

**University of Nairobi**

**Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies**

**Terrorism in Africa: Its Social and Economic Impacts in  
Kenya**

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**R50/74291/2014**

**A research project submitted in partial fulfillment for an  
award in masters of Arts in International Studies**

**October, 2016**

## DECLARATION

I, Joy Akanyisi, certify that this research proposal is my original work and contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

Signature.....

Date .....

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This proposal has been presented for examination with our approval as University Supervisor.  
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Signature.....

Date .....

**Professor, ambassador. Maria Nzomo**

## **DEDICATION**

This research proposal is dedicated to my family members who supported me socially and financially throughout the research proposal, if for nothing else, I pray and hope that the love I have, will reflect in each page.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

The completion of this project would not have been possible without the numerous assistant from parents, friends, siblings and my supervisor, professor. Maria Nzomo.

I would like to thank the almighty, for His sufficient grace, I do not take light his mercies, sound health, financial and material provision throughout this period.

I wish to express utmost appreciation to my mentor and supervisor, prof. Maria Nzomo, for her patience, prompt attention, strict and careful scrutiny, as well as the numerous suggestions for improvement; there is no suggestion made in this project that easily escaped her rigorous intellectual inquiry, in truth I count it a privilege to be supervised by the director of the institute of diplomacy and international studies

I wish to express profound gratitude to my parents and siblings for their love, care, wise counsel and continued moral and financial support, may God bless you abundantly.

My indebtedness is hereby expressed to authors of professional papers, journals textbooks etc. whose ideas form the main thrust and useful point for this project.

For everyone who contributed to the success of this and rendered moral encouragement, I truly appreciate.

May God richly bless you.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

**ACSRT-** African Centre for study and research of terrorism

**ADF-** allied democratic front

**AMISOM** -African Union Mission in Somalia

**AQ-** AL-qaeda

**AQIM-** al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb

**AU-** African union

**ARIMA-** Autoregressive Integrated Moving Average

**FDI –** Foreign Direct Investment

**GDP-** Gross Domestic Product

**GWOT –**Global war on Terrorism

**NFDI –** Net Foreign Direct Investment

**NSIS –**national security intelligence service

**OAU -** organization of African unity

**SDRs –** Special Drawing Rights

**UN –** United Nations

**UNSC-**United Nations Security Council

**UNCTAD –** United Nation Conference on Trade and Development

**US-** the United States of America

## **ABSTRACT**

As the world becomes more globalized and liberalized, it would be idealistic for any state to presume it can insulate herself from the international community amid the evolving global events that elicit divergent responses from various international actors.

Terrorism is also here with us, its long recorded existence poses an alarming threat to international peace and security, Africa, like any other continent has not insulated herself from terrorism, this adds to the need for more interrogation of issues, can Africa really chart the way for its destiny in matters regarding international security and peace, given the fact that in almost 500 years it has not been considered an equal partner in the running of the international system but only as a provider of human and natural resources and a recipient of culture, technology and wholesome ideologies, and all international systems seem to focus on maintaining the status quo?

This project delves into the history of terrorism in Africa, presenting the key drivers of terrorism in Africa, before proceeding to evaluate the social and economic impact of terrorism in Kenya, a country chosen as the case study and outline the institutional and strategic measures that the government of Kenya has put in place in order to counter terrorism.

The study will be guided by the following objectives; analyzing the key drivers of terrorism in Africa, provide an analysis the social and economic impacts of terrorism in Kenya, specifically focusing on; the impacts of terrorism on tourism industry in Kenya, impacts of terrorism on trade in Kenya, and the impacts of terrorism on religion integration in Kenya. The study will be guided by the relative deprivation theory by Samuel A. Stouffer, who provides a critical analysis of feelings and ideas of deprivation which can stir conflicts that can spill into terrorist activities which in cause adverse social and economic consequences.

The study will adopt a mixed method research design, incorporating both qualitative and quantitative analysis. The data will be collected from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data will be collected using questionnaires that will be sent out to the respondents. Secondary data will be collected by analyzing the literature in Academic Journals, policy documents, periodicals, books, newspapers, and academic papers and magazines, TV documentaries on the social economic impacts of terrorism in Kenya.

The target population of the study will be individual from various sectors of economy in Kenya. The ministry of foreign affairs, the minister of immigration the ministry of trade and the anti-terrorist police unit. About 30 respondents will be targeted. Both quantitative and qualitative data will be collected in the study during the data collection process. Quantitative data will be collected using the closed ended items of the questionnaire. The quantitative data will be assigned nominal, ordinal and interval values and analyzed using descriptive statistics of frequency tables and percentages.

## **DEFINITION OF THE KEY TERMS**

**Community** is a social group of any size whose members reside in a specific locality, share government, and often have a common cultural and historical heritage. It is a locality inhabited by such a group. A social, religious, occupational, or other group sharing common characteristics or interests and perceived or perceiving itself as distinct in some respect from the larger society within which it exists.

**Foreign Direct Investment** It is a controlling ownership in a business enterprise in one Country by an entity based in another country.

**Ideology** The body of doctrine, myth, belief, etc., that guides an individual, social movement, institution, class, or large group.

**Social –Economic** refers to variables that are economic and social in nature that are affected by terrorism

Such a body of doctrine, myth, etc. with reference to some political and social plan, as that of fascism, along with the devices for putting it into operation.

**Terrorism** -is the premeditated use or threat of use of violence by individuals or sub national groups to obtain a political or social objective through the intimidation of a large audience, beyond that of the immediate victim.

**Tourism** travel for recreational, leisure, family or business purposes for a limited duration

**Tourist** A person travelling and staying at least 24 hours but not more than one consecutive year in any country that is not their normal place of residence for leisure, business, education and other purposes

**Travel Advisory** travel advisory is a formal warning issued by a governmental or international organization, such as the UN, advising caution in traveling to specified destinations due to reasons such as armed violence, civil or political unrest, high incidence of crime, specially kidnapping and/or murder, natural disaster, or outbreak of one or more contagious diseases.

# CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

## 1.0 Background of the study

It is September 11, 2001 bombing of the US that basked terrorism into the international arena; making it one of the most crucial international securities of our times, Sprinzak termed it as Mega hyper-terrorism owing to the enormity of the attack.<sup>1</sup>This was further enhanced by attacks in England, Spain and Indonesia.

Africa's war on terrorism did not begin in with the declaration of "war on terror after" 9/11<sup>2</sup> but started in in Sudan in 1990s, as Sudan was Osama bin Laden's operational base and was also where retaliatory revenge against Hosni Mubarak was plotted. Globalization has also fuelled terrorism greatly by facilitating easy international travel and communication<sup>3</sup>.

The convention held in Germany in 1884-1885 saw division of African countries into 'spheres of influence' amongst the European Powers. The Europeans were the first to commit terroristic acts, through colonialization, which led to the loss of land, Political, social and Economic domination and encouraged insurmountable exploitation.

African discontent spread through informal protest organizations in which they opposed European Policies and demanded for their land and freedom. Some of the terroristic acts executed included the<sup>4</sup> raiding of shops, killing of African traitors and European Settlers.

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<sup>1</sup> Sprinzak E, the long gunmen :the global war on terrorism faces a new brand enemy(London foreign policy Nov-Dec2001)

<sup>2</sup> Charles goredema,2004," african commitment to combating organized crime and terrorism"

<sup>3</sup> Akbar ahmed and brian forst ,2010,"after terror"

<sup>4</sup> Kaggia B, Roots of Freedom1921-1963(Nairobi,East Africa publishing house)

According to Seidenberg, the European excessive force meted on the African freedom fighters amounted to terroristic activities as no legitimate<sup>5</sup> government kills and bombs its subjects due to discontent arising from poor governance

Africa, like any other continent has not insulated herself from terrorism attacks owing to a mixture of reasons such as poor leadership and governance resulting to states being weak states, religious divide, porous borders all facilitate to the growth of terrorism, a portion of this are targeting particularly to the states a case in hand being, the radical Boko haram in Nigeria, the al shabaab militant group in East Africa, the Lord's resistance army in northern Uganda. The mentioned factors facilitate the continent's vulnerability to terrorist exploitation.

Africa as a continent was never exonerated from the menace as the august 1998 bombings to the United states of America embassies in Nairobi and her neighbor Dar es Salaam was but a wakeup call for this continent, despite the enormous tasks she has to deal with such as, globalization and climate change, weak states, poverty and diseases, unemployment, drug trafficking, corruption etc.

East Africa is most susceptible to terrorism in sub Saharan Africa these attacks have been carried out in country's nationals for domestic or transnational reasons, some regions have been heavily targeted such as those deemed to be pro- western that are located in the region which coupled with severe civil conflicts, weak leadership and governance as in the example of Somalia, have enhanced to destitution and political dissensions.

Ethiopia is known for battling with numerous rebel squads and against her neighbor Eritrea, chiefly because of border disputes and accusing the former of providing support to religious extremist groups, increasing the fatalities rate, repression of opposition political

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<sup>5</sup> Seidernberg. P terrorst myths

movements, increasing the violation of human rights and subsequently made Eritrea withdraw from the intergovernmental authority for Development.

### **1.1 Statement of the Problem**

The world has been faced with an array of threats and challenges ranging from nuclear proliferation, drugs and human trafficking, money laundering, poor governance, corruption, but none of these threats has had caused so much havoc by threatening international peace and security such as Terrorism.

It is after the September 11 attacks in New York, which made the global fight against terrorism to take a new dimension as modalities and mechanisms employed were unprecedented in countering any action internationally operating terrorists may try to execute.

Africa, as a continent is battling with the evolving events of terrorism. The continent has suffered numerous attacks. Many African countries are, however, not prepared to fight this phenomenon, and instead of fighting the menace, the fight against terrorism just maintains and solidifies a life of terror.

African states have generally employed reactive methods in dealing with terrorism instead of seeking sustainable solutions that are related to the unique growth of terrorism in this continent.

Kenya for example, conducts reactive response whenever there is a terrorist attack; the state makes open their strategy on how they are going to deal with the terrorist. Moreover, the state and security agents have been weak in managing information and setting up of mechanisms for countering terrorism. In this regard, state and its security involuntarily



team up with the same terrorists in spreading the intended state of horror, and as a result make terrorist realize their goal and desire.

This study further makes assumptions that terrorism impacts negatively globally, and into Africa as a continent, among the key variables that explain this phenomenon are social and economic factors which are evident in Kenya a country selected to be a case study, including, global actors, economic and political exchanges.

The existing literature reveals a gap of knowledge in this area; little effort has been made to discuss the social and economic impacts of terrorism especially in African countries which is the core of this study.

There is therefore need to analyze the key drivers of terrorism in Africa, before proceeding to assess the social and economic impacts of terrorism in Kenya and consequently discuss the institutional and strategic measures that Kenya has implemented in countering terrorism

## **1.2 Research Questions**

This research intends to respond to the subsequent enquiries:

- i. What have been the key drivers of Terrorism in Africa?
- ii. What are the social and economic impacts of terrorism in Kenya?
- iii. What are the institutional and strategic measures that the government of Kenya has set in place to counter this vice?

### **1.3 Objectives**

The study will be guided by the following objectives

- i. To analyze the key mechanisms and drivers of terrorism in Africa.
- ii. To analyze the social and economic impact of terrorism in Kenya.
- iii. To assess and suggest areas of improvement on the institutional and strategic measures put in place by the Government of Kenya to counter terrorism.

### **1.4 Justification of the Study**

#### **ACADEMIC**

The findings of the study will be relevant to several players in the security and economic sector who may use the findings as a basis for policy review.

Academically, particularly in the discipline of international relations, the study will offer a sacrificial benefit to the scholars and researchers; in that they will be able to expand their knowledge on the study of international security and appreciate how it impacts on the international relations of states, evaluate how terrorism can negatively impact on the social and economy of any country Kenya being a case study.

It will also be useful to researchers as a secondary data to review their literature in context of international security and international terrorism.

#### **POLICY**

The government of Kenya and the world at large will gather information on the social economics impacts of terrorism in Kenya. This information will be of crucial importance to the government especially in the formulation of policies not only those that serve the public but also foreign policies, concerning terrorism, peace and international security.

Investors and entrepreneurs are also expected to benefit from the study findings in making informed investment decisions.

The findings can be used in formulating investors' portfolio diversification strategies against terrorism risk. This will enable them maximize returns while minimizing losses relating to terrorism.

### **1.5 Research Hypotheses**

The study is premised on following hypotheses;

- Terrorism is driven by a sense of deprivation and exclusion which manifests itself in terroristic activities.
- Terrorism has had adverse social and economic effects in Kenya.
- The government and the stakeholders in Kenya have not done enough in the fight against terrorism.

### **1.6 Literature Review**

This section reviews relevant literature from previous studies that have been conducted on terrorism most especially in Africa and its social- economic in Kenya.

The globe has been faced with an array of threats varying from nuclear proliferation, money laundering, drugs and human trafficking, corruption and even terrorism, of all the threats none has caused more pain and suffering to the human race than terrorism<sup>6</sup>.

The chapter is dissected into two crucial literature, first, the theoretical framework of theories propelled in the field of international relations, of social economic impacts of terrorism in Kenya. Second the empirical review for evidences about social economic

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<sup>6</sup> Rihani.S Exploding the myths of terrorism (London, macmillan 2004)

impacts of terrorism in Kenya. This will be used to compare with the findings of this study and establish the variations and similarities between this study's findings and what literature says.

Opinion is divided on the precise definition of terrorism. Scholars and practitioners have offered various characterizations of terrorism that continues to evolve while retaining the central conceptualization tenets and as consequence of personal safety, political sensitivity and perception the common denominator being; Terrorism is the calculated utilization or subversive utilization of terror by national or foreign squads to realize their objective which may be political or social in nature, by employing means of intimidating of a large spectrum of masses which surpasses of the victim at hand. In as much as the intentions of terrorists may vary, their behaviors manifest a similar sequence with terrorist instances ranging from: aero plane hijackings, kidnapping of innocent civilians, maiming, warnings, bombings, and suicide attacks.

Terrorist actions are deliberately executed in a bid to exert pressure to states and make them yield to the perpetrators 'defeats. If a country regards the expected loss in fortunes of terrorist incidents to have greater impact than the costs of yielding to terrorist ultimatums, then a country deems it logical to make adjustments. Consequently, a logical terrorist movement can, in part, realize its aims speedily when it's in a position to consolidate repercussions of its agenda. The outcome may undertake numerous formations entailing fatalities, destruction of property, anxiety level, and devastating social and economic costs. Terrorism impacts huge costs on a targeted country through various mediums as its incidents bring negative repercussions socially and economically by redirecting foreign

direct investment (FDI), destruction of property and sources of livelihood, diverting public investment finances to security, or limiting trade.<sup>7</sup>

Silke asserts that researchers have shunned reactive and reactive based research, as this intricate affair is deemed to be a preserve of a number of people who face the menace as part of their routine duty and for whom research is both bordering and generally a spontaneous activity<sup>8</sup>.

Schimid wonders why too much concern is placed on reaching conventional meaning, seeking to ascertain whether or not it creates a distinction into the manner research in this area is conducted or how experiences and enlightens from such a study might be applied<sup>9</sup>. Two schools of thought have sprouted on the conception of terrorism, one perceives the menace as a form of warfare tailored for military response owing to the manner in which terrorists strive to draw attention to their course by implementing or threatening, dramatic actions of subversive that sustains the attention of the media and terrorize a bigger populations<sup>10</sup>.

The other group, perceives terrorism as a crime given that many terrorist squads commit ordinary criminal activities such as bank robberies, extortion and fraud in an effort to financially sustain their organizations, terrorist activities are a breach of criminal statutes although they differ qualitatively from the usual crime as a result of their underlying

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<sup>7</sup> Shahabas 2002

<sup>8</sup> Silke A, Research on terrorism trends achievements and failures (London frank cass2004)

<sup>9</sup> Schmid A and Crelinstein R Western responses to terrorism (London2004)

<sup>10</sup> Jordan K.M, Terrorism and US policy :problems in definition ,and response (Washington acc1975)

motivations, which is often the desire for bigger political reasons and the actions are simply carried out to harness the causes<sup>11</sup>.

For this study terrorism is the calculated utilization or threat of utilization of atrocities by people or sub national gangs to attain a political or social intent by means of the intimidating of a large audience, superseding the victim at hand. In as much as intentions of terrorists could vary, their actions manifest a similar trend with terrorist incidents exhibiting a variety of formations: aero plane hijackings, abductions, killings, warnings, bombings, and suicide attacks.

An observation made by stern in regard to the varying motivation of terrorism is the new breed of terrorists which is inclusive of the ad hoc group triggered by faith-based convictions or vengeance, subversive rightist wing extremist and ominous and ceremonial courts appear more often than the predecessor's terror units to execute actions of extreme violence<sup>12</sup>.

Poland is inclined that terrorism has perpetually been used by different terror squads as a way of forcing governments to alter their policies with different levels in succeeding, for example, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century America used means of subversive, fright and humiliation to eradicate loyalists supporters and instigated rebellion against the British government but the case is different in northern Ireland regardless of a campaign over a century ago.<sup>13</sup>

The implementation of the hand thrown bomb and the pistol and quite lately the machine gun and plastic explosives has made it possible for terrorist to kill more immensely than

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<sup>11</sup> Makinda M,S. Security between terrorism and counterterrorism: an international society perspective.(perth ,Murdoch University,2004)

<sup>12</sup> Stern J,The ultimate terrorists(London, havard university press2001)

<sup>13</sup> Poland JM ,Understanding terrorism (new Jersey:Prentice Hall)

the 'retail' nature of terrorist in the past that was predominantly an operation of the obtainable<sup>14</sup> weapons.

Makinda articulates that terrorism is a means of warfare that is old as humanity and within the international society tradition; it is possible to perceive terrorism as a reckless utilization of force that should be countered by military power.<sup>15</sup> Younger contends that wars conceived as a means of might base problem solving or conflict resolution, is a subversive way of resolving conflict and reflects a winner take all zero-sum competition and is a violent means to a political end.<sup>16</sup>

Today systems and mechanisms of terrorism can easily be retrieved from bookshops, from mail order publishers or even over the internet, terrorism information is obtainable to people complaining, those with an ulterior motive, a concealed intention or any individualistic composition of all these,<sup>17</sup>. Modern technology, jet travel and satellite communication have enabled international terrorists groups to establish an international network of terror, disseminate their ideological concepts, carry out joint training<sup>18</sup> programs and transfer arms among themselves.

Chronological advances in weapons; exposures,<sup>19</sup> transportation and communications have also enhanced the disruptive potential of terrorism.

It is the august 1998 bombings of the United States of America embassies in Nairobi and Dar- es- Salaam that introduced a fresh paradigm in Terrorism and awakened new

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<sup>14</sup> Deshowitz A,M why terrorism works, understanding the threat, responding to the challenge(New Haven yale2002)

<sup>15</sup> Makinda M,S Security between terrorism and counter terrorism: an international society perspective(perth, murdoch university,2004)

<sup>16</sup> Younger S, terrorism :concepts causes and conflict resolution (Virginia defense threat reduction agency,2003)

<sup>17</sup> Lesser O.I Countering the new terrorism (Washington :rand 1999)

<sup>18</sup> Ansari M.International terrorism ;its cause and how to control it (Washington press1988)

<sup>19</sup> Reich W, origins of terrorism (Washington :woodrow Wilson center1998)

thinking. The attacks increasingly made a turn from protective operations on Muslim soil to aggressive operations on enemy soil<sup>20</sup>,

It is the September 2001 terrorism attack that caught the international eye, and this was further propelled by attacks in England, Spain and Indonesia.

