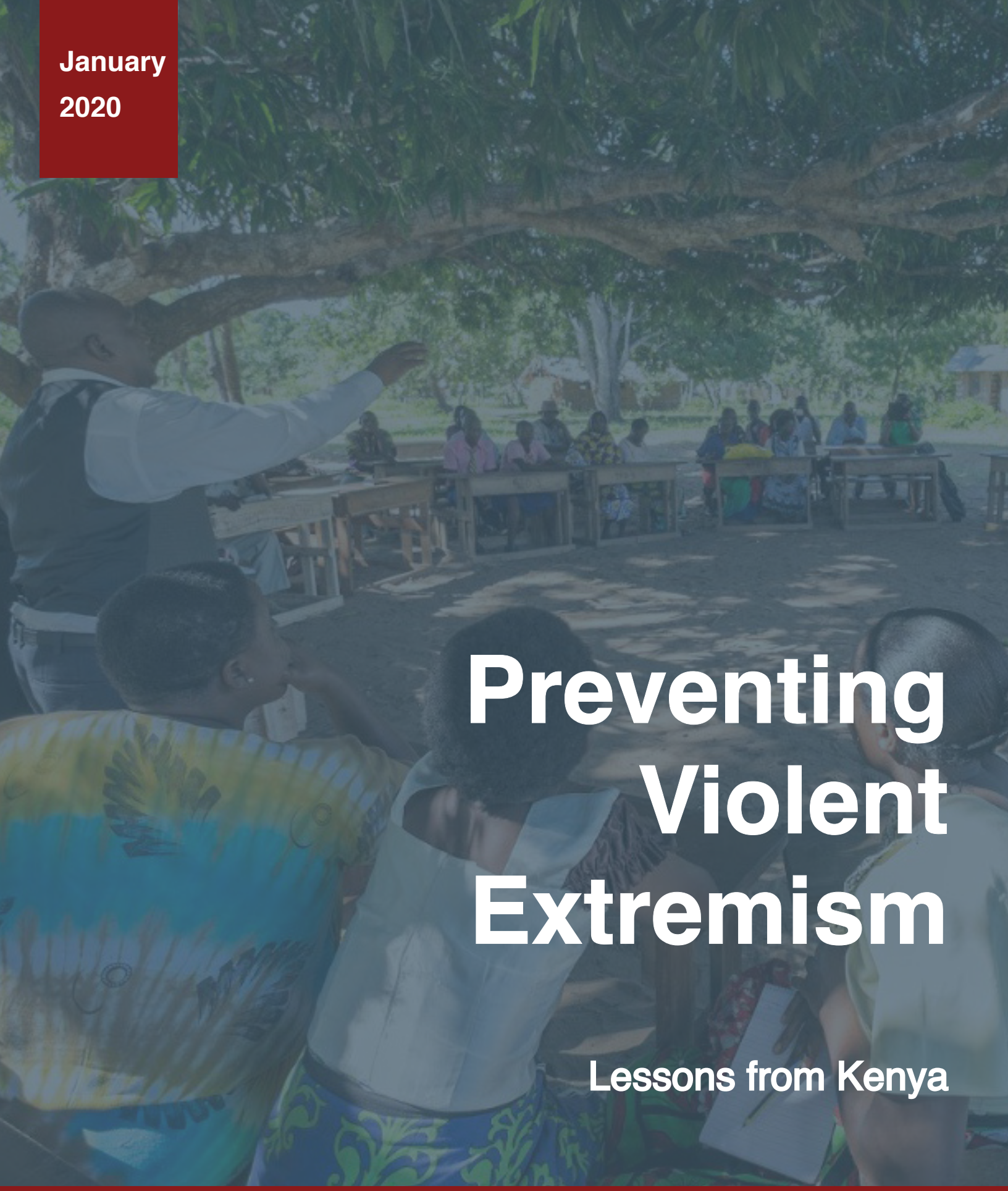
January
2020



Preventing Violent Extremism

Lessons from Kenya

Princeton University
Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs

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The statements made and views expressed in this publication, and particularly any errors therein, are solely the responsibility of the authors.

Nairobi

Office of the President
National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC)
Kenyan National Bureau of Statistics
U.S. Department of State
USAID
U.S. Department of Defense officials
U.K. High Commission officials
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)
Asfaw Kumssa, PhD
Kenya Muslim Youth Alliance
Dr. Mustafa Y. Ali (Expert in Conflict in Transformation, Religious, and Political Extremism)
Finn Church Aid
Danish Demining Group
Centre for Human Rights and Policy Studies (CHRIPS),
International Crisis Group expert Murithi Mutiga (ICG)
Tethered-Up
An anonymous CVE researcher in Mombasa
Two Anonymous Interviewees

Mombasa

Coast Interfaith Council of Clerics (CICC)
Human Rights Agenda (HURIA)
Muslims for Human Rights (MUHIRI)
Royal United Services Institute (RUSI)
Coast Education Centre (COEC)
HAKI Africa
Office of the President
Director of CVE for Mombasa County

London

Anna Sherburn, Commonwealth Secretariat
Emily Winterbotham and Michael Jones, Royal United Services Institute (RUSI)
Dr. Eleanor Beevor, International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS)
Dr. Sherine El Taraboulsi-McCarthy, Overseas Development Institute
Mary Harper, BBC Africa
Protection Approaches
U.K. Home Office
U.K. Department for International Development
U.K. Stabilisation Unit
Four Anonymous Interviewees

New York

Michael Gilligan, New York University
UN Office of Counter-Terrorism (UNOCT)
Kenya Mission to the United Nations
World Bank
U.S. Mission to the United Nations
International Peace Institute

Washington, D.C.

Julie Werbel, United States Agency for International Development (USAID)
William Braniff and Barnett Koven, National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START)
Mercy Corps
Abdullahi Boru Halakhe
Katherine Zimmerman, Emily Estelle, and Jake Barnett, Jessica Trisko Darden, American Enterprise Institute
Sarah Rose, Center for Global Development

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Cover Photo credit: USAID

About the Authors

Ben Crisman is a doctoral candidate in the department of politics at Princeton University researching political violence and international development. Prior to starting at Princeton, he worked as a research specialist at the Empirical Studies of Conflict (ESOC) project and as a research assistant at the Center for Global Development.

Carla Sung Ah Yoon is a Juris Doctor and Master in Public Affairs dual degree candidate at Harvard Law School and the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University. Before attending gradauate school, she worked on refugee legal aid and resettlement issues for a local NGO in Egypt and humanitarian relief program design for an international NGO in Uganda.

Curtis Goos studied French Literature and International Studies at the University of Iowa. He subsequently served as Peace Corps Education Volunteer in southern Rwanda. At Princeton, Curtis' focus is on state and local policy centered on attracting and empowering immigrant residents throughout the American Midwest.

Danielle Hull graduated from Harvard in 2013 with a degree in Government and has worked in Bamako, Mali, and Jefferson, LA. Prior to this project, she interned with the United Nations Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute (UNICRI), where she helped develop M&E insights for a P/CVE pilot project in the Sahel and Maghreb.

Emily Romano graduated from Rice University with a B.A. in economics in 2011. After graduating, Emily joined Root Capital, a nonprofit investment fund that lends capital to small agricultural businesses abroad. After completing her graduate degree at Princeton, Emily hopes to continue working on global poverty reduction.

Jennifer Johnson studies policy analysis, peacebuilding, and gender security as a WWS MPA at Princeton. Graduating from UT-Austin in 2015, she has previous experience working for international organizations (NATO and SHAPE) and research centers (ICRW, Clements Center, IISS, IPD Texas, and AidData).

Jordan Burns is an water resources engineer-turned-policy student hailing from Colorado. Prior to her graduate studies, she worked for a large engineering consulting firm, the World Bank's Inspection Panel, and the U.S. Senate, primarily on environmental and climate change issues.

Michelle Nedashkovskaya previously served as a Board Adviser to the US Director at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Prior to that, she served as an Economic and Social Affairs adviser at the US Mission to the United Nations. Michelle specializes in international security studies and information warfare.

Nayaran Subramanian Narayan is a fellow at the progressive think tank Data for Progress. He is a Juris Doctor and Master in Public Affairs dual degree candidate at Columbia Law School and the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University. He received a B.S. in Earth & Environmental Engineering from Columbia University.

Solomon Tesfaye is a second-year graduate student at the Woodrow Wilson School focusing on international development. He holds a neuroscience degree from Colgate University. Prior to graduate school he also worked in the private sector as a senior consultant at a market research and consulting firm. His research interests include economic development, educational policy, and income inequality.

Yashna Gungadurdoss is a Mauritian Master in Public Affairs student focused on international development. Earlier, she worked for Entrepreneurial Finance Lab, leading the development and launch of a psychometric credit assessment tool for Indian microfinance clients. She also worked in results-based financing and impact investing.

Abbreviations

ACLED	Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
ATPU	Anti-Terrorism Police Unit
CAP/RCAP	County Action Plan/ Rapid County Action Plan
CBO	Community-Based Organization
CHRIPS	The Center for Human Rights and Policy Studies
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CT	Counterterrorism
CTC	UN Counter-Terrorism Committee
CTED	UN Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate
CTITF	UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force
CVE	Countering Violent Extremism
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (OECD)
DHS	Department of Homeland Security (U.S.)
DNI	Director of National Intelligence (U.S.)
EU	European Union
FBO	Faith-Based Organizations
GCTF	Global Counterterrorism Forum
ICU	Islamic Courts Union (Somalia)
IRTPA	Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act (U.S.)
KDF	Kenyan Defense Forces
MUHURI	Muslims for Human Rights
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
NCTC	National Counter Terrorism Centre
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NSCVE	National Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
P/CVE	Preventing/Countering Violent Extremism
POTA	Prevention of Terrorism Act
PVE	Preventing Violent Extremism
RUSI	Royal United Services Institute
SLAA	Security Laws Amendment Act
START	National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism
TFG	Transitional Federal Government (Somalia)
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNOCT	United Nations Office of Counter-Terrorism
UNODC	United Nations Office of Drugs and Crime
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VEO	Violent Extremist Organization


LAUNCH OF
MERU COUNTY
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C.V.E

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Photo credit: Government of Kenya - Launch of Meru County Action Plan on CVE.

Executive Summary

Over the past two decades, policies for Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism (PVE and CVE, respectively) have emerged in response to the perceived shortcomings of security-focused counterterrorism efforts. Adherents of this dual strategy argue that violent extremism organizations cannot be countered by military means alone—rather that success requires weakening cycles of extremist radicalization and recruitment through a "whole of society," development oriented approach, as well. The 2016 United Nations Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism called on member-states to develop "a national plan of action to prevent violent extremism which sets national priorities for addressing the local drivers of violent extremism and complements national counter-terrorism strategies." Kenya was among the first countries to develop such a national plan, launching the National Strategy to Counter Violent Extremism (NSCVE) in September 2016.

Although Kenya's shift towards a "whole of society" approach echoes a global trend towards P/CVE strategies, the government's policy evolution was motivated by its own unique experience in response to domestic violent extremism. The wave of attacks by Al-Shabaab following Kenya's 2011 military engagement in Somalia made violent extremism an urgent matter of national security. In response to these attacks, especially the Westgate shopping mall attack in 2013, the Kenyan government introduced a series of laws expanding and consolidating the legal purview of the country's security and intelligence apparatus. The 2012 Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA), followed by the 2014 Security Laws Amendment Act (SLAA), institutionalized a centralized security-focused approach with the goal of identifying and eliminating violent extremist threats. Figure 0.1 provides details on the number of Al-Shabaab attacks in Kenya and associated fatalities from 2008 to 2019.

Thus, the national government in Kenya introduced the NSCVE in 2016. This new policy framework emphasized a devolved, development-oriented approach to P/CVE policy by encouraging county governments and local civil society organizations (CSOs) to develop county action plans (CAPs/RCAPs) to address the drivers of violent extremism. While the NSCVE calls for policy formulation at the national level, implementation rests primarily at the county level. The Kenyan National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC), foreign donors, county governments, and CSOs are the crucial actors driving implementation. Overall, the Kenyan experience with P/CVE demonstrates the **institutional challenges** in implementing a nationally directed strategy that requires localized approaches and leadership:

1. **Institutions:** The implementation of the NSCVE highlights the inherent **tensions in control, ownership, and buy-in** that arise when pursuing an approach that requires both centralized and localized elements. While most stakeholders believe that NCTC has improved coordination amongst government agencies and donors, tensions arise due to the **need to incentivize and monitor implementation of local CAPs/RCAPs while maintaining central control over the security apparatus.** While gaining local support for the NSCVE has been challenging at times, involving CSOs, faith-based organizations (FBOs), and other community members has been important to generating buy-in.

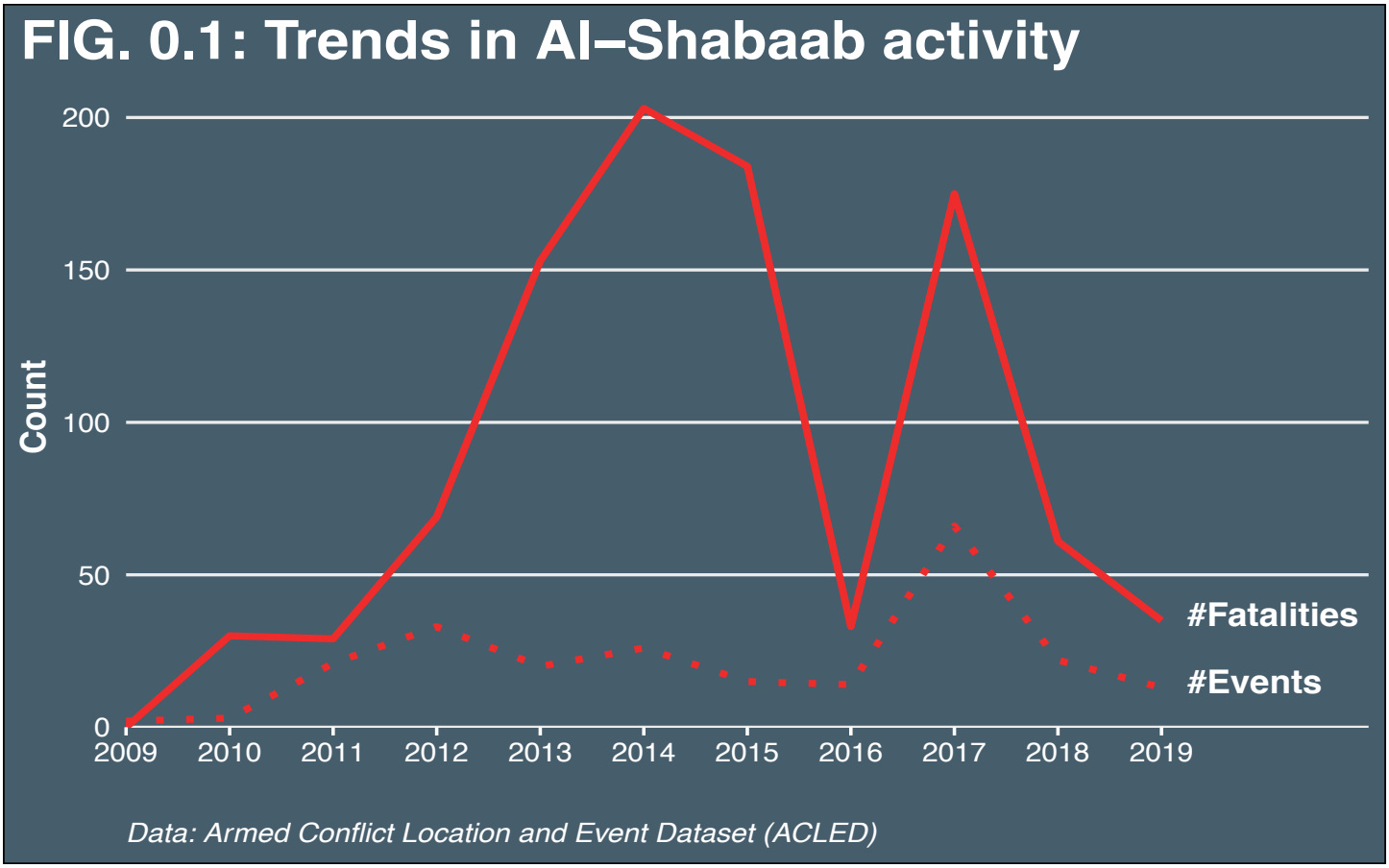
2. **Funding:** The primarily donor-funded nature of P/CVE in Kenya has introduced a **tradeoff between NCTC's mandate as a coordinating body and the necessity of CSO independence**, which is crucial for legitimacy and programming in communities. The influx of funding and multi-sectoral nature of P/CVE has also created a **tension between an expanding scope of activities and a donor desire to constrain and focus on P/**

CVE-specific activities in the absence of perfect knowledge about salient local drivers of violent extremism. The need to align with donor-funding cycles **incentivizes short-term projects even though long-term programming is required to fully address key drivers of violent extremism**, and as donor priorities shift and change, there is the possibility that funding for P/CVE could stop or be significantly decreased.

3. Personnel

Fundamental tensions in P/CVE implementation regarding **trust, capacity, and management** illustrate tradeoffs within an environment that prioritizes both **urgency and discreteness of personnel**. In shifting from the "hard" approach to a more nuanced and inclusive strategy, it was incumbent upon actors in all levels of government to adopt new frameworks and undertake new behaviors in order to carry out their tasks. **Training and trust building** between security and development actors on human rights approaches and inter-agency coordination has been steady, and new norms are proliferating. **Issues of accountability** arise because NCTC staff are seconded from other agencies, which also leads to **difficulties with continuity and development of institutional memory**.

