Climate Change and Legal Complexities
Navigating Environmental Challenges in ASAL Regions in Kenya

Mohamed Harun

INSIDE

Abstract

The legal complexities enveloping endeavors to tackle environmental difficulties within Kenya's Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASALs), specifically regarding fluctuations in weather patterns, receive a meticulous probing in this academic periodical. The article examines the existing national and international legal frameworks related to climate change in Kenya, highlighting their strengths and weaknesses. It identifies gaps and challenges in implementing climate change laws in ASAL regions, including issues such as land tenure and resource rights, conflicts over water resources, governance and institutional challenges, and community engagement in decision-making processes. The article also presents case studies and
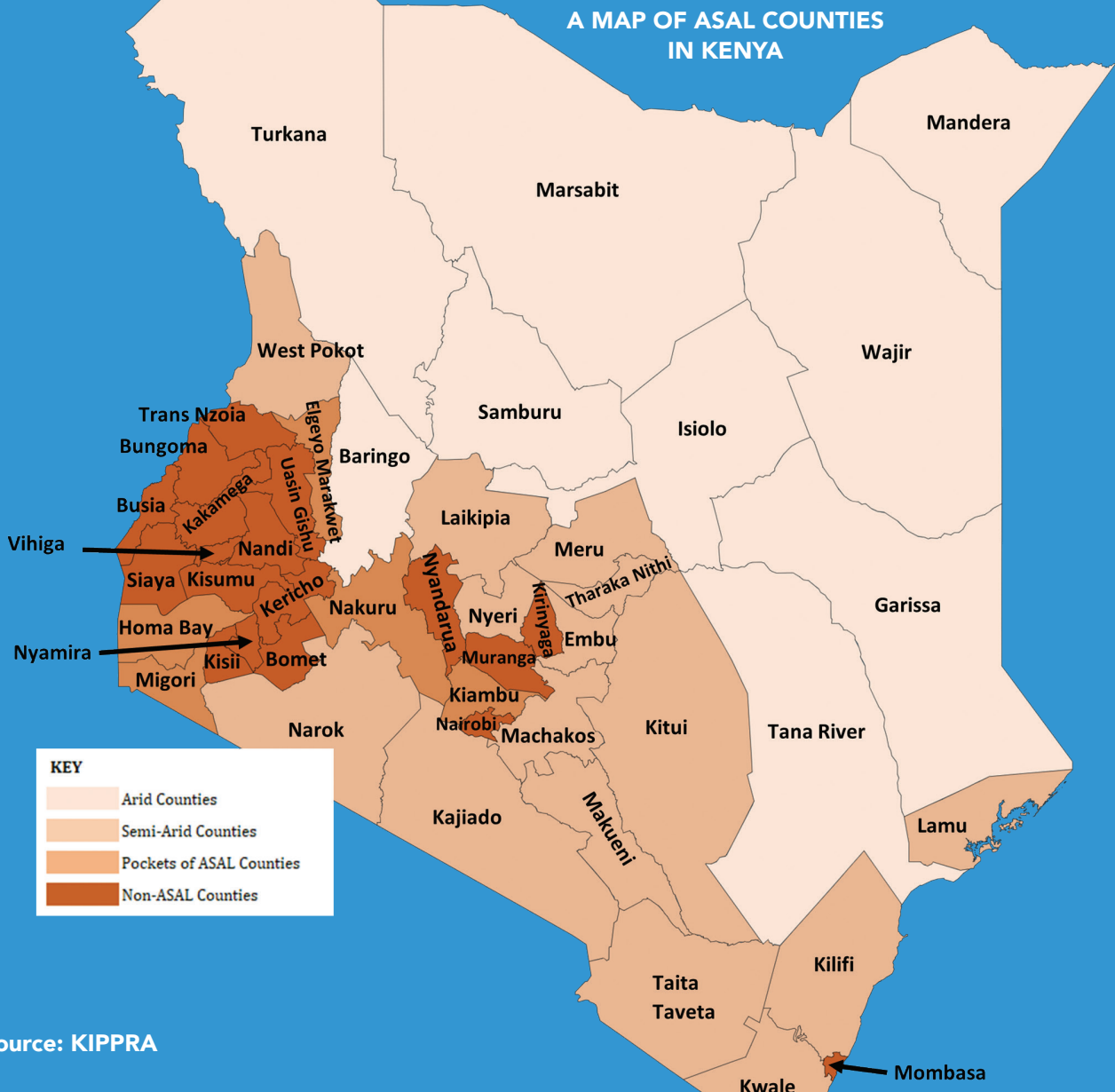
Figure 1: Arid and semi-arid regions in Kenya receive very low and unpredictable rainfall, leading to water scarcity, desertification, and other environmental challenges

best practices from ASAL regions that have successfully addressed environmental challenges, analyzing the legal strategies employed in these cases. Valuable lessons are derived from these case studies, emphasizing the importance of community engagement, integration of traditional knowledge, multi-stakeholder collaboration, and tailoring solutions to local contexts. Based on the analysis, the article offers recommendations to overcome the identified challenges. These include strengthening implementation capacity, enhancing enforcement mechanisms, improving coordination and integration, addressing land tenure issues, prioritizing water resource management, fostering community engagement, and learning from successful initiatives. By implementing these recommendations, policymakers and stakeholders can navigate the legal complexities and effectively address environmental challenges in ASAL regions. This will promote sustainability and resilience in the

face of climate change. This article provides valuable insights for researchers, policymakers, and practitioners working in the field of climate change and environmental management in ASAL regions.

I.   Introduction

A. Background on climate change and its impact on ASAL regions

The differing atmosphere owing to humankind's activities, chiefly discharging greenhouse gases into the atmosphere, denotes the enduring adjustment in climate sequences and heat. The impacts of fluctuating weather are sweeping and have critical outcomes for various zones globally, encompassing the Arid and Semi-Arid Grounds (ASAL) domains in Kenya. Arid and semi-arid lands are distinguished by scarce and irregular rainfall, elevated evaporation levels, and minimal plant

life (Kasuki et al., 2023). These places comprise around 80% of Kenya's territory and house roughly over 36% of the nation's inhabitants, inclusive of herders and farmer-herders who rely greatly on natural provisions for their sustenance (Mganga, 2022).

The inconstant atmosphere has inflicted a deep effect on the arid and semi-arid lands, intensifying the current troubles they contend with. One of the most important effects is the severity and frequency of water shortages. Rainfall rhythms have grown more unpredictable, culminating in lengthier dry periods and short-lived and more potent rainy times. These deficiencies in rain have grave implications for the supply of water, animals, and crop yields, prompting hunger, poor nutrition, and loss of earnings for people. Consequently, the fluctuations in temperature have led to the deterioration of arid and semi-arid lands. With sparse precipitation and extensive droughts, plant life has declined, resulting in the expansion of deserts and the wearing away of soil. This, successively, impacts the supply of fields for farm animals to graze and diminishes the efficiency of farming efforts.

The accelerating intensity of the rising temperatures stemming from anthropogenic climate change has precipitated a quickening of the evaporation process, ultimately resulting in a paucity of water and a degradation of water quality. The arid expanses and semi-parched wastelands are already grappling with a dearth of the life-giving liquid, and the deteriorating climes exacerbate this plight, rendering the procurement of unfailing and trustworthy wells and watercourses an increasingly Herculean task for the inhabitants. The ramifications of fluctuations in weather patterns across Kenya's drylands are manifold and interlaced with cultural influences. They imperil the occupations, nutrition, and general welfare of those dwelling in these localities. As such, confronting the difficulties presented by shifts in weather in drylands necessitates all-encompassing tactics that recognize the distinct susceptibilities and intricacies of these regions.

Importance of addressing legal complexities in addressing environmental challenges

Tackling environmental predicaments, specifically regarding shifts in climate, necessitates a robust system of rules that can proficiently steer and control measures at multiple stages (Radeny et al., 2020). The intricate legal matters encircling ecological dilemmas perform a vital function in ascertaining the prosperity of environmental drives and safeguarding natural possessions. Presented here are the principal rationales why resolving legal intricacies holds significance in confronting environmental difficulties. At the outset, lawful structures furnish a bedrock for administration and liability. They characterize the entitlements, duties, and commitments of different partners, incorporating authorities, ventures, networks, and people. Straightforward and enforceable statutes empower viable direction and supervision, guaranteeing that natural principles are met and that activities with unfavorable natural effects are properly tended to. By giving a lawful reason for ecological insurance, legitimate structures help set up a level battleground and debilitate exercises that hurt nature.

Secondly, legal complexities often arise due to the intricate nature of environmental challenges. Environmental issues are interconnected and span multiple sectors and jurisdictions (Schoon et al., 2020). Success in effectively combating the ongoing consequences of global climate change demands a high degree of harmonious collaboration from the diverse array of principal actors involved, including public institutions and private concerns alike, not to mention grassroots civilian organizations. Legal frameworks help facilitate this collaboration by providing mechanisms for information sharing, consultation, and cooperation. These intricacies emerge from clashing concerns and rival ambitions. Mediating financial expansion and eco-friendliness calls for the prudent weighing of concessions and reconciliations. Judiciary structures can facilitate harmonizing these stakes by furnishing means for choosing, bargaining, and settling disputes. They might also assimilate ideals of impartiality, communal righteousness and duty to descendants, safeguarding that the environmental quandaries are tackled in an equitable and maintainable style.

> " The accelerating intensity of the rising temperatures stemming from anthropogenic climate change has precipitated a quickening of the evaporation process, ultimately resulting in a paucity of water and a degradation of water quality

Additionally, lawful structures are vital to boost acquiescence and implementation. They formulate means for observing, conveying, and penalizing nonconformity. By inflicting punishments for ecological infringements, lawful frameworks dissuade harmful deeds and advance accountable conduct. They also furnish passages for impacted groups to pursue remedy and admission to equity if environmental mischief arises.

II. Climate Change and ASAL Regions in Kenya

Overview of ASAL regions and their vulnerability to climate change

Unpredictably and intermittently afflicted by little amounts of rainfall and possessing excessively speedy rates of evaporation that conspire to severely curtail vegetative proliferation, the radically desiccated and hyper-arid expanses constituting the ASAL domains are typified by an environment of nearly perennial moisture deprivation. Although encompassing only about four-fifths of Kenya's geographical territory, it is in these sparsely populated hinterlands that the lion's share of the population ekes out a hardscrabble existence, particularly those pastoralists and agro-pastoralists wholly dependent for their sustenance on the natural resources therein.

The inherently arid conditions and fragile livelihoods dependent on pastoralism mean that the arid and semi-arid lands of Kenya are especially susceptible to the adverse consequences of the climatic transformations currently unfolding (Sax et al. 2022). These regions, though already beset by a multitude of interrelated difficulties encompassing insufficient water supply, lack of food security, destitution, and restricted access to life's basic necessities face significant challenges. Climate change exacerbates these vulnerabilities and adds further complexities to their development prospects.

With climate change relentlessly exacerbating the harsh conditions in arid and semi-arid lands, one of the gravest consequences afflicting these regions is the ever more incessant and acute shortages in precipitation. Rainfall patterns have become more unpredictable, leading to prolonged dry spells and shorter and more intense rainy seasons. The reduced and unreliable rainfall negatively affects water availability for both human consumption and agricultural activities, making ASAL regions highly prone to water scarcity and desertification.

The rising temperatures associated with climate change also pose a significant threat to ASAL regions (Kogo et al. 2021). The exacerbating effects of heightened evaporation rates due to increased temperatures only serve to compound the troubles surrounding water scarcity. The heat stress on livestock and crops reduces their productivity, affecting the livelihoods of pastoralists and agro-pastoralists who heavily rely on livestock rearing and agriculture.

ASAL regions also experience challenges related to soil erosion, land degradation, and loss of biodiversity due to climate change. The intricate interdependencies between declining vegetal cover, intensifying land deterioration exposing the terrain to heightened vulnerability of soil erosion and desertification, in turn, undermine existing agricultural productivity and the provision of ecosystem benefits in those locales.

Moreover, the impacts of climate change in ASAL regions have social and economic consequences. The means by which those communities reliant upon farming, animal husbandry, and the land's bounty sustain themselves have been grievously imperiled. In these areas, a tendency exists for food deprivation, inadequate nutrition, and impoverishment percentages to prove disproportionately elevated contrasted with alternative national portions.

III. Legal Frameworks for Climate Change in Kenya

With keen awareness of the grave ramifications brought by human-induced shifts in global weather patterns, Kenya has in turn forged a multidimensional web of environmental laws and strategic initiatives calibrated to curb and adjust to such transformations, both within its borders and as an active participant in the worldwide campaign (Liu & Feng, 2023). Seeking to limit global warming, accommodate shifts, and spread sustainable ways of living rather than simply mitigating gas, adjusting to changes, or promoting evolution.

While Kenya has established at the national level the Climate Change Act of 2016 to legally govern climate change mitigation efforts across the country's jurisdictions, the legislation also provides a complex regulatory framework to facilitate a coordinated response (Wambua, 2019). A complex interlocking structure has been established by the Act that incorporates both an inter-departmental National Climate Change Council under Section 5 of the Act to synchronize and harmonize

The reduced and unreliable rainfall negatively affects water availability for both human consumption and agricultural activities, making ASAL regions highly prone to water scarcity and desertification

climate change initiatives across each and every economic sector, as well as instituting a National Climate Change Fund to rally and disperse the vital financial means for executing modern climate change accommodation and mitigation enterprises at a national level (Njuguna et al., 2023). Each Party must also articulate detailed Climate Change Action Plans at the national level delineating particular steps addressing both the mitigation of and adaptation to climate change. This necessitates the formulation of concrete measures.

Kenya has also developed various sector-specific policies and regulations that contribute to climate change efforts. Expanding on existing policies that encourage a wider array of energy sources, especially renewables, in order to loosen the hold of carbon-intensive fuels and accompanying environmental damage. The National Policy on Disaster Management addresses the increasing frequency and intensity of climate-related disasters. The National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands is mandated to facilitate and fast-track sustainable development in Northern Kenya and other arid lands by increasing investment in the region and ensuring that the use of those resources is fully reconciled with the realities of people's lives (Akuja & Kandagor, 2019). It focuses on climate resilience requiring the government to find solutions to address climate challenges and to come up with measures to manage drought and strengthen livelihoods. The policy also focuses on an enabling environment for accelerated investments in "foundations" to reduce poverty and build resilience and growth. The establishment of the National Drought Management Authority (NDMA), the National Disaster Contingency Fund and the Council for Pastoralists education are provided for in the policy. A key objective is to strengthen the climate resilience of communities in the ASALs and ensure sustainable livelihoods.

As an engaged participant within the global arena seeking collaborative solutions, Kenya is a signatory to the preeminent United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change Convention (Ageyo & Muchunku, 2020.

This pact established the seminal 2015 Paris Agreement. Although a signatory is obligated to diminish greenhouse gas discharges, improve adaptive capacity, and mobilize resources for climate change maneuvers, Kenya's commitment remains superficial. Having ratified the Paris Agreement, the nation articulated in its Nationally Determined Contributions particular objectives for mitigating the anthropogenic forces fueling climate change. In addition, it adapted to the implications of a warming planet already manifest.

Analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of current legal frameworks

The strengths of the existing legal framework in Kenya provide a solid foundation for addressing climate change. The complexities inherent within the multifaceted legal frameworks guarantee that the diverse components of climate change, specifically mitigation, adaptation, finance, administration, and distinct strategies targeting individual sectors, receive comprehensive consideration. A nuanced perspective in examining this issue facilitates crafting an inclusive solution to confront the countless complexities brought by shifts in global temperatures. By addressing different dimensions of climate change, the legal frameworks promote a well-rounded strategy that can lead to effective outcomes.

The critical roles played in coordinating, financing, and executing climate change action plans by the institutional frameworks erected via the National Climate Change Council and National Climate Change Fund should not be underestimated (Odhengo et al., 2019). Collaboration across sectors facilitated by these institutions allows for a convergence of efforts from governmental entities, nonprofits, as well as commercial enterprises. By bringing together diverse perspectives and resources, these institutional arrangements enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of climate change actions.

