vulnerable areas as it has already experienced numerous attacks. Security bodies have put in place numerous counter terrorism strategies. The study found the following strategies to have been put in place in the County.

2.3.1 Community Policing

Community policing was formulated in 2003 and it has been an effective strategy of curbing terrorism in the country. It is also referred to as '*nyumba kumi initiative*' where the public alerts the police and security agencies on any threat to security and that way it ensures proper maintenance of security.²⁷ Its aim is to bridge the gap between the police and the community. This measure has been successful in combating issues of terror attacks in Lamu County. This principle is effective only when these three key factors are implemented simultaneously; community partnership, change management and problem solving.

According to Fielding, crime conditions rendering most policing attempts futile brought the need to establish community based approach.²⁸ Progressive mistrust between the public and the community has deterred the fight against terror attacks as portrayed by studies conducted

²⁶ Pope, W. (2005). "Testimony: Eliminating terrorist sanctuaries: The role of security assistance." House International Relations Committee, Subcommittee on International Terrorism and Non-proliferation Washington DC.

²⁷ Mwakimako, N. & J. Willis(2009), "Trends in Kenyan Islam." The Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

²⁸ Fielding (2009), N. Getting the best out of Community Policing. Ideas in British Policing. London: The Police Foundation

by 'Davis', 'Henderson', and 'Merrick' in 'Brazil'. Involvement of the community is productive in improving police efficiency and accountability.²⁹ It also assists in solving challenges experienced in implementing previous or pre-existing strategies.

Community policing involves public participation and it is through such involvements that the citizens get to learn more concerning the role played by police and other security apparatus in ensuring security and stability in the country. A great challenge of community policing implementation is the imbalance where the community is not viewed as an agent of fighting terrorism. This approach is challenged in that the community is supposed to assist the police in the war against terrorism by providing information while there is no obligation for the police themselves to offer any information to the community. This strategy also suffers a blow whereby resources and funds are limited hence expansion of the Community Policing Programs do not get prioritized.

2.3.2 Security Operations

Due to the country's vulnerability to being used as a host to terrorist organizations, the government has developed stringent counter terrorism measures and approaches in order to curb the vice. Al-Qaida works efficiently when they have affiliates in most parts of the world. For that reason, they pose danger to peace and security. To curb such a vice, Kenya has come up with a counter terrorism strategy of arresting and prosecuting anyone who perpetrates such inhumane acts on innocent Kenyans and their supporters in accordance with the law.

Several counter terrorism measures to disrupt these networks have been adopted. First, in regard to financing terror attacks, unusual financial transactions are monitored and a red flag

²⁹ R.C. Davis, N. J. Henderson and C. Merrick, (2003) Community Policing: Variations on the Western model in the developing world", *Police Practice and Research*, Vol. 4, No. 3

is raised by the regulator.³⁰ Therefore, agencies and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO's) suspected to finance these activities are faced with strict registration laws. At the same time, organizations that flout or fail to meet the set requirements face deregistration.

2.3.3 Measures to Curb and Eliminate Terror Networks

Several scholars have debated on presence of terror cells in Kenya. The terror attacks that have hit the country recently such as the Dusit D2, Westage Shopping Mall and Mpeketoni attacks depict presence of domestic terrorists in Kenya. It evident that those attacks were perpetrated by terrorists who are either Kenyan by birth or by people who received support from sympathizers in Kenya.

The GoK learnt there are terrorists in the country and there are efforts to radicalize more youths into terror groups. To curb the radicalization process, counter terrorism measures were instituted. One of those measures is the '*nyumba kumi initiative*' which enables citizens to know their neighbors and also enhances reporting of suspicious persons or activities within the neighborhood.

Other measures put in place include arrests and prosecution of those who engage in terror acts as laid out in the human rights law and the refugee law. There is a need for Kenya to boost the judicial measures and repatriation arrangements and at the same time reinforce collaboration between law enforcement agencies in order to succeed in fighting terrorism. Kenya has already shown the willingness to cooperate and collaborate with other countries and different stakeholders in the fight against terrorism.

³⁰ Human Rights Watch, (2010). World Report. <http://www.hrw.org/world-report-2010>.

2.4 Effectiveness of the Counter Terrorism Strategies

For counter terrorism strategies to be effective they must successfully achieve the intended goals. The success is in terms of communication, interpretation, adoption and actions of the intended strategies. The Government of Kenya has been persistent in making efforts to counter terrorism in Lamu County. The efforts made include capacity building and training the law enforcers, formation of security special agencies mandated with countering terrorism such as ATPU and NCTC

The NIS has managed to detect and stop terror attacks way before they take place.³¹ Previously, non-effective intelligence and law enforcement made it easy for terrorists to undertake their malicious actions. The GoK has immensely increased security measures such as deploying more special security personnel in areas prone to terror attacks. The public has also been sensitized on countering terror attacks and reporting suspected cases of terrorism.

The government have also installed security gadgets such as CCTV cameras and advanced technology which has assisted in the war against terrorism. Security of the residents has improved and people's daily routine activities have taken a normal shape.³² Businesses that had dwindled have also regained shape and their activities are on a positive projection.

The effectiveness of the counter terrorism strategies has not been very efficient due challenges encountered in the course of their implementation. This calls for an address to the primary root causes of terrorism. The residents have lodged complaints of continued radicalization, poverty and unemployment amongst communities. There are also claims of some police officers

³¹ Anderson, D. M., and McKnight (2014), J. Kenya at War: Al-Shabaab and Its Enemies in Eastern Africa, *African Affairs*

³² J. Coquilhat (2008)., *Community Policing: An International Literature Review*, (New Zealand: New Zealand Police

engaging in bribes, which paralyze efficiency of the strategies as the terrorist suspects go scot free.

