

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF TERRORISM AND ITS EFFECTS: A CASE STUDY OF
KENYA (1998-2013)**

BY

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Declaration

I Fenton Musembi hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a Post Graduate diploma in any other University.

Signed..... Date.....

Fenton Wambua Musembi

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor.

Signed..... Date.....

P N Kamanda

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my beloved wife Dorcas Mueni and to my three children Edna, Leon and Wesley for their unending love, support, endurance during my long absence and strong encouragement during my course.

Acknowledgment

Over the last eleven months, I have burned midnight oil to produce this study. With great support from my colleagues, family, and friends, I have been able to successfully complete my work. To all of you am so grateful. My foremost gratitude goes to Colonel P N Kamanda for his exceptional patience and understanding, as my thesis advisor. Also I would like to express my thanks to members of staff of IDIS for making this study a success.

I owe a great debt to my wife, Dorcas, who provided an incredible amount of patience and understanding. Her support was particularly phenomenal given that she took care of our children, Edna, Leon, and little Wesley when I was busy here in college. To her devotion, I dedicate this study; and for her great support, I say thanks from the bottom of my heart.

Finally, this acknowledgement would be incomplete without mentioning the commandant of DSC, Karen for his encouragement and wise council. I equally would like to thank the entire DSC teaching and support staffs for their administrative and supporting back up during the course. To them, am grateful, and wish them a better and prosperous future.

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Abbreviations

AIG	Armed Islamic Group
AQIM	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
CPS	Childhood Personality Scale
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GTI	Global Terrorism Index
NSE	Nairobi Security Exchange
PFLP	Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
PTSD	Clinical Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder

Abstract

Terrorism is a global concern because it threatens global security and peace. Its effects vary with individual states. It causes widespread destruction and fear among people. It is against this backdrop, that this study sought to analyse effects of terrorism in Kenya. The study was guided by one broad objective and two specific objectives. The broad objective is to critically analyse effects of terrorism in Kenya. The first specific objective will be to identify types of terrorism in Kenya and the second objective will be to determine effects of different type of terrorism on social and economic systems in Kenya. This study adopted descriptive case research design. In this type of research design, it enabled the researcher to apply both quantitative and qualitative research techniques for an in-depth analysis on effects of terrorism in Kenya. Secondary data collection and analysis was utilized. Findings revealed that terrorism in Kenya has been occurring since 1975 but became real immediately after the bombing of US embassy in Nairobi in 1998. Since then, the country has been undergoing several attacks involving use of grenades in public places such as restaurants, shopping malls and social gatherings like churches. It has been found that with its far reaching effects, terrorism uses violence (use), to cause fear, intimidation or coercion (purpose) based on religious and political ideologies (targets persons with different religion or political affiliation as terrorists). The effects are mainly economic and social. It therefore becomes true that terrorism weakens social systems in Kenya; terrorism cripples economic systems in Kenya; and ineffective social and economic systems in Kenya promote terrorism. Thus, the study recommended that the Kenyan government should improve its security systems.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Problem

Terrorism is a global concern because it threatens global security and peace. This is evident due to the increased number of attacks on people's lives and destruction of property. The Institute for Economics and Peace reports that the number of terrorist attacks has increased since the September 11, 2001 attack in USA.¹ The Global Terrorism Index (GTI) showed that terrorism incidences were reported more in Middle East, North Africa and Asia Pacific. The Index provides a measure of terrorism in terms of the terrorist incidents, fatalities, injuries and damage of property within a country. Terrorism is an act of extreme violence aimed at killing people, causing injuries and damaging property. It is a systematic process of using violent terror targeted at mostly civilians for coercion based on religious or political ideologies.²

The GTI analysis also shows that terrorist attacks in conflict prone areas have been increasing since the Iraq war and major escalation has been noted in Afghanistan and Pakistan.³ According to Institute for Economics and Peace, seven countries suffered most fatalities with Iraq taking greatest share since 2001. Other countries include India, Pakistan and Russia while North America countries suffered least cases. The countries with most cases of terrorism have one thing in common; military intervention. It is noted that countries that conduct military intervention such as Iraq, Pakistan and Afghanistan were targeted as well as those that provided military intervention such as USA and UK.⁴

¹ Institute for Economics and Peace, "2012 Global Terrorism Index: Capturing the Impact of Terrorism from 2002 – 2011", Available at: <http://www.reliefweb.com>. Accessed on 27/09/2013

² Hoffman, Bruce, "Inside Terrorism," Columbia, Columbia University Press, 1998

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid

In Africa, acts of terrorism have been witnessed in Maghreb region, West Africa and Eastern Africa. In Maghreb or Sahel region, terrorism has been perpetuated by existence of Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and Armed Islamic Group (AIG). AIG insurgents have been causing mayhem in Algeria characterized by kidnapping, smuggling, killing and destruction of property.⁵ Since the formation of AQIM in 2007, it has also caused violence in Mali and across the Sahara. In the neighboring West Africa, Boko Haram in northern Nigeria has caused civilian killings with recent attack on an Agricultural college where more than 70 students died.⁶

In Eastern Africa, terrorism has caused devastation especially on regional peace as well as economic development. This zone is terrorized by al-Shabaab insurgents whose origin is in Somalia. Acting as an Al-Qaeda affiliate, this insurgent group has been causing terror in countries such as Kenya, Ethiopia, Uganda and Tanzania.⁷ Emily notes that, the group had a role in 1998 terror attack on US embassy in Kenyan and Dar-es-Salaam. In Uganda, *al-Shabaab* claimed responsibility for attacking football fans in Kampala in 2010.⁸ In Kenya, the country has seen numerous terror attacks since 1998 attack on US embassy.

Recently, despite the many terror attacks Kenya, many questions remain unresolved after the occurrence of one the worst terrorism crime on 02 September 2013 at Westgate Mall. It is recorded that 67 lives were lost and more than 200 injured, while millions of shillings worth of property destroyed. This impact left the country in state of mourning, assessing security systems and accounting for the damages incurred due to destruction of property at Westgate Mall.

⁵ Emily Mellgard, "Terrorism in Africa: An inside look at the 3 Most Dangerous African Terrorist Groups" Available at: <http://www.policymic.com/articles/66127/terrorism-in-africa-an-inside-look-at-the-3-most-dangerous-african-terrorist-groups>. Accessed on 4/10/2013

⁶ BBC, "Who are Nigeria's Boko Haram Islamists?" BBC, Jan 11 2014, www.bbc.com/news/world-africa

⁷ Ibid

⁸ New York Times, "Islamists Claim Attack in Uganda", Available at: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/07/13/world/africa/13uganda.html?_r=0. Accessed on 28th September, 2013

In carrying out analysis of terrorism, it is difficult to predict terror attacks and these attacks have consequences on every aspect of life. Even in developed democracies, millions of money is spent on reinforcing security operations yet terrorist attacks have taken place in USA during the Boston Marathon in 2013. After September 11 attacks in 2001, the US government spent millions of dollars on security yet terrorists have been striking. This indicates that even with financial support, terrorism cannot easily be countered. Terrorism causes widespread destruction and fear among people. It is against this backdrop, that this study sought to analyse effects of terrorism in Kenya.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Terrorism in Kenya became real immediately after the bombing of US embassy in Nairobi in 1998. Since then, the country has undergone several attacks involving use of grenades in public places such as restaurants, shopping malls and social gatherings like churches. Police officers and other armed forces have also been killed and bombed by terrorists especially in North Eastern Kenya. These attacks have caused fatalities, injuries and damage to property. In addition, terrorists have been kidnapping both Kenyan citizens and non-citizens on Kenyan soil.

Based on the cases of attack, there is reason to believe that terror attacks have negative effect on Kenya's systems. For example, the repeated attacks where few people are killed, kidnapped or damage to property is on small scale has never received close attention. The effect of such terror attacks has not been adequately assessed in terms of economic, social and religious response. Whenever such strikes have been happening, there is growing failure on the part of government in assessing the scale of damage such terror attacks cause as they are considered as isolated cases.

However, the latent question is about the long term effects of terrorism in Kenya that receives less attention. This is because it is increasingly worrying that terrorism impacts on livelihoods. But, damage does it cause on economy, tourism, security, religion, transport and other infrastructures as well as personal peace? This has not been well provided for and it is for this reason that this study sought to critically analyse effects of terrorism in Kenya.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

This study was guided by one broad objective and two specific objectives. The broad objective is to critically analyse effects of terrorism in Kenya. The first specific objective will be to identify types of terrorism in Kenya and the second objective will be to determine effects of different types of terrorism on social and economic systems in Kenya.

1.4 Justification of the Study

This study acknowledges that terrorism is a global problem that requires global solutions. However, to attain global solutions, critical analysis in individual states is a primary factor in aiding attainment of local solutions to achieve global security. Global security measures against terrorism depend on operations or structures within sovereign states regardless of their geopolitical and religious orientation. This study was intended to critically analyse effects of terrorism in Kenya. The study sought to provide in-depth analysis on types of terrorism in Kenya with their corresponding effects on economic and social systems that has been a missing link in determining effect of terrorism.

Therefore, this study will be beneficial to policy makers, diplomats, economists and political class who have influence on social systems in Kenya. The information provided shall help in identifying reasons for terrorist attacks or causes for terrorism in Kenya. In addition, the

information provided by this study will help in identification of best practices in security systems to counter – terrorism and improve surveillance or justice system for terrorism.

1.5 Literature Review

Terrorism has been studied by many scholars in terms of historical perspectives, causes, effects, key players and responses by individuals at different levels of the society. The work of Aronson Samuel on terrorism gives account of the beginnings of terrorism in Kenya. It began in early 1975 when the first bombs struck in Nairobi.⁹ In February, Travel Bureau and Starlight nightclub were attacked.¹⁰ In addition, Mogire and Agade in their study on “Counter-terrorism in Kenya” show further that in January 1976 in Nairobi, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) attempted to shoot down an El Al passenger plane.¹¹ However, the plot was not successful after Israel shared with Kenya intelligence.

After the unsuccessful attempt on El Al passenger plane, more attacks were planned. Mogire and Agade further noted that in 1980, a terror attack carried out by PFLP occurred on the Nairobi’s Norfolk Hotel in which 15 people died.¹² The attack was revenge against Kenya for allowing Israeli carry a rescue operation in Entebbe, Uganda.¹³ In these attacks, the motive was to punish Kenya for associating with Israel which is perceived as a threat to Arab hegemony.

