



An Analysis of the Impact of Terrorism on Human Security: The Case Study of Kenya Period 1990 - 2015.

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APPROVAL FORM

These undersigned certify that they have read and recommended to the Midland State University for acceptance, a research project entitled: **An Analysis of the Impact of Terrorism on Human Security: The Case Study of Kenya Period 1990 - 2015**. Submitted by Max Mhaka in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree Master of Science in International Affairs.

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DEDICATION

Margaret my beloved wife, Fary, Abigail and Tanisha my lovely daughters are the special people to whom this dissertation is dedicated.

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Above all, I would like to thank HIS MAJESTY, THE ALMIGHTY JEHOVA for bringing me this far and walking me through yet another great journey

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ABSTRACT

This study seeks to analyse the impact of terrorism on human security, a case study of Kenya in the Period 1990 – 2015. The deterioration in the levels of human security in Kenya as a result of terrorism is the fundamental problem underscoring this research study. Guided by the Frustration–Aggression–Displacement theory, as espoused by John Dollard 1961; and Leonard Berkowitz in 1969, this study understands a terrorist to be a frustrated individual seeking to remove the initial cause of this frustration by achieving the political goal which hitherto been denied by circumstances. The Al Shabaab group is identified as the main terrorist group threatening peace and security in Kenya. The study employs the interview method and document analysis as key research tools. It concludes that the impact of terrorism in Kenya has resulted in a trade off between state security and human security as a result of both internal and external factors. The study therefore recommended that, in Kenya, terrorism has to be combated by a combination of government, governance, stringent laws and a firm system of justice that delivers ‘appropriate’ punishments to the perpetrators. It further recommended that the government, the security forces and religious and political leaders including the civil community should work in harmony to prevent terrorism.

Abbreviations

ATPU: Anti Terrorist Police Unit.

IGAD: Inter Governmental Authority on Development.

HRW: Human Rights Watch.

ICU: Islamic Court Union.

JTTF: Joint Terrorism Task Force.

NCTC: National Counter Terrorism Center

NEP: North Eastern Province.

UN-GCTS: United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy.

VIP: Very Important Person.

ISISKTU: Islamic State of Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda.

Glossary of Terms

Estimate Process: Is a decision making process that involves systematic analysis of battlefield activities by both the commander and his supporting staff with an aim to come out with possible or sound courses of action to a particular threat or situation.

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An Analysis of the Impact of Terrorism on Human Security: The Case Study of Kenya¹Period 1990 - 2015.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the research question by clearly stating what the research seeks to address and why. In general, the study seeks to analyse the impact of terrorism in Kenya as a threat to human security by identifying the major causes of terrorism and examining strategies of combating terrorism in Kenya. The chapter will begin by outlining the background to the study and proceed to give a clear statement of the research problem before stating the research objectives and research questions that the research seeks to address. It closes by giving the limitations and delimitations of the study before giving an outline of the chapters contained in the study.

1.2 Background of the Study

The world over, terrorism has been identified as a serious threat to human security. It has turned out to be a subject of great concern for the international community given the impact of terrorism on global peace and security (Annan, 2003). This is demonstrated by the multilateral efforts of both state and non-state actors as they seek to pursue peace and security. The escalation of the global war on terrorism which is now being fought in all regions is a demonstration that serves to substantiate the gravity of this form of threat to human security (Martin, 2010). It is therefore critical that the fight against terrorism be given the appropriate attention it deserves by academics, as well as political and security forces from global, regional, and sub regional to national levels if human security is to obtain.

Kenya has been a battlefield of tragic terrorist attacks particularly in the past three decades. This has prompted this study to embark on an analysis of the dynamics surrounding terrorism in Kenya and its impact on human security; and seeking possible solutions to achieve sustainable peace and security in Kenya. There have been numerous terrorist attacks in Kenya carried out on churches, buses, bars, military camps, market places and shopping

¹Max Mhaka R174141T; (MSIA : Research Paper)

centers thereby threatening the security of Kenyans. In 1980, the Jewish-owned Norfolk hotel suffered attacks attributed to terrorist elements. In 1998, the US embassy in Nairobi was bombed whilst in 2002 the Israeli-owned Paradise hotel was also attacked. On 28 November 2002, two shoulder-held Surface-to-Air-Missiles (SAM-7) were fired targeting Israel based Arkia Airline Boeing 757 airliner as it took off the Moi International Airport. Subsequently, an attack was launched on the Kikambala Hotel when it was receiving Israeli tourists. Thirteen Kenyans were killed and 80 injured. In 2013, the militant group Al-Shabaab killed 67 people at Nairobi's Westgate Shopping Mall. On 15 June 2014, 50 masked gunmen hijacked a van and raided a police station in the predominantly Christian town of Mpeketoni, burnt hotels, restaurants, and government offices (Gander, Kashmira, 2014). In April 2015, gunmen stormed the Garissa University College killing almost 150 people and wounding several others. The attackers claimed to be from the Al-Shabaab militant group, and indicated that they were retaliating over non-Muslims occupying Muslim territory (BBC News, 2015).

There are major precipitating events that can be categorized as having actually transpired terrorist activities in Kenya. A deep analysis of these terrorist attacks in Kenya, places these key events in their historical context. Firstly, the country's historical alignment with the US and Israeli interests is key in explaining the frequency of attacks on its home soil (Murunga, (2005). Secondly, Kenya's pro-Israeli posture in the Entebbe hostage crisis is perhaps the most critical moment in the country's foreign policy history. That particular decision has proved to be costly to Kenya and can be perceived as a disregard for Kenyan life (Gikundu, 1998). These attacks in Kenya have negatively affected the country in various ways. For instance, from a socio-economic point of view, tourism, which is one of Kenya's major revenue earners, is adversely affected as the number of people visiting the country reduces. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) is choked on a backdrop of a poor investment climate due to conflicts. Political and religious indifferences continue to grow, which in itself is a threat to peace, security and development (Buzan, 2016). A very important consideration is the fact that whilst these attacks are largely aimed at foreigners and Western interests, this has also affected the lives of the Kenyan people.

A closer look at all these attacks shows that every single attack shares a common thread of irony: the majority of the lives lost are Kenyans, even though the ideology behind the attacks suggests that Kenya was not totally involved in the political dynamics that precipitated the attacks (Aronson, 2013). Such a background is evidence enough to provoke the need to analyse the scope and nature of this threat with an aim to identify possible solutions for the

attainment of sustainable peace and security. The former U.S. President J.F. Kennedy (1963) once remarked, that: "This is another type of war, new in its origin ... seeking victory by eroding and exhausting the enemy instead of engaging him..."; it therefore follows that, "... a whole new kind of strategy, a wholly different kind of force, and a wholly different kind of military training," is required if peace and security is to obtain in Kenya. It is against this background that this study examines the security dilemma posed by terrorism in Kenya with the thrust to identify possible measures to combat terrorism in Kenya and the region as a whole.

According to George W Bush (2001), one of the demands of the "...war on terrorism..." was that every nation had to "...prove..." its loyalty to the US, or suffer the consequences. One of the 'results' which Bush was demanding from "...Islamists..." was to show their ability to politicise the Islamic faith into pro-West interests. This would 'prove' they are not terrorists in return for which the Bush administration would supposedly help them 'remain afloat'. Such can be regarded as the 'lens' of the radical West's stance or position on terrorism as well as counter terrorism. On the other hand, it is the Afro-centric position on terrorism particularly as echoed from the terrorist havens in parts of North African states like Kenya, Somalia, Nigeria and Algeria that: the need to oppose the Anglo-American definitions of "secularism" and "tolerance" cannot be overestimated given the manner in which the world is being taken to the brink of war over "values". The Anglo-American values are used as a justification to impose Anglo-American institutions onto the entire world (Chaliand, & Blin, 2007; Buros, 2011). In that regard, the rights of nations, nationalities and tribal peoples are being trampled underfoot by politicizing religious affairs and language rights amongst other things.

When considering these two divergent viewpoints, it is this study's observation that a wide gap exists between the two camps and it would require 'a keen eye' for peace and security if a compromise is to be reached. It is on record that with regards to the consideration of societal values, the Kenyan government has been pro-Western whilst the Al Shabaab group is inclined to religious extremism or religious fundamentalism. Despite these differences, this study seeks to analyse the impact of terrorism as a threat to human security with a thrust to identify possible measures to bring sustainable peace and security in Kenya.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The deterioration in the levels of human security in Kenya as a result of terrorism is the fundamental problem underscoring this research study. Kenya has been plagued by rampant terrorist attacks which have transformed the state into bedrock of terrorism. This has affected the quality of human life for the Kenyan people and the sub-region as a whole. Furthermore, current efforts underway in Kenya to bring sustainable peace and security have not helped much as some of the strategies have further aggravated this decline with regards to Kenya and her citizenry s' overall security. The numerous tragic terrorist attacks in the past three decades, carried out on both public and private institutions such as schools and market places have threatened the security of Kenyans and consequently need to be restrained through a sound and sustainable approach. The aim of this study is therefore to analyse the impact of terrorism with regards to human security in Kenya from period 1990 to 2015 by examining the nature and scope of terrorism with a centre of attention being to proffer measures for sustainable peace and security. In essence, the study seeks to fill up that knowledge gap with regards to bringing peace and security in Kenya by providing counter-terrorism measures to inform both policy and practice.

1.4 Research Objectives

The objectives of the study are:

1. To explore the causes of terrorism in Kenya.
2. To assess the nature and scope of terrorism in Kenya by analysing its impact on human security from period 1990 to 2015.
3. To examine the strategies adopted by the state, regional and continental actors in combating terrorism in Kenya from 1990 to 2015.
4. To proffer recommendations that can help safeguard human security in light of terrorism in Kenya?

1.5 Research Questions

Based on the above stated objectives, the research is designed to address the following questions:

1. What are the major causes of terrorism in Kenya?

2. What is the nature and scope of terrorism in Kenya and its impact on human security for the period 1990 to 2015?
3. What are the strategies adopted by the state, regional and continental actors in combating terrorism in Kenya from 1990 to 2015?
4. What measures can be put in place in order to achieve sustainable peace and security in Kenya?

1.6 Justification of the Study

This study enables policy makers at national, regional and international levels among other stakeholders to formulate a sound working framework that ensures sustainable peace and security initiatives in Kenya as it will proffer workable solutions to the attainment of peace in Kenya. By extension, it will add to the stock of knowledge for the academia to assist with strategic and scholarly analysis on the impact of terrorism as a threat to human security in Kenya and Africa as a whole. An increase in terrorist attacks in Kenya is likely to turn the nation into bedrock of terrorism, providing a haven for terrorists and thereby creating a springboard for its growth and perpetuation. This threatens peace and security not only in the sub-region, but also on the African continent and the world at large. Such a development will scuttle economic development initiatives currently pursued by most African governments on the backdrop of the prevailing international relations. In that regard, the spread of terrorism in Kenya should be viewed with suspicion and fear that it would destabilize an already fragile country like Kenya, the sub-region and the continent at large.

There is quite a significant amount of literature on terrorism and counter terrorism available from the academia as well as from documents by the various institutions offering studies in International Relations (IR) as well as those on Defence, Peace and Security studies. Ironically, whether by design or by coincidence not much is provided with regards to the actual strategy and tactics that can be employed in the combat of terrorism. In other words, with regards to ‘War on Terrorism’, the actual “dog fight” is not given adequate attention. Such a position can be viewed as a drawback or a ‘gap’ to the multilateral efforts to curb terrorism. This study therefore seeks to fill that emptiness. The doctrine of counter-terrorism reflects a glaring gap to which scholars of International Relations, Defence, Peace and Security studies as well as Military and Strategic Studies, both seasoned and novice need to close up. There is a genuine need to proffer workable solutions in the combat of terrorism in

Kenya, the sub-region and the region as a whole. As Ray Anyasi (2012) posits in his book: *How to Terrorize Terrorism: A More Effective Answer to Global Terrorism*, "... we need a more direct strategy that can endure for as long as the threat persists without hurting the sovereignty of nations and human rights of the same people it seeks to protect..." (ranyabooks.worldpress.com).

1.7 Limitations

Limitations of a research study are those variables in a study that the researcher cannot control and will naturally affect the outcome of any findings (Patton, 2014). They are characteristics of design or methodology that impacted or influenced the interpretation of findings from the research (Price and Murnan, 2004). In view of the above definitions, it is this study's position that limitations of a research study are the constraints on the study's general application to practice. Due to the sensitive nature of terrorism as a subject strongly embedded in sectarian conflicts, the safety of the researcher was often put at risk as some interviewees tended to view the researcher as a spy or secret agent of 'hostile' organisations. This limited the researcher in terms of options to carry out one-on-one interviews or personal interviews with key informants inside and outside the region. However, the study utilised Information Communication Technology, making use of such platforms like Skype and Video Conferencing, as well as e-mail communication. Furthermore, some of the data from the defence forces bore some security classification and henceforth not deemed for public consumption. Therefore the researcher had to seek for clearance from the concerned authorities' headquarters as to which material or data could be brought into the public domain.

1.8 Delimitations

Delimitations are choices made by the researcher which should be mentioned (Patton, 2014). They describe the boundaries set by the study. This study is de-limited to the period 1990 to 2015 and is confined to the territorial boundaries of Kenya in particular and to the Horn of Africa in general. The boundary of year 1990 has been chosen based on the fact that this is the preceding year leading to the collapse of neighboring Somalia government, an incident whose effects had significant bearing to the emergency and prosper of terrorism particularly

within the whole sub-region of Horn of Africa. This provides a total of 25 years of analysing the events leading up to year 2015. Below is the general area of reference to this study.

Figure 1.8.1

MAP: HORN OF AFRICA



Source: Field Data

1.9 Outline of Chapters

This research paper is structured as follows:

Chapter One: Introduction

The chapter introduces the reader to background of the study in a historical form and proceeds to present the statement of the problem. The research questions and the research objectives are spelt out, stating what the research seeks to achieve. The significance and justification of the study is then given showing its contribution in terms of stock of knowledge to the academic field as well as to policy formulation. The chapter proceeds to indicate the study's limitations and how they were overcome, before giving the study delimitations. It closes by giving an outline of chapters contained in the study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter reviews related literature and concepts that guided the research study. It provides a framework to the study by interrogating literature that answers the research questions, as guided by the research topic. Such is done to orientate the reader with the wider literature on peace and security studies in the context of counter-terrorism to which the study belongs. The study therefore considers the following subjects broadly as a means to unpack the concept of counter-terrorism and bringing sustainable peace and security to Kenya: The Frustration Aggression theory as espoused by John Dollard (1961); challenges to a consensus definition of terrorism and its influence in designing counter-terrorism measures; the threat of terrorism to human security; socio-economic impact of terrorism; and the possible ways of tackling terrorism. The chapter closes by revisiting doctrinal training in counter-terrorism, polishing on strategy and tactics in view of the challenges faced by the Kenyan authorities.

Chapter Three: Methodology

This chapter looks at the methodology used in the research study. This is a qualitative research study where more focus is put on detailed data embedded in the content. The methodology is premised on what Maxwell (2013) refers to as: “the how, where, who, what, and why, of conducting social research.” These include among others: the Research Design, Sources of Data, and the Sampling Procedure as well as the limitations encountered in analyzing the data. The research instruments used so as to achieve the objectives of the study were the interview method, document research or abstraction as well as the field visit/tour.