2.5 Study Findings

This section presents the findings of the study on causes of terrorism in Lamu County, the available counter terrorism strategies and how efficient the strategies are as per the research objectives.

2.5.1 Common Themes as the Primary Root Causes of Terrorism in Lamu County

The study sought to determine the primary root causes of terrorism in Lamu County. Fig 2.1 shows the findings obtained based on the responses. Corruption was found to be the major cause at 29%. Poverty and unemployment followed at 20%. Ethnic and religious conflicts stood at 20%, radicalization and other causes constituted 11%.

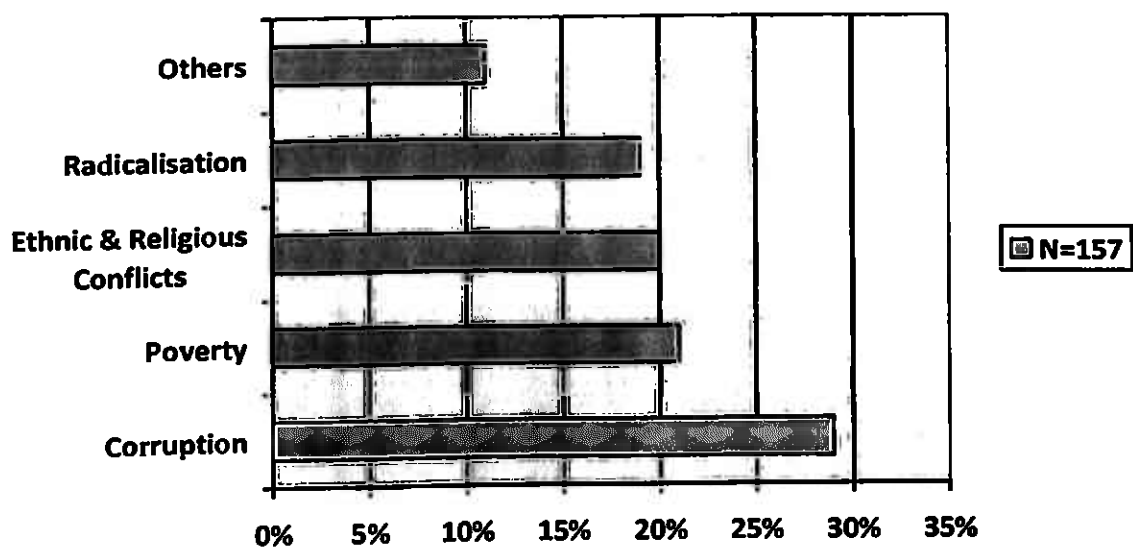


Figure 2.1: Common Themes as the Primary Root Causes of Terrorism in Lamu County

Source: Field Data 2020

From this figure, it is indicative that corruption within the security agencies plays a major role either in causing or aiding terrorism. According to Karacasulu, malpractices and unethical undertakings among the security apparatus pose a great challenge to how they conduct their operations.³³ This is because they lean more towards fulfilling their self-interests instead of fulfilling expected duties and that leaves citizens exposed to risks of terrorism.

2.5.2 Counter Terrorism Strategies in Lamu County

The study focused on the existing strategies adopted to curb terrorism in Lamu County. Figure 2.2 reveals that the most used strategy was the use of counter terrorism strategies such as

³³ N. Karacasulu, (2015), *Security Challenges and U.S. Strategy*, <http://csis.org/program/security-challenges-and-us-strategy-middle-east>.

patrols and access control at 32%, team work among agencies was at 20% while other initiatives such as counter terrorism policies and contingency plan to respond to emergencies were rated neutrally.