Furthermore, the integration of climate change actions with national development plans, such as Vision 2030 and the Big Four Agenda, is a notable

Climate change has driven millions of Garissa resident to the precipice of a ranging food catastrophe. A Garissa resident walks past dozens of dead cattle (Photo Credit: Larry C. Price)

strength. This integration ensures that climate change considerations are embedded in broader development processes. By aligning climate change objectives with national development goals, the legal frameworks promote coherence and cooperation in planning and implementation. This integration helps to mainstream climate change considerations and ensures that climate action is integrated into the broader development agenda of the country.

Although the current legal framework remains strong in many respects, inherent weaknesses and obstacles demand redress in equal measure. One of the significant challenges is limited implementation capacity. The effective translation of legal provisions into practical actions on the ground faces obstacles due to insufficient institutional capacity, inadequate financial resources, and a lack of technical expertise. If national governments are to successfully enact and enforce laws and policies designed to mitigate and adapt to climate change, enhancing and empowering their institutional frameworks and endowing them with sufficient means and expertise are indispensable for defeating the inevitable political and logistical obstacles impeding progress.

Another weakness is inadequate enforcement mechanisms. While the legal frameworks outline various obligations and responsibilities, the enforcement mechanisms and penalties for non-compliance are often weak. This undermines the effectiveness of the legal provisions and may result in non-compliance by stakeholders. Strengthening enforcement mechanisms and ensuring accountability are vital to ensure that the legal frameworks are effective in driving the desired behavioral changes and promoting compliance with climate change regulations.

In addition, enhanced harmonization and amalgamation between diverse divisions and levels of governance are imperative. Currently, the legal frameworks often operate in silos, leading to fragmented approaches and limited collaboration among climate change actions. Strengthening coordination mechanisms, promoting cross-sectoral collaboration, and fostering multi-level governance arrangements can enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of climate change initiatives. By surpassing the divisions across and within the various levels of governance through coordinated action, impact and durability can emerge in a way previously unachieved.

While the legal frameworks in Kenya demonstrate several strengths, including a comprehensive approach, institutional arrangements, and integration with national development plans, there are also weaknesses and

challenges that need to be addressed (Jilo, 2021). These include limited implementation capacity, inadequate enforcement mechanisms, and a lack of coordination and integration. With concentrated efforts to address and overcome these vulnerabilities and obstacles, the established legal protocols could be strengthened to alleviate and conform to the consequences of global warming. This would secure a more endurable and ecological destiny for Kenya.

Identification of gaps and challenges in implementing climate change laws in ASAL regions

Implementing climate change laws in Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) regions presents specific challenges and reveals certain gaps in the current legal frameworks.

One significant gap is the limited awareness and understanding of climate change and its implications in ASAL regions (Moegi, 2022). Many communities in these regions may lack knowledge about their rights, responsibilities, and available support mechanisms under the climate change legal framework. This hampers effective community participation and engagement in climate change actions. Targeting this discrepancy necessitates focused enlightenment movements, competence-increase regimens, and insight-distributing platforms to equip populations with the indispensable intelligence and mechanisms to proactively partake in atmospheric deviation enterprises.

Another gap is the inadequate consideration of the local context in the current legal framework. Unique and pressing challenges arise for those inhabiting arid and semi-arid lands with regard to the shifting climate, amongst them the growing dearth of that most precious resource, water, complex questions of land ownership, and the increasingly difficult task of sustainably managing livestock populations. Recognizing climate change as inextricably linked with human and environmental factors in these regions, nuanced strategies and policies finely in agreement with the tangled web of interactions between them must be crafted if we are to have any hope of substantially curbing its impacts. Integrating local knowledge, traditional practices, and community-based approaches into the legal frameworks can enhance their relevance and effectiveness in addressing climate change challenges in ASAL regions.

Access to finance is another major challenge in implementing climate change laws in ASAL regions. Frequently plagued by monetary impediments and fiscal deficiencies that encumber their capacity to actualize climate change adaptation and mitigation undertakings, these domains are often confronted with economic restraints and confined financial assets. There is a need to develop mechanisms that prioritize and facilitate access to climate finance for ASAL regions. This can involve establishing dedicated funding sources, providing financial incentives for sustainable practices, and promoting public-private partnerships to mobilize resources for climate change projects in these regions.

Strengthening adaptation measures is also crucial in ASAL regions (Kariuki, 2022). While the legal frameworks address both mitigation and adaptation, there is a need to prioritize and enhance adaptation measures in these vulnerable regions. Employing resourceful management approaches to their aquifers and arable terrain as well as diversifying their means of subsistence could strengthen their capacity to endure shifts wrought by a changing climate. While targeted interventions aimed at enhancing adaptive capacities in arid regions, such as incentivizing the adoption of drought-resistant farming techniques, improving water retention and preservation systems, and facilitating the emergence of alternative livelihoods are undoubtedly necessary to empower communities facing harsh climatic conditions.

For effective implementation of decisions to occur, it is imperative that local populations be intricately woven into the complex decision-making processes. Meaningful participation and involvement of local communities ensure that climate change actions are contextually appropriate and sustainable. The legal frameworks should promote mechanisms for community consultation, knowledge-sharing, and ownership of climate change initiatives in ASAL regions. The development of locally-

Many communities in these regions may lack knowledge about their rights, responsibilities, and available support mechanisms under the climate change legal framework

> "Water scarcity is a pressing environmental challenge in ASAL regions, and competition over limited water resources can lead to conflicts among communities and between different water users

based collectives and the incorporation of customary knowledge and practices through collaborative design procedures can accomplish this.

IV. Legal Complexities in Addressing Environmental Challenges in ASAL Regions

One of the significant legal complexities in addressing environmental challenges in the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) regions of Kenya revolves around land tenure and resource rights. A mixture of age-old customary laws and modern statutory edicts govern land ownership in these areas, spawning disputes over property rights and the utilization of natural resources. The lack of clear and secure land tenure can hinder investments in sustainable land use practices and impede efforts to implement climate change adaptation and mitigation strategies. Legal frameworks need to address these complexities by recognizing and protecting the land rights of local communities and indigenous peoples in ASAL regions. This includes formalizing customary land tenure systems and ensuring that communities have a say in land-use decisions. Clear and secure land tenure can provide incentives for sustainable land management and encourage community-led initiatives for climate change resilience.

Water scarcity is a pressing environmental challenge in ASAL regions, and competition over limited water resources can lead to conflicts among communities and between different water users. Existing legal frameworks must address water allocation and management issues to ensure equitable access to water resources while promoting sustainable water use practices. In many ASAL regions, water rights are not well-defined, leading to disputes over water access and allocation. Legal complexities arise in establishing mechanisms for water rights registration, allocation, and dispute resolution. Legal frameworks should acknowledge the significance of

long-held water management traditions and grassroots solutions by harmonizing them with contemporary water resource administration in a manner that guarantees the enduring viability of this vital resource within these areas.

Governance and institutional challenges pose significant complexities in implementing climate change laws and policies in ASAL regions. The division of duties between the various government bodies in an uncoordinated fashion, the poor coordination existing between the different tiers of administration, and the limited ability to effectively implement environmental laws, all pose obstacles. A more fluid, nuanced, and comprehensive climate change governance strategy necessitates intricately interwoven and cooperative methodologies, enlisting a multiplicity of stakeholders, encompassing official governing bodies, regional rulers, civilian collective associations, as well as private commercial interests. The legal frameworks must establish clear roles and responsibilities for each stakeholder and promote coordination mechanisms to foster multi-sectoral and multi-level governance arrangements.

Additionally, building the institutional capacity of local authorities in ASAL regions is essential to effectively implement climate change laws. This involves providing training and resources to enhance their understanding of climate change issues, improve data collection and monitoring capabilities, and strengthen enforcement mechanisms. Community engagement and participation are crucial for successful climate change interventions in ASAL regions. However, legal complexities can hinder effective community involvement in decision-making processes. Limited awareness of climate change laws, language barriers, and power imbalances between communities and authorities can all inhibit meaningful participation. To address these challenges, the legal frameworks must prioritize community engagement and incorporate participatory approaches into policy development and project implementation. In order to ensure that climate change initiatives resonate with and empower the very communities they aim to assist, those formulating climate action plans would do well to consult with local stakeholders, conduct public forums in commonly-spoken tongues, and provide avenues for grassroots involvement and leadership in these collaborative efforts. To facilitate the integration of community sensibilities into the deliberations on climate change, the vitality of grassroots groups and civic bodies should be bolstered. This will enable the robust articulation of local concerns and guarantee that

neighborhood viewpoints are woven into the fabric of policy determinations on this issue.

V. Case Studies and Best Practices

A variety of efficacious efforts comprising both programs and initiatives have been implemented to address the environmental challenges present within Kenya's arid and semi-arid regions. An interesting effort is the Community-Based Adaptation to Climate Change (CBA-CC) project in Turkana County These case study highlights effective approaches and provide insights into best practices.

Through undertaking initiatives aimed at enhancing capacities for adaptation in the face of environmental shifts, this multifaceted undertaking sought to strengthen the durability of localized populations by facilitating endeavors like the accumulation and storage of water, the restoration of woodlands, and the implementation of sustainable farming techniques. By engaging and empowering communities, the project successfully enhanced their adaptive capacity and reduced their vulnerability to climate change impacts.

The legal acumen with which these undertakings were actualized accounts for their achievement. One key legal strategy is the recognition and protection of community land and resource rights. In both case studies, community involvement and ownership were integral to the initiatives' success. Legal frameworks that acknowledge and safeguard community rights provide a foundation for sustainable natural resource management and empower local communities to take proactive measures in addressing environmental challenges.

Furthermore, the integration of traditional knowledge and practices into the legal frameworks played a vital role. By recognizing the value of indigenous knowledge systems and involving local communities in decision-making processes, the initiatives were able to tap into local expertise and tailor solutions that were culturally appropriate and environmentally sustainable.

In addition, the legal frameworks supported multi-stakeholder collaboration and partnerships. A melange of stakeholders, comprising governmental institutions, nonprofits, locally-focused coalitions, and commercial

A girl pulls out a 10 litres remodeled plastic jerrican of water from a makeshift well in a dry riverbed in Turkana County, Kenya as other girls wait for their turn (Photo Credit: Larry C. Price)

enterprises launched multifarious undertakings. Such collaborations facilitated the sharing of resources, expertise, and responsibilities, resulting in more comprehensive and impactful intervention.

The case studies presented above offer valuable lessons and insights that can guide future efforts in addressing environmental challenges in the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) regions. These lessons underscore the importance of community engagement and ownership, integration of traditional knowledge, multi-stakeholder collaboration, and tailoring solutions to local contexts.

One key lesson learned is the significance of community engagement and ownership. Empowering local communities and involving them in decision-making processes are essential components of successful interventions. Communities engaged in grassroots initiatives in which they feel profoundly invested tend to enthusiastically immerse themselves in the collaborative efforts required to ensure the fruition of the endeavors. Recognizing and protecting community land and resource rights is crucial in fostering this sense of ownership. This sense of ownership enables communities to have control over their resources and promotes sustainable practices.

The integration of traditional knowledge is another vital lesson from the case studies. Although frequently disregarded or discounted, customary wisdom and tradition have repeatedly demonstrated their worth in safeguarding our environment and bracing for the ramifications of shifts in weather patterns. Incorporating traditional knowledge into legal frameworks and policy development ensures that interventions align with local contexts and take into account indigenous wisdom. This integration not only enhances the effectiveness of the initiatives but also respects and values the cultural heritage of the communities involved.

Through the examination of these case studies, the significance of partnerships forged between various invested groups becomes apparent. Through synergistic alliances forged from varied yet complementary partners, including governmental agencies, community-focused groups and private enterprises, a mobilization of diverse talents and means can be achieved. Collaborative efforts create opportunities for sharing knowledge, pooling resources, and implementing community-led initiatives. By working together, stakeholders can leverage their respective strengths and contribute to comprehensive and sustainable solutions.

Furthermore, the case studies emphasize the need to tailor solutions to local contexts. Each ASAL region has unique environmental challenges and socio-cultural dynamics that must be taken into account. The complex, multi-faceted challenges within these geographic areas cannot possibly be resolved through an overly simplistic, myopic solution that fails to account for the nuanced intricacies which define them. Instead, interventions should be context-specific and consider the local ecosystem, community needs, and available resources. By tailoring solutions to the specific conditions of each region, interventions become more relevant, effective, and sustainable.

VI. Recommendations

Addressing legal complexities and navigating environmental challenges in the Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) regions in Kenya requires a set of strategic recommendations. The following recommendations aim to enhance the effectiveness of legal frameworks and promote sustainable practices:

Firstly, it is crucial to strengthen the implementation capacity in ASAL regions. This can be achieved through targeted capacity building programs, training initiatives, and resource allocation. By enhancing institutional capacity, providing adequate financial resources, and fostering technical expertise, the implementation of climate change laws and policies can be more effectively carried out.

... fostering community engagement and participation is essential. Involving local communities in decision-making processes related to climate change will empower them and promote ownership of interventions

Given the lack of sufficiently robust enforcement procedures currently in place, strengthening the mechanisms by which agreed upon rules and policies are ensured adherence to is imperative. Strengthening the enforcement of climate change laws and regulations will promote accountability and adherence to legal provisions. Clear penalties for non-compliance should be established to deter violations and ensure the effective implementation of climate change measures in ASAL regions.

With crucial matters such as these necessitating collaboration across departments and between the upper and lower levels of administration, effecting cooperation and cohesion should rank as a priority concern. Fragmentation often hinders progress in addressing environmental challenges. By establishing mechanisms for regular communication, information sharing, and collaboration, a more coherent and integrated approach to climate change actions can be achieved.

Fourthly, addressing land tenure and resource rights issues is critical. Recognizing and protecting the land rights of local communities and indigenous peoples in ASAL regions will incentivize sustainable land management practices. Formalizing customary land tenure systems, providing secure land tenure, and involving communities in land-use decisions will promote climate change resilience.

Fifthly, water resource management should be prioritized. Clear guidelines and regulations for water allocation and management need to be developed. Ensuring equitable access to water resources, promoting sustainable water use practices, and integrating traditional water management approaches will address conflicts over water resources and improve water security in ASAL regions.

Sixthly, fostering community engagement and participation is essential. Involving local communities in decision-making processes related to climate change will empower them and promote ownership of interventions. Supporting community-led initiatives and organizations will enable them to actively contribute to climate change resilience efforts.

Lastly, learning from successful initiatives and best practices is crucial. Identifying the key factors that contributed to their success and replicating these

... it is crucial to strengthen the implementation capacity in ASAL regions. This can be achieved through targeted capacity building programs, training initiatives, and resource allocation

strategies in other ASAL regions will accelerate progress. Although recognizing the value of involving stakeholders, valuing indigenous wisdom, collaborating across interested parties, and adapting remedies to suit specific circumstances are crucial insights to assimilate and utilize.

VII. Conclusion

In conclusion, addressing the environmental challenges in Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) regions in Kenya requires a comprehensive and coordinated approach that acknowledges the strengths and weaknesses of existing legal frameworks, addresses the specific complexities in these regions, and draws upon successful case studies and best practices. While the current legal frameworks exhibit a comprehensive approach and establish institutional arrangements, challenges remain in terms of implementation capacity, enforcement mechanisms, and coordination.

Additionally, ASAL regions face unique challenges related to land tenure and resource rights, water resource conflicts, governance and institutional issues, and community engagement. To overcome these challenges, it is crucial to strengthen implementation capacity, enhance enforcement mechanisms, improve coordination and integration among stakeholders, address land tenure and resource rights issues, prioritize water resource management, foster community engagement, and learn from successful initiatives. By implementing these recommendations, policymakers and stakeholders can navigate the legal complexities and effectively address the environmental challenges in ASAL regions. This will promote sustainable practices and resilience for the communities living in these areas.

