

**THE INFLUENCE OF URBAN REFUGEES ACTIVITIES ON KENYA'S NATIONAL
SECURITY**

BY

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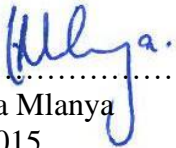
**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
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DECLARATION

This Research Project is my original work and has not been submitted for examinations to any other university.

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This Research Project has been submitted with my approval as the University Supervisor.

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Abstract

National security is an important construct that permeates social, economic, political, environmental and mental spheres of life. The National Police Service Annual Crime Report (2019) showed a 17% increase in crime rates especially in Nairobi, compared to a 13% increase in 2018 and a 7% increase in 2017. This shows that as the years progress, so is the rates of crimes touching on assault, defilement, theft, conning via economic manipulation, possession of drugs and causing disturbance. Could urban refugees activities be one of the weak links in enhancing national security in Kenya? To ascertain this, the study sought to establish whether there was a relationship between urban refugees activities and Kenya's national security. More specifically, it sought to establish whether, economic, social and youth radicalization activities by urban refugees has an influence on national security in Kenya. Two theories anchored the present study and they included the securitization theory and the Social Exchange Theory. This study was hinged on a quantitative research approach by specifically utilizing a descriptive survey research. The target population comprised of selected registered urban refugees residing in Nairobi, the staff working at the Directorate of Criminal Investigations(DCI) and staff working at the Anti-Terrorism Police Unit (ATPU) both at their headquarters. To get a manageable sample from the target population, Yamane Formula was used to access 398 urban refugees and 151 security personnel from the DCI and ATPU. The respondents were selected using simple random sampling technique. The study used questionnaires to access data. To ascertain the extent to which the measuring items in the questionnaires measured the actual construct of the research objectives, the questionnaire were given to the supervisor who checked if the items cohered to the objectives. To test the reliability of instruments, a pilot study was done on 10% of the sampled population which brought the respondents to 55. The results from the pilot test were computed against the Cronbach Coefficient Alpha test to see if the results exceeded 0.7 which is the mark of acceptable reliability and a result of 0.712 was noted implying acceptable reliability. Data was analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistical tools that included means, standard deviation, Pearson Correlations and Regression analysis. The results show that: economic activities ($\beta=.223$ p-value <0.05), social activities ($\beta=.313$ p-value <0.05) and youth radicalization activities ($\beta=.198$ p-value <0.05) have a statistically significant effect on enhanced national security threats in Kenya. The study thus recommends that the security apparatus in Kenya should create a policy that clearly stipulates the proper registration of urban refugees and the supervisory plan for any economic or social activity that they engage in. This will ensure that only those refugees ascertained to pose no security threats are registered and allowed to engage in any activity. The national security apparatus should deny any training done by urban refugees from regions that are terrorist-prone or regions with any religious extremism. This will curb the youth radicalization problem in Kenya. There is need for a consultative forum between the government and other humanitarian agencies to discuss, once and for all, the need for urban refuges and how they should operate. Without such a discussion, national security issues will continue to be a menace in Kenya.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

This chapter presents the Background to the Study; Statement of the Research Problem; Research Questions, Objectives of the Study, Justification of the Study, Scope of the Study, Literature Review, Theoretical Framework, Conceptual Framework and Research Methodology.

1.1 Background of the Study

National security is promising to be a defining element of social, economic, religion, politics, national stability and cohesion. The unprecedented and unbridled national and international insecurity have created substantial havoc to the safety of national and global citizens and left governments grappling with what strategies to use to manage such dilapidating insecurity. The dynamics of insecurity cover the broad spectrum of drivers and actors that stretch from the local crime events, local cattle rustling cases to the religious radicalization that have led to bombings and killings of an international magnitude (Campbell, 2016; Collier, 2019).

National security experts consider national security as a complex construct that is sometimes difficult to define. Rogers (2010) defined national security as deliberate acts and strategies by governments towards maintaining the safety of its citizens, institutions and economy against both internal and external attacks. Grizold (2014) expanded the description of national security to not only consider the protection against military attacks but to also underscore that national security also includes security against cyber crime, the reduction of crime, terrorism, economic and energy security, environmental security. It also includes security against acts by political, state and economic actors that seek to deny citizens safety and a conducive environment to acquire sustainable livelihoods (Grizold, 2014). Consequently, studies have shown that these actors who

threaten national security cut across the wide spectrum of people groups that operate within countries, cities and towns (Stritzel, 2014).

Further, globally, national security threats have been witnessed in the 9/11 terrorists attacks in the United States of America and both the Munich and the London train station bombings in 2011 and 2015 respectively (Campbell, 2016). Further, many of these countries that are developed experience significant criminal activities from people who have lived in areas where work opportunities are either not available or they are practically not allowed to gain meaningful employment and thus resort to criminal activities to meet their livelihood demands (Verdirame & Harrell-Bond, 2015).

In Africa, national security threats comprise of terrorists activities catalyzed by radical Islam like the ones affecting countries like Nigeria, Mali and Kenya (Collier, 2019). There are also insurgency threats by radical groups like the ones that affect Libya and Egypt, economic insecurity characterized by economic plunder of resources that offer citizens basic needs in health, shelter, food and education (Mohammed, 2020). Further, studies have shown that national security threats encompass abductions of children by terrorist group with the Boko Haram abduction of over 300 girls in Nigeria being a perfect example.

In Kenya, national security threats cover cattle rustling, clan and ethnic conflicts, increased crime rates exacerbated by petty, criminal and high-level corruption and acts of terrorism (Campbell, 2016; Collier, 2019). Kenya has for a long time experienced cattle rustling and the attendant fights over cattle and land especially in the northern parts of the Rift Valley where the Turkana, Pokot and the Marakwet reside. By 2019, it is estimated that over 3000 people within those communities had died as a result of the ethnic-based fights over cattle, water and land (Government of Kenya, 2020). Further, there has been a tremendous influx of small arms and

light weapons into the country especially from the war-torn countries of Somalia and the Sudan (Mohammed, 2020). This has landed in dangerous arms that have enacted serious crimes in the country including acts of terrorism. Terrorism is one element that has significantly affected the national security of Kenya with the Garissa University attack that killed over 300 people and the Westgate Mall attack that killed over 200 people being the most notable examples (Elliot, 2017; Mohammed, 2020). Consequently, this study seeks to examine the influence of urban refugees activities on Kenya's national security.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

National security is an important construct that permeates social, economic, political, environmental and mental spheres of life. Proper management of national security is also vital considering the escalating crime rates in Kenya. The National Police Service Annual Crime Report (2019) showed a 17% increase in crime rates especially in Nairobi, compared to a 13% increase in 2018 and a 7% increase in 2017. This shows that as the years progress so is the crime rates touching on assault, defilement, theft, conning via economic manipulation, possession of drugs and causing disturbance (National Police Service Annual Crime Report, 2019). Could urban refugee activities be one of the weak links in enhancing national security in Kenya? This question is valid and poignant when one thinks of the present reduced supervision and inhospitality by the Kenyan government to urban refugees owing to the handing over of the bulk of refugee management to UNHCR who do not have any legal mandate or supervisory power beyond refugees in camps. Further, while unregistered urban refugees especially from Somalia and South Sudan continue to increase in Nairobi, employment opportunities continue to be closed to them as a result of the change of refugee status post 1991 which leaves them vulnerable

to acts of insecurity (Mohammed, 2020). There is thus an urgent need to examine the influence of urban refugee activities on Kenya's national security.

Studies have been done globally, in countries like the UK and Turkey, which have linked increase in urban refugees to increased levels of insecurity (Agier, 2012; Mitchell, 2019). African studies have shown that urban refugees are increasing within the continent and so is the level of crimes and acts of terrorism enacted mostly by radicalized refugees (UNHCR, 2014; Verdirame & Harrell-Bond, 2015; Symser, 2017). In Kenya, studies by Elliot, (2017), Mohammed (2020) and Kirui and Mwaruvie (2012) have noted that urban refugees pose significant humanitarian, socio-economic and resettlement concerns for the country. However, none of these studies look at the relationship between urban refugees and national security concerns in Kenya. Consequently, the present study hopes to fill this gap by examining the the following research questions: What is the influence of urban refugees activities on Kenya's national security? Specifically; what is the relationship between urban refugees economic activities and Kenya's national security? How does urban refugees social activities influence Kenya's national security? And what is the influence of urban refugees youth radicalization activities on Kenya's national security?

1.3. Research Questions

- i. What is the relationship between urban refugees economic activities and Kenya's national security?
- ii. What is the influence of urban refugees social activities on Kenya's national security?
- iii. What is the influence of urban refugees youth radicalization activities on Kenya's national security.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 General Research Objective

To establish whether there is a relationship between urban refugees activities and Kenya's national security.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

1.4.2.1 To establish the relationship between urban refugees economic activities and Kenya's national security.

1.4.2.2 To establish the influence of urban refugees social activities on Kenya's national security

1.4.2.3 To establish the influence of urban refugees youth radicalization activities on Kenya's national security.

1.5 Justification of the Study

On the academic front, the study is a topical and contemporary issue whose findings will add cumulatively to existing knowledge and scholars may find it useful in their body of work. The research is seeking to further contribute to the gap in knowledge concerning urban refugees activities and national security concerns in a developing country ..

