

BINDURA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE EDUCATION

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES



**THE ROLE OF REGIONAL SECURITY ARCHITECTURE IN COUNTERING
TERRORISM IN SADC: A CASE STUDY OF CABO DELGADO, MOZAMBIQUE**

By

CHRISTINE SHAMBAKUMANJA (B1953529)

A dissertation submitted to the department of Peace and Governance in Partial
fulfilment of the requirements for Master of Science in International Relations

Supervised by Dr C Muchemwa

Bindura, Zimbabwe

December 2024

Abstract

The aim of the study was to examine the role of regional cooperation in countering terrorism using the case study of Mozambique. The research questions sought to understand why terrorism emerged in Cabo Delgado province; probe the role of regional security arrangements in fighting terrorism; investigate why Mozambique turned to Rwanda for security in the wake of terrorist activities within her borders and how regional and national security can be improved in the fight against terrorism. The research population consisted of Mozambican government officials, SADC region member states, SADC organ on defence, NGOs concerned with terrorism and academics (2020 participants). Purposive sampling allowed the research to select participants with valuable information pertaining to the topic under study. Semi structured interviews, qualitative questionnaires and academic publications were used as data gathering tools in the qualitative study. The research found that religious and political differences are important factors in the emergence of violence and terrorist activity in Cabo Delgado as the increased tensions and misunderstandings. SADC mission to Mozambique was not well equipped and lacked adequate coordination. Furthermore, Mozambique proved to be a reliable partner in fighting Islamic insurgency in Cabo Delgado due to experience in counterinsurgency and disciplined military units. The research recommended that African countries should work together to standardise training and implementation of national and regional security measures to effectively deal with security threats emanating from terrorist activities.

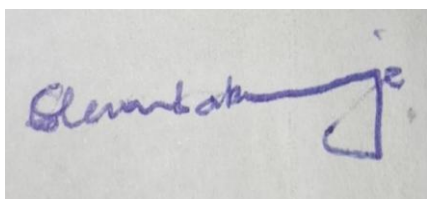
Key terms: insurgency, terrorism, religious extremism, regional security, bilateral arrangements

DECLARATION FORM

I, B1953529, author of this thesis, do hereby declare that the work presented in this document titled: “THE ROLE OF REGIONAL SECURITY ARCHITECTURE IN COUNTERING TERRORISM: A CASE STUDY OF CABO DELGADO, MOZAMBIQUE”, Is a result of my own research and independent work and that all the sources that I used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete reference. I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis has not already been submitted, either in whole or in part, for any other degree in this University or other institute of higher learning.

Student Signature

Date: 24 October 2025



Supervisor Dr C Muchemwa

Date

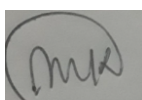


Signature

24 October 2025

Chairman Dr J Kurebwa

Date 27 October 2025


Signature

DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, husband and all my family for the endless support and motivation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the Almighty God for his grace and blessings also for giving me the strength to conquer and sail through my research. Secondly, I would like to thank and appreciate my supervisor Dr Muchemwa for his hard work and encouragement throughout this gruelling process. I am greatly indebted to my husband for his constant motivation and optimism from the begin till the end. Lastly, I express my sincere gratitude to friends and colleagues who helped me with various resources I needed to get the job done.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AU	African Union
EU	European Union
ICU	Islamic Courts Union
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
MNC	Multi-National Companies
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
RSA	Regional Security Arrangements
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UN	United Nations

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

The history of terrorism is disputed and complex resulting in definitional challenges as well. It is not agreed where or when terrorism started and this has also made it complex to clearly define what terrorism entails (Martin 2020). Whilst scholars debate the nature of terrorism, those who have been labelled terrorists have often disputed the label and those who impose it on others have often been inconsistent in its application (Law 2024). Jackson et al (2018) noted that it is common for opposing warring parties to label each other terrorists and more common for state authorities to label opponents to their authority as terrorists.

Whilst most notable terrorist organisations came to prominence in the 1970s, it was after the attack on the World Trade Centre on September 11, 2001 that killed 2977 people that made the world realise that terrorists had become significant non-state actors in international relations and conflict (Jackson et al 2018). To date, terrorism remains one of the biggest threats to global economic and political stability and the fact that it is carried out by non-state actors who perfect the art of hiding their identities makes it an ever-present threat (Rapoport 2022).

International response to terrorism has demanded that countries come together to share resources and intelligence to try and contain terrorist activities (Rapoport 2022). The United States of America has partnered with the European Union and some Asian, African and North American countries in their quest to curb the growing threat of terror as they realise that they cannot win the war against a stateless enemy alone (Cardoso 2021). This War on Terror has made regional security arrangements important in making sure that the shared threat of terrorism is countered by combined effort (Combs 2022). This has been necessitated in part by the growing number of terrorist cells and the emergence of various splinter groups around the

world that create and pose unique threats to countries or regions but need combined effort to fight off (Martin 2020).

Southern Africa, for the most part, did not experience major terror incidents for a long time after some parts of Africa did (Langa 2021). In 2017, Mozambique experienced growing terrorist activity, particularly in the Cabo Delgado province, that displaced an initial 8000 people and left several dead (Law 2024). The extremists, known locally as al-Shabaab, are more accurately recognised as Ansar al Sunna and have adopted ideologies and tactics of wanting to establish an Islamic caliphate in the province (Rapoport 2022). Questions have arisen with regards to their true motives and the timing of their emergence in relation to the discovery of resources in the region and some of those identified are from several African countries that have no roots or any socio-cultural links with Mozambique (Law 2024).

In response to these occurrences, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) established a mission to Mozambique to help out with the threat of terrorism as obliged by several security arrangements that SADC member states have generally agreed to (Jackson et al 2018). Mozambique also tried to put in place other arrangements such as Russian mercenaries and they also engaged the USA which has been helping to train Mozambican security officials on counter terrorism tactics (Combs 2022). However, controversy arose when the SADC mission in Mozambique was seemingly elbowed out by the Mozambican government itself and Rwanda, a country from East Africa, established itself as an important security partner in the war against terror in Mozambique. Rwanda, which has long been involved in the endless civil war in neighbouring Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), is controversial in terms of its involvement in mineral-rich countries but is at the same time one of the most experienced countries in dealing with insurgencies and destabilised regions (Cuco & Pedro 2023). Thus, this research intends to understand the role of regional security in countering terrorism and will use the case study of Mozambique.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Terrorists have taken a liking to resource rich third world countries as they move to secure such places to fund their operations thereby displacing communities and depriving governments of both revenue and control (Law 2023). 10 African countries are faced with direct terrorist involvement in their internal affairs whilst 5 more are experiencing sporadic terrorist activity with an estimated 16 billion United States Dollars looted due to terrorist activity in 2022 alone (Cuco & Pedro 2023). The growing number of African countries experiencing terrorism is of major concern to regional groups who desire to retain and maintain stability on the continent and this has put regional responses to terrorism under spotlight. Mozambique has found itself a target for terrorist activity since the discovery of natural resources resulting in instability and security risk for SADC region. Thus, the situation warrants an investigation into the architecture to combat terrorism in the SADC region and terrorist activity in Cabo Delgado presents a case study to understand how Mozambique and SADC have handled the occurrence of terrorism.

1.3 Aim of the study

The study aims to examine the role of regional cooperation in countering terrorism using the case study of Mozambique.

1.4 Research Objectives

The objectives of the research are:

1. To examine the emergence of terrorism in Cabo Delgado Province, Mozambique.
2. To explore the role of SADC's regional security arrangements in fighting terrorism
3. To analyse the reasons why Mozambique turned to Rwanda, outside its regional security arrangements, for security arrangements in the wake of terrorist activity within their borders

4. To suggest ways in which regional and national security can be improved in the fight against terrorism

1.5 Research questions

The study will seek to answer the following questions:

- 1) Why did terrorism emerge in the Cabo Delgado Province, Mozambique?
- 2) What is the role of SADC's regional security arrangements in fighting terrorism?
- 3) Why did Mozambique turn to Rwanda, which is outside its regional security arrangements for security arrangements in the wake of terrorist activities within their borders?
- 4) How can regional and national security be improved in the fight against terrorism?

1.6 Assumptions

The research assumes that resource allocation plays an important role in the ability of the SADC region bloc effectively intervening and helping deal with terrorist activity in Mozambique. Secondly, it is assumed that unique socio-cultural and economic conditions in Cabo Delgado influence the effectiveness of regional security responses to terrorism. Thirdly, it is also assumed that the presence of Rwanda and decline in SADC presence means that the bloc was not successful in carrying out its mandate of dealing with security threats to a member state.

1.7 Significance of the study

This study is significant to SADC because it explores the security dynamics in the region experiencing its first real terrorist threat. SADC is relatively new to dealing with terrorism in its borders so this research helps them to understand how the insurgency in Mozambique has shaped regional cooperation and to also understand what they need to do to

be effective in dealing with terrorism in the future. Other African regions also stand to benefit from the study because it also presents an opportunity to learn how regional responses should be structured for them to be effective by understanding how Mozambique's response and the Involvement of SADC have turned out.

The government of Mozambique, which has experienced terrorist activity and has had to decide on its security beyond its security forces, stands to benefit from this research because it analyses the response from Mozambique and offers recommendations that could help in making sure that they react in a manner ideal to combat the outbreak of terrorism effectively. This study will help with policy and decision making as it helps to understand the various factors involved in the response to the threat of terrorism.

The research will contribute immensely to the academic literature on regional security and counterterrorism, particularly in SADC which has not experienced many terror attacks prior to Cabo Delgado province. Thus, gaps in knowledge on SADC response, readiness and cooperation will also be filled by presenting a clearer picture of what is going on in Mozambique. Furthermore, the research helps academics understand the potential causes of terrorism in new regions that it had not been a threat before.

1.8 Delimitations of the study

According to Byrd (2020), delimitations are characteristics of the research that limit the scope and define the boundaries of the study and are deliberately established by the researcher. In order to keep research focused, the researcher has to establish limits in terms what the research can and cannot do (Hameed 2020). Delimiting factors in research can include the choice of objectives of the research, variables of interests, research questions, data gathering methods and choice of population that the researcher chooses to investigate (Brennen 2021). The first delimitation the researcher chose was to look into regional security arrangements in

the context of terrorism this helped to limit the study of regional security arrangements, which include a lot of areas, to terrorism specifically. The second delimitation was to limit the research to Cabo Delgado in Mozambique there by concentrating on that specific area rather than the entirety of SADC in order to use a case study that could be better understood. The choice of objectives, which informed the research questions, further narrowed down the focus of the research thereby influencing the nature of data to be gathered. These delimiting factors help to narrow the focus of the research and also increases chances of other researchers repeating the same study and getting similar results (Adler 2024).

1.9 Limitations of the study

Limitations in research refer to the influences on the research process and research outcomes that the researcher is not in control of and they limitations have an impact on the choice of methodology that the researcher can use thereby also impacting the conclusions of the research (Adler 2024). One of the anticipated challenges is that due to the sensitive nature of the research as it relates to state security arrangements, some potential respondents may not be willing to participate or provide accurate information. To counter this limitation, the research will make sure that the questions posed are appropriate and do not pose a threat to national and regional security.

Another anticipated limitation is the availability of respondents who are busy professionals that have significant responsibilities. To counter this limitation the researcher will be flexible enough to reschedule interviews and conduct them at the convenience of participants. Nasri (2023) reported a growing mistrust of researchers by government officials and others in sensitive jobs as they do not know how information will be used. To counter this challenge, the researcher will make sure they observe research ethics and provide participants

with confidentiality forms and not require them to provide their names during the interview itself.

1.10 Definition of key Terms

1.10.1 Terrorism

Terrorism in international relations is a complex and multifaceted concept that lacks a universally agreed and accepted definition. O'Hara (2023), however, broadly describes it as the calculated use of violence or threat of violence for purposes of instilling fear in a population with the purpose of coercing governments or societies in pursuit of political or religious objectives. Terrorism involves use of violence or the threat of violence against innocents for political or religious objectives and has both potential physical and psychological impact on targets (O'Hara 2023). Modern terrorism frequently transcends international borders and is highly organised with groups operating internationally (Brenner 2023). Most terrorist organisations are non-State entities that impact on international relations due to their cross-border activities and reach (Lucas 2024). For purposes of this research, terrorism will be defined as acts of violence or threats of violence against communities perpetrated by none state entities with religious and political agendas.

1.10.2 Regional Security Arrangements

Regional Security Arrangements (RSAs) are cooperative frameworks established among states within a specific geographic region to address security challenges and enhance collective defence (Lucas 2023). RSAs are not limited to military threats and can be used to help tackle other threats to populations and economies (Brenner 2023). Lucas (2024) noted that such arrangements take up various forms including treaties, alliances, organisations and informal partnerships with a focus on regional issues that transcend national boundaries. RSAs respond to various security threats such as armed conflicts, transnational crime and

environmental disasters within a region that require a collective effort to manage (Donald 2023). Lucas (2024) insists that such arrangements also serve as deterrence mechanisms against would be aggressors thereby providing safety in numbers. In this study, Regional Security Arrangements will refer to any formal or informal regional arrangements established by countries in a geographic region to deal with common threats within a region.

