UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

VIOLENT EXTREMISM AND TERRORISM IN 21ST CENTURY: THE CASE OF AL-SHABAAB AND BOKO HARAM

ERICK CHARLES OMONDI

R50/11398/2018

SUPERVISOR: AMB. PROF. MARIA NZOMO

A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES.

DECEMBER 2020

DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to my family for the encouragement to further my education, through motivation. Most importantly to Almighty God for the gift of life and strength to accomplish this thesis.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special thanks to my supervisor Prof. Maria Nzomo, for her guidance, academic and professional advice, attention to details and wonderful insights that led to the completion of this project. Efforts by my classmates at IDIS cannot go unrecognized as they played an important role. To my colleagues in the office especially my boss and department colleagues, you have played a critical role in this research. May God bless you all.

ABSTRACT

The world today faces numerous security challenges and United Nations has listed violent extremism and terrorism among the leading security concerns of the 21st Century. Questions arise on how violent extremism and terrorism has evolved over the years and what is making them a persistence threat to global peace and security. New media play a critical role when it comes to enhancing the terrorist agenda of recruiting new members, spreading fear, propaganda, financing, training and radicalization. This study has examined the various trends or developments in violent extremism and terrorism in the 21st century including use of IEDs, lone wolf terrorism, extensive use of social media by terrorist organizations and women involvement in terrorism. A number of the challenges that arise from trying to counter this global threat of terror has been analyzed with poor governance, increasing radicalization through new media, ideology narrative and wrong intervention methods in dealing with extremism, being identified as the drivers of terrorism in Africa. A case study of Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram has been considered because the terror groups remains a security threat to Kenya, Nigeria and their neighbours in the sub-Saharan region. Numerous efforts taken to address terrorism are insufficient since terrorism is still on an upsurge especially in Africa being highly propagated by religious fanaticism and radicalization.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYMS

AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
AS	Al-Shabaab
ASF	Africa Standby Force
AU	African Union
CT	Counterterrorism
CTIRU	Counter Terrorism Internet Referral Unit
GTI	Global Terror Index
IED	Improvised Explosive Device
ISIS	Islamic State in Iraq and Syria
ISIL	Islamic State in Iraq and Levant
KDF	Kenya Defence Forces
MNJTF	Multinational Joint Task Force
NCTC	National Counter-Terrorism Centre
NIS	National Intelligence Service
NPS	National Police Service
PSC	Peace and Security Council
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
US	United States

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

The study looked at acts of violent extremism (VE) and terrorism in the 21st century with a case study of Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram terror groups. Chapter one includes the background of the study gives an overview of the subject matter, the statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions and justification. Operationalizes key terms, highlights the literatures reviewed, incorporates the theoretical framework and research methodology and lastly the chapter outline.

1.1 Background to the Research Problem

The definition of terrorism varies and so is violent extremism as it has over a hundred definitions with different countries having different views on what constitute an act of terror. Several definitions have been developed at all levels on what constitute violent extremism, terrorism and radicalization. [1]Tore Bjorgo defines terrorism as deliberate use of violence against non-combatants in order to create psychological fear and not the intended targets. Violent extremism is a broader term as it includes all forms of violence that promotes a given ideology motivated violence that does not necessary involve acts.[2] Violent extremism therefore tolerates and ordains violence with ideological or deliberate intent, such as religious or political violence.[3] Radicalization is a process where individuals decide to adopt extremist ideologies that may motivate them to be offenders of acts of terror, and are normally more susceptible to recruitment by terrorist

---

[1]Tore Bjorgo. Root Causes of Terrorism. *Myths, Realities and Ways Forward.* (2005). Tore Bjorgo (editor). London, England Routledge Press.
[2] Violent Extremism Action Plan (General Assembly report A/70/674, para. 4)).
[3]www.un.org.counterterrorism.ctitf/files/7April_Amb.Sharma_SessionII.pdf

groups.[4] The challenges brought by defining these three terms in itself a problem since it becomes difficult to tell who then is a terrorist or what constitute a terror act.

Over the years, the world has struggled with the problem of violent extremism and terrorism. The problem has become bigger over the years as terrorists and terror groups have developed sophisticated ways of carrying out their operations hence security agencies are faced with numerous challenges in trying to address the threat. The terrorist attack on World Trade Centre in US on 11th September, 2001, where more than 3,000 people died, was a wakeup call not only for them but for the whole world that indeed terrorism was real and it could hit any country even the Super Powers with their advanced technology and weapons. Notably, neither did the targeted death of Al-Qaeda leader, Osama Bin Laden, nor could U.S. invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan end the threat of the terrorism in the world.

Emergence of state sponsored terrorism, lone wolf terrorism, use of new media in promoting acts of violent extremism, use of Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs), suicide bombing and cyber terror have changed the phenomenon of VE and terrorism in the 21[st]century.[5] Crenshaw argued that state sponsored terrorism is a major hazard and concern to both state-level and global peace and security[6]. Even with the recent claim of defeat of ISIS/L and capture of the areas they once controlled by US, terrorist organizations continue to carry out attacks in learning institutions, market places, places of worship, transport stations and many places against security forces and civilians across the globe. Radicalized prisoners and imprisoned terrorists continue to be released

---

[4] Romaniuk, P. 2015. Does CVE work?: Lessons learned from the global effort to counter violent extremism. Goshen, Indiana: Global Center on Cooperative Security. pp. 7-8
[5]J.F. Forest. Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century: *Combating the sources and facilitators*. (Greenwood Publishing, Inc, U.S.A Vol. 2, 2007)
[6] Crenshaw, M.(ed) (1993). Terrorism in Africa. England, Dartmouth, Publishing company ltd.

back to the world creating more challenges to governments on public safety and reintegration into the society.[7] In 2016, GTI report listed the five countries that suffered the worst hit from terrorism, that is, Syria, Pakistan, Iraq, Afghanistan and Nigeria. The states accounted for about 72% of the total deaths from acts of terrorism in that year, the total number of deaths being 4,502. The GTI 2019 report showed that there was a decrease in the number deaths from terrorism for four successive years after it was at the peak in 2014, and this was attributed to defeat of ISIL and Boko Haram. However, 103 countries reported at least one terrorist incident while 71 countries suffered at least one fatality in 2018.

Al-Shabaab, formally known as Harakat al-Shabaab al-Mujahideen, is a radical group linked to Al-Qaeda terrorist organization. It based in East Africa founded in 2004 in Somalia but became active after 2006 with the fall of Islamic Court Union following the invasion of Ethiopian troops into Somalia in December, 2006. Al-Shabaab has since become transitional in its ambitions as it remains active in Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania, Mozambique and Yemen, while remaining local and regional when it comes to its strategic operations.[8]

Boko Haram, also known as Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati wal-Jihad, meaning people loyal to the Prophet Mohammed's teachings and *Jihad* (holy war) in Arabic, is an Islamic State affiliate group. It pledged adherence Islamic State in West Africa, and it based in northeastern Nigeria and active in Chad, Niger and northern Cameroon. Mohammed Yusuf founded it in 2002 as Islamic religious group advocating for sharia law including forbidding Muslims in the region and across the world from taking part

---

[7]https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/sites/www.un.org.counterterrorism.ctitf/files/UNOCT_Multi-Year-Appeal_Website.pdf
[8]H. Maruf, D. Joseph. Inside Al-Shabaab: *The Secret History of Al-Qaeda's Most Powerful Ally*. (Indiana University Press, 2018) Pp 7-26

in any political or social event that is closely associated with Western culture, but became more active from 2009. [9] Boko Haram's first attack that attracted people around the world, was against the Westin August 2011, where 23 people killed and several injured in a suicide car bombing at the UN's headquarters in Abuja, Nigeria. However, kidnapping of 276 Chibok schoolgirls in April 2014, gave Boko Haram an international attention leading to a global campaign on social media dubbed #BringBackOurGirls, that caught the attention of by high-profile individuals, such as the former US First Lady Michelle Obama and Pope Francis.

Kenya has experienced terrorist threats since 1970s with the first major attack attributed to the Al-Qaeda group taking place in August, 1998 when two bombs blew up outside US Nairobi Embassy. Since then Kenya has had about 165 attacks with more than 750 fatalities and over 5000 injuries.[10] Boko Haram has remained active since 2009 and until May 2020, the terror group's attacks had claimed more than 36,000 lives with over 2 million people displaced.[11]

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Numerous efforts taken to address violent extremism and terrorism globally are insufficient since they are still on upsurge being highly propagated by religious fanaticism and radicalization. Academic research on what continues to facilitate acts of violent extremism and terrorism in the 21st century is also inadequate, hence this study seeks to illuminate these phenomena including trends and strategies adopted by terrorist organizations especially Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram. Critically evaluating present

---

[9] A. Thurston. Boko Haram: *The History of an African Jihadist Movement.* (Princeton University Press, 2019) Pp 1-33

[10] Maria Nzomo et al. *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century Africa* (Nairobi: A Publication of IDIS, University of Nairobi Vol. 1 2017) Pp *48*

[11] https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/05/niger-12-soldiers-killed-boko-haram-attack-military-base-200520065928212.html

phenomenon of terrorism and violent extremism and trying to prediction of likely future trends can therefore be vital for policy makers throughout the world as violent extremism and terrorism today are international security threats.

The Horn of Africa and Sahel regions where Kenya and Nigeria lie, are the most affected by the terrorism activities given their strategic location and influence in their regions. So many questions arise as to what could be fueling violent extremism and terrorism despite Kenya, Nigeria and their neighbours coming up with counter-terrorism strategies but terrorist acts continue. What new strategies have terrorist organizations developed to enhance their agenda? What is the nexus between AS and Boko Haram in reference to of their strategies and activities?

1.3 Research Questions

i) What are the global trends in violent extremism and terrorism in the 21st century?

ii) How do Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram compare in terms of their strategies and dynamics?

iii) What are the challenges experienced and lessons learnt in trying to trying to combat Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram in the 21st century?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 Main Objective

The main objective is to analyze the nature, motive and methods being used by terrorists to promote acts of violent extremism and terrorism with a keen focus on Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram terror groups that pose security threat to Kenya, Nigeria and their neighbours.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

i) To evaluate global trends in violent extremism and terrorism in the 21st century.

ii) To examine the dynamics and strategies of Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram

iii) To examine the challenges experienced and lessons learnt in trying to combat violent extremism and terrorism in the 21st century.

1.5 Literature Review

The purpose of this literature review is to assess trends in acts of VE and terrorism in the 21st century by analyzing existing literature on the topic.

1.5.1 Global Trends in Violent Extremism and Terrorism in the 21st Century

1.5.1.1 Nexus between New Media and Violent Extremism and Terrorism

Weimann stated that terrorist organizations all over the world have moved their online presence to YouTube, Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and other social media outlets from the mainstream media.[12] [13]He further indicated that terrorist and radical groups that were continuously fighting in Syria against President Bashar El Assad, have all turned to social media to spread propaganda, cause psychological fear to the people, and as well as offer tutorials on how to handle weapons. Despite the fact that technology connects people globally, it also connects terrorists and their affiliates in different parts of the world. [14]Bertram in his book states that one aspect of media that continues to serve terrorists and their organizations is social media. Different terrorists or terrorist organizations use social media for different activities. First, they use social media for communication. Under this category, terrorists use social media for recruitment by

---

[12] Gabriel Weimann. New Terrorism and New Media. Research Series. COMMONS LAB Publication. Vol. 2

[13] Ibid

[14]Luke Bertram, *Terrorism, the Internet and the Social Media Advantage*, 226

reaching out to radicals, administering digital training environments, collaborating with other terrorists and terrorist organizations as well as propagating terrorist material.[15]

Secondly, terrorists use social media for operational digital action whereby they use it to spread terror through their various broadcasts or other activity. For instance, cyber sabotages by terrorist groups aim to incapacitate organizations or governments and force them to cooperate and meet demands. They may also issue threat through social media, thus spreading fear.[16] The communication capability of new media[17] has been the greatest benefit to terrorists. That has made it easy for them to spread terror. With new media being faster and having a wider reach, terrorists are able to record and distribute propaganda speeches, which target other terrorist groups or individuals.[18] Terrorists use media to distribute videos of attack to spread fear or twisted ideological teachings that aim to radicalize individuals and stir them to join terrorist causes. Since the aim of terrorists is to spread fear, their audience would be as wide as possible. New media, such as social media, serves this purpose to great effect. It allows them to spread their propaganda to as many people as possible, thereby spreading fear. The wide reach of social media allows terrorists to reach out to different sets of individuals at a faster rate. Electronic mass media also benefits terrorists as it provides feedback. Terrorists are able to follow the reaction following their actions through social media and other electronic mass media.[19]

---

[15]Sazzad Hossain. Social Media and Terrorism: Threats and Challenges to the Modern Era. (Sage Journals, 2018)
[16]Luke Bertram. Terrorism, the Internet and the Social Media Advantage, pp 226
[17] New media is defined as the content made available using various forms of electronic communication through the use of computer technology usually through the Internet.
[18]Imran Awan, Cyber-Extremism: ISIS and the Power of Social Media. (Society, 2017), 140
[19]Luke Bertram. Terrorism, the Internet and the Social Media Advantage, pp 226

New media has also provided one of the biggest sources of information. Terrorists are now able to collect as much information as possible from internet sources. One can easily get information and training on how to make bombs or improved explosive device (IED). Terrorists use the internet to provide their followers with the training they need for various activities.[20] Other than training, the internet also allows terrorists to access weapons and equipment in the black market. As such, it aids them in accomplishing their operations. When it comes to coordinating attacks, mass media, social media and the internet provide sufficient information to allow terrorists plan and execute their attacks effectively. For instance, through online advertisements, terrorists are able to learn about big events likely to involve thousands of people. They are then able to carry out research on the venue of such events, gathering as much information from the media without even visiting the locations physically. Such availability of information online paves ways for terrorists to launch attacks. Broadcasting or reporting of those attacks also helps terrorists in their cause as people can be radicalized through viewing.

Al-Qaeda and ISIS grew their influence mainly out of their virtual activities. Today terror groups are able to run their own media platforms such as websites. For instance, Al Qaeda has full control of what they post through their media house, as-Sahab.[21] That enables them publish content that has greater ability to convince individuals to develop extremist ideas that condone violent activity. Use of new media therefore has become a headache to many governments as they recognize the key role it plays in polarizing individuals and promoting radicalized views. Al Qaeda as a central organization had several branches such as the Somalia's Al-Shabaab. There were also affiliated groups

---

[20]Luke Bertram. Terrorism, the Internet and the Social Media Advantage, pp 227
[21]Ines von Behr, Anais Reding, Charlie Edwards and Luke Gribbon. Radicalization in the Digital Era: The Use of the Internet in 15 Cases of Terrorism. (Cambridge: RAND Corporation, 2013)

such as the Taliban. All these formed a chain of command in the communication and propaganda strategy of the organization. However, some organizations adopted a different strategy. In particular, ISIS seemed to focus on acquiring territory rather than enlarging its supporter base. As such, its communication strategy was centralized. The organization introduced *Wilayas* or provinces, over which they exercised authority and direct control.[22] The terrorist groups within such regions had to convert and be part of the organization. No branch or affiliate group could post publications on ISIS. It all had to come from the central organization. The terror group also has its own radio station, Al Bayan, which it uses to disseminate its communication. It also publishes a monthly magazine, Dabiq, for its communication and propaganda agenda. The tight hold the organization has over the Wilayas, sees them maintain media offices in each.

