

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**THE IMPACT OF TERRORISM IN THE HORN OF AFRICA: THE CASE STUDY
OF KENYA**

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**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT
MANAGEMENT**

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree or any award in any University.

Signature..... Date.....

Beatrice Akoth Onamu

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

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ABSTRACT

This study set out to assess the impacts of terrorism in the Horn of Africa using Kenya as the case study. Kenya is one of the countries within the horn of Africa that has over the years has been considered as one of the most stable nations. However recent happenings have seen Kenya experience an increase in terrorism incidents within her soil. Few studies have been done to critically evaluate the impacts of terrorism in Kenya and the possible corrective measure that Kenya need to adopt in fighting this terrorism menace. This study set out to achieve these. The study is guided by three specific objectives; Evaluation of terrorism discourses, evaluation of international and regional efforts focused in combating terrorism within the African Horn and the evaluation of the causes, impacts of terrorism and the challenges of combating terrorism in Kenya. The study adopted a transnational conceptual framework approach in its analysis, making us of both primary and secondary data, primary data was sourced from book reviews, journals, internet sources, policy documents from the Kenyan ministries of foreign affairs. Secondary data was obtained via questioners distributed to respondents who included both university and college students, staff within the government ministries, National Police Service and various staff from the larger hospitality industries.

As per the study finding it quite conclusive that terrorism within the horn of Africa has significantly impacted various sectors in Kenya. Terrorism in Kenya is real and it has negatively impacted the Kenyan society. The definition of terrorism has evolved over time but its political, religious and ideological goals have practically never changed. Terrorism in Kenya has resulted in security fears which in turn have resulted in a number of ripple effects cutting across various sectors within the Kenyan society, economic sectors, political sectors, health sector, education sectors, and infrastructural sectors among others. The main terrorist threat in Kenya is transnational emanating from the Al-shabaab Militia group with a home base in the neighbouring Somalia. Terrorism has perpetrated population displacement, Political dissents, economic challenges, religious conflict among other detrimental effects. 59.7% of the respondents indicated that they strongly agreed to the fact that terrorism had an impact in Kenya with regard to contributing towards population displacement and political/economic instability. 34.4% of the respondents indicated that they strongly agree that terrorism in Kenya impacts religious conflicts to a large extent. It is evident from the study that Kenya faces a number of challenges in its efforts in combating terrorism which is attributed to factors such as terrorist networks being more dispersed and less centralized, corrupt immigration officials and weak immigration/border laws, radicalization of the Kenyan youths based on some fanatical doctrines. Poorly equipped police force that again are not well trained, Poor planning and general lack of preparedness, the present day terrorist are well educated, highly sophisticated, leave among other Kenyan citizen thus making it difficult to uncover them posing a great challenge to the Kenyan security forces. This affirms to the adopted research hypothesis which states that the continuation of terror attacks in Kenya is largely as a result of weak institutional and policy responses

The study recommends a number of opportunities that Kenya can embrace in it effort of combating terrorism, this includes adherence to immigration rules, enhanced structural chain of command within the security forces in Kenya, investment in efficient policing and equipment to help fight terror,CCTV installation and embrace of modern technology in the fight against terrorism. As a factor of future research, there is need to evaluate the significance of hosting refugees camp in Kenya, are they potential source of terror, what measures are in place to ensure the refugees are contained within their camps. There is also need to reevaluate the extent of the youth radicalization, and the driving force that make the youth venerable, as it will provide a detailed insight that can be used in implementation of corrective measures to help combat terrorism

ABBREVIATIONS

ADF	Alliance of Democratic Forces
AFRICOM	Africa Command
AQI	Al-Qaeda
AQAP	Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula
EACTI	East Africa Counterterrorism Initiative
FTO	Foreign terrorist Organization
GPOI	Global Peace Operation Initiative
US	United States
LRA	Lords Resistance Army
KKK	Ku Klux Klan
IRA	Irish Republican Army
JTF-HOA	Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa
UN	United Nations
TSCTI	Trans-Saharan Counter Terrorism Initiative
UNGCT	United Nations Counterterrorism Strategy
UNGC-T Strategy	United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy
SROs	Sub-Regional Organizations
UNC-T Task Force	UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force
EU-PSC	European Union Political and Security Committee
AU-PSC	African Union Peace and Security Council
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
EUTM Somalia	European Union Training Mission – Somalia
TFG	Transitional Federal Government
IOM	International organization for Migration
AU	African Union
ACSRT	African Center for study and research of Terrorisms
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
ICPAT	IGAD Capacity Building Program against Terrorism
NGOs	Non Governmental Organization
NCTC	National Counter-Terrorism Centre
POCAMLA	Proceeds of Crime and Anti-Money Laundering Act
OAU	Organization of African Unity

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DEDICATION

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Chapter One

Introduction and Background to Study

1. General Introduction and Background

The Horn of Africa: Kenya, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia, Eritrea and Sudan have over the years been considered as major sources of terrorism by the Western nations (Docking, 2004). These part of Africa exemplifies instability, it has repeatedly been identified as an ideal safe heaven ,fertile recruiting ground and logical launching point for terrorist and its affiliates(Din,2011).Kenya is one of the countries within the Horn of Africa which is arguable the most stable nation. Unlike Somalia, Kenya is believed not to host any domestic terrorist organization (Ploch, 2010). Terrorism is considered to be a premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non combatant's targets by sub nationals groups, usually intended to influence an audience beyond that of the immediate victim(Klein, 2007).

Although the motives of terrorists may differ, their actions follow a standard pattern with terrorist incidents assuming a variety of forms from airplane hijackings, kidnapping ,assassinations ,bombings, suicide attacks among other forms of violence (Sandler,1992).Other than the casualties and physical destruction directly caused by terrorist attacks, their actions inflict wider psychological, social, political, and economic damage upon the societies they target (Klein, 2007).Countries within the horn of Africa have continuously been vulnerably victims to acts of terrorism. This necessitates the need to evaluate the measures put in place in combating terrorism within this region.

Figure 1: A Map showing the countries comprising the Horn of Africa



Figure 1(<http://www.state.gov/p/af/rt/hornofafrica/169532.htm> Accessed on 29th July 2015)

Kenya has become a major partner in the global war on terror after the aftermath of September 11, 2001 (Aranson, 2013) due to its geographical location, ethnic composition, political stability, unstable neighbors, poverty, Islamic fundamentalism and lax law enforcement (Adan, 2005), with much of the global war on terror based on Kenyan northern neighbour Somalia (Mogire and Agade, 2011). Since the collapse of the Somalia government in 1991, it created a lawless society where crime and radical ideologies flourished (Mogire and Agade, 2011) with the chief terrorist threat emanating from the Al-shabaab Terrorist organization (Cronin, 1998).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Terrorism is believed to have led to a number of negative socio-economic and political effects. It has claimed hundreds of civilian lives, long term injuries and incapacitations led to the destruction of both local business establishments and western entities, affected the

enjoyment of individual rights and freedoms, and influenced the escalation in social animosities and religious tensions. Terrorism has been perceived as something demonic and barbaric, it is constantly used to refer to something as inherently evil, irrational and unjustified. Without a clear cut definition of what terrorism is, there is need to evaluate the various school of thoughts on terrorism in order to have a deeper conceptual on what terrorism entails. Kenya's economy is heavily dependent on tourism and inflows of foreign direct investment, it is important to critically examine the country's response to this growing problem. Rolling back the negative impact of terrorism has been made more urgent and necessary due to Kenyans long-standing role as a regional economic hub and whose national security is necessary for regional growth. Being home to a substantive western economic interest and its geopolitical positioning has pushed it to be a global partner in the war against terror.

Studies done by researchers on terrorism in the Horn of Africa have mainly been at the regional level with insignificant concentration on the specific national efforts. Few studies done on Kenya have been Euro-centric and meant to provide policy advice for western governments and not Kenya as such .For a better understanding of the problem that would lead to more informed suggestions on how to manage the problem, there is need for a detailed study that lays bare the evolutionary process of terrorism in Kenya.

This study seeks to proceed from this gap in local research and seeks to examine Kenyans strategies that have been initiated to tackle this problem. The study further attempts to provide an evaluation of the success of these efforts taking into account Kenya's geo-positioning in an unstable Horn in Account of neighbourhood made worse by porous borders. This area has witnessed limited research and therefore awareness of the country's challenges in tackling this problem has not been fully understood.

1.3 Study Objectives

Broadly, this study aimed at evaluating the impacts of terrorism activities in the Horn of Africa with a case study of Kenya.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

The study was guided by the following objectives:

1.3.1. To evaluate the discourses on terrorism

1.3.2 To evaluate and critique the existing international and regional efforts aimed at combating Terrorism.

1.3.3 To evaluate the causes, impact and challenges of combating terrorism in Kenya, and generate recommendation of interventions for the same.

1.4 Research Questions

1.4.1. What are the discourses on terrorism definitions and characteristics of terrorism?

1.4.2. What are the existing international and regional efforts in combating terrorism?

1.4.3 What are the causes, impacts and challenges of combating terrorism in Kenya? And the causative interventions

1.5 Hypotheses.

The research proceeds with two hypotheses;

1.5.1 The continuation of terror attacks in Kenya is largely as a result of weak institutional and policy responses.

1.5.2 Increased terror attacks in the country over the last few years have had negative impact on Kenya's economy.

1.6 The Scope of the Study and Limitation

This study examined the various impacts in Kenya that have risen as a factor of terrorism within the Horn of Africa. It zeroed in on various sectors within the Kenyan society, economical, political and social sectors and how they have had a bearing as a factor of terrorism within this African Horn. It also evaluated the various discourses on terrorism,

measures that are set up internationally and regionally in combating this vice and the challenges and opportunities that present themselves in combating terrorism in Kenya. The actualization of this project exhibited some limitations due to financial and time constraints to reach a much more wider population than covered, some interviewees were reluctant to participate in the interview, challenges in booking appointments with some of the senior government officials also presented itself as a hindrance, Despite the limitations, findings presented were adequate in addressing the research problem.

1.7 Study Justification and Significance

1.7.1 Academic Justification

In Kenya, Terrorism incidences have continued to be witnessed more often than before, and now focusing more on hurting Kenya and its people, likewise hurting foreign interest and investments unlike in the past where most of the terrorism incidences were targeting foreign investments and interest set up in Kenya. This Study offers a detailed insight into the impact of terrorism activities within the Horn of Africa in Kenya, Providing a base line data which can act as a tool to be used by the educationist in disseminating information on the various impacts of terrorism within the African Horn and by extension globally. The study also provides a reference material tool in the understanding of the changing trends of Terrorism within the Horn of Africa.

1.7.2 Policy Justification

The continuous series and sequence of attacks in the country by Al-shabaab terrorist group can only mean that the current existing counter terrorism measures and management frameworks put in place both nationally and regionally in combating terrorism activities are ineffective.

1.8 Conceptual Framework

In this research, the dependent variable is the transnational terrorist activity of the terror groups. A transnational terrorist attack is when a terrorist attack is planned from one

country and executed in another (McRaven, 1996). The promoters of a transnational attack are: the number of terrorist operatives, financial contributions by the sympathizers, and the number of other supportive organizations in the targeted country (McRaven, 1996).

In the case of Al-Shabaab attacks who are the major terrorist group in the horn of Africa, operational effectiveness is measured in three forms. The first measurement is the number of operatives in targeted countries: the more operatives the group has, the higher the possibility of an attack. The second measurement is the financial support to the terrorist group operatives by the sympathizers. When there are sympathizers contributing financial aid to facilitate terrorist activities, attacks are bound to occur. The third measurement is the level of support (active or passive) given to terror by some Muslim organizations and sympathizers. Whenever there are supporting movements inside a targeted country, there are more chances for that country to suffer from transnational terrorist attacks (McRaven, 1996).

1.9 Research Methodology

1.9.1 Case Study

A case study approach is very effective because it allows for deeper investigation and enhances collection of key information and detailed analysis of specific phenomenon. This study zeros in on the impacts of terrorism in the horn of Africa using Kenya as a case study.