1.10.3 Insurgency

Insurgency refers to a movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict (Baker 2020). Regardless of the causes of an insurgency, it tries to topple a recognised government by using force and other means making it constitutionally illegal in most countries in the world and can sometimes be punished as treason (Kavas 2022). In Cabo Delgado, insurgency used guerrilla and terror tactics to challenge state authority and control over the province (Bromley 2021). In this research, insurgency refers to the actions of non-state actors that directly challenge the authority and sovereignty of the elected government for purposes of controlling territory.

1.10.4 Bilateral security arrangements

Bilateral security arrangements refer to the agreements or partnerships between two countries aimed at enhancing mutual security interests (Baker 2020). Such arrangements can encompass wide range activities such as intelligence sharing, joint exercises and direct military intervention when security threats occur (Kava 2022). Such arrangements can focus on counter terrorism, defence collaboration and border controls (Baker 2020). In this research, bilateral security arrangements refer to the security arrangements made by two countries to commit to helping each other deal with security threats.

1.11 Dissertation outline

Chapter one outlines research objectives and the research questions which are to be answered. The chapter also contains the research justification and provides a comprehensive statement of the problem. Chapter two contains the theoretical framework to be used to analyze and make sense of data as well as literature review which looks at the works of other published authors relevant to the research. Chapter three presents the research methodology to be employed by the research. The research design, data gathering techniques, population, sampling strategy and data analysis approach are all detailed. Chapter four presents the relevant data gathered in a logical sequence determined by the researcher. Chapter five consists of conclusions from the research process and also recommendations made by the researcher based on research findings.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THERORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter looks into existing and relevant literature on terrorism within an African context and explains the causes and influences of terrorism on the continent. A case study of how a regional bloc has fared in dealing with terrorism in the past is shared. Realism is also introduced and used to explain how sovereign states make decisions in an anarchic international system and the justification for collective security is also explained.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

A theoretical framework is a foundational structure that guides the study by outlining concepts, theories and variables that are relevant to the research problem (Elliot 2021). It serves as a road map for the research process by helping to connect the study to existing knowledge and providing the basis for analysing and interpreting data (Williams 2021). This section introduces the theoretical framework used by the study and looks at some literature.

2.2.1 Realism

Realism is a prominent framework in international relations that emphasises the anarchic nature of the global system in which countries exist and interact (Gibbs 2020). Whilst realism perceives states as the primary actors in international relations, it highlights the importance of the pursuit of national interests as each state tries to use resources available to it to attain greater influence (Booth 2020). Gibbs (2020) notes that states are concerned primarily with security and power in their interactions with other states and this makes realism important when it comes to analysing the decisions countries make when it comes to security.

Although each state is naturally concerned primarily with its security and acquiring power, it enters into security arrangements with states that share its ideology because it understands the value of collective security to deter or defend against hostile states (Booth 2020). This leads to the formation of regional and international security arrangements. SADC has security as part of its cooperative arrangements and this naturally compels the organisation to intervene if the security of one of its member states is under threat (Ahmed 2020). According to realism, it is in the best interests of SADC to eliminate security threats in one of its members as these threats may spread to all SADC states due to the anarchic nature of international relations (Smith 2020). Thus, realism helps to understand the decisions and choices made by Mozambique in the wake of terrorist attacks in Cabo Delgado and also looks their national interests have fared in the wake of regional interests.

The biggest challenge of applying classical realism in the context of terrorism in Mozambique is that the framework insists that states are primary actors in international relations thereby not fully acknowledging the impact of global non-state actors such as terrorist organisations (Smith 2020). Ahmed (2020) argues that although Multi-National Companies and other organisations like terrorist formations have become important players in international relations, states remain the primary decision makers in international relations thereby retaining relevance and authority. However, realism does acknowledge the various interests of member states of SADC in dealing or handling the terrorist attacks in Mozambique and why Mozambique has made the choices it did in the wake of the attacks (Smith 2020). Realism helps to understand a state's interests and the collective regional interests and how states navigate these delicate interests and relationships in order to come up with policies and actions (Gibbs 2020).

2.3. Terrorism in the African Context

Terrorism has impacted the world in various ways with increased intensity since the 1980s culminating in the September 11 attacks and the invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan by a coalition led by the USA in order to try and root out terrorist networks (Bala and Tar 2021). The impact of terrorism on various countries and regions is not similar due to environmental factors that already exists in those countries. Whilst terrorist organisations have tended to plant terror attacks and events in the Western world, in regions like Asia and Africa, they have set up structures and in some instances, established parallel structures of administration to rival existing ones and exert their dominance and control (Ihenonu et al 2022). Some outfits that started off being recognised as terrorist groups have evolved to become political entities that in some instances have now come to hold officially recognised authority (Alimi 2021).

In Africa, terrorism has found a natural home because of the prevailing economic and social conditions (Manning 2024). Terrorist organisations have relatively done well in countries that are characterised by poor security arrangements and where there is civil unrest and this describes a lot of countries in Africa where political stability has not been known since independence from colonial rule as tribalism, military coups and corruption have rendered nations ungovernable (Alimi 2021). The connection between most terrorist organisations and Islam has been well documented and with 41% of Africa identifying as Muslim in 2020, it has been easier to radicalise people on the continent for the causes of terrorist organisations (Manning 2024).

2.3.1 Political reasons the for spread of terrorism in Africa

As alluded to earlier, most of Africa is characterised by volatile political environments owing to ethnic conflicts in many countries and these have left many communities feeling disenfranchised resulting in disgruntlement and ill feelings towards governments (Mufufi et al

2023). Motoya (2021) observed that whilst Europe and many other parts of the world derived statehood from nationhood, meaning that people from the same nation created their own countries, Africa was carved up rather hastily at the now infamous Berlin conference and this set up the continent for future troubles within the countries created (Mufufi et al 2023). Furthermore, the sheer number of African tribes would have made it nearly impossible to grant them all statehood and these challenges of tribal conflicts would have arisen anyway (Manning 2024). What these conditions have created is fertile ground for hate and mistrust which has made it easier for terrorist to infiltrate and indoctrinate disgruntled communities to turn against their governments by aiding terrorist organisations (Ajide et al 2022). Oji (2022) noted that political differences emanating from tribal conflicts have been pivotal to the radicalisation of certain tribes to join terrorist organisations.

Failure of governments to come to amicable terms with separatist movements has also resulted in terrorist infiltration of such groups (Oji 2022). In countries like Somali and Nigeria, some groups have tried to break away as they seek to govern their affairs and they have been met with force from central governments which has frustrated them and left them desperate (Ajide et al 2022). Most of these groups already being Muslim and seeking socio-political autonomy to practice their faith, have been easily indoctrinated by ideas of Islamic caliphates resulting in them eventually being radicalised (Oji 2022). Thus, the failure to reach political solutions that offer some sort of semi autonomy to some regions in volatile African countries has contributed significantly to the rise of terrorism on the continent.

Colonialism left a legacy of hatred and mistrust of the West in many African countries that still have generations that witnessed the brutality of colonial regimes even now (Chidozie 2023). These groups have negative perceptions of Western countries that have been perceived by governments as key partners for development (Motoya 2021). This has created political tensions with some groups that feel that Western countries continue to dominate their

government post-independence through policies and economic activities that exploit their resources (Asongu et al 2021). This has made such groups more sympathetic to separatist movements and terrorist organisations that have anti West doctrines (Chidozie 2023).

In some African countries, successive political administrations have not been able to secure their border and provide adequate security for their citizens. The lack of adequate security and unmanned borders has often resulted in the unchecked and illegal flow of people from one place to another (Karake 2021). For terrorist organisations fleeing the Middle East conflicts with the USA and its allies, Africa has become a natural home where they can hide and reorganise undetected (Oji 2022). Furthermore, as the capture of various towns or regions by terrorist organisations on the continent has shown, the lack of security has made it easy for terrorists to lay claim to significant resources on the continent thereby helping them establish themselves (Onuga et al 2023). In some areas where central and local governments have not been operational due to ongoing conflicts, well organised terrorist groups have emerged as political solutions and have been welcomed by locals who seek some form of stability in their day-to-day affairs (Oji 2022).

Since most African countries declared independence from colonial rule, they have witnessed failure to transition to functioning democracies as leaders often fail to share and then relinquish power after their terms are done (Onuga et al 2023). Corrupt government officials have amassed wealth at the expense of communities and many African leaders have held onto power longer than what constitutions allow leading to political strife and unrest (Gumede 2023). This has led to growing anti-government sentiments in most parts of Africa which has created fertile ground for the growth of separatist movements which have been known to use terror tactics and align themselves with known terrorist organisations who sympathise with their cause (Gumede 2023).

The use of state apparatus by politicians to persecute their enemies is rife in Africa and has resulted in many conflicts. Human rights violations, often targeting opposition political parties and opponents from other tribes are a regular occurrence in Africa that has left many feeling disgruntled with central governments (Chidozie 2023). Gumede (2023) noted that human rights violations such as extrajudicial executions, jailing opponents without proper constitutional procedures and the use of security arms and courts to deliberately violate the rights of people have left many bitter and vulnerable to radical doctrines such as terrorist ideology. Thus, many former opposition figures have been aligned to organisations that are known to spread terror as they try to fight back and attain justice for themselves and their loved ones (Motoya 2021).

2.3.2 Economic influences of terrorism

Poverty is a significant driver of terrorism in Africa. The high levels of poverty and unemployment that characterise African societies have left many individuals desperate leading to them being easily indoctrinated by various groups, including terrorist organisations (Raheem 2022). Ajide (2022) noted that with no source of income and living in dire poverty, terrorism has become a source of income for many young people in Africa because terrorist organisations are known to pay their members in United States Dollars. Raheem (2022) found out that salaries for terrorist organisation members were reported in 2018 to be around 300 United States Dollars which is a lot of money considering the levels of poverty and unemployment that characterise African communities. With limited or no education, many African youths from rural and poor areas are not equipped to compete for the few available jobs and this has made various militia groups attractive to them as they bring financial rewards (Ajide 2022). Kim (2022) asserted that some of the young people who have joined terrorist organisations do not necessarily believe in the doctrines of the organisations but realise the financial benefits that come with being associated with them.

Regional disparities in the distribution of wealth have constantly been a cause for concern in Africa and resulted in many civil conflicts (Kim 2022). There is a tendency to concentrate development in a few areas in Africa and the areas are usually where leaders come from or areas perceived to be of national importance and this is done at the expense of other areas (Ajide et al 2022). In Nigeria, for instance, many oil rich regions remain poor as money generated from activities in those areas is used to develop other areas of the country leading to many becoming frustrated and turning on the government (Motoya 2021). Terrorist organisations often promise regions that they will be allowed to benefit from the proceeds of natural resources in their area and this is appealing to local communities (Abrams 2021). Terrorist organisations have often targeted poor and disenfranchised communities who already have reasons to hate governments and have some natural resources that can be exploited for money by the terrorists (Onuga et al 2023). Thus, these economic factors and their social implications create conditions that are ripe for the exploitation of communities by terrorist organisations (Abrams 2021).

As already mentioned, many African regions have been faced with ongoing instability caused by years of civil strife which has resulted in low or no economic activity meaning that communities live in constant poverty with no hope of ever creating lasting livelihoods in sight (Onuga et al (2023). The long-term effects of lack of political stability is that people cannot find employment or create economic opportunities for themselves consistently and this has led to the rise of dissent which has been exploited by organisations intent on spreading terror (Mufufi et al 2023). In areas where terrorist activities have already taken root, they have also contributed significantly to low economic output resulting in increased poverty and low GDP (Karake 2021). This means that terrorist activity has created more economic hardships and conditions that do not favour any investment from local and international organisations thereby exacerbating poverty and economic hardships in Africa (Mufufi et al 2023).

In areas where terrorists have seized control of economic resources, they have exploited these resources for the gain of their organisations and networks and not the people in communities that they have occupied (Onuga et al 2023). Most terrorist organisations have regional and international networks that they rely on for arms and other supplies and those networks in turn also rely on African partners for resources that help to fund the acquisition and building of weapons and ammunition (Ajide 2022). Thus, in regions where resources have fallen in the hands of terrorist organisations, they have exploited them for their gain which has led to increased poverty amongst locals and further disgruntlement towards governments for not being able to provide security for the people (Asongu et al 2021). Abrams (2021) reported that forced and free labour is common in terrorist-controlled areas in Africa as ordinary people are made to work for free towards the causes of the terror groups. The looting and exploitation of the resources of villagers has also happened constantly with many losing livestock that is taken to feed terrorist organisations without any compensation resulting in deepening poverty and malnutrition (Motoya 2021).

2.3.3 Cultural and religious factors influencing terrorism

In Africa, the various independent city states that characterised most of the continent prior to colonialism still hated and fought one another even during the period of colonisation and this has resulted in a history of dislike amongst some major tribes in African countries (Raheem 2022). The colonial powers tapped into this hatred as they employed divide and rule strategies often getting one tribe to police their rivals thereby making sure the tribes would never unite to fight them as one (Karake 2021). Post-independence, the hatred became more pronounced as tribes often jostled for political control and the emergence of political parties along tribal lines and not ideological positions further cemented the deep fissures within African communities (Raheem 2022). Thus, a history of violence and mistrust left African

communities disjointed and made it easier for armed groups, such as terrorist organisations, to infiltrate and recruit communities to stand against their governments (Motoya 2021).

