

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

**SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CAUSES OF TERRORISM IN KENYA: A
CASE STUDY OF EASTLEIGH ESTATE, NAIROBI COUNTY**

BY

ANTHONY KAMINDO

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been submitted for examination in any other university.

Signature.....

Date.....

Anthony Kamindo

C50/73835/2012

SUPERVISOR

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

Signature.....

Date.....

Prof. Edward Mburugu

Department of Sociology and Social Work

The University of Nairobi

DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to my family, friends and colleagues and the belief that impossible is nothing.

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Greatness is not where we stand, but in what direction we are moving .We must sail sometimes in the wind and sometimes against it –but sail we must and not drift, nor lie at anchor- Wendel Holmes

Certainly, completing this project has been a rite of passage into the realm of self-knowledge and I could not have achieved this success without the encouragement and support of the following people, my family for always being there for me, you encouraged and prayed for me when things got tough, my Supervisor Professor Edward Mburugu who has been of remarkable help, his patience, confidence and guidance in doing this project were simply awesome.

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ABSTRACT

The general objective of this study was to assess the social factors that cause terrorism in Kenya with reference to Eastleigh Estate of Nairobi County in Kenya. Under this thematic consideration, the study's central focus was on determining the socio-economic causes of terrorism in Kenya; secondly, establishing the socio-cultural causes of terrorism in Kenya; thirdly, determining the extent to which the degree of access to resources causes terrorism in Kenya; and finally, determine the extent to which security policing contributes to terrorism in Kenya.

The primary data was collected from 53 respondents as well as from key informants while secondary data was obtained from various published books as well as articles from various scholarly journals.

The study found out that the social causes of terrorism in Kenya are as a result of a complex network of intertwined problems emanating from four main thematic areas, namely; the socio-economic conditions of Kenya; the politics of resource allocation and access; socio-cultural factors; and, the country's poor and wanting security system. This is because, if they were to be taken in isolation of one another, very few would cause terrorism on their own. Rather, their interlinkedness offers fodder to motivate and effectuate terrorist agendas. To this effect, the study concluded that terrorism is caused by the interplay of the country's socio economic conditions, resource marginalization, socio-cultural extremism and poor security policing policies and strategies.

The study recommends that the Kenyan state should embrace a proactive role in its overall counterterrorism strategy. Secondly, in order to improve the country's efficiency in law enforcement as well as in enhancing intelligence gathering, the country's security agencies should be specially trained in counterterrorism techniques, policing best practices and public relations in order to inculcate a high degree of professionalism when dealing with the public. In addition, the country's socio-economic conditions need to be addressed so as to avert economic desperation being a breeding ground for terrorism. The study also calls for increased police – civilian cooperation as well as a citizen security directed security and the socialization of the populace into an effective security grouping. Finally the study recommends a need for a regional approach, synchronized activities among countries and institutions as well as intelligence sharing.

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Background to the Study

This chapter delves deeper into crime in Kenya with a keen focus on the social causes of the crime and delinquency as well as terrorism which forms part of the core theme in the whole study. The chapter further delves into the introductory part of the study outlining the background to the study, the problem statement; research objectives, significance of the study, limitations and the scope of the study.

Crime has been defined variously by different scholars. However, no consensus has been reached for the adoption of a universal definition. It has been defined as a harmful act committed or omitted to the state, to an individual or both. The act committed or omitted must be specifically prohibited by the criminal law (Mushanga, 1985). It has also been defined as a violation of societal rules of behavior as interpreted and expressed by a criminal legal code created by people holding social and political power. Individuals who violate these rules are subject to sanctions by state authority, social stigma and loss of status (Siegel, 1995).

Many people, particularly the youth, enter into the world of crime due to poverty. As many scholars have attested, economic stress and a sense of personal failure is the chronic culprit for the symptoms of social decay: drugs, alcohol and sex related problems that will affect the young as long as the family itself has difficulty facing the strains of inflation and unemployment (Omboto, 2012).

In addition, crime has been attributed to drug and substance abuse. Addiction to narcotics destroys the moral fibre of the addict; therefore, his/her character deteriorates and habits become evil. For example, in a study on the factors that influence male delinquents to commit capital offences among Kamiti inmates, it was established that drugs were one of the factors (Makhoha, 2008). The cases of unrest in schools and colleges have also been attributed to drug abuse where bhang smoking is common (Omboto, 2012).

Broken homes and low education attainment have also been listed as some of the causes of delinquency. Homes are the moral fibres of a given society. They are the first socializing agent upon which values are inculcated in new members of a given society. Education on the other hand helps empowering individuals by inculcating skills to navigate everyday life. When the homes break and/or when individuals fail to attain higher education that will inculcate upon him life-navigating skills, those individuals have a higher propensity of ending up in the crime world (Ojo, 2012).

Among the sociological theories advanced to explain crime, strain theory aptly describe society whereby society sets up societal ideals and ends that individual members of the society are encouraged to achieve and then sets structural confines that inhibit the achievement of the given ideals and ends. The theory also explains why the inability or presence of constraints that hinder the achievement of the given ideals or higher ends often leads to crime (Merton, 1938).

Messner and Rosenfeld's theory of institutional anomie built on Merton's conception of anomie, outlining how specific institutions lead to conditions of anomie and criminality. Cloward and Ohlin's theory of differential opportunity built upon Merton's strain theory, underscoring the fact that those involved in illegitimate means of opportunity to achieve the higher ends of societal achievement require a set of learned skills as do those involved in legitimate means (Murphy & Robinson, 2008).

One branch of crime that has attracted the buzz of sociologists is terrorism. Terrorism has been defined as the use of attacks upon non-military combatants such as civilian communities so as to invoke fear in the society in question in order to influence public opinion. In Kenya, terrorism has been of concern to sociologists largely out of the country being under numerous attacks from terrorists such as Al Qaeda, Al Shabaab as well as local terror cells operating in the country.

1.2 Statement of Problem

Scholars such as Omboto have researched on the problem of crime in Kenya and the challenges this forge to security as well as maintenance of law and order. Omboto, 2012 for instance has researched on the issues causing crime and delinquency among the youths in Kenya. These scholars have generally come up with theoretical frameworks as well as recommendations for

policy makers to adopt. Furthermore, most of these studies have been in diverse areas of crime such as drug induced criminal activities, banditry, and robbery with violence, cattle rustling among other crime areas.

However, even though progress has been made over the years through research in an effort to understand the nature of terrorism, why it emerges and escalates and subsequently how to counter it, it remains insufficient as to address the various study gaps that arise in as far as social causes of crime are concerned such as the social attributes of terrorism. Furthermore, the focus on identifying the causes of terrorism and why it has escalated in light of increasing threats, prompting intense debates and consideration, yet there has been no agreement on any one precise cause. In addition, while the subject has been explored in various forms producing a plethora of literature, the only agreement that seems to have been reached is predicated on the notion that there exists no single root cause of terrorism, or even a common set of causes. Partly due to the fact that terrorism as a phenomenon is very diverse, constantly changing and extremely complex, the controversial issue also lacks a generally accepted definition. Thus, with a multitude of factors and circumstances contributing to terrorism and on the basis of prevailing literature for this report, we distinguish two types of causes: root causes and trigger causes, which are also sometimes referred to as preconditions and precipitants.

This to an extent thus leaves a number of issues unexplored. First, what are the socio-economic causes of terrorism? Are these socio-economic causes universally acclaimed and if not, do they hold water in highly unequal nations like Kenya? Culturally, are there undisputed causes of terrorism bearing in mind the cultural mosaic that characterizes countries like Kenya? Does access to resources in any way influence terrorism as a causative agent? Against this background, this study thus seeks to forge a way forward by addressing the shortcomings of the earlier research by delving deeper into the social-economic causes of terrorism and in showing the relevance of the strain theory in explaining the social causes of crime.

1.3 Research Questions

The research questions are:

- i. What are the socio-economic causes of terrorism in Kenya?
- ii. What are the socio-cultural causes of terrorism in Kenya?
- iii. To what extent does access to resources cause terrorism in Kenya?
- iv. Has policing operations contributed to terrorism in Kenya?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 General Objective

The general objective of the study is to assess the social factors that cause terrorism in Kenya with reference to Eastleigh Estate of Nairobi County in Kenya.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are:

- i. To determine the socio-economic causes of terrorism in Kenya
- ii. To establish the socio-cultural causes of terrorism in Kenya
- iii. To determine the extent to which access to resources causes terrorism in Kenya
- iv. To determine the extent to which policing operations contributes to terrorism in Kenya

1.5 Significance of the Study

In its own right, the study has played a very significant contribution. From the public to policy makers; researchers in the area of policing as well as crime prevention, counter terrorism measures and in the maintenance of law and order. The study also pinpoints the social causes of crime and thus helps in forging policies to fight crime rather than in temporal measures that only address the symptoms instead of the causes. In Kenya many youth are joining terror groups and at the same time terror activities in our country has claimed a number of lives thus rendering it very important to understand where and how to mitigate and end terrorism in Kenya to avoid further loss of life.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study was based at Eastleigh Estate of Nairobi County, Kenya. The study focused on door to door interviews of households from residents of Eastleigh Estate on the social economic causes of crime and terrorism in Kenya. The study specifically sought to establish the extent to which socio-economic factors such as poverty and unemployment, socio-cultural factors as well as security policing and the degree of access to resources contribute to terrorism.

The limitation of the study included language barrier in that a few of the residents of Eastleigh Estate interviewed could not speak Swahili or English. Another limitation was that some of the respondents refused to be interviewed or even fill the questionnaire on suspicions driven by the natural fear that the information they would give would most likely fall into the hands of unauthorized persons who would use that information to pursue their selfish interests and also victimization from the government security agencies on the role in terror related activities.

1.7 Definition of Key Terms

Degree of access to resources: This project defines access to resources as the means available for economic and political development, such as education facilities, health facilities and infrastructure.

Corruption: Refers to willingness to act dishonestly in return for money or personal gain.

Policing: In this study, the concept is defined as a strategic approach adopted by the police to address criminal activity.

Socio-economic causes: According to the study they refer to poverty, high cost of living, low income, unemployment, illiteracy and ignorance.

Socio-cultural causes: According to the study socio-cultural causes refers to religious extremism and cultural extremism.

Terrorism: The term is defined as an unlawful act of violence or the threat thereof against a person, population to do or abstain from doing any act, according to certain principles for the furtherance of the perpetrator or perpetrators objectives.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

While conducting research, standard practice dictates that a review of literature be conducted so as to increase the insights of the researcher as well as identify study gaps for further research. This process is what is commonly referred to as literature review. It involves the systematic identification, location and analysis of documents containing information relevant to the research problem being investigated as well as the review of the literature records of the sort of strategies, procedures and measuring instruments that have been found useful in investigating the problem in question.

This information helps the researcher in steering clear of past research mistakes in the study of similar problems. In addition, it helps determine new approaches and stimulate ideas in as well as alerting the researcher to research various research possibilities that have been overlooked before (Mugenda, 1999).

2.2 Literature Review

The traditional widespread view across Western terrorism and conflict literature that poverty creates terrorism has dominated much of the debate on causes of terrorism. This is hardly surprising. After all, the notion that poverty generates terrorism is consistent with the results of most of the existing literature on the economics of conflicts. For example, there has been a view that poor economic conditions increase the probability of political coups. In addition, economic variables have been shown to be powerful predictors of civil war, while political variables have low explanatory power. Negative exogenous shocks in economic growth increase the likelihood of civil conflict. Because terrorism is a manifestation of political conflict, these results seem to indicate that poverty and adverse economic conditions may play an important role explaining terrorism (Abadie, 2004).

Indeed, much of modern-day transnational and globalized terrorism seems to generate from grievances against rich countries. In addition, in some cases terrorist groups may decide to attack property or nationals of rich countries in order to gain international publicity. As a result,

transnational terrorism may predominantly affect rich countries (Abadie, 2004). Others point out to failed governance; the effect of political decay and failure.

These arguments on poverty and failed governance seem to hold water if a primer on terrorism in Nigeria is anything to go by. The emergence of terrorist groups in Nigeria such as Boko Haram, as eminent Nigerian scholar shows, signifies the maturation of long festering extremist impulses that run deep in the social reality of Northern Nigeria. But the group itself is an effect and not a cause; it is a symptom of decades of failed government and elite delinquency finally ripening into social chaos (Ngwodo, 2010).

