

# **UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**DEPARTMENT OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**ASSESSING THE ROLE OF NON-MILITARY APPROACHES IN  
COUNTERTERRORISM IN THE HORN OF AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA**

**BY**

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**R51/12116/2018.**

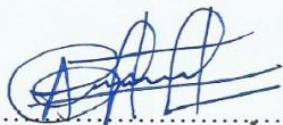
**A Research Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Award of  
the Degree of Master of Arts in Diplomacy at the Department of Diplomacy and  
International Studies (DDIS), University of Nairobi**

**November 2022**

## DECLARATION

I declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for any other academic award in any University or Institution. Any thoughts from others or literal quotations are clearly acknowledged.

Signature .....



Date 17<sup>TH</sup> NOVEMBER, 2022 .....

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

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## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my beloved daughters Leilani and Avery.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I give thanks to the Almighty God for giving me the fortitude and tenacity to finish this research. I would especially want to thank Dr. Patrick Maluki, my supervisor, for his advice, which was very helpful to me in carrying out this study. Appreciation to my family for their support and patience while I worked on this project. Finally, I want to thank the University for giving me the motivation to work on this research project that will improve the quality of our lives as Kenyans.

## ABSTRACT

With a focus on evaluating the role of non-military approaches in counterterrorism in the Horn of Africa, the study specifically sought to examine the role of non-military approaches in counterterrorism in Kenya, to examine the efficacy of non-military approaches to counterterrorism in Kenya, and to explore the challenges and prospects of de-radicalization programs on counterterrorism in Kenya. The study's mixed-approaches methodology, which integrates qualitative and quantitative methods in a case study design, was used. To gather and arrange descriptive data, a qualitative technique was employed. This method was used to investigate qualitative variables that do not have traditional measurements, whereas quantitative techniques was utilized to enable the collection and management of numerical data that was used to measure changes, predict relationships, and characterize features. The majority of the data analysis was qualitative, with descriptive and narrative techniques primarily used. This entailed calculating specific indices and looking for patterns in data-group relationships. Through well-designed methods and methodologies, the data processing was validated. Excel sheet, NVivo, QDAS, and SPSS was used to aid data analysis in this research. To exhibit and evaluate quantitative data, the study utilized graphs, pie charts, and tables. The study established that non-military approaches of counterterrorism play a significant role in eliminating the menace of terrorism in Kenya. However, there exists a massive challenge of addressing the root causes of terrorism due to multiplicity of such factors. The potential of non-military approaches of counterterrorism in Kenya can be enhanced through cooperation between law enforcement agencies and the community in identifying those vulnerable to terrorism and strategically designing an action plan that addresses the underlying factors that fuel terrorism. The study noted that due to the multifaceted nature of drivers of terrorism, the non-military approach to counterterrorism in Kenya has no one-size-fits-all strategy hence the complexity in determining the effectiveness of these interlinked success factors. Generally, community participation has been found to be a key determinant factor influencing the effectiveness of non-military approaches to counterterrorism in the country. The perception of the public about the policies and projects initiated by the government to counter terrorism should be that which enhances cooperation and trust lest the initiated projects will obviously fail to meet their full potential. The legal framework established by the government of Kenya has effectively streamlined and shaped how domestic and transnational terrorisms are addressed in Kenya. Lastly, the study recommends that even though some actions would be considered vital to combat terrorism, they should be taken carefully and with monitoring clauses. Legislation and controls that include checks and balances should be implemented when needed. Because terrorism frequently thrives in areas where human rights are violated, it is even more important to take stronger action to stop these abuses. Therefore, legislation, which should be enacted and enforced to the utmost extent possible, must take into account that: fundamental rights are violated by terrorism itself and the fight against terrorism must always uphold international commitments to human rights.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background of the study

Terrorism refers to acts that are likely to cause serious bodily harm (physically or emotionally) or death to civilians or non-combatants with the intent to influence, coerce, or intimidate governments or the general public into discharging certain obligations or advocating a particular course locally or internationally.<sup>1</sup> According to Ruby, terrorism harnesses fear to influence actions towards achievement of a particular goal.<sup>2</sup> Some of the prominent terrorist organizations globally include Al-Qaeda, Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), Boko Haram, and Al-Shabaab. The Horn of Africa countries includes Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, South Sudan, Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, and Ethiopia. This is a conflict prone region massively affected by maritime insecurity, chronic political instability, clandestine migration, influx of refugees, and humanitarian crisis.<sup>3</sup> Protracted conflicts and the resultant decline in economic situations undermine peace and security in this region, thereby creating fertile grounds for emergence and growth of transnational terrorism. In Kenya, terrorist have launched several attacks including; bombing of US embassy in Kenya, Westgate Shopping mall attack, Mpeketoni village attack, Garrisa University attack, and Dusit D2 attack. These attacks showcase the continued persistence of terrorist organizations to recruit, train and execute operations within Kenya overwhelming the government's ability to effectively eradicate the menace.<sup>4</sup> Political instability and dynamics complicate the initiatives of a nation to meet both elementary and secondary needs of its local

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<sup>1</sup> United Nations, "UN Reform", 2005-03-21. Accessed on June 15, 2022 from <https://web.archive.org/web/20070427012107/http://www.un.org/unifeed/script.asp?scriptId=73>.

<sup>2</sup> Ruby, Charles, L., "The Definition of Terrorism," 2002.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Kfir, Isaac, "Islamic radicalism in East Africa: Is there a cause for concern?" *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 31, no. 9, (2008): 829–55.

communities. The pressure to combat these threats, which put to test the resiliency and capacity of the Horn of Africa states, is growing.

Globally, both soft power and hard power strategies have been employed combat terrorism. However, there is an overreliance on military strategy in counterterrorism initiatives. According to Saferworld, despite elaborate militaristic interventions in Pakistan, Syria, Yemen, Somalia, Libya, Afghanistan, and Iraq, the threat of international terrorism persists.<sup>5</sup> In response to the failure of militaristic approach to completely eradicate terrorism, there has been continued development of new, comprehensive, all inclusive, and multidimensional strategies that are non-military in nature.<sup>6</sup> Non-military initiatives stand a greater chance of thwarting the main causes of terrorism and fostering lasting peace.<sup>7</sup> Some of these initiatives include diplomacy and negotiation, economic sanctions, operations of law enforcement, strategic communication, and programs such as disarmament, amnesty, de-radicalization, rehabilitation, and reintegration.

In Africa, countries such as Nigeria have used de-radicalization programs, albeit with challenges, to combat the ideology- or religion-driven Boko Haram, enabling recovery and reintegration of both victims of terrorism and the ex-combatants.<sup>8</sup> Morocco having been faced with the challenge of foreign terrorist fighters, implemented de-radicalization programs coupled with reformation of its legal and religious system to counter the rhetoric of religious radicalization.<sup>9</sup>

In Kenya, the reliance on military approaches to counter terrorism outweighs the employment of soft power strategies. In the wake of continued terrorist attacks in the Country, Kenya launched a

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<sup>5</sup> Saferworld. "Alternative approaches to counter-terrorism." *Saferworld*. Accessed on June 15, 2022 from <https://www.saferworld.org.uk/peacebuilding-responses-to-terrorism-and-migration/terrorism>

<sup>6</sup> Connable, B., and M.C. Libicki. "How insurgencies end." *Rand Corporation*, 2010.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Onapajo, Hakeem, Kemal Ozden. "Non-military approach against terrorism in Nigeria: Deradicalization strategies and challenges in countering Boko Haram." *Security Journal* 33, no. 3 (2020): 476-492.

<sup>9</sup> Berrada, Kathya Kenza. "Morocco's response to foreign terrorist fighters: tighter security and deradicalization." *Returnees in the Maghreb: Comparing Policies on Returning Foreign Terrorist Fighters in Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia.-Brussels: Egmont Institute* (2019): 24-35

military offensive christened "Operation Linda Nchi" to counter the danger posed by Al-Shabaab. The response, however, lacked a comprehensive military and non-military strategy.<sup>10</sup> According to Gatuiku, Kenya should implement a multilateral grand strategy involving both state and non-state actors. This strategy should address the marginalization of Muslim communities, engage in diplomatic negotiations, and employ militaristic measures like outfitting security forces and boosting border security.<sup>11</sup>

## **1.2 Statement of Research Problem**

Ideologies and extremism that drive violent attacks remains intact despite the use of various methods of counterterrorism. While non-military approach is perceived to yield meaningful long term success in the eradication of terrorism, it takes time to effectively yield these results. The Horn of Africa yet again remains a conflict prone region spanning from politically driven conflicts to cultural, ethnic, and communal conflicts. According to Global Index of 2022, approximately 97.6 percent fatalities from terrorism occurred in nations experiencing conflicts in 2020.<sup>12</sup> The Horn of Africa, especially Kenya, despite having made meaningful strides to combat immediate threat of terrorism, the region has poorly addressed the root causes and drivers of terrorism such as marginalization and social equity, societal fragmentation, weak institutions, and political instability. Kenya, including other nations from the Horn of Africa, has over relied on militaristic approach to combating terrorism and continues to do so even though such strategies fail to comprehensively address the issue. The approach to counter terrorism must therefore address both military capabilities of terrorists and their political, economic or religious ideologies. It is against this backdrop that this study will assess the role, efficacy, and challenges

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<sup>10</sup> Anderson, David M., and Jacob McKnight. "Kenya at war: Al-Shabaab and its enemies in Eastern Africa." *African Affairs* 114, no.454 (2015): 1-27

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> IEP. "Global Terrorism Index 2022: Measuring the impact of terrorism." *Institute of Economics & Peace*, 2022

of non-military approaches in counterterrorism in the Horn of Africa, with Kenya as its case study.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

1. What are the key roles of non-military approaches in counterterrorism in Kenya?
2. How effective are non-military approaches in counterterrorism in Kenya?
3. What are the challenges and prospects of de-radicalization programs on counterterrorism in Kenya?

### **1.4 Research Objectives**

The general objective of this study was to assess the role of non-military approaches in counterterrorism in the Horn of Africa: A case study of Kenya.

#### **1.4.1 Specific Objectives**

1. To examine the role of non-military approaches in counterterrorism in Kenya.
2. To examine the efficacy of non-military approaches to counterterrorism in Kenya.
3. To explore the challenges and prospects of de-radicalization programs on counterterrorism in Kenya.

### **1.5 Literature Review**

This section reviews theoretical and empirical literature.

#### **1.5.1 Theoretical Literature Review**

This section reviews theories relevant to the study.

### 1.5.1.1 Theory of Constructivism

In international relations, the theory of constructivism postulates that ideation factors significantly shape and influence human interactions. Some of the major proponents of this theory include Alexander Wendt, Nicholas Onuf, Martha Finnemore, and Peter Katzenstein. Constructivism in international relations is a term coined by Nicholas Onuf to explain characters originating from social construction.<sup>13</sup> From Alexander Wendt's article of 1992, the interaction of individuals is fundamentally influenced by shared ideas as opposed to material force.<sup>14</sup> Collectively held ideation factors are very vital in constructing identities and interests of actors rather than those given by nature. According to constructivism, nations display different actions to friends or allies, and foes depending on their threat perception hence shared knowledge and understanding influences their behavior. Constructivism conceptualizes power as the capability to constitute and structure the nature of social relations between or among individuals.<sup>15</sup> Constructivists believe that interests and identities of actors are changeable and socially constructed hence nations have the potential to have multiple identities.<sup>16</sup> The perception of reality is continuously shifting implying that meanings are not fixed but rather shift over time based on beliefs and ideas held by actors. The international system (containing both ideation and material elements) and agency are mutually constituted. Another key tenet of constructivism concerns social norms. Katzenstein claims that appropriate behavior for people with a particular identification is governed by societal standards. Some actions or behavior are therefore more

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Wendt, A., "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: the Social Construction of Power Politics", *International Organization* 46, no. 2 (1992).

<sup>15</sup> Barnett, Michael, and Raymond Duval. "Power in international Politics." *International Organization* 59, no. 1 (2005): 39-75.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid...



appropriate or acceptable than others.<sup>17</sup> Finnemore and Sikkink derives three types of norms; prescriptive norms, based on the perception of those who advance norms, there are no bad norms; constitutive norms, which create new categories of actions, interests, or actors; and regulative norms, which constrain or order behavior.<sup>18</sup>

### **1.5.1.2 Deprivation theory**

Deprivation theory depicts the correlation between tendencies of violence and human frustrations. This theory posit that individuals deprived of entitlements or things regarded to be valuable in the society such as status, justice, or resources, resort to joining social movements as a means of addressing their grievances. According to Aristotle, when individuals are frustrated about their lives, they resort to violence.<sup>19</sup> Absolute and relative deprivation significantly influences both attitudes and behavior, including involvement in collective action, political attitudes, and feelings of stress. Wiberg associates human aggression to social, political and economic frustrations. Some scholars have criticized this theory for the failure to adequately explain why some of the deprived individuals do not join social movements. The criticism has been countered by arguments that; some individuals are prone to conflict-avoidance, some individuals are short-term-oriented, and that there are no guarantees for improvement of life in joining social movements.<sup>20</sup>

### **1.5.2 Empirical Literature Review**

This section reviews empirical literature along the three objectives of the study.

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<sup>17</sup> Katzenstein, Peter. "The culture of national security: Norms and identity in world politics." *Columbia University Press*, New York (1996)

<sup>18</sup> Ibid

<sup>19</sup> Aristotle. 'The Nicomachean Ethics' (W.D., Ross & Lesly Brown. *Trans*) Oxford: Oxford University Press. 2009

<sup>20</sup> Kendall, Diana. "Sociology In Our Times." *Thomson Wadsworth*, 2005

### 1.5.2.1 The role of non-military approaches in counterterrorism in Kenya

Ghosh et al posit that education serves as a preventive measure to enhance resilience of students as well as addressing intellectual, emotional, and psychological appeals towards terrorism.<sup>21</sup> According to this study, education significantly affects how quickly the psycho-social stages—from fundamentalism to extremism progress. This study however noted that education offers no immediate results and had to run its course.