1.5.1.2 Gender Factor/Involvement of females in the 21st century violent extremism and terrorism

Conventionally, females have been viewed as a 'fairer' gender depicting the notion that they are unlikely to be involved in violent acts or acts of terror. Feminist scholars have raised concern on the capability and effectiveness of state centric approach when it comes to dealing with terrorism that has greatly ignored the role of non-state actors such as women as both facilitators of counter-terrorism and offenders of violent extremism.[23] History of women being involved in terrorism can be traced back to 1881, when a female member of the People's Will, a radical group, was discovered to be the mastermind behind the assassination of Tsar Alexander II of Russia.[24]

---

[22]Pellerin, Clara. Communicating Terror: An Analysis of ISIS Communication Strategy. (Sciences, 2016),6

[23] Maria Nzomo et al. Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century Africa: *The Gender Factor.* (Nairobi: A Publication of IDIS, University of Nairobi Vol. 1 2017) Pp *13*

[24] Bloom, M. Female Suicide Bombers Seek Equality and Dignity, http/www.gale.cengage.com/pdf/samples/SP_9780737744484.pdf

Experts in the field of security believe that with the globalization of terror and shift to non-state actors, suicide bombing[25], that include the use female as suicide bombers, will increase in the 21st century as women can be used as a surprise to increase both their tactical and strategic advantages as opposed to the male operatives. Use of suicide bombers was once characterized by the elements of surprise, horror or terror but has now become normal as media highlights such events on a daily basis. Suicide bombing has therefore, become this era's choice of mans of attack especially for global terrorist groups. In the increasing acts of terrorism and VE, a fresh component has surfaced, that is, women as suicide bombers. The triumph of suicide bombing is said to depend on features of surprise and to target accessibility, both of which have women meet the criteria. The modern wave of female suicide bombers witnesses in a number of places and in different countries by terrorist organizations calls for cautious study on the same[26]

ISIS, which poses the greatest security threat to the international community, has been labeled as one of the world's worst offenders of gender-based violence based on their harsh treatment of against women. This include imprisonment, sexual abuse, torture and the execution of women irrespective of their religion.[27] Spenser Amanda reiterated that women have been actively involved in terrorism throughout history and across several settings–from the assassination of Tsar Alexander II, to the suicide bombers or Black Widows of Chechnya, to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE).[28]

---

[25] The Institute for Counter-Terrorism defines suicide bombing as an operational method conducted by an individual to blow up a certain target and that he/she is ready to die in the process.
[26] Zedalis D.D. Female Suicide Bombers. (Strategic Studies Institute. 2004) pp13
http://www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/femalesuicidebombers-carlisle paper.indd
[27] Spencer, Amanda N. "The Hidden Face of Terrorism: An Analysis of the Women in Islamic State." Journal of Strategic Security 9, no. 3 (2016): pp 74-98.
[28] Ibid

1.5.1.3 Terrorists Use of Improvised Explosive Devices

The UN defines an IED as a device fabricated in an improvised manner combining different explosive materials and components that may have chemicals designed to destroy or disfigure targets.[29] IEDs can be buried underground, hand-launched, delivered by vehicle (vehicle-borne IED), a person, a boat, an aircraft, a rocket or even dropped as a mail. The development and use IEDs is an old method of carrying out attacks and continue to be a widely used method in the 21st century. Key elements of IED use are protected by international law, hence no need for putting more restrictive measures but armed groups still violates such international law that guide on the use of IEDs.[30]

Of late, it has been a noticed that there is a rise in the unlawful use of IEDs, hundreds per month, particularly by the armed groups and rogue individuals, who target huge gathering of civilians to achieve a maximum damage to lives and properties.[31] Highest IED attacks in 2015 were recorded in Afghanistan, Iraq, Nigeria, Pakistan and the Syria with Nigerian suicide bombing causing the most civilian destruction, with over 2,000 casualties recorded..[32] Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram have recruited individuals who are trained to manufacture and use IEDs wreaking massive havoc by aiming at civilians and military personnel.

In cases where the terrorist group has captured a given territorial that includes IED production, it is difficult to detect such places. Similarly, the monetary capability and organizational expertise of armed groups including terrorist organizations, teach their

---

[29] https://www.un.org/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/71/187
[30] UN Secretary General Ban Kimoon. General and complete disarmament: *Countering the threat posed by improvised explosive devices.* (Report Presented in a Workshop at UN General Assembly on 25 July 2016, New York, USA)
[31] Ibid
[32] Ibid

IED experts on how to persistently adapt to counter-IED strategies put in place. Also, the development of communications technology has greatly encouraged sharing of ways of making through sharing instructional videos or photos, making and execution of assaults.[33]

1.5.2 Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram Strategies and Dynamics

An analysis of terrorist activities indicates a strong connection to the new media. Terrorists aim to send a message to multiple audiences such as sympathizers, potential recruits, members of their organizations, governments, and captivated audiences at home.[34] Bertram and Ellison found that Al-Shabaab was very active on Twitter compared to Boko Haram and other terror groups in Africa.[35] Generally There are a number of quasi-official and unofficial accounts run by Al-Shabaab. For instance, a foreigner Fighter Omar Hammami maintained an active Twitter account that detailed his life as a terror group member and commander until his death in 2013.[36]

Al-Shabaab has a working social media strategy despite the challenge of limited access to internet in its main operation areas of Somalia, specifically active on Twitter, YouTube and its own online al-Kata'ib news[37]. During the Westgate terrorist attack between 21st and 24th September, 2013, Al-Shabaab used Twitter in 2013 to claim responsibility for the attack and made live tweets during the attack. Al-Shabaab tweeted both in Somali and English, with the former targeting a domestic audience and the later

---

[33] UN Secretary General Ban Kimoon. General and complete disarmament: Countering the threat posed by improvised explosive devices. (Report Presented in a Workshop at UN General Assembly on 25 July 2016, New York, USA)

[34] Mohammed, Elshimi, *Thinking About the Symbiotic Relationship between the Media and Terrorism* (OCP Policy Center, 2018), 2

[35] Bertram S., Ellison K. *Sub-Saharan African Terrorist Groups' Use of Internet: Journal of Terrorism Research 5(1)* (2014) Pp 5-26

[36] David Mair. *A Case Study: How al-Shabaab used Twitter during an Ongoing Attack. Pp 4*

[37] RAND Europe. A tool for terrorism: *Exploring how ISIL, al-Shabaab and Boko Haram use social media in Africa.* (Paper presented to UNDP 03 October 2018)

a global one.[38] In June 2017 Sheikh Ali Mahmoud Rage, spokesman for Al-Shabaab, released a series of online videos calling on Kenyan supporters to form an army and launch attacks in their own country.[39]

Boko Haram's exploitation of social media is not as sophisticated as Al-Shabaab or ISIS/L as it increased its social media use after declaring its allegiance to ISIS/L in 2015.[40] The affiliation exposed the terror group to a well-built and important social media platform as it became active on twitter, Facebook, YouTube and on private channels like Telegram and WhatsApp among others, targeting Nigerian youths and others in the West African region.[41] However, there has been a little available evidence of direct engagement by social media users with Boko Haram. Video content released by the group online basically focuses on ongoing attacks, operational victories and beheadings of hostages.[42]

Nigeria is a weak state and Somalia is a failed state, explained by state fragility and provisional indicators.[43] Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab The various levels of foreign interference have been received with Nigeria having the MNJTF for to combat terrorism and Somalia having the AMISOM in the fight against Al-Shabaab.[44] Somalia having been perceived as a failed state explains why AMISOM, which is massive and well-funded continue to respond to threats while Nigeria's perceived weak strength has

---

[38] Phillip Seib. As Terrorism Evolves: *Media, Religion, and Governance,* (Ed. 2017) Pp 87
[39] From the Sheikh Ali Rage – June 2017 speech titled "An Analysis of Events"
[40] RAND Europe. A tool for terrorism: *Exploring how ISIL, al-Shabaab and Boko Haram use social media in Africa.* (Paper presented to UNDP 03 October 2018)
[41] Ibid
[42] Ibid
[43] Monty G. Marshall and Gabrielle Elzinga-Marshall, "State Fragility Index and Matrix 2016," Center for Systemic Peace, accessed May 26, 2018,
http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscr/SFImatrix2016c.pdf.
[44] Monty G. Marshall and Gabrielle Elzinga-Marshall, "State Fragility Index and Matrix 2016," Center for Systemic Peace, accessed May 26, 2018,
http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscr/SFImatrix2016c.pdf.

seen a the MNJTFF, with smaller and less financed activities. This confirms to increase in Boko Haram attacks in recent years.

Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram subscribe to Islam and Salafi jihadist ideology.[45] The two terror groups have pledged allegiance to renown terrorist organizations with Boko Haram affiliated to ISIS and Al-Shabaab to Al-Qaeda[46]. Both groups operate in the sub-Saharan region but different sub-regions and countries[47] with Al-Shabaab operating in Horn of Africa sub-region and based in Somali and Boko Haram in the Lake Chad region and domicile in Nigeria. The areas where both terror groups operate and are housed are dry areas with persisting conflict between farmers and pastoralists. The porous border between Nigeria and other Lake Chad basin nations has made it easy for Boko Haram to carry out Chad and Cameroon attacks.[48] Likewise, the porous border between Somalia and its neighbours Kenya and Ethiopia have expedited the Al-Shabaab fighters movement to conduct attacks in those countries.[49] High poverty levels, conflict epicenters and low literacy levels are the common characteristics of areas where both Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram operate.

The first suicide mission of Boko Haram was seen in 2011 and only began to use women or women as suicide bombers by 2014.[50]. In Boko Haram's suicide bombings more women and girls have been used, with reports of using minors recorded in over 60

[45] Serrano, Anibal (2019). "Why the Different Levels of Intervention? Nigeria's Boko Haram and Somalia's alShabaab," OSR Journal of Student Research: Vol. 5, Article 352. https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/osr/vol5/iss1/352
[46] Ibid
[47] Abukar Sanei. Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram: Comparative Analysis and Policy Approaches (Centre for Policy Analysis and Research, 2015) pp 8
[48] Usman A. Tar and Mala Mustapha. The Emerging Architecture of a Regional Security Complex in the Lake Chad Basin, " Africa Development 42, no. 3(2017): pp110-111
[49] Ibid
[50] Vesna Markovic. Suicide Squad: Boko Haram's Use of Female Suicide Bomber. July 2019, pp 283-302 https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/08974454.2019.1629153

incidents.[51]. Mostly Boko Haram's female suicide bombers have been used to attack civilians in states like Cameroon, while men are involved in attacking government, police, and military targets in Nigeria.[52] In Al-Shabaab rarely use women as suicide bombers hence it has deployed less in their mission than Boko Haram, as it does not prefer women's direct military operations[53] Nevertheless, women play critical functions of recruitment and conversion. This includes collection of intelligence that aids the terror group's operations or extortion.[54] They often carry explosives before attacks, taking advantage of the fact that, compared to men, security forces appear to track women less closely.[55]

1.5.3 Challenges faced and lessons learnt in trying to combat Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram in the 21st century

Most governments are trying to counter this use of new media especially social media by terrorists.[56] However, even such efforts still face a big challenge, as it is difficult to control the use of new media, especially with so many individual rights involved. For effectiveness, the governments have had to create special units that deal exclusively with terrorism. For instance, in the UK, the CTIRU works to dilute the effect of terrorist use of the internet.[57] The unit works to remove or modify unlawful internet content. It also identifies the publishers of such unlawful content. That helps minimize the radicalization effect of terrorist use of the internet.

---

[51] Ibid
[52] Ibid
[53] International Crisis Group, "Women and Al-Shabaab's Insurgency", Vol.145, June, 2019
https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/somalia/b145-women-and-al-shabaabs-insurgency
[54] Ibid
[55] Ibid
[56] Ines von Behr, Anais Reding, Charlie Edwards and Luke Gribbon. *Radicalization in the Digital Era*
[57] Ibid

Monitoring and controlling hateful content online is always difficult despite some advanced systems developed to do the same[58]. Vidgen suggests four ways to try and control or contain hateful or propaganda content posted by extremists online immediately after an attack. This includes; adjusting the sensitivity of the hate detection tools, limiting the capacity of social media users from sharing and creating a database of hateful material or propaganda. He closes by saying that social media podiums must keep investing in content moderation as well as develop sophisticated systems that combine human controls with machine learning. He also insists that there is an urgent special steps are required to cope with the short-term influx of hate after terrorist attacks..[59] Kaushik observed that the dark web is used by a growing number of cyber criminals to shop for software that lets them stay anonymous when committing their crimes.[60]

He noted that those fighting cyber-crime find it difficult to trace criminals especially those using the dark web reiterating that most cases are not detected. This suggests that terrorists who are part of international criminal network could be using the dark web to remain anonymous when performing their operations. The existence of like-minded community forums also makes it easy for terrorists to share material without fear of exposure like in physical engagements. The use of the internet is very fundamental to terrorism in the current era. That is because it helps overcome logistical barriers, the risk of detection as well as social constraints. Such advantages give terrorists the

---

[58] Bertie Vidgen PhD Candidate, Alan Turing Institute, University of Oxford https://theconversation.com/four-ways-social-media-platforms-could-stop-the-spread-of-hateful-content-in- aftermath-of-terror-attacks-113785 accessed on 17/04/2020
[59] Ibid
[60]Tushar Kaushik. "Cyber Criminals hide in the dark web to remain anonymous" May 02, 2019. ttps://economictimes.indiatimes.com/tech/internet/cyber-criminals-hide-in-the-dark-web-to-remain-anonymous/articleshow/69139795.cms?utm

confidence to execute terrorist attacks without fear, as they can plan everything with little risk of detection.

The relationship between the media and terrorism also takes an interesting angle when viewed from another perspective. Over the years, terrorist groups have taken captive and even beheaded journalists. That is a tactic that ISIS has especially used to great effect. Their target journalists are those from agencies that are not sympathetic to their cause. Such action aims at bullying media agencies into playing to their tune. ISIS has also threatened to behead Twitter employees that delete or block accounts that promote violence.[61]

1.5.4 Theoretical Literature Review

1.5.4.1 Strategic Model of Terrorism

Strategic model of terrorism was advanced by Michael Rainsborough Smith in trying to devise an effective counter-terrorism strategy. The strategic model, which he saw as a dominant paradigm in terrorism studies, theorizes that terrorists are maximizers of political utility and claims that without understanding the incentive structure of its practitioners, the international community should not hope to render terrorism unprofitable and thus avoid it.[62] According to this school of thought, people resort to terrorism when its net expected benefits outweigh the net expected benefits of alternative forms of protest. This theory therefore explores the ideological roots that both Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram share and scrutinizes the strategies and aims of each

---

[61] John Wihbey. Social and News Media, Violent Extremism, ISIS and Online Speech: Research Review, (Journalist's Review, 2015)
[62] Smith M.L.R. The Strategy of Terrorism. What it is.and just as importantly, what it isn't. (2011) pp 1-126
https://www.e-ir.info/2011/04/28/strategic-theory-what-it-is%E2%80%A6and-just-as-importantly-what-it-isn%E2%80%99t/ accessed on 20/06/20

group in order to determine the nature of the threat they pose in the broader international arena.