To analyze terrorist groups as well as other extremist groups of their kind, they are analyzed from the prism of bacterial cultures. We must understand the Petri dish in which they have been cultivated. In order to appreciate the peculiar resilience of such groups, we must grasp the socio-political and economic conditions of the given community. For example, Northern Nigeria, the local background community of the Boko Haram terrorist group, is a seething mass of illiteracy, misery, poverty and beggary. While Nigeria generally scores very poorly on every index of human development, Northern Nigeria sinks below the abysmal national average to the extent that a child born in the northwest or in the northeast is likely to have a lower quality of life than a compatriot born in the southwest or southeast. This view is supported by news headlines in recent years which have consistently portrayed the Nigerian North's mosaic of human suffering (Ngwodo, 2010).

These facts are necessary to provide an insight into the prevailing political psychology of background communities of terrorist groupings. Terrorist groups are the consequence incarnate of misrule by delinquent political elites. They are a creature of state failure demonstrating the decline of our institutions in all its unvarnished ugliness. For example, in the larger Nigerian federation, a range of embryonic insurgencies exist in the form of militant groups in the Niger Delta and kidnap gangs in the south east, and they intimate us of the fact that the Nigerian state no longer has the means to impose its will on this country; it no longer has a monopoly over the coercive instruments that underwrite the state's rule and indemnify it against sedition or dissidence (Ngwodo, 2010).

To this effect, Ngwodo (2010) argues that terrorism has thus been entrenched into the social reality of North Nigeria. He argues that it is the harbinger of incipient chaos. Boko Haram is an extremist group but it transcends the traditional extremist victimization of Christians in pursuit of grander anarchic ambitions. Its war is with the Nigerian state and western education which it perceives as a vector of the corrupting influence of modernity. Its ultimate objective is some version of an Islamic state, preferably of 7th century vintage (Ngwodo, 2010).

Ngwodo argues that the social conditions that permit its existence are rife across the country. Millions of unschooled and unskilled able-bodied young men reside in our cities and towns and provide a ready pool of malcontents for extremist recruitment. Even among the educated unemployed, the crisis of unemployment in Nigeria where 40 million youths are jobless makes them vulnerable to sectarian preachments. Into this breach, groups like Boko Haram enter offering a theological framework of social analysis: rampant poverty and existential meaninglessness emanate from the Nigerian state and its un-Islamic provenance; from the presence of western education and the intrusion of modernity into an Islamic society. Boko Haram imparts to its members a sense of purpose and mission as warriors for the cause of God ordained to cleanse the society of moral impurities and establish an alternate order (Ngwodo, 2010).

However, recent empirical studies have challenged the view that poverty creates terrorism. This is because a more plausible explanation for terrorism than poverty exists. This is alienation i.e., the alienation that results when economic success has been achieved, yet a corresponding increase in political power has been denied. To this end, likely terrorists have been described as people who by virtue of their educational and/or income backgrounds are potential members of the elite, but for some reason or another they are excluded. Their chief grievance is the blockage of their ambition. They cannot translate their socio-economic assets into political clout. Add to this religious fanatics actively recruiting these young men and offering them the ultimate political power that of Allah and the result is terrorism (Martin-Gorski, 2002).

Couto (2010) offers a wider analogy. He juxtaposes terrorism and the attendant violence with political leadership. He presents generalizations about terrorism defining it as a form of political violence by, for, and against the state from a theoretical framework based on the works of Max

Weber and Hannah Arendt. His argument is based on a continuum of power as a non-violent strength versus power as violence-dependent and the struggle for legitimacy between different agents (states and individuals) as well as terrorism by, for, and against the state. This reframing of power leads to judging a lack of power where there is violence and the presence of power where one observes non-violence (Couto, 2010).

An examination of political and criminal violence leads to questions about deliberate and purposeful violence, indirect and structural violence that has political consequences, and their relationship to terrorism. He expands the application of terrorism to include indirect structural violence by indicating its relationship to direct violence, not only in traditionally-viewed terrorist action but in the ignored terror of, for example, inner cities. Terrorism has many forms by many actors. He argues that the politics of terrorism suggest a central counter-terrorist approach; de-politicizing the violence of terrorists whenever possible and using the authority and power of the state to institutionalize it as criminal violence (Couto, 2010).

Ngunyi and Katumanga (2014) offer a much more plausible explanation under the Kenyan context. They argue that the proliferation of terrorist groups can be explained from a focus on the governance of geographical spaces. Their central thrust is that new 'spaces' tend to skew the space to force ratio. They result in far too many spaces being policed by a 'too small' a force. Because of this imbalance, the distant spaces 'close' themselves out, limiting the influence of the centre on their activities. This phenomenon of 'closed spaces' invites militia to police them and increases their de facto legitimacy in community. In fact, a symbiosis between the 'supply' of criminal activities and its 'demand' by community begins to emerge. The further away the state is from the closed spaces, the higher the legitimacy of gangs as the 'alternative state'. And this is how organic militia and gangs emerge. They are organic because community demands for them and legitimises their activities. However, they argue that security gaps are not occasioned by state absence alone. We argue that this can be occasioned by state abstinence as well. And this is a situation where the state agencies are either overpowered by the militia or are partakers of illicit activities with the militias. Security gaps that are traced to state abstinence can be traced to the rolling back of the Moi state in the 1990s. There resulted in state shrinkage through aid conditionality saw an increase in patronage inflation leading to an inverse relationship between

liberalised political space on the one hand and ‘de-liberalised’ state resources (Katumanga & Ngunyi, 2014).

In Kenya terrorist activities was experienced first in 1975 where a bomb blast happened in Starlight Nightclub and in the same year another blast in a bus that killed 30 people. In 1980 a bomb at Norfolk hotel killing 20 people and injuring about 80 persons. On 7th August, 1998 US Embassy in Nairobi was bombed killing a lot of people as well as many casualties were reported. In 2002 there was an attack at Kikambala Hotel in Mombasa killing 13 people. From 2012 our KDF began operations against Alshabaab Militant group in Somali and since then numerous attacks has happened in Kenya. Among them includes attacks in Mombasa, Nairobi, Garissa, Wajir, Mandera and Lamu where between 2011-2012 about 48 people had lost their lives and more than 200 casualties reported through Improvised Explosive Devices and grenades. In 21st September, 2013 there was a major attack by Alshabab Militant where 67 people lost their lives and scores injured. In 2014 Nairobi bound bus from Mandera was attacked 29 people lost their lives and the same year 17 people were killed in Quarry attack. The latest attack was on Garissa University where 147 lives were lost and scores injured claimed by Alshabab militia terror group.

2.2.1 Contemporary Themes in Terrorism

Research literature on causational factors and the diverse goals that drives people to resort to terrorism as well as in carrying out terrorist acts is inconclusive. Debates have raged on the nexus between the causes and the means in and outside the academia with inconclusive findings. Political leadership, ideology, poverty and economic disadvantage as well as religion have been listed as among the most common causes of terrorism.

2.2.1.1 Political Leadership and Ideology

In arguing on how political leadership influences terrorism, Hannah Arendt approaches the issue of legitimate authority and violence in a different manner; distinguishing legitimate authority

from violence. In her thesis, she insists that the authority, strength, and power of the state rest upon its legitimacy, which gives it the power to foster collective action among its citizens. State violence, though it may be justified, suggests that the state lacks sufficient legitimacy to gain citizen compliance through non-coercive power (Arendt, 1969).

This may attract a corresponding resistance from disenchanted sections of the population. This argument resonates with Ted Gurr's, 1970 thesis who argues that terrorism is inversely related to power. He explains terrorism as a tactic used by the weak to intimidate the strong and by the strong to intimidate the weak. Terrorism as a tactic against the state indicates a lack of the power to conflict with the state in higher levels of violence such as guerrilla or direct warfare. When a given state resorts to tactics of terror against its own citizens, it undermines the power and legitimacy of its own civil and criminal processes or their waning power to enforce order without resort to violence. Terrorism perpetuated by the state illustrates a lack of legitimate authority to achieve a political purpose. Similarly, when sub-state actors undertake political terror for the state, that is to root out political opposition to the state, they too express the inadequacy of the power of the state, albeit frustration with the cumbersome nature of legitimate forms of authority, power, and coercion (White, 2002).

Gurr(1968)opines that terrorism as a tactic but it may also be a strategy. Rather than an order of armed violence lower than guerilla and open warfare, terrorism may be a new level of protest, that is violent protest, to demonstrate the vulnerability of the state and its citizens and publicize a group's or individual's new or continued opposition to the state. Terrorism separated from power takes on the character of a strategy more than a tactic, becomes more clandestine, and requires less organization and leadership (White, 2002; Couto, 2010).

Ideologies have also been seen to breed terrorism. The factor of democracy as an instigator of terrorism is another theme under modern contemporary discourses on terrorism. A democratic government is supposed to represent the people and provide political means to voice grievances, hence essentially providing a sphere where terrorism has no place. To this effect, there cannot be an aggrieved group that is not adequately represented; otherwise, it is a violation of the doctrines of democracy and constitutionalism. In reality, this may not be the case. Such a situation would fit Wilkinson's assertion that political violence is morally justifiable in a democracy in two

occasions; first, there is the case of the minority whose basic rights and liberties are denied or taken away by arbitrary action of the government or its agencies; secondly, when one minority is attacked by another minority and does not receive adequate protection from the state and its forces of law and order; and those who are the subjects of a liberal state, but who are not admitted to its rights of citizenship cannot be morally bound to obedience to the state. Wilkinson argues that they are not bound by political obligation for they have not been accorded any rights by the state. Arguably, based on these claims, one can say it is exactly absence of a correct implementation of democratic ideals and not democracy (Wilkinson, 1977; Keet, 2003).

However, a characteristic of democracies is their openness. Some scholars however consider this openness a major weakness of the system, and therefore a cause of terrorism. However, Keet(2003) argues that openness in itself cannot be a cause, only maybe easing terrorists in their preparations and facilitating publicity in the relative absence of censorship, but not the 'change of mindset' to resort to terrorism as a tool. What might be a cause is the so-called *terror of the majority* clothed behind the tyranny of numbers whereby the minority is represented and allowed to voice their grievances, but without this being consistently translated into desired policies because there are no sufficient votes to pass desired legislation (Keet, 2003).

2.2.1.2 Poverty and Terrorism

The economic motivation behind crime is essentially the appropriation of somebody else's property. Another motivation is the pursuit of illegal activity even at the risk of being caught and punished. Therefore, criminal offenders are likely to be found among those who have relatively more to gain from these activities and relatively little to lose in case they are caught. Individuals such as these presumably belong to the neediest groups in society, their number being greater and their motivation being stronger the more unequal the distribution of resources in society.

Empirical evidence over the years supports this argument. In a 1980 study of imprisoned Islamic militants in Egypt, social scientist Saad Eddin Ibrahim found that the typical member is from the middle or lower middle class, with high achievement and motivation, upwardly mobile, with science or engineering education. In the 1980's several countries that experienced great

economic growth experienced a surge in militant Islam at the same time. In Kenya, this is supported by an interview of an Al Shahab fighter by BBC journalist, John Nene. The man claimed that most of the youths in Kenya are joining the terror group not because of jihad or Islam but because of the allure of money and an assurance of their next meal (Lowen, 2014; Martin-Gorski, 2002).

2.2.1.3 Religion

Religion has been a cause of terrorism where those whose motivations and aims have a predominant religious character or influence. To Mark Juergensmeyer, religious terrorism consists of acts that terrify, the definition of which is provided by the witnesses, the ones terrified, and not by the party committing the act; accompanied by a religious motivation, justification, organization, or world view (Religious Terrorism). Scholars have however argued that religion is neither the chicken nor the egg when it comes to creating terrorists. Rather, religion is one of many factors in the explosive brew of politics, culture and psychology that leads fanatics to target innocents and take their own lives in the process (Gibson, 2011).

The biggest myth about religion and violence according to theologian Ariel Glucklich is that religion teaches hatred. The violence comes from a kind of love or desire for love for one's own group and a willingness to do whatever it takes to obtain it and as he calls it, the Prozac effect. Some religions do, in fact, cause hatred, as he argues, but often the roots of religious violence are buried somewhere in the positive aspects of religion. Terrorism is thus an effect of religion's socialization effect i.e., when societies break down, individuals are susceptible to charismatic leaders who preach a perverted kind of religion (Glucklich, 2010; Gibson, 2011).

2.3 Theoretical Framework

In examining the theoretical foundations for sociological explanations to terrorism, two theoretical approaches namely structural theory and relative deprivation theory, provide useful explanatory analysis for this process.