On the policy front, the study will be useful to the Kenyan Government with information that will help in the initiation and revision of appropriate refugee and national security policy. This is considering that various clashes with UNHCR and refugees country of origin on whether to host refugees has become rampant with Kenya claiming insecurity concerns generated by urban refugee activities. It is also key to the security agencies handling emerging security threats in the country

1.6 Scope of the Study

This study focuses on establishing the influence of urban refugee activities on Kenya's national security. It specifically looks at economic activities, social activities and youth radicalization activities that urban refugees engage in and how they affect the national security of Kenya. The study targeted selected urban refugee groups in Nairobi and selected security personnel working in Nairobi. The study was done between the months of February and May 2022.

1.7 Literature Review

1.7.1 Empirical Review

Anderson (2009) looked at urban refugees and the relationship they had with security concerns in the UK. He found that allowing refugees to access resources, having freedom of movement and being able to work alongside their host communities in pursuing productive lives make them less dependent on aid hence are in a position to prevent sources of conflicts and tension among the host country's communities. He adds that in this manner the refugees are in a position to assist in mending unraveling economic fabrics that hold communities, strengthen what he calls peace economies contrary to war economies. However, there was need to look at the influence of urban refugees on the national security of a different national context like Kenya.

Karki (2016) in a study to examine the refugee situation and how it affects security of countries in countries like Turkey, Cambodia and Beirut observed that protracted refugee situations give rise to problems for the host community and refugees alike. The most significant of these problems is the security issue which includes military incursions from the affected country, increase crime and local violence, the predation of local communities by the war lords and bandits, and the frequent organized crime such as gun running, drug smuggling alongside human trafficking. It was prudent to ascertain if this is also true in Kenya.

In investigating refugees in the Middle East, Crisp (2009) observed that the significant increase in food and fuel prices and the new pressure placed on housing market and public services in Jordan, Lebanon and Syria was as a result of the huge influx of Iraqi refugees. These individuals became a threat to the host state by imposing a burden to their economy. Conversely, the author failed in examining the manner in which these problems are felt at specific areas of the host nations and only emphasized at host national level. There was need to look at the influence of urban refugees on the national security of a different national context like Kenya.

Mitchell (2019) noted that, urban refugees in countries like the UK and Turkey appeared to create double concerns; the humanitarian concern that the refugees themselves present with on one hand and the fears for economic, political and security threats to hosts states that such refugees pose on the other. Agier (2012) was more specific when he argued that urban refugees presented national security threat to host states but within a legal dilemma paradigm where states have to choose whether to keep to international law that demands refugees be given safe asylum or choose whether to expel those who engage in criminal activities or other activities that threaten the security of the host citizens. Mitchell's study looked at humanitarian concerns but not national security concerns as the present study.

Sageman (2008) noted that religious extremism and fundamentalism was often linked to politics with extremists within the religious realm engaging in radical behaviour and even violence due to perceived or real political injustices. Wiktoricz (2005) has notably offered a stage wise model of extremism leading to violence. The model starts with an individual's cognitive openness to ideas and perspectives, ideas that may include religious ideas. This followed experience of intergroup or even personal grievances that included discrimination and injustice. Then acceptance of the group grievances follows a belief that may suspend rational choices of

members of the group. Such a belief may finally lead to enacting of violence means to try and deal or solve the grievances. Silber and Whatt (2007) also created a similar model that started with openness to fresh ideas undergirded by religion or political persuasion which then leads to change in worldview. The worldview is then affected by tragic events which catalyze indoctrination which may lead to violence responses or conflicts.

Studies done across the globe showed that political factors and ideologies have a strong link with radicalization and extremism. Jensen et al. (2020) writing on political factors and extremism in the USA argued that much of the terrorism acts were borne out of political disenfranchisement whether real or misrepresented. Crone (2016) writing on similar issues within the French context which also experienced extreme violence and radicalized groups noted that politics was often at the center of key grievances of those engaged in such vile acts. Other studies done especially within the African set-up argued that government action and policy especially those touching on the criminal systems notably catalyzed radicalization and extremism. Vergani et al. (2020) for instance found that radicalization and extremism within the African setup, examples being in Nigeria and Kenya, were exacerbated by government action that is characterized by police harassment of some marginalized group, discrimination in access to basic resources and inequitable distribution of resources. Nonetheless, many of these studies do not rank the level to which politics lead to radicalization and extremism when compared to other drivers like religious ideology, socio-economic factors among others.

Deary (2010) posited that all such diverse significant political radicalization and waves of violent extremism that resulted in terrorist action share a number of structural features. Firstly, they all thrived in an enabling environment which was essentially characterized by a widely shared sense of injustice, whether real or perceived, among concerned segments of the population or whole

societies. Sentiments of injustice, exclusion and humiliation have always been powerful forces in politics and prime movers for change. A second common characteristic of all forms of radicalization and extremism leading towards violence was that it always takes place at the intersection of an enabling environment and a personal trajectory. A third common feature of radicalization processes and extremism was that the actual use of violence involves only a very limited number of individuals. It was always the action of a few within the larger group or community whose fate was claimed to be at stake and whose plight they invoked to try to justify their acts. They form small groups that present themselves as self-declared vanguard. In all past processes of radicalization and extremism the number of individuals who choose violence as their preferred method has been extremely low. Violent radicalization was indeed only at the far end of a wide array of possible radical expressions. The foregoing discussions clearly indicated that different historical epochs experienced different levels of radicalization and extremism. It was also apparent that different historical antecedents contributed to the emergence of radical and extremist groups. It seems that globalization triggered a new wave of radicalization and extremism.

Within the African context, Wilson (2015) did a descriptive study on refugee influx in Uganda and found that the entrance of refugees and asylum seekers into a country coupled with relief resources could change the economic equilibrium and opportunities of the host communities. He contended that some refugees use their purchasing power to buy local goods increasing the local market and that this automatically led to increased business activities for both the local and the refugees. In Uganda, entrepreneurs around the country usually flocked the area where the refugees are settled. Business centers developed as a number of shops and restaurants along with the daily markets are established near the refugee camps. Refugees living in Uganda have been

perceived to be doing well in business activities compared to the locals. While in Uganda refugees successfully influenced on the local communities through better entrepreneurial skills, there is need to investigate the same for urban refugees in Kenya.

Verdirame and Harrell-Bond (2015) used correlation analysis to examine the influence of refugees in camps on human settlement and security concerns in Morocco and Tunisia. The study observed that the establishment of the camps saw the downfall of the boarder trading towns initially the home to a thriving international business caused by the collapse of local markets. This is because the entrance of refugees created market for the local villagers in which case they can now sell their products in the nearby camps instead of walking or rather transporting their produce to the boarders. In this manner, the presence of refugees therefore brought an influence on the economic orientation of the local communities of the host country. The employment of the local population as guards, drivers, administrators, accountants and maids to field staff by the NGOs working as humanitarian organizations on the relief operation has been a blessing to local communities in terms of the provision of employment opportunities. The packages in terms of wages and salaries for such staff has enabled them establish new housing facilities as well as increasing their purchasing power. The influx of refugees and aid agencies into host countries increase both demand and available resources. It should be considered that this study examined refugees in camps and not urban refugees as the present study did.

Symser (2017) in a study on urban refugees in Ethiopia and Sudan noted that while urban refugees brought in certain entrepreneurial innovations in the way businesses were run, some were responsible for national security threats. Such threats were in the nature of terrorism

because some of the urban refugees were initially members of radicalized groups who had simply escaped to neighboring countries to hide but whose radicalism was still intact.

Whitaker (2009) examined using descriptive research the volatile relationship between the refugees and the local communities in Tanzania and found that such a situation has always worked to the disadvantage of the host communities. Tanzania despite offering these refugees dwellings has been faced with the problem of some of the refugees escaping to its urban centers. There has been an unexpected nature and size of these populations moving to cities such as Nairobi prompted an investigation of their effects on the economy of these urban hosting communities.

Other studies done in Africa, like that of Campbell (2016) that examined the challenges associated with urban refugees noted that economic activities characterized by sale and purchase of goods, sale and purchase of arms and weapons, sale and purchase of services and social activities measured by accommodation activities, transportation facilitation among friends, acquaintances and family and provision of other amenities were common conduits via which crime and terrorism was enacted in many parts of Africa. It became useful to examine these features to see how they relate to the same situation in Kenya.

In Kenya, studies by Elliot, (2017), Mohammed (2020) and Kirui and Mwaruvie (2012) have noted that urban refugees pose significant humanitarian, socio-economic and resettlement concerns for the country. However, none of these studies looked at the relationship between urban refugees and national security concerns in Kenya. Consequently, the present study hoped to fill this gap by examining the influence of urban refugee activities on Kenya's national security.

Significant studies showed that refugees while engaged in meaningful and positive entrepreneurial activities, also raised significant concerns regarding national security, resettlements and human dignity. However, there was need to look at the influence of urban refugees on the national security of a different national context like Kenya and not just developed nations. Further, many studies looked at the humanitarian concerns but not national security concerns as the present study did. It should also be considered that some studies examined refugees in camps and not urban refugees as this study did.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

Two theories anchored the present study and they included the securitization theory and the Social Exchange Theory.