In the wake of traditional clan/tribal rivalries, politicians have also created a new culture of violence and suppression by establishing militia groups that they have armed to terrorise political opponents and ordinary citizens to intimidate them into voting for them (Motoya 2021). Political violence is a well-known and often used tactic in Africa where leaders often gain and retain power through the use of force (Raheem 2022). This has created frustration and hatred in many communities leading to the radicalisation of opponents of the government who feel the need to fight back leading to civil unrest (Oji 2022). Terrorist organisations are often well connected and well-resourced and this makes them likely allies for groups that rise to challenge the corrupt and suppressive rule in their countries (Chidozie 2023). Oji (2022) explained that most organisations who end up aiding terrorist organisations did not start out with the intention of doing so but found them to be helpful allies in their fight for justice and fairness.

Chidozie (2023) observed that years of prolonged trauma have led to various psychological factors which impact the decisions and choices made by individuals when it comes to association with radical groups. The intergenerational trauma caused by decades of fighting that stretches from pre-independence and now to post independence has left communities angry and seeking revenge (Raheem 2022). These conditions have made it easier to radicalise communities that are used to violence in any case and are also faced with mental challenges due to constant war and hardships that come with instability (Chidozie 2023).

Some African communities perceive the terrorist organisations as freedom fighters against unjust rule. During the wars of independence across Africa, nationalists were branded as terrorists trying to disrupt communities by the colonial regimes yet they fought for the rights

of Africans and the terrorists today are perceived to be fighting for justice for the people who are not happy with matters pertaining to bad governance (Onuga et al 2023). The use of state apparatus to exercise violence against citizens is one of the reasons why they have resolved to sympathise with terrorist causes (Gumede 2023). Some communities actually believe that terrorists organisations have their best interests at heart in fighting the government because they do not relate to their governments at all resulting in them aiding terrorists in their movements and operations against government forces (Gumede 2023).

In their quest for survival in harsh economic and political environments, communities do what they can in order to survive (Onuga et al 2023). Mufufi et al (2023) noted that due to a lack of adequate security from central and regional governments, African communities are left to fend for themselves against various armed groups, the government at times and also terrorist groups. In the end, the survival of communities takes precedence leading to some of the communities opting to play along with whichever side offers them the best deal or seems to be winning at that moment in time (Manning 2024).

The rise of extremist interpretations of Islam has significantly impacted communities and aided the cause of terrorist organisations. Manning (2024) noted that the steady and gradual spread of extreme religious views coupled with social and economic hardships have led to many Islamic communities embracing doctrines they never considered before. In trying to make sense of their existence, particularly their poverty, communities have been swayed to believe that it is a result of conditions that are not in love with Islamic teachings and have embraced the idea that in order to turn their fortunes around, radical measures need to be considered (Mufufi et al 2023). This has led to some believing that sacrificing themselves, through acts of terror which supposedly bring glory to Allah, will take them to heaven which is better than their current existence (Manning 2024). Thus, poverty and desperation have aided

the infiltration and acceptance of extreme doctrines which are used by terrorists to radicalise African people (Onuga et al 2023).

2.4 Cabo Delgado and terrorism

The Cabo Delgado province is located in the North of Mozambique and it is known for its considerable natural resources, particularly natural gas (Raineri 2022). It is characterised by many socio-economic challenges that have left its population in poverty with high levels of unemployment and underdevelopment (Waller 2022). The people in the province have often complained about being neglected by the central government despite resources being exploited in the region to benefit some parts of the country and wealthy organisations (Waller 2022).

In 2017, an organisation which calls itself Ansar al-Sunna, which translates to “Supporters of the Tradition, (of the Prophet Muhammad)” emerged driven by religious beliefs (Masuku 2022). The group alleged that it was its responsibility to stand up against the failure of the government to address the grievances of local communities and it believed that waging war against the government was the only acceptable solution to correcting the injustice (Coimbra 2023). By 2019, the insurgency had escalated with coordinated attacks of military bases, government properties and civilian populations for the purposes of instilling terror and fear (Felix 2023). The attacks were carried out against all who were deemed to be allies of the government resulting in a lot of displacement and uncertainty within the local populations (Coimbra 2023). These growing sophisticated attacks warranted a response from the Mozambican central government (Felix 2023).

2.5 Regional security arrangements

Regional Security Arrangements (RSAs) encompass a variety of cooperative frameworks that are designed to address security challenges that transcend national borders (Waller 2022). These arrangements include treaties, military alliances, informal networks

amongst state and non-state actors and intelligence as well as data sharing (Odasanya 2021). RSAs can be pacts that promise that if one country is attacked then others who are part of the arrangement promise to respond with military action (Gibbs 2020). Arrangements such as North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) focus of dealing with external aggression thereby serving also as deterrence mechanisms (Smith 2020). Other arrangements, such as those of the AU are designed to de-escalate conflicts, protect civilians and make sure that fighting stops spreading (Gibbs 2020).

Gibbs (2020) observed that in the context of terrorism, RSAs are important in intelligence sharing, joint military operations and other actions that discourage and try to remove the threats of terrorism. Raineri (2022) noted that tracking the movement of terrorists across borders along with key resources such as weapons and financing is collective effort that helps governments to tackle the challenge together as one country would not have the resources and reach to do it on their own. However, the effectiveness of RSAs is often contingent upon the political will of member states and the capacity of states to honour agreements that they have committed to (Raineri 2022). Some countries or entire regions lack the human and financial resources needed to combat terrorism despite the willingness to do so (Felix 2023).

2.5.1 SADC security arrangements

The SDAC Protocol on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation of 2001 outlines principles for collective cooperation among member states in the region (Waller 2022). It emphasises the need and expectation for a unified response to military threats, including terrorism and promotes the sharing of intelligence and other necessary areas of cooperation that enhance peace and security in the region (Masuku 2022). The protocol is focused more on the existence of external threats and the emergence of groups that use or threaten to use force

outside the state system meaning SADC countries can also intervene during civil altercations in support of legitimately established governments (Waller 2022).

The SADC organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation is a body tasked with overseeing joint military exercises and intelligence sharing with the mandate to also pre-empt and quickly respond to terrorist activities within SADC (Masuku 2022). Furthermore, the SADC Mutual Defence pact provides for collective defence measures in the event of aggression against a member state thereby reinforcing SADC's commitment to regional stability (Felix 2023). The various mechanisms put in place by SADC towards ensuring security suggests that the region takes matters like terrorism seriously and has put in place the necessary tools to help and guide on course of action in the event of such occurrences (Felix 2023).

SADC has conducted regular military training and joint military exercises to help with preparedness to counter security threats in the region (Masuku 2022). China, USA and the UK are amongst many countries that have partnered with SADC to provide expert training particularly in the area of terrorism and how to deal with such threats in the region (Alimi 2021). Joint military exercises are held frequently in SADC with key army personal meeting regularly to discuss how they can be better prepared to deal with security threats (Raineri 2022).

More important to how SADC has prepared itself to handle security threats has been intelligence sharing and capacity building. Whilst each country retains control over its own military, member states have tried to increase their security and subsequently regional security through purchasing state of the art equipment that helps to monitor and also fend off threats (Ranieri 2022). The acquisition of surveillance equipment such as drones has been heralded as important to monitoring vast unmanned borders in the region and helping track down unusual movements that may represent regional security threats (Alimi 2021). Intelligence sharing has also increased with technology improvements as countries can share vital intelligence on

military threats in real time thereby helping to make informed collective decisions (Waller 2022).

2.6 East African Regional Blocs Addressing Terrorism in Somalia

2.6.1 Intergovernmental Authority on Development

Terrorism has been a persistent challenge in East and Central Africa regions for a long time and most of the prominent activities there are directly linked to Al-Shabaab which is a militant group originally based in Somalia (Gerald 2022). The African Union has long provided and administrative support in efforts to combat terrorism on the continent but its lack of a standing army and reliance on contributions from members states have meant that countries rely on the formation of regional blocs in order to guarantee their security (Lofaney 2022).

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) consists of 8 countries from the Horn of Africa, Nile Valley and the African Great Lakes (Tremlet 2022). Head quartered in Djibouti, IGAD was founded in 1986 with the initial goal of improving regional cooperation and integration among member states with the aim of improving welfare for all its citizens (Lofaney 2022). Over the years, the rise of terrorism in Africa, particularly amongst IGAD member states, has expanded its mandate to also include providing security for member states and terrorism is one of the areas of cooperation that the organisation has strengthened significantly (Tremlet 2022). Gerald 2022) noted that IGAD like most regional groups around the world, recognise that terrorism usually spreads across borders if allowed to take root in one country and this makes its manifestation in one country a security concern for all states. Although its member states fall into other geographical and economic regional blocs, IGAD has emerged as strong ally of Somalia after the emergence of Al-Shabaab due to greater commitment to tackle terrorism (Gerald 2022).

2.6.2 The Rise of Al-Shabaab in Somalia

Officially known as Harakat al-Shabaab al-Mujahideen, the organisation commonly referred to as Al-Shabaab emerged in the mid-2000s from a coalition of sharia courts that were known as the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) which sought to restore order in the civil war-torn country of Somalia following the collapse of the central government in 1991 (Lofaney 2022). The ICU had managed to gain control over most of southern Somalia and the Al-Shabaab was its youth militia known to have connections to various extremist Islamic group in the Arab world (Mwangi 2023).

Al-Shabaab was formed as a direct response to the perceived need for a more radical approach to governance after years of foreign intervention and civil strife in Somalia (Mwangi 2023). The leaders of the organisation were influenced by Salafi jihadist ideologies that sought to establish puritanical Islamic states governed by Sharia law throughout the Muslim world (Danisa 2023). Initial reluctance to acknowledging the Al-Shabaab by locals turned when Ethiopia invaded Somalia in December 2006 (Nakisa 2023). Al-Shabaab was all of a sudden seen as the legitimate resistance to foreign invasion and the heavy-handed tactics of the Ethiopians led to many disgruntled Somalians joining Al-Shabaab (Danisa 2023). By 2008, Al-Shabaab was well armed and conducted full scale guerrilla warfare against the Transitional Federation Government that had been installed by Ethiopia (Nakisa 2023). The political authority of Al-Shabaab had also begun to grow in regions that it controlled and administered (Gerald 2022).

Following the withdrawal of Ethiopia in 2009, Al-Shabaab begun fighting for control with the interim government and established dominance in south Somali where it implemented strict interpretation of Sharia law which solidified its support amongst some Muslim communities (Mansah 2023). Al-Shabaab escalated its guerrilla tactics against the central

establishment in Somalia and it begin using terrorist attacks on civilian populations in order to instil fear and force the government to yield to its demands (Mwangi 2023). The increasing intensity of these attacks, including suicide bombings, resulted in international outcry as the organisation disrupted social and political organisation (Danisa 2023).

In 2008, the United States of America designated Al-Shabaab an international terrorist organisation which restricted its access to international funding as its emerging ties with other well-known terrorist organisations became apparent (Mwangi 2023). As most of the Western world followed suit shortly afterwards, Al-Shabaab became recognised as a defender against Western intervention and aggression further cementing its position with sympathisers (Tremlet 2022). The assassination of its leader the same year replaced him with a more extreme and violent leader which escalated its terror activities (osrec). In 2010, Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility for an attack in Kampala marking its first serious attack outside of Somalia (Danisa 2023).

2.6.3 Regional Response

In 2007, IGAD received the cooperation of the AU to create and authorize AMISOM which comprised of troops from Uganda, Burundi, Ethiopia, Kenya and Djibouti with many other African and international countries providing financial and military support for the mission to Somalia (Mwangi 2023). The mission was designed to help the Somali Transitional government deal with Al-Shabaab as the main threat to democratic processes and also other armed groups that had emerged after years without a centralised government (Nakisa 2023). Mensah (2023) noted that without a legitimate and established central government. Somalia had become a failed state leading various clans and communities to arm themselves in order to defend their interests from other groups (Mansah 2023). This further complicated the mission designed to flash out the Al-Shabaab as these groups had to be convinced to disarm or align

themselves with the central government (Mansah 2023). Many of them did not trust the AU lead mission because they did not like the idea of foreigners being involved in their affairs, particularly countries like Ethiopia that they perceived to be enemies of their state (Nakisa 2023).

Further from creating liberalised and demilitarised zones, the AU also sought to provides much needed humanitarian assistance to the people of Somalia. Millions of Somalians had been displaced and left malnourished and lacked medical health care which resulted in a humanitarian crisis that was described by the UN secretary general as one of the worst humanitarian crises the world had seen post World War 2 (Raheem 2022). Al-Shabaab resorted to terror tactics as it attacked AU convoys and the people, they sought to protect using guerrilla warfare tactics and the lack of general security meant that they could escape and attack again with ease (Raineri 2022). Raheem (2022) noted that this one of the most dangerous missions the AU had ever embarked on as they experienced casualties of both combatant and non-combatant personnel as their enemy did not discriminate between peace keepers, health workers and military personnel.