References

Ageyo, J., & Muchunku, I. G. (2020). Beyond the right of access: a critique of the legalist approach to dissemination of climate change information in Kenya. *Sustainability, 12*(6), 2530. https://doi.org/10.3390/su12062530

Akuja, T. E., & Kandagor, J. (2019). A review of policies and agricultural productivity in the arid and semi-arid lands (ASALS), Kenya: the case of Turkana County. *Journal of Applied Biosciences, 140,* 14304-14315. DOI: 10.4314/jab.v140i1.9 https://doi.org/10.47941/ijpid.1138

Jilo, A. A. (2021). Assessment of Indigenous Institutions in Natural Resources Governance Systems in Pastoral Areas of Isiolo Kenya. https://www.preprints.org/manuscript/202103.0485/v1

Kariuki, R. K. (2022). Counter Measures Used by Pastoralist in Arid Areas on Environmental Hazards. A Critical Literature Review. International Journal of Poverty, Investment and Development, 2(2), 22-35.

Kasuki, M. M., Kitheka, J. U., & Otieno, H. (2023). The effect of river flow and land use land cover dynamics on reservoir sedimentation in a small ASAL tropical basin in Kenya. https://www.ijisrt.com/assets/upload/files/IJISRT23MAY1506.pdf

Kogo, B. K., Kumar, L., & Koech, R. (2021). Climate change and variability in Kenya: a review of impacts on agriculture and food security. *Environment, Development and Sustainability, 23*, 23-43. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10668-020-00589-1

Liu, Y., & Feng, C. (2023). Promoting renewable energy through national energy legislation. *Energy Economics, 118,* 106504. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.eneco.2023.106504

Mganga, K. Z. (2022). Agricultural Land Degradation in Kenya. In *Impact of Agriculture on Soil Degradation I: Perspectives from Africa, Asia, America and Oceania* (pp. 273-300). Cham: Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/698_2022_929

Moegi, Y. (2022). The impact of climate change and variability on livestock production in pastoral communities and the sustainable coping mechanisms employed: A critical literature review. *Animal Health Journal, 3*(1), 27-37. https://doi.org/10.47941/ahj.773

Njuguna, L., Biesbroek, R., Crane, T. A., Dewulf, A., & Tamás, P. (2023). Do government knowledge production and use systems matter for global climate change adaptation tracking? Insights from Eastern Africa. *Regional Environmental Change, 23*(3), 85. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10113-023-02077-4

Odhengo, P., Atela, J., Steele, P., Orindi, V., & Imbali, F. (2019). Climate finance in Kenya: review and future outlook. *Climate Finance Policy Brief, 1.* http://site.adaconsortium.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/16-08-2019-Final-Kenya-climate-finance-paper-5.pdf

Radeny, M., Mungai, C., Amwata, D., Osumba, J., & Solomon, D. (2020). Climate change, agriculture, food and nutrition security policies and frameworks in Kenya. *CCAFS Working Paper.* http://www.indiaenvironmentportal.org.in/files/file/Kenya%20Climate%20Change%20and%20Agriculture%20Policy%20Review.pdf

Sax, N., Santa Cruz, L. M., Carneiro, B., Liebig, T., Läderach, P., & Pacillo, G. (2022). How does climate exacerbate root causes of livestock-related conflicts in Kenya? An impact pathway analysis. *Climate Security Observatory Series.* https://cgspace.cgiar.org/handle/10568/128022

Schoon, M., Chapman, M., Loos, J., Ifejika Speranza, C., Carr Kelman, C., Aburto, J., ... & Whittaker, D. (2021). On the frontiers of collaboration and conflict: how context influences the success of collaboration. *Ecosystems and People, 17*(1), 383-399. https://doi.org/10.1080/26395916.2021.1946593

The Impact of Terrorism, Violent Extremism, and Radicalization on Women and Girls and Possible Interventions: The Case of Somalia

Dr. C.A. Mumma-Martinon

Abstract

The impact of terrorism, violent extremism, and radicalization on women and girls in Somalia, a country located in the Horn of Africa, is a growing concern that requires immediate attention. Somalia has been plagued by decades of conflict, which has created a fertile ground for the emergence and proliferation of terrorist groups, such as Al-Shabaab. The consequences of these extremist ideologies on the lives of women and girls are severe and multifaceted, ranging from physical and psychological trauma to social and economic marginalization. The problem statement seeks to explore and understand the specific challenges faced by women and girls in Somalia as a result of terrorism, violent extremism, and radicalization. It aims to analyze the various dimensions of this issue, including the recruitment of women and girls by extremist groups, their roles within these organizations, the effects of violence and abuse on their well-being, and the barriers they encounter in accessing education, healthcare, and other essential services. Furthermore, the statement of the problem emphasizes the need for comprehensive strategies and interventions to address these challenges effectively. It highlights the importance of empowering women and girls, promoting gender equality, and creating a supportive environment that enables their reintegration into society. By examining the case of Somalia, the problem statement aims to contribute to the broader understanding of the impact of terrorism and extremism on vulnerable populations and inform policy and programmatic efforts to protect and empower women and girls in similar contexts across Africa and beyond.

Introduction

Somalia, located in the Horn of Africa, is a country with a complex history and geopolitical significance in the region. Its history has been shaped by a variety of factors, including its geographical location, ethnic diversity, colonial legacy, and internal conflicts. Here's a brief overview of Somalia's background in the context of the Horn of Africa: Somalia is situated in the northeastern part of Africa, on the Horn of Africa. It has a strategic location along the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, making it a key point for trade routes and maritime activities (The Modern History of Somalia: Nation and State in the Horn of Africa" by I. M. Lewis). In the late 19th century, Somalia was carved up by European colonial powers. The northern part of the country was controlled by the British, while the southern part was governed by the Italians. The British and Italian Somalilands gained independence in 1960 and united to form the modern state of Somalia (Ingiriis, M. 2018). Somalia has a diverse population made up of various ethnic groups and clans, each with its own cultural and historical identity. The clan system has played a significant role in shaping politics, society, and conflicts in the country. It has also contributed to divisions and power struggles(Ingiriis, M. 2018). In 1969, a military coup led by General Siad Barre overthrew the civilian government. Barre's regime lasted until 1991 and was characterized by authoritarian rule and attempts to centralize power. However, his policies favoured certain clans over others, leading to resentment and conflict (Menkhaus Ken. 1994).

The collapse of Siad Barre's regime in 1991 plunged Somalia into a devastating civil war. Various clan-based militias and factions vied for control, leading to widespread violence and displacement. The absence of a functioning central government led to the emergence of autonomous regions, such as Somaliland and Puntland,

which declared varying degrees of self-governance. The civil war, along with drought and famine, resulted in one of the worst humanitarian crises in recent history. Millions of Somalis were displaced both internally and externally as refugees, seeking safety and aid in neighbouring countries and beyond. The international community, including the United Nations, has been involved in efforts to stabilize Somalia and promote reconciliation. This has included peacekeeping missions, diplomatic initiatives, and humanitarian assistance.In the midst of the chaos, the extremist group Al-Shabaab emerged. Al-Shabaab seeks to establish a strict form of Islamic law in Somalia and has carried out numerous acts of violence, including terrorist attacks, both within Somalia and in neighbouring countries like Kenya.

In 2004, a transitional federal government was established, marking the first step toward reconstituting a central authority. In 2012, a new federal government was formed, with significant international support. However, challenges of governance, security, and political fragmentation persist. Somalia continues to face challenges related to security, political stability, development, and humanitarian crises. Efforts to build a stable and unified government have been hampered by clan rivalries, corruption, and the presence of armed groups. In summary, Somalia's history is marked by colonial influences, clan dynamics, civil war, and ongoing efforts to establish stability and governance. Its strategic location on the Horn of Africa contributes to its importance in regional geopolitics and international affairs.

Source: https://www.britannica.com/place/Horn-of-Africa

Statement of Problem

The study aims to investigate the repercussions of terrorism, violent extremism, and radicalization on women and girls in the context of Somalia, located in the Horn of Africa. The problem statement revolves around

understanding how these forms of conflict impact the lives, rights, and well-being of women and girls, and subsequently, identifying potential interventions to mitigate the negative effects. This research addresses

the unique challenges faced by women and girls in the Somali context due to the prevalence of terrorism and radicalization, and seeks to provide insights into strategies that can empower and protect them within this complex sociopolitical landscape.

Research Objectives

1. To Examine the Gendered Impacts of Terrorism and Extremism:

2. To Analyse the Root Causes and Drivers:

3. To Assess the Effectiveness of Current Interventions and propose gender sensitive approaches:

4. To Identify Best Practices and Promising Interventions:

5. To Understand the Role of different organizations in countering Terrorism, violent extremism and Radicalization

Definition and key concepts: Terrorism, Violent Extremism, Radicalization

Women and girls facing violent extremism refers to the specific vulnerabilities, roles, and impacts that women and girls experience in the context of extremist ideologies and actions. This encompasses their susceptibility to recruitment, involvement, and victimization in various forms of extremism, as well as their potential as agents of prevention, mitigation, and counteraction."

Terrorism: Terrorism is the premeditated use or threat of violence, typically carried out by non-state actors, to create fear, intimidate a population, or coerce a government or society, often for ideological, political, or religious purposes (United Nations Security Council Resolution 1566 2004)

Violent extremism refers to the beliefs and actions of individuals or groups advocating for or using violence to promote a radical ideology, often involving political, religious, or social motivations(Menkhaus, K. 2004)..

Radicalization is the process through which individuals or groups adopt extreme beliefs, opinions, and ideologies that often involve a significant departure from mainstream social, political, or religious norms. This process can lead to an increased willingness to engage in disruptive or violent actions (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2016)

Intervention: refers to a deliberate and planned action or strategy aimed at altering, influencing, or improving a situation, behaviour, or outcome in a targeted individual, group, or community (UNODC, 2016)

Methodology: Mixed Methods Approach

Qualitative Research: In-Depth Interviews

In this study, a mixed methods approach was employed to comprehensively explore the subject matter. Through qualitative research, in-depth interviews were conducted with key stakeholders, including government officials, experts, and representatives from civil society organizations. These interviews aimed to elicit profound insights into personal experiences, motivations, challenges, and the effectiveness of interventions. While circumstances prevented direct interviews with women and girls affected by terrorism and extremism, survivors, and community leaders due to the sensitive nature of the research, engagements were established with officials from relevant bodies. Conversations were held with entities such as the UNHCR, responsible for aiding refugee communities; the International Rescue Committee (IRC), which offers comprehensive services encompassing healthcare, education, protection, and economic well-being for refugees; CARE International, a provider of humanitarian aid and support for education, livelihoods, and health services among Somali refugees; and Amnesty International and Heshima Kenya, organizations dedicated to safeguarding, nurturing, and empowering refugee women and girls.

Quantitative Research: Document Analysis

The quantitative component of this research involved the analysis of existing reports, policies, academic articles, and other pertinent documents. This analysis was aimed at contextualizing the issue at hand, comprehending prevailing policy frameworks, and identifying gaps in current intervention strategies. To gather secondary

> Al-Shabaab seeks to establish a strict form of Islamic law in Somalia and has carried out numerous acts of violence, including terrorist attacks, both within Somalia and in neighbouring countries like Kenya

data, academic databases such as Google Scholar and ResearchGate were utilized, along with university websites for sourcing research papers and reviewing academic journals.

Ethical Considerations: Ensuring Participant Well-Being

Given the sensitive nature of the subject matter, ethical considerations were of paramount importance. Informed consent was obtained from any participants interviewed, and measures were taken to ensure the confidentiality of their responses.

Importance of studying the impact of Terrorism, violent Extremism and Radicalization on women and girls

The significance of studying the impact on women and girls facing violent extremism cannot be underestimated. History shows that, women and girls have been subjected to systematic discrimination and inequity across diverse domains encompassing education, healthcare, employment, and their participation in decision-making processes (United Nations, 2015)..

In recent times, the academic and policy-oriented discourse has foregrounded the exigency of investigating the ramifications of violent extremism upon women and girls. This emerges from the pressing need to unravel the intricate and often obscured consequences of violent extremism on women and girls. The research is thus pertinent in bringing out the different impacts of violent extremism on women and girls.

Gender Equity and Human Rights

Central to the significance of researching the impact of violent extremism on women and girls is the fundamental principle of gender equity and the safeguarding of human rights. Women and girls, historically marginalized within various societal contexts, often bear the brunt of violent extremism's multifarious consequences World Bank. (2020).. Engendering a rigorous academic exploration of this impact is imperative to dissect the intricate ways in which extremist ideologies intersect with gender dynamics, perpetuating and exacerbating pre-existing inequalities. This research endeavours to unearth the forms of discrimination, violence, and coercion that women and girls experience within the situations of violent extremism, thus compelling a re-evaluation of the principles of gender equity and human rights within contexts deeply influenced by extremist ideologies.

Security Dynamics and Societal Well-being

The nexus between violent extremism and security has garnered widespread attention, yet there remains a gap in a gender-sensitive analysis. By delving into the impact on women and girls, this research augments the understanding of the broader security implications that violent extremism poses. Women and girls are often both targets and agents in extremist narratives, subjected to recruitment, radicalization, and coercive practices Kabeer, N. (2005).. Consequently, a comprehensive investigation serves to reveal the symbiotic relationship between security dynamics and the gendered dimensions of violent extremism, shedding light on potential strategies to ameliorate the destabilizing effects of such ideologies on societal well-being.

Socio-Economic Development and Sustainable Progress

The socio-economic ramifications of violent extremism on women and girls extend beyond immediate security concerns, resonating deeply with matters of sustainable development. Economic impoverishment, disruption of education, and limited access to health services are among the consequences that ripple through societies underpinned by extremist ideologies Duflo, E. (2012).. Investigating these impacts within a gendered framework is indispensable for discerning the intricate ways in which women's and girls' empowerment, agency, and socio-economic progress are hampered by extremist influences. The research serves as a compass guiding interventions that not only counter the immediate threats posed by violent extremism but also lay the groundwork for sustainable development premised upon gender-inclusive principles.

Literature Review

Terrorism, Violent Extremism, and Radicalization in Somalia

Somalia, a country marked by decades of conflict and instability, has garnered significant attention in academic circles due to its intricate relationship with terrorism, violent extremism, and radicalization. This literature review provides a concise snapshot of key themes and findings from scholarly studies that have delved into these critical issues.

Scholars such as Ahmed I. Samatar (2002) have explored how a combination of socio-political grievances and religious influences contribute to the radicalization of

marginalized youth. This combination often pushes individuals toward extremist ideologies, exemplified by the rise of groups like Al-Shabaab. Central to the discourse is Al-Shabaab, a militant group with global affiliations. Researchers like Stig Jarle Hansen (2013) chronicle the group's evolution, demonstrating its adaptability in response to changing political dynamics. Christopher Anzalone's work (2010) scrutinizes Al-Shabaab's media tactics, revealing its adept use of propaganda and communication strategies.

Examining counterterrorism efforts in Somalia, Ken Menkhaus (2007) examines the complex interplay between international interventions and local initiatives. He highlights the unintended consequences that sometimes arise from well-intentioned actions, contributing to further radicalization. The Human Rights Watch report (2018) emphasizes the challenges of maintaining human rights standards while countering terrorism. Scholars like Lidwien Kapteijns (2013) delve into the influence of clan dynamics on radicalization. Clan affiliations can intersect with extremist ideologies, shaping recruitment and alliances within groups like Al-Shabaab. This adds a layer of complexity to understanding and addressing extremism in Somalia.

Gender's role in extremism is examined by Laura Hammond (2019). She investigates the unique experiences of women within extremist organizations and the impact of counterterrorism measures on their lives. Hammond's work highlights the importance of adopting gender-sensitive approaches to counter radicalization effectively. Studies by Catherine Lutz and Ali M. Jimale Ahmed (2010) underscore how limited economic opportunities and governance gaps render youth susceptible to extremist recruitment. Their research stresses the need for comprehensive approaches addressing root causes and providing alternative avenues for youth development.

Literature on the Impact of Violent Extremism in Somalia on Women and Girls

The impact of violent extremism on women and girls has gained prominence in recent research, particularly concerning regions like Somalia affected by conflict and extremist ideologies. This literature review provides insights into the ways violent extremism affects women and girls in Somalia, drawing from existing studies and analyses.

