#### **UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

### INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

# THE IMPACT OF INSURGENT GROUPS ON HUMAN SECURITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST: 2010-2020

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A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF REQUIREMENTS OF THE AWARD OF MASTERS OF ART IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AT THE INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (IDIS), UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

2020

#### DECLARATION

I, Kevogo Karen, the undersigned, declare that this research paper is my original work that has not been presented in any institution of higher learning for academic purposes.

Signature: .....

Date: .....

Kevogo Karen

R52/13177/2018

## **Supervisor's Declaration**

I have assessed the research work accordingly and do hereby approve the paper to be submitted for examination.

Signature: .....

Date: .....

Dr. Mumo Nzau

# DEDICATION

I dedicate the entire research work to my most beloved parents and siblings.

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I am very grateful to the University of Nairobi for providing an enabling environment with the needed resource materials that helped me to carry out this study. I thank my supervisor for the guidance and significant insights throughout the entire study period.

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AL	Arab League
GAFTA	Greater Arab Free Trade Area
GCC	Gulf Co-operation Council
ISIL	Islamic State of Iran and Levant
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham
MENA	Middle East and Northern Africa region

#### ABSTRACT

This study focused on the impact of insurgent groups on human security in the Middle East region for the period 2010 to 2020. Objectives of this study included: examining the place of insurgent groups in the Middle East regional relations since 2010, finding out the impact of insurgent groups on human security in the Middle East since 2010 and comparing the impact of insurgent groups on human securities between Syria and Yemen in the period 2010 to 2020. The study was anchored on the rational choice theory. Descriptive survey research design was employed in this study and both primary and secondary data used. The target population of the study included people in the civil service, media and civil societies in Syria and Yemen who had worked in the country in the period 2010 to 2020. Data collected was analyzed using descriptive statistics and regression analysis. Findings of the study established that insurgent groups have played a great role in defining economic, political and security regional relations in the Middle East over the past one decade. Through their activities, the groups have intensified religious relations amongst the countries but have consequently adversely affected political relations and economic relations in the region. Findings of the study further established that insurgent groups had led to an increase in human insecurity in the Middle East region since 2010. By orchestrating civil wars and taking part in conflicts with other groups in the region, insurgent groups have increased economic insecurities, personal insecurities, political insecurities, food insecurities, health insecurities and environmental insecurities. The impact of insurgent groups on human security in Syria and Yemen did not vary widely as established in the research study. Though few differences were seen in the magnitude of the impact on personal security as judged by the number of people displaced and those whose lives has been lost, many similarities have been identified in the motivations of the insurgent groups, strategies employed, nature of operations and the counterinsurgency measures employed by governments. The researcher concluded that insurgent groups have greatly defined regional relations in the Middle East and hold an important place in as far as the history of the region is concerned over the past decade. The insurgent groups through violence, destruction of property and strategic influences have continued to adversely affect livelihood in the region; displacing many people, resulting to the loss of lives, destroying millions worth of property and curtailing economic development in the region. The researcher has presented recommendations and suggestions for further studies which are included in this research paper.

#### **CHAPTER ONE**

#### **INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

This chapter starts by presenting background of the study, research problem, and objectives of the study, justification of the study and scope and limitations of the study. The chapter further reviews literature on insurgent groups and its impact on human rights with a focus in the Middle East, theoretical framework supporting the topic, gaps in literature and hypothesis of the study. Finally, the chapter presents the methodology that will be followed in carrying out the study.

#### 1.1 Background of the Study

The Middle East is a region made of eighteen countries covering parts of northern Africa through Egypt, western parts of Asia, Iran in southern Asia and Turkey in Europe.<sup>1</sup> The region has been on the spot light across the world for a number of insurgencies and civil wars resulting to severe humanitarian inflictions.<sup>2</sup> Notable insurgencies over the last ten years include the Egyptian revolutions, uprisings leading to civil wars in Syria and Yemen, political uprising in Bahraini and attempted coup in Turkey.<sup>3</sup> Such occurrences have caused far reaching consequences on economies, livelihood, political spheres and environment in the region that continue being felt to the present.<sup>4</sup>

The motivations and operations of insurgent groups can be explained by the rational choice theory. In line with this theory, 'individuals are considered reasonable and able

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Held, C. C., *Middle East Patterns: Places, People and Politics*, (West View Press, 2000), p. 7

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Assaf M, *The Interplay between Terrorism, Insurgency, and Civil War in the Middle East*, (ARI publication, 2015), pp. 12 – 77; 24

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Amnesty International, *Human Rights in the Middle East and Northern Africa, a Review of 2019*, (Amnesty International Publication, 2020), pp. 5 - 11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ibid, Amnesty International, p. 6

to make decisions that will maximize their gains and minimize their suffering.<sup>5</sup> The decision to revolt against the government or a rule by the government is therefore undertaken based on rationality where a majority of the belligerents are driven by desire to change systems of governance, fulfill greed to gain power or an ideology to bring change. The participants of insurgencies including civilians, military personnel, opposition leaders or any other participants are usually aware of the consequences of their actions and the risks involved.<sup>6</sup> After weighing the risks involved against benefits, insurgent groups carry out their plans with the expectations of better rewards either politically, economically or in line with their beliefs.<sup>7</sup>

The Commission on Human Security (CHS) defines human security as 'the act of protecting freedoms of people that are essential to life by creating social, cultural, economic, environmental and political systems which give people the building blocks of livelihood, survival and dignity.'<sup>8</sup> Insecurity therefore refers to the state where the different aspects under human security are threatened and interfered with. Economic insecurity for instance, may be as a result of unemployment and persistent poverty. Hunger and famine result to food insecurity. Infectious diseases, inaccessibility to health facilities and unsafe food cause health insecurity. Environmental degradation, pollution, resource depletion and natural disasters threaten and cause environmental insecurity. Physical violence, domestic violence, crime, terrorism and child labour affecting personal security, inter-ethnic fights, religious and other inter-identity conflicts affecting community security while human abuses and political repression

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Scott, J, Rational Choice Theory. In Browning, G, Halcli A & Webster, F (Eds.), *Understanding Contemporary Society: Theories of the Present*, (London; SAGE Publications, 2000), pp. 126–138

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Korbl, W, Terrorism: Motivation and Theory, The Journal of Public and Professional Sociology: Vol. 9, Issue 2, Article 1 (2017), pp 4 – 10

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Ibid, Korbl, p. 6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The Commission on Human Security was established in January 2001 in response to the UN Secretary-General's call at the 2000 Millennium Summit for a world "free from want" and "free from fear." p. 6

affecting political security.<sup>9</sup> As posited by CHS, "the threats to human security are interlinked in a domino way such that the occurrence of one is likely to result to the other."<sup>10</sup>

As noted by Lyall et al,<sup>11</sup> insurgencies have a general impact on various kinds of human security enlisted, but the magnitude varies from one form to the other. Insurgencies may present fear and tension, affecting mental security; they may result to destruction of property, an effect on environmental security and may affect functioning of economies.

#### **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Insurgent groups have been part of the history of humans; causing tensions, confusion and defining political systems of societies.<sup>12</sup> In the last one decade however, insurgent groups have increased their activities tremendously and escalated violence to prolonged civil wars in some countries like Syria and Yemen.<sup>13</sup> The Middle East region has been most affected, especially since the Arab spring uprising took course in 2011. The focus of many governments facing insurgencies has been to counter the actions of insurgent groups using any possible means such as combat or negotiation. The governments have also asked for support from international communities in the form of weapons to help fight insurgents and bring an end to the rebellions.<sup>14</sup> There has been less focus by governments and scholars on the impact of insurgencies on human security and on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Morgenthau, H.J. and Thompson, K.W, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, (McGrew Hill Inc: Ne, 1993), pp. 16 - 21

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Human Security Unit, OCHA-UN, *Human Security in Theory and Practice*, (United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security Publication, 2009), p. 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Lyall J, Blair G and Imai K, *Explaining Support for Combatants during Wartime: A Survey Experiment in Afghanistan*, American Political Science Review 107 (2013), pp. 679-705: 684

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Aguilar, A. B, On Insurgency, (Master's thesis, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, 2014)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Amnesty International, *Human Rights in the Middle East and Northern Africa, a Review of 2019*, (Amnesty International Publication, 2020)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Giulio C, *The Humanitarian Crisis in Yemen: Beyond the Man-Made Disaster*, International Peace Institute, (2018) pp 2 – 34: 12

regional relations in the Middle East. This study will therefore focus on how insurgent groups in the Middle East have impacted on human security in the period 2010 to 2020.

#### 1.3 Objectives of the Study

- To examine the place of insurgent groups in Middle-East regional relations since
   2010
- To examine the impact of insurgent groups on human security in the Middle East since 2010
- iii. To compare and contrast the impact of insurgent groups on human security in Yemen and Syria

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

- i. What is the place of insurgent groups in Middle East regional relations since 2010?
- ii. What is the impact of insurgent groups on human security in the Middle East since 2010?
- iii. How does the impact of insurgent groups on human security in Yemen compare with that in Syria?

#### 1.5 Justification of the Study

Insurgent groups continue spreading their influence globally and impacting on country relationships and on human activities.<sup>15</sup> As such findings of this research will be very important to scholars and policy makers not only in the affected areas but also in other areas that may encounter insurgencies in the future.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Benedetta, B, What's in a Name? Re-conceptualizing Non-State Armed Groups in the Middle East, (Palgrave Communications, 2016), p. 2

#### **1.5.1 Academic Justification**

This study will provide useful references to academicians in the field of conflict management. With a focus in the Middle East, findings of the study will add to existing global research on the impacts of insurgencies on human security. Suggestions to solving insurgencies that will be provided in this study will also enhance research on international conflict resolution and diplomacy.

#### **1.5.2 Policy Justification**

Findings from this study will provide a good basis for government bodies and mediators in the Middle East and across the world on the causes of insurgencies and how best to suppress them. Since insurgencies are a common occurrence, as proven by history, understanding motives behind such revolutions in the current century can help governments to formulate effective policies on how best to handle uprisings to reduce loss of lives and to reduce excessive impacts on the security of innocent civilians.

Other than its impact on human life, insurgencies have been known to affect economic and environmental aspects in the affected countries.<sup>16</sup> Gross domestic product lowers down in the periods under conflict, ease of doing business decreases and productivity in some areas may come to a stop. Explosives used to combat insurgencies and other instruments pollute environments as well. From the study findings of this research paper, governments across the world will understand far reaching impacts of insurgency and formulate policies to ensure good performance of their economies amidst such insurgencies. They will also come up with environmental protection policies based on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Condra L, N, *Ethnic Group Rebellion against the State: Perils of the Periphery*, (San Diego: Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation, 2010a), pp. 107 – 115: 109

this study paper that effectively conserve environments in the wake of rebellion and uprisings.

#### 1.6 Scope of the Study

This study focuses on two countries in the Middle East, which include Syria and Yemen in evaluating the impact of insurgencies on human security. These two countries have recorded insurgencies for the longest periods of time in the region and which are still happening to date. Despite the existence of insurgencies in other countries in the region such as Egypt, Iraq and Iran, the study will only be limited to the two. Findings of the study focusing on two countries may not be fully relied upon in predicting the occurrences in other countries since situations leading to insurgencies and the impact of insurgencies on human security varies from country to the other.

The research will rely on primary data that shall be collected using standard questionnaires and interview schedules administered to civil servants, members of the media and of civil societies in both Syria and Yemen. Since data collected will depend on time and understanding nature of respondents, it will be difficult to obtain full information especially at this busy time of the year. Some respondents may also decide to give misleading information which may reduce degree of reliability on the data. In addition to primary data, secondary data from reports by international media groups on insurgencies in the Middle East will also be used. Secondary data will help reduce the degree of unreliability of questionnaire schedules and will also provide a comparison on the impact of insurgencies on human security in several other countries.

#### **1.7 Literature Review**

This section looks into studies carried out by other scholars on insurgent groups in the Middle East and its impact on human security in the region. It also presents a focus discussion on insurgencies in Syria and Yemen.

# **1.7.1** The Place of Insurgent Groups in the Middle East Regional Relations Since 2010

The Middle East region is one of the regions worldwide that has experienced dynamic changes in regional relations over time.<sup>17</sup> By setting up economic institutions in the 1980s such as GCC to unite countries like Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Turkey, Israel and even Egypt and establishing trade agreements such as GAFTA in the region, the region was aiming at becoming very united in terms of economic relations.<sup>18</sup> In the region still, the goal of developing one Islamic world order by establishing borderless nations starting in the 1990s aimed at strengthening religious and cultural relationships in the region. However, differences amongst the state ideologies and battles for supremacy from 1990 to date have continued to undermine plans for regional unity.<sup>19</sup> Despite the establishment of the enlisted efforts amongst others; the political, economic and security relations in the Middle East region have continued to grow weaker with changing times and circumstances.<sup>20</sup> This section reviews literature on the place of insurgent groups in the enlisted Middle East regional relations.