By applying strategic theory, and precisely the concept of strategic terrorism, it is possible to form a profound understanding of two of the most dangerous terrorist organizations operating in Africa today. The theory has a hypothesis that In an atmosphere in which other actors all strive to fulfill their interests and ambitions, an individual actor has to work. According to Thomas Schelling, one of the classic strategic theorists, the ability of one participant to gain his end objective or goal is dependent, to a larger extent, the other participant(s)'decisions or choices. Strategic theory thus implies that competition between actors is bound to occur and that others may turn to war as a means of achieving goals. This explains why terrorists and violent extremists resort to use violence for political, ideological or religious gains. Violent extremism and terrorism thrive on organization with strategies and goals being important tools, hence Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram's organization has led to upsurge in attacks and other activities like tax collection from the residents of areas that they control.

1.5.4.2 Liberal Approach

In his book, The Two Treaties of Government, which is considered to be the first exposition of liberalism, Liberalism can be traced back to John Locke, a 17th century English philosopher and political theorist. The government's aim, according to Locke, is to protect the lives, rights and property of citizens and that valid political authority comes only from the consent of the people being governed. In his book The Riches of Nations, Adam Smith, a Scottish moral philosopher, spoke in the 18th century of the commitment of liberals to free markets and capitalism. Liberal theorists contend that a

person's right to life, liberty and property is the government's highest priority, such that the individual's well-being is the basic building block of a just political structure. Liberalism is in general, a group of political, social and economic philosophies that emphasize the ideals of individual rights, equality, economic freedom, restricted and democratic governance and the appreciation of the rule of law.

Liberalism to a larger extend, has promoted globalization[63] characterized by technological advancement, particularly in the areas of transport, communications and information processing. The technological advancement especially the new media has made it easy for terrorist and other extremists and on the other hand made the work of law enforcement/security organs more challenging.[64] Just as technology has opened up the world into a global village for business, it has also opened up the world to terrorism. Terrorist cells and organizations can now access individuals across borders without worrying about the complications of physically visiting different countries.[65]

1.5.4.3 Oxygen of Publicity Thesis

"Oxygen of Publicity" thesis proposes that the media gives life to the terrorists' cause through publicity. In 1985, during her address to the American Bar Association as a British PM, Margaret Thatcher said democratic states must strive to find ways to deny the oxygen of publicity, relied upon by the terrorists. The hijacking of TWA flight 847 by terrorists and the killing of a navy SEAL, which was widely publicized by the media, prompted her speech. This led to widespread media criticism for offering a forum on which the activities of terrorists could reach many individuals around the world easily

---

[63] Amb. Prof. Maria Nzomo (University of Nairobi) defines Globalization as the force and glue that holds together and shapes the global relations between societies, markets and states.
[64] Margaret Thatcher, Speech to American Bar Association, London, 1985
https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106096 accessed on 10/04/2020
[65] Luke Bertram. Terrorism, the Internet and the Social Media Advantage, 227

and rapidly. She insisted that the media is an important platform without which terrorists' activities and influence can easily be cut. In her view, in the case of both print and electronic media, incidents of violent extremism and terrorism eventually make an influential appearance. She further said that democratic states and the media need not to play into the hands of the terrorists given the coverage of acts of violence and horror that creates a wave of compassion and empathy for the victims.

The technological advancement especially the new media has made it easy for terrorist and other extremists and on the other hand made the work of law enforcement/security organs more challenging.[66] The PM believed that without restricting media freedom, there was need to deny the terrorists and other extremists the oxygen that they depend on to broadcast their cause. She encouraged the media to create a legislation that demands the journalists and the media in general not to say or show anything that would facilitate the terrorists in achieving their agenda.[67] However, the former PM did not opine that media should not report on terrorist movements but rather the media need to give up some freedom ostensibly to give avenues in which the terrorists' actions can be reported.[68]

The media therefore provides a platform that violent extremists advance their cause of creating fear, propaganda, radicalization and among others causing uncertainty to the members of the public.[69] Democratic nations view reporting of terrorism as an important component in a liberal society especially when such occurrences are a threat to the very society, otherwise such incidents will be reported on social media.[70]

[66] Margaret Thatcher, Speech to American Bar Association, London, 1985
https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106096 accessed on 10/04/2020
[67] Ibid
[68] Aly, A, Macdonald, S, Jarvis, L, Chen, T., Violent Extremism Online: New Perspectives on Terrorism and the Internet. 2016, New York and London: Routledge
[69] Nacos Brigitte. Terrorism and Counterterrorism. 2007, Pp 6
[70] Ibid

Therefore terrorists and terrorist organizations have resorted to providing their own use of oxygen of publicity by using their own media platforms especially the social media, instead of relying on the mainstream media for communication.

1.6 Gaps in the Literature

It is evident from the literature review. that most of the previous researches/studies have mainly focused on ISIS and Al-Qaeda terror groups as opposed to Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram that continue to pose security threat in their respective regions. They did not also adequately address the news trends in the 21st century violent extremism and terrorism such as use of new media in promoting acts of violent extremism, lone wolf terrorism, cyber terrorism, as well as the use IEDs by terrorists. The analysis will also concentrate on the gender dimension, in particular the role of women in violent extremism and terrorism, as well as the challenges faced by state and non-state actors in the 21st century's attempts to tackle violent extremism and terrorism.

1.7 Justification of the Study

1.7.1 Policy Justification

The study intends to assist policy makers in the sub-Saharan region, Africa and the global community to review their counter-terrorism strategies and look at the current trends in how terrorist operate in enhancing acts of violent extremism. In Kenyan context, National Counter Terrorism Centre and security organs in countering violent extremism in the country can adopt the same lessons. In Nigeria, the study will help the security forces as well as give insights to the group Policy Framework and National Action Plan for Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism. Governments are constantly in battle with terrorists and they are constantly trying to find ways to thwart

their efforts hence the study will be vital.[71] It would help different governments comprehend how and to what extent terror groups have evolved. By understanding such dynamics, they would be able to develop strategies to combat terrorism by minimizing the effective use of weapons and technology in promoting acts of violent extremism and terrorism.

1.7.2 Academic Justification

The findings of this study will be of importance to academic researchers and various stakeholders attracted to the field of Peace and Security especially violent extremism and terrorism subject areas. The final research study will be available in the library and journals for the purposes of equipping learners with new knowledge in addition to the existing knowledge in violent extremism and terrorism especially on Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram.

1.7.3 General Public

The study will outline the trends of violent extremism and terrorism in the 21st Century being propagated by terror groups especially Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram. Members of the public will have a better understanding of the two vices and their responsibility in the fight against them.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

1.8.1 Liberal Approach

The study will be guided by theory of liberalism which best explains how violent extremism and terrorism has increased in the 21st century especially in Africa in reference to Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram. The theory also captures aspects of new media and strategic model of terrorism highlighted in theoretical literature review. The

---

[71]Luke Bertram. Terrorism, the Internet and the Social Media Advantage. Pp 225

upsurge and scope of underlying terrorism activities can be as a result of integration and/or globalization-related features,[72] which can be connected to liberalism. Globalization has led to freedom of movement of goods and individuals across borders and nations and has limited the ability to regulate the flow of information across the same borders. This has not only facilitated acts of violent extremism but also enhanced the possibility of execution of terrorist acts.[73] The freedom given to non-state actors in markets, state and society, has created a complex environment of dealing with international security concerns in the 21st century. The inter-connectedness through new media and efficient transport network has facilitated international crime especially violent extremism and terrorism.

The swift growth of globalization at the start of the 21st century has contributed to the upsurge in global human insecurity including terrorism, despite its numerous benefits not forgetting its complexities and challenges it poses.[74] There is no doubt that globalization has led to expansion and increased the threat of transnational terrorism in Africa.[75] However, terrorist organizations in Africa believe that globalization-related Western merchandises like religion and education are negatively affecting their people.[76] Boko Haram, which basically means that western education is prohibited, is an example of how terrorist organization responds to increasing exposure to western culture as a result of globalization and ignores indigenous ones.[77]

---

[72] Asongu S. et al (2017). Globalization and Terror in Africa. (African Governance and Development Institute Working Paper, No. WP/17/053)
[73] Maria Nzomo et al. Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century Africa: *The Gender Factor*. (Nairobi: A Publication of IDIS, University of Nairobi Vol. 1 2017) Pp *10*

[74] Ibid
[75] Asongu S. et al (2017). Globalization and Terror in Africa. (African Governance and Development Institute Working Paper, No. WP/17/053
[76]Ibid
[77] Ibid

1.9 Hypotheses

The literature review reveals some recurrent themes. The themes form the core of the hypotheses and studying them would provide an insight into the trends of violent extremism and terrorism in the 21st century. The hypotheses resulting from the literature review include;

a) Acts of violent extremism have increased in the 21st century due to globalization.

b) Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram have the same strategy and methods of conducting their operations.

c) State and non-state actors need not to change their counter-terrorism strategies in combating Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram in the 21st century.

1.10 Research Methodology

1.10.1 Research Design

A research design is the research framework that shows how all important components of the research analysis fit into each other in an effort to solve the research issue.[78] Designs for analysis include; descriptive, correlational, longitudinal, cross-cultural and case study. A case study will be adopted by the research study as it aims to define a unit under study in detail as one preserves the meaning.[79] A case study will therefore help the researcher describe the current trends in the 21st century violent extremism and terrorism with a focus on Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram. The study will be using both qualitative and quantitative approaches. Quantitative approach facilitates the collection of data in numerical terms while qualitative approach describes the attitude based on view, opinion and perception.

---

[78] Tromp, 2006, Proposal and Thesis Writing, an Introduction, Paulines Publications Africa, Pp70
[79] Ibid

1.10.2 Target Population

The study will target the social media accounts of some terrorist groups of Al-Shabaab, Boko Haram, ISIS and Al-Qaeda, security experts on terrorism, media personalities, and security agents from Kenya and Nigeria, as well as terror related inmates at Kamiti Maximum Prison and Lang'ata Women Prison. The target population is directly involved with the aspects of violent extremism and terrorism as subjects of interest.

1.10.3 Sample Size, Frame and Techniques

A representation of a fraction of the population is a sample. Sampling entails the selection of a number of items or individuals from a population such that the selected group has elements indicative of the characteristics of interest to the analysis contained in the entire population.[80] The research will adopt purposive sampling to select the interviewees in order to capture first-hand information. Quota sampling will be necessary to achieve desired results in each stratum.

The following formulas were used to determine the sample size, since the population is less than 10,000;

$nf=n/1+(n/N)$

When nf= the desired sample size is less than 10,000 in the population,

When the population is more than 10000(307) n= desired sample

N= estimate of the size

Thus, nf = 307/1+(307/157)

nf=157 respondents

---

[80] Tromp, 2006, Proposal and Thesis Writing, an Introduction, Paulines Publications Africa, Pp7

Table 1 Sampling Frame

Respondents Categories		Desired Sample	Sampling Technique
Security sector	KDF	20	Random
	NIS	30	Random
	NPS	20	Purposive
	NCTC	30	Purposive
Academia		15	Purposive
Researchers		10	Purposive
Civil Society		5	Purposive
Other professions		27	Random
Total		**157**	

1.10.4 Data Collection Methods and Instruments

Given the sensitive nature of the topic, there is limited access to primary data for analysis. However, the research will focus on data from news corporations throughout the world and how they relay communication about terror activities. Interviews with security/terrorist experts of the Horn of Africa, Sahel region, Nigerian and Kenyan security agents will be a primary source of data to the study. The analysis would also examine social media accounts of major terrorist groups such as Al-Shabaab, Boko Haram, ISIS and Al Qaeda in order to assess and evaluate their use of digital media as terrorist groups to achieve their goals and objectives. The aim will be to develop an understanding of the language used on the media and the resultant effect or the expected outcome of such uses. The analysis would attempt to explain how terrorists use digital media outlets to communicate their message and accomplish their desired objectives. For instance, the research will look at how the terror groups use the different media platforms to radicalize individuals to join their cause. It will further try to establish how new media, and especially the internet, has aided terrorist activity throughout the world through radicalization and the spread of fear. Through the literature review, the research seeks to find out existing literature on the topic and then building on existing literature

through examining primary data from different media platforms that terrorists use. The research would therefore explore, where accessible, various verified accounts belonging to terrorists and terror groups in order to establish their use of such platforms.

1.10.5 Data Analysis and Presentations

Data analysis the process of examining the information (data) collected with an aim of making deductions and inferences from it. It includes the mining of critical variables, searching for errors and hypothesis testing. Using thematic analysis, the interviews performed during the research will be analyzed. Relevant responses in answering the research questions and objectives will be identified and a coding system developed. Thematic analysis is the most appropriate for this study in order to analyze the in-depth interviews conducted to come up with general conclusions about the subject matter. Data will be entered, edited and tabulated before being analyzed to achieve the desire goal of finding out the nexus between new media and terrorism. A narrative technique will be used to do qualitative data analysis while statistical summaries will be important for quantitative data analysis. Presentations will be in narrative and themes.

1.11 Ethical Considerations

It will be necessary for this research study to protect the identity of those to be interviewed, as the topic of this study is very sensitive. Information that will be provided will not be shared with any unauthorized person to ensure secrecy. The questionnaire will not bear the name but a number as an identity. The data will only be used for academic purposes and anonymity will be guaranteed for the respondents.

Permission will be sought from the appropriate authorities to carry out a research report including National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation, University of Nairobi, Security Organs, Experts, and any other relevant body.

1.12 Scope and Limitations of the Research

The research will emphasize on various trends and what is facilitating violent extremism and terrorism in the 21st century by using Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram terrorist organizations as case study. The study will use both qualitative and quantitative data (mixed approach). While the research aims at using both primary and secondary data, it will be a challenging task. That is because of the sensitive nature of the topic. Considering that it touches on security, there may be limited access to information.[81] There will be several procedures to go through before gaining access to sensitive information on terrorists, as it would involve security. The research will require collaboration with security agencies. Working with security agencies, especially in intelligence, would ensure access to information, although it would be within certain limits. The use of secondary data would also influence the findings of the research. That is because some of the secondary sources look at the issue from different viewpoints. Each source may have its own bias, thus affecting the overall findings of the study. For instance, a piece of news may present a given case based on the perception or view of the reporter. It may thus ignore the wider picture. The use of news outlets as sources would therefore pose a challenge in terms of credibility. Such information would therefore have to be run against information availed by security agencies.

1.13 Chapter Outline

Chapter one as an introductory chapter, has laid the foundation of the study. It provides the study context, the research problem statement and the study objectives. The main objective was set out as to analyze the nature, motive and methods being used by Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram terror groups to promote acts of violent extremism and

---

[81]Luke Bertram, *Terrorism, the Internet and the Social Media Advantage,*230

terrorism in Kenya, Nigeria and their neighbours and narrowed down to the specific objectives. The chapter also discusses the research questions, literature review and looks at the theoretical framework adopted in the study. It set out the theoretical framework of the study highlighting the main theory best suited for the study –Liberal Theory. The research methodology was noted and the ways of analyzing data. Interviews with Horn of Africa and Sahel sub-regional security/terrorist experts as well as Kenyan and Nigerian security agents will be a primary source of data to the study. The research will also analyze social media accounts of groups of terrorists such as Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram to evaluate and assess their use of the new media to achieve their goals and objectives.

CHAPTER TWO

GLOBAL TRENDS OF VIOLENT EXTREMISM AND TERRORISM IN THE 21ST CENTURY

2.0 Introduction

This chapter identifies and analyses in a detailed manner, the global trends of violent extremism including terrorism in the 21st century. It also reviews literature relevant to this study's focus of Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram, Africa's current lethal terrorists' groups. It therefore aims at eliciting discussion on how violent extremism, more so terrorism is evolving across the globe and whether such trends are being experienced by terrorists' groups operating in Africa. The chapter looks into the descriptive overview of the research area of violent extremism and terrorism.