Responding adequately to this menace requires joint effort, amongst states and the community of nations as no solution can singly be arrived at by military efforts intense diplomatic endeavors, international law enforcement and financial regulation on money laundering are all part of a multi-prolonged response to counter terrorism.

Counter terrorism alludes to the modalities, processes, systems and plans that a state's militaries and others employ in a bid to fight terrorism<sup>21</sup>.states have implemented adequate security agencies in a bid of handling terrorists threats ,these agencies are tasked with varying responsibilities such as proactive actions, rescue of hostage and responding to on-going attacks. Ways of countering terrorism entails deterring the actors and incapacitating those with the intent of executing such atrocities, employing proactive mechanisms such as reduction of the causative factors of crime such as poverty and unemployment amongst the youth, and implementing sound education policies and curriculum.

Security refers to a situation in which people, units and societies states in entirety are unimpeded from armed or unarmed threat to their well-being be it physical, social, psychological, material and political wellbeing possessing sufficient<sup>22</sup>resources to deal with such threats as they occur. Security has both state national security and human social construction.

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<sup>20</sup> Sageman M ,understanding terror networks (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania

<sup>21</sup> Wikipedia,counterterrorism,www.en-wikipediaorg/wiki/counter-terrorism.

<sup>22</sup> Nzomo M,international security (unpublished)



State national security, involves the interplay of offensive and defensive capabilities of the armed state forces to defend their states and prevent coups or carry out the same depending on the ruling elite's definition of self-interest.

It also involves state political security organizational stability, systems and ideology that give the state their legitimacy; however, this does not leave out the economic resource capabilities of the states to finance and provide welfare and sustain state power.

Human social security entails an emerging model for comprehending universal dangers whose advocates confronts the archaic ideology of national security by asserting that the proper allusion for security should be the individual peaceful existence rather than state within its own framework. The 1994 United Nations Development Program (UNDP) report argued that human security required the attention of a wide range of threats to people. These were grouped under several constituent parts:

- Economic security, assuring every individual a minimum requisite income.
- Food security, guaranteeing physical and economic access to basic food.
- Environmental security, protecting people from the short and long term ravages of nature, manmade threats in nature and deterioration of the natural environment.
- Personal security, protecting people from physical violence, whether from the state, from external states, from violent individuals and sub-state actors, from domestic abuse, from predatory adults or even the individual himself from committing suicide.
- Community security, protecting people from loss of traditional values and from sectarian and ethnic violence.
- Political security, assuring that people live in a society that honors their basic human rights.

Africa does not seem to be secure in any of the security components mentioned above, and instead is faced with very many challenges. The past three decades have witnessed many regions of Africa involved in war which are either internal or external conflicts. According to the armed conflict database by IISS<sup>23</sup>, there is a current armed conflict in many African countries such as Democratic republic of the Congo, Ethiopia, (ogaden national liberation front(ONLF)/Ogaden national liberation army(ONLA)and Oromo liberation front(OLF/OLA), Mali(the SAHEL),Nigeria (delta region),Nigeria(Ethno-religious violence),Somalia, South Sudan (Darfur).the latest survey conducted by the African strategies for security studies in 2013 indicates that Africa's holistic security environment is characterized by great diversity of problems and challenges mainly categorized into:

- Terrorism and radical extremism.
- Political violence and livelihood conflicts.
- Drugs and human trafficking.

### **1.6.1 Literature Review on Terrorism in Africa**

There have been a lot of concerns about the inability of most African countries to measure up in terms of development with some East Asian, Middle Eastern and South American countries in which they got their independence at the same time with. There have been numerous questions on why African countries with good climates, vast arable lands and enormous natural resources that were at par with most of these other continents decades ago have failed to develop rather record high poverty rates, unemployment rates, high corruption rates, lack of infrastructures, political instabilities, bad governance and low manufacturing capacity, while some of these east Asian, middle eastern and south

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<sup>23</sup> The armed conflict database international institute for strategic studies(IISS)gives an in-depth look on current facts and statistics about conflicts worldwide.<https://acd.iiss.org/>

America have been able to cater and develop their countries with little or zero natural resources.

Africa involuntarily offers a conducive and a natural endowed environment for terrorists that aim at invading the United States, and by all means universal approach. Terrorism majorly aims at terrorizing. Its unfortunate casualties or eradication impact is naturally a justification of its course

In Africa, statistics that are geared to highlight incidents of universal terrorism would, more often, be unsatisfactory response to Africans. Terrorism in Africa is vast. It is massively of national, or regional form that murders, injures and affects countless number of lives, several contemporary illicit units or operations and state forces have employed mechanisms that depend largely on the utilization of fright and terror. These include UNITA and RENAMO in Angola and Mozambique, the Mai Mai, Lord's Resistance Army, the LURD, MODEL, and so on<sup>24</sup>. <sup>25</sup>Government policies often rely upon intimidation and terror, including those of Liberia under Charles Taylor, the Zimbabwean government (particularly during the suppression in Matabeleland in the mid-eighties and around elections more recently), that of Angola (particularly during the final stages of the campaign that led to the killing of Savimbi), the policies of the present regime in Khartoum in the south and elsewhere.<sup>26</sup> Terrorism against state by indigenous organizations such as the Lord's Resistance

Army (LRA) and Allied Democratic Front (ADF) in Uganda and the militant wing of the Ogden National Liberation Front (ONLF) and Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) in Ethiopia that have used terrorist attacks in Uganda and Ethiopia respectively.

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<sup>24</sup> Cilliers, Jakkie, and Kathryn Sturman. 2002. Africa and Terrorism, Joining the Global Campaign, Monograph 74, July. Pretoria. Institute for Security Studies.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

The LRA has seasonally functioned out of southern Sudan and the ADF out of the eastern Congo while the OLF at different moments was in support from Mogadishu, Asmara, and Khartoum. Both of these kinds of terrorism are geared to shame, injure, or eventually oust a founded head of state in the locality.<sup>27</sup> Sudan provided a solid refuge for Islamic extremist groups in the early 1990s, when the Sudanese government openly supported the activities of terrorist groups.

Osama bin Laden turned Sudan into his functional cell which began in 1992 supporting assorted jihad attempts all over the globe, prior to his expulsion in May 1996<sup>28</sup>

Ethiopia is renowned for battling numerous revolt squads and against her neighbor Eritrea, chiefly because of border disputes and accusing the former of providing support to religious extremist groups, increasing the fatalities rate, repression of opposition political movements, increasing the violation of human rights and subsequently made Eritrea withdraw from the intergovernmental authority for Development.

In northern Uganda the tale is the same, the Lord's resistance army and the Alliance of Democratic forces which battle against the government of day have executed terrorist acts that have led to thousands of death.

In Sudan, the ratification of the Naivasha –Machakos conventions in 2004 led to the inception of a government of National Unity and curtailed the southern insurgency led by the Sudanese People's liberation movement, this country had been divided by ethno-religious lines between the Muslims in the north and the non-Muslim in African in the South, which saw a referendum that was held in January 11, 2011 making the south an

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<sup>27</sup> Shinn H. D (2014) Terrorism in East Africa and the Horn: An Overview, the Journal of Conflict studies, The Gregg Centre for the Study of War and Society.

<sup>28</sup> Wright L. (2006) The Looming Tower: Al Qaeda and the Road to 9/11 New York: Alfred A. Knopf

independent country, enabling some calm to be restored in the South. There are however conflicts in the Darfur region.

The Sudanese government has supported an Arab Militia known as the Janjaweed which has attacked the local ethnic groups in Darfur: the fur, zaghawa and massaleit, leading to major humanitarian crisis including death, strife and mass displacement of people. In the post-referendum period, a new conflict has been witnessed as a series of attacks by troops from Northern Sudan on villages in the disputed border region of Abyei, causing anxiety that this could turn into civil war. Sudanese troops from the North moved to Abyei on 21 May 2011 and seized the region's capital.

Southern Somalia is a country that has faced civil conflict for the past thirty years, since the overthrow of Siad Barre's regime in 1991, since that period Southern Somalia has not had a stable government, making it an unstable and insecure region of the country. Clan-based warlords ruled Somalia until June 2006, when the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) took over the control of Mogadishu after defeating the Alliance for Restoration of Peace and Counter-Terrorism. The ARPCT is a group of Mogadishu warlords and power brokers, who operated with the support of the US and some regional countries. The reign of the ICU was short-lived, when Ethiopia invaded and implemented the Somali Transitional Federal Government (TFG) to power.

TFG is supported by the USA, Ethiopia and other governments, except Eritrea which is accused of supporting the insurgency groups in Somalia.

Hon Adan Abdi Salam, who was the former deputy prime minister of Somalia, argues that the transitional government that is not recognized by all Somalis has left a power vacuum in the country. This has been filled by various groups ranging from warlords and militia

groups to various local organizations, the end results was various rival groups including Islamist movements emerged leading to a state of anarchy in the country.

### **1.6.2 Literature Review on terrorism In Kenya**

Kenya presents a conducive atmosphere that enhances global terrorism as a result of her comprising of geographic, regional, historical, political, economic and socio-cultural factors. A number of such entities are direct justifications of attacks while others enhance the attacks. Direct facilitators of terrorism in Kenya include the country's close ties with Israel and Western countries, especially the US. It is located in a troubled and unstable region in which intra -state war has been familiar; where the use of proxy forces is a defining phenomenon; it harbors a multiple militant and terrorist organization like the Al-shabaab which is a Somali youthful militia, making it prone to vagaries of nature visiting enormous human and physical damages to this country Kenya's bordering Somalia, a waging south Sudan and her close proximity to other countries whose political systems are fragile means that the pursuit of regional stability has evolved to become a fundamental component of her national security. Demographically, the focus is on the 'youth bulge' that is the reality of our time.

On one hand, there exist a huge numbers of young people endowed with economic opportunity, and that buy into the Kenyan dream present immeasurable potential for growth, but if not well managed, a large number of idle, frustrated youth pose a significant risk for the survival of the state, as they can and are being drawn to ideologies that undermine the legitimacy of the state, destroying Kenya's democratic dispensation. An outline of terrorist attacks on Kenyan soil is as follows;

- 1980 terrorist attack on Norfolk hotel

- 1998 simultaneous attacks on United states of America embassies in Kenya and Dar es salaam
- 2002 November spontaneous invasions on paradise hotel in coast and Israel bound aircraft at takeoff from Mombasa international airport
- 2010 December bombing of a Kampala -bound bus in Nairobi
- September 2013 the terrorist attack on the West Gate mall that claimed more than 200 lives.
- November 2014 the Mandera bus attack that saw 36 lives lost,
- December 2014 Terrorist attack on a quarry in Garissa.
- April 2015 Garissa university College attack that resulted in 147lives of students lost in their formative years.

### **1.6.3 The social and economic impacts of terrorism in Kenya**

Terrorism incidents have brought serious impacts economically, politically, and even socially in this country. Human lives, foreign direct investment, trade, tourism, horticulture, and the transportation sectors have been immensely affected. The tourism industry has suffered predominantly as a cause of this.

Tourism, which is the country's economy backbone, which is reckoned for its 20 percent of the gross domestic product and has lately performed dismally as a result of travel bans issued by US, berlin, United Kingdom and other states since 11 September 2001<sup>29</sup>. Germany and Great Britain have lifted the ban completely, but the United States continues to issue advisories occasionally. Owing to the consistent travel bans, loss of sources of income has been witnessed by numerous nationals, which directly or indirectly affects Kenya's Economic growth. Invasions on tourist resources such as airstrips restaurants or

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<sup>29</sup> Lecey,2004 threat of terrorism hurts Kenya tourism, the new york times

attraction sites or tourist means of transport make a foreigner contemplate on the risks that come with their vacation plans. Even one atrocious execution at a famous terrorist locality could inform a tourist decision to alter plans by either vacationing at home or else going to a terrorism-free country for a holiday.

Foreign investors should have adequate knowledge and be properly guided on all manner of risks, including the ones instilled by terrorists, this risk is specifically apparent when a terrorist agenda particularly aims net foreign direct investment (NFDI). Terrorist risks increase the costs of trade transactions as calibrated security predominantly should be strategically set in place and work force must be totally reimbursed all these minimize the profits to NFDI. As these risks rise, investors will opt to divert their investments to safer states<sup>30</sup>.

Terrorist instances can negatively impact on foreign trade in numerous forms. To begin with, the costs of indulging in commerce is raised by generally increase in insecurity due to terrorism. Secondly, consolidated security measures in response to a terrorist agenda fluctuates transaction costs. Thirdly, there is the risk of a direct destruction of traded goods. The repeated attacks on oil pipelines in Iraq after the fall of Saddam Hussein, which temporarily paralyzed oil exports, are a recent example of the contemporary risk. Another example is the attack launched on the French super tanker 'Limburg' off Yemen's coast in October 2002. In many countries one of the largest export industries is the tourism industry. As already discussed, this industry is directly affected by terrorism<sup>31</sup>.

According to Moustapha Hassouna, in his writings on why radicals find fertile grounds in Kenya, technology, such as the internet and satellite television, as well as increased travel

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<sup>30</sup> Shahbaz 2012

<sup>31</sup> Sandler, t. and walter .E,2004,an economic perspective on transnational terrorism, European journal of economy,



and employment around the globe, has resulted in making Kenyan Muslims more informed of what is happening globally<sup>32</sup>. This increased awareness was especially highlighted in the conflict in the Middle East and Iraq and the unresolved Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It is important to note that many Muslims along the Kenyan coast share a common religion, language, and significant aspects of their culture with the Muslims in the Middle East. Because of these factors, an element of radicalism has invaded Kenya from the east through Somalia and along the Kenyan coast. This encroachment breeds dissent among some sections of the Muslim community, which makes them easy targets for terrorist activities.

### **1.7 Summary of the Gaps in the Literature Review**

Africa as a continent is battling the effects of terrorism. The continent has endured numerous attacks over the last few years. Terrorist incidents have had social and economic consequences by diverting foreign direct investment (FDI), destroying infrastructure, redirecting public investment funds to security, or limiting trade. From the above literature review it is clear that terrorism impacts negatively on the Kenyan economy. However, very little has been done on the social economic impacts of terrorism in Kenya. Therefore, there is need to find out the social economic impacts of terrorism in Kenya. This study seeks to fill this gap of knowledge, there is need to find out the impacts of terrorism on trade, tourism and religion integration in Kenya.

### **1.8 Theoretical framework**

This study will be guided by the Relative deprivation theory which alludes to the idea and feelings of deprivation and discontent are related to a desired point of reference. Relative deprivation is deemed as formation of gang dissonance which usually sparks in

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<sup>32</sup> Moustapha,H.2002,why radicals find fertile ground in moderate Kenya

mobilizing people for political courses. Famous revolution riots and rebellion due to persons sentiments of being deprived of their 'fair share' <sup>33</sup>sentiments relative deprivation emanate when desires are perceived to be legitimate anticipations and those desires predicated by community.

Social satisfaction is antonymous of relative deprivation. Relative deprivation is mostly perceived as the central variable in explaining social operations and is used in explaining pursuit for social reforms which inspires social operations; social operations emanate as a result collective sentiments of relative deprivation

Relative deprivation theory is embodied in interdisciplinary work known as social movement theory. Social movement theory, commenced in nineteenth century, alludes to the learning of social mobilization entailing its social, cultural, and political exhibitions and repercussions. Social movement study usually is inspired by a desire for social reform and may incorporate schooling and activism. The interdisciplinary history of social movement theory comprise six chief sections of study:

- Relative deprivation theory;
- Mass society theory;
- Resource mobilization theory;
- Structural-strain theory;
- Value-added theory;
- New social movement theory.

This theory asserts that social movements are, in several instances are made by way of utilizing or manipulation of frames of reference. Social operations govern and control their members via techniques like instilling fear, indulging in frame appropriation, social

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<sup>33</sup> Jerry D. rose, outbreaks, the sociology of collective behavior ( new York free press 19820)

constructionist, and counter framing social movements birthed from sentiments of relative deprivation are alluded to as relative deprivation social movements. Cases in hand being the labor movement and civil rights movement. Eventually, sociology uses relative deprivation theory to explain how ideologies deprivation over power, finances, or status may result in people or gangs creating social operations and seeking social transformation. Relative deprivation theory can be employed in socio-politics, economics, and organizational problems. For instance, relative deprivation theory is implemented in the analysis of societal matters of pay satisfaction and sex-based pay inequities. Relative deprivation theory concentrates on sentiments and actions, the theory advocates the exploration of an individual's sentiments of deprivation which may be triggered in comparing his or her condition with that of a referent individual or squad as well as the behavioral effects of deprivation sentiments. Relative deprivation theory differentiates egoistic deprivation and fraternal deprivation.

- Egoistic deprivation alludes to a single individual's sentiment of comparative deprivation.

Fraternal deprivation, also called group deprivation, alludes to discontent sprouting from the status of a whole group as compared to a referent group. Fraternal deprivation could enforce a group's collective identity.

Relative deprivation theory has impacted in the evolution of several disciplines in social sciences. Specifically, relative deprivation theory is an establishment of multi-faceted theories of social psychology comprising of frustration-aggression theory, equity theory, social comparison theory, and reference group theory. In sociology, relative deprivation theory is used in explaining causative reasons for social movements and revolutions.

Sociologist Samuel A. Stouffer is credited with evolving relative deprivation theory after World War II. Stouffer's writings on relative deprivation theory were inscribed in his book The American soldier. The series and its component study was a compilation of the data collected during a five-year wartime project that was funded by Carnegie Corporation and the Social Science Research Council. Stouffer developed the relative deprivation theory while conducting research for the US Army during World War II, and is remembered as a pioneer in the effort to combine theory and empirical research. Stouffer reported that World War II soldiers measured their personal success by standards based on experience in the military units in which they served as opposed to the standards in the armed forces in general. Stouffer's relative deprivation theory, developed to understand the psychology of soldiers, grew to be an established theory of social science scholarship; as such, he is remembered as a pioneer in the effort to combine theory and empirical research.

He carried out research on relative deprivation theory in his duties as the director of the US military's Research Branch. The Research Branch was founded for provision of facts on attitudes of soldiers to the Army command to be utilized in training and policy matters and to provide a scientific foundation and rationale for policy making, inducting, training, directing, managing, and demobilizing the armed forces.

The Branch, led by Stouffer, operated on the notion that applied social science research could contribute in significant ways to pure social science theory and scholarship. Stouffer believed that social science research should have practical applications in industry. As evidenced by his own work with the relative deprivation theory, he advocated the development of social science theory that was grounded in empirical research.

The relative deprivation theory, evolved instantly following World War II, was part of the large change in the field of sociology. The US government and Western European

corporations adopted sociological tools, theories, and research methods. The main topics of sociological inquiry during this time included the following:

- Sociological study of social movements;
- Marriage and family;
- Social stratification and political sociology;
- Work and organizations

### **1.9 Methodology of the Research**

This unit strives in outlining processes the researcher purposes to employ in conducting this research. It will look at the population to be studied, who will entail part of the sample extracted from the bigger sample and used in explaining the formula used in arriving at the expected sample.

The researcher will use simple statistics in the analysis and simple tabulation in the presentation of data to establish the strength and direction of relationships. Analysis shall comprise of simple statistical methods including means /averages and percentages to indicate proportionalities of the respondents to the questions asked.

The results will also be presented using pie charts and bar graphs. Much of the information will be presented descriptively.