For groups to be classified as insurgents, they should meet two important criteria. That of being non-state; and that of acting with violence to overthrow existing governments

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Low, L and Salazar, L. C, *The Gulf Cooperation Council: A Rising Power and Lessons for ASEAN*, (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011), p 14

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Fakhri, M., Images of the Arab World and Middle East: Debates about Development and Regional Integration, Wisconsin International Law Journal, Volume 28, Issue 3 (2010), pp 392 - 394
<sup>19</sup> Ibid, Fakhri, M. p. 395

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Al-Jenaibi, B, *The nature of Arab public discourse: Social media and the 'Arab Spring'*, Journal of Applied Journalism & Media Studies, Volume 3, Issue 2 (2014), pp. 243 – 246

and replacing them with a new order.<sup>21</sup> This definition is also being used by the Central Intelligence Agency and Bureau of Counter terrorism in USA. Since 2010; insurgent groups like ISIS and Al-Qaida with the objective of overthrowing country presidents and replacing them with an Islamic caliphate in the region have partly helped in strengthening Islamic religious regional relations in countries in the region.<sup>22</sup> On the other hand, the fight over religious supremacy by carrying out attacks against 'nonbelievers' in parts of Syria and Yemen; have increased hatred amongst citizens on opposite sides in the country. Insurgent groups with their aid of ammunitions to civilians and helping them change existing regimes in countries like Somalia, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, Yemen and Iraq have destabilized systems of administration and adversely affected political relations in the region.<sup>23</sup> Further, Saudi Arabia and Iraq in their cold battle of supremacy for the Middle East region have continuously supported different insurgent groups and used them destroy political power relations in the region. Local insurgent groups with impact within country boarders have been used by political leaders to propel their political interests and in clinching power as evidenced in countries like Syria and Yemen.<sup>24</sup>

The continued border conflicts between countries like Syria and Lebanon, Israel and Hezbollah and prolonged in-country civil wars in Yemen and Syria have adversely affected trade relations in the region. It is believed, according to Goldsmith,<sup>25</sup> that insurgent groups have been the instruments used to carry out conflicts within countries,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Benedetta, B, *What's in a Name? Re-conceptualizing Non-State Armed Groups in the Middle East*, (Palgrave Communications, 2016)

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Elena A, Syrian Civil War from Critical Security Studies Perspective: A Case of the Security of the Ethnic and Sect Groups, (Current Issues of International Security, 2019)
 <sup>23</sup> Ibid, Elena, p. 12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Eaton et al, *Conflict Economies in the Middle East and North Africa*, (Chantham House Publication, 2019)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Goldsmith, B, International Trade and the Onset and Escalation of Interstate Conflict: More to Fight about or More Reasons not to Fight? Defense & Peace Economics, Volume 24, Issue 6 (2013), pp. 564 – 566

spread propaganda and increase border conflicts. Violence carried out by insurgent groups and tensions caused, has reduced productivity levels, affected peace processes and hindered trade amongst the states in the region.<sup>26</sup> Despite the efforts by the government of Egypt and Saudi Arabia in advocating for peace and in conducting conferences to revive regional economic relations, continued fighting and destabilized systems of administrations have made it hard to re-establish the relations.<sup>27</sup> Whether appreciated or not, there is need to study the exact place of insurgent groups in the Middle East regional relations.

#### 1.7.2 On the Impact of Insurgent groups on Human Security in the Middle East

Very few studies exist on the effect of insurgencies on human security in this region. Those available fail to present a comprehensive analysis of insurgent groups on the different dimensions of human security. In fact, the studies available only focus on few aspects such economic, political and personal security and forget critical aspects such as health, environmental and community security. Studies by Collier and Hoeffler<sup>28</sup> for instance, established that 'the intensification of insurgencies and counterinsurgencies by government forces in Syria, Yemen, Egypt and Iraq increased the number of deaths of people. More impacts of the insurgencies included displacement of people from their homes, increased tension and poverty, body trauma and injuries.' In their study they had focused on greed and violence in civil wars. The study followed an empirical analysis of literature on the impact of insurgencies in the Middle East. From the analysis

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Eaton, et al, *Conflict Economies in the Middle East and North Africa*, Chantham House Publication, 2019)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Rouis, M, *Regional Economic Integration in the Middle East and North Africa: Beyond Trade Reform*, (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2012)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Collier P and Hoeffler A, *Greed and Grievance in Civil War*, Oxford Economic Papers, 2004 56: pp 570 – 578

they concluded that both insurgent groups and the government were responsible for disturbing peace in the region and causing other enlisted forms of insecurity.

A review of human security in the MENA region by Amnesty international in 2019<sup>29</sup> revealed that conflict in the region resulted to imprisonment without trial of suspected insurgent group members by governments and subsequent torture in the prisons. This was a direct violation of political security of individuals and it scared people from peacefully advocating for their rights. In a record ten countries in the region, according to the review, governments used tear gas, sprayed bullets and beat up individual who protested peacefully. This application of force by government affiliated bodies had in fact caused the death of more than 800 people and scores of injuries in Iraq and Iran.<sup>30</sup> In as much as the common understanding for the violent government activities would be a strategy of dealing with insurgent groups, this has not been brought out clearly by Amnesty International. Further, the focus of their study was very narrow, covering only three years into a conflict that has existed for more than seven years. As such this study fails to cover the impact of insurgent groups on human security in the region comprehensively.

In a study by Lee-Ann and Hendrick, insurgent group through application of physical violence negatively affects human security by impacting on the individual factors under human security as environmental security, economic security, food security, political security and mental security.<sup>31</sup> Towards personal insecurity, civil wars and uprisings created fear and tension to common civilians. Fear of losing life, losing property, losing

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Amnesty International, *Human Rights in the Middle East and Northern Africa*, a Review of 2019,
 (Published by Amnesty International ltd, 2020) pp. 5 - 7

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Ibid, Amnesty International, pp. 16 – 24

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Lee-Ann L & Hendrik J, L, *Threats to Security Posed by ISIS in Syria: A Human Security Approach*, Journal of Human Security, Librello publishing house, vol. 13. Issue 1, (2017)

power increases as the state of conflict heightens, an aspect that induced stress amongst individuals and caused them to take their lives. Insurgencies also deal a blow to country and world economies and results to the collapse of institutions which affects standards of life. Constant fights and destruction of property is likely to result to depletion of resources and pollution; a direct cause of environmental insecurity.<sup>32</sup>

#### 1.7.3 Impacts of Insurgent Groups on Human Security in Syria

Alfred carried out a study on the state of the civil war in Syria and its impact on refugees. He focused his research on Erdogan in Syria; an area inhabited by scores of displaced people. In the study, he established that the civil war that started in 2011 has now become multi-sided involving President Bashar with his friends and those opposing his leadership.<sup>33</sup> By reviewing media reports including that by Al Jazeera he established that the country had been split into fractions with several individuals claiming leadership of the different sectors. Syria armed forces for instance led the largest portion of Syria while insurgent groups controlled 9.72% of the country. The largest group is Kurdish Arab Syrian forces (SDF) that gathered forces from both Turkey and Syria.<sup>34</sup> On the impact of the civil war on human security, Kim found that many people had been displaced from their homes.<sup>35</sup> A majority were leaving in trauma after losing their loved ones to the war. Still some had long injuries that they sustained in the fighting. In as much as the study by Alfred helps to understand the happenings in Syria, it relies so much on empirical review which is subject to manipulation by authors.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Morgenthau, H.J. and Thompson, K.W, *Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace*, (McGrew Hill Inc: Ne, 1993)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Alfred P, *Erdogan Renews Call for Safe Zone Support as Syrians Return*, (Way back Machine Press, 2019), pp. 5 – 64

<sup>34</sup> Michael R, *Insurgency*, (Encyclopedia Britannica, inc. publishers, 2020) Accessed on July 28, 2020 at: <u>https://www.britannica.com/topic/insurgency</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Kim, H.T, *The "Geopolitical" Factor in the Syrian Civil War: A Corpus-Based Thematic Analysis*, Volume: 9 issue: 2 (2019)

Amnesty international reviewed the ongoing civil wars in the Middle East and their impacts on human life. They collected information by interviewing those affected and by employing journalists to observe and report the happenings in the affected countries. According to their report, the government of Syria and allied forces carry out indiscriminate attacks on civilian homes, bakeries, hospitals and schools in Idlib, Hama and in the northern part of Aleppo killing and injuring both medics and civilians.<sup>36</sup> In as much as the UN is willing to help people in these areas, the government has restricted access to UN humanitarian aid agencies. As a result, 'people in the affected areas including Rukban camp cannot get aid deliveries, security, logistics and administrative support from UN, despite worse human condition there. In the areas of Daraa and Eastern Ghouta in Damascus civilians and fighters who had reconciled with the government have been forcibly detained and subjected to torture.'<sup>37</sup> Due to the continued fighting also, 'the total documented death in the country was 384,000, an estimated total of 7,600,000 people have been internally displaced and 5,116,097 were counted as refugees of the civil war.'<sup>38</sup>

#### 1.7.4 Impacts of Insurgent Groups on Human Security in Yemen

Yemen has experienced civil wars for a very long time, dating back to 1994 and from 2011 to date. Sharp in his study on the long-term Civil Challenges and Host Country Threats from 'Failed State' Wars established that Yemeni crisis that began in 2011 is still ongoing to date.<sup>39</sup> It began with a revolution against President Ali Abdullah, who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Amnesty International, *Syria: Damning Evidence of War Crimes and other Violations by Turkish Forces and their Allies* (Press release, 18 October 2019), Accessed on 28<sup>th</sup> August, 2020 at <a href="https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2019/10/syria-damning-evidence-of-war-crimes-and-other-violations-by-turkish-forces-and-their-allies/">https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2019/10/syria-damning-evidence-of-war-crimes-and-other-violations-by-turkish-forces-and-their-allies/</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Amnesty International, *Human Rights in the Middle East and Northern Africa, a Review of 2019*, (Amnesty International Publication, 2020), pp 61 - 64

 $<sup>^{38}</sup>$  Humud, E.C and Blanchard, C.M, Armed Conflict in Syria: Overview and U.S. Response, (Congressional Research Service, 2020), pp. 3-6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> CIA, *The World Fact Book*, (CIA Publications, 2020), Accessed on 28<sup>th</sup> June 2020 at <u>https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/397.html</u>

had led the country for thirty three years.<sup>40</sup> His position was later taken by Hadi after being ousted. Again rebellion in the country broke out in 2014 against President Hadi who was forced to resign in 2015. Power wrangles for the position of presidency have since continued happening in Yemen with leaders getting support from different groups in the country. In 2019, the conflict in Yemen continued with new front lines forming in Ta'iz the 3<sup>rd</sup> largest city in the country, Sa'da and Dhale' and other staes in the north.<sup>41</sup>

A review of the impact of insurgencies on human security in Yemen by Amnesty International established that the continued fighting has resulted into serious human insecurity situations in the country.<sup>42</sup> Both the Huthi and anti-huthi forces carry out indiscriminate attacks using missiles that have caused the death and displacement of many people. Critics of the Huthi forces including journalists, members of Baha'I community and human rights defenders were forcibly detained and subjected to unfair trials and enforced disappearance. Still, during detention, men were subjected to torture, denied access to medication and intermittent incommunicado detention.<sup>43</sup>

With prolonged conflicts and the breakdown of institutions, the security of children was greatly affected. The vulnerable children were left to less protection against sexual violence and other forms of violence.<sup>44</sup> The report records 'the raping of 3 boys in Ta'iz

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Amnesty International, *Human Rights in the Middle East and Northern Africa, a Review of 2019*, (Amnesty International Publication, 2020), pp 71 - 73

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Sharp, J. M, *Yemen: Civil War and Regional Intervention*, (Congressional Research Service, Version 37, 2020), pp 1–8

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Amnesty International, *Yemen: US-made bomb used in deadly air strike on civilians* (Press release, 26 September 2019), Accessed on 28<sup>th</sup> August 2020 at <u>https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2019/09/yemen-us-made-bomb-used-in-deadly-air-strike-on-civilians/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Ibid, Amnesty International, p 73

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Daniel N and Sheena M, *The Yemen war is the world's worst humanitarian crisis, UN says, April 3, 2018*, (CNN Publication, 2018), Accessed on 16<sup>th</sup> May 2020 at <u>https://edition.cnn.com/2018/04/03/middleeast/yemen-worlds-worst-humanitarian-crisis-un-intl/index.html</u>

and the likelihood of many other cases of sexual violence which were never reported for fear of authorities. Those with disabilities also faced challenges such as denied access to education, medical services and jobs. Girls and women were left helpless in the wars and vulnerable to forced marriages and sexual abuse. Further still, the death penalty in the country remained in force for several crimes, resulting to the execution of many people.<sup>45</sup> Reports indicate that 'more than 112,000 people have lost lives in Yemen, over 500 killed in Saudi Arabia, 49,960 injured in Yemen and 3,154,572 people displaced as a result of the conflicts in Yemen.<sup>46</sup>

#### **1.8 Literature Gaps**

Despite the acknowledgement of the seriousness of the topic of insurgent groups in the Middle East and their impact on regional relationships and human security, very few studies have been conducted on the topic. The existing studies on the place of insurgent groups in the Middle East also present conflicting study findings. A study by Mehmet for example focused on insurgent groups, diffusion of armed conflict and proxy wars; finding that there was a relationship between insurgent groups and political violence in the region. This study followed a narrow focus and failed to highlight the impact of insurgencies on human security in the region. Another study by Michelle only focused on the comparison between modern day insurgencies and insurgencies in the 1960s.<sup>47</sup> In as much as the study by Michelle helps to understand the structure of the modern day insurgent groups, it was carried out a long while ago in 2001. Transformations in life

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Giulio C, *The Humanitarian Crisis in Yemen: Beyond the Man-Made Disaster*, (International Peace Institute, 2018) pp 21–34

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Amnesty International, *Human Rights in the Middle East and Northern Africa, a Review of 2019*, (Published by Amnesty International ltd, 2020), pp 71 - 73

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Michele Z, *Middle Eastern Terrorism and Net War, Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Volume 22, Issue 3 (1999), pp 247 – 256

over the period could have rendered Michelle's study findings irrelevant necessitating the need to carry out a study reflecting recent happenings.<sup>48</sup>

Studies focusing on the impact of insurgency on human security in the Middle East also seem to be broadly mentioning the impacts rather than presenting a narrow view. Reviews by Amnesty International only focus on the effects brought about by government activities. Their study findings only mention the loss of lives, displacement of people, economic insecurity and political insecurity. Their findings fail to present a comprehensive analysis of the different dimensions of human security affected by insurgencies. Further still, the study by Amnesty only cover impacts of insurgencies on human security for very short time period of three years whereas the conflict has been happening for more than 6 years and impacting on human life.