Since the implementation of Kenya's NSCVE, there has been marked policy progress. All counties have developed their own CAPs/RCAPs and the government coordinates regularly with foreign donors, county governments, CSOs, and FBOs. Security responses to major attacks have been more professional, with greater coordination among security forces and increased respect for human rights. Additionally, traditional outcomes of interest (like travel to Somalia) have also improved, according to local stakeholders. However, the technical attribution of these changes to Kenyan policy or the actions of implementing agencies or CSOs is difficult. While monitoring



and evaluation (M&E) is difficult at the best of times, P/CVE has a particular set of characteristics which make developing counterfactuals particularly challenging. Kenya's new results and evidence-focused strategy is an improvement over existing policy but there remains room for improvement.

After assessing the key challenges to implementation and M&E inherent in P/CVE, this Report highlights lessons learned from the Kenyan experience and offers detailed recommendations to countries looking to implement a localized "whole of society" P/CVE approach. These recommendations include:

Strategy and Capacity Building

- Acknowledge and assess the local roots of violent extremism.
- Develop localized implementation plans for the national strategy, involving community members in the planning process.
- Expand capacity building, training, and mainstreaming of the "whole of society" approach to P/CVE for governmental security, justice, and intelligence actors and relevant civil society actors.

Coordination

- Create a central coordination mechanism (such as Kenya's National Counter Terrorism Centre) that manages the national strategy among government agencies and engages with CSOs, donors, and sub-national governments.
- Improve capacity of donors to coordinate P/CVE activities.

Learning and Accountability

- Facilitate dialogue and coordination between stakeholders regarding implementation by establishing regular sub-national forums, similar to Kenya's County Engagement Forum.
- Invest in an independent, non-governmental local research center that facilitates the sharing of data, research, and learning.
- Develop mechanisms of accountability with national and local governments (like the Objectives and Key Results (OKR) framework) to promote more effective coordination between stakeholders implementing the national action plan.

Given the multi-faceted nature of P/CVE, these recommendations are aimed at a variety of stakeholders, including national governments, foreign donors, and multilateral organizations, that must work in concert to effectively implement P/CVE policies. These recommendations are meant to be adaptable to diverse local contexts.

Ultimately, this Report contributes to the literature on P/CVE by offering an independent, methodically rigorous implementation evaluation. The Kenyan case study offers unique insights for other countries in the East Africa region and around the world on the policy realities and tradeoffs inherent within the new "whole of society," development-oriented approach of P/CVE strategies. Indeed, there is much to learn from Kenya's pioneering leadership in P/CVE policy and practice.

Yet, as this Report went to press in January 2020, Al-Shabaab launched a series of deadly attacks in northern Kenya, which claimed the lives of 20 people, among them 7 Kenyan police officers, 3 Kenyan schoolchildren, and 3 American servicemembers. These tragic events serve both as a reminder of the challenges that remain in confronting this important and complex problem and the attacks both underscore the timeliness and relevance of this study.

Photo credit: USAID/Irene Angwenyi

Introduction

Since 2016, there have been a proliferation of frameworks developed to aid countries that undertake the process to develop their own national plan for P/CVE.[1] Fundamentally, these frameworks encourage a "whole of society," multi-stakeholder approach. However, the impact of such an approach on outcomes remains unclear. Indeed, "the importance of and challenges to realizing effective national/sub-national cooperation in a country... has yet to receive the attention it deserves" write scholars at Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) and The Prevention Project, two prominent think tanks.[2] Similarly, in spite of sustained interest in finding effective methods to address violent extremism, most studies of this issue have focused on western country experiences.

This Report evaluates the first three years of Kenya's NSCVE implementation (2016-2019), examining the developments in Kenya across a range of multilateral, national, subnational, and civil society actors. The analysis brings to light the tensions and obstacles to achieving effective coordination, collaboration, and support within a multi-stakeholder process. This Report contributes to international dialogue on P/CVE programming by offering a detailed study of the implementation of Kenya's national P/CVE plan, including lessons learned for other, particularly non-western, countries looking to implement their own national plans. The case study of Kenya's implementation offers insight for other countries on how to incorporate global frameworks; adapt policy and institutions to suit local contexts and needs; and, dynamically evolve through iterative processes.

The goal of the Report is to make concrete recommendations to global stakeholders on how to address the central tensions and obstacles inherent to P/CVE implementation. The recommendations are targeted to national and local governments, implementation partners, such non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and FBOs, as well as international donors. The recommendations include specific lessons learned and innovations from the Kenyan example, as well as general advice on how to overcome key implementation roadblocks that national governments might face.

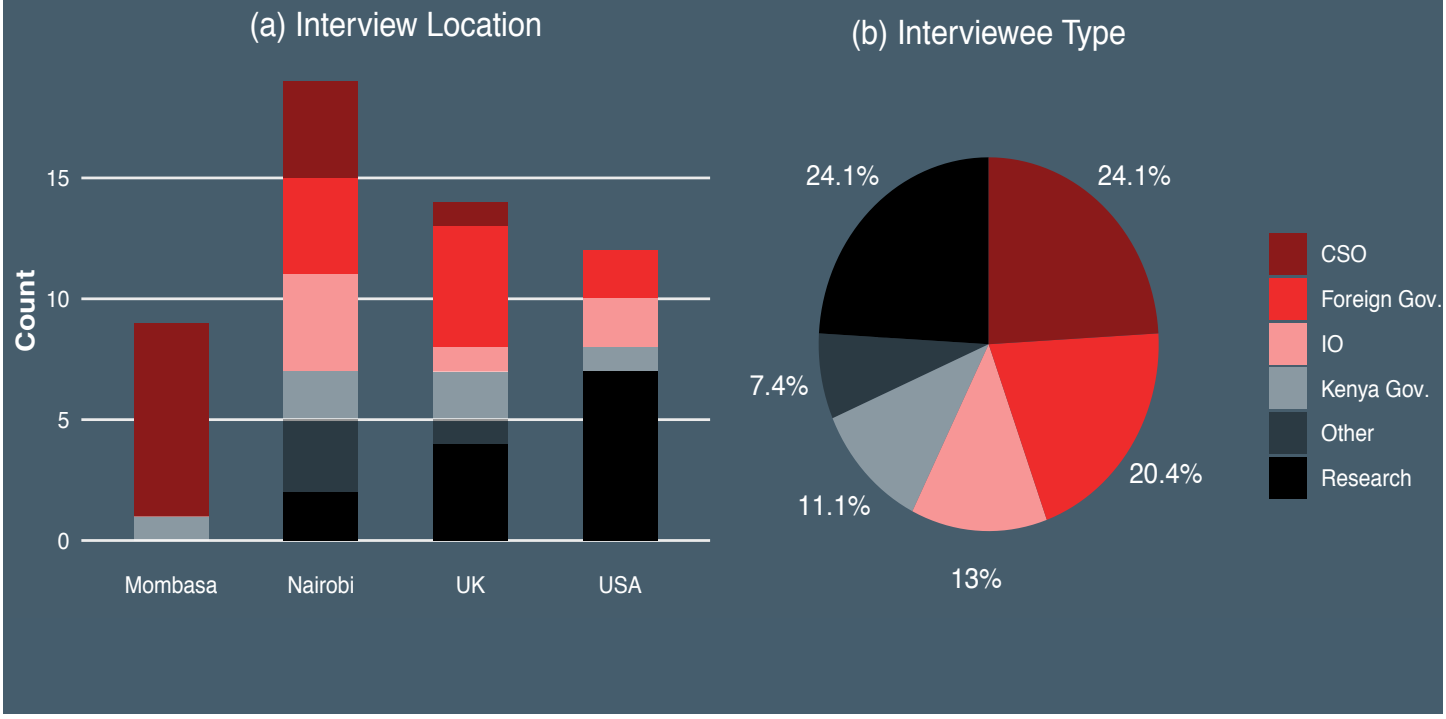
Methodology

This Report is the final product of a graduate policy workshop of the Master in Public Affairs program at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, undertaken between September 2019 and January 2020.

Eleven graduate students, with diverse academic backgrounds and professional experiences in development, security, economic, and U.S. domestic policy, spent five months researching the literature on violent extremism and P/CVE policies in Kenya under the direction of Professor Ethan Kapstein, Associate Director of the Empirical Studies of Conflict Project at Princeton University.

The desk review included global, East Africa, and Kenya-specific research on the drivers of violent extremism; sociological and psychological motivations to joining violent extremist organizations (VEOs); security, development, criminal justice, and rehabilitation and reintegration approaches; and, P/CVE program evaluation methods.

FIG 1.1: Location and Type of Interviews



After primary research was complete, four teams traveled to Nairobi, Mombasa, London, Washington, D.C., and New York City to conduct key informant interviews with government officials, multilateral organizations, foreign donors, practitioners, think tanks, and scholars. The non-Kenyan locations (D.C., New York, and London) were chosen for their relevance to global dialogues and practices on P/CVE. In Kenya, a team of four students conducted interviews in Nairobi and three students conducted interviews in Mombasa. Between October 28 and November 3, 2019, the students conducted 54 in-person interviews. Figure 1.1 provides details on the types of interviews conducted.

Data was collected via structured interviews, which generally lasted 60 to 90 minutes and were conducted using an interview instrument tailored to the location and type of actor.[3]

Overall, the interviews involved a series of questions around theories of change, challenges and successes in implementation, the roles of various actors, definition and assessment of outcomes, and lessons learned. As depicted in Figure 1.1, while some teams met with a diversity of actors (Nairobi and London), other teams prioritized the specialized knowledge in each location, for example, CSOs in Mombasa and think tank/academics in D.C. and New York.

In each interview location, students relied on personal and institutional contacts, referrals from interviewees, and online information to compile a list of interviewees. In Kenya, special attention was paid to ensure a balance of diverse perspectives from civil society, including faith-based groups.

Global Context

Kenya's 2016 NSCVE emerged amid an avid global discourse on the changing nature of terrorist threats and the need for programs that seek to address the underlying conditions that give rise to violent extremism alongside more reactive counterterrorism (CT). While counterterrorism traditionally refers to law enforcement or military responses to neutralize a terrorist threat, P/CVE, in contrast, refers to a broader range of policy responses that address the root causes of violent extremism to prevent individuals and communities from engaging in violence.[4] This section examines the global evolution of the P/CVE framework. It discusses the emergence of P/CVE from the post-9/11 global counterterrorism discourse and addresses the current state of P/CVE. It also examines the ways that Kenya has been influenced by and contributed to the global P/CVE discourse.

Evolution of Global Policy on P/CVE

Origins

The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States prompted a global shift in thinking about how to confront increasingly decentralized and powerful violent extremist organizations (VEOs) and their recruits. Domestically, the U.S. government underwent far-reaching structural reforms after 9/11, including the establishment of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) led by its own cabinet-level Secretary under the Homeland Security Act of 2002.[5] Following the release of the 9/11 Commission Report and its recommendations on coordination and information sharing, the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 (IRTPA) integrated this elevated focus on homeland security within the broader Intelligence Community under a new Director of National Intelligence (DNI). IRTPA also established the National Counterterrorism Center within the Office of the DNI, tasked with "analyzing and integrating all intelligence pertaining to terrorism, including threats to U.S. interests at home and abroad."[6] The reforms represented a militarized and securitized approach by the U.S. military, intelligence, and security institutions. Figure 2.1 illustrates the increase US counterterrorism spending after 2001 as it relates to global fatalities from terrorism.

Beyond these structural changes to promote coordination of counterterror, intelligence gathering, and homeland security programs, the U.S. Congress also passed legislation to strengthen and consolidate the tools available to the federal government for these efforts. The USA-PATRIOT Act is arguably the most well-known of these laws, which established sweeping powers for law-enforcement to "detect and prevent terrorism," such as extended surveillance privileges and search warrants.[7] The fact that there has been no significant 9/11-scale attack in the U.S. since 2001 is considered by some to be evidence of the success of the U.S. domestic counterterrorism approach. According to the U.S. government, "thanks to coordinated intelligence and law enforcement, numerous terrorist plots have been thwarted."[8] Meanwhile, some critics argue that this claim lacks evidence and remain concerned about the abridgement of Americans' civil liberties.[9]

Meanwhile, post-9/11 European policymakers and research focused on "radicalization," defined as the cultural and social process in which young European Muslims were indoctrinated into violent Islamist worldviews. In 2003, the United Kingdom launched its counterterrorism strategy, CONTEST, which included a preventative community-policing response effort to counter domestic violent extremism (known as Prevent). The U.K. government greatly expanded Prevent in the aftermath of the 7/7 London bombing in 2005[10] and focused on the radicalization of young British Muslims.[11] The U.K.'s Prevent program in turn significantly influenced the European Union's (EU) 2005 Counter-Terrorism Strategy."[12] Box 1 provides additional details on some of the controversies surrounding Prevent. The Netherlands was also an early P/CVE pioneer.[13]

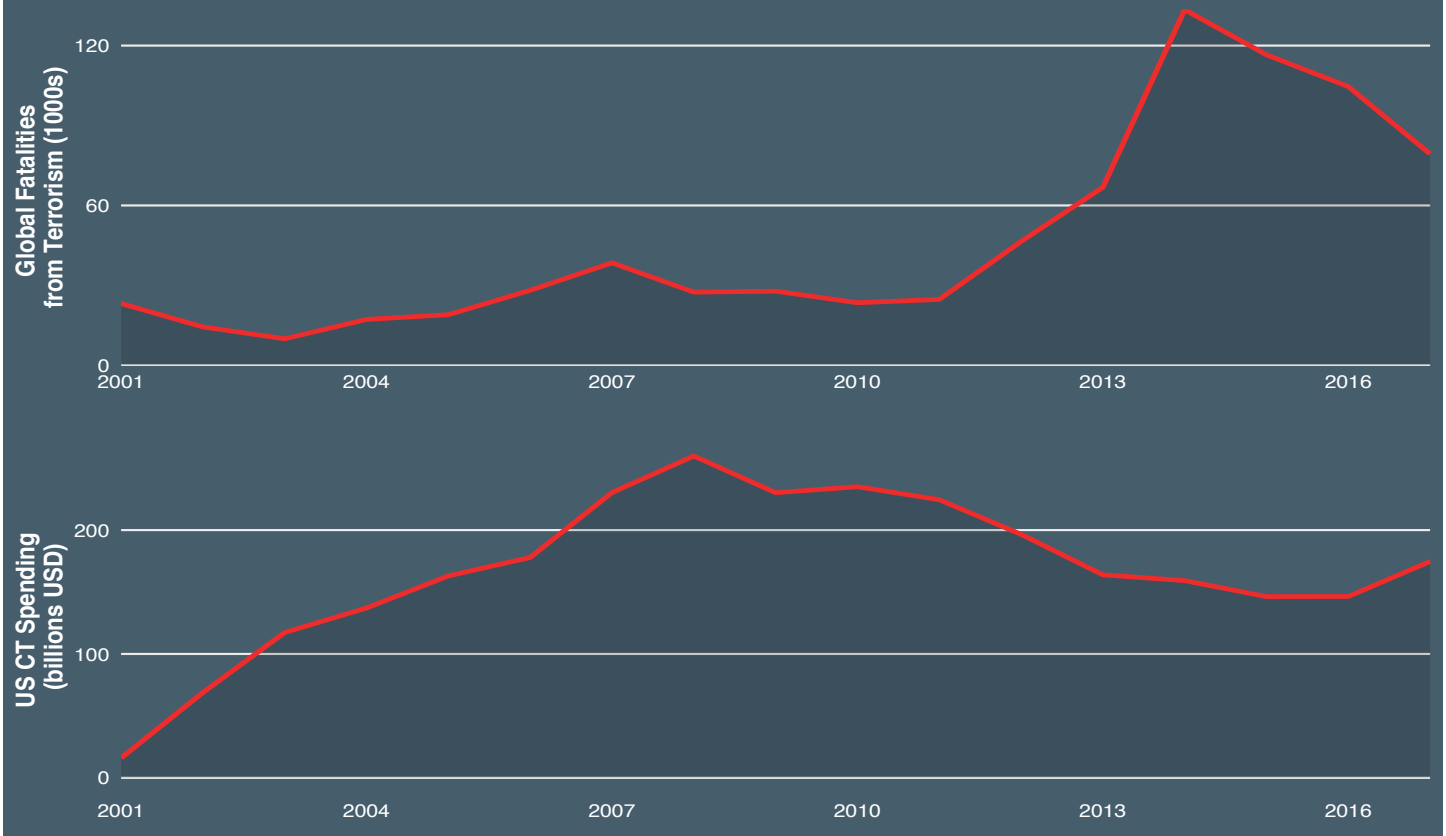
Photo credit: Curtis Goos/WWS - Mombasa street scene.