### **1.10 Scope of the Study**

The study will confine itself to Nairobi considering the fact that it is the hub where many agencies dealing with security affairs, key among them being terrorism, are established and hence easy accessibility of information; sectors targeted include the ministry of

immigration and registration of persons, ministry of foreign affairs, the Kenya defense forces and general public. It will investigate the social economic impacts of terrorism in Kenya. Further the study will rely on the work of other scholars and researchers to review the literature. This will widen the researcher knowledge of what has been within the area of study.

### **1.11 Limitations of the study**

The researcher is not guaranteed of the honesty of the respondents as they may not give full information or they may not provide the relevant documents. The cooperation of the various stakeholders also will pose some challenge.

**Time**-in a deliberate effort to collect data, the researcher has set out for a field study and this will require time. The researcher has also stipulated the time frame of sending out questionnaires and the anticipated time to receive feedback, however, there is likelihood that the respondents might work outside the slated timeline thus constraining the researcher.

**Finances**-financial constraint is also a limitation.in effectively tackling the research, the researcher will be expected to make trips to the various sectors in search of information, and this will require money at her expense as she has not been sponsored to undertake the research.

**Confidentiality of information**-terrorism being deemed as a security menace of the country, documents possessed in different institutions as confidential, to allay the likelihood effect of the shortcoming, the research will formulate a collation of the various answers by various respondents to establish the truth.



## **1.12 Chapters Outline**

Chapter one- proposal is organized in one chapter. The chapter contain the Introduction, Background of the study, Problem Statement, research Objectives, Research Questions, Justification of Research, Operationalization of Key Terms, Literature Review, Summary of gaps in Literature Review, Conceptual Framework and model, Methodology of Research, Scope and Limitations, and Chapters Outline

Chapter two- will give analyze terrorism in Africa, shedding light on the key drivers of terrorism in Africa and the institutions set up to counter terrorism.

Chapter three –will look at the social and economic impacts of Terrorism in Kenya. Delving into both the domestic and international terrorism experienced in Kenya. It will highlight the impacts of terrorism on trade, tourism and religious integration.

Chapter four –will discuss the strategic and institutional measures put in place by the Kenyan government to counter terrorism in Kenya.it will also look at the challenges that the Kenyan government has encountered in countering Terrorism.

Chapter five- analyses the data collected by the researcher, determining the social and economic impacts of terrorism in Kenya and assess Kenya’s strategic and institutional measures to counter terrorism.

Chapter six – will summarize conclude and make recommendations from the findings of the study.



## CHAPTER TWO: AN ANALYSIS OF TERRORISM IN AFRICA

### 2.1. Introduction

As the world becomes more globalized and liberalized, it would be idealistic for any continent to presume it can insulate itself from the international community amid the spiraling global events that elicit divergent responses from various international actors, terrorism being one of the many events.

Africa like any other continent has not been in a position to insulate herself from the threat of terrorism. Its composition of plausible democratically fragile countries, tribal and religion division, poor leadership and governance and sometimes discrimination all contribute to Africa's likelihood of terrorism flourishing and occasionally globalized intertwinement actions that implement terrorism, this chapter delves into analyzing terrorism in Africa and the counter terrorism practices carried out by some institutional bodies in a bid to combat the menace.

### 2.2. Definition of terrorism

Opinion is divided on the precise definition of terrorism, and as a result there are over 100 definitions of the same, thus no security concern has been controversial in its conceptualization as terrorism.<sup>34</sup>

According to stern, terrorism can be defined as an action or ultimatum of subversive upon innocent people with an aim of exerting retaliatory, subduing or impose an audience<sup>35</sup>

Globalized terrorism refers as the deliberated use of subversive or conspiracy of subversive against innocent in an effort to achieve targets that may be political or faith-

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<sup>34</sup> Lesser O.I, COUNTERING NEW TERRORISM Washington rand 1999 USA

<sup>35</sup> Stern J. THE ULTIMATE TERRORISTS Harvard University press 1999massachusetts USA.

related in kind by means of torment or constrain or ingrain fright in an alien state by foreigners who are not nationals to that state<sup>36</sup>.

Thornton asserts that terrorism is employing fear as a figurative way tailored to inform politics-related mannerism by super normal way compromising the implementation of threat of subversive<sup>37</sup>

The United States of America faculty perceives this menace as employment or susceptibility of ingraining fear for political course by persons or teams, either representing the state or against the founded government

Authority, when such actions are intended to shake stun or intimidate a target group wider than the immediate victims.<sup>38</sup>

Wilkinson perceives terrorism as the consistent application of killing and eradication with an objective to terrorizing persons, teams, traditions or states into yielding to the terrorists' politics-related demands<sup>39</sup>

Martha Crenshaw was of the opinion that some terrorism acts committed in the African continent are state sponsored she mentioned states such as Libya and Sudan which have been accused even by the community of nations<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Alexander. INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM: national regional and global perspective, praeger publishers 1976 New York USA.

<sup>37</sup> Thornton.T.P, TERRORISM AS A WEAPON OF POLITICAL AGITATION in Eckstein H (ed) internal war collier –Macmillan 1964 London united kingdom

<sup>38</sup> US Departments office for combating terrorism.

<sup>39</sup> Wilkinson P terrorism and the liberal state, New York university press 1986 New York US.

<sup>40</sup> Crenshaw M(ed) TERRORISM IN AFRICA Dartmouth publishing company limited, 1993England, united kingdom.

### 2.3. Typology of Terrorism

Terrorism can be categorized into different forms; attempts to understand the motivation and actions of terrorist, individuals must take into account the enormous diversity<sup>41</sup> there exists criminal terrorism which entails the use of terror in atrocious acts such as kidnapping and murder for material gains.

Domestic terrorism is terrorism carried out within a state boundary by its own citizen, the guerrilla warfare during the colonial times in Africa especially in countries such as Mozambique, Angola and Kenya offer a classic example of domestic terrorism. State terrorism is treated as a subtype of terrorism that involves the use of lethal force by Nation States against their own civilian population as a means of suppressing challenges to their political authority; it seeks minimum exposure to avoid targeted international condemnation<sup>42</sup>

Psychic terrorism is one that has mystical religious or magical ends. Whereas war terrorism is the strategy to destroy an enemy militarily, cyber-terrorism is the destruction of internet connections.

Wilkinson opines that political terrorism as the consistent implementation of fright or subversive to realize politics-based targets; it is a maintained strategy entailing financing of structured terror factions, partly to the government, an act or a specialty or by a minute entity of persons. It comprises some structure however fundamental and sort of hypothesis or ideals of terror<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Reich. W, ORIGIN OF TERRORISM Washington Woodrow Wilson Centre 1998

<sup>42</sup> Nzomo. M. THEORETICAL APPROCHES IN IR: International Organizations, (unpublished)

<sup>43</sup> Wilkinson. P. TERRORISM AND THE LIBERAL STATE new york university press 1986, new york USA

## 2.4. Key Drivers of terrorism in Africa

It is an uphill task to establish the causes of terrorism as ‘the causation of human action has yet been most incompletely explained by modern psychology, genetics, sociology and related disciplines.’<sup>44</sup>

Terrorism may be caused by poverty, injustice, repressed political-based victimization, rights to be free from intimidation, economic oppression, lack of employment, marginalization, and lack of clear-cut communication and an entirely moral rot of community.<sup>45</sup> Lacquer, however, disputes that the perception that terrorism was a response to injustice and harsh conditions such as poverty, hopelessness political or social oppression has largely been disapproved going by the varied terrorist motivations.<sup>46</sup>

Radical Islam has been cited as a cause of terrorism as it relied heavily on Jihad that was inspired by a medieval theologian Ibn Taymiyyah<sup>47</sup> in the 13<sup>th</sup> century has taken the Islam Fundamentalism which was propelled by Abdulla Azam into contemporary jihadism and inspired Osama bin laden, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Muhammad Ibn Wahheb initiated a championing of cleansing and refreshing in an effort of returning Muslim domain to blemish-free and validated Islam and removing where necessary destroying all later accretions<sup>48</sup>

As a result religion has been deemed as a justification; as opposed to a constraint on terrorism<sup>49</sup> another religious organization called Hezbollah has radically interpreted the

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<sup>44</sup> Pachnanda, R.K.TERRORISM AND RESPONSES TO TERRORIST THREAT

<sup>45</sup> Ibid

<sup>46</sup> Lacquer. W,NO END TO WAR TERRORISM IN THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY London continuum

<sup>47</sup> Lacquer .W, VOICES OF TERROR reed press ,2004 New York USA

<sup>48</sup> Lewis.B,THE REVOLT OF ISLAM new Yorker 2001 new york

<sup>49</sup> Kaupil and viotti .P, INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND WORLD POLITICS, new jersey prentice hall.

Quran to sanctify the use of suicide bombers against political targets<sup>50</sup>.Islamic fundamentalism advocates the eradication of Israeli state and the United States of America taking a front line, and because terrorist cannot face the US in a conventional war they resort to terrorism targeting Africa a continent of interest for the west.

International Politics is also a causative factor of terrorism, the clash between the west and Islam on wider civilizational matters such as weapons, control of oil, human rights and democracy. Huntington perceives the resentment of the oriental towards the occidental is predicated by the historical rivalry between Christendom and Islam colonialism and Imperialism by the west and the subsequent reign of the after colonial political structure by of the Middle East, needless to mention, the anger and intimidation of the Islamic civilization has suffered in the hands of the west, the orient thus resorting to terrorism to check the advancement of the west by instilling psychological fear in them.<sup>51</sup>

The proliferation of small illicit arms and the increasingly porous nature of national borders, institutional weaknesses especially on the guarding of entry control points coupled with endemic corruption have enabled terrorist elements to execute their acts with little hindrance.<sup>52</sup> This has resulted in the liberty of people to access places and illegal commerce beyond national boundaries, a good example is the Kenya-Somalia boundary, which has not made it possible for refugees to enter Kenya but also terrorist and illegal weapons.

Technological advancements such as modern transportation facilitates the movements of terrorists easily<sup>53</sup> and advanced communication have enabled the terrorists to broaden their

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid

<sup>51</sup> Huntington .S.P.THE CLASH OF CIVILIZATION AND THE REMARKING OF WORLD ORDER, London United Kingdom

<sup>52</sup> Mboya H.T,STATE RESPONSES TO INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM M.A thesis unpublished2004 UON IDIS

<sup>53</sup> Nzomo.M. THEORETICAL APPROACHES IN IR: international organizations, unpublished.

audiences, there has been a push and pull between the government and the media, the public has a right to information whilst the government has been so rigid on the type of information that is relayed pertaining terrorist acts as it may have negative repercussions on combating terrorism a case like that of two diplomats who were held hostage in Tehran, Iran in 1979-1980 in which two efforts by US security to rescue them turned futile when it broadcasted live. <sup>54</sup>The US and her foreign policy especially in matters concerning the Middle East conflicts, and her predominance on global affairs, her investments in Africa readily makes the African continent a terrorist target.

## **2.5. Terrorism in Africa**

Africa's war on terrorism did not begin with the declaration of the "war on terror" after 9/11 but in Sudan in three decades as Sudan was Osama bin Laden's operational base, which was also where vengeance on Husni Mubarak was plotted. Some of these atrocious terrorism acts are particularly aimed at African governments for example, the radical Boko Haram in Nigeria, or the Al-Shabaab militant group in east Africa. The Lord's Resistance Army in northern Uganda. Others have clearly a globalized intention, a case in hand being, the al-Qaeda unit along the coastal eastern of Africa and also the northern part of Sahara, the Sudan military that went back to their motherland after taking part in the wars in Iran, Afghanistan, Syria, among others.

Nigeria was rated the third world worst hit country by terrorism<sup>55</sup> the Boko Haram which is an Islamic insurgency that country began in 2009. In 2011, 65 nationals lost their lives of which it was alleged the Boko Haram were behind it. In 2014, the fatality toll exceeded 1000, with a huge margin fluctuation in the subsequent years. This terrorist unit carried out its business very calmly in its initial stages of existence but it all transformed in

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<sup>54</sup> Lacquer. THE FUTILITY OF TERRORISM

2010 upon the state launching an inquiry into allegations that its members were armed. By this time numerous subscribers to this group were apprehended in Buchi, eliciting wars with Nigerian law enforcers resulting to fatality of around 800 Nigerians, during the fight it was asserted Boko haram gang employed motorcycles that were totally fueled up and arrows that were lethal to charge at law enforcement premise. The situation was not different. In 2011, immediately Good luck Jonathan was sworn in than there were bombings that claimed 15 lives and scores were injured, later in the same year the insurgent group bombed a police headquarter in Abuja and two months after the incident a United Nations building and in December 2011 proceeded to bomb and shoot at several churches.

By 2013, the Boko haram group claimed responsibility for over 920 fatalities. in April the same year a state of emergency was issued in an effort to dislodge the insurgent group it proved successful in the initial stages but Boko haram overpowered the governmental officials as in July of the same year it had maimed numerous Yobe pupils that prompted school closure indefinitely.

In the year that followed, terrorist kidnapped approximately 284 female pupils studying in Chibok College, it was later reported that the girls were taken to Cameroon and Chad countries in which they were bought as wives. It is this kidnapping that caught the international's eye and attention, that led to many states pledging aid for the Nigerian government, promising to assist her military with informative investigations on the location of the female and the operative base of Boko haram.

In May 2014, two bombs were detonated in Jos plateau state killing 118 people and 56 others sustaining injuries the bombs deliberately put to claim lives of thousands irrespective of religious faith, a move that was distinct with the prior executions that

targeted all other denominations except Islam. Boko haram usually indulges in abducting females in their prime years, to run and manage household and duties of wives the one that ostensibly stood out being the Chibok abductions of 2014, the group has forcibly converted non-Muslims to Islam.

In May 2014, the heads of states of West African states convened for a conference in France and reached an agreement of fighting Boko haram from a collaborative front, rationing specifically investigative information on the illegal squad. European states comprising UK Paris Israel and Us had also affirmed cooperation including technical skills and training.

Southern Somalia has had civil conflicts for over two decades. There has been no functioning government since Said Barre was overthrown in 1991. This region has been characterized with a lot of instability and insecurity too. External intervention by the US and other regional governments including Ethiopia, has contributed to the long period of statelessness and the birth of illegal units such as al-Shabaab. <sup>56</sup>Though there is no concurrence on the degree of terrorist movements in Somalia, there is an agreement that she serves as a refuge and habitat for Al-Qaeda operations of that area, since al-Qaeda utilized that country as a coordination and conveyance path, example the 1998 bombings and the 2002 hotel bombings where Al-Qaeda claimed responsibility.

In Uganda the insurgent groups such as Lord's resistance army and the alliance of democratic forces, who waged war in Uganda have been seen to employ brutal and terrorist tactics resulting to death of thousands of people.



Sudan is another example, where even though the spilt of the south from the north was seen to cool things down, tensions are still being experienced to date; a serious humanitarian crisis is still witnessed to date.

African countries have been greatly involved in combating terrorism .They have done it on national level, for example Kenya and South Africa the two countries are facing a growth in Islam-related terror squads and have battled with required fresh security laws that still preserved fresh attained civil rights, and for Kenya avoiding dire consequences from evolutions in Somalia through active diplomacy. Ethiopia has used the terrorism menace to crystallize her strategies of suppression and anti-democratic acts.

## **2.6 Functions of Institutions in Combating Terrorism**

The move towards Africa's integration has been viewed as a strategy of catalyzing the continents development, asserting its global significance, bolstering her global bargaining power, championing her interests and as a means of responding to the myriad challenges facing the also tried dealing with the terrorism issue as a region.

### **2.6.1. The UN and its Fight on Terrorism**

As a result of the nature of international relations, attempts to fight terrorism will always focus on legal and treaties obligation rather than action oriented measures.<sup>57</sup>The UN charter article 2(4) asserts that every country will shun in their foreign affairs<sup>58</sup>from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country or in any alternative fashion erratic from purposes of the UN, this amenity is

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<sup>57</sup> Wardlaw G. Political terrorism.

<sup>58</sup> The UN charter article 2(4)

deemed as a concept of customary international law and cutting across all countries in the globe<sup>59</sup>.

In 1972, the General Assembly of the UN put in place an ad hoc council on Terrorism<sup>60</sup> and in 1994 a calibrated proclamation to eradicate globalized terrorism was formalized<sup>61</sup> condemning 'all actions, means and practices of terrorism as criminal and justifiable, whenever and whatsoever committed'.

The Security Council has taken a pivotal lead in fighting the terrorist threat<sup>62</sup>, in Resolution 731(1992) the security council criticized Libya for failure to extradite suspected terrorist in the bombing of an aircraft, whereas a day after the September 11, 2001 attacks, Resolution 1368(2001) was implemented asserting its determination to combat by all means any threat to international peace and security caused by terrorist attacks.

Resolution 1373 further condemned terrorism urging all states to coordinate in the fight against Terrorism but of importance the UN Security Council established a counter terrorism committee<sup>63</sup> which was tasked with the responsibility of preparing appropriate Laws on Terrorism and examining the availability of various technical, financial, legislative to aid in the Implementation of Resolution 1373. The success of the UN in the war on terror has been realized by the enactment of twelve conventions against terrorism and all its manifestations<sup>64</sup> which are;

- The international convention for suppression of Terrorism act

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<sup>59</sup> Schacher.Oand Smith H, international law and case material 3<sup>rd</sup> edition St. Paul 1993.

<sup>60</sup> General Assembly Resolution 3034

<sup>61</sup> General Assembly Resolution 49/60(1994)

<sup>62</sup> See Resolution 579(1985)where it condemns all acts of hostage taking, and terrorism in all its forms.

<sup>63</sup> Shaw .M.N International Law cases and materials 3<sup>rd</sup> edition St.Paul1993

<sup>64</sup> Aust Anthony, implementation kits for the International Counter terrorism conventions

- The international Convention for the suppression of terrorism financing.
- The convention on offences and acts committed on board aircrafts.
- Convention for suppression of unlawful seizures of aircrafts.
- Convention for suppression of unlawful acts against the safety of civil aviation.
- Convention and prevention and punishment of crimes against protected persons including diplomatic agents.
- International convention against the taking of hostages
- Convention on the physical protection of nuclear material
- Protocol for the suppression of unlawful acts of violence at airports serving international civil aviation
- Convention for the suppression of acts against the safety of maritime navigation.
- Protocol for the suppression of unlawful acts against the safety of fixed platforms located on the continental shelf.

The UN encourages diplomacy be applied in responding to Terrorism. Military force should be a last resort after the exhaustion of peaceful remedies and in the face of terrorist acts. In case of military action, proper targets of a terrorist counter attack should be the terrorist themselves and hence should not target innocent people<sup>65</sup>, or those the terrorist claim to be representing, as this would be indiscriminate and therefore also terroristic in nature.

### **2.6.2 The African union response to terrorism**

The cross-border nature of international terrorism requires a lot of international cooperation when dealing with the issue of counter terrorism even on national level, especially in interchange of information, rationing of investigative report and coordination

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<sup>65</sup> Nzomo. Maria theoretical approaches in IR (unpublished)

among intelligence bodies and need for mutual aid in investigation, prevention and persecution of terrorist.

As a regional organization the AU contributes greatly to peace keeping initiatives in the continent as well as in conflict prevention and management. In addressing the issue of terrorism this regional organization has a counter terrorism framework which entails

- The OAU treaty and plan of action.
- Institutional framework of the peace and security department of the African Union commission.
- The African Centre for the study and research of Terrorism.
- Regional Economic Committees counter terrorism measures within their peace and security framework.

The OAU convention (1999), the protocol (2004) and the plan of action (2002) are the AU's counter terrorism legal instruments these conventions comprise of entities on extradition, the interchange of information, capacity building and other elements whose aim is to strengthen coordination in the field of counter terrorism in Africa.

In its preamble, member states acknowledge that terrorism violated human rights, hence cannot and should not be justified under any circumstances and offered to fight it.

Member states are to renounce any actions which comprise Organization, support, finance commitment or incitement to execute terrorist actions, or supplying weapons habitats for terrorist or issuing visas and other travel documents.<sup>66</sup> OAU's protocol, which adopted in 2004, is conferred with the responsibility of implementing regional, continental and

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<sup>66</sup> The OAU Charter article 4(1).

international counterterrorism instruments on the peace and Security Council of the African Union as well as harmonizing and coordinating effects in the combat of terrorism.

It has founded the African Centre for the study and Research of terrorism, which is the functioning arm of the AU commission for counter terrorism implementation in Africa.

The Defense and Security Division of the peace and Security Department, which is under the AU commission, has the responsibility for developing counter terrorism policies, as well as ensuring that there is a political consensus reached on AU counter terrorism programs. It also ensures there is a political mandate working for the ACSRT. The peace and security department has the task of ensuring the development of Legal instruments and policies for the AU action against terrorism.

The ACSRT which is operational arm of the AU Commission is in charge of facilitating and delivery of counter terrorism technical assistance to the member states. It further provides the expertise in matters regarding the prevention and combating of terrorism in Africa, as well as strengthening the capacity of AU member states, including the implementation of the anti-terrorism instruments.

The ACSRT being the epicenter of the AU is tasked with centralizing of information, studies and analysis of terrorism, terrorist groups and related activities and also developing of training programs, by organizing the said with the assistance of international partners. It offers the AU Counter terrorism objectives and translates continental commitments of member states into concrete action.

The ACSRT helps international partners in development of technical assistance programs that support the capacity building of counter terrorism in Africa and collaborates in offering the said programs to African states. It also maintains data base regarding

prevention and combating of terrorism, the assessment and analysis of terrorist groups and their activities in Africa, so that it can inform the AU member states and international partners on the threats and need for availability of experts to address the counter terrorism needs of the member states.

The African mission in Somalia (AMISOM), which is a regional peace keeping mission under the AU with the approval of UN Somalia, has the mandate to support transitional government structures in Somalia and fight the insurgent groups. It is also responsible in implementing a national security plan in Somalia, and assisting in creating a secure environment for the delivery of Human aid.

### **2.6.3 Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)**

The intergovernmental authority has resolved to battle terrorism in the horn of Africa region by outlining a policy to counter terrorism in the region. The draft highlights abject poverty, deprivation and injustices as causative factors of terrorism in Africa, IGAD encourages her members to implement effective counter terrorism legislations and strategies to freeze funds and other assets of terrorism and verify activities of charitable organizations. In the draft it stresses the need to enhance operational capacity to counter illegal cross border movements, incorporate additional security strategies to ascertain forged documents, prevent arms proliferation and establish a Centre whereby the exchange of information from various counter terrorism agencies, judicial bodies and legislative entities can be realized.

In 2006, IGAD launched in Addis Ababa Ethiopia, a four year program called the IGAD Capacity program against Terrorism, a program that has been funded by the EU and other programs like, The International Organization on Migration(IOM), the UN office on drugs and crimes (UNODC), the Terrorism Prevention Branch(TPB), The East Africa Police

Chiefs Cooperation Organization(EAPCOO) and the Common Wealth Secretariat, in conjunction with high level experts from the region, it has country specific capacity building initiatives.

ICPAT largely focuses on affairs dealing with capacity and confidence building in the locality in areas of; enhancing judicial measure, promoting immense inter-agency cooperation on counter terrorism within individual IGAD member states, enhancing border control, providing training sharing information and promoting strategic cooperation.

The first ministerial conference on countering terrorism was held in Kampala, in which an array of issues were discussed touching on the establishment of inter-ministerial counter terrorism coordination from all states, in upholding human rights while countering terrorism, the interchange of information and experiences in countering terrorism which entails founding a platform for counter terrorism specialties, it is in this meeting that member states were requested implement the UN Global Counter terrorism strategy.

#### **2.6.4 Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)**

Through its peace and security sector, ECOWAS has been very effective in its counter terrorism measures. This body established a warning and response network, which is involved in sharing of an information program addressing security issues, named ECOWARN, operational by ECOWAS observation and monitoring Centre. ECOWARN offers space in evaluating, informing and guiding responses to untimely threats, which comprise terror threats in the sub area.

ECOWARN is a leading body on counter terrorism financing in Africa, through the international plan of action group against money laundering and terrorist financing in

West Africa (GIABA) that had been founded by ECOWAS head of states and government in 2000, it aids in the combat against terrorism and money laundering.

## **2.7 Challenges Faced by institutions in Combating Terrorism**

There has been no adequate enforcement of machinery to secure compliance by state parties that fail to live up to their obligations. The UN lacks political authority to secure such compliances from the sovereign states for example there is no internationally sanctioned regulation for the control of reproduction of weapons.<sup>67</sup>

The African Centre of the study and research of terrorism is deemed successful in organizing several conventions of national and regional levels including East Africa, as well as several training conferences in her resource in Algiers, all the same, it has largely been limited by inadequate resources in its capacity of making practical benefactions geared to realizing of multi-faceted objective, forcing it to depend on external donations from European Union committees and the European delegation.

Another challenge facing the African union in its counterterrorism efforts is the lack of cooperation among the member states. For instance only 37 out of 53 countries formalized the OAU convention of 1999 and the AU plan of action.

IGAD as a regional body is trying its best to fight terrorism nonetheless it faces the challenges such as Eritrea not being a member of IGAD hence inhibiting its effectiveness in capacity building program against terrorism (ICAPT), conditions have hindered the evolution of a prosperous sub-regional security and counter terrorism agenda, a classic example being the difficulty of launching a special program for Somalia in light of its

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<sup>67</sup> Maria Nzomo. Theoretical approaches in IR ( unpublished)



grave needs. There is also little willingness for the member states within the East Africa region to cooperate in the implementation of counter terrorism strategies.

## **2.8. Conclusion**

This chapter has offered an in-depth analysis of terrorism in Africa, and brought to light that African states should come up with security measures and intelligence which involves the citizens as a strategy to protect them. There is also the need for African governments to address the underlying causes of and rifts that generates radicalism such as political inequality and lack of jobs among the youth. There arises a serious need for self-reflection and the realization that Africa should find a lasting solution to the terrorism menace bedeviling this continent, when this path is genuinely pursued then this continent will witness the true essence of African renaissance in the world.

The moment is overdue when any person can allege unawareness of all that is transpiring in Africa or about what is required to realize prosperity. The moment has also elapsed when the obligation of creating reform can be transferred unto others' shoulders. It is for us and also for them—the globe's and Africa's — Former UN General Secretary Kofi Annan.

## CHAPTER THREE

### TERRORISM AND ITS SOCIO-ECONOMIC EFFECTS IN KENYA

#### 3.1. Introduction

The word terrorism sends a chill down the spine of every Kenyan,<sup>68</sup> due to the fact that she has experienced this menace times without number leading to adverse social and economic effects in this great nation. Kenya has dearly paid for being in the cross-fire between the west and the east.<sup>69</sup> This chapter delves into exploring the social and economic impacts of terrorism in Kenya.

Kenya is an East African country and measures 582646 square kilometers, and comprises of 42 ethnic tribes, it lies at the equator, and being endowed with a port at the coastal region gives her edge over her immediate neighbors in term of external Trade.

Kenya prides in being a renowned regional stronghold economically in the better part of Northern Africa; by being most stable and authentic democratic state in the area<sup>70</sup> boasting of the largest economy in the sub-Saharan classified across sectors such as Tourism, Agriculture ,transportation, banking etc.

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<sup>68</sup>Karanja W, sleepless nights in Nairobi , Nairobi world press . Nairobi.

<sup>69</sup> Karanja W, sleepless nights in Nairobi, Nairobi world press. Nairobi.

<sup>70</sup> Rotberg R, battling terrorism in the horn of Africa world peace foundation 2005 massachusetts, US

### 3.2 Factors Facilitating Terrorism in Kenya

Kenya's geo-political location on the Indian Ocean and proximity to Somalia makes it a 'soft' target of the terrorists as it is found in a worrying and unstable region where intra-country battles are usual, defined by proxy forces, home to terrorist organizations such as the A-Shabaab making Kenya prone to vagaries of nature that has visited the country causing immense physical and human damages. Her ties to the west and Israeli also make it susceptible to terrorist attacks that are aimed at the USA and Israel.

Kenya has also suffered a series of international terrorism due to her ethno-religious composition which provides an excellent conducive place for terrorist to intermingle with other Kenyans without eliciting suspicions, due to better infrastructure, Kenya hosts a number of multi-national corporations and diplomatic corps, she prides in creating home for a single United Nations headquarters, that is exclusively independent from those in the US and Western Europe and for this reason enabling terrorist to find a fertile spot to hit their opponents – the West.

This country's relatively heightened degrees of misdoings and the sidelining of its mostly Muslim communities progress in the enhancement of principal recruiting grounds for local terrorists fanatics and supporters.<sup>71</sup> The proliferation of small illicit arms and the increasingly porous nature of national borders, influx of refugees, poor guarding of entry points has made it easier for terrorists' elements to execute their acts with little hindrance<sup>72</sup>. Terrorism in Kenya can be dissected into either domestic or international terrorism as discussed below.

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<sup>71</sup> Carson Jstruggle against terrorism OCP Cit.

<sup>72</sup> Mboya.H.T,state responses to international terrorism unpublished 2004 UON IDIS.

### 3.3 Domestic Terrorism in Kenya

Terrorism can be traced back into the colonial times when the Agikuyu initiated the mau mau rebellion when attempts to achieve independence by peaceful means were met with savage repression<sup>73</sup>. The British governments dismissed these to be acts of savagery and not legitimate grievances, prompting western journalist and authors to translate the acts into sensational acts of terror.<sup>74</sup> Mau Mau were considered criminals who were relentlessly terrorizing the British government and not freedom fighters<sup>75</sup>.

British aimed 1.6 million Kikuyus who had been suspected of taking an oath; pledging to fight for land and freedom, this birthed the mau mau upsurge that took place in 1952 an aftermath of country's savagery plus the rejoinder of Africans to counter violence.<sup>76</sup>

In March 1975 a bomb exploded at the overseas terminus Centre (OTC) in a Mombasa bound bus awaiting its departure from Nairobi killing 27 people it was later established as a reaction to the murder of J.M.Kariuki a prominent politician whose body was found in Ngong' an outskirt of Nairobi.

In 1980, an explosion occurred at the Norfolk Hotel on New Year's Eve, 100 people sustained injuries in that incident that claimed 16 lives.<sup>77</sup> Prior to the 1992 elections, over 2000 Kenyans died as a consequent of politically instigated ethnic clashes whose intent was instill fear against voting for opposition.

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<sup>73</sup> Kinyatti M, maumau ; a revolution betrayed London vital books.

<sup>74</sup> Clough M, mau mau memoirs

<sup>75</sup> Elkins C, Britain's Gulay:the brutal end of empire in Kenya london publishers

<sup>76</sup> Maloba O.W, maumau and Kenya oxford Indian university press

<sup>77</sup> Otieno S and Murimi J terrorists incidents The standard daily June 12 2007

Between the years 1993-2000, North western parts were subjected to Terrorism where 300000 herds and over 200 lives were lost as a result of bandits<sup>78</sup>, in 1997 a recurrence of the same was witnessed in Mombasa claiming 100 lives and in Laikipia 1000 people died.

In 2002, tens of lives were lost and Kenyans subjected to terror and fear by a quasi-religious group known as Mungiki, who recruited the Agikuyu youth their intention being to eradicate Westernization and embrace their ancestral culture such as female genital mutilation, in 2003 after the elections, a repeat of the same occurred in Nakuru where thousands of lives were lost.

The 2007 post-election violence was the height of domestic terrorism that this nation had ever witnessed, thousands of people were killed, many displaced, others became physically challenged and property worth millions damaged, it took the intervention of Kofi Annan, who was then community of nations 'general secretary, to mediate between both former principals ultimately arriving at an amicable solution for the country to heal.

### **3.4 International Terrorism in Kenya**

Kenya has succumbed to numerous attacks of terror that made a reporter from an international broadcasting corporation CNN to perceive the nation as a 'hot bed' of terror

In August 7, 1998 Embassy of the United States of America in Nairobi was bombed by the Al Qaida killing 225 people and injuring 5000.<sup>79</sup>

In 2002, an Israeli -owned paradise hotel was bombed killing 16 people and injuring scores, in the same year missiles were fired at an Israeli-based plane after takeoff from Moi international airport in Mombasa.

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<sup>78</sup> ibid

<sup>79</sup> US state department ,safety and security,<http://travel.state.gov/travel>

In June 2010, two petrol bombs were hurled in Uhuru Park targeting a constitutional campaign rally that was set up by religious leaders to advise Christians to vote against a proposed constitution in the referendum. The two explosives killed five people and injured 75 others.

In September 2013, a grenade was recovered from the office of the prime minister; in the same year at least 20 grenades have exploded in various parts in Kenya, from Mombasa, Garissa,

Nairobi which has been hard hit, in buses heading to Githurai in the outskirts of Nairobi, to nightclub in Eastleigh, to a mosque in which Kamukunji Member of Parliament Yusuf, was victim and it crippled him. in the jua kali market Gikomba where property of unknown value was destroyed and thousands were injured, an explosive was also recovered from jubilee Christian church in Parklands, clearly indicating that the terrorists were targeting police stations and crowded places and hence Kenyans were advised to avoid crowded areas.

In September 2014, the west gate mall in westlands was under siege, the Al Shabaab killed so many children and people, taking five hours battle with the Kenya defense forces who later succeed in rescuing those victims that had been able to hide themselves from the terrorists.

In November 2014, two quarries were attacked on separate days by Al shabaab who shot the miners, In December the same year, the al shabaab militia ambushed a bus travelling to Nairobi from Garissa, they forced all the passengers to alight and recite some Quran verses, those that were unable were made to lie down and were shot on their heads 36 people died in this incident many of whom were teachers in Garissa, who were travelling to Nairobi to celebrate Christmas with family members.

In March 2015, the Garissa University was ambushed by the Al Shabaab militia, students in their rooms were woken by the continuous gun shots, property worth millions was destroyed, 147 lives of these students were lost and many others subjected to physical and psychological trauma.

The after terror impact was so enormous that, led to a stampede in kikuyu campus that so students jump through their windows when a transformer exploded in the wee hours of the morning, thinking it was an Al -Shabaab attack.

### **3.5 The Social and Economic Effects of Terrorism in Kenya**

Terrorism has grave and multi -faceted socio-Economic repercussions in Kenya, in a variety of areas ranging from trade, tourism, religious integration and transport either directly or indirectly as discussed hereunder;

#### **3.5.1 Impact of Terrorism on Tourism in Kenya**

Tourism in Kenya remains one of the largest contributors of Foreign Exchange earnings in Kenya today <sup>80</sup>.Kenya aspires to become amongst the top ten long-hand tourist destinations in the world offering high end distinct and diverse visitor experience.<sup>81</sup>

This sector generates 500 million US dollars annually as foreign exchange and around 500,000 Kenyans have their jobs connected to Tourism<sup>82</sup> both in the formal and informal sector, leading to economic growth and poverty eradication by increasing Government

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<sup>80</sup> Njuguna Ndung'u, et al unlocking the future potential for Kenya :The Vision 2030

<sup>81</sup> Government of Kenya, Kenya vision 2030:A globally competitive and prosperous Kenya.

<sup>82</sup> National Geographic news, terrorism taking toll on kenya's tourism industry see <http://www.nationalgeographic.com>

returns in the name of tax, charges and permit fee stimulating progress in a variety of country's sectors such as horticulture and Transport<sup>83</sup>.

The ministry of Tourism has implemented policies that strive to see to it that the Tourism sector retain its position as a leading contributor to Kenya's economy in terms of foreign exchange and job creation, that will increase tourism numbers, length of stay and expenditures, diversification and development of tourism products<sup>84</sup>. In the same vein, the ministry has embraced product diversification, moving from the traditional coast and wildlife attraction to sports tourism such as golfing, mountain and rock climbing, white water rafting, and also cultural tourism such as traditional dances and local handicrafts, beadwork, basketry and woodcarving; site seeing in places like the crying stone in western region, and the Lake Victoria in Kisumu.

This country's heritage is apparently show cased in its prosperous naturally, cultured and prior to the historic richness and diversity .The 43 array of traditions and lifestyles comprise the country's strong hold having an impact on Kenya's development.

Patrimony management entails the protection and sustenance of public and private projects in natural areas and cultural resources incorporating the preservation of habitats, species, artifacts, monument and essential historical monuments. These endowments are crucial tourist attractions for Kenya.

Terrorism has a significant impact on tourist behavior. According to lecey, terrorist executions result in foreigners to persistently question the degree of their guaranteed safety in doing certain trips.

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<sup>83</sup> Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife,tourism and wildlife,vol.001july-september 2006

<sup>84</sup> Government of Kenya National Tourism Policy;ministry of tourism and wildlife.



These atrocities could predicate a person from so journeying entirely for quite a span of time or in a lifetime should the terroristic vices be granted room at heightened degree due to magnitude of threat. <sup>85</sup>Consequently this menace often causes cancellations of hotel bookings and reluctance by would- be visitors in particular resorts. The repercussions are cynical impact on tourists visits in states whose level of terrorist attacks are alarming hence may affect the whole economy.

In Kenya, the tourism sector has been hard hit, numerous cancellations on hotel bookings have been experienced, and also the on/ off travel advisories issued by the west hamper on the tourism business, for example, the American relentlessly offers travel advisories and bans occasionally, consequently resulting to the loss of jobs by nationals, this has a negative trickle effect on the country's economy. Terrorist executions on tourist resorts such as airstrips, restaurants and country's endowments besides means of transport brings to fore considerations of stakes engaged in holiday planning, Just one abhorrence attack at a famous terrorist locality can result in the alteration of foreigners 'scheme of enjoying holiday home elsewhere.

In 2015, there was a great slump of the number of tourists in the country from the year 2014 from 800,000 to 750,000 causing great decrease in government revenue; the government of Kenya had to spend 627 million shillings on hospitality and travels<sup>86</sup>.and more funds will be set aside to continue marketing Kenya abroad, especially in tourist source markets of Europe and North America.

The wildlife service has also lost a considerable amount owing to the drastic fall of tourists visiting the country, resulting to several many lay –offs.

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<sup>85</sup> lecey m, threats of terrorism hurts Kenya Tourism see [http://proquest .um/pqdw](http://proquest.um/pqdw).

<sup>86</sup> Newspaper, The standard newspaper, Thursday 14 April 2016 page 6.

### **3.5.2 Effects of Terrorism on Trade in Kenya**

The Kenya's foreign policy has always endeavored to improve her trading relations with traditional trading partners and establish trade relations with new partners, in the west the US and European countries her important trading partners whereas china remains prominent trading partner in the East.

The government of Kenya has implemented national trading polices that emphasize the essence of International trade in the promotion of Kenya's Economic interests, aware that the need for coherent trade policy and identification of conducive policy environment is of importance in a bid to flourish trade. It has continued deepening ties with regional and international partners in order to expand markets, create jobs, and boost growth. The former government led by Mwai Kibaki shifted economic relations to Asian countries especially China and the Uhuru government has followed suit, as Kenya's interests have been realized through these relations.

The Kenyan economic Grand strategy endeavors to amalgamate the spoils in every sector and for the lives of the people of this country by attaining a 15% gross domestic product, the regions that make up for the larger part of Kenya's 57% gross domestic product are targeted, these are; hospitality husbandry, trade, Manufacturing, IT enabled services and Financial service, Seeking to improve capital flow in Kenya and Eastern part of Africa region and also support exportation and investment by Kenyan entrepreneurs within and beyond the region. Expanding access to traditional markets and exploring new destination for the country's exports.

The strategy is also committed to enhancing technological advancement by exploring alternative sources of affordable and appropriate technology, as well as explores alternative sources of traditional and renewable energy and also strengthening regional

economic communities and organizations that serve as competitive spring boards to emerging and global markets.

Kenya's increased interest in regional economic bodies such as the East African Community (EAC) and common markets for eastern and southern Africa (COMESA). was propelled by the roles the aforementioned bodies play in accelerating economic growth through enhanced trade, these bodies increase competition among firms within the trade blocs leading to lower prices and high sales within the already larger market.

The Kenya china relations have brought a lot of benefit to the country, as several joint projects are ongoing among which include dredging and deepening of Mombasa Port, development of new transport corridors such as the lamu to moyale, rehabilitation and expansion of Kisumu Airport and Nairobi Metropolitan region bus transit.

Construction of LPG handling facility in Mombasa and Nairobi as well as appraisal drilling project to ascertain quality and viability of coal deposit in mui basin of Kitui and Mwingi and the appraisal drilling at Olkaria and Wind power generation are also projected, the implementation of 330KV transmission line project between Arusha and Nairobi as well as co-generation of power processing of sugar are also earmarked.

All these projects and trade relations have a great economic growth effect for the country, however, they have been directly or indirectly affected by terrorism, creating loss of business confidence as it scares away potential investors who would have invested were it not for the threats.

There have been also massive losses on the agricultural sector due to domestic terrorism that has displaced many Kenyans leaving them landless, hence little farming of products

such as tea and coffee among others are not exported as much as it ought to, affecting bilateral trade between countries and loss of foreign exchange earnings.

Kenya's rating as an investment destination as well as a peaceful state was dented leading to its losing out some of its business to other countries in the region like Tanzania and Rwanda in terms of tourism and trade respectively

The government of Kenya is experiencing a balance of trade deficit, as a result of importing more than what she exports resulting in a sharp rise of public debt.

According to the daily, growth of public debt is now at 3.16 trillion and each Kenyan including school children owe a debt of 79000 a rise by 17000 in one year.

The government debts for the year 2014 and 2015 stands at 230 billion locally and 450 billion externally, this is hugely contributed by both domestic and international terrorism that has been a menace on Kenyan soil.

### **3.5.3 Effects of Terrorism on Religious Integration**

Religious rationales have been deemed appealing to universal terrorism in Africa including Kenya<sup>87</sup> due to a growing concern of erosion of Islamic morals as a result of the western culture, this, in combination with the local scenarios of marginalization where most of the recruited youth like in Al shabaab come from areas that are economically poor.

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<sup>87</sup> Kefa M. Otiso, Kenya in the crosshairs of global terrorism: Fighting terrorism at the periphery, Kenya studies review volume 1 number 1

Increased radicalization in Kenya has been linked to Muslim Organizations where the Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK) and the United Muslims of Africa- (UMA)<sup>88</sup> were accused of responsibility over clashes in Mombasa in the 90s.

Actors in such traditional wrangles supported by alien motivations have slowly metamorphosed to be engaged in crimes that transcend national boundaries, for example the little known Islamic Liberation Army of the People of Kenya (ILAPK) claimed responsibility for the 1998 bombing of the US embassy in Nairobi.<sup>89</sup>

Somalis' growing Islamist radicalism is spilling over in Kenya .the Al-shabaab militant have established a cross-border presence and a clandestine support network among Muslim population in the North East and Nairobi and in the coastal region, trying to radicalize and recruit youth from these communities, often underscoring on the grievances against the central State<sup>90</sup>.

The secretariat element of terrorist attacks on the coastal and north eastern region particularly in Lamu, Mandera and recently Garissa between July 2014 and April 2015 and a blooming trend of religious extremism among the Mombasa's youth brought the threat of political Islam to light in the arena of political discourse.

The staunch indication of Al Shabaab infiltration into Kenya and their rebranding its operations in the country as Al Hijra has made it apparent that terrorists have support sources in Kenya and that the country is not 'an innocent victim on the war on terror'<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> DIIS Working paper no2006/22.9 See Hassan ndzovu

<sup>89</sup> Bjorn Moller religion and conflict in Africa: with a special Focus on East Africa.

<sup>90</sup> International crisis group (2012) Kenya Somalia Radicalisation,African Briefing.

<sup>91</sup> Forster R and waterman A (2015) Beyond Mombasa Rethinking counter radicalization in Kenya, consultancy Africa.

Terrorism motivated by religious dogmas usually results to severely great executions of violence causing considerable fatalities than other relative discriminating acts of violence perpetrated by secular terrorist organization, the reason why religious terrorism results in so many deaths than secular terrorism may be found in the radically different value systems mechanism of legitimization and justification, concepts of morality and worldviews embraced by the religious terrorist.

Terrorism has serious and multi- faceted socio –economic repercussions that are present in many regions. Richardson asserts that as a result of terrorism, life becomes uncertain as the terrorist kill unarmed civilians including women and children<sup>92</sup>.

This codified felonies and vehemence cause social discord and the interrelationship entailing an array of subversive gangs and their alien association soliciting illicit finances and encourage smuggling<sup>93</sup>.

Majority of the subversive gangs accumulate certain percentages of finances from the employees and business men on consistent terms hence impacting negatively on the economic development of the affected areas<sup>94</sup>, in Kenya this is not new, as the Mungiki a quasi- religious illegal sect, can act as a classic example of how they extort money from the transport sector especially from drivers plying different routes in this republic and also from middle income entrepreneurs, those that do not comply are either killed or their enterprises demolished.

The immediate impact of both domestic and international terrorism in Kenya usually resulted to death, destruction of property contributing to poverty, whereas survivors have been left with physical and psychological trauma, negative changes of the Gross Domestic

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<sup>92</sup> Richardson. H and Gordon. P, the economic costs and consequences of Terrorism

<sup>93</sup> Jackson.P, Terrorism:A critical introduction (2011) palgrave macmillan.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

Product (GDP) has been experienced, poor rate of foreign direct investments (FDI) poor performance in the stock market, increase in the Government debt, the country has had to channel more finances in the security sector, and coupled with the task of investing in counter terrorism measures against future attacks that can cause further adverse socio-economic effects in the well-being of this great nation.

### **3.6. Conclusion**

This chapter has critically delved into the history of both domestic and international terrorism and has satisfactorily brought to fore the adverse social and economic impacts of terrorism in Kenya. The country may disagree on many things which may seem blurred but a point of convergence is; terrorism is a menace that the government of the day, the opposition and the general public need to put concerted effort to deal with it.

All the community of nations have an obligation to join hands in their cohesion with casualties of terrorism and in their quest to take action .....both against the terrorists themselves and against all those who give them any kind of support, reinforcement or inspiration.- former secretary general, Kofi Annan.

It will be prudent to know the counter terrorism measures that this country has implemented in an effort to curb this menace, and this is duly discussed in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **KENYA'S INSTITUTIONAL AND STRATEGIC MEASURES TO COUNTER TERRORISM**

#### **4.1. Introduction**

Terrorist attacks and networks across nations have brought a paradigm shift in the security systems and procedures. There is no single state that can confidently insulate itself from this menace, thus there is need for deliberate concerted efforts for Governments, private sectors and security institutions in fighting the menace.

An effective counter terrorism policy must go beyond uncompromising commitment to thwart those who seek to harm us this day. Cooperation is necessary to meet this and we must make sure that new terrorist recruits do not come to take the place of those we have defeated.<sup>95</sup> In an effort to fight terrorism Kenya has established various measures as discussed here under;

#### **4.2. Cooperation**

The ministry of Foreign Affairs declared that they were persuaded beyond doubt that battling terrorism is possible and victorious by means of collaborative move executed by

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<sup>95</sup> Benjamin D (2010) planned counter terrorism , foreign policy at brookings policy paper no.7



the United Nations encouraging countries to address Terrorism under the umbrella of the community of Nations and employ tried and tested long-term modalities to eradicate this menace over and beyond. <sup>96</sup>Kenya embraces collective movement in any bilateral, national and regional degree in her support of formation of the African Centre for the study and Research of terrorism in Algiers as a custom made measure for African continent. Kenya is the co-founder of the regional Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) counter terrorism plan on the staving off and battling Terrorism and its implementation drafted in Kampala in 2003<sup>97</sup>.

IGAD plan is materializing in Addis Ababa freezing terrorist accounts, preventing illegal border movement enhancing judicial measures and strategic cooperation<sup>98</sup>.

In the spirit of cooperation Kenya has been a participant of the eleven countries that ratified the US backed regional task force responding to disasters and Terrorists attacks, which was birthed on 30 July 2003<sup>99</sup> other countries were Ethiopia, Congo, Eritrea, Rwanda, Seychelles, Burundi, Uganda, Djibouti and Tanzania.

Kenya is presently active in the US East Africa counter terrorism Initiative (EACTI) which has set aside an enormous amount of capital to enhance law enforcement officers and courts counter terrorist potential, in the East Africa capital cities such as Nairobi, Dar-es salaam, Kampala, Ouagadougou, and Addis Ababa.<sup>100</sup> EACTI's chief task is to equip top most decision makers in the anti-terrorism unit and legislators specialized in the drafting of legislations on terrorist financing and money laundering.

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<sup>96</sup> Kenya ministry of Foreign Affairs – The 60<sup>th</sup> normative meeting of the United Nations General Assembly.

<sup>97</sup> Makinda S, Responding to Terror threat perth, Murdoch University.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid

<sup>99</sup> <http://www.Somalilandtimesnet>.

<sup>100</sup> BBC news online “East Africa anti-terrorist plan”

Kenya has over the years organized international and regional conferences which have explored the progress made in fighting terrorism in East and Central Africa<sup>101</sup>. The conference chiefly deals with how to curb conditions that facilitate extremists to recruit and train Non –followers.

Kenya has deepened her cordial cooperation with the US on counter terrorism and consequently became a benefactor from the US assistance to inculcate Anti-Terror law enforcement component and improve air and sea port security, her military have taken part in the trainings and operations with the US financed a united man power force –Horn of Africa (JTF-HOA) a personnel that is charged with the responsibility of disrupting transnational terrorist groups in the horn of Africa region<sup>102</sup>.

### **4.3. Diplomacy**

Kenya has participated in the creation of agreements among nations. It has formalized all counterterrorism treaties and concords; it prides in being party to the conventions related to terrorism. This great nation has been active in the regional front. It spearheaded the African summit on terrorism that adopted the declaration against terrorism in October 2001 and the organization of African Unity (OAU) convention that it ratified on 28/11/2001.<sup>103</sup> The country provides prevention, management and peaceful resolution of conflict<sup>104</sup> recognizing the fact that fights and conflict continue to impede peace, steadiness in both social and economic developments.

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<sup>101</sup> Herman the real terror network: Terrorism in fact and propaganda (Boston :South end 1982)

<sup>102</sup> US state department countering Terrorism: the case of Kenya, [www.ctc.usma.edu/aq/aq](http://www.ctc.usma.edu/aq/aq).

<sup>103</sup> UNHCR digest of jurisprudence of the UN and regional organizations on the protection of human rights while countering terrorism.

<sup>104</sup> Kenya Ministry of Foreign Affairs the 58<sup>th</sup> regular sessions of the United Nations general assembly

In the spirit of peace, Kenya spearheaded the Intergovernmental Authorization development IGAD on the war in Southern of Sudan and Somalia leading to the signing agreement in Sudan and the creation of an interim governing body in Somalia, Kenya pressurized Somalia to expel Al Qaida.

Diplomatic methods of fighting terrorism are intended to foster good neighborliness in the region and therefore promote cooperation.

#### **4.4. Enhancing Security**

In terms of enhancing security the government of Kenya has done so much for instance, in January 2004 the national counter terrorism center was founded the most uniquely choreographed in Africa.<sup>105</sup> The facility is tasked with the mandate of coordinating information on terrorism thus improve security in the Horn of Africa.

Kenya has placed huge emphasis on law enforcement, propounding that it is the most intellectually unchanging modalities of dealing with terrorists' sophisticated political inducements or fanaticism<sup>106</sup>, the government has also increased its budget for the armed forces in an effort to enhance flexibility

Defense has also been beefed up towards Sudan and Somalia, as a result of their supposed sponsorship of terrorism<sup>107</sup>.

Security has been enhanced along the Somalia border, which over the years has been extremely porous in order to stem inflows of would be terrorist who may wish to cross the

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<sup>105</sup> Library of congress –federal research division country profile:kenya june 2007  
<http://www.ctc.usma.edu/aq/aq>.

<sup>106</sup> Kennedy E opp cit.

<sup>107</sup> Lacquer W, no end to war – terrorism in the twenty first century (new york:Continuum, 2003)

border for any ill motive.<sup>108</sup> Kenya also established an Inter-agency coastal steering committee<sup>109</sup> to enhance security in Kenya's coastline.

The country's navy had upgraded its equipment and set up patrols on the Kenyan coastline to eradicate maritime threats which include terrorism, arms and drug trafficking. In 2006, the US donated six armored speed boats worth 216 million shillings to facilitate Kenya's police territorial waters<sup>110</sup>.

The government has created and deployed more law enforcement personnel from the tourist constabulary unit in the mainstream tourist localities and accessibility pathways while a round the clock communication center was founded by an exclusive sector to aid law enforcers.

Kenya wildlife Service was also not left out in fighting the vice, as the units emergency services are readily available to counter terrorism<sup>111</sup> security measures have been tightened in the aviation industry, and border points of entry to Kenya, which entails some computerized immigration systems at major entry points of the country<sup>112</sup>.

Surveillance at landing strips vacation spots and restaurants round the clock surveillance of flight approach paths, spot checks on all motorists and foreigners' parks, and the 24-hours surveillance of flight approach paths, spot checks on all vehicles and visitors' parks, and around the clock supervision radar beacon at Nairobi national park next to Jomo Kenyatta International Airport<sup>113</sup>.

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<sup>108</sup> US government OPP Cit.

<sup>109</sup> Library of congress-Federal research Division Country profile: Kenya ,June 2007.

<sup>110</sup> Alex N, US donates boats to secure Kenya's coastline the standard October 92006

<sup>111</sup> Nation Kenya: Kenya is safe, minister tells tourist.

<sup>112</sup> <http://www.forbes.com/kenya-tanzania> anti terrorism

<sup>113</sup> Cyber cast News service –Uk issues terror alert, CNS New.com

Kenya has also embolden the anti-corruption crusade by establishing the ethics and anti-corruption commission (EACC) to deal with corrupt matters due to the recognition that some corrupt individuals support terrorists due to the enticement in terms of bribes to let in the dangerous weapons into the country<sup>114</sup>, there was a major reform in the judiciary that saw most judges being deployed to different courts all in an effort to curb corruption.

Kenyan government has put in place a joint body entailing National disaster executive committee, National disaster coordinating committee; national disaster operations center a functional arm that coordinates disaster management activities in the whole country<sup>115</sup>.

In the same vein, the occupation health hazard guidelines are mandatory for all office buildings, schools, hospitals and shopping centers, the procedures include; monitoring fire and other disasters, how to exist a building, where to convene and the coordination of rescue operations<sup>116</sup>.

The country has endeavored to eradicate ideologies of terrorism which lure people into joining terrorism by making efforts to improve the economy, the implementation of sound fiscal and monetary policies, as well as welcoming the support of the IMF, world bank and other multinational corporations that have vowed to step in and promised to strengthen relations on the much needed foreign aid.

Across agency training has also given paramount importance stressing the need for revolutionized counter terrorism pedagogical mechanisms with a particular significance pegged on collaborate training in highly skilled counter terrorism areas for the task force and personnel handling counter terrorism in security agencies<sup>117</sup> and law enforcement

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<sup>114</sup> Arassi P,OPP CIT

<sup>115</sup> KIA training manual for the reorientation of chiefs and assistant chiefs( Nairobi, republic of Kenya,2006)

<sup>116</sup> <http://www.communication.go.ke>.

<sup>117</sup> GOK, national development plan 2002-2008

forces the training aims to develop the officers an ability to think and act unfamiliarly with the assistance of conveniences plotted to counterterrorism manual.

Increased surveillance has been beefed up on the non- governmental organizations suspected to be channeling funds to illegal groups and the denial of political seat to anybody convicted or accused of terrorism has also been implemented.

The government has promoted target hardening, a mechanism that deters terror activities by providing harsh conditions for terrorists to successfully attack their target, this entails the installation of security devices, difficulties in accessing weapons and the screening of general public at all entry points or places.

On the economic front, Kenya has endeavored to deepen economic reforms because terror activities hamper the economic growth, development and annihilate the business climate at large, the domestic as well as the neighboring economies depending on the intensity of the terrorists' attacks. This is because terrorism seeks to eradicate the growing web of economic, finance, business and commercial ties. <sup>118</sup>The economic difficulties in turn worsen democratic and security issues.

#### **4.5. Incorporation of the Public**

The government of Kenya has strived to involve and rally the people behind the fight against terrorism and also involved Kenya's coastal and Muslim communities in the fight against terrorism <sup>119</sup> in realization that the responsibility of eradicating the vice can also be assumed by the public. The president in numerous speeches to the public has condemned the menace.

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<sup>118</sup> Mwangi G.P. KIPPRA annual report july 2001-2002

<sup>119</sup> Arassi P opp cit

Kenya has been proactive in giving warnings to any situations that the public need to know, though the issuance of the warnings have had the negative impacts on the East African communities including going against the pact that was founded by the East African Community(EAC) which stipulates the issuance of guidance be managed in unison by means of consultation<sup>120</sup> .

The public has also been incorporated in the fight of terrorism through the ‘NYUMBA KUMI INITIATIVE’ where every Kenyan ought to know his or her ten neighbors and what they do for a living in a bid to root out the terrorist living amongst us.

#### **4.6 legislative measures**

The government has enacted various legislations to deny terrorist sanctuary this includes the combat of money laundering and terrorist financing.

Kenya has formalized all the United Nations agreement and resolutions on money laundering the country has cooperated with other regional and international agencies and it’s among the inauguration members of the COMESA anti-money laundering group,<sup>121</sup>

#### **4.7 Challenges the Kenyan government is facing in countering terrorism**

Kenya which stated categorically that is aligned to progress has been identified as a main strategic collaborator in the global war on Terrorism (GWOT) however, faces an insurmountable challenge in countering Terrorism.

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<sup>120</sup> Anangwe A, international terrorism and East Africa sub regionalism: developing a sub-regional tourism industry in the face of war, African journal of international affairs

<sup>121</sup>Kamau joseph, key challenges in combating money laundering and terrorism.<http://www.worldbank.org/finance/html/amlef/>

Her alignment to the west gave her an edge over the rest of the East African countries to become a regional, economic and diplomatic travel hub; this notwithstanding has made her an Al- Qaeda target.

#### **4.7.1 Government Infrastructural Under Capacity**

The limited power of the Kenyan government in terms of infrastructure has seen the availability of ungoverned spaces in the country, it is here that illicit activities take place such as proliferation of arms, human trafficking <sup>122</sup>and even terrorism recruitment take place, All these sites provide opportunities in which all smuggling of terror weapons and the spread of hate ideologies is achieved, for example, in the coastal region of Kenya, particularly in Lamu which is sparsely populated and has provided a cover Al –Qaeda operatives as from there, they can easily travel to Somalia via sea as well as smuggle weapons and terrorist who easily bled with the local population.<sup>123</sup>

The effect of infrastructural power deficit has led the government of Kenya to establish police and military infrastructure in regions which experience immense insecurity such as the north Eastern region, however this is not received cordially by the locals, who complain of immense victimization from security forces, it is this grievances that make the frustrated youth vulnerable to indoctrination and recruitment by terrorist groups. The ‘friction’ among the locals and police make countering terrorism difficult to achieve.

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<sup>122</sup> Shapiro, j reassessing security threats in ungoverned spaces: Al-Qaeda, shabaab and the Horn Africa.

<sup>123</sup> Bradburg M and Kleinman M, Winning hearts and mind? explaining the relationship between aid and securityin Kenya. Boston:Feinstein International Centre.



#### 4.7.2 Legislative Shortcomings

The first legislative challenge is the absence of a clearly cut –out legislative definition of Terrorism and acts of terror which can be deemed as constituting terrorism. <sup>124</sup>efforts to counter the suppression of the anti-terrorism bill proved an uphill task for Kenya from 2003 until December 19 2014 when president Kenyatta signed it into a law, this time span was long considering the neighboring countries such as Uganda and Tanzania had already signed the bill in 2002.the new security laws saw the addition of new vocabulary, phrases and concepts into the judicial nomenclature intended to redefine the new environment in which Kenya seeks to counter Terrorism.

The legal provisions stipulate that an arrested person should be presented in court before the elapse of 24 hours; however the jurisprudence should not be exercised on terrorism suspects as some are extremely radicalized <sup>125</sup>and hard to interrogate.

The standard of adduces required has hampered the legislative process, as terrorist have abused it by frustrating the prosecution <sup>126</sup>leading to acquittal of terror suspects regardless of sufficient evidence to prove that they are indeed terrorist.

The extradition process in Kenya is a long process that can take years, besides the victims have a right to appeal despite the fact that their apprehension in extra territorial authorities may be crucial especially in the face of an imminent terror attack. <sup>127</sup>

The legislative act under the aliens restriction act is too lenient <sup>128</sup>for example; a person who commits a breach of the law subject to the act is culpable to a fine worth 3000

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<sup>124</sup> See, office of the overseas prosecution development assistance country reports-Kenya

<sup>125</sup> Stephen, N.K analysis of militant radical terrorism and counter terrorism measures in Kenya1985-2010 unpublished.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Erasmus ,T. time to review extradition procedures in East Africa.

Kenyan shillings or a jail term of six months, there is a judicial loophole as a judge can render a fine as a verdict for an alien and once this is made the illegal migrant is not repatriated but set free.<sup>129</sup>

The government does not have a law that can curtail the spread of religious radical Islamism as efforts to curb such, violates the guaranteed freedom of religious integration, opinion or belief as spelt out in article 32(2) of the Kenyan constitution ‘every person has the right to either idiosyncratically, or in faction with others in universal or in exclusive manifestation by any religion through worship, practice teaching or observance of a day of worship.’<sup>130</sup>

#### **4.7.3 Institutional Incapacity**

Institutions in Kenya may be willing to counter terrorism but are faced with lack of sufficient tools or sufficient skills to do so. The immigration office is a good example, having been charged with the mandate of filtering entry points and exits of foreigners in Kenya, lacks adequate Personal identification secure comparison evaluation systems (PISCES) at all entry points, Wilson airport does not have this, yet it is a major travel hub for travellers to Kenya from Somalia, making it evident that Al-Shabaab operatives have easily moved to Kenya from Somalia.<sup>131</sup>

The lack of sufficient and well-guarded border crossing is also a limitation, specifically the Kenya- Somalia border, which has only two formal borders crossing yet it is 700

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<sup>128</sup> Ethics and anti-corruption commission, examination on the systems on the systems policies procedures and practices of the ministry of immigration and registration Of persons: Nairobi. EACC

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> The constitution of Kenya article 32(2).

<sup>131</sup> EACC Immigration Systems reports OPP cit.

kilometers long, leaving plenty of illegal entry points where individuals can sneak into Kenya and smuggle weapons.

The inadequately trained human resource is another limitation cutting across the various sectors of the Government of Kenya, charged with the mandate of countering terrorism, she lacks the resource capacity of combating terrorism financing, this is due to the fact that terrorism financing has global linkages and terrorists are constantly evolving their money transfer mechanisms to defeat the universal counter terrorism efforts.

The prosecution of terror suspects is also a challenge in Kenya, as the prosecutorial capacity largely depends on the police, yet they are not well equipped with the criminal justice system hence the prosecution turns out weak; this has led to release of terrorists even though there was viable proof linking them to acts of terror example, was the release of Omar Said Omar on grounds that he had stayed in police cells longer than the constitutional period before being taken to court for a hearing of his case.<sup>132</sup>

#### **4.7.4 Corruption**

Corruption in Kenya has witnessed the increase of refugees in this country; some do not have good intentions but because they can bribe officers they are allowed to be in the country illegally, smuggle weapons of mass destruction and end up recruiting youth into terror activities.

It is corruption that has facilitated laxity on the part of law enforcer and even in the judicial systems on their approach on matters regarding Security, hence making it difficult for the Government of Kenya to counter Terrorism.

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<sup>132</sup> Kenya's terror suspect acquitted see; [www.loc.gov/law/library](http://www.loc.gov/law/library).

## **4.8 Conclusion**

The chapter has dwelt with the institutional and strategic measures that have been put in place by the government of Kenya in an effort to counter terrorism hence denying the terrorist a sanctuary and eradicating the underlying support for terrorist. It has intensively analyzed the challenges that the government of Kenya faces in countering Terrorism.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTEPRETATION OF DATA.**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

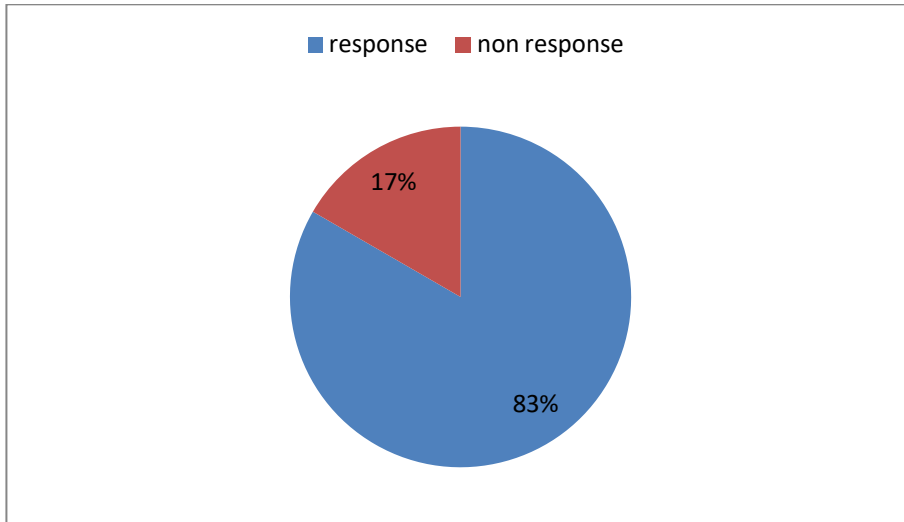
In the previous chapters, the theoretical background of terrorism in Africa, its social and economic impact in Kenya was discussed through a comprehensive literature study, the institutional and strategic measures implemented by the government of Kenya was also tackled.

This chapter presents a clear examination and elucidation of the data that was gathered. The presentation is in terms of tables, pie charts and bar graphs.

A questionnaire was used to collect data from 30 respondents however only 25responses were returned.

## 4.2 Response rate of respondents

**Figure 4.1: Response rate of respondents**



Source: statistical data.

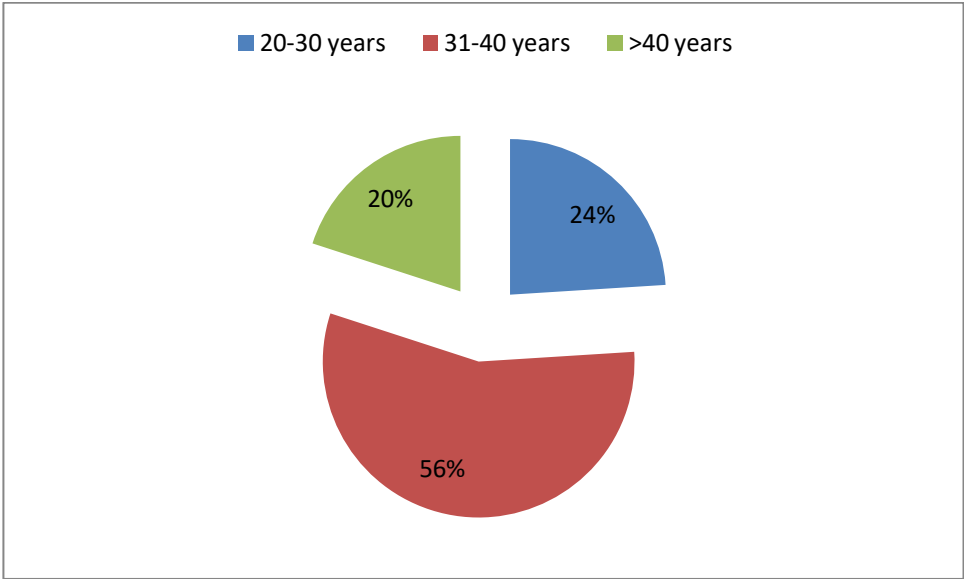
Majority of the respondents responded making it effective for statistical reporting.

## 4.3 Bio Data Information

**Table 4.1: Distribution by age**

Category	Total
20-30 years	6
31-40 years	14
>40 years	5

**Figure 4.2: Distribution by age**



The research noted that the middle aged people comprised of the majority of the respondents and as a result could give fairly good opinions, as 31-40 years made 56%.

#### 4.4 Distribution by academic level

Respondents were requested to indicate their education level.

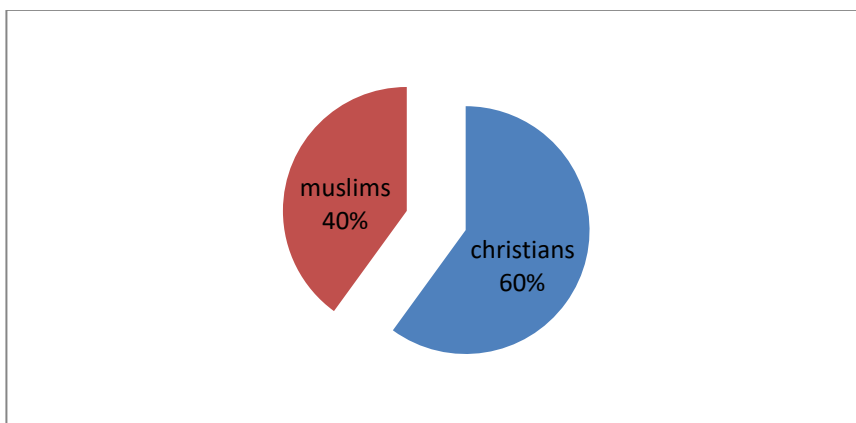
**Table 4.2: Distribution by academic level**

Academic	Frequency	Percentage
university	15	60
tertiary	8	32
secondary	2	8
primary	0	0

From the responses majority of the respondents were graduates, and hence could have a general understanding of terrorism, and offer substantive response to the impact of terrorism both socially and economically in Kenya.

#### 4.5 Distribution by religion

**Figure 4.3: Distribution by religion**



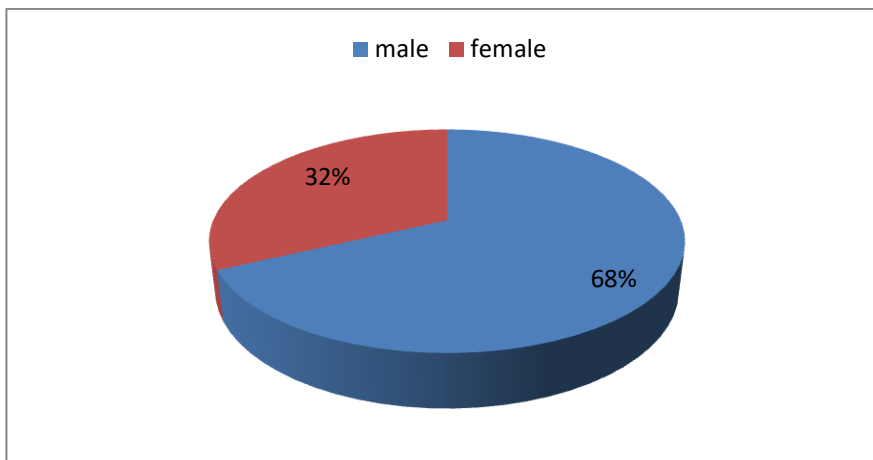
According to the data, 60% of the respondents are Christians whereas 40% are Muslims hence exhibiting that more than 10% of the Muslim representation is realized.

#### 4.6 Distribution by gender

**Table 4.3: Distribution by gender**

category	frequency	percentage
Male	17	68
female	8	32

**Figure 4.4: Distribution by gender**



The research captures that 68% of the respondents are male in an effort to understand the motivations of as most terrorists are male.

From the research it was also clear that all the respondents had knowledge of what terrorism is, though there was a difference in their definition of terrorism, the common denominator spelt out was activities that terrify the livelihood of people hampering on their security.

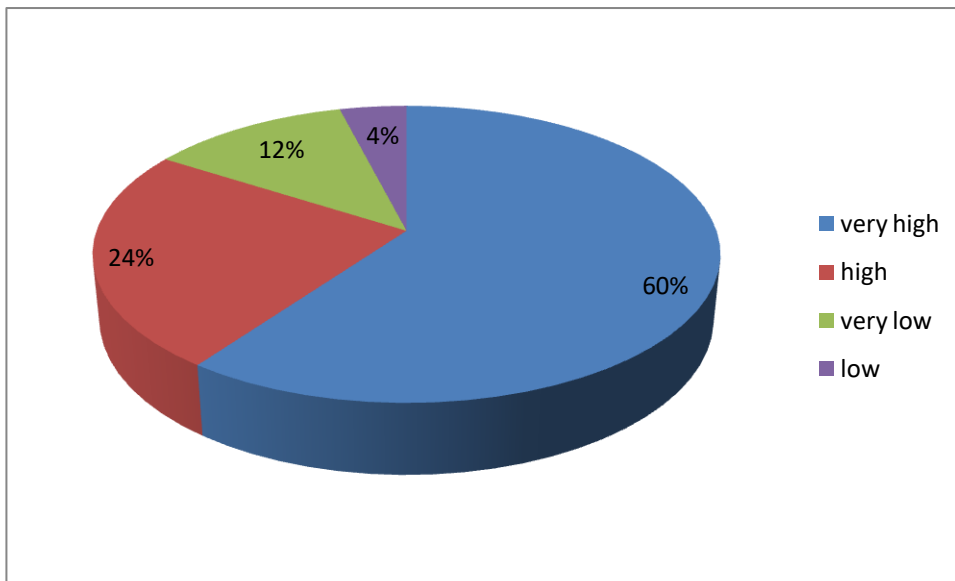


The survey sought to find out Kenyans opinion on the key drivers of terrorism in Africa, the questions provided choices on the main causes.

**Table 4.4: Poor leadership and governance in Africa**

	Very high	high	Very low	low
percentage	60	24	12	4
frequency	15	6	3	1

**Figure 4.5: Poor leadership and governance in Africa**

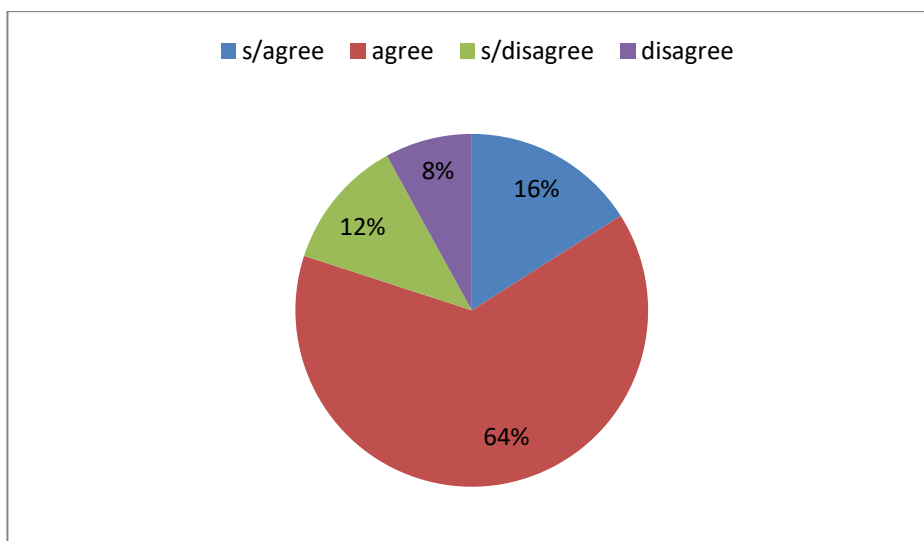


From the research it was evident that majority of the respondents, 60% saw poor leadership and governance as a key driver to terrorism in Africa, 24% of respondents deemed it as a high cause of terrorism in Africa. Whereas 12% and 4% saw it as a very low and low contributing factor of terrorism in Africa, respectively.

**Table 4.5: Global Politics**

	s/agree	agree	s/disagree	disagree
percentage	16	64	12	8
frequency	4	16	3	2

**Figure 4.6: Global Politics**



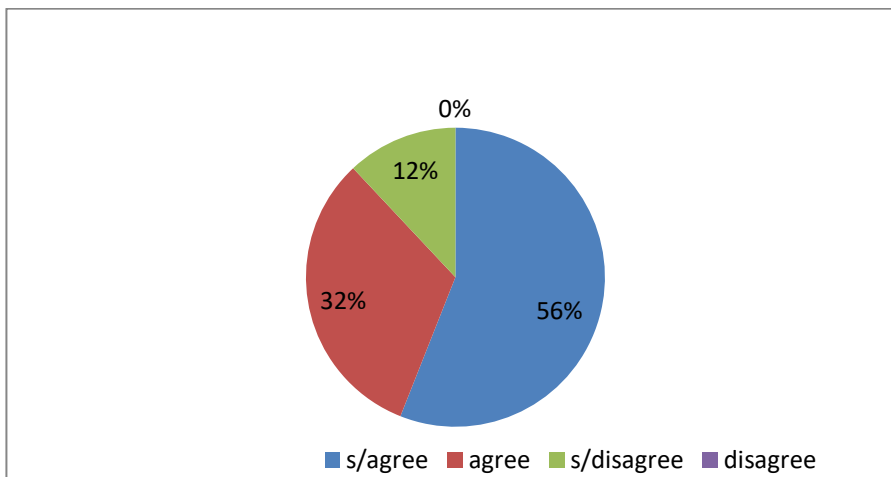
From the study, it was established that 64% agreed that global politics plays a major role in terrorism in Africa, 16% strongly agreed, 12% disagreed and 8% strongly disagreed, the reason cited by the majority resonated that African states seem trapped in an era where global politics has led to external political influence and interference in the African economies military rules, numerous coups, both successful and botched and ultimately domestic and international terrorism.

#### 4.7 Technological advancement

**Table 4.6: Technological advancement**

	s/agree	agree	s/disagree	disagree
Percentage	56	32	12	0
frequency	14	8	3	0

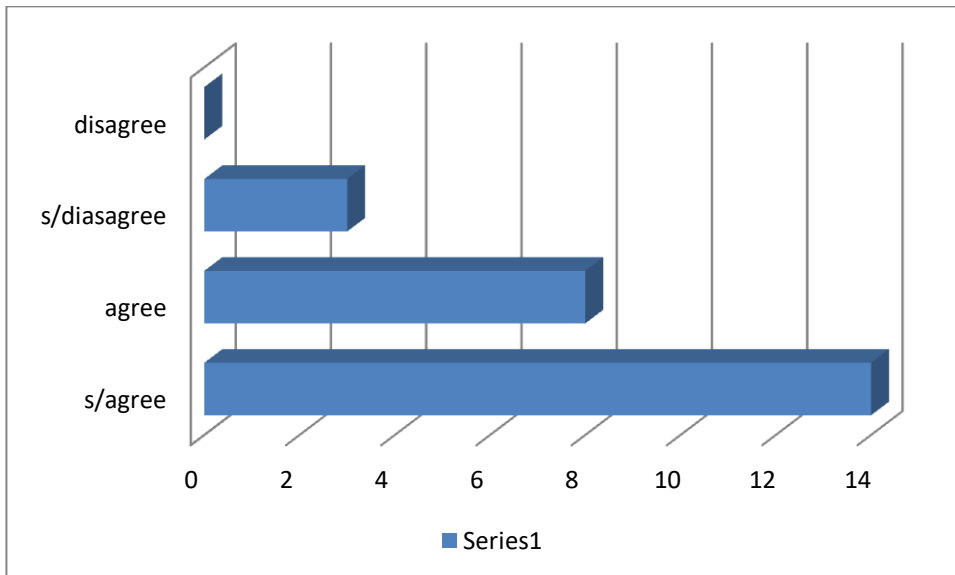
**Figure 4.7: Technological advancement**



From the research conducted 56% of the respondents strongly agreed that technological advancement is a key driver of terrorism in Africa, 32% agreed and 12 %disagreed, the reasons cited from the respondents who strongly agreed were, that the modern transportation facilitates the easy movement of terrorists, the communication facilities have also increased cyber terrorism, using inscriptions for communication a large factor that has frustrated the efforts of counter terrorism efforts.

## 4.8 Corruption and porous borders

Figure 4.8: Corruption and porous borders



From the graph the majority of the respondents, strongly agreed that corruption and porous borders in Africa, has seen the increase of terrorism in African countries as this has made it easier for the smuggling of illicit arms and the influx of refugees into states, moreover due to corruption the border entry points are not well manned, making it easier for terrorist to enter or leave a country.

## 4.9 Terrorism in Kenya

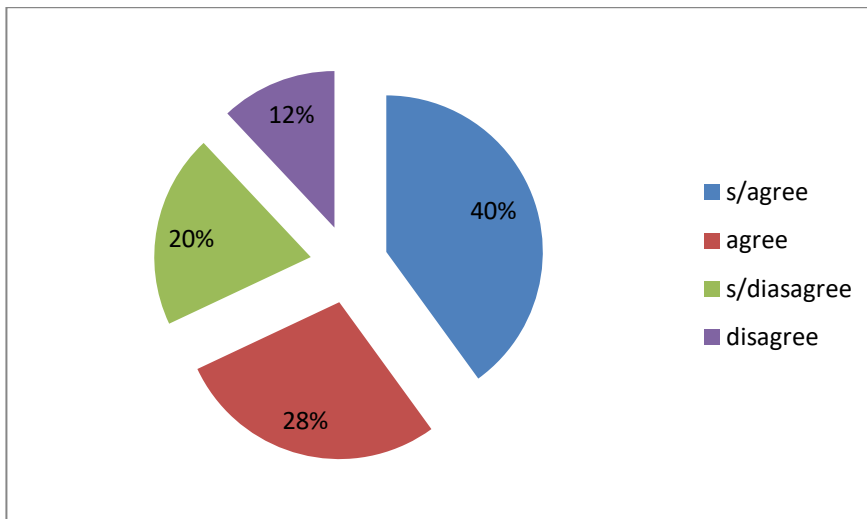
### 4.9.1 Causes of terrorism in Kenya

This project also set out to ascertain what were different views on the causes of terrorism in Kenya were, a list of alternatives was offered in the questionnaire.

**Table 4.7: Kenya’s geo-political location**

	S/agree	agree	s/disagree	disagree
frequency	10	7	5	3
percentage	40	28	20	12

**Figure 4.9: Kenya’s geo-political location**

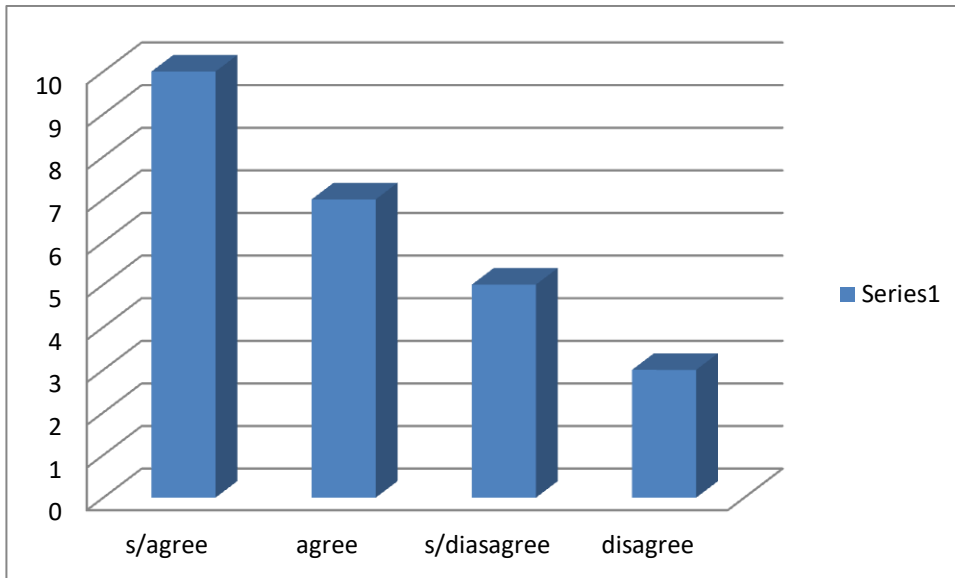


From the respondents it was the study gathered that 40% of the respondents strongly believed that that Kenya’s geo-political position is a causative factor of the country experiencing hard hit terrorism.28 % agreed whereas, 20% of the respondents did not agree that the geopolitical location of Kenya is a cause of terrorism in this country.12 % disagreed.

The bordering of Somalia which is home to Al-Shabaab terrorist organization makes her prone to environmental fluctuations affecting a huge percentage of humanity and enhances

physical damages to our country, the Al-Shabaab are able to sneak into the country in the guise of refugees, smuggle in weapons and execute terrorism.

**Figure 4.10: Socio-Economic Factors**



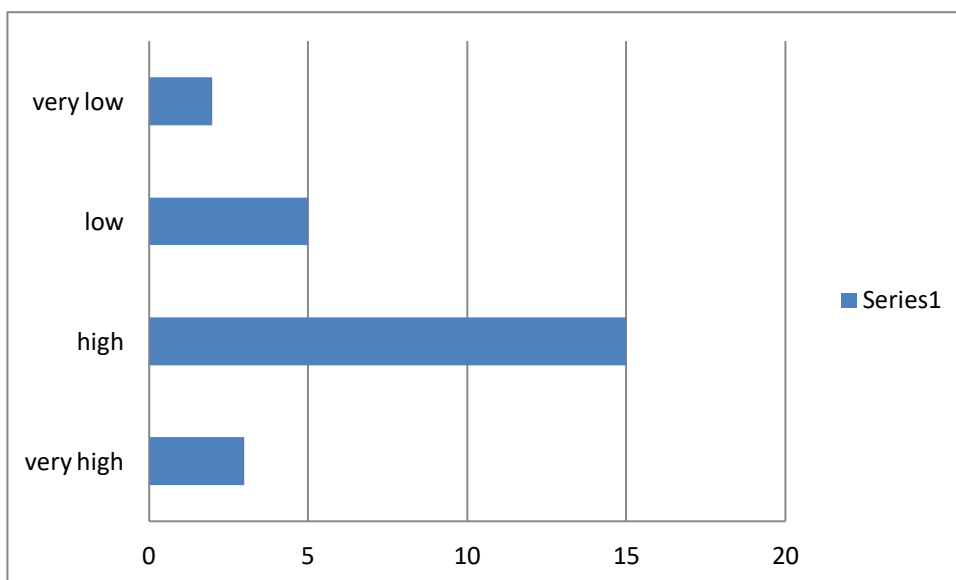
From the graph, it was clear that the majority of the respondents concurred that unemployment in Kenya was a factor facilitating terrorism in this country. Most citing that the large number of youth that have latent potential for growing this economy remain jobless, and if this issue is not addressed poses a significant risk into the security of this state as these frustrated youths can be drawn into terrorism ideologies which will undermine and the legitimacy of our state and destroy our democratic dispensation.

**Table 4.8: Religion**

	v/high	high	low	Very low
frequency	3	15	5	2

percentage	12	60	16	8
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**Figure 4.11: Religion**



From the study majority respondents who were the asserted that religion in Kenya is the cause of terrorism in this country, according to the respondents, the freedom of worship as stipulated in the Kenyan constitution has led to increased Islamic radicalization in the guise of religion. The infiltration of al-Shabaab in the coastal region and north eastern part of the country has been made easy due to the Kenya’s composition of Muslim and Christian people.

**Table 4.9: The rate of tourist influx**

	increased	decreased	Slightly decreased
frequency	6	15	4
percentage	24	60	16

The question sought to find out the respondents view on the impact of terrorism in the tourism sector. 60% of the respondents said terrorism has negatively affected the tourism industry.

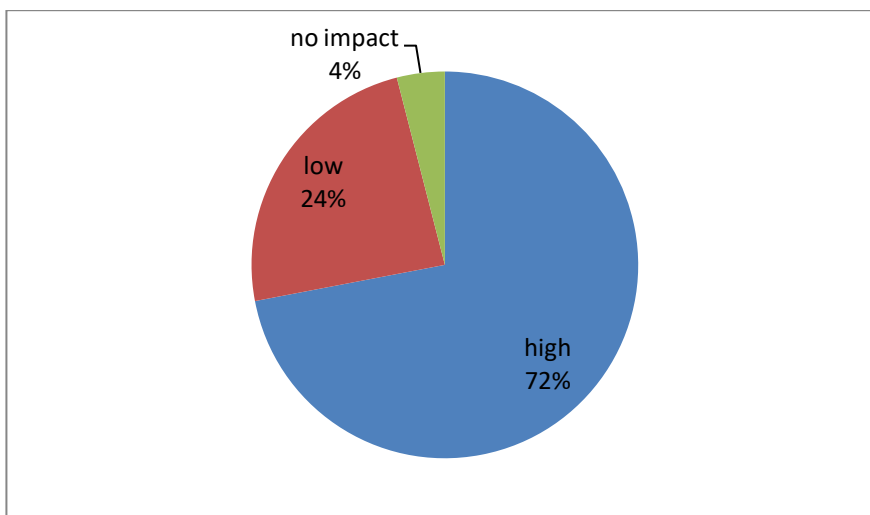
The respondents from ministry of foreign affairs, giving details that in 2014 Kenya attracted 800000 tourists, but there was a decrease in number in 2015, where 730000 tourists visited Kenya. Tourism industry generates approximately 500 million US dollars annually as foreign exchange but this reduced with the increase of terrorism in Kenya, as most travel advisories issued bans to her citizens from visiting Kenya. The horticultural sector incurred losses as fresh produce were not exported in time due to flight cancellation. Around 500000 Kenyans have their jobs connected to the tourism industry, hence becoming affected as a result of reduced number of tourists, for example the wild life service which lost 8 million pounds due to decline in tourist visits, hotel bookings fell drastically resulting to layoffs of staffs.



**Table 4.10: Existence of massive lay-offs.**

	High	low	No impact
frequency	18	6	1
Percentage	72	24	4

**Figure 4.12: Existence of massive lay-offs.**



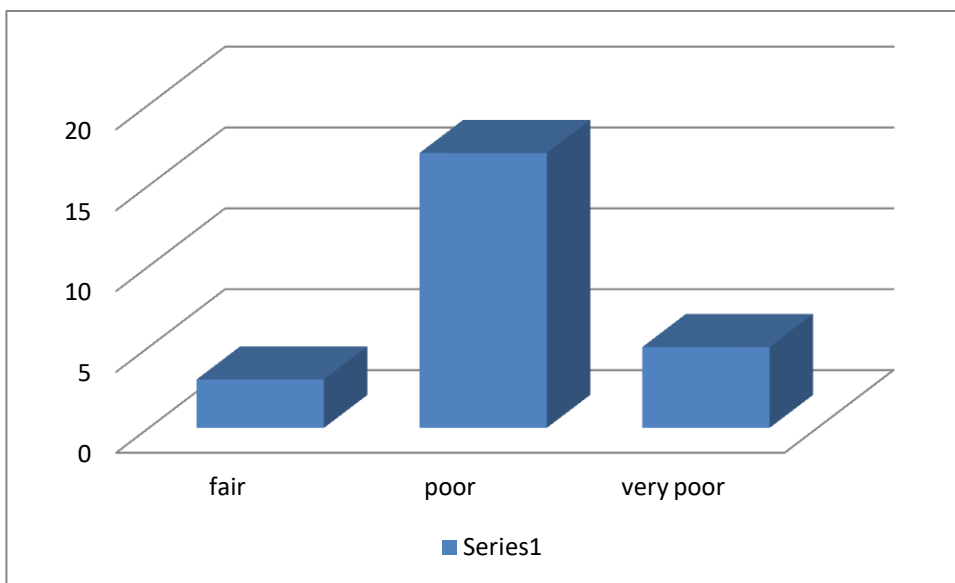
The research sought to ascertain the respondents view on the impact of terrorism regarding the existence of lay-offs, 72% attributed terrorism to the existence of layoffs, 24% said it had a low impact on the existence of lay off whereas 4% believed it had no impact at all.

The majority cited that that the tourism, hotel and hospitality industry had laid off employees because of the decline of tourists visiting Kenya, this in turn negatively affects the gross domestic product of the country. As a result of unemployment, locals become easy prey to criminal and illegal activities; some are drawn to the ideologies of terrorism with a promise of better pay.

**Table 4.11: The rate of Foreign Direct Investments.**

	fair	poor	Very poor
percentage	12	68	20
frequency	3	17	5

**Figure 4.13: Rate of foreign Direct Investment**

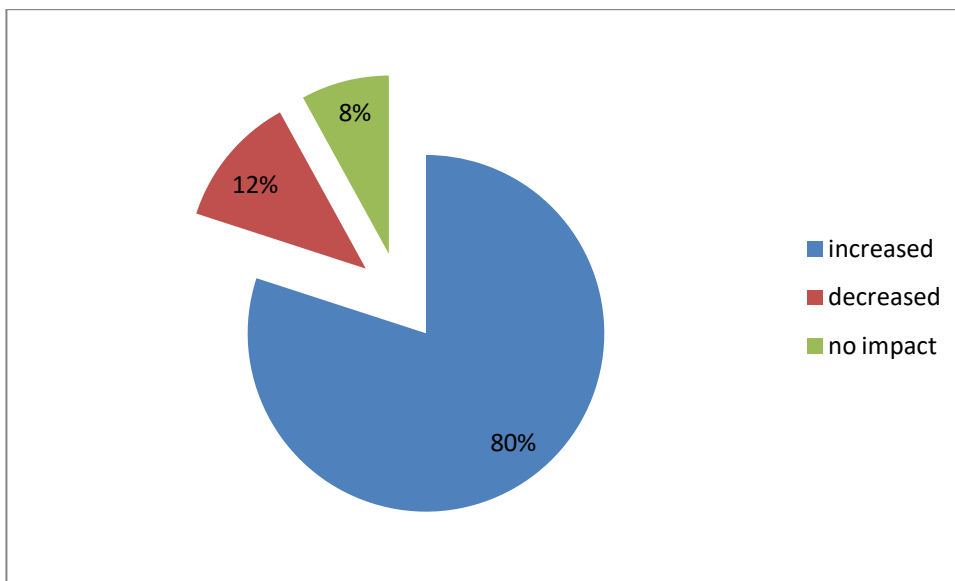


The research sought to find out the rate of foreign direct investment as a result of terrorism in Kenya, 68% of the respondents felt the rate was poor, 20% felt it was very poor, whereas 12 % felt it was fair. Investors are aware of risks before establishing business especially in a terrorist- prone country, terrorist risk increases the cost of doing business since money has to be channeled into security measures hence a decline in the net foreign direct investment, as a result investors redirect their businesses to safe countries, this has a direct negative effect to Kenya’s economic well –being.

**Table 4.12: Religious division and mistrust**

	Increased	reduced	No impact
frequency	20	3	2
percentage	80	12	8

**Figure 4.14: Religious Division and Mistrust**

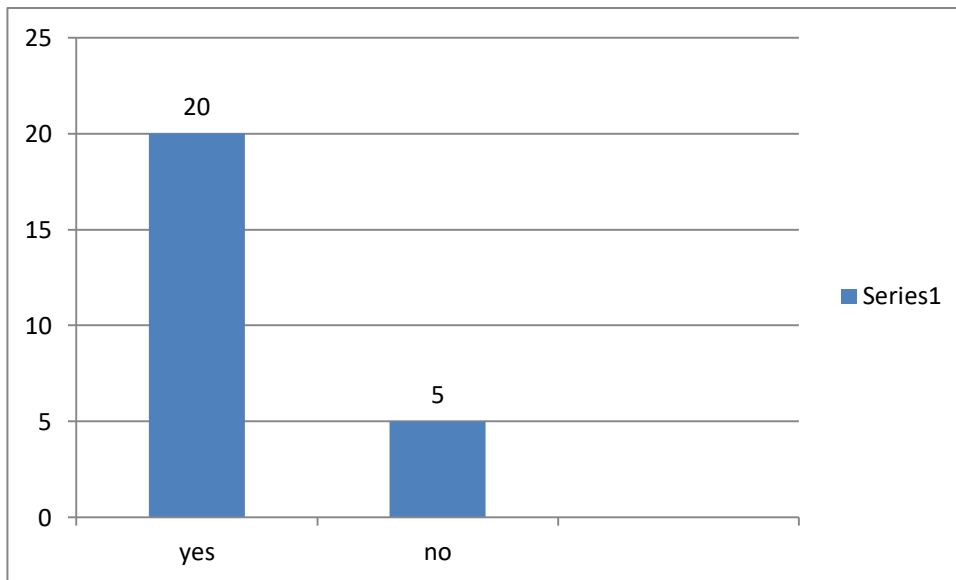


The research sought to find out if the impact of terrorism had any effect on religious integration in Kenya and whether there has been mistrust amongst Kenyans pegged on religion. 80% of the respondents said as a result of terrorism, there has been an increase of mistrust and religious division given that terrorist profess the Islamic faith, hence it becomes an uphill task to trust Muslims as one cannot tell which Muslim is a terrorist and which is not. 12% said that terrorism has decreased religious division and mistrust, as Islam is a religion of peace and it does not condone the activities carried out by terrorism, 8% of the respondents said terrorism has no impact on the religion division

**Table 4.13: Sporadic migration and change of careers**

	Frequency	Percentage
yes	20	80
No	5	20

**Figure 4.15: Sporadic and Change of Careers**



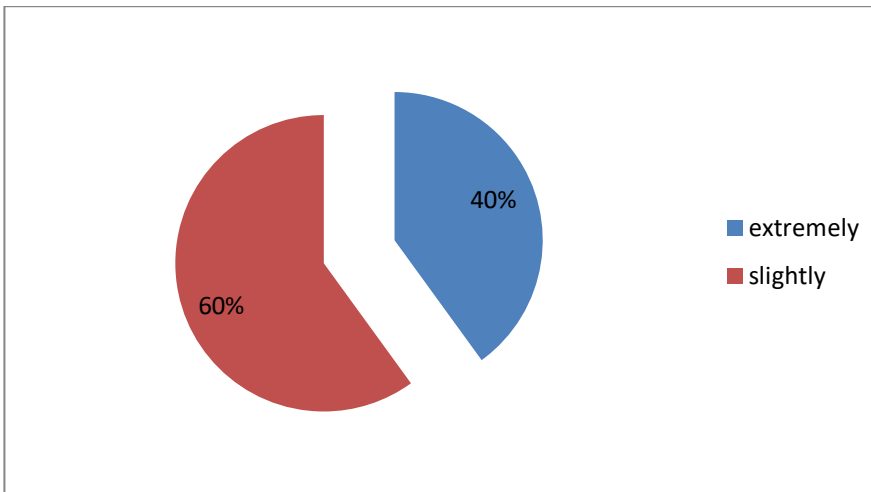
The research sought to find out if terrorism has affected migration and change of profession, 80% of the respondents said yes while 20% said no, the majority explained that there has been sporadic migration especially in the coastal region particularly in Lamu county, where had encountered a lot of terrorist attack especially in 2015, also in the northeastern part of Kenya, Garissa and Mandera counties experienced sporadic migration from non-locals who had gone to these counties in search of jobs at quarries and others as teachers who claimed they can no longer put their lives in danger in pursuit of teaching and others opted to change careers , in Nairobi Eastleigh area most Muslims migrated

complaining of victimization by the police who frequented the area in search of terrorist suspects.

**Table 4.14: Destroyed Kenya’s corporate image**

	extremely	slightly
frequency	10	15
percentage	40	60

**Figure 4.16: destroyed Kenya’s corporate image**



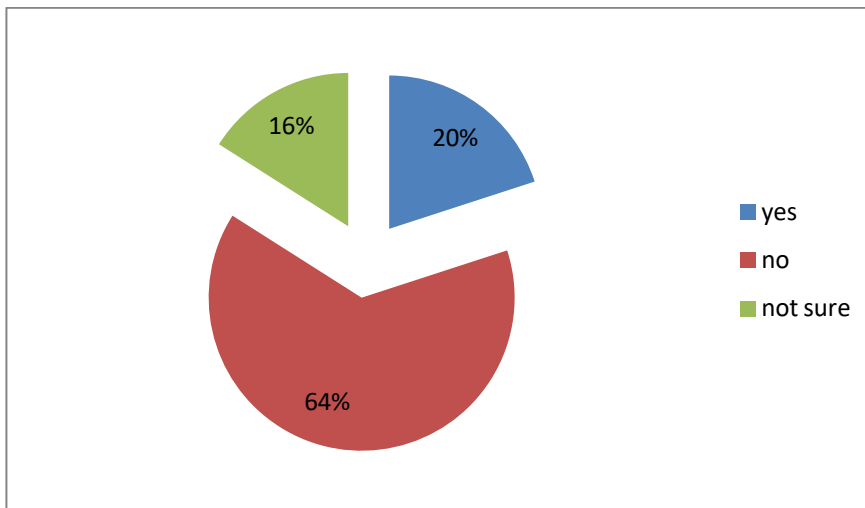
The research sought to find out the respondents view on the impact of Terrorism on Kenya’s corporate image.40% of the respondents said terrorism had an extreme negative effect on Kenya’s corporate image, stating that the country has suffered immense losses on the tourism industry, saying tourists feared to visit as it is considered a “hot-bed” of terror. Majority believed that Kenya’s corporate image has not been destroyed as the country still receive tourists even from the east, has hosted so many diplomatic summits in 2014-2015, a time that it was hard hit by terrorism, it is in July 2015, that Kenya hosted the incumbent USA president Barack Obama, a clear indicator that Kenya’s corporate image is has not been destroyed by the impact of terrorism.

#### 4.11 Measures to fight terrorism.

**Table 4.15: Is the government doing enough to fight terrorism?**

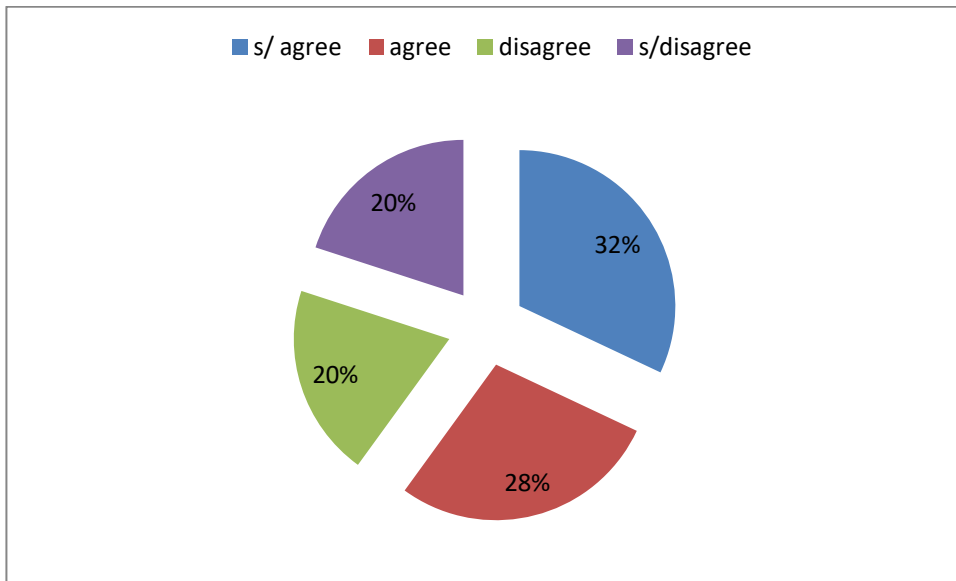
	Yes	No	Not sure
frequency	5	16	4
percentage	20	64	16

**Figure 4.17: is the government doing enough to counter terrorism**



The research sought to find out if the government of Kenya is doing enough in fight against terrorism, 64% of the respondents felt the government has not done enough in the fight against terrorism. 20% said it had done enough whereas 16% of the respondents said they were not sure. Government of Kenya conducts reactive responses instead of putting proactive measures in place. The increase in cyber terrorism is an indication that the government has not done enough despite affecting the anti- terrorism bill into law and conducting security checks on people and vehicles.

**Figure 4.18: Cooperation with other countries**

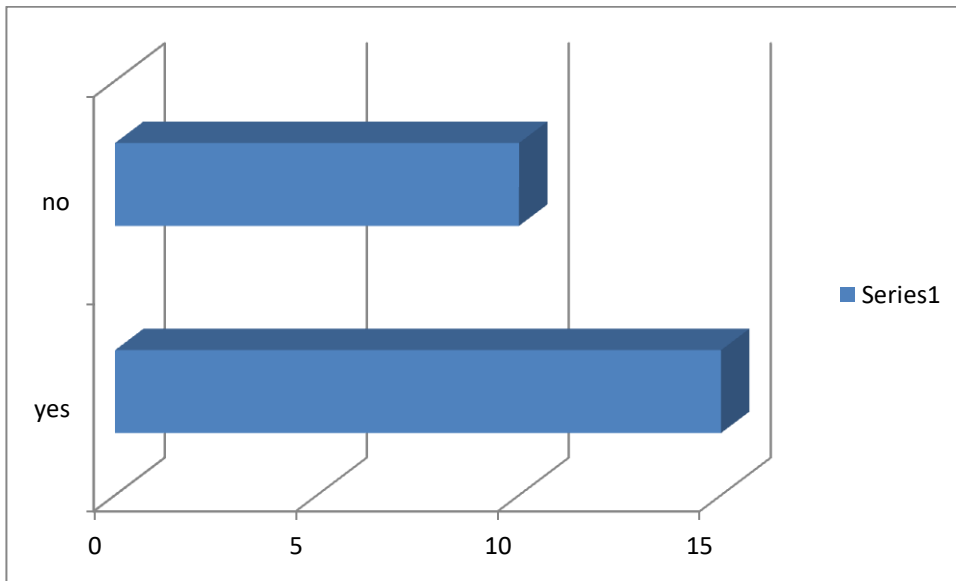


The research sought to find out whether the Kenyan government is cooperating with other states in fight against terrorism, 32% of the respondents strongly responded in the affirmative, 28% agreed, 20% of those who were questioned strongly disagreed, and the other 20% strongly disagreed.as indicated on figure 15.

**Table 4.16: Public incorporation**

	<b>Yes</b>	<b>no</b>
frequency	15	10
percentage	60	40

**Figure 4.19: public incorporation.**



The research sought to ascertain whether or not the government of Kenya incorporated the public in the fight against terrorism, 60% of the respondents said yes whereas 40% said no, the reason given by the minority was that most Muslims are being suspected to be terrorist or terrorist sympathizers because of their religion hence inadequately cooperating with the government for fear of victimization. The majority said that the government had incorporated the public through the ‘nyumba kumi’ initiative where the public are encouraged to know their residential neighbors and their occupation, and should report to the police any suspicious people in their neighborhood.

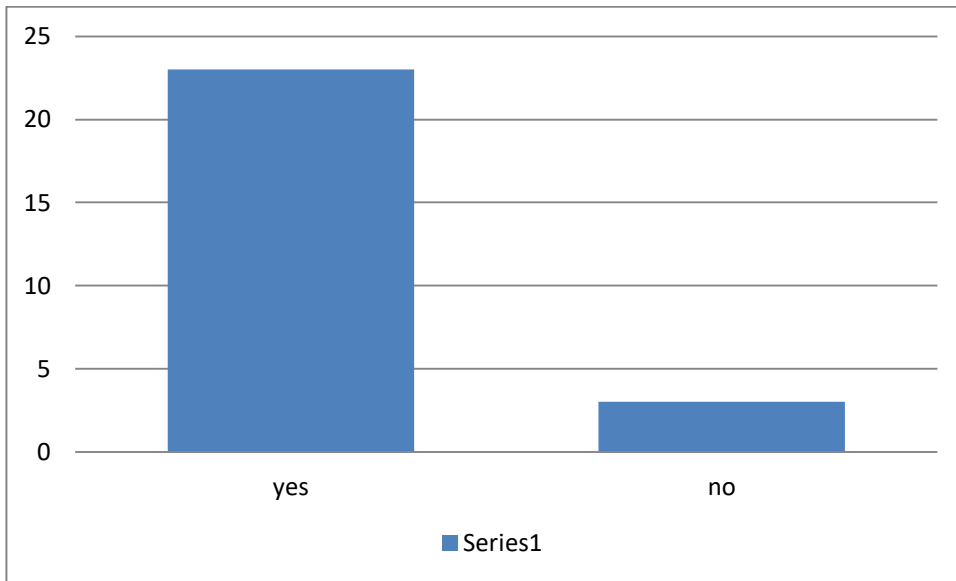
**Challenges on fighting terrorism**

**Table 4.17: Corruption**

	yes	no
frequency	23	2
percentage	92	8



**Figure 4.20: Corruption**

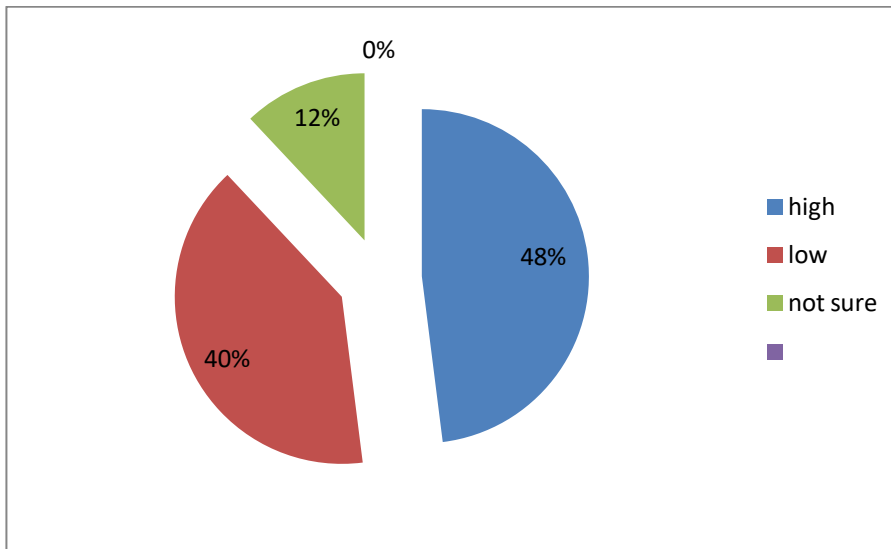


The research set out to find out whether corruption is a challenge in countering terrorism in Kenya, 92% of the respondents said it was a major challenge in the fight against terrorism, giving varied reasons such as the law enforcers accepting bribes from people who enter the country illegally, to slow judicial processes where offenders even bribe for their files to be presented to court for hearing, this has brought laxity on their approach to Security.

**Table 4.18: Inadequate resources**

	High	low	moderate
frequency	12	10	3
percentage	48	40	12

**Figure 4.21: Inadequate Resources**



The research sought to find out if inadequate resources were a challenge in the government in the government of Kenya, 48% of the respondents said inadequate resources were a challenge in the fight against terrorism, 40% said it had a low impact in the fight against terrorism, and 12 % said they were not sure whether or not inadequate resources were a challenge for the government of Kenya in the fight against terrorism.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter provides a summary of the findings, conclusion and recommendations of the research project in relation with the study of terrorism in Africa, its social and economic impact in Kenya.

##### **6.1.1 Summary of study**

The study intended to fill the gap left by other researchers by analyzing terrorism in Africa; the social and economic impact in Kenya.

The target population was different officers working at various sectors of the economy; the sample population was 30 respondents who were drawn randomly from the target population.

The study used questionnaires for data collection. Data was analyzed through descriptive statistics, out of the 30 questionnaires administered, 25 were returned completed.

##### **6.1.2 Summary of the findings.**

From the study findings, it was established that the key driver of terrorism in Africa were poor leadership and governance among African leaders, the policies employed by African states for reconstruction of their economies particularly philanthropic interventions, country empowerment strategies, solid leadership and democratization has borne very little if any fruit. Due to poor leadership and governance it has been easy for terrorism, narcotic engagement, illicit proliferation of weapons and nautical offences to prosper.

Global politics was also pointed out as a key driver of terrorism in Africa. Since the end of colonialism and its impact on African state that left no trace of democratic traditions of pre-colonial history strong enough for African states to build from.

The strategic location of Kenya continues to make Kenya vulnerable as it hosts a large number of US agencies. Kenya being home to the UN agencies makes it a target for terrorist, due to the country's better infrastructure terrorists can easily smuggle their weapons and find their way into the country.

The study findings established that terrorism has grave social and economic impacts on the nation of Kenya; the tourism industry which contributes 20% to the country's GDP suffers greatly as from the study findings, the Government of Kenya was not doing enough in countering terrorism. Authorities should employ the use of intelligence in order to conduct proactive measures against terrorism, by so doing; they will understand the terrorists' social and psychological motivations, extract information on how they conduct their activities and be able to prevent a planned terrorist attack before it is executed.

Proper cooperation with other nations, will dissuade countries from organizing, financing or condoning terrorist activities this will also bring to the fore the prosecution and extradition of terrorists in accordance with both national and international law. The implication that Muslims are terrorists is misleading as much as it is counterproductive in the fight against terrorism, those tasked with the responsibility should be objective as they discharge their duties by divorcing religious issues from criminal activities.

Corruption was cited to be a key challenge in the countering of terrorism .foreigners can bribe their way into the country, the ministry of internal security was rated top in corruption yet it is charged with the mandate of ensuring peace and security in our state is

sustained, the police unit whose duty is to enforce law and order has been lax in carrying out this duty hence making it easy for terrorist to carry out their activities.

## **6.2 Conclusion and recommendations**

From the study a conclusion was arrived at, that terrorism has serious and negative multi-faceted social and economic impact on the well-being of this country. On the social front, many Kenyans have lost their loved ones as a result of fatalities caused by terrorism; survivors have been rendered physically challenged due to terrorism. Kenyans have been subjected to psychological torture and fear for their public safety and Human security.

On the Economic front, Kenya's development is hampered when sectors such as Tourism and Aviation experience a decline in business which translates in low earning of foreign exchange. Around 500000 Kenyans have their jobs connected to the tourism industry hence this subsequently leads to laying off workers; terrorism scares away potential investors who would have invested were it not for the threat, a lot of money has been redirected for security purposes this directly leads to economic underdevelopment, which in turn encourages the reliance of foreign aid.

On the legislative front, the government has been able to enact the anti- terrorism bill into law and employed more law enforcers and set up agencies that will help in countering terrorism. It was recommended that good governance which comprises of management of public affairs, promotion of economic stability creation of employment opportunities for the youth and equity in distribution of resources will be critical in eradicating the negative social and economic impact of terrorism sustained economic development and human security will eradicate the temptation of people being recruited into terrorism this is achievable through implementing social programs that offer public education on terrorism and deal with the socio-economic concerns of Kenya, matters such as unemployment,

feeling of economic and social exclusion of the larger populace, marginalization and victimization should be a thing of the past in Kenya.

Countering terrorism require the integration of all mediums of power, diplomatic, economic political, social and military the police and military forces have legitimate monopoly on the means of terrorism . They should strive and volunteer able to protect the well-being and possessions of all nationals, as this is a chief element in defending and safeguarding our nation. The battle of terrorism also entails the assessment ability to recognize terrorist threats and efficient conveyance to shape ideologies of the country's transferring police to terror prone environs.

There should availability and access of public services which encompass, transport, adequate health facilities and clean water are of importance to the government's ability to provide protection of citizens, supervisory control and creation of trade platforms to all citizens. Any gaps in any of these could allow malign actors, such as terrorist organizations and sympathizers, space to operate in Kenya in the guise of provision of these necessities and recruit Kenyan youths into terrorism or execute terror attacks.

Issuance of Identification documents such as passports, national identity cards birth certificates should be corrupt-free and ensure due procedures are followed , this will discourage foreigners with ulterior motives to possess such document, and those found to be illegally in possession of fake documents should face the full wrath of the law.

The Kenyan government should set aside finances that will see to it officers getting consistent training on how to counter terrorism, and also the purchase of equipment such as explosive and gun detectors, PISCES for the immigration department, and also establish a clear meritocracy in the process of police recruitment.

The government should enhance capacity which will be effective in the management and prevention of terror attacks such as judicial and legal reforms initiative and protection from danger and law enforcement reforms, transparency, accountability and a culture of voluntary compliance with norms should be advocated.

In the affairs that transcend national boundaries diplomats take the leading role of defending our national interests abroad, they identify threats utilize the medium or channels of bilateral and multilateral diplomacy to forecast, predict or take charge of them, and as a result should closely coordinate with security organs of our country.

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