Krause and Otenyo in their study on “Terrorism and the Kenyan public” (2005), observed that nearly two decades later after the Norfolk bombing, Nairobi was engulfed in bloody terror attack in 1998 that targeted the American Embassy. The effects of this monumental terrorist in which more than 200 lives were lost and hundreds of people injured prompted Kenya to begin

⁹ Aronson, Samuel, “Kenya and the Global War on Terror: Neglecting History and Geopolitics in Approaches to Counterterrorism,” *African Journal of Criminology and Justice Studies: AJCJS*, Vol.7, #s1 &2, November 2013

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Ibid; p 474

¹² Mogire and Agade; 2011

¹³ Aronson, Samuel; 2013

developing counter terrorism strategy.¹⁴ This attack indicated that the terrorists were targeting foreign installations especially those associated with Americans and Israelis. To demonstrate this further, an attack on Israel Plane was unsuccessful and happened simultaneously with Kikambala Hotel attack on 28th November 2002.¹⁵

In his study on the causes of terrorism in Kenya, David Shinn notes that Tanzania and Kenya are reachable secretly by sea and this increases vulnerabilities of attack from terrorists. Kenya is characterized by having a permeable border with the unstable Somalia government.¹⁶ In the Kenyan coast, the Swahili community has been volatile to the activities of Islamic Party of Kenya. This unregistered organization that has had frosty affairs with the US has left the Kenyan government concerned with their activities.¹⁷ A properly maintained link has emerged in the coast region that necessitates people from Somali, Pakistan, Comoro Island and other Gulf states to come in Kenya and intermingle easily. Persistent corrupt dealings among the personnel at the Kenyan immigration facilitate the ease of foreigners to obtain citizenship and eventually register legal business entities that act as a cover up for their illegal dealings.¹⁸ When these specifics are recognized, it shall be acknowledged that the *al-Qaeda* group has more dealings in the Swahili coast than in Somalia itself where more concentration has been placed.

Otiso Kefa illustrates how Kenya is an excellent mark by international terrorism based on a blend of economic, political, regional, historical, geographic and socio-cultural factors. Many of the factors justify the attacks directly while others act as an aid to the attacks. The dominance of Christianity which is the largest population, Kenya's relations with western countries and the

¹⁴ Krause, V. & Otenyo, E. (2005). "Terrorism and the Kenyan public." *Studies in Conflict Terrorism*, 28(2), 99-112.

¹⁵ Aronson, Samuel; 2013

¹⁶ Shinn David, "Terrorism in East Africa and the Horn: An Overview," *The Journal of Conflict Studies*, Vol 23, No 2 (2003)

¹⁷ Shinn David, "Terrorism in East Africa and the Horn: An Overview," *The Journal of Conflict Studies*, Vol 23, No 2 (2003)

¹⁸ Ibid

Israel, particularly the US and the existing tourism industry at the coastal beach with the Islam and cultural dominancy are express terrorism motivating factors.¹⁹

In Kenya, factors facilitating terrorism include: the geographical placement of the coastal region and the advantage of location comparative to Asia, Europe and bordering African countries; permeable borders; neighboring unstable governments, particularly Sudan and Somalia; somewhat open and diverse cultural society; fairly infrastructure; relatively developed regional economy; reasonably great Muslim inhabitants; and the opinionated and socioeconomic deficiency of the coastal residents in relation to the other communities in the country.²⁰

A study of Effect of Terrorism by Kuto and Groves analyzing Kenya's Tourism Crisis in 2004 shares that terrorist have launched massive attacks in Kenya which have occasionally been directed to tourists.²¹ Kuto and Groves show a number of terrorist attack carried on the Nairobi's US embassy on the 7th August 1998 and the attack on the Israel Hotel at Kikambala simultaneously with passenger plane boarded with Israelis on the 28th November 2002.²² Kuto and Grove's agreed with the findings by Sonmez, Yiorgos, & Tarlow, in their study on *Tourism in crisis: Managing the effects of terrorism* in 1999 indicate that terrorist attacks restrict travelling activities until the general population recollects and forgets the events; such terrorism activities have proved to be disastrous to the designated economy since it promotes the likelihood of severe tourism predicaments.²³

Travel advisories by Britain, United States and other European countries to their citizens

¹⁹ Otiso, Kefa. Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery. *Kenya Studies Review*: 1, 1, 107-132 (2009)

²⁰ Otiso, Kefa. Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery. *Kenya Studies Review*: 1, 1, 107-132 (2009)

²¹ Kuto Benjamin and Groves James, "The Effect of Terrorism: Evaluating Kenya's Tourism Crisis," *e-Review of Tourism Research (eRTR)*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 2004

²² Kuto Benjamin and Groves James, "The Effect of Terrorism: Evaluating Kenya's Tourism Crisis," *e-Review of Tourism Research (eRTR)*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 2004

²³ Sonmez, S. F., Yiorgos, A., & Tarlow, P. (1999). *Tourism in crisis: Managing the effects of terrorism. Journal of Travel Research*, 38(6), 3.

planning to have visits in Kenya following these terror attacks and looming intelligence alerts from the western governments.²⁴ In addition, Agutu (2004) explains that these attacks have impacted to the drop in number of tourist visiting Kenya and the economic impact on the hospitality industry at large.²⁵ In the study of Kuto and Groves, the Kenya Tourism Federation reports to that Kenya's overseas market dropped by 90% following the suspension of the regular and chartered British Airways flying to Nairobi.²⁶ The analysis observed that the loss was estimated to a cost of Kenya shillings one billion or (\$128 million) in a week.²⁷ Additionally, over 500,000 direct jobs and indirect opportunities for more than 2.5 million people were lost.²⁸

Otiso Kefa also gives an account of economic implications Kenya's terrorism with much emphasis on tourism. Though extensive, the effects terrorism cases in Kenyan economy are adverse for the tourism industry. This industry represents exchange earnings of 15% and a GDP of 12% which constitutes an eighth of the economy²⁹ and offering job opportunities to around 500,000 people³⁰ who eventually are affected directly.³¹ In comparison, the country received over one million tourists in the year 1997, subsequent attacks frightened tourist leading to a reduction of incoming tourist by 25% in 1998.³² In the year 1999 and 2000, a gradual increase on

²⁴ Kuto Benjamin and Groves James, "The Effect of Terrorism: Evaluating Kenya's Tourism Crisis," *e-Review of Tourism Research (eRTR)*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 2004

²⁵ Agutu, M. "Agency to underwrite terrorism risks. *Daily Nation*. Retrieved March 12, 2014, from <http://www.nationaudio.com>

²⁶ Kuto Benjamin and Groves James, "The Effect of Terrorism: Evaluating Kenya's Tourism Crisis," *e-Review of Tourism Research (eRTR)*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 2004

²⁷ Ibid

²⁸ Gitu, N. D. "Reviving tourism: Let's try a new approach." *The East African Weekly*. Retrieved March 08, 2014, from <http://www.nationaudio.com>

²⁹ Soke, H. A. (2003). Somalia Flights Banned as Kenyan Government Steps Up Terrorism War, *African Conflict Journal*, Monday, June 23, 2003, Online at <http://www.africanconflict.org/newacj>, accessed June 9, 2004

³⁰ Maclean, W. (2003). Bombers Push Kenya's Coast Deeper into Poverty, *The Financial Standard*, August 26 - 1 September, 2003, Available online at <http://www.eastandard.net/>, accessed August 26, 2003.

³¹ Otiso, Kefa. Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery. *Kenya Studies Review*: 1, 1, 107-132 (2009)

³² Kenya, Republic of (2002), *Economic Survey 2002*, Prepared by the Central Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Finance and Planning, Nairobi: Government Printer

tourist was observed before a further decrease was noted following United States attack in 2001 September and a subsequent attack in Kenya in the year 2002.³³ The reductions in the number of tourist incoming to Kenya certainly lead to a radical decline in hotel bookings. For example, at around the mid of the year 2003, normal hotels occupation stood at about 40% to 45% but fell averagely to 20% to 30% in the coastal shore's tourist hotels³⁴ resulting to an equivalent decrease in the tourism industry earnings and reduction in employment opportunities.³⁵

In the mid of the year 2003, it was estimated that the government made a loss of Kenya shilling one billion (\$14 million) in tax revenues and tourism earnings in a week due to the ...unfortunate travel advisories following the looming terrorist attacks in Kenya.³⁶ Moreover, the fall in the tourism sector amplified the debit collections since tourism is largely contributing to the government's budget.³⁷ For the country to mitigate itself from immense losses, it sought for aid from the US government in that specific year.³⁸

Otiso Kefa also gives account of socio-political implications. The terror attacks have facilitated an intense sociopolitical adversities to Kenya that includes: deaths, injuries, tension between Muslims and Christians, radicalization of the Muslim community; aggravation of the citizens by the security apparatus; intensified degradation in the sovereignty of the country; and increasing anti-western sentiments.³⁹ The attacks in the year 1998 and 2002 killed 228 people

³³ Ibid

³⁴ Otiso, Kefa. Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery. Kenya Studies Review: 1, 1, 107-132 (2009)

³⁵ Maclean, W. (2003). Bombers Push Kenya's Coast Deeper into Poverty, The Financial Standard, August 26 - 1 September, 2003, Available online at <http://www.eastandard.net/>, accessed August 26, 2003.

³⁶ Kelley, K. J. (2003). Kenya seeks Sh30b from US. Daily Nation on the Web, Thursday, June 26, 2003

³⁷ Otiso, Kefa. Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery. Kenya Studies Review: 1, 1, 107-132 (2009)

³⁸ Kelley, K. J. (2003). Kenya seeks Sh30b from US. Daily Nation on the Web, Thursday, June 26, 2003

³⁹ Otiso, Kefa. Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery. Kenya Studies Review: 1, 1, 107-132 (2009)

while injuring 4,080 who mostly were Kenyans.⁴⁰ Most of the victims from the attacks were youthful and could be the breadwinners of families that were greatly affected. Broadly, the country lost a work force to the economy and eventual cost of taking care of the casualties and orphaned, while families lost husbands, wives and friends.