2.3.1 Structural Theory

Structural theory has been used in many policy and academic disciplines to identify social conditions (structures) that affect group access to services, equal rights, civil protections, freedom, or other quality-of-life measures. It explains terrorism by arguing from the point of structural theories of revolution emphasizing that weaknesses in state structures encourage the potential for revolution. According to this view, a government beset by problems such as economic and military crises is vulnerable to challenges by insurgent forces. Other governments run into trouble when their policies alienate and even anger elites within the society. This theory sees the state as the key actor. Its status is the precipitating factor for popular revolutions. Popular discontent, the alienation of elites, and a pervasive crisis are the central ingredients for bringing a society to the brink of revolution and/or terrorist activities (Noam chomsky, 1950; Jacques Lacan, 1970).

The Kenyan youth who are the majority feel that they have been alienated by the government of the day and they lack access to basic needs and even the educated among them lack employment and financial capacity to invest. This has resulted them looking for alternative ways of acquiring and getting financial assistance where these terror cells operating within and outside Kenya lure our youth by giving and promising huge chunk of money. By this many of our youth result to joining terror groups like the Alshabab Militia group.

2.3.2 Relative Deprivation

On the other hand, Relative deprivation theory essentially holds that feelings of deprivation and frustration underlie individual decisions to engage in collective action. When a group's rising expectations are met by sustained repression or second-class status, the group's reaction may include political violence. Their motive for engaging in political violence is their observation that they are relatively deprived, in relation to other groups, in an unfair social order. This should be contrasted with absolute deprivation, when a group has been deprived of the necessities for survival by a government or social order. This condition can also lead to political violence and terrorism (Abadie, 2004).

This paper however seeks to employ the strain theory which is perhaps one of the best theories that aptly describe society whereby society sets up societal ideals and ends that individual members of the society are encouraged to achieve and then sets structural confines that inhibit the achievement of the given ideals and ends. As a sociological paradigm, it is hinged upon three basic assumptions; first, that we are all naturally law-abiding if given the chance; secondly, that we break rules when we experience strain; and finally, that strain originates in our social experience (Pitts, 2009).

2.3.3 Structural Strain Theory

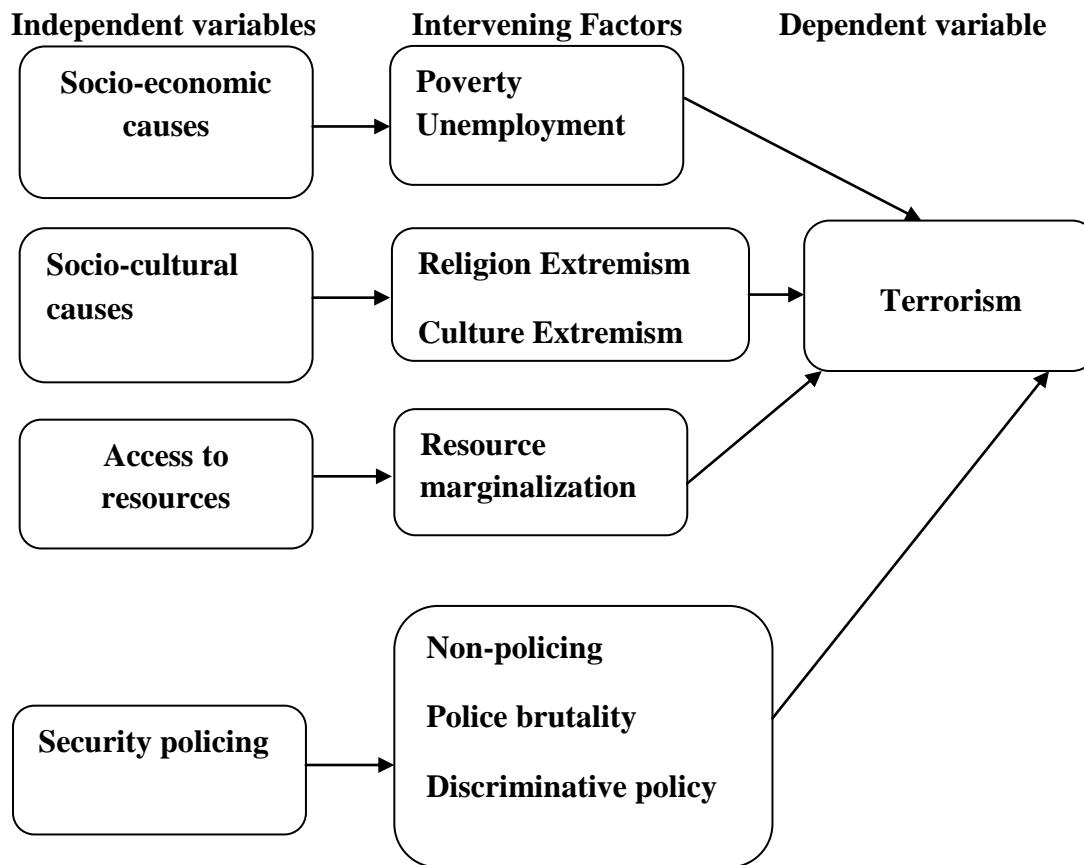
In Sociology and Criminology Strain Theory states that social structures within society gives pressure to citizens to commit crime. Developed by Merton, 1957 structural strain theory as an extension of functionalist perspective on deviance traces the origins of deviance to the tensions that are caused by the gap identifiable between cultural goals and the means people/citizens have available to achieve those goals.

The structural strain theory is hinged upon five basic goals as well as means disjuncture. These are; conformity, where individuals accept the goals of society since the individuals have the means to attain these goals. However due to relative deprivation i.e., where individuals are strained to achieving their life goals the means disjuncture arise. They therefore forge methods of adaptation to relative deprivation. These are innovation, whereby individuals accept the goals of society but since there is no way they can reach these goals, they are naturally inclined to experimenting with new behavior. This leads to the emergence of ritualism i.e., where individuals abandon society's goals and concentrate only on the means. They gain pleasure from practicing rituals regardless of their purpose. Retreatism is also an adaptation mode where individuals who give up on the goals and the means retreat into their own prescribed cocoons of pursuit of societal goals. Other individuals rebel; i.e., reject the cultural goals and the cultural means and substitute new cultural goals and means (Merton, 1938). In Kenya many youth are joining terror groups in the hope that they will have alternative means to achieve their goals since terror groups offer incentives in terms of money.

2.4 Conceptual Framework

A conceptual framework is a visual or written product, one that explains, either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied; the key factors, concepts, or variables, and; the presumed relationships among them (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014). It is primarily a conception or model of what is out there that the researcher plans to study, and of what is going on with these things and why; a tentative theory of the phenomena that the researcher is investigating. Its function is to inform the rest of a researcher's design; to help him/her to assess and refine his/her goals, develop realistic and relevant research questions, select appropriate methods, and identify potential validity threats to his/her conclusion.

Fig. 1 Conceptual framework



CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section deals with the collection and analysis of data to examine the social causes of terrorism in Kenya. The researcher collected both primary and secondary data to make sure that all the relevant materials on information required for the study was acquired and utilized. This study is explorative in nature which used survey method mainly in data collection.

3.2 Site Description

The site selection for this study was Eastleigh estate in Nairobi County. The main area was to identify the residential area between 1st to 12th street where I concentrated to 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th streets which are the main streets dominated by mainly Somali community as their residential area.

3.3 Research Design

By definition, a research design is a framework for conducting research. It includes the procedures as well as the procedural framework necessary for obtaining the data and information needed to structure and solve a research problem (Zikmund, 2000). It refers to the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in the procedure (Babbie, 1990). It is a blue print which facilitates the smooth sailing of the various research operations, thereby making research as efficient as possible hence yielding maximum information with minimal expenditure of effort, time and money (Kothari, 2004).

The study employed a survey design in collecting data from 60 respondents using structured questionnaires. The inclusive criterion in this study was Eastleigh Estate, Nairobi County. This research work is largely qualitative in approach based on views, perceptions and opinions of respondents on what they perceive about the social factors causing terrorism in Kenya.

3.4 Target Population

The target population is the population of interest from which a representative sample is selected. It is the population that is to be analyzed and understood. Therefore in this study the target population is constituted of residents of Eastleigh Estate from which a representative sample of 60 residents was drawn.

Table 3.1 Target Population

Categories	Target Population	Percentage %
Chief investigating officers	1	1.47
Investigative journalists	2	2.94
Chiefs	2	2.94
Assistant chiefs	3	4.41
Residents	60	88.24
Total	68	100.0

3.5 Sampling Frame and Sampling Techniques

The sampling frame for the study was the residents of Eastleigh Estate, Nairobi County. The sample size was constituted of 60 respondents drawn to represent the major groups in Eastleigh. This helped the researcher to track and assess the social factors causing terrorism in Kenya. The sampling size of 60 respondents was sampled from the residents of Eastleigh, Nairobi County. The study used stratified sampling technique which is a process of dividing members of the population into homogeneous subgroups before sampling where the strata are mutually exclusive i.e. every element in the population must be assigned to only one stratum. My four stratum were 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th streets.

From each stratum, 15 respondents were randomly selected. Selection entailed that every fourth household along feeder streets that joins the main street (strata) was identified and then the researcher proceeded to interview the head of the household and the same was done to all the four main streets/stratum. The household head could either be a man or a woman.

3.6 Data Collection

The study used both primary and secondary data, data collected for a specific purpose are known as primary data. The essence of obtaining such data was to ensure that the exact information wanted for the study was obtained. Primary data indicated both qualitative and quantitative data. Qualitative data was collected from the main respondents constituted of heads of households. The instrument of data collection from these respondents was through interviews using standard questionnaire.

Qualitative data on the other hand was collected from key informants who included investigative security officers, investigative journalists and local public administrators. For these respondents, a key informant guide was used. The secondary data was obtained from other sources such as; articles, journals which were relevant to the study, past research work, dissertation and thesis containing the necessary data relevant to the study. Data was collected by interviewing the Key informants by use of open-ended questionnaires.

3.7 Data Analysis

The study findings were analyzed using SPSS statistical programmer. This is a type of software that uses coding system organized around different topics and themes. A scheme of numbers was used to designate major categories and subcategories. Hard copies were coded manually using colored pens to mark the margins with the appropriate numbers.

3.8 Ethical considerations

One very important consideration a researcher must not overlook is the issue of ethics in research (Malhotra and Birks 2007). The research in accordance with this took steps to make sure that no respondent or any participant in this research work was harmed in way .The researcher made sure that permission was sought and the aims and objectives of the study made known to the service providers as well as the respondents through introductory letters and cover letters respectively .Both service providers and respondents were also assured of the fact that the study is only for the purposes of academics and not for any other dubious use .The researcher also made sure that personal or demographic information was kept confidential.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the data collected. The chapter seeks to analyze this data with a view of interpreting it so as to get a better position on the social causes of terrorism in Kenya. The data has been analyzed using the SPSS data analysis software. The findings are presented using frequency tables. The analysis of quantitative data was to be integrated with the analysis of qualitative data in providing interpretations.

This study on the social causes of terrorism in Kenya was conducted in Eastleigh Estate of Nairobi County in Kenya. The study employed both quantitative research as well as qualitative research. In conducting quantitative research, the study disseminated sixty questionnaires. Fifty three complete questionnaires were returned. This constituted a response rate of 88.33%.

4.2 Social and Demographic Characteristics

4.2.1 Gender Distribution and Terrorism

According to the table below, majority of the respondents were male with 58.5% and 41.5% were female. This is a result of the Somali community male dominance and at the same time as pointed out by area Assistance chief more men are joining terror groups as compared to women.

Table 4.1: Distribution by gender and terrorism

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	31	58.5
Female	22	41.5
Total	53	100.0

4.2.2 Age Distribution by age and Terrorism

According to the table below majority of the respondents were aged between 25 to 29 years with 32.1%, 17.0% were under 25 years,17.0% were aged between 30 to 34 years ,15.1% were aged between 35 to 39 years while 18.9% were aged 40 years and above.

Table 4.2: Distribution by age and terrorism

Respondents age	Frequency	Percentage
Under 25	9	17.0
25 to 29	17	32.1
30 to 34	9	17.0
35 to 39	8	15.0
40 and above	10	18.9
Total	53	100.0

From the chief investigating officer, majority of the Kenyan youth lack resources hence leads to want and desperation which makes them vulnerable to those who can provide it. Thus these terror groups like the Alshabab militia group becomes a good option for them to join and in the process they end up doing and participating in terrorist activities that has resulted huge disaster due to the high number of casualties involved.