Onapajo and Ozden assert that the de-radicalization program is a crucial component of Nigeria's non-military strategy for combating terrorism, especially in addressing ideology- or religion-driven terrorism, because it not only seeks to dismantle extremist ideologies but also improves the rehabilitation and reintegration of both terrorist victims and former combatants.<sup>22</sup>

A study conducted by Munuhe investigated the role of diplomacy in combating the threat posed by terrorism in Kenya.<sup>23</sup> Data collection techniques for this case study included both quantitative and qualitative approaches. The results of the study showed statistically significant results in the hypothesis test, which allowed the null hypothesis that; there is no connection between diplomacy and counterterrorism. According to the study, diplomacy is an important tool in Kenya's fight against terrorism.

A study conducted by Abwaku examined the role of public participation in counterterrorism in Kenya.<sup>24</sup> Both quantitative and qualitative methodologies were used in this investigation. The results of this study showed that public participation in Kenyan government institutions' coordination of the fight against terrorism was uncommon. This study thus noted the need for

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<sup>21</sup> Ghosh, Ratna, WY Alice Chan, Ashley Manuel, and Maihemuti Dilimulati. "Can education counter violent religious extremism?" *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* 23, no. 2 (2017): 117-133.

<sup>22</sup> Onapajo, Hakeem, Kemal Ozden. "Non-military approach against terrorism in Nigeria: Deradicalization strategies and challenges in countering Boko Haram." *Security Journal* 33, no. 3 (2020): 476-492.

<sup>23</sup> Munuhe, Benson K. "The Role of Diplomacy in Counterterrorism In Africa, A case Study of Kenya." PhD diss., UoN, 2019.

<sup>24</sup> Abwaku, Solomon A. "Countering Violent Extremism Through Public Participation." PhD diss., UoN, 2017.

Kenya to pursue and reinforce partnerships that are mutually beneficial between the community, non-state actors and the government. According to the Abwaku, public participation enhances synergy between the government and its citizens creating unity of purpose and harmony resulting into the advancement of a comprehensive and coherent strategy of countering violent extremism.

### **1.5.2.2 The efficacy of non-military approaches to counterterrorism in Kenya**

In a study by Santoprete, a compartmental model was created to mathematically evaluate the success of de-radicalization and pre-emptive measures in countering violent extremism (CVE).<sup>25</sup> The study modeled de-radicalization programs by including a compartment of treatment while initiatives of prevention were modelled by including vaccination compartment. The results from this study were based on invariance principle of LaSalle and Lyapunov functions and showed that a combination of de-radicalization and prevention programs provided the most effective strategy of CVE. The simulations of the results also revealed that de-radicalization programs were more effective than prevention strategies in countering radicalization based on author's choice of parameters and that the outcome reversed when other parameters were chosen.

Aldrich conducted a comparative case study involving two towns of Mali, Africa (Timbuktu and control town of Dire) to explore the effectiveness of development and 'soft security' programs such as norm messaging, job creation, and educational training in countering violent extremism in Africa.<sup>26</sup> According to the study's findings, Timbuktu respondents who had been exposed to the programming over a five-year period showed a substantial change in their listening habits and civic behavior compared to their Dire counterparts who had not. This study also noted that the two groups had little measurable difference in terms of their attitudes about the West and

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<sup>25</sup> Santoprete, Manuele. "Countering violent extremism: A mathematical model." *Applied Mathematics and Computation* 358, 314-329, 2019.

<sup>26</sup> Aldrich, Daniel P. "First steps towards hearts and minds? USAID'S countering violent extremism policies in Africa." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 3 (2014): 523-546.

their cultural identities. The author concluded that the effectiveness of ‘winning hearts and minds’ program could be enhanced by dedicating more time and resources to it despite having failed to definitively prove cause-effect relationship between behavioral outcomes and programming.

A study conducted by Kim noted that policies advanced by the government to counter radicalization fell short of invigorating an individual’s sense of self-worth and emotional engagement with the wider society.<sup>27</sup> The study highlighted the significance of enhancing voices of regular citizens willing to redress grievances through constructive and peaceful means. Moreover, the study underscored the significance of the media in promoting dialogue to enhance empathy, association, and peaceful coexistence in the de-radicalization process.

### **1.5.2.3 The challenges and prospects of de-radicalization programs on counterterrorism in Kenya**

A study conducted by Lelo posits that education offers immense prospect for African counties to prevent terrorism given their limited capacity and skills, development, and internal security challenges.<sup>28</sup> This study noted that education through general and special programs of training has the potential to provide capacity as well as knowledge to make informed policies, strategies and decisions.

According to Onapajo and Ozden, the de-radicalization program implemented by the government of Nigeria to combat Boko Haram in Nigeria has structural weakness in its implementation and design which may intensify violent extremism rather than combat the menace.<sup>29</sup> The study

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<sup>27</sup> Kim, J. “The effects of collective anger and fear on policy support response to terrorist attacks.” *The Journal of Social Psychology* 156, no. 5 (2016): 455-458

<sup>28</sup> Lelo, Simon M. "Counterterrorism through Education of Populations: The Case of African Countries." In *Counterterrorism in diverse communities*, pp. 249-260. IOS Press, 2011.

<sup>29</sup> Onapajo, Hakeem, and Kemal Ozden. "Non-military approach against terrorism in Nigeria: Deradicalization strategies and challenges in countering Boko Haram." *Security Journal* 33, no. 3 (2020): 476-492.

proposes that the achievement of long-term peace in the country will require implementation of measures that strengthen the de-radicalization program. The authors also note that the program of de-radicalization is significant in deconstructing ideologies of extremism as well as reintegration and rehabilitation of violent extremism victims and ex-combatants.

Juma and Githigaro posit that reintegration of returnees (former Al-Shabab militants) is marred by negativity and lack of trust as some of the returnees are stigmatized by other community members who do not fully accept them back into the society.<sup>30</sup> These study findings are drawn from 31 interviews with civil society organizations, experts from the field of academia, returnees, government officials, and 104 questionnaire interviews with Mombasa and Kwale residents. The study also found that the government's reintegration efforts lack an appropriate framework for host community participation.

According to Abdi, the development of counter narrative strategies is faced with the challenges of illiteracy among the youths, limited support by the government, and financial constraints.<sup>31</sup> Furthermore, approximately 63.2 percent of the residents did not participate in the formulation and delivery of counter narrative campaigns. The research's findings were derived from a case study of Garissa Township Sub County, Garissa County, which used a descriptive research approach to gather pertinent data from a sample of 384 respondents taken from a population of 13511 as the target. This study combined primary data from key informant interviews and semi-structured questionnaires with secondary data from earlier studies on the topic of radicalization in relation to the same locale.

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<sup>30</sup> Mercy, Nasimiyu Juma, and John Mwangi Githigaro. "Communities' Perceptions of Reintegration of Al-Shabab Returnees in Mombasa and Kwale Counties, Kenya." *Journal of Deradicalization*, 71-109, 2021

<sup>31</sup> Abdi, Mohamed Abdi. "The role of counter narrative in response to youth radicalization in Garissa Township Sub County, Garissa County, Kenya." PhD diss., Africa Nazarene University, 2021.

Syokila notes that the concept of radicalization is extremely elusive and that factors, ideas, and motivations that drive people towards violent extremism are complex and diverse thus complicating the de-radicalization process which should be addressing such root causes of terrorism.<sup>32</sup> This study used Mombasa as its case study focusing on the residents of areas such as Jomvu, Kisauni, Nyali and Majengo. The information gathered from interviews with counterterrorism agents, imams (preachers), parents, and radicalized people was subjected to content analysis. In order to address youth dissatisfaction and alienation with the society and the government, this study recommended the formation of an all-inclusive policy framework for the empowerment of youth that goes well beyond the simple promotion of entrepreneurship and job creation.

According to Mali, the prevention of violent extremism (PVE) is faced with the challenges of corruption and mismanagement of funds allocated to PVE programs, low level of community support and participation, poor coordination of the initiated programs, high levels of poverty coupled with limited financial support by the government.<sup>33</sup> Additionally, it was noticed that the technical and financial assistance provided by the Kenyan government and other international organizations had a favorable effect on the effectiveness of PVE initiatives. Lamu County was used as a case study, and data were gathered using both qualitative and archival survey techniques.

## **1.6 Research Gap**

Following a review of the existing literature, it became clear that, while militaristic (hard) approach was dominant, little attention was being paid to the conceptualization, nature, use,

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<sup>32</sup> Syokila, Musee A. "Evaluation of the impact of Multi-agency Counter Terrorism Strategy on Youth Radicalization in Kenya- a Case of Mombasa County." PhD diss., UoN, 2020.

<sup>33</sup> Mali, Francis S. "Factors affecting the performance of prevention of violent extremism PVE programs in Africa- Case of Lamu County, Kenya." PhD diss., UoN, 2021.

effectiveness, and limitations of non-military (soft) approach to counterterrorism both globally and locally, particularly in Kenya. By evaluating the role, effectiveness, and difficulties of non-military approaches to counterterrorism in the Horn of Africa and Kenya, this research aimed to close this information gap.

## **1.7 Justification of the study**

This section provides academic and policy justification of the study.

### **1.7.1 Academic Justification**

By enhancing the information base and assisting subsequent academic studies, this study contributes to the research on methods to counterterrorism measures. As a result, it is essential as a reference for future studies on the topic of terrorism. Additionally, this study fills in the knowledge gap left by prior research, some of which focused on the scanty application of non-military methods in counterterrorism, particularly in the Horn of Africa.

### **1.7.2 Policy Justification**

This study provides policymakers, including the government and other relevant stakeholders with in-depth information on the role, efficacy, and challenges of non-military approaches to counterterrorism. The finding of this research and recommendations serve as a reference for the development, planning, and execution of policies relating to counterterrorism by decision makers. But, it is important to consider that the impact of this study is dependent on how its findings are implemented.

## **1.8 Theoretical Framework**

This study relied on the theory of constructivism which fundamentally focuses on the role of collective human consciousness, intangible ideation structures and interaction of actors. Since

9/11/2001 terror attack in the United States, realists and liberalists have failed to provide a comprehensive and substantial comprehension of terrorist attacks which are often driven by multidimensional convictions. The operations of terrorist groups, like Al-Shabaab, in the Horn of Africa can best be described using constructivism. Through constructivism, an assessment into how interests and identities, and state intervention to violent extremism shift over time can be made.

Terrorism and counterterrorism measures are both social constructs subject to an individual's or group's interpretation of presumed causes and events as someone's freedom fighter can easily be viewed by another as a terrorist.<sup>34</sup> The fundamental tenets of constructivism such as norms, identities and ideas take the center stage in the advancement of terrorism. For instance, the Al-Shabaab and Al-Qaeda seeks to define interest of Muslims and advance Muslim identity. Constructivism perceives terrorism as a social problem that only exists as a result of the ideas of the individuals involved in it. Constructivism as a cultural theory entailing various cultures of anarchy such as Lockean, Kantian, and Hobbesian is also essential in the establishment of an approach for fighting terrorism.<sup>35</sup>

## **1.9 Hypotheses**

1. Non-military approaches to terrorism play a significant role in counterterrorism in Kenya.
2. Terrorism in Kenya is effectively countered through non-military approaches.
3. Lack of a comprehensive framework for de-radicalization, involving both state and non-state actors, limit counterterrorism in Kenya.

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> Wendt, A. "Social Theory of International Politics", Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999.



## **1.10 Methodology of the Study**

In this section, the framework for data collection, measurement, and analysis is presented. This part includes the study area, research design, target population, sampling strategy, data gathering techniques, and analysis.

### **1.10.1 Research Design**

In a case study design, the study used a mixed-methods strategy that blends qualitative and quantitative techniques.<sup>36</sup> A qualitative technique was used to collect and organize descriptive data. While quantitative techniques were employed to facilitate the gathering and management of numerical data needed to identify features, predict correlations, and monitor changes, this method was used to examine qualitative factors that lack conventional metrics.

### **1.10.2 Study Site**

The research project's study location was the Republic of Kenya. The Country is located in East African and, geographically, is part of the Horn of Africa. With 48,000 square kilometers of land size, it is the world's 48th largest nation. According to 2019 census, the nation's population was 47.6 million.<sup>37</sup>

### **1.10.3 Target Population**

Respondents of the study was drawn from academia, the National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC), the HORN International Institute for Strategic Studies, Kenya Anti-Terrorism Police Unit, the Muslims for Human Rights (MUHURI), and the Kenya Community Support Centre (KECOSCE).

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid

<sup>37</sup> World population review. Com. Retrieved 26 November 2021.

#### 1.10.4 Sample and Sampling Procedure

The number of respondents for this study was derived using the formula below, which Mugenda & Mugenda (1999) devised for calculating populations larger than 10,000.

$$n = \frac{Z^2 pq}{d^2}$$

Where:

n = required sample size

Z stands for standard normal deviation.