This study will aim at filling in the literature gaps by providing more updated study findings on the structure and place of insurgent groups in the Middle East regional relations. The study will assess the impact of insurgencies on human security for the entire period in which the conflict has occurred since 2010 in order to show how great the impact has been on human security. This study will also comprehensively cover the impact of insurgencies on the different dimensions of human security. Finally the study will provide a more focused approach by reviewing insurgencies in Syria and Yemen and their impact on human security.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Orhan, M, Political Violence and Insurgencies in the Middle East: Social Movements, Diffusion of Armed Conflicts, and Proxy Wars, Irish Journal of Sociology. Volume 27 (2019), pp 16 – 78

#### **1.9 Theoretical Framework**

This section presents an overview of the relevant theories in explaining concepts of insurgency and its association with human security. The rational choice theory will be used in this study.

#### **1.9.1 Rational Choice Theory**

The rational choice theory as defined by Scott considers human beings as active and reasonable creatures who make decisions based on certain rewards and risks.<sup>49</sup> When given options, under normal circumstances, rational individuals will settle on choices that maximize their gain and minimize their suffering. Early theorists relate the rational choice theory to political rather than social life because of its origin in the field of economics.

The rational choice theory will be relevant in explaining how individuals in insurgent groups decide to take on the course of rebellion and how their decision affects human security. Members of insurgent groups though considered to be inhumane by many, are nevertheless human beings who make decisions based on logic.<sup>50</sup> Either guided by desire to gain political advantage, access resources or correct injustices, many members of insurgent groups will pick on a course that is beneficial to them. The theory will therefore aid in understanding the motives behind insurgent groups in the Middle East and the reasons for carrying out insurgencies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Scott, J, Rational Choice Theory. In Browning, G, Halcli A & Webster, F (Eds.), *Understanding Contemporary Society: Theories of the Present* (126-138). (London; SAGE Publications, 2000)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Ahmed, U., Mohammed, O. M., Faosiy, A. O. Daud. M. N, *Investigating the Influence of Public Trust on the Revival of Waqif Institution Uganda*, Middle- East Journal of Scientific Research, Volume 23, Issue 6 (2015), pp. 11165 – 1172

Further, since the rational choice theory explains how human beings as rational weigh between the risks and consequences of choices against rewards, the theory will be an important guide in the understanding of the consequences of insurgencies on human security. It will help in defining the risks undertaken by insurgent groups, the rewards they may desire to have and whether in the end they get satisfied with their actions.

#### 1.10 Study Hypotheses

The study intends to test the following hypotheses:

- Insurgent groups have adversely affected regional relations in the Middle East since 2010
- Insurgent groups have negatively affected human security in the Middle East since 2010
- There is a similarity in the impact of insurgent groups on human security in both Syria and Yemen

#### 1.11 Methodology

This section presents the methodology that the researcher will follow in carrying out this study. It highlights the research design adopted, target population, data collection techniques and data analysis processes that will be undertaken to make the research on insurgency and human security a success.

#### 1.11.1 Research Design

This study will adopt a descriptive survey research design. This design type aims at explaining variables under the study in detail<sup>51</sup>. The researcher aims at describing the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>Kothari, *C. R, Research Methodology, Methods and Techniques*, (New Delhi New Age Inter- national (P) Limited. 2nd ed, 2008)

variables as insurgency, human security and the Middle East region. The researcher will further employ co-relational study design. This is a branch of descriptive design that aims at explaining the relationship between variables. The researcher endeavors to establish the relationship between insurgency and human security in the Middle East countries of Syria and Yemen.

#### 1.11.2 Target Population

The target population of this study will be members of the civil service, civil societies and the media in Syria and Yemen. For reliable and accurate data collection on insurgent group activities in the Middle East from 2010 to 2020, individuals who have resided in their countries since 2010 will be targeted.

#### 1.11.3 Sampling Design

This study will adopt purposive sampling technique in identifying a sample of the population that will be used for the study. This technique is preferred because it helps to collect data from reliable sources. A total of 100 respondents from the civil service, civil society groups and the media from both Syria and Yemen will be the expected target sample for this study.

#### 1.11.4 Methods of Data Collection

In this study, the researcher will use the following instruments under qualitative research namely: interview guide, standard questionnaires and content review. Content review will entail the use of secondary data from journals, scholarly reports, and media reports from international media bodies like Al Jazeera, Syrian government reports, Yemeni government reports, books and online articles on insurgencies in Syria for the period 2010 to 2020.

#### 1.11.5 Reliability of Data Collection Instruments

The researcher will discuss with other scholars on the actual structures of the interview guide and the questions therein. She will conduct a pilot study as recommended by interviewing a few government employees in Syria in order to assess feasibility, time, cost and adverse effects on data collection in using the instruments. Findings from the pilot study will help to improve the design of the interview guide prior to performance of full research project.

The data obtained from the pilot study will be used to ascertain the appropriateness and relevance of the interviews to the study. The interview schedules will be subjected to Cronbach Alpha test in to check if they have a coefficient of more than 0.6. A coefficient of above 0.6 indicated that the instruments were reliable.<sup>52</sup>

#### 1.11.6 Methods of Data Analysis

Data collected through interviews will be analyzed qualitatively using content analysis. To test the hypothesis, the study data analyzed shall be presented thematically and categorized based on objectives. This will be followed by reviewing, categorizing, tabulating and combining evidence to ascertain meaning relating to study's initial objectives, research questions and hypothesis. The data shall be compared to data from secondary data in order to provide comprehensive study findings.

#### 1.11.7 Legal and Ethical Considerations

The researchers will handle the personal information from the respondents with confidentiality. All the data collected from the interview schedules will specifically be

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Creswell, J.W, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approach*, (4th Ed.). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, (4<sup>th</sup> Ed.) 2014)

used in this study work and then disposed carefully thereafter. The researchers will collect data from willing respondents without giving out tokens to influence the answering of the results or forcing them.

#### 1.12 Chapter Layout

This study will be organized into five chapters. Chapter one will present the introduction, background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, justification, literature review and the methodology that will be followed in collecting and analyzing data.

Chapter two will examine the place of insurgent groups in the Middle East regional relations since 2010. The chapter will present findings on the assessment of regional relations in the Middle East since 2020, insurgent groups' characteristics in the region since 2010 and the place of insurgent groups on regional relations in the region.

Chapter three will examine the impact of insurgent groups on human security in the Middle East since 2010. This chapter will present the findings and analysis of findings of insurgent groups on human securities ranging from personal, political, economic, health, food and to environmental security in the region Syria and Yemen will be the focus of the study.

Chapter four will handle the comparison of the impact of insurgent groups on human security in Yemen and Syria. The chapter will present the findings and analysis of findings on the differences and similarities of the operations of insurgent groups in Syria and Yemen. The chapter will then present the assessment of the differences and similarities in the impact of insurgent groups on the aspects of human security such as personal, environmental, political, economic, food and health securities. Chapter five will present summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations. The summary of findings section will highlight findings of the study from chapter two, three and five and in comparison with assessed literature sources. The chapter will present the conclusion of the study on the impact of insurgent groups on human security and finalize with recommendations.

#### **CHAPTER TWO**

# THE PLACE OF INSURGENT GROUPS IN MIDDLE-EAST REGIONAL RELATIONS SINCE 2010

#### **2.0 Introduction**

This chapter presents a discussion, interpretation and analysis of research findings on the place of insurgent groups in the Middle East since 2010. The data collected using both semi structured questionnaires and interview schedules and from secondary sources has been analyzed keenly and interpreted in line with the objectives of the study.

#### 2.1 Insurgent Groups in the Middle East Region since 2010

The last decade has seen an increase in the number of insurgencies across the world and especially in the Middle East region.<sup>53</sup> Findings from the analysis of reports by Central Intelligence Authority revealed that many insurgent groups operate and are still active in the Middle East both within country borders and in the broader region.<sup>54</sup> Country specific insurgent groups include Harakat Sawa'd Misr and Liwa al-Thawra in Egypt; Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps - Qods Force in Iran; Ansar al-Islam (AAI), Jaysh Rijal al-Tariq al-Naqshabandi (JRTN), Kata'ib Hizballah (KH), Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and Asa'ib Ahl al-Haq (AAH) in Iraq. In Lebanon, the groups include Abdallah Azzam Brigades (AAB), Asbat al-Ansar (AAA) and Hizballah. In Syria, the groups include Al Nusra Front, Syria Free army and Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham (HTS). The Revolutionary People's Liberation Party was the commonest in Turkey, while ISIS-Yemen and Al'Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula were common in Yemen. The Islamic State of Iraq and ash-Sham (ISIS) operated in caliphates across the region in countries

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Eaton, et al, *Conflict Economies in the Middle East and North Africa*, (Chantham House Publication, 2019)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Fact Book*, (CIA Publications, 2020), Accessed on 28<sup>th</sup> June 2020 at <u>https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/397.html</u>

like Yemen, Egypt, Syria, Turkey and Lebanon. Hamas, Hezbollah and Palestine Liberation front operated in the Gaza Strip, Israel and in Palestine. Al'Qaeda with its origin in Afghanistan also operated under caliphates in countries like Algeria, Libya, Syria, Tunisia and even Yemen. The groups were classified as insurgent groups since they were non-state actors and used violence to propagate their interests ranging from political, economic, religious and to personal. A majority of these groups were Islam dominated, aimed at overthrowing existing governments regimes affiliated to the west and replacing them with an Islamic caliphate. Findings reveal that the groups used violence in the form of bombing government facilities, shooting government affiliates and those opposing them, destroying property and disrupting economic operations to voice their demands.

The findings on the most active insurgent groups agree with findings by the Institute of National Security (INS) in Tel Aviv University and that by the Modern War Institute (MWI) of the United States Military Academy. These institutions identified 'Hamas, ISIS, Free Syria Army, Houthi Rebel Group, Al'Qaeda and Hezbollah as the main active insurgent groups in the Middle East.<sup>55</sup> According to Benedatta a researcher with INS and MWI above; the groups met two important criteria of being classified as insurgent groups. Criteria one is that they operated outside the control of the state and challenged its power, authority and legitimacy and criteria two is that the groups relied on violence and force to achieve economic, political or ideological goals.<sup>56</sup> The findings are also in line with presentations by the bureau of Counter Terrorism of the USA who confirmed that ISIS, Al' Qaeda and Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps-Qods Force were the main insurgent groups operating actively in Iraq, Iran, Syria, Yemen, Egypt

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Benedetta, B, *What's in a Name? Re-conceptualizing Non-State Armed Groups in the Middle East*, (Palgrave Communications, 2016)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Ibid, Benedatta, p. 2

and other Middle Eastern countries alongside country specific insurgent groups.<sup>57</sup> A majority of the insurgent groups have been active in the region over the last decade due to funding provided by foreign countries according to study findings. The groups have also thrived due to political instabilities amongst the countries, disorganized government structures and poor regional integration especially after the wave of the Arab Spring uprising that swept the region starting from 2011.

#### 2.1.1 Composition of Insurgent Groups in the Middle East Region

The study sought to find out the structure, composition and operation of insurgent groups in the Middle East region. From the study findings as presented in table 2.2.1, respondents from Syria and Yemen agreed to a large extent that insurgent groups have well laid out organizational structures, enjoy local support and even aid from foreign players. The grand mean of the responses for well laid out composition of insurgent groups was 4.455 with a standard deviation of 0.804.

DEGDANGE		Std.
RESPONSE		Deviation
Insurgent groups have a well laid out organizational structure	4.600	0.674
Insurgent groups have local support	4.400	0.813
Insurgent groups have support of foreign countries	4.366	0.927
Grand mean	4.455	0.804

Table 2.1.1: Composition of Insurgent Groups in the Middle East

Insurgent groups, just like other organizations, follow a structure of a kind with a leader who spearheads planning and execution of strategies. They also have people who play specific roles such as strategy formulation, communication, field combat and recruiting

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Bureau of Counter Terrorism, *Country Reports on Terrorism 2019*, (US Department of State 2019 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices)

more supporters. This is in line with the perspective of the rational choice theory whereby individuals agreeing to join insurgent groups do so following reasoned plans of gain versus risk. By convincing local population through communicating ideologies in social media, conferences and even door to door recruiting; insurgent groups become so large that they can face the government. As supported by study findings by Oshin,<sup>58</sup> Insurgent groups in the region have also influenced fractions of the military or even the entire military into joining them to topple the government as was the case in Turkey, Egypt and Syria. Further, insurgent groups in the region have relied on the support of foreigners in the form of funding, obtaining arms and ammunitions, spreading their message globally and strategizing. Insurgent groups in Syria for instance are supported by US, France, Saudi Arabia and Turkey.<sup>59</sup>

Study findings presented by the Central Intelligence Agency similarly established that the groups had specific areas of operation with specific aims to achieve. Al'Qaeda for instance, maintained a strong network and long time operational plans in Yemen, Afghanistan, Syria, Egypt, and Lebanon and in several other states globally.<sup>60</sup> The main aim of this group was to replace western government regimes with an Islamic caliphate. HASM in Egypt operated around the Sinai Peninsula and aimed at overthrowing the government of Egypt. IRGC-QF was headquartered in Tehran and aimed at spreading Shia influence and supporting other groups internationally with similar motives of overthrowing governments. ISIS also established its affiliates in the countries of Algeria, Egypt, Syria, Yemen, and Iran amongst other states in the region and aimed at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Oshin J, *Insurgency around the Globe*, (Skill Sphere Publication, 2018) Accessed on 15<sup>th</sup> June 2020 at: <u>https://www.skillsphere.org/global-jigyasas/insurgency-around-the-globe/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Daniel N and Sheena M, *The Yemen war is the world's worst humanitarian crisis, UN says, April 3, 2018,* (CNN Publication, 2018), Accessed on 16<sup>th</sup> May 2020 at <u>https://edition.cnn.com/2018/04/03/middleeast/yemen-worlds-worst-humanitarian-crisis-un-intl/index.html</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Fact Book*, (CIA Publications, 2020), Accessed on 28<sup>th</sup> June 2020 at <u>https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/397.html</u>

replacing western systems of administration with an Islamic order adhering strictly to Sharia laws.<sup>61</sup> A close look at groups with such wide outreach, only points to the realization that they are well organized internally. In fact for the groups to thrive for long as is the case with ISIS and Al'Qaeda even with the killings of their leaders; education and recruitment of members is a must. The groups recruit, train and strictly ensure that their members strictly follow specific doctrines as presented in the groups' constitutions.