1.8.1 Securitization Theory

This study is anchored on the Securitization Theory that was propounded by scholars within the Copenhagen school like Ole Wøever, Barry Buzan and Jaap de Wilde among others (Stritzel, 2014). The basic premise of the securitization theory is that national security and its attendant policies are not derived naturally but are designated structurally and carefully by decision-makers, policy-makers and politicians. According to this theory, certain political, social and economic issues are transformed into security issues and dealt with within security models when those issues become 'extreme', 'alarming,' 'dangerous,' 'menacing,' or 'threatening' as labeled by a 'securitizing actor' who possess either the institutional or social power, or both, to transform the political issue into a security matter. Consequently, security issues do not just sit 'out there' but are issues that must be expressed by a securitizing actor for it to be a bona fide security issue. For instance, immigration in itself is not a security issue but when a securitizing actor attaches 'immigration is a national security threat' to it, it gets up-scaled to a serious security threat (Stritzel, 2014). Basically, the assertion within securitization theory is that issues do not become

essentially security problems in and by themselves; it is when they are referred to by an actor with institutional and social power as security threats that they become security issues.

Securitization theory was borne out of the need by wideners to expand the scope of what should be considered security threats more than just the military idea. Consequently, the proponents of this theory, sometimes called the wideners, argued that security issues should include feminism, cultural issues that if someone looks like an Arab enters an airport, more concern about his presence should legitimately be considered more than a white person (Stritzel, 2014). Securitization theorists like Grizold (2014) thus expanded the description of national security to not only consider the protection against military attacks but to also underscore that national security also includes security against cyber-crime, the reduction of crime, terrorism, economic and energy security, environmental security. It also includes security against acts by political, state and economic actors that seek to deny citizens safety and a conducive environment to acquire sustainable livelihoods (Grizold, 2014).

This theory is applicable to the current study because under an expanded version of this theory, urban refugees activities can be categorized as a security threat if a securitization actor, in this case a state, deems them so. Further, by themselves, urban refugees are not a security issue, but when their activities affect the crime rates and the forces to curb terrorism, state agents may categorize urban refugees and the activities they engage in as a national security threat. Thus examining the influence of urban refugee activities on national security of Kenya aligns with the view of securitization theory as aforementioned. However, the securitization theory does not consider the elements that would make urban refugees resort to crime. This is made clearer by the Social Exchange Theory hence utilization of two theories.

1.8.2 Social Exchange Theory

The present study is also anchored on the Social Exchange Theory as propounded by Cropanzano et al (2003). The main assumption of the theory is that individuals' engagements and relationships are undergirded by two forms of exchanges; economic and social (Cropanzano et al., 2003). The economic exchange is premised on the economic return in terms of monetary value that an individual exchanges with his/her work effort based on contractual terms and agreements. On the other hand, social exchanges are actions that are voluntary that an institution or organization enacts with the hope that the individual would reward the institution with enhanced productivity and positive performance in exchange of those social voluntary actions (Cropanzano et al., 2003).

Within the social exchange paradigm, individuals engage with a system in a bid to enjoy a conducive environment that would support their attainment of desired goals, anticipated knowledge and skills and set targets (Gould & Davis, 2015). If the said individual perceives that what he/she would get in return of his/her efforts would either be commensurate to the efforts put in or better than the efforts put in, that individual is bound to stay and infuse greater intensity, creativity and production in that job. However, if the said individual perceives that what he/she would get in return of his/her efforts would either be lower than the efforts put in or worse than the efforts put in, that individual is bound to leave or produce less goods and services and of less intensity and creativity or engage in unscrupulous dealings to try and up returns outside the norms (Gould & Davis, 2015).

From the above assumptions, it became clear to see how the Social Exchange Theory applied to the present study. First it showed that individuals like urban refugees determine the manner in which they will deal with a system based on expected returns and benefits. If the system (in this

case the government) fails to offer urban refugees a legal framework that would allow them to legally work and reap what they sow, the refugees are bound to engage in other unscrupulous means to access the same desired outcomes. The economic and social activities that urban refugees engaged in were a means to access economic and social exchanges with the system and individuals willing to engage in those activities in whatever means to access desired results whether they be legitimate livelihood outcomes or illegitimate outcomes like crime and terrorism.

The study also uses a conceptual framework alongside the theories in order to elaborate on the concepts diagrammatically.

1.9 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework offers the link between the independent variables (urban refugee activities) and the dependent variable (Kenya's national security) in a diagrammatic format. The diagram had bullets that highlighted indicators used to measure or describe each of the variables highlighted and Figure 2.1 below showed those results.

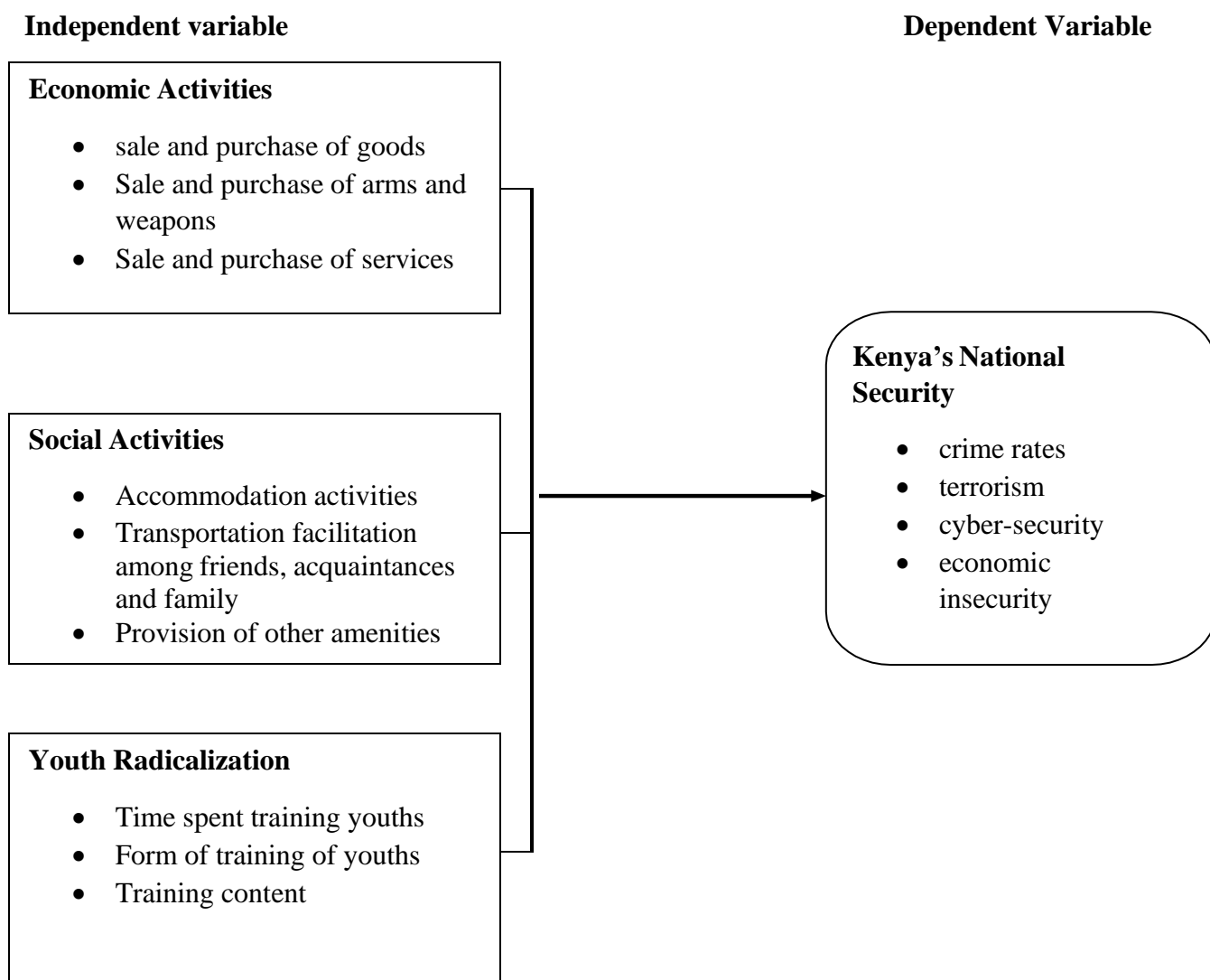


Figure 1.1 Conceptual Framework showing the influence of urban refugees activities on Kenya's national security (Source: Researcher, 2022).

The diagram links the independent variables (economic, social and youth radicalization activities) and the dependent variable (Kenya's national security) that is measured using crime rates, terrorism, cyber-security and economic insecurity.

1.10 Definition of Key Concepts

National Security: This refers to deliberate acts and strategies by governments towards maintaining the safety of its citizens, institutions and economy against both internal and external attacks (Rogers 2010). According to the study, national security was characterized by crime rates, terrorism, cyber-security and economic insecurity among others

Urban Refugee activities: This refers to the activities that refugees who chose or who were obligated to reside in urban areas as opposed to be confined in refugee camps in the host country that they fled to engage in (Loescher, 2012). According to the study, urban refugees activities entailed economic, social and youth radicalization activities perpetrated by urban refugees.

Economic activities: This refers to activities engaged in to access income that would be used to enhance livelihood of refugees (Nzau & Guyo, 2018). Based on the present study, the economic activities included but was not limited to sale and purchase of goods, sale and purchase of arms and weapons, sale and purchase of services

Social activities: This refers to the influence that urban refugees have to facilitate certain activities within necessarily there being any financial exchanges (Nzau & Guyo, 2018). According to the study, they include accommodation activities, transportation facilitation

among friends, acquaintances and family and provision of other amenities.