P = Expected Measurement of Characteristics of the Target Population

$$q = 1 - p$$

d is the degree of statistical significance.

$$n = \frac{(1.96 \times 1.96) (0.50) (0.50)}{(0.5 \times 0.50)} = 384$$

#### 1.10.5 Sample Size and Distribution of Respondents from Categories of the Target Population

**Table 1.1: Proposed sample size and distribution of the target population of Kenya**

Category of actors (Target Population)	Actual number of respondents	Percentage distribution of the sample (%)	Sampling Procedure
Kenya Police Anti-Terrorism Unit	47	12.2	Simple Random Sampling
HORN International Institute for Strategic Studies	44	11.5	Purposive Sampling
MUHURI NGO personnel working in matters related to terrorism	70	18.2	Purposive Sampling
National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC) staff	63	16.4	Purposive Sampling

Kenya Community Support Centre (KECOSCE)	53	13.8	Simple Random Sampling
Academia	108	28.1	Purposive Sampling
<b>Total</b>	<b>384</b>	<b>100</b>	

**Source: Researchers proposed model**

The sample consists of the six groups listed in Tables 1.1 above. The study used two different sample techniques, including basic random sampling and purposeful sampling.

**1.10.6 Data Collection Procedures and Instruments**

The study's data came from both secondary and primary sources. By reading through pertinent literature, such as journals, books, essays, policy papers, government reports, conference proceedings, and other publications, secondary data was obtained. Collection of primary data was done by way of in-person interviews, online questionnaires, email, and self-administered surveys.

**1.10.6.1 Self-Administered Questionnaires**

Self-administered questionnaires was designed and sent to the target population to collect primary data. Respondents were able to effectively express themselves in open and closed questions, supporting researchers in gathering guided responses. The questionnaires were mailed to the selected respondents, who had the opportunity to answer online.

**1.10.7 Data Analysis and Presentation**

The editing, coding, sorting, and formatting procedures were followed in most data processing and analysis methodologies. The majority of the data analysis was qualitative, with descriptive and narrative techniques being primarily used. This entailed calculating specific indices and looking for patterns in data-group relationships. Through well-designed methods and

methodologies, the data processing was validated. Excel sheet, NVivo, QDAS, and SPSS were used to aid data analysis in this research. To exhibit and evaluate quantitative data, the study utilized graphs, pie charts, and tables.

#### **1.10.8 Validity of data collection instruments**

This is how accurately a tool assesses the thing it is intended to measure. Construct validity, material validity, and criterion validity are among validities to take into account. In order to precisely calculate the elements needed, the inquiry used various instruments.

#### **1.10.9 Reliability of data collection instruments**

Reliability refers to how consistently a system tests its components. The measurement is accurate if it can provide the same outcomes using the same procedures and the same setup. The results are reliable when a liquid sample's temperature is checked again under identical circumstances and the thermometer consistently reads the same value.

#### **1.10.10 Ethical Considerations**

Before collecting and analyzing data, the researcher sought oral and written consent from the respondents. A consent form was issued, along with an opening letter that defines the investigation's moral premise. The researcher created a confidential declaration form to ensure that the individual responses are treated with care. The researcher conducted plagiarism tests and acquired a study permit from NACOSTI.

## **1.11 Chapter Outline**

The study comprises of six chapters:

**Chapter one** outlines the introduction to the study. The context of the study, the problem statement, the research questions, the objectives, the theoretical review, the hypothesis, the study justification and importance, the theoretical framework, and the methodology are all provided.

**Chapter two** examines the role of non-military approaches in counterterrorism in Kenya.

**Chapter three** assesses the efficacy of non-military approaches on counterterrorism in Kenya.

**Chapter four** explores the challenges and prospects of non-military approaches on counterterrorism in Kenya. The chapter analyzes in detail the outcome of the data collected in the field.

**Chapter five** develops conclusions and recommendation built on the analysis conducted in chapter four.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE ROLE OF NON-MILITARY APPROACHES IN COOUNTERTERRORISM IN KENYA

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the role of non-military approaches in counterterrorism in Kenya. The various non-military approaches explored include de-radicalization programs, as well as diplomatic and law enforcement frameworks. These non-military strategies of counterterrorism are cognizant of perceived root causes of terrorism such as weak political and institutional frameworks, religious and ethnic marginalization, underdevelopment, socio-economic deprivations.

#### 2.2 Diplomacy

Diplomacy refers to the peaceful management of relations while in the process of pursuing national interests.<sup>38</sup> Chapter six of UN Charter provides states with various pacific dispute resolution mechanisms including arbitration, negotiation, reconciliation, and mediation.<sup>39</sup> The multi-stakeholder course of diplomacy can be bilateral or multilateral and involves both state and non-state entities. Counter-terrorism conventions and treaties are vital diplomatic instruments in the efforts to combat international terrorism. The formulation of these diplomatic strategies to takes cognizance of the motive and underlying drivers of terrorism.

Terrorism as a crime transcends international boundaries of any particular state, and Kenya is no exception. The threat terrorism poses to the national security, peace and stability cannot be understated. In response to these threats, Kenya implements a comprehensive and well-

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<sup>38</sup> Kissinger, Henry. "Diplomacy." In *Geopolitics*, pp.114-115. Routledge, 2014.

<sup>39</sup> United Nations. "The charter of the United Nations and Statute of International Court of Justice." New York United Nations Department of Public Information. Print 1945.

coordinated effort in the form of global, regional and bilateral cooperation in, law enforcement, repatriation, border security, development assistance, training and military support as well as intelligence gathering as a way of counterterrorism and its associated threats.

Peace diplomacy, one of Kenya's five foreign policy pillars, describes the nation's crucial role in advancing global peace and security. As a result, and in reaction to the threat posed by international terrorism, Kenya takes the lead in regional counterterrorism initiatives, most notably in Somalia and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Moreover, Kenya's global cooperation on counterterrorism is reinforced by the Mutual Legal Assistance Act of 2011.<sup>40</sup>

This Act, while showcasing the nation's resolve to comply with the global principle of comity, provides a framework through which Kenya can implement and enforce bilateral MLA agreements with other countries. For example, Kenya implemented MLA agreement with China and United States encompassing international crimes such as corruption and terrorism.<sup>41 42</sup>

Kenya has also adopted 'United Nations Convention against Transnational Crimes of 2000' and the 'Mutual Legal Assistance and Extradition' convention of the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD). These agreements enhance the cooperation between Kenya and other nations in the apprehension, investigation and prosecution of suspected terrorists.

Repatriation of fugitives suspected of conspiring to execute, financing or orchestrating terrorism is also of immense significance in thwarting the vice of terrorism. Kenya cooperates with other nations in the repatriation of suspected or confirmed terrorists in accordance with three major legal regimes: first, Cap 87 of the Fugitives Offenders Pursuit Act which fundamentally relies on

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<sup>40</sup> Government of Kenya. *The Mutual Legal Assistance Act*. Nairobi: Government Printers, no. 36, Part 1, Clause 3, 2011

<sup>41</sup> Goldberg, Jonah. "How Liberals cheat in the War of Ideas." *Sentinel*. (2012). [https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/wjbxw/t11426223.shtml](https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjbxw/t11426223.shtml)

<sup>42</sup> Statelaw. "USA Government Pledge Mutual Legal Aid to Kenya." *Statelaw*, 2016. <https://www.statelaw.go.ke/usa-government-pledge-mutual-legal-aid-to-kenya/>

the principle of comity.<sup>43</sup> Second, Cap 77 of the Extradition Act, which focuses on repatriation of fugitives to a commonwealth member country.<sup>44</sup> Lastly, Cap 76 of the Extradition Act which outlines the repatriation of fugitives to a non-commonwealth nation depending on the bilateral agreement between Kenya and the nation.<sup>45</sup> Kenya is also a signatory to the 1999 prevention and combating of terrorism treaty of Organization of African Union, the now African Union (AU), which reiterates that crimes of terrorism are extraditable and nations have to cooperate on the same.<sup>46</sup> In the global arena, Kenya has adopted the 1999 ‘convention for the suppression of the financing of terrorism’ which requires member states with valid jurisdiction to enhance cooperation in the repatriation of individuals who finance terrorism while ensuring utmost protection of their rights of asylum among other civil liberties.<sup>47</sup>

The use of negotiation to obtain a peaceful outcome in counterterrorism in Kenya was demonstrated when two Cuban doctors were abducted by Al-Shabaab militants in April 12, 2019 in the town of Mandera.<sup>48</sup> The militants demanded Ksh.150 million for the release of the two doctors. Kenya sent community elders from Mandera to a village between El-Adde and Buale in Somalia to seek the release of the two doctors.

### **2.2.1 Public diplomacy**

Public diplomacy involves a two way strategic communication by both non-state and state actors aiming to influence opinion of the public about a policy objective. The main goal of public

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<sup>43</sup> Government of Kenya. *Fugitive Offenders Pursuit Act*. Nairobi: Government Printers, Cap 87, 1982[Rev. 2012]

<sup>44</sup> Government of Kenya. *The Extradition (commonwealth countries) Act*. Nairobi: Government Printers, Cap 77, [Rev. 2012]

<sup>45</sup> Government of Kenya. *The Extradition (non-commonwealth countries) Act*. Nairobi: Government Printers, Cap 76

<sup>46</sup> Organization of African Unity. *OAU Convention on the Prevention and Combating Terrorism*. Article 1(3), 1999

<sup>47</sup> United Nations. “International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism.” *United Nations 1999*

<sup>48</sup> Munuhe, Benson K. “Role of Diplomacy in Counter-terrorism in Africa: Case Study of Kenya.” PhD diss., UoN, 2019



diplomacy is promote national identity or national branding, influence opinion of the public, and elucidate misinformation and miscomprehension. Public diplomacy offers good prospects in the long term endeavors of counterterrorism and its underlying drivers. Weak institutional framework and deprivations within a nation are often associated with terrorism.<sup>49</sup> Therefore, public diplomacy as a counterterrorism strategy encompasses strategic persuasion and communication targeting the public from whom terrorist draw their recruits, with the objective of convincing them to shun divisive conflict and unite towards a common goal of eradicating terrorism within the society.

Public diplomacy as a counterterrorism strategy aims to eliminate radicalization and recruitment of persons to terrorist organizations, limit terrorist's sources of funding, and eradicate terrorist groups altogether. The achievement of success in such endeavor require a strategic, comprehensive and collaborative effort involving both state and non-state actors in international relations, and is enforced by soft power.<sup>50</sup> Such an association must however balance interests of the state with the priorities of the society.

The perception of government policies being discriminative may drive individuals to join terrorist groups. These terrorist groups may then be viewed as liberators from the inadequacies of the government. For instance, the perception of the youths that they are disadvantaged by the regime was a contributing factor towards some youths in Mombasa joining Al-Shabaab.<sup>51</sup> Consequently, public diplomacy targets to shape perception of the society towards the government and eliminate the factors promoting terrorism. While policies of the government treats every Kenyan the same, regardless of their religious or cultural inclination, public

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<sup>49</sup> Bjorgo, Tore, ed. *Root causes of terrorism: Myths, reality, and ways forward*. Routledge, 2004

<sup>50</sup> Riordan S. "Dialogue-Based Public Diplomacy: A new foreign policy paradigm?" In Melissen J., *The new public diplomacy: Soft Power in International Relations*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan 2005, pp. 194

<sup>51</sup> Botha, A., and M. Abdile. "Radicalization and Al-Shabaab Recruitment in Somalia." *ISIS Paper* 265, 2014.

diplomacy has a role to play in persuading individuals who perceive policies of the government as discriminative.

Terrorist organizations also appeal to masses by portraying the ideology of the state regarding equality and democracy as ideals of colonialists and Western world, and that such ideals curtail the full expression of their moral and cultural beliefs. Therefore, effective public diplomacy is crucial in demystifying such unsubstantiated claims. The Kenyan society is diverse, and some groups may feel discriminated against on the basis of religion or culture, hence a justification to join terrorist groups. An effective public diplomacy has the power to reverse such perception by restating Kenya's constitutional declaration that it has no state religion. Consequently, public diplomacy acts to clarify misinformation and miscomprehension.

The execution of public diplomacy as a counterterrorism measure may involve partnership among non-state actors. For instance, Center for Ihsan and Educational Development, Building Resilience Against Violent Extremism (BRAVE), and Supreme Council of Kenyan Muslims (SUPKEM) jointly initiated programs and dialogues to de-radicalize the youths and influence their perception.<sup>52</sup> BRAVE also organizes media campaigns aimed at countering violent extremism while equipping and engaging youths in development projects. In July, 2017, a collaborative effort to counter terrorism dubbed 'Lenga Ugaidi na Talanta' was initiated by the partnership of these three non-state actors. Approximately 300 youths were engaged on innovative uses of their talents in the creation of self-employment rather than joining terrorist groups.<sup>53</sup>

Community-led action plans are highly effective in combating terrorism in Kenya. An effective public diplomacy utilizes the involvement of community in advancing the anti-terrorism agenda.

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<sup>52</sup> Kirimi, Frank M. "Counterterrorism in the Horn of Africa: The role of public diplomacy." PhD diss., UoN, 2017.

For instance, the collaboration among DANIDA, USAID, and Kwale County established the County's plan of eradicating terrorism in 2017, in accordance with the National Counter Violent Extremism Strategy.<sup>54</sup> The objective of this policy was to prevent the youths from giving in to appeals by Mombasa Republican Council (MRC) and Al-Shabaab. Public diplomacy enhances community policing in areas such enforcement of laws within a community. For instance, Kenya's community based policy of Nyumba Kumi' is a strategy of preventing crimes through early warning provided by the community members in collaboration with the government.<sup>55</sup> Through this strategy terrorism can be impeded in Kenya as the locals take part in law enforcement through the provision of vital insights about suspected members of the community likely to be engaged in terrorist activities.

The Judiciary is also a vital element in the fight against terrorism. Public diplomacy can enhance the effectiveness and development of a criminal justice system strongly aligned with resilient and collaborative community projects. For example, the US Department of State provided the Kenyan Judiciary with a grant amounting \$800,000 to fund research projects in the areas such as community collaboration, resilience building, and prosecution of terrorists.<sup>56</sup> This epitomizes the role public diplomacy plays in judiciary capacity building among other efforts in counterterrorism.

