**The Socio-Economic Implications of Terrorism on Human Security in the Horn of Africa Region: The Case of North Eastern Kenya.**

*By*

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### Abstract

Terrorism poses a serious threat to peace and security in the international system. Many studies however examine these threats from a state-centric security perspective where the emphasis is on the immediate damages caused when terrorist strike. Though terrorism significantly compromises freedom from fear, it equally affects the freedom from want. This study thus examines the impact of terrorism on human security in the Horn of Africa, with a major focus on the North Eastern region in Kenya. To achieve this objective, the study focuses on how the Al-Shabaab terrorist group has compromised some core qualitative variables such as human rights, sustainable economic opportunities, safety, and the rule of law. The study further underscores how terrorism has created a toxic environment for the attainment of human development in the region. The primary data used to corroborate the secondary sources was obtained through interviews with experts. Expert opinion among security officials, local administrators, and scholars who are versed in the subject was sought. The data analysis entailed triangulation of the forms of data collected, that is, for both primary and secondary sources. The findings of this study depict that human security has been negatively affected by terrorism. The study reveals that the aspects of human security affected by terrorism include human rights, sustainable economic opportunities, safety, the rule of law, and human development. Thus, this study recommends that there is urgent need for policymakers to rethink the impact of terrorism on security from a human security perspective. In addition, the study recommends that counter-terrorism measures should promote safety and the rule of law, participation and human rights, economic opportunities, and human development. Understanding how terrorism impacts human security in North Eastern Kenya is crucial for developing comprehensive security strategies that address the root causes and effects of terrorism, rather than just the symptoms.

**Keywords:** *Al-Shabaab, Social exclusion, sustainable economic opportunities, Socio-cultural Rights*

**Introduction**

The post-Cold War era triggered a paradigm shift in understanding the concept of security. The idea changed from the narrow state-centric view, where the use of military and state security was the main concern, to human security, which is people-centered (Bayeh, 2014). This shift underlines not only the multi-dimensional nature of security but also the fact that security ought to be inclusive, context-specific, and prevention-oriented. The shift to human security was accentuated by the United Nations Development Programme in its Human Development Report (UNDP, 1994).

Though many countries, social actors, and institutions across the globe are now concerned with ways and means of tackling non-military threats to peace to attain human security, many challenges are hindering this endeavor in the Horn of Africa. The most pernicious of these challenges in this region is terrorism (Wyk, 2007).

Though contested in its definition, terrorism gained latitude in policy and academic discourse in the second half of the 19th Century. At the turn of the 20th Century, the intensity and frequency of terrorism worsened, with far-reaching security implications (Makariusova, 2014). Asiedu (2019) underscores that from 1970 to 2017, more than 20,000 cases of terrorism were recorded in Africa. In the Horn of Africa, where diverse terrorist groups have taken advantage of the weak and failed states, terrorism remains one of the major threats to peace and security, with threats leading to the deaths and maiming of many people, destruction of property and generally promoting the atmosphere of fear and insecurity in the region.

Al Shabaab, the main terrorist group in the region, has for instance conducted several attacks in Kenya, including the 2013 Westgate attack, the 2016 Garissa University attack, the 2019 Dusit Hotel complex attack, and the 2014 bus attack that led to the death of 28 non-Muslims. Centre for Human Rights and Policy Studies depicts a 26 percent increase in terrorism incidences in Kenya by Al Shabaab in the year 2022 as compared to 2021 (CHRIPS, 2023). The report further shows that Mandera, Garissa, and Wajir had 37, 21, and 19 terror-related attacks respectively. It underlines that terrorism by Al Shabaab poses a security threat in North Eastern since the frequency of terror-related attacks, largely targeting non-locals and security personnel, has significantly increased (ibid). The trend of terrorism in Kenya depicts that this menace risks destabilizing the country both politically and economically.

The socio-political and economic costs of terrorism in Kenya should be a wake-up call to policymakers and scholars to rethink its impact in terms of human security. This menace has perhaps affected all seven dimensions of human security: political, economic, personal, health, food, community, and environmental security. Though many studies examine the impact of terrorism from a state-centric security perspective, the literature is largely muted on how terrorism affects human security.