4.2.3 Respondents Level of Education and Terrorism

According to the table below majority of the respondents had secondary school education with 45.3%, 1.9% had no education and 11.3% had primary school education while 41.5% had university education.

From the area chief, to a large extent, most people with adequate education seek a better life and standard of living which includes access to basic resources. In Kenya a majority of the youth population lack resources leads to want and desperation which makes them vulnerable to those

who can provide it. People who feel that they have been marginalized in terms of access to resources may resort to terrorist activities so as to express their grievances.

Table 4.3: Distribution by level of education and Terrorism

Level of education	Frequency	Percentage
None	1	1.9
Primary	6	11.3
Secondary	24	45.3
University	22	41.5
Total	53	100.0

4.2.4 Respondents by resident’s major occupation

According to the table below majority of the respondents were self-employed with 39.6%, 22.6% were employed in a public institution, 20.8% were employed in a private institution, 13.2% of the respondents were housewives and 3.8% had other occupations.

Most of the respondents are self-employed as sited by investigative journalist that due to most of the Eastleigh being dominated by business community, there high chances that powerful businessmen will facilitate and fund terror groups to safeguard their interest and at the same time be able to avoid paying taxes to the government as well as being able to sell illegal commodities and contraband goods.

Table 4.4: Distribution by respondents major occupation

Major Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Employed in public sector	12	22.6
Employed in private sector	11	20.8
Self employed	21	39.6
Housewife	7	13.2
Others	2	3.8
Total	53	100.0

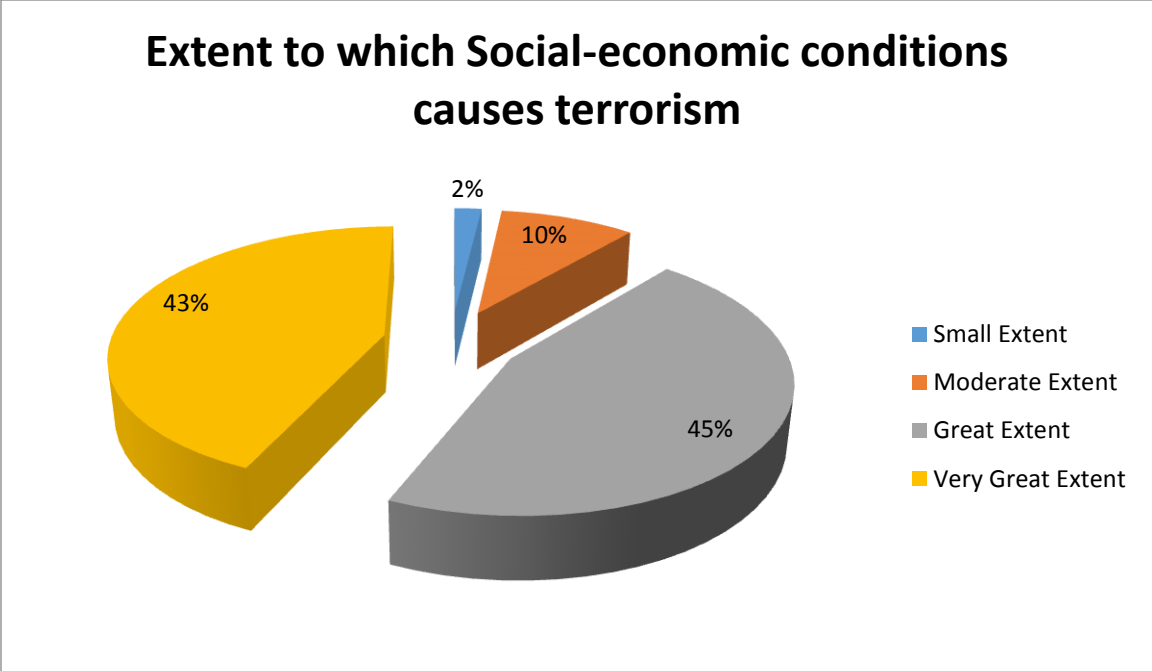
4.3 Socio-Economic Causes of Terrorism

4.3.1 Socio-economic conditions and terrorism

As pointed out earlier in this project there are various socio-economic causes of terrorism in Eastleigh estate in Nairobi City County. These socio-economic causes are poverty, unemployment, high cost of living and illiteracy. These are the major challenges which are experienced by residents of Eastleigh estate. Poverty is as a result of high level of under-employment, and high population is not employed. The above explained causes partially contribute to insurgence of terrorism and related activities.

Table 4.5: response on the extent to which Social-economic conditions causes terrorism

Extent of cause	Frequency	Percentage
Small extent	1	1.9
Moderate extent	5	9.4
Great extent	24	45.3
Very great extent	23	43.4
Total	53	100.0



Majority of the respondents were of the opinion that the country’s socio economic conditions were the root cause of terrorism in Kenya. As the above table show, 43.4% of the respondents are of the view that the country’s socio economic conditions caused terrorism to a very great extent. On the other hand, 45.28%, were to the view that social-economic conditions caused terrorism to great extent, 9.48% and 1.89% were of the view that the country’s socio economic conditions caused terrorism to a moderate extent and small extent respectively.

According to an investigative journalist as he put it, the socio-economic conditions are a major cause of terrorism in Kenya.” A lack of a basic standard of living has exposed individuals and their families to seek or source alternative incomes which have become increasingly available through terrorist organizations. Thus, this was the view of the investigative journalist.

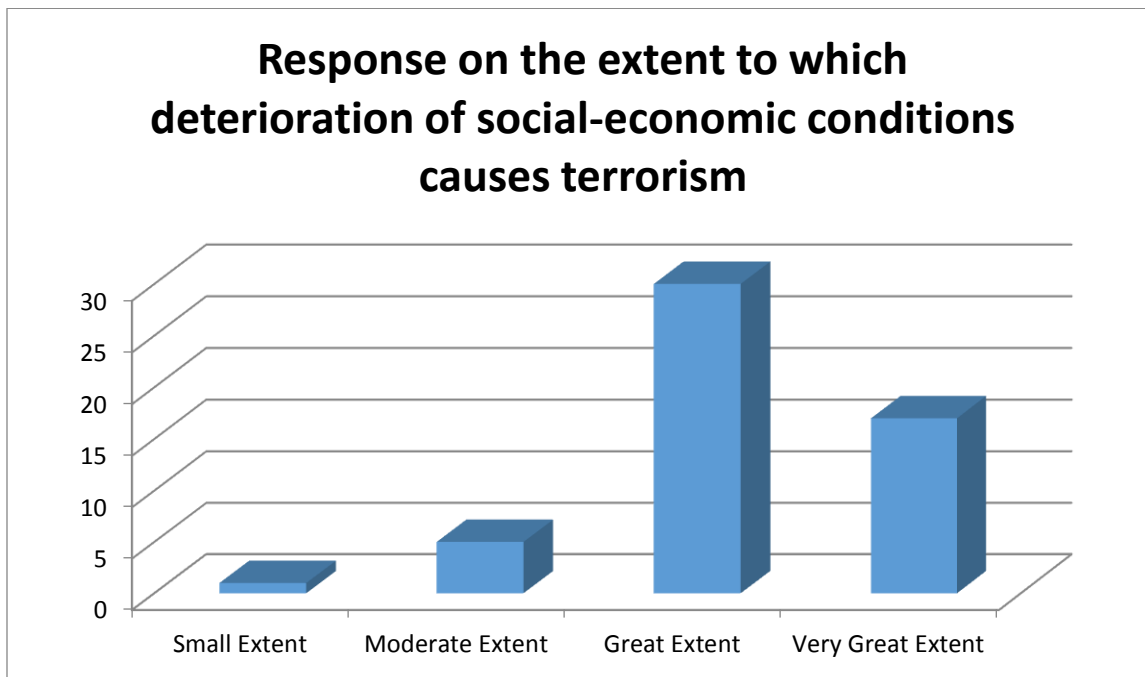
4.3.2 Effects of Deterioration of socio-economic conditions

As indicated in table 4.6 below, deterioration in Kenya’s socio economic conditions also caused terrorism to a great extent in that 32.1% of the respondents were for the view that the same was to a great extent a key factor in contributing to terrorism. Other respondents, 56.6% were of the view that deterioration in socio economic conditions contributed to terrorism in Kenya to a very

great extent, while 9.4% and 1.9%, were of the view that deterioration in socio economic conditions contributed to terrorism in Kenya to a moderate extent and small extent respectively.

Table 4.6: response on the extent to which deterioration of social-economic conditions causes terrorism

Extent of cause	Frequency	Percentage
Small extent	1	1.9
Moderate extent	5	9.4
Great extent	30	56.6
Very great extent	17	32.1
Total	53	100.0



As one key informant argues, “Terrorism provides incentives both ideological and economic. A failure by the elected powers to provide for the needy allows terror organizations to take advantage of the void and fill it while simultaneously ideologically preaching a solution that undermines the existing powers.”

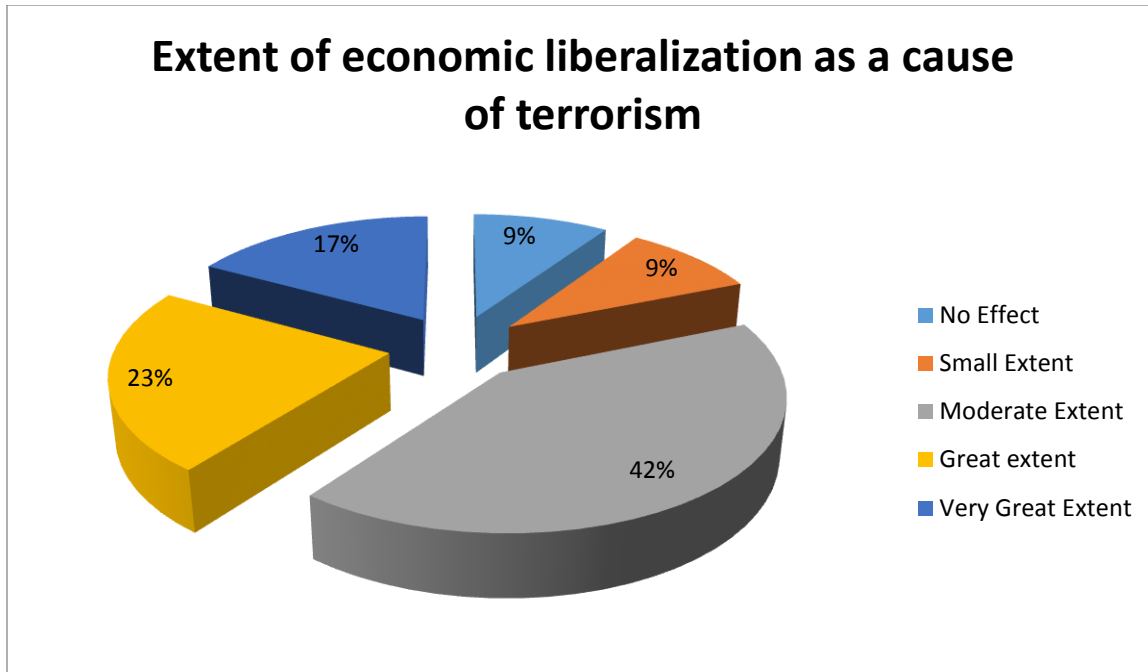
This was also reflected by an assistant chief from Eastleigh, who said that deterioration in the socio-economic activities caused terrorism to a large extent because poor people are easily enticed to join terrorist activities than richer people.

4.3.3 Effects of economic liberalization

Economic liberalization was cited by a number of respondents as a cause of terrorism in Kenya as shown in table 4.7 below albeit at a moderate extent. 41.5% of the respondents were of the view that it contributed moderately to terrorism. On the other hand, 22.6%, 17%, 9.4% of the respondents were of the view that it contributed to terrorism in Kenya to a great extent, very great extent and small extent respectively. 9.4% of the respondents were of the view that it had no effect on terrorism in Kenya

Table 4.7: Extent of economic liberalization as a cause of terrorism

Extent of cause	Frequency	Percentage
No effect	5	9.4
Small extent	5	9.4
Moderate extent	22	41.5
Great extent	12	22.6
Very great extent	9	17.1
Total	53	100.0



“Economic liberalization as per se is not the problem, the fault lies in that this liberalization only realistically benefits a portion of the population. Whilst stricter controls on money would somewhat curtail terror funding, it would not do so in the realms of poverty where the economy is largely underground.” This is according to an investigative journalist based in Eastleigh.

Poverty creates an ideological void that terror organizations use to ideologically convert and recruit; the failures in one system are not present in other, therefore the other must be better.