In Kenya, the constitution guarantees the freedom of religion and provides protection to the diverse religion practices, these greatly cultivated a peaceful coexistence between the Muslim and Christian Faithfull's.⁴¹ This is despite Christian majority dominance to political, social and a reasonable scope of the economic life. The 1998 terrorist attacks committed by the Islamic extremists, the relationship between Christians and Muslims begun to be sour⁴² with the Christian majority accusing the Muslims for condoning the attacks.⁴³ However the Muslims viewed these allegations as an abuse to the already deprived community in social economic opportunities in the country.⁴⁴ Whether these notions would be substantiated, the opinion made the Muslim feel threatened and undermined which led to the increase in Muslim radicalization in order to propagate a system that would facilitate the introduction of the Islamic Sharia law in their regions as it has been witnessed in Northern Nigeria.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Muendo, L. (2003). US embassy bombing anniversary set for today, East African Standard, August 7, 2003, Online at <http://www.eastandard.net/>, accessed Wednesday, July 07, 2004

⁴¹ Mulama, J. (2004). Constitutional Endorsement of Muslim Courts Provokes Anger. Online at http://www.axisoflogic.com/artman/publish/printer_5623.shtml, accessed June 8, 2004.

⁴² Kelley, K. J. 1999. Religious Tensions Growing in East Africa, The East African on the Web, September 22 - September 28, 1999, Accessed May 25, 2004; and Porter, B. (August 07, 2003). Terrorism Splits Kenya Christians and Muslims. Online <http://www.washtimes.com/upi-breaking/20030806-062435-7097r.htm>, accessed October 24, 2003.

⁴³ Mwaura, P. (2004). Islamophobia on the rise everywhere, Daily Nation of the web, Friday, January 23, 2004, online at <http://www.nationaudio.com/>, accessed July 7, 2004.

⁴⁴ Ibid

⁴⁵ Mulama, J. (2004). Constitutional Endorsement of Muslim Courts Provokes Anger. Online at http://www.axisoflogic.com/artman/publish/printer_5623.shtml, accessed June 8, 2004.

These terrorist attacks have also promoted intolerant and racist views of the anti-Islam and anti-Arab to be accepted and spoken of openly in Kenya.⁴⁶ Intolerant expression, that initially came up in the mid-1900s during the epic struggle for independence came about when native Kenyans resented to the outstanding positions held by foreigners and non-native Kenyans, mostly the role of Asians in the county's economy.

This intolerance to the Asian Kenyans by the native Kenyans started in the 1900s where the Asians were the major link between the natives and the colonial economy; the coastal region has been having silent emotions on the Arabs who possess massive businesses in the region.⁴⁷ Other than the defilement of the Islamic community⁴⁸, the public awareness on the silent anti-Arab and anti-Muslim emotions have been ignited by the terrorist attacks.⁴⁹

These studies focus on historical, causes and effects of terrorism in Kenya between 1975 and 2002. However, much consideration is given to the period beyond 2002 that has been characterized by terror attacks especially the period between 2007 and 2013. The effects arising from such terror attacks have different dimensions due to new participants such as al-Shabaab. In addition, these studies do not provide an insight into types of terrorism. This study therefore seeks to give more account of the period beyond 2002 as well as types of terrorism as add on of the earlier period of 1975 to 2002.

⁴⁶ Mwaura, P. (2004). Islamophobia on the rise everywhere, Daily Nation of the web, Friday, January 23, 2004, online at <http://www.nationaudio.com/>, accessed July 7, 2004.

⁴⁷ Otiso, Kefa. Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery. Kenya Studies Review: 1, 1, 107-132 (2009)

⁴⁸ Mwaura, P. (2004). Islamophobia on the rise everywhere, Daily Nation of the web, Friday, January 23, 2004, online at <http://www.nationaudio.com/>, accessed July 7, 2004.

⁴⁹ Mwaura, P. (2004). Islamophobia on the rise everywhere, Daily Nation of the web, Friday, January 23, 2004, online at <http://www.nationaudio.com/>, accessed July 7, 2004

1.6 Theoretical Framework

This study adopts the etymology of terrorism with emphasis on theory of efficacy of terrorism by Mahinda Balasuriya (2011), who notes that terrorists use violence to weaken political, economic and social systems.⁵⁰ The acts of terrorism attempt to destabilize governments, social ranks, religion or either as entities or as a whole. This is done to ensure that public support in such institutions is minimal. Mahinda observed that, “Terrorism is a strategy of the weak involving use of violence and acts of terrorism.”⁵¹

However, analysis of actions of terrorism shows that it is tied to the response of the target of terrorists. Mahinda posits that the response of a target of terrorism is a measure of efficiency of terrorism since the target influences terrorism activities. Mahinda further shows that if a government (target) is too strong for terrorists, they (terrorists) will use strategies beyond the control of the government.

This theory argues that if a government has put more security measures to counter terrorism, terrorists work beyond the reinforced security to achieve their objectives. This indicates that the behavior of target is primary measure for terrorism. The overriding dilemma is on how the behavior of the target facilitates efficacy of terror activities. In this case, Mahinda provides five responses by the targets. They are mainly: over-reaction, reduction of power, futile repression of moderates, appeasement of moderates and immense coercion.⁵² On over-reaction, Mahinda shows that the target (e.g. government) portrays a behavior of countering terrorists who provoke the government and wait for response. The response depicts over-reaction to the initial

⁵⁰ Mahinda Balasuriya, “Theories of Terrorism”, Posted on Sunday, 06 November 2011 16:19, at <http://www.spiritoftime.su/en/security/114-theories-of-terrorism.html>. Accessed on 5/10/2013

⁵¹ Ibid

⁵² Mahinda Balasuriya, “Theories of Terrorism”, Posted on Sunday, 06 November 2011 16:19, at <http://www.spiritoftime.su/en/security/114-theories-of-terrorism.html>. Accessed on 5/10/2013

provocation by security forces that tend to fall in the trap laid by terrorists, thus resulting in victory for terrorists.

Mahinda further shows that over-reaction is fragile process that easily sparks tension among the public who believe that the target (government) is not following rules. In this case, the situation gets out of hand if the target (government) uses force and here Mahinda observes that, “The denial of civil rights without cause, another over-reaction, supports the target than the people. And any change in the target magnifies the political stature and threat from the terrorists.”⁵³ This encounter has its effects where Mahinda shows that it can be expensive to government in terms of developing, equipping and implementing security instruments. In addition, “Over-reaction usually entails even huge financial implications. These can make the target change from the political, economic, and social activities that would facilitate its accomplishments and a greatly accepted support.”⁵⁴

After over-reaction, power deflation sets in characterized by the target unable to counter terrorism effectively. The terrorists are given confidence of pursuing their agenda. The resulting effect is manifested in terms of people losing confidence in government structures that ought to protect them. This is the greatest challenge in any country such as Kenya facing terror attacks. For Kenya, this theory helps to identify key phases where terror effects are categorized such as economic, political and social components of a state. Thus, it provides a better insight into which analysis of types of terrorism and effects of terrorism are drawn.

⁵³Mahinda Balasuriya, “Theories of Terrorism”, Posted on Sunday, 06 November 2011 16:19, at <http://www.spiritoftime.su/en/security/114-theories-of-terrorism.html>. Accessed on 5/10/2013

⁵⁴ Ibid

1.7 Hypotheses

Thus, this study tests the following hypothesis:

1. Terrorism weakens social systems in Kenya.
2. Terrorism cripples economic systems in Kenya.
3. Ineffective social and economic systems in Kenya promote terrorism.

1.8 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This research was intended to look at the critical analysis of selected terror events and its effects in Kenya between 1998 and 2013. It focused on analyzing both short term and long term effects of independent Kenya's terror attacks since 1998. The study involved examination of social and economic systems in response to terror attacks. The behavior of citizens, foreigners, investors and international community at every terror attack is of essence to the study. It also involved carrying out comparison on how the markets or economy in different sectors respond and religious or social class dynamics without terror attack.

However, in carrying out this study, the researcher found it challenging to collect information from security forces in the country as much is considered classified. In addition, due to financial limitation, the researcher got specific trends in each sector of the economy but general trends were preferred.

1.9 Methodology

This study adopted descriptive case research design. In this type of research design, it enabled the researcher to apply both quantitative and qualitative research techniques for an in-depth analysis on effects of terrorism in Kenya. The analysis involved terror cases and how it affected the country because terror attacks are not continuous, rather occur at irregular intervals. For each terror attack, it was considered distinct and its effects analysed. This culminated into

long term effects of terrorism in Kenya. The compounding of such cases was as a result of collecting data from secondary sources.

On the other hand, secondary data was obtained from books, reports, newspapers and journals among others. Data was collected for a period of three months. Collected data was analysed either quantitatively or qualitatively. Quantitative data was analysed descriptively by use of Microsoft Excel in terms of mean, percentages and correlation coefficients and presented in tables, graphs and pie-charts. For qualitative data, it was analyzed based on themes and subthemes of the study.

1.10 Chapter Outline

The study was organized in five chapters; chapter one identifies the background of the problem, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, justification, literature review, theoretical and conceptual framework, hypothesis, operational concepts and methodology. Chapter two is an overview of terrorism and its effects. Chapter three looks at the critical analysis of terrorism and its effects in Kenya. Chapter four is on presentation of the findings, interpretation and the analysis of the data collected from the field survey through tabulation and coding. Chapter five which is the last chapter, is about the research summary, conclusions and recommendations from the research.

CHAPTER TWO

TERRORISM AND ITS EFFECTS

2.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a summary on terrorism and its effects from comparison position with respect to history, types, effects and responses to terrorism.

2.2 History and Concept of Terrorism

According to Hoffman, the beginning of 1st century AD, terrorism began in Judaea Province organized by Sicarii Zealots, Jewish extremist group. During that period, it is observed that the Zealotry rebellion resulted in killing of prominent people in the Roman Empire.¹ These early acts of terrorism led to deaths of perceived enemies and were a way of eliminating collaborators and passing a message to the population. Similar observations were made by Chaliand who noted that Sicarii Zealots perceived Roman rule as oppressive and had to be eliminated through violent actions intended to cause death.² This shows that social injustice contributes to terrorism.