2.1 Nexus between New Media and Violent Extremism and Terrorism

Arguments around definition of terrorism remains unresolved among experts and scholars despite several studies on violent extremism and terrorism. According to Zohar Kampf Terrorism is seen under US law as premeditated, politically motivated violence committed by subnational organizations or covert agents against non-combatant targets. [82], This description was important during a time when terrorism was primarily found within the boundaries of states and when the key sources of information for the public were the print media and the broadcasting channels. Most scholars at the time regarded the relationship between the media and terrorism as symbiotic. They argue that the role of the media is to draw more viewers while advertising rewards terrorists.

---

[82] Zohar K. (2014) : News-Media and Terrorism: Changing Relationship, Changing Definitions
https://www.researchgate.net/publication/261846676

Owing to the increasing debate on the nexus between the two, scholars, experts and policy makers were interested on how to stop terrorists' use of media. Some argued, according to liberalism and rational principles of freedom, that if a forum were given to radical groups, especially terrorists, to raise their concerns regularly, their drive to act violently would dramatically decrease. Others including former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and current Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, used metaphors such as the media is the oxygen of terrorism," to differentiate between academics or " if a tree falls into a forest and no one is around to hear it, it would not make a sound. Terrorists' denied access to the media would then decrease their incentive to act violently. The phenomenal growth of modern technology and globalization, according to Maria Nzomo, which has led to increased porosity of physical boundaries and the explosion of information and weapons technology.

Just as technology has opened up the world into a global village for business, it has also opened up the world to terrorism. Terrorist cells and organizations can now access individuals across borders without worrying about the complications of physically visiting different countries.[83] Given that an individual may be undergoing training while in their own house, it becomes a greater task for security agencies to discover them. They may be able to hide in plain sight until when they execute an attack. New media therefore makes terrorism borderless, increasing the risk of terror attacks globally.[84] A key word search on Google indicates that making a bomb, Salafi publications and beheading videos are among the most common terrorist keywords.[85] That shows that many people are using the internet to advance their terrorist interests.

---

[83]Luke Bertram, Terrorism, the Internet and the Social Media Benefit, 227
[84]Medina, Richard M. *Examination of the Social Network: An Islamist Terror Network Case Study,* (Security Journal, 2014), 100,
[85]Ines von Behr, Anais Reding, Charlie Edwards and Luke Gribbon. *Radicalisation in the Digital Era: The Use of the Internet in 15 Cases of Terrorism.* (Cambridge: RAND Corporation, 2013)

They are using it for learning purposes and terrorists are taking advantage of that by publishing content that meets their desires.

Research indicates that terror groups use social media for recruitment. For instance, Al Qaeda has, over the years, leveraged on connectivity and extremist resource availability as a tool to recruit jihadists. That strategy has borne more success than the traditional face-to-face recruitments. In the community, in question, terrorist propaganda is also custom-made to cater to weak and oppressed communities. The perceived inequality, embarrassment or exclusion of individuals typically capitalized on by violent terrorist organizations during the process of recruitment and radicalization.

Radicalisation of people is another application of digital media by terrorists. In terrorist groups, radicalization refers to the process of brainwashing recruits into people determined to use violence based on militant ideologies. A nexus exists between recruiting and radicalization. The process of radicalization also includes the use of propaganda, either in person or through the new media. Patrick Maluki has attributed the growth of radicalization in Kenya to extreme Islamism mainly disseminated by Wahabi ideology resulting to emergence of extremists and terrorist groups[86]. Maluki further observed that the 21st century global environment driven by communication technology, has seen act of terrorism become a leading international security challenge.

The new media, especially the Internet, can also be used by terrorist groups and sympathizers to fund their activities. Terrorists may use the Internet by direct solicitation, e-commerce, the misuse of online payment tools and the use of charitable organizations to raise and collect funds and resources. The use of blogs, mass mailings,

---

[86] Patrick Maluki. Learning from country best practice in Africa: In search of a grand counter-terrorism strategy,

chat groups and targeted communications to seek assistance from supporters and sympathizers includes direct solicitation. Online payment facilities, like chat channels, make it easy to electronically transfer funds between the participating parties. For the transfer of money, electronic wire transfers, credit cards or alternative payment facilities such as PayPal or Skype are used.

Via fraudulent methods such as credit card theft, identity theft, wire fraud, stock fraud, intellectual property violations and auction fraud, terrorist groups may also target various online payment services. The United Kingdom's case against Younis Tsouli is a prime example of how illicit proceeds would be used to fund terrorist activities. In this case, evidence has shown that proceeds from stolen credit cards have been laundered by various means, including the use of online e-gold payment accounts. In order to finance the registration of about 180 websites hosting Al-Qaida propaganda videos and providing equipment for terrorist activities in several states around the world, Tsouli used the laundered currency. Approximately 1,400 credit cards have provided around £ 1.6 million in illicit funds to finance terrorist acts.[87]

Legitimate organizations, such as charities, can provide terrorist organizations with financial support for ill motives. Apparently, to lobby online donations, several terrorist groups set up businesses, disguised as philanthropic undertakings. The Global Relief Foundation, the Benevolence International Foundation, and the Holy Land Relief and Development Foundation are strong case studies of publicly humanitarian organizations used to fund Middle East terrorist organizations. Similarly, terrorists may

---

[87] Maura Conway, "Terrorist 'use' of the Internet and fighting back", Information & Security, vol. 19 (2006), pp. 12-14.

as well infiltrate branches of charitable groups to promote their ideologies or provide material support to militant groups.[88]

The use of the Internet as an alternate training ground for terrorists is another global trend in the use of digital media by terrorist groups. They can be used to disseminate realistic guidance in the form of downloadable guides, audio files and video clips, as well as information and advice. Available in numerous formats and multiple languages, these sites include materials on topics such as how to create IEDs, firearms or other guns and harmful materials, how to enter terrorist groups, and how to organize and carry out terrorist attacks. An example is an online magazine named Inspire, allegedly written in the Arabian Peninsula by Al-Qaida in order to allow Muslim terrorist recruits to prepare at home for jihad. The magazine featured a significant amount of ideological content, including speeches attributed to Osama Bin Laden, Sheikh Ayman al-Zawahiri and other well-known Al-Qaida figures, aimed at fostering violent extremism. The Fall 2010 edition featured a hands-on guide on how to adapt a four-wheel-drive vehicle to carry out an attack and how to fire a gun from a tower to launch an indiscriminate attack. For such an attack, the material also suggested a target city to target a member of the government.[89]

Other online training resources provide software to assist law enforcement agencies in counter-intelligence. They also assist in providing information on hacking schemes, including government information systems, and by using available encryption methods and anonymization techniques to enhance the security of illegal communications and online activity. These platforms help create a sense of community between people from

---

[88] Yury Fedotov, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime: Use of Internet for Terrorist Purposes (English, Publishing and Library Section, United Nations Office at Vienna, 2012.)
[89] Ibid

different places and backgrounds with the collaborative nature of the Internet, emboldening the development of networks for the sharing of both educational and tactical materials.

Among the practitioners of criminal justice, many have found out that the use of Internet technology has involved almost every prosecuted case of terrorism they have managed. In fact, the planning of an act of terrorism generally requires isolated contact between multiple parties. This was seen by a recent case in Hanau, Germany, where in February 2020, the right-wing violent extremist targeted and killed nine people and wounded five others. The European Strategic Intelligence and Security Center (ESISC) recovered 24-page manifesto-like letters and two videos posted by the attacker online before the attack during the investigation. The attacker seemed to hold several paranoid views after reviewing its content, including the far-right and white supremacy conspiracy theories.

In April, 2020, UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres warned of risks of online radicalization of violent extremists as they take advantage of Covid-19 pandemic with young people staying online for their classes and social interaction. This came after warnings by UNODC in the same month that with the rapid proliferation of internet and social media use and as the coronavirus continues to spread worldwide, new terrorist threats arise. The UN organization stated that ISIL-affiliated terrorist groups continue to use media outlets such as Telegram to inspire their followers in COVID-19 distracted countries, arguing that the pandemic was a divine reinforcement of their struggles.[90]

---

[90] https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/frontpage/2020/April/unodc-and-partners-adapt-to-covid-19-restrictions-with-use-of-online-counter-terrorism-learning-platform.html

ISIS gained popularity in 2014 due to its effective of use of digital media, taking terrorism to a new level. Unlike other terrorist groups like Al-Shabaab that mainly used new media for purposes of marketing and socializing terror, ISIS went further and used its digital abilities to popularize terror, as well as make it desirable and imitable. With its rise, ISIS became a major concern even for the UN as over 25,000 foreign fighters from over 100 countries joined the group or its affiliates.[91] That represented a 70% increase in foreign terrorist fighters across the world between 2014 and 2015[92]. ISIS became the most aggressive users of new media among terror groups, with over 845 audiovisual campaigns between 2014 and 2015.[93] During that period, over 46,000 Twitter accounts were controlled by its members and supporters, making it a very influential organization in the terrorist world.[94]

2.2 Gender Factor/Involvement of females in the 21st century violent extremism and terrorism

Maria Nzomo argues that despite several studies carried out on violent extremism and specifically on terrorism, significant gaps still remains on gender dimensions of war/conflict.[95] Nzomo observed that the prevailing frameworks for both policy and analysis interventions in existing counter-terrorism measures have not profoundly addressed the gender question especially female involvement. She further avers that counter-terrorism strategies put in place by different countries ignores the role of non-state actors especially the gender dimension. According Nzomo, Kenya's Prevention of

[91] JytteKlausen, *Tweeting the Jihad: Social Media Networks of Western Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq.* (Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 2015), Pp 12
[92] Javier Lesaca.*On social media, ISIS uses modern cultural images to spread anti-modern values.* (Brookings, 2015)
[93] Ibid
[94] J.M. Berger and Jonathan Morgan,The ISIS Twitter Census: *Defining and Describing the Population of ISIS Supporters on Twitter.* (Brookings, 2015)
[95] Maria Nzomo et al. Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century Africa: *The Gender Factor.* (Nairobi: A Publication of IDIS, University of Nairobi Vol. 1 2017) Pp *13*

Terrorism Act 2012, Uganda's Anti-Terrorism Act 2002 and Tanzania's Prevention of Terrorism Act 2002, all assumed the gender dynamics and in the process eliciting debate on lack of a clear strategy in addressing gender issues of international terrorism.[96]

Berko and Erez, while disputing an argument that women are inherently peaceful when it comes to international conflict, aver that there is a significant evidence that in recent years and especially the 21st century, women play a critical role in terrorism.[97] They argue that terrorist groups relied on women across the globe to execute their operations through collaborations, information gathering, acting as human shields, in recruitment, sexual baits in person or over social media. Some scholars such as Bloom have argued that women's participation in terrorist activities draws media attention and shows resistance's gravity and value.[98] Women's increased involvement is often due to them seeking to achieve equality with men or to measure their success. Therefore, the women's inclusion in suicide bombing, they are not only praised for their support, but also for matching their male counterparts.

Scholars are however, have different views on what motivates women to join violent extremism. Some scholars like Georges-Abeyie, argue that an appeal to ideology, intimidation through physical and emotional distress, causing dishonor, influencing family ties, among others, form the basis of women involvement in terrorism.[99] Others like Scott Atran attribute women involvement in terror related activities to

[96] Maria Nzomo et al. Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century Africa: The Gender Factor. (Nairobi: A Publication of IDIS, University of Nairobi Vol. 1 2017) Pp 13
[97] Berko A., Erez E. Gender, Palestinian Women, and Terrorism: Women's Liberation or Oppression? (Study in Conflict and Terrorism, vol.30, June, 2007) pp493-519
[98] Bloom, Mia M. (2005) Dying to Kill: The Allure of Suicide Terror, Columbia University Press, New York.
[99] Georges-Abeyie, D.E. "Women as Terrorists," in *Perspectives on Terrorism*, by Freedman L.Z and Alexander Y. (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1983) pp 71-84

marginalization, social disruption and isolation.[100] He further observed that, the reasons above make women join to earn a living, acquire social status or respect from men.[101] Freedom from oppression formed the basis that Kurdish women joined Kurdish Workers' Party, and therefore becomes other reasons why some women are involved in terror acts. Nzomo argued that the technological advancement through internet and social media has expanded and connected terrorists globally, and therefore they conduct recruitment, campaigns including training of women in taking care of injured soldiers.[102]

In 2011, Boko Haram first used the suicide bombing technique, and by 2014 they had begun using female suicide bombers. In Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Niger, where more than half of the bombers were women and children, the majority of Boko Haram's suicide bombings target civilians, even as reports indicate that the suicide bomber was under the age of 15 in over 60 incidents.[103] The terror group to targets civilians in Cameroon has used more female suicide bombers, whereas men were used more often to target government, police, and military targets in Nigeria.[104] Interestingly, during the suicide bombing, women wore suicide belts or vests, while men are seen in vehicle-borne suicide bombings. The use of women as bombers has in many ways, involved intimidation.[105]

[100] Atran, S. "Genesis of Suicide Terrorism," *Science*, vol.299, (March 7,2003), pp1534-1539. Accessed 13 November, 2020
[101] Ibid
[102] Maria Nzomo et al. Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century Africa: The Gender Factor. (Nairobi: A Publication of IDIS, University of Nairobi Vol. 1 2017) Pp 13
[103] Markovic V. Suicide squad: *Boko Haram's use of the female suicide bomber. PP 283-302* https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/08974454.2019.1629153, 19 July, 2019
[104] Zedalis D.D. Female Suicide Bombers. (Strategic Studies Institute. 2004) pp13 http://www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/femalesuicidebombers-carlisle paper.indd
[105] Ibid

In Al-Shabaab, women have only been used in a couple of situations, as many fewer women suicide bombers have been deployed than for example, the Nigerian jihadist group Boko Haram, as it does not prefer women to actively engage in military operations or decision-making.[106] However, this does not mean that in Al-Shabaab, women do not play a vital role as they play roles that are more active in activities critical to their resilience; recruitment and conversion.[107] They are engaged in vital intelligence gathering activities that enable military operations or coercion by terrorist groups, or carry explosives before attacks, taking advantage of the fact that security forces appear to watch women less closely than men do.[108]

2.3 Terrorists Use of Improvised Explosive Devices as a Means of Attack

An review of selected foreign media reports from 2011 to 2015 reveals that more than 6,300 IED explosions have been recorded, with over 105,000 casualties, suggesting that IED attacks kill and injure more people with the exception of firearms than attacks with any other form of weapon.[109] The UN published a study titled "Countering the threat posed by improvised explosive devices" in July 2016. It called for more study in its recommendations on different scopes of IED problems, not limited to prevention, response, preparedness and recovery.

The rapid technological development of drones or Unmanned Aerial Systems continue to pose security threat as these technologies can easily be bought and deployed to spread or cause terror. The drones or UAS can be used terrorist groups for the purposes of

---

[106]Moaven A. Women and Al-Shabaab's Insurgency: *How women's support Energizes Somalia's Al-Shabaab.* https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/somalia/b145-women-and-al-shabaabs-insurgency. June, 2019
[107] Ibid
[108] Ibid
[109] Ibid

gathering information or modified for use as improvised guided weapon systems.[110] Between 2016 and 2017, terror groups to deliver IEDs for attacks on civilians or military personnel, while a counter-measure is yet to be established have used this technology.[111] Drones not only allow these groups to circumvent traditional security measures but also accurate and effective, hence preferred by the extremist groups to carry out their operations in the 21st century. Violent extremists to control UAS can, easily exploit communication setup in the modern era such as the 4G network.