1.9.2 Data Collection

The information used in this study was from both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources was obtained from journals, book reviews, newspapers, internet sources-pdf documents and policy documents from the ministries of foreign affairs, While secondary sources was obtained via questioners distributed to respondents who included students from the University of Nairobi, Kenya Institute of Mass Communication , government officials from the ministry of foreign affairs, the Kenya Police Service, the staff from the hospitality sectors:-Stanley Hotel, Sankara Hotel, Mara Serena Safaris, Nairobi National Park, revelers at Nakumatt Ukay shopping Mall.

1.9.3 Data Analysis and Presentation

The data was recorded, organized and summarized in sample descriptive statistics using SPSS statistical package. The data presented by use of mean percentages, tables and graphs.

1.10 The Organization of the Study

This study was organized in five chapters, chapter one covers the introduction to the research study, background of the study, broad context of the research study, statement of the problem, justification of the study, theoretical framework, literature review, hypotheses and the study methodology, and chapter two Evaluates discourses of terrorism, literature review on the definitions and characteristics of terrorism. Chapter two provided a broad review of literature on the various definitions, debates on terrorism, theories, and characteristics of terrorism.

Chapter three examined and critiqued the existing international regional efforts to combat terrorism. This chapter examined the measures of international and regional actors in responding to the challenges of terrorism and the normative and institutional frameworks put in place in counter-terrorism. Chapter four examined the causes, impact and challenges of combating terrorism in Kenya. This chapter evaluated the impacts of terrorism activities in Kenya on various countries foreign investments, infrastructures, internal trade markets and various political landscapes. It looked at the policy context, examining the existing policy framework put in place to address the issues of terrorism looking into their strengths, challenges and weaknesses. While chapter five factored on the summary findings, conclusion from the study recommended interventions bibliography, appendix and future study suggestions.

Chapter Two

Discourses on Terrorism

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the various discourses on terrorism, focusing on the various definitions aimed at explanations of what terrorism entails. It focuses on the various characteristic trends exhibited by terrorism, zeroing in on the environment in which terrorism and terrorist thrive; the review likewise looks at the various theoretical approaches on this subject.

2.2 Definition of Terrorism

Terrorism is described as an uncivilized way for some social actors to advance their irrational goals, but according to social constructionist view point, the language of terrorism is often used to construct the evil other, and the word terrorism is a construction (Jackson, 2007). There are no universal and objective standards of what terrorism and who terrorist are, rather the word is often used to delegitimize the position of those who are not part of the dominant social groups. Therefore, there is need to evaluate the various schools of thoughts on their terrorism definitions, characteristics in order to have a broad clear scope and a deeper conceptual idea on what terrorism entails. The term terrorism has become a common narrative in the contemporary society, it has become a primary term, similar to concepts such as freedom and democracy (Nimmer, 2011). In post-911 American society, “terrorism” has become an everyday term used to describe everything from gorilla style warfare against U.S. troops overseas to the mass murder of civilians in the name of foreign ideological and political agendas (Razzaq, 2003). However; the word terror is over 2100 years old. In the ancient Rome, the terror cimbricus was a state of panic and emergency in response to the coming of the Cimbri tribe killers in 105 BCE. Terrorism was also coined to describe the systematic order of terror used to rule the reluctant citizenry of the 18th century France (Roberts, 2002).

As much as terrorism, a word coined from the term terror has been in existence for long, there is still no clear definition of what terrorism really is. Various scholars have defined terrorism in various approaches. Terrorism is the use of violence, a method of combat or strategy to achieve certain targets(Laquer,1987).Terrorism is the use of violence designed to have far reaching psychological repercussions beyond the immediate victim or target, conducted by an organization with an identifiable chain of command and perpetrated by sub national groups or non state entity(Hoffman,2006).Terrorism is an anxiety –inspiring method of repeated violent action employed by clandestine individual group or state actors for idiosyncratic ,criminal or political reasons ,whereby in contrast to assassinations. The direct targets of violence are not the main targets .the immediate human victims of violence are chosen randomly or selectively from a target population and serve as message generators (Schmid and Jongman, 1988).

Terrorism is a premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non combatants target by sub national groups or clandestine state agents (US. Department of State,1996).The definition of terrorism has evolved over time , but its political ,religious and ideological goals have practically never changed(Sloan,2006)likewise within the Horn of Africa there is no single clear cut definition of what terrorism is, thus it would be more prudent to evaluate more trends and patterns of the manifestation of terrorist incidents in order to understand more and come up with a more universal inclusive definition on what terrorism entails evaluating the trends of terrorist incident within the Horn of Africa would add up into the bucket definition of terrorism.

2.3 Characteristics of Terror

Terrorism is known to impose costs on the targeted country through a number of avenues, such as diverting foreign direct investments, destroying infrastructure, reducing public investment funds to security and limiting trade accompanied by reduced economic growth (Collier and Sambanis, 2002).Insecurity in the Horn of Africa has deep roots in the

political use of terror by state and non-state actors, such as liberation movements, guerrillas, bandits, criminals gangs, cattle rustlers, pirates, vigilantes groups being included in the nomenclature of terrorism (Kagwanja, 2007), but the spread of Islamic radicalism in the 1990s gave Terrorism an Islamic face in the horn of Africa (Kagwanja, 2007).

Terrorism activities are known to harm economies in various indirect ways, such as the direct loss of physical capital in the September 11th attack in the U.S, was estimated to be billions of dollars besides other macroeconomic impacts (Klein, 2007). The US Consumer Confidence Index declined from 114 in August 2001 to 97.6 in September and 85.5 in October. Unemployment increased 0.6% from September to October, including the loss of 60,000 jobs in travel-related industries. The climate of uncertainty led many businesses to forestall hiring and new capital investments in favor of stockpiling cash. Nervous investors unsure of the economic implications of the attacks also kept capital on the sidelines (Klein, 2007). In developing countries, terrorism is known to result in reduction in direct foreign investment, as potential investors seek safer locations (Bandyopadhyay., *et al* 2013) to avoid putting the lives and property of both domestic and foreign workers at risk. Whether foreign investment in Kenya is pegged on terrorism activities within the horn of Africa is still very debatable. Terrorist throughout the world are already exploiting information technologies and thus attacks on infrastructure become an increasing threat. In this era of technology many types of media are of use to terrorists, even across borders. Internet and cell phones have eased coordination and communication (Welch, 2006). The Internet has especially been used by terrorists to recruit, fundraise, and spread radicalism. Thus, access to technology can accelerate terrorist activities (Welch, 2006).

Terrorist are also known to attack infrastructures that are critical to a given country, threats of terrorist attack on infrastructures globally include the electricity sector targeting transmission lines (Zimmerman *et al.*, 2004), with target countries such as Columbia, Spain, France, Pakistan, Sudan among others (Zimmerman *et al.*, 2004) whether terrorism activities

within the horn of Africa have a direct impact on Kenyan infrastructural systems is not assertive nor documented. Terrorism is also known to affect trade markets business, as experienced by individual firms. For example, the bond-trading company Cantor Fitzgerald was destroyed and lost 658 of its 960 employees in the 9/11/01 attacks (“9/11”). (Knight and Czinkota, 2008) Declines in consumer demand result from the fear and panic that ensue following terrorist acts. In general, terrorism makes world politics more complicated and difficult. This is because terrorism can cause very important problems even though terrorist groups are not clearly linked to states. The presence of non-state actors who can have a real impact on the world makes world politics more difficult (Welch, 2006). How the terrorism activities in the horn of Africa impact on the Kenyan political landscape is uncertain.

The East Africa is the most vulnerable to terrorism of all regions in sub-Saharan Africa. Almost all countries have been victims of terrorist acts. Efforts by regional actors to counter terrorism within the horn of Africa seems to have little impact as the region has continue to experience sequential episodes of terrorist acts (Kimunguyi, 2010). There is need to evaluate the regional measures and challenges set up in the fight against terror within the region and compare with what seems to work globally in the fight against terrorism, purposely to generate possible working recommendation that will aid in the fight against terrorism within the horn of Africa.

Terrorists perform acts of terror in order to alter public perception of the government’s overall legitimacy or effectiveness; they have predominantly secular motivations and a rational political reason for their acts of terrorism. By means of creating doubt in the hearts of citizens that their government can protect and provide for them. Thereby inherently causing an increase in civilian casualties that can be blamed on the government the terrorists are fighting against. Criminal acts such as bombing, beheadings, and kidnapping are used as a means to the end of whatever objective the terrorist group sets out to accomplish (Razzaq, 2003).

Terrorist usually aim at producing widespread fear and panic, attract media attention to their cause, embarrass, harass, and weaken government security forces causing them to overreact and appear oppressive, satisfy vengeance, and free prisoners (Razaq, 2003). A terrorist will evaluate what force protection measures are in effect in the vicinity of a target and determine a cost benefit analysis. From these analyses and forms of study and surveillance, a terrorist will isolate weaknesses of a target and exploit these weaknesses. Goals and objectives of terrorist organizations differ throughout the world and range from regional single-issue terrorists to the aims of transnational radicalism and terrorism. As the most prominent democracy and significant economic, military, and political power in the world, the U.S. is a convenient and appealing target for extremists (US. Department of State, 1996).

From around the world, Terrorists have used bombings and assassinations as frequent weapons in their struggle against autocracy (Spencer, 2006). Such as the 2003 bombings in Istanbul, which reported 60 fatalities (Davies, 2003). In 2004 Ahmed Al-shager drove a truck bomb in to Baghdad killing 9 people (Abu-Nasr, 2007). In Kenya, individual sympathetic to the Palestine liberation organization bombed the Norfolk hotel in Nairobi in December 1980, the 1998 American embassy bomb blast in Nairobi, bombing of the Paradise hotel in Kikambala in 2002 (Din, 2011). Terrorist have always aimed at creating publicity for their acts, playing for audience and spreading their ideological message through the media (Jenkins, 1975). An attack many at times is usually followed by a communication taking credit for the act or laying out demands or explaining why it was carried out against that particular target (Jenkins, 1975). The 1998 bombings of the American Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania attracted wide media coverage, likewise to the September, 11, 2001 bombings of the world trade center in New York city was observed by millions of people worldwide on live television as the successive attacks occurred (US Department of State, 2007).

A further characteristic of terrorism is its association with state sponsorship or support. This secret involvement of states with terrorists groups varied widely with often only little

verifiable data proving a connection (Kidder, 1986). It was seen as a cheap method of attacking and damaging another country without initiating a full-scale war, and within the Cold War framework, terrorists often became proxies for both superpowers and middle powers (Combs, 2000). This trend of terrorism characteristic within the Horn of Africa and particular in Kenya has not been documented as such. Terrorism is also known to have a clear hierarchical organization with fairly well defined command and control structures. It exists somehow like a pyramid with leadership that decides on the overall policy and plans. This is followed by a larger layer of active terrorists who carry out the attacks and are often specialized in certain activities such as bomb-making, assassination, or surveillance. On the next level there are the active supporters who supply intelligence, weapons, supplies, communications, transportation and safe houses. At the bottom you have the passive supporters who agree with the goals of the terrorist organization and spread their ideas and express their emotional support (Fraser, 2001).

Foreign policy analysts have depicted an emerging international insecurity environment in which weak and failing states are vehicles for transnational threat including terrorism (Wylter, 2008). Inter-state conflicts and statelessness such as the state in Somalia are also believed to be a major factor in the contribution of terrorist havens. (McGregor, 2007) These are believed to contribute towards the horn of Africa's vulnerability to terrorist exploitation. Ethiopia, for instance, has been simultaneously at war with several rebel groups (McGregor, 2007) and against Eritrea. The main triggers of conflict have been border disputes; furthermore, Ethiopia has also accused Eritrea of providing support to religious extremist groups with links to Al-Qaida such as the Al Shabaab (Momanyi, 2011).