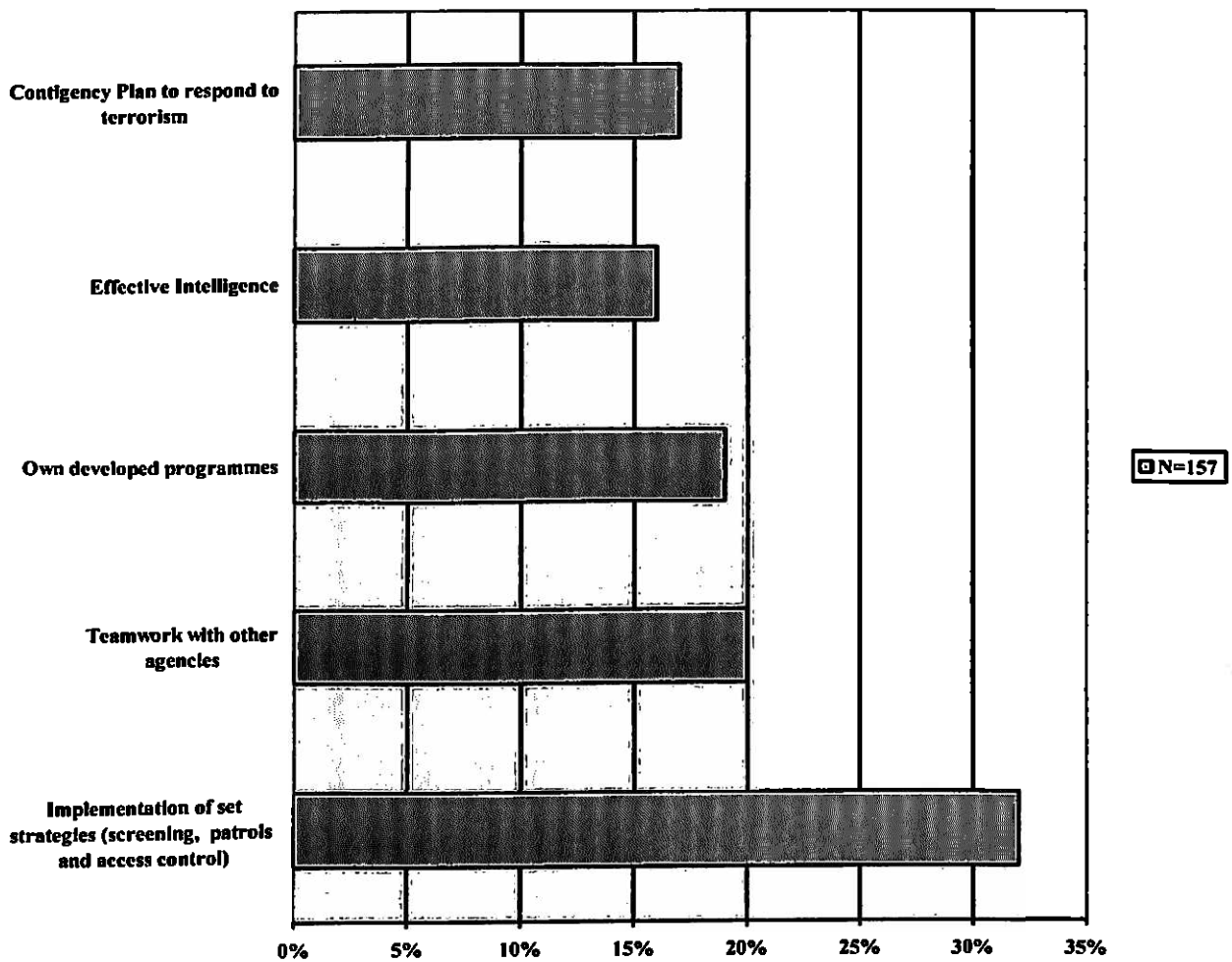


Figure 2.2: Counter Terrorism Strategies in Lamu County

Source: Field Data 2020

2.5.3 Efficiency of the Counter Terrorism Strategy

The study sought to know if the respondents were satisfied with counter terrorism strategies being employed in the county. Figure 2.3 shows the findings of the various respondents. Screening of persons, especially passengers, stood at 50% and was the most satisfying mode of countering terrorism as it yielded results whereby suspects have been nabbed and therefore prevention of terror attacks achieved. The other measures have not been very effective in achieving tangible results owing to the fact that all of them combined they add up to 50%.

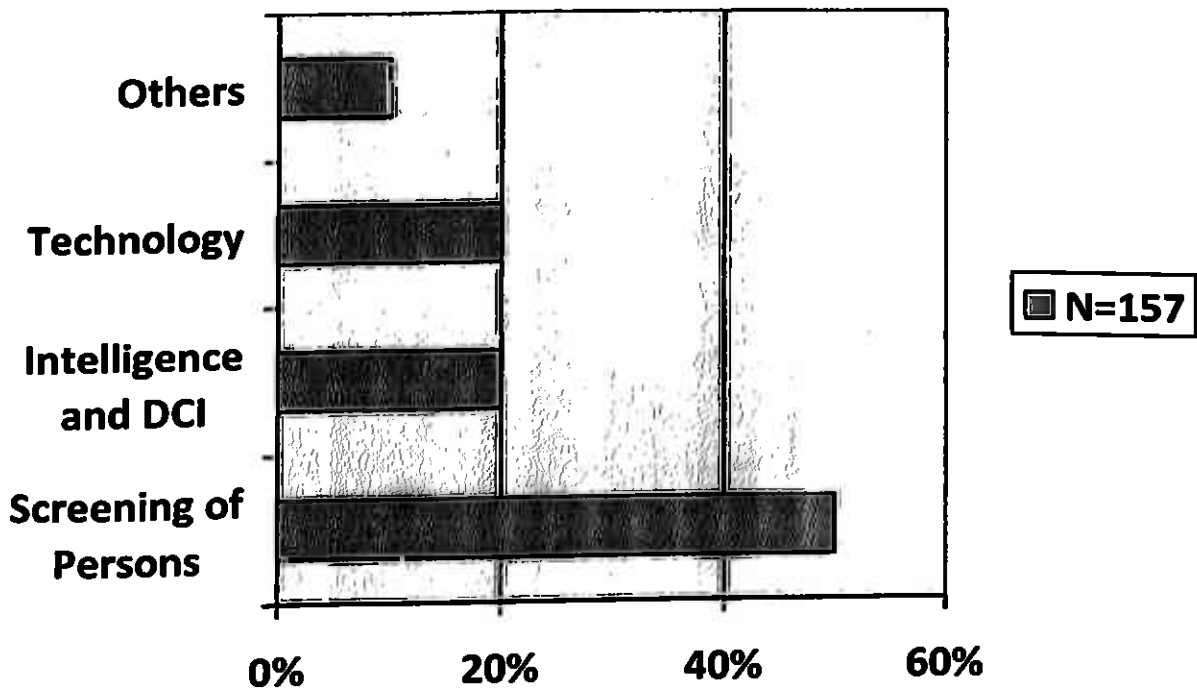


Figure 2.3: Efficiency of the Counter Terrorism Strategies

Source: Field Data 2020

2.6 Summary of Chapter Key Findings

Despite Kenya being on the forefront in enacting counter terrorism strategies, Lamu County has faced numerous challenges in the process. This study has established that conducting security patrols, access control and screening of persons have been the most effective tools of detecting and curbing terror attacks before they take place in the county.

CHAPTER 3

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS BEING UTILIZED BY THE KENYAN GOVERNMENT IN LAMU COUNTY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the institutional frameworks being employed by the Government of Kenya in Lamu County in the fight against terrorism. The chapter starts by looking into the frequency of terrorist attacks in the county. The chapter also presents the key findings and summary.

