

**THE IMPACT OF TERRORISM ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT,
A CASE STUDY OF KENYA'S NORTH EASTERN REGION.**

BY

AHMED DIRIYE MOHAMED

**A PROPOSAL SUBMITTED TO THE INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL
STUDIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

AUGUST, 2017

DECLARATION.

This is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any of the study programs in any university.

Ahmed Diriye Mohamed

REG. NO. R50/81045/2015

Signature Date

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

Name: Dr. Emmanuel Kisiangani

Lecturer,

Department: Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies.

University of Nairobi.

Sign Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.

First and foremost, I would like to thank the almighty Allah for giving me the strength that I needed to undertake the entire course as well as the rigours of this study. I would also like to pass my gratitude to my project supervisor, Dr. Emmanuel Kisiangani, for his valuable time, guidance and direction in all the stages of writing and compiling this report.

I thank my family led by my spouse Amina Osman, whose support and encouragement necessitated my desire to undertake and conclude this project, and my children, Nawaal, Nusaibah, Noordiin and Najla, for the endurance they had during the course of conducting this study. Finally, I thank all the course lecturers and fellow students without whom the course would not have been as smooth as it turned out to be.

DEDICATION.

I dedicate this work affectionately to my family, led by my spouse, Amina Osman, and my children, Nawaal, Nusaibah, Noordiin and Najla.

Abstract

There are quite a number of definitions for the word terrorism since different researchers define it in their own different terms. This difference in definition has been attributed to the fact that the process of defining terrorism depends on the definer's view, a person can view an individual as a terrorist, but the same individual be viewed as by another person as a freedom fighter. However, in general, terrorism refers to a deliberate use of violence or threat of violence to inculcate fear. The fear is usually intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies into submitting to something, usually in pursuit of goals that are usually political, religious or ideological in nature. The subject has been a major concern in Kenya and the north eastern region of Kenya lately, due to the emergence of a new terrorist group in the region, Al – Shabaab. Terrorist activities have drastically changed the situation in the area, though not much of it has been documented. This study therefore aimed to determine the socio economic effects of terrorism in the north eastern region. The study was conducted in north eastern region of Kenya using mixed methodology design. Mainly secondary data was collected using print media reports about the various terrorism activities, newspapers and minimal discussion with people in the regions. The study found that terrorism activities have had major effects on the economic and social activities with a number of people closing their activities and transfer to other safer regions. A number of professionals have fled the area, leaving some of the basic activities almost deserted. The education and health sector have been the most affected as teachers and medical practitioners fled the region and left public schools and hospitals without professionals in the fields. The study recommends that local residents of the area should be encouraged to sensitize their children to study in the two professions so that in case professionals from other parts of Kenya flee the area, the locally trained professionals can effectively handle the matters.

Table of content

Declaration	ii
Acknowledgement.....	iii
Dedication	iv
Abstract	v
List of Figures.....	viii

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Statement of the problem.....	3
1.3 The Purpose of the Study.....	4
1.4 Objectives of the Study.....	4
1.5 Research Questions.....	4
1.6 Hypothesis.....	4
1.7 Significance of the Study.....	5
1.8 Limitations of the Study.....	5
1.9 Research Assumptions.....	6
1.10 Theoretical Framework.....	6
1.11 Conceptual framework.....	7
1.12 Research Methodology.....	9
1.13 Chapter Outline.....	10

CHAPTER TWO: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF TERRORISM.....	11
2.1 Introduction.....	11
2.2 Background.....	11
2.3 Literature on Terrorism Motivations.....	14
2.3.1 The Economic Effect of Terrorism.....	16
2.3.2 The Social Impact of Terrorism.....	19
2.4 Terrorism Activities in Kenya.....	22
2.5 Gaps from the Study.....	27
2.6 Conclusion.....	28
CHAPTER THREE: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA’S NORTH EASTERN REGION.....	29
3.1 Introduction.....	29
3.2 Terrorism and the Health Sector in North Eastern Kenya.....	29
3.3 Terrorism and the Education Sector in North Eastern Kenya.....	31
3.4 Terrorism and the Business Sector in North Eastern Region of Kenya.....	34
3.5 Terrorism and the Political Spheres in North Eastern Region of Kenya.....	35
3.6 Other Factors Affected by Terrorism in North Eastern, Kenya.....	36
3.7 Conclusion.....	38
CHAPTER FOUR: MITIGATING THE IMPACT OF TERRORISM IN NORTH EASTERN KENYA – A CRITICAL ANALYSIS.....	39
4.1 Introduction.....	39
4.2 How to Counter Terrorism and Its Impacts.....	39
4.2.1 Improve Cooperation between Police and the Public.....	39
4.2.2 Improve Boarder Security Management System.....	40
4.2.3 Improve Security Institutions to Eliminate Corruption.....	40

4.2.4 Initiate Nyumba Kumi Initiative in the Region.....	41
4.2.5 Improve Harmony between Local Community and Other Immigrants.....	41
4.2.6 Encourage Locals to Train in Specific Professions.....	42
4.2.7 Conclusion.....	43
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	44
5.1 Introduction.....	44
5.2 Summary of Discussion Findings.....	44
5.3 Conclusion.....	45
5.4 Recommendations.....	46
References	48

List of Figures

Figure 1: The Conceptual Framework.....	8
---	---

1.0 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.

1.1 Introduction

The word terrorism has no universally agreed definition. This is partly because a number of countries and agencies define terrorism in different ways. For example, the Federal Bureau of Investigation defines terrorism as “the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a Government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives¹. The American Department of Defence defines terrorism as the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological objectives². There are therefore quite a number of definitions since different researchers define terrorism in their own different terms. These differences in definition arise from the fact that the process of defining terrorism depends on the general view of the person defining it. Besides, while a person may be defined as a terrorist by one individual, he may be considered as a freedom fighter by a different individual³.

Although researchers have not agreed on the definition of terrorism, there has been a move towards a consensus about its substantial meaning⁴. There has been consensus regarding the means that terrorists use and their fundamental nature of activities. Terrorists use violence or the threat of violence that is usually aimed at the general unarmed population. Through the violence means, terrorists create a psychological effect of fear on the people in the environment where activities are performed, others apart from their victims terrorist activities aim at creating unrest among groups of people. In effect, terrorism is not about, terrorism does not have to do with the immediate victims it claims, but about the horror effect it creates on the rest of the people. According to Kegley,

¹ Giddens, A. (2006), *Sociology* (5th edition), Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, p. 879-888.

² Hoffman, B. (1998). *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 2.

³ Canor, B. (2002), Defining Terrorism: Is One Man’s Terrorist Another Man’s Freedom Fighter?, in: *Police Practice and Research* (3), p. 287-304.

⁴ Bjørgo, T. (2005), *Root Causes of Terrorism: Myths reality and ways forward*. New York: Routledge.

terrorism is not directed to the victims of its activities, but to the people who eventually get information about their effects, and those who see the results.⁵

Kenya has had a fair share of terrorist attacks before the current Al Shabaab attributed terrorist attacks in the past. The first bombs to strike independent Kenya took place in early 1975. In that year, a bomb was blasted inside Starlight nightclub while another hit a travel bureau next to Hilton hotel in February. A more serious blast then followed, hitting Nairobi bus terminal on March 1st, killing up to 30 people. No one was arrested in both occasions. There was imminent fear for several days within the city as a number of phone call hoaxes were made by unknown people.⁶ The second bomb attacks took place in 1980 when the Nairobi Norfolk hotel was attacked on the New Year's Eve, killing 20 people and leaving over 80 injured. On August 7, 1998, the US embassy in Nairobi was bombed, an event that remained greatest terrorism incident in Kenya prior to the recent Westgate and Garissa university attacks. The US embassy attack claimed 200 people, most of whom were Kenyans, while thousands others were injured. Al Qaeda claimed responsibility for this attack⁷.

In recent times, there have been sporadic grenade attacks by the Al Shabaab across the country following the military operation involving the Kenyan military jointly with the Federal Government of Somalia military against the Al-Shabaab insurgents in southern Somalia. Since then, and especially since 2012, there have been a number of attacks by Al Shabaab, many of which have concentrated in north eastern region, though others took place in Nairobi and Mombasa.

The recurrent attacks have had many socio-economic effects on the region. A number of professionals have fled the region in fear of being attacked, leaving their jobs without replacement. Education has been greatly paralysed as most teachers left the region en

⁵ Kegley, C.W. (2003). *The New Global Terrorism: Characteristics, Causes, Controls*, Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.

Aronson, S.L. (2013). 'Kenya and the Global War on Terror: Neglecting History and Geopolitics in Approaches to Counterterrorism', *African Journal of Criminology and Justice Studies : AJCJS* 7(1/2): 24

⁷ Pillar, P. (2001). *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press

mass, leaving great gaps in the education system. The health sector was also paralysed long before as professionals left the sector. In similar fashion, many traders closed their businesses and took off, greatly affecting the economy of the region. While these are the general visible effects, the study seeks to determine and document the socio-economic impacts of terrorism to the socio-economic development of the region as a whole.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The advent of Al-Shabaab terrorist group has greatly affected the life of residents of North Eastern Kenya and parts of the coast region. The group is based in the neighbouring Somalia and has been crossing the boarder from time to time to commit atrocities on the Kenyan side of the boarder and especially along the boarder towns of Wajir, Mandera and Garissa. Although the group has also been targeting other towns including Nairobi and Mombasa, the three towns in the north have faced the highest number of attacks, with many of the police posts being targeted. The presence of such acts of terrorism has greatly affected social and economic activities in the area. Since the terrorists target mainly people who are not natives of the region, the menace has resulted in a number of people closing their businesses and transferring to other parts of Kenya following threats and deaths to some of their associates or employees. Besides, a number of professionals in various sectors including education, health and other sectors have either transferred or just left their stations in fear of the attacks, thus creating major vacuums in these sectors. Thus, the advent of terrorism has greatly effected economic and social development of the region negatively. It is noteworthy that acts of terrorism have been changing, with increased use of improvised explosive devices (IED) that are now commonly used on roads in north eastern region. The terrorists have been bold enough to even attack convoys of prominent government officials escorted by armed officers. A case in point is the attack on the governor of Mandera County, who has had attempts on his life on several occasions.

1.3 The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the impact of terrorism on socio-economic development in north eastern region of Kenya. The specific counties in the region studied included Mandera, Wajir and Garissa.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The key objective of the study was to explore the socio-economic impact of terrorism on north eastern region. The specific objectives are listed below:

- i. To explore the impact of the advent of terrorism on the health sector in north eastern region.
- ii. To assess the impact of the advent of terrorism on the education sector in north eastern region
- iii. To investigate the impact of the advent of terrorism to the business sector in north eastern region
- iv. To examine the best strategies that can be put in place to counter terrorism in north eastern region

1.5 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research questions:

- i. How has the advent of terrorism affected the health sector in north eastern region?
- ii. How has the advent of terrorism affected the education sector in north eastern region?
- iii. How has the business sector been affected by the advent of terrorism in north eastern region?
- iv. How can terrorism be countered in north eastern region?