The 'daughters' of al Shabaab, armed women and girls with assault rifles with the desire to avenge ills against their loved ones coupled with the economic hardship back home in Kenya (Photo Credit: Al Jazeera)

Research by Stacey Connaughton (2015) sheds light on the methods through which women are radicalized and recruited into extremist groups in Somalia. The study underscores the complexities of motivations, ranging from ideological beliefs to economic incentives. Violent extremism often subjects women and girls to gender-based violence and coercion. Laura Hammond (2019) examines how Al-Shabaab exploits gender norms, deploying sexual violence as a tactic of control and intimidation. A study by Yusra Ahmed (2017) delves into the experiences of Somali women returning from extremist groups, highlighting their diverse motivations and challenges.

Extremist groups restrict women's agency and participation, both socially and politically. A report by the Heritage Institute for Policy Studies (2015) discusses how Al-Shabaab's presence limits women's mobility, access to education, and involvement in decision-making processes. The disruption caused by violent extremism can severely impact women's livelihoods. Shukri Dahir (2017) explores how these disruptions affect women's roles in the household economy, often pushing them into unconventional income-generating activities. Despite challenges, Somali women exhibit resilience and develop coping strategies. Sally Healy's work (2012) highlights how women leverage social networks and community support to navigate the adverse effects of extremism. Counterterrorism efforts can also have gendered impacts. The United Nations (2017) emphasizes the need for counterterrorism policies to address gender dimensions, ensuring that they do not inadvertently exacerbate gender-based vulnerabilities.

The Impact of Terrorism, Violent Extremism, and Radicalization on Women and Girls in Somalia

Extremist groups in Somalia, like Al-Shabaab, have increasingly targeted women and girls for recruitment and involvement. Some are lured by ideological motivations, seeking to contribute to what they perceive as a greater cause Nimo-Ilhan Ali. (2021).. Others join due to socio-economic vulnerabilities or coercion. The involvement of women and girls ranges from supporting logistical operations to active participation in combat roles. However, their roles often remain overlooked in counterterrorism efforts, hampering effective responses.

Conflict and extremist ideologies often expose women and girls to increased levels of violence and abuse.

Instances of sexual violence, forced marriage, and physical abuse are prevalent Laura Hammond. (2019).. Extremist groups may exploit gender norms, using violence as a means to assert control and terrorize communities. Survivors face not only physical harm but also psychological trauma and social stigma.

Conflict and extremism often lead to displacement, which disproportionately affects women and girls. Displacement disrupts social networks, exposes them to new risks, and can result in the loss of economic opportunities. Women and girls may become more vulnerable to exploitation, trafficking, and sexual violence in displacement camps Zeynep Kivilcim. (2017).. Their access to essential services, including healthcare and education, is often everely compromised.

Radical ideologies can have profound social and cultural implications for women and girls. Extremist groups often impose strict gender roles and norms that curtail women's freedom and agency Charli Carpenter. (2006).. This can lead to isolation, limited mobility, and restrictions on education and employment. The imposition of radical ideologies can perpetuate gender inequality and hinder women's progress.

The presence of extremist groups can disrupt access to education and healthcare for women and girls Elaine Unterhalter. (2007).. Schools may be targeted or shut down due to security concerns, limiting educational opportunities. Healthcare facilities may also be affected, leading to reduced access to reproductive health services and maternal care. The denial of education and healthcare perpetuates cycles of poverty and vulnerability.

Factors Contributing to Women and Girls' Vulnerability to Terrorism and Radicalization

Socio-economic factors contribute significantly to the vulnerability of women and girls to terrorism and radicalization in Somalia. The country's prolonged conflict and limited economic opportunities create an environment where extremist groups exploit socio-economic vulnerabilities Ken Menkhaus. (2007).. Poverty, lack of education, and unemployment make women and girls susceptible to promises of economic empowerment and stability offered by these groups.

Political instability and governance challenges in Somalia exacerbate the vulnerability of women and girls to

Displacement disrupts social networks, exposes them to new risks, and can result in the loss of economic opportunities. Women and girls may become more vulnerable to exploitation, trafficking, and sexual violence in displacement camps

terrorism and radicalization. The absence of effective governance institutions and the struggle for political control provide space for extremist ideologies to take root Human Rights Watch. (2018).. The lack of state protection and services leaves communities exposed to the influence of radical groups.

Traditional and religious norms in Somalia contribute to the vulnerability of women and girls to extremism. Conservative interpretations of Islam can be manipulated by extremist groups to legitimize their actions and recruit followers Lidwien Kapteijns. (2013).. Gendered norms that limit women's mobility, education, and participation in public life create an environment conducive to radicalization.

External factors also play a role in the vulnerability of women and girls to terrorism and radicalization in Somalia. Regional conflicts, cross-border movements of extremist groups, and the influence of global jihadist ideologies impact local dynamics Christopher Anzalone. (2010).. The presence of foreign fighters and the dissemination of extremist propaganda online contribute to shaping perceptions of women's and girls' roles in extremist activities.

Current Interventions and Responses to Address Terrorism, Violent Extremism, and Radicalization in Somalia

The Somali government has undertaken various efforts and policies to combat terrorism, violent extremism, and radicalization within its borders. These include security measures, legislative actions, and programs aimed at countering the influence of extremist groups. For instance, the Somali National Intelligence and Security Agency (NISA) conducts operations to disrupt terrorist networks and thwart potential attacks. Additionally, the Somali government adopted a National Action Plan on Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism, outlining strategies to engage communities, rehabilitate former combatants, and strengthen law enforcement capacities

United Nations Security Council. (2021).. Security Council Committee Concerning Somalia and Eritrea Issues in its 2020 Report, stresses need to prioritize legislative and institutional reforms to combat terrorism.

Civil society organizations (CSOs) are instrumental in countering extremism by addressing root causes and promoting community resilience. The Somali Women Development Centre (SWDC), for instance, focuses on empowering women to counter radicalization and provide psychosocial support to victims of violence Somali Women Development Centre (SWDC). (n.d.).. Through workshops, educational programs, and advocacy, CSOs engage local communities to challenge extremist narratives and foster a sense of belonging and inclusion.

International actors, including the United Nations, the African Union, and international non-governmental organizations, provide assistance and support to Somalia's efforts against extremism. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), for example, partners with Somali authorities to strengthen governance, promote community engagement, and enhance youth employment opportunities as preventive measures against radicalization United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (n.d.).. Additionally, the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) contributes to stabilizing the country and reducing the influence of extremist groups.

Despite the efforts in place, challenges and limitations persist in effectively countering extremism in Somalia. Weak governance, political instability, and limited resources hinder the implementation of comprehensive strategies. Some interventions might not consider the nuanced gender dynamics that contribute to extremism, leading to potential gaps in addressing women's and girls' vulnerabilities International Crisis Group. (2018).. Furthermore, the fluctuating security situation and evolving tactics of extremist groups can complicate the effectiveness of interventions.

Al-Shabaab women are used to propel its recruitment, indoctrination and outreach efforts by way of abduction of desperate women and girls into marriage or sex slaves (Photo Credit: International Crisis Group)

Good Practices and Promising Interventions in Countering Terrorism, Violent Extremism, and Radicalization

Successful programs that target women and girls have proven effective in countering extremism. These initiatives focus on empowering women economically, socially, and politically, thereby reducing their susceptibility to radicalization. For example, the **"Hanna Nour Women's Center"** in Mogadishu provides vocational training and livelihood support to vulnerable women, enabling them to become financially independent and active community members UN Women. (2017).

Empowerment and education initiatives are key in preventing radicalization. Providing education, skill-building, and leadership training equips women and girls with the tools to resist extremist narratives. For example, the **"She Leads" program** supports young Somali women in acquiring leadership skills, fostering critical thinking, and promoting social cohesion as a means of countering radicalization CARE International. (n.d.)..

Engaging men and boys as allies is crucial for preventing radicalization. Involving them in discussions on gender norms, promoting gender equality, and challenging traditional narratives that fuel extremism can lead to more inclusive communities. Initiatives like **"MenEngage"** involve men and boys in efforts to redefine masculinity, promoting respect and non-violence MenEngage Alliance. (n.d.).

Strengthening community resilience involves fostering a sense of belonging, promoting cohesion, and building networks to counter extremist ideologies. Grassroots initiatives that encourage dialogue, cooperation, and shared values help build resilient communities. For example, **"Takaful"** community dialogues in Somalia create spaces for discussions on preventing radicalization, fostering trust, and enhancing community solidarity UNDP Somalia. (n.d.)..

Recommendations for Future Interventions to Counter the Impact of Terrorism, Violent Extremism, and Radicalization on Women and Girls in Somalia

Future interventions should adopt a multi-stakeholder approach that involves various actors such as government agencies, civil society organizations, local leaders, community members, and international partners.

This approach brings together diverse perspectives, expertise, and resources to design and implement comprehensive strategies. It ensures that interventions are contextually relevant, address a wide range of challenges, and promote sustainable change. A case in point is , the **"Somali Compact" partnership** involving the Somali government, regional administrations, and international partners has demonstrated the effectiveness of a multi-stakeholder approach United Nations. (2013).. This initiative aims to coordinate political, security, and development efforts to stabilize the country and prevent the spread of extremism.

Gender mainstreaming is crucial in developing counter-terrorism strategies that address the impact on women and girls. It involves integrating gender perspectives into all stages of policy and program development. Recognizing the distinct experiences and vulnerabilities of women and girls ensures that interventions are effective and do not inadvertently reinforce gender inequalities. In Somalia, the "Women, Peace, and Security" agenda has been integrated into national policies and programs United Nations Security Council. (2017).. The Somali National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security highlights the importance of addressing gender-specific needs and involving women in conflict prevention and resolution efforts.

Collaboration between government, civil society, and international actors enhances the impact of interventions. Government agencies provide legitimacy and resources, civil society organizations offer local knowledge and community engagement, and international partners contribute technical expertise and financial support. This synergy creates a more comprehensive and sustainable approach. For example, The "Takaful" project in Somalia is a collaborative effort involving the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), government institutions, and community organizations United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Somalia. (n.d.).. The project aims to promote peaceful coexistence by engaging communities in dialogue, conflict resolution, and the prevention of violent extremism.

Future interventions should prioritize long-term perspectives to address the sustained impact of terrorism, violent extremism, and radicalization. Short-term projects may achieve immediate results, but long-term sustainability requires building local capacities, fostering community ownership, and promoting lasting behavioral

changes. An example of a success story is The "She Leads" program in Somalia focuses on providing young women with leadership skills and education. By investing in education and skills development, this program contributes to the long-term empowerment of women and girls, reducing their vulnerability to extremism CARE International. (n.d.)..

Conclusions

The imperative of researching the impact of violent extremism against women and girls is irrefutable, aligning with imperatives of gender equity, human rights, security, and sustainable progress. This research has highlighted the manifold consequences on the lives of women and girls subjected to the coercive forces of extremism. By unravelling the interplay of factors that shape these impacts, this research not only informs policy and practice but also underscores the gender-sensitive analyses within broader academic and societal discourses.

This research not only proved that the impacts are multifaceted, but also that their experiences span from being victims of violence to exhibiting agency and resilience. These impacts encompass recruitment into extremist activities, violence and abuse, displacement, social and cultural implications, and restricted access to education and healthcare. Understanding these impacts is crucial for developing comprehensive interventions that address the unique challenges faced by women and girls in conflict and extremist contexts. There is also a need for more research on gender, age, and socio-economic factors to better understand and address the specific challenges faced by women and girls in the context of violent extremism.

The literature underscored the interplay of historical, social, political, traditional and religious and external factors and influences which create an environment where extremist groups can exploit vulnerabilities. These factors collectively contribute to the vulnerability of women and girls to terrorism and radicalization in Somalia. Addressing these factors is crucial for developing effective strategies to prevent the recruitment and radicalization of women and girls in the context of Somalia.

A multifaceted approach involving government actions, civil society engagement, international support, and targeted programs is being employed to address terrorism, violent extremism, and radicalization in Somalia. While these interventions show promise,

the challenges and limitations underline the need for continued collaboration, adaptability, and sustained efforts to effectively counter these threats.

Best practices and promising interventions underscore the importance of holistic and community-centered approaches in countering terrorism, violent extremism, and radicalization. By targeting women's and girls' empowerment, education, engaging men, and strengthening community bonds, these strategies contribute to building resilience and fostering environments resistant to extremist influences.

Gaps in Current Literature on the Impact of Terrorism, Violent Extremism, and Radicalization on Women and Girls in Somalia

While existing research has made valuable contributions to understanding the impact of terrorism, violent extremism, and radicalization on women and girls in Somalia, several gaps remain. This section highlights some of these gaps, along with specific sources that underline the need for further exploration.

Current literature often categorizes women's involvement in extremist groups as solely coerced or supportive roles. A study by Nimo-Ilhan Ali (2021) suggests that motivations can be complex, including ideological alignment, personal agency, or even survival strategies. Further analysis is needed to capture the diversity of motivations that drive women's engagement.

The psychological toll of involvement in extremist activities on women and girls remains understudied. Research by Fatuma Hashi (2020) indicates that psychological trauma, stigmatization, and reintegration challenges persist long after disengagement from extremist groups.

> The psychological toll of involvement in extremist activities on women and girls remains understudied. ... psychological trauma, stigmatization, and reintegration challenges persist long after disengagement from extremist groups

The link between gender with other factors such as age, socio-economic status, and ethnicity deserves more attention. A report by Hamsatu Allamin (2019) advocates for an approach that shows the interlinkages between these factors.

Research often frames women and girls solely as victims of extremism. A study by Amina Mahamud (2018) highlights the agency of women who challenge extremist narratives and actively work against radicalization. Focusing on these counter-narratives is crucial for comprehensive understanding.

There is limited research on the role of local communities in mitigating the impact of extremism on women and girls. Examining community-led initiatives and support networks could provide valuable insights into resilience-building efforts.

While existing literature sheds light on the impact of terrorism, violent extremism, and radicalization on women and girls in Somalia, these gaps signal areas where further research is needed. Addressing these gaps will lead to a more comprehensive understanding of the challenges faced by this demographic and inform more effective policies and interventions.

References

Ahmed, Y. (2017). Challenges of Somali Women Returning from al-Shabaab.

Ali, N. I. (2021). Women and Violent Extremism in East Africa: Beyond Coercion and Support.

Allamin, H. (2019). Intersectionality and Gendered Vulnerabilities in the Context of Violent Extremism in Somalia.

Anzalone, C. (2010). Brothers in Arms? The Evolution of an Islamist Insurgency in Somalia.

CARE International. (n.d.). She Leads Program. Retrieved August 1, 2023, from https://www.care.org/our-impact/she-leads-program/

Charli Carpenter. (2006). Innocent Women and Children: Gender, Norms and the Protection of Civilians.

Christopher Anzalone. (2010). Brothers in Arms? The Evolution of an Islamist Insurgency in Somalia.

Connaughton, S. (2015). Women and Al-Shabaab: The Disenfranchisement of Women in the Somali Terrorist Group.

Dahir, S. (2017). Al-Shabaab and Livelihoods: The Role of Women's Trade.

Duflo, E. (2012). Women's empowerment and economic development. Journal of Economic Literature, 50(4), 1051-1079.

Elaine Unterhalter. (2007). Gender, Schooling, and Global Social Justice.

Hammond, L. (2019). Women and Al-Shabaab: Recruitment, Radicalization, and Repression.

Hansen, S. J. (2013). Al-Shabaab in Somalia: The History and Ideology of a Militant Islamist Group, 2005-2012.

Hashi, F. (2020). Exploring the Long-term Psychological Impact of Women's Involvement in Violent Extremism in Somalia.

Healy, S. (2012). Livelihoods, Service Delivery and the Role of Women in Preventing Violent Extremism in Somalia.

Heritage Institute for Policy Studies. (2015). War on Terror: The Women of Al-Shabaab.

Human Rights Watch. (2018). "We Live in Perpetual Fear": Lack of Accountability for Killings and Disappearances in Somalia's Custodial Institutions.