In the 6 century AD, it is recorded that Judas of Galilee transformed the Sicarii Zealots by forming small group which directed their violent actions to other Roman collaborators.³ Hoffman observes that the group's activities were aimed at the Jewish "collaborators", and other affluent elites.⁴ These events indicate that terrorist activities were directed at people who were perceived not to subscribe to given ideologies.

¹ Hoffman, Bruce, "Inside Terrorism," New York: Columbia University Press, 1988. p. 83

² Chaliand, Gerard, "The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to al Qaeda," Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007. p.56

³ Ibid

⁴ Hoffman, Bruce, Op. Cit., 1988

As time went by, terrorism also evolved and spread. For example it is believed that the actions in Middle East were not particularly known as terrorism but the activities qualified to be terrorism which originally referred to as actions of the Jacobin Club⁵ at a time of the Reign of Terror.⁶ In this case, the Jacobin leader referred terror as that which offers justice through violence.⁷ Terrorism was taken as a means to express and administer instant justice characterized by lack of humanity based actions. During the French revolution, there was response from some people such as Edmund Burke who denounced the Jacobins for allowing increase in terror activities.⁸

In 1858 January, terror activities were witnessed in Italy where three bombs were thrown by Felice Orsini with intention of assassinating French Emperor, Napoleon III.⁹ Terrorism thus includes assassinations where the terrorist expresses dissatisfaction through use of weapons to eliminate the perceived 'enemy'. During that scuffle in Italy, that left eight bystanders dead and 142 victims injured. This occurrence played a vital part in inspiring for the formation of the early Russian terrorist groups.¹⁰ This implies that terror activities easily spread by virtue of providing inspiration to other groups who use similar or modified means to express their dissatisfaction against the existing system perceived to be oppressive. In the year 1869 in Russia, Sergey

⁵ The Society of the Friends of the Constitution was the most famous and influential political club in the development of the French Revolution. See, "Jacobin Club (French political history) - Britannica Online Encyclopedia". Britannica.com..

⁶ The Reign of Terror (5 September 1793 – 28 July 1794), was a period of violence that occurred after the onset of the French Revolution, incited by conflict between rival political factions, the Girondins and the Jacobins, and marked by mass executions of "enemies of the revolution". See Terror, Reign of; Encyclopædia Britannica

⁷ Ruth Scurr, "Fatal Purity: Robespierre and the French Revolution," (2006)

⁸ Edmund Burke (1795). "Letter No. IV. To the Earl Fitzwilliam". Library of Economics and Liberty. pp. 308–76, 371. "Thousands of those Hell-hounds called Terrorists, whom they had shut up in Prison on their last Revolution, as the Satellites of Tyranny, are let loose on the people."

⁹ Crenshaw, Martha, "Terrorism in Context," p. 38

¹⁰ Ibid

Nechavev founded the People's Retribution and defined himself as a 'terrorist'. It is believed that this is where modern meaning of terrorist is derived.¹¹

Since 1800s, there have been cases of terrorism characterized by increasing sophistication on use, purpose and target groups. For instance, between 1865 and 1877, Hwa Chong Institution notes that many people were killed by Ku Klux Klan in the US which were considered cases of terror.¹² In the 20th C, it began by 24 people dying as result of a bomb intended to kill the king of Spain; King Alfonso XIII and his wife in 1906, although they survived.¹³ Hwa Chong Institution also gives an account of other terror attacks ranging from the 1910 October bomb attack in Los Angeles, the assassination of King Alexander 1 in 1934; the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi in 1948; blowing up of MV Dara by Omani terrorists in 1961 which killed 238 people; Munich massacre in 1972 in which eleven Israelis were killed; the infamous Lockerbie bombing of Panama airline in 1988; the World Trade Center and Pentagon attacked by Al-Qaeda in 2001; and London tunnel bombings in 2005 among others.¹⁴

The history and trends in global terrorism portray various motivators of terrorism. There are attacks that are religiously or politically motivated. Political motivation correlates to assassinations while religion based terrorism results in mass killings. Hwa Chong Institution observes that terrorism is caused by ethnical or national differences, poverty and economic problems, anti-democracy, dehumanization and religion.¹⁵ Under ethnical and national differences, it is noted that aggrieved groups in either social or political systems resort to

¹¹ Hwa Chong Institution, "Causes of Terrorism", Available at: http://www2.hci.edu.sg/y08hci0118/DtoD/terrorism_causes/index.html. Accessed on 2/10/2013

¹² Hwa Chong Institution, "Causes of Terrorism", Available at: http://www2.hci.edu.sg/y08hci0118/DtoD/terrorism_causes/index.html. Accessed on 2/10/2013

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Hwa Chong Institution, "Causes of Terrorism", Available at: http://www2.hci.edu.sg/y08hci0118/DtoD/terrorism_causes/index.html. Accessed on 2/10/2013

violence for nationalist or separatist reasons.¹⁶ In this case, there are complexities arising from inequities in social, political and economic systems which some people capitalize on to create violence as a means of addressing their issues.

2.3 Types of Terrorism

The Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism, distinguished terrorism in various categories that included: civil disorder, political terrorism, limited political terrorism and official or state terrorism. The Task force observed that civil disorder is a combined aggression affecting public peace, safety and standard operations of the public. In this case, civil disorder a form of disapproval against, the main socio-political problems; the adversities of the action are displeasure.¹⁷ Examples of civil disorder comprise, but are not essentially narrowed to unlawful grouping, riots, sabotage and other crimes. Its intention is demonstration to public or government but often escalate to general chaos.¹⁸ This shows that some forms of public expressions such as demonstrations become terror activities if escalated into form of conflicts, perhaps when the public cause social unrest, use demonstration to perpetuate crime or engage in violent challenges against law enforcers.

Secondly, Political terrorism is another type of terrorism. Political terrorism comprise of violent unlawful actions deliberately carried to create fear in the community, or a significant section of it, for political purposes. Political terrorism involves illegitimate use of power or aggression against people as a means of putting pressure on government or the inhabitant population in developing their political or social objectives.¹⁹ An example to this form of terrorism is the Bombing in Oklahoma City in 1997 by McVeigh that led to loss of lives

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ Schurink, W.J. (1990) *Victimization: Nature and Trends*. Human Sciences Research Council. p 416.

¹⁸ Black, D. (2007) *What to Do When the Shit Hits the Fan*. Skyhorse Publishing. p 212.

¹⁹ The Free Dictionary

amounting to 168 people and destruction of property. From this case, it was observed that McVeigh was expressing his dissatisfaction over government's action to destroy private property which made McVeigh to revenge by killing civilians and destroying property.

Limited Political Terrorism is the third type of terrorism committed for ideological or political motives although do not intent or determined to take charge of the government. The design of this terrorist formation is by a revolutionary movement with a primary objective of not overthrowing the government, but to dispute over some actions or government policy.²⁰ This shows that people might express their reaction to government's policies perceived to be oppressive through revolutions characterized by violent protests affecting public and private property. For example, anti-apartheid revolution in South Africa was intended to compel the government to break all social barriers where white people were preferred more than blacks.

Official or state terrorism is the fourth type of terrorism. This refers to conditions or rule by some nations characterized by fear and oppression orchestrated by the state rulers towards their citizens and reaches similar levels of terrorism or to such extent. This is also characterized as Structural Terrorism where the actions typically represent the approved policy of the government, and to utilize formal arms of government like the judiciary, police, military, and other government structures. Changes to lawful codes sanction or promote persecution, assassination, or property destruction in quest of government policies.

For example, after taking over government, the official Nazi policy in Germany was primarily the decimation of enemy.²¹ Additionally, the 1930s Stalin's "purges" of the former USSR are examples of utilizing state machinery to intimidate the citizens.²² The mechanisms he

²⁰ National Museum of Crime and Punishment, "Type of Terrorism," Crime Museum, 2008. Accessed December 9, 2013. <http://www.crimemuseum.org/library/terrorism/typesOfTerrorism.html>

²¹ <http://www.terrorism-research.com/state/>

²² Ibid

applied included actions such as tight trials of opposition, punishing the associates of suspected opponents of the administration and using police and military illegally on the citizens.

Included in the list of types of terrorism by the Task Force on Disorders and Terrorism are non political terrorism and quasi terrorism. In this case, non political terrorism is basically carried out by a group for various reasons; commonly it's for religious purpose.²³ The aim is usually to achieve something different from political gains. In addition, quasi terrorism is a form of violent attacks that utilizes similar mechanisms that terrorist deploy, although they lack similar motivating factors.²⁴ Such instances involve armed criminal who hold civilians hostage to aid the escape from the law enforcement organs. The acts are terror although terrorism was not the main objective.

Another form of terrorism includes religious terrorism which is perpetuated by groups or individuals; this is typically driven by religious doctrines. In this case, it is noted that terrorist deeds have been executed throughout the centuries on religious arguments with the aim of widening or enforce a doctrine, perspective or opinion.²⁵ Nevertheless, religious terrorism essentially doesn't propagate a defined religious opinion, but rather it usually fronts the beliefs and objectives of individuals or group. Considering the highlighted types of terrorism by Task Force on Disorder and Terrorism, it can be observed that motive is different with consequences being similar but diverse.