The study findings are in line with findings by Michelle who established that insurgent groups have well-structured leadership plans with charismatic leaders and may be decentralized with loose networks.<sup>62</sup> The findings also agree with study by Mao Tse Tung who stated that insurgent groups start small, recruiting the support of local population before becoming large with countrywide support.<sup>63</sup>

#### 2.1.2 Motivations of Insurgent Groups' Activities in the Middle East

The study sought to determine the motivations behind insurgent groups' activities in the Middle East. From the study findings, most insurgent groups in the region were founded on the desire to change existing political system. The mean of the responses on political motivation was 4.581 with a standard deviation of 0.417. The study further established that the desire to gain economically, historically prolonged disputes and international politics also motivated insurgent groups but to a moderate extent. The mean of the responses on the desire to gain economically was 3.290.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Ibid, Central Intelligence Agency

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Michele Z, *Middle Eastern Terrorism and Net War, Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Volume 22, Issue 3 (1999), pp 247 – 256

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Mao T, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, 2nd ed. Edited and translated by Samuel B. Griffith, (Garden City: Anchor Press, 1978)

RESPONSE		Std.
KESI ONSE	Mean	Deviation
Insurgent groups are Politically motivated	4.581	0.417
Desire to gain economically by controlling important	3.290	1.007
resources		

#### Table 2.1.2: Motivations of Insurgent Groups' Activities in the Middle East

Source: Researcher, 2020

Insurgent groups in the Middle East derive motivations from different factors. The desire to gain political power is one of the greatest motivations; often brought about by oppressive leadership regimes, long serving leaders who refuse to allow others into office, failed economic status and continued discrimination. A review of the most recent revolutions in Syria shows that they started due to the desire to remove from power the long serving president Assad by Free Syria Army in 2011. 'Continued violence by Al Nusrah Front, HTS and ISIS insurgent groups in the country with the aim of overthrowing president Bashar and replacing him with a system that fully appreciates strict sharia laws have escalated the conflict into a civil war.'<sup>64</sup>

'Asbart Al Ansar, Hizballah and ISIS, the lead insurgent groups in Lebanon aim at overthrowing existing government and replacing it with a new one founded on their Islamic beliefs. HASM, Liwa Al' Thawra and ISIS; the main insurgent groups in Egypt also aim at overthrowing the existing government of Egypt.'<sup>65</sup> This situation is similar with most insurgent group operating in other countries in the region like Turkey, Yemen, Iran and Iraq. The findings agree with findings by Lee-Ann and Hendrick who stated that the main insurgent groups in Syria and Yemen aimed at replacing the existing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Alfred P, Erdogan Renews Call for Safe Zone Support as Syrians Return, (Wayback machine Press, 2019), pp. 51 – 58

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Fact Book*, (CIA Publications, 2020), Accessed on 28<sup>th</sup> June 2020 at <u>https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/397.html</u>

regimes with an Islamic caliphate with strict sharia laws.<sup>66</sup> Al'Qaeda, an insurgent group that also operates as a terrorist group, aims at replacing governments affiliated to western systems of leadership with an Islamic system of leadership. This is also the aim behind ISIS, Ansar Al Islam and IRGC-QF amongst others. From these findings, it is clear that political motivation has been key amongst insurgent groups in the Middle Eastern states from 2010 to 2020. A majority of the insurgent groups seem to be displeased with the association of present leaders of their countries with western political systems and Christianity. They therefore would like to replace such regimes with one that is purely Islamic and to make the entire region an Islamic caliphate. These groups have thrived in the last decade due to destabilized country systems, weak government regimes and poor economic conditions in the countries attributed to the Arab Spring uprising of 2011, weak regional relations and the most recent Covid 19 pandemic.

#### 2.1.3 Relationship between Insurgent Groups and Violence in the Middle East

This study sought to find out the relationship between insurgent groups and violence in the Middle East. From the study findings, respondents from both Syria and Yemen agreed to a large extent that insurgent groups were associated with violence in their countries. The grand mean of the responses on the relationship between insurgent groups and violence was 4.158.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Lee-Ann L & Hendrik J, L, *Threats to Security Posed by ISIS in Syria: A Human Security Approach*, Journal of Human Security, Librello publishing house, vol. 13. Issue 1, (2017) pp, 16-21.

#### Table 2.1.3 Relationship between Insurgent Groups and Violence in the Middle

DECRONCE		Std.
RESPONSE	Mean	Deviation
Insurgent Groups spread propaganda and messages likely to	4.233	0.817
spur war		
Insurgent groups carry out attacks such as bombings and	4.166	1.019
shootings		
Insurgent groups Loot and rob property	4.133	1.105
Fighting between insurgent group forces and government	4.100	1.124
causes violence		
Grand mean	4.158	1.016

Source: Researcher (2020)

Insurgent groups contributed to violence by spreading propaganda and messages likely to rally people against the government, carrying out direct attacks on the government, looting property and engaging in physical fights with government military forces. The study findings agree with findings by Guilio<sup>67</sup>, Amnesty international, Philips Sarah and Oshin<sup>68</sup> that insurgent groups took part in most violent activities witnessed in the Middle East region. The use of air strikes, bombings and shootings resulting to the killing of innocent civilians prompted people to demonstrate and engage in other violent activities. The abduction and killing of prominent leaders by insurgent groups also served to increase the intensity of violence by sympathizers of government forces. The findings confirm statements by Mao Tse Tung that violence was one of the tools employed by insurgent groups while advancing their interests.<sup>69</sup> In the works of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Giulio C, *The Humanitarian Crisis in Yemen: Beyond the Man-Made Disaster*, (International Peace Institute, 2018) pp 10-30

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Oshin J, *Insurgency around the Globe*, (Skill Sphere Publication, 2018) Accessed on 15<sup>th</sup> June 2020 at: <u>https://www.skillsphere.org/global-jigyasas/insurgency-around-the-globe/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Mao T, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, 2nd ed. Edited and translated by Samuel B. Griffith, (Garden City: Anchor Press, 1978)

Benedatta, she pointed at the use of violence as one of the main criteria of identifying an insurgent group. Groups like ISIS, Al Qaeda, Huthi rebel forces and Free Syrian Army vouched for their positions by bombing individuals affiliated to western systems, government sympathizers and those who refused to follow their Muslim doctrines.

#### 2.2 Middle East Regional Relations

This section sought to examine the relationships amongst country states in the Middle East region which has a total of 17 countries. From the study findings, the Middle East regional relationships have evolved greatly with a number of countries trying to establish political supremacy over the region since 1945 when the Arab League (AL) was formed with the idea of unifying all Arab states under one nation (Umma Arabiya).<sup>70</sup> In those earlier years leading to 1967, Egypt was the regional super power until it was defeated in the six day war of 1967. After the battle, countries in the region including Saudi Arabia, Iran, Israel, Egypt and Turkey started competing for supremacy. Egypt managed to get the support of USA and other western countries, which was trying to establish supremacy in the region in the late 1970s, an aspect that made other Middle East countries to gang up in order to do away with Western dominance. Although this East versus west battle ended in 1990, the study findings established that rivalry for supremacy in the region continued thereafter.

In the period 1990 to 2010, during the cold war, non-Arab competitors gained a slight upper hand over Saudi Arabia.<sup>71</sup> However, as from 2011, with the emergence of the Arab spring uprising, the battle of supremacy for the region seemed to have toned down according to the study findings. This is regardless of the continued cold war between

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Ismael, T., Ismael, J & Perry, G., *Government and Politics of the Contemporary Middle East: Continuity and change*, (Abingdon: Routledge Publications, 2015)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Fakhri, M., *Images of the Arab World and Middle East: Debates about Development and Regional Integration*, Wisconsin International Law Journal, Volume 28, Issue 3 (2010), pp 396 – 403

Saudi Arabia and Iran over political supremacy in the region according to study findings. This has been seen in the times when the two countries have been supporting opposing sides in the conflicts in Syria, Yemen, Turkey, Bahrain and Iran. The study findings are supported by findings by Dalacoura about the transformations in the Middle East regional relations.<sup>72</sup>

The study findings established that economic integration in the Middle East region has also changed over time. The establishment of regional bodies such as the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), strengthening of the Arab League and the enforcing agreements such as the Greater Arab Free Trade Area (GAFTA) and Agadir agreement has helped to create economic integration in the region.<sup>73</sup> The GCC for instance, has been aiming at promoting coordination, integration and cooperation amongst its six member states in the fields of economics, politics and security. The Arab League has also been working on achieving its goal of a common market in the Arab countries while the GAFTA built on AL's objective to remove trade barriers amongst its 17member states in the region. The nature of economics for most countries in the region is rentier for their dependence on oil.<sup>74</sup> Middle Eastern countries also lack complementarity as they produce almost similar goods. Since complementarity is the basic feature for economic integration, the low complementarity implies that regional economic relations are very low save for Syria and Lebanon that send half of their nonoil exports to the region according to the study findings. There are also low levels of intra-regional trade due to the existing of similar economic structures and products.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Dalacoura, K, *The Study of the International Relations of the Middle East since 2011: The Global-Regional Intersection*, (London School of Economics and Political Science Journal, 2020)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Fakhri, M., *Images of the Arab World and Middle East: Debates about Development and Regional Integration*, Wisconsin International Law Journal, Volume 28, Issue 3 (2010), pp 391–429.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Eaton, et al, *Conflict Economies in the Middle East and North Africa*, (Chantham House Publication, 2019)

Middle Eastern business communities have also been dependent on political power in terms of release of private equity and accessibility of the area by the international community.

The study further established that security and peaceful relations in the Middle East have been a problem in the Middle East. Continuing battle for supremacy between Iran and Gulf country-specifically Saudi Arabia has derailed the plan of developing a new security framework in the region. The Arab spring uprising of 2011, destabilized political systems in countries in the region and has been responsible for some of the unending conflicts in the region to date. Continued civil wars and actions of insurgent groups amongst other factors make it difficult to integrate the region with regards to security and peace. These study findings agree with findings by Goldsmith that security, economic and political relations in the Middle East region which are dependent on politics have been changing towards the adverse over time.<sup>75</sup>

# 2.3 The Place of Insurgent Groups in the Middle East Regional Relations Since 2010

This section sought to find out the place of insurgent groups in the Middle East regional relationships since 2010. Findings of the study established that insurgent groups have been part of the changing regional relations in the region. By being used as instruments of war by the nations fighting for supremacy in the region, insurgent groups have aided in the disintegration of security, economic, political and peace relations amongst country states in the Middle East. Al-Qaeda for instance, a jihadist rebel group originating from Pakistan has been aiding other rebel groups in countries like Syria,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Goldsmith, B, International Trade and the Onset and Escalation of Interstate Conflict: More to Fight about or More Reasons not to Fight? Defense & Peace Economics, Volume 24, Issue 6 (2013), pp 555–578

Lebanon and Yemen in the Middle East to fight existing governments' thereby causing political instability in the countries.<sup>76</sup> The Southern Secessionist Movement and Houthi rebel groups in Yemen have received funding and support from Saudi Arabia, Russia and Lebanon to enable them carry out their activities in the country. Existing government regimes have received the support of Iran, France and USA in order to counter insurgencies.

The study therefore establishes that in a bid to gain political supremacy in the region, insurgent groups have been used by the countries strongly desiring power as their tool for propagating their interests. These study findings are supported by studies by Richard that insurgent groups in the Middle East are used by states to propagate their political interests. The findings are also in line with study findings by Lee-Ann and Hendrik that insurgent groups worldwide are sometimes used as instruments by powerful states to establish their influence and show their power in a region.<sup>77</sup>

Study findings establish that insurgent groups have been used as strategic resources of advancing religious ideologies, political interests in the region and economic interests. Opposition parties desiring to change systems of administration have imparted their ideologies in insurgent groups and intensified fighting which has yielded fruits in some instances. The desire to control oil production economies in the region has made countries like Saudi Arabia to continue supporting insurgent groups in destroying the economies of other states. The ISIS, for instance a large jihadist movement in the region, has been used to spreading their own ideology on the 'day of judgment' and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Fakhri, M., *Images of the Arab World and Middle East: Debates about Development and Regional Integration*, Wisconsin International Law Journal, Volume 28, Issue 3 (2010), pp 418 – 429

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Lee-Ann L & Hendrik J, L, *Threats to Security Posed by ISIS in Syria: A Human Security Approach, Journal of Human Security*, Librello publishing house, vol. 13. Issue 1, (2017) pp. 16-21.

requiring countries in the region and around the world to conform to their believes.<sup>78</sup> In fact it captured greater lands in countries in the region like Mosul in Iraq, and carried out attacks directed at individuals who disagree with their ideology. The study findings agree with findings by Giulio that the Islamic group ISIS is used to strategic spread Islamic religion ideologies.<sup>79</sup>

DESDONSE		Std.
RESPONSE	Mean	Deviation
Insurgent groups have adversely affected political relations	4.690	0.870
Insurgent groups have increased the disintegration of	4.400	0.813
regional economic relations		
Insurgent groups have adversely affected security and peace	4.266	0.827
relations		

Table 2.3: The Impact of Insurgent Groups on Middle East Regional Relations

#### Researcher (2020)

On the impact of insurgent groups on regional relations in the Middle East, the study findings established that insurgent groups have been instrumental in toning down the battle for supremacy in the Middle East that has existed for long. Coming through after the Arab uprising in 2011 and propagating violence within states like Bahrain, Syria, Yemen, Egypt and Iraq, insurgent groups have destabilized the political state of the once established states and reduced their bargain for supremacy. Insurgent groups have also diverted resources and strategies away from common political integration in the region, by aiding in the removal of some of the long serving presidents such as President Assad of Syria. This has destroyed chances of any long held visions of political integration in the region, given that those who get to power come with newer ideologies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Eaton et al, *Conflict Economies in the Middle East and North Africa*, (Chantham House Publication, 2019)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Giulio C, *The Humanitarian Crisis in Yemen: Beyond the Man-Made Disaster*, (International Peace Institute, 2018) pp 23 – 34

From the analysis of the responses from the field, respondents confirmed that insurgent groups had adversely affected political relations in the region (Mean = 4.690).