Following the murder of a Dutch filmmaker, Theo Van Gogh, in 2004, the Netherlands developed a counter-radicalization strategy that put the primary responsibility for implementation on local governments. Dutch cities experimented with various local P/CVE programs that involved multiple agencies and civic institutions and focused on social and political exclusion. Denmark has also dedicated substantial resources toward P/CVE and, influenced by the British and Dutch programs, has touted its Aarhus model, a targeted intervention and deradicalization program in Denmark's second-largest city (Aarhus).[14]

Counterterrorism efforts also gained momentum within the United Nations (UN) after 9/11. In 2001, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1373, groundbreaking in that it imposed legal obligations on all Member States to counter and prevent terrorism.[15] In a 2004 speech, then UN Secretary General Kofi Annan called for a comprehensive UN counterterrorism strategy guided by the "five D" priorities: dissuading would-be terrorists, denying them the means to carry out attacks, deterring states from supporting them, developing state capacities for prevention, and defending human rights.[16] The UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy was adopted by the General Assembly in 2006 and consists of four pillars:

1. Addressing the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism.
2. Measures to prevent and combat terrorism.
3. Measures to build states' capacity to prevent and combat terrorism and to strengthen the role of the United Nations system in that regard.
4. Measures to ensure respect for human rights for all and the rule of law as the fundamental basis for the fight against terrorism.

FIG 2.1: Terror and Counter–Terror 2001–2017



Data: Fatalities from Terrorism from Global Terrorism Database (GTD), 2018. Counter–terror spending from Stimson Center. (2018). "Counterterrorism Spending: Protecting America while Promoting Efficiencies and Accountability."

From Counterterrorism to P/CVE

The evolution in counterterrorism approaches over the past two decades set the stage for the establishment of a preventive approach, introduced by pillar 1 of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. Initially, securitized counterterrorism efforts and other short-term responses only addressed the perceived immediate threat of violence, but concerns arose regarding their high costs and low effectiveness at preventing the continuance of extremist organizations and recruitment.[17]

Over time, terrorist attacks were seen as a symptom of the disease of violent extremism, which reactive approaches were incapable of treating.[18] Instead of "disrupting, degrading, dismantling, and decimating" violent extremist networks through military means, global focus began to shift towards identifying proactive treatments for root causes and building resilience among at-risk communities.[19]

Unlike traditional, securitized counterterrorism approaches, these new approaches required a detailed understanding of the causal mechanisms of violent extremism, which are decidedly a hyper-local phenomenon.[20] Practitioners acknowledged that a preemptive approach to countering violent extremism would require multi-sectoral programming, with a "potentially unlimited" range of activities such as messaging, capacity building, law enforcement, as well as traditional development activities.[21]

Thus, the P/CVE framework has recently emerged as a more preventative, multi-stakeholder approach.[22] In particular, the Obama administration prioritized advocacy for P/CVE approaches as global best practice during his second term. In February 2015, the White House convened a three-day Summit on Countering Violent Extremism, inviting local, federal, and international leaders, including ministers from more than 60 countries and the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon. The Obama administration had published the United States' first domestic P/CVE policy in 2011, and the Summit aimed to broaden the global discourse on counterterrorism from a focus on military, intelligence, and law enforcement to a "whole of society" approach that includes non-government stakeholders at the local level.[23, 24] The summit was followed by a series of high-level conferences, culminating in the September 2015 Leaders' Summit on Countering Violent Extremism held on the margins of the annual UN General Assembly gathering, where governments, civil society, and the private sector reconvened to make pledges to implement P/CVE policies.[25]

During the 2015 White House Summit, then Secretary General Ban Ki-moon committed to a "comprehensive multi-stakeholder plan of action to prevent violent extremism."[26] In late 2015, he presented his Plan of Action for Preventing Violent Extremism to the General Assembly, which was significantly influenced by the White House Summit and recommendations of the White House Summit Action Agenda.[27] During the Fifth Review of the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in 2016, the General Assembly unanimously adopted Secretary General Ban Ki-moon's Plan of Action for Preventing Violent Extremism.[28]

The UN Plan of Action reinvigorated Pillars I and IV of the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, which had previously been overlooked, by focusing on the need to address the "conditions conducive to terrorism" and respect for human rights. One of the key recommendations is that Member States and regional organizations develop their own national and regional plans. The UN Plan of Action framed structural factors, such as good governance, anti-corruption, and human rights as relevant to counterterrorism, thus integrating development and human rights with security.[29]

Following the publication of the UN Plan of Action, in 2017, the UN Office of Counter-Terrorism (UNOCT) was created as the main focal point of the United Nations system for the prevention of violent extremism.[30] In contrast to the 2005 UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy, the Plan of Action was drafted in a shrouded process, with less input from Member States. The reception to the Plan of Action was initially lukewarm because of the perception that the Plan largely embodied a western agenda.[31]

Box 1. United Kingdom's Prevent

The U.K.'s Prevent is notable in P/CVE, both for being one of the first national strategies on prevention of violent extremism and for the criticism it has faced since its inception.

The community-policing principles of Prevent have been criticized for alienating certain Muslim community groups by denouncing "bad theology"; yet, it is generally considered a "success" relative to the French model of expelling individuals suspected to be involved in terrorist activities as a primary counterterrorism measure.[182]

The Prevent program has also drawn much criticism because the strategy initially encouraged public officials and caretakers to focus on Muslim communities due to Al-Qaeda being identified as the largest terrorism threat to the U.K. at the time. This had the unintended consequence of further marginalizing the individuals they aimed to safeguard, particularly in light of the fact that Prevent funding used to be given to Muslim communities only.[183]

P/CVE has broadened the range of tools for countering extremism by linking security and development. In February 2016, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) revised its guidelines for Official Development Assistance (ODA) to allow its 35 member countries to report funding for activities undertaken for P/CVE as part of their annual official ODA target.[32] Previously, P/CVE had been ineligible as ODA because OECD classified it as counterterrorism. Development institutions that were hesitant to engage in security-related programming, such as the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the World Bank, have since become more active in P/CVE.[33]

That said, the proliferation of P/CVE strategies is not without critics.[34] Within the UN, it has faced resistance among key Member States who dislike the significant American influence behind the UN Plan of Action.[35] Some UN watchers note that the new UN Secretary General António Guterres does not use the language of P/CVE from the Plan of Action, preferring the discourse of "sustaining peace" and more cooperation with development actors such as the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) and the World Bank to carry out the development-side of P/CVE programming.[36]

Kenya's Engagement in the Global Context

Kenya's 2016 NSCVE emerged in the context of this global discourse on the changing nature of terrorist threats. Beginning in the early 2000s, the Kenyan government cooperated with the United States in its "Global War on Terrorism" through the East Africa Counterterrorism Finance Initiative.[37] To improve its capacity to identify terrorist cells, the Kenyan government created a network of counterterrorism entities, including the Anti-Terrorism Police Unit (ATPU) in 2003 and the National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC) in 2004. Additional details on these entities are provided in Chapter 3.

In recent years, counterterrorism has become a top priority for the Kenyan government due to growing domestic threats from Al-Shabaab. Although the Kenyan government initially responded with a militaristic and security-focused approach, it faced backlash due to reported human rights violations by Kenyan security forces and the overall ineffectiveness of these counterterrorism efforts.

As a result, in September 2016, the government launched the NSCVE, which incorporates a multi-stakeholder, "whole of society" approach to P/CVE.[38] Further details on Kenya's experience with violent extremism and the evolution in its response to terrorism are provided in Chapter 3.

Kenya also engages regularly in regional counterterrorism efforts, largely through its strong military presence in Somalia in the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), cross-border intelligence cooperation, and engagement with the IGAD Center of Excellence in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism.

Kenya has also been an active contributor to international dialogue surrounding P/CVE efforts. Prior to drafting its own national strategy, Kenya participated in the White House Summit and pledged to host a regional conference for 22 African governments and 15 other governments on P/CVE in 2015. Additionally, the Kenyan government contributed to the drafting of the 2016 UN Plan of Action and hosted high level conferences, including most recently a UN High-Level Regional Conference in Nairobi on "Counter terrorism and the prevention of violent extremism conducive to terrorism," in July 2019.[39]

This year, Kenya has hosted the Global Counterterrorism Forum's (GCTF) meeting for East Africa, an EU-Horn of Africa meeting to discuss criminal justice responses to terrorism, and the Eastern Africa Police Chiefs Cooperation Organization Gender Training Workshop supported by the UN and Norway.[40] In particular, Kenya continues to actively participate in the GCTF's East African Region Working Group to share its experience with other countries to promote dialogue and knowledge sharing.

In addition to actively contributing to dialogue within western-dominated institutions, Kenya also engages in south-south cooperation on P/CVE. For example, Kenyan officials have assisted with a workshop on P/CVE in prisons in Trinidad and Tobago and youth leadership empowerment programming with Nigerian CSOs.[41]

Conclusion

Kenya's 2016 NSCVE did not emerge in a vacuum, but amid an avid global discourse on the changing nature of terrorist threats and the need for preventative, as well as combative, responses.[42] The current P/CVE sector has deep roots in the post-9/11 global counterterrorism discourse. In contrast with traditional counterterrorism interventions, P/CVE refers to a broader range of policy responses to prevent individuals and communities from engaging in violence, with an emphasis on addressing the underlying drivers or enablers of violent extremism. Key multilateral institutions, such as the UN, OECD, and World Bank, have codified the importance of and their commitment to the global P/CVE agenda. Kenya has played an active role in global counterterrorism and P/CVE discourse, both engaging in western-driven institutions and south-south cooperation, such as hosting the 2019 High-Level Conference on PVE.

Development of Kenya's P/CVE Strategy

As a country with a persistent violent extremist threat, Kenya has become a key player in the global discourse on effective responses to terrorism and one of the first nations to formalize a P/CVE framework.[43]

Kenya's experience with countering violent extremism can be analyzed in two distinct periods. The first period (2011-2016) is characterized by numerous Al-Shabaab attacks that were met with a securitized counterterrorism response from the national government; the second period begins with the drafting of the NSCVE in 2016 and continues until present day with the shift to a "whole of society," multi-stakeholder approach and devolution of implementing responsibility to county governments.

This chapter starts with a brief overview of the violent extremism problem in Kenya and the national government's initial responses. Following this background, it analyzes the Kenyan government's institutional P/CVE space with a focus on the development and design of the 2016 NSCVE as well the county action plans (CAPs/RCAPs).

Violent Extremism in Kenya and the Rise of Al-Shabaab

Kenya's experience with violent extremism predates the emergence of Al-Shabaab, a Salafi jihadist group based in East Africa with connections to Al-Qaeda. The first major terrorist attack on Kenyan soil occurred in 1980, when a bomb destroyed the Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi, killing 20 people and injuring 80. The Kenyan government identified the perpetrator as a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, acting in response to Kenya's support for the rescue of Israeli hostages in Operation Entebbe.[44] No other major extremist activity was recorded until 1998, when Al-Qaeda bombed the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi, killing over 200 people and injuring over 4,000. The attack was reportedly a form of retaliation for the U.S. presence in Saudi Arabia eight years earlier.[45] In 2002, three suicide bombers killed 13 people and injured 80 at the Israeli-owned Paradise Hotel in Mombasa after a failed attempt to shoot down an Israeli charter plane.[46] Kenyan and Israeli authorities attributed the attack to Al-Qaeda.[47]

Although violent extremism emerged as a national security concern in the early 2000s, it was not yet seen as an issue endemic to the region. At the time, violent extremist activity undertaken by foreign fighters from Arab countries was largely motivated by external events only tangentially connected to Kenya's domestic politics.

Even still, these attacks, and the global response to increased violent extremist attacks worldwide, shifted the mindset of the national government towards recognition of terrorism as a matter of national security. In 2003, the government introduced the Anti-Terrorism Police Unit (ATPU), which was mandated to "mitigate and investigate terrorism-related cases in the country."[48] Since its creation, the ATPU has come under criticism from human rights groups for allegedly carrying out extra-judicial killings and disappearances.[49] In 2004, the Kenyan National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC) was established as a "multi-agency instrument primarily of security agencies built to strengthen coordination in counter terrorism," based on the American coordinating body of the same name.[50] These new police, intelligence, and security institutions served as the key implementors of Kenya's securitized approach to violent extremism for over a decade.[51]

Photo credit: Michelle Nedashkovskaya/WWS - Mombasa shoreline

In 2004, a Somali-based group Al-Shabaab, meaning "the youth" in Arabic, emerged as a splinter group from the Islamic Courts Union (ICU), a network of Sharia courts which were challenging the fledgling Transitional Federal Government (TFG) for control over Somalia.[52] In 2006, the ongoing Somali civil war escalated as U.S.-backed Ethiopian forces invaded Mogadishu in support of the TFG, causing the ICU to retreat and ultimately disintegrate into militarized factions.[53] Exploiting widespread opposition to foreign invasion, Al-Shabaab gained support from local clans and managed to drive out Ethiopian forces from much of southern Somalia.[54]

In response to the 2007 deployment of troops from Uganda and Burundi as part of the African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM), the group continued to scale up attacks and suicide bombings.[55] By 2008, Al-Shabaab, under the new leadership of Ahmed Abdi Godane, began aligning itself with Al-Qaeda.[56] The organization rapidly filled its ranks with foreign fighters and increasingly targeted civilians.[57]

The Kenyan government became directly involved in the Somalian civil war in October 2011. Around 1,500 Kenya Defense Forces (KDF) entered the bordering southern Jubaland region of Somalia in a military campaign known as Operation Linda Nchi, or "Protect the Nation."[58] Although the stated intention of the Kenyan operation was to prevent Al-Shabaab from spilling into Kenya, the KDF presence served as Al-Shabaab's stated rationale for targeting Kenyan civilians.[59] From October 2011 to December 2019, there have been 265 Al-Shabaab led attacks resulting in 967 fatalities.[60] Figures 3.1 provides details on the locations and associated fatalities of Al-Shabaab attacks from 2008 to 2019.[61]

Phase I: Kenya's Centralized, Security-Oriented Approach

Anti-Terror Legislation

With the rise of Al-Shabaab, several pieces of legislation in Kenya aimed to reinforce and consolidate the authority and mandate of the government's security and intelligence apparatus. First proposed in 2006, the Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA) underwent several permutations before being passed in 2012. The legislation was delayed for several years due to push back from civil society and the Muslim community over concerns regarding its vague definition of "terrorism" and its expansion of police powers.[62] Opponents of POTA argued that the legislation could be used against "individuals and organizations critical of the government, as well as against a range of ethnic, religious and civil society groups advocating for causes that are not in the interest of the state and those in political power".[63] Despite lingering opposition, POTA provides a legal framework for the government to combat terrorism, including giving police special powers of investigation, arrest, and detention.[64]

In September 2013, one year after the passage of POTA, Kenya experienced its worst attack since the 1998 Embassy bombings when four Al-Shabaab gunmen stormed Nairobi's Westgate Mall, killing 67 people and injuring 175. The attack, which Al-Shabaab proclaimed as retribution for Kenya's military presence in Somalia, lasted four days due to purported miscommunication and lack of coordination between security and police forces during the rescue operation. In response to the Westgate Attack, the Kenyan government cracked down with a heavily securitized and purportedly prejudiced response. Operation Usalama Watch, which began in April 2014 and was widely condemned by international human rights groups, involved the arrest and involuntary encampment of thousands of Somali-Kenyans, as well as deportation of hundreds.[65] Criticism over the security response to Westgate, both during the siege and subsequently, led the Kenyan government to reevaluate its overall counterterrorism strategy, policy framework, and training.[66]

First, amid increasing public pressure, the Kenyatta administration sought to strengthen the governmental powers granted in POTA by passing a fast-tracked Security Laws Amendment Act (SLAA) in December 2014. These provisions revised 21 existing laws (including POTA) by criminalizing radicalization and participation in terrorist training or instruction; strengthening

the mandate of the NCTC and other national security agencies; increasing surveillance powers; and, expanding the national government's authority in dealing with this issue.[67] The SLAA was criticized by CSOs, human rights groups, and members of the political opposition on the grounds that several of the provisions "violated constitutionally guaranteed civil liberties and contravened Kenya's international obligations".[68] The Kenyan judicial system responded in favor of the legislation's opponents, declaring eight of the SLAA provisions unconstitutional.[69]

The SLAA marked a noteworthy evolution in the country's policy space. Established in 2004 under the National Security Intelligence Service, the NCTC's formal role was not defined in legislation until the passage of the SLAA.[70] The legislative recognition allowed the NCTC to serve as the primary coordinating body for all counterterrorism efforts moving forward.[71]

Yet, only a few months after the passage of the SLAA, another pivotal violent extremist attack drove the Kenyan government to once again further reevaluate its P/CVE strategy.[72] On April 2, 2015, several Al-Shabaab gunmen targeted Christian university students at Garissa University College, claiming that the school was on "Muslim land colonized by non-Muslims".[73] The attackers killed 148 people and injured 79 in a 15 hour siege.[74]

Initially, the Garissa attack led the Kenyan government to once again scale up its security-focused operations. The government froze the accounts of two prominent Mombasa County CSOs alongside 85 other companies and organizations, accusing them of funding terrorist operations. On one hand, attackers involved in the 1998 U.S. Embassy bombing had indeed established fake NGOs on the coast and constructed extensive recruitment networks.[75] On the other hand, these two prominent Mombasa CSOs had been scrutinizing state security forces and the government's counterterrorism efforts.

