

**AN EXAMINATION OF FACTORS INFLUENCING THE EMERGENCE OF  
TERRORISM IN THE HORN OF AFRICA (2001-2015)**

**BARNABAS OJWAKA**

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## **DECLARATION**

### **Student**

This project is my original work and has not been presented for a Degree in any other University.

Signature: ..... Date: .....

Barnabas Okumu Ojwaka– C50/74996/2014

## **APPROVAL**

This project report has been approved by the University Supervisor.

Signature: ..... Date: .....

Dr. Fred Jonyo.

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this project to my daughter and son.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

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## **ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

AIAI	Al Ittihad al Islamiyah
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
CJTF-HOA	Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa
DJIA	Dow Jones Industrial Average
EU	European Union
ICG	International Crisis Group
FBI	Federal Bureau for Investigation
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GTD	Global Terrorism Database
HOA	Horn of Africa
Interpol	International Police
KDF	Kenya Defense Forces
NCTC	National Counter Terrorism Center
NIF	National Islamic Front
SMT	Social Movement Theory
SROs	Sub-Regional Organizations
START	Study of Terrorism and Response to Terrorism
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations

UNGC-T	UN Global Counter-Terrorism
US	United States
USIP	United States Institute for Peace
9/11	September 11

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION .....	ii
APPROVAL .....	ii
DEDICATION .....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT .....	iv
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS .....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vii
LIST OF TABLES.....	ix
LIST OF FIGURES .....	x
ABSTRACT.....	xi
1.0. CHAPTER ONE: AN INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. Background .....	1
1.2. Problem Statement .....	2
1.3. Research Questions .....	4
1.4. Objectives.....	5
1.5. Justification .....	5
1.6. Scope and Limitation .....	6
1.7. Definition of Concepts .....	7
1.8. Literature Review .....	8
1.9. Theoretical Framework .....	16
1.10. Hypotheses .....	18
1.11. Methodology .....	19
2.0. CHAPTER TWO: THE EVOLUTION OF TERRORISM .....	21
2.1. Introduction .....	21
2.2. Terrorism Defined .....	22
2.3. The History of Terrorism .....	25

2.4. Topology of Terrorist Network .....	27
2.6. Counterterrorism: Kenya's Experience.....	32
2.6. Conclusion.....	33
<b>3.0. CHAPTER THREE: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS .....</b>	<b>35</b>
3.1. Introduction .....	35
3.2. Findings.....	35
3.31. Respondents.....	35
3.32. Formulation of Counterterrorism policy.....	36
3.33. Increase of Terrorism in the horn of Africa Region .....	37
3.34. Influence of Democracy .....	39
3.35. Influence of Poverty.....	41
<b>4.0. CHAPTER FOUR: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....</b>	<b>46</b>
4.1. Introduction .....	46
4.2. Summary .....	46
4.3. Conclusion.....	46
4.4. Recommendations .....	47
<b>5.0. REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>6.0. APPENDICES .....</b>	<b>I</b>
6.1. APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR OFFICIALS AND STUDENTS .....	I
6.2. APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SECURITY LECTURERS .....	II
6.3. APPENDIX C: CONSENT LETTER .....	III

## **LIST OF TABLES**

Table 1: Sampled Respondents .....	19
Table 2: Score of State's Democracy in HOA:.....	40
Table 3: Twenty Five Poorest Countries in Africa .....	43

## **LIST OF FIGURES**

Figure 1: Interaction of Variables .....	17
Figure 2: Corporate Based Terrorist Network. ....	29
Figure 3: Politburo Based Terrorist Network .....	30
Figure 4: Shura Based Terrorist Network .....	31
Figure 5: Nationality of Respondents .....	35
Figure 6: Participation in Formulation of Counterterrorism Policy.....	36
Figure 7: Increase of Terrorism .....	37
Figure 8: Number of Terrorist Incidents.....	38
Figure 9: Terrorist incidents in Kenya, 2015 .....	39
Figure 10: Democracy/Authoritarian terrorism .....	39
Figure 11: Poverty and Terrorism.....	42
Figure 12: Religion and Terrorism .....	44

## **ABSTRACT**

Terrorism has proved to be a major security issue in the whole world. The underlying issues and root causes are not conclusively discussed by scholars and other practitioners. This paper examines factors influencing the emergence of terrorism in the horn of Africa. The complexity of the region is due to its geographical location in the world, political instability, underdevelopment and religious diversity of its people. This paper responds to the question: what influence do socioeconomic and political drivers have on the continued incidents of terrorism in the region? It also recommends on the possible counterterrorism measures for policymakers. The emphasis is on the influence of democracy, poverty and religion. It argues that absence of checks on the leadership structures in the region can complicate the utilization of the limited resources making it easier for terrorist groups to plan, recruit and organize attacks in the region. This report is organized into four chapters: Chapter one covers the background, problem statement, questions, objectives, justification, theoretical framework and methodology, and literature review of the study. Chapter two covers history and networks of terrorism. Chapter three presents the findings and discussions of the study. While the last chapter covers the study summary, conclusion and recommendations.

## **1.0. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1. Background**

For more than three decades, the world has considered terrorism as a major challenge to states' security, and consequently, states have designed strategies to combat domestic and transnational terrorist groups. The concept terrorism has various definition and Ersen and Kibaroglu (2011) defines terrorism as an indiscriminate use of violence in order to spread fear and panic among individuals and societies in order to shake their confidence to achieve political objectives. From this definition, one can trace the history of acts of political violence that resembles terrorism back to the first century when a Jewish terror group-the Sicarii Zealots attempted to expel the Rome occupiers using such tactics (Bereketeab, Obi & Cyril, 2013). Terrorist's activities have over time been fueled by the growth of communication technology and human mobility that have resulted in terrorist operations transcending national borders eventually increasing its lethality.

The emergence of terrorism in Africa was associated by the defeat of the Chechnya Republic by the Russia in 1991 that led to the easier proliferation of arms into the African continent, making it easier for rebel groups to acquire arms to initiate violence acts (Hallowanger, 2014). Since this time, terrorist activities in Africa were exemplified in the region when a number of groups conducted terror campaigns aimed at installing parallel regimes through violence. For instance, in 1989, the National Islamic Front (NIF) seized power in Sudan and set out to form an Islamist government home to fundamental Muslim groups from around the world. This group made Sudan in 1990s to be viewed by the United States (UC) as a state sponsoring terrorism by her actions of granting asylum to terrorists such as Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda operatives (Shinn, 2007).

Somalia President Mohammed Siad Barre was overthrown in 1991 following a civil war by a coalition of the opposing clans complicating the security situation of the horn of Africa (HOA) as Somalia served as a passageway from Africa to the Middle East. Based on its coastal location, it also acted as a desirable haven for terrorists, something al-Qaeda operatives exploited. Kenya and Somalia continues to experience terrorist attacks in the region. For instance, the 2015 Garissa University attack that left over 147 people dead (Mutambo and Hajir, 2015) and the suicide attack by the al-Shabaab on the Kenya Defense Forces (KDF) operating under African Union Mission (AMISOM) base in Somalia that killed over 20 soldiers (Kenya Today, 2015). Indeed, for years the HOA, characterized by failed, weak, corrupt, and warring states, is seen as geographical base for terror groups. The problem felt by countries in the HOA is associated and can be explained by historical injustices on the minority based on religion and ethnicity (Laakso and Hautaniemi, 2014). This study examined the role socio-economic and political factors play in the emergence of terrorism in the horn of Africa.

## **1.2. Problem Statement**

Terrorism is a global security problem that affects political, societal and economic security sectors of a country. Acts of terrorist affect both the economic development and electoral choices made by a state (Kibris, 2011). For instance, following September 11 (9/11) attack in the US, the country felt a significant economic impact on her economy that not only affected the US alone but also influenced the whole world. When the market re-opened at the stock exchange, the Dow Jones Industrial Average (DJIA) shares for instance fell 684 points to 8921 (Barnhart, 2001). This led to a loss of about \$ 1.4 trillion in valuation for that week.

Terrorist acts are designed to induce terror and psychic fear even if the actual damage it causes is moderate (Friedland and Merari, 1985). These terror campaigns also aim at destroying the social,

emotional and economic fabrics of our communities, leaving us exposed, fearful and vulnerable (Sandler, Enders and Todd, 2003). Terrorism also has a significant impact on the income per capita growth of the targeted countries by enhancing uncertainty, increased security overlays, raised cost of doing business, destroying or degrading social overhead capital, among others (Gaibulloev and Sandler, 2011). Although Afghanistan and Iraq are considered the epicenter of cases of major terrorist attacks, terrorist groups threaten other parts of the world as well. The horn of Africa region and her volatile neighboring state, Yemen has experienced multiple attacks as well (Rotberg, 2005).

As a result of terrorist attacks, many states around the world have responded in different ways. Germany, a country known for giving asylum liberally before the 9/11 attacks, passed legislation targeting terrorist organizations, that intended to operate and raise money in her territory (Gunaratna, 2004). This was to ensure that all legal loopholes were sealed. Canada and United Kingdom also passed such similar frameworks that helped them to monitor, prevent, prosecute and suppress terrorist activities in their territories (Sidel, 2010). In a collective attempt to combat terrorism in the world, the UN General Assembly in 2006 unanimously adopted the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (UNGC-T Strategy), which calls for a holistic, inclusive approach to counterterrorism. Both the UNGC-T Strategy and the 2008 Resolution adopted by the General Assembly recognize the need to enhance the role of regional and sub-regional organizations (SROs) as well as other stakeholders especially the UN member states (UN, 2006) in containing the problem.

The HOA countries increased surveillance, closing down of terrorist-connected financial institutions and threatening of military action in an attempt to counter the problem regionally (International Crisis Group, 2002). In a report published by The Combating Terrorism Center at

West Point (CTCWP), the presence of the Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA) housed in Djibouti operates with a strategic objective to foster a regional perspective on security problems also has worked with other external powers to provide counterterrorism training in Yemen, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Uganda and Kenya. Different states have also enacted counterterrorism legislation that was aiming to contain the problem in their borders. For instance, Kenya under a special issue, specifically amended her Security Act 2014 that created National Counter Terrorism Center (NCTC), as a mechanism for co-ordination of national counter-terrorism efforts in order to detect, deter and disrupt terrorist acts. While these measures may have kept terrorists from operating out of the region in a short-term, there is still evidence that cases of terrorist attacks in the HOA region have increased. For instance, according to a report published by the Bureau of Counterterrorism in 2013, al-Shabaab remains the deadliest terrorist group that poses threat in the region after successfully committed acts that increased by 200% in the period between 2012 and 2015 (Bureau of Counterterrorism, 2015). This study examined factors that influenced the emergence of terrorism in the horn of Africa.

### **1.3. Research Question**

The study answered the question: why do terrorist groups continue to emerge in the horn of Africa despite the existing counterterrorism measures? Specific questions to the study were:

1. To what extent does democracy influence the emergence of terrorism in the horn of Africa?
2. To what extent does religion influence the emergence of terrorism in the horn of Africa region?
3. To what extent does poverty play a role in the emergence of terrorism in the horn of Africa?

## **1.4. Objectives**

This study examined the implications of socio-economic and political factors on the emergence of terrorism in the horn of Africa. The specific objectives of the study were:

1. To examine how democracy leads to the emergence of terrorism in the horn of Africa.
2. To examine the effects of religion on the emergence of terrorism in the Horn of Africa.
3. To examine the role played by poverty on the emergence of terrorism in the Horn of Africa.