Youth Radicalization: This refers to activities meant to train and influence youths to deny the contemporary status quo within the spheres of religion, politics, culture and social ideals and which go contrary to the principles of national expression and ideas (Horst, 2012). According to the study, the activities include the form of training and person-to-person engagement.

1.11 Research Hypotheses

H₀₁: Urban refugees' economic activities do not have a significant influence on Kenya's national security

H₀₂: Urban refugees' social activities do not have a significant influence on Kenya's national security

H₀₃: Urban refugees' youth radicalization activities do not have a significant influence on Kenya's national security

1.12 Research Methodology

1.12.1 Research Design

This study is hinged on both qualitative and quantitative research approach which depends on statistical analysis to access, analyze and interpret numerical data (Babbie, 2010). The approaches are considered objective and thus more reliable and credible and allow for a statistical representation of findings about which conclusions and inferences were made (Kothari, 2014). Within the qualitative approach, the study utilizes a descriptive survey research design which was predicated on examining events and occurrences within the study area or among the study

participants to access information about a subject under study about which the researcher (s) had no control over (Babbie, 2010; Wilson, 2010). Descriptive survey research design is particularly helpful in generating what and why questions which the present study sought to do when it examined the influence of urban refugee activities on Kenya’s national security.

1.12.2 Target Population

A target population constituted the appropriate class of respondents whom the relevant data that appropriately answered the research questions was accessed (Kothari, 2014). To this end, the target population comprised of selected registered urban refugees residing in Nairobi, the staff working at the Directorate of Criminal Investigations and staff working at the Anti-Terrorism Police Unit (ATPU) both at their headquarters. Table one showed the number of the population sought.

| Category | Population |
|------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Registered Urban Refugees | 51,757 |
| 2. DCI management staff | 156 |
| 3. ATPU management staff | 45 |
| Total | 51, 958 |

(Source: Ministry of Interior and National Coordination, DCI, ATPU, 2021)

1.12.3 Sample Size and Sampling Technique

To get a manageable sample from the target population, 30% was drawn which was an acceptable percentage to access a reliable sample (Babbie, 2010; Kothari, 2014; Wilson, 2010). Then simple random sampling technique used to access the 549 sample. Simple random sampling is a technique that randomly gets the respondents in a manner that reduces bias and enhances representation of the subjects in a bid to enhance objectivity and reliability of the results (Babbie, 2010; Wilson, 2010). Table 2 below shows how the sample size was represented:

| Categories | Population | sample size from Yamane Formula |
|------------------------------|-------------------|--|
| 4. Registered Urban Refugees | 51,757 | 398 |
| 5. DCI management staff | 156 | 111 |
| 6. ATPU management staff | 45 | 40 |
| Total | 51,958 | 549 |

1.12.4 Data Collection Instruments

Two data collection instruments were used; a questionnaire and a secondary data checklist. The questionnaire is structured in 5-point Likert Scale to allow the respondents give their opinions, feelings and attitudes regarding the influence of urban refugee activities on national security. The questions first had demographic indicators and then questions set within each research objective. Questionnaires are useful in getting data from a significant number of respondents almost at once and thus save time and money and are a reliable source of data. Secondary data checklist was used to get information from secondary sources that answered the national security variables in terms of schedules, task achieved among others.

1.12.5 Validity of the instruments

To ascertain the extent to which the measuring items in the questionnaires measured the actual construct of the research objectives; the questionnaire was given to the supervisor who checked if the items cohered to the objectives. Once that was done, whatever feedback given was integrated in the questions and thus the validity test was achieved.

1.12.6 Reliability of the Instruments

To test the extent to which the results from the instruments possessed the ability to give consistent and repeatable results; a pilot study was done on 10% of the sampled population which brought the respondents to 55. The results from the pilot test were computed against the Cronbach Coefficient Alpha test to see if the results exceeded 0.7 which is the mark of acceptable reliability and a result of 0.712 was noted implying acceptable reliability. The responses from the 55 piloted respondents were removed from the subsequent study proper.

1.12.7 Data Collection Procedure

Considering that many of the respondents were those working remotely or in various locations around Nairobi, the questionnaires were given to registered urban refugees via research assistant and to the police and investigatory staff via emails and they were given 2-4 days to answer the questions and return it via email or in person. This was in keeping with the protocols used to combat COVID-19.

1.12.8 Data Analysis

While the study focused on descriptive survey focusing on mean, frequencies; analysis and conclusions were based on statistics thereby focusing on the quantitative element. Collected data was coded and later analyzed using descriptive statistics through mean and standard deviation as tools. Inferential statistics was employed to test the hypotheses. Pearson's Moment Correlations Analysis was used to check for the relationship between the independent variables (urban refugees activities) and dependent variable (Kenyas national security). The other inferential tool was multiple regression model that sought to ascertain the predictive powers of the independent variables towards changes in the dependent variable; SPSS Version 23 was used to compute and present data outcomes and the regression model was hereby given:

Regression Model

$$Y_0 = \beta_0 + \beta_1 (X_1) + \beta_2 (X_2) + \beta_3 (X_3) + e$$

Where the variables are defined as:

Y₀- Kenyas National Security

X₁- Economic activities of urban refugees

X₂- Social Activities of urban refugees

X₃- Youth Radicalization activities of urban refugees

e- Error term

1.12.9 Ethical Considerations

To ascertain that informed consent was upheld, the respondents were asked to voluntarily agree to answer the questions. To ensure that anonymity was upheld, the respondents were asked not to supply their names to the questionnaire document. To make sure confidentiality was upheld, the respondents were assured that this endeavor is for academic purposes and not a performance appraisal mechanism. To assure them of integrity and security, the questionnaires were shared on need to know basis with the supervisor and later disposed off after effective presentation of the project.

1.13 Chapter Outline

The project has four chapters. Chapter one introduces the background to the study, statement of Research problem, research questions, Objectives of the study, justification of the study, scope of the study, Literature Review, Theoretical and Conceptual Framework and Research Methodology. The second chapter discusses the historical perspective of the problem under investigation. Chapter three provides the data analysis, presentation and Discussion while chapter four presents the summary, conclusion and Recommendation.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF KENYA'S NATIONAL SECURITY

2.1 Issues in Kenya's National Security

National security in Kenya draws its pathos and purpose from the Kenyan constitution 2010. The constitution in Article 238 elucidated what the underlying principles and issues of Kenya's National security were. At the foundation of it is the description that Kenya's national security is meant to provide lasting protection against all forms of internal or external threats that would seek to disturb Kenya's sovereignty, integrity, peace, freedoms, property rights, prosperity, stability plus all other national interests (Kenya Law Report Commission (KLRC), 2021). In the exercise of national security interests, the supreme law provided that it be done according to the stipulated laws, in recognition of the diverse cultural dynamics in the country and in conformity to other notable legislation that seeks to enhance security and not derail it.

Kenya's National Security is mainly domiciled within three organs; the Kenya Defense forces tasked with dealing with external threats; the Kenya Police Service that concerned itself with internal threats and the National Intelligence service that collected intelligence. These organs are meant to operate in a nonpartisan manner, without furthering the course of any political agency and devoid of prejudicial tendencies and acts (KLRC, 2021).

Historically, Kenya's National Security has had a checkered past owing to more misses than hits. The security policy issues gained initial attention in Kenya's post independence period under the reign of President Kenyatta (Nzau & Guyo, 2018). The attention was a result of the ramifications of the Cold War where Kenya initially took a nonaligned stance but later aligned more to the Americans than the Russians. Consequently, the security policy was initially based on Kenya's international response and understanding of world affairs post Cold-War. Later, Kenya's

National Security confronted an internal problem owing to the cessationist movement; the Northern Frontier District (NFD) which was a conglomeration of cessationist proponents from Wajir, Marsabit, Garissa and Isiolo who engaged the government of the day in war to actualize cessation that they thought had wrongly been denied them (Nzau & Guyo, 2018). The perceived intervention by Somalia into the NFD led war created a keen relook at the external elements of Kenya's National security. Later, Kenya's national security took on a political tint when it involved itself in resolving the political war between President Kenyatta's KANU party and then opposition leader Jaramogi Odinga Oginga (Nzau & Guyo, 2018).

Kenya's National security in the *Nyayo* era led by President Moi who officially took the reins of power in 1978 was a continuation of Kenyatta's policy which was largely aligned to ethnic and political security concerns. Nonetheless, the Coup in 1982 saw a shift of national security issues in Kenya owing to the partisan and vicious response that the government engaged with perceived political enemies. Armed conflicts among Kenya's neighbors also led to the shaping of Kenya's National security. The 1998 terrorism attack and the emergence of terror groups like the Al Qaeda/Al Shabaab also helped to reshape Kenya's national security. Terrorism has remained a key security threat for Kenya even today.

2.2 Challenges and Threats to Kenya's National Security

Kenya's National Security has constantly confronted major challenges and threats. President Kenyatta gave a full security report in 2020 through the Annual National Security Report (Government of Kenya, 2020). Therein, the report listed the key threats as general crime, terrorism, corruption, money laundering, cattle rustling, cyber security, organized criminal groups, inter-ethnic conflicts, drug trafficking, illicit brew and substance abuse, proliferation of small arms, illegal immigrants, labour unrest, gender based violence, land fraud, aviation and

maritime security, border security, environmental security, road traffic accidents and refugees among others.