1.6 Hypothesis

The study was guided by the following hypotheses:

H₀₁: Terrorism has great negative effects on the health sector in north eastern region

H₀₂: Terrorism has negative effects on the education sector in north eastern region

H₀₃: Terrorism has negative impacts to the business sector in north eastern region

H₀₄: Several strategies can be put in place to counter terrorism in north eastern region

1.7 Significance of the Study

The import of this study is that the advent of terrorism in Kenya and specifically north eastern region has had unforeseen conditions and changed the lives of all residents of the region. But these conditions are not clearly documented, with most of them reported as they occur and soon get forgotten. Many lives and property have been lost as a result of terrorism in the region. This study therefore documented the specific incidences of terrorism in the area, circumstances under which they occurred and how the incidents have impacted on the lives of people living in the areas surrounding the attacks. This situation made it possible for relevant authorities, specifically security personnel, to come up with concrete strategies of countering the planned terrorist attacks before they actually take place, and the government as whole to come up with strategies of ensuring that vital government services such as health and education continue to be rendered in spite of the effects of the terrorist attacks.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

The major limitation of this study was that much of the information sought in the study was classified security matters that may not be readily available to civilians such as the researcher. As such, the study may find challenges in accessing some of the terrorist related information that are kept by the security personnel since such information may not be for public consumption. To overcome this challenge, the researcher strived to collect the information that is freely available with the public, compare it with whatever little information is provided by the security agencies and use them to infer other possible information that he may not have been allowed to access. Further, the region is quite expansive, stretching for nearly 1000 km between the Garissa Mandera (through Wajir). Due to the expansive nature, the researcher required a large amount of money to move between these towns and accommodation expenses while collecting data, money that is not readily available. To overcome this challenge, the researcher visited Wajir and Mandera only ones, identify people who are educated enough to collect data and train

them to collect data on his behalf as research assistants. The researcher personally concentrated on data collection in Garissa Township and its environs.

1.9 Research Assumptions

The study assumes that, as much as some of the information required by the study was of confidential nature, the general public already has much of the information required for the study and therefore the study did not have to rely on the information obtained from security agencies. As such, the study assumes that the information obtained from the general public was sufficient and some data was only sought from security agencies for the purposes of triangulation and establishing link between events described. Thus, the data to be collected from the public should be able to provide all that the study aims to cover.

1.10 The Theoretical Framework

This study employed two theories – Realism and Idealism. Realism is closely related to such terminology as the balance of power and real politik. Realists believe that humans must undergo political struggle since humans have inbuilt dark side. Political struggle among humans is inevitable because humans have an inherent dark side, as expressed by the political philosophers like Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679)⁸. According to Hobbes, humans have inbuilt dark side that urges them to control others. He further argues that when two men desire something that both of them cannot get at the same time, enmity develop between them and they try to obliterate and conquer one another. In the context of terrorism, the terrorists believe that their view is the most righteous and any other person who does not agree with their view is an unbeliever that should be eradicated from of the world. Thus, they try to eliminate all the “unbelievers” from earth through mass murders.

Idealists, on the other hand, centre their contention on the disordered nature of the international system, based on antagonism among various players, instead of the human nature, as the structure of international politics. Idealists believe that the international

⁸ Rourke, T. John. 7th Ed. (1992). *International Politics on the World Stage*. Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, USA.

system is made up of autonomous actors (state and non-state) acting on their own impulse and follow their own objectives and welfare in different ways by any possible methods that can help them reach their end. To them, the use of brutality is the most suitable since the stronger will always win, and the end justifies the means. Idealists believe that the superior actors are answerable to no one since the international system lawless, without an overall authority providing security and order. Due to this, the international players usually resort to war to meet their ends⁹. In the context of terrorism, the terrorists use violence as the best means of having their way and are answerable to no one. Thus, this is the best way through which they can achieve their objectives.

1.11 The Conceptual Framework

The conceptual understanding of this study is that terrorism has a lot of effect on the social and economic fabrics of any society. As a result of the fact that terrorism leads to the dispersion of people from their places of existence, terrorism activities greatly affect the social and economic set up of the society. Specifically, terrorism tends to cut off the provision of public services as potential workers flee areas prone to terrorist attacks. The interrelationship between some of the sectors most affected by terrorism is depicted in the following figure 1.

⁹ Rourke, T. John. 7th Ed. (1992). *International Politics on the World Stage*. Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, USA.

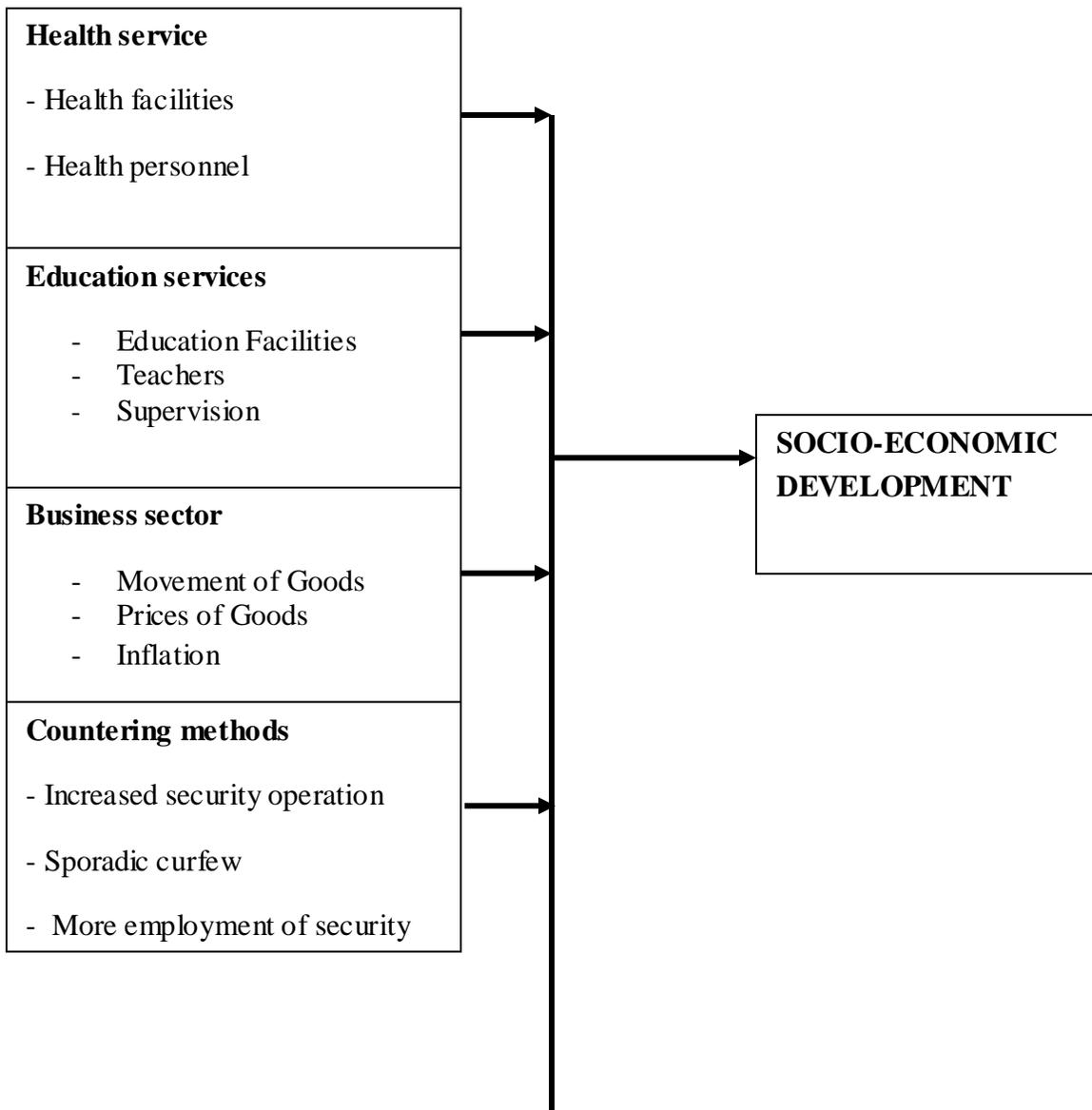


Figure 1: The Conceptual Framework.

1.12 Research Methodology.

This study adopted a mixed methodology design due to its capacity on real-life understandings, multi-level viewpoints and cultural influences¹⁰. The design also utilizes multiple methods such as intervention, trials and in-depth interviews and frames the investigation within philosophical and theoretical positions. It was carried out in the three major towns of north eastern region – Garissa, Wajir and Mandera county headquarters. The areas are prone to terrorist attacks, which has resulted in devastating effects as many professionals have deserted the towns in fear of their lives. The terrorists target people from other parts of the country who, in most cases, are sent to these areas to offer professional service to the local population. By being the targets of terrorists, the professionals have deserted the places and left the places with major shortage of professional services such as health, education and other public service duties. These have had effects on the economic development of the areas, and the study is interested in finding out these effects. Mainly secondary sources that included published books, journals, and newspapers were used to collect data for this study. These sources were complimented to a small extent by primary data collection through discussion with members of the public and knowledge experience of the researcher, who hails from the region and understands the region well. The data collected in this method was analysed through discussion of terrorism activities and events that occurred at various places in the major towns of Garissa, Wajir and Mandera.

1.13 Chapter Outline.

Chapter One includes an introduction, statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, hypothesis, significance of the study, limitations of the study, research assumptions, theoretical and conceptual framework and research methodology.

Chapter Two comprises the introductory part, the background and a review of literature. The literature review includes economic effects of terrorism, social impacts of terrorism, terrorism activities in Kenya and also provides the gap identified from the reviewed literature before finalizing with a conclusion for the chapter.

¹⁰ Brown, 2001

Chapter Three of this study contains a discussion on the state of terrorism in north eastern region. Specifically, the chapter contains the introductory part of the chapter then discusses the impact of terrorism on the health sector in north eastern region. It then discusses the impact of terrorism on the education sector in the region, the impact of terrorism to the business sector in the region before discussing other factors related to terrorism activities. The chapter eventually provides a conclusion.

Chapter Four provides a critical analysis of mechanisms for mitigating the impact of terrorism in north eastern Kenya. Specifically, the chapter an introductory part then discusses the modalities of countering terrorism and its impacts in north eastern region of Kenya. It then discusses the improvement of cooperation between police and the public, boarder security management system, improvement of security institutions to eliminate corruption and the initiation of nyumba kumi initiative in the region as a means of combating terrorism. The chapter also discusses the need for improvement of harmony between local community and other immigrants, and finally the encouragement of locals to train in specific professions. The chapter winds up by with a conclusion about the chapter.

Chapter Five provides a review of literature on socio-economic impact of terrorism. The chapter contains the introductory part then gives a summary of discussion findings. It then provides the conclusion and winds up by giving the recommendations of the study.

2.0 CHAPTER TWO: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF TERRORISM.

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on the socio-economic impact of terrorism broadly. The chapter begins by discussing an overview of terrorism before reviewing literature on economic effects of terrorism. It then looks at the social impact of terrorism and winds up by examining literature on terrorism activities in Kenya.

2.2 Background

Many definitions have been fronted for the term terrorism, but none has been accepted as constituting terrorism. According to Nancy *et al.* terrorism is to perpetrate an offence that puts the life of another person in danger, or that is brutal with a broader intent to coerce, influence or change strategy or view.¹¹ According to Sandler, terrorism is “the premeditated use or threat of use of violence by individuals or sub-national groups to obtain a political or social objective through the intimidation of a large audience, beyond that of the immediate victim”¹². Terrorism is a form of asymmetric warfare that should be recognized that way to effectively combat it. Worldwide, terrorism has evolved despite opposition, just like conventional warfare. The evolution of terrorism has plagued around the world, and is currently viewed as the most dangerous and immediate security threat to the world at large.

A Jewish sect known as the Zealots is said to have committed the earliest recorded act of terrorism in the 1st century. They are said to have resisted the Roman rule through a campaign consisting of assassinations. Their fighters attacked their enemies in public when there were people to witness the incidences. They used these actions as a message to the rest of the public. An Islamic group – the Assassins, used similar methods between 1090 and 1272 in their struggle against Christian campaigners. They used similar methods of suicide and sacrifice that are used by present day terrorists. They viewed acts

¹¹ Nancy G., Massimo C., Bobby G., Michael S., Mark T., Michael W., and Hilary H.(2009). “Terrified or Terrorist?” *Time* 174, no. 20 (2009).