## **1.5. Justification**

There have been studies on the impacts of terrorism in different regions of the world; however there has not been a specific study that has examined the impact of socioeconomic and political factors on the emergence of terrorism in the HOA region. Although some studies in other parts of the world have shown that many countries have implemented counterterrorism measures, there are no studies that have assessed the roots of terrorism that influence the general security of the region. Few studies that have been conducted only assessed the psychological and economic impacts of terrorism.

This study assessed the influence of democracy, religion and poverty on the emergence of terrorism in the HOA region. The findings of this study can help the policymakers to understand how best counterterrorism policies can be formulated to achieve the envisioned purposes as a useful finding to policymakers. The study can therefore help Djiboutian National Police (DNP), Eritrean Defense Forces (EDF), Ethiopian National Intelligence and Security Services (NISS), Kenyan Anti-Terrorism Police Unit (ATPU), Somali National Police (SNP), among other law enforcement agencies in the region to understand the complex nature of the causes of terrorism and reasons making it hard for the successful implementation of counterterrorism measures.

There have been inefficiencies in the counterterrorism policy formulation process and some empirical research also argues that a study of factors influencing terrorism is a justification of terrorist acts. Because of these two reasons, policy and research related, these findings can inform policy relevant information and also help to place future research in the field of terrorism on a firmer base in the horn of Africa.

### **1.6. Scope and Limitation**

The study focused on three countries in the HOA purposively selected. These were Kenya, Somalia and South Sudan. The data collected and analyzed were between the period of 2001 and 2015.

Kenya was selected because it has experienced a number of terrorist attacks in the region, has the highest score in democracy, and her economy is the largest by GDP per capita in East and Central Africa that ranked it 145 out of 186 in the world. Kenya has registered a strong performance in tourism, higher education and telecommunications that is believed to be attracting terrorism. Kenya is also a multiethnic and multi-religion country.

Somalia was selected due to her continued chaos, poverty and ethnic battles with no central governance. It also has unguarded coastline with porous borders and has served as the operation base al-Shabaab.

While South Sudan was selected because of her history of cooperating with international terrorists and her continued inter clan war. This study only examined the influence of democracy, religious beliefs and poverty on the emergence of terrorism in these three states, and the findings are only a reflection of what causes terrorism in these three states that might not be generalized

for other regions with different forms of governance, development index and religious composition.

Lastly, the study was faced with financial constraints for logistical purposes for face to face interview but respondents in Nairobi were useful as the research team was based in Nairobi. Most respondents were introduced by a trusted person enabled the research team to easily handle cultural barriers. The study also faced with time limitations. However, appropriate analysis of collected data was arranged that ensured the successful completion of this study within the timeline.

## **1.7. Definition of Concepts**

### *1.71. Democracy*

According to Larry Diamond, a political scientist, Democracy is a political structure for electing a government through a free and fair process, full participation of the commoners in politics and civic life, respect of human rights and a rule of law in which the equal application is realized by all citizens (Diamond, 2004). This study compared the influence of democracy on the emergence of terrorism in the HOA.

### *1.72. Religion*

Religion is a form of behavior and practices, worldviews, sacred texts, holy places, ethics and societal groupings that concern humanity to what anthropologists normally call “the order of existence” (Geertz, 1993). This study uses religion to refer to both Christianity and Islam, and the influence they have on the emergence of terrorism.

### *1.73. Poverty*

Poverty is a term generally used to denote limited resources either in possession or money.

Relative poverty is used for this study where people do not enjoy certain living standards as compared to the rest in the same society (Ricardo, 2008).

## **1.8. Literature Review**

### *1.81. Introduction*

The literature review of this study was guided by factors that influence the emergence of terrorism in the HOA. In this section, scholarly articles reviewed were organized into three main categories; democracy, religion and poverty.

### *1.82. Democracy and Emergence of Terrorism*

Most empirical evidence to date supports the idea that democracy encourages terrorism. In a pioneering paper, Eubank and Weinberg (1994) found out that terrorist groups are more frequent in democratic societies than in the authoritarian ones. They established that political and civil liberties are positively associated with political terrorism. This argument was supported by Sandler (1995) but claimed that such findings require a methodological discipline. He claimed that data, rather than the number of terrorist groups, are more appropriate for assessing the relationship between democracy and terrorism. That is why according to their follow up study; Eubank and Weinberg (2001) confirmed again that there is a positive or a U-shaped relationship between the degree of democracy and the number of terrorist incidents in a country if incidents are assigned to countries based on the location of the incidence. However, a positive relationship is recorded if the incidents are assigned to countries based on nationality of the victims, and an

inverted U-shaped relationship is recorded if incidents are assigned to countries based on the nationality of the perpetrators.

In evaluating around 6.8 million regressions with the number of terrorist attacks occurring in a particular country and year, Gassebner and Luechinger (2011) also found out that democratic regimes are positively associated with the occurrence of terrorism. In the same assessment, they concluded that economic freedom, physical integrity rights, law and order, and infant mortality rates are negatively associated with terrorism as well.

According to Shahroui (2010), democratic conditions entail a system of beliefs, legitimizing the democratic system, free elections, freedom of the press, and a system of checks and balances. She argued that democratic governance effectively provides political goods to its citizens. Of those political goods, she identified security as paramount, as there can be no economic growth or social elevation without security. Therefore, the state's core functions are to secure the nation by preventing cross border invasions, reducing domestic threats, bolstering human security, and enabling citizens to resolve their differences.

The war on terrorism as supported by various scholars suggests the winning of hearts and minds which involves strengthening governance throughout a region and projection of soft power and the proper exercise of democracy. As also stated by Gupta (2008) in another study that the optimal path to stability and reduced openings for terrorist groups is by improving the manner in which the governments in the region serve their citizens. His conclusion was echoed by Crenshaw(2010) who argued that permissive causes of terrorism are reinforced by historical cases. She identified individual participation in governance among other factors that makes terrorists feel social inequalities and is considered to be the minority in a certain population. This

minority can join together as a faction to remedy the inequities bestowed upon them using extreme measures to be heard. However, not all people feeling discriminated resort to terrorism or extreme violence to have their grievances heard but in most instances, terrorist have the notion that the government is responsible for this discrimination or injustice. Similarly Clark, Mooney and Imre (2013) stated that socio-economic and political dimensions were identified which marked the pitfalls of strategies in countering violence extremism. They argued that most of regions lack focuses on effective diplomatic presence and expertise on regional and domestic politics.

However, most regions show a complex picture with regard to governance. States can claim to be secured from external threats, except for outrages perpetrated by terrorist groups. Political good in the developing world enables citizens to participate freely, openly and fully in a democratic political process. The latest study by Kibris(2011) also indicated that political good encompasses essential freedoms; the right to participate in politics and compete for office; respect and support for political institutions, legislatures, and courts; tolerance of dissent and difference; independent media; and all of the basic civil liberties and human rights. His study elaborated that nowhere in the states of HOA and Yemen region do citizens enjoy its full possibilities. Only Bereketeab, Obi and Cyril(2013) affirmed that the inhabitants of Kenya and Djibouti obtain more of political good than their neighbors in the region whereas those who live near the older borders of Somalia and Eritrea receive very little of such good. Therefore, ignoring the issue of freedom entirely provides potential openings for regime opponents to join up with terrorists, especially those allied to Al Qaeda.

A study by Gunaratna (2004) showed that political good encompasses a prudently run money and banking system, and a regulatory environment. She argued that only Kenya which relies on

tourism and agricultural exports has a fully modern economy. She stated that while Somalia is the outlier, other states in the region are fragile economically. This marked the scarcity of resources in the HOA region due to harsh terrain. Additionally, Li(2005) identified corruption as another disease that affects security in the region. This was supported by a report by Transparency International that describes corruption as a limiting factor for direct foreign investments and also undermining rule of law and security (Transparency, 2015). Provision of infrastructural services in the region has been a challenge as well. Education, communication, road networks and medical care as other key political goods have not been fully achieved in the region. For instance in 2014, there was one physician per 35,000 people in Ethiopia, one per 33,000 people in Eritrea, one per 25,000 people in Somalia, one per 11,000 people in Sudan, one per 7,500 people in Kenya, one per 7,100 people in Djibouti and one per 5,000 people in Yemen (Transparency, 2015). However, the strategy to promote internal peace is to promote democracy, the rationale being that democratic accountability lowers incentives for rebellion. However, democracy can also constrain the technical possibilities of government repression, and that this makes rebellion easier. Although the net effect of democracy is therefore ambiguous, this study suggests that the higher is income the more likely is it to be favorable. Empirically, this study examined the influence of democracy on the emergence of terrorism in the HOA region.

#### *1.83. Religion and emergence of Terrorism*

A number of studies indicate that the religion has been identified as major reasons that contribute to the emergence of terrorist groups as they support radicalization processes. For instance, (Hoffman, 2006) argued that beliefs and worldviews of captured terrorists have a positive nexus with the Islamic extremism. He concluded that radical societal practices are routine in the life of residents of African countries until lately. According to Stecklov, Spilerman and Guy (2009),

there was a low impact of terrorism phenomenon prior to the assaults of September 11, 2001, in the US and the world as a whole. This was perhaps because of utopian bias view where a society is examined and considered to exist without wars and conflicts. Surprisingly, no state can stand without experiencing either internal or external strife. Additionally, Waxman(2011) echoed their findings in a study that concluded that the existence of terrorist groups result in complicating state's security, as it is associated with the values ascribed by a society. The horn of Africa is not exceptional and the frequent terrorist attacks in the region have created a notion of an insecure region in the world making international media like CNN to describe Kenya for instance as a "bed of terror".

The literature on terrorists and terrorist organizations in the HOA is now quite huge and permits some previously held philosophies to be rejected. Thus, based on interviews with captured and de-radicalized terrorists, there is little evidence of psychopathology or of personality disorder as factors in their behavior. An earlier study by Maleckova (2003) also indicated that terrorists do not come from the economically deprived segments of a society alone rather; their assurance appears to stem from prosaically attitudes. This justification is confirmed to some extent by other scholars like Hailu(2007), who said that terrorist groups have a deep identification with the values and aspirations of their society. This emphasizes the social support for terrorists. In this logic, the self-sacrifice of a suicide bomber is reminiscent of altruistic suicide category. With respect to establishments that use terror, terror attacks are part of the collection of strategies a militant group might employ in pursuing its objectives, whether to cast off oppression, attain a religious goal, or cleanse a country from an unwanted ethnic population. Acts of terror bring deeply felt grievances to the attention of an otherwise indifferent public.

In 2006, Hoffman(2006) argued that the cost of preserving the status quo, and the desire for a cessation of the terrorist attacks provide the terrorist group with a bargaining chip in negotiations. Other scholars have also provided intellectual probing examination of unrelated commonalities of terrorist emerging from different part of the world and the ideologies that prompted such violence in respect to Hoffman's argument. For instance, Juergensmayer(2000) noted that religion played a major role in the origin and sustenance of extremist movements that turn to terrorism. He argued that the righteous indignation is a means of justifying violence by terrorist organizations. He identified a number of such organizations associated with violence extremism as Christian extremists associated with the Christian identity and reconstruction theology movements, hard line Jewish militants, Islamic terrorists, Sikh separatists, and the radical Japanese Buddhists affiliated with the Aum Shinrikyo. However, it is worth noting that the war on terror has emerged as the principal conflict of our time, where Islamic fanaticism is identified as the greatest threat to Western liberal democracies. For example, Pantazis and Pemberton (2009) found out that political discourse in the UK has disengaged Muslims as the new enemy within. He concluded that the introduction of counterterrorism legislation and the social construction of the Muslims as a suspect community in the UK have worsened the situation instead. However, the essence of Islamic movement is not directed to a spiritual elevation but has a self-protective approach expected to achieve a radical social, cultural, educational, financial, economic and political change.