Ultimately, the CSOs immediately appealed the government's actions through a lawsuit, and a few months later the Mombasa High Court ruled "the freezing of accounts unconstitutional, illegal and in violation of the petitioners' fundamental rights to freedom to own property."[76]

Phase II: Devolved, Development-Oriented Approach

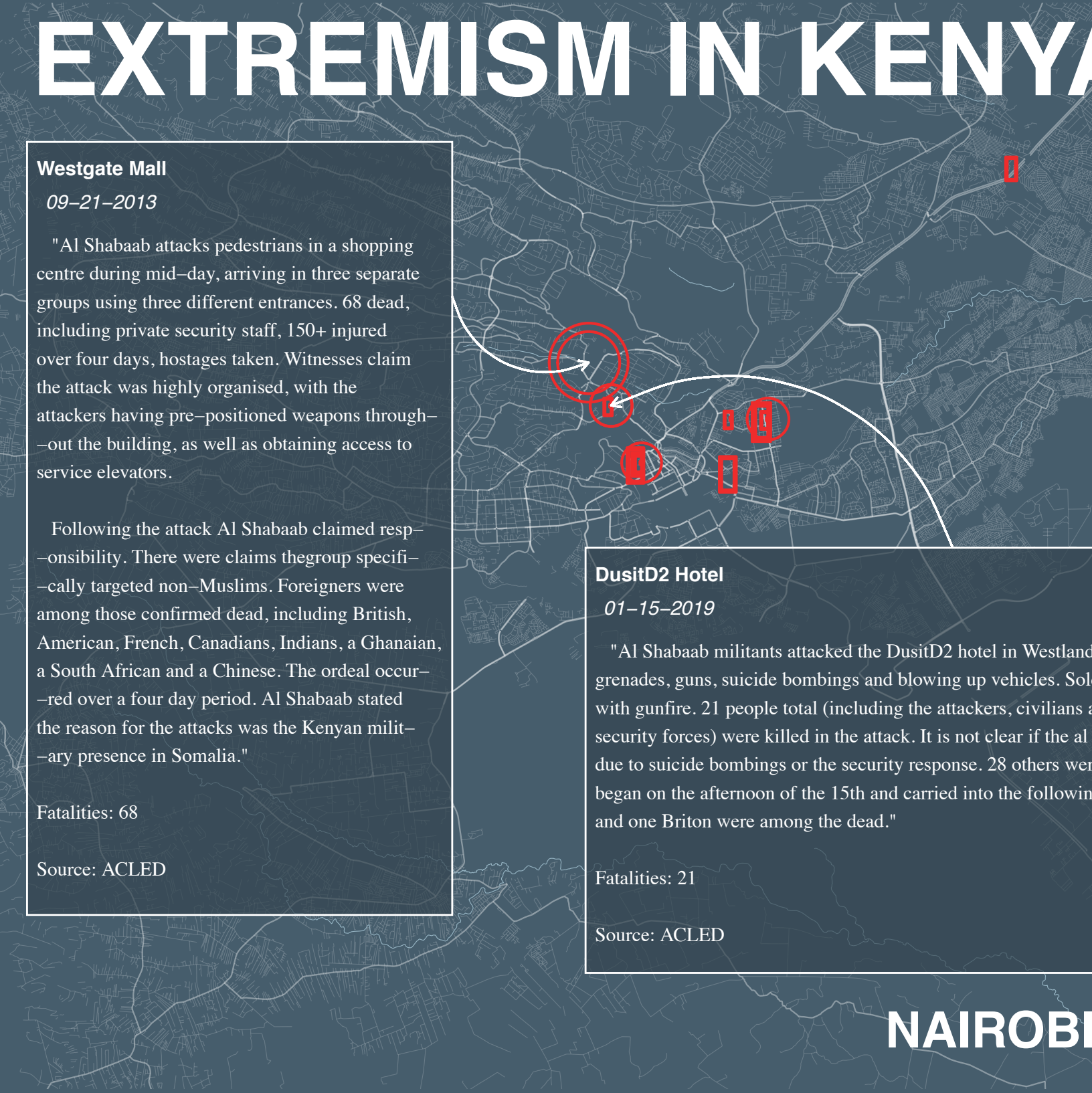
Development of the NSCVE

Heightened urgency to address the problem of violent extremism in the wake of the Garissa attack, coupled with an increasing appreciation of the need for public trust and engagement to stem radicalization, motivated the Kenyatta administration to broaden its approach. Seeking to involve stakeholders across all levels of government, community, and civil society, President Kenyatta launched the NSCVE in 2016. The strategy, modeled after the 2016 UN Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism, focused programming on mitigating the drivers and enablers of violent extremism, through provision of employment options, business opportunities, and life skills.[77] The NSCVE outlined nine programmatic pillars centered on the deradicalization, rehabilitation, and reintegration of returnees, as well as the prevention of radicalization within vulnerable communities.[78] Figure 3.1 provides a timeline of violent extremist attacks in Kenya and passage of P/CVE legislation, including the NSCVE.

Additionally, the NSCVE introduced a devolved implementation structure, mandating the development of County Action Plans (CAPs) with localized programmatic pillars. Devolution is a unique facet of Kenyan political life, as detailed in Box 2. The CAPs reflected a recognition that the issue of terrorism was not monolithic throughout Kenya; rather, each county deals with different aspects of the problem, particular to the needs of their community. The strategy encouraged counties to develop tailored, localized strategies for addressing radicalization and recruitment.

Some Kenyan counties developed their plans early on. The coastal counties were first, followed by the northeastern counties bordering Somalia. See Box 3 for a

EXTREMISM IN KENYA



Westgate Mall

09–21–2013

"Al Shabaab attacks pedestrians in a shopping centre during mid–day, arriving in three separate groups using three different entrances. 68 dead, including private security staff, 150+ injured over four days, hostages taken. Witnesses claim the attack was highly organised, with the attackers having pre–positioned weapons through––out the building, as well as obtaining access to service elevators.

Following the attack Al Shabaab claimed resp––onsibility. There were claims thegroup specifi––cally targeted non–Muslims. Foreigners were among those confirmed dead, including British, American, French, Canadians, Indians, a Ghanaian, a South African and a Chinese. The ordeal occur––red over a four day period. Al Shabaab stated the reason for the attacks was the Kenyan milit––ary presence in Somalia."

Fatalities: 68

Source: ACLED

DusitD2 Hotel

01–15–2019

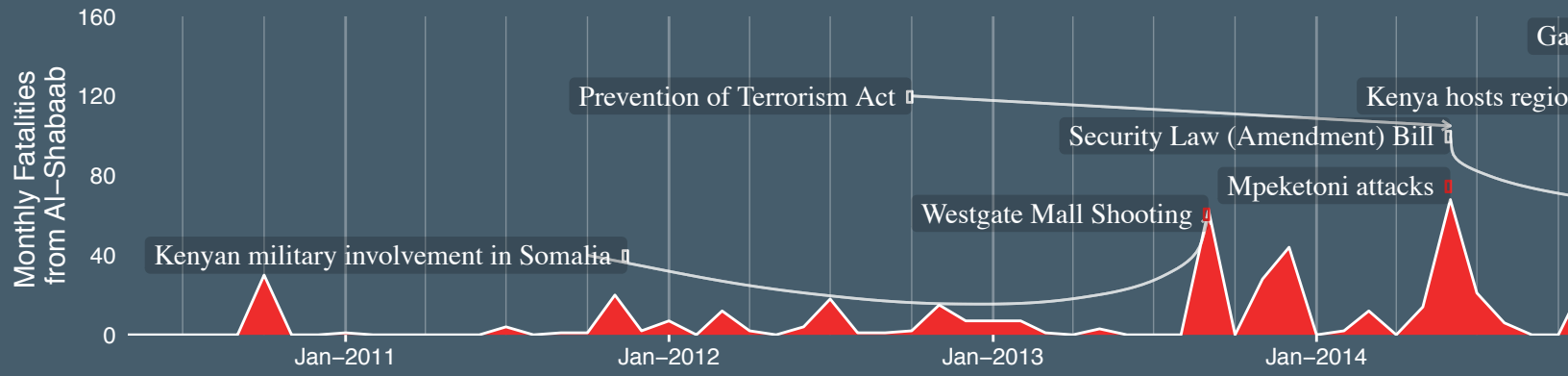
"Al Shabaab militants attacked the DusitD2 hotel in Westland grenades, guns, suicide bombings and blowing up vehicles. Sol with gunfire. 21 people total (including the attackers, civilians a security forces) were killed in the attack. It is not clear if the al due to suicide bombings or the security response. 28 others wer began on the afternoon of the 15th and carried into the followin and one Briton were among the dead."

Fatalities: 21

Source: ACLED

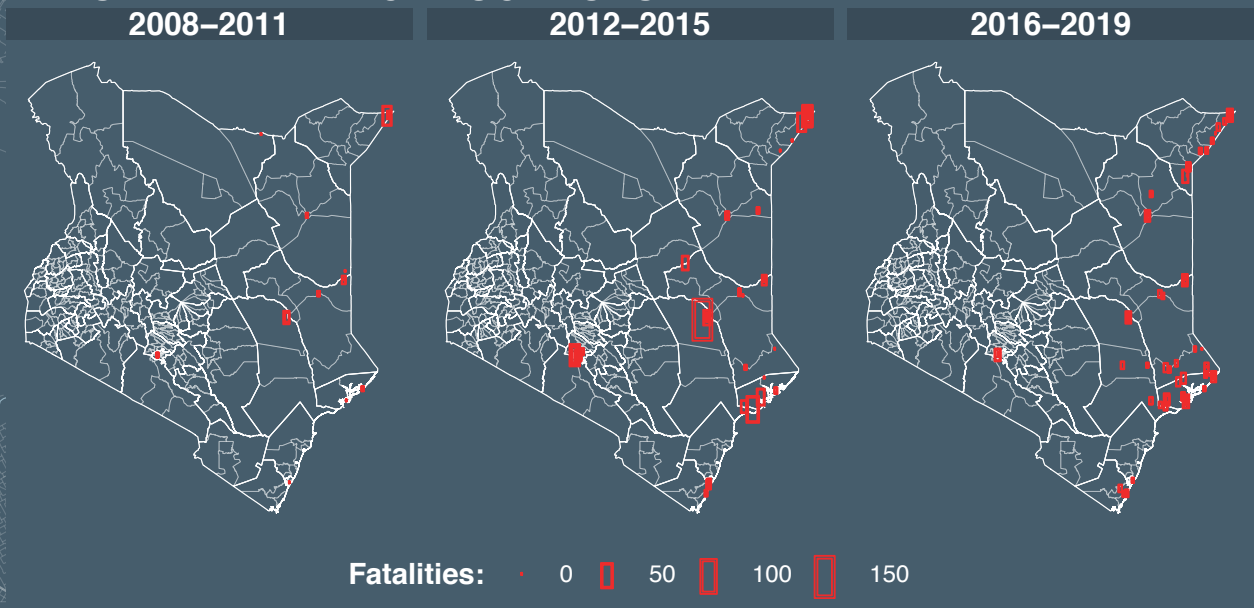
NAIROBI

TIMELINE OF P/CVE IN KENYA

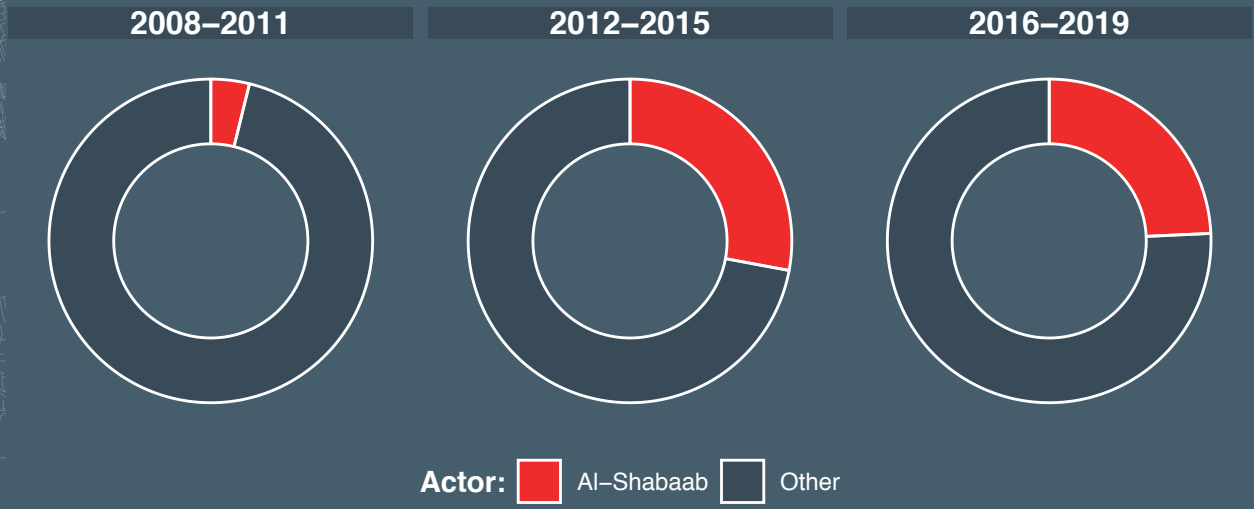


Notes: Data for violent events comes from ACLED. Admin. boundaries from the Database of Global Administrative Areas (GADM). Street data

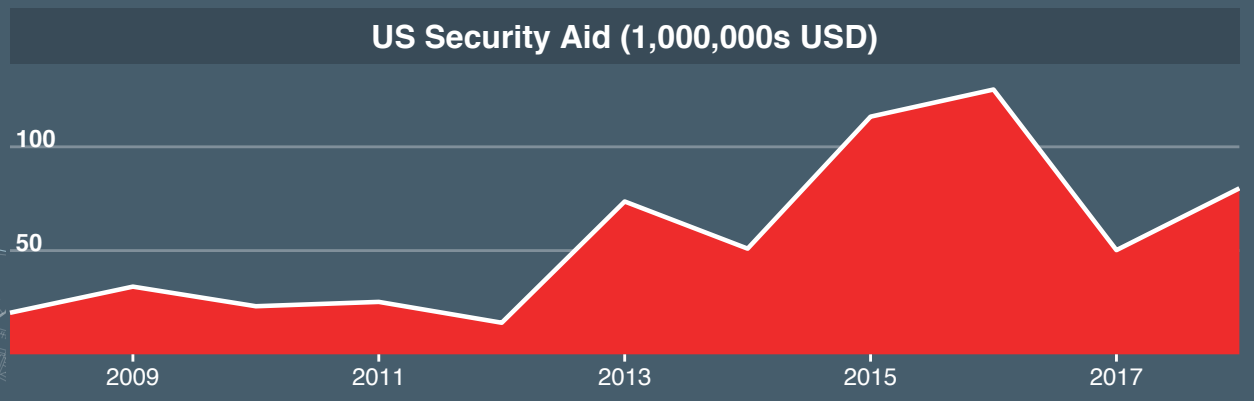
AL–SHABAAB ATTACK LOCATIONS



SHARE OF FATALITIES OVER TIME



US SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO KENYA



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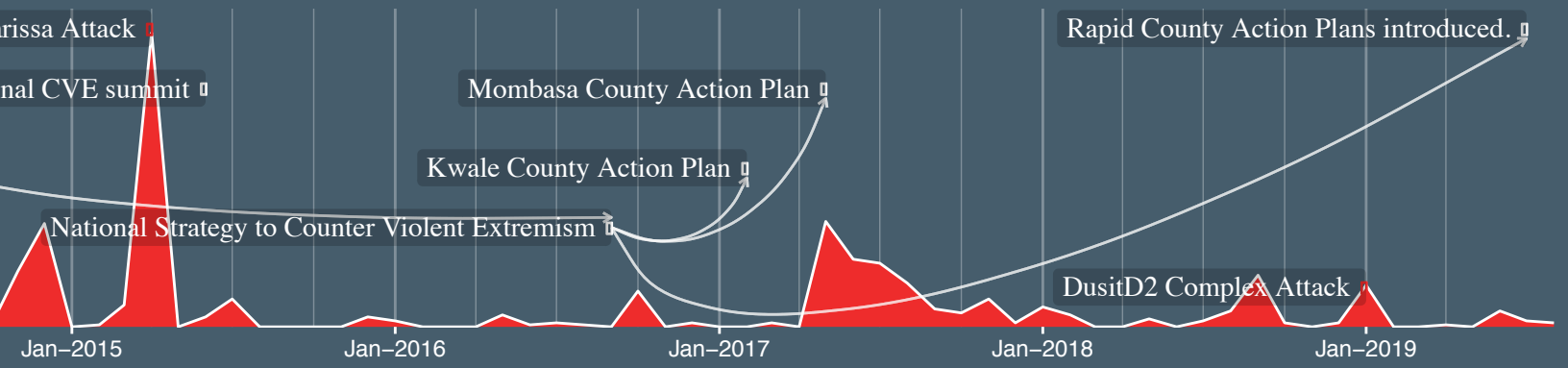


Box 2: Devolution in Kenya

Considered a turning point in the country's politics, in 2010 Kenya underwent a devolution of subnational government from 8 regions to 47 counties. Each county directly elects their own county governor and deputy governor, who appoint an executive committee approved by the assembly. Seats in the assembly are earmarked for marginalized groups within the community.

The role of the county within Kenya's system of government is still evolving. In 2017, the Kenyan Government released a policy entitled "Devolved System of Government" intended to clarify the roles and responsibilities of the national and county governments. Furthermore, in 2019, President Kenyatta announced that he was creating 8 regional coordinators and 47 county commissioners to be dispatched by the national government by executive order. Their role is to supervise development projects, fight corruption, and monitor implementation of the national agenda.