¹² Sandler, T. and Enders, W. (2005). *Economic Consequences of Terrorism in Developed and Developing countries*

of violence as sacred, and the architects are assured of ascending to glory in heaven if they died on the act.¹³

Terrorism was linked more to the oppressive practices used by tyrannical regimes of the Nazi in Germany, Fascists in Italy and Communists in the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) in the 1920s and 1930s. In the Middle East, terrorism can be traced to the fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, the battle in Palestine pitting the Irgun and the British, terrorism waged against colonialism by the British empire in Cyprus and Aden and against the French in Algeria¹⁴

After the Second World War, terrorism relapsed to its revolutionary nature. The wars of independence in the 1940s and 1950s instigated by nationalist groups throughout Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, that followed the end of the Second World War were described as terrorism. Several countries including Israel, Kenya, Cyprus, and Algeria gained independence through such wars instigated by nationalist and employing, to certain extent, levels of terrorism. The bombing of Jerusalem's King David Hotel by a Jewish subversive group in 1946 is considered one of the most momentous terrorist episodes. However, terrorism began to take its current radical nature after the Second World War¹⁵.

Since 1960s, international acts of terrorism have been recurring frequently enough to have made it to rise steadily on the global agenda. The beginning of the current era of international terrorism can be attributed to a Palestinian group – Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), hijacked an Israeli commercial jet – El Al, on its way from Rome, Italy to Tel Aviv, Israel on 22nd July, 1968. The incident was followed by an even more daring international incident when the same group hijacked three commercial

¹³ Aksoy, E. (2012). International Terrorism in the age of globalization. M.A. Thesis (Unpublished). Bilkent University

¹⁴ Aksoy, E. (2012). International Terrorism in the age of globalization. M.A. Thesis (Unpublished). Bilkent University.

¹⁵ Aksoy, E. (2012). International Terrorism in the age of globalization. M.A. Thesis (Unpublished). Bilkent University

airliners —two American and one Swiss. The hijackers flew the planes to a remote airstrip in Jordan, evacuated the passengers and blown up in the presence of television cameras. This attack had similarities with that of 11th September 2001 due to its international characteristics, in which the interests of the terrorists were well served by globalization as the events and news were beamed almost immediately.

Terrorism has become a global problem since the US attacks of 11th September 2011. the war on terror was launched soon after and, together with terrorist attacks in Europe and asia in more recent times, terrorism has acquired a global dimension. The Afghanistan and iraq wars have been understood along global terrorism dimension. Regional and local conflicts that were previously not given much attention have of late acquired more significance and are now considered to be linked to the Al-Qaeda and/or other terrorist groups in various parts of the world.¹⁶

The spread of terrorist attacks and their coverage in the media has made terrorism to become a commonly used word. The September 11, 2001 incident and the terrorist activities of the last two decades prove that there are people ready to instigate violence to achieve their objectives. According to Wilkinson (2001), a number of terrorist groups use violence as terror campaign as a warhead of intimidation to threaten recognized establishments and regimes to succumb to their demands.¹⁷ The events of September 11, 2011 show that terrorism is a covert warfare that has advanced over the years with the advancement of technology.

Although Al-Qaeda has been blamed for most terrorist activities for many years, there are other smaller terrorist groups with less organizational structure. These organizations may be small and relatively unorganized but their enthusiasm to use terror and advance strong relationships with other terrorist groups allows them to improve their capacity and therefore makes them very troubling. Working together allows different organizations to

¹⁶ Rohan G. (2002). *Inside al-Qaeda: Global Network of Terror* (London: Hurst, 2002), 222.

¹⁷ Wilkinson, P. (2001). *Terrorism versus Democracy, the Liberal State Response* (London: Cass, 2001),12.

build up their technical capacity in terms of bomb making as well as information warfare. The asymmetric conflict/war between the Soviets and the Afghans laid the groundwork for terrorist organizations and allowed terrorists from all over the world to train in asymmetric warfare.¹⁸

The nature of battle and conflict since the cold war ended. Through asymmetric warfare, weaker fighters are using innovative tools to deal major blows to more powerful opponents. Religious extremism makes recruitment, fundraising, and communication to mass audiences easy to do and more difficult for governments to track. Most terrorist organizations are defined by religion, as the terrorists acquire followers by invoking religion and pretending to fight on behalf of the religion. This is one reason why terrorism has become more and more lethal as groups easily acquire followers confessing to the same religion.

2.3 Literature on Terrorism Motivations

According to Hoffman, it no longer seems to be the focus of terrorists to have the large audience watching.¹⁹ Their concern has now become creating more damage and destruction than in the past, and a lesser focus on sending a message to the community. Hoffman suggests this is also why the new era of terrorists has more of a tendency to threaten with the use of weapons of mass destruction. The development of this type of destructive warfare means that there will be an increase in fatalities by due to terrorism. Hoffman states that religious terrorists contend that, “violence is first and foremost a sacramental act or divine duty executed in direct response to some theological demand or imperative.”²⁰ Essentially, this is stating that the acts of violence committed by terrorists are perpetrated in response to some religious obligation or demand. That is, religion, in this instance, is most certainly a motivating factor in the perpetration of terrorist acts.

¹⁸ Aksoy, E. (2012). International Terrorism in The Age Of Globalization. M.A. Thesis (Unpublished). Bilkent University

¹⁹ Hoffman, B. (1998). *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998),

²⁰ Hoffman, B. (1998). *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998),

Juergensmeyer states that terrorist attacks around the world are perpetrated with religion as a driving factor and it cannot be pinpointed to a specific country of origin. He gives examples of the Jewish assassins of Israel, the Buddhist terrorist sect in Japan, radical Hindus and Sikhs in India and the Christian militants in the United States.²¹ Researchers have long believed that certain religious organizations give incentives to those ready to surrender their lives for the sake of their religion. For instance, Ghorayeb inferred that the eradication of discrimination and degradation led to the core of sacrificial victim in Shi'a Islam²². The idea of martyrdom is used to demonstrate high esteem and prominence within society at large. Those who are ready to forfeit their lives for religious purposes are viewed as iconic within their culture. Ghorayeb claims that they are worshipped by family and friends for their willingness to continue the fight for their belief and complete selfless disregard for their personal life²³

A number of researchers have suggested that religious terrorism is of far greater threat than political terrorism. Caleb Carr claims that religiously motivated terrorists believe they are fighting in a cosmic battle that defines the battle of good versus evil. The outcome of this type of war is greater than the individual and therefore justifies the sacrifice of lives.²⁴ Those individuals that perpetrate religiously affiliated terrorism acts are more willing to kill themselves and those around them as opposed to the political terrorists who want their message to be known but without massive fatalities. Hoffman claims that the politically motivated terrorist wants their message to be heard and they view killing as a sad necessity while the religiously motivated terrorist believe that killing is a sacramental act. Religion is a far more dangerous motivator for conflict when compared to just acquiring land.²⁵

²¹ Juergensmeyer, M. (2000). "Understanding the New Terrorism," *Current History* 99 (2000)

²² Ghorayeb, A. (2002). *Hizbullah: Politics and Religion* (London: Pluto, 2002)

²³ Ghorayeb, A. (2002). *Hizbullah: Politics and Religion* (London: Pluto, 2002)

²⁴ Carr, C. (2002). *The Lessons of Terror: A History of Warfare against Civilians: Why It Has Always Failed and Why It Will Fail Again* (New York: Random House, 2002), 78.

²⁵ Hoffman, B. (1998). *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998),

The objectives of Religious fighters go beyond the world we live in today and look to the afterlife. Religious fighters develop a “will to win” mentality because the consequence for giving up in a battle is falling out of good graces with God and therefore eternal damnation. The idea of damnation moves the religious fighter past the point of self-preservation and allows them to overcome the fear of death. Suicide terrorists are ten times more likely to come from Muslim countries where the American military is present, or, in the case of Palestine, where an active Israeli occupation remains.²⁶

2.3.1 The Economic Effect of Terrorism

Terrorism affects all countries negatively, including the perpetrators of terrorism itself as there is always some form of repercussions to the terrorists and/or its supporters. However, in the event o terrorism, developing countries are more affected while the developed are not affected as much. This is because developed countries have stronger economies to the extent that terrorism only leads to redistribution of wealth to less affected sectors of the economy. On the contrary, developing countries have a high concentration of wealth in specific areas such that it becomes difficult to redistribute them to other sectors if the developing countries are affected by terrorism²⁷.

Terrorism can have different impacts depending on the economic situation of a country. They can reduce the economic activities, or the terrorism can be reduced by creating more employment opportunities where the economy is more developed. This creation of more employment opportunities can reduce the incentive to indulge in terrorist activities by the youth. According to Bloomberg et al., the impact of terrorism on economic growth is negative²⁸. It may result in the shifting of resources from investment spending to government spending, thereby reducing economic growth due to reduced investment. Sandler and Enders alludes to this view by arguing that developed countries have vast economy and any terrorist activity may result in reallocating of resources among various

²⁶ Pape, R. (1995). *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism*. New York: Random House.

²⁷ Sandler, T. and Enders, W. (2005). Economic Consequences of Terrorism in Developed and Developing countries

²⁸ Bloomberg, Brock, Gregory Hess and Athanasios Orpanides (2004). The Macroeconomic Consequences of Terrorism m' downloaded on 3rd January 2014.

sectors of the economy²⁹. However, developing countries do not have this sort of flexibility and any major terrorist act may drastically jeopardize the economic growth of developing countries. Sandler and Enders³⁰ further argues that developing countries are more dependent on other countries compared to developed ones, hence any economic shock due to terrorism in other countries can affect the economic growth of a developing country that has not been directly attacked.

The impact of war of terrorism on global economy is quite monumental³¹. This includes the pulling out of private research and development expenditure from research activities to the military to counter terrorism, thereby reducing economic growth. Measures taken to counter terrorism increases expenditure on security which then reduces expenditure on research and development. International corporations with investment in terrorism prone countries evaluate the risk associated with terrorism in those countries and spend higher on security, thereby acting as a barrier to the flow of investment in those countries.

A study by Gaibulloev and Sandler³² found that there is significant growth limiting impact of terrorism³³. The study found that there is greater impact of terrorism in developing countries than in developed ones have greater flexibility to terrorism due to their strong economies. The study also found that terrorist activities coming from internal conflicts have double negative effects of minimizing economic growth relative to international terrorism. The reason for higher negative impact on the economy is due to cramming together of government expenses and a loss capital outlay due to increased terrorist activities.

²⁹ Sandler, T. and Enders, W. (2005). Economic Consequences of Terrorism in Developed and Developing countries

³⁰ Sandler, T. and Enders, W. (2005). Economic Consequences of Terrorism in Developed and Developing countries

³¹ Koh, Winston T.H. (2007). "Terrorism and its Impact on Economic Growth and Technological Innovation". *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*.

³² Gaibulloev, Khusrav and Sandler, Todd (2008). "The Impact of Terrorism and Conflicts on Growth in Asia", *ADB Institute Discussion Paper No. 113*

³³ Gaibulloev, Khusrav and Sandler, Todd (2008). "The Impact of Terrorism and Conflicts on Growth in Asia", *ADB Institute Discussion Paper No. 113*

Terrorist activities are not confined to the economies of the country in which the activities take place. Their effects are felt far and wide. A study by Murdoch and Sandler found that the effect of growth reduction is to the neighbouring countries as well³⁴. Further, the impacts that limit growth have short and long term effects on the economy of the affected country as well as that of other countries in the neighbourhood. Accordingly, civil war can decrease the economic growth by as much as 85 percent in the economy of the affected country in the short run. But this effect reduces to 30 percent in the long run. In the case of neighbouring countries, the short run reduction in growth has a 24 percent impact, but moves to 30 percent in the long run³⁵.