Terrorism is considered a vile and malicious attack on innocent civilians and people within the security agencies meted out by extremists. Terrorism became a challenge to Kenya's national security largely owing to the presence of extremist agents surrounding the country with certain imagined or real grievances (Kariuki, 2019). The terrorist attacks that Kenya has been forced to confront had largely been enacted by the militant and terrorist group like the Al Shaabab whose center of operations was Somalia. The West Gate Mall terrorist attack in 2013 that killed 71 people including the 4 gunmen, the 2015 Garissa University attack that killed 148 students and injured about 75 others plus terrorist incursions in Lamu are some of the notable attacks that Kenya's National security agencies have been forced to deal with (Ainea, 2021). These attacks kept the security apparatus on toes as the threat was ever imminent. It was noted that terrorism was enacted by forces that do not have the military power to enforce war with nation states and as such, was the cowards way of meting out violence over a country with the hope of driving in violent extremist agenda (Kariuki, 2019). That said, considering that Kenya's refugees were from Somalia where much of the terrorism attacks was sourced, it became easy to infer that these urban refugees may pose significant security threats to the country (Agier, 2012).

Garissa County for instance is significantly affected by violent extremism and radicalization especially of the youth. Mujahed (2019) in his study looked at mapping dynamics of violent extremism in selected parts of Kenya observed that Garissa and other counties in the Northern Corridor were largely affected by violent extremism owing to some key reasons. One was the proximity of Garissa and related counties to the border with Somalia. Two, was the commonality of ethnicity and language shared with those living in neighboring Somalia. Three was the

structural lapses characterized by a porous border between Garissa and Somalia that allowed terrorists and other recruiters easy access to the region. Mujaheed (2019) further observed that Garissa is a fertile place for radicalization and extremism as a result of real or perceived grievances by locals in so far as police harassment, cultural and ethnic profiling, identity crises and historical injustices was concerned. While this may be true, the study by Mujaheed (2019) and others like Chome (2019) offered anecdotal description of the drivers of radicalization and extremism but had no validated and reliable empirical analysis on the issue. Nonetheless, there was the need to study youth radicalization and how it affects the security of a nation.

Corruption is another key security concern for Kenya's national security. Petty Corruption characterized by bribery of police officers to criminal corruption characterized by engagement in criminal acts to gain undue advantage to mega corruption characterized by massive embezzlement of the coffers that belonged to the citizens was a key security concern (Onziru, 2021). Kenya in particular had over the years ranked poorly in the global corruption lists. Further, proceeds of corruption were found to feed other elements of insecurity from terrorism, child trafficking, inter-ethnic conflicts and proliferation of small arms among many others. To make it even clearer, the fourth President of Kenya, Uhuru Kenyatta, borne out reports of the Kenya's Ethics and Anti-corruption Commission, reported that Kenya lost approximately 2 billion Kenya shillings daily to corruption. This was an illustration of the threat corruption presented to Kenya's way of life which needed protection from the security apparatus (Onziru, 2021). The world over, refugees were known to be potential conduits of embezzled funds to criminal gangs and terror cells and as a result, they became complicit to certain heinous criminal acts. Consequently, the influence that urban refugees had on the security of a country like Kenya could not be ignored (Nathan & Jakob, 2019).

In a study in the USA to examine the link between petty or street corruption by Stiglitz (2012) found that graft carried out daily on the streets in administrative dealings between members of the public and law enforcement officers significantly subverted the law. The study further noted that low-level graft was much publicized, deeply entrenched, widespread and in instances well established and accepted in organizations. Furthermore, the study implied that the entrenchment of graft in organizations was enabled by the absence of ethical values and human issues which included greed. This study while describing the association between petty corruption and subversion of law and order was done in the USA where such incidences in the police service were lower based on corruption index reports as compared to Kenya.

Another security threat is the acts associated directly or indirectly to money laundering. Kenya's security organs view money laundering as the mechanism of passing of money meant for criminal activities as legitimate money (Nathan & Jakob, 2019). This has admittedly been a difficult issue to deal with by the security largely due to the difficulties in following the laundered money. This is the reason the government through an act of parliament initiated a money laundering Act which was meant to give a policy framework that would undergird the whole process of curbing the menace. So far, reports suggest that efforts to deal with money laundering have mainly not borne any fruit and that, more innovative efforts need to be thought of (Nathan & Jakob, 2019). Money laundering is in some cases meant to ensure that tracking of criminal agents after commission of criminal acts is difficult. This is because security agents mainly follow the money to try and nab those criminals. Refugees according to reports are key figures used in money laundering especially because they are sometimes undocumented (Osamba, 2019). This makes them the perfect agents for effective money laundering. There is thus the need to always look into the urban refugees and the role they play in affecting the

security status of Kenya. Unfortunately, very little study has been done to examine this phenomenon making the current study important and necessary.

There are parts of Kenya whose population largely depend on livestock rearing for daily livelihood. These regions are mostly in the Arid and Semi-Arid Areas (ASAL) where rainfall variability is low. Due to scarcity of resources and over dependence on livestock keeping, cattle rustling becomes a common security concern. Areas of Turkana, Elgeyo Marakwet, Baringo, West Pokot and some areas in the North Eastern parts of Kenya are prone to cattle rustling (Mazuri et al., 2022). For security agencies, cattle rustling is a serious issue because it is often coupled with the killing of owners of cattle which then creates a ripple effect that leads to ethnic cleansing and ethnic violence. The fact that cattle rustling and the associated murder of livestock keepers has gone on unabated for a while, is testament to the difficulties that the security apparatus in Kenya face when dealing with the issue. Numerous efforts have been exercised to try and get cattle rustling to order like having dialogue with the people affected, using force and mandated disarmament, arrests and prosecutions plus many others but to no avail. While these solutions are not the key focus of the current study, it is instructive to note that cattle rustling have been the bane for Kenya's security agents for a long time (Mazuri et al., 2022).

Organized criminal groups are a serious threat to national security. In Kenya, organized criminal groups are common and they constitute a serious threat to the lives of citizens. There has been organized groups in Mt. Elgon, Nakuru, Bungoma and Nairobi; groups that have cumulatively killed over 200 people (Kiunga et al., 2021). Consequently, the threat that they pose is serious considering the murder enacted. Nevertheless, the security apparatus have tried to be on top of things sometimes with success and other times with significant failure. Organized criminal gangs

in Kenya according to reports mainly operate in low income areas where the security process is not as top notch as high income areas (Katola, 2021). Further, within the prosecuted organized criminal gangs, there has been situations where refugees from war torn areas like Somalia and South Sudan are found to be part of these gangs (Kiunga et al., 2021). This illustrates the extent to which refugees can be part of criminal gangs and eventually affect the security of a country. What is however not clear, is the influence of urban refugees on the security status and performance and is the reason for the present study. The examination of these constructs is important because it helps fill a significant research gap in security studies that would reverberate for scholars in the field for a long time.

There are inter-ethnic conflicts which in Kenya is a key security threat because of the multiethnic framework upon which the country is setup. This situation creates periodic flare-ups which lead to deaths and injuries. Kenya's national security has often been forced to deal with fighting between the Turkana's and the Pokots, between the Tiaty people of Baringo and the Marakwets and so on and so forth. Inter-ethnic conflicts has been going on for a long time that it has often been tagged as a mind-boggling situation with no end in sight (Mwamba et al., 019). Nonetheless, it can be asserted strongly that inter-ethnic conflicts has somewhat abated in recent years compared to the scale it was 10 years ago (Chavulimu and Bulitia, 2021). Again, numerous efforts have been exercised to get inter-ethnic conflicts to order like having dialogue with the people affected, using force and mandated disarmament, arrests and prosecutions plus many others but to no avail (Chavulimu and Bulitia, 2021). While these solutions are not the key focus of the current study, it was instructive to note that inter-ethnic conflicts have been the bane for Kenya's security agents for a long time.

Furthermore, drug trafficking is a global threat to security which has endured within the national state fabric (Chandra, 2020). In Kenya, the security apparatus and agents daily confront the menace of drug trafficking with Mombasa and Nairobi being the key cities where such acts are committed. Drug trafficking is considered a vile security breach mostly because its result is the total enslavement of people to substances that denigrate their thinking and behavior. Furthermore, drug trafficking has been a threat to Kenya's National security because of its associative links to other international crimes like terrorism, money laundering and corruption (Chandra, 2020). It is one where the security agents are forced to collaborate with international agencies like Interpol in a bid to craft a mechanism to aid in curbing it. Over the years, efforts to deal with drug trafficking have however not been effective largely owing to a lack of an overarching and well-thought through framework that considers domestic and international-based variables (Chandra, 2020). In some reports, it has been estimated that urban refugees are involved in drug trafficking and they succeed under the guise of asylum seeking only to act as conduits of cocaine and other hard and prohibited substances. An examination of these acts by urban refugees is one of the reasons why the current study is important.

The spectacle of illicit brew is considered a petty offence but another threat to Kenya's National Security (Were, 2021). Illicit brew has been noted to be both intoxicating and thus impairing right thinking among consumers and fatal especially as some of its components are chemicals that are deadly for human consumption (Were, 2021). Illicit brew is also associated with substance abuse which is injected by people in varied levels but which affects the security status of a country. This is enabled largely because those who inject the prohibited substances are themselves unable to think straight and are thus prone to engage in criminal acts (Were, 2021).