Study findings also reveal that insurgent groups have increased the disintegration of expected regional economic relations as stipulated in the visions of the Arab League, GAFTA and GCC of a common trade area. Respondents who took part in the study agreed to a large extent that insurgent groups had further led to the disintegration of regional economic relations (mean = 4.400). By 2010, according to the study findings, a cold war in the region had made it difficult to fully adopt recommendations of GAFTA and GCC. The occurrence of the Arab uprisings of 2011 caused more troubles to the 'shaky' economic relationships by robbing the stability of Egypt, Bahrain, Syria, Yemen, Iraq, Iran and even Lebanon. The problems were further compounded by the intensification of the activities of large insurgent groups in the region such as ISIS, Al-Qaeda and the rise of smaller rebel groups such as SSM, Houthi rebel groups and Kurdish forces according to the study findings. Since the economic relations are highly dependent on political relations, the internal destabilization of states and external political relations imply that setting up common trade areas and productivity in the area have gone down.

The study findings still established that insurgent groups had adversely affected security and peace relations in the Middle East region. According to the analysis of the responses by civil servants, media personalities and members of civil society groups; they agreed to a large extent that insurgent groups had adversely affected regional security and peace relations. As provided by propositions of the Arab League, the goals of peace and security in the area could be effectively achieved with the adoption of one nation. Increased violence however, as propagated by insurgent groups in individual countries in the Middle East has proved the goals to be futile. Governments and civilians in countries in the Middle East, through the belief that their neighboring countries are responsible for their woes, find it hard to involve them in conducting peace strategies.<sup>80</sup> Prolonged conflicts in countries like Syria and Yemen, with no stable systems of administration, have made it easy for insurgent groups to continue operating, denying the countries and the region of the desired peaceful and secure environment. The study findings agree with findings by Eaton et al that conflict in the Middle East has adversely affected economies and peace relationships.<sup>81</sup>

#### 2.4 Summary of the Chapter

The main objective in this chapter was to assess the place of insurgent groups in the Middle Eastern regional relations from 2010 to 2020. The study findings established that insurgent groups in the region were greatly inspired by the Arab spring revolution of 2011 to liberate their nations from long serving and oppressive leadership regimes. Insurgent groups which include ISIS, Al-Qaeda, Al-Nusra Front, ISIL-Yemen and Houthi groups amongst other smaller rebel groups have continued fighting from 2011 to date with government forces in some states like Syria and Yemen. Others like Free Syrian army from Syria have gone dormant, despite being very active from 2011 to 2014. The main motive behind insurgencies in the Middle East is political – replacing existing government regimes affiliated to western leadership with an Islamic caliphate.<sup>82</sup> On the Middle East regional relations, findings established that political, economic and security relations have been changing greatly over time, as influenced by a number of factors. The political relations has been characterized by a battle of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Eaton, T, Khatib L, Mansour, R, Yazigi, J and Cheng, C, *Conflict Economies in the Middle East and North Africa*, (Chantham House Publication, 2019)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Ibid, Eaton et al

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Tanchum, M (2019), *Iran is already Losing*, (Foreign Policy publication, 2019), Archived from the original on 24<sup>th</sup> September 2019. Accessed on 13<sup>th</sup> May 2020 at <u>https://foreignpolicy.com/2019/09/23/iran-is-already-losing/&ved</u>

supremacy for the region, while economic relations have been characterized by the establishment of institutions such as GCC, GAFTA and AL to help in creating a common trade area with no restrictions. Findings of the study have identified that insurgent groups have played important roles in defining the enlisted regional relations in the Middle East. The roles range from being used as instruments of battling for regional supremacy, to being used as instruments for the spread of religious ideologies and to being used as tools of ascending to political power. Finally, findings of the study have highlighted how insurgent groups have impacted on regional relations in the Middle East by adversely affecting political, economic and security regional relations.

#### **CHAPTER THREE**

## IMPACT OF INSURGENT GROUPS ON HUMAN SECURITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST SINCE 2010

#### **3.0 Introduction**

The fact that insurgencies affect the normal life of people and systems is not debatable. Most often 'insurgent groups have been associated with violence in the form of bombings, shooting state facilities, kidnapping and killing state supporters while propagating their interests.<sup>83</sup> Even in the rare cases where insurgencies have been conducted by peaceful demonstrators, governments have retaliated by employing force as a way of bringing to an end to such demonstrations. In either cases therefore, insurgencies have been known to threaten peaceful coexistences and affected human security in many negative ways.

This chapter presents an analysis of the impact of insurgent groups on different dimensions of human security. The dimensions of human security that will be discussed include personal security, community security, political security, economic security, environmental security, food security and health security. It first looks at the aspects of insurgent groups threatening human security, impacts on human security and strategies employed to reduce the impact of insurgencies on human security. The focus of the study is in Syria and Yemen in the Middle East.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Richard D, Hamas, Popular Support and War in the Middle East: Insurgency in the Holy Land (Contemporary Terrorism Studies), Routledge publishers; edition 1, (2016), pp 220 - 228

#### 3.1 Impact of Insurgent Groups on Personal Security in the Middle East

'Personal security revolves around an individual's emotions, psychology and the physical condition of the human body.'<sup>84</sup> This study sought to find out how insurgent groups impacted on personal security in the Middle East. Findings of the study indicated that insurgent groups largely threatened personal security and served to increase personal insecurity through violence. The grand mean of the responses on the impact of insurgencies on personal security was 3.815 implying that respondents agreed to a large extent that insurgent groups affected personal security.

DESDONICE		Std.	
RESPONSE	Mean	Dev	
Insurgent groups through violence resulted to physical torture of			
people	4.084	1.282	
By killing family members, insurgent groups' caused psycho-			
social trauma	3.833	1.343	
Members of insurgent groups perpetrate sexual violence	3.671	1.491	
Destruction of homes by insurgents displaces people from their			
homes	3.672	1.464	
Grand mean	3.815	1.395	

Table 3.1 Impact of Insurgent	Groups on Personal Securit	y in the Middle East

Through violence, insurgent groups caused physical torture of people caught in battle, increased killings, increased instances of rape and other forms of gender based violence, caused the displacement of people and caused long lived psycho-social trauma. In countering insurgencies, brutality of police, military and rebel groups resulted to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Mohammed, F. J., and Abdulrasheed, O, *Effects of Insurgency on Girls Education in North Eastern* Nigeria, European Journal of Education and Development Psychology, Volume 3, Issue 1, (2014), pp 44-50.

increased rape cases, domestic abuse and other gender based violence in Syria and Yemen according to study findings. The number of criminals also increased in the periods; criminals who robbed with violence and killed without the notice of state functions.

The study findings agree with findings by Amnesty international and United Nations in the Middle East who found that the personal security of individuals in the area had been negatively affected by continuing civil conflicts.

'The use of air strikes and bombings injured hundreds of civilians, resulted to the deaths of millions of people and led the displacement of about 6.6 million people in Syria only. Amnesty International reports indicate that more than 384,000 people have lost their lives in Syria while more than 112,000 people have lost their lives in Yemen since war started in 2011.'<sup>85</sup>

The number of deaths is enough to create fear on the people still living in the country. Those who have lost relatives and close friends to the war also live with long term psychological trauma.

#### 3.2 Impact of Insurgent Groups on Community Security in the Middle East

In this section, the study sought to determine the impact of insurgent groups on community security. From the study findings, respondents agreed to a large extent that insurgent groups affected community security. The grand mean of their responses was 4.250 with a standard deviation of 0.900.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Fact Book*, (CIA Publications, 2020), Accessed on 28<sup>th</sup> June 2020 at <u>https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/397.html</u>

DESDONSE		Std.
RESPONSE	Mean	Dev
Intercommunity hostility escalated by insurgent groups weaken		
cultural diversity	4.583	0.500
Propaganda disseminated by insurgent groups fuel inter-		
community fights	4.125	1.112
Insurgencies threaten peaceful societal existence	4.042	1.081
Grand mean	4.250	0.900
Source: Researcher, 2020		

#### Table 3.2 Impact of Insurgencies on Community Security in the Middle East

Most insurgent groups in the Middle East region comprise of Islamist associations that subscribe to different religious groups. ISIS for instance aims at imposing strict sharia laws and replacing existing leadership regimes with an Islamic caliphate. By pitting communities to fight against anti-Muslims, the traditional inter-community cohesion is eroding slowly by slowly. The findings agree with a study by Lee-Ann and Hendrik who found that Houthis in Syria were fighting against Sunnis in Dammaj province and even made them move out of their original home after capturing the area.<sup>86</sup> The study findings are also in line with findings by Assaf who established that terrorism and insurgencies in the Middle East rallied religious communities against each other causing inter-community fights.<sup>87</sup> The involvement by the international community like USA and UK in other insurgencies in the Middle East further created hostilities amongst regional communities and groups.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Lee-Ann L & Hendrik J, L, *Threats to Security Posed by ISIS in Syria: A Human Security Approach*, Journal of Human Security, Librello publishing house, vol. 13. Issue 1, (2017) pp 16-21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Assaf M, The Interplay between Terrorism, Insurgency, and Civil War in the Middle East, (ARI Publication, 2015) pp. 56–65

#### 3.3 Impact of Insurgent Groups on Economic Security in the Middle East

The economy is a very important function of a country and a region which revolves around production of products, exchange processes and consumption of the products. It helps to promote businesses and comfortable livelihood of people. The study sought to find out the impact of insurgent groups on economic security in the Middle East. From the study findings, the respondents agreed to a large extent that insurgencies threatened and affected economic security.

Table 3.3: Impact of Insurgent Groups on Economic Security in the Middle East

DECDANCE		Std.
RESPONSE	Mean	Dev
Violence by the groups result in the closure of businesses	4.293	0.755
Insurgencies inhibit production of goods and services	4.251	0.736
Focus by governments on handling insurgent groups limits		
business policy making and price regulations	4.084	1.214
Violent activities by the groups hinder accessibility to markets	3.832	1.041
Grand mean	4.115	0.936

Source: Researcher (2020)

Insurgent groups impacted adversely on economic security by scaring traders from carrying out businesses resulting to the closure of businesses, inhibiting production, hindering accessibility to markets and increasing general poverty levels. This was mainly influenced by violence which destroyed infrastructure, factories, and markets and destabilized the general policy making functions of the government. The study findings agree with review findings by Amnesty International which established that the general poverty level in the affected nations in MENA had increased greatly due to the war.<sup>88</sup> The findings also agree with International Peace Institute's assessment of the Yemen which found that around half of the population in Yemen doesn't know where they will get their next meal.<sup>89</sup>

#### 3.4 Impact of Insurgent Groups on Food Security

Food is considered a basic need for the survival of human beings and therefore its availability and accessibility is of importance to man. In this section, the study sought to establish the impact of insurgent groups on food security in the Middle East. From the study findings, respondents who took part in this study agreed to a large extent that insurgencies adversely affected food security. The grand mean of their responses was 4.347.

DECRONICE		Std.
RESPONSE	Mean	Dev
Insurgent groups destroy existing food reserves	4.456	0.720
Insurgencies inhibit production of food	4.413	0.712
Violence by insurgent groups scares people from finding proper		
food and water	4.174	0.911
Grand mean	4.347	0.781

#### Table 3.4 Impact of Insurgent Groups on Food Security

Insurgent groups through violence destroy food sources and disrupt food supplies which deny some people access to food. This exposes people to hunger and famine which may result to starvation, malnutrition and even death. At the local level in both Syria and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Amnesty International, *Human Rights in the Middle East and Northern Africa, a Review of 2019*, (Amnesty International Publication, 2020), pp 6 – 77

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Giulio C, *The Humanitarian Crisis in Yemen: Beyond the Man-Made Disaster*, International Peace Institute, (2018) pp 22 – 34

Iran, the ugly war scenery created by insurgent groups discourages people from distributing food to their target markets. Production of food also goes down as farmers cannot tend to their crops as required, store them and supply using common channels. Food manufacturing firms on the other hand find it difficult to produce and distribute food products due to destructed supply chain system and poor markets. The situations mean that there is scarce food for consumption as compared to the wide population held hostage by conflicts.