Public diplomacy also utilizes the immense knowledge provided by higher institutions of learning such as universities and colleges to develop the awareness of community members on counterterrorism measures and the threat posed by terrorism to both the government and the citizens. For instance, the University of Nairobi held a stakeholder's forum on counterterrorism

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<sup>54</sup> Republic of Kenya. "Kwale County Plan for Countering Violent Extremism." Nairobi: *Government Printers*, 2017

<sup>55</sup> Government of Kenya. "Implementing Community Based Policing." Nairobi: Government Printers, 2008

<sup>56</sup> Duke University. "Kenya Counterterrorism Criminal Justice Sector Support." *Duke University*. Accessed on June 20, 2022 from <https://www.grants.gov/web/grants/view-opportunity.html?oppld=293031>

strategies suited to the Kenyan context through its Institute of Diplomacy and International Relations in 2017.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, the institution organizes workshops and inter-faith sensitization programs that aim to promote religious tolerance to prevent terrorism induced by religious differences. Public diplomacy targeting the establishment of dialogue and creation of awareness on terrorism is essential in addressing the underlying factors that intensify terrorism.

### **2.2.2 Poverty eradication programs**

The programs of poverty alleviation in Kenya originated from the 1965 Sessional Paper No. 10, which focused on the eradication of illiteracy, diseases, and poverty.<sup>58</sup> There has been numerous government initiated programs to date, including the Vision 2030 which targets to enhance socio-economic development of the nation.<sup>59</sup> This policy document recognizes the role of socio-economic development in fostering security and peace. Kenya has also established various programs based on this policy document. For instance, the ‘Vision 2030 Development Strategy for Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands’ of 2011.<sup>60</sup> This policy aimed at enhancing the development of areas deemed to have been previously neglected in the country’s development agenda hence reducing the susceptibility of the residents in such regions to recruitment in terrorist groups.

Devolution has also played a critical role towards equitable distribution of resources and revenues in accordance to the 2010 Constitution of Kenya, aimed at offsetting underdevelopment of certain regions within Kenya that were previously marginalized. The government of Kenya, in

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<sup>57</sup> University of Nairobi. “The University of Nairobi today engaged stakeholders in the search for strategies that will counter terrorism in Africa.” *University of Nairobi*, 2017. <https://www.uonbi.ac.ke/content/uonn-holds-discourse-strategies-counter-terrorism>

<sup>58</sup> Ministry of Economic and Community Affairs. “African Socialism and its application to Planning in Kenya.” *Sessional Paper No.10 of 1965*. Nairobi: Government Printers.

<sup>59</sup> Government of Kenya. “Kenya Vision 2030: The popular version.” Nairobi: *Government Printers*, 2007

<sup>60</sup> Government of Kenya. “Vision 2030 Development Strategy for the Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands.” Nairobi: *Government Printers*, 2011

2009, initiated the ‘Kazi Kwa Vijana’ project to provide employment opportunities for the youth in government projects.<sup>61</sup> This project was however marred with corruption and mismanagement of public funds hence its termination.

The residents of northern parts of Kenya are highly susceptible to being recruited in terrorist groups due to the region’s underdevelopment and widespread poverty, a weakness greatly exploited by the terrorists who evoke their socio-economic grievances in order to manipulate them.<sup>62</sup> Unemployment of the youth is of great concern in the poverty eradication programs of the government of Kenya. Some social factors increase the vulnerability of an individual to the pressure of joining terrorist groups.<sup>63</sup> Lack of basic services such as housing, health, security, and education make it easy for individual to be radicalized. Poverty eradication programs aim to address these shortcomings in the provision of public goods to eradicate the underlying drivers of terrorism.

### **2.3 De-radicalization programs**

Odhiambo et al. posit that long term gains in Kenya’s counterterrorism efforts are possible if the nation fully comprehends the phenomenon of radicalization.<sup>64</sup> Kenya’s efforts in the de-radicalization battle must therefore have an integrated approach in partnership with Muslim societies. De-radicalization programs aim to reverse the ideology of using violence to meet an individual’s or group’s political, religious or economic motives while shaping their perception

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<sup>61</sup> Hope, K.R. “Engaging the youth in Kenya: empowerment, education and employment.” *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth* 17, no.4 (2012): 221-236

<sup>62</sup> Muhsin, H. “Understanding drivers of violent extremism: The case of Al-Shabaab and Somali youth.” *CTC Sentinel* 5, no. 8 (2012).

<sup>63</sup> Ferguson, J. “The world’s most dangerous place: Inside the outlaw state of Somalia.” London: *Bantam Press*, 2013

<sup>64</sup> Odhiambo, Elijah OS, Kennedy Onkware, and Maito T. Leshan. “Domestic Radicalization in Kenya.” *Global Journal of Interdisciplinary Science* 4, no.3 (2015):48-56.

towards a pluralist context.<sup>65</sup> The eradication of violence in advancing one's goals is of key concern in the de-radicalization programs even if the individual still retains their radical views.

Radicalization is a process and doesn't happen just overnight. Early detection strategies are effective in achieving success in stopping the progression of the radicalization process to a point where violence is seen as the only means of safeguarding an individual's ideology. Non-state actors, the community, the state, including intelligence and law enforcement agencies must jointly work together to ensure that the citizens are off the radicalization path. It is equally important to remember that it is difficult to identify people who are on the road to radicalization.<sup>66</sup>

Much of government's attention has been on the military approach to counterterrorism rather than identifying and providing a long lasting solution to the underlying factors that set individuals on a radicalization path.

De-radicalization programs seeks to identify individuals likely vulnerable to radicalization, identify all the possible root causes of terrorism and factors influencing an individual to join terrorist groups, and design a strategic action plan to address the underlying factors that make the individuals vulnerable to terrorism. Individuals who have undergone de-radicalization and rehabilitation face the challenge of reintegration into the community hence the de-radicalization program should be comprehensive; from identification of the individual included in the program to reintegration in the society.

## **2.4 Law enforcement frameworks**

Anti-terrorism legislation gives clarity to law enforcement frameworks aimed at counterterrorism in Kenya. The Security Law (Amendment) Act of 2014 as a reinforcement to prior terrorism

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<sup>65</sup> Ashour, O. *The De-Radicalization of Jihadists: Transforming armed Islamist movements*. New York: Routledge, 2009, pp.5-6

<sup>66</sup> Jason-Leigh Striegher. "The Radicalization of Terrorists." *Salus Journal* 1, no. 1 (2013)

laws has enabled the formation of National Counter Terrorism Center (NCTC).<sup>67</sup> The institution plays a critical role in harmonization of counterterrorism strategies and mechanisms. NCTC also has the responsibility of maintain a terrorism database which is vital in the identification, prevention and neutralization of terrorism in Kenya. The punishment set out in the Prevention of Terrorism Act of 2012 has the potential of dissuading the public from engaging in terrorism.<sup>68</sup> This act specifies a jail term not exceeding thirty years, and a life sentence in cases where such an offence leads to the death of an individual.

Terrorism financing poses a great concern in the propagation of the vice. The "Proceeds of Crime and Anti-Money Laundering Act" was passed by Kenya in 2009 and then revised in 2017.<sup>69</sup> This Act essentially eradicates channels through which terrorism is funded. Al-Shabaab's illegal financial proceeds from piracy, illegal poaching, ransoms, and illegal trade of charcoal have limited room of finding their way into Kenya's monetary system.<sup>70</sup>

Many aspects of globalization today combine to increase the dangers of transnational threats, hence the need for international cooperation in dealing with transnational terrorism networks. In light of the above, the legislature of Kenya approved the Mutual Legal Assistance Act of 2011.<sup>71</sup> This enhances information sharing on transnational terrorism among other crimes, joint identification and prosecution of transnational crimes, and compliance with other regional and international laws.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, Kenya maintains police collaboration with the East African

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<sup>67</sup> Government of Kenya. *'Security Law (Amendment) Act'* Nairobi: Government Printers, No.9, 2014. Section 40A. pp. 351

<sup>68</sup> Government of Kenya. *Prevention of Terrorism Act.* Nairobi: Government Printers, no. 30, Section 2, 2012.

<sup>69</sup> The Republic of Kenya. *'Proceed of Crime and Anti-money Laundering Act.'* Nairobi: National Council for Law Reporting, no.9, 2009.

<sup>70</sup> US Department of State. *'2015 International Narcotics Control Strategy Report.'* Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs. Accessed on June 20, 2022 from <https://www.state.gov/j/inl/rls/nrcrpt/2015/vol2/239088>

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Center for Global Counterterrorism Co-operation. "Fighting terror through justice: Implementing the IGAD Framework for Legal Counterterrorism Co-operation." *Task Force Report*, pp.19, 2012

Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization (EAPCCO) and INTERPOL on initiatives targeting eradication of transnational crimes. Kenya is also a party to the EAC's Peace and Security Protocol which has been a critical capacity building and information sharing platform, particularly on terrorism issues.<sup>73</sup>

## **2.5 Chapter summary**

The effectiveness of non-military methods in tackling terrorism in Africa has been evaluated in this chapter. It was proven that non-military methods are crucial in Kenya's fight against terrorism. However, there exists a challenge in addressing the roots causes of terrorism due to their multiplicity. In conclusion, the potential of non-military approaches in counterterrorism in Kenya can be enhanced through cooperation between law enforcement agencies and the community. Identification of vulnerable groups and designing action plans to address the underlying factors that fuel terrorism goes a long way in eradicating the menace.

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<sup>73</sup> East African Community. "Protocol on Peace and Security." *Arusha: East African Community*, 2013



## CHAPTER THREE

### THE EFFICACY OF NON-MILITARY APPROACHES TO COUNTERTERRORISM IN KENYA

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the efficacy of non-military approaches to counterterrorism in Kenya. The effectiveness of various soft-power and development approaches to counterterrorism such as legal frameworks, public diplomacy, de-radicalization and poverty alleviation programs are taken into consideration. This chapter takes cognizance of how well soft power strategies have countered the drivers of violent extremism such as environmental, pull and push factors intensified by socioeconomic, cultural, and political conditions in Kenya.

There are numerous elements of non-military approaches in counter-terrorism, therefore, calling for a differentiated approach in the measurement of their success and evaluation.<sup>74</sup> Some success factors considered in the evaluation of effectiveness of non-military approaches to counterterrorism include; ability to offer alternatives to membership of terrorist organizations, counter-narrative, long-term commitment, addressing root causes of terrorism, perform basic state tasks, offering non-violent options, coordination and strategy, international cooperation, gathering of intelligence, and restraint in the use of force.<sup>75</sup> This study also makes use of commonly used indicators for gauging the efficacy of counterterrorism strategies, such as government action (such as the number of arrests), indirect indicators (including domestic and international support for counterterrorism measures), and direct indicators (such as the number of victims, the number of terrorist attacks, and material damages).<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Van Dongen, Teun. "Break it Down: An Alternative Approach to Measuring Effectiveness in Counterterrorism". Economics of Security Working Paper 23, Berlin: Economics of Security. (2009)

<sup>75</sup> Ibid

<sup>76</sup> Ibid

### 3.2 Efficacy of diplomacy in counterterrorism in Kenya

Kenya's threat of terrorism does not only emanate from its domestic environment but also from its unstable neighbors, especially Somalia. The security and peace of Kenya is untenable without the stability of its neighbors. In cognizance of this reality, Kenya's foreign policy was formulated as an enabler in dealing with regional and transnational terrorism.<sup>77</sup> One of the cornerstones of foreign policy, peace diplomacy emphasizes the significance of regional and international peace to Kenya's economic stability and well-being. Through this foreign policy, Kenya has the framework of intervening in other country's civil wars that threaten its own stability. Kenya held diplomatic talks on Somalia in Eldoret and Nairobi resulting in the recognition of Transitional Federal Government (TFG), thus improving the stability of Somalia and countering the threat posed by terrorism.<sup>78</sup>

Kenyan Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) have also partnered with other nations such as United States and international entities to counter violent extremism and terrorism.<sup>79</sup> Some of these CSOs include Kenya Community Support Center (KECOSCE), Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims, and Muslim for Human Rights among others. The advocacy and awareness on terrorism created by these CSOs have enhanced the vigilance, resilience, and prevention of terrorism within the communities. These programs effectively educate law enforcers and the general public on countering violent extremism (CVE) through policing and implementation.

KECOSCE, for instance, has various programs targeting the communities in coastal region of Kenya to enhance their resilience to terrorism. The organization has established space for dialogue among community members, security enforcement agencies, and the judiciary.<sup>80</sup> Other

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<sup>77</sup> The Republic of Kenya, "Kenya Foreign Policy." November 2014.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Lauren Ploch. "Counterterrorism in East Africa: The US Response." *DIANE Publishing*, 2011

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

than creation of awareness on the dangers of terrorism, KECOSCE has also been instrumental in empowering, training, and equipping the youths with business skills as an alternative to joining terrorist groups.