In northern Uganda, insurgent groups especially the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the Alliance of Democratic Forces (ADF), which fight against the Ugandan government have employed brutal and terrorist tactics that have reportedly caused the deaths of over 5,000 people across the country (International Crisis Group, 2007), which in turn has helped to

increase public tolerance of measures against others under suspicion. Southern Somalia has faced the burden of the civil conflict for the past two decades. Since the overthrow of Said Barrie's regime in 1991, Southern Somalia has not had a functioning government, making it the most unstable and insecure region of the country. Statelessness in Somalia is believed to have contributed to the rise of insurgent groups such as Al-Shabaab (Ibrahim, 2010). Kenya has been a stable nation and hasn't experienced the aspect of statelessness however Kenya has experience inter-border disputes among communities such as the pastoral community. Whether these have any bearing on the advancement of terrorism in Kenya is not documented. Within the context of terror debate or discourse

In recent times however, terrorism is more driven by religious fanaticism specially Islam rather than secular politics. that seeks to eliminate all the other ways of life and promote an uncompromising view of the world in accordance with its religious beliefs(Jenkins, 2008).For the religious terrorist violence is a divine duty ,executed in direct response to some theological demand and justified by scripture (Hoffman,1995).Religious terrorists see their struggles as good against evil ,therefore dehumanizing their victims and considering non members of their groups to be infidels or apostates(Cronin,2003).In Kenya it quite unclear whether the terrorist incidence happening are aimed at propagating any religious afflictions as terrorist demands based on religions afflictions in Kenya are unheard off.

In the modern era, religious terrorism has increased in its frequency, scale of violence, and global reach. Religious terrorism is a type of political violence motivated by an absolute belief that an otherworldly power has sanctioned and commanded terrorist violence for the greater glory of the faith. Acts committed in the name of the faith will be forgiven by the otherworldly power and perhaps rewarded in an afterlife. In essence, one's religious faith legitimizes violence as long as such violence is an expression of the will of one's deity (Arquilla, 2000).

Terrorism carried out in the name of the faith has long been a feature of human affairs. The histories of people, civilizations, nations, and empires are replete with examples of extremist true believers who engage in violence to promote their belief system. Some religious terrorists are inspired by defensive motives, others seek to ensure the predominance of their faith, and others are motivated by an aggressive amalgam of these tendencies. Religious terrorism can be communal, genocidal, nihilistic, or revolutionary. It can be committed by lone wolves, clandestine cells, large dissident movements, or governments (United States Department of State, 2001). In many African countries Islam represented itself as the religion of the underdog against corrupt elites. The simple truths of Islam may hold a particular appeal for the dispossessed masses of Third World countries that are struggling to find meaning in their lives at a time of great cultural and economic change. This Islamic resurgence is, in essence, a response to the confusion and anxiety of modernity and can be described as a socio-political resistance movement based on religious concepts. Despite the moderate spread of the religious principles of Islam focused on peace, tolerance and good moral values, Muslim influence has been insidious in its spread and often accomplished by the "behind-the-scenes" supply of finance and arms to various tribes and factions that are already in conflict. Islamic "advisors" from Iran and Lebanon have been providing weapons and explosives to various African groups since at least 1990, and have ingratiated themselves in the inner circles of a number of African regimes (Hoffman, 2006).

African governments are struggling to contain Islamic pressures and to respond to a widespread desire among their citizens for a more "Islamic" government and society, usually achieved through the use of violence. Islamic militancy is distinguished from any other form of religious militancy or violence by its universal occurrence across national and ethnic borders. The involvement of Islamic militants in acts of violence has led to numerous governments as well as international defense and security organizations indicating that they count Islamic militancy as being among the greatest threats to their security. Islam is currently

on the defensive against its own militant elements that misuse Islamic principles to further their own interests. Islamic groups that choose violence and militancy represent a small, although growing, minority within Africa that presents a clear and present threat to national, regional and international stability. Muslims although reject any link between Islam and extremist groups, pointing out that the “Saudi” Wahabite doctrine has helped the terrorist phenomenon emerge with the Islamic Salafi organizations, and created a link between the Islamic organizations which share a common ideological denominator based on a comprehensive hegemony ideology.

Africa is the continent with the largest Muslim population and as such, presents fertile ground for the growth and spread of violence and terrorism associated with Islam. To date this trend has manifested itself primarily in the Northern African region, where the majority of the population is either predominantly or totally Muslim, in contrast to the predominantly non-Muslim sub-Saharan Africa, where Islamic militancy is a growing phenomenon. Since 1995 Africa witnessed an increase in the number of terrorist attacks against foreigners or foreign interests. Most attacks stemmed from internal civil unrest and spilled over from regional wars, as African rebel movements and opposition groups resorted to terrorism in an attempt to further their political, social, or economic objectives. Only 8% of international acts of terrorism were committed on African soil from 1995 till 2001, making it the fifth most targeted continent after Latin America, Western Europe, Asia and the Middle East. It is expected that this trend will change as a result of the war against terrorism, as terror groups and network look for more suitable targets (Hoffman, 2006). African countries, as with the rest of the third world, lack the resources to prevent acts of terrorism, making it a suitable playing field, although the primary target might be the United States, Israel and the Western world. African countries are plagued by periods of domestic terrorism, with devastating effects on human life, stability and development.

2.4 Forms and Nature of Terrorist Groups

There are a number of terrorist group's categories and terrorism in general. They include Religious, Separatists, Ethnocentric, Nationalistic, Revolutionary, Political, Social, Domestic, and International or Transnational. Religious terrorism is the category most people are familiar with due to the widespread media coverage of Islamic extremism. The major danger with religious terrorist groups lies in the rigidity of their beliefs. Religiously motivated terrorists see their objectives as holy and therefore infallible and non-negotiable (Raazaq, 2003). Another type of terrorist groups is the Separatists, who use terrorism as a means of obtaining political autonomy, though separatists could also be categorized as insurgents. An example of this would be the Confederacy during the American Civil War. Ethnocentric terrorist groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), believe in their own superiority based on inherent racial characteristics and are motivated by the concept of 'ethnic cleansing' by way of extermination and/or subjugation of all other races (Coutsoukis, 2004).

Nationalistic terrorism is much like separatism in that there is a desire for political autonomy; however, this is generally based on a certain widespread cultural idealism such as was the case with the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Revolutionary Terrorism is dedicated to the overthrowing of an established political order and replacing it with a new social and/or political structure. The United States is known throughout the world to have trained many citizens of foreign nations in revolutionary terrorism as a method of covertly spreading democracy in various countries oversea. An example of this is the South American nation of Honduras which became a constitutional democracy in the 1980s with the assistance of U.S. Special Forces, who trained and assisted contras in overthrowing their former government (Coutsoukis, 2004). Political terrorism is simply a broad category which encompasses all types of politically motivated terrorism. Social terrorism pertains to terrorist acts carried out in regards to a special interest, such as abortion, animal rights, minority rights, and environmentalists. Domestic terrorist groups operate within their own country and fight for

varying ideologies. Examples of domestic terrorist groups in the United States include the KKK, Aryan Nation, and the Earth Liberation Front (Crawford, 2001).

There is International and Transnational terrorism, terms which more describes the operational influence, reach, and support of these groups. International groups operate in multiple countries, but usually focus on a specific geographical region for their activities whereas transnational terrorists operate and focus on multiple countries. Hezbollah is considered to be an international terrorist group in that they are primarily concerned with ongoing events in Lebanon and Israel, whereas Al Qaeda could be considered a transnational terrorist group (Razaaq, 2003). There are many views, concepts, and definitions of terrorism. While many in the western world automatically associate terrorism with right-wing so-called “Islamic” extremism, the fact is that this type extremism only comprises a percentage of terrorism and terrorist groups across the globe (Crawford, 2001).

2.5 Theoretical Approaches to the Study of Terrorism

2.5.1 The Instrumental Approach

The Instrumental approach suggests that the act of terrorism is a deliberate choice by a political actor (Crenshaw, 1998). This approach explains that terrorist organization acts to achieve political ends. Different acts of terrorism are explained as responses to external stimuli, like government policies. Violence is assumed to be intentional for a terrorist organization (Crenshaw, 1995). Terrorists don't just violate for the sake of violation. Rather, terrorism is a tool for these actors to achieve political ends. Governments and other actors are perceived as rivals whose actions are taken strategically and a terrorist organization aims to change other actors' decisions, actions, and policies by using force.

This approach suggests terrorist groups calculate the cost of doing and not doing an action and also the probability of success in their actions. Instrumental theorists suggested that the success is defined in terms of accomplishing the political ends for a given terrorist organization. However, most of the time terrorist organizations don't achieve its full intention

or actions to the end. No matter how big or influential it is, the rival organization, which is mostly the state, is usually more powerful than the terrorist groups and finds ways to deal with the terrorists. Very few terrorist organizations achieved their full ideological objectives (Crenshaw, 1998). According to instrumental approach, attaining the political ends is important, so the survival of the terrorist organization even though the ultimate aims cannot be achieved could be explained by the achievement of so-called intermediary aims. Terrorism survives because the terrorist organizations achieve their tactical aims such as publicity and recognition (Crenshaw, 1998).

The instrumental approach to terrorism is considered one of the most developed approaches to the subject in the discipline of political science. It is simple and comprehensible (Crenshaw, 1998). It is comprehensible because the intentions of actors are inferred from their behavior according to logical rules (Crenshaw, 1998). However this approach possesses some weakness, it cannot explain how the preferences of the actors are determined, since it does not incorporate analyses of the internal workings of terrorist organizations. If the approach assumes actors are identical, it miss the differences in understanding how different terrorist actors act differently.

2.5.2 Organizational Approach

This approach analyzes terrorist groups from the perspective of organization theories. Basic explanations about terrorist groups are based on the organizational perspective. The aim, the actions, and the internal dynamics of an organization are explained in relation to internal organizational processes. It suggests that a terrorist organization's main goal is 'survival', like any other organization such as a state institution or a commercial enterprise. This approach explains terrorism as a result of an organization's struggle for survival, usually in a competitive environment (Crenshaw, 1998). Leaders of the organization deliver benefits, incentives to the members to provide for the survival of the organization.

The organization responds to pressures from outside by changing incentives offered to members or through innovation. An explanation about terrorist organizations is that, terrorist actions do not necessarily or directly reflect ideological values (Rapoport, 1988). There is great significance given to the internal dynamics and processes of the organization. The determinants of political actions or violent policies by terrorist organization are organizational rather than political or ideological. These organizations are taken as self-sustaining and they do whatever necessary to survive. Organization delivers goods to the members to keep them in the organization. These can be tangible goods or public goods in (Olson, 1998), or even be intangible goods like respect, of feeling of belonging to a network of social relationships (Oots, 1986).

Organizational theories suggest that what defines the actions of a terrorist organization is not purely political. But this approach has some challenges; it does not provide the necessary simplification needed in theory building. This is because it is difficult to understand the reasons behind terrorist acts since actions are assumed to depend on the internal, clandestine dynamics of a terrorist organization (Ozdamar, 2008). A practical problem about the approach is that understanding the internal dynamics, processes in the organization is challenging since terrorist organizations are normally secretive. Another problematic assumption in the organizational approach is that terrorist acts are assumed to appear inconsistent, erratic and unpredictable (Crenshaw, 1998). It is so because terrorists do not act according to external pressures, like from governments. They do not make the cost and benefit analysis of purely political actions, and act strategically according to the political interactions between the actors. Although the instrumental theories and economic approach allows us to explain even surprise attacks that can be stimulated from external pressures, organizational theories do not provide such an insight, or it is at least difficult to explain the actions of terrorists by the organizational approach since we can have little information about the inner processes of these organizations. For example, this theory assumes that incentives promised to

members of the organization are of great importance understanding why individuals subscribe to terrorism.

Another basic argument about this approach is that terrorist organizations are like firms competing in an environment in which they will always try to survive. Other terrorist organizations are like rivals in a market place: the Irish Republican Army competes with the Irish National Liberation Army. Moreover organizations are more sensitive to their members' stimuli than they are to government actions (Kaplan, 1978). Because a terrorist organization's aim is to survive, it focuses on and uses material benefits. For example, it becomes the center of social networks in a particular district of the city or in a rural area. It provides financial resources to its members (Crenshaw, 1998). The theory also suggests that transnational terrorist organizations are similar to political organizations in the sense of being political groups (Oots, 1986). The approach argues that the major function of the organizations is to serve the collective interests of their members (Sandler, 1992). In order to achieve this goal, they provide public goods to their members. For example, a Palestinian homeland, an independent Basque state or Marxist revolution are examples of public goods that these organizations aim to provide. Financial gains from terrorist or illegal activities are other examples of these goods.