The effect of terrorism on economic growth originates from low performance of the economy discernible in low opportunity costs of terrorism which in turn increase the violence and thus terrorism³⁶. Whereas terrorism may cause low economic growth by negatively affect resource allocation, significant fiscal and political events also have intense effects on the kind of terrorism as well as on fiscal development. In many countries, terrorism is a product of economic growth. On the other hand, the economies of developed countries are sufficiently robust to endure the impacts of terrorist attacks. Gries et al. concludes that although economic performance make terrorism opportunity costs high enough to thwart such incidents, economic performance is not the only criteria to counter terrorism³⁷. As such, political and social consideration must be taken into account by policymakers to counter terrorism.

³⁴ Murdoch, J. and Sandler, T. (2004). "Civil Wars and Economic Growth: Spatial Dispersion", *American Journal of Political Science*, 48 (1)

³⁵ Murdoch, J. and Sandler, T. (2004). "Civil Wars and Economic Growth: Spatial Dispersion", *American Journal of Political Science*, 48 (1)

³⁶Gries, T, Tim K. and Meierrieks, D. (2009). "Causal Linkages between Domestic Terrorism and Economic Growth". *Working Papers Series No. 2009-02*, Center for International Economics, USA

³⁷Gries, T, Tim K. and Meierrieks, D. (2009). "Causal Linkages between Domestic Terrorism and Economic Growth". *Working Papers Series No. 2009-02*, Center for International Economics, USA

In a nutshell, the economic growth of any country can be greatly affected via a number of avenues by terrorism in the short run. The attacks can drastically amplify ambiguity, which in effect restricts developments and deflect foreign direct investment (FDI)³⁸. Foreign direct investment is an important source of savings for funding investment for the economies of developing countries. But where there are terrorism activities, the government is forced to spend more on its defences in order to secure possible targets, and develop programs to arrests terrorists and any assets they may have acquired. The increase in expenditure on defence tends to reduce expenditure on areas that can enhance economic growth both in the public as well as in the private investments³⁹. Finally, terrorism can negatively affect important sectors of the economy such as airlines, tourism, and the export sector. The negative effects on these industries have the potential of reducing the gross domestic product (GDP) and development in general⁴⁰.

2.3.2 The Social Impact of Terrorism

Apart from the fact that terrorism has a major impact on the economy of a country (and that of its neighbours), it also has several social impacts on the lives of the people. It causes a problem of lawlessness, thereby leading to a breakdown of the society. Incidences of murder, torture, mutilation, kidnapping, arson and extortion creates an environment of doubt, apprehension panic⁴¹. The certainty of life gradually reduces especially when the terrorists kill civilians, children as well as women. This gives rise to societal dissonance. At the same time, the interaction between different terrorist groups gives rise to illegal currencies and encourages smuggling of goods⁴². To fund their activities, majority of the terrorist groups collect some proportion of fees money from

³⁸ Abadie, A. and Gardeazabal, J. (2008). Terrorism and the world economy. *European Economic Review*

³⁹ Gaibullov, K. and Sandler, T. (2008). The Impact of Terrorism and Conflicts on Growth in Asia. ADB Institute Discussion Paper No. 113.

⁴⁰ Enders, W. and Sandler, T. (2006). *The Political Economy of Terrorism*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

⁴¹ Richardson H., and Gordon, P. (2008). *The Economic Costs and Consequences of Terrorism*. Edward Elgar Inc. New York.

⁴² Jackson, P. (2011). *Terrorism: A Critical Introduction*. Palgrave Macmillan

workers and traders regularly. This negatively affects the economic development of the economies of the affected countries.

When terrorists attack a place, the immediate impact is the loss of life and property. It therefore disrupts the social fabric of the society by depriving children of their dependants, maiming others while depriving some of the survivors of their source of livelihoods. These have major social effects on those left behind that may have depended on the support of the maimed and the dead. However, to a certain extent, Richardson and Gordon argue that terrorism activities create jobs as affected countries increase defence spending to prevent future acts of terrorism⁴³. As such, more personnel are recruited into the various forces as a means of preparation against terrorist attacks. They argue that like natural disasters, things are destroyed which are eventually replaced. The process of replacing destroyed things increase gross domestic product (GDP). Further, increased spending on security measures creates a boom in the security sector of the economy. The costs incurred are transferred to the consumer as increased fixed overheads that are shared by all within an industry.

Acts of terrorism makes people stay indoors to avoid travelling as terrorists target means of transport like buses, trains and planes. According to Sloan, the countries that neighbour Afghanistan like India and Nepal recorded a enormous fall in tourism following the 2001 September 11 attacks on America in 2001 and the subsequent war that followed the attacks⁴⁴.

Writing on the effect of Boko Haram insurgency in southern Nigeria, Mohamed stated that Boko Haram had led to the fleeing of people states occupied by Boko Haram, and reduced the consumption of goods from the northern region of Nigeria due to rumours that emerged, claiming that Boko Haram members would were planning to transmit poisonous products from their region to other parts of Nigeria. The group had also led to

⁴³ Richardson H., and Gordon, P. (2008). *The Economic Costs and Consequences of Terrorism*. Edward Elgar Inc. New York.

⁴⁴ Sloan, S. (2006). *Terrorism: The Present Threat in Context*. Berg Publishers, Netherlands.

the closure and desertion of people's business activities in the regions that they occupied.⁴⁵. This had a multiplier effect on the people of the area since it is not only difficult to do business in the region controlled by the group, but almost impossible to sell in southern regions due to the rumours. Speaking of the activities of the same group, Mohammed noted that

Commercial banks had to review their hours of operational so as to operate from 9.00 a.m. to 12.00 noon, whereas they normally operated between 8.00am to 4.00pm⁴⁶. within this new hours of operation, it had become quite difficult for patrons, especially traders, to transact business in the banks since the banks closed when they were still deep in their usual businesses and not yet ready to deposit their incomes in banks. The situation had forced a number of them to keep their earnings in their shops or other places of work. This in effect had given rise to frequent burglaries as the thieves targeted the cash stashed into the business premises and homes.

Places with frequent terrorist attacks are usually deprived of public services other than security. Many professionals either flee the area or refuse altogether to be posted to work in such places. Social services like education, health and other public services come to a stand still as professionals in the areas flee to safer regions. As Mohammed reports, many government services are no longer available in northern Nigeria due to the terrorist activities of the Boko Haram group⁴⁷. He further adds that people who do not profess Islamic religion and have not mingled with Muslims have been made to believe that Muslims are fundamentalists due to the activities of Boko Haram. Similarly, who do not originate from regions with terrorist activities evade any issue that may require their going to places rife with terrorist activities. This situation applies to Nigerian graduates

⁴⁵ Mohammed, D. (2014). The Effect of Boko Haram Crisis on Socioeconomic Activities in Yobe State. The International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Invention Volume 1 issue 4

⁴⁶ Mohamed M.H. (2015). The Underlying Dynamics of Al-Shabaab's Recruitment of Muslim Youth: A Case of Mombasa County in Kenya. M.A. Thesis. The Hague, the Netherlands

⁴⁷ Mohammed, D. (2014). The Effect of Boko Haram Crisis on Socioeconomic Activities in Yobe State. The International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Invention Volume 1 issue 4

drafted in the Nigerian National Youth Service Corp (NYSC), who out rightly reject posting to parts of northern Nigeria that are rife with terrorist attacks.⁴⁸

In order for terrorists to continue in their operation, they need to continuously recruit followers. This is done either forcefully or through financial inducement. The insurgents may attack villages and kidnap youths in the area, or use monetary incentives to lure the youth to join them. If they recruit through kidnapping, they will leave pain and agony in their wake since the kidnapping must be forceful and violent, leaving death in their trail. On the other hand, if recruits are lured into the group, family members left behind agonise for ages as they look for their missing member⁴⁹.

2.4 Terrorism Activities in Kenya

According to Thordsen (2009), radicalization in Kenya can be said to have started in the 1970s following the return of young Muslim elite who returned from their education sojourns in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan.⁵⁰ The young elites acquired *Wahhabism* in the course of their studies. They then started a mission to disseminate *Wahhabism* ideas to other Muslims through madrassas.⁵¹ These ideas were different from the islam practiced in Kenya, described by Moller as more of a mix of sunni, sufism and traditional religions.⁵² Some of the returning muslim elites went to Somalia and joined the Islamic Courts Union. Others while others in the more recent years joined controversial muslim preachers like Aboud Rogo and Makaburi. The two used controversial sermons to urge

⁴⁸ Mohammed, D. (2014). The Effect of Boko Haram Crisis on Socioeconomic Activities in Yobe State. The International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Invention Volume 1 issue 4

⁴⁹ Olukorede Y. (2012). What Nigeria need to tackle Boko Haram (index.php/news/45036) (cited 2017 May12):

⁵⁰ Thordsen, S.N. (2009). *New Muslim Activism in Kenya*. Institute for Statskundskab

⁵¹ Chande, A.N. (2000). 'Radicalism and Reform in East Africa'.

⁵² Møller, B. (2006). Political Islam in Kenya. DIIS Working Paper

youths to join the ‘*jihad*’ in Somalia.⁵³ These events have ensured that religious extremism gains a foot hold in Kenya.

During the 1990s, *Wahhabism* developed gradually in Kenya. This followed the development of the same in Saudi Arabia United Arab Emirates, Libyan, Oman, Iraq and Kuwait. There were also a number of charities in Arab countries that were funded by Iran in the 1970’s and 1980’s.⁵⁴ Money from the oil boom in Saudi Arabia was invested in scholarships for Kenyans pursuing Islamic studies in Saudi Arabia. There were also other initiatives to financially support Muslim communities in north eastern and coast regions of Kenya. The formation of the Muslim world league, opposed to communism and secular nationalism encouraged the growth of Wahhabism, thereby expanding the narrative of ‘*jihad*’.⁵⁵

Al-shabaab first emerged in somalia following the dethronement of the Islamic courts union that had initially taken control of Somalia. Al-Shabaab or ‘Harakat-al-Shabaab al-mujahidin’ or ‘the youth’ developed as a Somali based religion-political group and affiliated of Al-Qaida. The group was connected to the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) of Somalia which was preceded by ‘Al-Itihad al-Islamiyah’ in the 1980’s.⁵⁶ According to Wise, Al-Shabaab is a terrorist group that thrived on forced taxation and extortion. The group took over Somalia following the demise of the Islamic courts union, and is credited with bringing some semblance of law and order to Somalia. The group streamlined policing, judicial and decision making, and brought about social welfare and other services⁵⁷ a number of other groups that took over Somalia from time to time, including the Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and several United Nations (UN) led peace

⁵³ Lind, J., P. Mutahi and Oosterom, M. (2015). Tangled Ties: Al-Shabaab and Political Volatility in Kenya

⁵⁴ Oded, A. (2000). *Islam and Politics in Kenya: Arye Oded*. Boulder, CO [etc.]: Lynne Rienner

⁵⁵ Haynes, J. (2005). ‘Islamic Militancy in East Africa’, *Third World Quarterly* 26(8): 1321-1339.

⁵⁶ Hansen, S.J. (2013). *Al Shabaab in Somalia: The History and Ideology of a Militant Islamist Group, 2005-2012*. Oxford University Press.