3.1 Frequency of Terrorist Attacks in Lamu County

Numerous terror attacks have been experienced in Lamu County thereby forcing the government to deploy more security officials in the region to respond to such attacks. The attacks have prompted the government to institute operations such 'Operation Linda Boni'. Terror attacks in the County have led to massive deaths of security personnel, civilians and destruction of properties and infrastructures. These attacks include; 'Mpeketoni Police Station' and 'APS Divisional Headquarters' attacks where victims were shot at close range with 26 buildings being burned while 44 vehicles got torched.³⁴ The aftermath was deaths of 49 people. Other attacks were perpetuated at night and several people lost their lives in the villages of Hindi, Gamba and areas where the Kikuyu community dominates. Several buses ferrying people in Lamu County have also been attacked by terrorists culminating in several passengers have being killed. Despite the large presence of security personnel, attacks have continued being experienced although with decreased frequency. Kenya has convincingly made

³⁴ Mwangi, O.G. (2017). Neo-elitism and counter terrorism operations in Kenya. *African Security Review*, 26:1,12-25

tremendous progress in fighting terrorism. This is in line with the signed and ratified commitment to international treaties and conventions on terrorism that she previously engaged in. Furthermore, Kenya is also party to the Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism entered into in 1999 as well as the one of 2002 African Union Protocol.

During the interview, respondents were of the opinion that the Government of Kenya needs to address such issues as socio-economic and political factors. There is need to capacity build and train police officers on how to deal with the public as this will help in the fight against this vice. Building trust between civilians and the police will enable them to report any suspected cases of terror attacks in the country.³⁵

3.2 The National Counter Terrorism Centre

The NCTC which is an organ of NSAC came to effect in 2004 through a consensus agreement made by the Cabinet. This was necessitated by the upsurge in terrorism concerns in the country. It was enacted to counter terrorism in the country which was hampering the peace, security, socio-economic growth and development as well as stability of the country. It comprises of The Kenya Armed Forces, National Security Intelligence Service, Kenya Police, Provincial Administration, Ministry Of Foreign Affairs, Immigration Department, Kenya Revenue Authority, Kenya Ports Authority, Kenya Airports Authority and Office of The Attorney General.³⁶

The Security Laws Amendment Act (2014) established NCTC's legal coordinating mandate to combat terrorism and ensure public participation in terror issues. The organization's work

³⁵ Erwin, M. C. (2013). "Intelligence Issues for Congress." Analyst in Intelligence and National Security.

³⁶ Ibid

would include developing anti radicalization and counter terrorism strategies, training and capacity building and ensuring security at the aviation sector.

3.3 Security Laws on Terrorism

Kenya has formulated and implemented several laws, measures and policies aimed at combating terrorism although their successes can be debated. Some of the Bills that received opposition from different actors were rejected such as ‘the Suppression of Terrorism Bill in 2003’. The Anti-Terrorism Bill (2006) published by the government also failed to be enacted despite addressing some issues that were not in ‘the Suppression of Terrorism Bill in 2003’. This debacle could only mean that, although Kenya had ratified international conventions, she lacked the legal platform to enforce them, thereby not effective in criminalizing terrorism and unable to stop the financing of terror acts.

The Government of Kenya has tried making other changes in security architecture with the aim of integrating security powers around the Executive. Several Bills and Acts have been passed since 2014, with an aim of combating terrorism and they include; “Security Laws Amendment Bill, Security Laws Amendment Act and Prevention of Terrorism Act”.

3.5 Protection of Vital Key Structures

Kenya has several facilities that are vital and their destruction can impose huge losses and cost on the government and the public. They include infrastructures such as road, railways, seaports, security gargets among others that require to be guarded throughout.³⁷

³⁷ Wycoff, K. (2004). “Fighting Terrorism in Africa.” Testimony to Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on International Relations, Washington DC.

Security alerts have caused governments of various nations to issue restriction on travel advisories to their citizens in countries prone to terror attacks. Kenyan air and land transport have been affected greatly by those alerts. This has pushed Kenya to establish a number of milestones in the security of the aviation sector. The surveillance is done jointly with security patrols of the airports and through construction of a perimeter wall around Jomo Kenyatta International Airport. The government of Kenya also introduced other measures such as 72hrs advance clearance of commercial private flights landing in the country and stationing of security gargets at the airport such as CCTV cameras and screening machines. These measures have helped to curb terror attacks at the airports. The government also implements stringent measures and approaches after the UK and USA questioned the safety of their citizens in the country due to incessant terror attacks. Whenever those countries issue travel bans and security alerts, the economy of Kenya gets negatively affected, especially tourism.

3.6 Study Findings

The study aimed at finding out the extent to which institutional frameworks participated in developing mechanisms to assist counter terrorism strategies to achieve the desired purposes.

3.6.1 Extent to which dusk to dawn curfew has greatly affected the residents of Lamu

County

The dire situation of insecurity in Lamu County triggered the government to introduce and implement a dusk to dawn curfew as a way of restoring security in the county. Table 3.1 shows that a larger percentage of the residents experienced adverse effects in terms of their livelihood sources, a situation they will not get away out in the near future since they cannot recover the time lost. This is because only very minimal economic activities can take place in such restricted

circumstance, an indication that people cannot venture out at night to secure their source of livelihoods.

Table 3.1: Extent to which dusk to dawn curfew has greatly affected the residents of Lamu County

Extent of Effect	Frequency	Percentage
Very Great Extent	76	48
Great Extent	48	31
Slight Extent	26	16.5
No Effect	7	4.5
Total	157	

Source: Field Data 2020

3.6.2 Extent to which large troops of security personnel enhances the security of Lamu County

On many occasions when an attack has hit Lamu County, the security of the county is beefed up in terms of large numbers. Table 3.2 provides the responses of how the respondents felt about the large troops. From the data, a high majority were of the view that the more the numbers of security personnel, the high the level of security.