Another way of thinking of terrorist organizations as political interest groups is that they provide externalities (Oots, 1986). For example, when a terrorist bombs a shopping center, people injured there experience negative utility over an activity that they have no control over. It is argued that the difference between a terrorist group and other political organizations is that terrorist groups use political violence to provide these goods, but other groups usually use peaceful means. This theory provides insights into the internal dynamics of terrorist organizations and how these dynamics influence terrorist acts. It helps in understanding the different actors and their different policies. This approach is complex and possesses some challenges; it doesn't provide us with a context that makes predictions about

terrorist behavior because it is assumed that most terrorist acts are random. Since little is known about the inside interactions of terrorist organizations, the actions of terrorists are difficult to explain in this context (Ozdamar, 2008).

2.5.3 Terrorism as Political Communication

This approach suggests that terrorism is employed for communicative purposes. That is terrorism is a set of actions that uses political violence for communicative aims. Therefore, the ultimate aim of a terrorist organization in general is to spread political messages and make the society or state do what they want (Spitz, 1967). Terrorism as a communication approach is different from organizational or instrumental approaches because their focus of inquiry is on the impact of terrorism. Causes of terrorism are not purely political ends or the organizational goals, looking at Oklahoma bombing of 1996, the individual terrorist made the attack to protest against certain policies of the US government (Ozdamar, 2008). Most of the people he killed had no direct effect on these policies. By doing that act, the terrorist used a way of political communication in which he sought an allegiance from the American people. He tried to strengthen the allegiance between himself and the rest of the society. And by using violence and communication, he aimed to weaken the allegiance relationship between the society and the American government (Ozdamar, 2008). This approach brings the communicative dimension into the theory-building processes in studies of terrorism; however it is not comprehensive because it is difficult to construct a comprehensive theory of terrorism without considering the terrorist action's impact on intended and unintended audiences and how these actions change and define relationships in society. It is also not capable of explaining the political ends of these organizations, why these actions are taken, on what grounds and with which political aims. Likewise organizational aspects of the subject are treated as unimportant in this approach.

2.5.4 Psychological Approach

Psychological approaches to the study of terrorism are concerned with the study of terrorists' profiles that is their personalities, their recruitment into terrorist groups, beliefs, motivations, and careers as terrorists (Ozdamar, 2008). There are two major approaches within psychological explanations on terrorism. The first approach describes terrorists as mentally ill individuals. People who commit such horrible crimes are labeled 'abnormal'. It argues that political terrorists are driven to commit acts of violence as a consequence of psychological forces, and that their special psycho-logic is constructed to rationalize acts they are compelled to commit, individuals are drawn to the path of terrorism in order to commit acts of violence, and their special logic, which is grounded in their psychology and reflected in their psychology and reflected in their rhetoric, becomes the justification for their violent acts. (Ozdamar, 2008). This approach has some weaknesses; it excludes the political, ideological, economic, and sociological factors that lead people to become terrorists.

The second approach characterized terrorists as fanatics. This approach emphasizes the terrorist's rational qualities and views the terrorist as a cool, logical planning individual whose rewards are ideological and political, rather than financial. This approach characterizes terrorists as well-educated and sophisticated people who are capable of using advanced rhetoric and political analysis. There are two main types of fanatics (Wilkinson and Stewart, 1987). First are religious fanatics. Some religious groups employ terrorism for their political purposes, specifically to overthrow 'evil' regimes and replace them with religious ones (Merari, 2004). On the other hand, single-issue fanatics are characterized as an obsessive group of people who want a certain policy to be changed, like on abortion or animal rights. This approach does not see terrorist behavior as pathological, but argues that a terrorist's mindset is obsessed with a particular perspective about the world that is so powerful that it can produce such violent acts. Although the psychological approach shows connections between

terrorist acts and ideologies, it is still not capable of providing a comprehensive account of terrorist acts without considering instrumentalist aims and organizational structures.

Chapter Three

International and Regional efforts to Combat Terrorism

3.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the efforts by regional and international actors to counter terrorism in the Horn of Africa. It highlights the responses to terrorism by continental and regional organizations. Although significant progress is being made to develop coherent counter terrorism approaches in the Horn of Africa, many challenges remain. They include extreme intra- and interstate conflict, increasing Islamic radicalization, lack of state capacity, competing national priorities, and political sensitivity surrounding the very notion of counter-terrorism. Most counter-terrorism efforts have focused on short-term security and law enforcement efforts, which negatively affect longer-term measures to tackle the primary conditions that encourage the spread of terrorism.

3.1 Counter- Terrorism efforts in the Horn of Africa

3.1.1 The role of International and regional bodies

A number of international and regional bodies have invested immensely in efforts towards combating terrorism both within the horn of Africa and by extension globally, they have focused on local issues that makes them well suited to develop approaches that take into account cultural and other contextual issues and undertake region or sub-region-specific initiatives that complement and build upon global counterterrorism objectives through increasing a sense of local ownership of global initiatives and fostering interest and maintaining momentum on the ground that is key in implementing counterterrorism initiatives. Some of their efforts include the exchange of expertise and information among governmental and non-governmental experts, as well as the sharing of good national practices and lessons learned from national implementation among the various countries.

3.1.2 The U.S. Counter-terrorism Programs in the Horn of Africa

The United States Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA) is a component of the wider U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM), which was established in October, 2008. CJTF-HOA operations encompass Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Sudan, Somalia, Djibouti, Yemen, and the Seychelles and it also works on projects in Uganda and Tanzania (UN, 2008). The CJTF-HOA also recognizes the importance of civil affairs operations in efforts towards countering insurgency and terrorism. Hence, it has focused on providing civil affairs training to personnel in Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya, Djibouti, and Yemen and it has also contributed towards renovation of schools in Djibouti and Ethiopia provided medical and veterinary services; and drilled water wells in Kenya (UN, 2008). The main Western counterterrorism programme in the Horn of Africa and East Africa is the East Africa Counter-Terrorism Initiative (EACTI) led by the U.S. This programme has been based on the model of the Trans-Sahara Counter-Terrorism Initiative (TSCTI) and the Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI) (UN, 2011).

3.1.3 The United Nations and Counterterrorism in the Horn of Africa

The United Nations General Assembly unanimously adopted the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (UNGC-T Strategy) on 8 September 2006, which called for a holistic, inclusive approach to counterterrorism. Both the UNGC-T Strategy and the 2008 Resolution adopted by the General Assembly recognize the need to enhance the role of regional and sub-regional organizations (SROs) as well as other stakeholders especially the UN member states (UN, 2011). This included the establishment of the UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force (UNC-T Task Force)²³ and its working groups. It presents a unique opportunity to improve both regional counterterrorism cooperation in East Africa and the United Nations systems engagement with the sub-region (UN, 2011).

The United Nations plan includes measures to address conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism, measures to prevent and combat terrorism, capacity-building, and an

approach based on human rights and the rule of law to counter terrorist threats. The plan is holistic and reinforces what many East African terrorism experts have long believed, namely that an effective counterterrorism strategy must combine preventative measures that address both real and perceived grievances and underlying social, economic, and political conditions (Rosand *et al.*, 2007). Given the significant capacity gaps and vulnerabilities in the East African region, nearly every part of the United Nations system represented on the United Nations Counterterrorism Implementation Task Force has an important role to play in building counterterrorism capacity in East Africa.

3.1.4 The European Union and Counterterrorism in Horn of Africa

The European Union has adopted a very broad approach to cooperation with Africa. Most European Union diplomatic and policy interventions in Africa are undertaken within the framework of Cotonou Partnership Agreement and the Africa-European Union Strategic Partnership Agreement (Africa-EU Strategic Partnership 2007) which calls for cooperation in various areas, including politics, development and security. Under these treaties parties commit to the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolutions 1325 on Women in Peace and Security and 1612 on Children in Armed Conflict (Africa-EU Strategic Partnership, 2007). Both the European Union and the African Union have an interest in undertaking measures to protect children in wars, empower women, and offer protection to women in situations of war and conflict (European Council, 2005).

As set out in its Action Plan to Combat Terrorism, the European Union seeks to address root causes of terrorism to tackle the factors that lead to the recruitment and radicalization of people by radical Islamist organizations (Makinda, 2009). The European Union Political and Security Committee (EU-PSC) and the African Union Peace and Security Council (AU-PSC) have held regular consultations on security matters, including the operationalisation of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), especially as it

relates to the Continental Early Warning System and the African Standby Force (European Council, 2005).

The European Union has funded a counterterrorism programme through IGAD (IGAD,2007).It has also been a strong supporter of the peace and state-building process in Somalia and launched the European Union Training Mission – Somalia (EUTM Somalia). The EUTM seeks to provide specialized training to up to 2,000 Somali soldiers. In particular, the mission is a response to the Somali Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in Somalia, which had expressed its need for some 5,000 well-trained soldiers (European Council, 2005).

3.1.5 The International organization for Migration (IOM)

The International organization for migration plays a key role in helping counter terrorism effort in the Horn of Africa. The organization runs training centers for the immigration personnel on security issues in collaboration with governments in the region .Its focused on increasing the local capacities on biometrics screenings at border check points, assist in co-coordinating inter-ministerial efforts on harmonizing the legal and other aspects of counter terrorism effort in the region (I.O.M, 2011).The screening has been much helpful in checking what comes in through border points. However the sparse population, uninhabited and poorly patrolled areas creates ideal entry points not only for terrorists but smugglers as well (IOM, 2011).Some nations are also suspected to be an impediments towards efforts of curbing arms trafficking which helps in the advancement of terrorist agendas. Countries and organizations such as Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Iran, Libya, Lebanese Hezbollah, Saudi Arabia, and Syria have been accused of providing arms, training, and logistical support to the Islamic Courts Union, while Ethiopia, Uganda, and Yemen have been suspected to have provided military assistance to the Somalia transitional government (Kimungunyi, 2010). Arms trading networks based in Yemen have also facilitated large shipments of arms to a number of groups engaged in the conflict in Somalia; the same networks have also supplied arms to the administration in Punt land (International Crisis Group, 2007).

3.1.6 The African Union (AU)

The African Union plays an important role within the African Continent, especially in the areas of peacekeeping, conflict prevention and crisis management. In the context of counterterrorism, the three dimensions of the African Union engagement are important given the Horn of Africa persistent regional tensions and conflicts which allow terrorist activities to flourish. It has taken a broad approach based on a framework of treaties aimed at countering terrorism (African review, 2011) Such as the establishment of the African Center for study and research of Terrorisms (ACSRT) in 2004. African Center for study and research of Terrorisms is responsible for organizing functions aimed at improving counterterrorism capacities and cooperation among African Unions member states, Its mandated to educate members states about the threat of terrorism in Africa, provide capacity-building assistance to enhance national and regional capabilities, create a mechanism for all member states to access expert guidance, build a database to facilitate the sharing of intelligence and other terrorism-related information, harmonize and standardize domestic legal frameworks with the African Union members states and international counterterrorism frameworks, and disseminate counterterrorism research across the African continent(Rosand,*et al.*,2007).

The African Center for study and research of Terrorisms, envisions a highly integrated network of state and regional economic communities((Africa-EU strategic patnership,2007).However realization of it full multi dimensional mandate has had restriction due to financial constraints among other factors such as lack of full cooperation from fellow members states(Rosand,*et al.*,2007).

3.1.7 Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development was established with the main focus on development issues yet over time the organization gradually took on security matters (Rosand,*et al.*,2007) In 2006, The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) launched a four-year programme in Addis Ababa called the, funded by EU and other donors

(IGAD,2007). The programme largely focused on enhancing judicial measures, working to promote greater inter-agency coordination on counterterrorism within individual IGAD member states, enhancing border control, providing training sharing information and promoting strategic cooperation (Rosand, *et al.*, 2007).