Findings are in line with findings presented by Amnesty International, 'government forces in both Syria and Yemen continued to restrict access to UN humanitarian aid and other aid across their countries. The government of Syria refused to approve half of the requests by UN to monitor food security situation, provide food aid and to assess whether the affected civilians had accessed food support.'<sup>90</sup> The study findings agree with findings by Daniel and Sheena that the Yemeni crisis has resulted in severe lack of food and vegetation. According to their study, around 13 million people out of the total population of 24 million were going hungry daily and that 6 million were at the risk of starving.<sup>91</sup>

#### 3.5 Impact of Insurgent Groups on Political Security

The political system is an important aspect of the human security of a nation. It revolves around the system of administration, processes of leadership, policy formulations and implementation of justice. This section sought to establish the impact of insurgent groups on political security. From the study findings, insurgent groups greatly affected

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Orhan, M, Political Violence and Insurgencies in the Middle East: Social Movements, Diffusion of Armed Conflicts, and Proxy Wars, Irish Journal of Sociology. Volume 27 (2019), pp 56 – 68

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Daniel N and Sheena M, *The Yemen war is the world's worst humanitarian crisis, UN says, April 3, 2018,* (CNN Publication, 2018), Accessed on 16<sup>th</sup> May 2020 at <u>https://edition.cnn.com/2018/04/03/middleeast/yemen-worlds-worst-humanitarian-crisis-un-intl/index.html</u>

political security and stability of countries in the Middle East. The grand mean of the responses on the impact of insurgencies on political security was 4.264.

DECDONCE		Std.
RESPONSE	Mean	Deviation
Insurgent groups cause the violation of human rights	4.292	0.951
Constant fights started by insurgent groups hinder proper		
policy formulation and administration of justice	4.251	1.033
Insurgent groups discriminate people based on religion and		
affiliations	4.250	0.854
Grand mean	4.264	0.946

#### **Table 3.5 Impact of Insurgent Groups on Political Security**

Source: Researcher (2020)

Insurgent groups by attacking government sympathizers engage in the violation of human rights through killing the innocent without trial and discriminating against other people. By escalating conflict to the level of civil wars, the peace of a country is affected. Legal systems are forced to close down in the extreme cases leaving the law to police and military forces. These are left to determine the wrong doers and go to the extent of punishing them. Some of the punishments such as forced detentions, death sentences and imprisonment without trial are a direct violation of human rights. Insurgent groups also kill leaders and create an environment that does not permit elections in the country. In the end, the country plunges into political instability with no trusted leader to enforce regulations.

The study finding agree with findings by Amnesty International that Syrian security forces continued to hold thousands of detainees arrested in previous years without trial, often in conditions that amounted to enforced disappearance. Tens of thousands of people remained disappeared, the majority since 2011. They included humanitarian

workers, lawyers, journalists, peaceful activists, government critics and opponents, and individuals detained in place of relatives wanted by the authorities.<sup>92</sup> Findings from this study also agree with findings presented by Mao Tse Tung. As noted by Mao, the goal of most insurgent groups is political. Through the use of violence and peaceful actions to change existing political situation, insurgent groups may end up destroying the country's stability rather than transforming it for the best.<sup>93</sup> The action of existing governments to counter the insurgencies results in prolonged conflicts that increase cases of impunity, corruption and political repression.

#### 3.6 Impact of Insurgent Groups on Health Security

Health security refers to the freedom from illnesses, injury and ability to enjoy a peaceful mind away from stress. Health security is a very important aspect of human life that supports ability to eat, work and live comfortably within the community. This section sought to determine the impact of insurgent groups on health security. Findings of the study indicated that insurgent groups greatly affected health security through destruction of health facilities, hindering distribution of health supplies and scaring health practitioners from carrying out their work. The grand mean of the responses on the impact of insurgencies on health security was 4.128.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Amnesty International, Syria: Damning Evidence of War Crimes and other Violations by Turkish Forces and their Allies (Press release, 18 October 2019), Accessed on 28<sup>th</sup> August, 2020 at https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2019/10/syria-damning-evidence-of-war-crimes-and-otherviolations-by-turkish-forces-and-their-allies/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Marks, T, Mao Tse-tung and the Search for 21st Century Counterinsurgency, (CTC Sentinel 2, no. 10 (October 2009)

	Std.
Mean	Dev
4.291	1.160
4.167	0.963
4.167	1.007
3.887	0.843
4.128	0.993
	<ul><li>4.291</li><li>4.167</li><li>4.167</li><li>3.887</li></ul>

#### Table 3.6 Impact of Insurgencies on Health Security

Insurgencies also forced people into congested refugee camps, exposing them to diseases such as cholera and air bone diseases which are prevalent in the area. The study findings agree with findings by NGO Save the children which established that the conflict in Yemen had destroyed healthcare facilities resulting to an estimated 10,000 child deaths per year. In fact, their study found that 1,000 children were dying weekly from preventable killers like respiratory duct infections, malnutrition and diarrhea.<sup>94</sup> The findings further agree with a review by WHO in the region which found that the resurfacing of cholera in 2017 had resulted to 200,000 cases and 1,300 deaths in Yemen. The crowding of people in refugee camps made it easy for the disease to spread quickly and to claim the lives of many people.

### 3.7 Impact of Insurgent Groups on Environmental Security

In the universe, man coexists with other living organisms like plants and animals. For sustainability of the human generation, it is important that man protects the existence

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Kivela, L and Mark, H, *Psychological Safety: Pathways to Psychosocial Safety for Syria's Displaced Children and Adolescents*, (Save the Children International Publication, 2020)

of the other living creatures by watching his actions. This section of the study sought to find out the impact of insurgent groups on the environment. Findings indicated that insurgent groups through the use of chemical weapons used in fighting that destroyed plant and animal life. Violence in the affected country created very limited time for protecting the environment resulting to vegetation and soil deterioration. This in turn resulted to neglect of the environment, a factor that critically affected the security of the environment. The grand mean of the responses was 4.329 with a standard deviation of 0.802 showing that the respondents agreed to a large extent that insurgencies had a harmful impact on the environment.

DECDONCE		Std.
RESPONSE	Mean	Deviation
Chemical weapons used in civil wars affects plant and animal		
life	4.492	0.860
Insurgencies results to neglecting of environmental protection		
standards	4.167	0.745
Grand mean	4.329	0.802

 Table 3.7 Impact of Insurgent Groups on Environmental Security

#### Source: Researcher (2020)

The study finding agree with a study by Care international in Yemen which established that the country is facing one of the world's worst Water, Sanitation and Hygiene (WASH) outbreak.<sup>95</sup> The lack of governance has left Yemen without a viable water supply. Poor sanitation and the lack of clean water have had a deteriorating effect on the health of Yemenis, which is apparent through the increasing cases of cholera in Yemen since 2015. The problem in Yemen is widespread, thus making it difficult to

 $<sup>^{95}</sup>$  Giulio C, The Humanitarian Crisis in Yemen: Beyond the Man-Made Disaster, International Peace Institute, (2018) pp 16 – 32

reduce the problem from escalating because it is hard to supply everyone on a regular basis.

#### 3.8 Strategies to Protect Human security and empower People

The magnitude of the impact of insurgencies on human security can be very large and disastrous if not checked. In some common cases, conflicts between insurgent groups and existing governments can go on for long and waiting till the end of war to bring an end to human insecurities may be wasteful. It is therefore important for countries and organizations to develop immediate strategies to protect human security and to reduce excessive effects of insurgencies.

#### 3.8.1 Strategies to Restore Economic Security in the times of Insurgencies

To help reduce excessive impacts of insurgent group's activities on the economic security government can take early initiatives to recover infrastructure. 'By rebuilding transport facilities, communication systems, energy sector, water and providing other utilities, civilians will be able to access basic services. People in the country will be able to travel to job centers, carry out agriculture and other economic activities.<sup>96</sup> Respondents from both Syria and Yemen agreed to a large extent that their governments had undertaken initiatives such as road construction, provision of finances and policy formulations to help in the recovery of the economy amidst conflicts. By providing capital through microfinance, training, establishing social safety nets and provision of other forms of aid to help set up industries; the international community and affected governments have tried to reduce poverty and restore the economic security.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Byman, D et al, *Trends in outside Support for Insurgent Movements*, (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2001), pp. 67 – 81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Jülide K and Fulya D, *The Impact of Turkey's Policy toward Syria on Human Security*, Arab Studies Quarterly, Vol. 37, No. 4 (Fall 2015), pp. 351-366

#### 3.8.2 Strategies to Restore Food Security in the times of Insurgencies

Since food is basic for the survival of man, restoring and ensuring food security should be made a top priority in the times of conflict. 'Governments can do this by rehabilitating the agricultural sector through the provision of training to farmers, subsidies on seeds, fertilizer and irrigation programmes. An affected state can also revitalize rural communities, enhance local production and boost food distribution systems.'<sup>98</sup> Through foreign aid, governments can purchase food products and distribute them to the affected communities in their countries. The suggestions presented in the study findings agree with efforts undertaken by affected governments in the Middle East according to UN reports. The international community has been at the forefront in distributing food supplies to refugees and other civilians affected by war.

#### 3.8.3 Strategies to Restore Health Security in the times of Insurgencies

Tackling health insecurity in a nation plagued by conflict brought about by the action of insurgent groups and the government is also critical towards the assured overall human security. To do this, governments need to put in place initiatives to guarantee people's access to health care and health services. 'Such initiatives include nutrition promotion, disease surveillance and control systems, community based disease prevention schemes and risk sharing arrangements.'<sup>99</sup> The International community through UN and Amnesty International can continue supply medicinal products, safe water and food to affected people in order to improve the ability of the sick to fight

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> Orhan, M, Political Violence and Insurgencies in the Middle East: Social Movements, Diffusion of Armed Conflicts, and Proxy Wars, Irish Journal of Sociology. Volume 27 (2019), pp 65 – 78

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> Feedback from respondents in the interview, 12<sup>th</sup> July, 2020

diseases. Specific attention to vulnerable individuals such as women, children, the aged and those with serious illnesses should also be provided to ensure comfortable living.

#### 3.8.4 Strategies to Restore Personal Security in the times of Insurgencies

<sup>6</sup>Educating the masses is one of the best ways of ensuring personal security.<sup>100</sup> Governments in the Middle East and the international community can do this through social media platforms, main media channels and even through seminars. <sup>6</sup>Education should be based on ways of overcoming trauma, especially to those who lost their close friends and family members.<sup>101</sup> The government of Syria has taken such steps at assuring people of their personal security. Those in conflicting areas such as Dammaj in Syria have been evacuated in order to avoid injury or even death. The government of Yemen has also shown interest in reconciling with rebellious groups; an initiative that will assure people of their personal security.<sup>102</sup> Other strategies include the integration of conflict afflicted individuals, empowerment of youths and women and enforcing the rule of law to persecute offenders.

#### 3.8.6 Strategies to Restore Community Security in the times of Insurgencies

For the well-being of the community in the times of insurgencies and conflicts, governments and regional bodies should aim at reconciliation strategies. 'Initiatives of renewing social relationships such as integration of former combatants, banning identity politics and overcoming the culture of violence should be put in place. By enacting an agreeable rule of law, concerned parties will be able to protect people from oppressive traditional practices, discrimination against other ethnic groups and harsh

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Feedback from interview with respondents on 13<sup>th</sup> July, 2020

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Response from interview, 16<sup>th</sup> June to 18<sup>th</sup> July, 2020

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> Michael R, *Insurgency*, (Encyclopedia Britannica, inc. publishers, 2020) Accessed on July 28, 2020

at: https://www.britannica.com/topic/insurgency

treatment against women.<sup>103</sup> Another strategy is building trust by formulating strong community networks and encouraging intermarriages between the conflicting communities.

#### 3.9 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has discussed the impact of insurgencies on human security in the Middle East from 2010 to 2020. In the first part, the chapter analyzed the impact of insurgencies on individual dimensions under human security such as personal, environmental, health, economic, food and political. On economic security for instance, insurgencies through destruction of markets, companies and producers have resulted to increased poverty in the affected Middle East countries. At the national level, the country's diverted focus on handling insurgent groups has resulted to very little efforts by affected governments to revive failed economies leading to collapsing financial sector, trade centers and regulatory authorities. At the regional level, closed borders have cut down exchange of resources between nations and caused further collapse of regional economies that were highly dependent on each other. After analyzing the impact of insurgencies in detail, the chapter has finally looked into some of the strategies that can be employed to reduce impacts of insurgencies on human security.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> Michele Z, *Middle Eastern Terrorism and Net War, Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, Volume 22, Issue 3 (1999), pp 247 – 256

#### **CHAPTER FOUR**

## A COMPARISON OF THE IMPACT OF INSURGENT GROUPS ON HUMAN SECURITY IN YEMEN AND SYRIA

#### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the comparison of the impact of insurgencies on human security between Syria and Yemen. It discusses the similarities and differences in the place of insurgent groups in societal relations in Syria and Yemen. The chapter then compares the impact of insurgencies on human security between the two countries.

## 4.1 Comparison of the Place of Insurgent Groups in Regional Relations between Syria and Yemen

Syria and Yemen, countries found the Middle East region, are located very far apart with Yemen in the South near the horn of Africa while Syria is towards the north – neighboring Turkey.<sup>104</sup> The countries are separated by Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Jordan. Though located far apart, the countries are currently facing civil wars and have had a fair share of the impacts of insurgent groups in their political structures, human security and in their general relationships with other countries within the region. Notable differences and similarities on insurgent groups, their operations and their impact in Syria and Yemen are highlighted in this section.

Findings revealed differences in the names of insurgent groups in that; the most active insurgent groups to date in Syria were the Al Nusrah Front, Hay'at Tahrir al-Sham (HTS) and ISIS - Syria while in Yemen they included Houthi armed forces, ISIS – Yemen and Al'Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP).<sup>105</sup> Similarities were however

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> National Geographic Society, *Atlas of the Middle East*, (National Geographic Society publication, 2008)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Fact Book*, (CIA Publications, 2020), Accessed on 28<sup>th</sup> June 2020 at <u>https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/397.html</u>

clear on operations and characteristics of the groups. From the findings, Syria and Yemen have both local insurgent groups and those originating from other countries but with a regional influence. In Syria for instance, Al Nusrah Front and HTS are local insurgent groups that aim at overthrowing existing government of President Bashar Al-Assad, absorb like minded rebel groups and create a regional Islamic caliphate.<sup>106</sup> In Yemen, the Houthi armed forces, the most active local group, aimed at overthrowing the country's president Abdrabbuh Mansur, absorb like minded rebel groups and establish a regional influence. ISIS, a large insurgent group in the region, had taken root in both countries operating as ISIS – Syria in Syria and ISIS – Yemen in Yemen. Al'Qaeda was also a major player in rebellion in Yemen but had small influence in Syria. In both states, the regional insurgent groups dubbed ISIS and Al'Qaeda focused on overthrowing existing governments and replacing them with an Islamic state adhering fully to the doctrines proposed by individual groups.