⁵⁷ Wise, R. (2011). *Al Shabaab*. Center for Strategic and International Studies

missions failed to achieve these. Due to their capacity to bring semblance of law and order, the Al-Shabaab gained support of most of the clans in Somalia and the population in general. They gained further legitimacy when they retaliated against the Ethiopian invasion forces of 2017. During the Ethiopian war, the Al-Shabaab extremely recruited youth in Somalia, Kenya and the rest of the world.⁵⁸ Following this recruitment, they changed their agenda from local to international. They thus changed their agenda from local to global. This strategy enabled them to acquire international allies like the Al-Qaida. This alliance increased their legitimacy in the international 'jihad,' a factor that enabled them to attract foreign financial support and man power.⁵⁹ Thus, they were able to outstrip nationality differences using the narrative of 'jihad'.

The current wave of Al-Shabaab attacks took place in the backdrop of the rise of the group in 2009. the group performed intermittent abductions on the Kenyan side of the boarder, after which they demanded ransoms from the family of the victims. The situation worsened in 2011 when the Kenyan military crossed over to Somalia with the aim of flushing out the perpetrators of atrocities on the Kenyan side of the boarder. The Kenyan military was later absorbed into the African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM). Al-Shabaab has been justifying their attacks on Kenya on the basis of revenge for atrocities committed to their fellow Muslims in Kenya by the Kenyan government.⁶⁰ However, the attacks tend to surpass a common religious identity with Muslims in Kenya. It is explained that the attacks are also have more to do with their disapproval of the Kenyan forces in Somalia, which has hindered their control of Somalia. Since 2009 Al-Shabaab has launched large scale attacks in Kenya such as the Westgate shopping mall attack in 2013, Mpeketoni attacks in 2014 and most recently the Garissa University College attack in April 2015.⁶¹

⁵⁸ Aynte, A. (2010).. "The Anatomy of al-Shabaab." *Unpublished: Doha* (2010).

⁵⁹ Wise, R. (2011). *Al Shabaab*. Center for Strategic and International Studies

⁶⁰ Mwakimako, H. and J. Willis (2014). 'Observatoire Des Enjeux Politiques Et Sécuritaires Dans La Corne De l'Afrique'

⁶¹ Amble, John C. "Combating Terrorism in the New Media Environment." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 35, no. 5

Al-Shabaab attacks in Kenya have increased at almost the same rate as the increase in youth radicalization and recruitment into the group.⁶² The complex dynamics of ethnicity, religion, poverty and nativism have been capitalized on for maximum effect as a tool for youth recruitment. It has also been argued that selective government's counter-terrorism strategies such as 'Operation Usalama watch' have constructed the Somali and Muslim identity as a threat to Kenya's stability.⁶³ A large number of the Muslim youth have become susceptible to recruitment into the group due to implicit discrimination and enacting security discourses that are unfavourable to the Muslim youth.

The first of the Al-Shabaab attacks in Kenya are thought to have occurred just a few days following the entry of the Kenyan military into Somalia. These first attacks involved the use of hand grenades and the use of improvised explosive devices (IEDs). The IED blasts first occurred in Garissa, at police posts and checkpoints Mandera and in Dadaab refugee camp⁶⁴. The number of explosions gradually increased and there have been over 80 Al-Shabaab attacks in Kenya since 2011.⁶⁵ Since the Al-Shabaab is essentially a Muslim organization, the attacks have been blamed on the Muslims and the Somalis and Muslims in general are generally viewed as terrorists in Kenya. These labels have been reinforced by the security forces in their security practices.

Kenya has been faced with a number of terrorist attacks since independence. However, the Al-Shabaab terrorist phenomena is a rather new occurrence that started following the Kenya Armed Forces entering Somalia to flush out the terrorist groups in October 2011. Since then, there have been sporadic attacks by the Al-Shabaab in Mandera, Wajir,

⁶² Amble, John C. "Combating Terrorism in the New Media Environment." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 35, no. 5

⁶³ Blanchard, L.P. (2013). 'Kenya: Current Issues and u.s. Policy', *Current Politics and Economics of Africa* 6(1): 71.

⁶⁴ Anderson, D.M. and J. McKnight (2015). 'Kenya at War: Al-Shabaab and its Enemies in Eastern Africa', *African Affairs* 114(454): 1-27.

⁶⁵ Anderson, D.M. and J. McKnight (2015). 'Kenya at War: Al-Shabaab and its Enemies in Eastern Africa', *African Affairs* 114(454): 1-27.

Garissa, Mombasa and Nairobi⁶⁶. Al-Shabaab is said to have emerged in Somalia from the remnants of Al-Itihad al Islamiya (AIAD), a Wahabi Islamic terrorist organization which started in Somali in 1980s with the purpose of overthrowing the then government and replacing it with a government ruled by Shariah Laws.⁶⁷

On July 1st 2012, there was a twin attack on two churches in Garissa that left 17 people dead and about 50 were injured⁶⁸. There was a major attack in Westgate shopping Mall in Nairobi in 2013 and an attack at Garissa University College in March 2015 that killed over 60 people, mainly students. A number of sporadic attacks have continued to take place mainly in north eastern region, with various effects on the residents.

A number of factors have contributed to its being a good target of attack by the terrorists. Some of these factors include the country's coastal geographic situation and strategic location relative to Europe, Asia, and neighbouring African countries, porous borders, unstable neighbouring countries especially Somalia and Sudan, relatively open and multicultural society, relatively good transport and communications infrastructure and relatively advanced regional economy⁶⁹. Kenya's close links with U.S.A., Europe, Israel and other western capitalist interests, together with substantial presence of western interests, investments, installations, diplomatic corps, and the headquarters of international agencies such as the UN puts Kenya at risk of attack.

Of late, a number of terrorist attacks have been performed by Kenyans who are not of Somali origin. However, all of them have been recent converts to Islam. By 2012, the number of attackers that were Kenyan natives other than of Somali origin were estimated

⁶⁶ Kipkemboi, R. A. (2013). An Assessment of the Socio-Economic Impacts of Terrorism In East Africa: A Case of Al Shabaab in Kenya. Unpublished thesis. University of Nairobi

⁶⁷ Khayat, M. (2012). Al-Shabab Al-Mujahideen and Kenyan Muslim Youth Center strengthen ties, Middle East Media Research Institute, *Inquiry and Analysis Series Report no. 870*, 12 August 2012, p.28

⁶⁸ Campbell, Kurt M., and Michele A. Flournoy. (2001). *To Prevail: An America Strategy for the Campaign against Terrorism*. Washington, DC: Center for Africa Strategic studies.

⁶⁹ Kipkemboi, R. A. (2013). An Assessment of the Socio-Economic Impacts of Terrorism In East Africa: A Case Of Al Shabaab In Kenya. Unpublished thesis. University of Nairobi

to be about 10% of the total force of the Al – Shabaab. This group is referred to as the Kenyan Mujahideen by the Al- Shabaab core members. The recent converts are typically young and overzealous, whose situation of poverty have made them easy targets for the outfit's recruitment activities⁷⁰.

In recent times, there have been sporadic grenade attacks by the Al-Shabaab across the country following the coordinated operation between the Somali military and the Kenyan military against the Al-Shabaab group of insurgents in southern Somalia. Since then, and especially since 2012, there have been a number of attacks by A Shabaab, many of which have concentrated in north eastern region, though others took place in Nairobi and Mombasa.

Police vehicles and stations, nightclubs, bars, religious groupings, churches, a bus station and downtown building of small shops have been the major targets of Al-Shabaab attacks in recent past. On July 1st 2012, there was a twin attack on two churches in Garissa that left 17 people dead and about 50 were injured⁷¹. There was a major attack in a shopping Mall in Nairobi in 2013 and an attack at Garissa University College in March 2014 that killed over 60 people, mainly students. A number of sporadic attacks have continued to take place mainly in north eastern region, with various effects on the residents.

2.5 Gaps in Literature

The review gave an overview of terrorism the world over, in which it was found that the suicidal tactics used now by terrorists have been similar to those used since the first acts of terrorism in the years after 1090s. However, the review does not specify exact causes of terrorism as the causes are varied from one point to the next. The review also shows that terrorism is perpetrated with religion as a driving factor but many religions preach peace and therefore it is not clear why the same tool that preaches peace is used for perpetrating violence. The review also shows negative ways in which terrorism affects

⁷⁰ Kipkemboi, R. A. (2013). An Assessment of the Socio-Economic Impacts of Terrorism In East Africa: A Case Of Al Shabaab In Kenya. Unpublished thesis. University of Nairobi

the economy. The review also shows that methods of combating terrorism themselves also negatively affect the economy. But it does not provide any better ways of combating terrorism that have little effect on the economy. The review also showed that terrorism causes social disharmony and illegal money into the economy, thereby creating inflation. But the review does not state how to deal with these effects nor how to reverse them. The review reveals that the return of young muslim elites from Islamic education in Saudi Arabia and Pakistan in the 1970s marked the beginning of radicalization in Kenya. But the current terrorism acts have nothing to do with Muslim returnees as it seem to be home grown. The review also shows some of the youths were recruited following preaching by some controversial preachers like Aboud Rogo and Makaburi, who urged Muslim youths to join *jihad* in Somalia and fight against the infidels, yet no action was taken against them but were instead killed by unknown assassins. It is not clear why no action, apart from death by assassination, could be taken against known preachers who incite the youth to violence before the youth actually joined militant groups to perpetrate violence. All these factor form gaps that this study expects to fill.

2.6 Conclusion

The chapter reviewed information regarding terrorism activities in the world and in Kenya. It started by an overview of terrorism throughout the world, then reviewed information about the economic effects of terrorism. The chapter then looked at the social impacts of terrorism before zeroing down to terrorism activities in Kenya. It then provided the theoretical and conceptual framework for the study. Finally, the chapter discussed the gaps identified in the study.

3.0 CHAPTER THREE: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA'S NORTH EASTERN REGION.

3.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the impact of terrorism on the social, economic as well as political spheres of north eastern region. Specifically, the chapter discusses the impact of terrorism on the health sector, education sector, business and the political sectors in the region.

3.2 Terrorism and the Health Sector in North Eastern Kenya

The health sector in north eastern region of Kenya has been drastically affected by the advent of terrorism. The region has three referral hospitals based at the headquarters of each of the counties – namely Garissa, Wajir and Mandera counties. There is level four hospital at the headquarters of each of the three counties. The hospitals have specialists in nearly all sectors of the health service. The specific areas of specialization are antenatal care, antiretroviral therapy, basic emergency obstetric care, caesarean section, comprehensive emergency obstetric care, curative in-patient services, curative outpatient services, family planning, growth monitoring and promotion, immunization, integrated management of childhood illnesses, prevention of mother to child transmission of HIV, radiology services (e.g X-ray, Ultrascan, MRI, etc), tuberculosis diagnosis, tuberculosis labs as well as tuberculosis treatments. In many cases, majority of the specialists are people from other parts of the country. Given that all the three counties are occupied by people of Somali origin, all the rest of the people who are not Somalis have been targets of the terrorist attacks. Although the terrorists presumably target non-Muslims, it is easier to identify one as a Somali or not rather than Muslim or not. As such, terrorism is considered to target people who are not Muslims and, since all people of Somali origin who are the local inhabitants of the area are considered Muslims while those who are not of Somali origin are considered Christians, the terrorists selectively attack non-Somali people.