According to Ousman(2004), religious movement is invoked to eradicate external policies and their influences are perceived as a menace to the integrity of such religion. To develop a coherent understanding of terrorist groups and the characteristics of their members, comprehension adjustments made by residents and by organizational actors in the HOA are necessary. Such

considerations tap issues of both the effectiveness of counterterrorism as a strategy and notions of societal resiliency: how the surging effects of the interferences are managed, the types of adaptations made by individuals and families, the costs to different sectors of the society, and the formulation of government policies intended to maintain normalcy in a menacing environment. It is within these arrays of issues, concerning the scope and breadth of a society's response to terrorist attacks that are the concerns of this study. This study therefore examined to what extent religion influences the emergence of terrorism in the horn of Africa.

#### *1.84. Poverty and Emergence of Terrorism*

An extensively held belief by academics embraces that terrorism is rooted in economic grievances. In 2004, Li and Schawb (2004) argued that foreign direct investment (FDI) and portfolio investment have no direct positive effect on transnational terrorist incidents within countries and that economic development of a country and its top trading partners reduce the number of terrorist incidents inside the country. They argued that the extent that trade and FDI promote economic development, they have an indirect negative effect on transnational terrorism. Their argument was confirmed by Berman (2008) who found out that economic development such as GDP and GDP per capita affects terrorism. Gross Development Product enables security policymakers to judge whether the economy is contracting or expanding, whether it needs a boost or restraint, and if a threat such as terrorism exist. That is why Bravo and Dias (2006) argued that there is a direct relationship between poverty indices, literacy and school enrollment rates with terrorism. Making it more obvious that economic development of a region has a role to play on the emergence and operation of terrorist groups. Other studies emphasized that terrorist attacks are accounted more on the location of the terrorists and victim identities with a few

exceptions. However, it cannot be wished away that there are either no associations or a positive association between economic development and terrorism.

Following more positive studies that looked at the nationality of perpetrators, a negative relationship between a country's state of economic development and the number of attacks perpetrated by its citizens were documented. For example, according to Crenshaw (2007), economic grievances due to changes in economic activity and unemployment rates or inflation may be important for terrorism. However, inequality, social safety nets and redistributive policies at the national level and aid at the international level may alleviate grievances and, thus, increase terrorism. But economic regulation may protect the interest of insiders at the cost of reducing opportunities for outsiders.

Even though economic development process is a two-sided variable as argued by different scholars, globalization should not be undermined as (it) may break up existing structures and thereby provide new opportunities for formerly excluded groups. This is supported by the findings of Glassmyer and Sambanis(2008) who affirmed that just like in other forms of political violence; terrorism may be related to an abundance of natural resources. The control of such resources and strategic points may lead to the emergence of radical groups resorting to use of violence especially when they are weak. These studies reveal that there is a popular belief that poverty leads to transnational terrorism, and that there exists some little correlation between the lack of market opportunities and terrorism. Socio-political turmoil born out of poor socio-economic conditions makes it impossible for African states to offer solutions terrorism attacks.

In 2011, Piazza (2011) also argued that by the fact that terrorism is not a mass phenomenon but rather (is) undertaken by politically marginalized actors with often narrow constituencies, the

economic status of sub national groups is a crucial potential predictor of attacks. He determined that countries featuring minority group economic discrimination are significantly more likely to experience domestic terrorist attacks, whereas countries lacking minority groups or whose minority do not face discrimination are significantly less likely to experience terrorism. His empirical literature is inclusive regarding the link between socio-economic factors and terrorism. Thus studies that use cross-national analysis to model the effects of macroeconomic indicators on terrorism might fail to show conclusively that impoverished or underdeveloped countries experience higher rates of terrorism. This study examined the influence of poverty on the emergence of terrorism in the horn of Africa.

### **1.9. Theoretical Framework**

The study adopted social movement theory (SMT) of terrorism in examining what influence democracy, religion and poverty have on the emergence of terrorism in the Horn of Africa. Social movement theory is an interdisciplinary study within the social sciences that generally seeks to explain why social mobilization occurs, the forms under which it manifests, as well as potential social, cultural, and political consequences (Porta and Diani, 2006). For understanding terrorism as a form of contentious politics, analyzable with the basic movement approach of mobilizing resources, political opportunity structure, and framing, this theory was developed to study social movements, in the late 1960s, when the world was undergoing deep, dramatic transformations, and the study of social movement was developed into an area of research by sociologists.

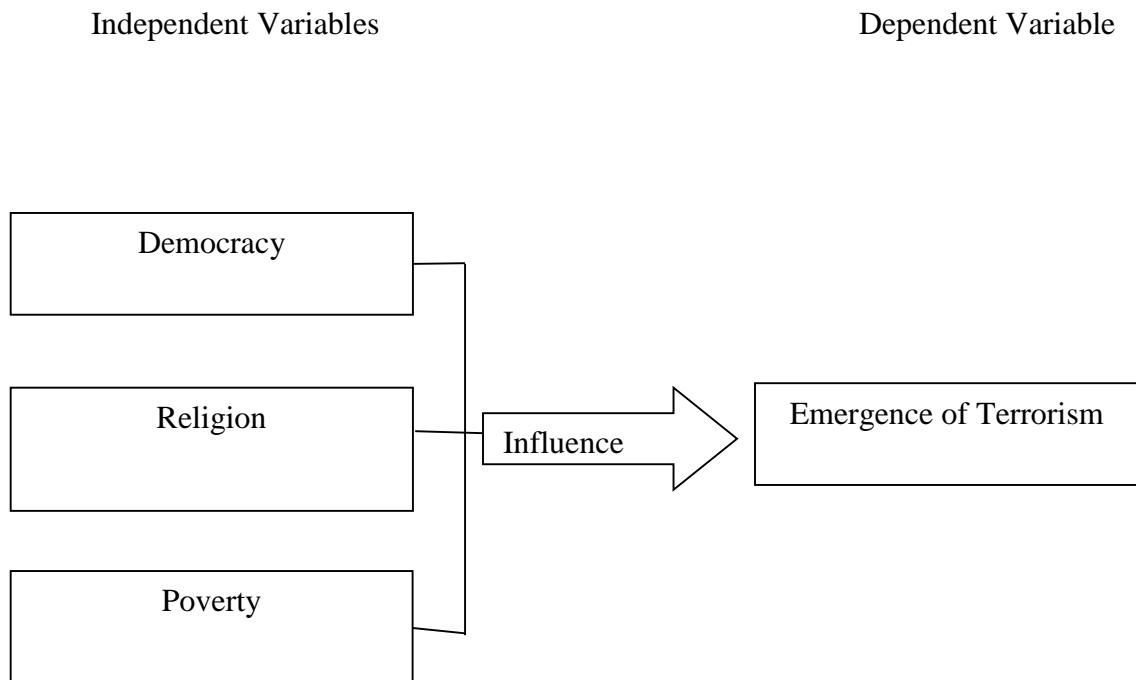
This theory has the basic assumptions that people are driven into movements out of the sense of deprivation or inequality, particularly in relation to others or in relation to their expectations, and that the participants see others who have more power, economic resources, or status, and thus try

to acquire these same things for themselves and on the other hand, people are most likely to rebel when a consistently improving situation stops and makes a turn for the worse. It assumes that individuals are rational actors who strategically weigh the cost and benefits of alternative courses of action and choose that course of action which is most likely to maximize their utility.

According to this theory, for social movements to be successful, there need to be organizations first and foremost that can acquire and deploy resources to achieve their well-defined goals, and also certain political contexts should be conducive for potential social movement activity (Metzger, 2014).

Figure 1 describes the relationship between independent variables; democracy, religion and poverty against dependent variable emergence of terrorism. That was found to be influencing the emergence of terrorism.

**Figure 1: Interaction of Variables**



Before settling on SMT, a Pyramid of radicalization was reviewed and considered for the study. This concept conceptualizes political radicalization as a dimension of increasing extremity of beliefs, feelings, and behaviors in support of intergroup conflict and violence. In this framework, the authors define radicalization as increased extremity of beliefs, feelings, and behaviors in directions that increasingly justify intergroup violence and demand sacrifice in defense of the ingroup. It is seen then, that there are three core concepts found in radicalization. First, it incorporates the polarization of beliefs, feelings, and behaviors. Second, it includes the rationalization and moral justification of violence against an out-group. Third, radicalization is characterized by a self-concept increasingly reliant upon the group, which results in greater levels of dedication and sacrifice in the name of a group or ideology.

However, this model only emphasizes on how negative personal experiences or influential relationships drive the radicalization process, and often considered as a starting point in journey to terrorism. Another weakness of this model is that its mechanism only provides a conceptual framework by which to understand how outside environment influence the attitude shift of radicalization but has little empirical work that investigates how the micro- processes of persuasion and attitude change occurs. Due to these weaknesses, the model was not be adopted as an appropriate tool for the study, as the study also examined external factors that fuel terrorism.

## **1.10. Hypotheses**

This study was guided by the following hypotheses:

1. Democracy influences the emergence of terrorism in the horn of Africa.
2. Religion influences the emergence of terrorism in the horn of Africa.

3. Poverty influences the emergence of terrorism in the horn of Africa.

### **1.11. Methodology**

The study used descriptive design. This method was preferred because it allowed for the prudent comparison of the research findings (Cooper & Schindler, 2000).

#### *Sampling*

The study used purposive sampling technique to collect primary data for the three selected countries where 21 persons were interviewed. In Kenya, two lecturers specialized in National security, Director National Counter Terrorism Center (NCTC), two officials from Ministry of Foreign Affairs, one Sub-county Commander in Nairobi County and three postgraduate students were interviewed. While in the cases of Somalia and South Sudan, 2 lecturers in Kenya specialized in national security of these countries, one official each from the respective embassies and three postgraduate students each from these states at the University of Nairobi were interviewed for the study.

<i>Country/Groups</i>	<i>Kenya</i>	<i>Southern Sudan</i>	<i>Somalia</i>
<i>Lecturers</i>	2	2	2
<i>Officials</i>	4	1	1
<i>Students</i>	3	3	3
<i>Total</i>	<b>9</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>
			<b>N=21</b>

**Table 1: Sampled Respondents**

#### *Data Collection Techniques*

The study was conducted based on both primary and secondary data. Primary data were collected through informative interviews that involved recording on audiotape cassettes and notes taking. The interviews were aimed at obtaining personal point of view on roots of terrorism and counter-terrorism policy formulation process. The primary data collected emphasized the countries experiences and assisted in closing the gaps that might have been overlooked during document analysis of secondary data.

The secondary data used were from text books, journals articles, academic papers, national security policy papers, anti-terrorism unit reports, and internet sources. For this process, in-depth information gathering and document analysis was applied. Data collected in this procedure included quotations, opinions and specific knowledge and background information relating to the effects of democracy, religion and poverty on the emergence of terrorism in the HOA.