One of the most significant operations undertaken by AMISOM was Operation Eagle which was undertaken in 2011. Operation Eagle aimed to secure the capital of Mogadishu and drive out Al-Shabaab from strong holds in the city (Waller 2022). In a matter of days, AMISOM troops begun to make significant inroads as they drove out Al-Shabaab from significant and strategic locations (Mwangi 2023). AMISOM expanded their offensive to other cities like Baidoa which they successfully liberated after intensive battles with Al-Shabaab which they overwhelmed with their numbers and effective military strategies designed to counter guerrilla warfare that was employed by Al-Shabaab (Lofaney 2022).

Whilst the liberation of key cities and key infrastructure was a success for AMISOM, one of the most enduring efforts of their campaign was the training and arming of the Somalia National Army (SNA) (Lofaney 2022). This was important to make sure that the Somali government could deal with internal security matters long term and also be able to provide, intelligence and military support to other regional nations should they need them (Odasunya 2021). Thus, the straightening of Somali's army was also seen as a step towards strengthening collective security in the volatile region as a strong Somali military would help with growing insurgencies in the Central and East African regions (Waller 2022). AMISOM was a success as it showed that it was possible for regions to cooperate and rely on each other for security and to deal with common threats such as terrorism (Odasunya 2021).

In 2014, AMISOM launched Operation Indian Ocean which focused on Al-Shabaab's maritime operations and logistics (Danisa 2023). It aimed at cutting off supplies and reinforcements that Al-Shabaab was receiving via the maritime operations and also the reinforcements it was receiving in personnel and weapons from other sources as well (Danisa 2023). This operation was also successful and it managed to help deal with the threats posed by Al-Shabaab to the national security of Somalia. This operation also included significant intelligence sharing and the deployment of drones, satellites and other advanced equipment with the help of Western countries such as the USA and France showing the potential of regional security arrangements in roping in international support for security purposes and dealing with international terrorism (Mensah 2023).

2.6.4 Failures and Limitations

However, IGAD and AU efforts were not without limitations and restrictions. Despite making impressive gains and flushing Al-Shabaab out of cities and towns, the group remained a threat in the vast and sparsely populated rural and desert areas of Somalia and the lack of

surveillance and reach to those areas meant that Al-Shabaab could still spring surprise attacks from time to time thereby creating uncertainty and maintaining the fear and terror that they had always intended to instil into the Somalian people (Mensah 2023). Furthermore, the political divisions between the Interim Federal Government and the various regional governments also lead to a lack of cooperation in the long term with some regional governments accused of backing Al-Shabaab (Waller 2022). This undermined the progress and efforts of AMISOM in some areas of Somalia.

It should also be noted that AMISOM faced significant resource limitations, particularly in terms of funding, and this resulted in them not being able to consolidate gains made during their operations (Waller 2022). Limited resources often meant that they had to wait for months until they could move again and this gave a strategic advantage to Al-Shabaab as they could regroup before they were attacked again (Mensah 2023). The withdrawal of troops from some nations during operations also caused logistical challenges that often meant that efforts had to be scaled back significantly (Waller 2022). Due to the guerrilla tactics of the Al-Shabaab group, AMISOM was forced to confront them in populated areas resulting in civilian deaths which helped the cause of Al-Shabaab as they angered locals (Nakisa 2023). This often meant that some communities would hide Al-Shabaab fighters from AMISOM and also be involved in ambushes that lead to AMISOM casualties.

Despite the setbacks and constant lack of adequate funding, AMISOM was a success as it helped the central government in Somalia to gain control of most areas and critical infrastructure (Naisa 2023). AMISOM also set precedence to wider AU and regional involvement in security matters post the year 2000s and set the basis for intelligence training and surveillance in most regions in Africa (Raineri 2022).

2.7 Chapter Summary

Realism theory of international relations was discussed to show how and why states make decisions in an anarchic global environment and the motivations for collective security were also discussed. The concept of terrorism was discussed and then explained in an African context. The social, cultural, political and economic factors impacting terrorism in Africa were explained. A case study of Somalia and regional assistance to deal with the Al-Shabaab terrorist organisation was also presented and discussed.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the methodological choices that guided the research by explaining in detail why they were the best choices available. The research philosophy, design and sampling procedures are all explain in detail. The chapter also explains why the research used certain data gathering techniques and also explains how these were developed and used.

3.2 Research philosophy

There are important philosophical differences between studies that focus on qualitative analysis and those that take quantitative approach. Adler (2022) described the research philosophy as the beliefs about the ways in which data about a phenomenon should be collected. Thus, addressing the research philosophy involves formulating fundamental beliefs and assumptions about the area under study and the means through which data can be best gathered (Tracy 2024). The two main research paradigms are phenomenology and positivism. Phenomenological research is a deep investigation into the experiences of individuals or groups of individuals in order to understand how they derive meanings from their experiences or the experiences of others (Adler 2022). Whilst there are several variations of phenomenological research, this research used the interpretivist approach.

The interpretivist approach lets results evolve naturally which is different from other approaches that begin with a hypothesis and work to prove or disapprove the original theory (Hameed 2020). Therefore, the goal is to develop an understanding by running information through filters of social constructs, cultural norms and relationships between the various subjects under investigation (Nasri 2023). In the context of Cabo Delgado, the study sought to understand how regional security structures, in this instance SADC security arrangements, and

their response to terrorism are shaped by perceptions, beliefs and actions of local, regional and international stakeholders. The region's diverse social, political, and historical contexts demand an approach that considers the nuanced and subjective meanings attached to security practices and responses.

3.3 Research Approach

Elliot (2021) defined research design as the plans that guide decisions as to when and how to collect the data, from whom and how to analyse the collected data. The research of design is a set of methods and procedures that are used in collecting and analysing measures of the variables specified in the research problem (Adler 2022). The research design will often determine the study type because it provides guidance as to what the researcher can do and cannot do (Elliot 2021). The major types of research are explanatory research, exploratory research, descriptive research and correlational research (Adler 2022).

Exploratory research is flexible and can be used to address all types of research questions (Adler 2022). It is often not generalisable to larger populations and relies on smaller samples making it suited to studies whose focus is not broad populations (Pioli et al 2020). Byrd (2020) observed that the main aim of exploratory research is to identify the boundaries of the environment in which problems or situations of interest likely reside and to identify the salient factors that may be found and be relevant to the research outcomes. The main advantage of exploratory research is its ability to lay the initial ground work for future research on the subject under study and other areas similar to it (Hameed 2020). By using a qualitative approach, exploratory research helps to understand moods, thoughts and feelings that led to certain choices thereby helping to fill existing knowledge gaps and open up new areas of further study (Pioli et al 2020).

3.4 Research Design

The research approach is the systemic theoretical analysis of the methods applied to a field or study and it comprises of the theoretical analysis of the collective of methods and principles associated with a branch of knowledge (Hameed 2020). Tracy (2024) explained that the research approach is a general research strategy that outlines how the research is to be undertaken and it defines the methods to be used, defines the means or modes of collecting data and outlines how specific results will be calculated, amongst other things. It is important to note that the research approach does not set out to provide any solutions meaning it is not the same as a research method (Hameed 2020). Instead, the approach offers a theoretical underpinning for understanding which method or set of methods can be applied to a specific case (Tracy 2024). The three major approaches are quantitative research, qualitative research and mixed methods. This research used qualitative research.

3.4.1 Qualitative research

Qualitative research is a scientific method of observation used to gather non-numerical data in research (Tracy 2024). The type of data collected by qualitative research refers to meanings, characteristics, concept definitions, symbols, metaphors and the description of things (Pioli et al 2020). Qualitative research also uncovers trends in opinions, thoughts and obtaining a deeper understanding of a situation or problem (Bouter 2020). Qualitative research is primarily exploratory as it is used to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, causes, opinions and motivations (Bouter 2020). It usually provides insights into problems and helps to develop hypotheses for quantitative research (Naeem et al 2023). Qualitative research methods vary from unstructured to semi structured techniques and the more common methods include semi structured interviews, focus groups and observations/participation (Tracy 2024). Qualitative research often relies on small samples and gives room for researcher to select certain traits in research participants (Naeem et al 2023).

A qualitative approach to research creates intimacy as it strives to obtain a deeper understanding about a situation or problem recently unknown (Nasri 2023). According to Williams (2021), qualitative research helps to obtain in-depth understanding by asking follow up or probing question like (help me understand why” or “how did it make you feel?”. There is also room to observe, record and interpret non-verbal communication as part of the respondent’s feedback (Nasri 2023). However, the major disadvantage of qualitative data is that it captures subjective data due to its reliance on the researcher to interpret findings (Williams 2021). This presents qualitative data with reliability challenges since the researcher internalises and analyses data based on their understanding thereby not ruling out bias (Nasri 2023).

This research used qualitative research because it allows for the understanding of new phenomena thereby helping fill knowledge gaps and then come up with useful conclusions and recommendations on the matter under study (Brennen 2021). The qualitative nature of the research questions and methods used to gather data allowed for the unearthing of new areas of study (Nasri 2023). Furthermore, the use of qualitative research allowed the researcher to come up with a small sample that has in-depth knowledge of the matter under study thereby enhancing the quality of data gathered (Adler 2022).

3.5 Population

A research population is defined as a well-defined collection of individuals or objects known to have similar characteristics or traits of particular interests to the researcher (Nasri 2023). The research population must be well defined with similar characteristics so that the issues under investigation can be well elaborated (Williams 2021). From the clearly defined population, the researcher can obtain a sample that represents the whole population. In this particular instance, the research population consists of Mozambican government officials,

SADC region member states, SADC organ on defence, NGOs concerned with terrorism and academics.

3.6 Sampling

To satisfy the research questions, relevant and quality data must be collected from the research process (Williams 2021). However, it is not possible to collect all the available data due to money, time, and access restrictions (Elliot 2021). Sampling is then used to reduce the amount of data by considering how to collect data from a sub group rather than the entire population (Williams 2021). The sample is drawn with the idea that it will be representative of the population thereby providing accurate data (Elliot 2021).

3.6.1 Non-probability sampling (purposive sampling)

Non-probability sampling is defined as a branch of sample selection that uses non-random ways to select research participants (Bounter 2020). This type of sampling is not focused on representing the entire population proportionately but uses subjective judgements in choosing the sample (Hameed 2020). This gives the researcher control over the characteristics of the participants they want to engage based on what the study seeks to achieve (Bounter 2020).

An effective non-probability technique that works best with this research is purposive sampling. Purposive sampling selects research participants based on the assumption that they possess knowledge and experience with the area of interest thereby providing information that is both detailed and generalisable (Hennink et al 2020). Thus, purposive sampling is used to collect data from individuals who have in-depth knowledge of regional security arrangements and terrorism. The researcher used a sample of 3 Mozambican government officials, 2 Rwandan government officials, 7 SADC countries officials, 2 SADC Organ of Defence Officials, 3 members of NGOS and 3 Academics. This gives a total sample of 20.

3.7 Research instruments

3.7.1 Semi structured interviews

The semi structured interview is an interview that has a set of open-ended questions that the researcher asks the respondents and allow for follow up questions in order to obtain in-depth information (Hennink et al 2020). They are normally used in exploratory research where the research is concerned with understanding why, how and when for greater clarity and eventual formulation of the hypothesis (Busetto et al 2020). This is a major advantage as the researcher will end up getting valuable information that may not have come up if conversations were not expanded. The semi structured interview also allows the researcher to observe body language and expressions that are important to recording data accurately (Busetto et al 2020). The other major advantage is that this technique also allows for recording meaning researcher can go back to recordings and capture information they may have missed initially (Brennen 2021).

The disadvantage of semi structured interviews is that they are dependent on the ability of the interviewer to set the mood and atmosphere that allows the participants to trust them enough to open up (Brennen 2021). Williams (2021) noted that some participants may feel intimidated, fail to connect with the interviewer or not understand what they are being asked resulting in low quality data being gathered. To counter the challenges that are normally associated with semi structured interviews, the researcher conducted a pilot study with colleagues and received feedback on the appropriateness of the questions as well as the atmosphere for the interviews (Brennen 2021).

3.7.2 Qualitative questionnaire

The qualitative research questionnaire is a research instrument that consists of a set of questions that aim to collect information from respondents and it can be a mix of open ended

and closed questions depending on the needs of the researcher (Naeem et al 2023). Qualitative questionnaires are usually used in exploratory research and predominantly rely on open ended questions in order to collect as much information as possible (Hameed 2020). The major advantage of this data gathering tool is that they reduce interviewer bias as there are no verbal or visual cues that could influence participant's responses (Naeem et al 2023). Byrd (2020) observed that this qualitative questionnaire also increases the chances of accurate responses as it is anonymous and provides little of knowing who answered what. It is also one of the least expensive techniques as it can be sent by email making it easy and cheap (Hameed 2020).

The disadvantage associated with qualitative questionnaires is that they may contain words and phrases that are not easy for respondents to understand but do not offer the chance to ask for clarity leading to inaccurate or incorrect responses (Byrd 2020). To counter this challenge, the researcher pilot tested the questionnaire with colleagues in order to get feedback on its suitability to gather valuable data.

