

**THE ROLE OF FACTORS ON THE DEMAND SIDE IN PROMOTING  
TERRORISM: A CASE STUDY OF THE COAST REGION OF KENYA (2002-  
2018)**

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**2019**

**DECLARATION**

I do declare that this Research project is my original work and has not been submitted to any other university for any kind of an academic award.

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**DR SOLOMON OWUOCHE**

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This research project is dedicated to my late father Rajab Barasa, May Allah Forgive his sins and grant him Jannatul Firdous! My family, friends and all those who have supported me in one way or the other throughout my academic journey to this level.

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>EU</b>	-	European Union
<b>ID</b>	-	Identification Card
<b>IS</b>	-	Islamic State
<b>NGO</b>	-	Non Governmental Organization
<b>AMISOM</b>	-	African Mission in Somalia
<b>NACOSTI</b>	-	National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation

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## **ABSTRACT**

This study sought to focus on the role of factors on the demand side in promoting terrorism, a case study of the coast region of Kenya (2002-2016).

The study had the following objectives, the main objective was to establish the extent to which factors on the demand side of terrorism have contributed to the spread of terrorism in the coastal region of Kenya.

The specific objectives were to establish how historical marginalization of the people of the coastal region has contributed to the spread of terrorism in the Coast Region and secondly to examine the role of the high rates of youth unemployment in spreading the terrorism agenda through the radicalization of the youths.

The study relied on the relative Deprivation theory as prescribed by Robert Gurr, the theory argues that people embrace war, conflicts and acts of terrorism as a strategy of fighting against perceived injustices such as marginalization and bad governance.

The study had two hypotheses it sought to test, they were, and marginalization of the citizens in the Coast Region has been the leading factor on the demand side of terrorism in the coastal area. Secondly, high rates of unemployment in the Coast Region have forced desperate youths to engage in acts of terrorism.

The study targeted 60 respondents were drawn from all the 6 counties in the entire Coast Region.

The study found out that majority of the counter-terrorism measures the government undertook were focusing more on factors on the supply side as opposed to factors on the demand side of terrorism.

There is little attention to factors on the demand side of terrorism; secondly, the study also found out that youth unemployment, marginalization and oppressive and unresponsive regimes were the main factors which made the people of the Coast Region embrace terrorism as the measure of last resort to fight the perceived injustices.

Lastly, the study established that addressing inequalities strengthening of the anti-terrorism laws were the best measures that the government of Kenya can adopt and effectively sort out the terrorism mess in the Coast Region.

## CHAPTER ONE: THE INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the Study

Terrorism has become a global headache to both states and non-state actors in the contemporary international system. Acts of terror have become widespread from its origins in the Middle East where it's a common phenomenon and today all the states including Kenya are grappling with this security challenge. The Al-Qaeda and the ISIS group in the Middle East and Maghreb Region, Boko-Haram in West Africa, Al-Shabaab in the East Africa and Horn of African region are examples of the terrorist organizations operating in the modern international systems. Terrorism thrives in a demand-supply continuum. However, in the marketplace of ideas, there hasn't been a convergence among scholars on the variables on the demand and supply side of terrorism, for instance, Miller (2006) explains that terrorist's motivation is a process that goes through three stages. The first stage a terrorist begin with the unacceptable conditions such as "it is not right," the second stage follows with the resentment and a sense of injustice, "It is not fair," and the third stage is the personification of the causes of the injustices, "it is your fault" Miller continues to argue that terrorists usually have a calculation of costs and the benefits of their activities. Terrorists therefore choose to commit acts of terror as they view other methods as not tenable, cumbersome or considered to be time-consuming, given the gravity of the situation and the government's superiority as a monopoly of power and violence (Miller, 2006).

Different African states have responded to terrorist threats differently and a majority of those responses have focused on addressing the factors on the supply side of terrorism and ignored factors on the demand side. In West Africa for example, states such as Nigeria, Ghana, Gambia, Senegal, among others have welcomed help from the USA and its allies in getting control over their ungoverned spaces, but they still face terrorist attacks within their territories. In East Africa, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and recently Rwanda, having experienced a number of terrorist attacks, have struggled to enact, and embrace new and tough legislation at the same time tried to juggle and balance it with

civil rights. These states have reacted to terrorist attacks by embracing the strategies of active diplomacy and armed intervention (Robert B. (2002).

Other African states such as Ethiopia and Mauritania have taken the advantage of the increasing terror threats to solidify their policies of suppression, and undemocratic style of governance while seeking the support from America for their anti-terror policies (Kagwanja 2007). Since the fall of Mohamed Siad Barre's regime in 1991, the Republic of Somalia has remained a failed state with no central authority hence the state of lawlessness punctuating its governance system. Even though there has been African Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) forces deployed to prop up the current administration, still the government in Mogadishu doesn't wield control outside Mogadishu, a fact that has been complicated with the breakaway administrations of Puntland and Somaliland. This has made Somalia regarded not only a safe haven but also a training camp as well as breeding, recruiting, radicalization, indoctrination grounds for new recruits.

Al-Qaeda and, its young sibling Al-Shabaab, are groups that have turned Somalia as their base where planning, training, deployment of their terror activities across the African continent is done with reliance on local assistants who execute their missions (Kagwanja 2007) The Coast Region in Kenya has been characterized by high poverty rates, high illiteracy rates, landlessness, under-development and widespread drug abuse with majority of youth addicted to drugs. It is also the region that has experienced high intensity of terror attacks in Kenya's history. While we appreciate factors that drive terrorism, this study sort to establish the factors on the demand side of terrorism and demonstrate how they impact on terrorist activities in the Coast Region of Kenya. This was done by examining why the Coast Region is being used as an easier target when it comes to the recruitment of terrorists. The study mainly focused on the role of marginalization and high rates of unemployment in the Coast Region as the major factors on the demand side of terrorism.

It is therefore upon this background that this study investigated the extent to which factors on the demand side are responsible for the escalation of terrorist activities in the Kenyan coast region.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

A number of scholars such as Mamdani(2004) and Kagwanja (2007) concur on the notion that terrorism is a long process that has got a beginning, a course and an ending. To understand terrorism, therefore, various facets that contribute to this process of the manufacture of terrorists must be looked at and critically analyzed to create clarity of the picture of terrorism as an ideology. The important component of terrorism is recruitment. The main focus of this study was to examine how marginalization and high rates of unemployment contribute to the rise and spread of terrorism ideology in the Coast Region.

Having looked at the historical marginalization and high rates of unemployment among the youth in the Coast Region (societal fault-lines), the study sought to establish how these youths and the people of Coast Region are easily radicalized by terrorist groups and lured to join their organization. It should be noted that in the ideal set up of any state, once citizens have any form of legitimate grievances against their government, the rule of law demands that they channel those grievances through the established state agencies. This is because any functioning government is an agent of the state, and whereas the state is permanent, governments are changeable. This means that in case all the avenues of channeling people's grievances have failed, they can wait for the general elections and vote out any oppressive government or irresponsible government.

Besides these, there is the judiciary which interprets the law and arbitrates any disputes between the citizens and their governments, and the legislature which represents people legislates as well as oversees the executive or the government that is in place. Therefore in the ideal situation of any functioning state, the government of the day will be forced to address the concerns of the people such as historical marginalization as well as high rates of unemployment. This is because the various institutions of government such as the Legislature, the Judiciary as well as independent bodies such as the Independent Policing Oversight Authority (IPOA) Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNHRC), the Commission on Administrative Justice commonly known as Ombudsman office just to mention but a few will be there to check on the excesses of each other. As a result of

this radicalization of the unemployed youth as well as the desperation of a section of the population that was caused by historical marginalization would have automatically been contained.

However, despite having the new Constitution in place and a legitimate government with working institutions, the radicalization of the youth is still on the increase. According to various government reports, a number of studies and research attributed this high rate of youth radicalization to terrorist ideologies to the issues of continued marginalization of the Coast Region and the high rates of unemployment among the youth in the Coast Region.

It is, therefore, this miss-match that has prompted this study to investigate the issues of marginalization and high rates of youth unemployment which are regarded as factors on the demand side that drives the terrorism agenda in the coastal region. The study sort to establish whether there was a relationship between factors on the demand side and terrorism, specifically the relationship between unemployment and terrorism on one hand, and marginalization and terrorism on the other hand.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

This study attempted to answer the following questions.

#### **1.3.1 Main Question**

- i. To what extent have the factors on the demand side of terrorism contributed to the spread of terrorism in the Coast Region of Kenya?

#### **1.3.2 Specific Questions**

- i. To what extent does the historical marginalization of the people of Coast Region acts as a major cause of terrorism?
- ii. How has the high rate of youth unemployment in the Coast Region contributed to the spread of terrorism?



## **1.4 Objectives of the Study**

This study was anchored on the following objectives.

### **1.4.1 Main Objective**

1. To establish the extent to which factors on the demand side of terrorism have contributed to the spread of terrorism in the Coast Region.

### **1.4.2 Specific Objectives**

- i. To establish how historical marginalization of the people of Coast Region has contributed to the spread of terrorism.
- ii. To examine how the high rates of youth unemployment has contributed to the spread of terrorism.

## **1.5 Justification of the Study**

The Justification of this study is in two levels; at the academic level and at the policy level.

### **1.5.1 At the Academic Level**

A couple of research on the causes of terrorism has largely focused on the supply side of terrorism as the major cause of terrorism. The supply side of terrorism, in this case, refers to those factors that aid terrorism activities to become widespread, for instance, level of state disorganizations that generally constitute state vulnerabilities.

However little research is available on the causes of terrorism on the demand –side. This study, therefore, will be useful as it will try to expand on the existing knowledge of terrorism and highlight the subject of terrorism from the angle of the demand side, the findings of this study will be useful for the scholars, students of terrorism as well as general readers, and it will also form a basis for academic debates. This study argues that despite the existence of the huge volumes of literature on terrorism, very little knowledge exists on the subject of the demand side of terrorism, since the demand side of terrorism talks about the process in which terrorists are manufactured, the subject is very key to understanding the entire concept of terrorism, this is because it acts as the base or the formative stages of the entire concept of terrorism and international terrorism.

### **1.5.2 At the Policy Level**

This study has established that various measures that have been embraced by many governments globally to fight terrorism have yielded fruits in terms of threats elimination. For the Kenyan government case, the situation has been worse because measures it has tried to implement at the Coast Region have either turned out to be counter-productive; inflamed the threats or have not worked at all. This because there have existed policy gaps to exhaustively address marginalization and unemployment as main factors on the demand side of terrorism. It is upon this background that this study finding and its recommendations inform how those policy gaps should be bridged.

### **1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

This study looked at the concept of terrorism with a special focus of the Kenyan Coast Region. It studied events in Lamu, Kwale, Kilifi, Mombasa, Tana River, and Taita Taveta-geographical units that make up the six counties of the Coast Region in the devolved government system that Kenya adopted in 2010 Constitution.

The focus of the study was on terrorism activities at the Coast Region with a special focus on factors on the demand side as its major causes. Kenya at large has been hit hard and consistently by the terrorists. The Kenyan government has been adjusting and readjusting its policies in dealing with terrorist activities. Since 2002 the Kenyan state has embraced a new democratic approach and a new system of government that aims at promoting rule of law and good governance, devolving power and resources to help address inequalities blamed for marginalization, creating more some job opportunities and tightening the anti-terrorism laws and operations.

Some of the challenges that were expected to be met in the process of conducting this research included; fear and suspicion from the locals due to the emotive nature of the subject matter. The researcher in a way thought he could be at risk because he may be seen either as a terrorist sympathizer by the administration or as a state spy by the ordinary citizens.

Secondly, some of the government officers, as well as officers in the security sector, were unwilling to share critical information on terrorism at the Coast Region because they are bound by state oath of secrecy as well feared to lose their jobs for being deemed or of sabotage. The other challenge was the general state of insecurity in the Coast Region. The Coast Region as it has been mentioned before has been riddled with a number of security challenges, therefore the researcher was at the risk of landing into wrong hands of either terrorist groups or the illegal gangs such as “Wakali Kwanza,” or “wakali kwao.”

However, the researcher took precautionary measures before he embarked on this study. These measures included being accompanied by some of the area residents who were seconded to the researcher by the area chief, hiring of a personal assistant who happened to be one of the locals as well as notifying the local authorities of my presence in the area. The researcher also tried his level best to convince the public officers on the importance of participating in this study because the study was meant for the good of the nation at large and the region in under study. Also as part of the solution to some of the above challenges, the researcher managed to obtain a research permit from the government.

## **1.7 Definition and Operationalisation of Key Concepts**

**Terrorism:** An action that causes serious violence to civilians or innocent people and uses threats to influence a state or a government in order to succumb to a political, religious or an ideological cause of the combatants. For the purposes of this study, terrorism will be discussed through fear and radicalization. Fear refers to that state of perceived danger or threat to human beings. It is characterized by uncertainty and absence of order and personal security. As a result of fear, people tend to embrace terrorism as a way of shielding themselves from threats and danger. Radicalization refers to that process which a person is taken through with an aim of persuading him to support a terrorist ideology. Some of the materials used for radicalization include literature, videos, books, stories, narratives that aim at reinforcing people to adopt a violent ideology.

**Demand Side of Terrorism:** Refers to those factors that cause people to embrace terrorism as a strategy of pursuing on their course, it can through, marginalization, and oppression among other factors. Simply put are societal fault-line as unemployment, religious fanaticism, or political marginalization.

**Supply side of Terrorism:** Refers to those factors that aid the spread of terrorism, they include distance decay, bad infrastructure, poor communication network, ineffective security systems, corruption among immigration officers among others.

**Unemployment:** Refers to that state of joblessness whereby people do not get the chance of engaging themselves in productive ventures. This causes idleness among the youth and as a result, it makes people be easy targets for recruitment by the terrorist groups.

**Marginalization:** refers to that act of treating a person or a group of persons as insignificant and excluding them from economic, political as well as social decision making. It is this marginalization that increases poverty, high rates of unemployment, and feelings of aggression and hopelessness which are fertile grounds for terrorism to be embraced.

## **1.8 Literature Review**

### **1.8.1 The Introduction**

This chapter dwelt on the major causes of terrorism and its impact on the Coast Region. The chapter reviewed the existing literature on the subject matter. The review took, what factors make the coastal residents adopt terrorism as a strategy of pursuing their goals and how has the problem of terrorism impacted on the lives and property of the people of the coastal region the guideline.

### **1.8.2 The Concept of Terrorism**

Terrorism according to Gus Martin (2011) can be defined as the use of violence and intimidation in the pursuit of political gains. It's also the violent acts intended to create fear perpetrated for an economic religious, political or ideological goal and which deliberately target or disregard the safety of noncombatant's, for example, neutral military personnel or civilians. Somali based Al-Shabaab and Al-Hijra are the known terrorists grouping with a huge presence and activity in the Horn and East African region, the Taliban's in the Middle East, the ISIS, al-Qaeda all in the Middle East and Maghreb Region, the Boko Haram in Nigeria and West Africa among those organization operating today in the international system. These two groups have been launching attacks in the Kenyan Coast as they pursue their long-term objectives of creating a caliphate. It is upon that narrative that this study sought to establish the demand side factors that aid the activities of these terrorist groups at the Coast Region.

### **1.8.3 Demand-Side of Terrorism**

Miller (2006) explains terrorist's motivation as a three-stage process, the first stage he begins with the unacceptable conditions, 'it is not right', the second stage follows with the resentment and a sense of injustice, 'it is not fair'. And the third stage is the personification of the causes of injustices, 'it is your fault'. Scholars have concluded that terrorists always have a calculation of costs and the benefits of their activities. An organization or a faction of an organization may choose terrorism because other methods are not viable to addressing their concerns or expected to work or are considered too cumbersome, given the urgency of the situation and the government's superior resources

and power. To a greater extent, Miller's assertions make sense because for one to become a terrorist and engage in terrorist activities, it's not a one-day event but it's a process. This explains why terrorist attacks largely take place at the Kenyan Coast and not Central Kenya, Rift Valley or Western. It is as a result of long periods of economic marginalization that has increased the rates of poverty and unemployment in the Coast Region. Secondly, Miller's arguments inform this study in a great way in that it explains the distance decay between the state and the people of the Coast Region. These factors combined give an explanation and reason to why Coast is a fertile breeding ground for terrorists.

Krueger (2006) considers terrorism as a market with a demand side that has received too little attention. The demand for terrorism is principally about fear, there would be little reason to produce terrorism if it did not bring attention to the causes of terrorism. It brings attention primarily by way of fear which is the main nature and sources of the demand side of the terrorist market. It should be noted that acts of terrorists serve their purpose by instilling fear among the public and causing despondency. Fear in this sense is looked at as the perceived risks and internal and external stimuli that contribute to it. Using Krueger's arguments, the study can make assertions that the war on terrorism will be unending war if we fail to take into account the multiple dimensions, developmental cycle, and operational employment of terror. Terrorism emerges as products of specific environments. We have to look beyond the extreme 'Jihadist' rhetoric to recognize terrorism as an explicit political strategy designed to disrupt an unfavourable status quo. This means that our conceptualization must shift to viewing terrorist groups as products of their environments.

Grant Wardlaw (1989) in his book "Political terrorism, Theories, Tactics and Counter-Measures" asserts that there are two major causes of terrorism; all terrorist acts are motivated by either social or political injustice. People choose terrorism when they are trying to fight against what they perceive to be a social or political or historical wrong. For example when people have been stripped off their land or denied their human rights or they have been marginalized politically, economically or socially or religiously. The

second cause of terrorism is the belief that violence or its threat will be effective in ushering in change, another way of saying this is the belief that violent means justify the ends, many terrorists in history said with sincerity that they choose violence after long deliberations. They opted for terrorism as a measure of last resort.

However, Mamdani in his book, “Good Muslim and Bad Muslim” asserts Terrorism is caused by various forms of deprivation, like religious, political and economic deprivation, and this makes people resort to violence in order to right the injustices. He, however, adds that Religion should be a tool of bringing people together and no amount of provocation should religion be used to cause violence. A good Muslim according to Mamdani is that who upholds peaceful co-existence with self and others. Mamdani disapproves the use of violence or terrorist activities to achieve religious objectives and therefore its bad Muslims who uses violence to achieve Islamic objectives.

The supply side of terrorism in Mamdani’s view is easy to understand, but difficult to combat. In the case of the Middle East, disenfranchised individuals, who happen to be Muslims, are mobilized and trained to carry out terrorist attacks or, more often, supporting actions, such as recruitment, money laundering, operating safe houses, conducting surveillance, and facilitating clandestine communication. Like a military organization, their combat effectiveness, or ability to carry out terrorist attacks against carefully selected targets. Reflecting defined political objectives is dependent upon the support they get and service support infrastructure that they enjoy. Combating terrorism on the supply-side has many of the same pitfalls as combating drugs. As long as there is a demand, organizations and individuals will look for ways to fill it.

On the other hand, the demand side of terrorism is the opposite according to Mamdani, as it is easy to combat, but often difficult to fully understand. Terrorism is a systemic response to a perceived political, economic, or socio-cultural deprivation. Its demand is a function of the desire to challenge the political system at either the state level or at the international level (for instance the Al Qaeda desire to deny the United States and European Union (EU) political, economic and military support to regimes in the Middle East). This does not mean that to respond to the ‘demand’ for terrorism means ‘giving in’

to terrorist demands. This is a non-issue. Rather, what needs to happen is that States must first strive to understand the demand side of terrorism; it's operating political strategy so that it can diplomatically and militarily outmanoeuvre the said terrorist organizations. Some of the same calculation and decision-making process that goes into planning an election is necessary for combating the 'demand' for terrorism. The States most especially the developed countries should realize that in order for their actions in fighting the demand for terrorism, to be effective, must garner the support of global public opinion, as well local communities. This is analogous in some respects to a national election; there also 'swing states' or key regions whose support for battling terrorism is essential to mission success.

Cooper (1948) explains that the term terrorism poses lots of challenges to scholars and policymakers in as far as its definition is concerned; he says that in many instances a political violence represents social problems in society. But according to him how to understand the problem within the confines of a theory is what is giving definitional problems of terrorism. It is upon this background that Cooper acknowledges the analytic confusion that causes conceptualization problems, for instance, various scholars and government agencies define terrorism differently. The different definitions are usually theoretical and make it difficult for governments to defeat terrorism/ political resistance and mass violence are usually confused with terrorism hence the definition of terrorism must suit the entity so as to delegitimize their opponents.

The most glaring misconception about terrorism and terrorists in Krueger's views is the assumption that terrorists are underprivileged people, uneducated people and those under-class individuals who reside on the fringe of the society. A couple of studies have empirically demonstrated the fact that, in the modern world terrorism is more of a desirable undertaking rather than a measure of last resort for many people. The studies continue to state that, Terrorists nowadays are highly educated, very skilled in various disciplines and come from wealthier backgrounds than most average families, Krueger concludes.



According to the Crisis Group Report (2005), part of the reason that terrorism is a complex issue is the inability of the governments and most stakeholders to rationalize such extreme acts of violence and often self-sacrifice. What circumstance other than pure desperation could drive a person to become- a terrorist? The rationale behind the idea that terrorists are desperate people seems logical, rational choice theorists at least would posit that if a person is willing to risk his life and/or freedom to commit an act of terrorism, he must have few preferable alternatives. Although academicians from various disciplines have focused their attention on answering this question, the researchers have offered no conclusive explanation.

In Gurr's view, political violence is the result of collective discontent arising from a discrepancy between expected and achieved welfare. This study among other things reviews the concept of terrorism and build on the existing knowledge of social and economic conditions by examining the interaction effect of unemployment as a cause of terrorism.

Sage (2001) argues that the Al-Shabaab militant group have been on active recruitment drive hunting for members outside the traditional Somali community. In line with their regional agenda, they have targeted Kenya and Tanzania coastal regions dominated by locals who profess the Islamic faith. This review to a large extent will agree with Sage's assertion that there is growing evidence to suggest that the attacks in North Eastern Kenya, Nairobi and the Coast area are joint operations of Kenyan Swahili people and the Somali jihadists, Swahili members and Islamized non-Somalis are easily able to evade security by posing as locals and counting on an outdated perception and stereotyping of Kenyan security officers that all Al-Shabaab members are of Somali origin. This ethnic profiling led to the blanket condemnation of Somalis over attacks that saw the then newly formed Jubilee administration in 2013 roundup a number of Somali Muslims at placed at Kasarani in what was called Kasarani concentration camp. Most were accused of either engaging or abetting terrorism but due to public pressure and outrage, the government backed down. It is therefore evident that radicalization and recruitment is not slowing down even in the face of the raved-up war on terror.

According to Stern (2011), any counter-terrorism or rehabilitation measure must be based on a clear understanding of what makes people to embrace the terrorism ideology. He further explains that terrorist groups usually take advantage of a perceived injustice in the society to exploit it as they pursue their course. They perceive that their course will right the wrong whether real or imagined. The author further argues that an ideology is not only the factor that makes a person embrace terrorism since the recruiters are more interested in the collective identity of the group. He observes that the major reasons as to why people embrace terrorism overhauled. The reasons may include market conditions, social networks, and contact with the recruiters, education and individual preferences. Therefore in line with Sterns views, this study would recommend that all the counter-terrorist measures need to take advantage and to account of all these variations.

According to the Change Institute (2008), in a survey conducted at the Guantanamo Bay detention facility, where 5/6 terrorism detainees were interviewed. It was discovered that terrorists who claimed to be motivated by religious ideology were ignorant of the Islam and the Islamic religion, further a majority of the detainees did not have proper formal education or proper religious instruction hence they had a limited and incomplete understanding of Islam.

Ilhan (2008) observes that control to the development of any terrorist group is the construction of ideology which is a set of coherent ideas that provide a basis for organized political action whether intended to preserve or overthrow the existing powers that be. He concludes that in the absence of proper leadership and a command structure, ideology fills the gap by coordinating the activities. Ilhan's views are also shared by Precht (2000) who narrates that an ideology is a central factor in the recruitment and radicalization process. Therefore in line with these two scholars' views, the counter-terrorism measures must also aim at challenging the terrorist ideology.

## **1.9 Theoretical Framework**

Even though terrorism is a practice it is also a doctrine thus has abstract underpinning reflecting theory about its presumed effectiveness. For this study the relative deprivation theory, was used to give the cause effect relationship but others too were discussed.

### **1.9.1 Relative Deprivation Theory**

The theory dates back to ancient Greece. Aristotle in his writings articulated the idea that revolution is driven by a relative sense of feeling of inequality, rather than an absolute measure. For Aristotle, the principal cause of a revolution is the aspiration for economic or political inequality, rather than an absolute measure. For Aristotle, the principal cause of a revolution is the aspiration for economic or political equality on the part of the common people who lack it and the aspiration. Gurr states that the perceived discrepancy between value expectations and value capabilities is what leads to discontent, not the millionaire's absolute economic standing (Gurr 1970). The researcher finds the theory relevant to the study as it offers insights into reasons as to why there is a prevalence of violent extremism at the Coast Region. Gurr observes that relative deprivation is a term used to denote the tension that develops from a discrepancy between the "ought" and the "is" of collective value satisfaction (Gurr T. Robert 1970).

Gurr further explains that the primary source of the human capacity for violence appears to be "frustration-aggression mechanism, the anger induced by frustration is a motivating force that disposes men to aggression, irrespective of its instruments." However, Gurr was not the first in the field to propose a link between frustration and aggression. Dollard (1939) and others were the first to propose the theory, postulating that frustration leads men to act aggressively. Accordingly, frustration is caused by relative deprivation leading to aggression that is seen in terrorists.

Simply put John Horgan posits that aggression is a response to blockage of goal attainment-meaning terrorism is a response of a person to lack of alternative political expression. In linking this theory to the study. Kagwanja (2007) has written about the history of the Coast Region in a way that suggests the region has suffered economic

backwardness due to economic marginalization. It is this form of marginalization that has caused the feelings of frustrations and aggression among the people of the coast region.

A major assumption derived from the theory is that that the levels of terrorist activities in the Coast Region may be partly explained as an expression of the conditions of a state that produces an unconducive environment which promotes relative deprivation in the Region. To examine this assumption analytically, one can see the high unemployment rates, high levels of dependency and low levels of enrollment to schools, landlessness, as well as political persecutions are factors that help terrorism ideology to be embraced by people. A situation where large populations of educated young people fail to get meaningful employment usually leads disappointment in relation to their psychological expectations, presumably young people pursue higher education with expectations that they will land on good jobs. As a result of these, jobless university graduates will feel more discontent than those jobless young people who did not go to school. It is this socio-economic discord that leads to political violence.

However, this theory has two forms of limitations; first and foremost, it doesn't adequately describe what marginalization is. In a capitalistic system such as Kenya, the state or the government plays a very small role in wealth creation and resources and wealth are mostly placed in private hands. Therefore the issue of poverty or marginalization is not adequately explained by this theory in terms of conceptualization. Secondly, the subject of aggression is a bit debatable, is aggression an inborn characteristic of a human being or is it an acquired behaviour? Biologists are split on the genesis of aggression in a human being; whereas others argue that the character is inborn others argue that it's acquired. Otherwise, the theory is applicable to this study due to its assumption that frustrations automatically lead to aggression.'

### **1.9.2 Rational Choice Theory**

Even though it appears there is little rationality on why suicide bombers would blow themselves up in pursuit of achieving a political goal and never live to be part of much hoped for and fought for goal, Crenshaw (1998) posits that terrorists have individual cost

benefit calculations. He says that rational choice offers an economic evaluation of individual decisions making. In its most reduced form rational choice assumes that political outcomes are the results of individual rational calculus.

McAllister and Schmid even though they argue that suicide bombers might be driven by revenge or painful humiliation and not strategic calculation, feeling that their acts cost the lives of their enemy is give them a lot of satisfaction. For religious terrorists they say expectation for rewards in paradise and some compensation for their families could be another goal.

Despite some logic in this theory fixed definition of rationality putting huge number of behaviours under rational choice label is one of the main drawbacks. Thus falsification of this theory becomes difficult, thus not applicable for this study. Secondly hard to use it on its own and needs to be incorporated in other theories of terrorism.

### **1.9.3 Social Identity Theory**

This theory focus on ways in which in group identity formation influences an organization or social movement in their collective decision to resort to violence. For identity formation to result into conflict Rodriguez and Javaloy (2005) says there must a formulation of group membership and a articulation of a cultural distance between groups paving way for dehumanization necessary to victimize nonmembers. The group facilitates collective violence. Brannan, Esler and Strindberg (2001) cognitive of recognizing that one part of a group, followed by evaluation of either agents registers that the group has positive or negative value and finally emotional aspect where membership prompts either love or hate for the group or those not part of the group. In the end social identity is as a result of these evaluations reinforced with stereotypes.

Thus differentiation of cultural attributes results in social distance that motivates rationalization of violence. This theory agrees that terrorist aren't abnormal individual but fellows who suffer from psychological aversions to violence as are found in general populations.

### 1.10 Conceptual Framework

Orodho 2004 defines a conceptual framework as a model of presentation whereby a researcher represents the relationships between variables in the study. The researcher clearly highlights the specific relations of the dependent variable. In this study therefore the demand side (Unemployment and Marginalization) are the independent variables, while terrorism is the dependent variable.

#### INDEPENDENT VARIABLE

#### DEPENDENT VARIABLE

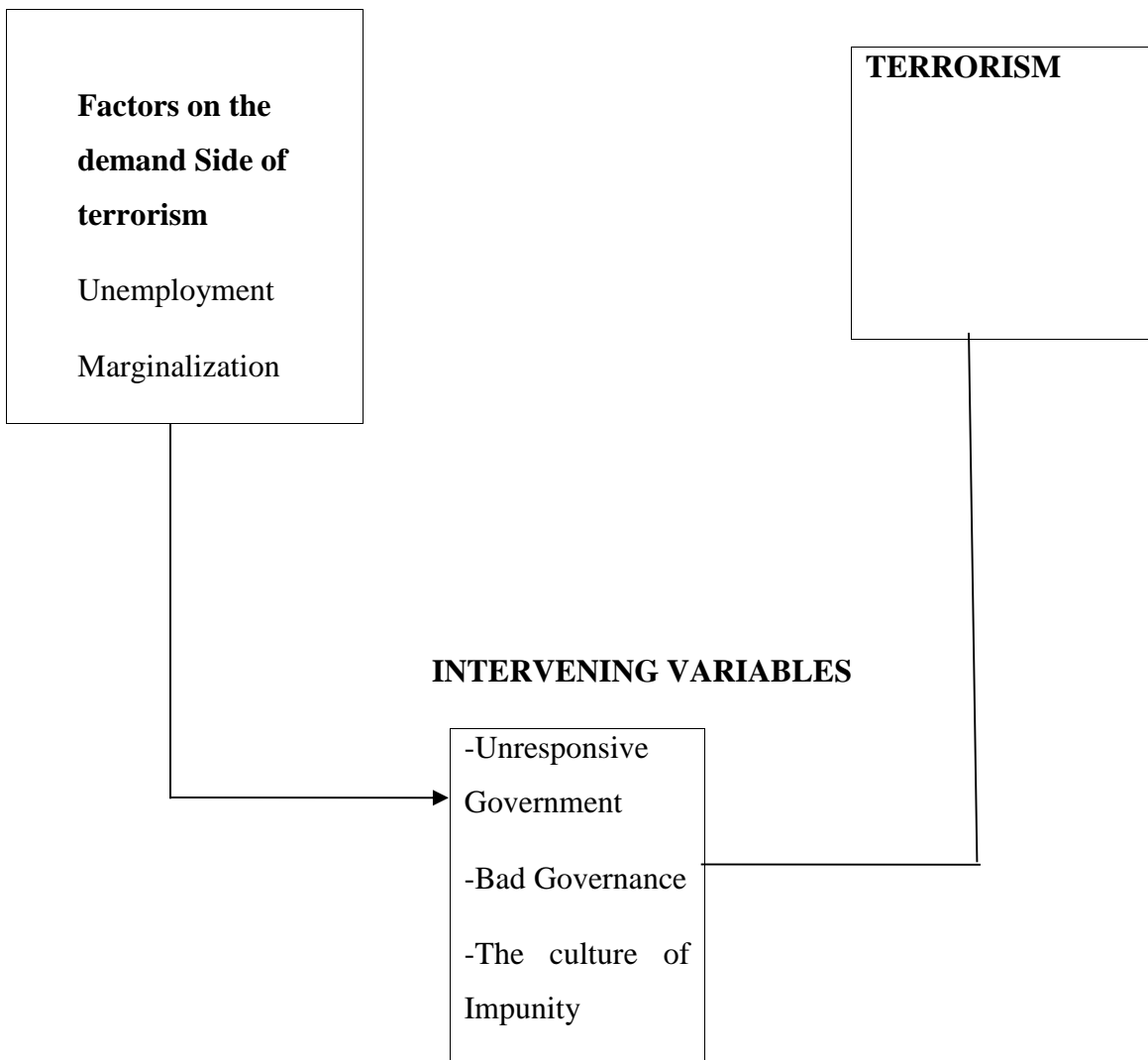


Figure 1.1: Conceptual Framework

The researcher in the above framework posits that the demand side of terrorism refers to those factors that force people to embrace terrorism as a means of fighting against perceived injustices. Therefore the study regards factors on the demand side as Unemployment and Radicalization. While the intervening variables are those factors that aid the spread terrorism agenda. These intervening variables were listed as the radicalization and recruitment of the youth. Once the intervening variables are linked up with the independent variable, there must be an impact on the dependent variable. If the intervening variables are removed and those independent variables on the demand side are addressed, then terrorism will be dealt with hands down by the Kenyan government.

### **1.11 Research Hypothesis**

The study sought to test the following assumptions

- i) Historical Marginalization of the citizens of the Coast Region is a key driver of terrorism activities in the Coast region
- ii) High rates of unemployment among the youth in coast region are responsible for the rising cases of Terrorism in the area.

### **1.12 Methodology of the Study**

#### **1.12.1 Methods of Data Collection**

This study adopted two sources of data collection, namely primary sources and secondary sources. Primary sources included the use of questionnaires and the interviews from the respondents, while secondary sources relied on books, academic journals, articles, publications, speeches as well as documentaries.

#### **1.12.2 Research Design**

The study used a descriptive survey design. The descriptive survey design was useful as it enabled the researcher to acquire accurate information for a larger number of respondents from various categories using a small sample that was well represented and captured the typical characteristics of the target population.

### **1.12.3 Target Population**

The target population for this study was grouped into several categories; they included 172 religious heads of various denominations, 140 administrators who were at the level of ward, sub-county, county and regional levels, 88 youth leaders of various youth groups across the 6 counties of the Coast Region, 85 security officers of the senior ranks across the six counties, and 120 members of the civil society groups that operates across the six counties of the Coast Region. This target population totaled up to 600 respondents. The researcher conducted face to face interviews specifically with the administrative officers, religious leaders, youth leaders, security officers, and members of the civil society groups. The entire numbers of respondents from different categories were residents of the Kenyan Coast Region. For the purposes of in-depth information. Questionnaires were distributed to the remaining population under each cluster in order to obtain the perceptions of the study population of various variables under the study.

### **1.12.4 Sample Size**

The research had a sample size of 60 respondents of the target population. This figure represented 10% of the target population, the justification of this figure was drawn from Mugenda & Mugenda's ideas (1999) on a descriptive survey design whereby a large population can be studied using a small sample that will cut across all the six counties in the Coast area. Since the target population figure was too high and difficult for the researcher to get the exact number of each individual from each cluster per county. The study sampled 17 religious heads of various denominations, 14 administrators who were at the level of ward, sub-county, county and regional levels, 8 youth leaders of various youth groups across the 6 counties of the Coast Region, 9 security officers of the senior ranks across the six counties, and 12 members of the civil society groups that operates across the six counties of the Coast Region. This sample population totaled up to 60 respondents. Out of the sample size of 60 respondents, at least 20 respondents were of either gender, this was in line with the constitutional requirement of 1/3 gender rule. These members were strategically important in giving information in as far as policy-making and policy implementation was concerned.



### **1.12.5 Sampling Technique**

For convenience and economy, Stratified sampling was used for the purposes of obtaining primary data. Stratified sampling technique identifies subgroups within a population and their proportions in each subgroup a sample will be picked which represents the typical characteristics of the population. The purpose of employing this technique was to group a population into homogeneous subsets in a bid to ensure that there is equitable representation of the population in the sample. The respondents in this study included the officers from the relevant administrative offices that are tasked with the duties of policymaking, implementation as well as policy execution, religious leaders, young people, business people as well as opinion leaders. The researcher distributed the questionnaire and the guiding questions to all the respondents prior to the interviews.

### **1.12.6 Data Analysis**

#### **1.12.6.1 Validity**

In order to boost the validity of the research instruments, the researcher adopted the split-half method as prescribed by Coolican. According to this method, The researcher handed over the research instruments to different experts in research like the supervisor and course colleagues in research, to ascertain their content and construct validity, their suggestions were included in the research instruments so as to improve on them.

#### **1.12.6.2 Methods of Data Analysis**

Since this study was both qualitative and quantitative in nature, Quantitative data analyzed using descriptive statistics. Descriptive statistics refers to the use of measures of central tendencies such as the mean, percentages, tables; graphs and the use of pie charts. The researcher used the Descriptive statistics method of analysis to enable the study to avoid generalizations in its findings beyond the sample. Qualitative data analyzed using content analysis where raw data drawn from the interviews and desk research were merged and organized into a coherent form using script narration.

### **1.12.6.3 Ethical Considerations**

The major ethical problem in this study was the issue confidentiality of all the participants. Matters dealing with terrorism are sensitive and most people in the Coast Region were afraid to discuss this subject because of the heavy presence of police in the area and the surveillance of the security officers. Secondly, the researcher aimed at interacting with the security officers in getting relevant information about this subject matter, however, this was impossible because most of those officers were not comfortable in discussing government matters with the public for fear of losing their jobs. Secondly, in this era of espionage and wiki-leaks, the inter-state intelligence networks and the ongoing war in Somalia, government officials are usually suspicious of the researchers, the study could be seen in one way or another as a method of spying the Kenyan government, thirdly the study will go to an extent of accessing specific information from government officials in the security sector, this means an infringement on people's privacy too and confidentiality of respondents they swore to the government will be breached, but this is the only surest way to construct a sampling frame as well as generating a representative sample. However, the respondents will be at liberty to ignore items on the questionnaire and the guiding questions which they will not be comfortable in responding to the respondents who will wish to remain anonymous their wish will be respected. Another ethical consideration the researcher adhered to was the issue of getting consent from the respondents before interviewing them.

## **CHAPTER TWO: THE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE FACTORS ON THE DEMAND SIDE OF TERRORISM**

### **2.0 The Introduction**

This section dealt with the historical perspectives of the factors on the demand side of Terrorism, among other things the study looked at the major causes of terrorism combining all the factors from the demand side and the supply side. More emphasis was placed on factors on the demand side. The section then concluded by looking at the impact of terrorism on society.

### **2.1 The Major Causes of Terrorism**

A number of authors such as Stern (2011), Change Africa Institute (2008), Khan (2008), Prehat (2007), Merrill (2009) Hoffman (2004), and Moech (2011) have all listed the major causes and impacts of terrorism in any environment that it happens. Some of the causes of terrorism are discussed below:

#### **2.1.1 The Role of Ideology**

Stern (2011) observes that individuals have got a variety of reasons that make them join terrorist groups. He notes that just as people have different reasons in choosing their career or professions, so does the individual terrorists. This is because they are influenced by among other reasons market forces, social networks, contacts with recruiters, levels of education as well as individual preferences. He, therefore, argues that since most states have failed to inculcate the feelings of nationalism and patriotism in their citizens' hearts and minds. The terrorist groups find it easier to radicalize and recruit such kinds of citizens to their activities. The terrorist groups have always taken advantage of the said gap to ensure that they recruit as many members as possible. For instance, the Al-Shabaab terrorist group has been feeding its recruits with the Doctrine of the 72 virgins and heavy rewards in heaven after participating in terrorist activities. These ideologies have served to brainwash most young people gaining traction hence a heavy following for the Al-Shabaab terror group at Coast Region according to various government reports such as the 2015 and 2016 Press release by the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of Government services.

### **2.1.2 Ignorance and Lack of Education**

Hoffman (2004) noted that most people have never properly understood the meaning of Islam and the Islamic religion. This makes them be vulnerable to fall in traps of less educated and self-appointed and declared imams. The writer cites an experience of Netherlands, whereby the Hafstadt group that consisted of majorly young Dutch nationals of Moroccan origin who designed what a police intelligence officer described as a “do-it-yourself” version of Islam. Based on what the group learned about from the internet and in part, from the teachings of a self-taught Syrian Imam who was a former drug dealer. The writer again observes that the government of Saudi Arabia accepted that there was a lot of ignorance when it comes to the teachings about the true nature of Islam. Abnormality was identified as the main cause of terrorism, additionally, he warned that some Imams selectively read religious texts, to indoctrinate vulnerable youth, hence justifying violence and extremism and terrorist activities. The same case can be said of the Kenyan Coast Region where some of the Muslim leaders have come out openly and admitted that some of its Imams most of them self-declared have been teaching the Muslim faithful a distorted version of Islam.

### **2.1.3 Expression of Identity**

Precht (2007) argued that young people all over the world are joining terrorist groups because they are trying to discover themselves and their identities. He gave an example of Russia, Israel, USA and Iraq. Whereby even if the terrorist groups have achieved their ideological objectives they are still fighting and pursuing terrorist activities in search of their identities, fun and profit making.

In 2010, the United States Institute of Peace found that among the 2,032 foreign fighters who joined Al-Qaeda, the main reason most of these respondents gave was the issue of seeking their identities. Most of them were University students, secondary students and primary pupils who were in their adolescence stage. The research also discovered that most of these young people had a very bad experience in their young age such as torture from their benefactors, violent parents, turbulent family issues, as well as rape and sodomy. These kinds of experiences are what motivated them to join terrorist groups.

#### **2.1.4 Radicalization**

Precht (2010) noted that terrorist groups are fond of targeting those individuals who are already criminals or were previous criminals. This, therefore, means that engagement in any form of criminality makes an individual be vulnerable to radicalization. The author, therefore, suggested to governments on the need to closely monitor convicts and those criminals under probation from being radicalized by terror groups. The author also added most of the recruiters are fond of spreading their ideology and radicalization policy through social media and the internet. This has assisted them in recruiting as many young people as possible. A number of radicalization manuals are being circulated on the internet and social media according to the author. This material frequently indicates footages of terrorist attacks and graphics and brutal images of people being killed. In some cases, they show the deaths of innocent Muslims. The same scripts have also played out in Kenya and highlighted in the Kenyan media painting the picture of what is happening at the Coast Region.

The major aim of this liveliness is to enhance the credibility and reputation of terrorist groups in order to justify their activities. In the UK for example, Sibernachacha (2015) noted that evidence suggested that radicalization among the young tends to occur in places where terrorist ideologies, and those that promote them, go uncontested and are not exposed to free, open and balanced debate and challenge.

#### **2.1.5 Marginalization and Oppression**

Moech (2011) noted that terrorist attacks are a means of revenge on a society that terrorist groups believe to be responsible for their predicament. The terrorist groups usually promise the terrorist that paradise is waiting for them where life there is bliss as opposed to their current status. These recruits are motivated by these ideologies. Also, the state and governments at times may sideline a community from development matters, it may also refuse to listen to their cries, as a result of these, a community or society feels neglected.

In order to force their governments to respond to their problems, they are forced to embrace terrorism as a strategy of pursuing their goals. Therefore marginalized communities which are characterized by the high rates of unemployment of its members are vulnerable to embrace terrorism as a strategy of seeking justice.

### **2.1.6 Poverty, Unemployment and Under Development**

Mamdani (2012) noted that among the major factors that drive individuals such as those living at the Coast Region to embrace terrorism as an ideology is under-development. He characterized under-development in terms of high levels of ignorance, poor infrastructure, lack of industrialization, high levels of corruption, and high disease burden. This scenario presents poverty that comes occasioned by a high level of unemployment to individuals in households. This whole situation makes creates a vulnerability that makes certain members in a community easy to do anything ensure the survival of their family members including joining terror groups and taking up suicide mission.

## **2.2 The Impact of Terrorism in Kenya**

Kenya has had a series of terrorist attacks. One of the deadliest and major terrorist attacks was the August 7th 1998 bombing of the US embassy in Nairobi and the Co-operative House that left 224 people dead and over 5000 brutalised. Other major attacks include; the 2009 Kikambala bombing in Kilifi County where Israel owned Paradise Hotel was bombed killing 12 and injuring 80 people, in 2015 Westgate attack claimed 67 in a four-day siege and the Garissa University terrorist attack where 148 mostly students were killed and 79 injured. The attacks combined also led to an unaccounted loss of millions worth of property. Terrorist activities according to a number of authors has had a disastrous effects on Kenya's socio-economic and political development. These impacts can be explained below.

### **2.2.1 Loss of Lives and Property**

This is the most direct and immediate impact of the indiscriminate acts of terrorism. Many Kenyans have lost their lives in a series of terrorist attacks since 1998; others have

become incapacitated due to acts of terror. Deaths occasioned by terrorism has led to trails of broken families with many dependants left behind when sole breadwinners on whom their livelihoods, future, education, health and the general well-being relied on fall victims.

Secondly, the destruction has led to the loss of business with many commercial enterprises shutting down after attacks unable to recover from the loss and trauma. In addition to these, the absence of compensation to these business owners has made their businesses to suffer a natural death. In addition to these, the government of Kenya has dedicated its priceless time, resources and energies in trying to combat the problem of terrorism. These kinds of resources instead should have been diverted to matters of infrastructural development, poverty eradication, industrialization and youth employment.

### **2.2.2 The Decline of the Tourism Sector**

Statistics show tourism as the second top foreign exchange earner after agriculture to the Kenyan economy. The sector plays a key role in cushioning Kenya's economy in bringing the needed foreign exchange to plug the government's budget deficits.

Key selling assets in terms of tourism the wildlife in the expansive national parks and game reserves that attract guests for wildlife safaris, the nature trails in Rift Valley, the flora and fauna of Mt Elgon and Mt Kenya, and the beautiful beaches on the coastal strip backed up world-class conferencing facilities hotels and lodges. Kenya has also historical sites such as the fort Jesus, the Lamu historical sites and beaches, the Kayas of the Mijikenda, which serve as a key selling point. The sector has had a steady growth since the 1980s till the 90s but today it shaky thanks to terrorism threats.

Multiple terrorist attacks has led to a drop in sector's yields by over 50% in 2011 and the subsequent years. This has lowered the government revenues as well as massive job losses occasioned by closure or reduction of hotels and tour operations. The increased presence of heavily armed police in touristic sites also served to scare away tourists, by

creating a feeling of anxiety and tension. It also serves to play into terrorist psychology of disrupting the way of life.

### **2.2.3 The Resurgence of the Black Market**

Terrorist groups such as the Al-Qaida and the Al-Shabaab have caused a lot of havoc in the neighbouring country of Somalia, leading to state collapses. As a result of these, rogue business individuals, in co-operation with the corrupt officials have taken the advantage of the confusion which exists in Somalia and lack of proper functional government to smuggle in small arms, ivory, human trafficking, drugs, charcoal and cars alongside other contraband goods. This has denied the Kenyan government on the opportunity to tax all these products so as to earn significant revenues from them. The earnings from these contrabands have been injected into the formal economy distorting property markets, in turn, they use that as a means to clean their dirty money or to launder money. Some bank officials have exploited weak banking regulations and enforcement to aid this which some of these proceeds are used to finance terror activities. Other than that smuggling in of contrabands which are sold cheaply has affected the local manufacturing as the locally produced can't compete effectively, against untaxed and unregulated contrabands. This has weakened the Kenyan economy.

### **2.2.4 Religious Animosity and Ethnic Hatred**

Without much success sustained terrorist attacks, especially where they seem to target churches and those to be deemed of other faiths. The attacks have tried to create some sort of religious contempt between Muslims and Christians and xenophobia especially against members of the Somali community.

This was witnessed when a number of churches were attacked in the Coast Region as well when quarry workers from other places were targeted and attacked in Mandera. Quoting sections of the Quran out of context and having publicised through their social media networks to justify their action to some extent has brought a feeling among some Kenyans that all Muslims condone terrorism.



State agencies alertness to tamp down incitement Kenyans resilience and resolve to advocate for peace and brotherhood has been a key weapon that has been used to fend off those divisions. Another impact of terrorism has been the weakening of the levels of social and national cohesion. This is because some Kenyans have suffered from the problem of ethnic profiling. For instance, the Somali community has been accused of being sympathizers to terrorist groups, on the mere ground that Alshabab is a Somali outfit; Also the Arab communities have also been fabricated as key partakers in the acts of terrorism and they have suffered from the problems of ethnic hatred and suspicion.

### **2.2.5 The Rise of Anti-Western Rhetoric**

As a result of the numerous terrorist attacks and terrorist incidents, the Western countries that have been supporting the Kenyan government for a number of years have consistently forced the government of Kenya to take a number of measures in mitigating the effects of terrorism. For instance, they have issued travel advisories to their citizens against visiting some parts of the country and the enactment of anti-terrorism laws which arguably are said to have been passed unconstitutionally. These anti-terrorism laws were against the will of the Kenyan public. As a result of these, the Kenyan government has experienced a lot of resistance from the citizens when it comes to anti-terrorism legislation. The law and its enforcement have not received full public backing. In addition to these, many Kenyans have come to hate the Western powers for pushing and things down their throats making the international system to be more disintegrative as opposed to being integrated.

### **2.2.6 Erosion of Kenya's Competitive Advantage**

Since the terrorist attacks became as sporadic as they were, a lot of investors that had interests in Kenya started looking for other countries where they would take their investments. Therefore Kenyans competitive advantage as a safe, investment destination has been eroded by the damaging terror attacks. Negative media publicity and the unhelpful travel advisories issued by western embassies located in the country have made the case worse.

The high rates of piracy and the insecurity that exists between the Kenyan and the Somali Coast line seriously increased the cost of basic commodities due to high costs of imports through Mombasa port. These goods have to take a longer route before arriving Mombasa and face the costs of mitigating the piracy attacks. Therefore the process of budgeting and government planning as a whole has been disrupted in the East African region due to terror-related activities. In addition to this, for a very long time, Kenya has always been seen as the gateway to the East and Central Africa. This is because it is littoral a state as opposed to the rest of the East African States which are landlocked. The regional Economies have also felt the negative effects of terrorism on Kenya as they are dependent on the country for her goods and telecommunication facilities to do business with the outside world.

### **2.3 Conclusion**

The above chapter has dealt with the issue of the major causes and effects of terrorism to Kenya as it argued by a number of scholars. It should be noted that the terrorist groups used to target Kenya for its associations with Western powers that terror groups perceived as enemies. The main targets then were foreign interest business but today the attacks not only targets foreign interests but they target Kenyan interests and the reason is beyond the association with western powers but also Kenya's involvement in the war in Somalia and its proximity to the war-torn country.

## **CHAPTER THREE: DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION**

### **3.0 The Introduction**

This chapter presents among other things data which was collected from the field in an organized form. Secondly, it analyzes both the qualitative and the quantitative data collected from the field.

### **3.1 The Response Rate**

The study had aimed at interviewing 60 respondents. This was done by distributing 45 questionnaires and 15 interviews guides. out of the 45 questionnaires that were distributed, only 36 questionnaires were returned and out of the 15 individuals whom the researcher wanted to interview, only 12 of them turned up for the interviews. Therefore the response rate was 45 respondents out of the targeted 60 respondents. This means that the response rate was 75%.

**Table 3.1: Response rate**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Questionnaire</b>		<b>Face-face-interview</b>	
	<b>Responded</b>	<b>N/Responded</b>	<b>Responded</b>	<b>Not responded</b>
Frequency	36	9	12	3
Percentage	75%	25%	80%	20%
Total	36	9	12	3

### **3.2 The Demographics of the Respondents**

The pie charts and the tables in this section give the demographics of the respondents. This includes their gender, age, and levels of their education.

#### **3.2.1 The Gender of the Respondents**

The pie charts and the tables shown in this section show the demographics of the respondents. This includes the gender of the respondents, the age of the respondents as well as their levels of education. The purpose of this study is twofold. First and foremost

is to justify how the sample was distributed in a manner that was most representative, secondly is to get first-hand information from all the gender types on the issues under study.

### 3.2.2 The Gender of the Respondents

The gender of the respondents is explained in the table below:

**Table 3.2: Gender of the Respondents**

<b>Gender</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Male	33	73.3%
Female	12	26.7%
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100%</b>

Table 3.2.1

The above table indicates that one third gender rule was not met. This means that the respondents were not evenly distributed in terms of gender; this is because there were so many men than women. This shows that that the levels of women empowerment has not effectively taken root in the Coast Region. Therefore most women in these areas are more passive citizens rather than proactive. This skewness of the study, however, didn't in any way compromise the quality and representation of my sample as at least the study was able to secure 12 women who participated constituting 26 per cent.

### 3.2.3 The Respondents Level of Education

**Table 3.3: Respondent Levels of Education**

<b>Educational level</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Primary	6	13.3%
O-level	22	48.9%
Certificate	4	8.9%
Diploma	5	11.1%
Degree	8	17.8%
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100%</b>

The above table shows that majority of the respondents had at least attained O-level certificate and primary education academic qualification; this consisted of 48.9% and 13.5% respectively. Very few respondents had certificates onwards.

For instance, only 4 respondents had a certificate, 5 respondents had a Diploma while 8 respondents had a University degree onwards. This consisted of 8.9%, 11.1% and 17.8% respectively. The above finding points to and reinforces early studies that education at the Coast is yet to be fully embraced.

This partly contributes to high levels of unemployment of people from this region, especially in formal government jobs. As without necessary academic qualification, they are unable to compete in the job market. Therefore in this region, there is deep-rooted ignorance.

Where ignorance thrives poverty and underdevelopment becomes prone made worse by continuous marginalization by successive unresponsive government regimes.

### 3.2.4 Age of the Respondents

**Table 3.4: Age of the Respondents**

Age of the respondents	Frequency	Percentage
20-29	9	20%
30-39	14	31.1%
40-49	10	22.2%
50-59	9	20%
60-69	2	4.4%
Above 70	1	2.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>100%</b>

The table above table shows that most of the respondents were of the ages between 30—39 which consisted of 31.1% followed by that of 40-49 which were 22.2% and 50-59% which was also 20%, respectively the ages of 60-69, and above 70 consisted of 2 and one respondents. This constituted of 4.4% and 2.2% respectively.

Therefore the findings of this study show, youths constituted the majority of respondents with over 73% of the respondents constituted of the ages below 50. Therefore the population of the people in the Coast region can be termed as dominantly composed of young people. This makes it even complicated for the government to engage this population in all forms and shape since most of them are unemployed, and unhappy with their lives as a result of the perceptions they have of being marginalized.

### 3.3 Marginalization, Inequalities and Disparities in Kenya

As per Mamdani (2012), marginalization is the experience of living between two asymmetrically disproportionate worlds. It also refers to the statics-based social attributes afforded to the elite relative to that of the impoverished. According to a survey done by the Commission on Revenue allocation (2012). The report dubbed; “A survey report on marginalized areas/counties in Kenya,” noted that the genesis of marginalization in Kenya lies in the colonial period whereby the British colonialists developed certain parts

of Kenya at the expense of others. The report notes that the colonialists concentrated their development activities in highland areas and in areas that were near the railway line and neglected those that were far away from the railway line. The report further speaks of the independent government of not bringing a paradigm shift from the colonialists' style of governance. Instead of addressing the colonial mistakes they proceeded with the colonialist's way of developing certain areas while neglecting others.

The report laid all the blame squarely on the government's Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965. The paper had been developed by Tom Mboya and Mwai Kibaki. This policy document according to the report had purposed to place much development emphasis on productive areas of Kenya while neglecting the Arid and semi-arid areas in the hope that once the Kenyan economy got stronger, the proceeds from the productive areas will be able to uplift the ASAL areas in a bid to bring them at par with the rest of the country. However, due to change of governments and the dynamics of Kenyan politics over the years, this vision did not materialize.

The 2010 Constitution of Kenya defines marginalization as a consequence of a skewed process of the distribution of scarce resources. The same Constitution continues to explain that it's a process of social exclusion of certain groups of people or regions from the dominant socio-economic, cultural and political structures. Most of the respondents whom this study contacted were in agreement that Kenya is a country that is highly affected by the problem of marginalization. This marginalization is at the political, economic and at the social levels, we the Coast Region too familiar to this as they have been victims since colonial days. The end result of all these forms of marginalization has been the rising cases of insecurity and the rising costs of living beside the worsening ethnic divisions in Kenya.

The study found out that the 2010 Constitution has provisions intended to address the problem of marginalization in Kenya through affirmative action programs and policies designed to redress on past sufferings and discrimination.

The Commission on Revenue Allocation (CRA) has tried to come up with various methods of measuring regional disparities and providing solutions by allocating some revenues to disadvantaged counties to bridge disparities but this has elicited massive debates and competing interests. This is because almost all the communities in Kenya are complaining to be victims of marginalization. Regional Disparities according to the CRA report (2012) are a multifaceted concept encompassing dimensions such as convergence, inequality and polarization. The report further argues that in fact if there are so many disparity indicators that even when analyzing a specific dimension, it is not an easy task to choose among them. This being the case, the report concludes that the best practice usually involves the use of different indicators to measure the same dimension. If all indicators point to the same direction, one can be fairly sure that the results are robust.

Since the 2010 Constitution demands any public decision to be made and taken citizens must be involved through public participation. Therefore in identifying marginalized areas in Kenya, the CRA report (2012) sought the views from Kenyans with regards to the criteria which they can use in identifying marginalized regions in Kenya. This study was done in all the 47 counties. Kenyans from all these counties came up with various parameters that were to be used in identifying marginalized areas. They also identified a number of counties which they thought were marginalized and a large number of the suggested came from the Coast Region. The report further discovered that even within counties in the Coast region, there were some specific sub-counties or wards that were extremely marginalized.

Therefore the findings of this study concurred with those of the CRA report 2012, in that most of the respondents felt that the entire Coast Region was marginalized. They cited the levels of poor infrastructure, high poverty levels, high levels of ignorance, widespread diseases and constant neglect by the successive governments as the major indicators of marginalization in this area hence the rising demand of terrorism as means of addressing these inequalities. In other words, the study confirmed hypothesis number 1 of this study that it is indeed true that Marginalization of the citizens in the Coast Region has been the



leading factor of the Demand side of Terrorism in the region. All the respondents from the six counties of the Kenyan Coast Region agreed that there is actually no evidence that Coast Region has ever benefited from any government since independence.

They cited the issue of land, whereby it's mostly the people from upcountry commonly referred to as "bara" who came to the region and took away huge chunks of lands while leaving the indigenous people of the Coast Region landless. They also cited the issue of infrastructural development, whereby they observed that from the website of the Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure, very few kilometres of roads were tarmacked in the area as compared to other regions in "bara", the problem of inadequate clean water, under-developed health care system, dilapidated schools and very few institutions of higher learning (university) before 2012 was evidence that the Coast Region was highly marginalized. The ripple effects for all these forms of marginalization according to the respondents was the major factor that made young people to embrace terrorism as a strategy of dealing with this perceived forms of injustices in the name of marginalization.

All these assertions by the people of Coast Region concur with the findings of The Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission Report (TJRC) of (2012) that land-question continues to be a lingering proof that the entire Coast Region is marginalized. Also, the report cites historical injustices such as the Kaya-Bombo clashes and the "Pwani Si Kenya" movement crackdown, where the citizens of these areas were brutally attacked and harmed by the police officers in a bid to silence any form of resistance by these people.

The subsequent actions taken by the government of the day in relation to the people of the Coast region was pure marginalization in form of skewed development in certain parts of The Kenyan Coast Region at the expense of others. This region according to the TJRC report (2012) were mainly in urban centres and the peri-urban areas whereas the rural areas were completely ostracized.

### **3.4 Major Causes of Marginalization in Coast Region**

A study conducted by the Fredric Ebert-Stiff-Tung Foundation (2014), on "The state of marginalization in Kenya," notes that marginalization can be caused by various factors which differ from one region to the other. Among the causes of marginalization in the Coast Region, the report says includes centralization of power, bad governance and an overall poor performance of the Kenyan Economy.

This begun with the Kenyatta I (first Kenyan President Jomo Kenyatta) administration that denied several communities from the entire Coast Region to have no access to key economic assets such as the port of Mombasa. The report explains that the successive administration of Moi (Daniel Toroitich Moi-the second president of Kenya), and Mwai Kibaki (the third president of Kenya) centralized political power which limited the practice of decision making processes to the duties which in turn led to corruption. The end result is that socioeconomic challenges got magnified or increased at the Coast Region. These socio-economic challenges were reflected in the absolute poverty in rural and urban areas of the Coast Region, weak infrastructure, and high levels of food insecurity, bad governance and very little social services by the government at the grassroots. This created a perception of the distance decay of people at the Coast Region and their national government that sits in Nairobi. The only strategy which could be used to make those in power to turn their attention to the Coast Region was the use of terrorism, since terrorism does not only cause fear, but it also intimidates governments.

Consequently, for a very long time, the people of the Coast Region have been stereotyped as lazy, ignorant, unproductive and mean. The situation has been compounded by the ethnic divide between the Arab-Swahilis and the Mijikenda communities. The indigenous African communities have always harboured the feelings that the Arabs committed historical atrocities to their forefathers during the slave trade and have since controlled and exploited the region's factors of production to their disadvantage.

### **3.5 Marginalization and Terrorism in the Coast Region**

Although Kenya has been struggling with the problem of marginalization and the persistent challenge of unbalanced regional development, the successive governments have tried to put in place intervention measures to reverse this problem especially at the Coast Region; however regional disparities and imbalances both politically, economically and socially seem to have defied these interventions and still persist.

The World Bank Report (2007) on the well-being of Kenya and Kenyans identified all these disparities. The report listed the number of Kenyans living below the poverty index as lowest in Central Kenya followed by Rift Valley, Nyanza, Eastern, Western, Coast and North Eastern then provinces. The same report also indicated that the poverty incidence has always been rising in Coast and Northeastern provinces. The report further noted that these disparities also existed between urban and rural areas. It cited 85% of poor Kenyans reside in rural areas while the remaining 15% resided in slums and peri-urban settlements in urban areas in the entire Coast Region, the percentage of hard-core poverty in the Coast Region increased from 7.6% in 1997 to 13.2 in 2005/06. At the same time, the report highlighted that a child born in Coast province could expect to live 16 years less than a person born in Central Kenya, while 93% of adult women in Coast province had no education at all, only 3% of adult women in the Central province had never been to school. The same report noted that 19% of school going children in coast province enrolled in primary school in 2005/06, against 87% in the Central province. The report moreover argued that the citizens living in urban areas were more likely to have an access to health care, schools, adequate and clean water than their counterparts in rural areas.

At the national level, the report argued that 10% of the richest households in central Kenya owned about 36% of the national wealth, while the poorest 10% control less than 2%. In the Coast region, for example, the report established that about 74% of people living in Coast province are poor, against only 30% of those in Central province. It's this high poverty rate among the people of Coast province that makes them exceptionally vulnerable to radicalization and indoctrination by the terrorist groups such as the Al-

Shabaab. Therefore terrorism becomes a commodity that is on a high demand is nurtured and watered heavily by marginalisation at the Coast Region.

Therefore the study concludes that negative effects of the marginalization in the Coast Region been the increment of unemployment and under-employment levels, rising cases of poverty and disempowerment of women who are married off while still underage.

Kanyinga (2006) observes that Regional inequalities and imbalances in Kenya have increasingly become a source of political and social conflict. He cites that the ethnic clashes of 1992 in Likoni, the 2007 post-election violence (PEV,) among others emerged because of the perceived problem of marginalization and skewed distribution of resources by the successive governments. He, therefore, suggests that in order to address the problem of regional disparities in Kenya a fresh approach that offers a multi-faceted and multispectral framework which fosters more balanced economic development in the country would be the best way out. he also warns that if all these mechanisms are not well coordinated, the problem of regional disparities in Kenya is here to stay.

### **3.6 The Political Dynamics of Regional Disparities and Marginalization in Kenya**

A study by the Society for International Development (SID) titled Readings on Quality in Kenya: Sectorial Dynamics and Perspectives (2006) concluded marginalization and inequalities in Kenya is complex and paradoxical. This is because Kenyans believe that once a region has been excluded it's an ethnic community that is being targeted. Once someone from an ethnic group has been appointed to a government position, it's the entire community that benefits.

The second discovery which the study made is that when a particular region appears to be having a significant level of advantages, such advantages are not shared nationally and only benefits a few groups of elites and not the entire community. Therefore the report warns against the idea of believing that certain communities are the main cause of the rising poverty levels of the other communities. This is because within such communities there are many poor and very few rich people.

Thirdly the Report found out that although it's a fact that Kenya is a country that is characterized by the problem of high inequalities, and disparities in the composition and recruitment of officers running the public sector. The report warns that these inequalities and disparities do not necessarily favour any one particular ethnic group or region to the total exclusion of the others. In fact, the report warns that the colonial regime and the successive governments disfavoured and disadvantaged different regions and group of citizens.

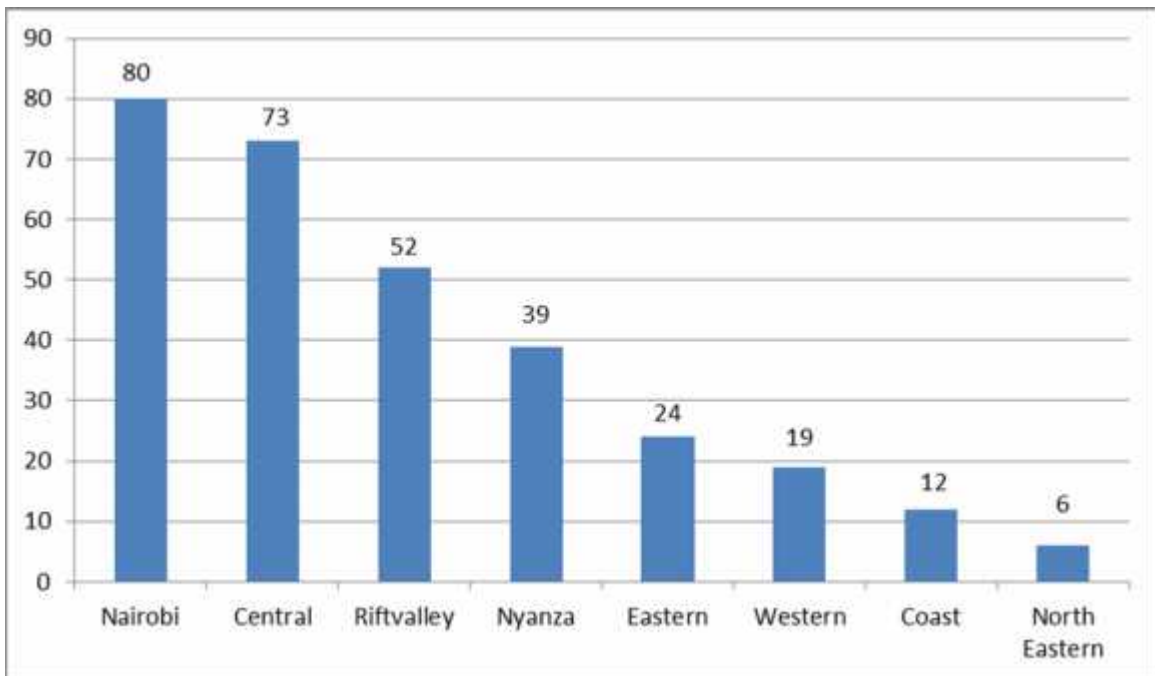
The other findings of the study show that there is no single region or community that was totally disadvantaged or completely marginalized because different communities and regions have different population sizes which seem to enjoy different advantages. The report additionally emphasizes that every new government usually comes up with their own elites who benefit different regions and groups of elites. In parliamentary representation, for example, the reports adds that there is evidence that minorities are in fact more represented than the numerically large groups.

The final finding of the study is that successive governments in Kenya made very little efforts in equalizing development by either allocating promoting fairness in the issue of resource allocation and trying to uplift historically disadvantaged areas for instance the Sessional Paper No.1 of 1980 on Economic management of renewed economic growth which stated that income gaps would be addressed by raising the productivity and income of farmers, herdsmen and workers of the informal sector. The report concludes by asking, since the percentage of national governments funds that have been dedicated to matters development has always been very low since independence, it has always been below 20% of the overall budget, would the problem of regional inequalities be resolved even if the allocation of resources was done fairly to all regions/communities or marginalized areas?

Despite all these findings, the report does not in any way dispute the fact that the problem of marginalization be it individual, regional or ethnic has always had a negative impact on national security.

### 3.7 The Nexus Between Unemployment and Terrorism in the Kenyan Coast Region

The practice of employment is regarded as a way of shielding individuals from extreme poverty and multiple deprivations. According to a report written by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation (2015) the rate of unemployment in Kenya varies from one region to the other, for instance, the report explains that the variations in wage employment over the period 2008- 2010, showed that Nairobi region had the highest number of wage labourers. It was followed by Rift valley, central and Nyanza employees, while Western, Eastern, Coast Region among the least, and the worst-hit region with low wage labourers according to the report was North Eastern region. Therefore going by the above figures, the report demonstrates to us that the Kenyan coast region is one of the regions that is affected by low levels of wage labourers.



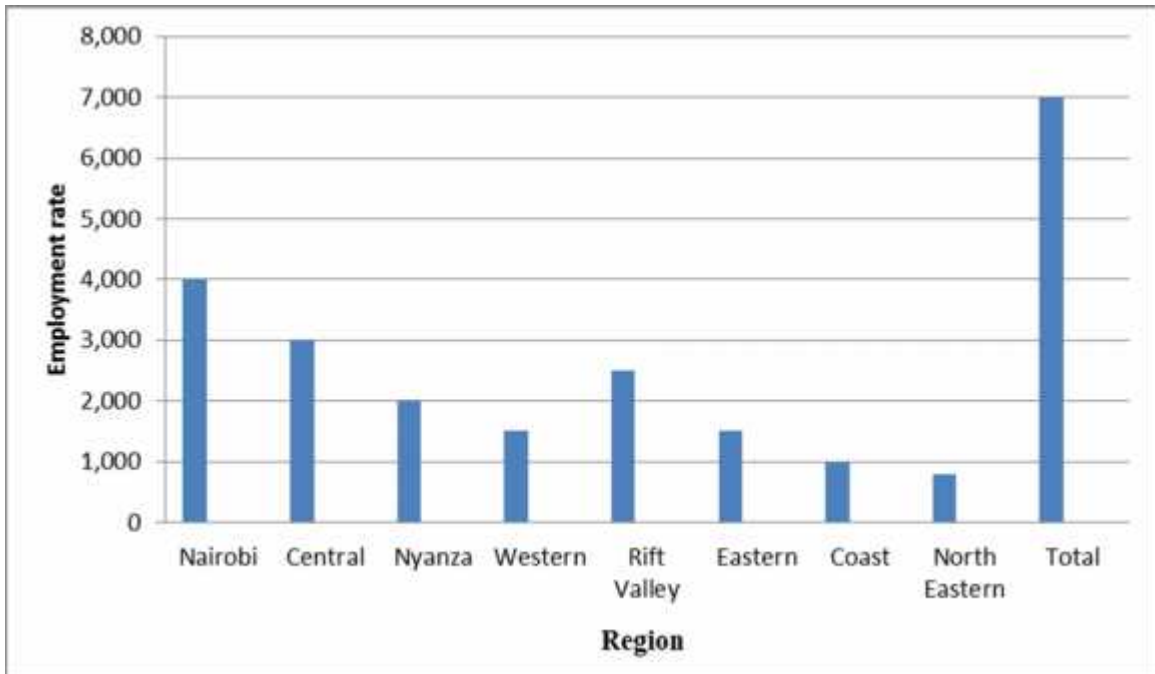
**Figure 3.1 Wage employment rate per region**

Source: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung foundation report 2015

The above diagram shows that Nairobi region leads in regards to wage labour while the North Eastern region is the region that contains the least number of wage labourers at 6%. The Coast Region come in at second last region with low levels of wage employment at 12%. Whereas this study notes that the problem of unemployment affects all the region. However, it appreciates the fact that some regions are worst hit by the high levels of unemployment, unlike others. The findings of the above report correspond with the findings of the World Bank Development Report (2011) on unemployment and participation in violence which explained that high levels of unemployment act as breeding grounds for terrorist groups and other gangs who find it easier to recruit such groups of the unemployed youths that are vulnerable. These findings were confirmed during the study by most respondents who agreed that indeed, high rates of unemployment contribute to the upsurge of the acts of terrorism. The above variations in the rate of unemployment confirm regional disparities in Kenya due to marginalization.

### **3.8 Regional Disparities in Informal Sector Employment**

According to the World Bank Report in Kenya, 2011 the informal sector segment employs more than 52% of Kenyans. Therefore there is no way that a Kenyan economy can ignore the informal sector. This informal sector is characterized by activities such as the Jua sector mitumba business, touting, hawking, as well as self-employment on a small-scale basis. Therefore this study notes that trends in informal sector employment in Kenya also a clear manifestation of considerable regional disparities as illustrated in the figure below.



**Figure 3.2: Regional disparities in informal sector employment**

From the above diagram, it can be seen that the Nairobi region leads with the highest number of labourers in the informal sector employment. Its followed by the Rift Valley region and Central Kenya area respectively, North-Eastern region and the Coast Region still remain the regions in Kenya that have got a lesser number of employees in the informal sector. The report continues to add that in terms of informal sector employment proportions or share, Nairobi accounts for an average of 24-4% of the total informal sector employment. It's then followed by Rift Valley, at 18.9% Central at 15.8% 12.4% Nyanza 11.7%. Eastern, 9% for Western and 7.3% in Coast, while North Eastern Kenya accounts for 25%.

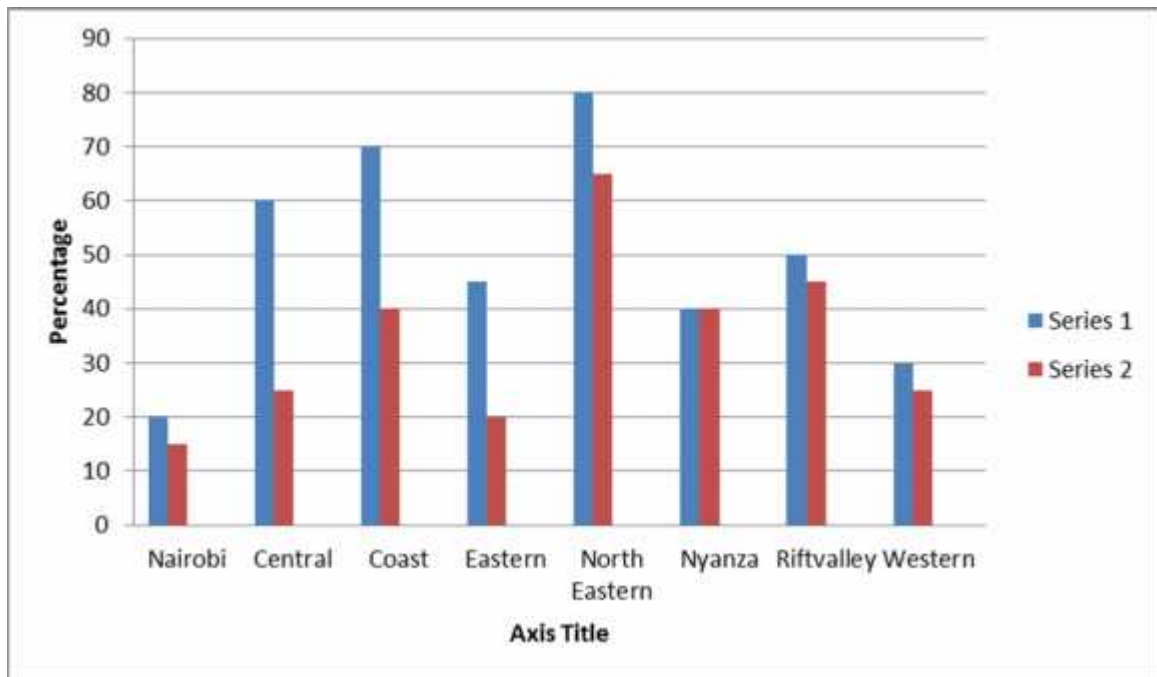
In the context of the urban, rural divide, the report argues that the number of citizens engaged in the informal sector in urban areas increased from 33.9% of the total informal sector employment in 2005 to 39%, in 2010. Over the years the report concludes that the proportion of informal sector employees has been higher in the rural areas than in the urban areas.



However, most of the key respondents that were engaged in this study argued that although the informal sector is a major source of employment in Kenya. It is so precarious in nature and presents decent work deficits. The jobs that this sector created are characterized by job insecurity, poor wages and unfair terms and conditions of employment, as well as the absence of institutionalized social protection mechanisms. Other manifestations of decent work deficits in the sector according to the report are the weak workplace safety and poor health standards, low job tenure among others.

From the discussions held by a number of respondents, this study established that since the informal sector employees 50% of the Coast residents. This means that a significant number of coastal residents are in the informal sector. However, they are not as happy as people would expect. Since the jobs they are engaged in the informal sector are characterized by challenges such as job insecurity, poor wages, unfair terms and conditions of employment as well as the problem of the absence of institutionalized social protection mechanisms, poor working environments, poor job tenure among others. Therefore most respondents argued that this situation makes the coastal residents most of whom are underemployed to be vulnerable to terrorist groups when they come in to recruit new members. Also the desire to earn a better living makes the young people embrace terrorism as a survival means in a bid to meet their life basic needs as well as looking for better places of work and activities that give them a just and reasonable wages, has a job security to them and their families, and terrorists offer such issues that most these people are looking for.

### 3.9 Youth and Adult Unemployment Rates per Region in 2015, 2016



**Key** ■ Youth Unemployment ■ Adult unemployment

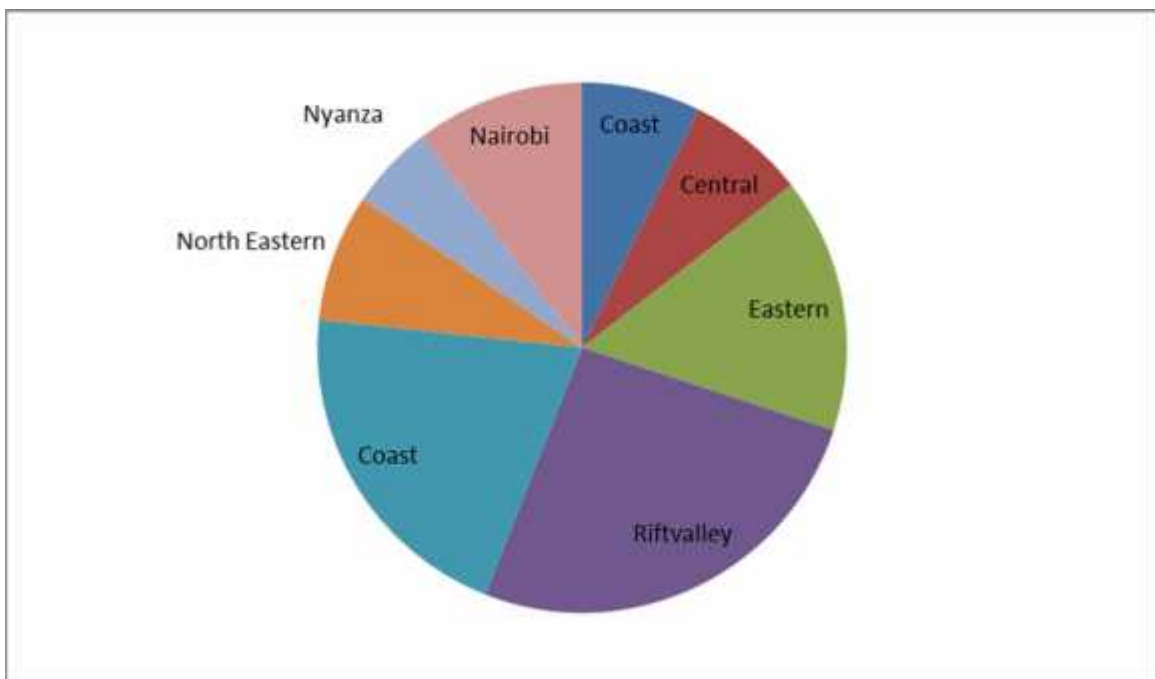
**Figure 3.3: Youth and adult unemployment rates per region in 2015, 2016**

This data was derived from the 2015/16 report by the Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey. The report revealed that the rates of youth unemployment vary from one region to another. It's the highest in North Eastern, Coast and Central Kenya respectively. However, the report was quick to point out that due to rural-urban migration, there is no link that it's the dominant tribes living in a region that experiences high levels of unemployment than others. The report also established that there were very high rates of youth unemployment as compared to the adult unemployment all over the republic. The report defined a youth as somebody who is between the ages of 15 years and 35 years. While an adult is persons who were above the age of 35 years.

From the interactions which the researcher had with the respondents. It was established that in Kenya, young people between the ages of 15-19 years, 20-24 years 28-29 years were the dominant ages that acted as the entry ages into the labour market. The report further explained that the relatively high rate of open unemployment among this entry

group emphasizes the magnitude of the Coast Region's employment inequalities and decent work deficits. Therefore this finding should guide the policy actions taken by the National government as well as all the 6 county governments that make up the Coast Region. This is because if the National government does not nor move with speed in containing this high level of youth unemployment in the Coast Region, it will be difficult to contain the problem of terrorism, because unemployment will be used as a breeding ground by the terrorist groups to recruit their members from these young Kenyans.

### 3.10 Youth Unemployment Rates per Region



Source KIHBS (2015/16)

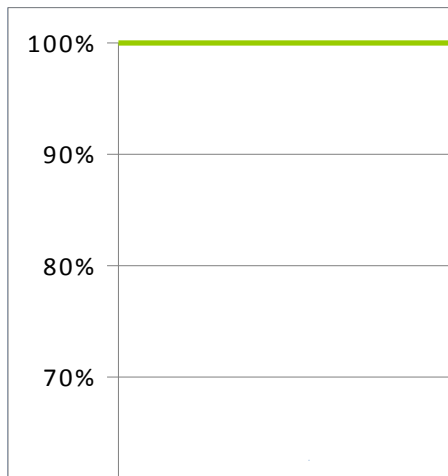
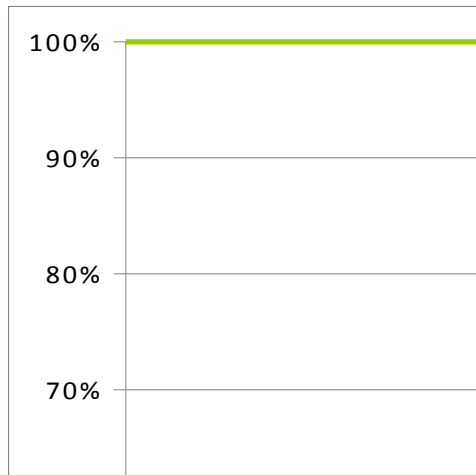
**Figure 3.4: Youth and adult unemployment rates per region in 2015, 2016**

The above diagram reveals that the Rift Valley Region contains the highest number of unemployed young people. The unemployment rate stands slightly over 1 million, followed by Coast which has over 600,000 of its youths unemployed, Central Kenya comes in position three which has over 450,000 youth who are unemployed, Nairobi comes fourth with close to 375,000 youths who are unemployed. Nyanza and

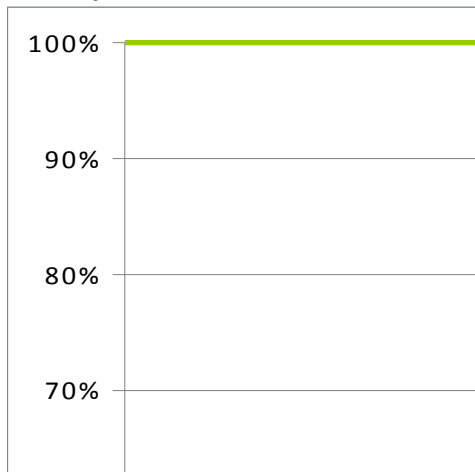
Northeastern regions are the regions that contain the least number of unemployed youths with 235,000 youths and 92,000 youths respectively.

Again from the above figures, it can be seen that the Coast Region comes second after Rift Valley region with the highest burden of unemployed youths. Although it is difficult to compare the two regions in terms of their numerical strengths the above figure reveals how the levels of youth unemployment hit a crisis stage in the entire Coast Region. No wonder according to the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR) Report in 2016 unemployment is one of the main reasons that drive the young people to join terrorist groups such as the Al-Shabaab, Al-Hijra and Isis in the Middle East. The report further added that other local gangs, such as the Wakali, Kwao, Wakali Kwanza, the Kamjesh,, Super-powers among others acted as the major recipients of the high levels of young people who are idle, unemployed, dejected and aggressive.

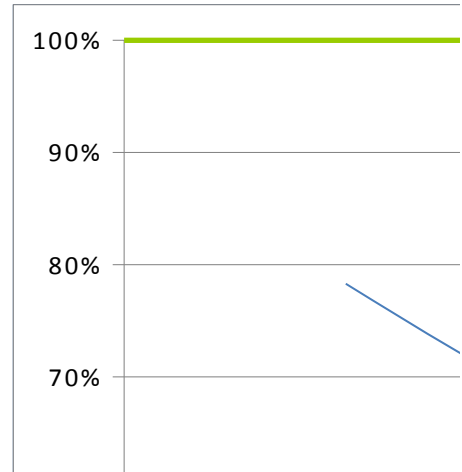
### 3.11 Youth unemployment rates per region in the last decade

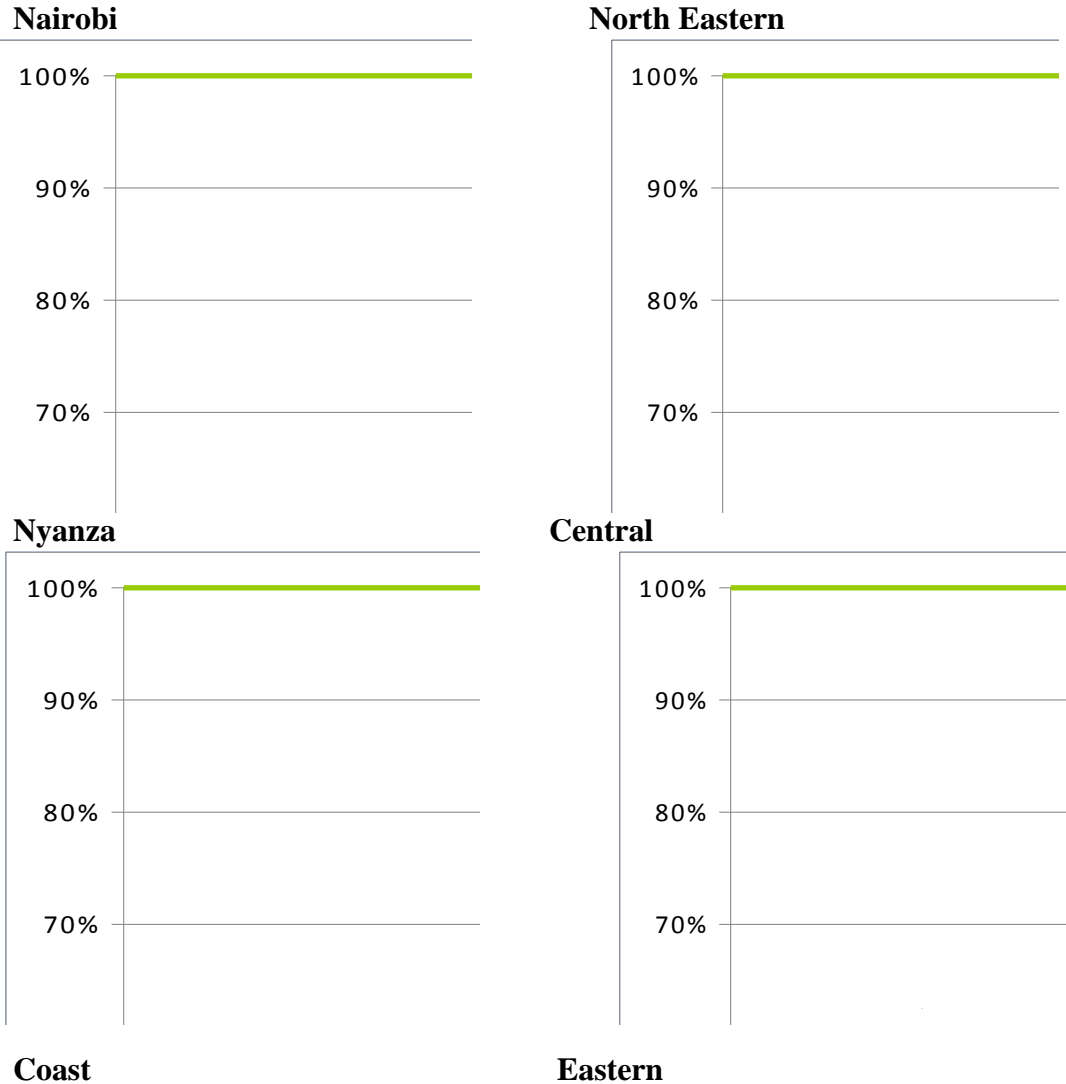


**Rift valley**



**Western**





**Figures 3.5 Youth unemployment rates per region in the last decade**

**Source: KIHBS report 2015/16**

The above figures show that there has been an increasing level of the unemployment rate in all the 8 regions of Kenya. This according to the report partly this can be explained by the higher population increase and the declining number of resources and opportunities that Kenya has. Therefore a number of respondents pointed out that Kenya is treading on very dangerous grounds if these kinds of trend continue throughout the Republic. For instance, in the case of the Coast Region of Kenya, this figure has been growing in the last 10 years according to the report. This resonates with the views of most of the respondents in this study who pointed out that year in year out, the six counties of the

Coast Region have been channeling out high number of standard eight graduates, form four graduates, university as well as middle-level colleges and tertiary institution graduates who are unable to find decent jobs within the Coast Region and in the entire Republic of Kenya. Therefore most respondents argued that these youths are so frustrated. These constant frustrations lead to the problems of aggression, hopelessness, thus escalating the cultures of violence, drugs and substance abuse as a solace for the missed opportunities. The end result is heightened insecurity levels in the Coast Region. Therefore, the study establishes a very strong linkage between high levels of unemployment to frustrations and aggression. This is where the variable of terrorism and other acts of insecurities comes in.

### **3.12 Findings of the Study**

As per the above presented and analysed data, below are the key findings from the study: First and foremost is that the threat of terrorism has negatively impacted on the economy of the Coast Region and with a ripple effect on the well-being of the national economy.

This is because apart from scaring away the investors, terrorism has also led to the close of many businesses, especially those in the tourism sector like hotels, travel and tour companies. This has led to massive jobs cuts in the Coast as some hotels fold up or cut down on spending, there has also been a reduction of government revenues which emanates from the tourism sector in the Coast Region. The overall picture is that terrorism has put the greatest dent on the Coast and to large extent Kenya.

Secondly, the study has also revealed that there exists a strong linkage between marginalization and the escalation of terrorism. The study has established that marginalization in Kenya does not just happen but it's a process that started during the pre-colonial era where the colonialists only developed areas which they perceived to be agriculturally productive and were situated along the Kenyan-Uganda railway. Therefore the independence government did not make a paradigm shift in correcting this a normally. Instead, it's the independent government that continued with this form of marginalization through the Sessional Paper no. 10 of 1965 which concentrated on its

development initiatives in agriculturally productive areas while the arid and semi-arid areas and those areas that were far from the railway line were sidelined from development agenda. Today the Coast Region continues to be marginalized in terms of jobs, land ownership and the high number of squatters and the landless that it has, low infrastructural developments, low educational standards, as well as high illiteracy rates.

Therefore, from a close interaction with the residents of the Coast Region, the researcher established that in the hearts and minds of these residents, they feel marginalized and betrayed by successive governments in Kenya. The state of marginalisation has made them feel not part of Kenya. It is therefore due to these forms of marginalization that drives part of the Coast residents to embrace terrorism as a way of fighting back against all these forms of marginalization.

By this finding, this study confirms objective one, question one and the hypothesis one which was set out by this study to be true and correct.

Thirdly, the study has also established that there exists a strong linkage between high levels of unemployment and the threat of terrorism. This is because the unemployed people both young and old are a frustrated lot. This is because as a result of the lack of a meaningful source of income, they are unable to fend for themselves as well even meet their basic needs such as the provision of food to their families, ability to pay rent and give a decent education to their children etc. Therefore, this kind of frustrations makes these young people become unnecessarily aggressive. This aggression provides fertile ground in which terrorists tap in recruit them to advance the terrorists agenda and ideology. High levels of unemployment the study also reveal make it easier for other local gangs to recruit vulnerable youths to join their bandwagon, with the hope of building solidarity to earn a living and find solace. By this finding, the study confirms the objective two, question two as well as the hypothesis two to be true and correct.

Fourthly, the study has revealed that the issue of the port of Mombasa has also been one of the subjects of emotional discussion by the people of the Coast Region. This is because the people of Coast Region have got this feeling that by the mere fact that the port is



within their area, the majority of those workers who have been employed to work at the port of Mombasa should be the residents of the Coast Region. However from the background check which was done by the researcher. It was established that the majority of the employees of the Kenya Ports Authority (KPA) are Non-Coastarians popularly known as the 'watu bara'. Therefore the issue of marginalization in terms of employment at the port of Mombasa which has employed so many people is one of the reasons which they feel marginalized hence they embrace terrorism as a way of showing rebellion against this open discrimination. The issue of mismanagement at the port of Mombasa has also led to the loss of many job opportunities. Therefore the high number of unemployed youth in Coast Region cannot be compared to any other region and this makes it easier for terrorist groups to radicalize these idle youths to fight back their own government, in the hope reclaiming what is their biological rights.

This study has also revealed that the unemployment rate in Coast Region has also been partly contributed by terrorist activities itself. For instance, its due to the escalation of terrorism that the tourism sector in Kenya is dead. For instance, the Kenya Tourism Board (KTB) Report of (2016) noted that over half of the tourist hotels in the Coast Region there operating at a loss because majority of the tourists had cancelled their bookings due to travel advisories which they got from their home governments, other cancelled their flights hence grounding various airlines that operates between Kenya and other global destinations, as a result of these cancellations both hotel bookings and flights, the travel and tour companies lacked business because they rely on the traffic by tourists in order to carry out a booming business. The beach boys who rely on tourist to earn a living also found themselves idle because there were no tourists whom they could engage for in business at the coastal beaches. This finding confirms those findings that there documented by the TJRC report, in Kenya, and other, socio-economic reports done by the ministries of Devolution and planning (2016) ministry of interior and national coordination of government they all confirm that the Coast Region has suffered the problem of marginalization since independence and high levels of unemployment and historical marginalization were the key drivers which promoted the problem of terrorism in coast region.

### **3.13 The Conclusion**

This chapter has managed to present data which was collected from the field using the questionnaire and the interview guide. The Chapter has also analyzed the collected data through the use of descriptive statistics and content analysis using the concurrent approach. This has reached a climax whereby the key findings of this study has been drawn out and presented by the study. All these have adhered to the guidelines that were stated in the research methodology section.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: SUMMARY OF THE STUDY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **4.0 The Introduction**

The chapter presents the study findings and conclusions. At the tail end of this chapter, the study gives recommendations, as informed by research guiding questions, objectives and hypothesis that had been set out on the onset.

### **4.1 Summary of the Study Findings**

The study dwelt on the Demand Side of Terrorism, a Case Study of the Coast Region of Kenya (2002-2016). The study had set out the following key questions: The main question was; to what extent have the factors on the demand side of terrorism contributed to the spread of terrorism in the Coastal Region of Kenya? The specific questions were first; to what extent is the historical marginalization of the people of the Coast Region acted as a major cause of terrorism in the Coast Region of Kenya? Secondly, how has the high rate of youth unemployment in the Coast Region contributed to the spread of terrorism in the Coast Region. In order to answer the above questions, the study set out the objectives to establish the extent to which factors on the demand side of terrorism have contributed to the spread of terrorism in the Coast Region of Kenya.

The specific objectives were to establish how historical marginalization of the people of Coast Region has contributed to the spread of terrorism in the Coast Region. Secondly, it examined the role of the high rates of youth unemployment in spreading the terrorism agenda through the radicalization of the youths.

The study hypotheses which the study was testing were; marginalization of the citizens in the Coast Region has been the leading factor on the demand side of terrorism in the Coast Region. Secondly, high rates of unemployment in the Coast, Region have forced desperate youths to engage in acts of terrorism.

The study targeted 60 respondents drawn from all the 6 counties in the entire Coast Region. This was the sample size distributed as two respondents from each county. Out of the 60 targeted respondents, only 45 respondents turned up for interviews or returned back the questionnaires while 15 did not. From the data presented, the study found out that the majority of the counter-terrorism measures were focusing more on factors on the supply side as opposed to factors on the demand side of terrorism.’

Little attention is paid to factors on the demand side of terrorism. Secondly, the study also found out that youth unemployment, marginalization were the main factors which made the people of the Coast Region to be attracted and to embrace terrorism as a measure of last resort in the fight of perceived injustices.

Lastly, the study established that increasing the amount of the equalization fund, providing employment opportunities, addressing perceived injustices and sorting out land questions and winning the hearts and minds of the communities at the Coast region as the surest way and effective means to deal with the scourge of terrorism at the region.

#### **4.2 The Conclusion**

This section to draw out the following conclusion from this study, they are explained below;

First and foremost, the study concludes that before the August 7th and the September 9/11 terrorist attacks. Kenya and many African countries did not have counter-terrorism measures, because it skipped national and international attention. The exiting counter-terrorism measures came up as a result of the existing pressures from the international community, in particular, the government of the United States of America and the experiences which Kenya was going through. In the past Kenyan government focused on the penal code when dealing with terrorism and the terror suspects. There was also no well-coordinated and a structured mechanism through which intelligence gathering or co-operation of multisectoral agencies in combating terrorist threats. This means there was a

lack of preparedness by the government in dealing with the threats of terrorism. This situation was also similar to most of the African States.

Secondly, this study concludes that the Government of Kenya has succeeded in making significant progress in the war against terrorism. For instance, the idea of putting in place a legal framework to guide in the investigations, prosecution and conviction of terror-related offences.

In addition to these the practice of gathering of intelligence, arresting of suspected terrorists, evidence compilation and fair hearing of court cases, which all adhere to the requirements of the 2010 Constitution and the global standards of human rights have strengthened the war on terror by giving the gold standard of operations. Consequently, the institution of the National Counter-Terrorism Centre (NCTC) and the Antiterrorism Police Unit (ATPU) has also boosted the war against terrorism and Kenya's state of preparedness. Besides this Kenya entered in pacts and partnerships and signed agreements creating a friendship with the government of the United States of America in order to fight of terrorism. This co-operation has also extended to other East African Community countries through the framework of the East African Counter-Terrorism Initiative (ECTAD), Counter-Terrorism Joint Taskforce-Horn of Africa (CJTf-HOA), Joint Patrols and the Safe Skies Initiatives. All these measures have got in one way or the other helped Kenya join hands with other states to deal with the threat of terrorism within its territory and borders including the Coast Region.

Thirdly, the study also concludes that most of the responses to terrorism at the Coast Region that the government of Kenya has tried to put in place have mostly focused on factors on the supply side of terrorism as opposed to addressing the factors on the demand side. These factors on the demand side include marginalization, youth unemployment and oppression of certain groups of the society. As a result of this constant neglect, the terrorists' threats have become persistent making the Coast Region a hotbed of terrorism.

Fourthly, the study concludes that the Kenyan Coast has suffered marginalization and land alienation since independence. The levels of infrastructural development at the Coast Region was very low, the standards of education were also low, and the levels of illiteracy so high. From the researcher's interaction with the interviewees, he managed to conclude that the problem of drug trafficking and substance abuse was very high in this region and the majority of the young people are hooked to this vice. All these factors contributed to the people of the Coast Region to demand terrorism as a strategy of fighting these kinds of perceived injustices.

The study also concludes that to a large extent the grievances of the people of the Coast Region has a bearing on terrorism activities in the region. The respondents felt that the major reasons as to why young people embrace terrorism is the issue of peer pressure, high levels of poverty, high levels of unemployment, oppression by the existing regimes, marginalization by successive governments, radicalization and under development. These are factors both on the demand side as well as the supply side.

Another conclusion of this study is that other effective measures to deal with terrorism that has been adopted by the government of Kenya include community policing, moral persuasion, and strengthening of the anti-terrorism laws. While the most ineffective tactic has been rampant extrajudicial killings, enforced disappearances, police harassment, gagging media and increased number of police presence and patrol in the region.

Similarly, the study concludes that among the alternative counter-terrorism measures which if adopted can effectively deal with the problem of the factors on the demand side of terrorism are as follows; addressing the land question in the entire Coast Region, addressing the high levels of unemployment among the youth, increasing the amount of the equalization fund so as to bring the development status of the coastal region at par with the rest of the country, ending police execution, demilitarization of the region and to strengthen the institutions of governance so as to expand the democratic space while

respecting the rights of all. All these counter-terrorism measures will go a long way in enhancing the level of development in the Coast Region and the improvement of the standards of living.

Finally, this study concludes high levels of illiteracy, marginalisation, and high levels of unemployment are among key troubles bedevilling the Coast Region. It was discovered that a majority of the coastal people possess only basic levels of education and most of them have no jobs or means of earning a livelihood. Therefore the study has concluded with a lot of concern that this kind of situation has provided fertile ground for terrorists to recruit and sell their terrorist ideology with ease in the region. If this situation is not corrected the Coast Region will remain an active hunting ground for terrorists.

### **4.3 The Recommendations**

From the above conclusions, this study recommends;

First and foremost, this study advises the national government and all the 6 county governments of the Coast Region to cooperate and enter development partnership that will see infrastructural projects initiated and done across all the counties. The idea is to lay a firm groundwork or a foundation at the Coast conducive to attract and retain investors.

This will see many industries and business organizations set up in this region with a net effect of creating more jobs and boosting the local economy. Secondly, the partnership should also see or aim at making youths become self-sufficient by encouraging and supporting them to venture in small and medium enterprises ventures promoting self-employment. They should be supported through the extension of credit facilities that do not require collateral security as a conditionality. Finally, the partnership should see young people involved in constructive activities such as sports, agriculture, trade and ICT services, that will make them identify their talents and exploit them as well just to recreate.

This measures will go a long way in reducing the vulnerability of the youth in falling into the trap of being radicalized and recruited by the terrorist groups. It will also address the unemployment factor on the demand side of terrorism.

Secondly, the government of Kenya through the National Land Commission (NLC) the constitutional body should devise ways and means in which the problem of landlessness will be adequately be settled once and for all even if it means making a compulsory acquisition of all idle land with absentee landlords at the Coast and having it shared out to the quarters. This should be done with also the implementation of TJRC and Ndung'u Land reports. Where that strategy does not work. The government should consider repossessing land from the biggest landowners at the Coast Region and compensating the owners after a proper valuation has been done and resettling the squatters in the same land. This should be backed up with guaranteeing and protecting indigenous people's



lands rights. This will go a long way in ensuring that the historical land question and lands injustices are addressed fully. This will eliminate the issue of the land being used as a factor on the demand side of terrorism that is used to lure youths into terrorism.

Thirdly, on historical marginalization, of the Coast Region, the government through the ministry of Devolution and Planning should consider increasing the equalization fund to all the six counties of the Coast Region. This will ensure that these counties are brought to par with the rest of the country. The other strategy that the ministry can employ is to review the Division of Revenue Bill and increase the percentage of the devolved funds from the current 15% to 50%. This will ensure that half of the country's resources are taken to the grassroots where the ordinary citizens are. This will ensure that faster growth and equitable development of all the regions has been put in place, of course, the paper notes that as we devolve functions and, it should also be accompanied by funds. Therefore the state through its agencies should find a way of letting necessary functions that can be performed by the county government to be wholesomely handed over to county governments, with corresponding resources.

The other recommendation is that a lot of investments need to be made in the education sector with a view of boosting the literacy levels of the residents, of the Coast Region. This means that schools should be properly equipped, and modern schools should also be constructed in the entire Coast Region. This is the surest way of reducing the high levels of illiteracy among the Coastal people. The students and young people of this area should also be advised, counselled, motivated, and guided on the importance of embracing education. This is because education is a liberator and it will open up opportunities for them to be able to compete with the rest in the job market to earn a livelihood.

Finally, the government of Kenya and the relevant stakeholders should also consider starting up programs of sensitization of the people at the Coast on the ethos of patriotism and love for one's country.

This will help to ward off negative thoughts and feelings of second-class citizens and stereotype of being not part of the country. This will help infuse nationalism and promote unity building strong community networks that will help beat terrorism by making the Coast people a brother's keeper.

#### **4.4 Areas of Further Research**

The study recommends the following to any relevant stakeholder to carry out further research on the following critical areas. These areas include;

1. Ways and means in which the issues of patriotism and love for the country can be inculcated in Kenyans especially those living in the Coast Region so that this problem of ethnicity, segregation and feelings of not being part of Kenya can be eradicated.
2. Strategies in which youth unemployment can be sorted out in Kenya once and for all without compromising other critical sectors of the economy.
3. Effective strategies in which marginalization in Kenya can be sorted out without being counterproductive and burdensome to the economy.

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## APPENDICES / ATTACHMENTS

### APPENDIX 1: RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

The data collected using this questionnaire is meant for academic research purpose only. The source of the information will be kept confidential. This questionnaire is part of a research that seeks to establish the extent to which factors on the demand side actually influences terrorism activities in the Kenyan coast region.

Demand side of terrorism means those factors that pushes people to adopt terrorism as a strategy of fighting for their rights or for pursuing their own course of objectives. Other than the laid down formal steps / procedures in addressing their concerns.

The study therefore wishes to request you with all humility and sincerity to be part of it by filling in this questionnaire.

#### SECTION A

Please tick appropriately using ( ) in the square brackets provided.

1. Please indicate your gender?  
Male            ( )  
Female         ( )
2. What is your highest level of education?  
Postgraduate         ( )  
Undergraduate        ( )  
Secondary            ( )  
Primary                ( )  
Others                 ( )
3. Age  
18-30                    ( )  
31-35                    ( )  
36-40                    ( )  
41-45                    ( )

- 46-50 ( )
- 51-55 ( )
- 56-60 ( )
- 61-65 ( )
- 66-70 ( )
- 71-75 ( )
- 76-80 ( )
- 81 and above ( )

**SECTION B**

**THE DEMAND SIDE OF TERRORISM**

1. In your view what do you consider to be the major causes of terrorism, incidents in the coast region?

.....  
 .....

2. In your view do you think the grievances of the coastal people have anything to do with terrorism?

Yes ( )                      No ( )

If yes how?

.....  
 .....

If no why?

.....  
 .....

3. In your view why are the young people (youth) embracing the terrorism ideology?

.....  
 .....

4. In your opinion, do you think the successive governments of NARC, grand-coalition and the Jubilee Administration have succeeded in addressing the



grievances of the coastal people?

.....  
.....

**SECTION C: ASSESSING THE COUNTER-TERRORISM MEASURES UNDERTAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT IN THE COASTAL REGION**

1. What are some of the counter-terrorism measures the government has taken in the coastal region?

.....  
.....

2. In your view how effective are those counter-terrorism measures?

.....  
.....

3. Suggest alternative counter-terrorism measures in which the government needs to do so as to contain the terrorism menace.

.....  
.....

**SECTION D: EFFECTS OF EACH COUNTER-TERRORISM MEASURE IN ADDRESSING THE PROBLEM OF TERRORISM IN THE COASTAL AREA**

Kindly tick appropriately in the cells (One at each low) to indicate the extent at which you agree with the following statements.

<b>REDUCTION EFFECT OF TERRORISM MENACE IN THE COASTAL AREA</b>					
Counter Terrorism Measure	Very high	high extent	Fair	Low extent	Very low extent
1.Addressing the land question.					
2. Addressing the unemployment issue.					
3.Addressing the infrastructural issue.					
4.Strengthening the anti-terror laws.					
5. Promoting basic and high education to coastal people.					
6. Increasing the number of security officers in the coastal area.					
7. Gagging of the press.					
8. Expanding the democratic space.					
9. Providing a counter-terrorism ideology.					

**Thank you for your participation**

## **APPENDIX 2: THE INTERVIEW GUIDE**

### **GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR THE INTERVIEWS**

1. In your view, why do you think the coast region is so vulnerable for the numerous terrorist attacks witnessed in the recent past?
2. What then are the major causes of terrorism in the coastal region?
3. Do you think in your view, that the many grievances the people of the coast region have anything to do with the escalation of terrorist activities in the Coastal region?
4. In your view, what are the counterterrorism measures that the government has taken in containing the terrorism menace?
5. What are the successes and failures of the above counter-terrorism measures?
6. In your view, do you think high rates of unemployment and poverty among the youth have contributed to the escalation of terrorism in the coastal areas? If yes how? And to what extent?
7. In your view, do you think under-development and marginalization of the coastal region has played any role in enhancing terrorism?
8. What is your view of the new constitution (2010) in relation to the issue of addressing the grievances of the coastal people? Has the new constitution helped to solve some of the grievances or it hasn't?
9. What is your view of the new constitution (2010) in relation to the issue of addressing the grievances of the Coastal people? Has the new constitution helped to solve some of the grievances or it hasn't?
10. What do you think makes young people from this region (Coastal region) to embrace terrorism activities?
11. In your view what alternative measures would you propose to the government for adoption in order to contain the terrorism menace from the coastal region?
12. What's your view on devolution? Has it helped in any way to contain terrorism?

**Thank you for your time!**

## APPENDIX 3: RESEARCH PERMIT



### NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

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2241349, 3310571, 2219420  
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Off. Waiyaki Way  
P.O. Box 30623-00100  
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No: **NACOSTI/P/18/43584/25010**

Date: **30<sup>th</sup> August, 2018**


Ramadhan Wahy Rajab  
University of Nairobi  
P.O BOX 30197, 00100  
**NAIROBI**

#### **RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION**

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Demand side of terrorism: A case study of the Coast Region of Kenya (2002-2016)*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **selected Counties** for the period ending **30<sup>th</sup> August, 2019**.

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioners and the County Directors of Education of the selected Counties** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit **a copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

  
**BONIFACE WANYAMA**  
**FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO**

Copy to:

The County Commissioners  
Selected Counties.

The County Directors of Education  
Selected Counties.

**THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:  
MR. RAMADHAN WAHY RAJAB  
of UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI, 0-200  
Nairobi, has been permitted to conduct  
research in Kilifi , Kwale , Lamu ,  
Mombasa Counties**

**Permit No : NACOSTI/P/18/43584/25010  
Date Of Issue : 30th August, 2018  
Fee Received :Ksh 1000**

**on the topic: DEMAND SIDE OF  
TERRORISM: A CASE STUDY OF THE  
COAST REGION OF KENYA (2002-2016)**

**for the period ending:  
30th August, 2019**



  
.....  
**Applicant's  
Signature**

  
.....  
**Director General  
National Commission for Science,  
Technology & Innovation**

### CONDITIONS

1. The License is valid for the proposed research, research site specified period.
2. Both the Licence and any rights thereunder are non-transferable.
3. Upon request of the Commission, the Licensee shall submit a progress report.
4. The Licensee shall report to the County Director of Education and County Governor in the area of research before commencement of the research.
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