#### *Data Analysis Techniques*

The secondary data collected were analyzed by means of content analysis. This method was preferred because the information collected was qualitative and therefore required analytical understanding. The collected data from the in-depth interviews were also analyzed using statistical package for social sciences (SPSS), which developed both descriptive statistics and inferential statistics. Descriptive statistics enabled the researcher to describe distribution of scores through graphical representation of frequency distribution such as histograms, graphs and bar charts. Inferential statistics on the other hand were used to test the hypothesis through the use chi-square that enabled the testing of relationship between variables. This enabled the researcher to describe broad classification of variables under the study and how they relate to implementation of counter-terrorism policy.

## **2.0. CHAPTER TWO: EVOLUTION OF TERRORISM**

### **2.1. Introduction**

The history of mankind is full with stories of fear and horror of some power hungry individuals turning against each other violently, while, others have been the victims of the unbelievable inhumaneness. Their only final defense against the “king of terrors” has been their beliefs in the form of life after death, the small cries of faith in the face of disaster - a helpless syndrome for the weak. The perpetrators have stretched from individuals to armed groups and further to states. In the case of group psychology, a common cause in terms of ideology is often shared, that necessarily doesn’t reflect the wishes of the population. Today, the systematic use of terror as a justification to achieve political objectives exists all over the world.

Most people in the world are aware and agree that acts of terrorism induce very important but horrible events whenever it occurs in a state. But opinions are divided sharply as to the reasons why such acts that bring conflict, confusion and uncertainty need to be critically studied. A widely held attitude takes terrorism very seriously indeed and a popular belief is almost certainly right. For the importance of terrorism lies not only in the ridiculous malice of terrorist outrages but also in the moral claims they imply.

However, in addressing acts of modern terrorism, it is significance to present a break with the past, a leap into the unknown, a radically new situation, something never encountered before. That is why Laqueur (1977) argues that the interpretation of terrorism is a difficult task not only because the character of terrorism has changed greatly over the last century, but also because terrorism is not only an ideology but also an insurrectional strategy that can be used by people of different political convictions. This means that, those practicing terrorism, have some beliefs where their mental makeups are similar. So what do we mean when we speak of terror? Is it a

psychic state or dread? This chapter presents some definitional arguments, history, topological networks, underlying issues and the HOA's experience in countering terrorism.

## **2.2. Terrorism Defined**

Terrorism phenomenon arouses a huge anxiety, anger and disappointment. Surprisingly, it imposes a definition dilemma. It has been estimated that there exist over 100 different definitions that are still not satisfactory in different literatures (Schmid, 1987). This somehow indicates that the much academic arguments using the term are more strategic such that the act of defining the concept becomes a campaign rather than an aid to thought. Several scholarly studies point to the inconsistencies and insufficiencies of existing legal definitions of terrorism, as well as the differences among them. Meisels(2008) points out that among these existing more than one hundred definitions of terrorism, none of them is definitive, making the term "terrorism" to lack a globally agreed definition as the array of moral, legal and political issues it raises is difficult and frustrating. Indeed, today, academic standpoint on defining the term remains diverse. One of the reasons associated with this complexity is because different fields want a definition that best suits those (Meisels, 2008). For instance, lawyers desperately require definitions in order to prosecute and sanction the terrorist, social scientists aim to describe this phenomenon in a way which will better sociological and psychological understanding of mankind, while politicians often adopt a definition that serve their national, political or ideological interests.

In describing what terrorism is, *Oxford Student's Dictionary* briefly describes terrorism as the use of violence and intimidation for political reasons. Coincidentally, Trotsky (2010) also defines terrorism as violence intended to intimidate and thereby achieve political objectives. But some scholars argue that many acts of conventional violence can still be used to achieve a political

objective. This made some scholars to distinguish other forms of political violence by adopting a number of inclusive definitions of terrorism that distort, or deconstruct such distinctions.

For instance, a widely held belief by theorists is that the concept of terrorism, has shaped in an interesting way, to serve the political interests of the hegemon in the international system, particularly those of the US. Terrorism undoubtedly has become a derogatory term and to avoid being biased in its definition, no neutrality, objectivity or attitude need to be set out in prior. Just like in defining any other form of crimes like murder, manslaughter or theft, adequate highlights of wrongdoing ought to be done when defining terrorism. Terrorism strictly needs to be viewed strictly as an action, a specific category of violent warfare. According to Walzer (2015) on his understanding of terrorism as a just and unjust war forms his argument in one of the most referenced definition by scholars. He argues that terrorism is an intentional random murder of defenseless non-combatants with the intent of spreading fear of mortal danger amidst a civilian population as a strategy designed to propagate political ends (Walzer, 2015). Like Walzer, Benjamin Netanyahu defines terrorism as the deliberate and systematic assault on civilians to inspire fear for political ends (Netanyahu, 2001). This implies that some civilians are considered innocent even by the terrorists themselves, like the children, infants, elderly and foreign nationals. But terrorist still harm them to accept that their governments will only accept to act, for the interest of terrorists, when the affected population mount revolutionary pressure.

Additionally, Armstrong-S (1991) argues that acts of terrorism are deliberate and the victims are innocent. They define terrorism as the deliberate use of violence, or threat of its use, against really innocent people in order to create terror in someone else as a means of achieving someone's goals (Armstrong-S, 1991). Other influential definitions of terrorism that are adopted by the developed states and structured in their penal codes are: terrorism is the use or threatened

to use force designed to bring about political change (Jenkins, 2008), terrorism is the premeditated, deliberate, systematic murder, mayhem, and threatening of the innocent to create fear and intimidation in order to gain apolitical or tactical advantage, usually to influence an audience (Poland, 1988), or terrorism is the unlawful use of force against persons or property to intimidate or coerce government , the civilian population , or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or special objectives (FBI-Terrorism Research Center, 2016).

These definitions show how much confusion still exists about the subject. Some imply that all forms of war are terroristic in nature, while some are restrictive by distinguishing terrorism from guerrilla warfare and political assassinations. But the idea is that, terrorism involves innocent victims. That emphasized an organized use of violence to attack non-combatants or their property for political purposes.

Do terrorist target innocent in particular? It is obvious that modern terrorist propaganda claims are not only aimed at the innocent per se, but the “innocent” that form part of the “non-innocent”. For instance, an armed attack that is directed to a particular target, say Christians, with the aim of making the whole population to abandon Christianity. This shows that all Christians are not innocent according to the terrorist. Essentially, defining terrorism entails a deliberate violent targeted at non-combatants and civilians, ignoring civilian immunity and the just war theory principle of discrimination, with the intent of achieving some form of political objective (Berman,2003). Most definitions agree that terrorism involves instilling some widespread of fear amongst a civilian population in order to achieve the desired end.

Why tactical and stringent definitions? Can't terrorism be defined with reference to its agent and cause? If the principle of settling to the question of justifiability, that is, the just-war theory

principle and its applicability to modern warfare is upheld, then there are still reasonable arguments for scholars who wish to investigate the causes of terrorism making it a just war. That is why scholars like Young (2004) concluded that terrorism is the last resort or extreme emergency, or a morally problematic means for achieving a worthy end, making terrorism legal.

Ideally, in defining terrorism, a central concept in our contemporary society needs to be strictly definite. Therefore, the basic understanding of terrorism involves the tenets such as the intentional random murder by the terrorist, the act is targeted at defenseless non-combatants, the intent of instilling fear of mortal danger amidst a civilian population, and their strategy is designed to advance political objectives.

### **2.3. The History of Terrorism**

The modern word *terrorism* is derived from the Latin verbs *terrere* that means to tremble or to cause to tremble, and *detergere*, to frighten from. Therefore the term simply means to cause to tremble (or tremble) and frighten (Laqueur, 1977). Terrorism as a word was first published in a French dictionary in 1796 when Jacobins used the term positively to refer to their activities that involved mass execution by guillotine in order to compel obedience to the state and intimidate regime enemies, but after 9<sup>th</sup> of Thermidor, “terrorist” became the word of abuse with criminal implications (Wardlaw, 1990). Since then, the term terrorism has been associated with many forms of violence.

More importantly, the term “terrorist” came into use to denote those French revolutionaries who sought to use terror systematically to further their views or to govern (Wilkinson, 1974). Terrorism was also widely used by the Russian revolutionaries in 1878-81 and again in the twentieth century by radical national groups in Ireland, Macedonia, Serbia, and Armenia, and by anarchist in France, Italy, Spain, and the United States, particularly in the 1890s (Merriman,

2009). This led to the rise of non-state terrorism employing guerrilla campaigns in the last half of the twentieth century in every part of the world to mark the rise of modern terrorism.

Even if the term is somewhat new (traced in 17<sup>th</sup> century), the Jewish group known as the Sicarii-Zealots in Palestine undertook activities in the first century which would have qualified them to be named terrorist. And also the activities of the Hashhashin (Assassins) of the Ismaili sect whose activities between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries developed a religious doctrine justifying the murder of their religious and political opponents. They considered them the unrighteous ones (Wilkinson, 1974).

In the mid nineteenth century, the term terrorism began to be associated with the acts of non-governmental groups. For instance, with the rising of nationalism, anarchism becomes the most dormant ideology linked with terrorism (Merriman, 2009). Anarchist, Narodnaya Volya, initiated attacks based on the belief in the “propaganda of the deed” that led to the assassination of the heads of states of Russia, Italy, Spain and the U.S. During this period, radical political theories and improvements in weapon technology spurred the creation of small groups of revolutionaries who effectively attacked nation states.

In the late nineteenth century, there was an increase notion of nationalism throughout the world in which the nation and the political state were combined. This trend led to a struggle or assimilation for national identities from people who were colonized. For instance, the Irish nationalism multi-century struggle. In the twenty first century, religiously motivated terrorism is considered to be the most alarming terrorist threat today. For instance, groups that justify their activities on Islamic grounds such as Taliban, Al Qaeda, Hamas and Hezbollah remain real (Riedel, 2011). The age of modern terrorism might be said to have begun in 1968 when the EIAI

airliner en route from Tel Aviv to Rome was hijacked by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). The current state of terrorism is marked with the operational and strategic epicenter of Islamic terrorism mostly centered in Pakistan, Afghanistan and parts of Syria.

#### **2.4. Topology of Terrorist Network**

Terrorist, just like any other criminal group has a network that morphs to maximize the gains and trust between the network members and also be able to hide their activities from the enemy. According to Finckenauer (2007), criminal groups do this for immunity and protection from breaches to shape their structures. Terrorist have little or no contact before with known terrorist groups, but they are self-organized. Terrorists are usually anonymous groups of who self-radicalized, then independently plan and execute their own operations with no outside guidance (Sageman, 2004). As such, they are very difficult to detect, infiltrate and prevent. But terrorist groups such as extreme left, ethnic and anarchist groups can only be characterized according to their cultural and practices within ideologies.

Even if terrorist organizations follow these best practices of criminal networks, terrorist groups still have the following distinguishing features. Firstly, terrorist groups shape their topology according to certain ideologies, and they build strong objectives around it. For spreading such ideology, terrorists have created propaganda components such as books, web sites, and radio and TV channels. Secondly, terrorists have well trained and equipped armed units to execute an attack on their selected targets by means of violence. Thirdly, terrorists have both domestic and international sympathizers who support them financially and ideologically in order to remain relevant in their activities. Lastly, terrorists normally take great care about their secrecy during conventions and communications in order to hide themselves from surveillance of the security forces and other legal institutions. For instance, transnational terrorists occasionally operate

internationally all over the world but in small cells by using methods of communications such as mobile phones and internet. Some terrorist networks are also protected and sponsored by governments or NGOs so they use the competences of governmental possessions for their political purposes.