3.7.3 Written records

Written records are journal articles, concept papers, presentations, books and other credible published sources of information that can be used for academic purposes (Pioli et al 2020). Written records published by recognised academic cites and publications not only provide credible sources of data, they are also very easy to access as one can use their desktop to find the written records at their own convenience (Hameed 2020). Written records are used to draw distinctions and parallels between the findings of the research and the findings of other researchers thereby helping present a new view of the issue under study (Elliot 2021). The major disadvantage of written records, particularly in international relations where situations can change dramatically and quickly, is that information referred to may be outdated by the time the researcher consults it (Tracy 2024). To counter this challenge, the researcher made

sure they use up to date and relevant sources of information and the researcher will also use multiple sources to avoid bias.

3.8 Trustworthiness

When conducting qualitative research, establishing trustworthiness of the study is important to ensuring that the research findings are reliable and credible (Adler 2022). The concepts of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability are outlined with regards to how they contribute to the trustworthiness of this research.

3.8.1 Credibility

Credibility refers to the confidence in the truthfulness of the findings of the research (Adler 2022). To ensure credibility in data interpretation, member checking was conducted. After the interviews, the participants were provided with a summary of their responses and were invited to clarify, elaborate or even change their responses to the questions posed (Elliot 2021). This process of member checking not only validated the findings of the research, it also empowered participants to contribute to the research narrative actively (Tracy 2024). Furthermore, prolonged engagement was used to increase credibility. By spending ample time in the field, the researcher not only familiarised more with the organisation and respondents but also gained deeper insights into the terrorist activities in Cabo Delgado and the role of regional security architecture in countering terrorism thereby collecting data that can be relied upon to be truthful (Elliot 2021).

3.8.2 Transferability

In research, transferability refers to the extent to which the findings of a study can be applied in other contexts (Elliot 2021). The researcher deliberately employed thick description

which meant providing comprehensive details about the participants, the organisation and contextual factors that influence career advancement (Hameed 2020). This allows readers to be able to determine how similar the findings of the research are to other contexts from the same study setting thereby allowing for the drawing of contrasts and comparisons (Elliot 2021). Through contextualisation, which analysed findings in broader regional security cooperation in Africa whilst retaining focus on Cab Delgado in Mozambique under study, the transferability of the findings to other industries can be easily assessed (Hameed 2020).

3.8.3 Dependability

Dependability relates to the stability of data over time and conditions (Adler 2022). By using an audit trail through documenting research designs, data collection procedures and analytical process, the researcher gives room for external reviewers to follow the research process and assess dependability of the findings over time (Williams 2021). Furthermore, working with a dedicated supervisor who reviewed research process step by step also helped to improve the dependability of the data obtained from the research process through expert input and guidance.

3.8.4 Confirmability

Confirmability is the degree to which the findings are shaped by the participants and not researcher bias (Tracy 2024). Reflexivity was important to confirmability. The researcher maintained a reflective journal throughout the study that documented persona biases, assumptions and emotional responses in order to enable critical examination of how these factors could influence data collection and analysis (Williams 2021).

3.9 Data presentation and analysis

According to Tracy (2024), data analysis involves the deliberate and systematic application of logical and statistical techniques to evaluate and analyse the data collected from the research process using the chosen instruments. The textual coding system was employed. It involves systematically categorizing interview responses to identify themes and patterns (Nasri 2023). Case by case detailed analysis of the individual interview transcripts was done to provide detailed accounts of the role of regional groups in response to terrorism. Following textual coding as outlined by Tracy (2024), the researcher picked up aspects such as nonverbal cues, tone or pitch of voice and general expression of emotion to help understand the thoughts and feelings of participants and derive meaning for analysis.

From the textual coding process, data is gathered into emerging themes which are then grouped under major themes for data presentation. This was done with research questions in mind since the data gathering process seeks to satisfy the research questions (Brennen 2021). After this process is complete, the research then used the theoretical framework and written records to analyse the data thereby presenting a balanced view (Tracy 2024).

3.10 Ethical considerations

According to Williams (2021) ethical considerations are the norms or standards for conduct that distinguish between right and wrong in research and they help to determine the difference between acceptable and unacceptable behaviours. It is the primary responsibility of the researcher to always make sure that they provide a trustworthy environment, and the same time there is a need to be sensitive to the power that they hold over participants (Adler 2022). Tracy (2024) goes on to suggest that ethics are crucial in making sure that research is credible. Researchers need to avoid setting up a situation in which participants think they are friends with the researcher as this also brings a lot of challenges so objectivity and clarity are also very important to the discourse of research ethics (Adler 2022).

3.10.1 Confidentiality

Any individual participating in a research study has the reasonable expectation that information provided to the researcher will be treated in a confidential manner and, consequently, the participant is entitled to expect that such information will not be given to anyone else (Adler 2022). Therefore, the researcher has the obligation to protect the identity of the participants by guaranteeing that no one will know what they specifically said during their participation. To ensure confidentiality, the researcher developed tools that do not require any participant to state their name and the participants will be coded using numerical symbols. This guaranteed anonymity as the researcher only quoted or referred to the number prescribed to each respondent which only the researcher knows, when analysing and presenting the findings of the research.

3.10.2 Informed Consent

Individuals participating in a research study have the reasonable expectation that they will be informed of the nature of the study and may choose whether to participate (Busetto et al 2020). Naeem et al (2023) goes on to insist that informed consent also dictates that individuals can choose to pull out of the study at any time during the study. Therefore, to guarantee informed consent, the intentions of the researcher must be clear at the beginning and throughout the research purpose so that participants agree and wilfully participate. To ensure that was consent, the researcher drafted a consent form that advised organisations and participants of the scope of the study. After the consent forms were signed, the researcher then commenced with data collection. The participants were reminded of their rights before each interview and they were also reminded of their right to even decline responding to some questions they do not feel like answering.

3.10.3 Protection from harm

Harm during research, according to Byrd (2020) can be physical, in the form of stress, anxiety, diminishing self-esteem or an invasion of privacy. It is imperative, therefore, that the data collection process does not in any way harm (unintended or otherwise) participants (Naeem et al 2023). The researcher made sure that questions asked to the respondent were as simple as possible and that they did not imply or suggest anything to do with race and gender to avoid the sensitivity of such matters. Interviews were kept short to avoid fatigue or participants getting too tired and they were conducted in comfortable settings of the participant's choice. The researcher made sure that at each level the participants were comfortable with answering the questions by giving them the liberty not to answer what they do not want to answer.

3.10.4 Obtaining permission

Obtaining permission to conduct or carry out research is one of the fundamental steps that need to be taken by a researcher prior to commencing with research (Bryd 2020). The researcher obtained permission to conduct research from their institution in writing and then the relevant government department. The consent forms issued out to participants also served as permission that gives credibility to the research process.

3.11 Chapter summary

The chapter detailed the research methodology, which is qualitative research, and explained why certain methods were used to attain research outcomes. The data gathering techniques (semi-structured interviews, qualitative questionnaires and journal articles) were also explained and why they were the best options for the research to attain its outcomes. The research population was defined and sampling techniques (purposive sampling) were explained. The chapter also explained the data analysis procedures (logical and thematic

approaches) used in the research and explained why thematic analysis was the best tool for this research. The next chapter will present the findings of the research.

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION , ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the relevant demographic information of the participants. It also presents the data gathered from the research process and analyses the data using thematic analysis. Research ethics are upheld throughout the data presentation and analysis by not mentioning the names of the participants.

4.2 Data Coding and development of themes

4.2.1 Participant Demographics

Figure 1: Demographic Characteristics of research participants

Sex	
Female	6
Male	14
Age	
20-29	3
30-39	6
40-49	5
50-59	8
Educational qualifications (plus at least 5 years work experience)	

First degree	3
Master's Degree	7
PhD	6
Professorship	4

The table above shows the demographic information of the various research participants/respondents. Initially, the researcher intended to find 20 participants that met the set criteria and the research managed to obtain 20 participants thereby attaining 100% participation. From the table, there were significantly more male participants (14) than the female participants (6) which shows the representation of the sexes in government and non-government positions that involve security. It is also important to note that all participants identified as either male or female. Most participants were aged between 38 and 58 which typically represents the years of experience that warrant senior positions within their varied organisations. Most of the participants have at least a Master's degree in various fields related to security and international relations which means that they have adequate knowledge of the subject matter under investigation.

4.2.2 Development of themes

The recordings for the interviews were transcribed verbatim. This then allowed for the researcher to use textual coding. It involves systematically categorizing interview responses to identify themes and patterns (Nasri 2023). The same process was also used to group information and generate themes from the questionnaire. The researcher then went on to extend their analysis of data to the notes they gathered during interviews which considered nonverbal

communication, tone and emotions expressed by the respondents to get a clearer understanding of the data (Hameed 2020). Having established initial links and grouped data, the research went on to establish major themes through which initial themes were grouped in order to present the data in a more logical sequence. The sub themes and major themes were allowed to evolve and change as the data analysis took place due to the flexibility of thematic data presentation (Nasri 2023).

The first major theme looked at the emergence of terrorism in Cabo Delgado. The first sub theme discussed the internal influences of terrorism whilst the second sub theme analysed the external influences of terrorism in Cabo Delgado. The second major theme looked at the role of regional security architecture in proving security against external and internal security threats. The sub theme looked into SADC's involvement in the Cabo Delgado Conflict. The third major theme presented and analysed Rwanda's involvement in the Cabo Delgado conflict. The fourth and last theme looked at the ways in which national and regional security can be improved.

4.3. The Emergence of Terrorism in Cabo Delgado

4.3.1. Internal influences of terrorism

The most recent and most impactful terrorist actions that have taken centre stage in Cabo Delgado are not the first such instances to have occurred in the region over the years. The research established that Cabo Delgado has a long history of instability emanating from economic, social and political factors that have left the region volatile to insurgencies for decades. A respondent who participated in an interview mentioned that:

“The region has had a long history of insurgencies and violent clashes between groups. The disagreements were historically tribal but turned to being political control and economic resources as the groups intermarried over the years. To many historians and analysts, it is no

surprise that a group was able to eventually galvanise the factions into a single entity and challenge both local and central government authority.”

The sentiments above show that the emergence of terrorism in Cabo Delgado was not an isolated event that was not a possibility for a long time. This is consistent with the findings of Danisa (2023) who reported that many international and local organisations had been calling on the Mozambican government to help with security in the province for decades before the outbreak of terror that has captivated the world in recent times.

One of the main reasons why Cabo Delgado has been long volatile is because the province has been historically marginalised by successive governments and administrators (Danisa 2023). Cuco & Pedro (2023) noted that the successive governments in Maputo have generally been Christian due to the dominance of Christianity in Mozambique and the traditionally Muslim areas, like Cabo Delgado, have tended to be marginalised by the government. A member of the Mozambican government who participated in the study explained that the government has not always necessarily marginalised the predominantly Muslim regions of the country, like Cabo Delgado, but they have refused to allow local populations to be governed differently following their religious practices which sometimes clash with the constitution and this has created challenges as the regions want greater autonomy that central government is afraid of. Whilst responding to the questionnaire, a participant highlighted that lack of genuine regional autonomy for Muslim communities is one of the key aspects that led to the rise in terrorist activity in the Cabo Delgado.

The views expressed above show that religion is a key factor in the rise of tensions in Cabo Delgado. Whilst the research established central government reluctance to allowing for greater autonomy of Muslim communities, Ajide (2022) also reported that this is because of

radical interpretations of religious texts by several groups that threatens peace and human rights in their communities.

The research established that some of the people in Cabo Delgado do not perceive the insurgents as terrorists but freedom fighters who are taking control of resources and local affairs from corrupt government officials. Whilst commenting on the emergence of terrorism in Cabo Delgado, a participant who works with NGOs explained that:

“to some members of the community, the people referred to as terrorists are actually freedom fighters who have taken it upon themselves to fight for the rights of their communities. This is what makes their guerrilla tactics effective, the support of the people. The people are their water and they are fish.”

The views shared above show that there is sympathy and support for insurgents which has helped their cause. Ajide et al (2022) found out that the terrorists organisation operating in Cabo Delgado has recruit from locals and also get some support from locals which helps their operations to remain sustainable. Furthermore, the terrorist organisations have also provided a source of employment for young people in the region who were previously unemployed and the money that members are paid has helped to improve the livelihoods of many households. Whilst commenting on the same issue, an academic who participated in the study emphasised that paying young people well to join their ranks is one of the key tactics of terrorist groups that have merged in poor communities across Africa and parts of Asia. A participant who works for the SADC organ on defence explained that:

“we received information that members of the organisation who perform various roles are paid around USD\$ 300 a month. When you consider the levels of poverty in the region and I the country in general, that is very good money. This has been extra motivation to already struggling and aggrieved communities.”

In addition to the comments above, a representative of a SADC country also added that:

“The Mozambican government has historically had limited political control over Cabo Delgado because it is remote and Muslim. There was always weak state security presence in that region and up until recently, it was not an important economic region. These factors, along with corrupt government officials in the region, have all contributed to the rise of terrorism in the region.”

The sentiments shared above suggest that the rise of terrorism or insurgency in general in the Cabo Delgado region was seemingly inevitable partly due to the security arrangements in the region. The research found out that the Mozambican government has strained resources and areas like Cabo Delgado lack adequate security which is a common challenge in the country. Cuco & Pedro (2023) also found that the lack of adequate security in developing countries is one of the major reasons for increased terrorist activity in their borders.