Due to the availability and low cost of obtaining drones, non-state actors are widely using them for different purposes. The drones were used for reconnaissance, propaganda and the release of IEDs to their targets in Syria and Iraq, where ISIS is based.[112] Former British Prime Minister David Cameron warned that terrorists were increasing the use of crop spray drones to disperse radiological materials. Using social media to transmit many photos of drones dropping small grenade-like IEDs as targets in both Syria and Iraq, the effectiveness of these terror drones wree enhanced.[113]

The VBIED is another security threat faced by terrorist groups using IEDs. VBIED was identified by Hugo Kaaman as any vehicle that has been modified so that it only functions as a large rolling IED" and can either be parked and detonated remotely or driven by a suicide bomber near a given target.[114] According to Hugo, because of its strong position as a force multiplier, the use of VBIED is the most common method of assault by insurgent groups, particularly terrorist organizations. ISIS in both Syria and

[110] Roger Davies et al. Improvised Explosive Device (IED) Monitor: Drones and IED Threat (Action on Armed Violence, October, 2017)
[111] Ibid
[112] Ibid
[113] Ibid
[114] Hugo Kaaman. Improvised Explosive Device (IED) Monitor: The Evolution of Suicide Car Bombs Examined. (Action on Armed Violence, October, 2017)

Iraq recorded over 21,000 VBIED suicide fatalities and injuries during 2011-2016, of which about 73 percent were civilians.[115]

Maruf and Joseph, while analyzing the future of Al-Shabaab, suggests that the US Africa Command's address of the militants' military strength in a June 2017, noted that the terror group has gained advantage militarily. The report claimed that during its operations overrunning AMISOM "forward operating bases" in Leego, Janaale, and El Adde, all in Somalia, the group has improved its fighting capability by capturing heavy weapons, armoured vehicles, explosives, small arms, ammunition, and other miscellaneous supplies..[116] The explosives obtained from the operations against AMISOM troops were used to make different forms of IEDs.[117]

When looking at global terrorism patterns, Antony Cordesman argued that terrorism dominated global terrorism between 1970-2016 in Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, North Africa (MENA) and South Asia.[118] He also suggested that there is a cumulative spike in militant suicide and vehicle attacks in the 21st century.[119] The rise of IED attacks has created an atmosphere of constant insecurity that undermines the morale of security forces, hampers recruiting and hinders reform of the security sectors.[120] in affected countries. Therefore, IED mitigation has drawn massive military investment in terms of materials.[121] and instruction in including surveillance, counter-intelligence, data analysis, ground-penetrating radar, electrical jamming, body and

[115] Ibid
[116] H. Maruf, D. Joseph. Inside Al-Shabaab: *The Secret History of Al-Qaeda's Most Powerful Ally.* (Indiana University Press, 2018) Pp 7-26
[117] Ibid
[118] Antony H. Cordesman. Global Trends in Terrorism: 1970-2016
[119] Ibid
[120] UN General and complete disarmament: *Countering the threat posed by improvised explosive devices.* (Report Presented in a Workshop at UN General Assembly on 25 July 2016, New York, USA)
[121] Equipment, apparatus and supplies of an organization especially the military.

vehicle armor, and computerized prostheses"".[122] Because some IEDs are laid underground to threaten military personnel, despite attempts by the UN to revise the UN Security Policy Manual to counter IED threats and update the Landmine and Explosive Remnants of War Protection Guidance in 2016, humanitarian workers have become victims of such attacks.[123]

2.4 Conclusion

The literature reviewed indicates that new media has aided terrorism to a big extent. The capabilities of new media provide opportunities for terrorists to advance their causes through facilitating recruitment, radicalization, financing, training, as well as the spread of propaganda and fear. Terror groups are able to use free media platforms such as Telegram, Twitter, Facebook, and WhatsApp to disseminate content to helps them achieve their goals. The literature establishes a link between terrorist activity and the use of new media in the global trends of violent extremism and terrorism in the 21st century. It suggests that as communication technologies advance, so do terrorist strategies. IED making, interconnectedness between terrorist organizations, radicalization, training among others are mostly done by online through new media, thus, it is important to understand the changing communication technologies to be able to counter terrorist activity in the modern era of new media.

---

[122] UN General and complete disarmament: *Countering the threat posed by improvised explosive devices.* (Report Presented in a Workshop at UN General Assembly on 25 July 2016, New York, USA)

[123] Ibid

CHAPTER THREE

AL-SHABAAB AND BOKO HARAM STRATEGIES AND DYNAMICS

3.0 Introduction

This chapter compares and analyzes the different strategies and dynamics used by Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram in carrying out their activities. It also compares at different interventions deployed against the two terror groups in different regions. The literature review on the comparison between the groups is also looked at to see how different scholars and experts compare the two.

3.1 Use of New Media

Bertram and Ellison found in an overview of internet use by sub-Saharan militant groups that Al-Shabaab was particularly active on Twitter compared to Boko Haram and other groups operating in Africa.[124] Varieties of accounts have traditionally been run by Al-Shabaab, both quasi-official and unofficial. For example, Omar Hammami, a foreign fighter, maintained an active Twitter account documenting his life as a terror group member and commander until his death in 2013.[125]

Al-Shabaab has a working social media strategy despite the challenge of limited access to internet in its main operation areas of Somalia, specifically active on Twitter, YouTube and its own online al-Kata'ib news[126]. During the Westgate terrorist attack between 21st and 24th September, 2013, Al-Shabaab used Twitter to assert responsibility for the attack and after the attack, made live tweets. Both in Somali and English, Al-Shabaab tweeted, with the former addressing a domestic audience and later a global

[124] Bertram S., Ellison K. *Sub-Saharan African Terrorist Groups' Use of Internet: Journal of Terrorism Research 5(1) (2014) Pp 5-26*
[125] David Mair. *A Case Study: How al-Shabaab used Twitter during an Ongoing Attack. Pp 4*
[126] RAND Europe. A tool for terrorism: *Exploring how ISIL, al-Shabaab and Boko Haram use social media in Africa.* (Paper presented to UNDP 03 October 2018)

one.[127] In June 2017, Al-Shabaab representative Sheikh Ali Mahmoud Rage released a series of videos online calling on Kenyan supporters to form an army and launch attacks in their own country.[128]

Boko Haram's exploitation of social media is not as sophisticated as Al-Shabaab or ISIS/L as it increased its social media use after declaring its allegiance to ISIS/L in 2015.[129] The affiliation exposed the terror group to a well-built and important social media platform as it became active on twitter, Facebook, YouTube and on private channels like Telegram and WhatsApp among others, targeting Nigerian youths and others in the West African region.[130] However, there has been a little available evidence of direct engagement by social media users with Boko Haram. Video content released by the group online basically focuses on ongoing attacks, operational victories and beheadings of hostages.[131]

3.2 Foreign Intervention

Serrano noted that it was necessary to understand why there are various levels of foreign involvement in Nigeria and Somalia to help suppress Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram.[132] He argued that a state's relative strength plays a critical role in the degree of foreign intervention received by both states to combat their terrorist groups, since a state's relative strength either allows or restricts the amount of foreign intervention.[133]

[127] Phillip Seib. As Terrorism Evolves: *Media, Religion, and Governance,* (Ed. 2017) Pp 87
[128] From the Sheikh Ali Rage – June 2017 speech titled "An Analysis of Events"
[129] RAND Europe. A tool for terrorism: *Exploring how ISIL, al-Shabaab and Boko Haram use social media in Africa.* (Paper presented to UNDP 03 October 2018)
[130] Ibid
[131] Ibid
[132] Serrano, Anibal (2019). "Why the Different Levels of Intervention? Nigeria's Boko Haram and Somalia's alShabaab," OSR Journal of Student Research: Vol. 5, Article 352.
https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/osr/vol5/iss1/352
[133] Ibid

Nigeria is categorized as a weak state and Somalia a failed state explained by state fragility and provisional indicators.[134] Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab have received different levels of foreign intervention with Nigeria having the MNJTF for to combat terrorism and Somalia having the AMISOM in the fight against Al-Shabaab.[135] Having been regarded as a failed state, Somalia explains why such a large and well-funded AMISOM response continues, while the perceived poor strength of Nigeria has seen a smaller and less-funded MNJTF operation. This confirms the rise in the number of attacks carried out in recent years by Boko Haram.

Spears, looking at Africa's continued instability, noted that many Africans were left with no sense of identity after the colonial period, particularly after the establishment of state borders.[136] This left many fragmented ethnic groups residing in many areas, putting them within a state. [137] And to increase distrust among various communities. Although the former colonial powers did this to remain in charge of the land and people, the implications in many African states shaped the sense of identity.[138] It is therefore obvious that differences can easily occur between these groups as they have been forced to live together in a society.

3.3 Ideology

Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram are both Muslim and adhere to the ideology of Salafi jihadism. With Boko Haram linked to ISIS and Al-Shabaab being an associate of Al-

[134] Monty G. Marshall and Gabrielle Elzinga-Marshall, "State Fragility Index and Matrix 2016," Center for Systemic Peace, accessed May 26, 2018, http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscr/SFImatrix2016c.pdf.
[135] Monty G. Marshall and Gabrielle Elzinga-Marshall, "State Fragility Index and Matrix 2016," Center for Systemic Peace, accessed May 26, 2018, http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscr/SFImatrix2016c.pdf.
[136] Ian S. Spears, "The State System and Africa's Permanent Instability," in Routledge Handbook of African Security, ed. James J. Hentz (Routledge, 2013): 117.
[137] Ibid
[138] Ibid

Qaeda, the two militant groups have pledged allegiance to more capable and successful terrorist organizations. [139] Both parties, based in Somali and Boko Haram in the Sahel region and based in Nigeria, work in some regions and countries with Al-Shabaab operating in the Horn of Africa region. Interestingly, the areas where both terrorist groups operate are dry areas, with a common phenomenon of conflict between farmers and pastoralists. Boko Haram was able to carry out attacks in the neighboring countries of Chad and Cameroon on the porous frontier between Nigeria and the Lake Chad basin.[140] The porous border between Somalia and its neighbors has also facilitated Al-movement Shabaab's to stage attacks in Kenya and Ethiopia.[141] High levels of poverty, high incidences of violence and poor educational opportunities mark both Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram's areas of operation for people.

3.5 Suicide Bombing

Boko Haram first used suicide-bombing tactics in 2011 and began using female suicide bombers in 2014.[142] In the suicide bombings of Boko Haram, more than half of the bombers were women and children, even though records indicate that the suicide bomber was under the age of 15 in over 60 cases.[143] More female suicide bombers were used by the terror group targeting civilians in Cameroon, while males were used more frequently in Nigeria to target government, police and military targets.[144] Women have only been used in a couple of instances in Al-Shabaab and it has deployed far fewer women suicide bombers than Boko Haram, because women do not prefer to actively

---

[139] Abukar Sanei. Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram: Comparative Analysis and Policy Approaches (Centre for Policy Analysis and Research, 2015) pp 8
[140] Usman A. Tar and Mala Mustapha. The Emerging Architecture of a Regional Security Complex in the Lake Chad Basin, '' Africa Development 42, no. 3(2017): pp110-111
[141] Ibid
[142] Vesna Markovic. Suicide Squad: Boko Haram's Use of Female Suicide Bomber. July 2019, pp 283-302
https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/08974454.2019.1629153
[143] Ibid
[144] Ibid

engage in military operations or decision-making.[145]. Within Al-Shabaab, however, women play a role in activities vital to its resilience; recruitment and conversion. This also involves intelligence collection that makes military operations or extortion by terrorist groups, or carries explosives before attacks, taking advantage of the fact that security forces tend to track women less closely than men do.[146]

3.6 Conclusion

Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram still remain a security threat not only to Kenya, Nigeria and their neighbours but also the entire Africa as the groups are increasingly expanding their operation areas. The two share a number of similarities and in terms of how they conduct their attacks, use women in their activities, levels of foreign intervention among others. The two groups continue to exploit the new media in facilitating various activities to remain unnoticed. The groups continue to recruit and radicalize individuals into terrorism. Conflict epicenters are the breeding grounds for the two terrorist organizations as they occupy dry and ungoverned areas in Nigeria, Somalia and Kenya. Fight between pastoralists and crop farmers over pasture and water are the common characteristics of those areas they occupy.

---

[145] International Crisis Group, "Women and Al-Shabaab's Insurgency", Vol.145, June, 2019
https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/somalia/b145-women-and-al-shabaabs-insurgency
[146] Ibid

CHAPTER FOUR

CHALLENGES FACED AND LESSONS LEARNT IN TRYING TO COMBAT AL-SHABAAB AND BOKO HARAM IN THE 21ST CENTURY

4.0 Introduction

There has been a number of challenges faced and lessons learnt in trying to deal with Africa's most lethal terrorist groups of Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram in Sub-Saharan region. This chapter reviews the problems encountered by both state and non-state actors and the accompanying lessons learnt in combating terrorism.

4.1 Challenges and Lessons Learnt in Combating Violent Extremism and Terrorism in the 21st Century

While reviewing the challenges of counter-terrorism measures put in place by States, Woldemichael reported that Africa recorded over 1,168 terrorist attacks from January to August 2020, compared to the 982 cases in the same period in 2019.[147] This happened despite several counter-terrorism efforts including deploying AMISOM forces to fight Al-Shabaab, MNJTF against Boko Haram and many non-African missions.[148] Various problems are encountered while learning lessons on best practices when it comes to fighting violent extremism and terrorism in the 21st century.

4.1.1 Restricted Cyber Forums

Terrorist groups use new media platforms including password-protected websites and restricted access Internet chat groups like Telegram for recruitment, propaganda,

---

[147] Shewit Woldemichael. Institute of Security Studies: Counter-Terrorism in Africa Must Adapt to New Realities. https://issafrica.org/iss-today/counter-terrorism-in-africa-must-adapt-to-new-realities, accessed on November 4, 2020

[148] Ibid

training, financing, and other operations. The restricted access cyber forums complicate the tracking of terrorism-related activity by law enforcement and intelligence agencies. While the internet provides terrorists with the capability to reach many people across the globe, it also offers the terrorists with another advantage as it provides a level of secrecy and anonymity, which allows them to engage in clandestine activities. This therefore makes it difficult to deal with the 21st century violent extremism and terrorism.

The 15th March 2019 terrorist attack on two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand was streamed live on Facebook by the attacker in which 50 people were killed.[149] The resulting video was quickly shared on social media platforms across the globe and that it stayed there for about six hours on Facebook and another three hours on YouTube before it was brought down.[150] Acts of terrorism attracts many individuals in online hate, overrunning platforms' reporting systems. Many people who upload and share this type of content also know ways in which they can deceive the social media platforms and get round their existing checks. It is therefore complex to try and bring down hate content shared online with the extremist groups as after sharing such, supporters and sympathizers also forward the same to their followers thereby overrunning the control mechanisms put in place. Most social media companies have policies that ban the publishing of material that glorifies or supports terrorism. Threats by terror groups including beheading of journalist as with the case of ISIS[151], is aimed at making staff of the media companies to relax the rules and allow them to achieve

[149] Bertie Vidgen PhD Candidate, Alan Turing Institute, University of Oxford
https://theconversation.com/four-ways-social-media-platforms-could-stop-the-spread-of-hateful-content-in-aftermath-of-terror-attacks-113785 accessed on 17/04/2020
[150] Ibid
[151] John Wihbey, *Social and News Media, Violent Extremism, ISIS and Online Speech: Research Review*, (Journalist's Review, 2015)

their agenda. In this case, journalists and internet content controllers work in fear of possible persecution.