4.3.4 Gender and social-economic causes of terrorism

According to table 4.8 below a majority of the respondents were males at 31 and the females at 22. This is well understood as Eastleigh is an area that is dominated by the Somalis who are predominantly Muslim hence the men were more free to give out their views as opposed to women also due to the fact that only the heads of the households were interviewed.

Table 4.8: Extent to which Social-economic conditions causes terrorism according to gender

Gender	Extent of cause			Total	
	Small/moderate	Great	Very great	%	F(N)
Male	12.9	48.4	38.7	100.0	31
Female	4.7	42.9	52.4	100.0	22
Total	9.6	46.2	44.2	100.0	53

From table 4.8 above, among the male respondents, 48.4% believe that social economic conditions causes terrorism to a great extent and 38.7% to a very great extent. Of the female respondents, 42.9% believe that social economic conditions causes terrorism to great extent and 52.4% to very great extent. This shows that from both gender about 46.2% are to the opinion that social economic conditions causes terrorism to a great and 44.2% to a very great extent.

As one of the chief urges, the country's socio-economic conditions of the country are partly to blame in as far as terrorism in the country is concerned. This is because, they argue, a lack of a basic standard of living has exposed individuals and their families to seek alternative sources of livelihoods of which have become easily available through terrorist organizations. Most of the families are headed by male in Somali community thus making them more prone to joining these terror groups to get money so as to be able to raise and maintain their families.

4.3.5 Age and social-economic causes of terrorism

As reflected in the table 4.9 below most of the respondents were between the ages of 25 and 39 years. This is a group of young people who have suffered the blunt of unemployment and are economically surviving through self-employment that thrives well in Eastleigh area.

Table 4.9: Extent to which social-economic factors causes terrorism according to age

Age	Extent of cause			Total	
	Small/moderate	Great	Very great	%	F(N)
Under 25	40.0	20.0	40.0	100.0	5
25 - 39	18.5	66.7	14.8	100.0	27
40 and above	9.5	71.4	19.1	100.0	21
Total	17.0	64.2	18.8	100.0	53

In the table 4.9 above more than 66.7% respondents of the age between 25-39 years are to the belief that social-economics factors cause terrorism to a great extent since many of them who are the youth lack employment, and other social amenities hence they are more vulnerable to join these terror groups since they promise those joining lucrative returns and at the same time those aged 40 years and above 71.4% feels that social- economic conditions causes terrorism to a great extent. Of the total respondents 64.2 are to the opinion that social- economic factors causes terrorism to a great extent while 17% feels to a small and moderate extent and 18.1% to very great extent.

According to investigative journalist, majority of our Kenyan youths are joining terror groups. This is because, they argue, a lack of a basic standard of living, lack of employment opportunities and access to financial gains to startup businesses has exposed them and their families to seek alternative sources of livelihoods of which have become easily available through terrorist organizations

4.3.6 Education and social-economic causes of terrorism

According to the table 4.10 below most of the respondents had secondary school education at 23 while those with university education were slightly fewer at 22.

Table 4.10: Extent to which social economic conditions causes terrorism by level of education

Extent of cause	Level of education				Total	
	None	Primary	Secondary	University	%	F(N)
Small/moderate	0	16.7	50.0	33.3	100.0	6
Great	0	12.5	41.7	45.8	100.0	24
Very great	4.3	13.1	43.5	39.1	100.0	23
Total	1.9	13.2	43.4	41.5	100.0	53

Majority of the educated respondents more than 80% who have secondary (43.4%) and university (41.5%) education were to the opinion that social economic conditions contributes to terrorism.

Among those with university education, 45.8% belief that social economic conditions causes terrorism to a great extent and about 39.1% to a very great extent. Among those with secondary education 41.7% of the respondents are in the belief that social economic conditions cause terrorism to a great extent and 43.5% to a very great extent. Also those with primary and no education belief that lack of social economic conditions causes terrorism.

As explained by chief investigative officer, most our educated youths have lacked employment, access to resources and due to the fact that they are desperately looking for wealth and improved standards of living, there are easily lured to joining these terror groups since they promise and give them huge returns in terms of money. A practical example is one of the Garissa attackers where one was a graduate from one of our local university.

4.3.7 Effects of access to resources and terrorism

In Eastleigh estate there is a disparity in the way resources are accessed by residents. Resources can and are accessed through development, education and employment among others. There is marginal development taking place in Eastleigh in terms of infrastructure. For instance roads are impassable especially in the rainy season. This makes the business environment in the estate unfavorable making the residents feels neglected by the government of the day. Majority of residents particularly the youth aged 4-16 the fact that they are not in school is a fertile ground reason for them to engage in terrorist activities and vulnerable to both cultural and religious extremism.

Table 4.11: Extent to which the degree of access to resources cause terrorism

Extent of cause	Frequency	Percentage
Small extent	4	7.5
Moderate extent	5	9.4
Great extent	23	43.4
Very great extent	21	39.6
Total	53	100.0

Table 4.11 above sought to reveal the extent to which degree of access to resources lead to terrorism. According to the respondents 7.5% believes that degree of access to resources has contributed to terrorism to a small extent, 9.4% to a moderate extent, 43.4% to a great extent and 39.6% to a very great extent.

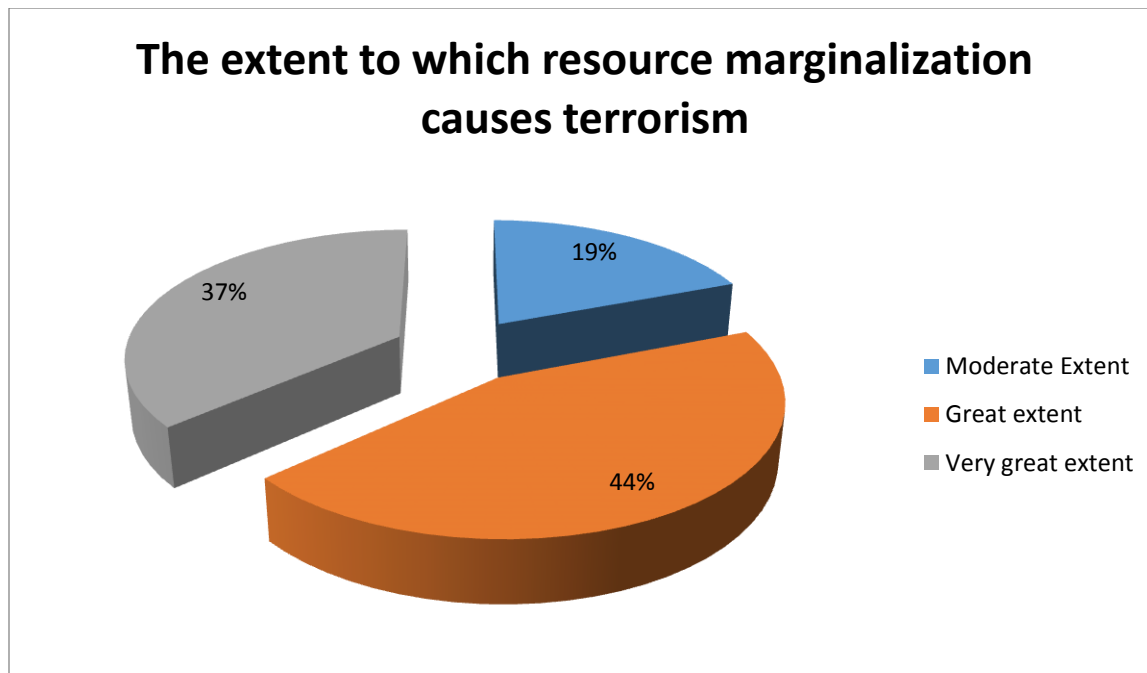
In not providing access to resources, citizens become vulnerable and seek alternative methods to procure the same and this makes them vulnerable.

4.3.8 Effects of resource marginalization

Resource marginalization was also cited by a number of respondents as a cause of terrorism in Kenya. According to the table 4.12 below the respondents were of the view that resource marginalization contributed to terrorism to a great extent by 43.40%. 35.85% were of the view that it contributed to a very great extent to terrorism, 18.87% thought it contributed to a moderate extent while 1.85% thought it contributed to a small extent

Table 4.12: The extent to which resource marginalization causes terrorism

Extent of cause	Frequency	Percentage
Small/Moderate extent	10	18.9
Great extent	24	45.3
Very great extent	19	35.8
Total	53	100.0



As pitted by one of the key informants ,most people seek a better life and standard of living which includes access to basic resources .For a majority of the population ,a lack of resources leads to want and desperation which makes them vulnerable to those who can provide it.

Table 4.13: Extent to threats of terrorism on resource marginalization according to gender

Gender	Extent of cause			Total	
	Small/moderate	Great	Very great	%	F(N)
Male	9.4	37.5	53.1	1000	32
Female	9.5	38.1	52.4	100.0	21
Total	9.4	37.8	52.8	100.0	53

According to table 4.13 above, 37.5% of male respondents were to the opinion that resource marginalization were causing terrorism to a great extent and 53.1 to a very great extent where also the female respondents had the opinion that 38.1% belief that resource marginalization cause terrorism to a great extent and 52.4 to a very great extent. To the both gender 52.8% are to the opinion that resource marginalization causes terrorism to a very great extent.

From the area chief, resource marginalization has caused terrorism and at the same time made more people among them our youth join these terror cells. Eastleigh area has been neglected for a long time in terms of infrastructure and vital social amenities. Most roads are impassable, poor drainage systems, poor lighting of area as well as poor garbage collection. All these among others has made residents of these area believe they have been neglected by the government of the day hence they seek alternative ventures where these terror groups even funds some of the activities.

Table 4.14: Extent to threats of terrorism on resource marginalization according to age

Age	Extent of cause			Total	
	Small/moderate	Great	Very great	%	F(N)
Under 25	27.2	36.4	36.4	100.0	11
25 - 39	9.5	33.3	57.2	100.0	21
40 and above	19.1	47.6	33.3	100.0	21
Total	17.0	39.6	43.4	100.0	53

As indicate in table 4.14 above, those respondents of 25 years and above have a strong opinion that resource marginalization causes terrorism as opposed to those aged below 25 years. This could due to the fact that most of the respondents to the age of 25 and below may be dependents thus having fewer responsibilities. Of those in the age of 26-39 years 57.2% are to the belief that resource marginalization causes terrorism to very great extend and 33.3% to a great extent while 9.5% to a small and moderate extent.

One of the key informant sees that most of our youths are more likely to join terror groups since they offer alternative venture to access some of the resources that seems to be scare in the area. Deterioration of the country's socio economic conditions creates gaps in the society which terrorist organizations fill while simultaneously ideologically preaching a solution that lies in terrorist activities. Furthermore, the authorities are of the view that economic liberalization poses no problem per se but rather the fault lies in the fact that liberalization only realistically benefits a portion of the population. Whilst stricter controls on money would in a way curtail terror funding, its ability to effectuate that is curtailed in the realms of poverty and in situations where the economy has virtually been pushed underground.

Table 4.15: Extent to threats of terrorism on resource marginalization according to education

Education level	Extent of cause			Total	
	Small/moderate	Great	Very great	%	F(N)
None	0	0	100.0	100.0	1
Primary	0	50.0	50.0	100.0	6
Secondary	17.6	41.2	41.2	100.0	17
University	6.9	48.3	44.8	100.0	29
Total	9.4	45.3	45.3	100.0	53

As shown in table 4.15 above those with secondary and university education feel that resource marginalization causes terrorism since most of them lack employment opportunities as well as capital and other essential incentives to work. For those with secondary education, more than 80% believe resource marginalization causes terrorism to both great and very great extent. Of those with university education 48.3% believe that resource marginalization causes terrorism to a great extent while 40.8% to a very great extent. Thus nearly 90% of respondents with university education are of the opinion that resource marginalization causes terrorism. Also the few respondents with primary and no education are of the opinion that resource marginalization causes terrorism to a great extent.

Most of educated people especially youth have lacked employment, and are living with very low living standards thus becoming vulnerable to looking alternative means of attaining their goals and life desires. To this point, terror groups become the most appropriate avenue to bridge this gap thus making our youth to join these terror cells due to the lucrative returns they offer. This was echoed by one of the area chiefs.

4.4 Socio-cultural causes of Terrorism

This research sought to examine the Socio-cultural causes of terrorism from the respondents. Causes identified include cultural extremism, Political influence and Religious extremism. For instance there is a terror gang by the name of *superpower* that operates in the area due to a negative social influence that has strengthened deviance. Politicians have been a source of negative influence for the residents. Religious extremism is another factor given the fact that a majority of the residents are of Somalis ethnic group origin who feel that they are marginalized hence use this alternative way to make the government listen to their cries. Majority have lamented that they have been unequally treated by the government.