As far as the refugee crisis is concerned, which is a key variable in this study, the report only focuses on refugees or asylum seekers in the key camps in Daadab and Kakuma; 90% of whom are of Somali origin (GOK, 2020). The report also spoke of Ethiopians and Eritreans who were often engaged in cross border criminal activities. Nothing is mentioned about the urban refugee issues with Crime making the present study an important one in filling a significant research gap.

Studies have shown that the key challenges confronting Kenya's National Security are lack of effective and multifaceted security policy that predicts the trajectory of modern security issues (Mohamed, 2021). The other is the political environment that creates partisan and politically oriented security agencies which then do not become non-partisan and thus deals with security concerns based on whose side of the political divide it supports and benefits (Nzau & Guyo, 2018). The other challenge is the inadequate human, technological, physical and financial support needed to effectively deal with security issues. Further, the lack of a synchronized government policy that ensures that complementing agencies work in tandem with security apparatus creates a significant challenge to Kenya's national security (Mohamed, 2021).

2.3 What has been addressed in Kenya's National Security

Based on the Annual National Security Report (Government of Kenya, 2020), Kenya has tried to address the aforementioned challenges in order to effectively deal with the notable threats. First, the Kenyan government initiated the big 4 Agenda Policy Framework to ensure that manufacturing, enhancement of healthcare, engagement in affordable housing and food and nutrition security are focused on. This was done cognizant of the accepted positive correlation between low socio- economic status and the increase in security threats.

Secondly, a National Population Census survey was done in 2019 and placed the whole population at 47.5 million people. This helped to inform security policy as that data also weeds

out illegal residents and immigrants who pose a serious security threat (Government of Kenya, 2020). One other initiative which received significant attention is the reforms and modernization of the police. One reform was the combination of the regular police and administration police under one command to extend the coverage of police to areas with increased general crime. The other was formation and consequent deployment of the Critical Infrastructure Protection Unit (CIPU) to regional, county and even sub county levels to put more critical boots on the ground (Government of Kenya, 2020). There was also the establishment of specialized units to deal with emerging security threats, the establishment of modern facilities to deal with forensics and a training curriculum to further equip the police. There were also reforms in the immigration and registration of persons department. This sought to help curb the refugee menace and thus help decrease crime rates as a result of refugee action (Government of Kenya, 2020). There is therefore need to establish whether urban refugees activities have an impact on Kenya's national security as the extent to which these initiatives helped Kenya's National Security remains significantly uninvestigated.

CHAPTER THREE

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSIONS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter highlights the findings and discussion related to establishing whether there is a relationship between urban refugees' activities and Kenya's national security. It specifically presents the response rate; the demographic data; the relationship between urban refugees economic activities and Kenya's national security; the influence of urban refugees social activities on Kenya's national security; the influence of urban refugees youth radicalization activities on Kenya's national security.

3.2 Response rate

The study sampled 398 registered urban refugees but only got 356 urban refugees who filled the questionnaire completely. This represents an 89.4% response rate on the registered urban refugees which represent an acceptable response rate. The study also sampled 151 security personnel from ATPU and DCI. Only 120 security personnel answered the questions fully representing a 79.5% response rate which is also acceptable.

3.3 Demographic Data

The respondents were asked to give their responses regarding their gender, age, highest level of education and years as residents in Kasarani Sub County. The results of these demographics were presented in the succeeding Tables.

3.3.1 Gender of the respondents

The results regarding the gender of the registered urban refugees and security personnel were shown in Table 3.1

Table 3.1: Gender of the respondents

| | | Registered refugees | | Security Personnel | |
|-------|--------|---------------------|---------|--------------------|---------|
| | | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Valid | Male | 176 | 49.4 | 89 | 74.2 |
| | Female | 180 | 50.6 | 31 | 25.8 |
| | Total | 356 | 100.0 | 120 | 100.0 |

From the results of Table 4.1, it is clear that slightly more than half of the urban refugees at (50.6%) were female while 49.4% were male. These result implied that the female registered urban refugees were more than their male counterparts. However, the difference was close to further imply that the study gathered respondents in a cross-sectional manner and thus received responses from both genders in a significant way and thus the reliability and credibility of the results was almost certainly assured. Further, majority of the security personnel representing the ATPU and DCI at 74.2% were male while only 25.8% were female. This implied a male dominated security personnel dealing directly with crime and terrorism in Kenya. Symser (2017) mentioned that urban refugees were often almost evenly distributed in terms of gender mostly because of each gender's need to engage in some economic activity or access social amenities that would help the whole family. On the other hand, studies attested to male dominance of security personnel in Africa and in Kenya (Agier, 2012; Kirui et al., 2012)

3.3.2 Age of the Respondents

The results regarding the age of the registered urban refugees and security personnel are shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Age of the Respondents

| | | Urban Refugees | | Security Personnel | |
|-------|---------------|----------------|---------|--------------------|---------|
| | | Frequency | Percent | Frequency | Percent |
| Valid | 18-25 years | 61 | 17.1 | 0 | 00.0 |
| | 26-35 years | 78 | 21.9 | 30 | 25.0 |
| | 36-45 Years | 113 | 31.7 | 71 | 59.2 |
| | 46-55 Years | 59 | 16.6 | 11 | 9.2 |
| | Over 55 years | 45 | 12.6 | 8 | 6.6 |
| Total | | 356 | 100.0 | 120 | 100.0 |

Table 3.2 shows that the refugee respondents were in various age groups from 18 years to over 55 years. More of them were however between 36-45 years (31.7%) followed by those between 26-35 years (21.9%) and those between 15-24 years (17.1%). Cumulatively, 56.7% of the respondents were aged between 18-25 years while 29.2% were aged between 46 and over 55 years. Apart from this implying that the respondents had ages strewn across a broad spectrum in terms of age boundaries, it also implies that the study accessed respondents who represented a broad spectrum of age differences which built on the credibility and reliability of the results. Majority at 59.2% of the security personnel were aged between 36-45 years followed by 25.0% aged between 26 and 35 years. This implies that the security personnel were middle aged.

3.3.3 Highest level of Education of the Security Personnel Respondents

The results regarding the highest level of education of the security personnel respondents are shown in Table 3.3

Table 3.3: Highest level of Education of the Respondents

| | Frequency | Percent |
|-------------|-----------|---------|
| KCSE | 35 | 9.8 |
| Certificate | 44 | 12.4 |
| Diploma | 31 | 8.7 |
| Degree | 154 | 43.3 |
| Masters | 19 | 5.3 |
| Total | 356 | 100.0 |

The results from Table 3.3 show that majority at 43.3% had degree certificates followed by 12.4% who had certificates as their highest level of education. Those with diploma and above were at 57.3%. This implies that majority of the respondents were literate as they mostly had diploma qualifications and above (57.3%). This also indicates that they could significantly understand and reliably answer the questions asked.

3.3.4 Duration of working at the security station by the personnel

The results regarding the duration of residency of the residents of Kasarani Sub County are shown in Table 3.4

Table 3.4: Duration of working at the security station

| | | Frequency | Percent |
|-------|-------------|-----------|---------|
| Valid | <5 years | 113 | 31.7 |
| | 5-10 years | 128 | 36.0 |
| | 10-15 years | 47 | 13.2 |
| | >15 years | 68 | 19.1 |
| Total | | 356 | 100.0 |

Based on the result in Table 3.4, a majority of the security personnel had worked at the ATPU and DCI for between 5-10 years (36.0%). They were followed closely by 31.7% who had worked less than 5 years. However, cumulatively, 32.3% had worked at the ATPU and DCI for more than 10 years. This implied that to a significant extent, the security personnel in Nairobi were adequately experienced. . Research shows that the significant duration of a respondent working in the organization whose practice is under investigation enhanced the reliability, credibility and comprehension of the results (Symser, 2017; Kirui et al., 2012).

3.4 Descriptive Analysis and Results

This part presents the descriptive statistics on national security, economic, social and youth radicalization activities by refugees.

3.4.1 National Security

Table 3.5 shows the descriptive results related to the dependent variable on National Security

Table 3.5: National Security

| Statement | Mean | SD |
|---|--------------|--------------|
| To what extent has Kenya's crime rate increased? | 4.124 | 1.193 |
| To what extent has terrorism cases increased in Kenya? | 2.848 | 1.224 |
| To what extent has cyber-crime cases increased in Kenya? | 4.275 | 1.095 |
| To what extent has economic insecurity cases (High-level corruption, petty corruption) increased in Kenya | 4.123 | 1.899 |
| To what extent has national security threats, generally, increased in Kenya? | 4.009 | 1.786 |
| Average Result | 4.115 | 1.170 |

The descriptive results from Table 3.5 shows that Kenya's crime rate increased to a great extent (M=4.124; SD=1.193); terrorism increased to a small extent (M=2.848; SD=1.224); cyber-crime cases increased to a great extent (M=4.275; SD=1.095); economic insecurity cases also increased at a great extent (M=4.123; SD=1.899); and generally, national security threats increased (M=4.009; SD=1.786). Based on the average results (M=4.115; SD=1.170), national security had significant challenges in Kenya.