Medical specialists in the health sector consist of people from all parts of Kenya, including a few from the local population. However, unlike the security sector where most people from the locality working in other parts of Kenya were transferred to work

within the counties, the health sector has professionals from all parts of Kenya. Given that the highest numbers of peoples of Kenya are not Somalis, the same proportion applies in the health sector in the three counties. This implies that majority of health specialists are not part of the local population. Following the advent of terrorism, many of the non- Somali specialists in the sector either secured transfers to other parts of Kenya, or just took off, not minding the repercussions of deserting duty. According to the fleeing specialists, life is more precious than anything else since all others can be found provided that one is alive⁷² .

Besides the public hospitals in the major towns in the three counties, there are a number of private health facilities in the major towns. The private health facilities are manned by the specialists sourced from the public hospitals. The officers work part time when they are not on duty. But with the departure of the health specialists from the public health sector, the private sector has also been left with very few specialists. Most of the health specialists still manning the health sector, whether public or private, are people from the local population. However, compared the rest of Kenyans combined, the specialists from the local population are so minimal that they cannot handle the many duties that need to be handled in the health facilities. The end result is that there are very few specialists in the health sector.

In general, the advent of Al – Shabaab terrorism in Kenya since 2011 has nearly paralysed the health sector in the north eastern region. Health specialists from the county referral hospitals have virtually fled the area to go and practice in other parts of Kenya, possibly where they call their homes. The only specialists remaining are those who are natives of the area - the Somalis. But these are quite few compared to the various areas of specialization that require handling. In effect, there are very few health service providers in the area and patients have to go for specialized treatment in other parts of Kenya, like in Mwingi County that neighbours Garissa and north eastern in general, and Nairobi.

⁷² Daily Nation Newspapers, 7th June, 2017

3.3 Terrorism and the Education Sector in North Eastern Kenya

Education is divided into various levels in Kenya. These are the early childhood education and development (ECED) sector, primary schools sector, secondary school sector and the higher education sector that consists of colleges and universities. There are three colleges in the region, all based in Garissa. These are Garissa Teachers College, Medical Training College and North Eastern National Polytechnic. Recently, a constituent college of Moi University – Garissa University College, was started in Garissa. The rest of the sectors in education - secondary, primary and ECED sectors are distributed all over the three counties.

When terrorism started in Kenya in 2011, all people who were not from the Somali community were targeted. The first few attacks concentrated on places where the so – called Christians (actually non-Muslims, whether Christians or not) could be found in bulk. There were attacks in churches, hotels owned by non- Somalis, bars normally frequented by non-Somalis and virtually every business area frequented by large numbers of non-Somalis and therefore where there were huge gatherings. For quite some time, the education sector was not affected much. Any teacher who was ever affected by terrorism activities was found among different groups rather than in educational institution. As such, the education sector remained kind of immune to terrorism and learning proceeded as normal.

However, the situation changed drastically when in November 2014, a passenger bus from Mandera to Nairobi was attacked and most non – Somalis inside were murdered by the Al Shabaab terrorists. It turned out that the attack occurred on the dawn of Saturday when most schools had just closed the previous Friday, implying that most teachers were in the attacked bus. Majority of the people who were killed by the terrorists were therefore non-local teachers who had been teaching in the local primary schools, both public and private. The teaching fraternity was dealt a major blow as most of the passengers on board the bus were teachers. There was a huge outcry from the teaching fraternity with all teachers from the north eastern region asking to be transferred unconditionally in view of the attack on their members. A lull ensued throughout the

December holidays, possibly because there were no activities in the education sector during the holiday. However, from January 2015, majority of teachers from other parts of Kenya who previously taught in north eastern Kenya camped at the Teachers service Commission Headquarters in Nairobi, demanding their immediate transfer from the region as, on the basis that their lives were in danger. The camping took quite some time as the employer did not bulge to the demands of the teachers, but camping eventually fizzled out, with majority of the teachers opting instead to stay away from school rather than go back to their work stations in north eastern region. However, a few of them returned to their schools.

Education sector in north eastern region was dealt another fatal blow in early April 2015 when Al-Shabaab terrorists attacked Garissa university College, the then newly established constituent college of Moi University. A number of students were killed, mainly from other parts of Kenya, while almost no student from the region was killed. This incident affected not just the teaching fraternity, but students as well. While the initial departure of teachers following the Mandera bus attack mainly affected teachers in Mandera and Wajir Counties, the Garissa University attack not only affected teachers, but the learners as well, together with lecturers in higher learning institutions working in the region. Virtually all learners in boarding schools or colleges in the region deserted their institutions. Specifically, all students from the affected university were transferred to their parent university - Moi University in Eldoret. Non – local students from the other institutions of higher learning – Medical Training College, NEP Technical Training Institute (currently North Eastern National Polytechnic) and Garissa Teachers College virtually took off. Since majority of learners in these institutions were from other parts of the country, their departure from these institutions left the institutions with less than 20% of their original population. In fact, the colleges were officially closed from May when they were supposed to re-open, to as late as September as the institutions instituted security measures. The colleges are yet to recover the student population they had before the university attack. The University of Nairobi, which had opened a satellite campus in Garissa and even bought land for expansion, shifted its base to Mwingi and all students asked to report to Mwingi for any official issues.

Similarly, non – local students in the national schools in Garissa – NEP Girls and Garissa High school, transferred to other schools in their areas of birth. Another set of mass departure of teachers began, whether official or otherwise. The three colleges, initially not affected much by the teacher departure after the Mandera bus attack, now faced the same problem of teacher departure. The colleges lost nearly half their earlier teacher population, and about 80% of their student population⁷³. Coupled with refusal by teachers to seek teaching positions in the affected areas despite TSC advertisements for the same, north eastern region has remained without the requisite number of teachers in all sectors of education since May 2015. Considering that the area had been under staffed even before the two terrorist incidences, the situation is now almost out of hand.

The scenario in education sector has led to very poor educational outcomes in the region. Most schools do not have qualified teachers, with some schools employing the services of untrained teachers, some of who did not even perform well in their form four examinations. The end result is that pupil performance in the north eastern region, which had been dismal even before the advent of terrorism, has worsened. Attempts to employ teachers through advertisement of vacancies in the local press has not yielded much as only a few places are filled by locally born trained teachers as others from the rest of the country no longer consider taking jobs in the area. Furthermore, the two incidences – the Mandera bus attack and the Garissa university college attack were not the last attacks on teachers in the region. The insurgents have continued to attack schools and other installations, resulting in deaths of teachers from other parts of Kenya. Recently, the terrorists killed a teacher who had just been in the area for about five months. This has greatly discouraged other job seekers from ever seeking employment in the region.

While the advent of terrorism has affected nearly all sector of the economy, the effect on the education sector is bound to be long term since majority of the current generation is missing out on very important milestone in their life – acquisition of education. The learners are not able to acquire the knowledge and skills expected of them at various

⁷³ Daily Nation Newspapers, Jun 10, 2013

stages due to lack teachers. This implies that the region will lag far behind the rest of the country as the students from the region can no longer attempt to compete with others from other parts of the country. In general, the advent of terrorism has negatively affected the education sector so much so that the effects will be felt long after.

3.4 Terrorism and the Business Sector in North Eastern Region of Kenya

The business sector, like the other parts of the economy in north eastern region, has also been affected negatively by terrorism. Besides the attack on churches, business premises owned by non – Somalis in the region were among the initial targets by terrorists. Since these businesses were patronized by non – locals, the terrorists targeted them when a large number of patrons were available. Such attacks targeted hotels and any other businesses that attracted a multitude, such as makeshift shades for selling chips, bars, shops and butchereries. A number of people got killed during such attacks, some of whom included the proprietors themselves. As a result, many traders closed their businesses and relocated other parts of the country.

Apart from individual traders shifting from north eastern region, some companies also closed shop and moved to other parts of the country or just redistributed their employees to relatively safer areas. A number of companies and non-governmental organizations and even educational institutions shifted bases from north eastern to other parts of the country. Examples of these include the AA driving school that operated in Garissa that had to distribute its employees to other parts of the country. A number of NGOs closed shop and moved out of north eastern region, rendering many employees jobless. Many transporters who used to ferry goods to and from major towns in north eastern region relocated their businesses to other parts of Kenya. This has had a net effect of increasing the prices of basic food commodities as most of the food items are not grown in the region, but are transported from other parts of Kenya.

In general, the advent of terrorism has greatly affected the business sector as a number of businesses have had to be closed as their proprietors fear for their lives. Some of the proprietors have also been killed in the raids. The business environment has therefore

generally worsened as some businesses are closed. The local population have therefore faced shortage of employment as the few initially employed lose their jobs.

3.5 Terrorism and the Political Spheres in North Eastern Region of Kenya

Like the other sectors, the political field has not been spared by acts of terrorism in north eastern region. One conspicuous case is the attempts on the life of the governor of Mandera County, Governor Ali Roba⁷⁴. The governor's convoy has been attacked by terrorists three times, a situation that has compelled him to boost his security. This implies that a large portion of the county funds are used in beefing up the governor's security.

Besides the attack on the Mandera governor, it has become rather difficult to organize political rallies especially during this time of electioneering. There have been sporadic hand grenade attacks in various places and it is not clear where the grenades come from, nor how many are still around. As such, it is feared that if a rally is not well secured, the terrorists can explode a grenade for maximum effect. As such, to organize a political gathering has become a rather expensive affair as a large number of security officers have to be involved.

It has been claimed that a number of politicians have been claimed to be sponsoring the activities of terrorist groups in the region. Sometimes, these allegations are raised in order to make would be voters to rebel against the said politician. Such allegations may in fact form a death knell for the politician's political career. Currently, some politicians even use the presence of terrorism activities in the region to undermine incumbents by blaming them (incumbent leadership) for abetting the vice. In general the advent of terrorism has made the political environment to be rather volatile as the politicians do not have means of eradicating the vice.

⁷⁴ Daily Nation Newspapers, 24th May, 2017

3.6 Other Sectors Affected by Terrorism in North Eastern, Kenya

Besides health, education and business sectors, terrorism has also affected other areas of existence in the north eastern region. These include the social structure, communication systems as well as the security infrastructure in the region. To begin with, terrorism has affected the way security apparatus operates in the region. According to the Kenyan constitution, national security forces should be nationalised, implying that the bodies should have the face of Kenya. This implies that there should be a mixture of security personnel from all communities in Kenya. In this sense, a security force like the Kenya police should be a mix of officers from all parts of the country. This means that in a security team of any given town like, say, Mombasa, no specific group should dominate that force. It should contain people from any part of the country. The fact that Mombasa is dominated by the coastal communities does not imply that security forces should be sourced from the place. There can be a proportion from the coast, others from eastern, western, central, Turkana and so on without necessarily considering the actual proportion of ethnicity. The force becomes nationalized in the sense that no particular ethnic group dominates it. But the activities of terrorists have changed this situation for the case of north eastern region.

After a series of sporadic attacks in which no leads could be used to forestall terrorist attacks, it was found that there were some security personnel who were compromised not to provide intelligence information that could lead to the forestalling of impending attack. After a series of investigations, it was recommended that majority of the security personnel be members of the local community who have vast knowledge of the local context, who would then get intelligence information right from the village. As such, it was decided that members of the Somali community working as security officers in other parts of the country be transferred to work in north eastern region to help restore security. This was done and currently, majority of members of the police force in north eastern region are Somalis. It is the same thinking that led to the appointment of Mr. Mohamed Saleh, a Somali, to become the north eastern regional commissioner. In effect, terrorism has had the impact of transforming the security apparatus in north eastern region from the

national outlook to a local outlook. To some extent, this arrangement has contributed to some semblance of security in the region.