Following all these characteristics, Rapoport (2004) found it appropriate to describe terrorism phenomenon in four different “waves”. These waves preferred specific organization structure and a particular mode of operations that they believe maximizes their objectives. The first wave he describes as the anarchist wave of terrorist that was predominant in 1880s. The anarchist wave preferred lonely or cell-based topologies for over forty years. The second one was the anti-colonial wave of terrorism in 1920s that preferred corporate based topology. The third wave was the new-left wave of terrorism in late 1960s that mainly preferred the politburo based topology. While in 1979, religious wave of terrorism begun employing the shura based or cell based topologies. There are advantages and disadvantages of specific network topologies. Terrorist prefer them according to their needs and historical practices of ideologies. For instance, star shaped topology is preferred where all the information flows into leadership and the authority is in his hand (Wasserman & Faust, 1994).

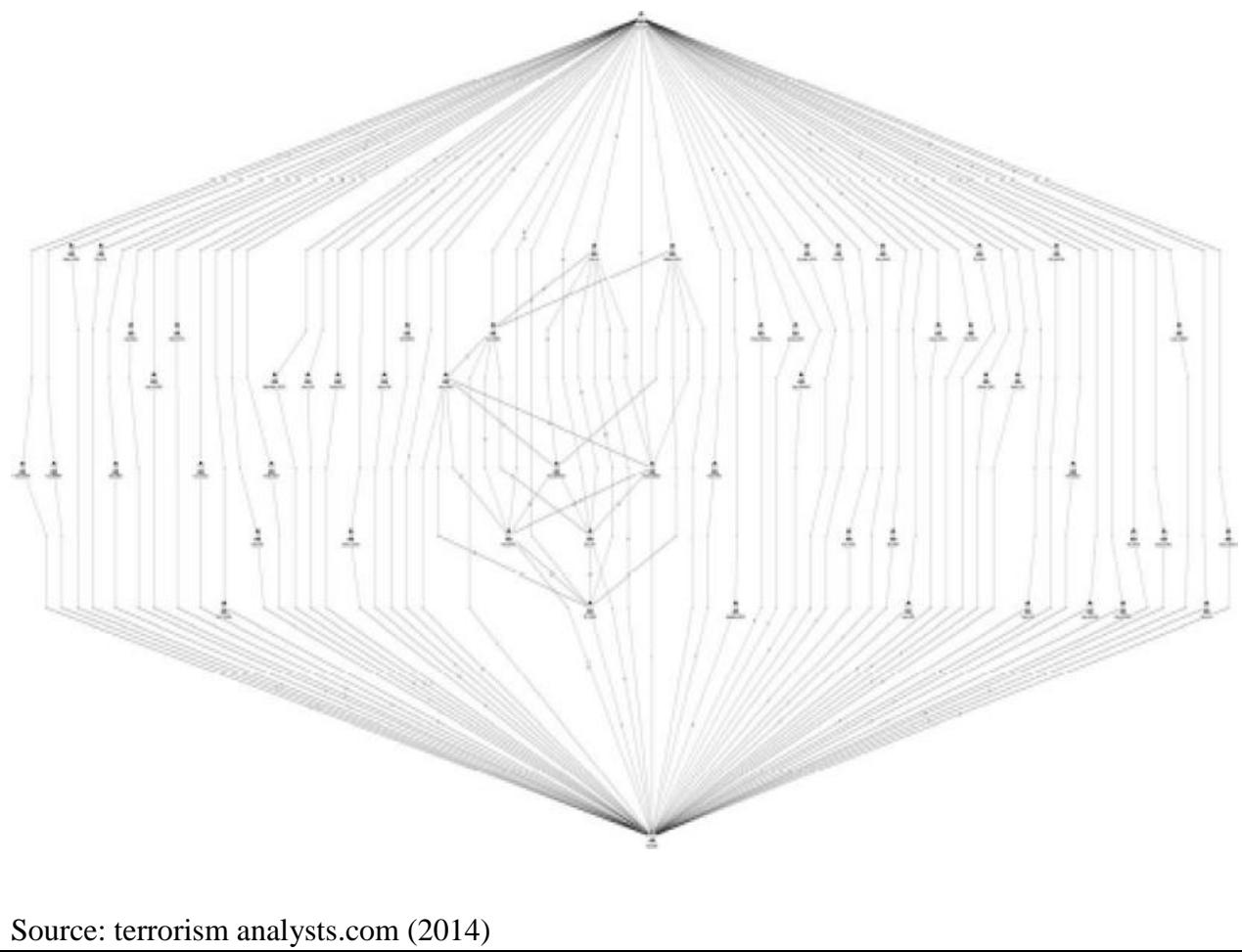
#### *2.41. Corporate Based Terrorist Networks*

In the case of corporate based terrorist networks (see figure 2), a number of subgroups such as the armed subgroups, youth and women subgroups, propaganda subgroups, finance subgroups and leaders subgroups are included. These types of networks have converted themselves in most instances into multifunctioning enterprises. Since the main aim of any terrorist group is to

achieve a political objective, most corporate based networks have ended up as political parties with concrete supporter networks or organized crime networks.

Corporate based networks' need in sustaining themselves, pushes the group to involve in illegal business like drug dealings and arms smuggling for their armed groups. As the network grows bigger, the political goal can be achieved or not. The bigger the network, the more corrupt the group turn against its own members. However, this type of network does not necessarily need money or weapon, but they direly need prestige and new recruits to better themselves.

**Figure 2: Corporate Based Terrorist Network.**

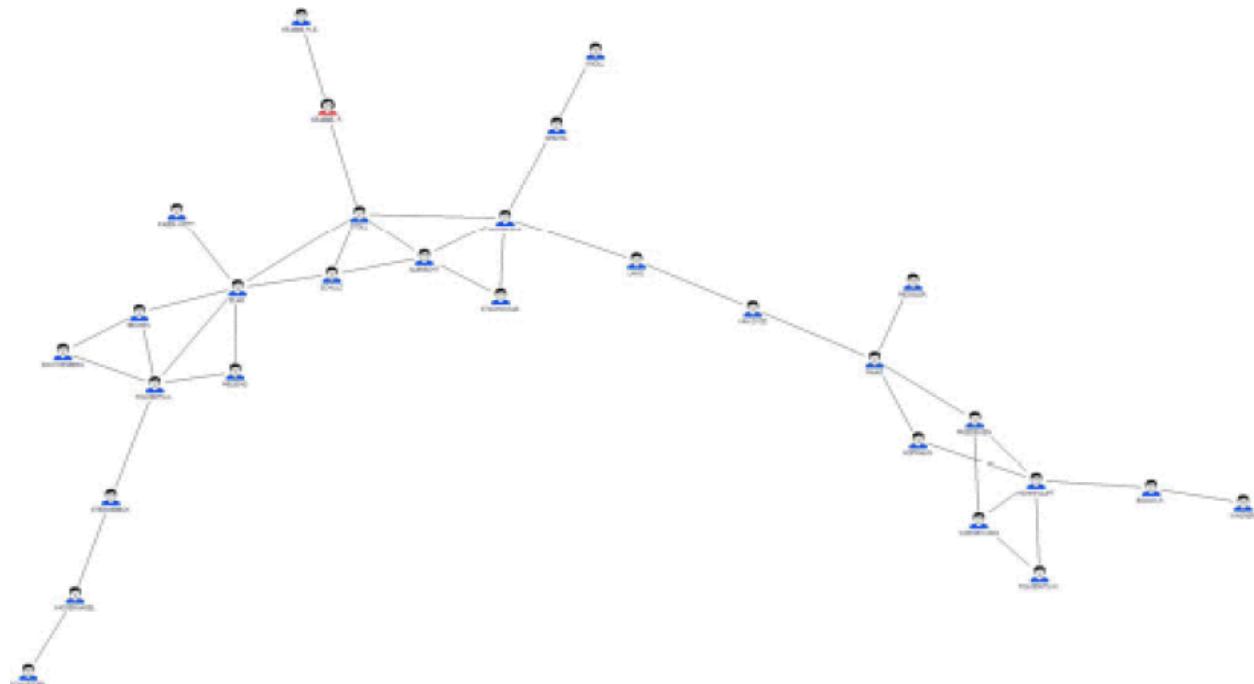


Source: terrorism analysts.com (2014)

## 2.42. Politburo Based Terrorist Networks

In Politburo Based Networks, terrorists collect all the authority into the hands of a central committee like in the case of extreme left terrorist groups. Each member of the central committee controls one function but all members in the committee decides all strategy of the terrorist network. In this network, central committee members are specialized and they are closer to the end armed members who are much more cell based. The merit of this network is that the secrecy and power is in the hands of central committee. This network topology creates a dilemma on the operation that is against any of the central committee members, with impossible recovery after such operations.

**Figure 3: Politburo Based Terrorist Network**

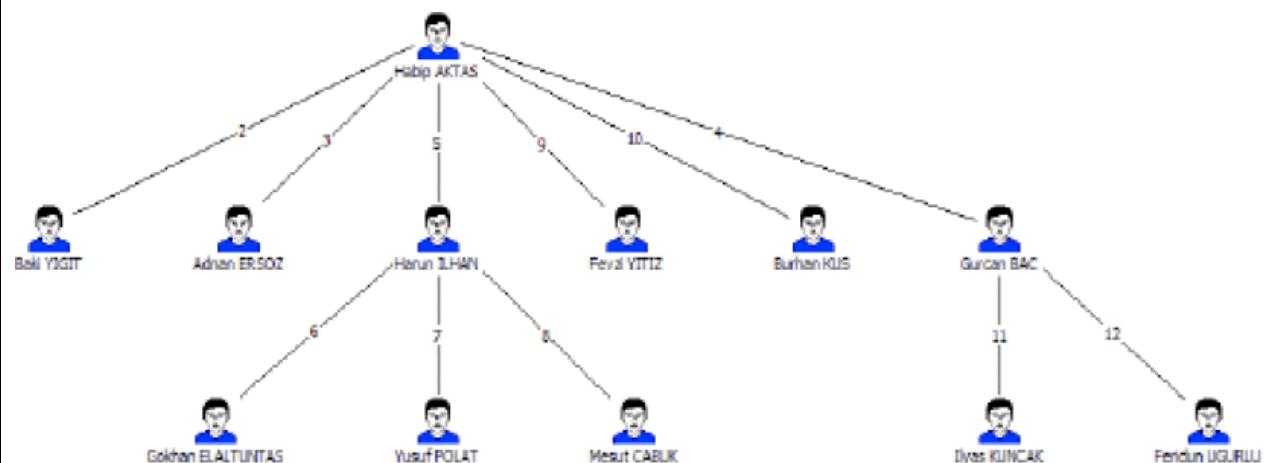


Source: safaribooksonline.com (2016)

#### 2.43. Shura Based Terrorist Networks

*Shura* is an Arabic word meaning “consultation”. In this case, each member of the Shura governs all functions and they also know every member within the terrorist network. Shura members are spiritual leaders of who manages his own cell. However, members of the cell are different as some are responsible for spreading propaganda, others are military apparatus, while others manage finances of the networks. The advantage of Shura based network is that each member in the network has the potential to govern the whole network. However, this topology is vulnerable to intrusion as ideologies of every member are public to other members and dishonest members can easily disclose information in such cases. The figure below shows an example of Turkish al Qaeda network in 2003 as an example for Shura based network.