In 2007, IGAD Capacity Building Program against Terrorism (ICPAT) organized an IGAD ministerial-level meeting on countering terrorism in Kampala to which six IGAD member states sent high-level delegations. The statement adopted in Kampala called on IGAD members, to take the necessary legal, administrative, and regulatory measures to counter terrorism (IGAD, 2007). These included establishing inter-ministerial counterterrorism coordination mechanisms in each country, respect of human rights while countering terrorism, exchange of information and experiences related to combating terrorism through the establishment of a forum of counterterrorism experts. The Kampala statement also requests member states to implement the UN Global Counterterrorism Strategy. (IGAD, 2007). However the IGAD Capacity Building Program against Terrorism has faced a number of challenges which hinder the development of a successful sub-regional security and counterterrorism agenda. It has had difficulties to launch a special programme for Somalia in light of its unique needs. The exclusion of Eritrea from the IGAD forum has a negative impact on the overall effectiveness of ICPAT. Little political will among the member states countries especially in East Africa to cooperate to implement effective counterterrorism strategies (Ibrahim, 2010)

To help sustain its involvement in the sub region, IGAD Capacity Building Program against Terrorism has sought support on several joint counterterrorism initiatives in the sub region, including training for senior criminal justice officials, legislative drafting workshops, and the production and dissemination of joint technical assistance tools (Ibrahim, (2010).

3.1.8 Civil Societies

The United Nation Strategy encourages non-governmental organizations and civil society to engage as appropriate on how to enhance efforts to implement the Strategy. The inclusion leaves it to states to determine the role to be given to civil society organizations. The role of civil society is particularly important. NGOs and other civil society organizations do play an important role in activism, lobbying, education, research, oversight, even as potential assistance and service providers, and perhaps most importantly acting as on the ground drivers for local action. Implementation of the UN Strategy requires popular support, which is built with the support and cooperation of civil society across East Africa (Rosand, *et al.*, 2007).

Vibrant civil societies have been critical to well-functioning, responsive, and democratic governments. Civil society organizations give voice to marginalized and vulnerable groups and provide a constructive outlet for the redress of grievances. Responsible NGOs play critical roles in ensuring that counterterrorism measures respect human rights and the rule of law, monitoring the actions of the military, law enforcement, and other security services; laying down guidelines, conducting investigations into alleged abuses, scrutinizing counterterrorism legislation and generating awareness of unlawful practices and other human rights and Strategy-related issues. There are numerous civil society organizations in East Africa working on Strategy-related issues such as peacekeeping, post conflict reconstruction, human rights monitoring, and other issues whose work relates generally to Strategy implementation, although these organizations may have little awareness of the Strategy itself (Nairobi Declaration, 2000). Although civil society plays an instrumental role in implementing the Strategy, there are a series of challenges to increased civil society engagement on these issues in the sub region, such as little incentive for civil society groups operating in the sub region to engage on issues of terrorism and counterterrorism, as doing so may open up local civil society groups to retaliation by governments in the sub region (Rosand, *et al.*, 2007). In addition, focusing on counter terrorism potentially undermines the support for and credibility

of groups among local populations it may be more fruitful to encourage engagement by civil society on related issues such as crime prevention, good governance, or peace and security more generally rather than on terrorism and counterterrorism. In addition, the operating space given to civil society organizations varies from country to country with the ability for such organizations to act in many countries in the sub region heavily circumscribed by governments (Rosand, *et al.*, 2007).

The capacity of civil society to engage is largely tied to the availability and freedom of information and the freedom of association. To promote deeper civil society engagement, the United Nations plays a role in accessing and promoting best practices related to these key principles. The concern that NGOs may offer a convenient conduit for funding violent Islamist radicals has brought increased scrutiny of the activities of Islamic charities in the sub region (Ibrahim, 2010). The antagonistic relationship between civil society and the less democratic regimes in the sub region has stifled civil society engagement (Krause & Otengo, 2005), as a response to these challenges The UN Task Force on counterterrorism needs to reach out to civil society and encourage their engagement on these issues, and donors for their part need to prioritize funding for such groups and projects.

3.2 Normative and Institutional Frameworks to counter-terrorism in Kenya

Kenya has been a victim of international terrorism in recent years, perpetrated by al-Qaeda and associated groups in East Africa and the Horn. Al-Shabaab is increasingly becoming a direct security threat to Kenya, prompting Kenyan military intervention in Somalia.

3.2.1 Internal Arrangements

Coordination of counterterrorism efforts at the national level in Kenya is carried out by the National Counter Terrorism Strategy, a multidisciplinary organ adopted in 2003 (IGAD 2012). Key stakeholders, including the Ministry of Defense, the Kenya Police Service, the security agencies, and Immigration and Customs, are represented at the Kenyan National

Counter-Terrorism Centre (NCTC) by staff seconded to it. Specialized units within the police carry out investigations relating to terrorism and other transnational crimes and provide evidence to the Director of Public Prosecutions. These different roles are reflected in a government circular on government functions.

The Kenyan National Counter-Terrorism Centre also coordinates external reporting, for example, the annual report to the UN Security Council under Resolutions 1267 and 1373. In 2009 the Kenyan National Assembly adopted the Proceeds of Crime and Anti-Money Laundering Act (POCAMLA) and the Prevention of Organized Crime Act (Ploach, 2010). The latter allows the minister in charge of security to proscribe criminal groups, subject to judicial review. Also, the law criminalizes various forms of support for and participation in these groups. So far, some 33 groups have been proscribed, these includes the al-Shabaab, Mungiki, Baghdad Boys, Mombasa Republican Council among Others. These laws give the Kenyan National Assembly an important opportunity to support executive action against terrorism and provide checks and balances (Ploach 2010).

In 2011 the assembly enacted the Mutual Legal Assistance Act (IGAD, 2007). In developing parliamentary support for the passage of this act, civil servants pointed to Kenya's signature of the IGAD mutual legal assistance Convention as an indication of the significance of passage of the bill for Kenya's participation in the IGAD sub region's emerging legal cooperation framework, particularly in the fight against terrorism. Clarification is still required, however, on the relationship between the attorney general as the traditional central authority in the administration of mutual legal assistance and the created independent office of the Director of Public Prosecutions, who may or may not serve as a competent authority independent of the attorney general. It is also unclear whether the Financial Reporting Centre, established by the Proceeds of Crime and Anti-Money Laundering Act will have power to share only administrative information with foreign financial intelligence units whether it will

also serve as a competent authority for the purposes of requesting mutual legal assistance from foreign states.

3.2.2 International Cooperation

Kenya has relied notably on informal forms of cooperation such as police-to-police cooperation, especially under the auspices of Interpol (Aronson, 2013). Within this framework, Kenya has participated in a number of joint police investigations together with Tanzania and Uganda, most notably a series focused on the trade in stolen cars. Kenya is also an active member of the East African Community, which is currently stepping up its cooperation arrangements in the security sector. A Peace and Security Protocol currently under formulation would address issues on capacity building, counterterrorism, information sharing, and border management between the member states. Kenya has entered into a number of bilateral, regional, and multilateral agreements as platforms for sharing information and evidence related to criminal investigations and prosecutions Kenya is party to a number of instruments that provide for extradition of indicted fugitives, including the Commonwealth of Nations' London Scheme for Extradition Within the Commonwealth and the Scheme Relating to Mutual Assistance in Criminal Matters Within the Commonwealth (the Harare Scheme) (Ploach, 2010). Kenya has ratified 14 universal instruments against terrorism (the UN conventions) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) convention on terrorism (Algiers Convention). Kenya also has in place a cooperative network of informal, interstate border committees, especially to address border issues with Tanzania and Uganda (Prestholdt, 2011).

Prior to the recent terrorist acts in the country, there were certainly counterterrorism units that existed in both the law enforcement and intelligence arenas. The National Security Intelligence Service was established following the embassy bombings in 1998 and Kenya was added to the U.S. Anti Terrorism Assistance Program (Mogire & Agade, 2011). However, the problem still remains that the infrastructure has yet been seen to affect authorities' ability to identify terrorists, foil terrorist plots, and bring criminals to justice (Prestholdt, 2011).The

flawed terrorism laws in Kenya have caused grave problems and even with improved legislation over the past years, success has been minimal. The Kenyan government defines terrorism as anti-state violent activities undertaken by non-state entities which are motivated by religious goals (Mogire & Agade, 2011). This definition neglects terrorism based on political, ideological, and criminal rationales and thus, places an unfair target on the minority religion in Kenya. Second, actual legislation has been very difficult to pass and put into practice, therefore, the government has been operating without official and encompassing anti-terrorism laws and standards.

The 2003 Suppression of Terrorism Bill (Mogire & Agade, 2011), did not make it into law after a public outcry over unconstitutionality, international human rights violations, and over discrimination against Muslims. Two years later, the Anti-Terrorism Bill of 2006 was again brought before Parliament. This bill contained many of the same issues as its predecessor and was, therefore, not passed into law. Certain crimes committed by terrorists can be prosecuted in Kenyan courts, however, there has yet to exist a comprehensive antiterrorism law insofar as one exists in other Western democracies.

The lack of this comprehensive legislation puts Kenyan law enforcement officials in positions where they perform questionable means and violate the human rights of many in the Muslim community. Intelligence officials have been accused numerous times of unlawfully detaining suspected terrorists for lengthy periods of time and torturing suspects in attempts to gain confessions and further intelligence (Pretholdt, 2011). As the proper prosecutorial infrastructure are hardly in place, Kenyan authorities frequently handoff terrorism suspects to neighboring countries or the United States. In one instance, after the 2010 bombing in Kampala, Uganda, the Government of Kenya transferred 13 Kenyan citizens suspected of taking part in the attacks to Uganda. The Minister of Justice declared that the rendition was illegal (Mogire & Agade, 2011), although there was no possibility of reversing the action that had already occurred.

3.3 Counter-Terrorism Measures Against Al Shabaab Islamists

Anti-Terror Police Unit deployment to the northern region part of Kenya due to its proximity to Somali. These are supplemented by increased deployment of security officers in other areas prone to attacks by the militias. Porous Somali-Kenya has prompted the construction of a perimeter security wall that will separate the two countries and lock out the jihadists out of Kenya (Prestholdt, 2011). Defense budgetary allocations have been increased to help equip the security agencies in the intensified war against terrorism. Kenya's public has been urged to emulate the collective security policy locally referred to as 'Nyumba Kumi initiative' that enables them to know their neighbor and report any suspicious neighbors and or activities (Megged, 2015). Border patrols have been intensified not only along Kenya-Somalia border but also on all exit points reducing the number of illegal's getting in the country. Kenya Security agencies have incorporated utmost coordination among them in a bid to preempt and counter attacks beforehand.

Chapter Four

The Impact of Terrorism within the Kenyan Society

4.1 Introduction

This study was guided by the research objectives presented in chapter one, the study sort to determine the impact of terrorism in the horn of Africa, case study of Kenya. Data analysis was done using descriptive statistics; tables and pie charts were used to support and illustrate the findings. This was based on questionnaires distributed to the target respondents primarily targeting students of higher learning institutions, government officials and the hospitality industry.

4.1.1 Response Rate

The returned questionnaires were cleaned, edited and coded. Out of the 80 questionnaires distributed only 1 questionnaire was not returned but on follow up the respondent filled and returned the questionnaire thus leading to a response rate of 100% percent which was good enough to facilitate data analysis. The high success rate in questionnaire response was facilitated by explaining to participants the importance of the study and assuring them of confidentiality. From the table below the response rate of respondents is 100%. The response rate is adequate and sufficient for the study and for the purpose of data analysis.

Table 4.1 Response Rate

Targeted respondents	Actual respondents	% Respondents
80	80	100%

Source: Author (2015)

4.2 Sample demographics

The demographic characteristics of respondents were discussed and analyzed in respects to respondent's careers occupation/profession, religious affiliation and educational levels.

Table 4.2 Career/professional occupation

Occupation/Industry	Frequency	Percent
Business	8	10%
Government	16	20%
Hospitality	18	22.5%
University Students	22	27.5%
Tourism	14	17%
Others	2	3%
Total	80	100%

Source: Author (2015)

10% of the respondents were in business while 20% of the respondents were in government, 22.5% indicated that they were in the hospitality industry while 27.5% were University Students, tourism sector respondents comprised of 17 percent of the target respondents while others were 3 %.