Chapter Four: Presentation and Analysis of Findings

The chapter presents and analyses the findings from the data gathered during the research process. Leedy and Ormrod (2011:221), assert that, “data in social sciences studies can be analysed visually through inspection of content identified by the study”. Such a view augurs well with the approach employed in this study- content analysis. Wegner (2006:98) is of the opinion that, “when data is presented graphically, the message conveyed is easily comprehended as compared to the same message being presented in a report format”. In this study, quantifiable data is presented on a chart. Percentages are used where necessary for clarification of the analysis.

Chapter Five: Conclusions and Recommendations.

The chapter concludes the study by presenting a summary of the findings obtained from the research study and proffers recommendations on how to ensure sustainable peace and stability in Kenya.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to review related literature and concepts that guided the research study. It is simply a definition to the frontiers of this research study. It seeks to locate and capture that literature which provides adequate responses to the research objectives. Such is done to orientate the reader with the wider literature on peace and security studies in the context of counter-terrorism to which the study belongs. The study will therefore consider the following subjects as a means to unpack terrorism as a concept and bring peace to Kenya.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

In this study, the Frustration Aggression theory is applied in analysing the emergence of terrorism as a threat to human security in Kenya. Terrorism is strongly grounded in the Frustration-Aggression theory (Dollard, 1961; Margolis, 1977). The Frustration-aggression hypothesis, otherwise known as the Frustration-Aggression-Displacement theory, is a theory of aggression proposed by John Dollard, Neal E. Miller et al in 1939, and further developed

by Miller, Roger Barker et al in 1941 and Leonard Berkowitz in 1969. The theory argues that aggression is the result of blocking or frustrating a person's efforts to attain a goal. As a tool of analysis to this study, the theory helps to explain how individuals move from being potential terrorists to being actual terrorists. This study understands a terrorist to be a frustrated individual who has become aroused and has repeatedly experienced the fight or fighting syndrome. After these repeated arouses, the potential terrorist seeks relief through an aggressive act and also seeks to remove the initial cause of this frustration by achieving the political goal which hitherto been denied by circumstances (Hudson & Majeska, 2012). The Al Shabaab groups, Boko Haram in Nigeria, Al Qaeda, the Taliban or the ISIS (an acronym that stands for Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) groups, all reflect a correlation of growing frustration. Much of the terrorist behavior is a response to the frustration of various political, economic, religious or personal needs or objectives (Margolis, 1977). The interaction of two factors: a perceived unattainable goal which is blocked; the identification of the responsible hand for the failure to attain the goal, both combine to result in violent behavior. This state of deprivation becomes the motive, idea or condition that leads to terrorism as the ultimate response (Nachmias, 2004).

Kenya is host to the Al- Shabaab group an Islamic extremist group with close ties with Al Qaeda (Aronson, 2013). Literally translated, the word Al-Shabaab also means “the youth”, and this group emerged as an offshoot of the Islamic Court Union (ICU) also known as Al-Ittihad Mahakem Al-Islayiya, an amalgamation of different Islamic militant groups in Somalia at the collapse of the government in 1991 (Mathew Thomas, 2013). The ICU sought to seal the power vacuity that had emerged at the collapse of the government in 1991 and establish strict Sharia law as a means to consolidate power in Somalia. Nevertheless, the Ethiopian Army invaded Somalia to intervene in the country in 2006 leading to the defeat of the ICU. It then formed the Al-Shabaab group pledging its loyalty to Al Qaida in the year 2011. Al-Shabaab s’ operational strategy involved piracy in the Indian Ocean as well as kidnapping foreigners from Kenya to Somalia and seeking ransom for their release. Naturally, this created a negative impact on Kenyan economy, particularly on its tourism industry – which contributes significantly to the Gross Domestic Product. The Kenyan government responded by sending a military infantry force to Somalia to suppress the Al-Shabaab and assist the setting up of a government that had establish itself there. This operation was code named “Operation Linda Nchi” led by the Kenyan Defence forces.

On analysis, it is easy to trace the source of frustration as espoused in the Frustration Aggression theory (Margolis, 1977). The resultant terrorist activities by the Al –Shabaab group signify the aggression born out of the failure by the Al-Shabaab to consolidate power and impose strict Sharia law in the Horn of Africa. The notion of “frustration and desperation” as espoused in the Frustration Aggression Theory, provides the foundation for the Al- Shabaab’s claim to ‘justifiably’ use terrorism against Kenya. The same applies to the Boko Haram in Northern Nigeria. Out of frustration from the prevailing religious as well as socio-economic and political order, they all find fault and grumble that: “What can a man do when injustice becomes heavy and he finds none to ward it off him? In that case he is forced into ‘legitimate’ defence of soul, honour and land... I have no option but to urge our brothers...to defend themselves, their rights, their land and their honour. Honourable people prefer to die than to live in humiliation...” (Tantawi, 1997 in Colp Rubin & Rubin, 2002: 36). This study therefore seeks to interrogate the political and socio-economic impact of terrorism on Kenya with the aim of bringing sustainable peace and security in Kenya by considering the state’s defence and security systems. This is because Kenya has hogged the geo-political limelight in as far as the ‘War on Terrorism’ is concerned.

2.3 Exploring the Concept of Terrorism

Theory and empirical investigation have a direct influence to the wider discourse and knowledge of terrorism, as well as the efforts to avert its threat. Papacharissi and De Fatima, (2008:55), argued that definitions of terrorism determine how research is conceptualized, executed and employed not only within the academic world but also in public policy. On the basis of such arguments, it is this study’s position that a definition carries significant relevance to data collection. As an example, incidents and mortality rates would vary wildly depending on the details of the definition of ‘terrorism’ employed by the research study. Schmid and Jongman, (1988:3) argued that without a conclusive and a synchronised definition “...there can be no uniform data collection and no responsible theory building on terrorism”. Evidently, the Global Terrorism Database naturally encounters difficulties in collating data useful to as many interested users as possible on terrorism in the absence of a conclusive definition (Buckley, & Fawn, 2003). Based on such a view, it is this study’s position that a definition is of paramount importance as it informs the subject of study, its scope as well as the overall direction by providing boundaries to the classification of the phenomena under study. It is therefore imperative to analyse the various definitions of terrorism found in the

literature before synchronizing to a sound and workable definition that forms a building block of theory and empirical investigation.

The various definitional interpretations cause significant controversy when assessing incidents of terrorism since the inclusion or exclusion of some events is unavoidable: and this has immeasurable effects on the results obtained. As a result, the methods and approaches designed to neutralise the threat of terrorism can become haphazard, inconsistent, and inexact, since certain acts are inconsistently labeled as terrorist or otherwise. To the Kenyan government, terrorism is that action by a suicide bomber who blows himself up in a market place: or the November 22, 2014, gunmen attack on a bus traveling from Mandera to Nairobi that killed 28 persons, mostly teachers and government workers heading to Nairobi for the December holidays. However, to the Al-Shabaab group, terrorism is that action by US troops who shoot at a group of Islamists at a congregation. Similarly, whilst Kenyan authorities view Al-Shabaab militancy activities as terrorism, majority of the Islamic fundamentalists calls it freedom fighting. They regard the resort to the use of brutal force by the Kenyan government troops as state terrorism: and view Operation Linda Nchi led by the Kenyan Defence forces as a classic example of state terrorism. Such is the nature to the paradox relating to the definition of terrorism. 'Terrorism' is therefore a relative term and expresses different meanings to different people.

It is clear that academics, policy makers, International law enforcement Institutions as well as international governmental organisations alike, have so far failed to establish a cohesive and unanimous definition of terrorism that would adequately address the contested and divisive nature of terrorism, and the changing nature of the phenomenon (Levitt, 1986; Martin, 2010). It is these differences that continue to undermine efforts to build a comprehensive strategy that would otherwise unite all aspects of counterterrorism under one legal umbrella. The 8th of September 2006, saw the UN General Assembly adopting by consensus the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (GCT). Operating under the banner *Uniting against Terrorism: Recommendations for Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy*, this is a global instrument seeking to enhance counter terrorism efforts at national, regional and international levels. However, despite this increased attention for counterterrorism, in practice the landscape for counterterrorism activity exhibit a lack of consensus on a comprehensive definition to terrorism: and this has turned out to be a major drawback to counterterrorism efforts within the international community (Levitt, 1986; Acharya, 2008).

In spite of the progress made through new bodies and agreements—notably the creation of the Global Counter Terrorism strategy (GCT) and the ability of international bodies such as the IMF and the UNSC established Counterterrorism Committee (CTC) (and later the Counterterrorism Directorate [CTED]) to audit and take stock of national counterterrorism capabilities - several significant weaknesses are apparent in the global counter-terror regime. Chief is the normative deadlock on the definition of terrorism - there is no consensus definition of terrorism among states and International Institutions. In the aftermath of the divisive political environment fostered by the US led global war on terror, the term ‘terrorism’ continues to mean different things to different states, with strong divergence with regards to both capacity and political will along global North-South lines (Levitt, 1986; Zeidan, 2005). The term ‘Terrorism’ is often used properly or sometimes perhaps improperly to define acts of civil strife, insurrection, rebellion, guerrilla warfare, coup d’état or any other related militant activities that are associated with fear or terror. Such lackadaisical and random use of the term can make the understanding of the specific meaning and nature of terrorism ‘foggy’ and intricate. As a result, the methods and approaches calculated to neutralise the threat of terrorism tend to become haphazard and inexact given that certain acts are inconsistently labeled as terrorist or otherwise. In addition, the UNSC's promotion of legal and law enforcement measures to combat terror has been perceived as overemphasizing security, resulting in intense criticism by the Group of Seventy-Seven (G77) (Whittaker, 2007). However, the GCT somehow attempts to redress this with its emphasis on protecting human rights and on the root causes of terrorism, but in the end, it is only a strategy and not legally binding. Evidently, the lack of consensus on a comprehensive definition of terrorism therefore undermines the coordinated efforts of the international community in the fight against terrorism.

Renowned scholars such as Grant Wardlaw (1982), Thomas Mathiese (2002), Richard Overy (2004) and Bruce Hoffman (2006), as well as the British Security Service (MI5) and the US Secret Agent the CIA, among others are regarded as experts on terrorism. Whether by design or by coincidence, they all define terrorism in political context. Thus, for them terrorism is primitive violence which is exploited by a group or organisation with religious, ideological or ethical motives. Wardlaw (1982) says 'Political terrorism' is a sustained policy executed through the waging of highly organized terror on the part of the state by a small group of individuals. For Mathiese (2002), terrorism is that violent and arbitrary action consciously directed towards the civilians and having clear political or ideological goals.

Overy (2004), posits that terrorism is related to a variety of political confrontations, where it has to be understood in its own terms. Bruce Hoffman, a prominent theorist within the study of terrorism, noted that terrorism is violence - or the threat of violence used and directed in pursuit of, or in service of a political goal (Hoffman, 2006:3). The CIA's working definition says terrorism means premeditated, political motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by sub-state groups or clandestine agents. Fittingly, the FBI defines terrorism as the "unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government or the civilian population in furtherance of political or social aims". The latter definition is one of the few to consider the targeting of property other than people.

An overall review of the definitions from the above cited renowned scholars and reputable security agents, indicates an omission to identify 'States' as potential perpetrators of terrorism. Ironically, it is such oversights which tend to make the notion of counter-terrorism as spearheaded by the US to be viewed with great suspicion and mistrust. Discounting the actions of states from definitions of terrorism would not be universally accepted. According to many definitions of terrorism, only groups that are not part of the official apparatus of the state can commit terrorism. Nevertheless, many argue for the inclusion of state violence within definitions of terrorism (Dershowitz, 2002:4). Their actions are all deeply enmeshed in the key considerations to the definitional concepts of terrorism as pronounced by most scholars. As an example, the Kenyan Defence Forces led Operation Linda Nchi, can be easily classified as state terrorism if we are to consider its heavy handedness in relation to its overall political objective (Ndzovu, 2010). The same can be said about the Israeli attacks on the Palestinians; and so is the US's foreign policy in the Middle East –particularly when viewed from the position of victims of the host state.

Throughout history, states have executed violence of far much greater destruction and lethality than that by sub-state actors, and numerous authors are therefore very uncomfortable with the tendency to deliberately discount states from classifications of terrorism (Buckley and Fawn, 2003:25). In this regard, the perception of terrorism requires that the perpetrators of the act be sub-state actors, meaning that "although states can terrorize, by definition they cannot be terrorists" (Cronin and Ludes, 2004:4). This clearly identifies with the definitions provided by the CIA and the FBI as earlier considered, along with many others. Given the fact that the state is often the highest instrument of political and social control within the international system, this may lead to discomfort in the general public if the state tends to

disregard its own deeds from definitions of terrorism, whilst at the same time seeks to persecute sub-state actors for the same offences (Wendt, 1992). The role of the state and non-state actors remain crucial and quite a contentious aspect on the problems and issues surrounding the definition of terrorism.

Furthermore, terrorism should not only be viewed from a political perspective as this tends to limit the scope of analysis with regards to the conception of terrorism or its practice. In most literary works terrorism is defined in political terms. Others insist that it should be defined in legal terms and still some believe that it is related with morality (Levitt, 1986). The political view is quite distinct and very common among most academic definitions and therefore, it is the legal and the moral perspectives which this study will combine for the sake of separating these two from the political approach – as a means to bring out a point. It has often been argued that “terrorism is a fight over legitimacy [with some moral connotations entailed within] between the terrorist group and the state” (Masters and Hoen, 2012:343).

Therefore, legality and morality are key aspects of this analysis when establishing a framework that provides legitimacy and moral justification to a state for committing acts of violence against other states and non-state groups or individuals. Such an approach helps to identify and distinguish what could otherwise be clear acts of ‘state terrorism’. It is this study’s position that conclusions can only be drawn out if the case in point is discussed and debated under the auspices of the UN, particularly in the General Assembly, to reach a consensus. For instance, as a fundamental rule, the struggle should be recognized or sanctioned by the UN.

In his book entitled *‘The United States, International Law, and the Struggle against Terrorism’*, Thomas Michael McDonnell (2009) identifies fundamental legal issues arising from the US response to the terrorist threat. The book makes an analysis of the Bush administration’s policies and practices in the ‘war against terrorism’ whether they were in line with provisions of international law, and goes further to extend the inquisitorial analysis to the Barrack Obama administration. It is easy to relate some of the actions spelt in the book to ‘terrorism/state terrorism’ as the book highlights specific topics of legal interest to include torture, extra-judicial detentions and the invasion of both Iraq and Afghanistan. Over all, it is this study’s observation that the book seeks to demonstrate why current counterterrorism mechanisms should be done away with as it recommends the adoption of mechanisms that are compatible with international law. Such a stance augurs well with the objectives of this study

as it seeks to identify better ways and sound strategies as acceptable measures that can be adopted in the fight against terrorism for the attainment of sustainable peace and security in Kenya and the region as a whole.

It is therefore this study's position that in the fight against terrorism, the application of human rights and the international Humanitarian law should be given due attention lest what could otherwise be considered as counter-terrorism would turn out to be 'state terrorism' in real sense. Undoubtedly, whilst academics' works on terrorism have helped to understand the problem, their contributions have not fully materialized to create a consensus definition among the political circles. The need for a valid definition is, therefore certainly not confined to the academic sphere.