**Figure 4: Shura Based Terrorist Network**



Source: longwarjournal.org (2007)

#### 2.44. Lonely Wolf Based Terrorist Network

Lonely wolf based terrorist network is involving of one affiliate who strategies, supplies and assaults in the hand of one particular terrorist. In terms of logistics, finance, arms and explosives lonely wolves organize every piece of detail while they use violence and terror for its ideology

(Wasserman & Faust, 1994). In case of receiving help from others, none of the supporter of a lonely wolf can apprehend that there is an act of terrorism and they might be supporting an individual who is a terrorist. The advantage of lonely wolf based network is high secrecy and power in hands of one single member whereas the disadvantage is that there is always the likelihood of elimination after the prosecution of lonely wolf terrorist.

Both transnational and home-grown terrorism are driven by political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, or religious motivations. Most members of a terrorist network are not aware of other cells which are geographically very close to them. They share the same ideology, meet each other only via a communication channel, say internet, but they only know each other by call-signs or nick-names. Terrorist's networks and their mode of operation, make them more difficult to follow, more complex to analyze, and unpredictable.

## **2.6. Counterterrorism: Kenya's Experience**

According to the data from START's Global Terrorism Database (GTD), the Somali based terror group-al-Shabaab was described as one of the most active and deadliest terrorist group in the world in 2014. The group has committed numerous attacks in the horn of Africa, especially in Kenya between the period of 2015 and 2015 (Pate, Jensen, and Miller, 2015).

In 2002, an Israeli owned Paradise hotel in Kikambala was attacked just hours after 60 tourists from Israel checked in. During this attack, 15 people were killed and 80 others got injured. This attack was linked to the Al Ittihad al Islamiyah (AIAI) terrorist group that was operating in Somalia, surprisingly with a link to al Qaeda, an international terrorist organization networks that major on decentralization of their operations (Theuri, 2013). Another Israeli owned Shopping Mall- Westgate was brought under siege in 2013 by the extremist Islamic group al-Shabaab that

led to the killing of 57 people. In 2014, Mpeketoni, a Christian village in Lamu experienced twin attacks by gunmen that led to the killing of over 60 people. According to correspondents, these attacks were believed to have been motivated by ethnic and religious hatred, or revenge for land grabbing. In December, that year, two different attacks in Mandera were witnessed that led to the death of 64 persons, most of which were non-Muslims. Islamist gun men shot and beheaded 36 people at a quarry, while 28 passengers were dragged off a bus and executed at a pointblank (Stewart, 2014).

Working with the FBI and Interpol, the Kenyan government made efforts to eliminate the al Qaeda cell, arresting several suspects in Nairobi and Mombasa. For instance, according to USIP report, in July 2001, Nairobi police arrested 8 Yemeni and 13 Somali nationals (USIP, 2004). Similarly, police arrested more than 20 people suspected of having associations with al Qaeda in Lamu in November 2001.

These coordinated assaults confirm that al Qaeda has local support and illustrate their ability to evade Kenyan security while smuggling arms like the surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) used in the Kikambala airline attack. Indeed, there is growing evidence of an indigenous terrorist crusade in the horn of Africa. For instance, after the arrest of the Yemeni suspects linked to al Qaeda in Somalia in March 2003, Kenya's foreign ministry admitted the participation of Kenyan nationals in the 2002 bombings. With over 2,000 members, al-Shabaab is the most powerful radical band in the Horn of Africa, and it has been funded by al Qaeda in the past.

## **2.6. Conclusion**

Terrorism is an act that its perpetrators stretched from individuals to group psychology with a common objective in terms of an ideology. This ideology is shared with a systematic use of violence to achieve a political objective. That is why scholars in this field concentrates in the

anxiety, anger and disappointment it creates rather than coming up with agreeable definition, instead they debate of over 100 definitions. In the past, terrorism has become a campaign rather than an aid of thought. However, certain tenets such as murder of non-combatants and advancement of a political objective stand that makes the concept more special than any other criminal practice.

The origin of the use of the term terrorism is credited with the French revolutionaries in 17<sup>th</sup> century. But it is clear that some movements, for instance the Sicarii-Zealots and Hashhashins employed terrorist tactics in the first century. However, modern terrorism has been distinguished by the use of number of topologies based on corporate, politburo, lonely wolf and Shura principles. Terrorism is a complex, multifaceted phenomenon that incorporates many underlying issues which are socio-economic and political in nature.

## **3.0. CHAPTER THREE: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS**

### **3.1. Introduction**

This chapter presents data findings and discussions of the influence of democracy, poverty and religion on the emergence of terrorism.

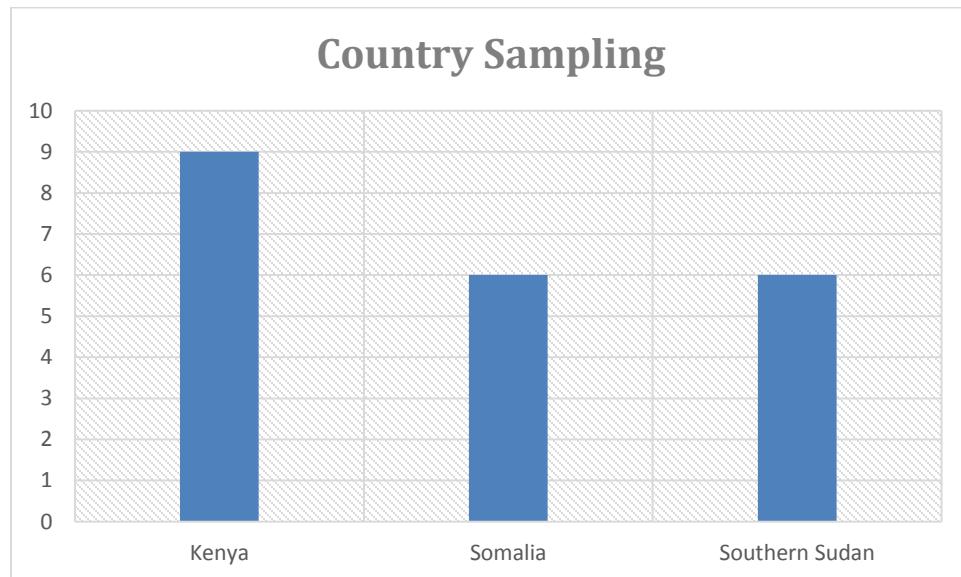
### **3.2. Findings**

The study found out that democracy, poverty and religion influence the emergence of terrorism in the HOA.

### **3.3 Discussions**

#### **3.3.1. Respondents**

Primary data was collected from a total of twenty one respondents through interviews ( $n=21$ ). Respondents sampled were from three nationalities (that is, Kenya=42%, Somalia=29% and South Sudan=29%). Figure 5 below shows a bar graph representation of the respondents as drawn from the countries.

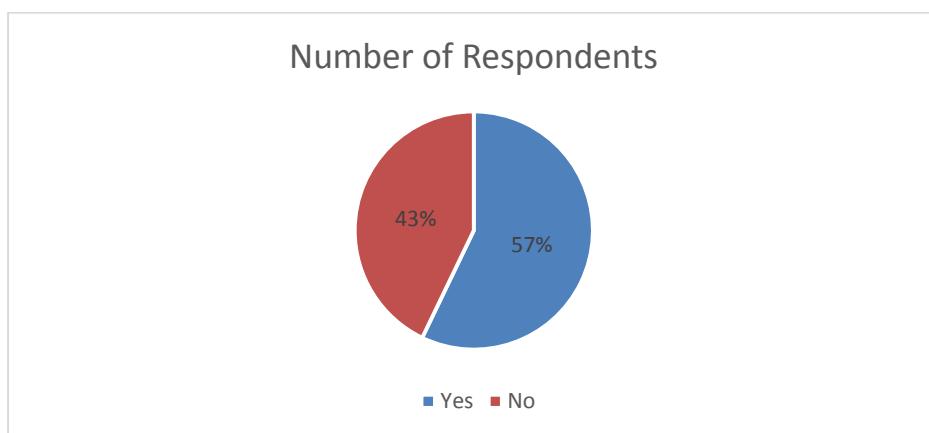


**Figure 5: Nationality of Respondents**

Respondents were further sub-divided into three major groups; the government officials from the ministry of foreign affairs and respective embassies, lecturers who have national Security specialization and postgraduate students in National Security or related studies (See Table 1, page-19). Government officials gave information on the counterterrorism policies and their views on the current terrorist trends in the country, they also assisted in the obtaining of the necessary policy documents for this study. Lecturers assisted in giving advanced academic standpoints in the field on the available literature on the topics. Their opinions were very instrumental in this research. While the student's views were very helpful in generalization of the public's opinion on the causes of terrorism in the region.

### **3.32. Formulation of Counterterrorism policy**

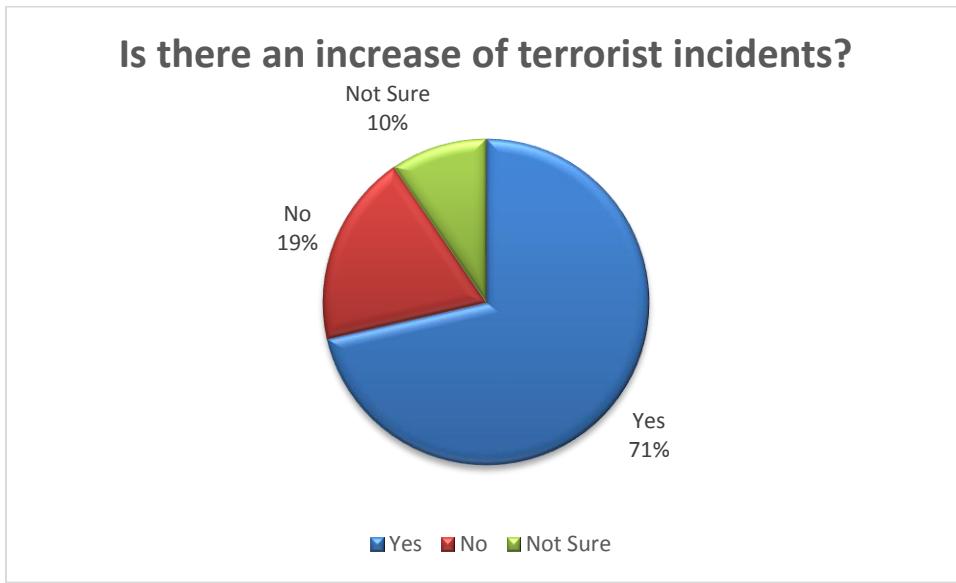
All respondents were asked if they have participated in the formulation of counterterrorism policy. 57% agreed to have participated in the development of counterterrorism policy while 43% said that they have never contributed to the formulation of the policy (Figure 6). For those who have participated in the development of counterterrorism policy, it was evident that their response was reliable with significant explanation. This demographic information was essential in decision making regarding the experience of the respondents.