2.4 Kenya's Profile on Terrorism

To understand the effects of terrorism, it is crucial to understand the geography of Kenya. The country is located in Eastern Africa which is strategic link to Gulf of Aden and the

²³ National Museum of Crime and Punishment

²⁴ Ibid

²⁵ Peter Rose. "Disciples of religious terrorism share one faith". Christian Science Monitor. August 28, 2003

Arabian.²⁶ Additionally, Kenya is intertwined by Uganda, Tanzania, Somalia, Ethiopia and South Sudan. The Kenya's geographical orientation makes it part of Horn of Africa. The security in this region is inter-linked making it difficult for Kenya to make decisions without tensions between these regions. Demographically, Kenya's population is estimated at 40 million people, where those living below the poverty line are 45% of the population.²⁷ The country is dominated by Christians with a sizable and outspoken Muslim minority forming 7 % although thriving private organization carries more than 20%.²⁸ However, a generally acknowledged figure is 15% of the inhabitants, who occupy the coastal region.²⁹

Terror cases in Kenya are traced to 1975. The country experienced its first bomb in 1975.³⁰ The trend of terror cases increased in intensity in the period between 1998 and 2013. Kenya became soft target for terrorists owing to its military operations in Somalia. This indicates that new entrants in Kenya's terrorist attacks were Al-Shabaab. On 13 June 2010, in a "NO" campaign rally held on the 13th of June 2010, a stampede occurred when a petrol bomb was launched into the crowd at dusk as people fled for their lives³¹ and similarly, the police held the Al-Shabaab sympathizers responsible for the attack on St Polycarp's church in Nairobi where a grenade attack was launched on 30 September, the media reports indicated that one child was killed.³²

The worst attack done by Al-Shabaab in Kenya's history is recent Westgate siege. It is observed that Kenya experienced one of the worst terror attacks on the 21st of September 2013,

²⁶ Aronson, Samuel, "Kenya and the Global War on Terror: Neglecting History and Geopolitics in Approaches to Counterterrorism," *African Journal of Criminology and Justice Studies: AJCJS*, Vol.7, #s1 &2, November 2013

²⁷ World Bank, "Kenya Report," World Bank, 2010

²⁸ World Bank, "Kenya Report," World Bank, 2010

²⁹ Vittori, J., Bremer, K., & Vittori, P., "Islam in Tanzania and Kenya: Ally or threat in the War on Terror? *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. 32(1), 1075 1099 (2009)

³⁰ Ibid

³¹ Pflanz, Mike. (13 June 2010) "Explosion at Kenyan referendum rally kills five". *The Daily Telegraph*

³² BBC, "Kenya children hurt 'in church grenade attack'". BBC. 30 September 2012.

in which a well renowned shopping mall frequented by the wealthy elites in Nairobi was seized by militants, the several days siege led to the death more than 67 *civilians*, many who were foreigners.³³ In this case, Kenya has high potential of terror attacks.

³³ Aronson, Samuel; 2013

CHAPTER THREE

TERRORISM AND ITS EFFECTS IN KENYA

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes terrorism in the Kenyan context. It is focused on security status relative to threats and actions of terrorism in Kenya. This will form basis of identifying emerging issues on terrorism in Kenya.

3.2 Kenya as a Target for Terrorists

Following the above incidents, it is argued that Kenya was not basically preferred randomly by terrorists.³⁴ There are various factors that place Kenya as a favorite spot for the attacks. The factors include “...geography, ethnic composition, political instability, regional instability, Islamic fundamentalism, and lax law enforcement.”³⁵ This indicates that as long these factors are not controlled, Kenya continues to face terror threats. Relatively, most of the World’s war on terror is orchestrated in the neighboring northern Somalia. The failure of the Somalia government in 1991 created an ungovernable society, hence criminal and radicalized ideologies developed. The inability of the state organs ever since has promoted the illegal movement of people and commodities to and from Somalia.³⁶

Even though a larger number of these were refugees looking for settlement in Kenya, the subsequent number of terrorists’ refugees shouldn’t be neglected.³⁷ With the permeable borders and an established existence of Islamic elements, Kenya and other countries are at threat posed by Somalia. This makes Somalia favorite transportation hub that facilitates illegal trade in

³⁴ Aronson, Samuel; Op. Cit., 2013

³⁵ Adan, H.H. Maj. “Combating transnational terrorism in Kenya,” Defense Technical Information Center, 2005.

³⁶ Aronson, Samuel; 2013

³⁷ Ibid

Kenya; remarkably noted, the arson used by attackers in Mombasa in 2002 was illicitly transported to Kenya through the shared porous border.³⁸

The attack on the Kenya Defense Forces (KDF) by the Somalia re-amplified the prevailing fragile relationship between the Islamic Faithfull's in the Horn of Africa and the government of Kenya.³⁹ The intrusion into southern Somalia, occasionally referred to as *Operation Linda Nchi*, ("Protect the Country"), has categorically been linked to all international attacks carried in Kenya since the operation started in 2011 October.⁴⁰ It is believed; the more than 50 attacks conducted in Kenya are retaliation attacks to counter the *Operation Linda Nchi* and more so to impede the Kenyan foreign policy. These attacks have led to civilian deaths; more so, they extensively create fear and the capacity of existence of terror groups operating in the Kenyan urban and rural setups.⁴¹

In a different perception, the Islamic characteristic element of terrorism should be examined significantly. Though a thorough history of Muslim hostility has been discussed earlier in this paper, the existing state and degree of Islamic radicalism is essential to understanding the existence or lack of terrorism in Kenya.⁴² Studies reveal that more of the Islam extremism originates from Somalia and with lack of proper border security, it entered Kenya. There exist radical imams born in Kenya who preach against the Kenyan and western views.⁴³ People like sheikh Aboud Rogo and Makaburi radicalize youths for them to participate in terror attacks.

Finally, the Kenyan laws on terrorism flawed leading to problems and even with enhanced legislative attempts, minimal accomplishments have been noted. For example, the

³⁸ Mogire & Agade, Op. Cit., 2011

³⁹ Aronson, Samuel; Op. Cit., 2013

⁴⁰ Ibid

⁴¹ Aronson, Samuel; Op. Cit., 2013

⁴² Ibid

⁴³ Shinn, D. H. "Fighting terrorism in East Africa and the Horn." *Foreign Service Journal*, 81(9), 40. (2004); Adan, H.H. Maj. (2005)

description of *terrorism* is unclear and hence, can be challenged by opponents. Kenya's definition on terrorism does not consider terrorism on grounds of criminal basis, principles and political nature and hence, setting unreasonable target on the Muslim minority in Kenya. Additionally, difficulty in passing legislations and eventual use has been encountered, hence the government lacks official and encompassing laws on anti-terrorism in its operations. .

3.3 Types of Terrorism in Kenya

Despite the fact that Kenya has encountered all the four types of terrorism – i.e ethnonationalist, religious, leftist and rightist,⁴⁴ the most destructive attacks are associated with religious and ethnonationalist attacks. The most dominating forms of attacks in Kenya manifest from specific historic sequences. The perpetrators of current *religious/sacred terrorism* attacks show no qualm by killing civilians in the course of achieving their objective is mostly bothersome. This far, Kenya has been subjected to tremendous attacks by the religious Al-Qaeda terrorist groups in subsequent six years⁴⁵ including US Embassy's attack in Nairobi on the 7th of August 1998 killing over 200 civilians⁴⁶ and injuring thousands.⁴⁷ The bombing of the tourist hotel in Mombasa owned by an Israel nationality in November 28, 2002 that killed 15 people while injuring 80 more is a classical example of Religious/Sacred terrorism.⁴⁸

Religious/Sacred terrorism is the most practiced and it occasionally overwhelm humanity more as it crucial in distinguishing between the 'True followers' or verses Islamic 'Apostates' or

⁴⁴ Otiso, Kefa, "Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery." *Kenya Studies Review*: 1, 1, 107-132. (2009).

⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ Maina, C, "How the Kenya government invites terrorist attacks, expression today," online at http://www.kenyanews.com/exp24/psto_15.html, accessed March 7, 2014.

⁴⁷ Mogire & Agade, Op. Cit., 2011

Muendo, L., "US embassy bombing anniversary set for today, East African Standard, August 7, 2003, Online at <http://www.eastandard.net/>, accessed, March 07, 2014.

⁴⁸ *Daily Nation* (Friday, November 29, 2002). Two suspects arrested after terror bomb on hotel kills 13, Online at <http://www.nationaudio.com/>, accessed March 10, 2014.

‘Infidels’.⁴⁹ More so, the perpetrators have no regards to humanity and nature and can unpredictably unleash terror whenever the deity commands.⁵⁰ Furthermore this type of terrorism is dangerous because the perpetrators act without considering the prevailing secular or social values and laws and aim at substituting the law or values.⁵¹ For example, the forceful attempt to compel secular and multi-religious societies around the world to embrace Sharia (Islamic) law.⁵²

The perpetrators of Religious/sacred terrorism are get their extravagant motivation from ambitions to overthrow prevailing social order.⁵³ This type of terrorism can receive massive support globally that can render the control measures inadequate to maintain, that such control mechanisms disintegrate into a complete conflict, occasionally when viewed apocalyptically, e.g the attempts by the US on Osama bin Laden is viewed as a Christian crusade that should be countered by a Jihad. Lastly, this type of terrorism has its objective that does not reflect material gain as compared to ethno-nationalist or separatist terrorist movements.⁵⁴

In the period between 2005 and 2013, many respondents noted that Kenya was faced with religious kind of terrorism. For example, 78% believed that those who carried out the attacks were al-Shabaab members who were Muslims. They cited the grenade attack on crusade gathering at Uhuru Park in 2005, church attacks in Kariokor in 2010 and Westgate attack in 2013. However, many attacks did not reflect religious attack such as: administration police and two traffic officers were killed in grenade attacks on the 4th of December 2010; two weeks later, at the Kampala Coach Bus station a grenade exploded in which one person was killed and 26

⁴⁹ Cronin, A. K. “Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism. *International Security*,” 27:3 (December 01, 2002). pp. 30-58. (2002)

⁵⁰ Ibid

⁵¹ Ibid

⁵² Sieff, M. “The Inevitable Aftermath? Radicalism's New Foothold in the Middle East,” *In the National Interest*, June 4, 2003, Online at <http://www.inthenationalinterest.com/>, Accessed March 9, 2014.

⁵³ Cronin, A. K. “Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism. *International Security*,” 27:3 (December 01, 2002). pp. 30-58. (2002)

⁵⁴ Otiso, Kefa, “Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery.” *Kenya Studies Review*: 1, 1, 107-132. (2009).

injured in River road, Nairobi. Mwaura's Pub was also attacked where one person was killed and 15 injured; seven days later a similar attack occurred at OTC bus station.⁵⁵ This shows that although religious terrorism was to blame, other unknown reasons existed. Some of these reasons were attributed to Kenya Defence Forces in Somalia as observed by 56% of the respondents.