Devolution has had a mixed impact on security issues. While many argue that it has increased localized conflict by exacerbating ethnic divisions, inter-county competition, and protracted land disputes, others believe that the empowerment of counties has helped decrease violent extremist recruitment in coastal Kenya. In the case of coastal and border regions most affected by violent extremist activity, county authorities and local police have been empowered to improve community engagement and gather intelligence in recruiting hotspots.

case study of the process involved in establishing the Mombasa County Action Plan, an early pioneer.

Building on the success of CAPs, the national government introduced a Rapid County Action Plan (RCAP) model to "deliver prompt and concrete actions that target low-hanging fruit and make an immediate impact in preventing and mitigating violent extremism".[79]

The Rapid CAP model was deployed following the January 2019 DusitD2 hotel complex attack in order to develop CAPs for all counties that had not developed their own plans, including in counties that had been perceived to be largely unaffected by violent extremist recruitment. The DusitD2 attack was planned from within Nyeri County, a county in central Kenya which had not been considered "among the frontier counties in the war on violent extremism," and carried out by non-Muslim and non-Somali Kenyans, a group not seen as at risk for Al-Shabaab recruitment[80] As of July 2019, all 47 Kenyan counties had developed CAPs/RCAPs.[81]

Following the DusitD2 attack, the Kenyatta administration introduced a new amendment to POTA aimed at collecting increased information on CSOs and their activities. See Box 4 for more detail on the dialogue surrounding the updates to POTA.

Overall, there has been early success resulting from the CAP/RCAPs system. For example, a Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) committee within the County Engagement Forum conducts an on-going mapping process to ensure that the pillars of the CAP are being addressed. The Forum has also provided a means through which the county government can act as an advocate on behalf of CSOs. There have been some concerns, however regarding the political permanence of the CVE Directorate, as it was established as an ad hoc body without legislative authorization and could potentially be dissolved under a new governor. Efforts appear to be underway to anchor the CVE Directorate in law (and earmark funds for its operation), particularly as the 2022 elections approach and, with them, the possibility of a new governor potentially less keen on extending the CVE Directorate's mandate.

Box 3: Mombasa County Action Plan Case Study

Directed by the mandate set out in the NSCVE and instructed by the "Guide to Developing County Action Plan" (GDCAP), a steering committee consisting of the County Commissioner, the County Governor, HAKI Africa, and other local CSOs developed a multi-phase cross-sector working agenda for the creation of a county action plan for Mombasa County.[184]

In early 2016, the committee coordinated two rounds of consultative meetings to strengthen partnerships between state- and non-state actors. Following these preliminary engagements, they organized sectoral forums to gain valuable insight and input from all actors involved in local P/CVE work. These forums included "children charitable institutions, professional counselors, civil society organizations, district peace committees, sheikhs and pastors, psychologists, youth representatives, university students, and women."[185]

From the recommendations resulting from the first round of sectoral forums, the steering committee was able to develop the first draft of the action plan. A second draft emerged from a subsequent round of sectoral forums in early 2017. This draft would undergo further revisions during the cross-sector Mombasa County CVE Convention and subsequent validation meeting in March 2017, culminating in the finalization and launch of the MCAP-PCVE in April 2017.[186]

Among the first of the Kenyan CAPs, it reflected the key issues that stakeholders identified in the Mombasa context. As a result, the plan contains several elements absent from the NSCVE. For instance, the Coast Education Center was instrumental in adding a pillar focusing on the unique challenges faced by women.[187]

The development of Mombasa's CAP was originally led by HAKI Africa but is now owned by the county government. Under the direction of the governor, a CVE Directorate was launched to implement the Mombasa CAP and coordinate CSOs working in the space. The county government also leads a County Engagement Forum to coordinate with the CSO community directly. Initially, HAKI Africa was tasked with leading the coordinating body, but has since handed off the secretariat role to the Coast Interfaith of Council of Clerks.

The Mombasa county government recognizes issues with significant centralization of P/CVE policy. A few examples illustrate its concerns. First, the national government does not share information with county governments on security interventions, even at the county level. In addition, the County Intelligence Committee is closed to county officials, further shutting out local government involvement in security approaches to P/CVE policy. Finally, policy authority for dealing with returnees rests exclusively under the purview of the national government, yet no formal policy has been formulated. While county officials believe that they should be in charge of overseeing reintegration of returnees along with CSOs, the national government is yet to cede authority on this matter.

Box 4: POTA Amendment

Most recently in July 2019, a contentious amendment to the POTA was signed into law without extensive parliamentary debate. Under the new amendment, oversight of government agencies pertaining to terrorism prevention would be further consolidated under the NCTC. More controversially, the amendment also mandates that all CSOs "engaged in preventing and countering violent extremism and radicalization" must register with the NCTC and report their activities.[188]

CSO leaders have vowed to fight for the legal annulment of this amendment on procedural and substantive grounds. Chief among the concerns of CSO leaders is that the registration requirement represents government overstep and interferes with the organizations' ability to work in communities that continue to harbor great distrust in the national government.

According to HAKI, "this law has hugely dented [CSO] trust in the government."[189] They are confident that the amendment will be overturned. As "it is unconstitutional."[190]

Conclusion

Since 2012, the Kenyan Government's approaches and policies to counter violent extremism have evolved considerably. The passage of POTA and SLAA, as well as the establishment of the ATPU and NCTC, provided the government with the authority and institutions to respond to the rise of violent extremism, especially after the Westgate Mall attack in 2013. This policy framework, however, relied on a centralized, security-driven approach. Responding to community concerns and recognizing the need to counter radicalization through public trust, the national government transitioned to a multi-stakeholder approach with the development of the NSCVE in 2016. Alongside counterterrorism operations within the intelligence and security agencies, the government also pursued a devolved, development-oriented approach to P/CVE.

Scan this QR code for a visual chronology of Kenya's experience with violent extremism.

Successes and Challenges in Implementation

NSCVE Institutional Landscape

While the authority for the NSCVE lies at the national level, implementation rests primarily at the county level. Governmental units and non-state actors engage with each other in the implementation of the NSCVE. This section focuses on an overview of the role that some select, crucial actors, namely: the NCTC, County Governments, County Engagement Forums and CSOs, and foreign donors, play in the implementation of the NSCVE. Figure 4.1 provides details on these major actors and how they work together.

National Counter Terrorism Center (NCTC)

Established in 2004, the NCTC coordinates governmental counter terrorism policy and actors. Within the NCTC, the Prevention and Resilience Branch focuses on P/CVE.[82] Overall, the NCTC is the main body responsible for setting the P/CVE agenda, acting as the "coordinating mechanism for the NSCVE and the focal point for foreign partnerships".[83] Indeed, donors commented that the launch of the NSCVE in 2016 was crucial in giving a roadmap and framework for providing support[84], while some CSOs also reported taking guidance from the goals laid out in the NSCVE when making programmatic decisions.[85] However, although the NCTC oversees the government's strategy against violent extremism, it does not control funding – rather, the Ministry of Interior is responsible for allocating money spent on P/CVE efforts.[86]

Beyond setting the agenda, the NCTC acts as the main coordinating body in the implementation of the NSCVE, aimed at "aligning and deconflicting" amongst actors, with a "bird's eye view of the P/CVE ecosystem".[87] The aim of NCTC is to ensure that the government has "a clear understanding of who is doing what and where."[88] All Kenyan actors interviewed for the purpose of this Report, including CSOs, donors, think tanks, and multilateral organizations, each unanimously named the NCTC as "the lead governmental entity" with whom they interact with on P/CVE issues.[89] Interactions appeared to be initiated both by the NCTC as well as other parties. For instance, the Kenyan think tank The Center for Human Rights and Policy Studies (CHRIPS) reported being invited by the NCTC to update government officials on their research while also at times being the requesting party for meetings to share with NCTC newly observed trends in their research.[90] Some CSOs, on the other hand, suggested that it is expected that they meet with NCTC officials once a month to discuss issues surrounding their P/CVE programs in the field, although this may rarely be met in practice.[91] Additionally, a recent amendment to the Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA)[92] now requires all CSOs operating in P/CVE to register and seek programmatic approval from the NCTC, making the body even more central to the ecosystem.

The NCTC also coordinates P/CVE within the government. County Governors, elected at the county level, report to the NCTC on county progress on the P/CVE agenda and therefore play an important role in linking county governments to the NCTC. NCTC staff is seconded to the NCTC for a period of three years from the National Intelligence Service, the Kenya Defense Forces, the National Police Service and such other agencies, as determined by the National Security Council.[93]

County Governments

In line with the objective of having a roadmap guiding the work of all actors implementing P/CVE programs, County Action Plans (CAPs) are developed through

Photo credit: USAID - Mombasa and Kilifi County residents.

a collaborative process between county government, CSOs, and faith-based organizations (FBOs) to address localized issues within the framework laid out by the NSCVE. They are approved by the national government and act as tools for communicating and implementing national priorities at the county level. In fact, NCTC officials stated that the CAPs are the "primary implementation vehicle of the national strategy."[94] In addition to CAPs, two county-level government officials stand out as playing important roles in ensuring a unified vision and progress on P/CVE efforts at the county level: County Governors and County Commissioners. County Commissioners are appointed by the national government and report back to the Ministry of Interior, while County Governors are directly elected by the county and report back to the NCTC. County Governors and Commissioners work in close collaboration on the implementation of the NSCVE.

However, while the NSCVE is established by the national government for implementation by county governments, security remains solely within the national purview following devolution in 2010. This sets the stage for a complicated interaction where county governments are responsible for implementing CAPs, which are inherently security-related, despite the fact that security is not a devolved function. However, counties do have devolved responsibilities in other related areas such as peacebuilding and education, which are often included as work pillars in CAPs and are more in line with county mandates. Security advisors within the offices of County Governors help to mitigate potential disconnects between actors responsible for prevention and security.

County Engagement Forums and CSOs

County Engagement Forums are multi-sectoral steering committee meetings typically hosted on a monthly basis and attended by various actors involved in the county-level implementation of the NSCVE. These meetings are co-chaired by County Commissioners and County Governors and typically attended by CSOs, including community-based organizations (CBOs) and FBOs, private sector actors, security actors (such as County Security Intelligence Committee), and county departments. They provide an important space for stakeholders to coordinate and make decisions regarding CAP implementation. It is important to note that while County Engagement Forums include the private sector in theory[95], interviewees shared reservations with regards to the role that the private sector actually plays in the implementation of the NSCVE, stating that there is low buy-in amongst private sector actors.[96]

CSOs have played an important role in the development of CAPS, as detailed in Chapter 3, and they hold an equally important role in the implementation process given that they are responsible for raising funds and implementing P/CVE programs. CSOs appear to play a particularly important role in County Engagement Forums since they are the actors responsible for programmatic implementation. In the case of Mombasa County, for instance, CSOs were assigned specific pillars from the Mombasa CAP and were charged with delivering and reporting back to the Mombasa County Engagement Forum on progress achieved on their assigned pillars.[97] NCTC officials described County Engagement Forums as incubators where "initiative is born" and where CSOs are given the opportunity to be entrepreneurial.[98] Some CSOs interviewed however noted that the level of coordination displayed in County Engagement Forums varies across counties.[99]

Donors

Major donors in the Kenyan P/CVE space include the U.S., the U.K., the Netherlands, and to a lesser extent, the EU, Germany, Egypt, Hungary, and others. Donors fill in an important resource gap, given that the NSCVE is primarily an unfunded mandate – most of CSO's P/CVE activities are, in fact, donor funded. Interviewed donors stated they made great efforts to align their P/CVE agenda with the strategy put forward in the NSCVE[100] and, in the last few years, report having made efforts to improve inter-donor coordination to avoid overlap with each other through the Donor CVE group, which regularly meets with the NCTC to discuss and coordinate. [101]

Donors have also collaborated on P/CVE programs through multi-stakeholder global funds such as the

Global Community Engagement and Resilience Fund (GCERF), which currently funds various P/CVE initiatives at the community level in Kenya.

According to the U.S. Department of State, their biggest priority in the P/CVE space is to support the implementation of CAPs.[102] Donors, however, also contributed to other aspects of the P/CVE space in Kenya. British officials, for instance, reported that they provided support to the Kenyan Government to develop the NCTC.[103] Within the NSCVE phase, they contributed to the design of the NSCVE and funded half the budget for the development of the Rapid CAPs.[104] This type of contribution comes in addition to large-scale multi-year donor funded P/CVE programs such as BRICS I (U.K.), Niwetu (U.S.), STRIVE II (EU), and Reinvent (U.K.).

Implementation Evaluation of the NSCVE

Turning to an evaluation of the implementation of NSCVE, this Report examines key issues and lessons that have emerged within three domains: institutions, funding, and personnel. These tensions and tradeoffs illuminate the challenges of implementing Kenya's NSCVE and help to inform lessons for Kenya and other countries.

Institutions

Successful policy implementation depends on well-developed institutions, which give control and voice to appropriate leadership at the national and local level and provide checks on government agencies. In the Kenyan P/CVE space, three tensions related to institutions are most salient: the centralization-localization tradeoff and the role of NCTC, issues of ownership associated with devolution, and challenges in generating buy-in for CAP development and implementation.

The Kenyan experience with P/CVE demonstrates the institutional challenges in implementing a nationally controlled strategy that requires localized approaches and leadership.

NCTC: Centralization-Localization Tradeoff

Interviewees highlighted that the creation of the NSCVE and NCTC created a focal point for coordination and donor engagement, a clear early success in implementation. Overall, the Kenyan government and donors shared the view that NCTC improved coordination amongst all actors.[105] That said, NCTC and stakeholders in the Kenyan P/CVE space face a tension between this centralization and the need for a more localized P/CVE approach. Because both counterterrorism and P/CVE activities span multiple governmental agencies, NCTC's role as a multi-agency coordinating body is appropriate. Additionally, given the sensitivity and risks of P/CVE programming, it is important that NCTC be aware of P/CVE activities conducted at a county-level.[106]

However, an important success of Kenya's P/CVE underlined by several interviewees was its localized nature.[107] Because each county developed their own CAP, each is tailored to the unique needs of the county and their specific drivers of violent extremism. Interviewees highlighted the great diversity between counties within Kenya and emphasized that there can be no "one size fits all" approach to P/CVE in the Kenyan context.[108]

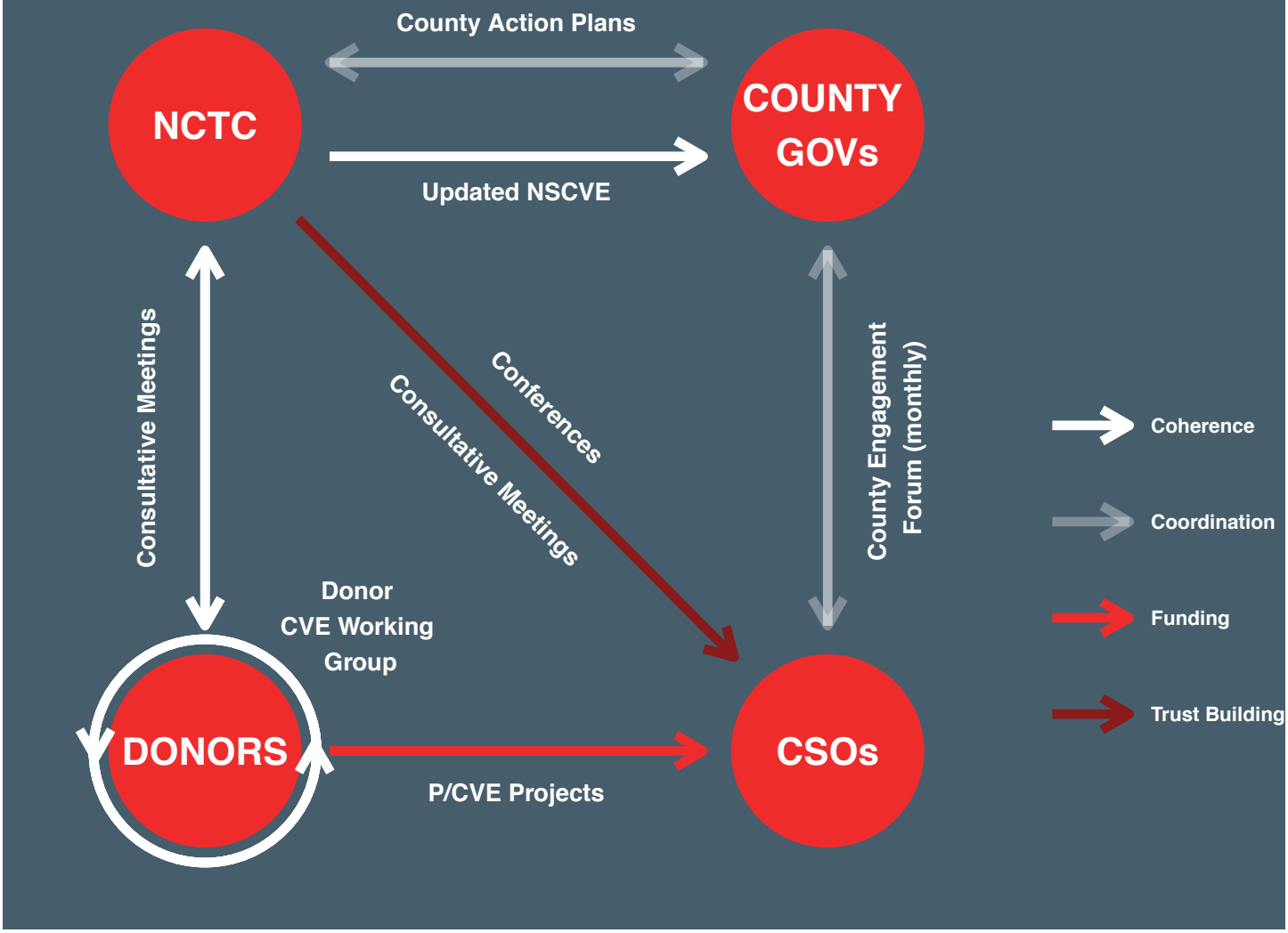
Yet, as mentioned above, security is not controlled at the national government level. As such, there is a fundamental friction inherent in incentivizing localized CAPs to address the security-related issue of violent extremism while also needing to maintain central control over the security apparatus.