Table 4.3 Highest level of Education

Level of Education	Frequency	Percent
Degree	42	53%
Diploma	21	26%
Post graduate	11	13%
Secondary	4	5.0%
Primary	2	3%
Total	80	100%

Source: Author (2015)

The highest level of education attained was used as a measure of education. According to the research findings, the respondents were well educated. University graduates comprised of 53% of the respondents with 13% being post graduates, 26% had diploma certificates while 5.0% had secondary education. Only 3% had primary education.

Table 4.4 Religion

Religion	Frequency	Percent
Christian	53	66%
Islam	15	19%
Hindu	7	9%
Buddhist	1	1%
Atheist	2	3%
Others	2	3%
Total	80	100%

Source: Author (2015)

Out of the respondents interviewed, 66% indicated that they were Christians, followed by Muslims at 19% then Hindu at 9%. Buddhists comprised of 1% of the population whereas atheists and other religions comprised of 3% of the target respondents.

4.3 Evaluation of Terrorism Discourses

4.3.1 Discourses of Terrorism

The respondents were asked if they have had about terrorism and what terrorism entails .100% of the respondents confirmed to have heard about terrorism with the basic denominator being cited as the killing of innocent victims. Majority of the students from the University of Nairobi¹ cited the Garissa University college shootings as the face of terror in Kenya, while staff from the hospitality industries² cited the Westgate Mall attack, Garissa University shootings, and Thika Road Matatu bombings as the face of terror in Kenya.

Table 4.5 Terrorism information source

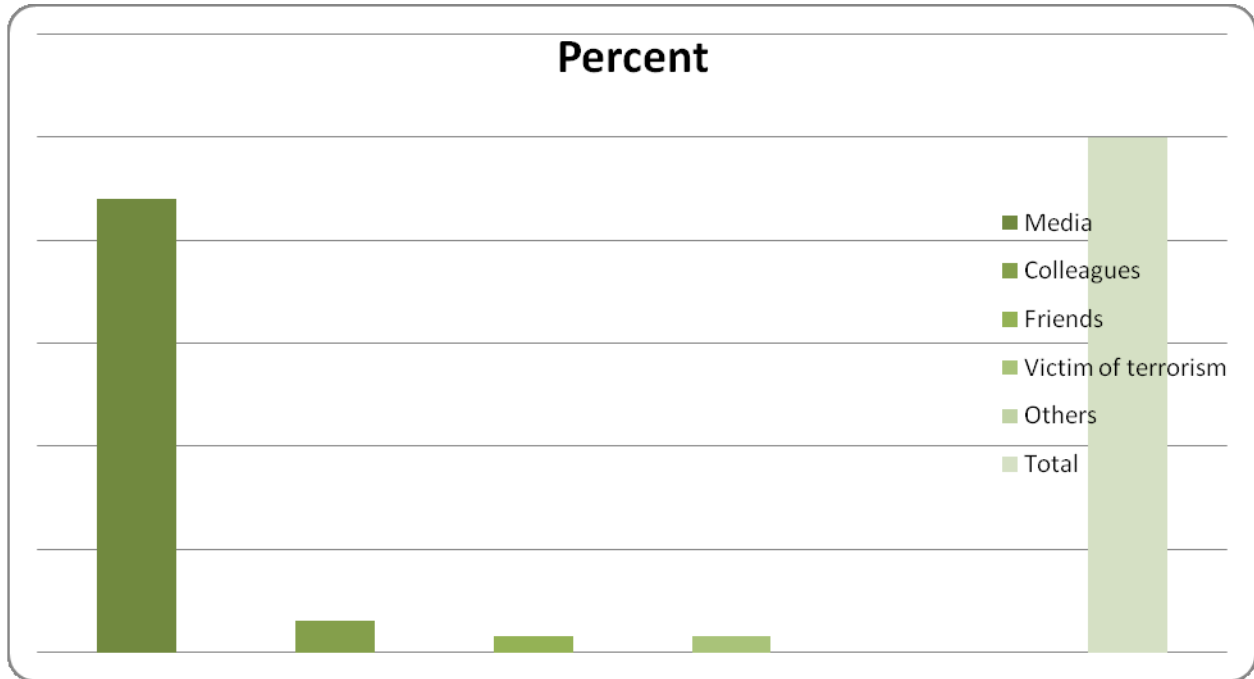
Source	Frequency	Percent
Media	71	88%
Colleagues	5	6%
Friends	2	3%
Victim of terrorism	2	3%
Others	0	0
Total	80	100%

Source: Author (2015)

This question sort to find out which sources of information the target respondents had got information from with regard to terrorism, majority of the respondents 88% indicated that media had contributed a lot towards their awareness while 6% indicated that they became aware of terrorism through colleagues, 3% of the respondents indicated that they became aware of terrorism via friends and being victims of terrorism respectively³. Media plays a critical role in creating awareness and disseminating information, the findings showed that awareness was mostly created by various forms of media.¹²

³Ben Mulwa –political analyst and westgate shopping mall terror attack of 2013 survivor

Figure 4.1 Terrorism information sources



Source: Author (2015)

Table 4.5 Extent respondents agree to the following statements

Extent of terrorism	SD	D	N	A	SA
Terror attacks in Kenya is largely as a result of weak institutional and policy responses about terrorism;	1.3%	1.3%	10.5%	28.9%	57.9%
Increased terror attacks in the country over the last few years have had a negative impact on Kenya's economy	0.0%	3.0%	10.6%	37.9%	48.5%

Source: Author (2015)

Out of the respondents sampled for the study 57.9% strongly agreed that terror attacks in Kenya is largely as a result of weak institutional and policy responses about terrorism, 28.9% of the respondents indicated that they agreed to the same statement while 10.5% were neutral. 1.3% of the respondents strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively on the fact that terror attacks in Kenya are largely as a result of weak institutional and policy responses about terrorism. On the other hand 48.5% of the respondents were of the opinion that increased terror attacks in the country over the last few years have had a negative impact on Kenya's economy, this was reflected by 48.5% who strongly agreed to the statement, 37.9% agreed to the statement while 10.6% of the respondents were indifferent to the statement. Another 3.0% of the sampled respondents disagreed with the statement.

4.4 Evaluation and Critique of existing International Regional Efforts to Combat Terrorism in Kenya

4.4.1 Evaluation and Critique of existing International Regional Efforts

A majority of the respondents 74% indicated that existing international regional efforts to combat terrorism in Kenya are not enough while the remaining 26% indicated that the efforts are enough. Reasons cited by the respondents who indicated that international regional efforts to combat terrorism are not enough included the following; fear of certain countries being associated with perceived 'enemies of terrorists' thus ending up being targeted in future, lack of total commitment by international bodies/countries to help affected countries like Kenya whereas others felt that some affected countries preferred being left alone. Conversely, those who indicated that existing international regional efforts to combat terrorism in Kenya are enough gave the reason that some countries offer support to Kenya during such times.

Figure 4.2 Evaluation and Critique of existing International Regional Efforts to combat Terrorism in Kenya



Source: Author (2015)

4.4.2 What the government should do to Combat Terrorism

Table 4.6 what the government should do to combat terrorism

What the government should do to combat terrorism	Aggregated Percent
Adhere to immigration rules and stick to them strictly	81.8%
Have fully equipped police force with necessary training	79.3%
Take intelligence information seriously and act promptly	69.6%
Collaborate with neighbouring countries to protect border	67.6%
Have laws that deal with terrorists accordingly	78.7%
Limit number of tourists entering the country	45.8%
Having CCTV Cameras installed in strategic places	60.7%

Source: Author (2015)

For this particular question respondents had an option of ticking more than one question, in terms of adherence to immigration rules and sticking to them strictly 81.8% supported this, they were followed by 79.3% who felt that police force should be fully equipped and as well have the necessary training. The least aggregated percentage was recorded with respondents who felt that number of tourists entering the country should be limited, this was at 45.8%. From the analysis, the government should act with speed on ensuring that immigration rules are adhered to as well as having well trained and equipped police force. CCTV installation in strategic places can also help in combating terrorism especially with tracking movements of terrorists.

4.5 Causes and impact of Terrorism in Kenya

4.5.1 Terrorism major causes

Respondents were asked on their opinion of major causes and impact of terrorism in Kenya, a number of options were outlined and respondents were allowed to tick more than one option based on their choice(s)

Table 4.7 Major Causes of Terrorism in Kenya

Major cause(s) of terrorism in Kenya	Aggregated Percent
Attracting public attention to the group's grievances	80.1%
Demonstrating the inability of the state to provide security	89.7%
Demonstrating the illegitimacy of the state's institutions	62.1%
Coercing the public into pressuring the state into compromise solutions	64.3%
Forcing the state into repressive reactions that discredit the government	67.7%
Demonstrating the economic consequence of continued violence	58.9%
Highlighting the potential political consequence of continued conflict	59.9%
Attracting international attention and encouraging intervention	69.9%
Provoking widespread civil uprising to change the government	71.1%

Source: Author (2015)

80.1% of the respondents felt that terrorism is majorly caused by the terrorist's intentions to attract public attention to the group's grievances while 89.7% of the respondents indicated that

the inability of the state to provide security was actually the major cause of terrorism, so far it is the cause that registered the highest aggregate percentage. 62.1% of the respondents indicated that demonstrating the illegitimacy of the states institutions was a major cause of terrorism in Kenya. Of all the targeted respondents major cause(s) of terrorism, the least aggregate percent recorded was 58.9%, respondents felt that major cause of terrorism was as a result of terrorists wanting to demonstrate the economic consequence of continued violence. From the findings and analysis, the major causes of terrorism are terrorists wanting to demonstrate the states inability to provide security and attracting attention to the group’s grievances. This can be countered by having well placed security structures.

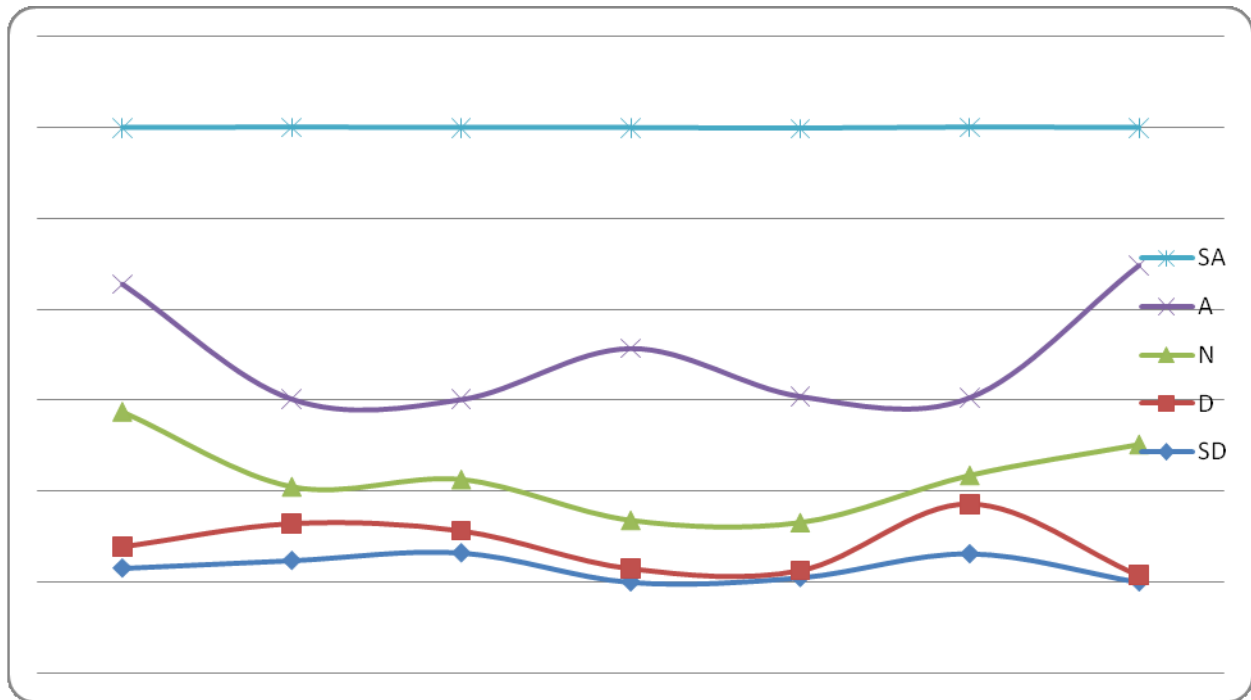
4.5.2 Extent of agreeing with statements about the impact of Terrorism in Kenya

Table 4.8 Extent of terrorism

Extent of terrorism	SD	D	N	A	SA
Religious conflicts	3.1%	4.7%	29.7%	28.1%	34.4%
Population displacement	4.8%	8.1%	8.1%	19.4%	59.7%
Political & Economic Instability	6.5%	4.8%	11.3%	17.7%	59.7%
Reactionary counter attacks	0.0%	3.0%	10.6%	37.9%	48.5%
Hinders development	1.0%	1.6%	10.5%	27.9%	58.9%
Organized dissent	6.3%	10.9%	6.3%	17.2%	59.4%
Health difficulties	0.0%	1.5%	28.8%	39.4%	30.3%

Source: Author (2015)

Figure 4.3 Extent of terrorism



Source: Author (2015)

Respondents were asked on their extent of agreement or disagreement towards impact of terrorism in Kenya, from the responses, it was evident that population displacement, political and economic instability, development hindrance and organized dissent were greatly affected or impacted by terrorism. 59.7% of the respondents indicated that they strongly agreed to the fact that terrorism had an impact in Kenya with regard to contributing towards population displacement and political/economic instability respectively. 34.4% of the respondents indicated that they strongly agree that terrorism in Kenya impacts religious conflicts to a large extent. Only 30.3% of the respondents strongly agreed that terrorism in Kenya impacts on health and results to health difficulties. It is evident that terrorism to a great extent affects or triggers population displacement and political/economic instability.