Table 3.2: Extent to which large troops of security personnel enhances the security of Lamu County

Extent of Effect	Frequency	Percentage
Very Great Extent	85	54.5
Great Extent	58	36.5
Slight Extent	13	8
No Effect	2	1
Total	157	100

Source: Field Data 2020

3.7 Summary of Chapter Key Findings

This section has reviewed the institutional frameworks adopted by the Government of Kenya, where Lamu County is one of the country's 47 counties. It has looked at such frameworks as The National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC) and what its mandates are. Of much importance are the Security laws on Terrorism and the many times they have been debated in parliament until the recent enactment. The section has also looked at the vital key installations whose security must never be compromised. For the achievement of counter terrorism strategies against the terrorism threat, the institutional frameworks must be enhanced and the security of those existing must be maintained.

CHAPTER 4

THE CHALLENGES FACED IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF COUNTER TERRORISM STRATEGIES BY THE KENYAN GOVERNMENT IN LAMU COUNTY

4.0 Introduction

Fighting terrorism in Lamu County has been confronted by numerous challenges as is the case in other terrorism prone places in the entire country. These challenges arise from sources that are both internal and external to the security organizations and agencies. This section reviews the challenges which limit the efficiency of counter terrorism in Lamu County.

4.1 Factors Inconveniencing Effective Counter Terrorism Strategies

Counter terrorism strategies have not achieved the desired results due to a number of factors that hinder their effective implementation. Some of those factors can be subdued with time and if there is substantive commitment on addressing them.

4.1.1 The Porous Kenya-Somalia border

Whenever war on terror is mentioned in East Africa, it is mostly associated with Somalia. After collapse of the government in 1991, the country witnessed increased cases of crime and emergence of terror groups due to lawlessness. This state has also led to increased and unrestricted movement of people and goods in and out of Somalia. Kenya has accommodated many people coming from Somalia as refugees seeking asylum and terrorists have taken advantage of that opportunity. The porous border is a threat to Kenya and the globe at large.³⁸

³⁸ Chumba, C., Okoth, P. G. & Were (2016a), E. "Effectiveness of Border Surveillance Strategies in the Management of Transnational Terrorism in Kenya and Somalia." International Journal of Political Science (2016a).

Due to lack of a stable government in Somalia, the security of the region may not stabilize in the near future. Having the longest coastline in Africa makes it easy to transport illegal goods such as SALW in the Kenyan soil and this has facilitated the terror activities especially in the Coast. Due to insufficient security at the borders, Fazul Abdullah Mohammed transited East African countries and his execution only happened when he exchanged gunfire with Somali forces in 2011. Kenya Defense Forces' entrance into Somalia has given rise to an unharmonious nexus between the government of Kenya and the 'Muslims' in the 'Horn of Africa'. The Al Shabab militants have used operations of the KDF in Somali as a basis for attacks in Kenya since 2011 when the operation took place. In those attacks, civilians and police casualties have been experienced.

4.1.2 Inadequate Resources and Training

Resources play a key role in adoption and implementation of policies and strategies. They aid operations and contribute to achievement of objectives. On the contrary, organizations that suffer from inadequacy of resources end up being insolvent hence eventually do collapse. Adequate funds and resources are very vital for the development of any particular organization.³⁹ The Government of Kenya sets aside sufficient money for security purposes through the annual budget but the strategies still suffer from ill-funding. The challenge associated with that being mismanagement of funds whereby those managing such funds end up putting self-interests ahead of the main purpose for which the resources were set aside for.

³⁹ Moses N.Kiggundu (1991), "The challenges of management development in sub-Saharan Africa," *Journal of Management Development* 10

The organizations end up not purchasing the modern equipment and fail to deploy additional personnel hence hindering effective curbing of terrorists' activities. For a long time, the salaries of security personnel especially the police have not been substantive and are insufficient to cater for their needs. Due to the poor remuneration of the police, the police are said to engage in criminal activities like corruption and facilitation of criminals. This escalates the need to establish mechanisms to ensure proper management of funds.

Effective trainings assist in developing and adding skills and knowledge. Terrorists are using modernized equipment and their plans are intelligently planned. On many occasions those offering prevention and control of disasters have been coming in late when the damage has already happened. It is therefore imperative for the security personnel to be offered the necessary training as well as being issued with modernized equipment. This issue also calls for embracement of security agents being allowed and involved in the use of modern technology in their operations. Failure to implement new modern ways in providing security and sticking to the old manual ways will only contribute to low service delivery as a result of slow pace in modernization of infrastructure.

4.1.3 Unethical Behaviors and Corruption

The Terror attacks being witnessed in the country and specifically in Lamu County are attributed to corrupt officials in the government, law enforcement personnel and other stakeholders who create an opportunity for terrorists to carry out their activities. Thus, corruption creates a favorable environment for terrorism to thrive. It facilitates terror activities due to poor governance which facilitates a fertile ground for terrorists to attack.

The Government of Kenya has not been effective in implementing laws and policies aimed at combating corruption and this hinders the war against terrorism especially along the borders.

Further, absence of integrity portrayed by the immigration officials at the borders also thwarts the fight against terrorism and corruption in the country. This has led to the questioning of the government's efforts in ensuring security in the country thereby drawing both local and international criticism.

Past surveys indicate that security officials have contributed to increased cases of corruption in the country. The authoritarian method applied by the government to fight terrorism makes some individuals feel discriminated against and therefore they join terror groups instead of helping the government in the war against terrorism. With such support to the terror groups, corruption and unethical practices come in as compensation. Terrorism is thus hastened by corrupt individuals, cartels and institutions which ought to prevent such activities. Further, the unprofessionalism portrayed by the security personnel is attributed to low remuneration and absence of incentives to increase their morale.