3.4 Effects of Terrorism in Kenya

3.4.1 Economic Effects

Nonetheless, the tourism industry has widely been economically affected by the terrorist attacks. The sector which represents a total of 12% earnings in foreign exchange and a 12% GDP,... constituting an eighth of the country's economy.⁵⁶ Kenya received more than one million tourists in 1997, but after the 1998 bomb attack, tourists were scares causing a marginal reduction by 25% of tourists in the year 1998.⁵⁷ Inevitably, the reduction of tourists reverberated in the tourism value chain as hotel bookings reduced.⁵⁸ Comparatively, in the middle of the year 2003, hotels are occupied; usually at about 40% to 45% ... such time of the year ... drooped averagely to about 20% to 30% in the coastal hotels resulting to a considerable drop in the earnings and jobs in the tourist industry.⁵⁹

The government estimates that in the mid-2003, about Kenya shillings 1 billion (\$14 million) was lost in a week by the tourism industry in tax revenues and earnings regarding the

⁵⁵ Kibiwott Koross, "Chronology of terrorist attacks in Kenya", The Star. Available at: <http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/article-7279/chronology-terrorist-attacks-kenya>. Accessed on 28th September, 2013.

⁵⁶ Soke, H. A. "Somalia Flights Banned as Kenyan Government Steps Up Terrorism War," *African Conflict Journal*, Monday, June 23, 2003, Online at <http://www.africanconflict.org/newacj>, accessed March 9, 2014.

⁵⁷ Otiso, Kefa, "Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery." *Kenya Studies Review*: 1, 1, 107-132. (2009).

⁵⁸ Otiso, Kefa, "Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery." *Kenya Studies Review*: 1, 1, 107-132. (2009).

⁵⁹ Maclean, W. "Bombers Push Kenya's Coast Deeper into Poverty, The Financial Standard," August 26 - 1 September, 2003, Available online at <http://www.eastandard.net/>, accessed March 06, 2014.

untimely travel advisories occasioned by increased terror attacks.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the drop in the tourist industry increased the deficit on the government's budget worsening the balance of trade given that tourism is a key source of foreign currency. —To cub this massive deficit, Kenya shillings 30 billion (\$400 million) was sought as “emergency” from the US government in the same year.⁶¹

Table 1: Hotel bed-nights by zone, 1997-2001 ('000)

Zone	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001*
Coastal-Beach	3,074.4	1,505.3	1,625.2	2,065.2	1,872.5
-Other	71.5	109.1	73.9	85.8	137.9
Coast Hinterland	59.0	43.9	48.7	76.3	56.5
Nairobi-high Class	801.5	655.6	685.5	836.1	681.3
-Other	311.8	178.0	173.2	167.2	138.2
Central	218.1	92.9	77.5	145.7	83.1
Masailand	215.0	85.2	84.3	141.5	138.3
Nyanza Basin	88.2	110.8	110.1	87.3	107.1
Western	64.3	27.3	69.2	72.4	98.8
Northern	6.5	4.9	3.4	10.3	41.2
TOTAL-OCCUPIED	4,910.3	2,813.0	2,951.0	3,687.8	3,354.9
TOTAL AVAILABLE	9,516.6	7,975.7	8,711.4	9,382.3	8,327.8
*Provisional; Table source: Kenya, Republic of (2002), <i>Economic Survey 2002</i> , Prepared by the Central Bureau of Statistics, Ministry of Finance and Planning, Nairobi: Government Printer, pp. 191					

Source: Otiso Kefa, 2009

In the period between 2005 and 2013, there were also economic implications. For example, the Westgate Mall attack in 2013 had a large impact on the insurance industry as insurance companies paid more than Kshs. 6 billion in a single phase.⁶² In addition, the retail sector was affected as most shoppers carried out their activities in areas that were not crowded.⁶³ To further demonstrate this, 72% of study respondents noted that Westgate mall was a one of the

⁶⁰ Kelley, K. J. “Kenya seeks Sh30b from US. *Daily Nation*, Thursday, June 26, 2003

⁶¹ Ibid

⁶² Stratlink Africa, “Kenya – A Resilient Economy in The Face of Terrorism,” Stratlink Africa, September 2013

⁶³ Ibid

largest revenue earners for many businesses from supermarkets, restaurants to banks and the attack resulted into revenue and job losses.⁶⁴

On stock exchange, the first day of trading (Monday) following the attack, the amount of NSE 20 share index dropped by 51% that is from 26.2 million shares traded on Friday to 12.7 million shares.⁶⁵ The productivity decline witnessed on that Monday was due to the persistent tension over the weekend.⁶⁶ On Tuesday however, the NSE improved representative a reasonable deal of pliability as the Westgate attack was being managed by the government.⁶⁷ Investors interviewed by this study noted that they were forced to re-strategize their plans following the attack. Majority seemed to indicate that they were skeptical in investing in Kenya unless security measures were adequate.

3.4.2 Sociopolitical Effects

These terror attacks have led to some profound sociopolitical implications which include: the loss of lives and disruption of livelihood; developing religious tension; emerging of Anti-Muslim/Arab rightwing group; Muslim countries being radicalized; Kenyans harassed by police; sovereignty of the country being eroded and the emerging anti-western opinions.⁶⁸ Cumulatively, the terror attacks carried between 1998 and 2002 claimed 228 people and injured 4,080 injured, in which most of the affected were Kenyans. Majority of the victims were at a prime age, hence considered breadwinners for many people.⁶⁹ The implication is that the county lost a working

⁶⁴ Kelley, K. J. "Religious Tensions Growing in East Africa," *The EastAfrican* on the Web, September 22 - September 28, 1999, Accessed February 25, 2014. & Porter, B., "Terrorism Splits Kenya Christians and Muslims. Online <http://www.washtimes.com/upi-breaking/20030806-062435-7097r.htm>, accessed October 24, 2013.

⁶⁵ Ibid

⁶⁶ Ibid

⁶⁷ Ibid

⁶⁸ Otiso, Kefa, "Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery." *Kenya Studies Review*: 1, 1, 107-132. (2009).

⁶⁹ Ibid

population and family members while incurring the cost of caring for the injured. In brief, the country lost many workers, husbands, wives, and friends besides being saddled with the cost of taking care of the injured, disfigured and orphaned.

A study was carried descriptively on pregnant women affected by the bomb attack in Nairobi in 1998. Findings revealed that the foetuses in the women's wombs were affected. The women suffered severe psychological effects from the events. In a span of three years, most of the women were still suffering from suggesting Clinical Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).⁷⁰ The symptoms of the mothers' PTSD levels correlated with the profile CPS of the children.

Tension between Muslims and Christians worsens every time terror attacks occur.⁷¹ Many Christians were blaming the Muslims for supporting the attacks⁷² For the Muslims; the accusation was an additional insult to the injustices they believe to have suffered by being disadvantaged in accusation of job opportunities and socioeconomic prospects.⁷³ Whether these can be proved or not, the perception of the Muslims being under siege established radicalization resulting to the escalating demand for a centralized government making it simple to initiate a Sharia (Islamic) law in the regions as already done in Northern Nigeria.⁷⁴ In fact, in areas predominantly occupied by Muslims, the Sharia law has been adopted and is in use; the

Muendo, L., "US embassy bombing anniversary set for today, East African Standard, August 7, 2003, Online at <http://www.eastandard.net/>, accessed March 07, 2014

⁷⁰ Ndeti David, Rono Ruthie, Mwangi Susan, Ototo Benson, Alaro Jael, Esakwa Margaret, Mwangi Judy, Kamau Anthony, Otieno Caleb and Mutiso Victoria, "Psychological Effects of the Nairobi US Embassy bomb Blast on Pregnant Women and their Children," *World Psychiatry*, Feb (2005); 4(1): 20-52

⁷¹ Kelley, K. J. "Religious Tensions Growing in East Africa," *The EastAfrican* on the Web, September 22 - September 28, 1999, Accessed February 25, 2014. & Porter, B., "Terrorism Splits Kenya Christians and Muslims. Online <http://www.washtimes.com/upi-breaking/20030806-062435-7097r.htm>, accessed October 24, 2013.

⁷² Mwaura, P. "Islamophobia on the rise everywhere," *Daily Nation* of the web, Friday, January 23, 2004, online at <http://www.nationaudio.com/>, accessed March 7, 2014.

⁷³ Ibid

⁷⁴ Mulama, J. "Constitutional Endorsement of Muslim Courts Provokes Anger," Online at http://www.axisoflogic.com/artman/publish/printer_5623.shtml, accessed March 8, 2014

Northeastern province is a typical example.⁷⁵

The recent constitutional review process was characterized by some events of radicalization. Since the exercise was carried soon after an attack that certainly complicated the Kenyan Muslim life, they sought like other social assemblies to have articles to their advantage, an example being the official recognition of kadhi courts in the judicial system.⁷⁶ Mulama warns that these religious competitions can sparkle civil war or a revolution as witnessed in Sudan in 1980s when the Sharia law was imposed by General Mahamad Numeiry.

In the aftermath of the Westgate Terror attack, political connotations changed. For example, as the International Criminal Court proceeding against Kenya's president and deputy vice president continued, the President requested to be excused from continuous presence during the ICC trial with his physical presence during the trial required on opening and closing of the trial in order for him to managing lingering effects of terrorism in the country.⁷⁷ The Vice President, William Ruto was allowed to return to Kenya in the midst of his trial to manage the situation at the Westgate.⁷⁸ This implies that Kenya's terror attacks had significant security concern for the country.

3.5 Responses of Kenya to Terror Attacks

The Anti-Terrorism police unit was eventually created by the internal security ministry in 1998 after the bomb attack.⁷⁹ This is a clear indication that the Kenya's security forces have obtained relevant equipments to fight terrorism. The Kenyan security organs have however been

⁷⁵ Weiss, T. "Chapter Five: Northeastern Province," in *Guns in the Borderlands, Reducing the Demand for Small Arms*, Monograph No 95, January 2004, Online at <http://www.iss.co.za/pubs/Monographs/No95/Chap5.pdf>, accessed March 9, 2014

⁷⁶ Mulama, J. "Constitutional Endorsement of Muslim Courts Provokes Anger," Online at http://www.axisoflogic.com/artman/publish/printer_5623.shtml, accessed March 8, 2014

⁷⁷ Stratlink Africa, "Kenya – A Resilient Economy in The Face of Terrorism," Stratlink Africa, September 2013

⁷⁸ Ibid

⁷⁹ Koome Gikunda, "Terrorism in Kenya," Stanford, 2013

accused of using unskilled strategies on terrorist captives and extreme physical searches being commonly observed on highways especially leading to key installation such as airports.⁸⁰ The opinion of this study's respondents (66%) showed that they are in support of the mechanism even though they seem unaware that they would be eventually affected by them.