4.6 Challenges and Opportunities of Combating Terrorism in the Horn of Africa

4.6.1 Challenges of Combating Terrorism

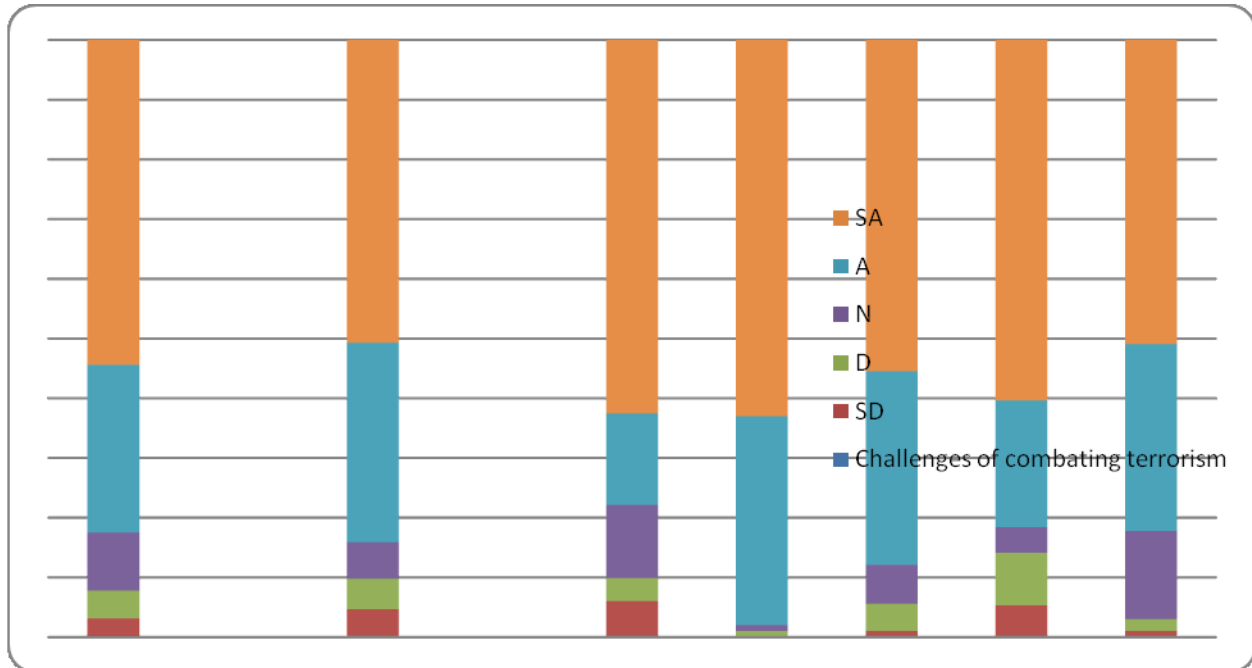
This question sought to find out the target respondents views on challenges being faced when combating terrorism in the horn of Africa. This was centered on terrorist networks, role of social media, sponsors of terrorists, youth radicalization, corruption, poorly equipped police force and lack of preparedness.

Table 4.9 Challenges of Combating Terrorism

Challenges of combating terrorism	SD	D	N	A	SA
Presently terrorist networks are more dispersed and less centralized	3.1%	4.7%	9.7%	28.1%	54.4%
Sophisticated use of internet/media enables terrorists to communicate	4.7%	5.1%	6.1%	33.4%	50.7%
Some countries/individuals harbour terrorists and sponsor them too	6.0%	3.9%	12.2%	15.4%	62.5%
Radicalization of youth who know the systems of the respective countries	0.0%	1.0%	1.0%	35.0%	63.0%
Corrupt immigration officials and weak immigration/border laws	1.0%	4.6%	6.5%	32.4%	55.5%
Poorly equipped police force who again are not well trained	5.3%	8.8%	4.3%	21.2%	60.4%
Poor planning and general lack of preparedness	1.0%	2.0%	14.8%	31.3%	50.9%

Source: Author (2015)

Figure 4.4 Challenges of Combating Terrorism



Source: Author (2015)

From the responses achieved regarding challenges of combating terrorism 54.4% of the respondents strongly agreed that terrorism networks are more dispersed than centralized while 28.1% agree to the same notion, only 3.1% of the respondents strongly disagreed to the statement that, presently terrorist networks are more dispersed than centralized. In terms of sophisticated use of social media/internet usage in communication by terrorists 50.7% of the respondents strongly agreed, 33.4% agreed, 6.1% were indifferent, 5.1% of the respondents disagreed while 4.7% of the respondents strongly disagreed. With regard to some countries/individuals harbouring terrorists and sponsoring them too, 62.5% of the respondents strongly agreed to that while 15.4% agreed to the same. 6.0% of the sampled respondents indicated that they strongly disagreed to the fact that some countries/individuals were harbouring terrorists and sponsoring

them. 63.0% of the respondents strongly agreed that radicalization of youth is a challenge of combating terrorism while 55.5% strongly agreed that corrupt immigration officials and weak immigration/border laws was a challenge of combating corruption, only 1.0% of the targeted respondents strongly disagreed to corrupt immigration officials and weak immigration/border laws being a challenge in combating terrorism. Only 5.3% and 1.0% of the respondents strongly disagreed to poorly equipped police force that again are not well trained and poor planning/general lack of preparedness respectively being a challenge in combating terrorism. Others gave mixed reactions indicating that terrorism is a complex issue to fight since it is not easy to know how terrorists operate and yet some of them leave in our residential areas making it even hard to uncover them.

4.6.2 Opportunities for Combating Terrorism

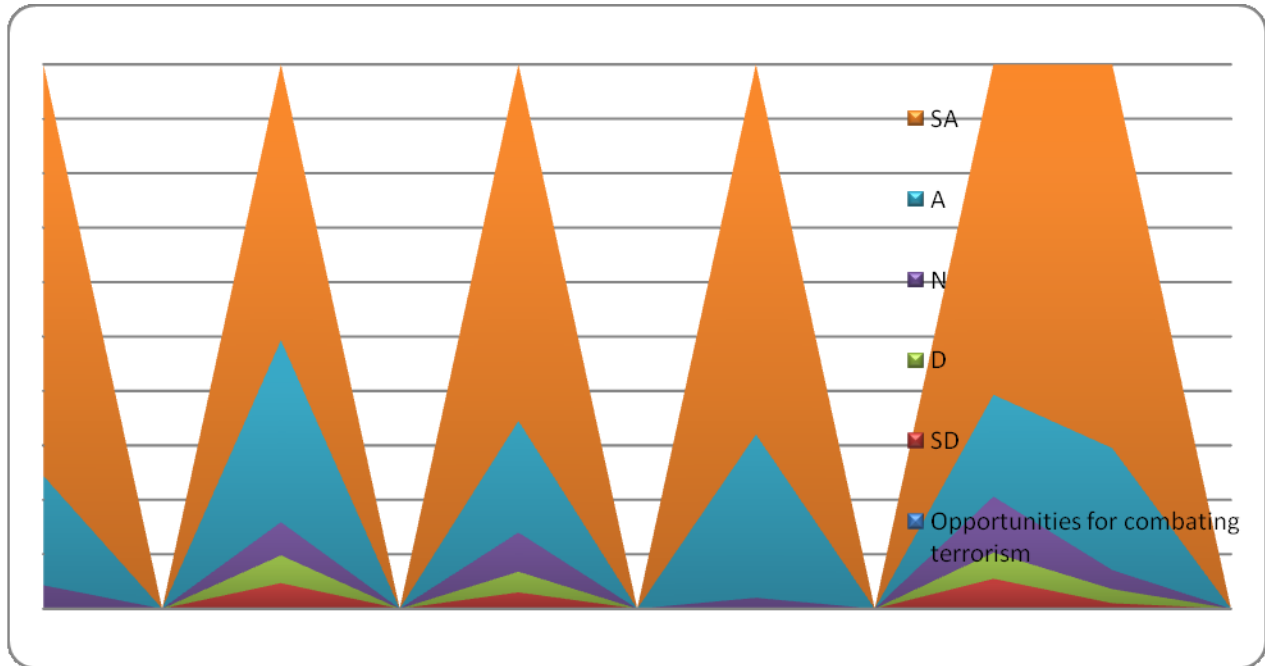
This question sought to find out the target respondents views on opportunities existing for combating terrorism in the horn of Africa. This was pegged on adherence to immigration rules, increment in police numbers, and investment in intelligence units, collaboration amongst countries, CCTV installations and anti terrorist laws.

Table 4.10 Opportunities for Combating Terrorism

Opportunities for combating terrorism	SD	D	N	A	SA
Adherence to immigration rules and sticking to them strictly	0.0%	0.0%	4.3%	20.1%	75.6%
Increasing in police numbers	4.7%	5.1%	6.1%	33.4%	50.7%
More empowered intelligence units of respective countries	3.0%	3.8%	7.2%	20.5%	65.5%
Collaboration among countries to protect borders	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	30.0%	68.0%
Installation of CCTV Cameras in strategic places	5.5%	4.8%	10.3%	18.7%	60.7%
Passing of laws that deal with terrorists accordingly	1.0%	2.6%	3.5%	22.4%	70.5%

Source: Author (2015)

Figure 4.5 Opportunities for Combating Terrorism



Source: Author (2015)

75.6% of the respondents strongly agreed that adherence to immigration rules and sticking to them strictly is an opportunity for combating terrorism, 50.7% of the respondents strongly agreed that increasing numbers of police officers is also an opportunity for combating terrorism. 5.5% of the respondents strongly disagreed that installation of CCTV cameras in strategic places is an opportunity for combating terrorism while 60.7% of the respondents strongly agreed that indeed installing CCTV cameras in strategic place is an opportunity for combating terrorism. In overall majority of the respondents were of the opinion that available opportunities to combat terrorism centre on; adhering to immigration rules and sticking to them strictly, empowering intelligence units of respective countries, collaboration among countries to protect borders, installation of CCTV Cameras in strategic places² and passing of laws that deal with terrorists accordingly.

This chapter has discussed the causes and impacts of terrorism in Kenya; it has observed that terror attacks in Kenya are largely as a result weak institutional and policy responses to terrorist activities. It highlights the need of the Kenyan government to reevaluate its counter terrorism measures currently in place. From this chapter it's quite evident that terrorism activities have resulted in population displacements, political and economic instability within the Kenyan society among other impacts.