**Figure 6: Participation in Formulation of Counterterrorism Policy**

### **3.33. Increase of Terrorism in the horn of Africa Region**

According to the data collected from the informative interview, the study found out that 71% (n=21) agree that between the period of 2001 and 2015, there was an increase in incidents of terrorist in the HOA (Figure 7). However, the number of attacks was higher in 2013 and 2015 than in the early 2002. The other 20%, claimed that there was a decrease especially in the number of casualties in the region. While 9% were not sure whether there was an increase in terrorist incidents or not. These figures were confirmed by the data obtained from the National Consortium for the START (figure 8) in 2016 that indicates that from a total of 2129 incidents of terrorism in Sub-Saharan Africa between 2007 and 2014, over 850 incidents were witnessed in 2013 alone.

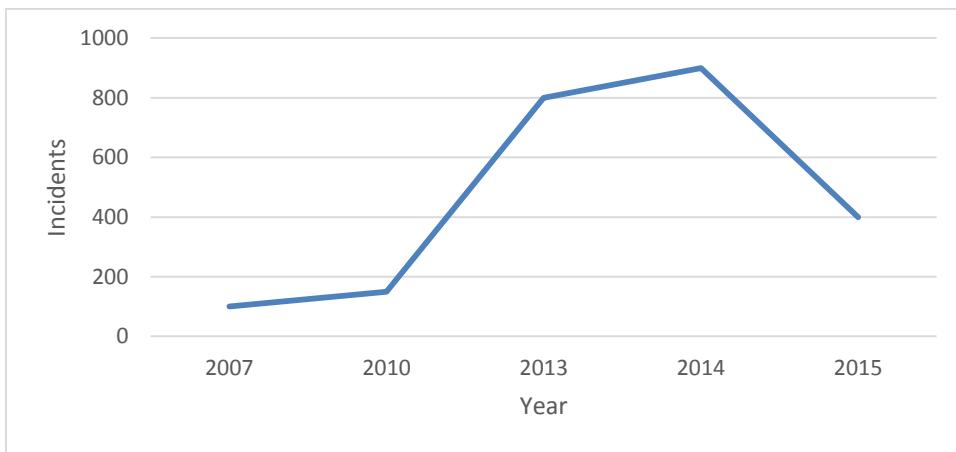


**Figure 7: Increase of Terrorism**

Surprisingly, these attacks were claimed to have been perpetrated by al-Shabaab terrorist group in Kenya and Somalia alone (Kurtz, 2015). However reasons behind these attacks differed as given by the respondents. Some claim that the terrorist groups want to break from the legitimate

rule and generate a state of their own as Mellgard (2016) claims in ethno-nationalism theory of terrorism, others argued that sentiments of discrimination lead the terrorist groups to be more conservative and eventually adopting extremist ideologies. As one respondent said “some groups feel a sense of isolation as if they are in the diaspora, they lack proper identification documents and have turned refugees in their own land” These sentiments were also noted by Marc (2011) when he hinted that alienation is also felt globally that makes refugees look out for social structures such as communities and groupings with philosophies that can accommodate them.

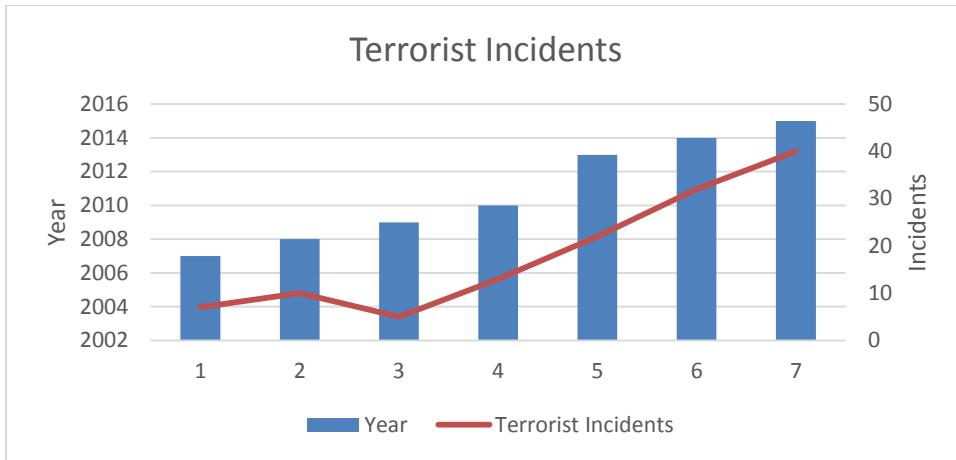
**Figure 8: Number of Terrorist Incidents**



Source: National Consortium for the START (2016)

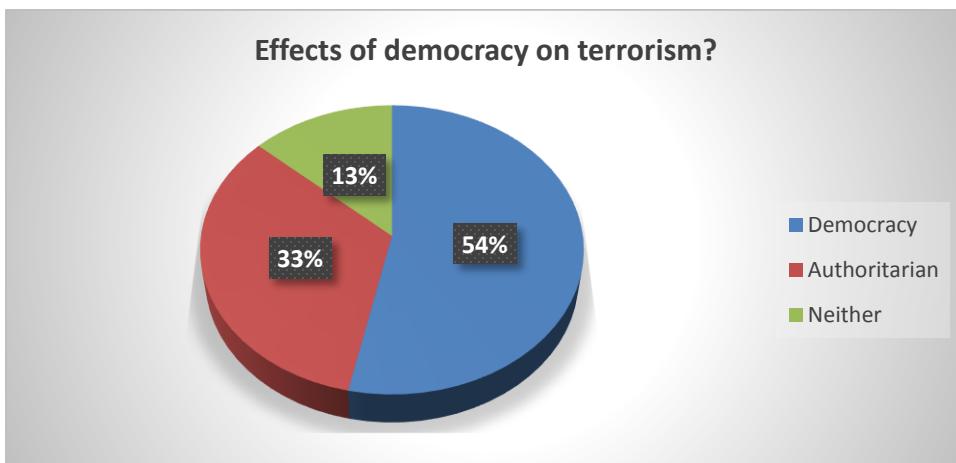
Figure 9 also shows the data for terrorist incidents in Kenya during the period of 2004 and 2013. 2013 witnessed the highest incidents (NCTC-Kenya, 2015). The reasons given by this record ranges from the Kenya Defense Forces invasion into Somalia and its continued operation under the umbrella of AMISOM to ethnics and religious groupings. This data supports Hoffman's remarks that terrorist groups target religious groups and religious doctrines engage in assaults that are more volatile than other terrorist organizations (Hoffman, 2006).

**Figure 9: Terrorist incidents in Kenya, 2015**



### 3.34. Influence of Democracy

Of the respondents that believe that there is an increase in terrorism in the region, more than half, 57% (n=15), believes that democracy breeds terrorism, 33% argues that authoritarian regimes with weak government institutions is responsible for terrorist growth, while the remaining 10% believes that neither democracies nor authoritarianisms are responsible for the emergence of terrorism (See Figure 10).



**Figure 10: Democracy/Authoritarian terrorism**

However, the belief that neither democracy nor authoritarian creates terrorism can be explained by the fact that terrorist attacks democracies and autocracies the same. Those who believe that democracies breeds terrorism is also informed by Wilkinson (1974) argument that democratic regimes avail media freedom that motivates the activities of terrorist such as the use of propaganda, recruitment and coordination of operations via internet and the print. Additionally, the HOA with an average of 36.45% level of democracy, Kenya being the highest at 58.8% (Mo Ibrahim foundation, 2015), has experienced deadliest attacks. (See table 2). We can therefore argue that both cases hold (democracy and authoritarian) as per the data from Mo Ibrahim Foundation. While Somalia is characterized as the least democratic, that is more dictatorial, still remains as the home of terrorist group in the region and Kenya being more democratic, and has experienced most attacks in the region.

**Table 2: Score of State's Democracy in HOA:**

Country	Democracy Score in 2015
Ethiopia	48.6
Kenya	58.8
South Sudan	19.9
Sudan	28.3
Uganda	54.6
Somalia	8.6

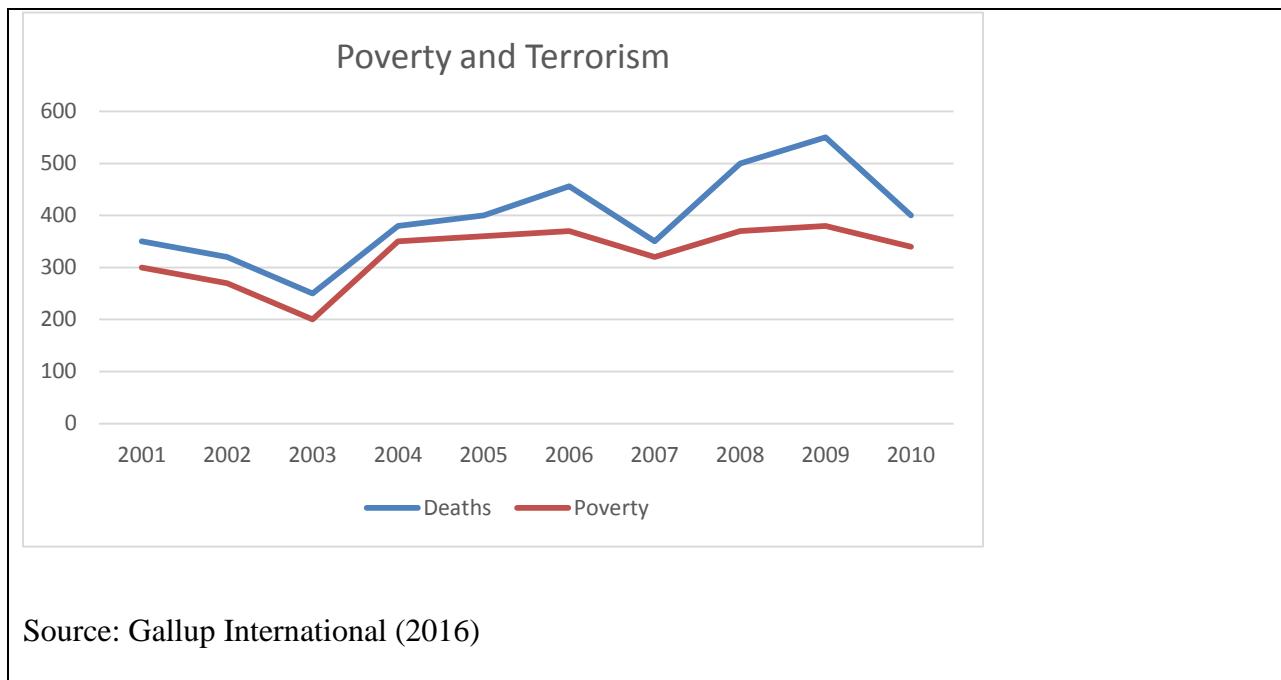
Source: Mo Ibrahim Foundation

### **3.35.Influence of Poverty**

In examining the influence of poverty on emergence of terrorism in the HOA, the study found out that 43% (n=21) of the respondents believe that poverty is responsible for the emergence of terrorism. They argued that the inequalities in the distribution of resources can possibly lead to a political conflict. The reason behind their arguments represents the rational actor approach theory that assumes that individuals shift their behavioral dissent in circumstances of absolute poverty (Lichbach, 1989). But does the risk of terrorism significantly higher in poorer countries? The call by US President George W. Bush after the 9/11 attack for increased economic aid and educational assistance in developing countries in fight of terrorism marked the beginning of the debate of the nexus between poverty and terrorism. This paper confirmed that lack of resources, ideas, decisions and respect can raise bitterness and desperation and as a result brings political extremism.