### **3.3 Efficacy of development and poverty eradication programs in counterterrorism in Kenya**

For the past 20 years, Kenya has been threatened by terrorism. Statistics indicate that majority of perpetrators of terrorism in Kenya are predominantly from Muslim communities and Counties in close proximity to Somalia. These communities and Counties are largely characterized by long-held local grievances, declining economic opportunities, lack of infrastructure and development, and high rates of unemployment.<sup>81</sup> Security and development are, thus, viewed as ‘equal but different’ in the universalistic perspective of human security. In the face of such challenges, Kenya requires a holistic approach to counterterrorism, inclusive of a development framework for countering violent extremism.<sup>82</sup>

According to Botha, terrorists take advantage of collective grievances originating from failed and discriminative judicial system, poor governance, marginalization, and scarcity of socioeconomic opportunities.<sup>83</sup> In response to these historical grievances, the government has initiated development projects that target previously marginalized regions in the Coast and North-Eastern parts of Kenya in order to stimulate economic development. For instance, the Lamu Port and Southern Sudan-Ethiopia Transport Corridor (LAPSSET) is a massive infrastructure project that aims to advance the coast region's development by providing youngsters with employment possibilities as the majority of them are at risk of radicalization into

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<sup>81</sup> Botha, Anneli, and Mahdi Abdile. “Experiences in the Kenyan criminal justice system and violent extremism.” *The Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers*, 2020

<sup>82</sup> Duffield Mark. “Human security: linking development and security in an age of terror.” *Paper Pre*, 2006

<sup>83</sup> Botha, A. “*Assessing the vulnerability of Kenyan youths to radicalization and extremism*.” Pretoria: Institute of Security Studies (2013).

violent extremism.<sup>84</sup> However, because of skill gaps, inadequate local community involvement, and racial/ethnic bias, the populations targeted by such projects frequently do not profit from them. To achieve the greatest benefits for the populations targeted by such programs, the government hardly ever addresses these challenges.<sup>85</sup>

Article 10 of the 2010 Constitution of Kenya that outlines the principles of governance and national values requires Kenya to adhere to public participation in drafting of its policies and projects.<sup>86</sup> However, the government has fallen short of this expectation leading to mistrust between the locals and the government. This has enabled an environment in which government policies are viewed as discriminative, including some non-military counter-terrorism measures perceived to disproportionately target some specific Muslim-Somali decent communities.<sup>87</sup>

### **3.4 Efficacy of de-radicalization programs in counterterrorism in Kenya**

Kenya has initiated various de-radicalization programs in her counter-terrorism efforts. This is mostly a multi-stakeholder initiative involving partnership between the government, local communities as well as NGOs. Youths in Kenya are susceptible to radicalization by terror groups, hence forms the focus of de-radicalization programs.<sup>88</sup> Some approaches to de-radicalization programs comprise of life skill trainings, mentoring, sporting events, career sponsorship, and peace caravans.

Productive skills in training and education programs offer community members a strategic approach to reduce the influence of terrorists in the domestic setting. Kenya, like many African

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<sup>84</sup> Fathima Azmiya, Badurdeen, and Paul Goldsmith. "Initiatives and perceptions to counter-violent extremism in the coastal region of Kenya." *Journal of Deradicalization*, 2018

<sup>85</sup> Badurdeen, F.A, and W.O. Ndenyele. "Public Participation in development projects: case study of the new port of Lamu in Kenya." *Kenya Studies Review* 6, no. 1 (2014): 232-249

<sup>86</sup> The 2010 Constitution of Kenya, Article 10

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> M., E. Role, Omwega, and L. Ndiku. "Preventing youth from Terrorist Radicalization and Recruitment." *Baraton Interdisciplinary Research Journal* 6, (2016): 163-170.

nations are deficient in capacity to utilize the full potential of education and training programs in countering radicalization.<sup>89</sup> Life skills training equip individuals with critical thinking as well as digital resilience skills, which are vital in countering propaganda and other recruitment appeals advanced by terrorists in religious and internet platforms.<sup>90</sup>

Mentoring programs enhance the development of social connection with role models and leaders within the community contributing to positive development of the youths who are vulnerable to radicalization.<sup>91</sup> In Kenya, mentoring programs are also fused within community policing involving the government, NGOs, and community leaders among other stakeholders in initiatives of education and employment.<sup>92</sup> Mentoring programs utilize the psychological practices that enhance the comprehension of inherent factors that impact the youths positively hence vital in curtailing the development of attitudes that lead to radicalization. Youth mentorship within the local communities has enabled the identification of youths susceptible to radicalization leading to the establishment and implementation of peer mentoring programs that foster a sense of belonging and connectedness, which eradicates the feeling of isolation, particularly among the marginalized individuals or communities.<sup>93</sup>

Sports and education provide an avenue through which the youth within a community interact, develop identity, and uphold cultural and moral values necessary in preventing violent extremism.<sup>94</sup> The youths also develop sport professionalism that is a source of employment to many, who would otherwise be vulnerable to drivers of radicalization among the marginalized

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<sup>89</sup> Savage, S., A. Khan, and J. Liht. "Preventing violent extremism in Kenya through value complexity: Assessment of Being Kenyan Being Muslim." *Journal of Strategic Security* 7, no. 3 (2014): 1-26

<sup>90</sup> Sude, B., D. Stebbins, and S. Weiland. "Lessening the risk of refugee radicalization." *Perspective*. (2015)

<sup>91</sup> Ibid

<sup>92</sup> Ibid

<sup>93</sup> Issack, Katra Idris Maalim. "Effects of community interventions on youth deradicalization in Mandera County, Kenya." PhD diss., Kenyatta University, 2021.

<sup>94</sup> Dhabi, A. "Countering Violent Extremism: Program and policy approaches relating to youth through education, families and communities.: *Countering radicalization and violent extremism among the youth to prevent terrorism* (2014): 118-151

communities.<sup>95</sup> Through various sporting activities, such as football, the youths among the marginalized communities are kept busy as they also develop their talents.<sup>96</sup> Sports also encourage the youths to develop close relationships while interacting with other members of the community.

Promotion of peaceful engagement with individuals within a community serves as an early prevention strategy against harmful behaviors and is crucial in averting radicalization in a nation.<sup>97</sup> Monitoring of social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook is vital in limiting access to propaganda and influencing the content consumed by the general public.<sup>98</sup> The International Center for the Study of Violent Extremism (ICSVE) launched several counter-narrative campaigns targeting Facebook users in Kenya and Somalia.<sup>99</sup> These campaigns focused on both general Facebook profiles as well as those that experienced intensified exposure to rhetoric and radicalization materials advanced by al-Shabaab and ISIS. Approximately 1.5 million video views were achieved in some of these campaigns leading to emergence of vital discussions on the hazards arising from terrorist groups such as al-Shabaab, change in online behaviors and attitudes hence reducing the vulnerability to appeals advanced by terrorists on social media platforms.<sup>100</sup>

The media in Kenya has promoted constructive discussions and awareness that limit the radicalization and recruitment of the youth in terrorist groups, eliminate appeal to ideologies of violent extremism, and foster peaceful interaction between and within communities. For

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<sup>95</sup> Kahara, G.W. *Violent Extremism and Radicalization among the Youths in Prisons: A Case of Langata Women's, Kamiti, and Shimo La Tewa Prisons in Kenya*. PhD diss., United States International University-Africa, 2017

<sup>96</sup> Saney, Abdirizak S. "Role of Sports in Prevention of Radicalization and Violent Extremism Among Muslim Youth of Wajir County in Kenya." PhD diss., UoN, 2021

<sup>97</sup> Cox, F.D., J. Ndung'u, and E. Njuguna. "Kenya: Identity and Insecurity in a Modernizing State." In *Peacebuilding in Deeply Divided Societies* (pp. 65-101). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham (2017)

<sup>98</sup> Ibid

<sup>99</sup> Speckhard, Anne, and Ardian Shajkocvi. "Virtual War: Fighting Al Shabab Terrorism in Cyberspaces."

<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

instance, Radio Salaam based in Mombasa has actively participated in the production of discussions and other radio programs focused on issues relating to terrorism thus influencing perceptions, decision-making, as well as stimulating critical thinking aimed at limiting recruitment into al-Shabaab and other terrorist groups.<sup>101</sup>

The amnesty program for the returnees initiated by the government of Kenya reduced terrorist activities in Kwale County by 81 percent.<sup>102</sup> Some of the key support provided by the government in this programme included economic support to the affected families, vocational training and psychological rehabilitation, and economic support to the returnees. Individuals who disengage from terrorism face increased suspicion and fear of rejection by community members, execution by other terrorists, and prosecution by law enforcement.<sup>103</sup> The National Counterterrorism Centre (NCTC) has coordinated the implementation of amnesty program through the National Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism (NSCVE) launched in 2016 to de-radicalize and reintegrate terrorists willing to disengage from violent extremism.<sup>104</sup> By February 2016, according to the government's estimation, 1500 former al-Shabaab members have turned themselves in.

Youths from Mombasa, Lamu, Kwale, and Kilifi in the coastal regions who had joined al-Shabaab in Somalia made up the majority of these returns. The rehabilitation and amnesty program in Kenya offer good prospect in counterterrorism. However, the amnesty program has been marred with several challenges including weak mechanisms of monitoring, uncooperative security agencies of the state, uncertainty around eligibility criteria, incomplete and poor

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<sup>101</sup> Badurdeen and Goldsmith. "Initiatives and perceptions to counter violent extremism in the coastal region of Kenya." *Journal of Deradicalization*, 2018

<sup>102</sup> Kubasu, Patrick Nau. "Influence of the government returnee's amnesty programme on terrorism activities in Kwale county, Kenya." PhD diss., University of Africa Nazarene, 2020.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid

<sup>104</sup> Downie Richard. "Kenya's Struggling Amnesty Experiment: The Policy Challenge of Rehabilitating Former Terrorists." *Center for Strategic and International Studies*

execution, and lack of an operational framework. These challenges have hampered the realization of the program's full potential in de-radicalizing individuals vulnerable to terrorism as well as former al-Shabaab militants.

### **3.5 Efficacy of law enforcement networks in counterterrorism in Kenya**

The law enforcement networks for counterterrorism in Kenya involves a wide range of key institutions formed by the Constitution of Kenya, including the Judiciary, National Police Service, National Intelligence Service, and the Kenya Prisons Service. The enactment and implementation of various laws and Acts have enabled smooth apprehension and prosecution of suspected terrorists in the nation. The existence of legal and structural frameworks that shape multi-agency initiatives in Kenya has proved to be effective in the designing and execution of necessary response to terrorism through exchange of best practices among fast responders, joint training, sharing of information, and standardization of operation guidelines and procedures.<sup>105</sup>

Kenya has reduced terrorism financing through its anti-money laundering policies.<sup>106</sup> The adoption of this regulation has enhanced the legal compliance of institutions within the country which is the right step towards criminalizing availing funds to terrorist groups and establishing a legal basis for prosecution in accordance with the stipulations of the Anti-money Laundering Act. 510 Muslim NGOs suspected of financing terrorism were deregistered for failing to comply with the directives of anti-money laundering regulation after Kenya evoked the NGO Coordination Act of 1990.<sup>107</sup> Some of the deregistered NGOs included Al-Najah Islamic Centre, Al-Ibrahim Foundation, Wakalatul-Ramah offices, World Assembly of Muslim Youths, AL-

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<sup>105</sup> Lusiola, Musoma Albert. "Structural and Legal Frameworks Guiding Multi-Agency Operations and Counterterrorism in Kenya." *International Journal of Advances in Scientific Research and Engineering* 7, no. 1 (2021)

<sup>106</sup> The Republic of Kenya. 'Proceed of Crime and Anti-money Laundering Act.' Nairobi: National Council for Law Reporting, no.9, 2009.

<sup>107</sup> Kagwanja P. Counterterrorism in the Horn of Africa: New security frontiers, old strategies." *African Security Review* 3, no.3 (2006): 73-87



Haramain Islamic Foundation, Al-Islami, and Al-Muntada.<sup>108</sup> Eradicating channels through which terrorism is funded is crucial in limiting the capacity of the terrorists to execute their operations effectively. The Central Bank of Kenya has been at the fore front to ensure financial transparency. Countering financing of terrorism is effective in playing preventive, deterrent, analytical, and investigative roles.<sup>109</sup>

The Prevention of Terrorism Act of 2012 grants the security agencies the powers to; search and arrest; criminalize various activities associated with terrorism such as radicalization and promotion of ideologies enhancing violent extremism; prescribe punitive sanctions for perpetrators of terrorism including seizing of properties and funds; provide for the rights of people suspected of engaging in terrorism; and provide authority for designation.<sup>110</sup> These legal frameworks offer a well-coordinated strategy to combating terrorism and are in line with the National Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism.

Community policing such as ‘Nyumba Kumi’ initiative has also been effective in early warning and prevention of terrorism in Kenya. However, the strategy has been negatively affected by mistrust between law enforcement agencies and the affected communities thus limiting the full potential of community policing in counterterrorism in the country.<sup>111</sup> According to Van Metre, extra-judicial killings, arbitrary arrests, and forced disappearance of individuals suspected of terrorism enhance the perception of victimization among the affected communities, eroding the trust between such communities or individuals and the law enforcement agencies.<sup>112</sup> The

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<sup>108</sup> Mayoyo, P. “Kenya Muslims say no to US school funds.” *East African*, 2004.

<sup>109</sup> Dalyan, Sener. “Combating the financing of terrorism: rethinking strategies for success.” *Defense Against Terrorism Review* 1, no. 1 (2008): 137-153

<sup>110</sup> Government of Kenya. *Prevention of Terrorism Act*. Nairobi: Government Printers, no. 30, Section 2, 2012.

<sup>111</sup> International Alert and KYMYA. “We Don’t Trust Anyone Strengthening Relationships As The Key To Reducing Violent Extremism In Kenya.” *International Alert and KYMYA*, 2016.

<sup>112</sup> Van Metre, Lauren. “Community Resilience to Violent Extremism in Kenya.” *USIP* 3, 2016

breakdown of trust increases the vulnerability of these communities or individuals to terrorism as opposed to the objectives of community policing.