The results agreed with literature from Elliot, (2017), Mohammed (2020) and Kirui and Mwaruvie (2012) who noted that national security threats have been increasing in Kenya. Further, it agreed with literature that asserted that National security was promising to be a defining element of social, economic, religion, politics, national stability and cohesion. The unprecedented and unbridled national and international insecurity created substantial havoc to

the safety of national and global citizens and left governments grappling with what strategies to use to manage such dilapidating insecurity. The dynamics of insecurity covered the broad spectrum of drivers and actors that stretched from the local crime events, local cattle rustling cases to the religious radicalization that led to bombings and killings of an international magnitude (Campbell, 2016; Collier, 2019).

3.4.2 Urban Refugees Economic Activities and National Security

Table 3.6 shows the descriptive results related to the first objective on urban refugees economic activities and national security.

Table 3.6: Urban Refugee Economic Activities and National Security

| Statement | Mean | SD |
|---|--------------|--------------|
| Urban refugees engage in sales and purchase of goods that affect national security | 4.918 | 1.072 |
| Urban refugees engage in sales and purchase of services that affect national security | 4.967 | 1.062 |
| Urban refugees engage in sales and purchase of arms and light weapons that affect national security | 3.843 | 1.036 |
| Generally, the economic activities that urban refugees engage in have significantly created a national security threat in Kenya | 3.913 | 0.985 |
| Average Result | 4.110 | 1.038 |

It is evident from the descriptive results from Table 3.6 that urban refugees engagement in sales and purchase of goods (M=4.918; SD=1.072); urban refugees engagement in sales and purchase of services (M=4.967; SD=1.062); urban refugees engagement in sales and purchase of arms and

light weapons (M=3.843; SD=1.036); and the general engagement in economic activities (M=3.913; SD=0.985) are associated with a higher likelihood for national security threat in Kenya. Thus, economic activities of urban refugees (M=3.410; SD=1.038) is linked to enhanced national security threat in Kenya.

Comparing the descriptive results with literature, certain parallels were noted. Karki (2016) in a study to examine the refugee situation and how it affected security of countries in countries like Turkey, Cambodia and Beirut observed that protracted refugee situations gave rise to problems for the host community and refugees alike. The most significant of these problems was the security issue which included military incursions from the affected country, increased crime and local violence, the predation of local communities by the war lords and bandits, and the frequent organized crime such as gun running, drug smuggling alongside human trafficking. It was instructive to ascertain if this was also true in Kenya. The results however disagreed with studies that did not find any association between economic activities of refugees and national security threats (Verdirame & Harrell-Bond, 2015) and those that actually found that economic activities of refugees helped reduced national security threats (Anderson, 2009; Wilson, 2015).

3.4.3 Urban Refugees Social Activities and National Security

Table 3.7 shows the descriptive results relating to the second objective on urban refugees social activities and national security.

Table 3.7: Urban Refugee Social Activities and National Security

| Statement | Mean | SD |
|---|-------|-------|
| Urban refugees engage in accommodation activities through hotels and house accommodations that affect national security | 4.189 | 1.128 |

| | | |
|---|--------------|--------------|
| Urban refugees engage in transportation activities for friends, relatives that affect national security | 4.540 | 1.193 |
| Urban refugees engage in provision of amenities (education, hospital activities etc) that affect national security | 4.967 | 0.994 |
| Generally, the social activities that urban refugees engage in have significantly created a national security threat in Kenya | 4.016 | 1.085 |
| Average Result | 4.109 | 1.102 |

The descriptive results on social activities by urban refugees and national security in Table 3.7 shows that urban refugees engagement in accommodation activities through hotels and house accommodations (M=4.189; SD=1.128); urban refugees engagement in transportation activities for friends, relatives (M=4.540; SD=1.193); urban refugees engagement in provision of amenities (education, hospital activities etc) (M=4.967; SD=0.994) are associated with a higher likelihood for national security threats. Thus, urban refugee social activities (M=4.109; SD=1.102) is linked to likelihood for enhanced national security threat. The results cohered with reviewed literature to the extent that Wilson (2015) looked at the relationship between refugee social activities and national security and found that engagement of some refugees especially from terrorism prone regions led to significant national security issues for host countries. In Kenya, national security threats covered cattle rustling, clan and ethnic conflicts, increased crime rates exacerbated by petty, criminal and high-level corruption and acts of terrorism (Campbell, 2016; Collier, 2019).

3.4.4 Urban Refugees Youth Radicalization Activities and National Security

Table 3.8 shows the descriptive results relating to the third objective on urban refugees youth radicalization activities and national security.

Table 3.8: Urban Refugee Youth Radicalization Activities and National Security

| Statement | Mean | SD |
|--|--------------|--------------|
| Urban refugees spent significant time in youth training that affect national security | 4.124 | 1.193 |
| The form of training that some urban refugees engage in affect national security | 4.848 | 1.224 |
| The content of training that urban refugees engage in is radical and thus affect national security | 4.478 | 1.264 |
| Generally, youth radicalization of urban refugees have significantly created a national security threat in Kenya | 4.243 | 1.172 |
| Average Result | 4.152 | 1.195 |

The descriptive results from Table 3.8 show that urban refugees spend significant time in youth training (M=4.124; SD=1.193); there is a form of training that was used (M=4.848; SD=1.224); the content of training (M=4.478; SD=1.264) is associated with likelihood for enhanced national security threat. Further, Youth radicalization descriptively influence national security (M=4.452; SD=1.195). Studies by Elliot, (2017), Mohammed (2020) and Kirui and Mwaruvie (2012) noted that urban refugees posed significant humanitarian, socio-economic, resettlement concerns and youth radicalization for the country. However, none of these studies looked at the relationship between urban refugees activities and national security concerns in Kenya.

The results also agrees with the theories that underpinned the study. It aligned with securitization theory which noted that urban refugees can be categorized as a security threat if a securitization actor, in this case a state, deemed them so. Further, by themselves, urban refugees were not a security issue, but when their activities affected the crime rates and the forces to curb terrorism, state agents categorized urban refugees and the activities they engaged in as a national security threat. Thus examining the influence of urban refugee activities on national security of Kenya aligned with the view of securitization theory as aforementioned.

It also aligns with the Social Exchange Theory in the sense that, first, it shows that individuals like urban refugees determine the manner in which they deal with a system based on expected returns and benefits. If the system (in this case the government) fails to offer urban refugees a legal framework that would allow them to legally work and reap what they sow, the refugees were bound to engage in other unscrupulous means to access the same desired outcomes. The economic and social activities that urban refugees engaged in were a means to access economic and social exchanges with the system and individuals are willing to engage in those activities in whatever means to access desired results whether they be legitimate livelihood outcomes or illegitimate outcomes like crime and terrorism.

3.5 Inferential statistics

The study also did a Pearson Correlations analysis and regression analysis.

3.5.1 Correlation Analysis

Table 3.9: Pearson Correlations

| | | National Security | Economic Activities | Social Activities | Youth Radicalization Activities |
|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| National Security | Pearson Correlation | 1 | | | |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|--------|--------|--------|-----|
| Economic Activities | N | 356 | | | |
| | Pearson Correlation | .627** | 1 | | |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | .000 | | | |
| Social Activities | N | 356 | 356 | | |
| | Pearson Correlation | .775** | .511** | 1 | |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | .000 | .000 | | |
| Youth Radicalization Activities | N | 356 | 356 | 356 | |
| | Pearson Correlation | .725** | .507** | .929** | 1 |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | .000 | .000 | .000 | |
| | N | 356 | 356 | 356 | 356 |

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

From the results from Table 3.9 it is clear that social activities ($r=0.775$; $P\text{-value} < 0.01$) has the highest correlation with national security. This is followed by youth radicalization activities ($r=0.725$; $P\text{-value} < 0.01$) and finally economic activities ($r=0.627$; $P\text{-value} < 0.01$). This implies that urban refugees economic activities, social activities and youth radicalization activities has a positive relationship with national security threats in Kenya.

3.5.2 Regression analysis Tests

A regression analysis is most appropriate to determine the extent to which national security was predicted by the sub variables. Thus, Table 3.10, 3.11 and 3.12 show those results.

Table 3.10: Model Summary^b

| Model | R | R Square | Adjusted R Square | Std. Error of the Estimate | Durbin-Watson |
|-------|-------------------|----------|-------------------|----------------------------|---------------|
| 1 | .678 ^a | .659 | .612 | .166 | 2.987 |

a. Predictors: (Constant), Economic activities, social activities, youth radicalization activities

b. Dependent Variable: National Security

The R result, 0.678^a shows that there is statistical significance of the model because that result shows a positive direction. The positive direction represented by the R also infers a strong relationship between the predicted and observed values, which also implies statistical significance. The adjusted R Square value of 0.612 shows that national security is predicted by refugees economic activities, social activities and youth radicalization activities at 61.2%. This agrees with literature that had shown that national security was significantly affected by refugees Economic activities, social activities, youth radicalization activities (Correlli, 2019; Kirui et al., 2012; Wilson, 2015).

Table 3.11: ANOVA^b

| Model | | Sum of Squares | Df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
|-------|------------|----------------|-----|-------------|--------|-------------------|
| 1 | Regression | 276.733 | 4 | 48.036 | 84.391 | .000 ^a |
| | Residual | 12.006 | 223 | .604 | | |
| | Total | 288.739 | 227 | | | |

The F-statistic of 84.391 confirms the fitness of the model as it is significant at <0.05. Consequently, Refugees Economic activities, social activities and youth radicalization activities has a statistically significant effect on national security threats in Kenya.