Kaushik observed that there is a rising number of cyber criminals using the dark web to look for software that enable them remain unidentified while carrying out their crimes[152]. He noted that law enforcement personnel and cyber-crime detectives, find it difficult to trace such criminals especially those using the dark web insisting that most cases are not detected. This suggests that terrorists, part of the larger international criminal network, could be using the dark web to remain unnoticed while engaging in their secret activities.

[153]Vidgen suggests four ways to support online platforms immediately after an attack to take down radical and hateful content. This includes; changing the hate detection tools' sensitivity, making it easier for workers to take down without fear of victimization, restricting social media network users' right to share and build a shared hateful content database to ensure that content removed from one site is automatically banned from another site. He concludes by stating that social media platforms need to continue investing in content moderation and must continue to develop advanced systems that integrate human controls with machine learning and that special measures to deal with the short-term influx of hate after terrorist attacks are also urgently needed.

4.1.2 Globalization in the 21st Century

Asongu, while reviewing globalization and terror in Africa, observed that the upsurge in terrorists' activities can be attributed to integration and/or globalization-related

---

[152]Tushar Kaushik. "Cyber Criminals hide in the dark web to remain anonymous" May 02, 2019. ttps://economictimes.indiatimes.com/tech/internet/cyber-criminals-hide-in-the-dark-web-to-remain-anonymous/articleshow/69139795.cms?utm
[153] Ibid

features[154] . Globalization, which has led to freedom of movement of both goods and people across borders and countries and reduced capacity to control information flow across the same borders, has not only facilitated acts of violent extremism but also enhanced the opportunity of execution of acts of terror.[155] The liberty given to non-state actors in state, markets and society, has created a complex environment of dealing with international security concerns in the 21st century including violent extremism. The inter-connectedness through new media and efficient transport network has facilitated international crime especially violent extremism and terrorism.

Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, while addressing the American Bar Association in London in 1985, opined that the technological advancement especially the new media has made it easy for terrorists and on the other hand made the work of security organs more challenging.[156] Just as technology has made the world a global village for business, it has also provided an opportunity or platform for terrorist operations. Bertram observed that through globalization, terrorist cells and organizations can easily access people across borders without physically visiting the countries they come from.[157] Globalization has therefore provided different platforms and opportunities which have been exploited by the terrorist organizations.

[154] Asongu S. et al (2017). Globalization and Terror in Africa. (African Governance and Development Institute Working Paper, No. WP/17/053)
[155] Maria Nzomo et al. Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century Africa: *The Gender Factor*. (Nairobi: A Publication of IDIS, University of Nairobi Vol. 1 2017) Pp *10*
[156] Margaret Thatcher, Speech to American Bar Association, London, 1985 https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106096 accessed on 10/04/2020
[157]Luke Bertram. Terrorism, the Internet and the Social Media Advantage, 227

4.1.3 Poor Governance and Corruption

Sharan accredited the success of Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab by the weakness of governance coupled with brutality of security forces[158] which makes many residents of areas of operations of extremist groups join them. Similarly, politicians use extra-judicial methods including militia groups to threaten and kill people against their rule leading to easy radicalization of young people[159] into violent extremist groups. Afolabi, while conducting a research in northern Nigeria where Boko Haram is dominant, most of his respondents agreed that influential businesspersons and politicians supported the operations of the group.[160]

Woldemichael noted that terrorist groups occupy territories that are already experiencing some sort of instability, characterized by weak security institutions, poor governance and large ungoverned spaces.[161] This creates a conducive environment for their smooth running of their activities. He further claimed that the AU PSC failed to show leadership when they could not agree on whether a counter-terrorism unit under the ASF was the best response after the AU summit directed them to consider revisit existing continental responses with the growing threat posed by violent extremism across Africa.[162] However, terrorism experts and Scholars have questioned the push to have an additional counter-terrorism unit in Africa, calling for accountability of the existing counter-terrorism mechanisms and policies to be implemented fully.[163] Others

[158] Sharan, A. "Terrorism and Counter Terrorism in Africa: Fighting Insurgency from Al-Shabaab, Ansaru and Boko Haram," *Africa Review*, Vol.8, No.2, (2016), 191
[159] Ibid
[160] Afolabi, A. "The Insurgence and Socio-Political Economy in Nigeria, "*International Journal of Development and Economics Sustainability*, Vol.3, No.5 (2015), 71.
[161] Shewit Woldemichael. Institute of Security Studies: Counter-Terrorism in Africa Must Adapt to New Realities. https://issafrica.org/iss-today/counter-terrorism-in-africa-must-adapt-to-new-realities, accessed on November 4, 2020
[162] Ibid
[163] Ibid

have even criticized the lack of consultations with regional bodies who already have counter-terror instruments.[164] What qualifies to be regarded as a terror threat is still viewed differently by AU member states despite the AU developing a general definition of terrorism, a development that experts argue will be a major impediment in deciding whether the ASF should be deployed in response to specific 'terror' groups.[165]

Regions with scramble of resources are known to create breeding grounds for insurgent groups. Where there is poor governance and corruption, war against terrorism becomes difficult. For instance, Boko Haram believe that problems facing Nigeria can only be addressed by forming a an Islamic state with a strict Sharia law.[166] Terrorism scholars like Aghedo and Osumah have observed that police or military intervention has been ineffective in trying to manage terror threats in Nigeria[167] and other countries affected. However, other scholars argue that experiences worldwide have revealed that military interventions cannot alone overcome the threat of terror and has blamed ad hoc counter-terrorism missions in Africa for paying attention to military responses to extremism.[168]

4.1.4 Fighting Extremist Ideology

The restricted use of military power in countering ideology has been insisted on by analysts and academics. Professor Sir Michael Howard, a prominent military historian and strategist, said when the war on terrorism was in its early stages that we are not faced with a finite enemy who can be appeased by political compromises or defeated

---

[164] Ibid
[165] Ibid
[166] International Crisis Group, *Curbing Violence in Nigeria(II): The Boko Haram Insurgency*, Africa Report, NO.216, (Brussels: International Crisis Group, 2014), 9.
[167] Aghedo, I. and O. Osumah, "Bread Not Bullets: Boko Haram and Insecurity Management in Northern Nigeria," *African Study Monographs*, Vol. 35, NO.3 & 4, (2014), 205
[168] Shewit Woldemichael. Institute of Security Studies: Counter-Terrorism in Africa Must Adapt to New Realities. https://issafrica.org/iss-today/counter-terrorism-in-africa-must-adapt-to-new-realities, accessed on November 4, 2020

by military victories." We deal with a state of mind that needs to be changed; a challenge that requires ability, sagacity, dedication, empathy and above all, patience."[169] Indeed, over the past 17 years, the blood and treasure invested has shown the inability of even the most technologically sophisticated military to contain, far less defeat, the fervent beliefs underpinning this abuse.

The inescapable inference is that politically motivated violence would only be balanced effectively by more strong ideological arguments. Yet, policymakers around the world's counter-terrorism spending priorities appear to represent an overwhelming dependency on kinetic efforts rather than ideological ones. To mention only one example, Britain devotes only 1% of its counter-terrorism budget to fighting the ideology that fuels extremism and violence against Islam.

4.1.5 Terrorism Financing

Zakawaat and the Finance offices are the main sections of Al-Shabaab that aid in tax collection from members of the public.[170] Zakawaat collects non-monetary taxes including livestock and farm produce, while the finance department, which was founded in 2008 when Al-Shabaab captured the port city of Barawe, collects monetary taxes.[171] The group also uses ransom from hostage taking and sale of illicit goods. Boko Haram also collects both non-monetary and monetary taxes from the locals in areas they control as well as criminal engagements, taking advantage of less state presence near the border.[172] Recently the group has been involved in kidnapping and extortion

[169] Bruce Hoffman. Extremism in 2019: New Approaches to Facing the Threat
[170] Hiraal Institute, 'AS Finance System', 2018
https://hiraalinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/AS-Finance-System.pdf
[171] Ibid
[172] https://www.fdd.org/analysis/2018/02/01/boko-haram-financial-assessment/

to get their finances as opposed to bank robbery and smuggling.[173] In some cases, Boko Haram are involved in vandalizing villages and looting food and livestock from them.[174]

Terrorist organizations can easily exploit online payment services to get finances through credit card theft, wire fraud, and even auction fraud among others. Political elites and business people are also believed to be part of terrorism financing.

4.2 Conclusion

The challenges associated with violent extremism and terrorism are many. However, poor governance and corruption, terrorism financing, clandestine cyber platforms, fighting the wrong ideology and different levels of pursuing terrorists are the main ones according to the research studies. It is difficult to bring down hateful content shared by extremist groups, and even when it is brought down, it leaves a big impact as it is shared with so many users. Terrorism financing through money laundering, kidnappings, tax collection and politicians funding, has embolden the terrorist organization to flourish and sustain themselves.

---

[173] Ibid
[174] Ibid

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter, encompasses the presentation and analysis of data collected during the course of conducting this research study. This data was collected from individuals from various backgrounds such as the security sector, academia, civil society and researchers in terrorism and violent extremism.

5.2 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

The study research covered various socio-demographic features of the respondents including age, gender, level of education, religion and security organs. The figure 1 below shows the demographics of persons involved in the survey carried out during the study.

5.2.1 Gender of the Respondents

Gender of Respondents
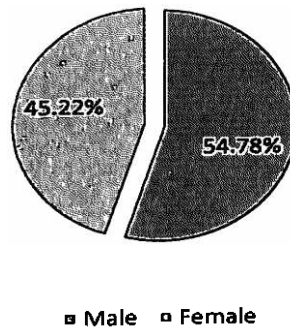
□ Male   □ Female

Fig.5.2.1 Gender of the Respondents

The respondents interviewed was from two main categories of gender, male and female. Male respondents formed 54.78%, while 45.22% were female respondents out of the 157 of the sample size.

5.2.2 Religion of Respondents

Religion of Respondents

3.20%

44.60%   52.20%

□ Christians   ■ Muslims   ■ Other
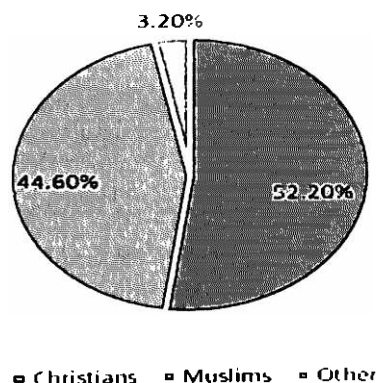
Figure 5.2.2 Religion of the Respondents

Out of the sample of individuals interviewed, 52.2% were Christians, 44.6% represented Muslims and other religion 3.2%. Religion was an important factor so as to get different views on the nexus between violent extremism and religion.

5.2.3 Occupational Background of the Respondents

Occupational Background of Respondents

17.20%

3.10%

6.40%

9.60%

63.70%

□ Security   □ Academia   □ Researcher   Civil Society   □ Other
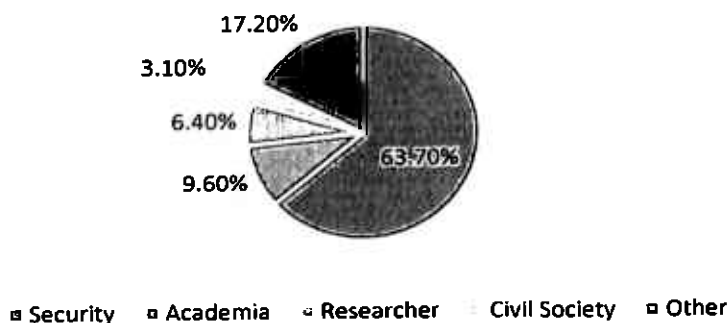
Fig. 5.2.3 Occupational Background of the Respondents

Fig 5.2.3 above represents the occupational/professional demographic of respondents interviewed mainly from security sector, academia, researchers, civil society and other professions. The security sector which in this case comprises of the armed forces and intelligence community formed the highest number of respondents at 63.7%. Other

professions other than the listed had 17.2%, 9.6% of the respondents were from the academia, while civil society and researchers had 3.1% and 6.40% respectively.

5.3 Examining the Reasons for Upsurge in Violent Extremism and Terrorism in Africa

Causes of Terrorism

□ New Media   ▣ Religious ideology

□ Poor Governance/Corruption   Wrong Intervention Methods
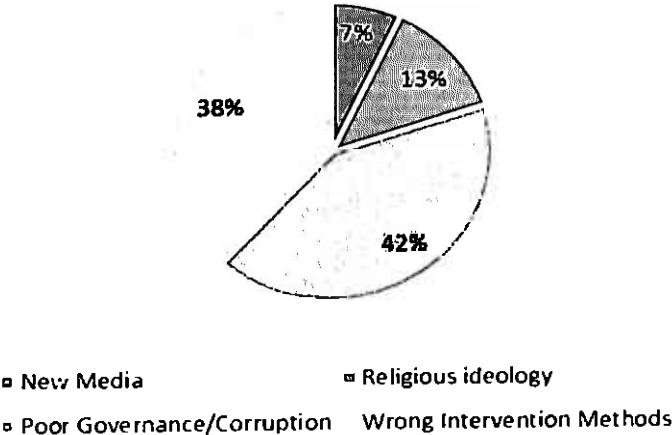
Fig 5.4 Causes of rise in Violent Extremism and Terrorism in Africa

From the survey conducted from the respondents, poor governance and corruption is the main reason for the increase in numbers of attacks and other terrorist activities in Africa with 42%. 38% of the respondents acknowledged that wrong counter-terrorism interventions are the main cause of upsurge in security threats from both Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram. Religious fanaticism or ideology involving call for Muslims to join "holy war" (*Jihad*) achieved 13% as the main cause of terrorism in Africa. Only 7% of the respondents agreed that new media including social media has facilitated the rise in terrorism through radicalization and recruitment among other activities of the extremists online.

5.3.1 Assessment that Poor Governance is responsible for Upsurge in Violent Extremism and Terrorism in Africa

Assessment of Poor Governance as a main cause of Terrorism in Africa

□ Strongly Agree   □ Agree   □ Disagree   Strongly Disagree
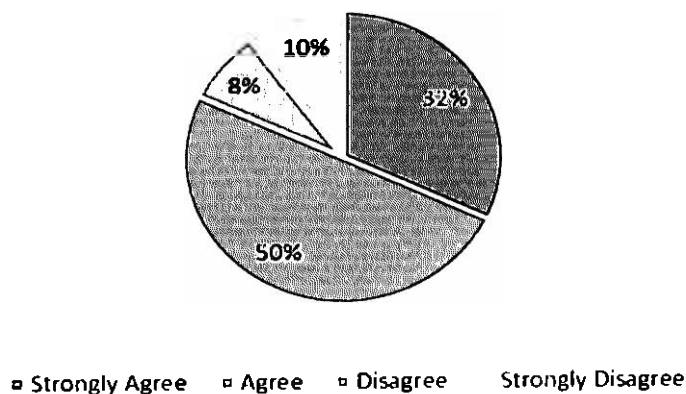
Fig 5.3.1 An assessment that Poor Governance and Corruption is the main cause of rising cases of Violent Extremism and Terrorism in the African Continent

According to the respondents interviewed on their observation regarding poor governance and corruption as a major source of problems of violent extremism and terrorism in Africa, the findings. 50% of the respondents, agreed that poor governance the reason for the upsurge, while 32% strongly agreed over the same. 10% and 8% strongly disagree and disagreed respectively.