An analysis of the insurgent groups enlisted in Syria and Yemen reveals that they are non-state actors, mainly politically motivated and that they use violence to advance their interests. The special interest of overthrowing exiting regimes and replacing them with an Islamic caliphate by Al Nusrah Front, HTS, ISIS, Al'Qaeda and Houthi armed Forces can be interpreted as political since the main aim is to control and determine the political and governance structures of the countries. The characteristics and operations of the insurgent groups in both countries follow the definition by Mao Tse-Tung that insurgent groups are 'politically motivated and use violence to advance their interests.'<sup>107</sup> The groups became active in the last decade due to instabilities in government structures, weak political systems and weakened economies mainly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Fact Book*, (CIA Publications, 2020), Accessed on 28<sup>th</sup> June 2020 at <u>https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/fields/397.html</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> Mao T, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, 2nd ed. Edited and translated by Samuel B. Griffith, (Garden City: Anchor Press, 1978)

influenced by the Arab Spring uprising of 2011. Violence by the groups included bombing government facilities, forcefully capturing areas controlled by governments, engaging in combat with government forces and inciting people to demonstrate against governments.

Insurgent groups in Yemen and Syria have been used to disintegrate the regional relationship of countries in the Middle East, according to study findings. In as much as their aim has been to unite with like minded rebel groups and replace existing governments with an Islamic caliphate spread in the entire region, Al Nusrah Front, HTS and ISIS- Syria have destabilized government operations in Syria. The current president of Syria, Al – Assad, has mainly been countering insurgencies; finding support from foreigners, losing some areas to the insurgents, and engaging in combat with the groups.<sup>108</sup> As such, his government has had problems developing infrastructure, strategies and its economy and to trade with other countries in the region. The findings that countries in the region have taken different sides in conflicts; with some supporting the insurgents, there is limited probability that the current president will want to cooperate with the opposing countries in matters trade and regional development. The situation is similar in Yemen whereby, insurgent groups continue to be used by countries like Iran and Saudi Arabia to show case their political supremacy in the region.<sup>109</sup> Differences however exist in the development of regional relations between Syria and Yemen and the exact impacts of the insurgent groups on the countries' relations with other states in the region.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Lee-Ann L & Hendrik J, L, *Threats to Security Posed by ISIS in Syria: A Human Security Approach, Journal of Human Security*, Librello publishing house, vol. 13. Issue 1, (2017)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Bureau of Counter Terrorism, *Country Reports on Terrorism 2019*, (US Department of State 2019 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices)

From the study findings, the Free Syria Army, an insurgent group that was formed in 2011 by army defectors and civilians, was partly responsible for the suspension of Syria from the Arab League. The suspension of Syria was on the basis of its ruthless ways of dealing with violence.<sup>110</sup> Even with the collapse of the Free Syria Army, new insurgent groups have continued fighting in the country, resulting to a civil war being experienced to date. This has destroyed any possibilities of constructive peaceful relations with members of GCC and other states despite Syria having had meaningful relations with other countries in the region, based on a review of its history. Up until 2011, Syria had been an active member of the Arab league up to 2011 which aimed at uniting countries in the Middle East politically and to establish economic integration. Syria had helped Palestine to fight against Jordan in 1970 and even took part in a ceasefire agreement in Cairo between the two countries. Syria worked with Egypt to attack Israel in 1973, and in 1976 it helped the Lebanese government in the ongoing civil war at the time in their country. The election of Bashar Al Assad in 2000 further improved the political and economic relations of Syria with countries in the region and with countries in the West.<sup>111</sup> He even signed the Syria Accountability Act in 2003 to stop the involvement of Syria in international sanctions of weapons of mass destruction to Iraq, Lebanon and other countries.<sup>112</sup> All these efforts towards supporting other states in the region seems to have gone to waste with the uprisings of 2011 and Syria's suspension from AL. Findings further established that in 2014, members of ISIL insurgent group crossed the border into Northern Iraq increasing fights in the neighboring country, and also spread

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Benedetta, B, *What's in a Name? Re-conceptualizing Non-State Armed Groups in the Middle East*, (Palgrave Communications, 2016)

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> CNN Editorial Research, Syrian Civil War Fast Facts, (CNN Publications, 2020), Accessed on 28<sup>th</sup>
 May 2020 at <a href="https://edition.cnn.com/2013/08/27/world/meast/syria-civil-war-fast-facts/index.html">https://editorial Research</a>,
 <sup>112</sup> Ibid, CNN Editorial Research,

conflicts to some parts of Lebanon. The fighting spilling to other countries further confirms the existence of strained relations between Syria and its immediate neighbors.

The Republic of Yemen on the other hand, has seen its troubled internal and regional relationship continue to disintegrate. It became a state on 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1990, after a long struggle for unification between North Yemen (Yemen Arab Republic) and South Yemen (People's Republic of South Yemen).<sup>113</sup> The united government was first caught up in an insurgency in 1994, leading to a civil war that concentrated mainly in the South. It then had to deal with a number of insurgent groups in the 2000s such as Zaydi Movement led by Hussein al-Houthi, The Young Believers group led by Shaba al-Mu'mineen and Al'Qaeda. All along, the country had strained relationships with Saudi Arabia which was believed to be funding rebel groups in the North, specifically Houthi rebels formally called Zaydi movement. The country was however in good terms with Egypt and conducted business with other states in the region, with Somali and with the USA.<sup>114</sup> In the period 2010 to 2020 however as noted in this study, the Houthi Rebel Group renewed its force and got victory in the North. In 2014, it escalated the conflict into a civil war in the country. Other rebel groups like ISIS - Yemen and Al'Qaeda's affiliates in the country continue fighting alongside the insurgent groups to date in order to overthrow existing government regimes and to establish a regional Islamic caliphate. Destabilized government operations mean that peaceful political and economic relations with neighboring countries are hard to achieve. A recent report by Amnesty international also identified that Yemen was starting to get into conflicts with Somali

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Fakhri, M., *Images of the Arab World and Middle East: Debates about Development and Regional Integration*, Wisconsin International Law Journal, Volume 28, Issue 3 (2010), pp 396 – 397
 <sup>114</sup> Ibid, Fakhri, pp 402 – 404

and Djibouti governments over its large number of refuges that was surging in their borders.

## 4.2 Comparison of the Impact of Insurgent Groups on Human Security between Syria and Yemen

Over the last ten years, according to the study findings, insurgent groups in both Syria and Yemen have terrorized country politics and caused some of the worst civil wars being fought to date in the mentioned countries. Since the groups have adopted similar forms of violence such as shooting at civilians and government sympathizers, bombing states and laying siege of towns, the impact to human security has followed an almost similar path.<sup>115</sup> In Syria for instance, Al Nusrah Front and ISIS – Syria forcefully captured Aleppo state in 2014 and caused serious displacements to people in the area. The groups have continuously targeted and killed people who refuse to conform to their Islamic ideologies and used Chlorine, mustard agent and Sarin as chemicals for weapons during their conflict. The government of Syria in retaliation has used bombs and other weapons to counter insurgents and civilians, forceful arrests and torture of supporters of insurgent groups. The insurgent groups seem to understand the importance of violence in advocating their demands and in spreading fear and influence. It is majorly violence that has caused fear, deaths and affected human security adversely in Syria over the last ten years. Violent retaliation by the Syrian government has also worked to compound the adverse impact of insurgent groups on personal, community, health and food security. The use of chemical weapons enlisted continues to threaten environmental security. Respondents from Syria agreed to a large extent that insurgent groups resulted to low personal security levels, due to constant attacks, robbery and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Benedetta. B, *The Syrian Refugee Crisis: Regional and Human Security Implications*, Strategic Assessment Journal Volume 17, No. 4 (2015), pp 41 – 53

violence. Food was also a problem in their country since the insurgent groups destroyed any possible aid by international donors. The state of the economy and health in Syria was pathetic due to destruction of industries, infrastructure, and hindrance of any trade activities, destruction of hospitals and the killing of government doctors. The findings point at a failing state whereby all dimensions of human security have been adversely affected by the combined actions of insurgent groups and government forces.

Similarly in Yemen, Houthi rebel forces took over Taiz, the third largest city and displaced several people from their homes in 2015. Al'Qaeda and ISIS – Yemen also, have carried out attacks on government sympathizers and those who refuse to conform to caliphate requirements continuously since 2014.<sup>116</sup> The government also used force such as shooting at protestors, killing leaders of rebel group, bombing regions believed to be home to insurgents and imprisoning those suspected to be members of the groups without trial to counter the actions of insurgent groups.<sup>117</sup> The combined violence caused by the fight between insurgent groups and government forces has caused widespread fear amongst civilians, resulted to death of many people, displacement from homes and adversely affected other aspects of personal, health, food, economic and community security in Yemen. Findings from questionnaire schedules issued in supported the fact the country was ailing greatly from the actions of insurgent groups and the retaliatory actions by the government of Syria. Personal security had deteriorated, communities were no longer at peace with each other, poverty was on the rise and the state of health sector in the country was poor. The use of violence as discussed by Benedatta is just one of the strategies by insurgent groups to voice their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Amnesty International, Yemen: US-made bomb used in deadly air strike on civilians (Press release, 26 September 2019), Accessed on 28<sup>th</sup> August 2020 at <u>https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2019/09/yemen-us-made-bomb-used-in-deadly-air-strike-on-civilians/</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> Amnesty International, *Human Rights in the Middle East and Northern Africa, a Review of 2019*, (Amnesty International Publication, 2020), pp. 66–68

demands.<sup>118</sup> Mao Tse Tung also pointed out that violence is the main tool by insurgent groups that gets them to be listed to and which helps them to push their agenda forward. From the analysis, it is evident that violence as a tool of the insurgent groups has been the main factor affecting human security aspects adversely.

According to study findings, differences exist on the magnitude of the impact of insurgent groups on human security between Syria and Yemen. The magnitude of the impact of ongoing conflicts in Syria has been more than that in Yemen, as measured by the number of people who have been displaced and killed. The estimated total documented death toll in Syria is 384,000 with an estimated total of 7,600,000 displaced people.<sup>119</sup> In comparison to an average population of 17,500,000 over the last 10 years, the death toll in Syria is 2.19% while the displacement percentage is 43.42%. This number is much lower in Yemen which has recorded 112,000 total deaths and approximately 3,154,572 displaced people with an average population of about 29,200,000 over the last ten years representing 0.38% and 10.80% respectively.<sup>120</sup> Assessing from the numbers presented as above, violent actions of insurgent groups coupled by counter insurgency moves by governments have claimed approximately 2.19% of the population in Syria as compared to 0.38% in Yemen. This high death rate of Syria could have been as a result of tough retaliation strategies by the government of Syria in 2011 which also led to its expulsion from the Arab League. The higher number of displacements in Syria as compared to Yemen could also be as a result of continuous activities by insurgent groups and the large number of the groups in Syria as compared to Yemen. Further, Syria has been a point of interest for Saudi Arabia and USA and its

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Benedetta, B, *What's in a Name? Re-conceptualizing Non-State Armed Groups in the Middle East*, (Palgrave Communications, 2016)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> Benedetta Berti (2015). 'The Syrian Refugee Crisis: Regional and Human Security Implications' Strategic Assessment journal Volume 17 No. 4, pp 41 - 53

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup>CNN Editorial Research, *Yemen Civil War Fast Facts*, (CNN Publications, 2020), Accessed on 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2020 at <u>https://edition.cnn.com/2013/07/10/world/meast/yemen-fast-facts/index.html</u>

proximity to Iran and Iraq could have really increased the magnitude of deaths, displacements and security threats to people in the country. The findings agree with study findings by Benedatta who identified that ISIS, Al'Qaeda, Houthi forces and Free Syrian Army as the lead insurgent groups had employed terrorists' approaches to instill fear in governments. This really hurt civilians by causing increased deaths, disruption of economies and displacements of people. The findings agree with reviews by Amnesty international that the total death tally and the number of displaced people is higher in Syria than in Yemen.

#### 4.3 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has keenly analyzed and compared the impact of insurgent groups on human security between Syria and Yemen. From the discussions, similarities existed on the nature of insurgent groups and the impact of such groups on countries' relations with others in the region. In Syria for example, both local and regional insurgent groups operated in the country and aimed at replacing existing governments with an Islamic caliphate. They greatly relied on violence by shooting at government sympathizers, capturing important cities, bombing facilities and other destructive activities. The groups which included ISIS, Al Nusrah Front, Al Qaeda and HTS were founded on strict Islamic doctrines and trained collaborating civilians to strictly follow the doctrines. The situation was similar in Yemen where Al Qaeda, ISIS, and Houthi armed Forces used violence to try and overthrow existing government regimes. Their aim was to replace western affiliated leadership regimes with an Islamic state that strictly followed Islamic doctrines. The insurgent groups had adversely affected human security in the both Syria and Yemen over the past 10 years. The state of personal security was poor due to increased crime, robbery and violence. Health security, economic security, political security and environmental security had also been affected negatively by the combined violent activities of insurgent groups and retaliatory actions of governments. Notable differences were in the magnitude of the impact of insurgent group's activities on the number of deaths and refugees in Syria and Yemen. The number was higher in Syria than in Yemen probably due to a less concerned government. Local groups also differed in that more local insurgent groups were in Syria as compared to those in Yemen.