### **3.6 Chapter summary**

This chapter assessed the efficacy of non-military approaches in counterterrorism in Kenya. Given the multifaceted nature of drivers of terrorism, the non-military approach to counterterrorism in Kenya has no one-size-fits-all strategy hence the complexity in determining the effectiveness of these interlinked success factors. Generally, community participation was found to be a key determinant factor that influences the effectiveness of non-military approaches to counterterrorism. The perception of the public about the policies and projects initiated by the government to counter terrorism should be that which enhances cooperation and trust lest the initiatives fail to meet their full potential.

The legal framework established by the government of Kenya has effectively streamlined and shaped how domestic and transnational terrorism are addressed in Kenya. However, there seems to be a mismatch between the intentions of the government and the reality and perception of some marginalized communities. In conclusion, the effectiveness of non-military approaches of counterterrorism in Kenya can still be enhanced if the designed measures address the specific drivers and root causes of terrorism.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **THE CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF DERADICALIZATION PROGRAMS ON COUNTERTERRORISM IN KENYA: DATA ANALYSIS**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

On the basis of the study's objectives, this chapter analyzes and interprets the data. HORN International Institute for Strategic Studies, MUHURI NGO, National Counter Terrorism Centre, KECOSCE, Academia, and Kenya Police Anti-Terrorism Unit were among the organizations represented by the 384 respondents that participated in the survey. Data analysis was done by use of Microsoft Excel Spreadsheets and the Social Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 26. The key goal of this study was to evaluate the contribution of non-military methods to counterterrorism in the Horn of Africa, through a case study of Kenya. This chapter will analyze the demographic characteristics of the respondents and specific objectives that include; examining the role of non-military approaches in counterterrorism in Kenya; examining the efficacy of non-military approaches in counterterrorism in Kenya, and exploring the challenges and prospects of de-radicalization programs in counterterrorism in Kenya.

#### **4.2 Demographic Characteristics**

Demographic data from the respondents to this survey included gender, age, highest education level, and organization. They are all crucial information in evaluating the use of non-military methods to combat terrorism in the Horn of Africa.

##### **4.2.1 Gender of the Respondents**

The study took into account the respondents' gender. Gender, in the opinion of Petrich and Donnelly, is significant because it offers experimental knowledge regarding gendered activities

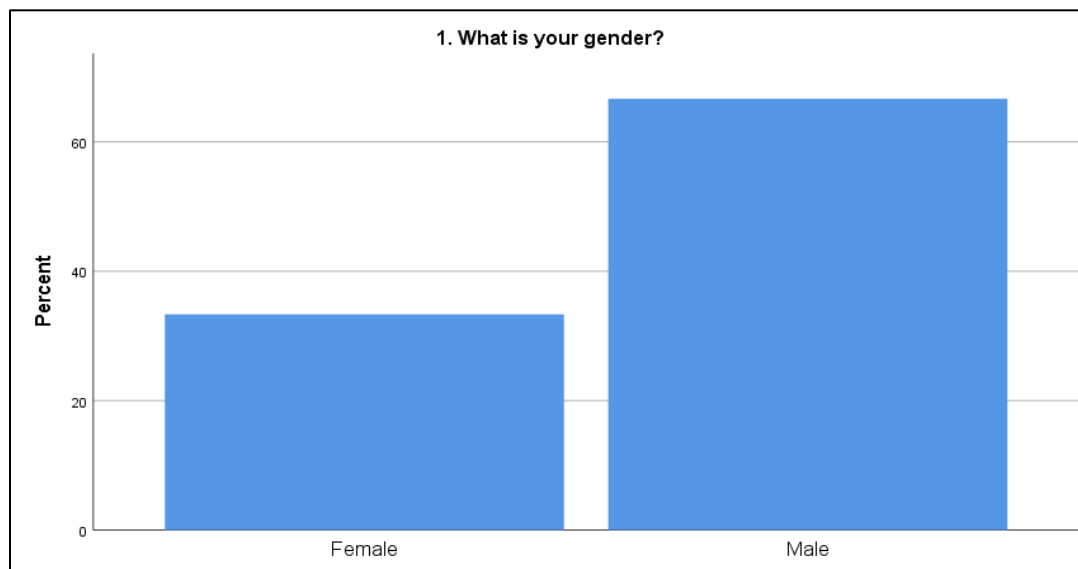
in the Kenyan military.<sup>113</sup> According to the frequency distribution table below, the respondents were either male or female.

**Table 4.1: Gender of the Respondents (N=384)**

		1. What is your gender?			
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid	Female	128	33.3	33.3	33.3
	Male	256	66.7	66.7	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

**Source: Research (2022)**

From Table 4.1 above, out of 384 respondents, 128 (33.3%) were female, while 256 (66.7%) were male. This indicates that the study was in line with the two-third gender rule. As a result, there was no bias in learning about the contributions that non-military strategies have made to counterterrorism efforts in the Horn of Africa, notably in Kenya. In terms of the percentages of the gender, the following bar graph is developed.



**Figure 4.1: Percentage of the Respondents' Gender (N=384)**

**Source: Researcher (2022)**

<sup>113</sup> Petrich, Katharine, and Phoebe Donnelly. "Worth many sins: Al-Shabaab's shifting relationship with Kenyan women." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 30, no. 6-7 (2019): 1169-1192.

### 4.2.2 Age of the Respondents

In order to analyze the input on the roles of non-military measures in battling tourism in Kenya, the study aimed to learn the respondents' ages. According to Akilimali et al., age is important in research as it reveals a strong relationship between age and subsequent opinions from the respondents.<sup>114</sup> The study indicated that the age groups of the respondents were between 20-30, 31-40, 41-50, and 51-60, as shown in Table 4.2 below;

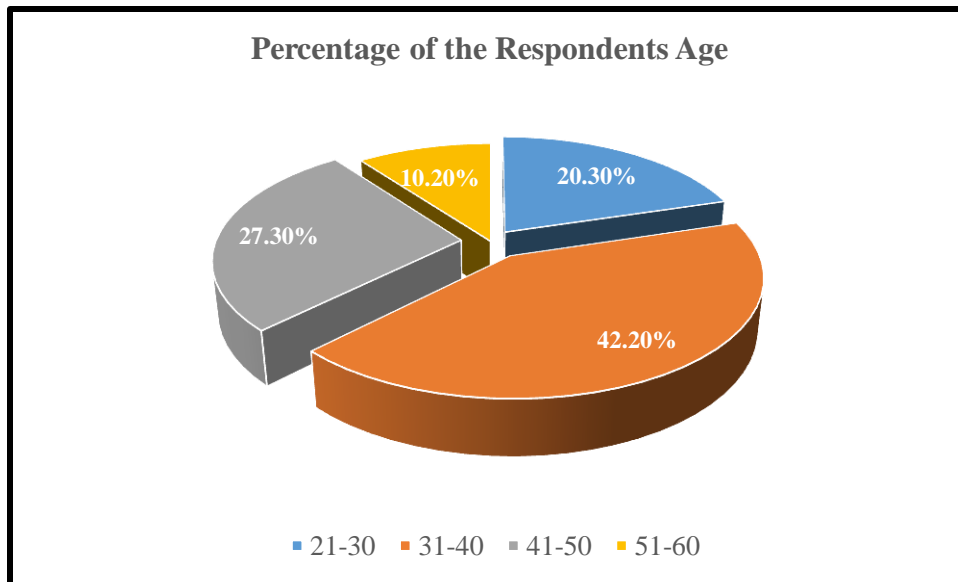
**Table 4.2: Age of the Respondents**

		2. How old are you?			
		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid	21-30	78	20.3	20.3	20.3
	31-40	162	42.2	42.2	62.5
	41-50	105	27.3	27.3	89.8
	51-60	39	10.2	10.2	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

**Source: Researcher (2022)**

From the table above, 20.3% of the respondents were aged between 20-30, 42.2% were aged between 31-40, 27.3% were aged between 41-50, and 10.2% were between 51-60 years. Therefore, most respondents were between the ages of 31-40, including the most active young generation at the forefront of countering tourism. This is well illustrated in Figure 4.2 below;

<sup>114</sup> Akilimali, Pierre Z., Henri Engale Nzuka, Katherine H. LaNasa, Angéle Mavinga Wumba, Patrick Kayembe, Janna Wisniewski, and Jane T. Bertrand. "The gap in contraceptive knowledge and use between the military and non-military populations of Kinshasa, DRC, 2016–2019." *PloS one* 16, no. 7 (2021): e0254915.



**Figure 4.2: Percentage of the Respondents Age (N=384)**

Source: Researcher (2022)

#### 4.2.3 Highest Level of Education of the Respondents

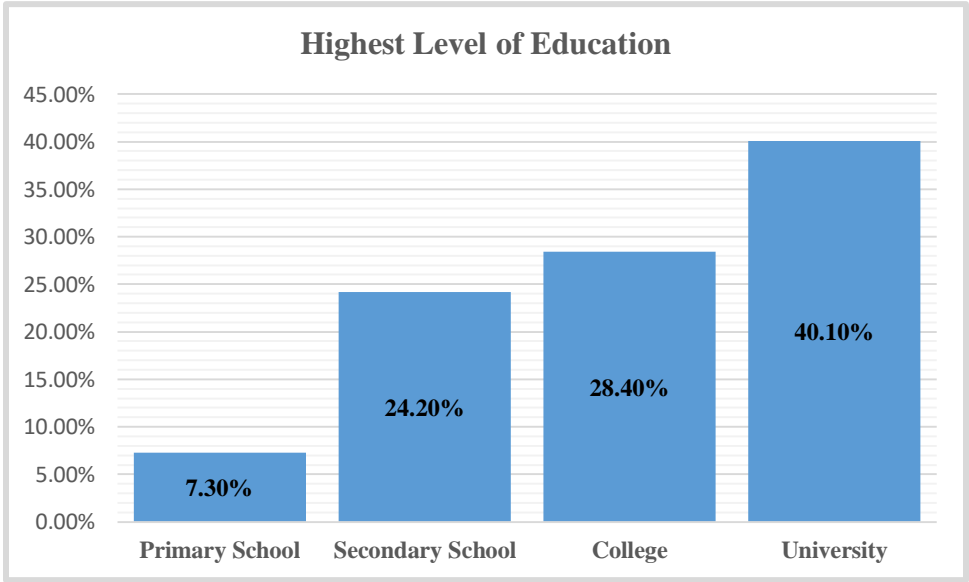
The study took into account the respondents' educational background as a factor in their understanding of the function of non-military methods in terrorism prevention in Kenya. According to the frequency distribution table below, the respondents' levels of education were primary school, secondary school, college, or university.

**Table 4.3: Highest Level of Education of the Respondents**

		3. What is your highest level of education?			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Primary School	28	7.3	7.3	7.3
	Secondary School	93	24.2	24.2	31.5
	College	109	28.4	28.4	59.9
	University	154	40.1	40.1	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

Source: Researcher (2022)

The study indicated that all the respondents attended school, regardless of their different levels of completion. 28.4% of the respondents presented college as their highest level of education, primary school was presented by 7.3%, secondary school level of education was presented by 14.6%, and 40.1% had university level of education. This suggested that people with a university degree were mostly responsible for the study's outcomes and conclusions about the use of non-military methods to combat terrorism in Kenya. Figure 4.3 below displays the percentage distribution for the greatest level of schooling.



**Figure 4.3: Percentage of the Respondents' Highest Level of Education**

**Source: Researcher (2022)**

**4.2.4 Organizations**

The study sought to interview respondents from different organizations, including HORN International Institute for strategic studies, MUHURI NGO, National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC), KECOSCE, Academia, and Kenya Police Anti-Terrorism Unit. The distribution of the organization of the respondents is shown in the Table 4.4 below;

**Table 4.4: Organization of the Respondents (N=384)**

		<b>4. Organization</b>			
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Academia	107	27.9	27.9	27.9
	HORN International Institute for Strategic Studies	44	11.5	11.5	39.3
	Kenya Community Support Centre (KECOSCE)	53	13.8	13.8	53.1
	Kenya Police Anti-Terrorism Unit	47	12.2	12.2	65.4
	MUHURI NGO personnel working on matters related to terrorism	70	18.2	18.2	83.6
	National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC) staff	63	16.4	16.4	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

**Source: Researcher (2022)**

Without knowing the organization of the respondents, the survey could not be considered complete. Of the respondents, 27.9% came from academia, 11.5 % from the Horn International Institute for Strategic Studies, and 13.8% from KECOSCE. Additionally, 18.2% of responders were from the MUHURI NGO, 18.2% from the Kenya Police Anti-Terrorism Unit, and 16.4% were from the National Counter Terrorism Center (NCTC). As a result, organizational data from the responses show that the majority were academics.

### **4.3 The Role of Non-Military Approaches in Counterterrorism in Kenya**

The goal of the study was to determine how non-military methods were employed to combat terrorism in Kenya. As presented in the table below, the respondents indicated that the roles include fostering public diplomacy, providing a legal framework for combating terrorism, facilitating counter-terrorism de-radicalization initiatives, and fostering programs to eradicate poverty.



**Table 4.5: Key Roles of Non-Military Approaches in Counterterrorism in Kenya**

**5. What are the key roles of non-military approaches in counterterrorism in Kenya?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Non-military approaches promote public diplomacy	89	23.2	23.2	23.2
They provide frameworks for law enforcement in regards to counterterrorism	100	26.0	26.0	49.2
They facilitate counter-terrorism de-radicalization programs	103	26.8	26.8	76.0
They promote poverty eradication programs	92	24.0	24.0	100.0
Total	384	100.0	100.0	

**Source: Researcher (2022)**

According to 23.2% of the respondents, non-military approaches promote public diplomacy. In this case, the respondents pointed out that public diplomacy has a great potential in the fight against terrorism and its root causes. They agreed with Malik, Zhilong, and Ashraf that terrorism is frequently linked to a country's weakened institutional framework and economic hardships.<sup>115</sup> In addition, terrorists' sources of money, radicalization, and recruiting are all targets of public diplomacy's counter-terrorism strategy.