Despite Cabo Delgado being considered to be a poor region, it has natural wealth. The exploitation of natural resources from the region for the benefit of other regions in the country is one of the issues that resulted in the growing anti-central government sentiment amongst citizens of the region, as the research found out. Whilst explaining the issue of natural resources and the rise of terrorism in the region, a government official highlighted that:

“Cabo Delgado has not seen much investment from central government in terms of infrastructure and basic amenities you would find in other areas. Whilst there are varied reasons and theories as to why this happened over the last few decades, the discovery and exploitation of resources from the region has led to locals demanding that they also be given a share of the proceeds and this has not happened fast enough resulting in growing anger and frustration.”

The views captured above show that Cabo Delgado remains poor and underdeveloped despite the discovery and exploitation of natural resources which has led to communities feeling frustrated. All respondents to the questionnaire highlighted the unfair exclusion from proceeds of natural resources from Cabo Delgado as one of the main reasons for the emergence of terrorist organisations in the region.

4.3.2 External influences of terrorism

One of the downsides of globalisation is that it has also resulted in the internationalisation of undesirable trends like terrorism. Although there have always been grievances with the way the government of Mozambique has handled the Cabo Delgado region, the rise of organised terror attacks in the region does not trace its roots to local organisation. The research found that most extremist teachings of Islam that resulted in terrorist activity did not emanate from the locals but was introduced by external elements. Whilst explaining the causes and manifestation of terrorism in Cabo Delgado, a participant who works for the SADC Organ of Defence explained that:

“from our investigations, radical preachers from Tanzania and parts of Kenya made their way to Cabo Delgado and had been radicalising the communities for over a decade before terrorist activity first emerged. Their job was made easy by the abundance of radical teachings on various media platforms which made it easy to instil ideas in the minds of communities that are not well educated.”

The sentiments shared above show that external forces had a significant role in radicalising locals enough to either sympathise with the cause of terrorist organisations or even join them. This finding is consistent with Mwangi (2023) who also reported that a network from Somalia, Tanzania and other Muslim communities in Africa had long established a

network across the content to radicalise Muslims and build resistance towards governments with the idea of creating an Islamic caliphate.

The research established that not only did the external forces radicalise communities in Cabo Delgado, they also armed them and trained them in various warfare tactics and sabotage techniques. Whilst explaining the causes of terrorism activity in Cabo Delgado region, most respondents to the questionnaire highlighted the impact of external financial resources in arming local groups and also training them in various tactics to sabotage the government. The unmanned vast borders of African countries have made it easy for terrorist groups to move weapons and resources across borders undetected which exacerbates the challenge of terrorism (Mwangi 2023).

Not only did external groups finance operations of the terrorist groups operating in Cabo Delgado, a lot of foreigners have also been involved directly in the organisation and implementation of terror attacks. Manning (2024) reported that fighters from Somalia, Tanzania and several Arab states have been identified in Cabo Delgado as key leaders of organised terrorist activity. As highlighted before, the porous borders make it easy to move resources across the borders in Africa. Whilst commenting on the impact of foreign individuals in Cabo Delgado, a SADC official mentioned that:

“There seems to be a well-established international organisation of terrorists that identifies resources rich areas in Africa to exploit by spreading radical Muslim teachings and arming local communities. To my surprise, the Mozambican government did not see this coming in Cabo Delgado which seemed to suit the profile and trend for areas impacted by terrorist activity globally.”

The sentiments shared above show that it was almost inevitable for Cabo Delgado to fall in the hands of international terrorists due to the local conditions and the wide spread

network of international terrorists operating globally to destabilise governments and assume control of resources. An academic that participated in an interview also added that the security situation of Mozambique was attractive to international terrorist organisations because it allows for the easy smuggling of natural resources out of Mozambique meaning that international terrorist organisations can exploit the resources to fund global terrorist operations. Thus, Cabo Delgado is a piece of an international organised terrorism puzzle that aims to destabilise governments and control strategic regions across the globe.

4.4 The role of regional security architecture in providing security

Due to the gradual spread of terrorism to almost all parts of the world, and the increased geopolitical tensions between the USA and China, regional security arrangements have become very important to many states as they try to find collective solutions to common security threats (Manning 2024). Thus, the role of regional security architecture to make sure that there are adequate arrangements to help fend off any potential security threats. Whilst commenting on the role of regional security architecture in combating terrorism, a respondent from the SADC security organ explained that:

“after the cold war, focus shifted from military and geopolitical alliances to economic based alliances. States realised that they had more to benefit from arrangements such as free and preferential trade within their regions which allowed them to harness collective potential. Naturally, these arrangements also developed strong military aspects due to the rise of terrorism and other geopolitical concerns. Regional countries are so intertwined due to regional development agendas and globalisation so a problem in one country is a challenge to the welfare of all”

From the sentiments captured above, regional security arrangements are inevitable consequence of increased trade and globalisation. Events that threaten to destabilise one

country have an impact on the economy and social order of others meaning that all threats must be taken seriously. Manning (2024) found that countries have moved to closer regional security arrangements due to the nature of the threat of terrorism that transcends borders. Whilst responding to the questionnaire, a representative of a SADC country explained that terrorism, unlike most other military threats that countries face, is not inclined to a specific geographical location or the work of a nation state meaning countries have to come together to deal with the common threat. The research found out that to deal with a “stateless” enemy, states have had to work closely together to share resources and intelligence on how to defeat terrorist.

Further from regional organisations, the nature of terrorism has also contributed to the increased international cooperation of countries in order to share intelligence and resources to make sure that it is curbed. Whilst commenting on the role of regional security arrangements, a representative of a SADC state explained that:

“to understand the nature of terrorism, we must also consider the global impact it has had on the operations of international organisations. NATO and the UN are examples of intergovernmental organisations that have sought to find collective solutions to terrorism. Thus, it is only natural for regional groups to try and do the same because terrorism almost always spills across borders.”

The thoughts shared above are important in understanding how regional security arrangements are part of important security mechanisms for countries. Whilst commenting on the same issue, an academic emphasised that regional security arrangements are essential in Africa due to porous borders and inadequate security due to lack of resources. This is consistent with the findings of Danisa (2023) who reported that Africa is more prone to terrorist activity due to its vast unmanned borders and general weak security arrangements.

To aid regional frameworks, the AU has established mechanisms for conflict prevention, management and resolution such as the African Standby Force (ASF) which is intended to respond to security crises across the continent (Mwangi 2023). The availability of frameworks to counter security threats at a continental level helps to threaten regional security efforts. A member of an NGO that looks into terrorist activity in Africa highlighted that the AU and the various regional security arrangements that are in place have generally struggled to meet the security needs of the continent due to lack of resources despite the existence of robust and adequate institutions. An academic who participated in the study added that Africa and its security have not been a priority for the USA and its allies over the years and this has resulted in a lack of adequate investment in the regional security apparatus of the continent as much focus was on Middle East security concerns. This has led to terrorists opting to shift some of their training bases and operational command to Africa where the security is weaker and poses less threat to their existence, as the research found out.

The research established that the main purpose of regional security arrangements post world war was to not only make sure that there was enough security for countries to fend off would be aggressors, but also to make sure that regional collective power would serve as a deterrence mechanism. This point of view is supported by Cuco & Pedro (2023) who found out that states with strong economic and regional allies were more likely to guarantee their security than those without such allies. An academic who participated in the study outlined that:

“In the first place, states enter into alliances only when it is in their best interests to do so and having strong regional allies is an important deterrence to would be aggressors. Since the end of the cold war deterrence was the main use of regional blocs. But terrorism presents a more unique challenge to traditional regional security arrangements.”

The comments above show that despite regional security arrangements having initially been meant to deter would be aggressors, terrorism has presented challenges that have demanded action from regional blocs as terrorists are not deterred by regional security arrangements. Mwangi (2023) noted that terrorists use unconventional warfare which is hard for traditional regional security arrangements to master. Whilst commenting on the same issue, a member of the SADC defence organ explained that terrorism has changed how international and regional security is set up as the new enemy is a stateless player in international relations that needs an entirely different approach. This finding is similar to that of Manning (2024) who found that even for traditional realists who did not put much weight into the actions of non-state actors in international relations, terrorism has helped to redefine internal relations and order. Thus, regional security roles have been transformed significantly by terrorism as nations share greater internal data and intelligence in real time to try and combat terrorist activity.

4.4.1 SADC and Cabo Delgado

With the prolonged conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo and consistent security threats in other countries like, Mozambique and the SADC region had a very functional organ on security and defence prior to the activities in Cabo Delgado. The research also established that the idea of collective security is one of the main reasons why SADC member states were keen on the organisation to begin with. Whilst explaining the role of regional organisations in security arrangements, a respondent who is a diplomat mentioned that:

“SADC is very fortunate because it is actually relatively more peaceful than all other regions in Africa. Whilst there are many varied factors that have given the region better security outcomes over the years, they have also been serious about collective security. Zimbabwe and South Africa received tremendous support during their armed struggles as some states were already free in the region and in the 1990s the DRC also received direct military

support from the region. This shows that SADC states have always had a strong relationship which makes regional security natural to them.”

The sentiments shared above show that the SADC region has a long history of strong cooperation which goes back to historical periods prior to attainment of independence. This history of collective security has made SADC countries more open to the idea of helping each other.

Prior to events in Cabo Delgado, the SADC organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation (OPDSC) had long been fostering peace through constantly improving training and security in the region (Raheem 2022). The researcher established that prior to the outbreak of conflict in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique already had some bilateral security arrangements with several countries. A Mozambican government official who participated in the study outlined that:

“despite SADC agreements, we also had bilateral security arrangements with some countries that we agreed prior to SADC agreements and post them. We have bilateral security arrangements with countries like Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Uganda and the DRC that were negotiated at various time frames.”

Whilst adding on to the above comments, a representative of a SADC country explained that each country is ultimately responsible for its own security in international relations and this prompts countries to constantly be acting to make sure that they protect their own interests beyond or despite the existing regional agreements. This finding is consistent with the realism theory that explains that the state must do all it can to ensure its survival in international relations and both bilateral and regional security arrangements are important towards this cause.

In June 2021, SADC approved the deployment of a force to combat terrorism and this force included military personnel from Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, South Africa and Tanzania (Raheem 2022). Whilst commenting on SADC involvement on Cabo Delgado, a participant from a SADC country opined that:

“the truth is that SADC was a couple of years in Mozambique which allowed the terrorists to set up significant security infrastructure using weapons they seized from government facilities and local knowledge provided by sympathisers. This meant SADC was always on the backfoot.”

Answering a follow up question which sought to understand why SADC was late in intervening in the conflict, an academic commented that:

“in late 2018 there were considerable talks about Cabo Delgado then COVID19 happened and the issue took a back seat. But if truth be told, the struggling economies of SADC made the member states hesitant to commit financially to helping Mozambique.”

The sentiments shared above are consistent with those of Mufufi et al (2023) who explained that realist school of thought insist that nations must first lookout for their own interests before engaging and helping other states and in cases where states are a struggling economically or with their own internal security, it becomes challenging to commit resources to helping other countries. Whilst commenting on the same matter, a respondent who works in the NGO sector explained that some of the SADC governments have records of human rights abuse as well as questionable legitimacy due to contested elections. This makes them sceptical about using their military and security resources externally as they rely on them to maintain peace and order or at least intimidate citizens. Thus, the researcher found out that SADC commitment was always going to be a problem for Mozambique.

The lack of initial decisive action by SADC states and the unsuccessful and short-lived intervention shows that there is lack of adequate regional security in SADC. The research found out that funding from member states for the intervention was a major challenge as well as intelligence sharing on the movement of terrorists by some countries in the region. The research also established that Mozambican security forces were receiving training and equipment from the European Union and the United States which caused some tension with SADC countries who do not enjoy cordial relations with Western countries. Mufufi et al (2023) found that Mozambique initially prioritised assistance from the EU and USA as it knew that they had the resources and means to help defeat terrorists due to their economies and experience with handling terrorist attacks around the world but this did not go down well with some SADC states who felt that they should have been the ones to be consulted first. Whilst commenting on the matter, a SADC country representative mentioned that:

“countries like Zimbabwe do not enjoy close ties with the EU and USA as evidenced by sanctions imposed on them. The western countries did not want them to access some of their weapons, surveillance drones and systems which made Mozambique keep them at an arm’s length. When it became apparent that Western help would be seriously limited due to COVID19 and other geopolitical concerns elsewhere, Mozambique sought to give SADC a lead role but it was kind of too late.”

The sentiments shared above show that the initial shift towards Western help than that of SADC not only put the regional bloc on the back foot when it came to acting decisively but it also made some member states sceptical about helping Mozambique.

4.5 Rwanda and Cabo Delgado

As it became clear that SADC had limited impact in Cabo Delgado and wound up its mission in Mozambique, the Mozambican government sought more reliable partnerships in

order to find lasting solutions to the challenge in Cabo Delgado. A Mozambican government official who participated in the study outlined that:

“at the end of the day, SADC was not making progress, its decision-making process is long and members were hesitant to take decisive action over and over which made it hard to depend on them. It was clear that we needed to find a lasting and effective solution to the problem beyond the region.”