Ingiriis, M. (2018). From Pre-Colonial Past to the Post-Colonial Present: The Contemporary Clan-Based Configurations of Statebuilding in Somalia. African Studies Review, 61(2), 55-77. doi:10.1017/asr.2017.144

International Crisis Group. (2018). Somalia's Al-Shabaab: Strategy and Tactics. Retrieved from https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/horn-africa/somalia/274-somalias-al-shabaab-strategy-and-tactics

Jason-Leigh Striegher (2015). Violent-extremism: An examination of a definitional dilemma. Australian Graduate School of Policing and Security, Charles Sturt University, Sydney, Australia.

Kabeer, N. (2005). Gender equality and women's empowerment: A critical analysis of the third Millennium Development Goal. Gender & Development, 13(1), 13-24.

Kapteijns, L. (2013). Clan Cleansing in Somalia: The Ruinous Legacy of 1991.

Ken Menkhaus. (2007). Somalia: State Collapse and the Threat of Terrorism.

Laura Hammond. (2019). Women and Al-Shabaab: Recruitment, Radicalization, and Repression.

Lidwien Kapteijns. (2013). Clan Cleansing in Somalia: The Ruinous Legacy of 1991.

Lutz, C., & Ahmed, A. M. J. (2010). War and Migration: Social Networks and Economic Strategies of the Somali Diaspora.

Mahamud, A. (2018). Women's Agency in Countering Violent Extremism: Voices from Somalia.

MenEngage Alliance. (n.d.). Our Vision. Retrieved from https://menengage.org/about-us/

Menkhaus Ken. (1994). Somalia: State collapse, multilateral intervention, and strategies for political reconstruction. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Menkhaus, K. (2004). Somalia: State Collapse and the Threat of Terrorism. Adelphi Series, 44(366). Routledge.

Menkhaus, K. (2007). Somalia: State Collapse and the Threat of Terrorism.

Nimo-Ilhan Ali. (2021). Women and Violent Extremism in East Africa: Beyond Coercion and Support.

Samatar, A. I. (2002). In the Shadow of Conquest: Islam in Colonial Northeast Africa.

Smith A. (2016). Community Responses to the Impact of Violent Extremism on Women and Girls in Somalia.

Smith PG, Morrow RH, Ross DA (2015).

Somali Women Development Centre (SWDC). (n.d.). Programs. Retrieved from https://www.swdcsom.org/programs/ on August 20, 2023.

UN Women. (2017). Making a Difference: Promoting Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment in Somali Society. Retrieved from https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2017/making-a-difference-somalia-gender-equality-womens-empowerment-2017-en.pdf on August 20, 2023.

UNDP Somalia. (n.d.). Takaful Project: Supporting Peaceful Coexistence in Somalia. Retrieved from https://www.so.undp.org/content/somalia/en/home/projects/takaful-project-supporting-peaceful-coexistence-in-somalia.html

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Somalia. (n.d.). Takaful Project: Supporting Peaceful Coexistence in Somalia. Retrieved from https://www.so.undp.org/content/somalia/en/home/projects/takaful-project-supporting-peaceful-coexistence-in-somalia.html on August 16, 2023.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). (n.d.). Preventing and Responding to Violent Extremism in Somalia. Retrieved from https://www.so.undp.org/content/somalia/en/home/projects/preventing-and-responding-to-violent-extremism-in-somalia.html on July 10, 2023.

United Nations Office On Drugs And Crime (2016). Handbook on the Management of Violent Extremist Prisoners and the Prevention of Radicalization to Violence in Prisons CRIMINAL JUSTICE HANDBOOK SERIES.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1566 (2004). Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts.

United Nations Security Council. (2017). Women, Peace, and Security National Action Plans: A Global Review. Retrieved from https://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/documents/170814_global_review_naps_eng.pdf

United Nations Security Council. (2021). Retrieved from https://www.un.org/press/en/2021/sc14577.doc.htm on August 23, 2023.

United Nations. (2013). The New Deal for Engagement in Fragile States: The Somali Compact. Retrieved from https://www.som

Compensation or Investment? Kenya's Dual Climate Finance Posture is a Necessary Strategic Gamble

By Roselyne Omondi

Abstract

Countries are seeking ways to mitigate and/or adapt to climate change. If this search involves establishing, advocating for, and/or leveraging climate finance so be it. Kenya is no different. This article, which draws on game theory and media framing, posits that Kenya's dual climate finance posture is a necessary strategic gamble. It examines Kenya's recent global and national rhetoric on climate finance in general and 'loss and damage' in particular - to establish the country's current climate financing posture. Employing interdisciplinary, mixed methods approaches, it scans literature on climate change, and climate financing. It also utilizes Meltwater (an artificial intelligence-powered, big data, media monitoring application), generating 1,300 English, online, print media articles on public discourse on 'loss and damage' in Kenya. It finds, among other key preliminary findings that Kenya is burning both sides of the climate finance candle. As the viability and strategic value of this dual climate finance posture in advancing Kenya's national interests is unestablished, only time will tell whether Kenya's current approach will deliver and sustain climate resilient dividends for the country. One of the article's recommendations for sustained climate action (mitigation, adaptation, and advocacy) is increased, inclusive citizen-private sector-government partnerships.

Background

COP 27 established a dedicated 'loss and damage' fund and increased the global spotlight on African states' need and access to it. That was a historic climate adaptation milestone. UN Climate Change Executive Secretary, Simon Stiell, reportedly remarked:

> "This outcome moves us forward," said "We have determined a way forward on a decades-long conversation on funding for loss and damage – deliberating over how we address the impacts on communities whose lives and livelihoods have been ruined by the very worst impacts of climate change" (UN Climate Change, 2022).

Since then, Kenya has remained seized on the increasing, negative impact that unmitigated climate change is having on her peace, security, and development, as well as regional stability. Not in the least because of her recent lived experiences with increasing, repeated, and prolonged drought-flooding episodes over the past five years. Droughts and flooding, which according to the Kenya Ministry of Environment, Climate Change, and Forestry (Kenya MECCF) are Kenya's foremost climate hazards, have displaced thousands from their homes; predisposed millions of individuals to hunger, malnutrition, and diseases, and/or destroyed thousands of livelihoods in the country. The most recent drought (2022-2023) was reportedly one of the worst one in independent Kenya's history; it led to low crop productivity, and the death of tens of wildlife, and thousands of livestock (United Nations Climate Change, 2022; Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2023; UNHCR, 2023; National Drought Management Authority, 2022; Kenya MECCF), 2023).

In addition to increasing climate-related shocks and stresses, Kenya is grappling with high youth unemployment; persistent resource conflicts; increasing internal population displacement; incomplete post-COVID 19 recovery; governance deficits; and high cost of living. This state of affairs suggests that Kenya is constrained to manage multiple socio-economic priorities simultaneously with diminishing revenue. Moreover, Kenya's neighbors such as Sudan, South Sudan, Somalia, and eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) are embroiled in and preoccupied with in protracted intra-

President William Ruto launch a tree planting and restoration program to help combat climate change on 22 December, 2022 (Photo Credits: NTV/Brian Murimi)

state armed conflicts. Some of them, such as South Sudan, and Somalia, confronting the negative effects of prolonged flooding and recurring droughts respectively. These extreme climatic conditions have displaced thousands of South Sudanese and Somalia citizens. Some of these 'climate refugees' have sought refuge in Kenya, most recently at Dadaab refugee camp, in June 2023. Kenya's anchor state and regional hub profiles demand that Kenya upholds its international obligations (such hosting refugees) and supports national and regional peace processes. This state of affairs also buttresses the idea that climate change is a stress multiplier in Kenya, and lent credence to Kenya's emerging 'poly crisis' theatre (World Bank, 2023; UNHCR, 2023; *Citizen Digital*, 2023; Morin & Kern, 1999).

The cumulative net effects of unmitigated climate change; the attendant environmental degradation, and displacement; and armed conflicts are political, economic, and social instabilities. Such conditions frustrate sustainable development, which neither the country nor the region desire and/or can afford. Kenya's sustained interest on matters climate change; forced displacement and migration; security; and regional peace is also attributable to the Committee of African

Heads of State and Government on Climate Change (CAHSGCC). President Ruto is CAHSGCC's current Chair of this entity whose mandate is to obtain and maintain an African Common Position on Climate Change. In this regard and according to Ruto, "Kenya is responsible for Africa's position at COP 28" *(France 24)*.

Be that as it may, Ruto contends that 'loss and damage' is the lesser of the two topical conversations on climate financing (monetary resource required to, *inter alia*, sustainably and effectively build vulnerable communities' resilience against the negative impact of climate change on their lives and livelihoods; address climate change-related threats to peace and security; and fast track net-zero efforts such as fossil fuel to green energy transitions). "The more important conversation is climate investment to get to net zero [by 2050]," Ruto reportedly said at the Summit for a New Global Financing Pact that took place in Paris on June 22-23, 2023. With an estimated USD 150 trillion and USD 100 billion available, a year, for climate change-related investment, and 'loss and damage,' respectively, it is difficult to counter his contention. Mind you, there is an estimated USD 3.5 trillion shortfall in mobilizing the annual funding needed to hit the target 9.2 trillion needed yearly to arrive at net zero by

2050 (World Bank, 2023; UNFCCC, 2023). Whichever way, climate financing for a common, global challenge necessitates a sound global financial system. At the June 2023 Summit, Ruto called on world leaders to "agree in Paris and conclude in Nairobi at the Africa Climate Summit on 4-6 September 2023 that the current global financial architecture is not-fit-for-purpose. We must get a new global architecture around climate financing."

This article examines Kenya's recent global and national rhetoric on 'loss and damage' to establish the country's current climate financing posture. The article advances that Kenya's dual climate finance posture is a necessary strategic gamble. The following sections contain the article's methodology; key findings, and discussion; conclusion; and recommendations.

Methodology

According to von Neumann and Morgenstern (1947), actors weigh the costs and benefits of engaging in a given activity. This informs their decisions on how, when, and to what extent they will do so. A win-win outcome is the ideal outcome of this rational choice making. However, the actors may consider beneficial win-lose situations too. Sometimes, this decision making is based on mediated public rhetoric on issues that interest the actors. What is prioritized in discourses about issues that interest or concern the masses is a factor of media framing. In general, views of political elite are included in mediated public rhetoric (von Neumann and Morgenstern, 1947; Entman, 1993; Lasswell, 1966).

Given the foregoing, this article employs interdisciplinary, mixed methods approaches. It scans tens of academic and grey literature on climate change, and climate financing, and related topics such as peace and security, forced displacement, and migration focusing on the Horn of Africa. It also deploys Meltwater (an artificial intelligence-powered, big data, digital application that comprehensively monitors and analyses media on

different platforms), generating 1,300 English, online, print media articles on public discourse on 'loss and damage' in Kenya – published by: *Business Daily, Daily Nation, Citizen Digital, The Standard, The East African, PD Online, Kenya News Agency, The Star, Capital News, Kenya Broadcasting Corporation, and NTV Kenya,* over a period of 12 months (between February 2022 and March 2023). Further, the article samples and studies, in-depth, the content and discourse of more than 100 of the 1,300 generated articles. It also thematizes, and analyzes its results on the theoretical bases of game theory (von Neumann & Morgenstern, 1947) and media framing (Entman, 1993; Lasswell, 1966; Iyengar, 1991, 1989; Ryan, 1999).

Key Findings, Discussion

- *Overall, Kenya's Experience with Climate Change is Negative*

As Figure 1 shows, Kenya exhibits most of the top 10 risks. Five (5) out of these 10 are environmental. In terms of the environment (a foundation and core pillar of the climate change discourse), Kenya is experiencing natural disasters and extreme weather events (risk 2); has not yet succeeded in mitigating or fully adapting to climate change (risks 4, and 7); is experiencing large scale environmental damage incidents (risk 6); and some natural resources crises (including food insecurity, water scarcity, and natural resource conflicts especially in her arid and semi-arid and coastal areas, risk 9). Societally, the cost of living in Kenya is high (risk 1).

There is also growing evidence of 'social dissolution' and polarization (risk 5). Furthermore, internal displacement on account of climatic extremes is rising (risk 10). Suffice to say, climate change-related risks predispose Kenya to environmental, societal, and economic risks. Thus, for Kenya, climate change appears to be a 'stress multiplier' and 'existential threat.' Unmitigated, environmental risks will become five (risks 1-4, and risk 6) of the top six risks.

The cumulative net effects of unmitigated climate change; the attendant environmental degradation, and displacement; and armed conflicts are political, economic, and social instabilities. Such conditions frustrate sustainable development, which neither the country nor the region desire and/or can afford

2 years

1	Cost of living crisis
2	Natural disasters and extreme weather events
3	Geoeconomic confrontation
4	Failure to mitigate climate change
5	Erosion of social cohesion and societal polarization
6	Large-scale environmental damage incidents
7	Failure of climate-change adaption
8	Widespread cybercrime and cyber insecurity
9	Natural resource crises
10	Large-scale involuntary migration

10 years

1	Failure to mitigate climate change
2	Failure of climate-change adaption
3	Natural disasters and extreme weather events
4	Biodiversity loss and ecosystem collapse
5	Large-scale involuntary migration
6	Natural resource crises
7	Erosion of social cohesion and societal polarization
8	Widespread cybercrime and cyber insecurity
9	Geoeconomic confrontation
10	Large-scale environmental damage incidents

Risk categories

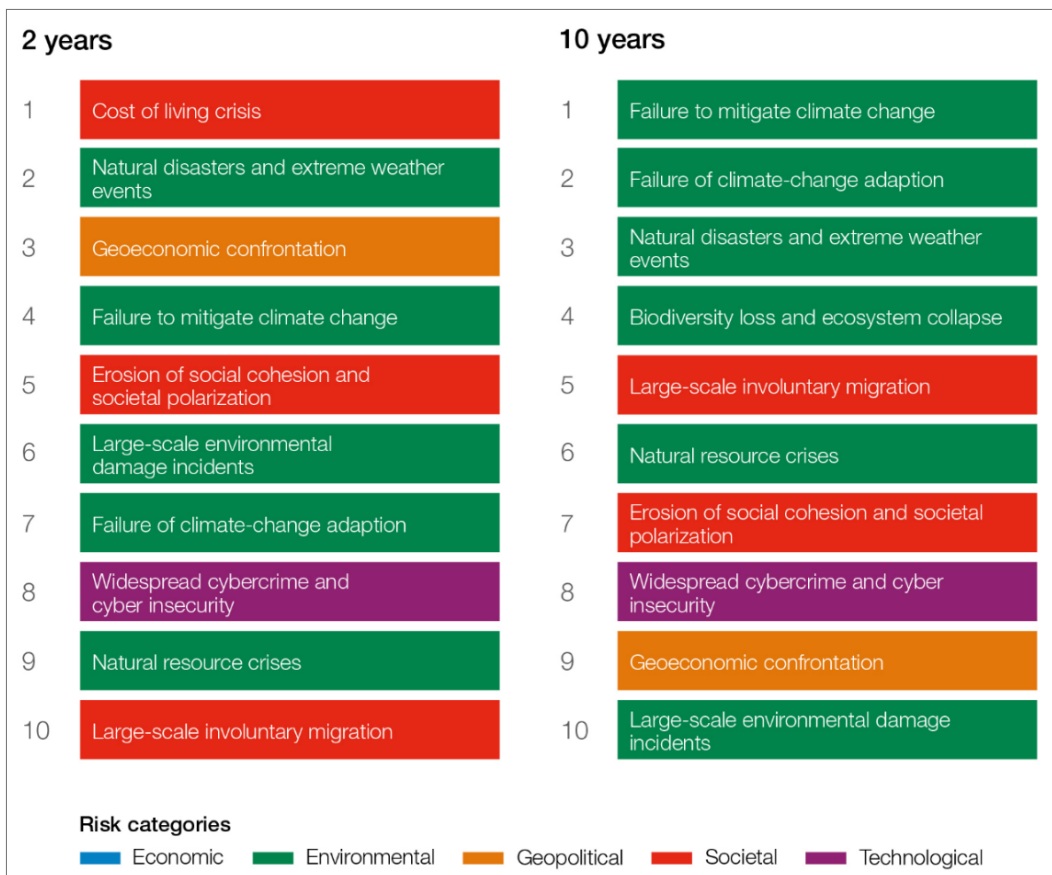Economic   Environmental   Geopolitical   Societal   Technological

Figure 1: Projection of Perception of Top 10 Issues that Will Affect Countries between now and 2025 and 2033. Source: World Economic Forum Global Risks Perceptions Survey 2022-2023

- ### Climate Financing is Desirable and 'Othering'

Just emerging from one of the most severe droughts in decades, and incomplete post-COVID-19 economic recovery, Kenya is arguably keen to find the most cost-effective, high impact-high returns ways to adapt to climate change. In this regard, financing for climate change adaptation and mitigation is necessary. It is also desirable, to: sustainably and effectively build resilience of vulnerable communities' against and adapt to the negative impact of climate change on their lives and livelihoods; address climate change-related threats to peace and security; and fast track net-zero efforts such as fossil fuel to green energy transitions, deployment of emerging technologies, and tree planting (Kenya plans to plant 15 billion trees by 2032). Climate finance, unsurprisingly, constitutes two of the six priorities (priority 1, and priority 2)outlined at the July 7, 2023 Berlin Climate Security Conference (BCSC-Nairobi) for urgent action to adapt to and mitigate against climate change-induced peace and security challenges in Africa. The six priorities, according to BCSC-Nairobi), are:

1. Mobilizing **climate finance** for peace in Africa (to support demographic segments [women, girls, youth, elderly persons] and communities [pastoralists, persons living with disabilities, minorities] most affected by climate- and environment-related risks).