It is abundantly clear that the effort to form a universal and comprehensive definition of terrorism which balances practicality with inclusivity is yet to succeed. Noticeably, there are too many different interested parties with vastly competing interests, biases, and requirements to be able to craft a universal definition. Also, considering that terrorism has such a long and complex history, frequently adapting and changing, it can be contended that even if a valid definition was to be coined, it is unlikely to retain a unilateral support into the future (Forst, 2009:5). This lack of consensus could impede the efforts to counter terrorism itself, unless more purposeful definitions are employed.

It is therefore this study's contention that the attempt to form a valid, cohesive and comprehensive definition which is practical and yet satisfies the huge range of relevant parties should be hailed. The continuous interrogation and engagement of terrorism as a subject would certainly help to solve the challenges arising from the definition of terrorism in the context of geopolitics. Yonah Alexander (2006), an expert in the field, and Director of the Institute for Studies in International Terrorism at the State University of New York, posits that: "Terrorism is the threat and use of both psychological and physical force in violation of international law, by state and sub-state agencies for strategic and political goals". Such a position seems to hold water as it is quite comprehensive and widely focused.

2.4 Causes of Terrorism

Ethnicity, poverty and economic disadvantage, nationalism/separatism, non-democratic governance, forced Western societal values, dehumanisation, and religion all have arguments

confirming a possible existing link, as well as a causal relation to terrorism. Terrorism is a therefore a complex phenomenon. Although people resort to terrorism for a number of reasons, experts attribute most acts of terrorist violence to three major factors, namely political, religious and socio-economic reasons.

From a political perspective, terrorism was originally theorized in the context of insurgency and guerrilla warfare. This is a form of organized political violence by a non-state actor. Individuals or groups such as the Vietcong in the 1960s can be understood as opting for terrorism when they were trying to right what they perceived to be a political or historical wrong. During the "Troubles" in Northern Ireland, which stretched from 1968 to 1998, Catholic and Protestant groups waged an ongoing campaign of violence against one another in Northern Ireland and in England, seeking political dominance.

From a religious perspective, a number of terrorist attacks carried out in the name of religion have made headlines. A classical case is the Japanese doomsday cult Aum Shinrikyo that perpetrated two deadly sarin gas attacks in the Tokyo subways in 1994 and 1995; and in the Middle East there have been numerous suicide attacks since the 1980s which are often celebrated as the work of Islamic martyrs. Refusing to acknowledge that Israel and the West face a common enemy is an extraordinary act of willful blindness (Martha, 1981). The accepted dogma is that the Palestinian conflict against Israel is about secular nationalism, the desire of the Palestinians to have a state of their own. But today, Palestinian society is undergoing a major shift towards radical Islam. Just as international terrorist groups like al Qaeda and ISIS base their actions and mission on an interpretation of Islam, Palestinians use the very same Islamic interpretation to indoctrinate and incite their people to terror against Israel.

According to Palestinian Media Watch, current Palestinian political and religious messaging to its people describes the conflict with Israel as a "*ribat*," an Islamic *holy war*, fought by Muslims against Jews to liberate Muslim land, including Israel, which they view as an Islamic *Waqf*, an inalienable religious endowment. *Ribat* is not uniquely Palestinian — it's an Islamic military concept based on the Quran and invoked by ISIS in Syria, Iraq, and Libya (Sageman, 2004). In this regard and from a defence and security point of view, it is this study's observation that as a driver of terrorism, the true danger that religious doctrine poses is its encouragement of attacks that are more violent in nature than most types of terrorism. After being promised rewards in the afterlife, terrorists are more cunning to carry out suicide

bombings and other similar tactics which are all difficult to defend by conventional means. Apparently, career terrorism experts like Bruce Hoffman argue that Religions themselves do not "cause" terrorism, however; groups and individuals selectively interpret and exploit religious concepts and texts to support terrorism. This explanation of the causes of terrorism may be difficult to swallow. It sounds too simple or too theoretical. However, if you look at any group such as Alshabaab that is widely understood as a terrorist group it is evident that these elements are basic to their accounts.

Socio-economic explanations of terrorism reveal that various forms of deprivation drive people into terrorism; or rather they are more susceptible to recruitment by terrorist organizations. Poverty, lack of education or lack of political freedom are few of such examples. There is suggestive evidence on both sides of this argument. Comparisons of different conclusions are often very confusing because they don't distinguish between individuals and societies, and they pay little attention to the nuances of how people perceive injustice or deprivation, regardless of their material circumstances. The group Shining Path carried out years-long campaign of violence against Peru's government in the 1980s and early '90s in an attempt to create a Marxist state (Hoffman, 2006). After the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, politicians and policy experts drew a quick and intuitive line between terrorism and poverty. Much of the existing academic literature on conflict suggests that poverty increases the likelihood of political coups and civil wars, and therefore conflating terrorism with poor economic conditions seems more logical. Indeed, just a few weeks following 9/11, then U.S. Trade Representative Robert Zoellick spoke out on the need to liberalize international trade - and thus reduce poverty -- as a means to fight terrorism (Papacharissi, et al 2008).

Nigeria is one African country in which terrorism has made a strong foothold. The impact of terrorist activities by the Boko Haram group has negatively affected the lives of the people of Nigeria to include the neighboring states of Cameroon and Chad and therefore a threat to human security. According to Shehu Sani, Senator of Nigeria's Kaduna Central Senatorial District, the major causes of terrorism in Nigeria, include the distortion and manipulation of religion. He argues that most terrorist organisations, including Boko Haram, use the sacred texts as justification of their actions. It is this skewed interpretation of religion resulting in the preaching of wrong ideals which keeps them going. The other cause is the results of economic and social injustices. Sani argues that when people are not secure in their positions

in life and have no guarantees of what tomorrow would bring on their tables, the most unstable individuals therefore become angry and violent towards others and their government.

The other reason is a terrible state of public education. Nigeria is known for its problems with education and relatively low literacy level. People that do not receive proper education (or those who refuse to learn because it came from 'the West') often tend to go a wrong way in life. The other factor is unemployment. Due to the economic crisis, a lot of Nigerians have lost their jobs and it is difficult to find new ones. It is this study's contention that such people are extremely vulnerable and potentially dangerous. In order to survive, some are forced to make a lot of bad choices, which therefore affects others people's lives.

The other cause is the abandonment of the Northern Nigeria by previous administrations. The North has been underdeveloped, uneducated and impoverished. This obviously makes people living there to be very distraught, sometimes even to the point of becoming violent and dangerous. The other reason is the huge gap between the country's government elite and its people. People whose voices seem not to be heard by their government officials will react in different ways. Whilst some have managed to deal with this in a civilised manner, others pick up arms and use fear as their instrument of getting what they need from the country. The penultimate cause of terrorism in Nigeria is therefore capitalism. In words of Sani himself, he believes that because of the capitalist master-servant relationship that is prevailing, the country operates on an unjust and unfair system. In order to survive in a system like that, some people therefore resort to desperate measures. On analysis, it is evident that all the factors cited by Sani are equally applicable to those relating the case of Europe, the Middle East and the Horn of Africa set up.

2.5 Concept of Human Security

Human security concept underscores the need to safeguard and expand people's vital freedoms. It entails protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and empowering people so as to take charge of their own lives. Protection refers to the norms, policies and an institutional framework that shields people and implies a 'top-down approach', such as the rule of law and democratic governance. Empowerment underscores the role of people as actors and key participants in decision making processes and implies a 'bottom-up' approach.

Terrorism has without doubt turned out to be one of the biggest challenges facing the world in general, serving as a major threat to human security. The United Nations Commission on Human Security affirms that human security and state security are complementary. In the pursuit of human security, constraints caused by war on terrorism need to be considered just as much as poverty, poor education and poor health delivery systems as well as oppression (Fierke, 2007:188). It therefore follows that with regards to freedom and emancipation, the state is retained as a referent object of security alongside the individual person (Snyder, 2008). From the post-Cold War era challenges, central to the security threat, is the quality of human life for individuals that has become the most important area of concern (McDonald, 2002; 279). It is this core value which is sometimes used as a benchmark to identify and analyse whether a state's security is indeed configured along the modern human security concept.

According to the UNDP (2006), as a result of terrorism, populations of the affected countries such as Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Niger just to mention but a few, are all faced with significant risks and vulnerabilities at national, community and individual levels seen through increased poverty and hunger, and both leading to a decline in livelihoods. Regarding human security challenges in Nigeria, Boko Haram violence has mostly affected northern states, including Adamawa, Bauchi, Borno, Gombe, Kaduna, Kano, Kogi Plateau, and Yobe. However, the group's attacks in Abuja and Lagos indicate that the violence is also spreading southwards (International Crisis Group, 2014). Access to basic human needs, is the major human security threat to rural areas of Bauchi, Kogi Plateau, and Yobe while on the other hand the issues of human rights and individuals' freedom from fear pose a serious threat to the urban parts of Borno, Kaduna and Maiduguri.

Newman (2010) outlines four emerging concepts of human security that seek to analyse and reflect on different sociological contexts and security concerns. These concepts of human security include:

The Basic Needs Approach: This approach as presented by the UNDP in the 1994 Human Rights Development Report is premised on the philosophy of "freedom from fear" and "freedom from want" as the basic complimentary tenets to human security. Its core elements include seven issues associated human security. These are economic security, food security,

health security environmental security, personal security, community security, and political security.

Some of the criteria associated with economic security include insured basic income and employment, and access to such social safety needs. Food security implies access to basic nutrition and food provision. Health security is more complex, and covers many different issues such as living in a safe environment, access to safe water, access to health services, access to safe and affordable family planning and basic support during pregnancy and delivery, prevention of HIV/AIDS and other diseases, and to have basic knowledge to live a healthy life. Environmental security covers such issues as prevention of air pollution, prevention of water pollution, prevention of deforestation, irrigated land conservation, prevention of natural hazards such as droughts, floods, earthquakes, cyclones among others.

Community security on the other hand covers conservation of traditions and cultures, languages and commonly held values. It also includes abolishment of ethnic discrimination, prevention of ethnic conflicts as well as the protection of indigenous people. Similarly, political security is concerned with protection of human rights and well-being of all people. It also includes protection against people from state repression such as freedom of press, freedom of speech and freedom of voting. Abolishment of political detention, imprisonment, systematic ill treatment, and disappearance are also covered under political security. Evidently, among the seven elements to human security are considerable links and overlaps (Human Development Report, 1994). A closer look into the societies of Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad and Niger indicates societies threatened from various angles by these forms of human insecurity mainly as a result of terrorism (UNDP, 2006).

The Assertive / Interventionist Approach: The basic principle of this approach is that even when sovereign prerogatives are impinged or invaded, gross human suffering should never be tolerated at any cost. Thus to say sovereign rights sometimes should be abandoned if state actions have a propensity to hinder the alleviation of gross human suffering. Cases of victimization and displacement of civilians are rampant in areas where war on terrorism is rife (Newman, 2001; Newman. 2010).

The Social Welfare / Development Approach: Central to this approach is the view that survival and safety are only basic minimum needs. Critical human needs go beyond

development as an end but views development as a means to an end, with particular emphasis on the promotion of human welfare (Newman, 2001; Newman, 2010).

The New Security Approach: This approach focuses on strengthening state capacity by considering non-traditional security issues that are emerging such as terrorism, human trafficking, drought/hunger, poverty; and the negative spill-over effects of the processes of globalization which could lead to serious development, democracy and security dilemma.

Newman (2001) explores these concepts through the lens of human security viewing them as interrelated or otherwise overlapping models seeking to address people either individually or as a group as the referent object of security in the academic movement. Broadly, he is challenging the traditional security conceptions by identifying development, governance and security in the context of transnational norms that are evolving globally (Newman, 2001:239). On analysis, it is this study's contention that the above four approaches place the concept of human security in varying contexts and orientations ranging from geostrategic, sociological and cultural orientations. This suggests that there is no single school of thought of human security that is absolutely a stand-alone entity with concrete coherence to subdue others.

Attention should therefore be directed towards norms and values as they impact on human security with regards to international relations. By placing focus on the range of agendas, actors and alliances, Newman (2001)'s approach can be employed to explore the human security matrix relating to such states like Nigeria, Somalia or even Kenya as a result of the threat of terrorism. It provides ground for interrogating the contextual experiences of both the rural and the urban populace of these societies in view of the threat of terrorism. In simpler terms, it provides a reflection of the various factors involved as well as the core values and norms that have shaped these states' response to the conflict. Human development is therefore a priority to which policy makers are called for immediate attention regarding the phenomenon. In exploring this development paradigm, states can be examined in the context of the need for provision of equal opportunities, freedom from want and freedom of conscience, human dignity and social justice among their populations.

Terrorism has been a great threat to the Nigerian, Cameroonians and Somali citizens in both their personal capacities and as nations at large. This is because it leaves them vulnerable in

their movement within the countries as well as at residence and work places (Howard, 1992). Negative impacts of terrorism have been observed in the socio-economic as well as political sectors of these countries which therefore affect the way of living and the governance of the people of such states. The use of violence by terrorists has resulted in the death of innocent people mostly women and children and this negatively affects the socio-economic order of the country as the government is forced to spend resources by providing for these vulnerable people instead of investing in other sectors such as infrastructure, education or health just to mention a few. Destruction of property also impacts negatively on revenue generation from shopping complexes, hotels and other market places which are the targets of attack since profits are easily eroded overnight. The hardest hit is the tourism sector which contributes significantly to these states' Gross Domestic Product (Cronin & Ludes, 2004). It is however worth noting that these effects are inter-linked and all boil down to a serious threat to human security.

2.6 The Socio-economic Impact of Terrorism

The core objective of terrorism is to influence the government and it is a deliberate act that creates fear, violence and anxiety among people. Terrorism has direct (primary) effects and indirect (secondary) effects on the socio-economy of a state. Primary economic impacts of terrorism arise from the immediate aftermath of a terrorist event (Schneider, Brück and Meierrieks (2010). These effects include the physical destruction of property or objects and the human casualties such as injuries and losses of human life. There are over 2.3 million people displaced by the terrorist conflicts since May 2013, with at least 250,000 having left Nigeria and fled into Cameroon, Chad or Niger (Human Rights Watch, 2014). Boko Haram killed over 6,600 people in 2014 (*The Washington Post*, 2014). The group has carried out mass abductions including the kidnapping of 267 school girls from Chibok in April 2014.

On analysis, it is evident that such terrorist events influence three main types of socio-economic agents namely: individual households, the private sector (companies) and the public institutions (schools/colleges) – relating to micro economic levels. Due to the terrorist attacks, these socio-economic agents suffer through losses in physical and human capital, and at the same time they influence the socio-economic order as a result of the violent shock that occurs. However, in general, primary economic losses of terrorism are not very extensive with regards to impact on the total economy of the state, with an exception for the unprecedented magnitude of the 9/11 attacks (Krugman, 2004; Carter & Cox, 2011).

Therefore, according to Schneider *et al.* (2010), terrorism in general can be characterized as small scale, but frequent events, more focused on objects with a symbolic or political value and not so much on economic symbols like the World Trade Centre in New York. However, primary effects involve immediate and quick negative responses on the socio-economic order and businesses in general such as decline in investments, growth and consumptions of different sectors.