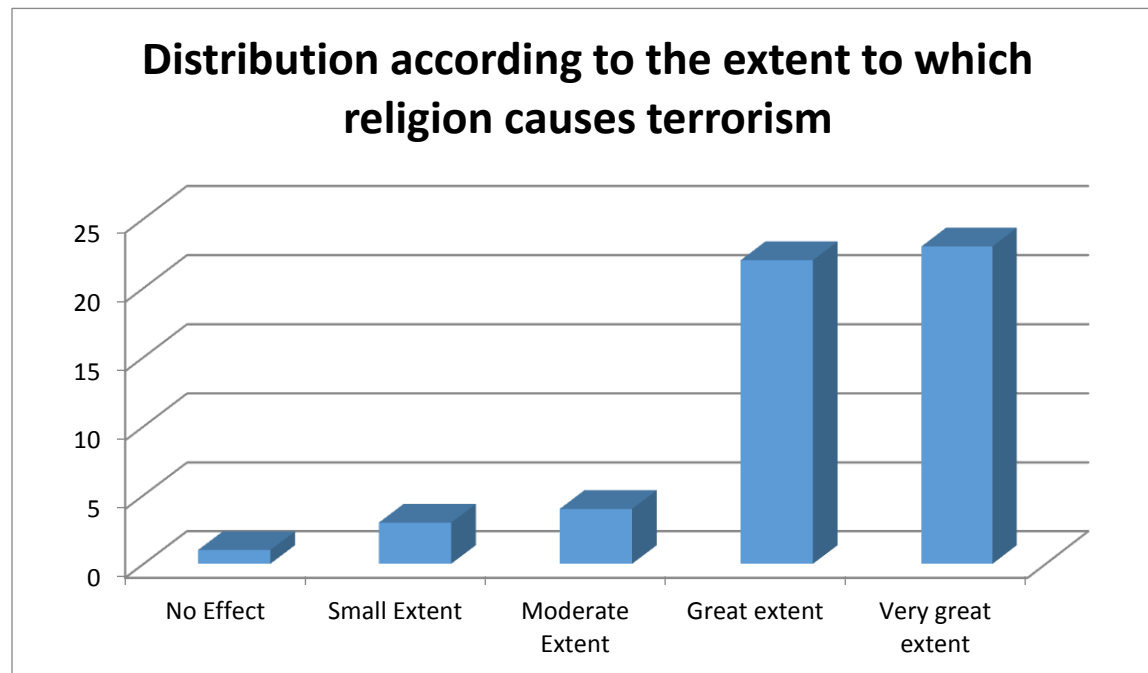
4.4.1 Religion and Terrorism

Religion as a variable has also been cited as contributing to terrorism. According to the table below, to a very great extent (43.4%) are to the option that religion contributes to terrorism especially those radicalized. Other respondents thought it contributed to terrorism to a great extent (41.5%), moderate extent (7.5%) and small extent (5.7%) while 1.9% respondents were of the view that religion had no effect on terrorism

According to investigative journalist “culture and religious extremism are the most causes of terrorism and also a good breeding and spread of terrorist activities in Kenya” This is because they purposely misinterpret religio-cultural doctrines. To this effect therefore, they use the failings of one system and the perceived persecution of people to inculcate fear and hatred in order to undermine that system in favor of another. In so doing, they create the “We” versus “Them” feeling. To these people, what is traditionally wrong becomes acceptable when traditional values no longer hold and terrorist activities become a virtue rather than a vice. He points out that religion itself does not cause terrorism in any way.

Table 4.16: Distribution according to the extent to which religion cause terrorism

Extent of cause	Frequency	Percentage
No effect	1	1.9
Small extent	3	5.7
Moderate extent	4	7.5
Great extent	22	41.5
Very great extent	23	43.4
Total	53	100.0



4.4.2 Culture and Terrorism

As shown in table 4.17 below, culture was also cited as contributing to terrorism in Kenya. 39.6% of the respondents believe that culture causes terrorism to a great extent , while other respondents thought it contributed to terrorism to a very great extent (22.6%), moderate extent (37.7%) of the respondents were of the view that culture causes terrorism.

Table4.17: Distribution according to the extent to which culture cause terrorism

Extent of cause	Frequency	Percentage
Small/Moderate extent	20	37.7
Great extent	21	39.6
Very great extent	12	22.6
Total	53	100.0

“Culture does not cause terrorism but a lack of understanding of other cultures does. The fear of the unknown leads to false representations .That said, the “culture” of corruption does allow terrorism to breed. This was according to an investigative journalist.

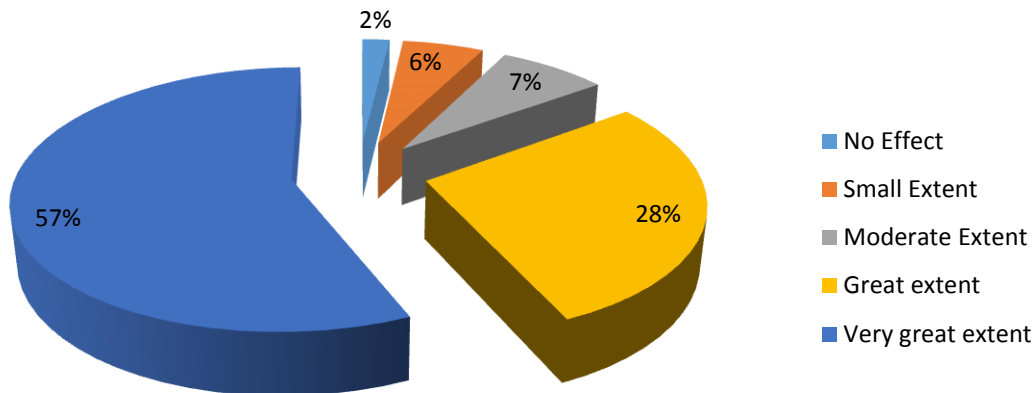
4.4.3 Effects of Religious extremism

Religious extremism was among the greatest causes of terrorism in Kenya as shown in table 4.18 below being cited as contributing to terrorism in Kenya to a very great extent (56.6%). Other respondents were of the view that it contributed to terrorism to a great extent (28.3%), moderate extent (7.5%) and small extent (5.7%) while 1.9% of the respondents were of the view that religious extremism had no effect on terrorism.

Table 4.18: Distribution according to the extent to which effects of religion extremism cause terrorism

Extent of cause	Frequency	Percentage
No effect	1	1.9
Small extent	3	5.7
Moderate extent	4	7.5
Great extent	15	28.3
Very great extent	30	56.6
Total	53	100.0

Distribution according to the extent to which effects of religion extremism cause terrorism



“Religion itself does not cause terrorism but the fundamentalists within religions who purposefully misinterpret religion do. They use the failings of one system and the perceived prosecution of other people to grow fear and hatred and undermine that system in favor of another ”

As argued by one of the area chief ,failures of the traditional powers to provide for all citizens equally and allow freedom of expression has allowed extremism to become a viable option and alternative for those who are struggling and disenfranchised. What is traditionally wrong becomes acceptable when traditional values and standards fail.

Religions ,people ,ideas, beliefs ,cultures ,ideologies and other systems will always be reluctant to change , especially when change has been largely dormant for a significant period of time and then becomes necessary .Out this scenario ,extremism forms as a means of protecting the ‘old ways ’and what exists ,lest they be lost to a new system that completely negates and replaces them. These forms of terrorism tend to be tied to a small leadership that has enjoyed the benefits of power and are willing to surrender them to a new system in which they will be replaced and cease to be relevant. The threat also extends to their economic prosperity which is equally threatened through a loss of power.

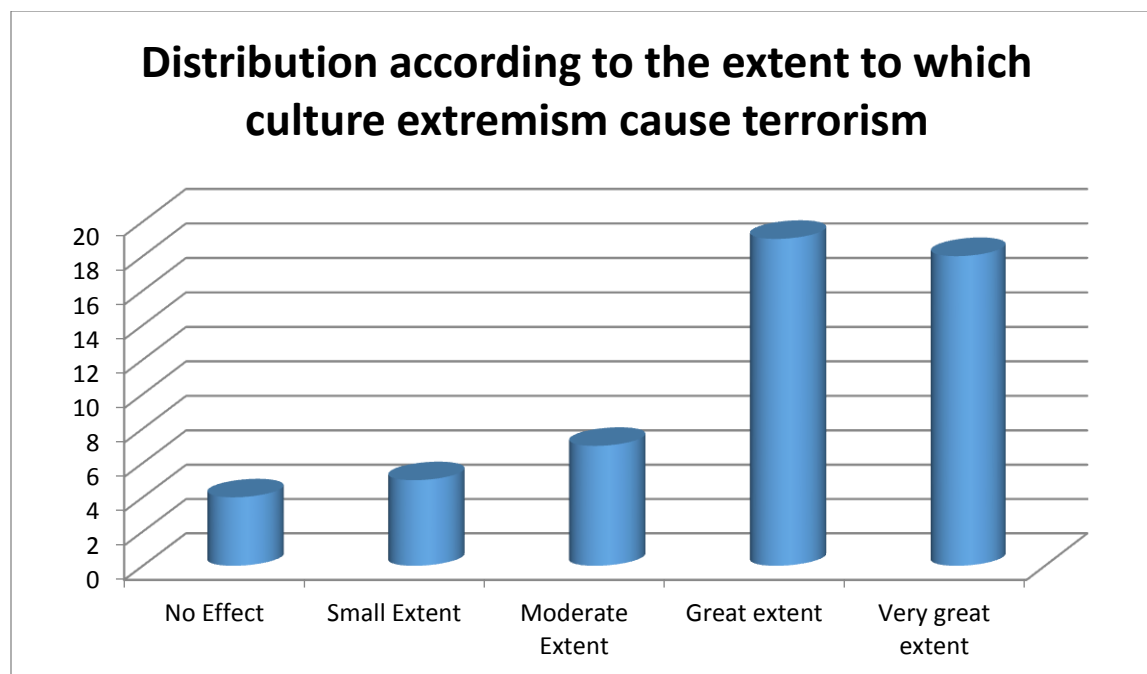
4.4.4 Effects of cultural extremism

Most respondents were of the view that whereas culture and religion were bedecked in terrorism, rather, it was religious and cultural extremism that was the cause of terrorism in Kenya. Cultural extremism was cited as contributing to terrorism in Kenya as table 4.19 below portrays that to a great extent 35.9% culture contributes to terrorism. Other respondents thought it contributed to terrorism to a very great extent at 34%, moderate extent at 13.2% and to a small extent at 9.4% while 7.5% of the respondents were of the view that cultural extremism had no effect on terrorism.

Table 4.19: Distribution according to the extent to which culture extremism cause terrorism

Extent of cause	Frequency	Percentage
No effect	4	7.5
Small extent	5	9.4
Moderate extent	7	13.2
Great extent	19	35.9
Very great extent	18	34.0
Total	53	100.0

From one of Senior chief in Eastleigh, he argued that culture do not cause terrorism. If anything, culture roots for peace in any given setting. However, fundamentalists and extremists within these cultural establishments are to blame. According also to investigative journalist “culture extremism is a cause of terrorism and also a good breeding and spread of terrorist activities in Kenya” This is because they purposely misinterpret cultural doctrines. To this effect therefore, they use the failings of one system and the perceived persecution of people to inculcate fear and hatred in order to undermine that system in favor of another. In so doing, they create a feeling that other people disrespect their culture. To these people, what is traditionally wrong becomes acceptable when traditional values no longer hold and terrorist activities become a virtue rather than a vice.