#### **CHAPTER FIVE**

#### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.0 Introduction

This is the final chapter of this study on the impact of insurgent groups on human security in the Middle East since 2010. The study relied on data collected from both primary and secondary sources, analyzed and presented systematically in this study. The chapter presents a summary of the findings, conclusion and recommendations.

#### 5.1 Summary of Findings

Findings of the study established that the Middle East region has both country specific insurgent groups and those that conduct their operations in several countries in the region and globally. The groups as mentioned by the Central Intelligence agency, Bureau of Counter terrorism USA and Amnesty International were classified as insurgents based on their motives of overthrowing existing governments, use of violence to vouch for their demands and targeting to replace them with new systems of administration. A majority of the active groups such as ISIS, Al'Qaeda, Houthi armed forces, Al Nusrah Front and HTS were founded on Islamic doctrines and aimed at establishing a regional Islamic caliphate by overthrowing governments affiliated to the West.<sup>121</sup> These groups became more active in the period 2010 to 2020 due to weak government systems of some countries that had not recovered from the Arab spring uprising of 2011 and weak economies of the countries. The insurgent groups, which were mainly non state and well organized, used violence to voice their demands. This

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Dalacoura, K, *The Study of the International Relations of the Middle East since 2011: The Global-Regional Intersection*, (London School of Economics and Political Science Journal, 2020)

is because violence as explained by Mao, had a way of inducing fear in individuals and in the authorities and to make them give in to demands.<sup>122</sup>

On the place of insurgent groups on regional relations from 2010 to 2020, findings established that the groups were being used to spread strict Islamic culture amongst the states of the region. Through their motives of replacing governments affiliated to the west by an Islamic caliphate in the entire region, this would possibly lead a united region in the future. At the moment however, the insurgent groups through violence had destabilized specific country operations and disintegrated the little levels of economic and political cooperation that existed. Countries like Saudi Arabia and Iran supported some insurgent groups against existing governments to further destroy competitive countries like Yemen, Syria and even Iraq. Original regional bodies like the AL and GCC whose aim had been to unite the region politically and economically were losing relevance at the hands of insurgent groups which pitted governments against each other in the region. Findings further revealed that regional relations have not only collapsed amongst states in the Middle East but have also weakened between Middle East countries and countries in the West such as USA and UK.

In line with the second objective, findings established that insurgent groups through violence have adversely affected human security in the period 2010 to 2020. Increased robberies with violence and killings conducted by members of insurgent groups caused an increase in fear over personal security. Other aspects of human security that have been adversely affected in the region as a result of the activities of insurgent groups include economic security, health security, food security and environmental security. Through the destruction of infrastructure, industry, markets and inhibiting production;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Mao T, *On Guerrilla Warfare*, 2nd ed. Edited and translated by Samuel B. Griffith, (Garden City: Anchor Press, 1978)

the levels of poverty in several states had increased greatly over the last decade. Insurgent groups violated the rights of innocent civilians by targeting opposing groups, destroyed food reserves, hospitals and hindered the flow of medicinal products. Further, the study findings established that insurgent groups through the use of chemical weapons caused environmental degradation and pollution. The effect on human security was compounded by retaliatory actions of governments in countering insurgent groups. Naturally, government would not sit by and watch as insurgent groups destroyed facilities. A majority of the governments used force in equal measure or even more to the violence applied by insurgent groups. This has caused chaos in some countries like Syria and Yemen which are still battling civil wars to date. Even those countries that have somehow recovered from the actions of insurgent groups like Egypt, Turkey and Lebanon, their economies are yet to recover fully. This situation has further been affected by Covid 19 pandemic which claims lives and destroys economies through restrictive government directives.

Finally, study findings revealed that similarities existed on the types of insurgent groups in Syria and Yemen. Despite being located far apart, insurgent groups had escalated conflicts in both countries to civil wars that are still happening to date. This has destabilized political systems of the countries and disintegrated possible peaceful trade and political relations with other states in the region. In both countries both local and regional insurgent groups operate with the aim of overthrowing existing governments, and replacing them with an Islamic caliphate. ISIS and Al'Qaeda, regional groups, had established their affiliates in each of the countries and were recruiting other insurgent groups to join in their course of creating a regional order of Islam. Despite the revelation that insurgent groups had caused deterioration in personal, political, economic and food securities in both countries, the magnitude of the impact differs. In Syria the impact has been larger with more casualties of war between insurgent groups and government forces as compared to Yemen. The histories of the two countries which have so much determined the political situation and the impact of insurgent groups also differs. Whilst Yemen has had a long history of conflict even before it became a republic in 1990, Syria has had few internal conflicts and has in fact been helping other countries like Lebanon at war. The Arab spring uprising of 2011 was partly responsible for political destabilization of both Yemen and Syria, and aspect that gave advantage to insurgent groups. The way governments have been dealing with insurgent groups, through force, is also similar in both Yemen and Syria.

#### 5.2 Conclusion

The researcher concludes that insurgent groups in the Middle East region are non-state actors who use violence and mainly aim at replacing existing governments with an Islamic caliphate, gain economically and increase their presence. The insurgent groups have played a great role in shaping the Middle East regional relations since 2010. Activities of insurgent groups have escalated conflicts in some states like Syria and Yemen into civil wars, destabilizing political systems of countries and disintegrated their economies. Despite the aim by a number of insurgent groups to spread an all Islamic world ideology, the groups have been used by nations such as Saudi Arabia and Iraq to propagate their individual desires of supremacy over the region. Based on the study findings, the researcher concludes that insurgent groups have adversely affected human security in the region. All aspects of human security from personal, community, economic, political, food, health and environmental have been disturbed in many countries in the Middle East after the spread of the Arab Spring uprising. The magnitude of impacts of insurgent groups on human security has been so large in Syria and Yemen where the civil war is still happening to date; where millions of people remain displaced from their homes and the total death count as a result of civil conflicts leading to hundreds of thousands.

#### **5.3 Recommendations**

The researcher recommends that the international community such as United Nations should fasten the processes of strategy formulation in order to end civil wars in Syria and Yemen by checking on the role played by insurgent groups in the region. Working strategies from the management of international peace bodies directed at the Middle East countries will help reduce human insecurity and preserve more human lives and eliminate chances of repeat in such ugly activities.

The researcher recommends that diplomatic activities in the conflicting Middle East countries of Syria, Yemen, Lebanon and Iraq should greatly consider the place of insurgent groups in the civil wars. It is through the understanding of the demands of insurgent groups and striking a deal of incorporating them in peace strategies amongst other critical activities, that war will be contained in the enlisted countries.

The researcher recommends that parties concerned with reestablishing strong regional relations amongst states in the Middle East region such as the governments of Egypt and Saudi Arabia should consider the place of insurgent groups in the relations. This will aid in the development of a workable economic, political and peaceful regional relations since insurgent groups have been identified as one of the factors that have greatly defined relations in the region over the past decade.

#### 5.4 Suggestions for Further Studies

The researcher suggests that further studies on the impact of insurgent groups on human security be carried out in the Middle East by focusing on 20 year duration from 2000 to

2020. The study findings should be compared with study findings presented in this paper to identify similarities and differences and to confirm periods in time that have been hit the most by activities of insurgent groups.

The researcher suggests that a study on insurgent groups and their impact on human security be carried out by focusing on private citizens as the target population. Since it's the civilians that are affected the most by insecurities brought about by the activities of insurgent groups, their opinions will more than likely aid in presenting reliable findings.

The researcher suggests that a study on insurgent groups; their place in regional relations and their impact on human security be conducted in other parts of the world like East Africa region, South America and Central to West Africa region. The regions enlisted have also experienced the impact of insurgent groups' activities in the recent times. Findings of the studies in these regions can be compared with the findings from the Middle East region as presented in this study and a comprehensive research document developed on the same to ensure reliability of study findings.

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#### **APPENDICES**

#### **APPENDIX 1: QUESTIONNAIRE SCHEDULE**

This questionnaire aims at collecting data for the research on the impact of insurgent groups on human security in the Middle East from 2010 to 2020. The research is part of my study requirements for the award of master's degree in diplomacy and international relations studies at the University of Nairobi, Kenya. Information you provide will be handled with due confidentiality and shall valued as part of my research work. Kindly tick (fill in) where appropriate

## SECTION A PERSONAL INFORMATION

**1. Gender of the respondent** Male ()

Female ()

2. Country of Residence Syria ( ) Yemen ( )

3.	Level of education (Highest academic qua	alification)		
	Primary certificate () Secondary school	level ()	Pos	t
	secondary Certificate Level () Diplo	ma Level ()	Bachelors	degree
	level () Masters degree level ()	Any other		
4.	How long have you resided in Kenya? 1 - 5 years () 6 - 10 years ()	11 – 15 years	( )	

16-20 years () Over 21 years ()

5. I am a member of

Civil societies ()	media ()	Private Citizens ()	NGOs ()

Other, \_\_\_\_\_

## SECTION B: INSURGENT GROUPS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

To what extent do you agree with the following statements with regards to the insurgent groups in your country and in your region? Tick where appropriate using the following scale:

1 = No extent, 2 = Small extent, 3 = moderate extent, 4 = Large extent, 5 = Very large extent

		1	2	3	4	5
	Composition of insurgent groups					
(i)	Insurgent groups have a well laid out organizational structure					
(ii)	Insurgent groups have local support					
(iii)	Insurgent groups have support of foreign countries					

	Motivations of Insurgent groups' activities		
(i)	Insurgent groups are Politically motivated		
(ii)	Desire to gain economically by controlling important resources		
(iii)	Any other, state		
	Relationship between Insurgent Groups and Violence in the Middle East		
(i)	Insurgent Groups spread propaganda and messages likely to spur war		
(ii)	Insurgent groups carry out attacks such as bombings and shootings		
(iii)	Insurgent groups Loot and rob property		
(iv)	Fighting between insurgent group forces and government causes violence		

## SECTION C: INSURGENT GROUPS AND REGIONAL RELATIONS IN THE MIDDLE EAST SINCE 2010

To what extent do you agree with the following statements with regards to the impact of insurgent groups on the relations between your country and other states in the region? Tick where appropriate using the following scale:

1 = No extent, 2 = Small extent, 3 = moderate extent, 4 = Large extent, 5 = Very large extent

		1	2	3	4	5
(i)	Insurgent groups have adversely affected political relations					
(ii)	Insurgent groups have increased the disintegration of regional economic relations					
(iii)	Insurgent groups have adversely affected security and peace relations					

## SECTION D: INSURGENT GROUPS AND HUMAN SECURITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST SINCE 2010

To what extent do you agree with the following statements with regards to the impact of insurgent groups on the different dimensions of human security? Tick where appropriate using the following scale:

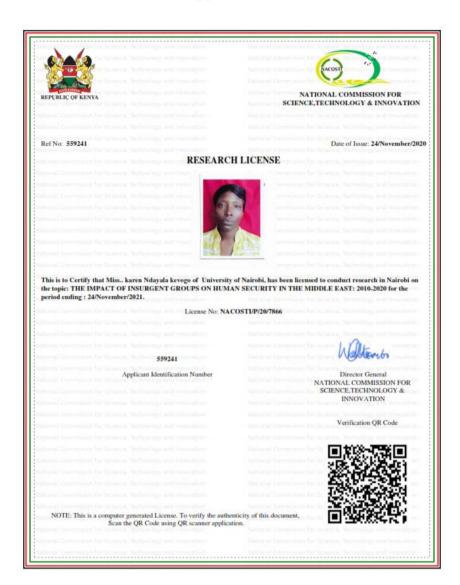
1 = No extent, 2 = Small extent, 3 = moderate extent, 4 = Large extent, 5 = Very large extent

		1	2	3	4	5
	Effects of Insurgent Groups on Personal Security					
(i)	Insurgent groups through violence resulted to physical torture					
	of people					
(ii)	By killing family members, insurgent groups' caused psycho-					
	social trauma					
(iii)	Insurgencies result to increased sexual violence					
(iv)	Destruction of homes by insurgents displaces people from					
	their homes					

	Effects of Insurgent Groups on Community Security			
(i)	Intercommunity hostility escalated by insurgent groups weaken cultural diversity			
(ii)	Propaganda disseminated by insurgent groups fuel inter- community fights			
(iii)	Insurgencies threaten peaceful societal existence			
	Impact of Insurgent Groups on Economic Security			
(i)	Violence by the groups result in the closure of businesses			
(i) (ii)	Insurgencies inhibit production of goods and services			
(iii)	Focus by governments on handling insurgent groups limits business policy making and price regulations			
(iv)	Violent activities by the groups hinder accessibility to markets			
	Impact of Insurgent Groups on Food Security			
(i)	Insurgent groups destroy existing food reserves	$\square$		
(ii)	Insurgencies inhibit production of food			
(iii)	Violence by insurgent groups scares people from finding proper food and water			
	Impact of Insurgent Groups on Political Security			+
(i)	Insurgent groups cause the violation of human rights			
(ii)	Constant fights started by insurgent groups hinder proper policy formulation and administration of justice			
(iii)	Insurgent groups discriminate people based on religion and affiliations			
	Impact of insurgent Group's Activities on Health Security			
(i)	Insurgent groups destroy health facilities			
(ii)	Violence by insurgents inhibit the distribution of health supplies			
(iii)	Displaced people due to actions of insurgents crowd in places that increases the spread of diseases			
(iv)	Violent environments caused by insurgents deny individuals access to health services			
	Impact of Insurgent Groups' Actions on Environmental Security			
(i)	Chemical weapons used in civil wars affects plant and animal life			
(ii)	Insurgencies results to neglecting of environmental protection standards			

## \*\*\*\*End\*\*\*\*

## Appendix II: Nacosti Permit



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CONDITIONS

- The License is valid for the proposed research, location and specified period
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# Appendix III: Turnitin Report

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