59

5.3.2 Assessment on the effectiveness of regional organizations in sub-Saharan region in countering terrorism and violent extremism

Assessing Effectiveness of Regional Bodies
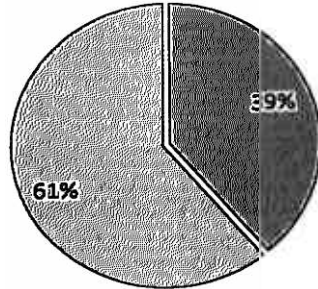
□ Regional Organizations are effective   □ Regional Organizations are ineffective

Figure 5.3.2 Assessment on the effectiveness of regional organizations in sub-Saharan region in countering terrorism and violent extremism

The figure above represents responses regarding the effectiveness of regional bodies in countering violent extremism and terrorism. Majority of the respondents (61%) believe that regional organizations are ineffective when it comes to countering violent extremism and only 39% agree that they have effectively handled the global threat

5.3.3 Greatest Obstacle to Effectiveness of Regional Bodies in Countering Violent Extremism in Africa

Obstacle to Effectivess of Regional Organizations

□ Lack of Political Goodwill   □ Inadequate Funds

□ Suspicion among member states   Wrong Intervention Method
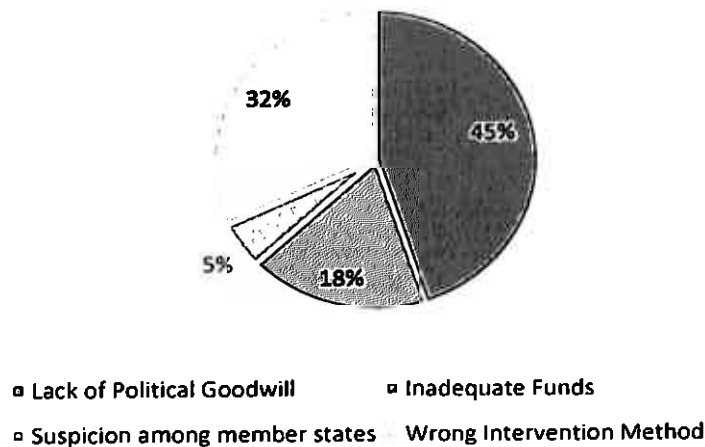
Fig 5.3.3 Greatest Obstacle to Effective Counter Violent Extremism by Regional Organizations in Africa

It was established that the greatest barrier to the effective working of regional organizations to countering violent extremism is the lack of political goodwill from member states (45%). However, 32% of the respondents acknowledged that use of wrong intervention method is the reason for the ineffectiveness of the organizations. Inadequate funding got a backing of 18% from the respondents while suspicion among member countries, as an impediment to their ineffectiveness, attracted 5% of the responses.

5.4 Trends in Violent Extremism and Terrorism in the 21ˢᵗ Century

5.4.1 Evaluating the Motives of Women Involvement in Terrorism

Motives of Women Involvement in Terrorism

□ Fighting Gender Inequality   □ Victims of Recruitment   □ Freedom   Brides
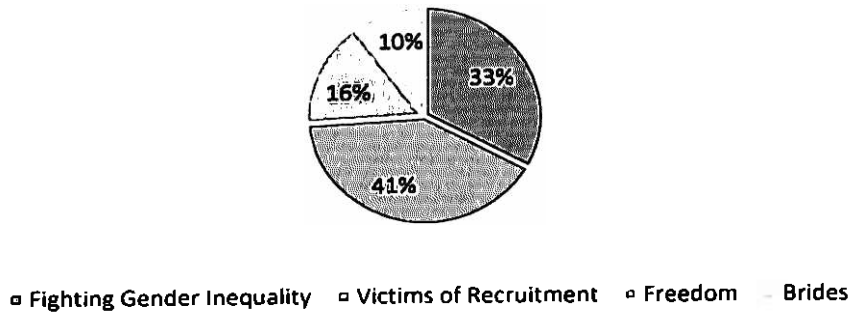
Figure 5.4.1 Evaluating the Reasons for Women involvement in Terrorism

The data collected show that women are just victims of recruitment as their counter parts the men. 41% of the respondents agreed that majority of women who are members of terrorist organization were recruited, while 33% believe that women join these groups to fight gender inequality in societies that have looked down upon women. Search for freedom from societal pressure attracted 16% of the respondents while others (10%) felt that the women are motivated by being brides of the terrorist commanders.

5.4.2 Examining the Most Used Social Media Platform by Violent Extremists

Most Used Social Media Platform

□ Twitter   □ Telegram   □ WhatsApp   FaceBook   □ Others
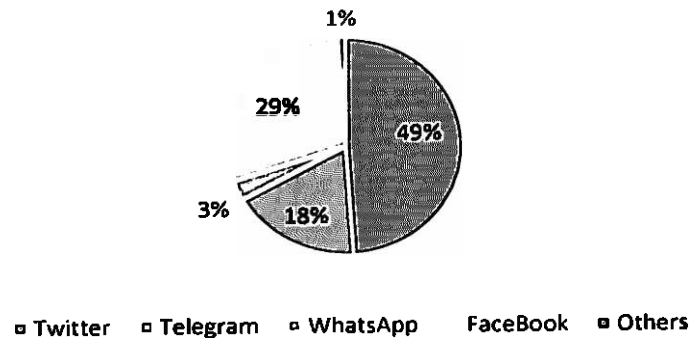
Fig 5.4.2 Most Utilized Social Media Platform by Terrorists

The majority of the respondents (49%) considered Twitter as the most utilized social media forum by violent extremists and terrorists. Facebook was identified the second most used platform by 29% of the respondents while Telegram and WhatsApp were backed by 18% and 3% respectively. Only 1% of the responses supported utilization of other platforms.

5.4.3 Assessing Most Common Method of Attacks by both Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram

Most used Weapons of Attacks by Terrorists

□ Firearms   □ Bombs   □ IEDs   ◡ Chemicals and Biologcal Weapons
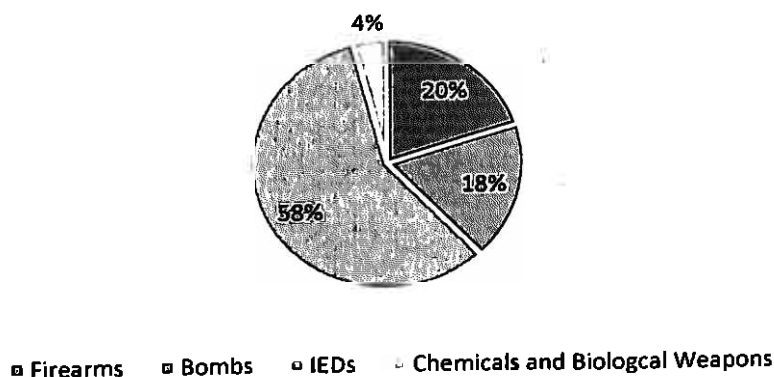
Figure 5.4.3 Common Method of Attacks by Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram

IEDs were identified by the majority of the respondents (58%) as the most used method of conducting attacks by the two terror groups on their targets. Firearms usage was the

63

second at 20%, while bombs and biological weapons were supported by 18% and 4% respectively as the most utilized method of attacks.

5.4.4 Challenges of Fighting Violent Extremism and Terrorism

Challenges of Fighting Violent Extremism and Terrorism

- 21st Century Globalization
- Terrorism Financing
- Difficlulty in fighting ideology
- Restricted Cyber Forums
- Poor Governance/Graft
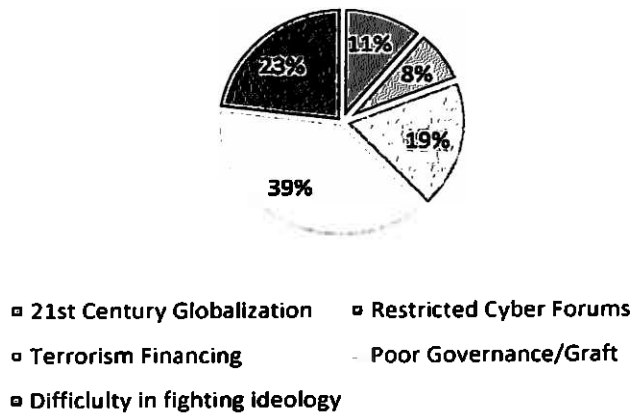
Figure 5.4.4 Challenges of War against Violent Extremism and Terrorism

In line with challenges that are encountered in trying to fight Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram in the 21st century, 39% of the respondents attributed poor governance and graft as the biggest challenge. 23% of the respondents felt that difficulty in fighting extremists' ideology was the main problem attributing it to lack of a clear strategy in the fight against terrorism. Terrorism financing was supported by 19% ,21st century globalization at 11%, while restricted cyber forums which include password restricted websites were seen as the main challenge at 8%.

5.4.5 Best Strategies in Countering Violent Extremism and Terrorism in Sub-Saharan Africa

Best Counter-Terrorim Strategies

- Empower Institutions
- Involvement of Non-State Actors
- Economic Empowerment
- Fight Extremism Ideology
- Continous Training of Security Personnel
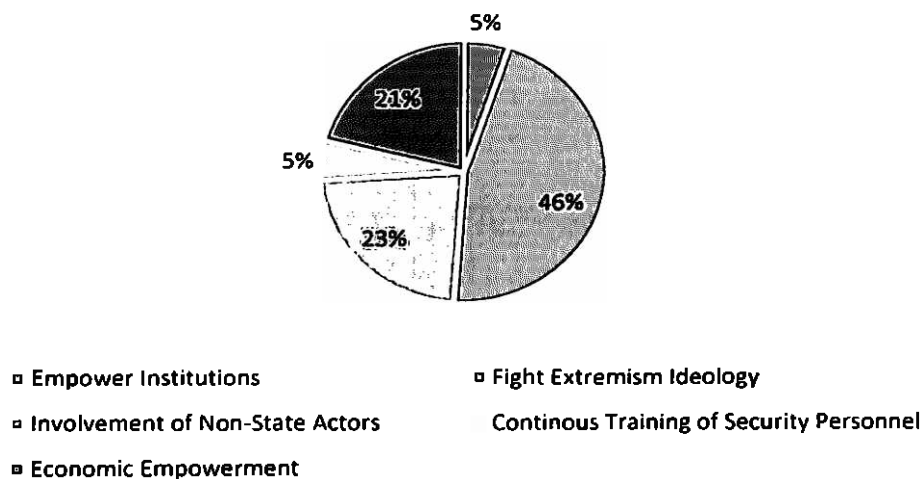
Fig 5.4.5 Best Strategies in Countering Violent Extremism and Terrorism

In terms of strategies aimed at countering violent extremism and terrorism in Kenya, Nigeria and their neighbours, 46% of the respondents agreed that, fighting the violent extremists' ideology would be the best strategy that can be adopted. 23% of the respondents concurred that it is important to involve the non-State actors like the civil society as well as enhance women participation in fighting this global threat. 21% however, felt that economic empowerment of the youth will be a good strategy to discourage radicalization. Empowering institutions that fight violent extremism and training of security personnel got a backing of 5% of the respondents each as best strategies.

5.5 Conclusion

With the completion of data analysis and presentation, interpretation of the findings can therefore be made, particularly where the data collected was in line with the set objectives. It is clear from the above data analysis that the aim of the study set out in the first chapter has been strengthened. It also proves or disproves the validity of the hypotheses which have also been tested throughout the other chapters. Finally, the findings from this chapter will be very useful in influencing both policy and academic recommendations, to be made in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the whole research study including an evaluation on whether the hypotheses proposed at the start of this study have been proved or disproved. Similarly, this chapter seeks to draw conclusions made following the completion of this study with a focus on the interrogation of specific objectives outlined in first chapter. Lastly, both academic and policy recommendations are to be made for purposes of enhancing efforts and strategies towards addressing the challenge of dealing with Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram by both Kenya and Nigeria and their respective sub-regions.

6.1 Summary of the Study

This study is comprised of six chapters whose summary is as follows. Chapter one is the proposal which lays down the background and stipulates how the research study will be done. It also consists of preliminary pages including the declaration, dedication, acknowledgement and the abstract. Chapter one further contains the introduction to the study which speaks to the prevailing situation when it comes to violent extremism and terrorism in the 21st century. Besides that, the chapter has statement of the problem, which problematizes the security threat that both Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram pose to their respective countries, sub-regions and entire Africa.

Additionally, this chapter highlights the objectives of the study categorized into general and specific objectives. Another vital part of the chapter is the review of both empirical and theoretical literature in reference to the specific objectives of the research study. From the literature review, gaps in literature that the study is aimed at filling are identified while interrogating variables involved. The theoretical framework, that the study relies on, is also contained in this chapter. The hypotheses meant for testing and

methodology that was applied in this study are also outlined in first chapter. Finally, is the chapter outline is found at the end of this chapter which provides a brief about the subsequent chapters in the study.

The second chapter of this study, is drawn from the first specific objective contained in chapter one that looks at the various global trends in violent extremism and terrorism in the 21st century. This chapter give insights on drivers of global terrorism and threat it poses on peace and security in Africa. It clearly outlines gender factor in terrorism, use of IEDs and use of new media by terrorist organizations.

Chapter three of this study, compares and contrasts between Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram in terms of their strategies and dynamics. It analyzes the comparison of the two groups on how they use social media, how they involve women within the organization, method of carrying out attacks, and the levels of foreign intervention. For instance, Al-Shabaab do not involve women within their ranks unlike Boko Haram. Both groups use IEDs mostly to attack their targets. These and more are contained in this chapter.

In the fourth, challenges and lessons learnt in trying to combat violent extremism and terrorism in the 21st century are discussed in detail. The strategies and best practices are also highlighted to aid in countering violent extremism and terrorism in the sub-saharan Africa. 21st century globalization, terrorism financing, weak governance, lack of clear strategy, and lack of control of social media, are some of the challenges that are contained in this chapter.

Chapter five consists of data analysis and presentation of findings made from the analysis. This comprises appreciating the socio-demographic composition of the respondents in terms of gender, age, religion and professional background in order to capture the different aspects of the research study and also minimize any form of bias.

The analysis is the result of responses captured by questions raised through questionnaires in line with the objectives of this study. The findings from this analysis are crucial in the shaping of both policy and academic recommendations, both academic aimed at addressing upsurge of cases of violent extremism and terrorism in the 21st century and more specifically Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram

Chapter six contains the summary, conclusions and recommendations that will be of value addition to scholars pursuing peace and security and policy makers involved in handling the threats of violent extremism.

6.2 Conclusions

The challenge of violent extremism and terrorism in the 21st century has been marred with array of issues that continue to undermine counter-terrorism and counter-violence extremism. New media in particular has in a large extend aided these vices in the 21st globalization. From recruitment and radicalization, to terrorism financing and training, the use of new media has facilitated the growth of terrorist organizations as they can operate in clandestinely. Twitter is the widely used social media platform by extremists and terrorists in disseminating content to helps them achieve their objectives. IED making procedures, communication between terror cells and terrorist organizations, radicalization, terrorism financing, among others are mostly done by online. Therefore, there is a strong correlation between new and violent extremism and it is imperative to understand the changing or advancement in communication technologies to be able to counter violent extremism and terrorism in the 21st century.