4.5 The Nexus between the Country’s Security Policing and Terrorism

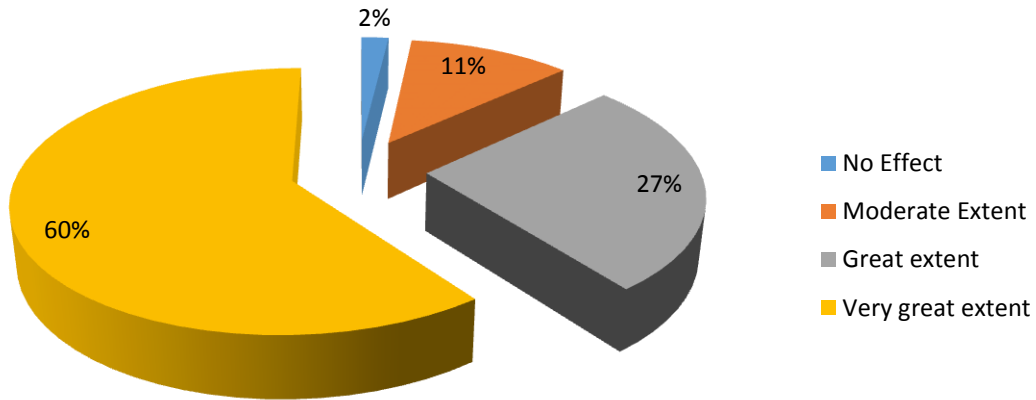
4.5.1 Policing and Terrorism

Kenya’s security policing was also cited as contributing to terrorism in Kenya to a very great extent at 60.4% as shown in table 4.20 below. Other respondents thought it contributed to terrorism to a great extent at 26.4%, and to a moderate extent at 11.3% while 1.9% of the respondents were of the view that Kenya’s security policing had no effect on terrorism.

Table 4.20: Distribution according to the extent to which policing in Kenya cause terrorism

Extent of cause	Frequency	Percentage
No effect	1	1.9
Small /Moderate extent	6	11.3
Great extent	14	26.4
Very great extent	32	60.4
Total	53	100.0

Distribution according to the extent to which policing in Kenya causes terrorism



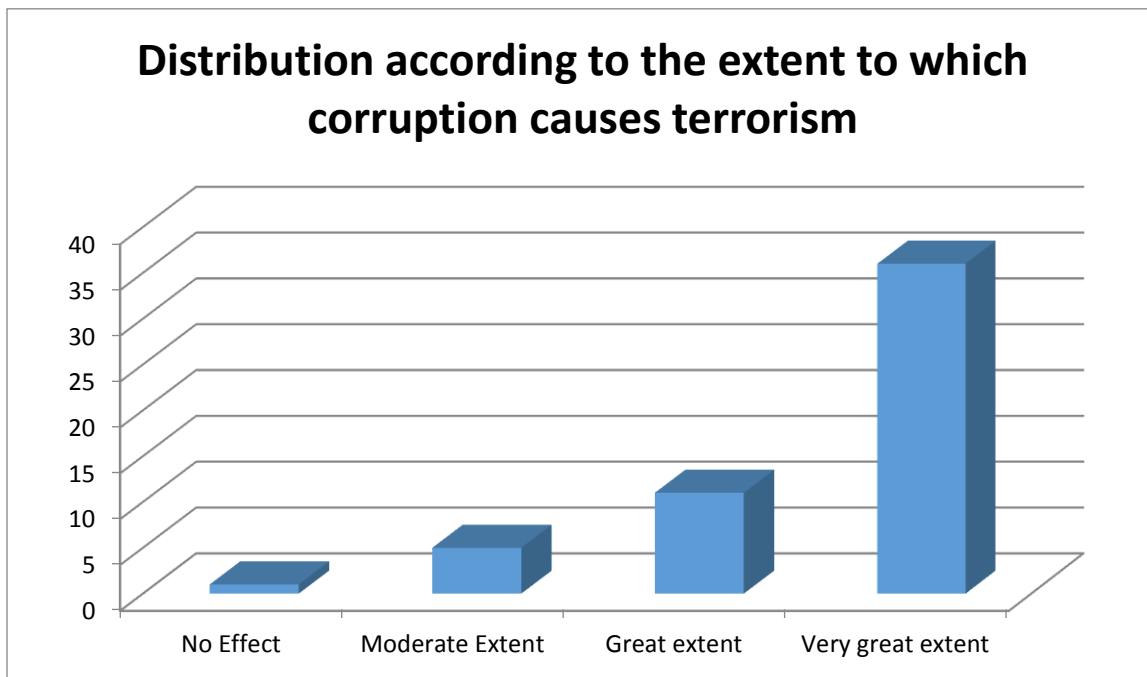
Security policing to a huge extent causes terrorism according to one investigative journalist based in Eastleigh. The lack of effective policing and cohesion amongst and across the policing services means that there are no good habits to policing and hence no sharing of vital information. Furthermore, poor policing and corruption allow terrorism to exist and grow without consequence.

4.5.2 Effects of corruption to terrorism

Corruption in Kenya’s security system was also cited as contributing to terrorism in Kenya to a very great extent at 67.9% as shown in the table 4.21 below. Other respondents thought that corruption in police contributed to terrorism to a great extent at 20.8% and to a moderate extent at 9.43% while 1.89% of the respondents were of the view that corruption had no effect on terrorism.

Table 4.21: Distribution according to the extent to which corruption cause terrorism

Extent of cause	Frequency	Percentage
No effect	1	1.9
Small /Moderate extent	5	9.4
Great extent	11	20.8
Very great extent	36	67.9
Total	53	100.0



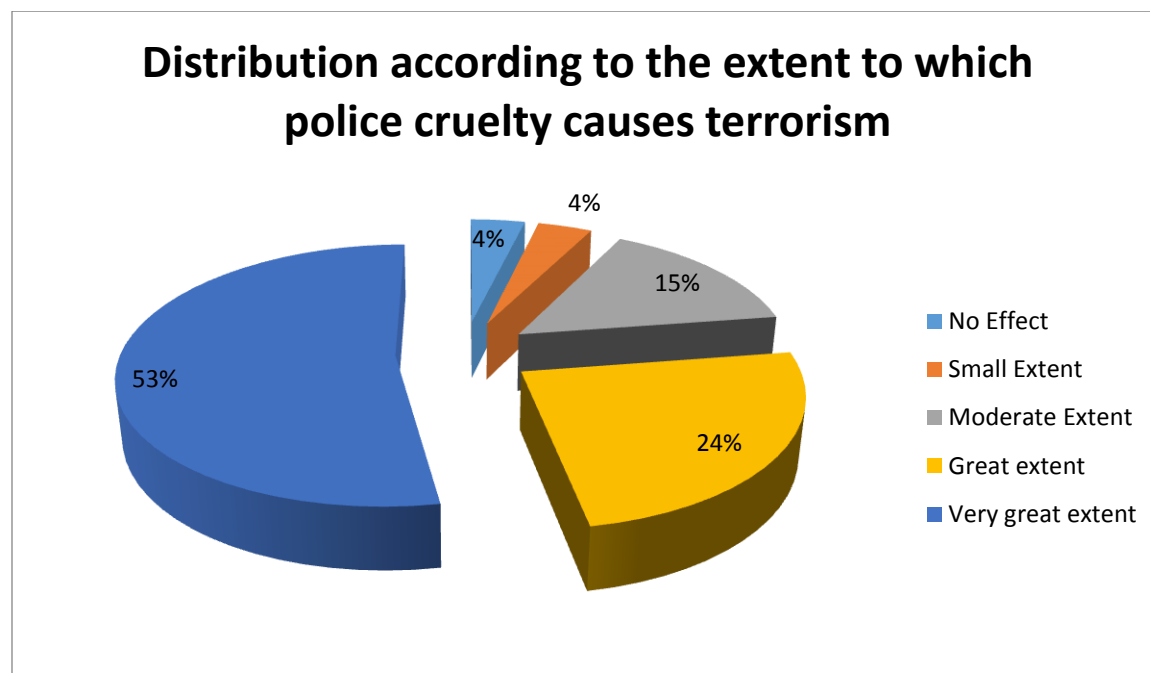
Corruption in the security forces to a large extent caused terrorism as pitted by an Assistant chief in Eastleigh. Corruption simply means that vital information is not shared in favor of a sum of money and that money buys a blanket free ticket to do as they want so long as they can pay for it. Corruption effectively endorses terrorism for the right price and fundamentally undermines existing systems and policing.

4.5.3 Police cruelty and Terrorism

Police cruelty has also been cited by respondents of the study as contributing to terrorism in Kenya to a very great extent at 52.8%. Other respondents thought that police cruelty contributed to terrorism to a great extent at 24.5%, to a moderate extent at 15.1% and to a small extent at 3.8% while 3.8% of the respondents were of the view that police cruelty had no effect on terrorism as illustrated by table 4.22 below.

Table 4.22: Distribution according to the extent to which police cruelty cause terrorism

Extent of cause	Frequency	Percentage
No effect	2	3.8
Small extent	2	3.8
Moderate extent	8	15.1
Great extent	13	24.5
Very great extent	28	52.8
Total	53	100.0



Police cruelty sets the precedent that certain individuals, beliefs, ideas, and practices will be persecuted, and so those directly affected and those indirectly affected who share in the same must seek alternative support structures. Terrorist organizations take up the mantle of supporting them and preaching against the system. They also preach 'revenge' as a means of showing the 'enemy' that they are not afraid to defy them or fight for their beliefs. This also means that communities become closed to sharing information and resources which could help.

The country's security policing system has all along featured as a result of its mediocre ways of solving security problems opening a Pandora's Box of a myriad of other security problems. Most of the respondents are of the view that this security system has also contributed immensely to terrorism through the forces' corruption and barbaric cruelty.

As we can also see from our data analysis, all these factors contribute to terrorism. However, if they were to be taken in isolation of one another, very few would cause terrorism on their own. To this effect, we can argue that terrorism is caused by the interplay of the country's socio economic conditions, resource marginalization, socio-cultural extremism and poor security policing policies and strategies.

It is the failings of all these various issues that combined leads to an increasingly complex set of problems, which if not addressed will continue to grow and allow terrorism to grow and breed. The greatest risk is that terrorism becomes so entrenched within these issues that it becomes a permanent fixture.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to present the findings of the study as well as give the recommendations and conclusions of the study. The chapter sums up the whole study by giving the findings as to the social causes of terrorism in Kenya. In addition, the study seeks to give recommendations as to the measures that can be instituted if this country is to combat the current tide of terrorist activities that have been going on unabated in Kenya's soil.

5.2 Summary

The study sought to establish the social factors that cause terrorism in Kenya with a special reference to Eastleigh estate in Nairobi City County. The study was driven by four specific objectives which sought to determine how the social economic causes terrorism, social cultural causes of terrorism, the extent to which access to resources causes terrorism and how security policing contribute to terrorism in Kenya.

5.2.1 Socio-economic causes of terrorism

The study sought to establish the socio-economic causes of terrorism in Eastleigh estate in Nairobi. According to the study, majority of the respondents with were of the opinion that socio economic conditions cause of terrorism to a great extent, and a few respondents were to the opinion that social economic causes terrorism to a small extent.

The study also sought to establish to which extent deterioration of socio economic conditions also caused terrorism. Data collected from the field revealed that, to a great extent respondents were for the view that the deterioration of socio economic conditions caused terrorism while most of the respondents viewed that to a very greater extent deteriorating of social-economic conditions causes terrorism while a few of the respondents belief that deterioration of social economic conditions causes terrorism to a moderate extent and to small extent. In the study, it was revealed that, economic liberalization also contributed to terrorism in Eastleigh. Majority of the respondents responded that, economic liberalization caused terrorism to a great extent and to a very great extent, while only a few respondents belief that economic liberalization causes terrorism to a moderate extent and to a small extent.

5.2.2 Socio-Cultural Causes of Terrorism in Kenya

The study also explored the socio-cultural causes of terrorism in Kenya. There are various causes cited in the study namely: religion, culture and religious extremism. According to the study more than 80% of the respondents argued that religion causes terrorism to a moderate extent and great extent, while the rest of respondents, only a few believed to a greater extent, and at the same time some very few respondents were of the view that religion had no effect on terrorism.

The study also sought respondents opinions on the extent to which culture caused terrorism. More than half of the respondents said that culture contributed to terrorism to both great extent and to a very great extent, and the rest said to a moderate extent, and small extent while a few of the respondents were of the view that culture had no effect on terrorism.

Religious extremism was among the major causes of terrorism in Eastleigh estate. According to the study, more than 80% of the respondents were of the view that religious extremism caused terrorism to a very great and great extent. Others were to a moderate extent and small extent while very few of the respondents were of the view that religious extremism had no effect on terrorism.

Cultural extremism was cited as contributing to terrorism in Eastleigh. According to the study 35.9% respondents were of the view that, cultural extremism caused terrorism to a great extent 34%, to a very great extent. This shows that majority of the respondents belief that culture extremism causes terrorism as opposed to a few respondents who belief it causes to a moderate extent and small extent while 7.6% of the respondents were of the view that cultural extremism had no effect on terrorism.