It is against this background, that this article seeks to examine the impact of terrorism on human security. The four key indicators of human security adopted from the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) report of 1998 have been examined. These indicators, that is, safety and rule of law, participation and human rights, sustainable economic opportunity, and human development have been examined as the key parameters for this study. The study specifically seek to answer the following research questions: Has terrorism threatened human rights in the North Eastern region of Kenya? If yes, in what specific ways? What is the impact of terrorism on sustainable economic opportunities in North Eastern? To what extent has terrorism affected safety and the rule of law in North Eastern region? In what ways has terrorism affected human development in the North Eastern region?

The paper begins by presenting the theoretical framework before examining terrorism and human rights nexus. It seeks to demonstrate how human rights, a key component of human security, have been affected by terrorism in Northern Kenya. Further, the paper analyzes how terrorism has negatively impacted the sustainable economic opportunities in the region before making conclusions and recommendations.

**Theoretical Framework**

This study is anchored on the liberalism theory which observes that peace and security is attainable in the international system through the promotion of democracy, human rights, private property, and free enterprise. Woodrow Wilson who is one of the key proponents of this theory underscores the need to protect human rights such as civil, political, economic, and socio-cultural rights (Menchik, 2021). He further postulates that security could be enhanced by combating deprivations and discrimination that manifest in the form of religious, sexual, and ethnic affiliations amongother factors (Collins, 2019). This theory generally underscores that human beings have inherent rights such as the right to life, liberty, and property which ought to be protected for peaceful co-

existence.

Liberalism underscores the efficacy of maintaining the rule of law for sustainable peace and security. Here the rule of law implies that everyone, including the government, must be subjected to the same law without fear or favor. It emphasizes the need to treat all individuals fairly without discrimination. This paradigm further underlines that even the government does not have arbitrary power to interfere with people's rights. The rule of law thus forms a firm foundation upon which a sustainable and positive peace is maintained in a country or a region. This theory is the most appropriate for this study in examining how terrorism affects the basic dimensions of human security, hence undermining the key tenets of liberalism.

**Study Methodology**

This study was premised on descriptive research design for its suitability in examining people`s social, economic, and political dynamics. It also provided information on key human characteristics of concern like behavior, opinion, beliefs, and knowledge. Different methods for both primary and secondary data collection were applied. Interviews were conducted particularly targeting a target population of 50 participants (Academicians, security experts, practitioners working in civil society organizations, and scholars in the area of security) as shown in Table 1.1. Due to the sensitivity of the subject matter within the region, the study used purposive and snowballing sampling techniques to help draw the study sample. The research findings were therefore analyzed to help answer the set-out study questions.

Table 1
*The Study Target Population*

| Target group | Population | Proportion |
|---|---|---|
| Academicians | 5 | 10% |
| Security experts | 10 | 20% |
| Civil society organizations | 5 | 10% |
| Members of Faith Based Organizations | 10 | 20% |
| Community Representatives | 20 | 40% |
| **Total** | **50** | **100%** |

**Source: Research Data, 2024**

**Discussion of the Findings**

**Terrorism and human rights**

This study observed that, since the end of WW II, several international human rights instruments have been enforced. These include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, both of 1966 which highlights some of the inalienable rights every individual is entitled to. These rights include the right to life, liberty and security of persons, health, education, adequate food, and clean water, among others which were also affirmed largely by the target population for this study. Additionally, these instruments underscore fundamental freedoms such as freedom from slavery, torture or inhuman treatment, freedom of movement, thought, conscience, and religion that every human being must enjoy (UDHR, 1948; ICCPR, 1966 and ICESCR, 1966). The majority of the respondents, especially from the faith-based institutions observed that protection of the fundamental rights and freedoms was critical in the realization of human security. This was also mentioned by Mwagiru (2008).