One of the key areas that terrorists target for attack has been police stations, especially those in remote areas that are manned by a handful of officers like, say, ten officers⁷⁵. Such stations have been prone to attack as the terrorists seek to increase their weaponry. Very many police stations, especially those close to the Kenya-Somali border, have been attacked and officers killed or injured. As such, a number of remote police stations have had to be closed down and officers moved to more secure places. This has left the places that initially had the police stations with virtually no security personnel. In effect, residents in these environments have also had to where their security can be more assured.

Another area in which terrorism has had drastic effect is on communication. Currently, most people in the region use mobile telephone for most communications. To achieve this, mobile telephone companies have installed infrastructure to effect communication for calls, messaging as well as cash transfer. However, one of the main targets of terrorists is the telecommunication systems. As such, whenever terrorists strike, one of the installations that they target first is the telecommunication masts. In many cases, the terrorists destroy the masts to prevent any communication for reinforcement from other nearby security officers. Due to frequent attacks, some of the communication equipments have stalled completely for some time as engineers cannot easily access them to repair them as they also fear for their lives. In essence, the terrorist menace has stalled communication in some areas

Finally, incidences of terrorism have affected the social setup of people living in north eastern region. Terrorists target places where there is a high concentration of non-Somali population. One such place is the church where only Christians go for prayers, yet Somalis are all Muslims. Since churches are major targets of attack, a large number of Christians no longer attend church on Sunday or any other day in fear of terrorist attacks

⁷⁵ Daily Nation Newspapers. 25th September, 2016

there. Although all churches are usually provided with security every time they have prayers or other church functions, a large number of people do not believe that the officers can provide enough security and therefore still just avoid going to church.

Other areas where non-local populations are likely to be found in large numbers are social places like in social halls, bars and hotels. The effect is that many people have opted not to attend such places, or attend but leave the places by six in the evening, just before dusk. Proprietors of social places like bars have had to spend substantial amount of money to hire security personnel so as to assure patrons that their security is guaranteed while inside the bars. Similarly, people no longer go to eat in hotels after 6 p.m. this is the time that terrorists attack and since one cannot tell when the next attack would take place and where, the only way of ensuring ones security is to avoid places that attract a large number of people, specifically non-local people.

3.7 Conclusion

From the discussion, it is clear that terrorism has had a lot of negative effect on the livelihood of people residing in north eastern region. Despite the acts of terrorism targeting people originating from other parts of Kenya – people who are not Somalis, the net effect is felt more by the local people themselves. While non-Somalis have places to migrate to, the local Somali people have no other home but where they live and where terrorism takes place. In most cases, professionals employed by the government get transferred or simply shift to go and work in other more secure parts of the country, but members of the local population remain in the same place. Therefore, as much as terrorism activities are directed at the non-locals, it is the locals who eventually suffer most. Currently, the education sector is on its knees while the health sector is simply crawling. Specialists in various fields are lacking as they shift to either their home environments, or just other more secure parts of Kenya. As much as many of those killed by terrorist attacks are non – Somalis, the remaining Somali population suffers as they cannot access vital services. Therefore, terrorism is a vice that affects the intended as well as the unintended in almost the same measure. There is need to bring it to rest.

4.0 CHAPTER FOUR: MITIGATING THE IMPACT OF TERRORISM IN NORTH EASTERN KENYA – A CRITICAL ANALYSIS.

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on strategies to counter terrorism and its impacts in north eastern region of Kenya. The chapter discusses how to mitigate the impacts in the health sector, education sector, business sector and in other aspects in which the impact of terrorism are felt.

4.2 How to Counter Terrorism and Its Impacts

4.2.1 Improve Cooperation between Police and the Public

In most cases, terrorism acts are planned among the public. In the course of the planning, the public notices what is happening in their midst and can therefore tell if a terrorist strike is planned. The public should then be able to report such suspicious activities to the authorities that can then take immediate action to counter the plans. However in the past, it has been found that whenever members of the public report suspicious information to the police, the police puts the reporting person to task to explain how he/she got that information, and why he/she thinks the information is so. But, in many cases, even the people reporting such information are at risk of repercussions when found out. As such, the people reporting such incidences do not want to go beyond the reporting itself as this can cost them their lives. As such, knowing that the police would harass them if they reported, members of the public would rather keep quiet than report. The authorities have also been accused of revealing the identity of the people who report information to them. This reduces the possibility of getting any report from the public in future. If there is good cooperation between members of the public and the relevant authorities, information would easily flow from the public to the security officers. In other words, there is mistrust of police officers by members of the public. This is one reason why members of the local community requested that local police officers be deployed to the area rather than those from other parts of the country.

4.2.2 Improve Boarder Security Management System

Most of the Al – Shabaab attacks are planned from outside Kenya, specifically in Somalia. The implementers of the plans only cross over to the country when the planning has already been done. Although there is always cooperation from the local population, as long as cross boarder activities can be curtailed the frequency of attacks can be curtailed. At the moment, the boarder security system is not quite detailed, manned mainly by security officers on patrol. But there have been reports of the same officers being compromised by being offered bribes by would be attackers. The officers operate in remote places with little supervision and being alone and far, are prone to compromising activities. To curb the menace, there is need to improve the boarder security management system such that no individuals cross to Kenya without proper identification documents and reasons for entry. Further, transportation of weapons should be checked as much as possible. There have been plans by politicians to build a wall between Kenya and Somali, but the progress of this plan is not quite clear. Meanwhile, the security at the boarder need to be full proof to ensure that Al-Shabaab elements do not cross over to cause atrocities in the country. Above all, the taking of bribes by security officers should be checked as this greatly compromises the security surveillance at boarder points.

4.2.3 Improve Security Institutions to Eliminate Corruption

Previous terrorist attacks have been blamed on high level corruption all the way to the top commanding officers in the counties. Specifically, there were claims that the terrorists infiltrated the top command in Garissa County before the Garissa university attack of April 2015. It is claimed that the officers were bribed to ignore most of the intelligence information that was trickling of eminent attacks at the university. At the same time, the police response time after the attack is claimed to have been unnecessarily delayed to ensure that the terrorists accomplished their target. Although much of this information cannot be verified, they point to weak institutions that can easily be compromised for individual's gain. Therefore, to ensure tighter security, security institutions need to be strengthened to ensure that only leaders with integrity handle the sensitive areas. Where

possible, officers should not be left to work alone as it is quite easy to compromise a single officer on duty compared to a number of them.

4.2.4 Implement Nyumba Kumi Initiative in the Region

The Nyumba Kumi Initiative, where neighbours are required to know the next immediate neighbour up to ten households and record any new arrivals immediately to the leader, does not seem to work in north eastern region. While the initiative has improved security in other parts of Kenya, the initiative has not been embraced much in the region. If it was to work, it would be quite easy to identify any strangers arriving in any area whose activities may then be monitored. This can really help in curtailing suspicious activities in any given area. However, there has not been much will by local residents to organize themselves in the ten households and then be vigilant to ensure that their group is not infiltrated by strangers who have ill intentions. The initiative requires political support to ensure that the local residents embrace it. Currently, there is no such vigilance among local residents, neither are they concerned about strangers arriving in their midst.

4.2.5 Improve Harmony between Local Community and Other Immigrants

North eastern region is dominated by the Somalis who form the local community. But members of other communities are also found in the region working in various fields like education, health, business or offering expert services such as the excavation of stones, painting and so on. Apart from interaction between the two groups (local community and immigrants from other parts of Kenya) at work or where circumstances dictate that they interact, there is usually very little further social interactions between the members of the two groups. In fact, it has been claimed that members of the local community always get information about impending attacks, but since the attacks are aimed at the immigrants, the members of the local community do not bother about such information, neither do they inform even their most immediate associates who are not locals. In other words, there is very little interaction between members of the local community and those from the rest of Kenya other than official interaction at work or where circumstances dictate so. This is one reason why the attacks have continued despite several efforts to curb them. To eradicate terrorism, there is therefore need to improve harmony between the two

groups of people. There should be clear interaction between the local population and other immigrants, who are usually the target of attacks. This would greatly improve information flow and hence thwart any planned attacks before they actually occur.

4.2.6 Encourage Locals to Train in Specific Professions

One of the greatest impacts of terrorism in the north eastern region has been the departure of experts in various fields following threats to their lives. It has been quite difficult to replace the departed experts especially in the fields of education and health. To mitigate this situation, members of the local population should be encouraged to train in some of these areas that lack experts. Already, there is a primary school teachers college in Garissa where locals can be given preferential treatment and be admitted there for training. In fact, the teachers' training college is one of the colleges that is currently operating below its capacity due to the failure of students from other parts of the country to report for studies in the college. Since there is a clear shortage of teachers in the area, local students with the right qualification should be encouraged to enrol as teachers in the college so as to be employed to fill the void left in primary schools. Currently, many local form four leavers with the required grade of C plain in Kenya certificate of secondary education (KCSE) opt for other jobs rather than teaching. But having identified the crisis, the form four leavers should be encouraged to enrol as teachers. To encourage them to enrol as teachers, the local county governments should create some form of a fund that can be used to pay college fees for people opting to train as teachers.

To ensure that the north eastern region also has local secondary school teachers, the local leaders should start a fund to be used to pay college fees for any person wishing to study as a teacher in diploma or degree level. The fund should therefore cater for any person wishing to become a teacher at any level above ECED. Some of them can be sponsored in the locally based Garissa university college for degree course in education, while others can be supported to attend diploma courses elsewhere. This can help fill the teaching gap left by fleeing teachers from other parts of the country.

In the same way, to fill the gap left by fleeing health personnel, north eastern region leaders can create a fund to train their own health workers. Luckily, there is already a Medical Training College in Garissa where health personnel can be created. Although the college currently offers training to certificate level only, it can be upgraded to offer diploma level training. Further training of personnel to the level of degree can be done in other colleges in other parts of Kenya, provided that there are funds to cater for the same. When the funded students qualify, there should be a mechanism to ensure that they go back to work in their local health centres to fill the void left by fleeing health personnel.

4.2.7 Conclusion

It is clear that the entire north eastern region has been drastically affected by the frequent attacks by Al-Shabaab militants. Terrorism activities have affected various sectors of the economy in the region, as well as the social setup of the region as a whole. The Kenyan government has reacted to the activities by deployment of forces, who are equally attacked by the dissidents. However, as much as it may be necessary to use military intervention to deter further attacks on Kenyans, other non-violent means may be necessary to ensure that information regarding pending attacks are known in advance. This implies that the security officers need to cooperate with the public so that the public informs relevant authorities of any impending attacks. When these tactics are used jointly together with other deterrent activities such as increasing boarder surveillance, it will be possible to reduce the frequency of terrorist attacks. Besides, the recent idea of neighbours spying on any new arrival in the neighbourhood (the nyumba kumi initiative) has not been made operational in north eastern region. this idea can help identify any foreign people in an area and thereby help in thwarting any plans by the militants. A combination of these factors can actually reduce and possibly eliminate the Al Shabaab menace in the area in the long run.

5.0 CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the study's discussions and findings regarding the impacts of terrorism in north eastern region. It also provides concluding remarks and recommendations.

5.2 Summary of Study's Findings

The study was guided by four objectives. These were: to explore the impact of the advent of terrorism on the health sector in North Eastern region, to assess the impact of the advent of terrorism on the education sector in North Eastern region, to investigate the impact of the advent of terrorism on the business sector in North Eastern region and to examine the best strategies that can be put in place to counter terrorism in North Eastern region.

It was found that many health professionals have deserted the region, leaving only locally born health officers. The net effect is that the health care system in North Eastern region lacks professionals and residents have to spend a lot of money to seek treatment in hospitals located in other regions mainly Mwingi, Thika and Nairobi. Further, some units in major referral hospitals in North Eastern region have been virtually closed due to lack of professionals with the right skills to operate there. One example is the renal unit in Garissa county referral hospital that has remained closed for over two years now due to lack of professionals in the area after the previous ones left.