4.1.4 Inadequate Institutional Framework

In 2014, Kenya offered a limited period of time to youngsters who had joined Al-Shabaab. Through the then "Interior Cabinet Secretary", 'Joseph Nkaissery', the Government called upon all those individuals who had crossed to Somalia for training and had then changed their minds to disassociate with the terrorism gang. They were advised to report to National government offices and the Government would grant them amnesty and appropriate reintegration support. Those who failed to heed to that call within the prescribed time frame were to be treated as criminals. The Al-shabaab group instills murderous terrorist ideology to such youngsters and end up senselessly killing and maiming innocent citizens. Some of those terrorists' recruiters masqueraded as religious leaders. In the same year, there was the passage of the Security Laws

Amendment Act whereby the Government put in place mechanisms to rehabilitate youth who had undergone radicalization. The process would then involve de-radicalization of the youngsters and provide them with alternative sources of livelihood. It would then involve integrating such individuals with their family members and the community at large. Ever since those callings were made, there have been limited reports of individuals who surrendered, amnesty granted as well as the results of the exercise.

4.3 Study Findings

The study sought to establish “the challenges facing the implementation of counter terrorism strategies in Lamu County”. The findings were as presented in figure 4.1

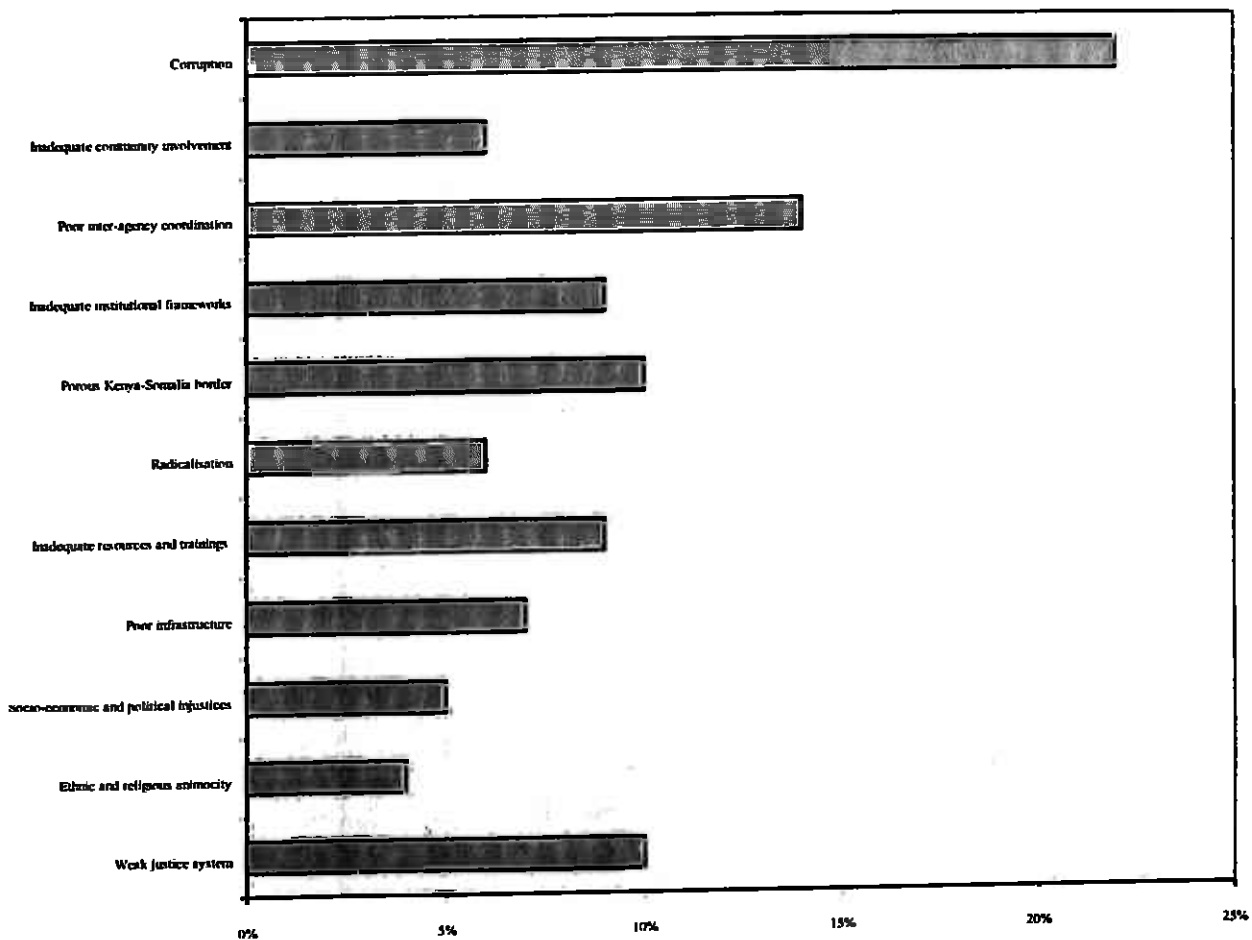


Figure 4.1: Challenges facing the implementation of counter terrorism strategies in Lamu County

Source: Field Data 2020

From Figure 4.1, the challenges identified were corruption at 22%, poor interagency coordination at 14%, weak justice system at 10%, porous Kenya-Somalia border at 10%, inadequate resources and training at 9%, inadequate institutional frameworks at 9%, poor infrastructure at 7%, inadequate community involvement at 6%, radicalization at 6%, socio-economic and political injustices at 5% and ethnic and religious animosity at 4%.

From these findings, it is emerging that corruption by those in authority is depicted as the main challenge in implementation of counter terrorism strategies in Lamu County. Poor coordination of security agencies is ranked second thus communicating lack of cooperation, non-sharing of information and general intelligence on security matters. The porous Kenya-Somalia border and weak justice system follow closely. Additionally, inadequate institutional frameworks and inadequate resources and trainings were also highlighted as major factors why counter terrorism strategies have not yielded substantive results. However, the respondents indicated that factors such as ethnic and religious animosity have not been a major hindrance.