An example of this tension is the discussion over who is best suited to deal with the reintegration of returnees. Munira Hamisi, the Mombasa CVE Director, commented that although NCTC "has sole mandate to deal with returnees," the county is "best positioned" to address this "reintegration challenge."[109]

Devolution: Issues of Ownership

Interviewees cited the importance of devolution in the Kenyan context as it led to the development of CAPs and with it a localized approach that consults with and uses local CSOs as main implementers. This "whole of

FIG 4.1: Actors driving NSCVE implementation



society" approach to P/CVE was generally characterized as a success throughout our interviews.[110]

That said, interviewees also cited issues of ownership when discussing challenges in implementing the NSCVE and CAPs.[111] While, as mentioned above, county governments do not have authority over security, they do have devolved responsibilities in other areas, such as peacebuilding. This has caused some confusion over who is responsible for CAP activities as well as the definition of where security ends and peacebuilding begins. This can be especially confusing when it comes to institutionalizing P/CVE, for example through school curriculum, as education is a devolved function. NCTC officials suggested that county governments feel that they must be involved in CAP implementation even if security is not their mandate. However, continuing to decentralize of the "soft" side of P/CVE while maintaining central, national government control over the "hard" side of P/CVE will likely lead to continued questions of ownership amongst relevant stakeholders at the national and local levels.[112]

An important element of the "whole of society" approach highlighted by interviewees was the County Engagement Forum.[113] There was a general consensus that

these forums are a positive way for stakeholders in the P/CVE space to coordinate and make decisions regarding program implementation on the ground and that the forums have improved communication between the national and county governments regarding P/CVE priorities.[114] The case of Mombasa county, where CSOs have chosen to focus on particular pillar(s) of Mombasa's CAP based on their organizations' strength(s), exemplifies this success.[115] Mombasa's CVE Director, Munira Hamisi, reports that "the Mombasa CVE Directorate approaches CSOs with an open door policy."[116]

As described earlier in this chapter, County Engagement Forums are co-chaired by the County Governor, who reports through NCTC, and the County Commissioner, who reports through the Ministry of Interior. While this structure assures that both government agencies are represented in the local forums, interviewees stated that if these individuals are of different political parties, collaboration becomes a challenge.[117] Therefore, progress in P/CVE programming at the county-level can be derailed when politics of the County Governor and County Commissioner are not aligned.

CAP Development and Implementation: Generating Buy-In

As previously detailed, CAPs are the primary implementation tools for the NSCVE at the county level. While all counties have CAPs, the content and structure of the CAPs varies across counties depending when and how the plan was developed (i.e., whether it was developed earlier on or part of the Rapid CAP process). Some interviewees stated that counties that were largely unaffected by violent extremism had much lower buy-in for P/CVE and the Rapid CAPs developed nationwide in response to the DusitD2 attack in January 2019. A representative from Kenya Muslim Youth Alliance illustrated this point. "Violent extremism is not such a salient concept in some counties. When the main issue that the community is facing is drinking and they are struggling to tackle this, how can you expect them to focus on violent extremism?"[118] Another interviewee highlighted the challenges in gaining local buy-in for the NSCVE given previous difficulties with security sector abuses.[119] The Chairperson of MUHURI emphasized these security challenges when he reported that people are "scared" of local police.[120]

Despite these challenges in generating buy-in at the county level, interviewees cited the development of CAPs as a successful element of the NSCVE implementation. Interviewees highlighted the importance of involving CSOs and FBOs in CAP development and implementation due to their involvement at the county level and ability to create inter- and intra-faith dialogues, respectively.[121] Additionally, interviewees praised the importance of bringing political leaders, women, young people, and elders "to the table."[122] Involving community members in CAP development and implementation has been important to the NSCVE's success as it has helped increase ownership at the local level.

Funding

It can be difficult to estimate the precise amount of donor funding in Kenya for prevention violent extremism. This is due, at least in part, to a degree of overlap between projects that are formally labeled P/CVE and their related development projects. Yet, Kenya's regional status, experience with violent extremism, and increased engagement in addressing violence have made it a priority focus area for donor P/CVE efforts in East Africa. The British Conflict, Stability, and Security Fund (CSSF) recently launched a £12 million PVE program in East Africa, of which 50 percent is to be spent in Kenya, while the Department for International Development (DFID) currently runs a £20 million program in Kenya focused on areas related to PVE, including governance, inter-communal conflict, and community-police relations, among others.[123] In addition, the Global Community Engagement and Resilience Fund (GCERF) recently began funding efforts in Kenya with $5 million in pre-allocation.[124]

Nevertheless, funding was still by far interviewees' most oft-cited challenge in implementing the NSCVE. In addition to the perennial problem of finding enough money, questions of who provides funding, to whom, and for how long it is (or is not) guaranteed came to the fore in many discussions. These issues, combined

with the complex and multi-sectoral nature of P/CVE, generate several important tensions, including incentive and scope misalignment, coordination challenges among CSOs, donors, and the Kenyan government, and tradeoffs between funding timelines and longer-term objectives.

Incentives and Scope

P/CVE differs from many other policy arenas in its multi-faceted approach, combining traditionally development-focused activities, such as livelihoods and education projects, with security-focused efforts on issues such as prisoner rehabilitation and deradicalization. As a result, the boundary between projects that are best categorized under the banner of P/CVE, rather than development or peacebuilding, for example, is often far from clear. [125]

With increased donor interest and funding focused on P/CVE in Kenya, the incentives for CSOs and county governments to rebrand development existing development priorities as "P/CVE" have also increased. Indeed, some of our interviewees expressed concern that CAPs, particularly earlier iterations, were more focused on development goals,[126] than on purposely addressing issues related to violent extremism. Although they viewed the focus on development as a "legitimate priority," on interviewee believed that such a focus revealed a "lack of understanding and, therefore, coherent strategy on P/CVE."[127]

In response to this expanding scope, many donors have responded by focusing increasingly on funding more highly-focused and targeted "PVE-specific" programming, preferring to leave the broader PVE-relevant programs to their colleagues in other primarily development-focused departments.[128] Yet, this more rigid definition of funding-eligible programs creates a key tension. As donors attempt to prevent the scope of P/CVE from ballooning, they may also confront the need, as was often repeated in our interviews,[129] for a dynamic, localized approach. Indeed, many interviewees, including donors themselves, highlighted that the "evolving and regional" nature of violent extremism in Kenya, which has varied across time and locality.[130]

Distinguishing between programs that are appropriately aimed at the salient, root "push factors" driving violent extremism and development programs that are simply rebranded as P/CVE requires intimate, on-the-ground knowledge of local dynamics and grievances, which donors may struggle to obtain. Although many are making significant efforts to involve more local insights into their programming,[131] in the absence of perfect information on relevant local drivers, a more constrained, PVE-specific approach may ultimately reduce some of the flexibility required to appropriately address local issues.

Coordination-Independence Tradeoff

As previously mentioned, P/CVE programming in Kenya is mainly funded by donors, coordinated by NCTC, and implemented by local CSOs. While, in many ways, this division of labor appears quite logical, the reliance on donor funds may also complicate the feedback loop between CSOs and NCTC, creating tension between NCTC coordination and CSO independence. Although donors report making substantial efforts to organize their efforts and align their priorities with the NSCVE—and many CSOs considered coordination among donors had indeed improved—some CSOs nevertheless pointed to instances of donors funding other "off target" or potentially counterproductive efforts[132] or cited issues with overlap and confusion between different donor-funded projects.[133]

Yet, at the same time it creates coordination hurdles, external donor funding also provides CSOs a degree of independence from the government, allowing them to be more critical of government security or P/CVE policies. One faith-based CSO, for example, reported that maintaining a certain autonomy from the government was crucial to working effectively in certain subject areas, such as counter-messaging, and to safeguarding their legitimacy in vulnerable communities, where suspicion of the government and security forces is still quite high.[134]

This tradeoff between coordination and independence was most vividly evident in arguments surrounding the controversial amendment to POTA. Donors and CSOs

were virtually united in denouncing the amendment as government overreach and a threat to CSO independence. In addition to opposition to the registration requirement itself, there was concern that such a requirement would lead communities to see CSOs as too closely linked to the government, compromising CSOs' legitimacy.[135]

However, NCTC officials offered a very different argument—one focused on improved coordination. Officials stated that NCTC needed a clear understanding of "what everyone is doing" in order to fulfill its coordination mandate and "be in a position to advise if a donor wants to fund a program that is not a priority [for the national strategy]."[136] Yet still, at least one CSO explicitly stated that the availability of external donor funding would make it easier for them to rebrand, if needed, and continue their work without registering.[137]

This is not to suggest that the coordination-independence tradeoff has stymied P/CVE efforts, or that significant progress has not been made in improving donor, CSO, and government cooperation. Many interviewees—including donors, some CSOs, and NCTC officials—cited progress in reducing overlap and aligning priorities, for example through the Donor CVE Group.[138] Nevertheless, the recent flare-up surrounding POTA suggests that this tradeoff, often complicated by external funding, remains a critical tension in Kenya's implementation of the NSCVE.

Sustainability

A third tension surrounding funding for NSCVE implementation is between the need for reliable, long-term programming to fully address key drivers, and the uncertainty of continued donor funding, which often operates on shorter timelines. As political priorities in donor countries shift and change, this also brings the possibility that funding for P/CVE could stop or be significantly decreased. Though the potential transience of funding is by no means exclusive to external donors or P/CVE, there nevertheless is the very real concern that donors will not continue indefinitely as the main source of funding for Kenya's NSCVE.

Although some targeted, short-term interventions may indeed be useful, an increasing focus on such projects conflicts with the need for longer-term investments to adequately address elements of violent extremism. As one think tank put it, objectives such as deradicalization or counter-messaging cannot "be solved in a 6 month project."[139] Yet, this focus on quick interventions, combined with uncertainty about the future funding stream and the need for local organizations to align with donors' funding cycles, risks favoring shorter-term projects with less time spent engaging with the complicated local context.[140]

Finally, the influx of funding for the "hot topic" of P/CVE has led to the proliferation of projects, with mixed effects. A number of interviewees spoke of organizations "that had previously focused on fighting malaria or HIV/AIDS," switching to P/CVE or counter-messaging projects in response to the increased availability of funding.[141] Yet, they stated, these organizations often lacked the appropriate understanding of the dynamics of violent extremism or familiarity with the concept and practice of P/CVE. The result, according to some interviewees, were efforts that were ineffective, "counterproductive,"[142] or indeed "made matters worse".[143]

Personnel

Policy implementation greatly depends upon personnel, who are tasked with participating in coordination and cohesion procedures, managing resources and programs, as well as ensuring accountability and reporting. Leadership too matters when previous habits and methods must be shifted in accordance with policy directives. In P/CVE programming specifically, three key tensions related to personnel come to the forefront: trust, capacity, and management. The Kenyan experience with P/CVE implementation demonstrates the challenges of transforming behaviors and biases of varied levels of actors towards a coherent political goal.

High-Level Support and Relationships

Clearly, as described in Chapter 3, the 2015 Garissa attack, poor government response, and subsequent media discourse prompted a change in tactic by the Kenyan government. The high-profile nature of the attack, both

domestically and internationally, meant that a more effective response to terrorism became a political necessity for the Kenyatta administration. Following Garissa, President Kenyatta replaced both the Inspector General of the National Police Service and the Director of the NCTC. The appointment of Ambassador Martin Kimani to head the NCTC signaled commitment to a new strategy within the Kenyatta administration. A clear directive from the top was essential in mandating reforms and aligning governmental action.

Amb. Kimani had made his career within the development sector, both in London where he got his PhD and in Nairobi as Permanent Representative to the United Nations and the UN Environment Programme. Amb. Kimani shepherded a new Kenyan strategy to countering violent extremism that moved away from a "hard," security-centric approach to a more nuanced "whole of society" approach that sought balance in security and development perspectives.

It was important that the new approach had a champion. Not only could Amb. Kimani "talk the talk," but his rhetorical commitments were matched by a deep understanding of the international donor and CSO communities in Kenya, due to his time at the UN. In our interviews, both American and British officials cited the value of Amb. Kimani's leadership in NSCVE implementation.[144] Important, as well, was Amb. Kimani's direct line to the presidency, to facilitate alignment of implementation with political priorities.

Amb. Kimani's background in the development sector and ability to communicate in ways more familiar to development professionals (and foreign donors) has proved beneficial in the repair of broken relationships with CSOs. As reflected throughout the interviews in country, the heavy-handed approach of security services had damaged community trust and made it difficult for CSOs to talk with the government. The perceived overly securitized and discriminatory nature of crackdowns following Westgate, including Operation Usalama Watch in 2014, in which Kenyan security forces detained and deported thousands of Somali-Kenyans with little evidence, represented a low point for community relations. Similarly, the CSO blacklisting and freezing of their bank accounts following Garissa stood as a clear overreach by the government, much criticized by American officials.[145]

Slowly, governmental relations are being repaired with civil society actors, who became essential implementation partners for the NSCVE. Whereas government-CSOs dialogue had been minimal to non-existent previously, there were now platforms for sustained input at both the county and national levels, through County Engagement Forums and multi-stakeholder conferences. These certainly have allowed for monthly dialogue to address short- and long-term issues. Overtime, regular contact can facilitate professional working relationships that are beneficial when quick or sensitive responses are needed from the government and CSOs alike.

For example, the Governor's office of Mombasa county has claimed their "open door policy" for local CSOs – which allows CSO representatives to regularly stop in for dialogue – has seen significant success in building trust and stronger community relations.[146] Similarly, the upcoming update to the NSCVE has the potential to strengthen the iterative feedback loop between the government and CSOs, by establishing additional mechanisms for dialogue.

Yet, institutionalization remains low. Dialogue between the NCTC and CSOs often occurs ad hoc through informal relationships between high level actors. For example, CHRIPS noted that they are able to share research findings and have consultative meetings with the NCTC, but that such meetings are generally on a need-to-know basis due to their sensitive nature.[147] Overall, CSOs say more can be done to facilitate dialogue[148] and move beyond the effortful push-pull dynamics.

Officials from one donor government noted that while the relationship between the government and CSOs is the best it has ever been, ultimately a wariness remains.[149] The memory of (and continuance of low-level) security overreach is still very present. For CSOs, the recent POTA amendment sent a signal that security

is still at the forefront of the government approach, and that relations will remain unpredictable and indefinite. The fragility of personal relations makes shocks especially hard felt and contributes to an overall anxiety that the current "whole of society" approach can easily be reversed.

Ultimately, the personalized nature of implementation must balance against the need for institutionalization. While strong personal leadership by Amb. Kimani allowed the new approach to progress quickly, the political nature of P/CVE facilitated a reliance on informal, and unpredictable action. Additionally, while the government made serious strides to show good faith to repair trust, low levels of institutionalization keep relations between CSOs and the government tenuous.

Training and Capacity Building

In shifting from the "hard" approach to a more nuanced strategy, it was incumbent upon actors in all levels of government, as well as within CSOs and FBOs, to adopt new frameworks and undertake new behaviors, in order to carry out their tasks.

For security actors, this meant learning how to work with one another (as inter-agency coordination on information sharing and unity of effort was a key problem in the response to the Westgate and Garissa attacks[150]), as well as how to incorporate community- or human rights-centric considerations into tactics and operations. U.S. Department of Defense officials remarked about growing acceptance amongst border patrol units that security forces should seek to improve ("bring goodness to," "to take care of") these communities in order to make inroads against terrorist groups.[151]

Additionally, socialization of the "whole of society" approach (which UNDP calls the development approach to addressing PVE) has been steady in generating acceptance of violent extremism as a development issue, as opposed to a solely security/intelligence issue. In bringing together and building trust between different levels of security actors and other key development stakeholders, UNDP helped to facilitate inter-agency dialogue as well as holistic programmatic interventions to address the underlying causes of violent extremism that are fueled by inequality and exclusion.[152]

Capacity building programs are an integral part of the development approach to create the space for both political buy-in and sustainability. Through UNDP and U.S. Department of Defense programs, key stakeholders, including security actors, could better understand the intelligence aspects (and most importantly, in the UNDP perspective, the social, economic, and environmental aspects) of the new approach,[153] in effect transitioning from P/CVE 'outsiders' to 'insiders,' and acculturating to new norms and expectations.

Development actors too require adjustment to the new approach. This is apparent for actors trained in other development sectors (e.g. health, education) who might not be familiar with the complex roots of radicalization, or cognizant of the local sensitivities.[154] Similarly, the political and security elements of P/CVE programming might be unfamiliar to actors practiced in a purely development approach. The challenges of operating in a security-focused domain too can cause friction when CSOs might not be knowledgeable of security sector terminology or decision-making behaviors. There were early errors on these fronts.