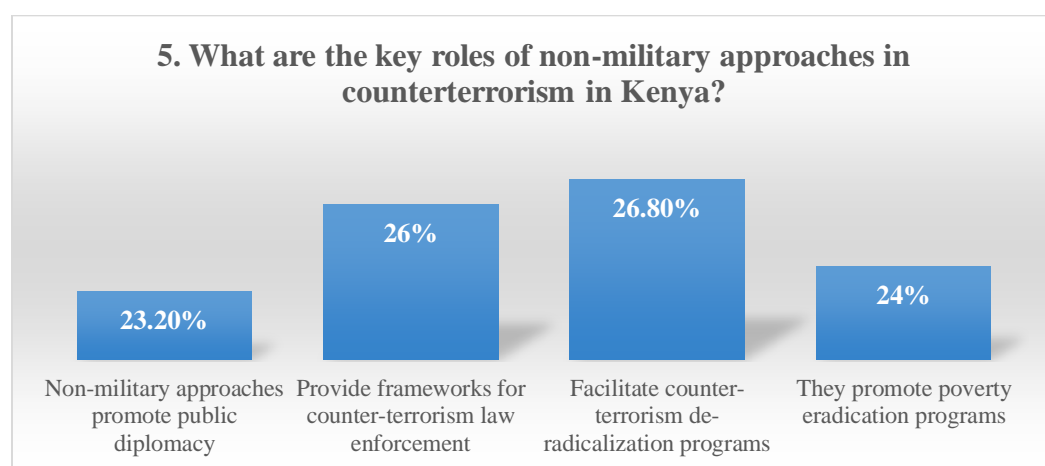
As a framework for law enforcement towards counterterrorism, 26.0% of the respondents pointed out that the enactment of anti-terrorism and associated laws in Kenya provided an enforcement framework targeted at preventing terrorism.<sup>116</sup> In addition, they added that funding terrorism is a significant source of concern for the spread of the vice. Another key role is the facilitation of counter-terrorism de-radicalization programs. In this case, 26.8% of the

<sup>115</sup> Malik, Zain Ul Abidin, H. Zhilong, and D. Ashraf. "Terrorism: The Biggest Security Challenge to the Integrity of Pakistan." *Orient Research Journal of Social Sciences* 4, no. 1 (2019): 96-106.

<sup>116</sup> Sempijja, Norman, and Bulelwa Nkosi. "National Counter-Terrorism (CT) Policies and Challenges to Human Rights and Civil Liberties: Case Study of Kenya." *International Human Rights and Counter-Terrorism* (2019): 431-448.

respondents pointed out that with the right understanding of radicalization, Kenya's counter-terrorism measures have a chance of success in the long term. As a result, they agreed with Brown that Kenya's de-radicalization operations must be linked with Muslim communities. The respondents added that the goal of de-radicalization initiatives is to reverse the notion of using violence for political, religious, or economic gain while also reshaping their understanding of a pluralist context.<sup>117</sup>

Non-military approaches are also tied to alleviation of poverty and reversal of declining economic situations that create fertile grounds for growth of violent extremism. According to 24.0% of the respondents, several government-sponsored programs have been implemented, including Vision 2030, which aims to improve the nation's socio-economic development. As outlined in Kenya's 2010 Constitution, the respondents noted that devolution is playing a crucial role in ensuring an equitable allocation of resources and earnings to eradicate poverty and underdevelopment within Kenya. The key roles of non-military approaches are summarized in the figure below;



**Figure 4.4: Key Roles of the Non-military Approaches of Counterterrorism in Kenya in Percentages**

**Source: Researcher (2022)**

<sup>117</sup> Ibid.

#### 4.4 The Efficacy of Non-Military Approaches to Counter-Terrorism in Kenya

The study examined the effectiveness of non-military methods of terrorism prevention in Kenya.

The table below summarizes the efficacy of the methods offered by the respondents.

**Table 4.6: The Effectiveness of Non-Military Approaches in Counterterrorism in Kenya**

<b>6. How effective are the non-military approaches in counterterrorism in Kenya?</b>				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	10	2.6	2.6	2.6
Efficacy of de-radicalization programs in counterterrorism in Kenya	132	34.4	34.4	37.0
Efficacy of development and poverty eradication programs in counterterrorism in Kenya.	83	21.6	21.6	58.6
Efficacy of diplomacy in counterterrorism in Kenya	112	29.2	29.2	87.8
Efficacy of law enforcement frameworks in counterterrorism in Kenya	47	12.2	12.2	100.0
Total	384	100.0	100.0	

**Source: Researcher (2022)**

The efficacy of de-radicalization programs in counterterrorism was pointed out by 2.6% of the respondents. In this case, the efforts of de-radicalization in Kenya are known for their ability to combat terrorism.<sup>118</sup> The respondents pointed out that de-radicalization programs are a multi-stakeholder effort of government, community, and NGOs. They agreed with Kamau that Kenyan youths are vulnerable to radicalization into violent extremism; thus, de-radicalization efforts target them.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Malik, Zain Ul Abidin, H. Zhilong, and D. Ashraf. "Terrorism: The Biggest Security Challenge to the Integrity of Pakistan." *Orient Research Journal of Social Sciences* 4, no. 1 (2019): 96-106.

<sup>119</sup> Kamau, Juliet Wambui. "Is counter-terrorism counterproductive? A case study of Kenya's response to terrorism, 1998-2020." *South African Journal of International Affairs* 28, no. 2 (2021): 203-231.

The second efficacy is in the development and poverty eradication programs. This was provided by 21.6% of the respondents who pointed out that, over the last two decades, terror attacks in Kenya have been perpetrated primarily by people from communities and counties which are perceived to be marginalized. They agreed with Brown that such communities have long-held grievances against the government, reduced economic opportunities, poor infrastructure, and high rates of unemployment, which drives them into violent extremism.<sup>120</sup>

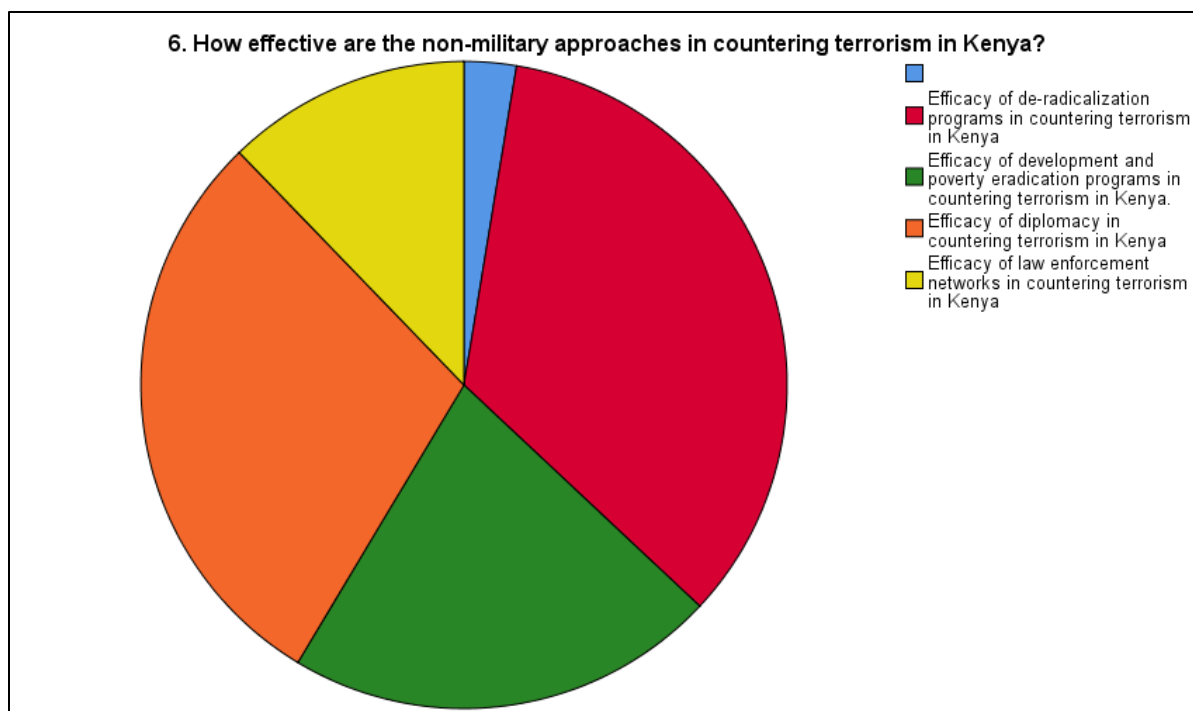
The efficacy of diplomacy was pointed out by 29.2% of the respondents. Here, Kenya's neighbors, particularly Somalia, pose a threat of terrorism to the country. The respondents added that the country's security and tranquility could not be maintained if Kenya's neighbors were unstable. Therefore, to deal with both regional and transnational terrorist threats, Kenya needs to develop comprehensive foreign policy strategy. Finally, 12.2% of the respondents cited the efficacy of the law enforcement framework in counterterrorism in Kenya. The government of Kenya has adopted a 'whole of government' strategy in responding to the threat of terrorism. The respondents agreed with Biegon and Songa that Kenya's law enforcement community that is concerned with matters of counter-terrorism include the judiciary, National Police Service, National Intelligence Service (NIS), Kenya Prisons Service, Financial Reporting Centre (FRC), and Directorate of Immigration Services. They also added that Kenya's anti-money-laundering laws and had gone a long way in curbing terrorism funding.<sup>121</sup>

The following figure represents the effectiveness of the non-military approaches in counterterrorism in Kenya.

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Biegon, Japhet, and Andrew Songa. "Kenya: The impact of counter-terrorism measures on police reform." *Policing Reform in Africa* (2018): 197.



**Figure 4.5: Effectiveness of the Non-Military Approaches in Counterterrorism in Kenya**

Source: Researcher (2022)

#### **4.5 The Challenges and Prospects of De-Radicalization Programs on Counterterrorism in Kenya**

Since their inception in the mid-1990s, de-radicalization programs aimed at helping individuals and groups transition away from violent extremism have grown in popularity and scope, even among conservatives. Despite the wide range of topics, aims, sizes, and methods of these programs, some commonalities and obstacles may be identified. The study sought to explore the challenges and prospects of de-radicalization programs in counterterrorism in Kenya. According to the respondents, such challenges included dynamics of religion and ethnicity within the local communities; limited community participation; lack of confidence and trust in government initiatives; and unaddressed social and economic grievances, as shown in the table below;

**Table 4.7: Challenges of De-Radicalization Programs in Counterterrorism in Kenya**

**7. What are the challenges of de-radicalization programs in counterterrorism in Kenya?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Dynamics of religion and ethnicity within the local communities	108	28.1	28.1	28.1
	Limited community participation, lack of public confidence and trust in the government initiatives.	111	28.9	28.9	57.0
	Unaddressed social and economic grievances	165	43.0	43.0	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

**Source: Researcher (2022)**

As presented in the table, 28.1% of the respondents raised concerns on the dynamics of religion and ethnicity within the local communities as a challenge to de-radicalization programs. They pointed out that religious or ethnic divisions are at the root of most disputes in Kenya and worldwide. Religion and ethnicity play an important role in defining national and personal identity.<sup>122</sup> They added that de-radicalization is a tremendous and never-ending task due to the impact Kenya's multi-religious and multi-ethnic makeup. Finally, the respondents agreed with Horowitz and Klaus that politicians capitalize on racial and religious tensions to appeal to voters' emotions while on the campaign trail.<sup>123</sup>

Secondly, 28.9% of the respondents mentioned limited community participation, as well as lack of public confidence and trust in government initiatives. They pointed out that there has been

<sup>122</sup> Fleischmann, Fenella, and Karen Phalet. "Religion and national identification in Europe: comparing Muslim youth in Belgium, England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 49, no. 1 (2018): 44-61.

<sup>123</sup> Horowitz, Jeremy, and Kathleen Klaus. "Can politicians exploit ethnic grievances? An experimental study of land appeals in Kenya." *Political Behavior* 42, no. 1 (2020): 35-58.

little community participation in several government programs aimed at de-radicalizing extremists, particularly in the afflicted regions. These respondents agreed with Kamau that there is a lack of public trust and faith in Kenya's de-radicalization programs if the affected communities are not involved.<sup>124</sup> The respondents also pointed out that public confidence and faith in the amnesty program were shattered by the lack of openness in the program's operational framework. Finally, the respondents pointed out that for the reintegration of former terrorists to be successful, the host community must be actively involved in the de-radicalization efforts.

Finally, the study established that the main challenge of de-radicalization programs in counterterrorism in Kenya is the unaddressed social and economic grievances. According to 43.0% of respondents, extremism has many interconnected causes and motivators. They added that historical injustices and social, political, and economic marginalization are root causes. These respondents agreed with Kamau that weak security, cultural influences, resource allocation, access, and Kenya's socio-economic situation contribute to terrorism.<sup>125</sup> The respondents added that mismatches between people's socio-economic status and grievances are fertile fodder for radicalism.

On the flip side, the study intended to examine the potential of de-radicalization initiatives in Kenya's fight against terrorism. According to the respondents, the main prospects include reduced reliance on traditional militaristic approaches, panacea de-radicalization programs, use of social media, and violent extremism.

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<sup>124</sup> Kamau, Juliet Wambui. "Is counterterrorism counterproductive? A case study of Kenya's response to terrorism, 1998-2020." *South African Journal of International Affairs* 28, no. 2 (2021): 203-231.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid...