2. Climate security risk-informed resilience and adaptation (engaging multilateral development banks, **climate finance** institutions and development partners to improve financing of resilience and adaptation).

3. Climate-security risk informed peace-building (integrating climate change and environmental degradation in peace building).

4. Ensuring the protection of and durable solutions for persons displaced by the impacts of climate change (partnering to help shape migration policy and adopt human rights-based approaches and integrating these to the climate change-migration nexus).

5. Continued political leadership (to ensure climate change-related risks to peace and stability remain a top priority of governments, at the highest levels).

6. Knowledge and experience sharing (to localize climate change mitigation and adaptation efforts).

Interestingly, just as climate change has exacerbated existing, unfavorable divisions in societies, there have been attempts to, for instance, distancing those who are disproportionately affected by the phenomenon from those who are not, or low emitters from high emitters, and those on course for 'loss and damage' funds from those exploring climate investments. In the end, and to the extent that the health of the planet is a global common good, such labels and dichotomies are unhelpful.

- ### *Compensation and Climate Investments Dominate Climate Financing Discourse in Kenya*

Kenya's current negative experience with climate change and attendant climate financial needs are reflected in related political rhetoric and mediated public discourses. There are currently two topical conversations on climate financing in and regarding Kenya: *climate compensation* (for the 'losses and damages' incurred by developing, and predominantly global South countries as a result of comparatively larger volume of carbon emissions of economically developed, global north countries) and *climate investments*.

Initially, the two entities were seen as being mutually exclusive, driven by the idea that a poor victim of circumstances cannot also be an investor. The climate finance discourse was 'othering'. In addition to contrasting poor and rich countries, the discourse also differentiated heavy polluters from light polluters, for instance. This invites questions and responses such as whether climate financing a moral matter, for instance. In which case, heavy polluters would be or are called upon and expected to bear greatest responsibility for climate change. According to H.E. Monica Juma, Kenya's national security advisor, in decisions to promote peace and security in the country and region, there are no trade-offs between economics and greening:

> It is not a trade-off. It is not an either or. We have to deal with this [negative effects of climate change]. We all know how serious the problem is and the urgency. There are no vulnerable and non-vulnerable

AFRICA'S BIG CLIMATE FINANCING

a US$ 40 billion MoU signed between the Mauritania government and renewable energy company, CWP Global to develop a 30GW plant for low-cost green hydrogen

The 150 MW regional solar power park project in Mali – with an annual production capacity of 498GWh – which requires US$ 250 million dollars

Nigeria's big power project, the 3 GW Mambilla hydroelectric power project has also been lined up for financing, with a US$ 6 billion budget.

The US$ 3 billion, 712-kilometer Lesotho-Botswana bulk water reservoir, under development in Lesotho's lowlands requires a further US$ 500 million to complete, in order to bolster water security.

Egypt is leading other African countries in mobilising for climate financing with multi-billion-dollar worth of project pitches lined up for UN's COP 27 climate summit scheduled for November.

To further increase the supply of investment-ready clean projects in Comoros, Kenya, Madagascar, Mozambique, Tanzania and Seychelles ocean coastlines, a Blue Natural Capital Facility worth US$ 120 million will be marketed to investors.

Source: Bird Story Agency

Inside Africa's big climate financing deals (Graphics Credit: Hope Mukami)

regions, or global north emitters and global south non-emitters as we are all affected. We are looking for a framing that is of collective action (2023, July, Berlin Climate Security Conference - Nairobi).

Increasingly, climate compensation and climate investment are being considered to be complementary and hierarchical. While climate investments are preferred over 'loss and damage' funding as investment will likely deliver peace and stability more sustainably, Kenya is cognizant that both factors will help her to secure funding to adapt to and/or overcome climate change-related challenges such as food insecurity; water insecurity; and increasing internal displacement. In any case, only Denmark has accepted liability for the carbon emissions that have contributed to the current climate 'crisis.' In this regard, it is not smart of countries such as Kenya that are grappling the climate-induced challenges to expect significant 'loss and damage' contributions of other countries that may have other convictions, interests, and priorities.

It is no longer possible to assume that Africa cannot develop and at the same time have climate-resilient population. President Ruto (2023, June 22, 2023, Summit on New Global Financing Pact).

- *Kenya's Media Frames on Climate Financing are Evolving*

Evolving media frames are mirroring the shift in political rhetoric from mutual exclusivity to complementarity. The article also noted the following media framing shifts, from: victim of unfair threat distribution to solutions provider, and national threat to global threat. This comes on the back of the realization of the near-consensus that although the negative impacts of unmitigated climate change are bearing comparatively harder on African states, the ill health of the planet - which is a global common good – is an existential threat. This has likely informed and explains the growing shift in Kenya's

> " ... it is not smart of countries such as Kenya that are grappling the climate-induced challenges to expect significant 'loss and damage' contributions of other countries that may have other convictions, interests, and priorities

climate finance discourse from a demobilizing frame to a mobilizing frame, and episodic frame to thematic frame (Ryan, 1999; Iyengar, 1991, 1989).

- *Kenya is Assuming a Dual Climate Finance Posture*

This evolution notwithstanding, Kenya, considering the aforementioned challenges and World Economic Forum's top-10 projected risks, is hedging her bet and burning both ends of the climate financing candle, and showing interest in both 'loss and damage' and climate investment. It seems that Kenya seems to be keen to communicate her awareness of her current precarious climate change outlook. At the same time, Kenya is eager to demonstrate her interest in becoming a source of solutions in matters climate change in the region, and globally.

This pro-compensation and pro-climate investment climate financing posture is suggestive of Kenya's attempts at balancing local realities and national interests. In a fluid climate change landscape, such a posture is expected. Further, for a country keen not to be defined by the challenges of climate change but rather be inspired by the possibilities that the climate 'crisis' offers countries with minimal carbon emission baggage and immense, unexploited natural resources, this dual climate financing posture is welcome. It is becoming increasingly clear that Kenya - an anchor state, regional hub, and current CAHSGCC chair - is keen to demonstrate that Africa, as Ruto has reportedly said, can be "front and centre of the solutions to the challenge of climate change and not just a victim." Despite the challenges that unmitigated climate change is posing on Kenya's peace and security, and regional stability, Kenya can become a climate investment hub, without losing on '*loss and damage*' funding. This is a necessary strategic gamble.

The possibility that interest in 'loss and damage' may derail some climate investments efforts cannot be ruled out. However, given the volume and scope limitations of 'loss and damage' funding (about USD 100 billion, compared to an estimated USD 150 trillion available for climate investment), Kenya cannot rely solely on 'loss and damage' to mitigate and adapt to climate change. In any case, UN Secretary General, António Guterres, has noted that while 'loss and damage' fund is "an important step toward justice," the fund is still being operationalized. It is also unclear who, for instance, will contribute to the fund, where the contributions will come from, and
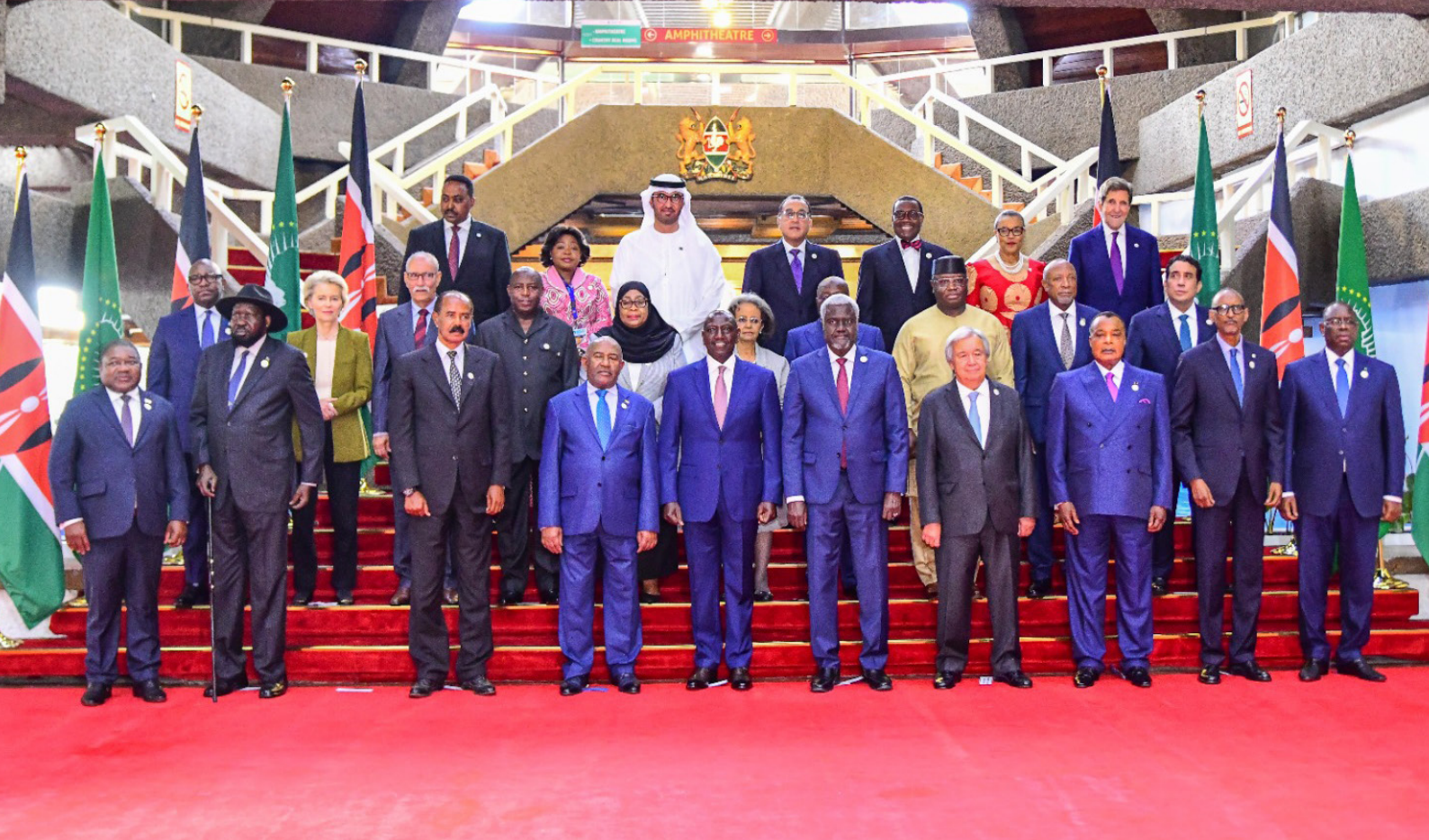
Group photo of African leaders at the Presidential Day Programme at the Africa Climate Summit 2023 Nairobi Kenya (Photo Credit: Financial Fortune Media)

which countries will be eligible for it. Arguably, such an approach would be loss-loss at worst and lose-win at best, and non-sensical.

The climate investment route is not without risk though. This is particularly because the cumbersomeness, bureaucratic nature, complexity of the current global financial architecture is, inadvertently, undermines immediate progress of developing economies in general, and in the context of climate change mitigation and adaptation in particular. Attempting to leverage this architecture as is will likely lead to zero sum outcomes (Morin & Kern, 1999; (von Neumann and Morgenstern, 1947). The extent to which Kenya's active pursuit of pro-compensation and pro-climate investment climate financing will enhance her national interests while building her climate resilience is a wait-and-see situation. In other words, the jury on Kenya's dual climate financing posture is still out.

Conclusion

Kenya's 'loss and damage' discourse is shifting from helpless victimhood to potential and capable provider of solutions to climate change-related challenges. This arguably positive shift is evidenced by evolving rhetoric of her political elite at different, recent national, regional, and global fora, and mediated public discourse on climate financing. Amid this shift in media framing and

public rhetoric on 'loss and damage', the country is assuming a dual climate finance posture to, ostensibly, allow her to leverage 'loss and damage' funds and attract climate investments. In this regard, the shift is mirroring Kenya's interests and priorities. It is now apparent that for Kenya, it is neither compensation or investment. Rather, it is both. Further, it seems that Kenya's negative experience with climate change is driving this shift. It is also clear that national interests are a key determinant of the country's evolving climate finance rhetoric. Only time will tell whether Kenya's current approach will deliver a climate resilient country in the short, mid, and long-terms. In the meantime, Kenya is taking the strategic gamble of a dual climate finance actor.

Recommendations

To maintain her dual climate financing posture to surmount challenges to her peace, security, and stability, while "assuming responsibility for Africa's position at COP 28," Kenya could consider:

- *Sustaining the 'Push' for the Establishment of a Fitter-for-Purpose Global Financing Architecture*

Kenya's leadership in the 'push' for the reforming of multilateral development financing institutions and the current global financial architecture is laudable. Wide

> Kenya's 'loss and damage' discourse is shifting from helpless victimhood to potential and capable provider of solutions to climate change-related challenges

bilateral and multilateral as well as national and local-level consultations will be handy in forming strategic alliances for climate action. These should involve a comprehensive set of flood-prone, drought-prone, and flood-and-drought prone countries in the region such as South Sudan, Somalia, and South Africa, respectively, and beyond.

- *Prioritizing the Environment*

The environment is a critical pillar of the climate change discourse. Overlooking it will certainly result in zero sum outcomes for the planet and its dependents (including humans). Then all the efforts to secure climate financing will become vanity. To this end, Kenya could consider accelerating her tree planting (*Jaza Miti*) campaign to increase tree cover by 30 per cent by 2033 and aspire to plant the 15 billion trees by 2027, for example. This will build on previous efforts such as those of the Green Belt Movement under the now-deceased 'tree woman' and Nobel Peace Laureate, Prof. Wangari Maathai. Another good place to enhance Kenya's climate adaptation efforts would be to demonstrate commitment

and intentionality to address systemic issues such as marginalization, poverty, and poor policies that increase her environmental risks. By necessity, such initiatives should integrate durable solutions for refugees, and internally displaced persons, as well as climate-afflicted communities such as pastoralists and famers in low-lying areas such as the Kenyan coast, and Tana River, and Baringo Counties. Mass awareness-raising campaigns of pitfalls and opportunities of changing climate will complement the initiatives.

- *Increasing Citizen-Private Sector-Government Partnerships for Climate Action*

As much as is possible, these partnerships need to be arrived at collaboratively and in an all-inclusive manner. Interested and strategic research and policy stakeholders such as researchers and practitioners in think tanks in Kenya and other research-oriented entities that tend to fall between the cracks of academic institutions and civil society organizations in the country should not be forgotten or ignored. In other words, multi-stakeholder, all-of-government, and all-of-society needs to be the default approach to partnering for climate action in Kenya, the region, and globally. A continental approach could leverage 'Pan Africanism for climate action,' through regional economic communities and/or anchor state-led climate-oriented initiatives. These kinds of approaches will spur investment, ownership, and innovation in initiatives such as climate proofing infrastructure (building dykes in flood-prone areas, for example). It will also diminish inequalities and deliver win-win outcomes that benefit nations, and the planet.