The views shared above show that in deciding to end the SADC mission, Mozambique acted in its best interests to make sure that it moved towards securing its own interests despite regional agreements. The primary objective of the state is its survival and the decisions made by leaders must first ensure survival of the state above all else (Mwangi 2023). Rwanda emerged as a solid option for Mozambique for several reasons. A member of the SADC organ on politics and defence who participated in the study outlined that whilst SADC was disappointed by the move to bring in Rwanda, it was not surprised because of the failure of the SADC intervention in Mozambique. Whilst discussing the involvement of Rwanda in Mozambique, a Mozambican government official stated that:

“Rwanda is battle hardened as they have technically been at war since 1994 and have experience counterinsurgency that is matched by a few on the continent. Rwanda themselves were very outspoken about instability caused by terrorism in Mozambique and realised they had an obligation to help Mozambique and make sure that terrorist activity does not spread further in the region.”

Thus, as explained in the comments captured above, Mozambique saw Rwanda as a capable partner that would help to find quicker solutions to the problem in Cabo Delgado and preferred them over SADC mission that had failed to have the desired impact in the region. An academic who participated in the study outlined that whilst SADC took a long time to

coordinate and deploy, Rwanda was able to move quickly and decisively thereby taking militants by surprise and gain the upper hand. This is consistent with the findings of Cuco & Pedro (2023) who reported that the decisiveness and swiftness of the 1000 strong Rwandan forces deployed overwhelmed and pushed back the Islamic militants in Cabo Delgado thereby reclaim important towns. Thus, the coordination of a single well-trained force that was used to the same tactics and had same training was important to instant success and this is something the SADC did not have that Rwanda brought to the Cabo Delgado.

Opting for Rwanda as a solution to the insurgency in Cabo Delgado was also a political decision as much as it was a military choice. This is because just having Rwanda as opposed of multiple countries involved in the conflict gave investors the perception that the challenges were not as serious and could be dealt with by involvement of fewer or just one state, as the research gathered. Whilst explaining the reasons for opting for Rwanda over continued SADC mission in Mozambique, a participant from a SADC country explained that:

“it is never a good picture if multiple countries are armed within the borders of a country, makes them appear weak. When the SADC mission showed its incompetence, Mozambique found an excuse to boot them out and have a single partner help take care of the mess. Rwanda enjoys god relations with the West and the West was happy to provide resources with Rwandan support as opposed to SADC.”

The sentiments shared above show that not only was Mozambique worried about how other countries and investors would perceive its situation, it was also taking into account some of the political benefits that came with involving Rwanda in the first place including its strong connection with the West. An academic who participated in the study explained that there is some evidence to suggest that it may have been the West that suggested Rwanda as a viable partner for Rwanda in the first place as the best solution that created conditions in which they

could best help. This is consistent with the findings of Danisa (2023) who reported that developing countries are often over reliant on the West for their security resulting in Western countries making decisions for them in order to get their assistance.

By bringing in Rwanda, Mozambique was initially diversifying the support that was available to curb the insurgency in Cabo Delgado. A participant who is an official of a SADC country explained that:

“you must have options available and not have your eggs in one basket. Mozambique was smart enough to have a plan B to guarantee their success in Cabo Delgado and it turns out that the second option was the better option.”

Often when states make decisions about their security and national interests, they must be prepared for various outcomes and scenarios and this often means having back up plans that guarantee they can have their way (Raheem 2022). The research also established that in having diverse options, Mozambique could counter the enemy on several fronts using multiple approaches. A Mozambican government official who participated in the research acknowledged that Mozambique was willing to get all the help it could get until it realised the SADC mission was a logistical and bureaucratic nightmare and that it could do without and thereby chose to remain with Rwanda instead.

4.6 Improving regional and national security

As already established by the research, in an increasingly entangled and globalised world national security is very difficult to separate from regional or collective security when it comes to terrorism due to the nature of terrorist organisations operations. This means that despite nations retaining the responsibility for their own security, their planning must involve neighbouring countries, regional blocs and international organisations for purposes of real time intelligence sharing and logistical support.

In the specific case of Mozambique, the researcher learned that whilst the Islamic militants have been pushed back, they have not been entirely eliminated or forced to surrender meaning they are still an active threat. Manning (2024) found that the terrorist organisations have retreated deeper into the forests from where they constantly launch minor but well-coordinated excursions into areas under government and Rwandese control. Whilst contributing on the discussion on how national and regional security can be improved, an academic who participated in the study noted that:

“there must be improved coordination between regional countries, particularly neighbouring countries, to make sure that they can help each other track unusual or suspicious movements across borders to help intercept weapons and personnel that are used by terrorists.”

Whilst adding on to this point, a SADC representative also added that:

“there must be constant training of personnel from all regional countries and states need to invest in the same type of surveillance and counter insurgency mechanisms to make sure that all countries play their part in real time to contribute to collective security.”

The sentiments captured above show that African countries, particularly in the case of SADC, need to improve collective security by making sure that personnel are trained the same way using the same standards so that quality intelligence gathering and counter insurgency can take place whenever the need arises. An example of a regional bloc that has done well to make sure it has the same protocols and standards is the EU that constantly trains its collective member states on the best practices and standards and has a system that allows all member states to access latest information pertaining terrorism from all countries (Manning 2024). As explained by a member of the NGOs community who participated in the study, Africa may still

be a long time away from achieving such cooperation due to lack of resources as the systems and training all require significant amounts of money.

The issue of open or porous borders in Africa presents a serious problem when it comes to national and collective security because the illegal movement of people and goods continues unchecked. Danisa (2023) reported that almost 70% of total areas that make up Sub Saharan Africa borders are unmanned and unprotected making it easier for criminal elements to move from one state to another in Africa. Thus, the research found that it is important for African countries to come up with solutions to border control which is a collective problem that they share if they are to improve national and regional security.

The research also established that there are often a lot of root causes to the occurrence of insurgencies that threaten national and regional security and they should be addressed in order to improve security. Whilst responding to a question that asked how national and regional security could be improved in Africa, all respondents emphasized the need for constant community engagement to understand the nature of challenges that communities are faced with that may lead to them supporting terrorist organisations. A member of the NGO sector that works with communities affected by terrorism suggested that:

“community engagement makes sure that communities are well educated in terms of what to lookout for and report so that terrorist cells do not establish roots. Community engagement also helps understand and address grievances in polarised communities so that terrorist organisations do not find sympathisers.”

Whilst commenting on the same issue, a representative of SADC also suggested that constant meetings in which political and communal leaders get feedback, local communal radios and the education system can all be used to make sure that communities understand the

dangers of terrorism, how it starts and how to address their grievances in a democratic and responsible way.

4.7 Chapter Summary

The chapter presented the findings of the research. The first major theme looked at the emergence of terrorism in Cabo Delgado. The first sub theme discussed the internal influences of terrorism whilst the second sub theme analysed the external influences of terrorism in Cabo Delgado. The second major theme looked at the role of regional security architecture in proving security against external and internal security threats. The sub theme looked into SADC's involvement in the Cabo Delgado Conflict. The third major theme presented and analysed Rwanda's involvement in the Cabo Delgado conflict. The fourth and last theme looked at the ways in which national and regional security can be improved.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a comprehensive summary of some of the major findings of the research and it also makes some important conclusions from the data analysis. The conclusions are presented for each of the research questions that the research sought to satisfy. Recommendations are also made by the research emanating from the findings of the study and some areas of further study are suggested.

5.2 Summary

Chapter one presented a background of the study that looked into the history of terrorism in a broader context then narrowed it down to the Cabo Delgado province in Mozambique. The aim of the study was to examine the role of regional cooperation in countering terrorism using the case study of Mozambique. The objectives of the research were: to examine the emergence of terrorism in Cabo Delgado province in Mozambique, to explore the role of regional security arrangements in fighting terrorism, to analyse the reasons why Mozambique turned to Rwanda for security arrangements in the wake of terrorist activity within their borders, to suggests ways in which regional and national security can be improved in the fight against terrorism. The research questions were as follows: why did terrorism emerge in the Cabo Delgado Province in Mozambique? What is the role of regional security arrangements in fighting terrorism? Why did Mozambique turn to Rwanda for security arrangements in the wake of terrorist activities within their borders? How can regional and national security be improved in the fight against terrorism? The study assumed that resources allocation was a significant factor in the role played by regional security arrangements in

countering terrorism effectively. The expected limitations of the study included the busy nature of the jobs of preferred participants and hesitancy of participants due to the sensitivity of the matter under investigation.

Chapter 2 introduced realist theory of international relations. The realist theory posits that states exist in an environment characterized by constant anarchy and each state is primarily coerced with its own survival as well as national interests. Countries only enter into agreements, such as regional security arrangements, for reasons of self-preservation meaning that cooperation between states has self-interest as the starting premise. Although realism identifies countries as primary actors in international relations, it has come to acknowledge and help analyse the impact of non-state actors, such as terrorist organizations, who also have an impact on the state of international affairs. Realism helps to understand the power and influence of ideology in shaping the behavior of people and in this particular instance, how religion has been used to fuel insurgency.

Chapter 2 also looked at existing academic literature on the subject matter under investigation. Terrorism was analysed in the context of Africa with particular attention on the social, economic and political causes of terrorism. The history of Cabo Delgado and insurgency was also discussed, particularly when and how the current insurgency came into being. Regional security arrangements were discussed with particular interest on SADC and its security architecture. The chapter also presented a case study of how IGAD, which is a regional group consisting of 8 countries in the Horn of Africa, Nile Valley and African Great Lakes, dealt with terrorism activity in Somalia.

Chapter 3 discussed research methodology. The interpretivist approach was used as the research philosophy because it lets results evolve naturally which is different from other approaches that begin with a hypothesis and work to prove or disprove the original theory

(Hameed 2020). Exploratory research allowed the research to employ qualitative research methods thereby helping to understand moods, thoughts and feelings that were important to understanding the topic under investigation. Exploratory research and qualitative techniques not only helped to fill knowledge gaps, but to also open up new areas of further study. Semi structured interviews, qualitative questionnaires and academic publications (Journals and books) were all used to gather data and the use of purposive sampling meant that the research could focus on participants that provided rich data. Thematic analysis was also discussed to show how it was the most efficient way of analyzing the data gathered. The chapter also looked at the ethical considerations that were upheld thorough out the research process.

Chapter 4 used thematic data presentation techniques common for qualitative research to present and analyze the data in a logical manner. The first major theme looked at the emergence of terrorism in Cabo Delgado. The first sub theme discussed the internal influences of terrorism. The research found out that religious and tribal differences were a significant cause of conflict in the Cabo Delgado region. The second sub theme analysed the external influences of terrorism in Cabo Delgado. This theme revealed that the proliferation of extreme religious teachings from other parts of Africa and the world, along with porous borders, made it easy for external influences to impact events that unfolded in Cabo Delgado. The second major theme looked at the role of regional security architecture in providing security against external and internal threats like terrorist activity. The research found out that apart from providing actual security for member countries, regional blocs serve as deterrence for would be aggressors, including non-state actors like terrorists. The sub theme looked into SADC's involvement in the Cabo Delgado Conflict. This theme discussed the failure or limited success of the SADC mission to Mozambique due to poor coordination and lack of adequate resources.

The third major theme presented and analysed Rwanda's involvement in the Cabo Delgado conflict. Rwanda was brought in by Mozambique due to SADC mission failing to

make headway in driving terrorists out of major towns and the experience as well as adequate resources of the Rwandese army proved be decisive in Cabo Delgado. The fourth and last theme looked at the ways in which national and regional security can be improved. It found that there is need to invest significant resources to make sure that regional partners have adequate training and capabilities to deal with security threats.

5.3 Conclusions

The conclusions are presented for each research question.

5.3.1 The emergence of terrorism in Cabo Delgado Province, Mozambique

There has been a gradual and consistent spread of terrorist activity in Africa, particularly in countries with Muslim communities that are isolated due to geographical and political reasons. Cabo Delgado itself has long been unstable due to tribal and religious differences that have resulted in the mostly Muslim community accusing the government of marginalising them by using resources from the Province to develop other areas of the country. This has led to some local populations perceiving the terrorists as freedom fighters. The influence of regional and international extremists played a fundamental role in the insurgency in Cabo Delgado and inadequate security meant that the movement of radical militants was not difficult. Thus, a combination of political differences and lack of security were responsible for the emergence of terrorist insurgency in Cabo Delgado.

5.3.2 The role of regional security arrangements in fighting terrorism

The study concludes that regional security arrangements are the inevitable consequence of increased trade and globalisation. They are also important to serve as a deterrence mechanism for would be aggressors as there is safety in numbers or in the collective. Whilst SADC had long established regional framework for defence and also on dealing with terrorism,

the lack of effective coordination and lack of resources resulted in the unsuccessful belated SADC mission to Cabo Delgado. Thus, regional security arrangements are efficient where the countries involved have the resources to fund coordinated training, monitoring and intervention when security threats arise and SADC is a typical example of how lack of resources can lead to failure of regional security architecture.