5.2.3 Degree of access to resources and terrorism

This study also sought to reveal the extent to which degree of access to resources lead to terrorism. According to the respondents a few believes that degree of access to resources has contributed to a small extent and moderate extent, while a majority of the respondents belief to a great extent and very great extent lack to access of resources causes terrorism. In the study, it was established that resource marginalization partially contributes to terrorism in Kenya. The

respondents were of the view that resource marginalization contributed to terrorism to a great extent and very great extent to terrorism by about 80% while the rest respondents were in the view that it contributed to a moderate extent and only 1.9% of the respondent thought it contributed to a small extent.

5.2.4 Policing and terrorism

Kenya's security policing was also cited as contributing to terrorism in Kenya. According to the study majority of respondents said that country's security Policing caused terrorism to a very great extent and great extent, while only very few of the respondents were of the view that Kenya's security policing had no effect on terrorism.

The study also established that corruption in Kenya's security system contributes to terrorism in Kenya to a very great extent and great extent. This was seen as a major factor that contributes to terrorism and that has lead to increased terrorist activities in the country. Only very few respondents were of the view that police corruption had no effect on terrorism.

In the study, Police cruelty has also been cited as one of the contributors to terrorism in Kenya. Most of the respondents said that police cruelty contributes to terrorism to a very great extent and great extent, since there were afraid of the police and eve some explained that they would become victims of the information they give to police hence there was no good relationship between the public and the police. Only a few of the respondents were of the view that police cruelty had no effect on terrorism.

The country's security policing system has all along featured as a result of its mediocre ways of solving security problems opening a Pandora's Box of a myriad of other security problems. Most of the respondents are of the view that this security system has also contributed immensely to terrorism through the forces' corruption and barbaric cruelty.

As we can also see from our data analysis, all these factors contribute to terrorism. However, if they were to be taken in isolation of one another, very few would cause terrorism on their own. To this effect, we can argue that terrorism is caused by the interplay of the country's socio economic conditions, resource marginalization, socio-cultural extremism and poor security policing policies and strategies.

5.3 Recommendations of the Study

This study proposes to institute some recommendations that will be of importance to the government, the security agencies, intelligence operatives as well as other researchers in the domain of international security in particular and international relations in general in the hope of combating the various vices that are ravaging the Kenyan state and hollowing her and bringing to their knees key sectors of the Kenyan economy such as the tourism sector. To this effect the study seeks to call for a need of policy in the Kenyan forces.

5.3.1 Need for counter-terrorism strategy

The government must be proactive in its overall counterterrorism strategy. This effort largely departs from the reactive stance that the government of Kenya and her security agencies has been employing. The main logic in this stance is so as to reduce the risks of future terrorist attacks and as a strategy to the effect that terrorists the world over have been known to lie in wait and strike when least expected. To this effect, this study recommends that the government continue to employ more effectively the traditional and nontraditional instruments of power such as diplomacy, military, economic, law enforcement, intelligence, and legislation to combat terror threats.

5.3.2 Law enforcement and intelligence

In order to improve the country's efficiency in law enforcement as well as in enhancing intelligence led policing, intelligence gathering, the country's security agencies should be specially trained in counterterrorism techniques, policing best practices and public relations in order to inculcate a high degree of professionalism when dealing with the public. This will go a long way in enhancing the public's confidence in the police and forge a more effective partnership to fight terrorism and other crimes in the country.

In addition, a structured police force that is embedded in the citizenry will greatly help the public cooperate in providing intelligence. The government should also provide adequate resourcing in terms of vehicles and communication to the police and the intelligence communities to improve their efficiency. The country should also build forensic science laboratories to facilitate the effective and efficient processing of evidence.

5.3.3 Tracking of suspects

The fingerprint database at the Department of Immigration and Registration of Persons should also be interlinked with the directorate of criminal investigations in order to facilitate quick tracking of suspects. Though Kenya might not have the resources to adequately train and equip the police and the intelligence community and to establish a forensic laboratory, it can always exploit the financial muscle of her international allies to help. The government should also tackle corruption within the security agencies as well as at the Department of Immigration and Registration of Persons so as to reduce this force multiplier of terrorism.

Furthermore, the country's socio-economic conditions need to be addressed so as to avert economic desperation being a breeding ground for terrorism. To this effect therefore, it is of great importance to the country to ensure that its citizenry subsists on a decent livelihood devoid of want and desperation. The country must move from being one where only a small population benefits from the country's economy as well as resources to a nation where all share and partake in the national cake. In addition, economic and resource opportunities must be availed to all through effective and inclusive resource allocation and access policies.

5.3.4 Police-civilian cooperation

This study also calls for increased police – civilian cooperation as well as a citizen directed security and the socialization of the populace into an effective security grouping. This is because such cooperation as well as the civic security competence component is critical for any attempt at building up intelligence extraction from society. It is also critical to enhancing citizen resistance to terrorists and criminals.

This study also recommends that there is a need for a regional approach, synchronized activities among countries and institutions as well as intelligence sharing. Additionally, the de-politicization and de-ethnicization of the country's security sector is also long overdue. There is also need for Kenya to lobby diplomatically for peace efforts in Somalia.

Finally, this study pinpoints on the fact that it is not entirely an end in itself in as far as research work on the domain of terrorism is concerned. To this effect therefore, there is an urgent need to embark on more research on terrorism in Kenya as well as using different standpoints if we are

to effectively unearth the root causes of terrorism in Kenya and address the vice as well as its tentacles.

5.4 Conclusion of the study

It is of the view of this study that terrorism is a big challenge to the country and if left unabated, it will hollow our nation from within. It is therefore important that measures be taken so as to arrest the run-away cases of insecurity especially that are of terrorist nature as well as those crimes that are orchestrated in a pervasive culture of bandit economy and whereby proceeds of such bandit economy are likely to fund terrorism.

This study also observes that the terrorist threats emanating from state collapse in Somalia from the twenty year period of 1993 and 2003 are ravaging the Kenyan state and hollowing her and bringing to their knees key sectors of the Kenyan economy. The state of insecurity has also been threatening to destabilize the state and lead to its eventual disintegration. However, if the recommendations given above are followed and a programme of action along their lines is effectuated, we can turn the tide on our favor as a country.

5.5 Recommendation for further research

The researcher suggests that other scholars, researchers to conduct social causes of terrorism in other estates in Nairobi to establish whether the findings of this study could be duplicated.

Other than social causes, this study suggests other researchers to investigate on political causes of terrorism in Kenya. Special attention should be directed to geo-political causes of terrorism in Kenya and the counter terrorism mechanisms in Kenya.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I STANDARD QUESTIONNAIRE FOR RESIDENTS

Dear respondents,

I am Anthony Kamindo, a student at the University of Nairobi carrying out an academic study on the social causes of terrorism in Kenya with a specific focus on Eastleigh Nairobi City County. The study is in partial fulfillment of a masters degree course in advanced disaster management at the University of Nairobi. Your contribution in filling this questionnaire will be highly appreciated. All information provided in this questionnaire will be treated confidentially and for academic purposes only.

SECTION A: SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. Name of your Sub – Estate -----

2. Number of years you have been a resident -----

3 Please indicate your gender

Male Female

4 Please indicate your age category

Under 25 25-29

30-34 35-39

40 and above

5 Please indicate your level of education

None Primary

Secondary University

Other (specify)

6. Please indicate your major occupation

Employed in a public institution [] Employed in a private institution []

Self-employed/Business person [] Housewife []

Others (specify) []

**SECTION B: THE EXTENT TO WHICH SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS CAUSE
TERRORISM IN KENYA**

7. Has the country's socio-economic condition caused terrorism? Please select one

Very great extent []

Great Extent []

Moderate Extent []

Small Extent []

No Effect []

8. To what extent does deterioration in the socio-economic conditions of the country caused terrorism? Please select one

Very great extent []

Great Extent []

Moderate Extent []

Small Extent []

No Effect []

9. To what extent does economic liberalization cause terrorism in Kenya? Please select one

Very great extent []

Great Extent []

Moderate Extent []

Small Extent []

No Effect []

10 Below is a list of some of the socio-economic causes of terrorism in Kenya? Using the scale 5= strongly agree, 4= agree, 3= neutral, 2= disagree and 1= strongly disagree)

Cause	1	2	3	4	5
11. Poverty					
12. High cost of living					
13. Unemployment					
14. Others (please specify)					

15. Please explain your answer in question 6 above

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SECTION C: THE EXTENT TO WHICH ACCESS TO RESOURCES CAUSES TERRORISM IN KENYA

16. To what extent does lack of access to resources lead to terrorism? Please select one

- Very great extent []
- Great Extent []
- Moderate Extent []
- Small Extent []
- No Effect []

17. To what extent does resource marginalization lead to terrorism in Kenya? Please select one

- Very great extent []
- Great Extent []
- Moderate Extent []
- Small Extent []
- No Effect []

18. Any further explanation to Section C above

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SECTION D: THE EXTENT TO WHICH SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS CAUSE TERRORISM IN KENYA

19. To what extent does religion cause terrorism in Kenya? Please select one?

- Very great extent []
- Great Extent []
- Moderate Extent []
- Small Extent []
- No Effect []

20. To what extent does culture cause terrorism in Kenya?

- Very great extent []
- Great Extent []
- Moderate Extent []
- Small Extent []
- No Effect []

21. To what extent does religious extremism cause terrorism in Kenya?

- Very great extent []
- Great Extent []
- Moderate Extent []
- Small Extent []
- No Effect []

22. To what extent does cultural extremism cause terrorism? Please select one

- Very great extent []
- Great Extent []
- Moderate Extent []
- Small Extent []
- No Effect []

23. Any further explanation to Section D above

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SECTION E: THE EXTENT TO WHICH POOR SECURITY POLICING CAUSES TERRORISM IN KENYA

24. To what extent does policing contribute to terrorism? Please select one

- Very great extent []
- Great Extent []
- Moderate Extent []
- Small Extent []
- No Effect []

25. To what extent does corruption in the security forces cause terrorism? Please select one

- Very great extent []
- Great Extent []
- Moderate Extent []
- Small Extent []
- No Effect []

26. To what extent does police cruelty contribute to terrorism? Please select one

Very great extent []

Great Extent []

Moderate Extent []

Small Extent []

No Effect []

27. Any further explanation to Section E above

.....

.....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR VALUABLE TIME AND CO-OPERATION

APPENDIX II
KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

Dear respondents,

I am Anthony Kamindo, a student at the University of Nairobi carrying out an academic study on the social causes of terrorism in Kenya with a specific focus on Eastleigh Nairobi City County. The study is in partial fulfillment of a masters degree course min advanced disaster management at the University of Nairobi. Your contribution in filling of this questionnaire will be highly appreciated. All information provided in this questionnaire will be treated confidentially and for academic purposes only.

SECTION A: GENERAL INFORMATION

1. Name of your Organization -----
2. Position you are currently holding -----

SECTION B: THE EXTENT TO WHICH SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS CAUSE TERRORISM IN KENYA

3. Has the country's socio-economic condition caused terrorism? Please give reasons to your answers

4. To what extent does deterioration in the socio-economic conditions of the country caused terrorism? Please give reasons to your answers

5. To what extent does economic liberalization cause terrorism in Kenya? Please give reasons to your answers

6. Any further explanations to Section B above

**SECTION C: THE EXTENT TO WHICH ACCESS TO RESOURCES CAUSE
TERRORISM IN KENYA**

7. To what extent does lack of access to resources lead to terrorism? Please give reasons to your answers

8. To what extent does resource marginalization lead to terrorism in Kenya? Please give reasons to your answers

9. Any further explanations to Section C above

**SECTION D: THE EXTENT TO WHICH SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS CAUSE
TERRORISM IN KENYA**

10. To what extent does religion cause terrorism in Kenya? Please give reasons to your answers

11. To what extent does culture cause terrorism in Kenya? Please give reasons to your answers

12. To what extent does religious extremism cause terrorism in Kenya? Please give reasons to your answers

13. To what extent does cultural extremism cause terrorism? Please give reasons to your answers

14. Any further explanation to Section D above

**SECTION E: THE EXTENT TO WHICH POOR SECURITY POLICING CAUSES
TERRORISM IN KENYA**

15. To what extent does policing contribute to terrorism? Please give reasons to your answers

16. To what extent does corruption in the security forces cause terrorism? Please give reasons to your answers

17. To what extent does police cruelty contribute to terrorism? Please give reasons to your answers

18. Any further explanation to Section E above

19. Is there an interplay of the country's socio-cultural conditions, resource access and poor security policing that contributes to terrorism?

THANK YOU FOR YOUR VALUABLE TIME AND CO-OPERATION