Table 3.12: Coefficients

| Model | | Unstandardized Coefficients | | Standardized Coefficients | | Sig. |
|-------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------|---------------------------|-------|------|
| | | B | Std. Error | Beta | t | |
| 1 | (Constant) | 2.678 | .371 | .287 | 7.608 | .000 |
| | Economic Activities | .249 | .073 | .223 | 5.828 | .000 |
| | Social Activities | .366 | .067 | .313 | 2.433 | .004 |
| | Youth Radicalization activities | .213 | .161 | .198 | 3.880 | .002 |

Considering that the p-values were less than 5% or <0.05 , it can be concluded from the coefficients results that economic activities ($\beta=.223$ p-value <0.05), social activities ($\beta=.313$ p-value <0.05) and youth radicalization activities ($\beta=.198$ p-value <0.05) have a statistically significant effect on national security. Further, this implies that for every unit increase in urban refugee economic activities, national security threat increased with 0.223 units, for any increase in urban refugee social activities, national security threat increased with 0.313 units; and finally for any increase in urban refugee youth radicalization activities, national security increased with 0.198 units.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

4.1 Summary of Findings

From the Correlation results, refugees social activities ($r=0.775$; P-value <0.01) has the highest correlation with national security. This was followed by youth radicalization activities ($r=0.725$; P-value <0.01) and finally economic activities ($r=0.627$; P-value <0.01). From the regression results, economic activities ($\beta=.223$ p-value <0.05), social activities ($\beta=.313$ p-value <0.05) and youth radicalization activities ($\beta=.198$ p-value <0.05) have a statistically significant effect on national security. Further, this implied that for every unit increase in urban refugee economic activities, national security threat increases with 0.223 units, for any increase in urban refugee social activities, national security threat increases with 0.313 units; and finally for any increase in urban refugee youth radicalization activities, national security increases with 0.198 units.

4.2 Conclusion

Based on the first objective, urban refugees engagement in sales and purchase of goods; urban refugees engagement in sales and purchase of services; urban refugees engagement in sales and purchase of arms and light weapons; and their general engagement in economic activities are associated with a higher likelihood for national security threat in Kenya. Thus, it is concluded that economic activities of urban refugees is linked to likelihood for enhanced national security threat in Kenya.

Based on the second objective, urban refugees' engagement in accommodation activities through hotels and house accommodations; urban refugees' engagement in transportation activities for friends, relatives; urban refugees' engagement in provision of amenities (education, hospital activities etc) are associated with a higher likelihood for national security threats. Thus, it is

concluded that urban refugees social activities is linked to likelihood for enhanced national security threat.

Based on the third objective, urban refugees spend significant time in youth training; there is a form of training that is used and the content of training are associated with likelihood for enhanced national security threat. It is thus concluded that youth radicalization is linked to likelihood for enhanced national security threat in Kenya.

Generally, therefore, urban refugees activities significantly influences Kenya's National Security and is thus significant in explaining Kenya's National Security.

4.3 Recommendation

The security apparatus in Kenya (Police and Intelligence) through the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government should create a policy that clearly stipulates the proper registration of urban refugees and the supervisory plan for any economic or social activity that they engage in. This will ensure that only those refugees ascertained to pose no security threats are registered and allowed to engage in any activity. It will also enhance accountability that will enable proper supervision of their activities.

The national security apparatus should deny any training done by urban refugees from regions that are terrorist-prone or regions with any religious extremism. Trainings should be done by registered teachers using approved curriculum and published training materials by religious bodies and supervised by education stakeholders. This will curb the youth radicalization problem in Kenya.

There is need for a consultative forum between the government and other humanitarian agencies to discuss, once and for all, the need for urban refuges and how they should operate. Without such a discussion, national security issues will continue to be a menace in Kenya.

4.4 Suggestions for Further Research

This study recommends that another study that examines urban refugees' activities and how they influence national security be done by combining quantitative research with qualitative research to enhance a deeper understanding of the issue. Further, urban refugees' networking activities via new media can also be studied to see if they influence national security in Kenya

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Questionnaire For Security Personnel

Q/No:.....

This academic questionnaire was prepared purposely to assist in collecting data relating to the influence of urban refugee activities on Kenya's national security. As one of the key identified respondents/informants, you are hereby requested to complete it. Any information given with respect to this request shall be treated with strict confidentiality and will only be used for the intent aforementioned.

PART ONE-DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. Please indicate your gender

(a) Male (b) Female

2. Please indicate your age

(a) 18-25 years (b) 26-35 years (c) 36-45 years

(d) 46-55years (e) Over 55 Years

3. Please indicate your highest level of education attained

KCSE Certificate Diploma Degree Masters PHD

4. How many years have you worked at your station?

Below 5 5-10

10 -15 15, and above

PART B- National Security

5. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Please indicate by ticking [√] your view. The Value of Scale is given below

VGE- Very Great Extent (5), GE-Great Extent (4), NE-No Extent (3), SE-Small Extent (2),

VSE-Very Great Extent (1)

| | VGE | GE | NE | SE | VSE |
|---|-----|----|----|----|-----|
| | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| To what extent has Kenya’s crime rate increased? | | | | | |
| To what extent has terrorism cases increased in Kenya? | | | | | |
| To what extent has cyber-crime cases increased in Kenya? | | | | | |
| To what extent has economic insecurity cases (High-level corruption, petty corruption) increased in Kenya | | | | | |
| To what extent has national security threats, generally, increased in Kenya? | | | | | |

PART C- Urban Refugee Economic Activities and National Security

6. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Please indicate by ticking [√] your view. The Value of Scale is given below

SA-Strongly Agree (5), A-Agree (4), U-Undecided (3), D-Disagree (2), SD-Strongly Disagree

(1)

| | SA | A | U | D | SD |
|---|----|---|---|---|----|
| | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Urban refugees engage in sales and purchase of goods that affect national security | | | | | |
| Urban refugees engage in sales and purchase of services that affect national security | | | | | |
| Urban refugees engage in sales and purchase of arms and light weapons that affect national security | | | | | |
| Generally, the economic activities that urban refugees engage in have significantly created a national security threat in Kenya | | | | | |

PART D- Urban Refugee Social Activities and National Security

7. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Please indicate by ticking [√] your view. The Value of Scale is given below

SA-Strongly Agree (5), A-Agree (4), U-Undecided (3), D-Disagree (2), SD-Strongly Disagree

(1)

| | SA | A | U | D | SD |
|---|----|---|---|---|----|
| | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Urban refugees engage in accommodation activities through hotels and house accommodations that affect national security | | | | | |
| Urban refugees engage in transportation activities for friends, relatives that affect national security | | | | | |
| Urban refugees engage in provision of amenities (education, hospital activities etc) that affect national security | | | | | |
| Generally, the social activities that urban refugees engage in have significantly created a national security threat in Kenya | | | | | |

PART E- Urban Refugee Youth radicalization Activities and National Security

8. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Please indicate by ticking [√] your view. The Value of Scale is given below

SA-Strongly Agree (5), A-Agree (4), U-Undecided (3), D-Disagree (2), SD-Strongly Disagree

(1)

| | SA | A | U | D | SD |
|--|----|---|---|---|----|
| | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Urban refugees spent significant time in youth training that affect national security | | | | | |
| The form of training that some urban refugees engage in affect national security | | | | | |
| The content of training that urban refugees engage in is radical and thus affect national security | | | | | |
| Generally, youth radicalization of urban refugees have significantly created a national security threat in Kenya | | | | | |

Appendix 2: Questionnaire for Urban Refugees

This academic questionnaire was prepared purposely to assist in collecting data relating to the influence of urban refugee activities on Kenya's national security. As one of the key identified respondents/informants, you are hereby requested to complete it. Any information given with respect to this request shall be treated with strict confidentiality and will only be used for the intent aforementioned.

PART ONE-DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. Please indicate your gender

(a) Male (b) Female

2. Please indicate your age

(a) 18-25 years (b) 26-35 years (c) 36-45 years

(d) 46-55years (e) Over 55 Years

3. Please indicate the year that you came as a refugee to Kenya

Before 2010 2010-2015 2015-2020

PART TWO: Urban Refugee Activities

5. Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.

Please indicate by ticking [>] your view. The Value of Scale is given below

VGE- Very Great Extent (5), GE-Great Extent (4), NE-No Extent (3), SE-Small Extent (2),

VSE-Very Great Extent (1)

| | VGE | GE | NE | SE | VSE |
|--|-----|----|----|----|-----|
| | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Economic Activities | | | | | |
| I engage in sales and purchase of goods | | | | | |
| I engage in sales and purchase of services | | | | | |
| I engage in sales and purchase of arms and light weapons | | | | | |
| Social Activities | | | | | |
| I engage in accommodation activities through hotels and house accommodations | | | | | |
| I engage in provision of amenities (education, hospital activities etc) | | | | | |
| I engage in transportation activities for friends, relatives | | | | | |
| Youth Training | | | | | |
| I spent significant time in youth training | | | | | |
| The training teaches us that my religion is superior to other religions | | | | | |
| The training teaches us that other religions are Kaffirs and thus sinners | | | | | |
| The training empowers us to fight even violently to maintain the superiority of our religion | | | | | |