References

Boydstun AE (2013) *Making the News: Politics, the Media, and Agenda Setting*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Citizen Digital/VoA. (2022, November 30). 'Thousands Flee Drought and Hunger in Somalia for Kenya.' https://citizen.digital/news/thousands-flee-drought-and-hunger-in-somalia-for-kenya-n310277

France 24. (2023, June 23). 'Climate and Poverty: What Has Come Out of the New Global Financing Pact Summit So Far?' *France 24*. Paris.

Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication. 43*(4). pp.51– 58.

Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre. (2023). Global Report on Internal Displacement. https://www.internal-displacement.org/global-report/grid2023/

Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Iyengar, S. (1989). How Citizens Think About National Issues: A Matter of Responsibility. *American Journal of Political Science*. 33. pp. 878– 900.

Kenya Ministry of Environment, Climate Change, and Forestry. (2023). Jaza Miti Campaign. https://www.environment.go.ke/#

Lasswell, H. D. (1966). *Politics: Who Gets What, When and How*. New York: World Publishing.

Morin, E. & Kern, A.B. (1999). *Homeland Earth: A Manifesto for the New Millennium*. Hampton: Hampton Press.

National Drought Management Authority. (2023). Early Warning Bulletins. https://www.ndma.go.ke/index.php/resource-center/early-warning-reports

Omondi, R. (2018, May 14). 'From Starving to Drowning: The Impact of Flooding in the Horn of Africa.' https://horninstitute.org/from-starving-to-drowning-the-impact-of-flooding-in-the-horn-of-africa/

Ryan, C. (1999). *Prime Time Activism: Media Strategies for Grassroots Organizing*. South End Press.

United Nations Climate Change. (2023). The Global Stocktake - A Critical Moment for Climate Action. https://unfccc.int/

United Nations Climate Change. (2023). Africa Climate Week (ACW 2023). https://unfccc.int/event/africa-climate-week-acw-2023

UN Climate Change. (2022). Establishing a Dedicated Fund for Loss and Damage. https://unfccc.int/establishing-a-dedicated-fund-for-loss-and-damage

Von Neumann, J. & Morgenstern, O. (1947). *The Theory of Games and Economic Behavior*. 2nd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

World Bank. (2023). Kenya. https://data.worldbank.org/country/kenya?view=chart

World Economic Forum. (2023). The Global Risks Report 2023 (Insight Report). 18th ed. Cologny/Geneva: World Economic Forum. p.6.

Yusuf, A. & Omondi, R. (2023, January 22). 'Climate Change Mitigation in Kenya, Somalia, Ethiopia: Tripartite Climate Diplomacy Will Foster 'Pan-Africanism for Climate Action." https://horninstitute.org/climate-change-mitigation-in-kenya-somalia-ethiopia-tripartite-climate-diplomacy-will-foster-pan-africanism-for-climate-action/

KDF's War on Terror: Implications for State-Society Relations in Lamu County, Kenya

By John Okul and James Owino

Abstract

This paper argues that military war on terror both within and without the territory of a sovereign state has implications beyond the security imperative. In the context of Lamu County, the Kenya Defence Force's (KDF) led counterterrorism measures to deal with prevalent violent extremism and radicalization has the potential to fuel or bridge the state-society/ community divide, blamed for undermining the nation building process and the national development imperative of the Kenyan state. Consequently, KDF's carefully crafted approach to operationalize the practice of counterterror management strategies in the context of harmonious state-community interactions in Lamu is laudable as it embraces sustainable peace building approaches. The paper which largely relied on secondary data found that effective counter-terrorism measures should encompass understanding of the long-term consequences, including any existing policy gaps of the measures proffered to solve the prevalent security concerns that continue to impede constructive and harmonious relations between the Kenyan government and the community in Lamu County. In addition, the paper concludes that placing the community interests as a greater good is key to the sustainable implementation of counter-terrorism strategies. Finally, it is the recommendation of this paper that aligning military principles, duty, and prestige to the community needs is the effective way to enhance cooperation between the community and the state. This has the long-term implication in forging national unity and cohesion, and by extension inclusive national development.

Introduction

Conflict between states have become the most common type of conflict internationally since the end of Cold War. Specifically, the East and Horn of Africa (EHoA) region has experienced political and socio-economic issues for many years, including civil war, governance failures, and prolonged crisis situations (Fombad et al., 2022). This situation has further been exacerbated by the fallout from coronavirus and implications of the Russian-Ukraine war, which threatens to worsen the regional security outlook (IMF, 2021). This trend has not eluded Kenya, one of the region's key anchor states. Consequently, despite tremendous progress being made on the governance front, Kenya continues to struggle with a host of governance, economic and socio-political challenges (Nyadera, Agwanda & Maulani, 2020).

Indeed, like the rest of Kenya, most parts of the country's coastal region have been one of the most persistently insecure zones, with insecurity manifesting itself in recurrent attacks by terrorist-related groups like Al-Shabab. Therefore, there have been many fatalities, loss of livelihood, and displacement of people. The scenario has strained ties between the community and the state

because of what the residents believe to be a predatory strategy used in the fight against terror (Piazza, 2011). Historically, there is a perception that these regions have been marginalized, isolated, and neglected by both colonial administrations and post-independence administrations. Worse still, the indirect regulations instituted by the state appear to isolate the people further and have been counterproductive. It is thus the task of this article to assess the impact of state-led counterterrorism initiatives on state-society relations in Lamu County.

Context of the Article

Counterterrorism strategies assume diverse forms in different jurisdictions. These include; use of stringent laws and legislations to discourage involvement in terrorist activities, use of sanctions on certain countries or restricting individuals from travelling to certain parts of the world, mainly Western countries, to taking out individuals involved in terrorism or suspected preparators of terrorism acts, to pre-emptive attacks by the USA and its allies on targets and counties that harbour terrorists. These measures have generated mixed outcomes in terms

KDF and police launch joint operation to hunt down al Shabaab terrorists in Lamu County (Photo Credit: Strategic Intelligence Service)

of countering or deterring terrorist attacks. Consequently, while studies have been done to comprehend the various counterterrorism measures, little has gone into researching about the impact the instituted measures have produced on the relationship between the state and society (community). Thus, this article constitutes an attempt to contribute to the existing body of knowledge by researching on the resultant state-society relations after institution of counterterrorism measures in Lamu County, Kenya.

Methodology and Theoretical Framework

This paper largely relied on secondary data even though face to face interviews with the relevant stakeholders were conducted. Specifically, document analysis technique was used to collect data from publications focusing on themes such as state-society relations, counterterrorism, national development, state-building, nation building, policy documents, laws and legislations, memorandum of understandings (MoUs), treaties, protocols, declaration during stakeholder gatherings and records from key meetings, press releases. The secondary data collected from these sources was analysed, mainly through inferential and narrative methods of data analysis. Additionally, interviews with key informants were conducted to complement information gathered from secondary data sources. A total of twenty-one (21) subject matter experts were interviewed for the study. The deployment of complimentary (qualitative and quantitative) data sources allowed for collection of reliable, quality, and comprehensive data.

In addition, the article relied on the Greed-Grievance Theory to explain intra-state disputes and fragilities that impact state-society relations. The theory is attributed to Frances Stewart, one of the proponents of the 'grievance theory' and Paul Collier & Anke Hoeffler (2004), who has often been linked with the "greed" argument as opposed to limiting the explanation of civil war occurrence to grievance alone. Stewart introduces the concept of "horizontal inequalities", which she operationalizes to mean that "inequalities that are economic, social, political or cultural standing between culturally defined groups" - are a potent source of conflict (Collier & Hoeffler, 2004).

> " ... like the rest of Kenya, most parts of the country's coastal region have been one of the most persistently insecure zones, with insecurity manifesting itself in recurrent attacks by terrorist-related groups like Al-Shabab

The Greed-Grievance Theory is a viable alternative to other rational choice theories, which are deemed insufficient for the current study. These theories consider the intricate relationships between avarice and resentment that shape civil wars and other types of violence, such as counterinsurgency. The grievance dimension assumes some type of resource or political deprivation, whereas the greed explanation assumes that rebels or violent organizations engage in search of material gain. Both investigate the motivations that lead a group to choose and perpetuate violent conflict. Stewart continues to focus mostly on inequality and the resulting grievances, whereas Collier stresses the economic or criminal motives of rebels and violent groups.

The strength of greed-grievance theory is that it provides a convincing explanation for not just the origins of intrastate disputes but also their tendencies to perpetuate each other. Accordingly, a "greed-oriented perspective" asserts that the primary reasons for civil strife are the rational decision-making nature of the individual, paired with the perception of opportunities for economic gain. A "grievance-oriented approach" asserts that the origins of civil conflict can be traced further back in time to the establishment of socioeconomic institutions that promote inequality, which in turn leads to dissatisfaction among a population and their eventual desire to rebel against these institutions.

Nonetheless, a noted flaw of the greed-grievance theory as an explanation of extremism and youth radicalization is that it fails to explain why extremist doctrines are spread not only by the poor and vulnerable but also by the wealthy. Equally, the theory does not proffer sufficient explanation of the social transformation that occurs during violence and counter-violence efforts. To address this gap, the study will employ multidisciplinary theoretical frameworks. Specifically, the study will rely on critical terrorism perspective to bring out in a nuanced and broader way multiple dimensions in, including state

in explaining the correlation between occurrence of terrorism and state-society relations (Dixit, 2021).

Selected Literature Review

According to Ken Menkhaus (2003), the most significant grievance is the idea that the government marginalizes, oppresses, or otherwise treats one's group unjustly. According to the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights Report and the 2007 Kenyan survey data, 58 percent of pastoralists, feel that their ethnic groups are treated unjustly by the government (Kenya National Commission of Human Rights, 2015). No other segment of the population expresses this sentiment more than pastoralists. This view is supported by grievance accounts from northern Kenya. Significantly, the record of state security atrocities against the communities of northern Kenya – now at least partly recorded and confirmed by a Kenyan government agency itself – has functioned as a potent source of alienation and complaints. In addition, the report notes that the actions of Kenyan security personnel have been one of the primary drivers of 'insecurity' for northern Kenya residents, as opposed to being a source of safety. This notion can be extended to explain the case of Lamu County – where historical use of force by the Kenyan government has produced a latent function in the form of generating feelings of resentment and alienation by the residents of Lamu against the government.

Nyadera, Kisaka, & Agwanda (2020) examines Nigeria's war on Boko Haram. They examine the issue through the lens of state fragility thesis and just war or disputed government response. They aver that the Nigerian government's use of excessive force on citizens during the anti-terrorism campaigns is a classic manifestation of how fragile statehood has produced a counter current - more youths getting radicalised. It will be therefore, interesting to investigate whether the use of force by Kenyan government has produced similar consequences, in the process reorienting the state and society relations in Lamu, Kenya.

John Davis (2004) explains that governance failures and the number of weak states is linked by saying that there is a link between how governance is practised and how governments serve their citizens. As a result, the susceptibility of citizens to terror-related activities is in some measure congruent with the efficient provision of political goods to citizens. This includes making sure people are safe on a social and economic level. This is

a basic requirement or responsibility of states to protect their sovereignty and the safety of their citizens. In this way, an ideal state works hard to stop and deal with threats that could hurt the state's relationships with its citizens and risk factors that could lead to terrorism. Importantly, the argument gives the study a whole-person view of the structural social, political, and economic factors that make people more likely to support terrorist activities. This may lead to negative relationships between the state and the society.

Richard Jackson (2005) contends that scholars need to embrace wide perspectives to have a better understanding of terrorist actions and state-community relations. Considering this, he proposes the need to adopt an interdisciplinary viewpoint that encompasses the interaction of social, economic, and political aspects in a particular setting, the terrorism environment. He further notes the necessity to comprehend the difficulties associated with postcolonial state construction which provides an appropriate framework within which terrorist organizations conduct their activities. This also consists of the motivations and urges, as well as the strategies states deploy in response to threats, they face, and the associated counter currents that emerge out of state use of force on terrorist organizations.

Discussion of Findings

The Kenya's war on terror overlaps with both global and regional developments concerning the increase of terror attacks and the western-oriented struggle against terror organizations (Ploch, 2010). After the attacks of September 11, 2001, the perspective that President Bush took on the Global War on Terror (GWOT) as a New World Order regarding dealing with and interfering in situations believed to constitute terrorist help followed suit. Similarly, the origins of the GWOT in Kenya are associated with regional and global developments, as well as terror dynamics (Ibid). In retrospect, it is important to note that Kenya's War on Terror has a geopolitical perspective, particularly due to the state's geo-determinants within the context of the greater Horn of Africa (Aronson, 2011).

For instance, global and regional al-Qa'eda affiliates have continued to attack Kenya for its role in the Global War on Terror. Kenya's participation in this war has drawn the attention of these organizations (Forest, 2011). Since the 2011 military incursion of Somalia, numerous small-scale assaults have occurred on a regular basis. This has served as a prime example of the surrounding threats to regional security and works as a forecast for worse difficulties that may arise in the future. Kenya, however,

TIMELINE FOR TERROR ATTACKS IN KENYA (1975-2019)
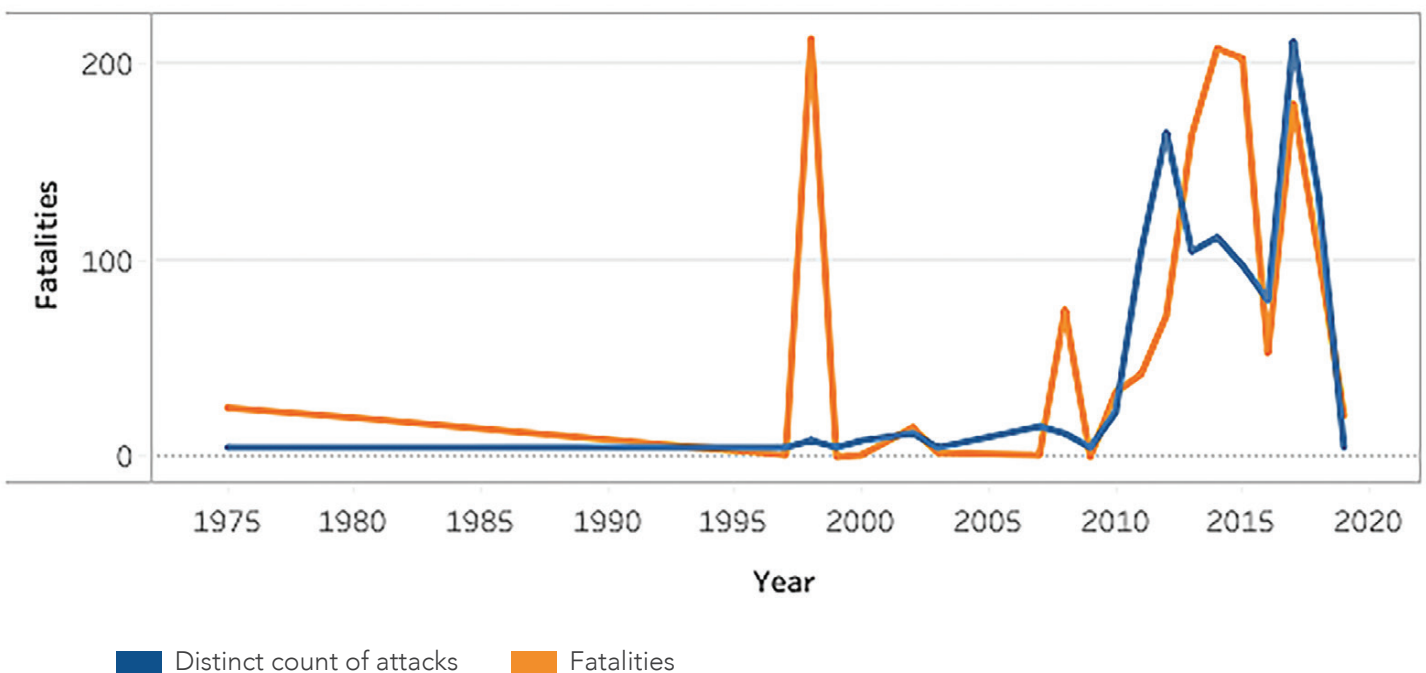
Timeline for terror attacks in Kenya since 1975-2019 (Graphics Credit: JULIET ATELLAH/MDOGO)

Since the 2011 military incursion of Somalia, numerous small-scale assaults have occurred on a regular basis. This has served as a prime example of the surrounding threats to regional security and works as a forecast for worse difficulties that may arise in the future

has historically been a U.S. ally, putting it in the terrorists' sights and making it a proxy target against the West (International Crisis Group, 2011). In addition, Kenya's proximity to Somalia and the Middle East made it a refuge for transnational terrorist groups.