With regard to the education sector, it was found that majority of teachers who have been teaching in North Eastern region but originating from other parts of Kenya deserted their work and took off to work in friendly areas, specifically their home area. This has caused a huge teacher shortage in the region. In effect, education standards in the region, which has been below the national average throughout the years since independence, has reached its all time low as majority of schools lack teachers, and are at times taught by untrained individuals. In fact, public school managements have resorted to contracting

untrained personnel to work as teachers in both primary and secondary schools in the region.

Besides education and the health sector, terrorism has also drastically affected the business sector. Businesses in North Eastern region are no longer as vibrant as they used to be before the advent of terrorism. A number of businesses have closed shop and relocated to relatively safer areas of Kenya. Similarly, a number of NGOs have closed and relocated from North Eastern region. This has greatly escalated the level of unemployment in the region rendering much youthful population jobless.

Mobile telecommunication companies have not been spared either since they spend quite a lot of money in repairing their communication masts. These masts are major terrorist targets who believe in disabling communication first before attacking the targeted places. This renders the attacked places out of communication for quite some time hampering security's immediate response and rescue efforts.

Terrorism has also led to a general increase in levels of insecurity in North Eastern region as police stations in remote places and those close to the Somali boarder for instance Liboi, Amuma, Elwak and Mandera Police stations have been continually attacked, leading to closure of most of them. The net result is that boarder patrol has reduced, thereby escalating infiltration into the country by the Somali terrorists. On the social front, the terrorism menace has created social apathy against people of Somali origin in other parts of Kenya. The Somalis are usually viewed suspiciously by the other Kenyans as people tend to feel that they are up to something fishy, usually terror related activities.

5.3 Conclusion

It is clear that terrorism has had drastic negative economic and social impact on the residents of North Eastern region as a whole. While majority of the residents are not responsible for the menace, the perception in Kenya has been that terrorism is mainly carried out by people of Somali decent who are natives of these regions. The consequence has been that people of North Eastern region have often faced prejudice and

been associated with negative effects of terrorism. However, terrorism is no longer a preserve of people of Somali origin as a number of arrested members of the Al – Shabaab have been found to originate from other tribes in Kenya and beyond (Tanzania, Ethiopia, Uganda and even Sudan).

In conclusion, acts of terrorism in the North Eastern part of Kenya have affected locals more than anyone else. The locals are the ones who suffer most when professionals leave the region. While the rest of the population can virtually shift to go and leave in other parts of the country, usually their places of origin, the natives of North Eastern Kenya have nowhere else to go but to continue suffering in the hands of terrorists. Terrorism has therefore retarded nearly all their important sectors of life and almost paralyzed especially their economic activities. It is therefore important that whatever is possible should be done to eliminate terrorism and its associated activities so as to revive the economy of North Eastern region as a whole.

5.4 Recommendations

In view of the findings by the study, the following recommendations are made:

- i. There is need to identify reasons that make individuals or persons join terrorist groups in order to reverse the conditions that give rise to terrorism. While the first incidences of terrorism emanated from Somalia, it has become a trend for Kenyan nationals, not only of Somali decent, but from other tribes as well, to cross the boarder to Somalia for terrorism training and then come back to unleash terror on Kenyans. Reasons for such cross boarder movements should be investigated in order to eradicate them and thereby reduce the possibility of homegrown terrorists.
- ii. Members of the local community living in North Eastern region should be encouraged to train in some of the professions that are occupied by people from other parts of Kenya. This will help cushion the local community from the effects of desertion by professionals from other parts of the country. Key professions include medical and teacher education courses.

- iii. There is need to initiate unbiased and stringent security laws by the legislative arm of government in order to hinder, curb or draw heavy penalty on anyone from participating, encouraging or sympathizing with terrorist groups or organizations.
- iv. Learning institutions should be provided with adequate security so as to ensure that the institutions can receive and ensure security of students. This can encourage students to continue learning in these institutions whether the Al-Shabaab menace has been wiped out or not.
- v. Mobile telecommunication companies should come up with means of covering places located along the Somali boarder without necessarily erecting communication masts in the places. They can use masts located in more secure places, or use satellites for transmission in such remote places. This is because the terrorist groups target communication installations before attacking other areas, ensuring that no immediate response and rescue can take place as there would be no communication. Communication is key for deployment of security officers, reinforcement and accelerate security's response mechanism in saving the lives of those been attacked by the terrorist from time to time.
- vi. The government should deploy an efficient and effective border security management system for surveillance and coordination necessary in keeping at bay all elements of terrorism and terror related activities along the border. These will help compliment the already existing security facilities in place.
- vii. The rest of the Kenyan population should be encouraged not to view Kenyans of Somali origin as members of Al – Shabaab or potential Al – Shabaab recruits since the organization is not necessarily tribal based, nor does it belong to the Somalis.

References.

- Abadie, A. and Gardeazabal, J. (2008). Terrorism and the world economy. *European Economic Review* 52.
- Aksoy, E. (2012). International Terrorism in the Age of Globalization. M.A. Thesis (Unpublished). Bilkent University
- Amble, J.C. and Meleagrou-Hitchens, A. (2014). 'Jihadist Radicalization in East Africa: Two Case Studies', *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 37(6): 523-540.
- Amble, John C. (2012). "Combating Terrorism in the New Media Environment." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 35, no. 5 (May 2012): 339-353, <http://research.ebscohost.com.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=74490697&site=ehost-live&scope=site> (accessed May 19th, 2017).
- Anderson, D.M. and J. McKnight (2015). 'Kenya at War: Al-Shabaab and its Enemies in Eastern Africa', *African Affairs* 114(454): 1-27.
- Aronson, S.L. (2013). 'Kenya and the Global War on Terror: Neglecting History and Geopolitics in Approaches to Counterterrorism', *African Journal of Criminology and Justice Studies : AJCJS* 7(1/2): 24.
- Aynte, A. (2010). "The Anatomy of al-Shabaab." *Unpublished: Doha* (2010).
- Bjørge, T. (2005), *Root Causes of Terrorism: Myths reality and ways forward*. New York: Routledge.
- Blanchard, L.P. (2013). 'Kenya: Current Issues and u.s. Policy', *Current Politics and Economics of Africa* 6(1): 71.
- Bloomberg, Brock, Gregory Hess and Athanasios Orpanides (2004). 'The Macroeconomic Consequences of Terrorism' downloaded on 3rd January 2014 from: www.claremontmckenna.edu/econ/papers/2004-02.pdf
- Carr, C. (2002). *The Lessons of Terror: A History of Warfare against Civilians: Why It Has Always Failed and Why It Will Fail Again* (New York: Random House, 2002), 78.
- Daily Nation Newspapers, 7th June, 2017
- Daily Nation Newspapers, Jun 10, 2013
- Daily Nation Newspapers, 24th May, 2017
- Daily Nation Newspapers. 25th September, 2016
- Enders, W. and Sandler, T. (2006). *The Political Economy of Terrorism*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Chande, A.N. (2000). 'Radicalism and Reform in East Africa'.
- Gaibullov, K. and Sandler, T. (2008). The Impact of Terrorism and Conflicts on Growth in Asia. *ADB Institute Discussion Paper No. 113*.
- Ganor, B. (2002), *Defining Terrorism: Is One Man's Terrorist Another Man's Freedom Fighter?*, in: *Police Practice and Research* (3), p. 287-304.
- Ghorayeb, A. (2002). *Hizbullah: Politics and Religion* (London: Pluto, 2002), 15.
- Gries, T, Tim K. and Meierrieks, D. (2009). "Causal Linkages between Domestic Terrorism and Economic Growth". *Working Papers Series No. 2009-02*, Center for International Economics, USA
- Hansen, S.J. (2013). *Al Shabaab in Somalia: The History and Ideology of a Militant Islamist Group, 2005-2012*. Oxford University Press.
- Haynes, J. (2005). 'Islamic Militancy in East Africa', *Third World Quarterly* 26(8): 1321-1339.

- Hoffman, B. (1998). *Inside Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 2.
- Jackson, P. (2011). *Terrorism: A Critical Introduction*. Palgrave Macmillan
- Juergensmeyer, M. (2000). "Understanding the New Terrorism," *Current History* 99 (2000): 159.
- Kegley, C.W. (2003), *The New Global Terrorism: Characteristics, Causes, Controls*, Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.
- Khayat, M. (2012). Al-Shabab Al-Mujahideen and Kenyan Muslim Youth Center strengthen ties, Middle East Media Research Institute, *Inquiry and Analysis Series Report no. 870*, 12 August 2012, p.28.
- Kipkemboi, R. A. (2013). An Assessment of the Socio-Economic Impacts of Terrorism in East Africa: A Case of Al Shabaab in Kenya. Unpublished thesis. University of Nairobi.
- Koh, Winston T.H. (2007). "Terrorism and its Impact on Economic Growth and Technological Innovation". *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*. 74, pp129-138.
- Lind, J., P. Mutahi and Oosterom, M. (2015). *Tangled Ties: Al-Shabaab and Political Volatility in Kenya* .
- Mohammed, D. (2014). The Effect of Boko Haram Crisis on Socioeconomic Activities in Yobe State. *The International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Invention* Volume 1 issue 4
- Mohamed M.H. (2015). The Underlying Dynamics of Al-Shabaab's Recruitment of Muslim Youth: A Case of Mombasa County in Kenya. M.A. Thesis. The Hague, the Netherlands
- Møller, B. (2006). Political Islam in Kenya. DIIS Working Paper.
- Murdoch, J. and Sandlers, T. (2004). "Civil Wars and Economic Growth: Spatial Dispersion", *American Journal of Political Science*, 48 (1)
- Mwakimako, H. and J. Willis (2014). 'Observatoire Des Enjeux Politiques Et Sécuritaires Dans La Corne De l'Afrique'.
- Nancy G., Massimo C., Bobby G., Michael S., Mark T., Michael W., and Hilary H.(2009). "Terrified . . . or Terrorist?" *Time* 174, no. 20 (2009): 26.
- Oded, A. (2000). *Islam and Politics in Kenya: Arye Oded*. Boulder, CO [etc.]: Lynne Rienner.
- Olukorede Y. (2012). What Nigeria need to tackle Boko Haram (indexphp/ news/45036) (cited 2017 May12): about (IP.). Available from: <http://www.thenationalineng.net/2011/indez>
- Pape, R. (1995). *Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism* (New York: Random House, 1995), 79.
- Pillar, P. (2001). *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Richardson H., and Gordon, P. (2008). *The Economic Costs and Consequences of Terrorism*. Edward Elgar Inc. New York.
- Rohan G. (2002). *Inside al-Qaeda: Global Network of Terror* (London: Hurst, 2002), 222.
- Rourke, T.J. (1992). Ed.*International Politics on the World Stage*. 7th Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, USA.1992, pg. 34

- Sandler, Todd and Walter Enders (2005). Economic Consequences of Terrorism in Developed and Developing countries: An Overview.. Downloaded on 6th June 2017 from: http://www.cba.ua.edu/~wenders/Econ_Consequences_Revised.pdf
- Sloan, S. (2006). *Terrorism: The Present Threat in Context*. Berg Publishers, Netherlands.
- Thorsen, S.N. (2009). *New Muslim Activism in Kenya*. Institut for Statskundskab
- Wilkinson, P. (2001). *Terrorism Versus Democracy, the Liberal State Response* (London: Cass, 2001), 12.
- Wise, R. (2011). *Al Shabaab*. Center for Strategic and International Studies