On April 30th, 2003, the government published the Terrorism Bill which criminalized the unlawful training of use of weapons, forming a terror group, ownership of terror articles, belonging to a terror group or supporting terrorist activities.⁸¹ This study's respondents noted that they were aware of it as 56% observed that bill give extra authority to police and bring out cooperative measures to facilitate Kenya to join other countries in combating terrorism, 33% noted that it considers punishment, and or lifetime imprisonment for someone convicted of terrorism and, 11% cited that it permit the reposition of property deemed to have been acquired in the course of terrorism. Indeed, this is what the bill contains and demonstrates legal measures of anti-terrorism. In addition, another response is the continued stay of Kenya Defence Forces in Somalia. In this case, 54% supported the stay while 46% did not. Those who did not observed that it increased radicalization hence Kenya becoming more susceptible to attacks. This opinion should not be ignored by Kenya's security systems.

3.6 Chapter Conclusion

From these arguments and cases, it can be noted that the Kenya has been facing terror attacks due to its vulnerability in terms of geographical position as well as security systems. These attacks have contributed to economic and social-political effects that require urgent

⁸⁰ Maclean, W. "Bombers Push Kenya's Coast Deeper into Poverty, The Financial Standard," August 26 - 1 September, 2003, Available online at <http://www.eastandard.net/>, accessed March 06, 2014.

⁸¹ Republic of Kenya, "The Terrorism Suppression Bill (draft), in *Kenya Gazette Supplement No. 38 (Bills No. 15)*, 2003. Nairobi: Government Printers

attention through curbing occurrence of terrorism. However, there are emerging issues for further analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR

CRITICAL ANALYSIS ON TERRORISM IN KENYA

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides emerging issues in terms of data analysis and implications. The is described under types of terrorism in Kenya, effects of terrorism and responses to terrorism.

4.2 Types of Terrorism in Kenya

It is emerging that Kenya been attacked by all forms of the four key types of terrorism – i.e., ethnonationalist, religious, rightist and leftist.⁸² However, most of the disastrous attacks are those associated with religious and ethnonationalistic. In such attack instances, the perpetrators have portrayed lack of qualms over harming civilians as long as they eventually achieve their objective. For example since 1998, Kenya has been subjected to devastating terror attacks form the religious Al-Qaeda terrorist⁸³ including the US embassy bombing in Nairobi on August 7, 1998 killing over 200 people.⁸⁴ It also injured thousands.⁸⁵ Religious/sacred terrorism is also seen in the bombing which occurred on the 28 of November, 2002, in Mombasa at the Paradise tourist hotel , owned by Israelites, killing 15 people and injuring 80 others.⁸⁶ In addition, as an affiliate or Al-Qaeda sponsored group, al-Shabaab has also been carrying such attacks since 2005 with the worst recorded at Westgate shopping mall in September 2013.

⁸² Otiso, Kefa, “Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery.” *Kenya Studies Review*: 1, 1, 107-132. (2009).

⁸³ Ibid

⁸⁴ Maina, C, “How the Kenya government invites terrorist attacks, expression today,” online at http://www.kenyanews.com/exp24/psto_15.html, accessed March 7, 2014.

⁸⁵ Muendo, L., “US embassy bombing anniversary set for today, East African Standard, August 7, 2003, Online at <http://www.eastandard.net/>, accessed, March 07, 2014.

⁸⁶ *Daily Nation* (Friday, November 29, 2002). Two suspects arrested after terror bomb on hotel kills 13, Online at <http://www.nationaudio.com/>, accessed March 10, 2014.

Religious/sacred terrorism has been observed currently dominant. This is necessitated by the competition and struggle between good and evil trying to overwhelm humanity.⁸⁷ The perpetrators unleash terror unpredictably with express command from their deities without any regard to humanity and mortal concerns to without the knowledge of non-adherents.⁸⁸ Furthermore this type of terrorism is dangerous because it is executed without regard to existing secular or social laws and values, or alternatively, target to replace these values.⁸⁹ For example, multi-religious and secular societies in the world have been coerced by the extremist Al Qaeda's Islamic group to embrace the Islamic Sharia laws.⁹⁰

Under Religious/sacred terrorism, the perpetrators may be provoked with the belief of conquering the prevailing social order.⁹¹ The measures to impede such terror attacks are limited since such terror activities attract support and global appeal, eventually such control mechanisms may degenerate fully into a conflict. He attempts by the US on Osama bin Laden, has been viewed as a crusade by Christians hence need to be countered by a Jihad. Lastly, this type of terrorism has its objective that does not reflect material gain as compared to ethno-nationalist or separatist terrorist movements.⁹²

In the period between 2005 and 2013, many respondents noted that Kenya was faced with religious kind of terrorism. For example, 78% believed that those who carried out the attacks were al-Shabaab members who were Muslims. They cited the grenade attack on crusade gathering at Uhuru park in 2005, church attacks in Kariokor in 2010 and Westgate attack in

⁸⁷ Cronin, A. K. "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism. *International Security*," 27:3 (December 01, 2002). pp. 30-58. (2002)

⁸⁸ Ibid

⁸⁹ Ibid

⁹⁰ Sieff, M. "The Inevitable Aftermath? Radicalism's New Foothold in the Middle East," *In the National Interest*, June 4, 2003, Online at <http://www.inthenationalinterest.com/>, Accessed March 9, 2014.

⁹¹ Cronin, A. K. "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism. *International Security*," 27:3 (December 01, 2002). pp. 30-58. (2002)

⁹² Otiso, Kefa, "Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery." *Kenya Studies Review*: 1, 1, 107-132. (2009).

2013. However, many attacks did not reflect religious attack such as: three security officers, one an administration police and two traffic officers were killed during a grenade attack on the 4th of December 2010; in a span of two weeks, the Kampala Coach bus station on River road was attacked when a grenade detonated killing one person and injuring a massive 26 more; another grenade attack was experienced on the 17th of October 2011, when a grenade was hurled into the Mwaura's pub in Nairobi killing one person and injuring other 15 people; this occurred just after another grenade attack had been experienced at the OTC bus terminus killing another individual and injuring eight just seven days later.⁹³ This shows that although religious terrorism was to blame, other unknown reasons existed. Some of these reasons were attributed to Kenya Defence Forces in Somalia as observed by 56% of the respondents.

4.3 Effects of Terrorism in Kenya

4.3.1 Economic Effects

Terrorism had effects on tourism, insurance and investments in Kenya. In tourism, after 1998 bombing, a rapid decline of 25% was experienced due to terror fear by tourist in the year 1998.⁹⁴ This decline in the number of tourist visiting Kenya subsequently led to a decline in the booking and occupation of hotels.⁹⁵ Comparatively, 2003 mid, the normal hotel occupancy rate is usually at about 40% to 45% at ... that time of the year ... dropped averagely to about 20% to 30% in the coastal region tourist hotels leading to a substantial drop in the industry jobs and earnings.⁹⁶

⁹³ Kibiwott Koross, "Chronology of terrorist attacks in Kenya", The Star. Available at: <http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/article-7279/chronology-terrorist-attacks-kenya>. Accessed on 28th September, 2013.

⁹⁴ Otiso, Kefa, "Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery." *Kenya Studies Review*: 1, 1, 107-132. (2009).

⁹⁵ Ibid

⁹⁶ Maclean, W. "Bombers Push Kenya's Coast Deeper into Poverty, The Financial Standard," August 26 - 1 September, 2003, Available online at <http://www.eastandard.net/>, accessed March 06, 2014.

In mid-2003, the loss on tourism in Kenya was estimated at about shillings one billion (\$14 million) in tax and tourism earning in a period of one week due to the... unfortunate US and British travel advisories against the thriving Kenya's terror attacks.⁹⁷ Moreover, drop in the tourism industry enlarged budget deficit of the government worsening the balance of trade given that tourism is key source for foreign currency. To manage the deficit, the government sought shillings thirty billion in "emergency" to cushion itself from grievous losses.⁹⁸ These findings indicate that without terrorism, the country's tourism sector has significant role in foreign exchange, job creation and sector development.

In the period between 2005 and 2013, there were also economic implications. For example, the Westgate Mall attack in 2013 had a large impact on the insurance industry as insurance companies paid more than Kshs. 6 billion in a single phase.⁹⁹ In addition, retailer sector was affected as most shoppers carried out their activities in areas that were not crowded.¹⁰⁰ To further demonstrate this, 72% of study respondents noted that Westgate mall was a one of the largest revenue earners for many businesses from supermarkets, restaurants to banks and the attack resulted in the loss of revenue and jobs.

On stock exchange, the first day of trading (Monday) following the attack, the stock volumes traded reduced by 51% share index, reflecting a reduction from 26.2 million shares traded on Friday to 12.7 million shares traded on Monday.¹⁰¹ The productivity decline was attributed to the tension that persevered over the weekend.¹⁰² Nonetheless, after the announcement by the government that the situation at Westgate Mall was under control, on

⁹⁷ Kelley, K. J. "Kenya seeks Sh30b from US. *Daily Nation*, Thursday, June 26, 2003

⁹⁸ Ibid

⁹⁹ Stratlink Africa, "Kenya – A Resilient Economy in The Face of Terrorism," Stratlink Africa, September 2013

¹⁰⁰ Ibid

¹⁰¹ Ibid

¹⁰² Ibid

Tuesday, the NSE exhibited an enhanced reasonable resilience.¹⁰³ Investors interviewed by this study noted that they were forced to re-strategize their plans following the attack. Majority seemed to indicate that they were skeptical in investing in Kenya unless security measures were adequate.

4.3.2 Sociopolitical Effects

These terror attacks propagated some profound sociopolitical consequences which include: the loss of lives and disruption of livelihood; mounting tension between the Christian and Muslim; escalation of Anti-Muslim/Arab rightwing group; Muslim countries being radicalized; Kenyans facing police harassment; sovereignty of the country being eroded and the emerging anti-western opinions.¹⁰⁴ For example, the terror attacks experienced between 1998 and 2002 killed 228 people and injuring another 4,080, in which most of the victims were Kenyans. Majority of the victims were at a prime age, hence considered breadwinners to a significant number of people.¹⁰⁵ It can be concluded that the country lost a working citizens, friends, husbands and wives while incurring the cost of managing the injured, In brief, the country lost many employees, husbands, wives, and comrades besides being saddle with the expenses of maintaining of the injured, disfigured and orphaned.