Another 38% believe that population growth influence recruitment of young males into terrorist groups. These findings indicated that population shifts across different ethnic sets is associated with terrorism. This is what Sidel (2010) calls the migration and changes in ethnic, religious and social balance of a society. A research by Gallup International in 2015 that compared the number of terrorist incidents associated with joblessness also shows how uneven population with no source of income can lead to terrorism (Figure 11).

**Figure 11: Poverty and Terrorism**



Source: Gallup International (2016)

However 19% of the respondents believe that neither unemployment nor population growth has an association with the emergence of terrorism. Interestingly, the GDP per capita ranking by the World Bank in 2014 for the 25 poorest countries in Africa (figure 12), Somalia is at number one with a GDP per capita of only 128.1 USD. This is an indication that HOA is greatly affected by poverty as four other countries in the region (Uganda, Burundi, Eritrea and Ethiopia) are also named among the poorest countries. These economies rely on either the foreign aid or foreign investments. Somalia's state is blamed on the ongoing war of terror that has resulted in underdevelopment as lot of resources that can be channeled for development is directed to the military in containing the war. This show a flip side effects of terrorism in the economy, what David Gold called economics of terrorism (Gold, 2004). A double end; an effect and a root.

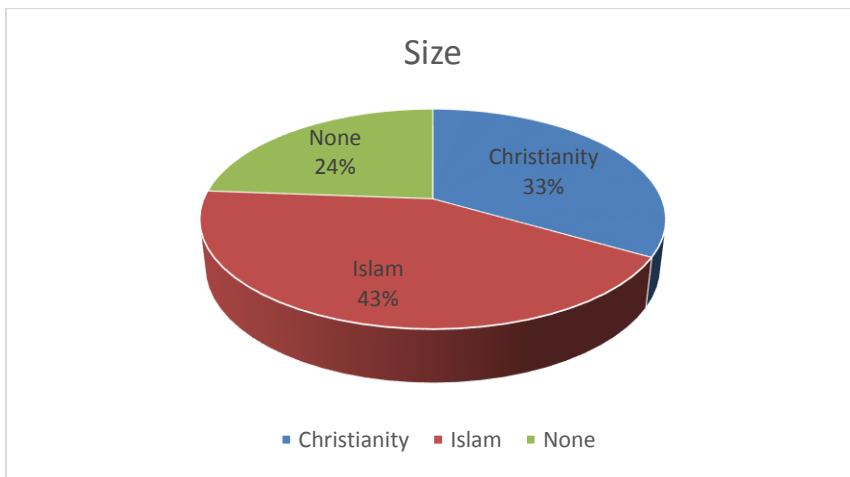
**Table 3: Twenty Five Poorest Countries in Africa**

Country	GDP Per Capita (USD)
Chad	1053.8
Tanzania	998.1
Lesotho	995.5
Zimbabwe	935.9
Comoros	860.8
Benin	825.2
Sierra Leone	788.4
Mali	765.7
Burkina Faso	720.0
Uganda	677.4
Rwanda	652.1
Togo	646.1
Mozambique	619.0
Eritrea	590.2
Guinea Bissau	585.6
Ethiopia	567.8
The Democratic Republic of the Congo	475.2
Liberia	461.0
Madagascar	449.4
Niger	440.7
Gambia	422.8
The Central Africa Republic	378.6
Burundi	295.1
Malawi	253.0
Somalia	128.1

Source: [www.africanvoult.com](http://www.africanvoult.com)

### **3.36. Religion and Terrorism**

Another variable that was examined is the religion. As a societal factor, respondents were asked whether Islam or Christianity is responsible for the terrorist activities in the HOA. The study found out that 43% of the respondents believe that Islamic fundamentalism associated with terrorism while 33% claimed that Christianity is to be blamed. The other 24% believe that none of the religious views influence terrorism. This confirms the catchphrase in the media nowadays that “not all Muslims are terrorists but all terrorists are Muslims”. But modern terrorism has been associated with religious extremism. In what some scholars such as Sageman (2004) calls the global Salafi jihad as worldwide religious revivalist movement with the objective of reinventing past Muslim glory.



**Figure 12: Religion and Terrorism**

In the period between 2001 and 2015, there have been various incidents of terrorist attacks in the HOA region. These attacks have been perpetrated by international terrorist network and Somalia based terrorist group—al-Shabaab. Democracy, poverty and religion are some essential issues

scholars have blamed on the emergence of terrorism in other parts of the world. This study, after careful assessment of these factors, realized that they play a role in the emergence of terrorism.

### **3.4.Conclusion**

Terrorism is a complex and multivariate phenomenon. It appears in many different forms in many different parts of the world in search of different objectives. Surprisingly, the act of terrorism occurs in democracies and autocracies. Terrorists attack developed, developing and underdeveloped countries similarly. They operate transnationally, regionally and domestically. The act of terrorism is practiced by adherents of religious groups and adherents of none religious groups. But all in all, all terrorist groups are weaker than their enemies and are organized deliberately to attack innocents to achieve their objectives. That is why this study found out that democracy, religion and poverty influence the emergence of terrorism.

## **4.0. CHAPTER FOUR: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **4.1. Introduction**

This chapter summarizes the findings of this study, conclusion and some recommendations.

### **4.2. Summary**

The study found out that the popular explanation that poverty breed terrorism partially holds in the horn of Africa. The focus is on the recruits who are living in underdeveloped part of urban areas especially in the slums. However, this belief is not uniform for other areas where well off, relatively middle or rich class and well educated extremists are witnessed. Most states in the horn of Africa practice democratic governance except for Somalia and South Sudan that stands at an average of 10%. This shows that form of governance in the region is responsible for the terrorist activities in the horn of Africa where freedom of speech, rule of law and full participation of citizens in decision making is practiced. This is also the case of international terrorist groups that find it easier to operate in the region as they are protected by laws of the states. However, the weak governance systems, especially in Somalia and the unstable leadership in South Sudan has also made the region vulnerable to terrorist recruitments as the aggrieved individuals resort in violent activities.

### **4.3. Conclusion**

In conclusion, examining root causes of terrorism should not be regarded as a trivial and simple task, or viewed as an attempt to justify the acts perpetrated by terrorist groups. Analyzing roots of terrorism deals with a complex, multifaceted problem that requires a similar sophisticated response. That is why scholars agree that there is no single cause that exists. Knowing the reasons as to why people become terrorist makes us to appreciate roots of terrorism as an obvious starting point to construct an effective counterterrorism measure. This concludes that the fact that terrorism affects all states regardless of their forms of governance, development record

or religious orientation, what needs to be drawn on these issues in that these issued should be applied in a more useful way.

#### **4.4. Recommendations**

The effective action to ease the vulnerability of democracies to attacks by terrorist organizations lies in the implementation of tougher anti-terrorism measures by individual governments, as collective remedies had indicated to be futile in the past. All members of the HOA have a shared interest, to preserve their way of life, their civil peace, and economic systems against terrorism. For a number of reasons, the HOA is an obvious target for Middle East terrorism: it is in close geographical proximity to Yemen; there are many refugees due to civil conflicts, especially in Kenya where both Somalia and Sudan refugees are hosted; these refugees are often discriminated against in both economic and political policies making them to willingly support extremist groups; many Muslims have often been sympathetic to terrorist organizations; Arab terrorists have indicated that all Western states are their targets; HOA states' foreign policies tend to support western states.

Terrorism challenges government's prerogative power of the monopoly to use force by employing the law of the gun, the bombs, and the use kangaroo courts. The governments need to act fast to stump their authority, prove that it can, meet such threats with force (Wilkinson, 1974). More importantly, the states should be in a position to assure the general population that they are in a position to protect them against the terrorist. Or else the terrorist group will likely use coercive tactics to alienate the people from the governments. This strategy is a long term approach where the terrorists are isolated from their host population.

The governments also need to consider short-term measures in dealing with terrorism menace. For instance tighter airport movement controls, closer passport and immigration vetting should

seriously be considered by the HOA states (Abshire, 1989). There should be a more extensive surveillance of political groups and foreign extremist organizations by a special anti-terrorism police unit. The states of HOA should adopt the European anti-terrorism policy of “never to surrender to blackmail or extortion”. Searches, the use of armed guards, a counter-attack or a ruse to defeat the terrorists - these are sensible alternative responses to threats by terrorists and hijackers. Governments must aim to combat terrorism and win.

Alternatively, the adoption of emergency powers that prohibits an individual from being a member in, supports of terrorist’s organizations, and the raising of an armies and the wearing of military uniforms has been useful in ensuring that the legitimate security forces’ mandates are stronger. Terrorists, often use fire-arms. States regulation of the registration, availability and their use of such arms, explosives and chemical weapons need to be put into checks.

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## **6.0. APPENDICES**

### **6.1. APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR OFFICIALS AND STUDENTS**

#### **Causes of Terrorism**

1. Have you participated in the formulation of counter terrorism policy for any country in the horn of Africa?
2. In your opinion, is there an increase in terrorist activities in the horn of Africa?
3. Do you think governance structure of states of the horn of Africa play a role for the increase (if any) of terrorism?
4. In your opinion, what role does societal values and economic development play in the radicalization process in the horn of Africa?
5. In your opinion, what other factors can you associate with the increase of terrorist activities in the region?
6. Who are responsible for the conduct and formulation of the counter-terrorism policy in your country?
7. What is your recommendation on the general formulation of the counter terrorism policy process?

Thank you

## 6.2. APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SECURITY LECTURERS

### **Causes of Terrorism**

1. In your opinion, do you think there is an increase of terrorist groups in the horn of Africa?
2. Do you think democracy (or any other form of governance) in the horn of Africa, religion or poverty is responsible for this growth (if any)?
3. What is your general assessment on the counter-terrorism measures in the states of the horn of Africa?
4. Please what advice would you give on how formulation process should be handled? What factors should be considered at the beginning of the process?
5. In your opinion, do you think countries in the horn of Africa are formulating the counter-terrorism policy the way it should be? If not, where do they go wrong?

Thank

you

### 6.3. APPENDIX C: CONSENT LETTER

Dear Respondent,

I am the undersigned student at the University of Nairobi. I am glad to meet you and particularly appreciate your acceptance to participate in this research on “Emergence of Terrorism: A Case Study of the horn of Africa”. This research is conducted as a partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations.

For the purpose of this study, you will be asked to participate in feeling of a questionnaire or through a discussion on broad issues pertaining to the above research topic. This will be tape recorded so that the researcher can later replay and listen to all the points being discussed. Please be advised that your demographic data; age, level of education, occupation, religion, and residence will be recorded. However, in presenting my report, I will not disclose names or any description that may reveal your identity. You are at liberty to withdraw your participation if need be, and with no penalties.

This project has been approved by the University of Nairobi. If you would like to know more about this research project please feel free to contact my supervisor, Dr. Fred Jonyo (Tel 254-2 318262/65/70). And if you have questions about the University of Nairobi’s rules for research, please call Prof. Lucy Irungu, Deputy Vice Chancellor of Research, Production and Extension (Tel. 02 318262).

Sincerely,

Barnabas Ojwaka

If you are interested in participating in this study, please sign this letter as a confirmation of your understanding of the terms of my research, promise of confidentiality, and your voluntary participation.

Signature\_\_\_\_\_ Date\_\_\_\_\_