For example, the lack of awareness about the sensitive nature of P/CVE programming led to an issue with placing already at-risk populations in harm's way by mishandling their information data.[155] Likewise, some P/CVE programming was seen as counterproductive when it aided Al-Shabaab messaging.[156] It is unclear to what extent formal training processes or accountability measures have been instituted to facilitate adjustment within the development community in Kenya. NCTC officials noted that they see part of their coordinating role as ensuring that "critical counterterrorism work is not disrupted by well-meaning but uninformed P/CVE action."[157]

The capacity to undertake newly introduced "whole of society" frameworks and advanced P/CVE programming requires both training of new recruits and practiced professionals, based on expertise from within and

outside. Indeed, the government of Kenya has begun to work with neighbors and regional partners facing similar violent extremism issues who have asked for help on lessons learned based on the Kenyan experience.[158] Yet, the Kenyan case demonstrates a fundamental problem: the urgency and scale of response to extremist threats means that training cycles lag against demand.

For the Kenyan security sector, this exposed gaps in information sharing and tactical coordination that required many years to remedy. Additionally, the speed and scale of response (by both security and development actors) exposed and aggravated gaps in existing training and accountability measures that caused harm within the community and elicited condemnation.

Management, Control, and Accountability

NCTC staff are not permanent, but rather seconded from various governmental agencies.[159] Kenyan NCTC secondment and rotation, however, were identified as a challenge to implementation. American officials noted that it was vital to have staff continuity to ensure institutional knowledge and maintenance of relationships.[160] One Mombasa-based researcher who has worked extensively on P/CVE issues, noted that a recent shuffle of national government officers in Mombasa county posed problems, as important champions of the CAP were no longer present to advance implementation.[161]

On one hand, interagency coordination is facilitated when seconded staff have experience and relationships with their home departments. On the other hand, there is a risk that seconded staff might not have proper incentives to perform outside of their home departments. Secondment, a traditional tactic of inter-governmental coordination, proves difficult for P/CVE implementation specifically when issues of ownership and accountability have such high instrumental value.

Similarly, over the long term, there is an inherent trade-off between staff rotation, which allows more actors to have familiarity with key governmental policies, and specialization, which allows fewer actors to have strong expertise in the details. With staff beholden to other departments/agencies, it makes it difficult for NCTC managers to set controls and performance standards sufficient to hold staff accountable.

Evolution Over Time

Although the NSCVE was implemented in 2016, it is currently under revision to incorporate county-level objectives using an Objectives and Key Results (OKR) framework, a new gender pillar, lessons learned from the first few years of implementation, and a more robust monitoring and evaluation (M&E) framework.[162] These updates reflect an important feedback loop between the national and county governments.

When developing the Rapid CAPs, counties were instructed to identify their most urgent key priorities and determine what activities could be conducted within one year. These objectives will be reflected in the updated NSCVE. Furthermore, older CAPs will be updated to incorporate the OKR framework, which will allow those county objectives to be reflected in the NSCVE as well.[163] These planned updates provide an important framework for M&E, as well as a more institutionalized way to receive feedback on progress from county governments.

In addition to gaining feedback from counties on P/CVE program process through the OKR framework, NCTC also plans to use surveys to evaluate the success of the national strategy. On a semi-annual basis, NCTC plans to survey individuals on attitudes, feelings of marginalization, engagement with government officials, and government responsiveness, among other proxy measures for susceptibility to radicalization.[164] If conducted as planned, these surveys will provide further feedback to NCTC on successes associated with implementing the NSCVE.

The Kenyan judiciary and media also serve as players in shaping the evolution of policy developments on P/CVE. International Crisis Group expert Murithi Mutiga described the dynamic as an "eternal dance between civil society, media, and the government."[165] First, in the past, the media has been a direct way for communities to express grievance against governmental or CSO oversteps. For example, one anonymous CSO highlight-

ed that the use of media has helped bring more accountability since communities can share videos which serve as evidence. The justice system also has been helpful for CSOs in expressing discontent and challenging perceived heavy-handedness when new policies emerge. Both the post-Garissa freezing of CSO bank accounts and the POTA amendment were challenged in court. Overall, many of our interviewees cited the importance of Kenya's civil society, vibrant media environment, and space for democratic debate as crucial to the continuing success of the NSCVE. These elements allow for continued dialogue, accountability, and adaptation within a very difficult policy domain.

As Kenya seeks to amend the NSCVE, the very nature of P/CVE in its complexity and relative infancy poses unique challenges, from the need for both a hyper-local approach and national coherence, to the difficulties of multi-sectoral coordination between a variety of donors, organizations, and actors. As the national strategy evolves, policymakers must shift their approaches across a number of interacting axes—development and security, hard and soft security approaches, centralized and localized implementation. This requires a flexible, iterative approach that emphasizes learning and adaptation.

Conclusion

This chapter highlights how state and non-state actors engage with each other in the implementation of the NSCVE. In particular, it identifies the NCTC, donor agencies, county governments, and CSOs as actors crucial in driving implementation.

The Kenyan experience in P/CVE demonstrates the institutional challenges in implementing a nationally controlled strategy that requires localized approaches and leadership. Challenges faced in implementation of the NSCVE highlight the institutional tensions regarding control, ownership, and buy-in inherent in pursuing an approach that requires both centralized and localized elements. To overcome issues of control, it is necessary that national governments create a central coordinating mechanism that manages the national strategy among government agencies and engages with CSOs, donors, and sub-national governments. On issues of ownership and buy-in, it is recommended that national governments develop localized implementation plans for the national strategy and involve community members in the planning process. Developing mechanisms of accountability with national and county governments to promote more effective coordination between stakeholders implementing the national strategy is also critical.

The primarily donor-funded nature of P/CVE in Kenya introduces a tradeoff between NCTC's mandate as a coordinating body and the necessity of CSO independence. The influx of funding and multi-sectoral nature of P/CVE has also created a tension between an expanding scope of activities and a donor desire to constrain and focus on P/CVE-specific activities in the absence of perfect knowledge about salient local drivers of violent extremism. While the tension of NCTC control and coordination vs. CSO independence is likely to remain a push-and-pull in Kenyan P/CVE – with the POTA amendment now being challenged in court by CSOs – donors may consider shifting focus from the labels P/CVE-specific vs. relevant to activities that show a meaningful impact through rigorous evaluation. In addition, donors should consider extending the time frame of funding in order to support projects addressing more long-term issues, such as deradicalization.

Fundamental tensions in P/CVE implementation regarding trust, capacity, and management illustrate tradeoffs within an environment that prioritizes both urgency and discreteness of personnel. To overcome issues of trust and management, it is necessary for national governments, like Kenya, to establish mechanisms for external accountability and civil society feedback. On issues of capacity, it is wise to devote time, from the outset, to training of all relevant governmental and non-governmental actors based on rigorous evidence from similar context.

Making and Measuring Progress in P/CVE

Appropriate Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) systems are key for any evidence-based policy implementation. While P/CVE is no exception, it has a unique set of challenges which set it apart from other policy areas like public health, economic development, or education. Often, the outcomes of interest to policymakers are difficult to measure using traditional counterfactual-based approaches in impact evaluation. As one interviewee put it, it is likely impossible to measure "how many individuals didn't get on a plane to go fight in Syria."[166] In addition, despite the headlines, political and psychological impact, violent extremist attacks are—thankfully— relatively rare events in most countries. While the rarity of attacks is a good thing, it also often means that estimating the effect of a program on outcomes such as the number of violent extremist incidents requires levels of statistical power that are often not feasible. Finally, the hyper-locality of radicalization and recruitment further complicates efforts to evaluate the success of interventions.[167]

Nevertheless, the financial and human costs of failure are high and effective M&E is essential to ensuring that P/CVE programs are productive. Given these methodological challenges posed by P/CVE, it is all the more necessary for national governments, donors, and implementing agencies to develop new institutions and systems to think critically about monitoring, evaluation, and learning. Measuring prevention in any context is challenging, and the specifics mentioned above certainly make assessing P/CVE programs even more difficult. Yet, it is helpful to remember that policymakers often make decisions for important problems without an equal level of measurable outcomes and programmatic evidence. In many ways, a movement toward P/CVE programming can be a move toward evidenced policy, not away from it.

This section considers broad trends in violence in Kenya in the years leading up to and following the implementation of the NSCVE; stakeholder perceptions of progress in M&E; how Kenya has tackled the challenges highlighted above; and presents several recommendations specific to improving M&E for violent extremism, including the application of the data and evidence to inform decisions. While the current NSCVE has no outcome metrics, the Kenyan government is developing a useful institutional structure for managing and promoting a results-oriented and evidence-based policy environment. However, there remains room for improvement.

Progress in Kenya

According to the Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project (ACLED), violent attacks attributed to Al-Shabaab in Kenya have generally decreased on an annual basis from 2012 to 2016, the year the NSCVE was established. The was a large spike in 2017, increasing from 16 attacks in 2016 to 73, before diminishing again in 2018 and 2019 (see Figure 1.1). Because we lack a counterfactual, it is difficult to attribute these patterns to broad changes in Kenya's national policy.

Several of the CSOs shared views which are aligned with these trends, but also did not have a clear, causal explanation. The Kenyan Muslim Youth Alliance distinguished between high levels of violence in the period of 2013-2017 and fewer attacks in 2018 and 2019[168] and also believed there has been a reduction in recruitment of youths to join Al-Shabaab in Somalia. Additionally, Dr. Mustafa Y. Ali, Expert in Conflict in Transformation, Religious and Political Extremism expressed the view that there had been no major attacks in the past

four years, suggesting that the nature and narrative of Al-Shabaab in particular has been countered more robustly.[169]

There also appears to be some meaningful progress looking at other, intermediate measures such as attitudes towards extremist groups, perceptions of government performance, and extremist-inspired travel to Somalia. The degree of progress, however, varies with the local government as well as stakeholder positions vis-a-vis the government. In addition to a reduction in the number of attacks, which several CSOs believed was the key outcome of interest for the government,[170] CSOs have also seen some progress in the way the security sector is handling issues related to violent extremism. When discussing the DusitD2 attack, several interviewees compared the casualties and fallout to Garissa and Westgate.[171] While there was an attack, the death count was lower, the security response was faster and better organized, and the subsequent investigation was conducted with greater care. In part as a consequence of this response and because of counter-narrative programming, many CSOs also believed that the primary narratives of Al-Shabaab are being successfully countered.

These findings are in line with accounts from representative national surveys, where popular perception suggests progress but additional room for improvement. According to a recent Afrobarometer survey,[172] the issue of violent extremism is still an important one. In the 2018 survey, 25 percent of respondents listed crime and security (broadly) as the most important policy problem in Kenya, after corruption and unemployment. However, this figure hides a remarkable shift from the previous round (2015) in which over 40 percent of respondents selected crime and security, making it the most common choice in that round.

Returning to the more recent survey, approximately half of those surveyed state that they never fear violence in public spaces compared to 32 percent who fear it and a further 14 percent who have feared and experienced violence. In Figure 5.1, we see that while the number experiencing violence from political or religious extremists is much lower (approximately 3 percent), a similar number (28 percent) feared violence from extremists. As can be seen in Figure 5.2, approximately 58 percent believe that the government is doing a good job of countering violence from extremist groups compared to only 35 percent who evaluate the government's performance as fairly or very bad.

These measures suggest some objective progress on outcomes in recent years, but Kenya's NSCVE is still in its infancy. Such trends could be due to external changes in violence across the region as a whole, or simply be a temporary reduction. What can be attributed to Kenya's NSCVE are the procedural changes which have brought the development of locally owned CAPs, judicial reform, and broad improvements in respect for human rights in policing, which may yet bring demonstrable improvements in violence and extremism.

Challenges to Conducting M&E in P/CVE

These broad trends and perceptions held by citizens are consistent with the qualitative findings of this Report which suggest that Kenya's strategy has led to progress on P/CVE in Kenya. However, there remains no "counterfactual Kenya" with which to compare, and without rigorous M&E, it is difficult to isolate which aspects of the strategy have led to the most improvement. Demonstrating the effectiveness of programs is key for securing additional funds from donors, and, among donors, for allocating limited resources to the most promising interventions. In the context of P/CVE there are three main concerns.

First, attributable evidence of impact is hard to capture for PCVE interventions. In particular, it is difficult to attach programmatic activity in one area, for one specific group of program participants, to levels of violence measured at the national level or even the local level.

Second, even if one were able to estimate this using a strong counterfactual, the effect sizes in terms of observed levels of violence—the measure many CSOs be-

Photo credit: Hank Nelson/USAID - A chief from Garissa Township dances with a musical troupe at the Garissa County CVE Action Plan Launch.

lieved is how the national government views success—would be small and require unfeasibly large sample sizes to measure with any certainty using traditional methods of impact evaluation.[173]

Finally, even if precisely estimated effect sizes were possible, there is the problem of external validity—the ability to use estimates from one program to inform policy and programming elsewhere in Kenya and beyond. For P/CVE this external validity problem is all the more salient. As the Kenyan example shows, the dynamics of recruitment in the coast are different from dynamics along the northeastern border and from dynamics in the west. Examining each of these problems in turn, this section draws on examples from other contexts to look at methodological and institutional tools that may be of use before returning to the Kenyan case.

The Counterfactual Challenge

Beginning with the problem of seemingly impossible counterfactuals, part of the challenge in Kenya and elsewhere is the assumption that the only real outcome of interest from a macro perspective is the incidence of violent attacks. In Mombasa and Nairobi, CSOs often stated that they believed that the number of attacks was the key metric by which they imagined the national government viewed success. In direct contrast, however, NCTC reported they do not view the number of attacks as the only or best measure for success in P/CVE. Indeed, most CSOs themselves rely on intermediate measures of extremism such as attitudes or resilience to violent ideology.

By changing the outcome of interest, evaluators can resolve several of these challenges. After all, it is possible to measure the effect of programs on attitudes with some level of statistical precision. This substitution, however, introduces two new problems:

Getting truthful responses when asking sensitive questions

Attitudes, particularly those regarding sensitive topics such as support for violence, are incredibly difficult to measure. Responses to direct questions regarding the supported Al-Shabaab or the use of violence is justified in Kenyan politics are likely to be influenced by the interviewee's desire to give a "socially acceptable" answer, or to keep his or her true beliefs private. Additionally, when programs also focus on informing individuals about norms against violence, or on presenting religious counter-narratives to violence, this problem may be exacerbated among recipients. Therefore, evaluators need to employ additional tools to elicit truthful responses and maintain respondent and enumerator safety.

Fortunately, there is a growing body of evidence pointing to the applicability of certain survey designs to detect attitudes in the realm of P/CVE. Such techniques include Randomized Response (RR),[174] Endorsement Experiments,[175] List Experiments, and revealed preference behavioral measures. While the specific design varies, most techniques involve introducing random noise into the responses that gives respondents plausible deniable "cover" to answer truthfully. These techniques have already proven promising in assessing connections to armed groups in Nigeria,[176] as well as measuring support for violence in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Somaliland.[177]

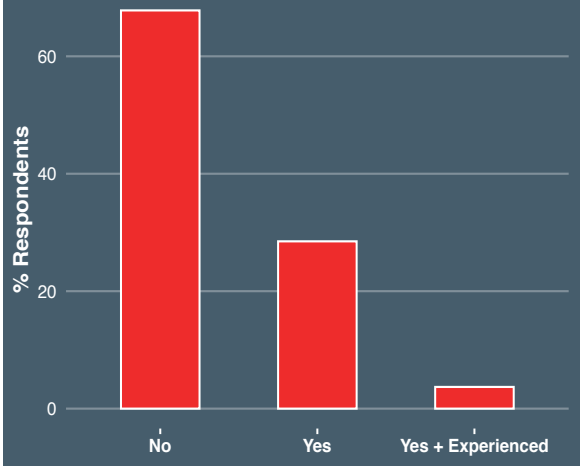
These techniques are promising but demanding in terms of organizational resources and funding. They require larger sample sizes as well as technical expertise. Without funding for high-quality M&E and local research capacity, there is a risk of losing valuable knowledge on whether and how P/CVE interventions can be effective in decreasing support for violent extremism.

Connecting attitudes to propensity for violence and direct support

Of course, extreme beliefs or support for groups engaged in violent extremism does not necessarily make one a terrorist.[178] Deciding what attitudes to measure and how changes in those attitudes will meaningfully change violent outcomes remains a significant challenge for researchers and practitioners.

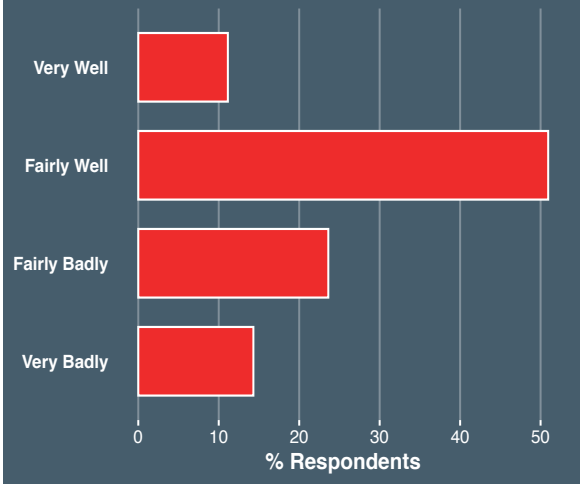
While many implementing organizations were able to outline a clear theory of change or logical framework for their interventions that included a link from individ-

FIG 5.1: Feared violence by political or religious extremists?



Data: Afrobarometer (Kenya) Round 7, Question 60E.