The gender factor in view of violent extremism is another vital factor that continue to elicit various reactions from scholars and experts. Women involvement in terrorism is not a new phenomenon as it can be traced back to 1881 when a female member of

People's Will, a radical group, was involved in the assassination of Tsar Alexander II. From Chechnya 'black widows' to Palestine's first female suicide bomber, women are and continue to be involved in terrorism both as victims and offenders. Women involvement in this global threat, calls for their involvement in the fight. In search of fundamental freedom, oppression from the dominant males and victims of violent extremism, women are important when addressing this security threat.

The use of IEDs by terrorists have increased in the 21st century and coupled with technological advancement that has brought drones or UAS, IEDs remain the most preferred method of attacks by these organizations. Availability of online instructional materials as well as low costs of assembling involved, use of IEDs will continue to be preferred to other modes of attack. Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram remain the most dangerous terrorist groups in Africa. They have exhibited similar characteristics in terms of their strategies and mode of operations. They continue to expand their territories as they seek support in terms of financing. Politicians and businesspersons continue to support this groups in Kenya and Nigeria for their own benefits.

Fighting extremism ideology is still a major challenge in violent extremism. Best practices have shown that fighting extremists' ideology is the key to success of this war on terror. However, challenges arise including unemployment, weak institutions, lack of political goodwill, inadequate funds among others that make the counter-terrorism and counter-extremism difficult. Religious fanaticism is another major challenge in this fight. Individuals are recruited into terrorism with misquoted religious views that they are fighting a 'holy war'. This may continue to remain a big challenge since the radicalization normally takes place in secret places.

6.3.1 Academic Recommendations

- A thorough research is recommended especially by the academia and researchers, to understand how practitioners in Kenya and Nigeria interpret Counter-Violence Extremism and implement the related activities.

- Advance inquiry by the academia is recommended, especially on theoretical underpinnings on what exactly leads to upsurge of cases of violent extremism and terrorism in Africa. Enhanced collaboration is recommended amongst research institutions in Kenya and Nigeria in the fight against violent extremism.

- Research on violent extremists' ideology and the aspects around fighting the ideology itself. This will help fill the gap in fighting extremism in Kenya, Nigeria and the sub-Saharan region.

6.3.2 Policy Recommendations

- With the advancement of technology in Kenya and Nigeria, Kenya's Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government and Nigeria's Federal Ministry of Interior in collaboration with the Kenya's Ministry of Information and Communication and Nigeria's Federal Ministry of Information and Culture may consider creating community awareness on the dangers of joining terrorism and radical groups. The timely flow of information between members of the public and states authorities, can as well enhance the capacity of the latter, in tracing individuals involved inn terrorism.

- Increased and timely funding of institutions such as Nigeria's Multinational Joint Task Force and Kenya's National Counter Terrorism Centre and to

enhance their capacities to perform their tasks, and respond promptly to issues that pose threats to peace and security.

- Improve working relations between Kenyan and Nigerian Governments, and non-state actors like civil society in order to compare notes on what each side is doing in the fight against violent extremism. Also, given the existing distrust between civil society and governments, Kenya and Nigeria should become more approachable and open to a collaboration.

- There is need for greater knowledge and awareness when it comes to the labelling and design of Counter-Violence Extremism projects in Kenya and Nigeria, considering the local cultures and avoiding labelling target groups as 'vulnerable', as this leads to a feeling of marginalization of these groups.

- The Kenya National Assembly and Nigeria Federal Parliament, needs to develop laws that aim towards enhanced jail terms and hefty fines for the crime of corruption that has been attributed to enhancing terrorism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abukar Sanei. Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram: Comparative Analysis and Policy Approaches (Centre for Policy Analysis and Research, 2015) pp 8.

Aly, A, Macdonald, S, Jarvis, L, Chen, T., Violent Extremism Online: New Perspectives on Terrorism and the Internet. 2016, New York and London: Routledge.

Amb. Prof. Maria Nzomo (University of Nairobi) defines Globalization as the force and glue that holds together and shapes the global relations between societies, markets and states.

Asongu, S. et al (2017). Globalization and Terror in Africa. (African Governance and Development Institute Working Paper, No. WP/17/053) .

Bertie Vidgen PhD Candidate, Alan Turing Institute, University of Oxford. https://theconversation.com/four-ways-social-media-platforms-could-stop-the-spread-of-hateful-content-in- aftermath-of-terror-attacks-113785 accessed on 17/04/2020.

Bertram S., Ellison K. *Sub-Saharan African Terrorist Groups' Use of Internet: Journal of Terrorism Research 5(1) (*2014) Pp 5-26.

Crenshaw, M.(ed) (1993). *Terrorism in Africa.* England, Dartmouth, Publishing company ltd.

David Mair. *A Case Study: How al-Shabaab used Twitter during an Ongoing Attack. Pp 4.*

Forest, J.F. Countering Terrorism and Insurgency in the 21st Century: *Combating the sources and facilitators*. (Greenwood Publishing, Inc, U.S.A Vol. 2, 2007)

From the Sheikh Ali Rage – June 2017 speech titled "An Analysis of Events" RAND Europe. A tool for terrorism: *Exploring how ISIL, al-Shabaab and Boko Haram use social media in Africa*. (Paper presented to UNDP 03 October 2018)

Gabriel Weimann. *New Terrorism and New Media*. Research Series. COMMONS LAB Publication. Vol. 2.

https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/05/niger-12-soldiers-killed-boko-haram-attack-military-base-200520065928212.html

https://www.un.org/counterterrorism/ctitf/sites/www.un.org.counterterrorism.ctitf/files/UNOCT_Multi-Year-Appeal_Website.pdf

Imran Awan, *Cyber-Extremism: ISIS and the Power of Social Media*. (Society, 2017), 140.

Ines von Behr, Anais Reding, Charlie Edwards and Luke Gribbon. *Radicalization in the Digital Era: The Use of the Internet in 15 Cases of Terrorism*. (Cambridge: RAND Corporation, 2013).

John, Wihbey, *Social and News Media, Violent Extremism, ISIS and Online Speech: Research Review*, (Journalist's Review, 2015).

Luke Bertram, *Terrorism, the Internet and the Social Media Advantage*, pp 225-230

Margaret Thatcher, Speech to American Bar Association, London, 1985 https://www.margaretthatcher.org/document/106096 accessed on 10/04/2020

Maria Nzomo et al. *Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century Africa* (Nairobi: A Publication of IDIS, University of Nairobi Vol. 1 2017) Pp *48*

Maria Nzomo et al. Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century Africa: *The Gender Factor.* (Nairobi: A Publication of IDIS, University of Nairobi Vol. 1 2017) Pp 10-13

Markovic, V. Suicide squad: *Boko Haram's use of the female suicide bomber. PP 283-302* https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/08974454.2019.1629153, 19 July, 2019

Maruf, H. D. Joseph. Inside Al-Shabaab: *The Secret History of Al-Qaeda's Most Powerful Ally.* (Indiana University Press, 2018) Pp 7-26

Medina, Richard M. *Social Network Analysis: A Case Study of the Islamist Terror Network,* (Security Journal, 2014), 100.

Moaven A. Women and Al-Shabaab's Insurgency: *How women's support Energizes Somalia's Al-Shabaab.* https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/somalia/b145-women-and-al-shabaabs-insurgency, June, 2019

Mohammed, Elshimi, *Thinking About the Symbiotic Relationship between the Media and Terrorism* (OCP Policy Center, 2018), 2.

Monty,G. Marshall and Gabrielle Elzinga-Marshall, "State Fragility Index and Matrix 2016," Center for Systemic Peace, accessed May 26, 2018, http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscr/SFImatrix2016c.pdf.

Nacos Brigitte. *Terrorism and Counterterrorism.* 2007, Pp 6.

New media is defined as the content made available using various forms of electronic communication through the use of computer technology usually through the Internet.

Pellerin, Clara. *Communicating Terror: An Analysis of ISIS Communication Strategy.* (Sciences, 2016),6.

Phillip Seib. As Terrorism Evolves: *Media, Religion, and Governance,* (Ed. 2017) Pp 87.

RAND Europe. A tool for terrorism: *Exploring how ISIL, al-Shabaab and Boko Haram use social media in Africa.* (Paper presented to UNDP 03 October 2018).

Romaniuk, P. 2015. *Does CVE work?: Lessons learned from the global effort to counter violent extremism.* Goshen, Indiana: Global Center on Cooperative Security. pp. 7-8

Sazzad Hossain, *Social Media and Terrorism: Threats and Challenges to the Modern Era.* (Sage Journals, 2018).

Smith, M.L.R. The Strategy of Terrorism. What it is..and just as importantly, what it isn't. (2011) pp 1-126 https://www.e-ir.info/2011/04/28/strategic-theory-what-it-is%E2%80%A6and-just-as-importantly-what-it-isn%E2%80%99t/ accessed on 20/06/20.

Thurston, A. Boko Haram: *The History of an African Jihadist Movement.* (Princeton University Press, 2019) Pp 1-33

Tore Bjorgo. Root Causes of Terrorism. *Myths, Realities and Ways Forward.* (2005). Tore Bjorgo (editor). London, England Routledge Press.

Tromp, 2006, Proposal and Thesis Writing, an Introduction, Paulines Publications Africa, Pp70.

Tushar Kaushik. May 02, 2019. ttps://economictimes.indiatimes.com/tech/internet/cyber-criminals-hide-in-the-dark-web-to-remain-anonymous/articleshow/69139795.cms?utm.

UN Secretary General Ban Kimoon. General and complete disarmament: *Countering the threat posed by improvised explosive devices.* (Report Presented in a Workshop at UN General Assembly on 25 July 2016, New York, USA).

Usman A. Tar and Mala Mustapha. The Emerging Architecture of a Regional Security Complex in the Lake Chad Basin, '' Africa Development 42, no. 3(2017): pp110-111 .

Violent Extremism Action Plan (General Assembly report A/70/674, para. 4)).

www.un.org.counterterrorism.ctitf/files/7April_Amb.Sharma_SessionII.pdf

Zedalis D.D. Female Suicide Bombers. (Strategic Studies Institute. 2004) pp13 http://www.carlisle.army.mil/ssi/femalesuicidebombers-carlisle paper.indd.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionaire

Dear Respondent,

I kindly request you to provide information for my research project titled: Violent Extremism and Terrorism in the 21st Century: The Case of Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram. You have been identified to provide critical information to make this study a success. All responses will be acknowledged, credited and strictly used only for academic purposes. Information obtained will be treated in confidence. Your cooperation is highly appreciated.

Thank you.

Eric Charles Omondi

Master of Arts in International Studies candidate,

University of Nairobi, Kenya.

SECTION A: DEMOCRACTIC INFORMATION

1. Kindly indicate your age group (years)

Age Group	Tick (√)
Under 25	
25-35	
36-45	
46-55	
Over 55	

2. Gender

Gender	Tick
Male	
Female	

3. Indicate your level of formal education

Level of Education	Tick
Primary	
Secondary	
Undergraduate	
Masters	
PhD	
Other	

4. Indicate the organization you work for

Organization		Tick
Security	KDF	
	NIS	
	NPS	
	NCTC	

Academia

Research

Civil Society

Other Professions

5.   Please indicate your rank/position in the organization

Position/rank	Tick
Manager	
Supervisor	
Employee	

6.   How many years of experience do you have in your organization?

Years of Experience	Tick
Below a year	
Between 1 and 5 years	
Between 5 -10 years	
More than 10 years	

7.   Please specify your religion

Religion	Tick (√)
Christian	
Muslim	
Hindu	
Other	

Section B

Q1. In your opinion, are there any differences between violent extremism and terrorism?

....

....

Q2. What are the trends in violent extremism and terrorism in the 21st century?

Q3. What is your general opinion on the impact violent extremism and terrorism have on national security?

....

....

Q4. In your own evaluation, has the new media been used by terrorists and violent extremists to farther their agenda?

....

....

Q5. What in your assessment, how has Al-Shabaab/Boko Haram used new media in the course of their operations? Which social media platforms are they mostly active in?

....

....

Q6. Do you think new media is the main reason for increased terrorists' attacks? If no, what in your opinion could be the main reason for increased attacks by terrorists in Africa in the 21st century?

....

....

Q7. How would you evaluate the success of the various counterterrorism interventions put in place in Kenya and Nigeria in the period 2010-2019?

....

....

....

....

Q7. What in your assessment has been the effectiveness of members of regional organizations in the Horn of Africa and Sahel sub-region in countering terrorism and violent extremism?

....

....

....

....

Q8. What is the role of women both as facilitators and offenders of violent extremism and terrorism?

....

Q9. In your own assessment, why are women mainly used in suicide bombing missions by terrorist organizations?

....

....

Q10. Has Al-Shabaab/Boko Haram changed tactics in terms of mode of attacks? What is the common mode of attacks used by both why is it preferred?

....

....

Q11. How do you compare Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram in terms of;

a). how they utilize or use women in their activities

b). use of new media

c). mode of attacks

Q12. What are the challenges experienced in trying to combat Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram in the 21st century?

....

....

Q13. What are the lessons learnt in trying to combat Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram in Horn of Africa and Sahel sub-regions?

....

....

Q14. What do you think is the role of non-state actors in fighting violent extremism and terrorism in the 21st century?

....

....

Q15. What other complementary mechanisms to counter terrorism do you consider as appropriate to the attainment of peace in the Horn of Africa and Sahel sub-regions?

....

....

Appendix II: Thesis Work Plan

	MAY 2020	JUNE 2020	JULY 2020	AUG 2020	SEP 2020	OCT 2020	NOV 2020	DEC 2020
Initial concept sent to Supervisor and extensive Literature Review	■							
Proposal Writing and Design of Data Collection tools eg Interview Schedule		■						
1st Proposal Defense			■					
Piloting and testing of the data collection instruments				■				
Data Collection and Analysis					■			
Project Writing					■	■		
Final Defense							■	
Thesis Submission and Graduation								■

Appendix III: Budget Estimates for Data Collection and Analysis

	ITEM	EXPENDITURE
1.	Data collection and Research Assistance Fee	Kshs 12,000
2.	Data Analysis and Coding	Kshs 6,000
3.	Transport Costs	Kshs 5,000
4.	Incentives for Respondents	Kshs 7,800
5.	Miscellaneous Expenses	Kshs 3,000
	TOTAL	Kshs 33,800

Appendix IV: NACOSTI Permit

Appendix V: Turnitin Report

VIOLENT EXTREMISM AND TERRORISM IN 21ST CENTURY: THE CASE OF AL-SHABAAB AND BOKO HARAM

ORIGINALITY REPORT

13%	11%	4%	7%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS

PRIMARY SOURCES

1	www.tandfonline.com Internet Source	1%
2	erepository.uonbi.ac.ke Internet Source	1%
3	scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu Internet Source	1%
4	www.slideshare.net Internet Source	1%
5	www.eip.org Internet Source	<1%
6	Brian Fonseca, Jonathan D. Rosen. "The New US Security Agenda". Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2017 Publication	<1%
7	Submitted to Kenyatta University Student Paper	<1%
8	visionofhumanity.org Internet Source	<1%