5.3.3 Rwanda's involvement in Cabo Delgado

Upon realising the limitations and complications of the SADC mission, the Mozambican government sought an alternative effective solution to the security challenge posed by Islamic terrorists in Cabo Delgado. Rwanda, having years of experience with counter insurgency and boasting of a well-trained army, was an inevitable choice for Mozambique. The arrival of Rwanda was positive as the Rwandese army, along with the Mozambican security forces, began pushing back and took control of strategic towns in Cabo Delgado. The intuitive to turn to Rwanda was also influenced by Western Countries that felt more comfortable helping Mozambique through Rwanda, their ally. Thus, the move to bring in Rwanda was pragmatic and showed that Mozambique not only took primary responsibility for its security and best interests, but had options in its planning to make sure it responded effectively to security threats.

5.3.4 Recommendations for improving national and regional security in Africa

To improve national security, countries need to engage local communities in order to understand their grievances and also teach them on the dangers of insurgency as well as what to look out for and report security threats when at the earliest possible stage. There is need to secure borders in Africa as this will help stop the free flow of arms and undesirable people who are responsible for training and arming insurgents. Regional partners should standardise

training, equipment and operating procedures to ensure that they are all operating on the same level and this is important for information sharing in real time. There also needs to be significant resources allocated to fighting terrorism at country and regional level.

5.4 Recommendations

1. African countries need to find solutions to internal tribal, political and religious differences that tend to create instability which in turn makes for fertile ground for insurgencies and local sympathy for terrorists.
2. There is need to urgently secure the borders of African countries in order to control the flow ammunition and people that fuels insurgencies.
3. African countries should increase to national and regional security by allocating more funds to the cause as it is crucial to effectively dealing with terrorism.

5.5 Areas for further research

From the research, a few areas of further study can be recommended. Firstly, given the vast nature of unmanned borders in Africa, a study could look at the impact of using drone technology and satellite imaging in improving regional security in Africa. Given the geopolitical tension between China and the United States (as well as Russia to some extent, it is also important to look into the implications of geopolitical concerns of Powerful nations on the security of third world countries.

References

- Abrams, M. (2021). *Terrorism in Africa: Explaining the rise of extremist violence against civilians*. *E-International Relations*, 10, pp. 1–9.
- Adler, R. H. (2022). Trustworthiness in qualitative research. *Journal of human lactation*, 38(4), pp. 598–602.
- Ajide, K. (2022). Democracy, regime durability and terrorism in Africa. *Defence and peace economics*, 32(5), pp. 550–571.
- Ajide, K., Adenuga, J., & Raheem, I. (2022). Natural resource rents, political regimes and terrorism in Africa. *International economics*, 162, pp. 50–66.
- Asongu, S. A., Le Roux, S., & Singh, P. (2021). Fighting terrorism in Africa: Complementarity between inclusive development, military expenditure and political stability. *Journal of policy modeling*, 43(5), pp. 897–922.
- Baker, A. (2020). Bilateral security cooperation and the politics of regional security in Southeast Asia. *Asian security*, 6(2), pp. 143–161.
- Brennen, B. S. (2021). *Qualitative research methods for media studies*. Routledge.
- Bromley, M. (2021). *Insurgency and counterinsurgency in modern warfare*. Routledge.
- Byrd, R. (2020). *Qualitative research methods*. Virtual Class, Memphis.
- Cardoso, F. (2021). *Cabo Delgado: Insurgents, jihadists or terrorists?* IMVF-Instituto Marquês de Valle Flôr, Paper 9.

- Chidozie, F. (2023). Terrorism in Nigeria. In R. Ajayi & J. Y. Fashagba (Eds.), *Nigerian politics* (pp. 1–18). Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-50509-7_14
- Combs, C. C. (2022). *Terrorism in the twenty-first century*. Routledge.
- Cuco, A. F., & Pedro, F. A. (2023). Terrorism in Cabo Delgado and lessons for enhancing Sadcnization of the Southern Africa region. In *Integration in the Southern African Development Community Region: Peoples' agency, popular participation, and democratization* (pp. 61–78).
- Danisa, M. (2023). Security diplomacy as a response to Horn of Africa's security complex: Ethio-US partnership against al-Shabaab. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 7(1), 1893423.
- Gerald, M. (2022). IGAD: Emerging regional architecture for counterterrorism and counterinsurgency in the Horn of Africa. In *Routledge Handbook of Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency in Africa* (pp. 330–343). Routledge.
- Gumede, W. (2023). Globalization and terror in Africa. *International Economics*, 156(December), pp. 86–97. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.inteco.2017.12.005>
- Jackson, R., Martin, J., & Pisiu, D. (2018). *Contemporary debates on terrorism*. Routledge.
- Karake, A. (2021). Income inequality, human capital and terrorism in Africa: Beyond exploratory analytics. *International Economics*, 165, 218–240.
- Kavas, S. N. (2022). *The logic of violence in civil war*. Cambridge University Press.
- Kim, W. (2022). Middle East and North Africa: Terrorism and conflicts. *Global policy*, 11(4), pp. 424–438.

- Langa, M. F. (2021). Terrorism as a challenge for promotion of human security in Africa: A case study of Mozambique's Cabo Delgado province. *Journal of Central and Eastern European African Studies*, 1(3), 53–67.
- Law, R. D. (2024). *Terrorism: A history*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Lofaney, N. (2022). *The effectiveness of African Union in addressing the root causes of terrorism in Africa: The case of Al-Shabaab in Somalia* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Johannesburg).
- Manning, J. (2024). Social exclusion and political violence: Multilevel analysis of the justification of terrorism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 47(7), 701–724.
- Martin, G. (2020). *Understanding terrorism: Challenges, perspectives, and issues*.
- Mensah, I. (2023). Insecurity and regional actors' role in securing Africa: An analysis of the role of ECOWAS, SADC, and IGAD in countering terrorism. In *African Security in the Anthropocene* (pp. 145–164). Springer Nature Switzerland.
- Motova, H. (2021). Economic growth, education, and terrorism: A re-analysis. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 33(3), 572–595.
- Mufufi, O., Noubissi, E., & Njangang, H. (2023). The impact of terrorism on agriculture in African countries. *African Development Review*, 32(4), 730–743.
- Mwangi, O. (2023). Al-Shabaab and the regional security dilemma. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Kenya* (pp. 381–390). Springer International Publishing.
- Nakiza, J. (2023). The evolving nature of foreign intervention in the Al-Shabab insurgency in Somalia. *About The Afsol Journal*, 32.

- Nasri, U. (2023). Exploring qualitative research: A comprehensive guide to case study methodology. *Al-Hikmah: Jurnal Studi Islam*, 4(3), 72–85.
- Oji, C. E. (2022). Economic and peace effects of terrorism in the 21st century. *International Journal of Public Law and Policy*, 8(2), 144–157.
- Onuga, A. T., Odusanya, I. A., & Adekunle, I. A. (2023). Terrorism and financial flows in Africa. *Behavioral Sciences of Terrorism and Political Aggression*, 13(3), 197–214.
- Raheem, I. (2022). Does democracy really fuel terrorism in Africa? *International Economic Journal*, 34(2), 297–316. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10168737.2020.1741014>
- Rapoport, D. (2022). *Waves of global terrorism: From 1879 to the present*. Columbia University Press.
- Tremlet, O. (2022). Waging peace: Towards an Africa Union stabilisation strategy for Somalia. *Journal of International Peacekeeping*, 25(3), 236–260.*

5% Overall Similarity

The combined total of all matches, including overlapping sources, for each database.





Filtered from the Report

- ▶ Bibliography
- ▶ Quoted Text
- ▶ Cited Text
- ▶ Small Matches (less than 8 words)




Exclusions

- ▶ 1 Excluded Match

Match Groups

-  **73 Not Cited or Quoted 5%**
Matches with neither in-text citation nor quotation marks
-  **0 Missing Quotations 0%**
Matches that are still very similar to source material
-  **0 Missing Citation 0%**
Matches that have quotation marks, but no in-text citation
-  **0 Cited and Quoted 0%**
Matches with in-text citation present, but no quotation marks

Top Sources

- 5%  Internet sources
- 0%  Publications
- 1%  Submitted works (Student Papers)

Integrity Flags

0 Integrity Flags for Review

No suspicious text manipulations found.

Our system's algorithms look deeply at a document for any inconsistencies that would set it apart from a normal submission. If we notice something strange, we flag it for you to review.

A Flag is not necessarily an indicator of a problem. However, we'd recommend you focus your attention there for further review.

APPENDIX A: Interview Guide

Semi-Structured Interview Guide: The Role of Regional Security Architecture in Countering Terrorism in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique

Background Information

Demographic Information:

Name (optional):

Age (optional):

Occupation:

Role in security or community affairs:

Section 1: Understanding the Emergence of Terrorism in Cabo Delgado

1. Background Context

- Can you describe the socio-economic and political situation in Cabo Delgado prior to the emergence of terrorism?

- What specific events or conditions do you believe contributed to the rise of terrorist groups in the region?

2. Local Grievances

- In your opinion, what are the primary grievances among the local population that may have fuelled terrorism?

- How do factors like poverty, unemployment, and resource control play a role in this context?

3. **External Influences**

- Are there any external factors (e.g., foreign militant groups, external funding) that you think have influenced the rise of terrorism in Cabo Delgado?

Section 2: Role of Regional Security Arrangements

1. **Existing Security Frameworks**

- What regional security arrangements are currently in place to address terrorism in Cabo Delgado?

- How effective do you believe these arrangements have been in countering terrorism?

2. **Collaboration and Coordination**

- Can you discuss the level of collaboration between regional countries in responding to the terrorist threat?

- What challenges have you observed in coordinating security efforts among regional actors?

3. **Impact of Regional Security Architecture**

- In what ways do you think regional security architecture has contributed to stabilizing or exacerbating the situation in Cabo Delgado?

Section 3: Mozambique's Decision to Engage with Rwanda

1. Motivation for External Support

- Why do you think Mozambique chose to seek assistance from Rwanda specifically? What factors influenced this decision?

- How do you perceive the role of Rwanda in the context of Cabo Delgado's security situation?

2. Assessment of Rwandan Intervention

- How effective has the Rwandan military presence been in combating terrorism in Cabo Delgado?

- What are the local perceptions of Rwandan involvement in the region?

3. Consequences of External Security Arrangements

- What implications does Mozambique's reliance on Rwanda for security have for regional dynamics and sovereignty?

Section 4: Improving Regional and National Security

1. Strategic Recommendations

- What strategies do you believe could enhance regional and national security in the fight against terrorism?

- How important do you think community engagement and local governance are in addressing the root causes of terrorism?

2. Role of International Support

- What role should international actors (e.g., UN, AU) play in supporting Mozambique and the region in countering terrorism?

- How can international partnerships be improved to better address the challenges faced in Cabo Delgado?

3. **Long-Term Solutions**

- In your view, what are the long-term solutions needed to prevent the resurgence of terrorism in Cabo Delgado?

- How can the lessons learned from Cabo Delgado be applied to other regions facing similar challenges?

APPENDIX B

Qualitative questionnaire: The Role of Regional Security Architecture in Countering Terrorism in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique

Section 1: Background Information

1. Demographic Information:

- What is your age?
- What is your occupation?
- What is your role or involvement in security or community affairs?

2. Experience with Terrorism:

- How long have you been aware of or involved in issues related to terrorism in Cabo Delgado?
- Can you briefly describe your experiences or observations regarding terrorism in this region?

Section 2: Emergence of Terrorism in Cabo Delgado

3. In your opinion, what are the primary factors that contributed to the emergence of terrorism in Cabo Delgado? Please elaborate.

4. How do local grievances (e.g., economic, social, political) influence the rise of terrorist activities in the region?

5. What role do you think external influences (e.g., international jihadist movements) play in the dynamics of terrorism in Cabo Delgado?

Section 3: Role of Regional Security Arrangements

6. How would you assess the effectiveness of existing regional security arrangements (e.g., SADC, bilateral agreements) in combating terrorism in Cabo Delgado? Please provide examples.

7. What challenges do regional security forces face when addressing terrorist threats in this province?

8. Can you share any specific instances where regional cooperation has either succeeded or failed in countering terrorism?

Section 4: Mozambique's Security Partnership with Rwanda

9. Why do you think Mozambique chose to seek assistance from Rwanda in response to the terrorist activities? What were the key motivations?

10. How effective do you perceive Rwandan forces to be in their efforts against terrorism in Cabo Delgado? Please explain your reasoning.

11. Are there any concerns or criticisms regarding Rwanda's involvement from a local or regional perspective? If so, please elaborate.

Section 5: Improving Regional and National Security

12. What strategies or measures do you believe could enhance both regional and national security efforts against terrorism?

13. How important is community engagement and local governance reform in addressing the root causes of terrorism? Please provide examples if possible.

14. In your view, what role should international partners play in supporting Mozambique's counter-terrorism efforts?

Section 6: Additional Insights

15. Is there anything else you would like to share regarding the role of regional security architecture in countering terrorism, particularly concerning Cabo Delgado?

16. Do you have any recommendations for further research on this topic?

Conclusion

Thank you for participating in this questionnaire. Your insights are invaluable for understanding the complexities of countering terrorism through regional security architecture in Cabo Delgado, Mozambique.