4.5 Summary of Chapter Key Findings

This section has established that implementation of counter terrorism strategies has been dealt a blow by various challenges. On top of the list is embezzlement of resources which are never adequate in the first place. The government sets aside funds for security purposes. Whenever officials rank self-interests instead of the objectives for which the funds were set aside for, chances of successfully executing and achieving the objectives become limited. For the counter terrorism strategies to achieve the desired results, the challenge of corruption has to be dealt with first. Without addressing the challenges there will only be one option of the threat of terrorism to stay alive and it can strike at any particular time.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the summary findings established in the entire research study in line with the broader objective of evaluating the effectiveness of counter-terrorism strategies being adopted in managing terrorism in the Horn of Africa.

5.1 Summary

Based on the first objective for this study which was to evaluate the counter-terrorism strategies being employed by the Kenyan Government in Lamu County, this study has established that patrols, access controls and screening of persons are the most impactful counter terrorism practices attained so far. Numerous counter terrorism strategies have been put in place and community policing or the '*nyumba kumi initiative*' if well executed can also aid in fighting terrorism and promoting counter terrorism strategies.

Based on the second objective of this study, which was to determine the effectiveness of institutional frameworks being utilized by the Kenyan Government in Lamu County, this study has established that the Government of Kenya has come up with various institutional frameworks to fight terrorism and aid counter terrorism strategies. First, there was creation of The National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC) which was prompted by the upsurge of terror attacks. Secondly, there are also security laws on Terrorism which have been enacted despite going through turbulent experiences. The government also had to implement a dusk to dawn curfew as a way of restoring security in the county. The curfew adversely affected the residents in terms of their livelihood sources because very minimal economic activities could take place in such

restricted circumstances. There were also large numbers of security personnel deployed in the areas, an activity that was also very impactful in the war against terrorism. For the achievement of counter terrorism strategies, the institutional frameworks must be enhanced and the security of those existing be maintained.

Based on the third objective of this study which was to investigate the challenges faced in the implementation of counter-terrorism strategies by the Kenyan Government in Lamu County, this study has established that corruption of the security personnel has contributed to counter terrorism strategies being ineffective. The government officials put self-interests first instead of the tasks for which funds are set aside for thereby limiting meaningful use of resources. For the counter terrorism strategies to be effective, corruption has to be dealt with first. Without addressing it, terrorism will always remain a great threat to peace and stability in the country.

5.2 Conclusion

Terrorism has proved to be a great threat to peaceful existence in all corners of the globe. It puts at risk citizens in countries all over the world. Such counter terrorism strategies as conducting patrols, access controls and screening of persons have been identified as successful practices. Community policing or the '*nyumba kumi initiative*' if well looked into can also be useful in fighting terrorism and promoting counter terrorism strategies.

Since curfew and large numbers of security personnel have proved to bear positive results in countering terrorism, such achievements can only be maintained by such measures being given more commitments.

The counter terrorism strategies are faced with several challenges including corruption. These strategies can never be fully effective if the challenges remain unaddressed. Therefore, in

strengthening the fight against terrorism, corruption must be fought as well. The overall conclusion is that the measures adopted should never be abandoned but should be enhanced if the war against terrorism is to be won.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on this study's findings, the following recommendations have emerged. First, since conducting patrols, access controls and screening of persons have been identified as successful practices they should have more resources allocated to them. Community policing programs should also be prioritized in funds allocations if the war against terrorism and promoting counter terrorism is to be won. Still under community policing, the working relationship with the Sheikhs, Imams and the Muslim youths should also be enhanced. That will make it easier for the public participation in countering terrorism. It will also enhance the relationship between security agencies and the locals thereby making it an easy task to effectively gather intelligence.

Secondly, since curfew and large numbers of security personnel have proved to bear positive results in countering terrorism, there is need to invest heavily in them and prioritize their implementation. The measures can also be expanded to cover vast areas where terrorism is anticipated to affect peace and stability of that region.

Thirdly, corruption has been cited as the main challenge in the implementation of effective counter terrorism strategies. To strengthen the fight against terrorism, this study recommends lawmakers to strengthen laws against corruption and make them more stringent so that everybody will fear engaging in corruption especially when terrorism is the centre of interest. Overall, contemporary terrorism keeps on changing and the terrorists always advance in technology hence intelligence on corruption and terrorism must be invested in heavily. The overall conclusion is that the measures

adopted should never be abandoned but should be enhanced if the war against terrorism is to be won.

5.4 Suggested Areas for Further Studies

Although this study has been successful in meeting its objectives, there are some areas that require further studies.

- i. There is a recommendation to have a similar study in such countries as Ethiopia and Somalia for comparison and reintegration of war against terror in the African Continent.
- ii. The study took place only in Lamu County. There is a suggestion to have a similar study in the North Eastern region of Kenya for comparison.
- iii. To have a similar study done in future to determine whether the situation will have changed.

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APPENDICES
Appendix I: Questionnaire

Introduction

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is John Wanjiku, a Master's student from the University of Nairobi. I am currently carrying out an academic research study as part of a requirement of the Master's degree. This research aims at establishing and examining the effectiveness of counter terrorism strategies that have been put up in Lamu County by the Government of Kenya to curb terror activities. I would like to ask you to spare a few minutes to fill this questionnaire. The data collected from this research will be used for academic and research purposes only. Your participation is completely **VOLUNTARY** and **ANONYMOUS**. The information collected will be kept strictly **CONFIDENTIAL** and is solely for academic work. For any inquiry, kindly reach me on 0732277707 or email to:

wanjiku.john@gmail.com

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

(This section appreciates the background information of the respondent.)

Please answer the following questions by putting a tick in the appropriate box or by writing in the space provided.