Chapter Five

Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

This study set out to interrogate the impacts of terrorism activities in the Horn of Africa, examining the discourses of terrorism, existing efforts to combat terrorism, challenges and opportunities for combating terrorism in the Horn of Africa using Kenya as the case study. It interrogated the various terrorism characteristics, definitions', international and regional efforts of combating terrorism. It's also evaluates the various causes, impact within the Kenyan society and the challenges and opportunities of combating terrorism in Kenya. This chapter summarizes the findings and concludes the key issues emerging from the study and ends with recommendations and areas for further research.

5.2 Summary

On terrorism discourses, the study shows that within the Kenyan society there is informative knowledge on what terrorism is and what it entails, of the respondent interviewed all had a basic idea of what terrorism is with the common denominator being the orchestrations of violence on innocent victims. 100% of the respondent did acknowledge to have had about Terrorism with main sources on terrorism information being from the Kenyan media at 88% of the respondent. The Kenyan media plays a critical role in creating awareness and disseminating information about this vice.

The study also sought to find out on the various regional and international efforts set in place to help in combating terrorism and their efficiency in addressing this vice. It was inherent that a number of measures are in place although challenges and weakness are quite evident. A majority of the respondents 74% indicated that existing international regional efforts to combat

terrorism in Kenya are not enough while the remaining 26% indicated that the efforts are enough. Those of the opinion that efforts are not enough attributed some of the failures to be resulting from weak institutional policies, lack of total commitment by international bodies/countries to help affected countries like Kenya whereas others felt that some affected countries preferred being left alone. Conversely, those who indicated that existing international regional efforts to combat terrorism in Kenya are enough gave the reason that some countries offer support to Kenya during such times.

Kenya is a soft spot for the terrorist due to institutional weakness that the terrorist organizations usually explore. 89.7 % of the respondent indicated that the inability of the state to provide adequate security was actually the main loophole for the occurrences of terrorist attacks within the Kenyan society. And these attacks are intended for a number of reasons both regionally and beyond the Kenyan border scope. Some of these terrorist intentions include; the demonstrating the inability of the state to provide security, attracting national and international interest in the group grievances, demonstrating the illegitimacy of the state's institutions, coercing the public into pressuring the state into compromising solutions and forcing the state into repressive reactions that discredit the government.

Terrorism has no positive impact within the Kenyan Society. It's quite detrimental to the various institutional frame works in Kenya. Terrorism has perpetrated population displacement, Political dissents, economic challenges, religious conflict among other detrimental effects. 59.7% of the respondents indicated that they strongly agreed to the fact that terrorism had an impact in Kenya with regard to contributing towards population displacement and political/economic instability. 34.4% of the respondents indicated that they strongly agree that terrorism in Kenya impacts religious conflicts to a large extent.

Kenya has continued to face a number of challenges in its effort in combating terrorism. This is attributed to factors such as terrorist networks being more dispersed and less centralized, corrupt immigration officials and weak immigration/border laws, radicalization of the Kenyan youths based on some fanatical doctrines. Poorly equipped police force that again are not well trained, poor planning and general lack of preparedness, the present day terrorist are well educated, highly sophisticated, leave among other Kenyan citizen thus making it difficult to uncover them posing a great challenge to the Kenyan security forces.

5.3 Conclusion

From the analysis looking at the objectives examining the discourses of terrorism, existing efforts to combat terrorism, challenges and opportunities for combating terrorism ,impacts of terrorism activities in Kenya, including the corresponding research questions the study concludes that terrorism in Kenya is real and has great impact on the society .The definition of terrorism has evolved over time , but its political ,religious and ideological goals have practically never changed , hence there is no single clear cut definition of what terrorism entails. Kenyan media is very informative on the various terrorism discourses within the Kenyan society.

Kenyan citizens have lost their lives, some maimed due to terrorist incidences perpetrated by both the enemy outside of Kenya and within Kenya and as result measures are in place to help combat this vice. It is evident from the study that Kenya faces a number of challenges in its efforts in combating terrorism which is attributed to factors such as terrorist networks being more dispersed and less centralized, corrupt immigration officials and weak immigration/border laws, radicalization of the Kenyan youths based on some fanatical doctrines. Poorly equipped police force that again are not well trained, Poor planning and general lack of preparedness, the present

day terrorist are well educated, highly sophisticated, leave among other Kenyan citizen thus making it difficult to uncover them posing a great challenge to the Kenyan security forces. This affirms to the first hypothesis which states that the continuation of terror attacks in Kenya is largely as a result of weak institutional and policy responses.

Terrorism in Kenya has resulted in security fears which in turn has resulted in a number of ripple effect such as turn off for investments thus impacting on Kenyan economic growth, killings resulting in population displacement, affecting the health sectors, education sectors and infrastructural development. The Kenyan tourism has also being impacted negatively due to the dented image abroad due to security concerns. This affirms the second hypothesis that increased terror attacks in the country over the last few years have had negative impact on Kenya's economy.

5.4 Recommendations

5.4.1 Adherence to Immigration Rules.

Terrorist incidences in Kenya are majorly transnational posed by the threat from the Alshabab emanating from Somalia. Kenya need to adhere to its immigration rules which will aid in securing the Kenyan borders, immigration official should be put under corrective checks and balances to weed out corruption within border points .81.8% of the respondents did acknowledge that adherence to immigration rules would be apposite measure in combating terrorism as the illegal immigrants and terrorist sympathizers would have it difficult in accessing the country easily to commits acts of terror. Speculation has also being rife that some of the terrorist incidences committed in Kenya have been planned within the refugee camps set in Kenya. Adherence to immigration rule would also be able to vet genuine refugees and put to check

refugee activities within the camp to avoid infiltrations of terrorist and their sympathizers within these camps.

5.4.2 Enhanced structural chain of command within the security forces in Kenya

69.6 % of the respondents interviewed acknowledge the fact that security intelligence gathered in Kenya is not acted upon in good time, at times not acted upon at all in foiling these terror incidences in Kenya. There is need to invest in intelligence and act on it. This can be achieved by having an efficient and structural chain of command within the security arms within the government, having strong institutions which know on how to go about once a terror alert/intelligence has been received. And act in good time to counter the same.

5.4.3. Invest in efficient policing and equipments to help fight terror and threat of terror.

It will be prudent for the government to consider the increase in the security personnel numbers for efficient monitoring and policing armed with the all necessary efficient tools both for combat and monitoring. As the present day terrorists are much more sophisticated in weaponry. 79.3% of the respondents strongly had the opinion that equipping the police force better would much more enhance the police force and the security personnel in general to be in a much better situation in addressing and tackling this terrorism menace in Kenya.

5.4.4 CCTV Installations

Other than the investment in better tools for the police and security forces, installation of CCTV cameras at strategic points will also be a factor that would be able to enhance security through addition into the bucket of intelligence collections, crime preventions and actualization of prosecutions via use of the CCTV footages.

5.5 Future Areas of Research

5.5.1 Refugees camps on Kenya.

There is need to evaluate the significance of hosting refugees camp in Kenya, are they potential source of terror, what measures are in place to ensure the refugees are contained within their camps. What measures are in place to contain the risk of terrorist springing from these camps There is also need to evaluate refugee repatriations from Kenya and the considerations of setting up the camps within their home countries as this will help in assessing the potential risk and possible correction measures that Kenya can adopt in its effort to contained the terrorism menace within its borders

5.5.2 Youth radicalization

There is need to reevaluate the extent of the youth radicalization, what are the driving forces that make the youth vulnerability, is it only within the Muslim community in Kenya or is it cutting across Kenya as a whole. What are the better means of engaging the target groups to minimize their vulnerability to radicalization, finding of such a research will provide an in-depth details of some of the corrective measures that Kenya would be able to adopt in its containment of Terrorism within the country.

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APPENDIX

STUDY OF THE IMPACTS OF TERRORISM IN THE HORN OF AFRICA, CASE STUDY OF KENYA

SECTION A: GENERAL CONSUMER INFORMATION

Name (Optional): _____

Mobile/Telephone (Optional): _____

Designation: _____

Please Tick Where Applicable ✓

Your Occupation/Industry	Tick	Religion	Tick	Your Highest Level of Education	Tick
Business		Christian		Primary	
Government		Islam		Secondary	
Hospitality		Hindu		Diploma	
Tourism		Buddhist		Degree	
Others		Atheist		Post graduate	
		Others		No education	

SECTION B: EVALUATION OF DISCOURSES OF TERRORISM

1. Have you ever heard of terrorism?

(a) Yes

(b) No

2. Where did you hear about terrorism? (tick where appropriate)

(a) Media

(b) Colleagues

(c) Friends

(d) Victim of terrorism

(e) Others _____

3. On a scale of 1 to 5? Where; 5 = Strongly Agree (SA), 4 = Agree (A), 3 = Neutral (N), 2 = Disagree (D) and 1 = Strongly Disagree (SD). To what extent do you agree/disagree with the following statements,

(a) The continuation of terror attacks in Kenya is largely as a result of weak institutional and policy responses about terrorism;

SA

A

N

D

SD

[]

[]

[]

[]

[]

(b) Increased terror attacks in the country over the last few years have had negative impact on Kenya's economy

SA	A	N	D	SD
[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

SECTION C: EVALUATION AND CRITIQUE OF EXISTING INTERNATIONAL REGIONAL EFFORTS TO COMBAT TERRORISM

4. In your opinion, would you say that the existing international regional efforts to combat terrorism in Kenya are enough?

(a) Yes

(b) No

Reasons

5. Which of the following statements best describes what the government should do to combat terrorism?

(a) Adhere to immigration rules and stick to them strictly

(b) Have fully equipped police force with necessary training

(c) Take intelligence information seriously and act promptly

(d) Collaborate with neighbouring countries to protect border

(e) Have laws that deal with terrorists accordingly

(f) Limit number of tourists entering the country

(g) Having CCTV Cameras installed in strategic places

Others

SECTION D: CAUSES AND IMPACT OF TERRORISM IN KENYA

6. In your opinion, which among the following can be said to be the major cause(s) of terrorism in Kenya?

(a) Attracting public attention to the group's grievances

(b) Demonstrating the inability of the state to provide security

(c) Demonstrating the illegitimacy of the state's institutions

(d) Coercing the public into pressuring the state into compromise solutions

(e) Forcing the state into repressive reactions that discredit the government

(f) Demonstrating the economic consequence of continued violence

(g) Highlighting the potential political consequence of continued conflict

- (h) Attracting international attention and encouraging intervention
- (i) Provoking widespread civil uprising to change the government

7. On a scale of 1 to 5? Where; 5 = Strongly Agree (SA), 4 = Agree (A), 3 = Neutral (N), 2 = Disagree (D) and 1 = Strongly Disagree (SD). To what extent do you agree/disagree with the following statements about the impact of terrorism in Kenya, terrorism causes;

	SA	A	N	D	SD
(a) Religious conflicts	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
(b) Population displacement	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
(c) Political & Economic Instability	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
(d) Reactionary counter attacks	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
(e) Hinders development	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
(f) Organized dissent	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]
(g) Health difficulties	[]	[]	[]	[]	[]

**SECTION E: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF COMBATING
TERRORISM IN THE HORN OF AFRICA**

8. In your opinion, which among the following can be said to be the major Challenge(s) of combating terrorism in the Horn of Africa?

- (a) Presently terrorist networks are more dispersed and less centralized
- (b) Sophisticated use of internet/media enables terrorists to communicate
- (c) Some countries/individuals harbour terrorists and sponsor them too
- (d) Radicalization of youth who know the systems of the respective countries
- (e) Corrupt immigration officials and weak immigration/border laws
- (f) Poorly equipped police force who again are not well trained
- (g) Poor planning and general lack of preparedness

Others

9. In your opinion which opportunities would you say exist for combating terrorism in the Horn of Africa?

- (a) Adherence to immigration rules and sticking to them strictly
- (b) Increment in police numbers as a result of recruitment
- (c) More empowered intelligence units of respective countries
- (d) Collaboration among countries to protect borders
- (e) Passing of laws that deal with terrorists accordingly

(f) Installation of CCTV Cameras in strategic places



Thank you for your cooperation