FIG 5.2: Gov. performance countering violence from VEOs?



Data: Afrobarometer (Kenya) Round 7, Question 56P.

ual attitudes to violence, others raised concerns that the links between these attitudes and actual violence are not fully understood in the Kenyan context or elsewhere.[179] They raised questions about whether attitudes relate to individual propensity for violence or the likelihood of materially supporting violent extremist organizations.

Without additional research providing plausible evidence for these pathways, evaluators will have a difficult time arguing that a program that measurably changes attitudes necessarily also results in a reduction in violence, a decrease in recruitment, an increase in reporting, or an increase in prosecution of violent extremists.

Knowledge Management

The case study from Bangladesh discussed in Box 5 raises a third problem of M&E: How to take lessons learned in one environment and translate them elsewhere, especially when the pathways to radicalization vary so much, even within Kenya?[180] One potential, and indeed necessary, response is additional research on the local and hyper-local dynamics of recruitment and radicalization, but there are many ways to coordinate, conduct, and disseminate the findings of such research.

One concern in Kenya that also appears evident internationally is that the lack of sharing of research and learning from M&E in P/CVE, especially compared to other development issue areas. There are many organizational incentives which may be driving this pattern. As highlighted above, M&E is particularly challenging in this space. For national governments and implementers, it can be difficult to publicly release evidence that a policy or program did not work. As a policy community, however, knowing what does not work in particular contexts is as important as finding out what does.

Both of these challenges highlight the need for better systems of conducting, coordinating, and sharing research and data within a particular country context. Additional empirical investigations conducted by independent researchers can help inform the decisions made by donors, program designers, and implementers. Local research institutions are best situated to conduct this because of the ease of access to relevant populations, enhanced local knowledge, and established trust between research participants and investigators. This may be actually good news for donors.

While it is often difficult to assess in advance what programs will work, donors and multilateral institutions can develop research capacity and empower local partners. Box 5.2 discusses an example of one such research and capacity building collaboration between a US-based institution and local research partners in the context of terrorism and P/CVE. Existing tools for choosing performance metrics, such as the RAND Program Evaluation Toolkit, can be strengthened by the existence of the baseline research these organizations are able to produce.

Moreover, it is important to recognize that government plays a role in shaping the scope of relevant outcomes to be measured and in disseminating research and data. There exists data that governments can collect and publish as a public good that would could be useful for program evaluation and that might be challenging for small CSOs and implementers to collect themselves. In Kenya, for example, the NCTC can collect and publish relevant data on arrests, prosecutions, and place of origin of prosecuted individuals, which can then be used by CSOs and local researchers to inform research products and programmatic activity.

Kenya's "Objectives and Key Results Framework"

Kenya's NCTC has recently taken steps to advance many of these goals, but it is still too early to determine if these efforts will be successful nationwide. The revisions to the NSCVE (currently being drafted) emphasize the role of local research as well as monitoring and evaluation. They employ an Objectives and Key Results (OKR) framework which can help clarify national level goals, encourage accountability, and provide a framework on top of which county action plans can build.

In addition to these statements of objectives, the NCTC indicated it will review progress on each goal with regularity in a manner accessible to relevant stakeholders and will host a conference in 2020 with a view toward evaluating and adjusting progress towards key results.

Box 5: Obirodh: Road to Tolerance Program in Bangladesh

A useful example of an ongoing Monitoring and Evaluation effort which takes into account some of these issues discussed in this chapter is a USAID project analyzed by researchers from NYU implemented in a university setting in Dhaka, Bangladesh. With the caveat that the nature of extremism in Bangladesh is substantially different to violent extremism in Kenya, the design and evaluation of this program has some lessons that might apply more broadly.

Because actual participation in violence is a relatively low probability event and measurement error is high, the implementers designed the program to develop social norms which make certain extremist behaviors socially unacceptable and to encourage safe bystander intervention in extremism or intolerance-related incidents. The goal is that by reducing social acceptance of these behaviors, the program will be able to intervene before violence erupts.

By shifting the population of interest from potential extremists to potential bystanders, the designers of the program were able to identify measurable outcomes and have a strong theory of change linking these outcomes to levels of violent extremism and responses to it. If they had instead focused potential or at-risk perpetrators, they would have encountered additional challenges in identifying recipients and measuring population-level changes.[a]

[a]Michael Gilligan. (2019, November 01). Personal Interview.

This system, designed to encourage clarity and accountability, is also being conducted in parallel to the update of county-level action plans. In theory, counties can then use demonstrated progress towards stated objectives to request additional funding.

Additionally, NCTC officials indicated a local-global conference to take place in 2020 that will focus on increasing return on investment, using quantitative evidence from P/CVE progress in Kenya and worldwide to help align impact-focused planning and assessments.[181]

However, these positive steps forward do not fully solve the difficult challenge of evaluation in P/CVE. Local empirical research is time consuming, costly, and requires greater expertise. It is not clear whether existing research capacity in Kenya is yet up to the task of mounting the necessary data collection and analysis efforts for baseline and evaluation research, however international initiatives such as the RESOLVE network and the Hedayah Center have made substantial progress in building, collecting, and disseminating knowledge internationally.

Box 6: P/CVE Research Capacity Building in Malaysia

The US-based National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) conducts research on terrorism and violent extremism both domestically and internationally. They recently collaborated on projects with the International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM) and with the University Malaysia Sabah (UMS) to enhance local research capacity in Malaysia and better understand how lessons from terrorism learned in the United States might apply in other contexts.

In the first of two projects, three teams within START were matched up with the appropriate counterparts at the IIUM and conducted training and engaged collaborative research projects. These activities culminated in the collection, management, and dissemination of a new dataset on profiles of Islamic radicalization in Malaysia, analogous to START's Profiles of Individual Radicalization in the US (PIRUS); the development of additional capabilities for geospatial analysis; and the implementation of classroom simulations introducing students to the issue of radicalization with the International Communication & Negotiation Simulations (ICONS) Project. In the second project, several participants of the first went on to implement other trainings with UMS focusing on field research techniques and conducting interviews.

Lessons learned:

- While local knowledge is often not transferable across contexts, the skills required to develop local knowledge can be.
- Assess baseline training and invest heavily in quantitative training upfront.
- Invest in administrative capacity as well as research capacity for managing grants, financial reporting, and working across departmental or business units.
- Research independence is key but can be difficult when researching politically sensitive topics. External funding can help mitigate some of these concerns, but may not be feasible in all contexts.[b]

[b] Pate, Amy, Barnett S. Koven, and William Braniff. (2019). Developing Academic Partnerships and Collaborative Research on Countering Violent Extremism in Malaysia and Southeast Asia. National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism. https://www.start.umd.edu/research-projects/developing-academic-partnerships-and-collaborative-research-countering-violent; William Braniff. (2019, October 29). Personal Interview; and Barnett Koven. (2020, January 10). Personal Interview.

Moreover, there is little consensus (and detail) on what constitutes robust theoretical and empirical frameworks and such frameworks assume coordination and agreement among donors on what success is and how to measure it. There is more that can be done by national governments, multilateral institutions, implementers, donors, and civil society organizations.

Conclusions

Effective M&E of peace and conflict related programming and policies are difficult at the best of times and the nature of violent extremism presents additional challenges on top of these. There has been some progress in reducing violent attacks in Kenya, but the attribution of this shift to state or CSO activity is challenging. Kenya's NCTC has taken many steps to promote an evidence-based and results-oriented national strategy but there are additional steps that can be taken to encourage learning at all levels, from local to global.

Within Kenya and abroad we need better tools for monitoring and evaluation, as well as improved sharing of research and learning on issues related to countering violent extremism.

The link between identified intermediate results and ultimate objectives is not always clearly supported by existing evidence, and it can be difficult to translate lessons learned in one environment to other scenarios with different pathways to radicalization. Yet this only serves to underscore the imperative to invest in the sharing of data and management of research and learning. Independent, non-governmental, local research would empower those best situated to study these dynamics to provide evidence in favor of the connections between measurable programmatic outcomes and observed levels of violence and support for extremist groups.

National and local governments also have an important role to play in evaluating P/CVE programs. Not only is there a need to clearly link national or county-level priorities with programmatic theories of change and logical frameworks, but national governments can also provide important data resources. The national government routinely collects relevant administrative data related to P/CVE outcomes of interest that could be useful to CSOs and implementing organizations for the purposes of M&E and baseline research.

Policy Recommendations

These recommendations will primarily focus on what national governments, multilateral organizations, and foreign partners can learn from Kenya's experience in developing its national action plan on P/CVE and implementing a "whole of society," development-oriented strategy.

Given the multi-faceted nature of P/CVE, the recommendations are aimed at a variety of stakeholders. Effective P/CVE implementation requires governmental and nongovernmental stakeholders to work in concert. These recommendations should be adapted to each local context and stakeholder. While the recommendations seek to address fundamental tensions throughout development and implementation, some inherently involve more political considerations than others. Thus, we have noted which policies can receive immediate attention in sequencing, as well as which require more significant institutional adaptation and can be prioritized over the long term.

Lessons for the Government of Kenya and other national governments

Category	Recommendation	Immediate Tasks	Long-term Tasks
Strategy and Capacity Building	Acknowledge and assess the local roots of violent extremism	- Use global toolkits (such as the UNOCT Reference Guide) to create an inclusive, holistic political process that incorporates the input of a diversity of stakeholders in developing the national action plan. - Ensure that the national strategy brings security and intelligence actors into a cohesive political vision.	- Update policies to require that any P/CVE programs conducted within country are (1) directly tied to priorities identified in the national action plan, (2) based on rigorous evidence from communities similar to those within country (3) implemented in partnership with local actors, and (4) include at least one marginalized group (e.g., youth, women) in project pilot development, community consultation, or implementation.
	Develop localized implementation plans for the national strategy, involving community members in the planning process.	- Identify and involve local stakeholders and civil society organizations who are knowledgeable about violent extremism and local dynamics - Engage with stakeholders through collaborative, transparent forums to develop pillars focused on key drivers of violent extremism	- Build in a process of regular revisions to address the evolving nature of violent extremism and incorporate lessons learned

Category	Recommendation	Immediate Tasks	Long-term Tasks
Coordination	**Create a central coordination mechanism (such as Kenya's National Counter-Terrorism Center) that manages the national strategy among government agencies and engages with CSOs, donors, and sub-national governments.**	- Invest the coordinating body with high-level political support, agenda-setting mandate, and financial resources. - Balance the composition of permanent and rotating seconded staff positions to ensure interagency coordination, innovation, deliberation, and institutional expertise.	
	Improve capacity of donors to coordinate P/CVE activities.		- Ensure that representatives of the P/CVE coordinating body participate in and play a facilitating role in P/CVE working group activities.
	Facilitate dialogue and coordination between stakeholders regarding implementation by establishing regular sub-national forums, similar to Kenya's County Engagement Forum.		- Increase buy-in of differing actors by establishing leadership posts (e.g. by pillar, actor type or for diversity interests) within the forum. - Establish formal mechanisms for setting the agenda for the forum so that diverse stakeholders can ensure issues of mutual concern and grievances are addressed.
Learning and Accountability	**Invest in an independent, non-governmental local research center that facilitates the sharing of data, research, and learning.**	- Develop a centralized, country-wide data hub which compiles open-access, geolocated data, and metadata on development programs and their evaluations.[191] • Require yearly data releases updates by both national and local government, as well as donors. • Sponsor scholarships for research and evaluation by local students. - Increase transparency related to security and intelligence data to investigate dynamics of radicalization and recruitment. These might include administrative data on tips, arrests & prosecutions, countered attacks, etc.	- Create a country-specific repository of lessons learned that is accessible to other policymakers and stakeholders.
	Develop mechanisms of accountability with national and county governments (like the Objectives and Key Results (OKR) framework) to promote more effective coordination between stakeholders implementing the national action plan.	- Use OKR or similar framework in national and local plans and communicate successes and challenges in implementation using standardized reporting. • Ensure there is sufficient evidence linking key results with desired objectives. Do not only measure what is easy to measure. • Implement a national survey on a regular basis in order to assess susceptibility to radicalization and to measure the success of government P/CVE interventions.	- Include mechanisms within the coordinating body to make modifications to its implementation plan based on feedback from national and local stakeholders.

Lessons for multilateral organizations and foreign partners

Category	Recommendation	Immediate Tasks	Long-term Tasks
Strategy and Capacity Building	Expand capacity building, training, and mainstreaming of the "whole of society" approach to CVE for governmental security, justice, and intelligence actors and relevant civil society actors.	- Establish South-South capacity training teams from Kenya and other countries that have direct experience with the challenges inherent to "whole of society" implementation in non-western countries.	- Create a certification of units and organizations in "whole of society" approach.
Coordination	Improve capacity of donors to coordinate P/CVE activities.	- Establish a P/CVE working group among major donors to encourage coordination on programming and funding, as has been done in Kenya. .	
Learning and Accountability	Invest in an independent, non-governmental local research center that facilitates the sharing of data, research, and learning.		- Fund South-South epistemic communities that facilitate knowledge sharing between national governments that are developing national strategies on P/CVE.
	Develop mechanisms of accountability with national and county governments (like the Objectives and Key Results (OKR) framework) to promote more effective coordination between stakeholders implementing the national action plan.	- Develop systems to ensure that that information on P/CVE activities at a local level is shared with the national government's coordinating body on a regular basis. - Theories of change and logical frameworks (log frames) should specify links between measured outcomes and national or county level OKRs and highlight where additional research is needed to provide support for these connections.	

Endnotes

1 Scholars and practitioners have debated the distinction between preventing violent extremism (PVE) and countering violent extremism (CVE). While some use the terms interchangeably, others strictly differentiate between projects that are meant to forestall engagement with violent extremist organizations, thus preventing violent extremism, and those focused on disengagement, or countering violent extremism. For the purposes of this Report, we generally refer to all activities aimed at reducing violent extremism under the inclusive term P/CVE.

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3 Interview instruments available upon request

4 Like "terrorism," there is no universal definition of "violent extremism" and the relationship between P/CVE and CT is contested. Some stakeholders consider P/CVE to be distinct from CT, while others would call the hard and soft distinction a false dichotomy and place P/CVE under the broader umbrella of CT.

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8 United States. (2011). Empowering Local Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States. Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Homeland Security. Retrieved from https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/empowering_local_partners.pdf

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10 Kundnani, A., & Hayes, B. (2018). The globalisation of countering violent extremism policies: Undermining human rights, instrumentalising civil society. Transnational Institute, pp. 7.

11 Prevent is one of the four pillars ("four P's") under the overall counter-terrorism strategy CONTEST and aims to stop people from becoming radicalized or involved in supporting terrorism in all its forms. The Four Pillars include: Prevent, Pursue, Protect, and Prepare. The U.K. Government defines violent extremism in the Prevent strategy as: opposition to "Fundamental British Values" which include democracy, the rule of law, respect, and tolerance.

12 TNI, p. 8. the EU Declaration on Combating Terrorism' adopted on 25 March 2004, and the 'EU Plan of Action on Combating Terrorism. The European Commission established the Expert Group on Violent Radicalisation in 2006.

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15 Rosand, E. (2017). UN Counterterrorism Reform: Now It's the Security Council's Turn. International Peace Institute: The Global Observatory. Retrieved from https://theglobalobservatory.org/2017/09/terrorism-countering-violent-extremism-guterres/

16 Annan, K. (2005). Secretary-General's Keynote Address to the Closing Plenary of the International Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security—'A Global Strategy for Fighting Terrorism.' Retrieved from https://www.un.org/sg/en/content/sg/speeches/2005-03-10/kofi-annan%E2%80%99s-keynote-address-closing-plenary-international-summit

17 Task Force on Extremism in Fragile States. (2019). Preventing Extremism in Fragile States: A New Approach. United States Institute for Peace. Retrieved from https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/2019-02/preventing-extremism-in-fragile-states-a-new-approach.pdf

18 Ibid

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21 Ibid, p. 2; Boutellis, A., & Fink, N. C. (2016). Waging Peace: UN Peace Operations Confronting Terrorism and Violent Extremism. International Peace Institute. Retrieved from https://www.ipinst.org/2016/10/un-peaceops-contronting-terrorism-extremism

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23 Remarks by Sarah Sewall, Under Secretary for Civilian Security, Democracy and Human Rights, July 8, 2015.

24 United States. (2011). Empowering Local Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States. Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Homeland Security. Retrieved from https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/empowering_local_partners.pdf

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30 United Nations. (15 June 2017). General Assembly approves creation of new UN Counter Terrorism Office. Retrieved from https://news.un.org/en/story/2017/06/559582-general-assembly-approves-creation-new-un-counter-terrorism-office#.Wbb2kciGPIU

31 Interview with anonymous UN watcher.

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33 Each UN agency each approaches PVE through its mandate. UNDP has a mandate to reduce violence under the Sustainable Development Goals and thus approaches PVE through the lens of political economy. In February 2017, UNDP published its own action plan, "Preventing Violent Extremism through Inclusive Development and the Promotion of Tolerance and Respect for Diversity."

34 There has been some backlash from Russia, Egypt, and other countries that believe P/CVE is a way for western countries to intervene in domestic affairs.

35 China and Russia have resisted the PVE's elevation of civil society and human rights; Ucko, 2018.

36 Interview with anonymous UN watcher.

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192 The Center for Human Rights and Policy Studies (CHRIPS) in Kenya has developed a "CVE Research Hub" with relevant organizations and some data. See: https://www.cve-kenya.org/


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