**Table 4.8: Prospects of De-Radicalization Programs on Counterterrorism in Kenya**

**7. What are the prospects of de-radicalization programs on counterterrorism in Kenya?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Reduced reliance on traditional militaristic approaches	108	28.1	28.1	28.1
	Panacea de-radicalization programs	83	21.6	21.6	49.7
	Use of social media	94	24.5	24.5	74.2
	Violent extremism	99	25.8	25.8	100.0
	Total	384	100.0	100.0	

**Source: Researcher (2022)**

From the table above, the reduced reliance on traditional militaristic approaches is mentioned by 28.1% of the respondents. The respondents pointed out that Kenya's counter-terrorism tactics have overused militaristic approaches since independence. They agreed with Fleischmann and Phalet that the failings of these military measures, which often lead to reprisal attacks, have led to the growth of non-military approaches in combatting internal and international terrorism in Kenya.<sup>126</sup>

Panacea de-radicalization programs are crucial in addressing the rising exposure of the Kenyan population to violent extremism. 21.6% of the respondents pointed out that, modern-day de-radicalization efforts should never be considered a cure-all. It should be tailored to the context in which it is applied and suited to the concerned parties; it should incorporate expanded aftercare in the program, integrating the affected local populations; and it should enhance vetting of participants in the program.<sup>127</sup> Social media, like Twitter and Facebook, increase vulnerability to

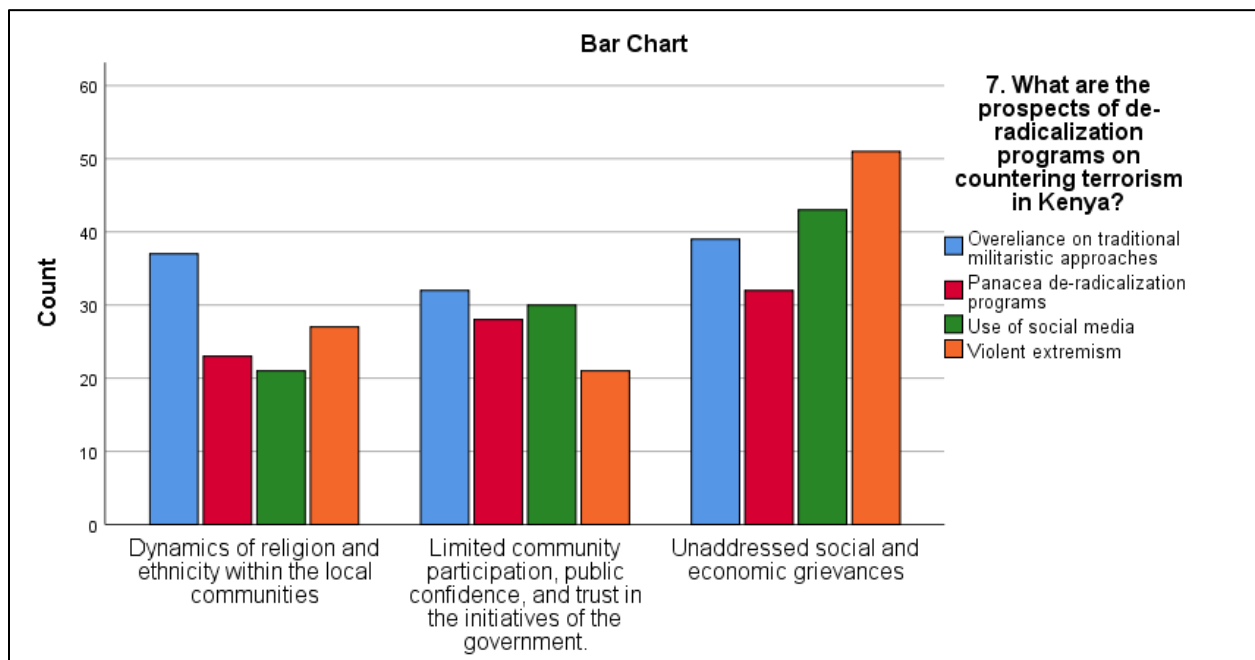
<sup>126</sup> Fleischmann, Fenella, and Karen Phalet. "Religion and national identification in Europe: comparing Muslim youth in Belgium, England, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 49, no. 1 (2018): 44-61.

<sup>127</sup> Hoffman, Bruce, and Jennifer Morrison-Taw. "A strategic framework for counterterrorism." In *European democracies against terrorism*, pp. 3-29. Routledge, 2019.



radicalization. According to 24.5% of those polled, De-radicalism initiatives must adapt to the rapidly shifting landscape of terrorism to prevent the spread of radicalization over the internet. More than a quarter (25.8%) of those respondents said that de-radicalization initiatives in Kenya had used various methods to combat violent extremism, such as life skills training and mentorship programs.

The study discovered a link between the difficulties and chances for de-radicalization initiatives in Kenya's fight against terrorism. The relationship is depicted in the following figure.



**Figure 4.6: The Relationship Between the Challenges and Prospects of De-radicalization Programs on Counterterrorism in Kenya**

Source: Researcher (2022)

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

In order to assess the role of non-military approaches in counterterrorism in the horn of Africa, the study sought to examine the role of non-military approaches in counterterrorism in Kenya, to examine the efficacy of non-military approaches to counterterrorism in Kenya and to explore the challenges and prospects of de-radicalization programs on counterterrorism in Kenya. In light of the three main objectives that served as the study's guiding principles, this chapter summarizes the major findings, conclusions and suggestions.

#### **5.2 Summary of the Findings**

This section contains key findings based objectives of the study.

##### **5.2.1 Role of Non-Military Approaches in Counterterrorism in Kenya**

The study established that decline in the threat of terrorism in Kenya is mostly a result of non-military counterterrorism strategies. Due to the variety of these circumstances, it is extremely difficult to address the fundamental causes of terrorism. The potential of non-military approaches of counterterrorism in Kenya can be enhanced through cooperation between law enforcement agencies and the community in identifying those vulnerable to terrorism and strategically designing an action plan that addresses the underlying factors that fuel terrorism.

The study also found that non-military responses to terrorism can involve political and socio-economic reforms, intelligence gathering, and fragmenting the enemy. A divide-and-conquer tactic can have three components in a fragmented situation namely, taking advantage of differences within the enemy's camp, severing the operatives' ties to their local allies, and isolating them from their foreign backers. The study also discovered that diplomacy is a tool

used by the military for obtaining and disseminating information. Kenyans can research current political, economic, and social topics and leave comments on them via blogs, Facebook, emails, and Twitter.

### **5.2.2 Efficacy of non-military approaches to counterterrorism in Kenya**

The study noted that due to the multifaceted nature of drivers of terrorism, the non-military approach to counterterrorism in Kenya has no one-size-fits-all strategy hence the complexity in determining the effectiveness of these interlinked success factors. Generally, community participation has been found to be a key determinant factor influencing the effectiveness of non-military approaches to counterterrorism in the country. The perception of the public about the policies and projects initiated by the government to counter terrorism should be that which enhances cooperation and trust, lest the projects fail to meet their full potential. The legal framework established by the government of Kenya has effectively streamlined and shaped how domestic and transnational terrorisms are addressed in Kenya. However, there seems to be a mismatch between the intentions of the government and the reality and perception of some marginalized communities. The effectiveness of non-military approaches of counterterrorism in Kenya can still be enhanced if the designed measures address the specific drivers and root causes of terrorism.

### **5.2.3 Challenges and prospects of de-radicalization programs on counterterrorism in Kenya**

Further, the study found that the use of non-military approaches to fight terrorism is not without challenges. This is linked to a number of variables, including the fact that terrorist networks are less concentrated and more distributed, that immigration officers are corrupt and that border and immigration restrictions are lax, and radicalization of Kenyan youngsters based on extremist

beliefs. The contemporary terrorist is well-educated, highly clever, and hides within other Kenyan citizens, hence posing a major challenge to the Kenyan security services in identifying them. This is a result of the underfunded and undertrained police force, bad planning, and general lack of readiness. The study also found that in order to execute de-radicalization initiatives in Kenya and produce meaningful results, a multi-stakeholder approach is necessary. This highlights the significance of community participation in the policing and execution phase in coordination with government's law enforcement agencies as well as non-state actors such as the civil societies and external donors. In Kenya, the execution of de-radicalization programs has not been without challenges ranging from challenges in the legal frameworks, challenges of addressing the root causes of violent extremism, limited public confidence and trust in government counterterrorism measures, among others.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

In a nutshell, non-military counterterrorism strategies are crucial to eradicating the threat of terrorism in Kenya. The potential of non-military approaches of counterterrorism in Kenya can be enhanced through cooperation between law enforcement agencies and the community in identifying those vulnerable to terrorism and strategically designing an action plan that addresses the underlying factors that fuel terrorism. Community participation has been found to be a key determinant factor influencing the effectiveness of non-military approaches to counterterrorism in the country. The perception of the public about the policies and projects initiated by the government to counter terrorism should be that which enhances cooperation and trust lest the initiated projects will obviously fail to meet their full potential. The legal framework established by the government of Kenya has effectively streamlined and shaped how domestic and transnational terrorisms are addressed in Kenya. However, there is a mismatch between the

intentions of the government and the reality and perception of some marginalized communities. The execution of de-radicalization programs has not been without challenges ranging from challenges in the legal frameworks, challenges of addressing the root causes of violent extremism, limited public confidence and trust in the initiatives of the government in the counterterrorism measures, among other challenges.

#### **5.4 Recommendations**

The study recommends that even though some actions would be considered vital to combat terrorism, they should be taken carefully and with monitoring clauses. Legislation and controls that include checks and balances should be implemented when needed. Because terrorism frequently thrives in areas where human rights are violated, it is even more important to take stronger action to stop these abuses. Legislation enacted for purposes of counterterrorism must take into consideration that: fundamental rights should be violated by terrorism itself; and the fight against terrorism must always uphold international commitments to human rights.

Additionally, there is a need to advance intelligence gathering and action capability. The government's security agencies can do this by having a clear chain of command and robust institutions that are aware of what to do in the event of a terror warning or piece of intelligence.

#### **5.5 Areas for Further Research.**

1. There is need to conduct further research on the extent of youth radicalization and the driving factors. What are the more productive strategies for approaching the target populations to lower their propensity for radicalization? Kenya will receive comprehensive information from the findings of this investigation on the corrective measures it may take to safeguard the country against the threat of terrorism.

2. The study also found a strong correlation between poverty, insecurity, and terrorism; consequently, further research is required to determine this connection.
3. A research should be conducted to assess the link between violent extremism and violation of human rights in Africa.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Questionnaire

#### PART A: PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. State your gender

Female             Male

2. State your age

\_\_\_\_\_

3. State your highest level of education

University     College     Secondary School  Primary School     Never Attended

4. Organization

- Kenya Police Anti-Terrorism Unit
- HORN International Institute for Strategic Studies
- MUHURI NGO personnel working in matters related to terrorism
- National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC) staff
- Kenya Community Support Centre (KECOSCE)
- Academia

#### PART B: QUESTIONS

1. What are the key roles of non-military approaches in counterterrorism in Kenya?

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2. How effective are the non-military approaches in counterterrorism in Kenya?

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3. What are the challenges and prospects of de-radicalization programs on counterterrorism in Kenya?

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4. What are the effects of non-military approaches in counterterrorism in Kenya?

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5. What is the rationale for the use of non-military approaches in mitigating international terrorism in Kenya?

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6. What are the non-military approaches used in mitigating international terrorism in Kenya?

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7. What is the efficacy of law enforcement networks in counterterrorism in Kenya?

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8. What is the efficacy of development and poverty eradication programs in counterterrorism in Kenya?

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9. What non-military measures has African Union established to mitigate terrorism in Africa?

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10. What non-military measures has EAC taken to mitigate terrorism in East Africa Region?


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**Appendix II: Research Permit**

  
REPUBLIC OF KENYA

  
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR  
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

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**This is to Certify that Mr.. Alfred Ochieng Ongicho of University of Nairobi, has been licensed to conduct research in Nairobi on the topic: Assessing the role of non-military approaches in countering terrorism in the horn of Africa: A case study of Kenya for the period ending : 28/July/2023.**

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## Appendix III: University of Nairobi-Letter of introduction



**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**  
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences  
**Department of Diplomacy and International Studies**

Tel : (02) 318262  
Telefax : 254-2-245566  
Fax : 254-2-245566  
Website : www.uonbi.ac.ke  
Telex : 22095 Varsity Ke Nairobi, Kenya  
E-mail : director-ddis@uonbi.ac.ke

P.O. Box 30197  
Nairobi  
Kenya

July 21, 2022

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: OCHIENG ALFRED ONGICHO – R51/12116/2018

This is to confirm that the above-mentioned person is a bona fide student at the Department of Diplomacy and International Studies (DDIS), University of Nairobi pursuing a **Master of Arts Degree in Diplomacy**. He is working on a research project titled, **“ASSESSING THE ROLE OF NON-MILITARY APPROACHES IN COUNTERING TERRORISM IN THE HORN OF AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA”**.

The research project is a requirement for students undertaking Masters programme at the University of Nairobi, whose results will inform policy and learning.

Any assistance given to him to facilitate data collection for his research project will be highly appreciated.

Thank you.

  
**Dr. Patrick Maluki**  
Chairman, DDIS

*(Seal: UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI, APPROVED, DIPLOMACY INTERNATIONAL STUDIES)*

## Appendix IV: Originality Report

### ASSESSING THE ROLE OF NON-MILITARY APPROACHES IN COUNTERTERRORISM IN THE HORN OF AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA

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