Long term negative effects on firms, economy and stock markets are known as indirect or secondary effects of terrorism and would naturally require government policies to overcome. Secondary economic impacts are a result of an interdependent economic system in which terrorist attacks caused the disruption of economic entities which normally would not have been direct targets of the attack (Krugman, 2004). The 28 November 2002 missiles attack on an Israel based Boeing 757 airliner as it took off the Moi International Airport leaving craters on the runway and subsequently affecting the airline transport system, are a reflection of the secondary socio-economic impacts. A survey by the Swiss economists Frey *et al.* (2004) described the following indirect or secondary socio-economic impacts of terrorist attacks:

Effects on Tourism: Terrorism systematically influences tourists' choice of destination and would therefore, substantially negatively affect the host country (Stutzer, 2004). American economists Enders and Sandler (1991) in their studies concluded that a typical terrorist act in Spain scares away over 150,000 tourists. Similar effects would naturally relate to the case of such states like Nigeria, Somalia or Afghanistan though the statistics would vary. Moreover, the effect is long-lasting and also has an impact on the demand for tourism in neighbouring countries.

Savings and Consumption: Consumption and saving rates may be affected by terrorism, but according to Frey *et al.* (2004), it is still unclear if this effect is positive or negative. According to Frey *et al.* (2005) the way saving and consumption is affected by terrorism depends on the local situation: If people are afraid of losing their savings, then they will consume more. If they expect a decline in income, on the other hand, they will increase their savings and decrease their consumption. Developing countries have few resources and therefore a decrease in consumption turns out to be the main socio-economic impact of terrorism (Mokaya, 2015).

Investments: Political stability is generally recognised as the most important factor that determines investments in a local economy. Not only the amount of investments are influenced by terrorist events, but also the investment composition and in particular the investments in machinery and equipment (Bloomberg et al (2004) in Stutzer, 2004). Terrorism negatively affects both quantity and quality of investment within a particular country and region (Stutzer, 2004).

Foreign Trade: Terrorist events not only increase the sense of insecurity and uncertainty for foreign traders, but will also increase transaction costs due to augmented security measures and can lead to the destruction of export goods such as tea and coffee in the case of East African states (Stutzer, 2004). Nitch and Schumacher (2004) illustrated that countries that are targeted by terrorism, trade less with each other than those countries not affected by terrorism. Moreover, these effects are large such that a doubling of the number of terrorist events reduces the bilateral trade flows by approximately 4% (Stutzer, 2004).

National Income and Growth: The overall effect of terrorism on the economy can only be determined when it is known how an economy would have developed without the terrorist event. Whilst illustrating these differences Blomberg *et al*, (2004) concluded that the effects of terrorism on the economic growth are small and insignificant. In summary, research indicates that terrorism that occurs in developing countries is likely to have more impact on the country's economy than terrorism that occurs in a developed country (Sandler & Enders, 2008). Many studies such as that by Abadie and Gardeazabal (2003), Blomberg *et al*. (2004), Chen and Wei (2005) and Schneider et al (2010) have proved this relationship. The main reasoning for this argument is based on the fact that, a developed nation has more resources and capabilities to survive prolonged attacks (Stutzer, 2004).

2.7 Role of Regional and Continental Actors in Dealing with Terrorism

The United Nations General Assembly adopted by consensus the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy on 8 September 2006. The strategy is an exclusive global instrument to enhance national, regional and international efforts to counter terrorism. On analysis, it is this study's contention that such a move constitutes key strategies that have been adopted by states,

regional and continental players in combating terrorism not only in the Horn of Africa as a region but to include the whole world. Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, states resolved to take practical steps to prevent and combat terrorism individually and collectively. Member States agreed to this common strategy and operational approach to fight terrorism, thereby sending a clear message that terrorism is unacceptable in all its forms and manifestation. The steps consist of a wide array of measures ranging from strengthening state capacity to counter terrorist threats and to better coordinate United Nations' systems of counter-terrorism activities. The adoption of the strategy fulfilled the commitment made by world leaders at the 2005 September Summit and builds on many of the elements proposed by the Secretary-General in his May 2006 report, entitled *Uniting against Terrorism: Recommendations for a Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy*.

The General Assembly reviews the Strategy every two years, thereby making it a living document in sync to member states' counter-terrorism priorities. The fourth review of the strategy took place in June 2014 ([A/RES/68/276](#)) and was preceded by a report from the United Nations Secretary-General (A/68/841) that included an overview of the evolving terrorism landscape, recommendations to address challenges and threats, and a compilation of measures taken by Member States and United Nations entities in the fight against terrorism. The Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy is a form of a resolution premised on a Plan of Action (A/RES/60/288) which is made up of 4 Pillars focusing on the following specific subjects;

Pillar 1: Addressing the Conditions Conducive to the Spread of Terrorism. Member states committed to undertake measures aimed at addressing the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism, including the following: prolonged unresolved conflicts, dehumanization of victims of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, lack of the rule of law and violations of human rights, ethnic, national and religious discrimination, political exclusion, socio-economic marginalization and lack of good governance. They emphasized that none of these conditions can be an excuse to justify acts of terrorism.

Pillar 2: Measures to Prevent and Combat Terrorism. Member states committed to undertake measures to prevent and combat terrorism, in particular by denying terrorists access to the resources and means to carry out their attacks and to protect particularly vulnerable targets.

Pillar 3: Measures to Build States' Capacity to Prevent and Combat Terrorism: and to Strengthen the Role of the United Nations System in that Regard. Member states recognized that capacity-building in all States is a core element of the global counter-terrorism effort, and resolved to undertake measures to develop State capacity to prevent and combat terrorism and enhance coordination and coherence within the United Nations system in promoting international cooperation in countering terrorism. This involved identifying needs and gaps in state capacity to prevent and combat terrorism in order to strengthen the capacity of existing institutions by enhancing multidisciplinary cooperation between agencies.

Pillar 4: Measures to ensure Respect for Human Rights for all: and the Rule of Law as the Fundamental Basis for the Fight against Terrorism. Member States committed to adopting measures to ensure respect for human rights for all and the rule of law as the fundamental basis of the fight against terrorism. They further resolved to take measures aimed at addressing violations of human rights, and to ensure that any measures taken to counter terrorism comply with their human rights obligations. They recognized that effective counter-terrorism measures and the protection of human rights are not conflicting but rather complementary and reinforcing goals.

Through these pillars, the Strategy anchors the United Nations' counter-terrorism work into the broad agenda of the Organization, which focuses on maintaining international peace and security, protecting human rights and promoting sustainable development. The Four Pillar Approach also encourages and enables Member States to take a similarly integrated approach to countering terrorism on the national level and creates a common framework for regional and global support to their national efforts.

McDonnell, (2009) identifies fundamental legal issues arising from the US response to the terrorist threat in the wake of September 11 Attacks. He analyses the Bush administration's policies and practices in the 'war against terrorism' looking at whether they were in line with provisions of international law, extending the analysis to the Obama administration. Specific topics of legal interest that are raised relate similarly to those adopted by most African and western governments in terms of strategies in the fight against terrorism. Actions such as torture, state heavy handedness, extreme brutality and extra-judicial detentions are singled out. It is this study's observation that McDonnell (2009) sought to demonstrate why current counterterrorism mechanisms should be done away with as there is genuine need to adopt mechanisms that are compatible with international law. This stance conforms to the main

thrust of this study as it seeks to identify better ways or acceptable measures that can be adopted in the fight against terrorism for the attainment of sustainable peace and security.

It is this study's position that in the fight against terrorism, the observation of Human Rights and the International Humanitarian Law should be demonstrated and practiced if workable solutions are to be reached. Human rights are universal, inalienable, indivisible, equal and non-discriminatory. They accrue to all persons by virtue of being a human being (UN Human Rights Charter). They accrue to all human beings without discrimination on basis of religion, nationality, ethnicity, colour or culture. The history of human rights stretches back to antiquity where it was found necessary to establish a common understanding between an individual and the prevailing political classes to ensure that individuals were protected against arbitrary conduct by those in position of power and influence. Dominic McGoldrick (2009),³ book, *From '9-11' to the Iraq War 2003* takes a look at the principle of international law as applied in the fight against terrorism and the war in Iraq. It is easy to conclude that the greatest hindrance to the full enjoyment of human liberty by citizens is the uncontrolled power vested in and exercised by governments.

Another way of combating or tackling terrorism is to stop the recruitments. Ian Robertson (2015), author of *The Winner Effect: How Power Affects Your Brain*, as cited in the Africa Defence Forum (Vol. 9) noted that there are a number of factors leading to the alienation of young people within communities. Many of those who join extremist groups express a sense of isolation from their families and communities. Teenagers need to have a sense of nationalism - such as pride in being a Somali or Nigerian in addition to being proud of their Muslim heritage. This sense of national pride needs to be genuine, if it has to drive away the teenagers and young adults from being recruited into terrorism. Anti-Muslim rhetoric plays directly into the hands of the extremist movements (Defence Forum, Vol. 9). Writing for *Foreign Affairs Magazine*, Humera Khan Muflehun, executive director of a Washington-based think tank cited four steps of dealing with recruits, namely: Preventing radicalization; Intervening on behalf of individuals that have been radicalized; Interdicting or finding and prosecuting those who have engaged in criminal behaviour; and Reintegrating into society those offenders who are in prisons, or have served their term or are returning from conflict zones.

Khan observed that although in many countries practitioners focus on strengthening communities to reduce their vulnerability towards radicalization; however, there are very few

countries that have programs dedicated to address all the four aspects – particularly the intervention and reintegration aspects. As a result of this gap, individuals who have begun to radicalize are not turned around and those who have acted violently are not rehabilitated.

Recently, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development Security Sector Program (IGAD SSP) in cooperation with the IGAD Special Mission to Somalia (IGAD SMS) conducted a training program for Somali-Kenyan religious scholars, traditional leaders, Central Statistics Organisation representatives, and relevant ministries on “*Counter Radicalization, Disengagement, and Reintegration of Terrorist*” in Dire Dawa, Ethiopia. The objective of the training was to contribute to the fight against radicalization and countering terrorism in Somalia, Kenya and the region as a whole by providing knowledge, tools and a common understanding to traditional leaders in mobilizing the community through counter radical narratives that familiarize the dangers of religious extremism messages of Al-Shabaab and other groups.

Given the importance of community in the Somali-Kenyan society and roles of their leaders, it is this study s’ contention that IGAD strongly believes that community based de-radicalization is important and provides a platform for trust based and sustainable intervention. Therefore, unless more sensitization and fundamental work of disengagement is done with various communities, it is not possible to fully effectively defeat extremist narratives and remove the threats terrorist groups pose to the region. Addressing the participants Commander Abebe Muluneh, Director of IGAD SSP highlighted that the rise of Islamic State-affiliated groups in sub-Saharan Africa - Jahba East Africa, which is also known as the Islamic State of Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda (ISISSKTU) have become a potential threatening phenomenon that requires urgent attention. He pointed out that engaging with key community members that include religious leaders, the youth, and women hand in hand is very important in tackling the narratives and messaging of Al-Shabaab and other terrorist groups.

During the training program, the following subjects among others were thoroughly discussed and debated over: Understanding extremist narratives and the damages caused to the people [...] in contrast to the mainstream Islam narratives; Actors and vulnerable targets of Al-Shabaab radicalization and recruitment methods (trends, patterns, processes, and causes of radicalization) and ways to detect and counter them; Role of government, religious leaders, clan leaders, media and civil society in community engagement for disseminating counter

narratives; and, the role of the community and other stakeholders' engagement on the acceptance of defectors for reintegration and rehabilitation. The program emphasized the need to fully understand the real and true teachings of Islam so as to counter those who provide wrong and misinterpretation of the religion; and it also called for a united front to eliminate those individuals and groups who claim to represent and do harm in the name of Islam and other religions.

Speaking to the White House Summit on *Counter Violent Extremism*, on 19 Feb 2015, Kenya's Cabinet secretary for the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National government Nkaissery J.O. noted that Kenya was experiencing a growing threat of terrorism and violent extremism due to a number of reasons. These included the following: Sharing a border of approximately 700km with Somalia, where Al-Shabaab bases are located. The Al-Shabaab are luring Kenyan youth and using these bases to recruit, radicalize, train and plan terrorist attacks against Kenya and the region; infiltration by extremists - a challenge that is complicated by the realities of Kenya's large indigenous Somali population; the use of protected spaces, in particular refugee camps, prisons, welfare assistance centers, to foment violent extremism (Kenya is host to more than 600 000 refugees); and vulnerability which is accentuated by the rapid growth in the use of electronic media to recruit, incite and even train candidates for extremism.

In view of the above discourse it can be argued that tackling terrorism requires the correct understanding of Islam. The best way to cure this challenge is only through Islam and not fighting Islam (Buckley & Fawn, 2003). Spreading the culture of tolerance, coexistence and acceptance of others through the removal of injustices, poverty, corruption and upholding the values of justice and equality is one way of winning their hearts and minds (Martin, 2010). Communities who are marginalized in their own countries turn to violence and terror. Kenyan authorities have to create a serious dialogue with the groups in society who are most exposed to those radical extremist ideas and listening to the demands of these people and giving them their civil rights. Religion, just like culture, cannot be forced upon a people (Dershowitz, 2002).

This study therefore posits that, "there is need for teamwork among all the stakeholders as well as a very competent and effective civil society if we are to combat terrorism in any particular state". Terrorism has to be combated by a combination of government, governance, stringent laws, quick and a firm system of justice that delivers 'appropriate' punishments to

the perpetrators. The government, the opposition and other political parties including the people should work in harmony to prevent terrorism. There is need to eradicate the politics of conflict among political parties. Poverty breeds criminals and terrorists (Forst, 2009). Poor people tend to engage in acts of desperation, hopelessness and conflict with other people or regions. As such, the government with assistance from donor organisations and donor countries should take concerted efforts to eradicate poverty in society.

The government system therefore needs to implement a good governance strategy which includes the reduction of fraud, inefficiencies and inequities and promote a dignified life to its population. If people are sure about their rights and privileges, this will change their mind set towards a positive attitude (Forst, 2009). The government has to ensure rule of law prevails so that nobody is denied of his or her just rights. Above all, discrimination against anyone should be stopped.

2.8 Training in Counterterrorism Norms

The Generic Forces held a study seminar whose theme read: *Fighting Terrorism in the Context of Asymmetric Warfare*, in 2017. The study seminar sought to interrogate the concept of terrorism in the context of asymmetrical warfare. It was noted that there cannot be an identical response to all blends of asymmetric warfare or terrorism and therefore, it is important that armies the world over should be geared up to meet this future challenge. Former US president FJ Kennedy (1962) once noted: “This is another type of war, new in its intensity, ancient in its origin, war by guerrillas, subversives, insurgents, ... war by ambush instead of war by combat; by infiltration, instead of aggression, seeking victory by eroding and exhausting the enemy instead of engaging him... It preys on economic unrest and ethnic conflicts. It [therefore] requires ...a whole new kind of strategy, a wholly different kind of force, and a new and wholly different kind of military training”. Such an analysis equally applies to the case of Kenya in its effort to combat terrorism.

The doctrine of an army or any security organisation provides the rationale for its force structure and the orientation to engage effectively with available means against a threat perception (Africa Defence Review, Vol. 3, 2018). The current doctrine of most of former British colony state armies though it covers the aspects of Low Intensity Conflict, it cannot

address the problem of all terrorist threats and therefore hinders the development of force necessary for such operations. It therefore follows that for most of these developing countries' armies, the policy and strategy on fighting terrorist threats, have not been formulated or are yet to be crystallized. National Defence Policy of a country needs to be modified according to the dictates of the terrorist threats. The government in collaboration with armed forces of the country should identify these threats and evolve defence policies accordingly. Operational concepts and tactical doctrines can then be formulated within these parameters to deal with such threats (Generic Forces- Asymmetric Warfare Seminar, 2017).

Military Operations Directorates must therefore formulate a comprehensive counter-terrorism doctrine and this doctrine should state the mechanics for the conduct of the counter-terrorism warfare. Due to the ever-changing nature of the concept of terrorism, there is a need for continuous or regular doctrinal evaluation in order to remain in tandem with the modern trends to training in counterterrorism. One way of doing this is through undertaking running 'Estimates Processes'. An 'Estimate Process' is a decision making process that involves systematic analysis of battlefield activities by both the commander and his supporting staff with an aim to come out with possible or sound courses of action to a particular threat or situation. One of the major purposes of the 'Estimate Process' is to continuously evaluate a situation or a threat as it unfolds and determine whether to amend or change the plan of action. It shows tasks and constraints to the overall mission (Joint Service Publication, Zimbabwe 2; Zimbabwe Staff College, Low Intensity Operations Handbook, 2005).

A Training Directive should then be issued encompassing terrorist threat and response. Based on this directive, schools of instruction or Training Institutions should then prepare comprehensive syllabi to impart training to all Commissioned Officers, and Non-Commissioned members. In the context of changing geo-strategic scenarios, states' national Defence Forces are required to train in both conventional and unconventional warfare strategies to face the different situations demanding different responses. In any counter-terrorism battle, the likely essentials means employed by one or both sides would include any of the following approaches or courses of action: Space Warfare; Passive ground measures and smart bombs as the force multipliers; Use of stealth technology; Unmanned combat aerial vehicles; Information and cyber warfare, as well as considering the security of strategic assets from attacks by terrorists and state enemies.

States like Somalia, Uganda or Nigeria have the potential to harness the revolution in military technology to their benefit. Any doctrine to combat a terrorist threat, should, therefore embrace the following concepts: Information Warfare aimed at precision strike as the emerging war fighting concept; concept of Joint Strategy amongst all the three services namely Defence, Police and Intelligence/Spy services; re-emergence of conventional weapons; and, guerilla tactics and methods to outwit the enemy by inflicting precise blows through unexpected means.

With regards to intelligence gathering, it is evident that strategic and tactical intelligence systems designed to support requirements for information in a conventional war scenario may not be suitable to support operations of terrorist nature. Therefore, the Kenyan army would need a cohesive intelligence set up designed, organized, equipped and especially trained to operate in an extremely complex conflict environment. At present most third world countries' security systems lack the desired focus on intelligence (Africa Defence Review, Vol. 3, 2018). For instance, the intelligence system lacks the latest trends/means in tracking down the terrorists.

As an example, in time for the February 2018 massive human migration of hundreds of millions of people to China's annual Lunar New Year holiday, Chinese police added a new surveillance tool to their already considerable arsenal. This comes in the form of glasses or spectacles fitted with fast facial recognition technology that is connected to a database of 100,000 000 suspects wanted in connection with major crimes; and is able to identify individuals by zipping through in as little as 100 milliseconds. China's official state media outlet, the *People's Daily*, hailed the 'surveillance specs' as a way to help out authorities by using facial-recognition technology capable of "highly effective screening" of crowds for fugitives. Three days after their introduction, the glasses had already helped railway police at Zhengzhou's East Railway Station nab seven suspects and 26 other people who were on the wanted list for various crimes, the *Wall Street Journal* (10 February, 2018) reported. It is this study's contention that maximum use of latest trends/means in tracking down the terrorists will help in the fight against terrorism.

Going forward, there should be specialized training for the force in the fields of planning and handling of various unconventional situations such as conducting operations in isolation. The handling/interrogation of criminals in line with the aspects of human rights concept is needed for effectively countering issues of abuse which have a tendency to radicalize the potential

terrorists and renders them sympathizers. This force should be trained in the following subjects: Situational Training to junior leaders in relation to their likely tasks; Initiative at junior level; Cordon and Search as well as Rescue Operations; Mobile Check Posts and searching techniques of vehicles and persons; Establishment of road blocks; Occupation of heights and clearances from terrorists; Psychological training of units engaged in counterterrorism warfare to nullify the effects of negative propaganda of such groups like Al-Shabaab or Boko Haram and other anti-state elements; Introduction to various terrorist situations; Handling of criminals/terrorists and various interrogation techniques; VIP and venue protection training; Training of hostage rescue operations; and, Use of helicopters for swift move.

In general, a comprehensive understanding of counterterrorism has remained elusive because of the failure to address various conceptual issues. These include: the need to produce clear, coherent concept of terrorism before proceeding towards theory development; the importance of integrative theory that draws from macro-structural, organizational and micro levels of analysis and the importance of recognizing dialectic relationship between state and anti-state terrorism. It is therefore this study's position that the development of a clear cut fighting doctrine to combat terrorism is fundamental if tactical approaches are to be harmonized with the concept of human security. This product should then be disseminated for adoption into syllabi by various training institutions. In his famous military literary works, *Art of War*, Sun Tzu said, precise knowledge of self and precise knowledge of the threat leads to victory, or if you know the enemy and know yourself, you need not fear the result of a hundred battles.

2.9 Country Experiences

Human security does not seek to supplant state security, but rather to complement it. States have the fundamental responsibility of providing security. Yet they often fail to fulfill their obligations. In many times states are the sources of the threat to people. As the multitude of violent conflicts and extreme poverty demonstrates, states cannot be secure if people's security is at stake. But neither can people be secure in the absence of a strong, democratic and responsible government as the multitude of collapsed states in the world illustrates. These are the challenges in Palestine Afghanistan and Iraq today (McDonald, 2008).

2.9.1 Israel – Palestine Experience

On the backdrop of the full application of various traditional security measures by the Israeli government in anticipation of achieving security in the occupied territory of Palestine, the majority of the Israelis live in fear, and at the same time the majority of Palestinians also live in fear too. Consequently, neither Palestinians nor Israelis have any sense of security (Nusseibeh, 2008). The basic tenets of human security are freedom from fear and freedom from want and, as a consequence, the right to personal dignity (Nusseibeh, 2008). The system of checkpoints and roadblocks set up by the Israelis that sought to protect their national security by making it very difficult for Palestinians from Gaza and the West Bank to enter Israel un-accounted, or move from one part of the occupied territories to another un-noticed has serious side effects. These checkpoints have severe adverse effect on Palestinians in relation to human security, as they create fear and humiliation as a result of the treatment most of the Palestinians receive at these checkpoints and roadblocks. This system also creates want, as the checkpoints destroy the infrastructure and the connectivity essential for a functioning Palestinian economy (Nusseibeh, 2008).

It is evident that fear, want and humiliation are integral elements of the Israel occupation of Palestine. The Palestinians do not feel secure whether as Jerusalemites, as they are always concerned about the impermanence of their residency status; or as West Bankers, always subjected to monitoring and control of their movements and also still at risk from Israeli incursions and attacks; or as residency of Gaza, always sealed off by Israel from the outside world and frequently subjected to random bombings and attacks. For these reasons and many others, the vast majority of Palestinians feel humiliated. It is not by accident that the third tenet of human security is the right to dignity. Humiliation can be as devastating as physical violence and can provoke extreme forms of hatred leading to organized military groups such as the Hamas whom the Eurocentric or Western literature quickly define as terrorists whilst the Palestinians views them as liberation fighters. Dignity is an integral element of humanity and history is filled with examples of people who sacrificed their lives for it. When military superiority is used to humiliate a people, it is sowing the seeds of war and not of peace (Nusseibeh, 2008).

Ever since the signing of the Oslo Accords (1993 and 1995), there has been an influx of fire arms into the Palestinian territory (CHS Report, 2003). This has significantly increased the dangers for both Palestinians and Israelis and therefore decreasing the overall level of human security. Regarding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Mary Kaldor along with Jan Faber (2007), (experts on human security) described the situation as “a conflict between state securities”

(as needed by the Israelis) and “human security” (which is required by the Palestinians). This puts in a nutshell the problem of the internal contradiction of militarisation against the individual human security that everyone needs. In the Israel-Palestine occupation, this study observes vivid pictures of state terrorism being advanced by Israel on Palestinians. However, the actions of the Hamas group equally point to terrorist activities by sub state actors in the context of liberation struggle.

2.9.2 Algeria and Nigeria Experience

Counter-terrorism has been a global affair as a result of the impact global terrorism on human security. This has resulted in the adoption of various counter-terrorism measures by different countries which all has effects on the population in terms of human security. Counter-terrorism policies in Nigeria and Algeria will be examined because their modus operandi reveals some resembling features worth analysing.

Algeria has a long history of terrorism (Botha, 2008). Political organisations such as the Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (GSPC) and its successor Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) have been linked to terrorism for quite a long time (Abdalla, 2011). Apparently, Algeria does not have an all-inclusive counter-terrorism approach and the fundamental strategy is not so clear (Hasan et al., 2012). Apparently, the Algeria authorities have adopted policies that present a stance of hard and soft approaches. These hard approaches involve the extensive use of military intelligence service, the formation of inter-departmental taskforce responsible for the suppression of terrorism as well as pre-arraignment of detention period extensions. Furthermore, there has also been several military crackdowns on hideouts of terrorists since 2009 (Hasan et al., 2012) through a deployment of troops on the borders with Tunisia and Libya respectively (Torelli, 2013; United States Department of State, 2016a).

The soft approach comprised the persuading of repentant Islamist militants to speak publicly as well as offering amnesty for terrorists. Other measures included preventing the youths from becoming terrorists through offering jobs in the public sector and giving bonuses as well as building houses for them and enrolling some of them into the military (Hasan et al., 2012). Also included has been the notion of monitoring sermons preached by Imams and introducing the importance of preventing extremism in the curricula of religious schools (Hasan et al.,

2012). The government has also put laws to forestall and prosecute terrorism financing and money laundering as well as increasing detention of a terrorist suspect to 12 days (The Law Library of Congress, 2015).

Nigeria's counter-terrorism approaches have both hard and soft components however, understanding the ratio of the former to the latter is important as this allows this study to give an objective assessment. The Boko Haram terrorist activities have prompted the enactment of radical policies by the Nigerian authorities, as well as the adoption of bilateral and multilateral ties. These included the imposition of curfew and the declaration of state of emergency in the affected areas; the establishment of the Seventh Division of the Nigerian Army and the subsequent relocation of military command centre to Maiduguri. A Civilian Joint Task Force (CJTF) as well as an administrative panel to negotiate with Boko Haram was set up (Akinbi, 2015; Akpan et al., 2014). Others include setting up a committee on Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) Programme and rolling out of National Counter Terrorism Strategy (NACTEST).

In view of the above, it is evident that one major reason why political terrorism develops so far seems to be very much related to the lack of human security for an increasing number of people in the world, who feel economically excluded, ethnically discriminated, and not respected in their social, cultural and religious beliefs. From the United Nations reports, including the UNDP Human Development Reports, there is an increasing number of people in the world who feel marginalized or who do not have their basic needs covered; or those who live in poverty, who are discriminated against for reasons of their race, colour, sex, language, religion and political opinion; or who lack the right to self-determination or feel exploited and dominated by others; those who do not enjoy the most basic civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural rights or do not feel respected nor protected. Thus, they do not feel secure in their personal lives.

The basic tenets of human security are freedom from fear and freedom from want and, as a consequence, the right to personal dignity (Nusseibeh, 2008). It is not by accident that the third tenet of human security is the right to dignity. No analysis of threats to human security can overlook the issue of poverty. The Arab Human Development Report (AHDR), 2009 suggests: "human poverty, is a term to capture the deprivation of capabilities and

opportunities” as a concise definition of the term. The soft approaches employed mainly by the Algerian authorities as counter-terrorism measures are more likely to bring sustainable peace and security than the hard approach. This is mainly because the ‘soft approach’ targets the root causes of terrorism unlike the ‘hard approach’ which seek to address the symptoms (Hasan et al., 2012).

From the 1994 Human Security Approach, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) first used the concept of “Human Security” with reference to basic economic and social rights, like the right to food, right to health and social security emphasizing that: “the world can never be in peace unless people have security in their daily lives”. On 4 October 2002, UNSG Kofi Annan authored an article on ‘World inclusivity’ in the International Herald Tribune, speaking about a ‘new insecurity’ since September 11th and concluding that “Peace, tolerance, mutual respect, human rights, the rule of law and the global economy are all among the causes of terrorists’ acts”. He also stated that we cannot continue to exclude the poor, the disenfranchised or those who are denied basic rights to liberty and self-determination. If we do so, then we cannot at the same time hope to secure lasting peace and prosperity.

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the literature related to the research problem in view of the objectives of the study. It gave a framework of the study by interrogating literature that answers the research questions as guided by the research topic. Such was done to orientate the reader with the wider literature on international relations in the context of counter-terrorism efforts regarding Kenya. From the review, it came out clear that terrorism is strongly embedded in the Frustration-Aggression theory as spelt in the discussion. The challenges to a consensus definition of terrorism have an influence in designing counter-terrorism measures. The threat of terrorism to human security indeed has socio-economic impacts on Kenya. Despite all the challenges, there are several ways of tackling or combating terrorism in Kenya, the sub region and the African continent as a global region. The chapter also reviewed literature on doctrinal training in counter-terrorism, in view of the challenges faced by the security forces. It closed with a discussion on specific country experiences showing how terrorism has affected human security in those respective countries; and clearly indicating the nexus

between human security and terrorism and the strategies that were used to counter terrorism in those respective countries.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter sets to describe and justify the methods and procedures that the researcher used in gathering data. The research methodology is the systematic collection of data for either theoretical or practical research studies (Chennai, 2010:97). Therefore, the research methodology enables to corral the data after acquisition and extract meaning from them. In that regard, there is need for careful selection of the research design to be adopted and the validity and reliability of the research instruments employed should be able to bring out the research objectives. This study is basically a qualitative research study. The main sources of data were the respondents from the interviews however, document analysis and a field visit helped in bringing out the study objectives. Such an approach enabled the study to gain reliable and valid data to address the research questions. The research adopted the following format: the research design, sampling procedure, data collection methods, research instruments as well as instrument validity and reliability. The chapter closes by giving an outline on data analysis.

3.2 Research Design

According to Fraenkel and Wallen (2000), a ‘Research Design’ is the overall plan for collecting data in order to answer the researcher’s questions. Taylor et al (2014) says a research design is the overall plan for connecting the conceptual research problems to the empirical research. In view of the aforementioned definitions, this study is contented that a research design is the foundation of the whole data collection process as it determines the accuracy of information obtained and ensures that evidence obtained enables researcher to answer the research question unambiguously. This research design is a Case Study which is qualitative in nature. The Merriam Webster Dictionary defines a Case Study as an intensive analysis of an individual unit of study (such as a community or a state) stressing developmental factors in relation to environment. However, in the social sciences, a case study is a research method involving an in-depth examination of a subject of study (the case), as well as its related contextual conditions. The major advantage of this approach is that it allows for a detailed analysis of the situation and a meaningful interpretation of the views and events regarding the nature and scope of the phenomenon under study. On the other hand, qualitative research is designed to reveal the meaning that informs action or outcomes to a phenomenon. Consequently, by its nature, qualitative research investigates meanings, interpretations, processes and relations of a social unit. According to Koul (2002:97), a qualitative research can be employed “where one needs to obtain pertinent and precise information concerning the status of a particular phenomenon; and the researcher is able to draw valid general conclusions from the facts found”. It was therefore suitable considering the need for a detailed description and analysis of the phenomenon of ‘Terrorism in Kenya’ and the need to identify suitable measures for bringing sustainable peace and security.

3.3 Sampling Procedure

Sampling procedure is the method by which the researcher can derive a sample from a population. The study will rarely have direct access to the entire population of interest, and as such it relies on a sampling frame to represent all elements of the population of study interest (Crrivan, 2004). The sampling frame is the set of elements on which the research study selects a sample of target population. A sample, according to Fink (1995) as cited in (Leedy & Ormrod, 2011:22), is “a subset of a target population”. The importance of samples is determined by the degree of accuracy with which they depict or mirror the study population henceforth they should be enough to enable findings to be generalised. Often limited resources make it unpractical to study the whole population and so the study of a sample becomes necessary.

In selecting the actual sample for this study, purposive and convenience sampling procedures were used. The purposive sampling ensured the inclusion of those key informants holding high value information on the subject – which include academic scholars who are into International Relations and those into Peace and Security studies as well as professional military and security personnel found in different organizations or defence forces. In purposive sampling personal judgment needs to be used to choose subjects that help to effectively answer research questions or achieve research objectives. This sampling technique is quite effective in exploring anthropological situations where the discovery of meaning can benefit from an insightful approach. Furthermore, it is one of the most cost-effective and time-effective sampling methods available. Convenience sampling allowed for the quick gathering of information and faster analysis of data collected (Saunders & Thornhill, 2006). It is a method that relies on data collection from population members who are conveniently available to participate in the study. The critical issue on sampling procedures is objectivity; henceforth the researcher made appointments prior to the interviews to ensure participants were well prepared for the task. Data for this study was collected from selected residence of Nairobi, Mombasa and Kenyan-Somali refugees domiciled in Zimbabwe, selected staff members from the Kenyan embassy in Zimbabwe, as well as serving and retired members of various Defence Forces namely Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda and Zimbabwe.

Platforms such as military organizations' study seminars and joint military training exercises enabled the researcher to gain a full understanding of impact of terrorism as a threat to human security in Kenya. Online discussions through international forums for military and security studies exposed the researcher to robust international debates on combating terrorism. These interactions enabled strategic osmosis of ideas built on tried and tested military and security personnel and to include well respected members of the academia in the particular field of study. The researcher was therefore able to fully understand the major causes of terrorism in Kenya; the nature and scope of terrorism and its effects on human security in Kenya during the period under review; as well as the impact of terrorism on human security in Kenya for the period 1990 to 2015. The researcher was also able identify the strategies adopted by the state, regional and continental actors in combating terrorism in Kenya and to decipher strategies that can be put in place in order to achieve sustainable peace and security in Kenya?

3.4 Data Collection

Data collection is the gathering of evidence in a systematic manner by use of appropriate research instruments so as to solve the research problem (Saunders et al, 1997; McNamara, 1999). Selection and administration of data collection instruments is a crucial aspect of any research study (McNamara, 1999). In this research study, the choice of data collection methods was mainly influenced by the research objectives in relation to size and distribution of the study population, as well as the available timeframe and financial constraints to the researcher. Document Analysis and In-depth Interviews are the main data collection methods employed by this study.

In-depth interviews were used because of their suitability in providing evaluative data that was deemed essential for the study. In its simplest form, an interview is the verbal conversation between two or more people with the objective of collecting relevant information for the purpose of research. Interviews are particularly useful for getting the story behind a participant's experiences. The interviewer can pursue in-depth information around the topic (McNamara, 1999). In general, interviews have a great potential to provide firsthand information for the specific subject. In-depth interviews were done through both face to face interactions and through the telephone and other Information Communication platforms such as Skype and online facilities. In-depth interviews provided the factual and interpretive aspects of the impact of terrorism in Kenya as a threat to human security, and clearly spelt the possible solutions to the achievement of peace and security in Kenya.

The study collected data from key informants who included: respectable members in the academia at leading university institutions who specialize in peace and security studies such as the Zimbabwe Staff College, Zimbabwe National Defence University, National Defence University (People's Liberation Army, China) as well the University of Zimbabwe and the Midlands State University, just to mention but a few. Also consulted were selected members from the Kenyan embassy staff in Zimbabwe as well as defense and military attachés of countries in and around the Horn of Africa namely Uganda and Tanzania. In summary, defense and military personnel as well as respectable academic scholars who are into peace and security studies formed part of the sources of primary data.

Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents - both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) material (McNamara, 1999). Document analysis involves examining and interpreting data in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge (Rapley, 2007; Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

The documents consulted included the various military training institutions' records of training among many others. Professional military magazines on defence and security that allow for an in-depth discussion and exchange of ideas on peace and security issues were also key sources of data to the study.

Media platforms were also interrogated. The logic was that terrorist incidents attract the media because they are genuine human dramas, different from ordinary stories and therefore newsworthy. Terrorist news coverage focuses on action not words. A Field Visit to Tongogara Refugee Camp in Chipinge, Zimbabwe was carried out with an aim to gain a better appreciation of the opinions of victims of terrorism.

3.4.1 Key Informant Interviews

The face to face oral interviews with key informant interviewees were used in this research study. These are oral questions by the interviewer to get oral responses from respondents. This study utilised the interview to elicit primary data responses, seeking to gain a deeper understanding on the major causes of terrorism in Kenya; and the nature and scope of terrorism as well as its impact on human security in Kenya; the strategies adopted by the state, regional and continental actors in combating terrorism in Kenya, including measures put in place in order to achieve sustainable peace and security in Kenya. It came out clear during the process of the research that interviews had distinct advantages as they provided a greater insight on general impact of terrorism as a threat to human security in Kenya and the sub region or the horn of Africa.

The face to face interviews enabled the researcher to probe since non-verbal cues were easily observed and noted as the interviews progressed providing more valuable information than what the interviewer had anticipated. However, chief among the disadvantages noted was that the process is rather time consuming and has some associated costs related to travelling. The use of personal interviews to gather data proved quite effective due to the cooperative attitude of the respondents particularly after establishing rapport mainly from the fact that the information was for academic purposes.

A field visit to Tongogara Refugee Camp was carried out by the researcher. This was done with an aim to get the views and opinions on the causes of terrorism and its impact on human security from a stand-point perspective from victims of terrorism who are now refugees in

Zimbabwe. Those who had an opportunity to stay alongside former victims of terrorism in the Horn of Africa also provided valuable data for further analysis.

3.4.2 Document Analysis

Document Analysis as an instrument helped the study to answer the research questions by bringing out the impact of terrorism as a threat to human security in Kenya, and how sustainable peace and security can be achieved in the country and the region. This instrument enabled the researcher to authenticate data gained from oral interviews by cross checking with what was contained in official records and sites related to the information solicited. It also enabled the researcher to interrogate clearly documented materials on terrorism/counterterrorism from various reputable institutions in view of the study objectives. The major benefit of document analysis as a data collection tool was that, it provided the researcher with varied angles of viewing the subject and thereby enriched the research study s' analytical dexterity.

Notably, media analysis as part of document analysis provided the researcher with the opportunity to gain a better understanding of the object of the perpetrators of terrorism. The media tends to provide a more detailed and vivid 'pictorial' presentation of a terrorist attack seeking to capture the audience by giving finer details which may not be necessarily the case with a textbook or magazine all the time. Furthermore, a better understanding of the types of attacks that are causing media attention in a way would help in combating terrorism. This is because if some terrorist aspects are linked to more intense media coverage, we are therefore able to study and predict more about terrorist attacks, particularly the form of strikes used.

Campos and Gassebner (2013) noted that, the main objective of terrorism is to maximize media exposure so as to further the atmosphere of fear. This study observed that, since the major purpose of terrorism is to draw public attention by generating mass hysteria and fear, therefore media coverage is certainly what the terrorists are seeking so as to promote their agenda. Some of the most influential daily newspapers in Kenya examined by this study include *The Daily Nation* (a top and very influential daily newspaper) and *The Standard Newspaper*, (Kenya s' oldest newspaper founded in 1902).

Besides the media, some of the documents that were analysed by this study, included textbooks and journals, as well as academic papers and research works (or theses) linked to threat to human security in Kenya such as; ‘*Between a Protracted and a Crisis Situation: Policy Responses to Somali Refugees in Kenya*’ carried out by Lindley (2012) ; ‘*Calculating Tragedy: Assessing the Costs of Terrorism*, a paper by Stutzer (2004); as well as other papers reporting on peace and security in Kenya such as *Reluctant Partners; Fighting Terrorism and Promoting Democracy in Kenya* by Whitaker (2008) and ‘*Somali Refugees in Kenya*’ by UNHCR (2012).

Other documents that were utilised included professional military magazines that provide an international forum for defence and security issues such as the *Eye Spy Intelligence Magazine* (USA), *Africa Defence Forum* (USA), *In Time News Network* (Pakistan), and *Zimbabwe National Army Magazine* (Zimbabwe), among many other publications. In summary, Document Analysis gave the study a full insight on the impact of terrorism in Kenya as a threat to human security and provided a firm foundation for devising measures for combating terrorism and bringing sustainable peace and security in Kenya.

3.5 Data Analysis

Data analysis is a process of inspecting, cleansing, transforming and modeling data with the goal of discovering useful information, informing conclusions, and supporting decision-making (Chekanov, 2016). It is a method in which data is collected and organized so that one can derive helpful information from it. In other words, the main purpose of data analysis is to look at what the data is trying to tell us. Data analysis has multiple facets and approaches, encompassing diverse techniques under a variety of names. This study mainly centered on Content Analysis and Thematic Analysis.

Content analysis is a data analysis technique which assists the researcher to identify important data from a data corpus (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Chekanov, 2016). In this study the data came in the form of ideas, opinions and assertions from the interviews. In content analysis, the researcher focuses more on the frequency of occurrence of various categories of subjects of study. The aim of the researcher is to analyze the regularity of the content of each data item (Chekanov, 2016). In this study, each material content reflecting on ‘threat to human security’ as well as on ‘counter-terrorism measures’ had to be coded so as to

categorize and identify the frequency of occurrence from which to build up conclusions. To its credit, as evidenced in this study, content analysis is an unobtrusive means of analyzing interactions as it provides insight into complex models of human thought and language use.

Thematic analysis is a data analysis technique mainly used for qualitative research where the researcher gathers descriptive data in order to answer the research problem (Chekanov, 2016). Once the data has been gathered the researcher would go through the data repeatedly with the intention of finding emerging patterns or themes and sub-themes. This allows the researcher to categorize the data under different sections before finalizing the main themes and sub-themes of the research. As evidenced in this study, the major advantages of using a thematic analysis is that it brings out the rich data that the researcher has gathered in the data gathering phase and it also provides a logical structure to the research as well. This is mainly because in a thematic analysis the main themes that the researcher uses for final analysis are connected to one another.

Thematic analysis as a data analysis technique was quite handy particularly in identifying causes of terrorism, its impact on human security as well as in selecting measures for achieving sustainable peace and security. It is worth to note that in this study, illiteracy, unemployment, poverty and religious extremism are all inter-linked subjects driving towards the main theme - terrorism as a result of frustration. They are fertile breeding grounds for terrorism as victims are easier to manipulate. This process of going through data is known as 'immersion' (Chekanov, 2016).

3.6 Ethical Considerations

An ethical behavior helps to protect individuals, communities' environment and presents the potential to increase the sum of good in the world (Israel and Hay, 2006). Since research involves a great deal of cooperation and coordination among many different people in different disciplines and institutions, ethical standards promote the values that are essential to collaborative work, such as trust, accountability, mutual respect, and fairness. This study was therefore mindful of the ethical and data protection issues when conducting the research. The research ensured informed consent and made sure participants fully understood the objectives as well as the significance of the study. The notion of objectivity in order to avoid bias when analyzing and interpreting the collected data was observed to ensure that the research outcome was reflective of the findings. As such use of appropriate research methodology in

order to eliminate bias was observed and the researcher disclosed the limitations that were encountered in the study and how they were dealt with so as to promote the aims of research, such as knowledge, truth, and avoidance of error.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the methodology used in this research study. This study is purely a qualitative research employing the Case Study approach to unpack the major causes of terrorism in Kenya; and analyse the nature and scope of terrorism as well as its impact on human security in Kenya; interrogate the strategies adopted by the state, regional and continental actors in combating terrorism in Kenya, including measures put in place in order to achieve sustainable peace and security in Kenya. The study is both descriptive and analytic. The key research instruments used were the Interview method, complemented by Document analysis or abstraction. The next chapter will focus on data presentation and its analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present and analyse data gathered during the research process. The findings were analyzed based on the concepts discussed in the theoretical framework guiding the study and the literature review. For interpreting the research findings, the study adopted two approaches namely content analysis and thematic analysis. The research sought to answer the following questions:

1. What are the major causes of terrorism in Kenya?
2. What is the nature and scope of terrorism and its impact on human security in Kenya from 1990 to 2015?
3. What are the strategies adopted by the state, regional and continental actors in combating terrorism in Kenya during the period under review?
4. What measures can be put in place in order to achieve sustainable peace and security in Kenya?

4.2 What are the Major Causes of Terrorism in Kenya?

The researcher asked the respondents on what are the major causes of terrorism in Kenya. Majority of the respondents both military and civilian personnel opined that, *the country's historical alignment with the US and Israeli interests* is key in explaining the frequency of attacks in its own backyard. The explanation was that, from its conception, as early as 1895, Kenya has been an ally of western governments, and playing host to sensitive Western interests by offering them (US and her Western allies) training ground and bases to launch their military tasks including counter-terrorism operations within the region. Some sections of the military personnel cited the major cause of terrorism in Kenya as: *The Kenyan government's formal agreements with the US signed in 1980*, which were authorizing US forces the use of airfields at Nanyuki and Embakasi as well as the Port of Mombasa. That set up provided a spring board for the Somali invasion by the US forces in 1994 which resulted in bloody battles that claimed hundreds of Somalis' lives. One respondent opined that the major causes of terrorism in Kenya was that *Kenya shares a porous border with Somalia to the east*, which is residence to a large Muslim Kenya/Somalia population, which has been home to a number of al Qaeda terrorist training camps and is known to have links to al-Ittihad al-Islami, a radical Muslim group.

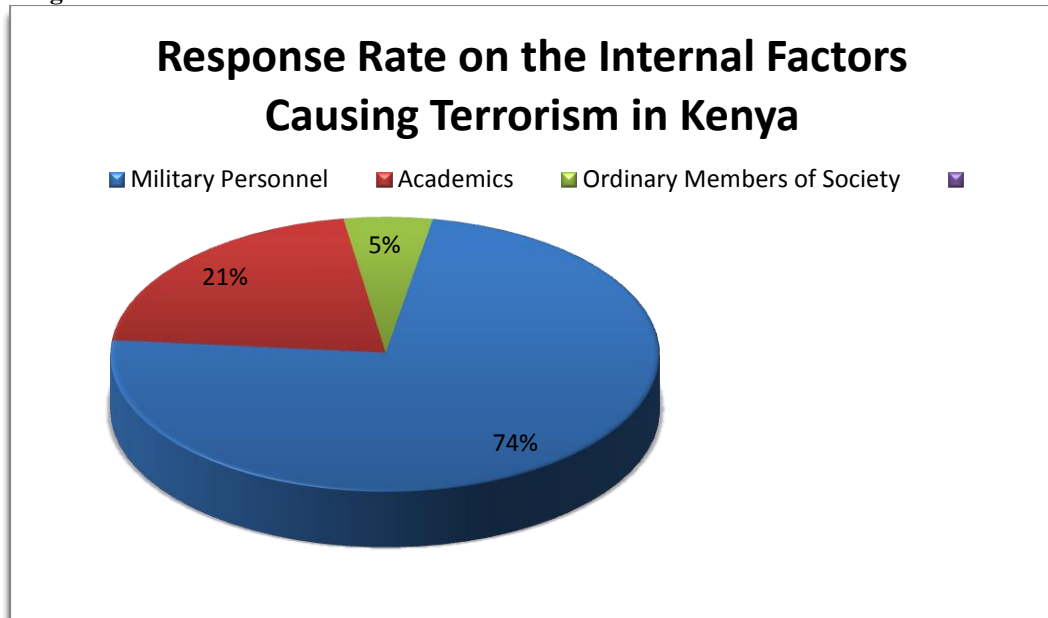
Kenya's relationship with her neighbors presents a deep ideological divide because of her stance to support a foreign power which often undertakes deadly military assaults to the sub-region's citizens. This creates a spirit of hatred of Kenyan government, at least by some of the surrounding states' ordinary citizens who were affected in a way during the 1994 conflict. From a geopolitical context, the analysis is that, Kenya is presenting herself as an aggressive, selfish and being disloyal to her neighbors by supporting a foreign power, as she purses self-interests, survival and statism within the sub-region. The interpretation is that, the stance exhibited by Kenya is not unique, as this demonstrates the practice of political realism as espoused by such twentieth century theorists like Reinhold Niebuhr and Hans Morgenthau who content that "...everything is justified by reason of state" (Bull, 1995:189). There is total rejection of moral judgment in international politics.

One respondent explained that *Kenya's strong association with Israel is another position that puts her into a vulnerable position and is the major cause of terrorism in Kenya*. This pro-Israeli posture by Kenya as demonstrated through the Entebbe hostage crisis, turned out to be the most defining moment in the country's foreign policy history. In 1976, Kenya provided a staging point to the Israeli C-130 Hercules transport planes after the Entebbe raid. This assistance to Israeli raiders of Entebbe placed Kenya within the same context of a similar supportive role by Pakistan to American anti-terrorist forces in Afghanistan. This was as good as courting terrorism onto Kenya's own backyard.

However, a section of the members of the academia opined that *East Africa has been a linchpin of many political events characterising the political conflicts of the middle-east*. They mentioned that the events date back to the times when there was a proposal for the forceful creation of a Jewish state in Uganda and Kenya early in the twentieth century. British Colonial Secretary (Joseph Chamberlain) offered Theodor Herzl, leader of the Zionist movement parts of Uganda and Kenya for the creation of a new permanent Jewish state. (Boundaries of Uganda early in the twentieth century included parts of present-day Kenya). It is conceivable that a permanent anger against the Zionist movement has existed ever since then particularly from within parts of populations of East Africa – despite the fact that the Zionist movement failed to reach a consensus about creating "Israel" in East Africa in 1903. For them the rest of the terrorist attacks witnessed from proceeding years are only *a manifestation of the previous indifferences that have existed as a result of the historical events* placing Kenya in a position of vulnerability.

The research went further to investigate on internal factors contributing to the manifestation of terrorism which would require redress. The responses from the participants are presented in figure 4.1 below.

Figure 4.1



Source: Field Data

Seventy percent of the respondents cited *poverty and inequality as the root causes of terrorism* and all had the view that terrorism is a poor man's battle against rich man's domination. They also indicated that as long as there are double standards, there will be people to fight and die for it. On further analysis, and in view of the position agreed by these respondents, it is this study's contention that terrorism is strongly embedded in the 'Frustration Aggression theory' of International Relations, as enunciated in the theoretical framework guiding this research study.

Twenty percent of the respondents cited *the quality of governance* within a state as noted by Buzan (1991) being key in determining the security dilemma arising from the internal dynamics and threats within a state. They opined that *weak state institutions can become a source of insecurity to its citizens*. A lack of institutional capacity to maintain and promote law and order will ultimately result in the failure to achieve sustainable peace and security. The remainder pointed out that interaction with the regional environment in relation to territorial borders and boundaries created by colonial powers demand *a rational and systematic approach since tensions and conflicts have a tendency to cross borders*. The

explanation was that conflict in Somalia had a spillover effect that resulted in the emergence of terrorism in Kenya.

All the respondents unanimously agreed that *injustice* was one of the very basic causes of terrorism in Kenya. They opined that *people who find themselves deprived of proper rights and justice would naturally react with hostility* as long as they are not attended in a fair and unbiased manner. Thus, terrorism is a reaction amongst an oppressed or powerless group whose concerns are repeatedly not being considered by the powers of authority.

All the respondents opined that Kenya's counter-terrorism measures have had significant implications for human security, with the actions of the Anti-Terrorism Police Unit (ATPU) being accused of *exhibiting fear and brutality at the expense of legal criminal justice processes*. This reflects wider systematic abuse by state institution (Henry, 2014). This has contributed in a way to an increase of terrorist activities. The residents of NEP, both Muslim and non-Muslims live in fear, utter poverty and are constantly threatened with violence mainly because of a porous border line which has seen them wrongly associated with terrorism and violence. They government is accused of punishing those who sought to help victims of terrorism.

Five percent of the respondents indicated that: Al-Shabaab continues to increase terrorist attacks as long *Kenyan forces are in Somalia* from the belief that it is not Kenya s' right to interfere with what is happening inside Somalia. Thematic analysis therefore indicates that, by prioritizing state security, Kenya has inherited human insecurity, particularly as regards to the response to terrorism as well as the conflict in Somalia since early 1990s. Basing on content analysis, the study s' interpretation is that: as for Kenya in general, the root causes of terrorism are injustice, poverty and oppression. If you fight against these causes you fight against terrorism; and furthermore, poverty, weak borders, corruption, and rising disillusionment among the marginalized groups and particularly in the NEP, this has made Kenya to be the easy target and haven for global terrorism. Furthermore, inept policing as well as weak state institutions that have failed to deduce appropriate ways of responding to conflicts all help to make up the list of major causes of terrorism in Kenya.

4.3 What is the nature and scope of terrorism and its impact on human security in Kenya from 1990 to 2015?

All the respondents identified the nature and scope of terrorism in the context of socio-economic and political spheres indicating that: *this has left the majority of Kenya s' ordinary citizens threatened in terms of human security*. Majority of the military personnel in agreement with some of the academics expressed much concern on the Kenyan Security Forces and in particular the ATPUs' methods of warfare in these Low Intensity operations such as counter-terrorism and pointed out that: *there is a genuine need for a review with an aim to polish the fighting doctrine by harmonizing all efforts directed at national security with human security*. Six respondents indicated that *the heavy handedness approach has a tendency to radicalise terrorists and also render the terrorists some sympathisers*. It is therefore this study s' contention that the development of a clear cut fighting doctrine to combat terrorism is fundamental if tactical approaches are to be harmonized with the concept of human security.

From the political perspective, respondents highlighted that: *divisions on ethnic grounds have brought class struggles that manifest through violent conflicts as a result of pressure on the land for grazing animals – the mainstay to the wealth of the majority rural Kenyans*. On analysis, this is evidence to the rising human security threat as a result of political security threat, environmental security threat as well as personal security threat. It is not by coincidence that the basic tenets of human security are freedom from fear and freedom from want and, as a consequence, the right to personal dignity (Nusseibeh, 2008).

Three respondents opined that: *“the lackadaisical approach by the government in dealing with terrorism has in turn led to the failure to handle the conflict arising from refugees' influx”*, and this reflects badly on Kenya politically. Most of the underdeveloped regions like the NEP remain marginalized politically and they can be easily manipulated, thereby presenting significant negative implications on human security. Evidently, this has promoted lawlessness alongside illicit activities thereby creating a favourable environment for the perpetuation of terrorist activities by the Al-Shabaab group as it exploits on the vulnerability of the citizens who seem to have lost confidence in the whole political system. As noted by one respondent vulnerability in whatever form of manifestation is a serious threat to human security. Based on thematic analysis, this view shows that from a political perspective,

terrorism damages relationships between citizens and the states, thereby undermining democracy, rule of law and the ability of the country to provide human security needs to its population. This is mainly because the affected regions such as North Eastern Province remain marginalized, lacking development since political security is vital for national cohesion, peace and sustainable development.

Regarding socio-economic impacts, majority of the respondents opined that, terrorism has brought negative implications characterized by: *poverty and hunger, poor health delivery systems, scarcity of basic needs like descent accommodation* (and portable water), poor infrastructure and underdevelopment resulting in serious deterioration to the living conditions.

As noted earlier by Bradbury and Kleinman (2010), in agreement with the views from one of the respondents, since the NEP is under multiple leadership or control, *with the Somali Clans leaders at times challenging the authority of the central government*, this has contributed in a way to the marginalization of the whole province, leading to under development. One respondent explained that:

Terrorism is one critical factor associated with underdevelopment as it discourages both local and foreign investments, reduces the quality of life for the citizenry and destroys human and social capital.

Primary effects have negative impacts seen through a sharp decline in business activities: rise of price commodities. Generally, the cost of living becomes higher as a result of competition for scarce commodities. Secondary socio-economic impacts result in the disruption of economic entities to include: loss of investor confidence, decline in tourism business, a fall in the country's Gross Domestic Product and Gross Domestic per Capita, two measurements that spell the economic state of a country. On analysis, the study understands that, the continued increase in terrorist activities in Kenya, if not checked, would result in greater investor apathy for the country since any country that radiates an environment of insecurity naturally repels investment initiatives from both the international community and its own local investors. Correspondingly, from personal security perspective, another respondent indicated that the Kenyan population is threatened *as terrorist groups take advantage of their vulnerability to recruit, incite and train so as to expand their sphere of influence.*

On analysis, it is evident that the responses sought to address one of the main objectives of this study expanding on the notion that human security is crafted upon the basis of identifying and preparing for distinct direct and indirect threats in order to protect human lives. The interpretation from this observation invokes the ‘Basic Human Needs Approach’, particularly as espoused in the UNDP 1994 Human Development Report. The report focuses on “freedom from fear” and “freedom from want” identifying them as the main platforms from which peace can be generated since one addresses the state security aspect whilst the other looks at the socio-economic side so as to address the human security concerns in Kenya. The position of this study is that whilst the thrust of security may differ with states, for Kenya, and the rest of the region, the individual persons or group of people should be the referent object of security if we are to achieve sustainable peace and security in Kenya.

This study employs the ‘Social Welfare/Development Approach, to analyse, interpret and reach a conclusion from the data presented by the respondents. As earlier on alluded to, the core to this concept is that fulfillment of human security is based on the construction of freedom and other public goods that form the foundation of development. Thus, as should be the case with Kenyan populations and in particular the NEP, the ‘Social Welfare Approach is a method by which people can be assisted to develop themselves on their own capacities. There is need to focus more with regards to investment in human beings – aiming at social development strategies that are inter-sector, inter-regional and inter-disciplinary and at the same time visualizing institutional and structural reforms to provide greater social justice by promoting human welfare.

Survival and safety of the population is just but basic minimum requirements, there is need to go beyond that position and view development not as an end but a means to an end. Newman (2001:245) advocates for the establishment of more comprehensive and integrated strategies for human security so as to ensure democracy, development and sustainable peace and security. The study’s conclusion is that the socio-economic and political authorities as well as security personnel should have a coherent framework that modifies rather than displaces development all in pursuit of upholding human security.

4.4 What are the Key Strategies Adopted by the State, Regional and Continental Actors

In Combating Terrorism in Kenya from 1990 to 2015?

Key strategies adopted by major international players involved in this matrix include: the UN Charter, the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy (GTC) 2006, as well as the Global Counter-Terrorism Directorate. Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, states resolved to take practical steps so as to prevent and combat terrorism individually and collectively consisting of a wide array of measures ranging from strengthening state capacity to counter terrorist threats as well as to better coordinate United Nations efforts on counter-terrorism operations – a Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy.

At sub-regional level, key strategies include: the Intergovernmental Authority on Development Security Sector Program (IGAD SSP), as well as the IGAD Special Mission to Somalia (IGAD SMS). IGAD SSP in cooperation with IGAD SMS conducts training programs for Somalia/Kenya religious scholars, traditional leaders, Central Statistics Organisation representatives, and relevant ministries on “Counter Radicalization, Disengagement, and Reintegration of Terrorist”. The objective of this training would be to contribute to the fight against radicalization and countering terrorism in Somalia, Kenya and the region as a whole by providing knowledge, tools and a common understanding by mobilizing the community through counter radical narratives that familiarize people on the dangers of religious extremism messages of Al-Shabaab and other groups.

From a national level, the key strategies include: The Anti-Terrorism Police Unit (ATPU), of (2003), the Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF), the National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC), National Security Advisory Board (NSAB, 2004 and 2005) with the support of the US and UK, the Anti-Terrorism Bill (2006) as well as the Security Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2014. The main thrust was to improve on investigations, identification of terrorist syndicates and preventing future terrorist attacks. The ATPU s’ training and support has mainly been from the US and the UK as a means of supporting the counter terrorism efforts of the Kenyan government (HRW, 2014). However, the respondents from the military side explained that; the heavy handedness approach in combating terrorism *has not yielded positive results; it is rather counter-productive as it tends to fuel terrorism by earning them sympathisers.*

Basing on content analysis, the above data from the respondents reflects that both international and regional players/actors have exhibited concerted efforts as they seek to combat terrorism by placing the individual as the most important referent object of security. However, the state apparatus particularly the ATPU’s strategy to combat terrorism leaves a

lot to be desired as the force has failed to uphold principles that promote human security. The heavy handed approach that involves maltreatment of suspects is rather counter-productive as it has a tendency of strengthening support and radicalizing the terrorist groups. Such a framework is fundamentally flawed as the doctrine disregards the human security concept due to the state's inability to protect its own people. The concept of re-integration is not given due attention, neither does it seek to strengthen state capacity to counter threats that result from the impact of terrorism, thereby making the overall approach rather inadequate and inapt.

4.5 What measures can be put in place in order to bring sustainable peace and security in Kenya?

One of the academic scholars pointed out that the *lack of institutional capacity to maintain and promote law and order is the major contributing factor to the failure to achieve sustainable peace and security*. A member of the military however explained on the need for *a well calculated approach in terms of foreign policy and international relations* in the context of interaction within the regional environment and particularly in relation to territorial borders and boundaries. He revealed that *a more rational and systematic approach is necessary since tensions and conflicts have a tendency to cross borders*.

Another member of the military indicated in the interview that Kenya s' response to the human security challenges as a result of terrorism *can be perceived as inadequate and in appropriate*. This is mainly because:

There have been no efforts to integrate the marginalized communities; there have also been no adequate initiatives beyond military actions as a response that could effectively deal with the issues of human security; furthermore, poor management of the refugee's crises have all increased the human insecurity in Kenya and the region.

On the other hand, two security personnel were optimistic that it is *through the correct understanding of Islam as a religion that sustainable peace and security could be achieved in Kenya*. He opined that:

One way to cure this challenge is only through Islam and not fighting Islam by spreading the culture of tolerance, coexistence and acceptance of others through the removal of injustices, poverty, corruption and upholding the values of justice and equality as a way of winning the hearts and minds of the communities.

All of the members of the military indicated that Kenya's counter-terrorism measures have had significant negative implications on human security. *The actions of the security forces are always exhibiting fear and brutality at the expense of legal criminal justice processes: this has contributed in a way to an increase of terrorist activities. The Kenyan police force need to revisit its fighting doctrine on tackling terrorism as it lacks the understanding of human security.*

This study will therefore invoke two of Newman (2001)'s constructivist analysis of the human security concept namely: The Interventionist/Assertive Approach and The New Security Focus as tools of analysis to further interrogate and give an interpretation to the responses from the above respondents. Human security is indeed indivisible and those states which through weaknesses or ill-will harbour dangerous practices such as maintaining internal order by means of gross human rights violations constitute a risk to people everywhere. The core principle of the *Assertive / Interventionist Approach* is that even when state sovereign prerogatives are impinged or invaded, gross human suffering should never be tolerated at any cost. Thus to say, as indicated by the respondents, Kenyan authorities need to revisit their approach towards combating terrorism. Sovereign rights sometimes should be abandoned if state actions have a propensity to hinder the alleviation of gross human suffering. In Kenya, cases of victimization, ethnic profiling and the marginalization of minority groups as well as the displacement of civilians are rampant in areas where war on terrorism is rife, such as the NEP, Mombasa and Eastleigh in Nairobi.

The 'New Security Approach' focuses on strengthening state capacity by considering non-traditional security issues that are emerging such as terrorism, human trafficking, drought/hunger, poverty; and the negative spill-over effects of the processes of globalization which could lead to serious challenges with regards to development, democracy and security dilemma (Newman, 2001; Newman, 2010). Terrorism has without doubt turned out to be one of the biggest challenges facing Kenya and the world in general, serving as major threat to human security. The United Nations Commission on Human Security affirms that human

security and state security are complementary. With regards to Kenyan pursuit of state security, constraints caused by war on terrorism need to be considered just as much as poverty, poor education and poor health service delivery systems as well as oppression, - the key tenets of human security (Fierke, 2007:188).

The rationale is that, with regards to freedom and emancipation, the state is retained as a referent object of security alongside the individual person (Snyder,2008:42). In view of Kenya's challenges, central to the security threat is the quality of human life for individuals that has become the most important area to address. It is this core value which is sometimes used as a benchmark to identify and analyse whether the state security is indeed configured along the modern human security concept. According to the UNDP (2006), Kenya's population has been faced with significant risks and vulnerabilities at national, community and individual levels seen through increased poverty, collapsed service delivery system and all leading to a decline in livelihoods. In terms of human security challenges in Kenya, the most affected areas are the North East Province (NEP) and the urban areas of Nairobi and Mombasa. Access to basic human needs, is the major human security threat to rural NEP while on the other hand the issues of human rights and general security pose a threat to the urban areas of Mombasa and Nairobi. The interpretation is that Kenya needs to do more to protect its citizens from the impact of terrorism since this phenomenon has threatened human security, even to the rest of the sub-region.

4.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter managed to present, analyse and interpret data gained from the study on the major causes of terrorism in Kenya; and identifying the nature and scope of terrorism as well as its impact on human security in Kenya; analysing the strategies adopted by the state, regional and continental actors in combating terrorism in Kenya, and to include examining the measures put in place in order to achieve sustainable peace and security in Kenya. Broadly, the findings presented in this chapter revealed that indeed terrorism has impacted negatively on Kenya and the Horn of Africa as a sub-region thereby becoming a serious threat to human security. This calls for the need for a mind shift by all stakeholders through reforming both policy and practice as an acknowledgement of the fact that state security and human security are two complementary facets of human survival that both seek to bring good

quality life to Kenya and the region as a whole. The broad interpretation to this analysis hinges on the view that: in the period under review, there have been cases where the general modus operandi was a trade-off between state security and human security as well as cases where there were serious compromise to the later. These shortfalls have brought Kenya into the limelight thereby courting international criticism with regards to its position on national and regional security. The next chapter will give a summary of the findings obtained from the research study and present the study s' recommendations.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present a summary of the findings obtained from the research study and to give recommendations. Since achieving sustainable peace and security is the hallmark of every progressive national, regional or international institution that seek to preserve the quality of human life, it therefore follows that these recommendations can also be adopted particularly in those areas of study where human security has been threatened. The study was guided by the research topic which read: An analysis of the impact of terrorism on human security: The case study of Kenya in the Period 1990 – 2015. As a way of addressing the requirement of the topic, subsidiary research objectives were developed which included:

1. To explore the causes of terrorism in Kenya.
2. To assess the nature and scope of terrorism in Kenya by analysing its impact on human security from period 1990 to 2015.
3. To examine the strategies adopted by the state, regional and continental actors in combating terrorism in Kenya from 1990 to 2015.

4. To proffer recommendations that can help safeguard human security in light of terrorism in Kenya?

Employing the interview and document analysis as the main data collection tools, beginning from the literature review, and moving on to the field work, the study made an extensive interrogation of the research topic and came up with the following findings:

5.2 Summary of the Findings

The summary of the findings of this study are as follows:

5.2.1 The major causes of terrorism in Kenya.

For Kenya in general, the root causes of terrorism are injustice, poverty and oppression. If you fight against these causes you fight against terrorism; and as for the North Eastern Province, poverty, weak borders, corruption, and rising disillusionment among the marginalized groups and particularly the Islamists, this has made Kenya to be the easy target and haven for global terrorists. Also, inept policing and weak state institutions that have failed to deduce appropriate means to respond to conflicts, all make up the list of major causes of terrorism in Kenya. However, the country's historical alignment with the US and Israeli interests is key in explaining the frequency of attacks in its own backyard.

5.2.2 Identifying the nature and scope of terrorism and its impact on human security in Kenya from 1990 to 2015.

Terrorism is mainly identified in the context of socio-economic and political aspects of the Kenyan society: The impact also manifests through the counter-terrorism measures by the Kenyan security forces' military fighting doctrine – which needs a review to improve the general conduct of the forces in Low Intensity Operations such as terrorism.

In the pursuit of human security, constraints caused by war on terrorism need to be considered just as much as poverty, poor education and poor health delivery systems as well as oppression (Fierke, 2007:188). It therefore follows that with regards to freedom and emancipation, the state is retained as a referent object of security alongside the individual person (Snyder,2008:42). The quality of governance within a state is critical in determining the security dilemma arising from the internal dynamics and threats within that state as weak state institutions can become a source of insecurity to the citizens. Thus, a lack of

institutional capacity to maintain and promote law and order in Kenya ultimately results in the failure to achieve sustainable peace and security.

5.2.3 Key strategies adopted by state and regional actors in combating terrorism in Kenya.

Both international and regional players have exhibited concerted efforts as they seek to combat terrorism by placing the individual as the most important referent object of security. From the International perspective, as guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, states resolved to take practical steps to prevent and combat terrorism individually and collectively. This consisted of a wide array of measures ranging from strengthening state capacity to counter terrorist threats and to coordinate United Nations' counter-terrorism activities and recommendations for a global counter-terrorism plan.

At sub regional level, key players such as the Intergovernmental Authority on Development Security Sector Program (IGAD SSP) in cooperation with the IGAD Special Mission to Somalia (IGAD SMS) conducts training programs for Somalia/Kenya religious scholars, traditional leaders, Central Statistics Organisation representatives, and relevant ministries on "Counter Radicalization, Disengagement, and Reintegration of Terrorist". The objective of the training would be to contribute to the fight against radicalization and countering terrorism in Somalia, Kenya and the region as a whole by providing knowledge, tools and a common understanding in mobilizing the community through counter radical narratives that familiarize the dangers of religious extremism messages of Al-Shabaab and other terrorist groups. However, at national level, the state apparatus particularly the ATPU's strategy to combat terrorism leaves a lot to be desired as the force has failed to uphold principles that promote human security.

5.2.4 Measures to bring sustainable peace and security in Kenya.

From a defence and security point of view, there is need to produce a clear, coherent concept of counter-terrorism before proceeding towards theory development; recognizing the importance of integrative theory – in other words, explanations that draw from macro-structural, organizational and micro levels of analysis; and the importance of recognizing dialectic relationship between state and anti-state terrorism. In recognizing these challenges, there is need to remain mindful of the underlying assumptions that the development of a clear cut fighting doctrine to combat terrorism is fundamental if tactical approaches are to be

harmonized. In his famous military literary works, *Art of War*, Sun Tzu said, precise knowledge of oneself and precise knowledge of the threat leads to victory, or if you know the enemy and know yourself, you need not fear the result of a hundred battles.

In view of the above discourse this study argues that tackling terrorism in Kenya requires the correct understanding of Islam. One way to cure this challenge is only through understanding Islam and not fighting Islam. Spreading the culture of tolerance, coexistence and acceptance of others through the removal of injustices, poverty, corruption, inequality and above all, upholding the values of human security. Kenyan authorities have to create a serious dialogue with the groups in society who are most exposed to those radical extremist ideas and listening to the demands of these people and giving them their civil rights. This study therefore argues that there is a need for teamwork among all the stakeholders as well as a very competent and effective civil society if we are to combat terrorism in Kenya. It has to be combated by a combination of government, governance, stringent laws, and a quick and firm system of justice that delivers ‘appropriate’ punishments to the perpetrators. The government, the security forces as well as religious and political leaders including the civil community should work in harmony to prevent terrorism. There is need to eradicate the politics of conflict among the people.

5.3 Recommendations

In view of the findings drawn above, the study therefore makes the following recommendations:

1. Kenya should address all cases of injustice, poverty and oppression to include weak borders, inept policing and rising disillusionment among the marginalized groups particularly the Islamists.
2. Terrorism has to be combated by a combination of government, governance, stringent laws, quick and a firm system of justice that delivers ‘appropriate’ punishments to the perpetrators. The government, the security forces and religious and political leaders including the civil community should work in harmony to prevent terrorism.
3. The government should complement the efforts of international and regional players such as the UN and IGAD on counter radicalization, disengagement, and reintegration

of former terrorists. There should be more training programmes with the objective of providing knowledge, tools and a common understanding in mobilizing the community through counter radical narratives that familiarize the dangers of religious extremism messages of Al-Shabaab and other groups.

4. There is a need to produce a clear and coherent definitional concept of terrorism before proceeding towards military fighting doctrine development; and the need of recognizing dialectic relationship between state and anti-state terrorism.
5. There is need to remain mindful of the underlying fact that: the development of a clear cut fighting doctrine to combat terrorism is fundamental if tactical approaches are to be harmonized.

5.4 Conclusion

This study sought to analyse the impact of terrorism on human security, a case study of Kenya in the Period 1990 – 2015. The deterioration in the levels of human security in Kenya as a result of terrorism is the fundamental problem underscoring this research study. Guided by the Frustration–Aggression–Displacement theory, as espoused by John Dollard 1961; and Leonard Berkowitz in 1969, this study understands a terrorist to be a frustrated individual seeking to remove the initial cause of this frustration by achieving the political goal which hitherto been denied by circumstances. The Al Shabaab group is identified as the main terrorist group threatening peace and security in Kenya. The study employed the interview method and document analysis as key research tools. It concluded that the impact of terrorism in Kenya has resulted in a trade-off between state security and human security as a result of both internal and external factors. The study therefore recommended that, in Kenya, terrorism has to be combated by a combination of government, governance, stringent laws and a firm system of justice that delivers ‘appropriate’ punishments to the perpetrators. It further recommended that the government, the security forces and religious and political leaders including the civil community should work in harmony/unison to prevent terrorism.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS



Midlands State University

P. Bag 9055

Gweru

Zimbabwe

3 March 2015

Letter of Consent

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is Max Mhaka, a Master of Science in International Affairs (MSIA) degree student with the Midlands State University (Zimbabwe) conducting a research on the topic: **An Analysis of the Impact of Terrorism on Human Security: A Case Study of Kenya - Period 2000 to 2015.**

The objectives of the research are as follows:

1. To explore the causes of terrorism in Kenya.
2. To analyse the impact of terrorism on human security in Kenya from period 1990 to 2015.
3. To examine the nature and scope of terrorism and its impact on human security in Kenya during the period under review.
4. To proffer recommendations for bringing sustainable peace and security in the Horn of Africa and more specifically in Kenya.

I am kindly asking for your analytical responses to the above stated research topic. Please note that this is purely an academic research and all information received will be treated as such. Your views in this interview will be presented anonymously. Neither your name nor identity will be disclosed in any form in the study. Participation is voluntary and one can withdraw anytime.

If you have any questions you would like to ask or discuss, please do not hesitate to contact the researcher on the following numbers 0772 606 403 or the supervisor Mr Alouis Chilunjika at Midlands State University P. Bag 9055 Senga Road, Gweru, Zimbabwe.

Thank you in advance for your assistance in this matter.

M MHAKA

DECLARATION

I..... (Full names of participant) hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that I am at liberty to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire. I understand the intention of the research. I hereby agree to participate.

I consent / do not consent to have this interview recorded (if applicable)

Signature

Date

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS TO THE RESPONDENTS

Qn 1. Kenya has been a battlefield of tragic terrorist attacks particularly in the past three decades. In your own assessment, what do you identify as the root causes of terrorism in Kenya?

Qn 2. In your own analysis, what factors do you see as promoting the rise and spread of terrorism in Kenya and the Horn of Africa as a region.

Qn 3. In your own views what do you identify as the nature and scope of terrorism in Kenya: and what is the impact of this on human security particularly during the period 1990 to 2015?

Qn 4. From your own understanding, what do you think are the key strategies adopted by the state, regional and international actors in as far as combating terrorism in Kenya from 1990 to 2015? Comment on the appropriateness of these various counter-terrorism measures with regards to the notion of human security.

Qn 5. In your own opinion, what measures can be put in place in order to bring sustainable peace and security in Kenya? How are these measures supposed to be emplaced upon the Kenyan population given the fact that terrorism has been on the rise particularly within the last three decades.

Qn 6. The state has the constitutional obligation to provide security to its citizens, to what extend has the Kenyan Security Forces managed to undertake that constitutional mandate and how do you evaluate that effort in the context of human security?

The End

Thank you for your participation