SECTION 1: GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Gender:

Male

Female

Age:

Between 18-25 []

Between 26-35 []

Between 36-45 []

Between 46-55 []

Above 55 []

2. Highest Level of Education

Secondary []

Diploma []

Bachelor's Degree []

Master's Degree []

PhD []

..... (Specify)

3. Respondent category

Top management []

Middle level management []

Lower level management []

5. Please indicate your organization

National Police Service [] National Intelligence Service [] KDF []

Private Security []

6. What is your position?

.....

7. Duration of working in the organization

- Less than 1 year []
- 1- 5 years []
- 6- 10 years []
- 11- 15 years []
- 12 years and above []

NB: In sections B, and C, please fill in the spaces provided using the given scales below:

Strongly Disagree (SD) = 1 Disagree (D) =2 Neutral (N)=3 Agree (A)=4

Strongly Agree (SA)=5

SECTION B: COUNTER TERRORISM STRATEGIES

8. How do the following statements relate with the types of counter-terrorism strategies being adopted in Lamu County.

Counter terrorism strategy	SA (5)	A (4)	N (3)	D (2)	SD (1)
Does your security organization have an effective Intelligence service that detects and investigates threats before they occur					
Does your security organization develop reviews and do implement policies aimed at counter terrorism as provided in the aviation security program that does allocate responsibilities to each organization					
Does your security organization implement a counter terrorism strategy that is inclusive of screening, patrols, access control					
Does your security organization implement a contingency plan aimed at responding to emergencies inclusive of terrorists attacks					
Does your security organization carry out a teamwork approach as a strategy to counter terrorism					

9. How do the following statements relate with the factors causing terror attacks in Lamu County which may have called for adoption of the above mentioned counter terrorism strategies.

Statement	SA (5)	A (4)	N (3)	D (2)	SD (1)
Ethnic and religious conflicts within Lamu County causes terrorist attacks					
Radicalization of youths causes terrorist attacks in Lamu County					
Corruption emanating from law enforcement agencies causes terrorist attacks in Lamu County					
Poverty and unemployment is a major cause of terrorism in Lamu County					
Other factors such as land and revenge influence terror attacks in Lamu County					

10. State other causes of terror attacks in Lamu County which have prompted your organization to adopt Counter Terrorism Strategies

SECTION C: EFFECTIVENESS OF COUNTER TERRORISM STRATEGIES

11. How do the following statements relate to contributing to the effectiveness of counter terrorism strategies in Lamu County.

Statement	SA (5)	A (4)	N (3)	D (2)	SD (1)
Intelligence Service/Criminal investigation services have assisted in detecting and stopping terror attacks way before they take place					
The security sector has been allocating responsibilities to each security agency, an exercise that has helped eliminate ambiguity in matters security					
Screening of persons and/ or passengers is effective in detection and retrieval of prohibited items resulting in prevention of terror attacks					
Has the use of technology enhanced security within Lamu County thereby increasing effectiveness of counter terrorism strategy.					

12. What other factors have participated in the effectiveness of counter terrorism strategy in Lamu County?

SECTION D: THE EFFECTIVENESS OF INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS BEING UTILIZED BY THE KENYAN GOVERNMENT IN LAMU COUNTY

13. The government has been implementing the dusk to dawn curfew as a way of managing terror attacks; to what extent has it been successful in Lamu County?

Extent of Effect	Very Great Extent	Great Extent	Slight Extent	No Effect
Curfew				

14. The government has been raising the number of security personnel in Lamu County as a way of managing terror attacks to what extent has it been successful?

Extent of Effect	Very Great Extent	Great Extent	Slight Extent	No Effect
Large numbers of Security Personnel				

SECTION E: CHALLENGES TO IMPLEMENTATION OF COUNTER TERRORISM STRATEGIES

15. What are the main other challenges that affect the implementation of counter terrorism strategies in Lamu County?

THANK YOU

Appendix II: Interview Guide for Key Informant

Questions

- 1. What counter terrorism strategies are being utilized by your organization to manage terror activities in Lamu County?**
- 2. How effective are these counter terrorism strategies adopted by your organization?**
- 3. What are the challenges that your organization faces in the implementation of counter terrorism strategies?**
- 4. What institutional frameworks are being utilized by the Government of Kenya to effectively manage counter terrorism in Lamu County?**

THANK YOU.

Appendix III: Time and work schedule for the research project

	Activity	Jan - March	April - June	Jul- August	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
1	Initial Concept and Topic forwarded to the Supervisor							
2	Initial meeting with the Supervisor to deliberate on the concept							
3	Formulation of Background to the study and problem statement							
4	Proposal preparation							
5	Proposal submission to Supervisor for review							
6	Further reading and proposal revision as per supervisor's comments							
7	Defending the proposal							
8	Revision of the proposal							






9	Data collection and analysis							
10	Submission of the Final Project							

Appendix IV: Research Budget

s/n	ITEM	Description	Estimated Cost
1	Stationery	• Flash disk & CD@ 2,000 • Writing materials @1000	3,000
2	Travel expenses	Meals, logistics and accommodation	20,000
3	Typing/photocopying/binding of report		16,000
4	Research assistant allowances		17000
5	Contingency		5000
6	NASCOTI Research permit		1000
	Total		62,000

The Source of funds: Bies Enterprises

Appendix V: NACOSTI Permit

 REPUBLIC OF KENYA	 NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION
Ref No: 241508	Date of Issue: 17/November/2020
RESEARCH LICENSE	
	
<p>This is to Certify that Mr. John Wachira Wanjiku of University of Nairobi, has been licensed to conduct research in Lamu on the topic: EFFECTIVENESS OF COUNTER-TERRORISM STRATEGIES IN THE HORN OF AFRICA (A CASE STUDY OF LAMU COUNTY) for the period ending : 17/November/2021.</p>	
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