In perspective, Kenya has experienced about 190 terrorist attacks between 1970 and 2007, an average of five attacks per year (Buchanan-Clarke & Lekalake, 2016). However, since 2008, terrorist attacks have increased to an average of 47 attacks per year (Buchanan-Clarke & Lekalake, 2015). The escalation of terrorist attacks and the rise of the threat of terrorism is mainly attributable to the influence of the Somalia-based Islamist group, Al Shabaab. The group has sustained its campaign especially from 2010 through attacks, radicalization, and recruitment of Kenyan fighters into its network.

Al Shabaab, because of its Islamist ideological orientation, the group targets Muslim majority areas such as upper eastern (Marsabit, Isiolo and parts of Meru Counties); northeastern (Garissa, Wajir and Mandera Counties) and coastal (especially Mombasa, Kwale, Kilifi, Lamu, and Tana River Counties) regions of Kenya, for ideological support, with religion as its main anchor of persuasion. In Nairobi, the group still targets Muslim-dominated areas of Kibera and Majengo slums, and the suburban area of Eastleigh, for ideological support. As regards radicalization and recruitment of Kenyan citizens into their fold, Al Shabaab, Islamic State of Iraq, and Syria (ISIS), and Al Qaeda similarly target the mentioned regions. Other factors for targeting the mentioned regions, is the cross-cutting experience of historical marginalization; their far-flung locations from Nairobi; and the proximity to Somalia. Below is a map of situation of marginalized and non-marginalized counties in Kenya, as a depiction of vulnerability risk to radicalization and violent extremism and by extent the nature of state-community relations.

In addition, the Kenyan coastal region remains among the most dangerous regions, followed by the Northern Eastern border counties. This is due to the region's

proximity to the volatile Somali border, which has enabled the simple infiltration and cross-border threat posed by al-Shabab-related activities. In addition, the region's history of negative state-community relations has been marked by "mistreatment and marginalization" at the hands of successive Kenyan administrations. The subsequent marginalization of the coastal region by post-independence administrations that favoured local elites and "wabara" who were perceived as "outsiders" is one of the primary causes of unrest in the coastal region.

This circumstance has led to complaints on a local level, as well as the creation of popular groups, such as the Mombasa Republican Council (MRC) and the Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK), who are involved in the battle for coastal rights. To this end, various regimes have resisted the emergence of coastal initiatives and platforms, particularly those aimed at attaining political and economic rights. In the early 1990s, the government's almost irrational dread of the predominantly Muslim littoral community led to several violent confrontations with the police (Vittori et al., 2009). These conflicts include numerous attacks on police stations and public structures.

Counterterrorism Measures

Kenya's counterterrorism strategies can be broken down into either, statist or non-statist approaches. From a statist perspective, Kenya has a relatively comprehensive legal framework and policies to deal with the threat posed by terrorism. These legal frameworks and policies include: The Constitution of Kenya 2010 (Chapter 4), Prevention of Terrorism Act 2012 (Amended 2018) – (deals with the detection and prevention of terrorist activities and it gives Police officers the authority to arrest persons who are reasonably suspected to have committed or are committing offences under the Act); National Strategy to Combat Violent Extremism (launched in 2016 and updated in 2019, gave rise to CAP-PCVE) – (domiciled at County level); 47 County Action Plans to Prevent and Counter Violent Extremism to implement the CVE strategy bottom-up; and Probation of Offenders Act. In addition to the aforesaid, the National Counter Terrorism Centre

School going pupils are involved in counterterrorism awareness programs to discourage them from terrorist activities (Photo Credit: Search for Common grounds)

(NCTC) has rolled out a raft of soft measures to combat terrorism. Moreover, there are municipal countries that are country specific. Alongside the statist measures, there exist non-statist measures and actors involved in the war on terrorism. This encompasses the work of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community-based organizations (CBOs), among other actors active in the counterterrorism war in Lamu county and elsewhere.

Despite the existence of a robust counterterrorism regime in Kenya, certain inherent challenges have hampered these efforts. First, there is balancing the protecting of human rights during counterterrorism war. Sempijja & Nkosi (2019) posit that Kenya is more interested in preserving peace and stability at the expense of protecting human rights in its counterterrorism strategy. This view is reinforced by Chome who argue that Kenya's counter-terrorism measures such as disappearances, extrajudicial killings, inhuman treatment, and punishment of alleged terrorists are not consistent with the international human rights framework (Chome, 2016). Other challenges include terrorist organization's sophisticated use of internet and other digital media tools to spread misinformation and propaganda. Equally, developing countries such as Kenya face competing needs for their limited resources. This has had the detrimental effect

of hampering effective deployment of counterterrorism measures by the Republic of Kenya. In similar vein, the weak state explanation is another dynamic that explains Kenya's tepid counterterrorism war. According to Robert Rotberg's thesis, Kenya falls within the weak state continuum, a factor that makes it predisposed to suffer terrorist attack (Rotberg, 2003).

Impact of Counterterrorism Measures on State-Society Relations

a. Emergence of secessionist agitation

One of the most latent consequences of the war on terror in Kenyan soil is that it aggravated local community anger against the government. Specifically, the emergence of the secessionist group, Mombasa Republican Council (MRC) can be linked to systemic and structural factors. While MRC was conceived long before independence following the 1895 pact between Britain and the Sultan that formally placed the province under British protection, its continued existence is linked to the fight against landlessness and squatters on the Kenyan coastal strip. Consequently, the recent episodic revolt by the group against the government can be explained from the perspective of clash of the group's versus the political and regimes interests.

> In Lamu, the relationship between Muslim communities and security personnel has deteriorated because of government-led anti-terrorism initiatives such as the Linda Boni Operation

b. Securitization of the terror war

Since declaring Lamu County as a security declaration zone, the Government of Kenya has continued to implement a variety of anti-terrorism measures across the nation and in the county. Accordingly, 700 additional security personnel were deployed in Lamu County in July 2016, and numerous initiatives were implemented to combat violent extremism. 2016 saw the introduction of the National Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism. Despite the existence of numerous counter-terrorism strategies, the putative al-Shabaab appears to be very active in Lamu County, threatening community attacks. This is a result of their capacity to plot and execute attacks not only in Lamu County, but also in most of the coastal region.

Al-Shaabab continues to launch ambush, guerrilla-style attacks that have frequently resulted in fatalities, despite the significant success of Operation Linda Boni. For instance, Boni-dwelling communities were relocated to make way for the operation, leaving them without voting rights in the 2017 elections. In Lamu, the relationship between Muslim communities and security personnel has deteriorated because of government-led anti-terrorism initiatives such as the Linda Boni Operation. Equally, land disputes involving indigenous and non-indigenous

communities is another point of fissure that is affecting inter-communal relations in Lamu county. Specifically, the settlement of Kikuyu's in Mpeketoni by the Jomo Kenyatta regime in 1968 led to the influx of 'outsides' encroaching into the area that was initially predominantly inhabited by Swahilis and Muslims (IRIN, 2014).

c. Politically instigated radicalization and violence extremism

Another latent consequence emanating from the war on terror is the exploitation of the land grievances politically based on ethnicity and religion, causing radicalisation. On the same breath, Al-Shabaab has exploited the grievances to conduct recruitment of new members, sympathizers, financiers, and partners and to launch attacks (Nyongesa, 2017).

Conclusion

The study established a connection between state-society relations in Lamu County and the situation of peace and security in the coastal region, and Kenya as a whole. As a result of this, the study concludes that there is a relationship between the insecurity situation in Lamu County and he state-society relations. As a result, it is the conclusion of this study that the persistence of structural and historical grievances in Lamu County has created conducive conditions that inform negative state-society relations.

In this vein, the study recommends the need to align military principles, duty, and prestige to the societal or community needs is the effective way to enhance cooperation between the society and the state. This has the long-term implication in forging national unity and cohesion, and by extension inclusive national development.

References

Boone, C. (2012). Land conflicts and distributive politics in Kenya. African Studies Review, 55(1), 75-103.

Buchanan-Clarke, S., & Lekalake, R. (2016). Synthèse de Politique No. 32, Afrobaromètre| Juin 2016.

Collier, P., & Hoeffler, A. (2004). Greed and Grievance in Civil War. *Oxford economic papers, 56*(4), 563-595.

Chome N (2016) Violent extremism and clan dynamics in Kenya. In: Peace work Report United States institute of peace. Available at: https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/PW123-ViolentExtremism-And-Clan-Dynamics-In-Kenya.pdf. Accessed 4 August 2023

Davis, J. (2004). The Global War on Terrorism: Assessing the American Response. NY: Nova Science Publishers, pp. 203–204.

Dixit, P. (2021). Critical scholarship on terrorism. In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies*.

Fombad, C. M., Fiseha, A., & Steytler, N. (Eds.). (2022). *Contemporary Governance Challenges in the Horn of Africa*. Taylor & Francis.

Forest, J.J. (2011). Al-Qaeda's influence in Sub-Saharan Africa: Myths, realities and possibilities. Perspectives on Terrorism, 5(3), 63-80.

International Crisis Group (2012). The Kenyan Military Intervention in Somalia. In Crisis Group Africa (184) 1-24.

IMF (2022). Sub-Saharan Africa's GDP is projected to grow by 3.8% in 2022, down 0.7 percentage points from the growth recorded in 2021. IMF, World Economic Outlook Databases.

IRIN (2014). Conflict dynamics on Kenya's coast. Retrieved from: http:// www.irinnews.org/report/100394/analysis-conflict-dynamics-onkenya-s-Coast.

Jackson, R. (2005). Security, democracy, and the rhetoric of counter-terrorism. *Democracy and Security, 1*(2), 147-171.

Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, (2015, September). *The Error of Fighting Terror with Terror,* See also Insult to Injury: The 2014 Lamu and Tana River Attacks and Kenya's abuse response, Human Rights Watch, New York, (2014). See also Monitoring Report on Operation Sanitization Eastleigh, publicly known as "Usalama Watch, Independent Policing Oversight Authority, Nairobi, (2014).

Menkhaus, K. (2003). Somalia: State Collapse and the Threat of Terrorism. Adelphi Paper, no. 364. London: IISS and Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 72–75.

Nyadera, I. N., Agwanda, B., & Maulani, N. (2020). Evolution of Kenya's political system and challenges to democracy. Global Encyclopedia of Public Administration, Public Policy, and Governance, 1-14.

Nyongesa, M. (2017). Are land disputes responsible for terrorism in Kenya? Evidence from Mpeketoni attacks. *Journal of African Democracy and Development, 1*(2), 33-51.

Nzau, M. (2010). Counter-Terrorism in the Greater Horn of Africa 2004-2010: Revisiting the Somalia Question. Journal of Language, Technology and Entrepreneurship in Africa 2, no. 2: 163-177.

Ploch, L. (2010). Countering Terrorism in East Africa: The US Response. Congressional Research Service: Library of Congress.

Sempijja, N., & Nkosi, B. (2019). National Counter-Terrorism (CT) Policies and Challenges to Human Rights and Civil Liberties: Case Study of Kenya. *International Human Rights and Counter-Terrorism,* 431-448.

Rotberg, R. I. (2003). Failed states, collapsed states, weak states: Causes and indicators. *State failure and state weakness in a time of terror, 1,* 25.

The Weekly Review (21 June 1997). Parliamentary Committee Report on Coastal Land Question.

Vittori, J., Bremer, K., & Vittori, P. (2009). Islam in Tanzania and Kenya: Ally or threat in the War on Terror? Studies in Conflict & Terrorism. 32(1), 1075 1099.

About the Authors

Mohammed Harun

Mohamed Harun holds a Bachelor's degree in Science Information Systems Technology from the United States International University Africa, Bachelor of Law (LLB) from the University of Nairobi, and has completed the Advocates Training Program at Kenya School of Law. He is a Legal Researcher with a passion for tackling complex legal challenges in diverse settings. His expertise spans public law, regulatory compliance, and risk management. His interests are in Security and Diplomacy, as well as Climate Change and Environmental Law. He has years of experience in various roles, including Diplomacy, Security, and Climate Change fellow at the HORN Institute, Legal Advisor at The KESHO Alliance Organization, Legal Assistant Enforcement at Capital Markets Authority, and Legal Adviser at Northern Advocacy Organization.

Harun can be reached at mohamedharun001@gmail.com

C.A. Mumma-Martinon, Ph.D.

Dr. Mumma-Martinon is a lecturer at the Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Nairobi, a Council Member at the National Defence University – Kenya, the winner of The Prof. Dr. Peter Hünermann Award- 2021 from Germany. She holds a PhD from Germany, a Masters from the University of Nairobi. She has worked at the International Peace Support Training Centre, the African Union, the United Nations, Total and TJRC.

Dr. Connie can be reached at connie_martinon"yahoo.co.uk

Roselyne Omondi

Roselyne Omondi is the Associate Director, Center for Climate Change, Migration, and Development, at the HORN Institute. She is also a contributor and co-editor of 'The Horn of Africa: Security, Instability, and Multiple Layers of Migration (2023), a book volume on migration and stability in the greater Horn of Africa region in the context of climate change. Roselyne is an experienced researcher-writer-editor who works at the intersection of peace, conflict, and terrorism research; international development; media, journalism, and communication and humanitarian. Her demonstrated research interests include armed conflict, violent extremism, forced migration, climate change, food (in)security, geopolitics, and pastoralism. Her work has been published and/or cited by, among others, The New Humanitarian, The East African, Swansea Post, KTN News, the HORN Institute, the Jutland Station, and National Security journal.

Roselyne can be reached at roselyne@horninstitute.org or r.omondi@outlook.com

John Okul

John Okul holds a Master of Arts in International Development from Sciences Po (France) and a Bachelor of Arts in Political Science from the University of Nairobi (Kenya). He is currently an Adjunct Lecturer at the University of Nairobi. He is also involved in the ISS-led ENACT research on Trans-National Organized crimes, focusing on the themes of cattle rustling in Eastern and Horn of Africa region, as well as illicit trade at the Port of Mombasa. In 2016/2017, he was involved in the Agrimonde-Terra project on global food security for 9 billion people in 2050 with Cirad (Cirad-inra partnership) as a research associate. He has also published a book chapter from the project. His research interests are in politics and security.

John can be reached at johnokul@yahoo.com

Editor's Note

Dear Reader,

We are excited to release our 33rd bi-monthly issue of *The HORN Bulletin* (Vol. VI, Iss. V, 2023). We bring to you well-researched articles and analysis of topical issues and developments affecting the Horn of Africa. We welcome contributions from readers who wish to have their articles included in the HORN Bulletin. At HORN, we believe ideas are the currency of progress. Feel free to contact the Editor-in-Chief for more details at communications@horninstitute.org.

Hassan Khannenje, Ph.D.
Editor-in-Chief, The HORN Bulletin

Editorial Team

Editor-in-Chief: Hassan Khannenje, Ph.D. | Editorial Officer: Asia Yusuf | Member: Janice Sanya

Publisher and Designer: Evans Ombisa | Member: Raudhat Saddam

Note:
The views expressed in this Bulletin are those of the authors and they do not necessarily reflect the position of the HORN Institute.

HORN

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES