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The Impact of Al-Shabab Terrorist Attacks in Kenya

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Abstract:

As the world becomes more technologically advanced, terrorism has risen as a major setback to the advancement of the human race. Kenya, specifically, has been hard hit by terrorist attacks during the past twenty years or so. In 1998, Kenya experienced its first major terrorist hit when the US Embassy was bombed, resulting in hundreds of deaths and injuries. The next significant attack took place in 2013 at the Westgate Mall where hundreds were likewise killed. The most recent attack occurred this year in Garissa County where over 100 people lost their lives in a University. The Al-Shabaab terrorist organisation are largely thought to be behind these last two attacks and were thus the main focal point of this discussion. This research sought to uncover the answers to the following questions: Who are the members of the Al-Shabaab and their financiers? Why are they attacking Kenya and her citizenry? How can the activities of terrorist groups such as the Al Shabaab be curtailed? The most central research question was, however, what is the impact of terrorist acts by the Al Shabaab on Kenya?

Key Words: Al-Shabab, Terrorism, Kenya, Impact

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Terrorism is without a doubt, one of the biggest challenges facing Kenya and the world in general, serving as major threat to security and the economy. Terrorism is defined as a form of violence targeted against unarmed civilians with the aim of achieving a political and/or religious goal. The ultimate end-goal that terrorists seek to accomplish is to create an atmosphere of fear and anxiety among the populations where they carry out terror attacks (Neria, 2006). Once the people's way of life has been disrupted, terrorists' organizations ensure that they create a climate where people have lingering concerns about their security (Neria, 2006).

Africa faces the same threat of terrorism as the rest of the world. However, it seems that Africa is more vulnerable in the fight against terrorism due to several reasons ranging from weak governments, porous borders and weak security organs among others. Some of the terrorist groups that operate in Sub-Saharan Africa, include, Al- Shabaab operating in Somalia, Boko Haram operating in Nigeria, Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb operating in the Sahara (AQIM) and the Lord's Resistance Army operating in Uganda (Kaufman, 2012).

In East Africa, Al-Shabaab is the biggest threat to the security of the region. Operating from the "failed state" of Somalia, the Al Qaida affiliated group has been behind several attacks in the region, particularly in the past 5 years. The focus of this study, however, is the Al-Shabaab attacks in Kenya.

The recent attacks in Kenya have affected the country in many ways. Firstly, tourism, which is one of Kenya's major revenue earners, has been adversely affected. With the attacks largely

aimed at foreigners and Western interests, it has caused the governments from western countries to issue travel advisories to their citizens warning them against travelling to Kenya or visiting certain areas of the country. Secondly, more importantly than the fact that the West is worried and concerned about their security, the Al-Shabaab attacks in the country have also affected the Kenyan people and this is a very important consideration.

1.1 Terrorism Threat in Kenya

Kenya has experienced a number of attacks in the recent past, with the most notable ones being the 1980 terror attack at the Norfolk hotel in Nairobi owned by a Jewish block company. A total of 20 people perished and more than 80 were wounded. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) was blamed for the attack. According to some news reports, the attack on Kenya was linked to the role Kenya played in allowing the Israeli rescuers to fuel in Nairobi after fleeing Israeli hostages from Entebbe Airport in 1976 (Kiruga, 2013). A more recent attack was the 1998 US embassy bombing in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam which targeted US citizens. Over 200 people died in these attacks and hundreds more were wounded. The Al Qaida terrorist group led by Osama Bin Laden claimed responsibility. In 2002 a missile attack aimed at an Israeli plane was launched after it took off from a Mombasa airport. Luckily, the missile missed the plane. At the same time, however, a car carrying explosives was crashed through the barrier at the Paradise Hotel in Mombasa that had just received over 60 tourists who had checked in. This attack killed about ten Kenyans and three Israelis and Al Qaida was linked to the attacks. However, from 2011 the attacks in Kenya seemed to have taken a different course with Al- Shabaab seemingly taking over the reins of control as far as terrorist activity targeted at Kenya is concerned.

1.2 Who is the Al- Shabaab?

According to Mathew Thomas (2013), Al-Shabaab originated from the remnants of the Islamic Court Union (ICU) also known as Al-Ittihad Mahakem Al-Islayiya, which used to be a union of different Islamic militant groups in Somalia after the collapse of the government in 1991. The ICU had sought to close the power vacuum that had been left by the collapse of the government in 1991. However, in 2006, the Ethiopian Army invaded Somalia to intervene in the country following the strict Sharia law that ICU had established in Somalia. The defeat of the ICU by the Ethiopian Army led to the formation of Al-Shabaab which also means "the youth." In the year 2011, they pledged their allegiance to Al Qaida.

To finance their operations, Al-Shabaab became actively involved in the Indian Ocean piracy which earned them a lot of financial muscle. They also started kidnapping foreigners from Kenya to Somalia and then seeking ransom for them. This began to have a negative impact on the Kenyan tourism industry. The Kenyan government therefore decided to send foot soldiers to Somalia who would counteract the Al-Shabaab and help the government there to establish itself. The operation was dubbed "Operation Linda Nchi" led by the Kenyan Defence forces.

1.3 Operation Linda Nchi

In 2011, the Kenyan Government started an operation called "Operation Linda Nchi" meaning 'Operation Protect the Nation.' This came after the Al-Shabaab were blamed for a series of kidnappings of aid workers from refugee camps in North Eastern Kenya and some tourists from the coastal area of Lamu. The idea of the operation was aimed at pushing back the Al-Shabaab from southern Somalia and to weaken their operation. The presence of Al-Shabaab in the southern part of Somalia was a threat to the Kenya tourism industry. The operation to push back this terror group Al-Shabaab to keep Kenya safe was led by the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF).

1.4 Kenya Paying the Heavy Price

Although the war against Al-Shabaab is being fought by the joint forces of Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Burundi and Somalia, it seems that Kenya is paying the highest price in this war. In retaliation to Operation Linda Nchi, the Al-Shabaab has carried out a number of attacks in Kenya from 2011. The attacks aimed to force Kenya to withdraw her soldiers from Somalia where they are jointly fighting as part of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM).

Most of the attacks have occurred in Nairobi, Mombasa and the North- Eastern province, particularly in Mandela, Wajir and Garissa counties. The attacks were small scale and were carried out on churches, buses, bars, bus stations, military camps, market places and shopping centres.

1.5 Targeted Attacks

As noted earlier in this research, the 1980 terrorist attack was in retaliation against Kenya's involvement in allowing an Israeli plane used to rescue the Israelis who had been held hostage in Uganda in 1976. The 1998 U.S Embassy attack in Nairobi was targeted at the Americans. In 2002, a hotel in Mombasa was bombed by suicide bombers and it is believed that the target was the Israeli tourists who had just checked in that day (Theuri, 2013). On the same day, a missile was fired at an Israeli operated plane that had just taken off from a Mombasa airport. Although the missile missed the plane, the target was undoubtedly the Israelis.

In 2013, a prestigious shopping mall owned by the Israelis was attacked in Nairobi. About 67 people lost their lives. Among those who died were about 18 foreigners from different nationalities. On the other hand, the terrorists separated the Christians from Muslims and then killed the Non-Muslims. In another incident, a bus travelling to Nairobi from Mandera town was ambushed in the early morning hours of 24th of November, 2014. The terrorists separated

Christians from Muslims and then they shot the Christians dead (Mohamed, 2014). On several occasions, armed terrorists targeted churches in Mombasa and Nairobi, and then killed worshipers there. Also targeted have been the police and the military. On several occasions grenades have been thrown at the police vehicles and police camps (Akwiri, 2014).

Whenever there is an attack, civilians are affected in one way or another. Innocent lives are lost unnecessarily or people lose family members in the fight. Thus, whenever there is an attack, the people say "oh no! Not again!" The result is a sense of fear, despair and helplessness because it appears as if Kenya is at the mercy of the Al Shabaab who appear to be invincible and unstoppable.

1.6 The Problem Statement

This research seeks to identify, describe and examine the public reaction to the terrorist attacks in Kenya. The research will also look at the opportunities that the Al-Shabaab is maximizing to achieve their agenda, the public response to the terror attacks and the corresponding consequences. This problem statement is divided into a cluster of questions as follows:

i.   Who are the members of the Al-Shabaab and their financiers?

ii.   Why are they attacking Kenya and her citizenry?

iii. How can the activities of terrorist groups such as the Al-Shabaab be curtailed?

iv.   What is the impact of terrorist acts by the Al-Shabaab on Kenya?

1.7 Objectives of the Study

This study is aimed to achieve a number of objectives. The overall objective is to determine the impact that the Al-Shabaab terror attacks have had on Kenya. The more specific objectives of the study are as follows:

i. First, the study is aimed at finding out the reactions and opinions of Kenyans to the terrorist attacks that have occurred in the country from 1998-2014.

ii. Secondly, the study sets out to determine the economic, political and social ramifications that the terrorist attacks have had on Kenya as a whole.

iii. A third objective of the study is to find out who are involved in the terror acts of the Al-Shabaab. Are they radicalized Kenyans? Are they economic terrorists? In other words, are they unemployed youths recruited by Al-Shabaab? Or are they foreigners entering into Kenya? And who finances the group?

iv. Lastly, the study will seek to ascertain the reason as to why Kenya is a regular target of the Al-Shabaab. An important question that needs answering is— why Kenya? Herein, this study will look at a number of issues that may be contributing to the successful attacks by the Al-Shabaab in Kenya.

1.8 Significance and Relevance of the Study

This research is significant because terrorism is an ever-present current reality for Kenya and this research seeks to understand the threat of terrorism in Kenya with the goal of using the

information accrued herein towards preventative measures. Very few studies have been undertaken on the Al-Shabaab terrorist group. Despite the constant threat that the group poses and the existing harm it has caused, very few empirical researches have looked into this terrorist organisation, with most studies into terrorism focusing on Al Qaida, Hezbollah and ISIS. More specifically, very few of these studies have looked into Kenya as a case study. There is evidently, therefore, a major knowledge gap that the current research seeks to narrow.

This study, although not comprehensive due to time and resource constraints, will attempt to reveal how the public are affected by the recent terrorist attacks in the country. The researcher intends for this research to contribute to establishing better ways of handling the threat and the effects of post trauma.

Additionally, this study will be significant for the security personnel and the government as they fight terrorism. It is hoped that the government will realize the loopholes that the Al-Shabaab are using to conduct their terror and fortify its Intelligence. Overall, this research is crucial as it shall create a better understanding on the dynamics of the Al-Shabaab's activities in Kenya and terrorism as a whole.

This study comes at a time when world peace is threatened by terrorism in different parts of world like Syria, Iraq, Pakistan, India, Philippines, Nigeria, Somalia, France, Kenya and many more. This study is therefore relevant to peace and conflict transformation studies as it attempts to answer the questions of the study.

1.9 Definition of Terms

- ✓ **Terrorism-** An act of violence aimed at harming innocent unarmed civilians in order to achieve religious and/or political goal.

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- ✓ **Al- Shabaab-** translated as "the youth" in Arabic; this Al Qaeda linked radical terrorist group operating from Somalia.

- ✓ **Al Qaeda/ Al Qaida-** a terrorist group, founded by Osama bin Laden, whose meaning is 'the foundation.'

- ✓ **Respondent**- a participant in the field study who provided answers to the interview questions of the study

- ✓ **Domestic terrorist** – A local or home grown terrorist

- ✓ **Dadaab-** a refugee camp in Garissa County, Northern Kenya

1.9 Structure of the Paper

This dissertation is structured into five chapters. Chapter One is the introduction, providing a background into the research and highlighting the objectives of the research and the overall importance of the study. Chapter Two is focused on the methodological aspects of the study and as such, the data collection methods employed during the study will be highlighted. Chapter Three is the conceptual framework of the work presented. Chapter Four deals with data presentation and analysis and the final chapter, Chapter Five, is the summary of the research providing concluding remarks.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the methodological considerations are discussed. This chapter explores what Maxwell (2013) refers to as the "where, who and what and why and how of conducting social research." The emphasis of the chapter highlights issues such as, study area, the choice of the method of research, informant selection, data collection techniques, the role of gate keepers and my role as an insider and an outsider while conducting this research.

2.1 Study Area:

The study area for this research is Nairobi City, Eastleigh estate in Nairobi, Mombasa city to represent the coastal region of Kenya and the Dadaab Refugee camp to represent North Eastern Kenya.

2.1.1 Nairobi Eastleigh

My choice of a study area is Eastleigh Estate in Nairobi which is also known as "the little Mogadishu" because the area is largely occupied by Kenyan Somalis and many other Muslim immigrants who are mainly refugees, including Ethiopians. The researcher chose this area as one of the field work areas because in the past, whenever terrorist attacks happen in Kenya, fingers are pointed to this place as a place where terrorists hide. This follows a massive police manhunt for illegal immigrants and suspects in this area. Because of these factors, this area presented a good area for field work.

2.1.2 Nairobi City

Nairobi is the capital city of Kenya. Here you will find people from every part of the country and from all tribes and races. More importantly, a number of major attacks have happened in the city over the past few years, the most recent being the Westgate Shopping Mall terrorist

attack in 2013 where 67 people perished. Nairobi being the city, Kenyans and immigrants from all sorts of life are found here. It is home to the affluent in society and the poor. In addition, most of the government offices are also found here. Since this research was aimed to find out how the people feel and react to the recent terror attacks, Nairobi city was chosen as one of the most important areas for the study.

2.1.3 Mombasa

Mombasa is the oldest city in Kenya. It is situated in the coastal part of Kenya. Mombasa's coastline stretches to Somalia with nearby towns of Lamu and Malindi. Mombasa is known as one of the top tourist destinations whenever people visit Kenya as tourists. Before the "Operation Linda Nchi" was launched by the Kenya Army, the Al-Shabaab was operating in the Indian Ocean with impunity. Piracy and kidnappings were some of the activities that the Al-Shabaab was involved in aside from terrorism. These activities greatly affected the tourism market in Kenya.

Subsequently, from 2011, Mombasa (and the surrounding areas) has been under attacks from the terrorist group Al-Shabaab. A notable one was the June 2014 attack on the Island of Lamu in the town of Kismayu where at least 48 civilians were killed as the Al-Shabaab rampaged through the village.[1] There were incidences where churches were also attacked and a number of people killed.[2] These considerations caused the research to focus on Mombasa as well.

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1 See http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-27862510

2 See http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-26712771

2.1.4 Dadaab Refugee Camp

To represent the North-Eastern part of Kenya, the researcher chose to interview workers from Dadaab refugee camp. Dadaab refugee camp is the biggest refugee camp in Kenya hosting about 350,000 refugees from Somalia. In numerous occasions, the government of Kenya has claimed that this location is the breeding ground for terrorists and they have numerously threatened to close down the refugee camp. As such, this location was necessary for research purposes.

2.2 Choice of Methodology:

The researcher chose to use the qualitative method of research in this study as he sought to understand the people's feelings and reaction to the attacks by the Al-Shabaab. The qualitative method of research was preferred because the researcher did not know deductively what to expect. In qualitative method, the research focuses on more detailed data. As Maxwell (2013:29) notes, in a qualitative research, the researcher uses process theory where he "tends to see the world in terms of people, situations, events and the processes that connect these; explanation is based on an analysis on how situations and events influence others." Maxwell (2013) argues that unlike qualitative research that focuses on the data is embedded in context while for quantitative research the explanation is based on the analysis of the different variables based on their statistical relationship.

2.3 Data Collection Methods:

Interviews and observation were the primary data that researcher relied on in this study. The researcher also heavily relied on document study as a way of data gathering, especially the newspapers in Kenya and some major Newspapers from around the world.

The researcher travelled to Kenya on August 7, 2014 and stayed for a month. After I got to the field, I had some difficulty accessing contacts with informants but then I used snowball sampling to get informants. I started by getting in contact with the prisons department chaplain who then introduced me to different officers in the police force. With him I was also able to participate in some services for the prisoners. I talked with some prison guards while aiming to get in touch with those suspected from terrorism. I was not able to get access to these prisoners who are locked in a high security prison. However, I got some data from other interviews that had been conducted from one T.V station in Kenya. Much of the interview coincided with the data I had got from the other interviews so I did not see any new data coming up.

While doing the interviews I recorded the audio conversations. In the field I also took notes from the field observations. I also wrote summaries of my interviews in the evenings when I was back in my hotel to ensure I record as much detail as possible.

Before discussing how the tools of data collection were used, it is essential to briefly discuss the informant identification and recruitment. The next section deals with the "who and how many?

2.4 The Choice of Informants: Who and How Many?

Because of the research question of this study, the researcher chose to use non-probability sampling. In non- probability sampling, there are different types that a researcher can use. One type of non-probability sampling that the researcher used to identify the study respondents was purposeful sampling. In this type, a researcher seeks to "access knowledgeable people" on a particular issue (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2011: 157). Cohen adds that, in fact, the researcher's concern is not representation, but obtaining in-depth knowledge from the informants.

Since access to informants was difficult, the researcher used snowball sampling to identify individuals who had the characteristics that were needed in the informants who were then able to connect the researcher to the "hard to reach". In this case, the target was to get access to the top Government officials, the terrorism related suspects/ prisoners, and religious leaders. So with interviewing, the study was selective on choosing informants based on their experience and knowledge of subject under study.

The informants that were chosen are from different walks of life and professions. In summary, those selected for interviewing included; Religious Leaders, Police Officers, Prison Officers, Social Workers, Business Owners and Youth Workers. The reason that caused the researcher to focus on these groups of people is because they are a good representation of different views from people of different walks of life.

2.4.1 Informant Size

During the planning phase of the fieldwork, the researcher intended to interview at least 30 informants. In qualitative research, this is a good number since this study is not looking for a representative sample. With a smaller number it is easier to gather information until you reach saturation.

A total of 31 informants were interviewed in total. However, 3 of the informants seemed not to have an opinion regarding the topic or maybe they were not comfortable discussing it with the researcher. Their choice to refrain from responding to the questions was respected and the researcher thanked them for their time. Overall, 28 respondents were interviewed in total. Towards the end of the fieldwork, the researcher realized that the information had become saturated hence there was no need for more interviews.

2.5 Data Collection Techniques:

2.5.1 Interviewing

The interviews for this study were conducted from August 10, 2014 to August 26, 2014. There are different methods of conducting interviewing. In this research, the researcher used face to face interviewing and telephone interviews in places where the researcher could not secure a face to face interviewing. The interviews began with open ended questions that allowed for conversation. This was then followed by conversational questions that would allow an interviewee to elaborate more on what they just said.

On average, each interview lasted for about 30 to 40 minutes. Each interview started with the researcher explaining who he was, the nature of the study and its objectives. As stated previously, snowball sampling was used to identify informants. As the researcher made contact with them, he made an introduction of who he was, where he is from and what he is doing. Most of the informants were willing to share their thoughts after the commencement of the interview. Since a good number of the respondents were officials, the researcher had to book appointments on the date, time and venue of the interview. All the interviews were conducted in the participant's place of work, i.e. their respective offices. To ensure that the researcher captured all the responses, notes were taken down. The researcher also recorded the interviews

but had to sign a Non Disclosure agreement with each respondent because of the sensitive nature of the topic.

2.5.2 Direct Observation

In qualitative research, observation is an important tool for data collection. During his observation, the researcher was keen to take note of how the people went about in a normal daily lives. The researcher took an opportunity to visit people in the market places, using public transport and visiting several different shopping malls in Nairobi. The manner in which people relate with each other on a daily basis and how they treat those who looked different from them was observed, particularly with respect to those of Somali heritage or Muslims. This experience added to the richness of the data collected during the study.

2.5.3 Secondary Data

To supplement to the primary data from the field, the researcher was able to gather information from different secondary sources. During the fieldwork, the initial hope was to secure interviews with someone who had been an Al-Shabaab member. It was also hoped that access to the Kenyan prisons would be obtained where Al-Shabaab suspects could easily be identified and subsequently interviewed. However, this was not possible because the researcher was not allowed to gain access to them due to security reasons. The researcher was, however, able to get access to the interviews conducted by a media house that had managed to interview former members of the Al-Shabaab. In addition, the researcher was able to get information from some prison officials. Finally, newspaper sources provided great material for the study, especially the Kenyan newspapers which were of great help in gathering the secondary data.

2.6 Challenges and Fieldwork Reflections:

2.6.1 Study Limitations

Each study presents its own share of limitations. This one is not an exception. There are a number of limitations that the researcher encountered while doing this research. First, this study was time consuming owing to the conducting of interviews, transcription and translation of data, thus proper time management was critical for the timely completion of project. Second, Information bias, where participants perceive certain responses to be favourable thus offers then up as their opinions. This is particularly so due to the sensitive nature of terrorism which has roots in religion. The researcher aimed to put the participant at ease without showing any bias or Islamophobia so as to get honest opinions. Third is selection bias, where participants who volunteer have a higher level of interest in Islam or experience with terrorism than the overall target population.

As a researcher in the field, the willingness of the subjects was another challenge experienced. The difficulty in accessing the informants and persuading them to take part in the study was a major stumbling block for the research. Initially, the intention of the researcher was to interview the Kenyan Somalis, Somali refugees living in Kenya and Muslim leaders. This proved to be difficult, however, as the researcher did not get access because he is considered to be an outsider since he hails from Western Kenya, a region that has so far not been affected by terrorism. Furthermore, the researcher lives overseas so many potential respondents looked at him with suspicion, perhaps suspecting that he was a 'pawn' or 'spy' for the West.

Additionally, the researcher had to be cautious and consider his safety over and above data gathering since areas associated with Kenyan Somali's and Muslims are prone to insecurity and terror attacks. As such, the focus in the beginning was to get information from this group on their views regarding the terror acts by Al-Shabaab. The researcher later ended up interviewing different groups and categories of people including non-Muslims. The researcher did, however, engage in observation in their areas.

Finally, the opposite of the unwillingness of the subjects was experienced. A few respondents, particularly those of the Islamic faith, were overly enthusiastic to paint their community in good light. Consequently, the overstatement of opinions of the subjects was a considerable challenge where some respondents may have not wanted to be 'traitors' of their religion

2.6.2 Position of the Researcher

The researcher is from the Western part of Kenya which has never been affected by terrorism. In a sense, the researcher is therefore considered to be an outsider. Another factor is that the researcher has been living outside the country for a long time which makes him even more of an outsider. This came up in the field as the researcher attempted to find his way around unfamiliar areas. However, being a Kenyan and given that he understands the culture and language well, he is an insider.

2.6.3 Gate Keepers

It is obvious that after the recent terror acts, security and access to places are limited. Every time every person is required to carry identity documents. For each office one enters into, they need to know someone in that office and will need to have an appointment before visiting. Then when you want to get access to the people in high positions, you need to pass through a lot of security guards who at times want to exercise their authority by wanting to know what you want

from their boss. To overcome this challenge, therefore, the researcher had to use snowball sampling. It started with a chaplain who the researcher knew and who works with the government, after talking to him he was helpful in giving me access to some government officials. He even accompanied the researcher to meet some people.

2.7 Ethical Issues

The balance between the search for scientific knowledge and respect for the rights of those studied was carefully taken into consideration. Before the interview begun, the researcher gave them a general explanation of the purpose of this study and asked them for their consent before the interviews begun. At this point, three of the informants withdrew from the interview. Their wishes to not be interviewed were respected.

Additionally, the informants were assured of confidentiality, privacy and anonymity. To make sure those interviewed were comfortable, the researcher signed a Non Disclosure agreement guaranteeing the respondents privacy and confidentiality since the interviews were being recorded. Notes were also taken during the interviews, particularly taking note of dynamics that could not be captured through the recordings such as facial expressions and gestures. The researcher also obtained local approval from the respective County Government offices in Nairobi, Mombasa and Garissa counties.

All consent was written and signed off by the researcher and the interviewee. All the recorded interviews and information collected was stored safely on the researcher's personal laptop. The transcribed data does not contain any personal markers such as participant name, phone contact and was coded so as to ensure confidentiality. Finally, all interviews were conducted in a private and closed room, often in the respondents' office. This enhanced the confidentiality of all the interviews.

2.8 Summary

In this chapter, it outlines the choice of methodology. The choice for the study area was Nairobi, Eastleigh, Mombasa and Dadaab refugee camp. These areas were chosen because they are considered the hotbed of terror. Qualitative method was chosen and the researcher made use of interviewing and observation as the primary data collection tools. Confidentiality, anonymity and the privacy of the informants was taken into serious consideration.

CHAPTER 3: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

According to Maxwell (2013:41), a conceptual framework is "something that is constructed, not found. It incorporates pieces that are borrowed from elsewhere, but the structure, the overall coherence, is something that you build, not something that exists readymade." It is with this understanding in mind that this chapter will attempt to give a conceptual approach to the study, providing a brief overview of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that inform the research.

In addition, the chapter will specifically discuss the impact of chronic terrorism on a population. As pointed earlier in this study, terrorism aims to cause fear and anxiety Schlenger, et al, (2002) by making a population feel insecure and concerned about their security. For the purpose of this study, the researcher will focus on the psychological, social, economic and political impact that terrorism has on a population.

These aspects will help highlight the resilience of the Kenyans in the face of constant attacks by the Al-Shabaab terrorist group. Other studies have focused on developing theories explaining the causes of terrorism (Ross, 1993). However, this study is focusing on how people manage to live in a society that is frequented by terror. Since 9/11, a growing number of scholars have been focusing their research on the effect of terrorism on a population. However, as Waxman (2011) notes, the effect of a single attack may be different from that of small and regular attacks. As for the case of Kenya, there have been about 133 terrorist attacks since 2011 when Kenya entered Somalia to fight the Al-Shabaab (Wafula, 2014).

3.1 Theoretical Framework:

A major aspect of the theoretical work concerning terrorism comprises of defining terms and this has been undertaken extensively in the works of many academics such as Ruby (2002); Jenkins (2001); Cooper (2001); and (Hoffman, 1998, pp.13-15) among others. Enders and Sandler (2002: 145-146), for instance, define terrorism as "the premeditated use or threat of use of extra-normal violence or brutality by sub-national groups to obtain a political, religious, or ideological objective through intimidation of a huge audience, usually not directly involved with the policy making that the terrorists seek to influence" Chomsky (2001:19), on his part, considers the meaning to be "the use of coercive means aimed at populations in an effort to achieve political, religious, or other aims. Chalk (1999: 151) provides another understanding, stating that terrorism is "the systematic use of illegitimate violence that is employed by sub-state actors as means of achieving specific political objectives, these goals differing according to the group concerned." Evidently, different thinkers have defined terrorism differently but there exist three common traits that help provide clarity and a universal understanding about the characteristics of terrorism— violence and brutality, masses of people being the targets of this violence, and religion and/or politics as being a major motivating factor behind terrorist acts.

With respect to specific theories, the most relevant theory that the research will be founded upon is the Rational Choice theory:

3.1.1 Rational Choice Theory

This theory will be important in explaining the behaviour and thinking of terrorists, terrorist groups and even government leadership as they attempt to tackle terrorist threats. The Rational Choice Theory is a theory based on the notion that man is a reasoning being who weighs the costs and benefits of choices and therefore makes decisions based on rational calculations (Business Dictionary, 2013). Terrorists, despite being considered by many to be inhumane and

irrational, are nevertheless human beings and are prompted to commit their acts of terrorism by some form of ideology and beliefs, mainly stemming from religious beliefs. As such, it is crucial that psychoanalysis into the psyche and mindsets of terrorists be undertaken for the findings of this research to be valid and empirical. The Rational Choice Theory will therefore be helpful in that regard, helping to understand the motivations for the terrorist acts of the Al-Shabaab. Such an understanding has been largely unclear and thin at best yet it may be the key to helping eradicate terrorism from not only Kenyan society, but the world at large.

3.2 Psychological Effect

Southers (2014) explain that the major and direct impacts of terror are the psychological ramifications. The people are greatly affected psychologically either directly or indirectly when a terrorist event occurs. The stress level increases and people fear for their safety. Waxman (2011) writes "terrorism is a form of psychological warfare against a society." He also adds that "the greater the number of attacks and the more lethal those attacks are, the more people will be psychologically affected by them." As Grieger (2006) points out, people affected by a terrorist attack may experience acute stress disorder (AST) or posttraumatic stress disorder (PTST). He also notes that, "Depression and bereavement may be more likely outcome than AST and PTST when individuals have lost loved ones." (Grieger, 2006:1). The commonly identifiable symptom of PTST and AST is "avoiding people or situations that remind one of the traumatic experiences," (Waxman, 2011).

Studies conducted on Israelis after several attacks indicated that terrorism is capable of inducing fear and worry for personal safety beyond the actual damage of the attack (Friedland & Merari, 1985). Terrorism aims to create an atmosphere of anxiety, worry and fear for personal safety because people are not able to control where it will happen next, simply because terrorists use random tactics which are hard to predict. According to studies conducted after the September

11, 2001 attacks on the USA, it indicated that terrorism has a psychological impact even on those people even those who had not directly been exposed to the attack (Waxman, 2011). The extensive media coverage of the terrorist attack can cause more psychological trauma on a population. Waxman (2011) also notes that terrorism affects people's daily lives no matter if they were directly affected or not.

However, the result of the studies conducted by Friedland & Merari (1985) indicated that terrorism had failed to achieve its goal in the case of Israel. The result indicated that people instead favoured extreme counterterrorism measures instead of a peace agreement or a possible recognition of the Palestinian territory. Thus it can be argued that terrorism succeeds in its aim of causing fear and concern of safety to the public and consequently putting a government under pressure but it fails in its goal of a government meeting their political demands.

3.3 Economic Effect

Terrorism has a great economic effect on a country. When the target of the attacks is on a developing country, then the effect is even greater. Some of the consequences that terrorism has had are with respect to "diverting foreign direct investment, destroying infrastructure, redirecting public investment funds to security and limiting trade" (Sandler & Enders, 2008:18). 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). The main reasoning for this argument is that, a developed nation has more resources and capabilities to survive prolonged attacks.

3.3.1 Impact of Terrorism on the Tourism Industry

"When tourism ceases to be pleasurable due to actual or perceived risks, tourists exercise their freedom and power to avoid risky situations or destinations," (Sonmez, Apostollopoulos and

Tarlow, 1999:1). When terrorists target to affect the tourist venues of a country, then the country will be greatly affected because the tourists are likely to change their plans of visiting a country that has been affected by terrorism. This follows from the travel warnings issued by foreign countries whose citizens can be targeted in the attacks. Sandler & Enders (1992) conducted studies in three countries (Austria, Spain, and Italy) that were affected by terrorism between 1978 and 1988 indicated that there was a sizable amount of loss in revenue during this period.

Terrorism also has an impact on foreign investment in a country, even if the companies themselves aren't targeted. The risk of terrorism forces investors to implement more security measures and offer compensation to the personnel, thus reducing their returns. For that reason the investors would opt to redirect their business to safer countries even if salaries are higher (Sandler & Enders, 2008).

3.4 Social Impact

Society as a whole changes when affected by terrorism. In the 9/11 World Trade Centre attacks, for instance, the citizens of New York, and Americans as a whole, changed their way of thinking with respect to security and Muslims, becoming a lot more cautious and aware of their surroundings than before.

Security checks at airports have since become more stringent and Muslims/ Arabs have become victims of racial/religious profiling, oftentimes being suspected of being terrorists by fellow citizens or law enforcement for no other reason than their appearance. In the case of the 9/11 attack, there was a notable rise of Islamophobia in the US. In Israel during the second intifada, Waxman writes, that the Israelis viewed Palestinians as "dishonest, violent and having little regard for human life."

Stereotyping has resultantly been on the rise, leading people in society to have a negative feeling towards the group that the terrorists claim to represent. For example, when the terrorists separate Christians from Muslims and then kill Christians, this tends to create an image of Muslims as terrorists. Hostility and suspicion of those that the terrorist group represent is also on the increase in society. In the case of Israel, for example, a study conducted by Asher Arian (2003), Muslims were seen as a security threat to the Israelis.

As discussed earlier, terrorism aims to cause fear and concern for personal safety. That concern tends to create negative feelings towards the terrorists and their cause rather than solidarity with their demands. Waxman (2011) explains that "a sense of victimhood is common to a society experiencing terrorism." The result may be a "hardening of attitudes and crystallization of opposition to the cause pursued by the terrorists" (Friedland & Merari, 1985:603).

Finally, people fear socialising in areas which are prone to terrorist attacks. In Kenya, for instance, the once popular Westgate Mall is now but a shell of its former self. Following the terrorist attacks in 2013, efforts to rebuild the mall back to its former glory have largely been unsuccessful and painstakingly slow because people fear visiting a place that reminds them of the horrific act of terrorism that occurred therein. This restriction with respect to socialising freely lowers the quality of life as it prevents people from truly enjoying their life and limits where they can patronise, at what time, and so on.

3.5 Political Impact

Some scholars suggest that terrorism is a political tool used by a group to achieve political goals. As seen earlier, terrorism has psychological, economic and social impacts on a country. Due to this impact terrorism has on the people, the government is forced to find ways to regain public confidence and recover from the attacks. Pollack and Wood (2010:6) note that in cases where a situation after an attack seems to be mishandled, the citizens may lose confidence in

the government and public institutions. In order to gain public trust and confidence, the government may take measures that may violate the civil liberties. A government may for example easily pass anti-terror laws that are contrary to human rights simply because they are supported by the public.

Friedland and Merari (1985:603) argue that there are times when terrorism becomes an effective tool to achieve political goals. They say that when a critical threshold is exceeded, people are likely to concede to the demands of the terrorists. For Kenya as an example, the public may demand that the forces be withdrawn from Somalia, or a closure of refugee camps in Kenya. "Below this threshold, terrorism is not merely effective but appears to cause a hardening of attitudes and crystallization of opposition to the causes pursued by the terrorists."

3.6 Resilience

Pollack and Wood, in their report to the Department of Defence, wrote that "terrorism, potentially even more than other forms of disaster, can create traumatic stress in those who experience it, including survivors, responders, and even those who experience the event solely through the news media." (Pollack & Wood, 2010:4) In the face of chronic terrorism, the psychological, economical, sociological, and political impact may affect the community much.

Resilience in this context is a tool that a society needs to bounce back and be able to thrive afterwards. Resilience is a weapon that a society can use against conceding to the demands of terrorists. Resilience can be defined as the ability to survive and be able to rise up and move on. Pollack and Wood's[3] concept of resilience, being the ability of the public to exhibit relatively limited vulnerability in the face of an attack, shall be further explored in this study,

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3 See, http://fas.org/irp/agency/dod/dtra/resilience.

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as it proves to be one of the core concepts when depicting the reactions of the Kenyan people to the Al-Shabaab terrorist attacks.

3.7 Vulnerability

The term vulnerability, like resilience, has different definitions and connotations depending on the field of knowledge. Bohle (2001) approaches vulnerability as "the pre-existing conditions that make infrastructure, processes, services and productivity more prone to be affected by an external hazard" (quoted in Brikmann, 2006: 24). The United Nations Development Program (UNDP), on the other hand, defines vulnerability as "a human condition or process resulting from physical, social, economic and environmental factors, which determine the likelihood and scale from the impact of a given hazard." (UNDP, 2004:11 quoted in Brikmann, 2006: 12), International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (UN/ISDR) sees vulnerability as "the conditions determined by physical, social, economic and environmental factors or processes, which increases the susceptibility of a community to the impact of hazards." (UN/ISDR, 2004 as quoted in Barkmann, 2006:12).

From these different approaches, vulnerability encompasses human conditions of a society affected by a disaster and the risk factors after a hazard. Terrorism places people at risk of being harmed making them vulnerable to the effect of terrorism. The people rely on the government to offer protection although some governments in developing countries seem to be outsmarted by the terrorists. Thus, resilience in this study means the ability for the people to rise above the vulnerable conditions. In the face of constant and unexpected attacks by the Al-Shabaab the Kenyan people are able to lead a normal life. Though the effects of terror are felt psychologically, economically, politically and socially, still the country remains steady. This is resilience.

3.8 Summary

This chapter has outlined the conceptual and theoretical frameworks underpinning this study. In an effort to understand the impact of the frequent Al-Shabaab terror attacks on the Kenyan population, this study has reviewed the psychological, economic, social and political effects of terrorism on people. This is because of the assumption that the frequent terror attacks that have affected Kenya from 2011 to 2014 have had an adverse impact on the people.

Furthermore, the concept of resilience is adopted in an attempt to identify and understand how the people under constant attacks are able to survive and move on with their lives in the face of danger posed by the Al-Shabaab. In this regard the people have come across ways to be resilient and are able to cope with the danger. Terrorists use fear, disruption and destruction as a political tool to push governments to meet their demands and often the people are caught in between. They lose loved ones, their property, and are injured in the event of an attack. They have to find ways to rise from the effect of terrorism and find ways to survive. The next chapter examines the interaction between these theories and the empirical data.

CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

In this chapter, the data that was collected in the field shall be presented, discussed and the results provided. As earlier stated, the data collection was undertaken through the use of interviews and observation. All data was manually transcribed from the audio recordings, into the main language of the interview. Translation into English from Kiswahili, Somali and other local dialects, was performed where needed, and data transferred onto an SPSS and Excel spreadsheet for analysis.

Framework analysis, which incorporates both case and thematic approaches, was used for data analysis. It was suitable as it is a form of analysis that aids in the combination of the theory gained from the literature review and the data collected from the interviews with participants. It additionally aids in the triangulation between literature review and data collected. Combining themes and cases aids in interpretation. It likewise helps in assessing for possible confounders such as age, education level and other factors collected as part of the demographic survey. Through this iterative process, dominant themes emerged that shall be analyzed.

The study sought to find out the impact the Al-Shabaab terror has on the Kenyan population. Demographically, therefore, the focus was on the informant's age, gender, educational background, and religion. The interviewees varied from aid workers, religious leaders, business people, the police, prison officers and civilians. This study sought to find out the impact terror has on the people from four different categories as follows:

I. The first group is the ordinary civilians. In this category, the researcher sought the views of ordinary Kenyans without considering their socioeconomic status position in society.

II. In the second group, the views of professionals were sought. This group includes aid workers, religious leaders and business people

III. The third group was the police. Here, the views of those involved in gathering intelligence were sought in addition to those who are involved in counter-terrorism efforts.

IV. Finally, the fourth group was the government officials.

This presentation of data is arranged by themes as they emerge from the transcriptions of the interviews and interactions with the notes.

THE RESULTS:

4.1 Demographic Data

A total of 28 respondents were individually interviewed from 3 different counties— Nairobi, Mombasa and Garissa. The respondents were male and female and all the respondents were between the ages of 18 years and 40. The respondent ages are illustrated below:

4.1.1 Figure 1: Gender

Respondent gender
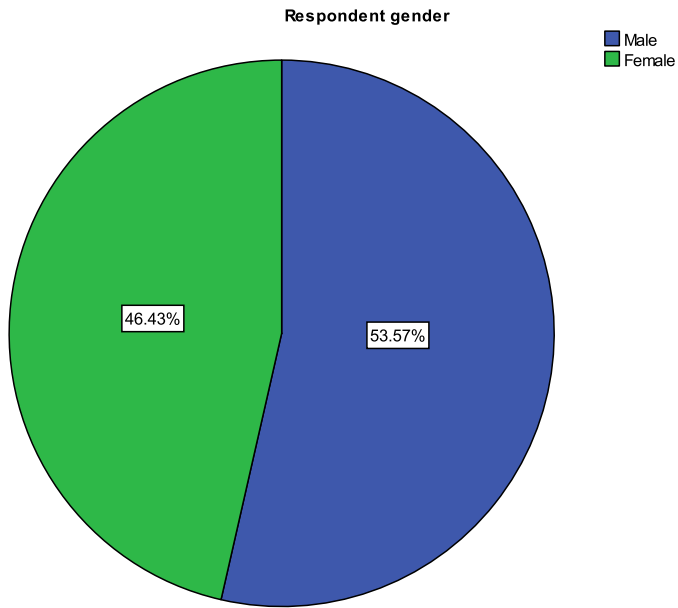
Years		Frequency	Percentage
Valid	Male	15	53.6
	Female	13	46.4
	Total	28	100.0

Source: Primary Data (2015)

Figure 1 shows that the number of the male respondents (53.6%) is close to the female (46.4%) amount with the total being 15 for male and 13 for female. Based on the figures, the dominant gender among the respondents is male. Over a half of the respondent composition is male while less than half are females.

4.1.2 Figure 2: Age

Age bracket
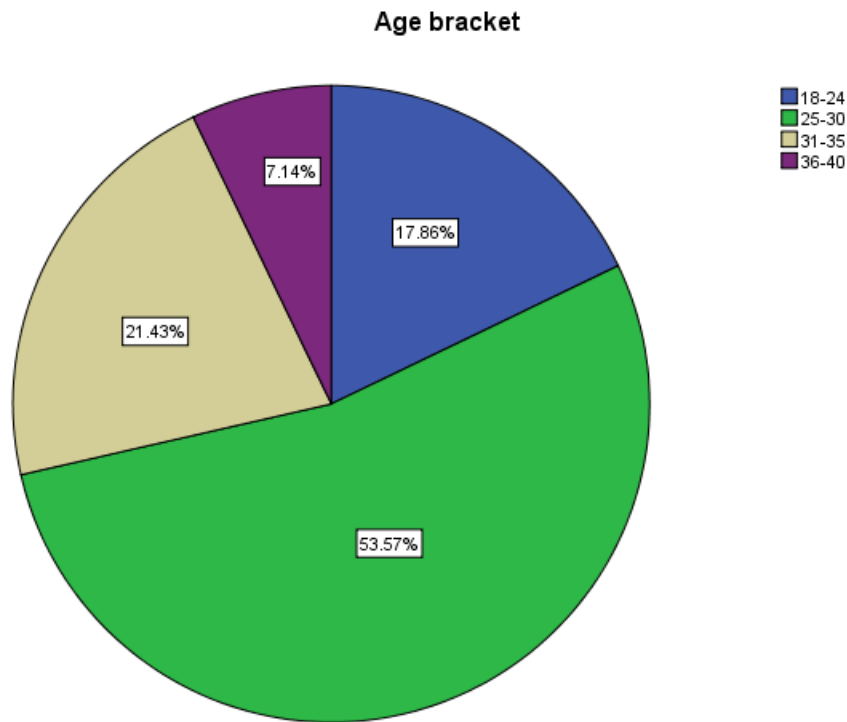
Years	Frequency	Percentage
18-24	5	17.9
25-30	15	53.6
31-35	6	21.4
36-40	2	7.1
Total	28	100.0

Source: Primary Data (2015)

Figure 2 shows the age range of the respondents. 53.57% of the respondents were between 25 and 30 years, showing that most of them are young adults. 21. 43% were between 31 and 35, 17.86% were between 18-24 years old and those aged between 36- 40 comprised 7.14% of the total respondents. The evident diversity of the maturity in the ages of the respondents has implications for the research findings. It can be deduced that in the areas within which the research took place, a considerable number of those concerned about the terrorist activities if the Al-Shabaab and its effects are young adults.

4.1.3 Figure 3: Categories

	Title	Frequency	Percentage
Valid	Civilians	15	53.6
	Professionals	7	25.0
	Police	4	14.28
	Government Officials	2	7.12
	Total	28	100.0

Source: Primary Data (2015)

According to Figure 3, a vast majority of respondents are Civilians representing 53.57% of those surveyed. 25% are Professionals, 14.28% are Police while 7.12% are Government Officials. The implication for the research is that a majority of respondents involved were civilians, implying that civilians are most concerned about the Al-Shabaab.

4.2.4 Figure 4: Educational Level
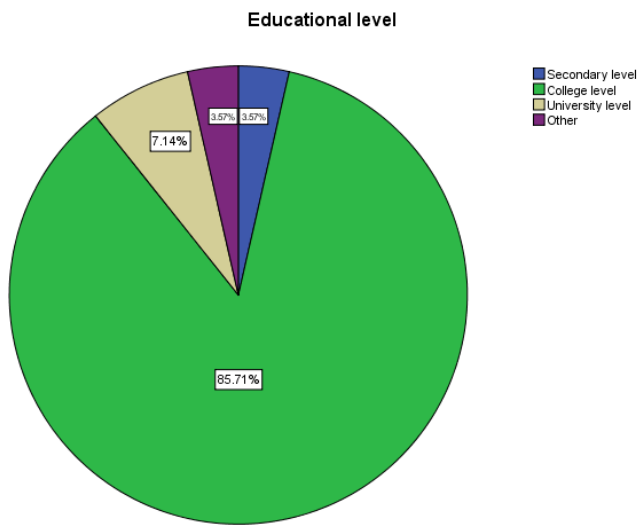
Educational level

The Figure above reveals that the highest level of education for a majority of respondents (85.71%) is college level of education, implying that most of the respondents are Diploma holders (or its equivalent). Only 7.14% are university graduates while 3.57% are at the secondary level and the remaining 3.57% have other educational qualifications. These results are indicative of the fact that most respondents have not obtained university degrees though they have some form of tertiary education.

	Religion	Frequency	Percentage
Valid	Christian	18	64.2
	Muslim	8	28.6
	African Animism	1	3.6
	Atheist/agnostic	1	3.6
	Total	28	100.0

Source: Primary Data (2015)

The majority of the respondents are Christians, representing 64.2%. Muslims were the second highest of those polled (28.6%) while African Animists and Atheists/Agnostics were both 3.6%

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of the respondents. These results reflect the religious landscape of Kenya, where the two leading religions are Christianity and Islam with the former comprising the majority.

4.2 Thematic Data:

4.2.1 Psychological Impact/Reactions

I. Fear and Paranoia

From all the respondents, the initial reaction to the Al-Shabaab attacks was that of fear. They were especially uncertain about where Al-Shabaab will attack next which has made them afraid to live a normal life. One respondent replied thus: "*Life in Kenya has changed; nowadays we are afraid Al-Shabaab might attack us in the mall, in the bus, in the church or even in the bus stop, we are not safe.*" (Respondent, H). A conversation with one respondent who works in a refugee camp in Dadaab said, "*Every day I live to see a new day I just thank God, this place you'll never know when they are going to attack, at night I sleep but am not sure what tomorrow will be like. When I travel to Nairobi from Dadaab I have to use a plane. Remember what happened to the teachers from Garissa? But anyway our lives are on God's hands.*" (Respondent, I)

Another respondent expressed their fear by saying, "*It's really hard to know who these people are, they can be anyone and can be anywhere, and everybody is a suspect these days. As you see we have to pass through a scanner when we enter the buses, the malls, and offices and all the time the police are stopping you to ask for identification, life in Kenya is not like it used to be.*" (Respondent, J)

This sentiment was clearly observed in the daily lives of the people especially in Nairobi and Mombasa. In Nairobi, the researcher observed that each mall and government office has armed security forces in addition to ordinary guards at the entrances. In local transport, every

passenger has to go through the security check where bags and luggage are opened and checked before starting the journey. However, as the researcher observed, no security checks were done on those who ride outside the main terminal.

The Kenyan people like to gather in places of public meetings in their hundreds and even thousands at times. One respondent narrated an incident that made her fear being in crowded places. She narrates, *"I talked to one young guy who was imprisoned on charges of terrorism, he told me he was selling peanuts and was an Al-Shabaab recruit, he was going around selling his peanuts hiding a grenade under the peanuts box, as he was about to let it explode, he saw his mother whom he had not seen for months after leaving home, that is the only thing that made him stop killing innocent people that day."* (Respondent, C)

There was fear expressed in the words of the respondents regarding being close to or living with the Somali-Kenyans and Muslims. It is easy to tell the difference between a Somali and an ordinary Kenyan due to their distinctive physical features and mannerisms which includes chewing khat.[4] For the Muslims, they can be distinguished by their way of dress and some physical characteristics like growing of long beards for men. One interviewee said, *"I try as much as possible to stay away from Somali people or someone who looks like a Muslim, experience has thought us that a terrorist can be one of them,"* (Respondent, G) When asked to clarify on these she said, *"Every time there is an attack here, it is either a Somalia or a Muslim so how can I trust these people? Better be safe than sorry"* (Respondent, G)

II. Trauma

One of the symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder is that the victims tend to avoid places or situations that remind them of a traumatic event. From some respondents, it is evident that

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4Khat is a stimulant plant chewed by Somali people and some Arab people to give them some stimulation. See
http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/6139513

they are still traumatized by the terrorist attacks. One respondent said, *"I will not visit Westgate mall again even if they say it is safe there"* (Responded L). Another one said, *"I am not going to go out to a mall with my kids again, the experience of what I saw on TV was too much, imagine being in a mall with your kids and a terrorist strikes, these people are worse than animals, they don't spare even children, tell me what can I do if am there with my children? It is better if am alone at least if am killed my children will live."* (Respondent, N).

One respondent was a direct victim of the Westgate attack and was one of those who had been hostages in the Mall for several hours during the siege. She experienced severe post-traumatic stress disorder following the attack and still attends weekly counselling sessions. The attack had a major impact on her and her family, not just psychologically but also socially whereby she no longer patronises malls, big shopping outlets or venues with prominent Western symbolism such as the UN Offices and the US Embassy as she believes these are potential terrorist targets. She also harbours unresolved hatred for people of the Muslim faith.

This is corroborated by newspaper reports which reported that following the 2013 Westgate attacks, the cases of post-traumatic stress disorder were so high such that a trauma centre had to be set up at a centre known as the Visa Oshwal Centre where victims were receiving counselling sessions and psychological examinations.[5]

III.   Hatred and Islamophobia

From the respondents' answers to the questions by non-Muslims, there was evidence of a significant level of hatred directed toward Muslims and refugees. This came up a number of times in the response of the interviewees. An example is from one who said, *"Let all the refugees leave our country, we can't be a host to our killers. We have been helping them for*

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5 See this report by *The Daily Nation:* http://mobile.nation.co.ke/news/How-attack-opened-private-cultural-centre-to-the-world/-/1950946/2011352/-/format/xhtml/-/11gd83c/-/index.html

many years so why do they turn around to kill us here? Let the government close that refugee camp in Dadaab and send all of them back to Somalia." (Respondent, F)

There was a series of crackdowns on illegal immigrants in Kenya, especially Somalis who are refugees without documentations. However, there were reports of discrimination by the police and torture for anyone without identification cards.[6] More than one thousand people, mostly Somalis, were held in what is called a concentration camp at the Kasarani National Stadium.[7] From the speech of the Kenyan president after the Westgate attack, Uhuru Kenyatta, Kenya has hosted the refugees for 20 years and had entered Somalia to help bring order in their country. The Vice President asked the United Nations to close down all refugee camps.[8] This was under the assumption that the terrorists could be taking cover with the refugees and they are not reporting them.

4.2.2 Economic Impact

Terrorism in Kenya has affected the businesses of areas which have been frequently plagued by terrorism. Eastleigh, for example, is a neighbourhood in Nairobi with a high level of Muslims and Somalis. It is also a noted business hub where people with small businesses from different parts of the country come to buy goods at a wholesale price and then sell them at retail prices in their respective business locations. Since the Al-Shabaab claims to fight for Somalia and Somali people, other non- Somali businessmen from the rest of the country seem to have changed their mind about buying from Eastleigh. An interview with a section of business people in Eastleigh confirmed this.

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6 http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2014/04/cracking-down-nairobi-somalis-201442012628685801.html
7 http://www.trust.org/item/20140407162525-4yvwx/
8 http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-32269944

One interviewee said, *"Now I can hardly afford to pay my rent, business is so bad now. People are afraid to come to buy from us, maybe because we are Somali, or because the Al-Shabaab has been killing Christians. I don't know. Before this war with Al-Shabaab started, life was good here, business was very good, and now I am wondering if I should close it down but how can I send my children to school?"* (Respondent, B)

Another interviewee who used to get his goods from Eastleigh said, *"My money is not going to go to Al-Shabaab. Muslim people are brothers, when we buy from them they make profit which they use to fund Al-Shabaab"* (Respondent, K).

Terrorism has also had a big impact on the tourism industry in Kenya. Many tourists who visit Kenya now mostly visit the national parks, but they avoid the Coastal region as much as possible due to the high Muslim population there and the fact that it is a hotbed of terrorism in Kenya. This follows a number of travel warnings by the western countries to their citizens concerning the terrorist attacks. After the Westgate terrorist attack, the Kenyan president, Uhuru Kenyatta and the Opposition leader Raila Odinga urged western countries to consider not issuing travel warnings to Kenya, as it would harm the economy of the country.[9]

When the researcher visited Mombasa (a coastal city in Kenya frequented by tourists on the summer), there were visibly less tourists on the beaches and after a spot check on some hotels on the coast the researcher realized that most of them were either not occupied or it was mainly occupied by the locals. One manager from a big hotel in Mombasa revealed that, *"Business has been really bad these days* (referring to the period between 2011 and 2014). *In fact, the management is considering relocating to Dar es Salam or any other city which is relatively safe. In the last two years we have had to terminate the contract of half our workers or some*

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9 The speech of Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga can be found here, during the national prayers held on 1 October, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jAWJtbqYcLk

have gone on mandatory leaves because we don't have business so we cannot afford paying them." (Respondent, E)

4.2.3 Political Impact

I.   Local:

Kenya has enacted an anti-terrorism law, the Security Laws (Amendment) Act, 2014, which clearly breach of human rights for example, "it is illegal to utter or publish a statement that can encourage a terrorist act."[10] This is because of the terrorist acts by groups such as the Al-Shabaab. The Kenyan Parliament passed the law on December 18, 2014 and as a result, the government has increased its surveillance and vigilance against terrorism. However, the impact of this legislation is yet to be truly felt on the ground where day to day life appears to continue as usual. The full implementation of this law by the government and law enforcement needs to be undertaken.

In addition, the government and the ruling coalition took a major hit in the court of public opinion as most Kenyan citizens put the blame for the attacks on the Government and her institutions. The government has the responsibility of ensuring that her citizens are secure and protected. Whenever there is a terrorist attack, attention is focused on the internal security ministry and the police. Usually the top bosses are under scrutiny for their performances on how they will handle the situation. A number of respondents in this research took issue with the performance of the Police and the Ministry of Internal Affairs with regard to how they handled the situation when the Westgate terrorist attack struck. One interviewee said, "*I don't*

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10 The whole amendment act is found here,
http://kenyalaw.org/kl/fileadmin/pdfdownloads/AmendmentActs/2014/SecurityLaws_Amendment_Act_2014.pdf accessed November 16, 2015.

trust that our police are doing enough, we are protecting Somalis in their country with our Kenya defence forces, while our country is on fire." (Respondent, A)

Another respondent stated thus: "*Lenku* (referring to the Internal Security Minister) *and Kimaiyo* (referring to the Inspector of Police*) should just resign, they have let us down. These days we have grenade explosions sprouting everywhere like mushrooms. Why is the president not firing them?"* (Respondent, M).

Others placed the blame on the whole government. One respondent lamented that "*In the past, these terror attacks were not this frequent. I think this government should just step aside and let the able people lead this great nation. How do people enter Kenya without notice and plan an attack and execute it without any detection? We don't even know who they are or how many the attackers were. All we heard were conflicting reports from government officials.*" (Respondent B). The public pressure on the president finally saw him dismiss two government officials (Minister for Internal Security and the Inspector of Police).[11]

On the other hand, terrorism has seen Kenyans unite against the acts of terrorism. When the Westgate terror attack happened, Kenyans came together under the motto of 'We Are One' to donate blood, money and food stuff to the victims. They also came together to pray for one another and for the nation and even supported the rescuers and responders like the Red Cross in the rescue efforts. The attack additionally saw the opposition and the ruling party come together in a rare show of unity against the common enemy — the Al-Shabaab.

II.   International:

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[11] See the statement on the president after 36 people were killed in Mandera at a terrorist attack on a quarry where they were sleeping at night. He announced the stepping down of the inspector of Police and a replacement of the internal security minister (Also referred to as a cabinet secretary for internal security) http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Lenku-Kimaiyo-out-as--36-more-are-massacred/-/1056/2542824/-/sxsrnyz/-/index.html

Terrorism in Kenya has not only affected the local people, but it has had an effect on Kenya's relation with their international partners. The western nations have had a habit of issuing travel warnings to their citizens against travelling to countries affected by terrorism, especially in the third world. The Kenyan government reacted by telling off the west for issuing travel warnings against travelling to Kenya.[12]

One of the respondents (a senior police officer) had a view that the attacks were aimed at the West, and Kenya is just a playground according to him. He said, "*The war on terror in Kenya is an international war. Although the Al-Shabaab say they are attacking us for being in Somalia, I think Al-Shabaab doesn't really have the capacity to launch large scale attacks in Kenya. I'll give you an example, in 1998 the US embassy was attacked, the target was the Americans, when the Kikambala Hotel was attacked in 2002, you remember the hotel had just accommodated Israeli tourists plus at the same time a missile was launched aiming at the Israeli plane which had left Mombasa airport. The target was the Israelis in my view. Again in the case of the Westgate, the target was actually the Israelis in my opinion. The reason I am saying this is because these are the major attacks so far in Kenya, so it is possible that the Al Qaida is taking advantage of the Al-Shabaab attacks to take cover and launch their attacks.*" (Respondent, D)

4.2.4 Al-Shabaab Membership and Financiers

When asked who the members of the Al-Shabaab are as well as the identity of their financiers, most respondents did not know. This question did not receive any valid answer— from the citizenry, security officials, religious leaders or government officials. Most of the rumours were based on rumours and conjecture, not on hard facts. Among the responses received included: "*Al-Shabaab members are young men, and women, from poor backgrounds who are being*

12A speech by the Kenyan president questioning if the western nations are safe from terrorism. He gives examples of 9/11 in the US and also assures the local people that Kenya will remain united and that the Kenyans will not be bothered if the tourists will not visit Kenya. See, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7SXymWBPNR4

brainwashed and exploited by Arab extremists for their own selfish political mileage (Respondent, B). Government and security officials declined to respond to this question, explaining that the information was confidential and only the intelligence arms were privy to such data.

According to the newspaper reports that have analysed the Al- Shabaab phenomenon, Islamic preachers may play a role in terrorist activities in Kenya. There have been instances where some Muslim preachers have been accused of recruiting young people to join Al-Shabaab.[13] An example is a preacher named 'Makaburi' who was later killed in unknown circumstances and it was reported by some media reports that he was killed by Kenyan Police forces.[14]

Other newspapers have reported that Al-Shabaab is funded by certain businessmen and individuals such as Ali Ahmed Nur Jimale, a banker and entrepreneur. No evidence has however been found to support the claims against Jimale.[15] Other alleged financiers include state sponsors from Eritrea, Somali's in the diaspora, charity organisations, big businesses and other fellow terrorist groups.[16]

4.2.5 Reasons behind Al-Shabaab Terror Attacks against Kenya

When asked why the Al-Shabaab is attacking Kenya and her citizenry, an overwhelming majority responded that it was because of the entrance of the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) into Somalia. A few respondents also asserted that Kenya was the best target because Kenya is

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13 See https://www.nairobitoday.co.ke/2014/11/26/sheikh-makaburis-ally-arrested-recruiting-youths-mombasa-join-Al-Shabaab/ Accessed November 16, 2015.

14 See http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2014/04/feeding-grievances-killing-mak-2014411151431791922.html/ Accessed November 16, 2015

15 See the report by TVC News: http://www.tvcnews.tv/?q=article/somalia-defends-alleged-al-shabaab-financier

16 See https://globalecco.org/financing-al-shabaab-the-vital-port-of-kismayo

considered to be a hub of security and economic prosperity in East Africa. Destabilizing Kenya would destabilize the whole of East Africa and this would assist the terrorists to secure control of the region.

However, some respondents blamed the attacks in Kenya on corruption of the immigration officials and the police. There have been reports that one can easily buy a Kenyan passport and legalize their stay in Kenya simply if they have money.[17] Another reason is a long and porous border that Kenya shares with Somalia.

4.2.6 How can the activities of terrorist groups such as the Al-Shabaab be curtailed?

Several respondents expressed dismay with the entrance of the KDF into Somalia, calling on the government to withdraw the forces from Somalia so as to restore peace in Kenya. This emerged as a major theme with respect to how to end/prevent terrorism in Kenya.

Another response was as follows: "*Corruption is the root of all evil in Kenya. The reason why terrorists are able to enter into our borders is because the borders are porous and government officials at the Immigration office accept bribes from non-Kenyans, providing them with citizenship in exchange for money. This is the reason why terrorism will never end in Kenya.*" (Respondent D).

A final response was from Respondent A: "*Laxity by the government and security officials is the cause of terrorism in Kenya. Lenku, the man in charge of our security is a chef. A chef knows nothing about security. If the man at the very top of our security detail is incompetent;*

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17 See this report by fox News http://www.foxnews.com/us/2014/05/29/kenya-vulnerable-to-terror-attacks-because-corruption-immigration-police-take/ accessed November 16, 2015

what about the rest of our security apparel? A total overhaul of the security machinery and intelligence systems needs to be undertaken for terrorism to be rooted out and prevented."

4.2.7 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter dealt with the analysis of the data collected from interviews and observation through thematic and framework analysis. Data was also collected from local and international newspapers that have covered and documented the Al-Shabaab attacks on Kenya. The data collected was then arranged according to the themes that emerged and the resultant findings of the research were presented.

The data accrued concerning the demographics were presented in the form of graphs and tables that were generated using SPSS and Excel. From this analysis, it was determined that the respondents that took part in this research were largely male (53.5%) while 46.4% were female. A majority of the respondents, 53.57%, were aged between 25 and 30 years. In terms of the highest level of education, most of the respondents (85.71%) had at least attained a college level of education. With respect to their religious affiliation, 64.2% of the respondents were Christians while Muslims accounted for only 28.6%.

With respect to the findings concerning the impact of Al-Shabaab's terrorist attacks, it was determined that: the Al-Shabaab had a major impact on Kenyans psychologically, economically and politically including an increase in Islamophobia; cases of post-traumatic stress disorder; a decrease in tourism which negatively affected the Kenya; and a rise of discontent about the government and its preparedness against terrorist threats amongst the citizenry.

Finally, it was ascertained that Kenya was a target of the Al-Shabaab because of the military presence Kenya has set up in Somalia. The requisite preventative measures that the government and security personnel need to undertake according to the respondents include: withdrawing Kenya's forces from Somalia; uprooting corruption from government institutions such as the

Immigration department to prevent entry of illegal immigrants who could potentially be terrorists; as well as sealing up Kenya's notoriously porous borders. Concerning who finances the Al Shabaab, however, this question did not receive a conclusive answer and is therefore an area that needs further research efforts into.

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In summary, it is evident from the research analysis that terrorism is a major global threat, perhaps the most significant threat of the new millennium. As the world becomes more technologically advanced, terrorism has arisen as a major setback to the advancement of the human race. Kenya, specifically, has been hard hit by terrorist attacks during the past twenty years or so. In 1998, Kenya experienced its first major terrorist hit when the US Embassy was bombed, resulting in hundreds of deaths and injuries. The next significant attack took place in 2013 at the Westgate Mall where hundreds were likewise killed. The most recent attack occurred this year in Garissa County where over 100 people lost their lives in a University. The Al-Shabaab terrorist organisation are largely thought to be behind these last two attacks and were thus the main focal point of this discussion.

The discussion sought to uncover the views and opinions to the following questions: Who are the members of the Al-Shabaab and their financiers? Why are they attacking Kenya and her citizenry? How can the activities of terrorist groups such as the Al-Shabaab be curtailed? The most central research question was, however, what is the impact of terrorist acts by the Al-Shabaab on Kenya?

To find out the answers to those questions, the research was methodologically qualitative in nature. This was deemed to be the most appropriate methodology for the research because the subject of terrorism involves real human beings and qualitative researches are excellent in delving into areas that require a human touch. Interviews and observation were the two data

collection tools used by the research and the field work took place in 3 counties- Nairobi, Mombasa and Garissa. In total, 28 respondents participated in the study.

The data was analysed using Framework analysis (which incorporates both case and thematic approaches) and some of the results were presented using charts and tables generated from the SPSS and Excel spreadsheets. A summary of the results uncovered from the analysis are as follows:

a) **Psychological Impact/Reactions:** Fear and Paranoia was experienced by a significant number of respondents and Kenya as a whole, exemplified by an increase in security checks in major buildings and during travel. Trauma was similarly an effect, with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder having been experienced by a number of people. Hatred and Islamophobia was another reaction**.** From the respondents' answers to the questions by non-Muslims, there was evidence of a significant level of hatred and/or suspicion directed towards Muslims and refugees.

b) **Economic impact:** Terrorism in Kenya has affected the businesses of areas which have been frequently plagued by terrorism. Eastleigh is a good example. Tourism, a major foreign exchange earner for Kenya, has also been negatively impacted upon.

c) **Political Impact:** Locally, Kenya implemented the antiterrorism law, the Security Laws (Amendment) Act in 2014. In addition, the popularity of the government and the ruling coalition waned since many Kenyans have not been impressed by the government's handling of terrorist acts. Internationally**,** terrorism has had an impact on Kenya's relation with the West with the government taking issue with the fact that western nations had issued travel advisories against Kenya.

d) **Al-Shabaab Membership:** In relation to who comprises Al-Shabaab Membership and the identity of the Financiers, no factual evidence was obtained, only hearsay. This therefore represents a knowledge dearth that future research needs to close.

e) **Reasons behind the Al-Shabaab Terror Attacks against Kenya:** the research determined that the entrance by the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) into Somalia was believed to be the major cause of the frequent terror attacks by the Al-Shabaab. Other reasons included the fact that destabilizing Kenya would be advantageous to the Al-Shabaab from a political perspective because an unstable Kenya is the equivalent of an unstable East Africa.

f) **How terrorist activities by groups such as the Al-Shabaab can be curtailed in Kenya:** There are a number of things that can be done to eradicate terrorism from Kenya. According to my research, first will be the government solving the grievances among marginalized groups, dealing with unemployment, withdrawing the forces from Somalia, eradicating corruption; and undertaking a total overhaul of the security machinery and intelligence systems in the country.

Recommendations/Proposals

a) **To the government and other stakeholders:**

Following the research findings of this study, the following proposals for further action are recommended to the government in regards to handling terrorism:

- The government needs to go to the grassroots and work with Imams, Sheikhs and Muslim youth at the community level to gain a clearer understanding of the issues plaguing the Islamic community in Kenya.

- Places of worship need to be monitored to detect religious extremism and cut short any possible terrorist activities.

- The government must create jobs so as to reduce the idleness and disillusionment caused by unemployment

- Overhaul of security and intelligence machinery in the country to ensure that those in charge of security are qualified and capable.

- The porous borders need to be sealed and the corruption at the Ministry of Immigration needs to be dealt with to proven the unabated entry of illegal foreigners into the country. Partnering with the governments of neighbouring countries such as Uganda and Somalia will also be highly beneficial in this regard as it will help strengthen the borders.

b) Recommendations for Future Research

- A more thorough investigation needs to be undertaken into the Kenyan case by research bodies, security agencies and government institutions targeting at least 1000 respondents for a more all-encompassing perspective. The current discussion is limited by financial and time constraints and therefore was unable to carry out a more meticulous research exercise

- A comparative analysis between the Kenyan case and other countries such as Nigeria (which is plagued by the terrorist group known as Boko Haram) is advisable as it will help to uncover the areas of similarity and dissimilarity. The lessons from such a comparative analysis will help generate more solutions for the fight against terrorism.

- Finally, determining the true source of funding for terrorist organisations such as the Al Shabaab is of great necessity since finding out the source will help local and international intelligence and law enforcement to freeze the responsible accounts and in so doing, go a long way in thwarting terrorist activities. More research therefore needs to be undertaken to uncover the source of terrorist funding.

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