The psychological effects on women exposed to the 1998 bombing were severe. The Impact of Event scale scores for the three subscales was still high than 29 combined after three years, indicating that the study group was still under the effects of post-traumatic stress disorder

¹⁰³ Stratlink Africa, "Kenya – A Resilient Economy in The Face of Terrorism," Stratlink Africa, September 2013

¹⁰⁴ Otiso, Kefa, "Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery." *Kenya Studies Review*: 1, 1, 107-132. (2009).

¹⁰⁵ Muendo, L., "US embassy bombing anniversary set for today, East African Standard, August 7, 2003, Online at <http://www.eastandard.net/>, accessed March 07, 2014

(PTSD).¹⁰⁶ The Childhood Personality Scale (CPS) subscales scores reasonably high in the study group children than in controls. The PTSD symptom levels and the CPS profile were correlating between the mothers and children respectively.

Worsening relationships were experienced between the Christian and Muslim groups after the terrorist attack in 1998.¹⁰⁷ The local Muslim community was perceived to be the perpetrators of the attacks.¹⁰⁸ The Muslims however viewed the allegations as insults to their prevailing assumption that they had been sidelined in accessing jobs and deserving socioeconomic prospects.¹⁰⁹ Whether this notion was right or wrong, the perception of the Muslims considering themselves to be under siege led to the radicalization and growth in demand for a federal government system to enhance the introduction of Islamic Sharia laws.¹¹⁰ It is observed that already some predominant Muslim regions like the Northeastern province were already practicing the Islamic law.¹¹¹

This radicalization was apparent in the previous constitutional review process in the country. Since the process was carried after a terrorist attack, which vividly set hurdles for the Kenyan Muslims, consequently sought to be beneficiaries of specific articles, an example was the expansion of the Kadhis courts to national level in the new constitutional draft.¹¹² Mulama

¹⁰⁶ Ndeti David, Rono Ruthie, Mwangi Susan, Ototo Benson, Alaro Jael, Esakwa Margaret, Mwangi Judy, Kamau Anthony, Otieno Caleb and Mutiso Victoria, "Psychological Effects of the Nairobi US Embassy bomb Blast on Pregnant Women and their Children," *World Psychiatry*, Feb (2005); 4(1): 20-52

¹⁰⁷ Kelley, K. J. "Religious Tensions Growing in East Africa," *The EastAfrican* on the Web, September 22 - September 28, 1999, Accessed February 25, 2014. & Porter, B., "Terrorism Splits Kenya Christians and Muslims. Online <http://www.washtimes.com/upi-breaking/20030806-062435-7097r.htm>, accessed October 24, 2013.

¹⁰⁸ Mwaura, P. "Islamophobia on the rise everywhere," *Daily Nation* of the web, Friday, January 23, 2004, online at <http://www.nationaudio.com/>, accessed March 7, 2014.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

¹¹⁰ Mulama, J. "Constitutional Endorsement of Muslim Courts Provokes Anger," Online at http://www.axisoflogic.com/artman/publish/printer_5623.shtml, accessed March 8, 2014

¹¹¹ Weiss, T. "Chapter Five: Northeastern Province," in *Guns in the Borderlands, Reducing the Demand for Small Arms*, Monograph No 95, January 2004, Online at <http://www.iss.co.za/pubs/Monographs/No95/Chap5.pdf>, accessed March 9, 2014

¹¹² Mulama, J. "Constitutional Endorsement of Muslim Courts Provokes Anger," Online at http://www.axisoflogic.com/artman/publish/printer_5623.shtml, accessed March 8, 2014

advised that such religious competitions if unregulated, could downwardly spar social war and revolutions as experienced in Sudan when General Mahamad Numeiry imposed the Sharia laws in 1980s.

After the Westgate Terror attack, political connotations changed. For example, as the International Criminal Court proceeding against Kenya's president and deputy vice president continued, the President requested to be excused from continuous presence during the ICC trial with his physical presence during the trial required on opening and closing of the trial in order for him to deal with the lingering effects of terrorism in the country.¹¹³ The Vice President, William Ruto was allowed to return to Kenya in the midst of his trial to deal with the hostage situation at the Westgate.¹¹⁴ This implies that Kenya's terror attacks had significant security concern for the country.

4.4 Responses of Kenya to Terror Attacks

The ministry of internal security created the Anti-Terrorism Police Unit after the 1998 bomb attack.¹¹⁵ This shows that in Kenya security organs have developed unprecedented authority and equipments to combat terrorism. However, ever since the attacks, the security organs have been blamed for employing unnecessary interrogation strategies on terror prisoners and physical searches becoming common on roads heading to the airports.¹¹⁶ The opinion of this study's respondents (66%) demonstrated total support of the measures ignorant of the fact that they would eventually be victimized by them show that they tacitly supportive of the measures unaware that they eventually be subjected to them

¹¹³ Stratlink Africa, "Kenya – A Resilient Economy in The Face of Terrorism," Stratlink Africa, September 2013

¹¹⁴ Ibid

¹¹⁵ Koome Gikunda, "Terrorism in Kenya," Stanford, 2013

¹¹⁶ Maclean, W. "Bombers Push Kenya's Coast Deeper into Poverty, The Financial Standard," August 26 - 1 September, 2003, Available online at <http://www.eastandard.net/>, accessed March 06, 2014.

The publishing of the Terrorism Bill on 30th April 2003 criminalized unauthorized weapon training, organizing terror groups, possessing terror articles, associating or supporting terror organizations.¹¹⁷ This study's respondents noted that they were aware of it as 56% observed that bill gives relevant authority and procedures to jointly collaborate with other countries in combating terrorism. 33% indicated that it offers punishment, and or lifetime imprisonment to terror convicts and, 11% mentioned that the bill allows seizure of assets acquired by terror dealings. In addition, another response is the continued stay of Kenya Defence Forces in Somalia. In this case, 54% supported the stay while 46% did not. Those who did not observed that it increased radicalization hence Kenya becoming more susceptible to attacks. This opinion should not be ignored by Kenya's security systems.

¹¹⁷ Republic of Kenya, "The Terrorism Suppression Bill (draft), in *Kenya Gazette Supplement No. 38 (Bills No. 15)*, 2003. Nairobi: Government Printers

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the major findings of the study. It also gives recommendations as derived from the study findings.

5.2 Conclusion

Terrorism in Kenya has been occurring since 1975 but became real immediately after the 1998 US bombing in Nairobi. Since then, the country has been undergoing several attacks involving use of grenades in public places such as restaurants, shopping malls and social gatherings like churches. Apparently there has been changes in those who execute as Al-Qaeda carried out the attacks in 1998 and 2002 while al-Shabaab which is sponsored by Al-Qaeda taking most toll from 2005. These attacks have been known to be religious type pitying rivalry between Muslims and Christians.

The first objective on type of terrorism in Kenya has been addressed and revealed that, despite the fact that Kenya has experience the major four types of terrorism – i.e., ethnonationalist, religious, leftist and rightist, the most destructive attacks originate from religious and ethnonationalist terror. This dominant terror structures have demonstrated a distinct historical sequence. *Religious/sacred terrorism* incidents are currently the most bothersome in Kenya since the perpetrators show no qualms over sacrificing people in order to achieve their goals. Religious/scacred terrorism has been observed currently dominant. This is because it's a comprehensive competition between right or wrong can easily overwhelm humanity particularly when fundamentally characterized by being either "True followers" opposed to "Apostates" or

“Infidels” in Islam. This has been demonstrated through religious groups such as al-Qaeda and al-Shabaab whose key mission is to radicalize muslim youths to carry out Kenya’s terror attacks.

Analysis on the second objective on effects of terrorism in Kenya shows that terror attacks have been ending with many fatalities, injuries and damage to property. On the other hand, terrorists have been kidnapping both Kenyan citizens and non-citizens on Kenyan soil. Critical analysis of these events has indicated one thing in common; the negative effect on Kenya’s systems. For example, the series of terror attacks where few people are killed, kidnapped or damage to property is on small scale has never received close attention. For instance, the effect of such terror attacks has not been adequately assessed in terms of economic, social and religious response. Whenever such strikes have been happening, the government has not been keen to assess the scale of damage such terror attacks cause as they are considered as isolated cases. However, the latent question is about the long term effects of terrorism in Kenya that receives less attention. This shows that the hypothesis stating that ineffective social and economic systems in Kenya promote terrorism is true.

It has been found that with its far reaching effects, terrorism uses violence (use), to cause fear, intimidation or coercion (purpose) based on religious and political ideologies (targets persons with different religion or political affiliation as terrorists). Terrorism therefore affects most aspects of humans. For instance, terrorism is intended to cause panic and instability in human activities. When terror strikes, people lose lives, property and sustain injuries. To those witnessing this, it causes fear, lack of support in public institutions such as security and governance. In this situation, the public is limited in actively participating nation building. This demonstrates that the hypothesis stating that terrorism weakens social systems in Kenya is true.

This has been seen by Kenya losing a lot of revenue and jobs in tourism sector, a drop in stock exchange or trading, loss of lives, and multiple injuries to hundreds of Kenyans as well as prompting for political solutions during terror crisis. These events have contributed to fear among the public, resulted in low investment vigor and created tension among religious groups (Christians and Muslims). This indicates that the hypothesis stating that terrorism cripples economic systems in Kenya is true.

Definitely, this should not be the case in 21st Century where human survival is deemed to be developed. It therefore becomes true that terrorism weakens social systems in Kenya; terrorism cripples economic systems in Kenya; and ineffective social and economic systems in Kenya promote terrorism.

5.3 Recommendations

This study recommends the following:

1. The Kenyan government should improve its security systems through deployment of more security personnel, carry out continuous intelligence and screen people using public utilities such as transport, social halls, parks and shopping malls.
2. The Kenyan government should seek ways of easing tension between Muslims and Christians to avert looming fallout that has catastrophic effect on public order. In this case, the government should not be selective in making legislations related to fighting terror activities.
3. To ensure resilience of the economy, the government should seek other ways of expanding the economy other than reliance on tourism for its sustainability. In this case, it can diversify to other sectors such as energy and telecommunications such that in case

of terror attacks that trigger travel advisories, the economy does not feel the shock in the long term.

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