Human security underscores "freedom from fear", "freedom from want" and human dignity, focusing on humans as the referent object as highlighted by liberal thought. Mwagiru (2008) observes that this approach to security is paramount for national, regional, and global stability. Many of the respondents in this study observed that human security has been significantly compromised in the HoA. Further, the region has witnessed high levels of terrorism that significantly compromise the freedom from fear

The HoA region has suffered the brunt of terrorism due to several push factors such as lack of access to opportunities, perceived injustices, authoritarian regimes, and weak states (Jose, 2016). In Addition, the region has diverse ethnic and religious groups, some of who feel aggrieved, but sometimes lack avenues to express their dissent. Most of the governments in the region are characterized by high levels of corruption while at the same time lacking control over their borders, an environment that also breeds terrorism. This environment has nurtured terrorism which has negatively people's rights enshrined in most international human rights instruments (Bayeh, 2014).

From the study findings, the majority of the respondents (83%) mainly from the civil society and faith-based groups have observed that the North Eastern part of Kenya had been one of the main theatres of terrorism in the region due to human rights violation-related issues that have seen a bigger percent of the locals joining the terror groups like Al Shabaab. Attacks by Al Shabaab have therefore been a major source of insecurity in the region. This has significantly affected human rights and as a result human security in the region. The attacks carried out by the Alshabab have caused a lot of destruction and deaths, thus breeding fear and uncertainty. For instance, since the year 2011 to date, so many people have lost their lives due to terrorism in this region. Some of the notable cases include but are not limited to: The attack on the Pentecostal Church in Garissa on 5$^{th}$ November 2011, leading to the deaths of two people, the same month on 22$^{nd}$, a Nairobi bound bus was attacked where 28 people (non-Muslims) were killed, on 2$^{nd}$ December 2014 an attack on quarry workers led to the deaths of 36 people (non-locals) and 2$^{nd}$ April 2015 Garissa University was attacked leading to the deaths of 148 and close to 80 injuries among other attacks.

This study observed that in the case of the North Eastern region, terrorism had affected not only the freedom from fear and want, but also the freedom to live in dignity. It therefore affirms the liberalist theoretical perspective that this study is anchored on which holds that such a menace threatens people's lives, their liberty, social order, and dignity in various ways, including through kidnapping, extortion, assault, hostage-taking, and robbery. These acts of terrorizing members of the public constitute a violation of their rights and dignity. Even though the security of an individual citizen is a fundamental right, individuals living in the North Eastern region are not guaranteed this right, a development that compromises human security.

Terrorism has led to the collapse of the physical, and economic infrastructure in the region. Further, resources that could ideally be allocated for development and other social programs have instead been re-directed to the fight against Al Shabaab, a development that has negatively affected the economic, social, and cultural rights of many civilians in the region. As observed by the majority of respondents drawn from the security fraternity, terrorism has undermined the normal operations of the government in the region, negatively impacting civil society and social and economic development. All these inhibit the enjoyment of the fundamental human rights that are envisaged by liberalism and consequently human security.

The environment of terror in North Eastern has perpetuated abject poverty, and illiteracy, and limited the freedom of movement, especially for non-locals. It has further made it difficult for people to access health care and nutrition in some areas. This situation is made worse whenever there are counter-terrorism operations in the region, viewed as a threat to human security (Akokpari, 2007). As underlined by the theoretical foundation of this study, it would be difficult to achieve the objective of human security in such an environment where human rights are violated daily.

Terrorism has led to forced displacement especially to the non-locals hence negatively affecting learning institutions as non-local teachers targeted by terrorists abandon their duties (UN, 2005). The right to basic education for children from North Eastern region has therefore negatively been affected by terrorism. This is due to the many incidences of terrorism witnessed in the Region, some of which target learning institutions. On 27th October 2011 Ministry of Education officials were attacked where four died; on 16th February 2019 a primary school in Wajir was attacked, leading to the deaths of three teachers of Christian faith and more recently in October 2022, a suspected Al Shabaab terrorist hurled explosive into a primary school in Fino, injuring a class seven pupil. The attack targeted the pupils, teachers, and Members of the County Assembly. These incidences have compromised the right to basic education as enshrined in the Kenyan Constitution.

Besides learning institution, Al shabaab has targeted other socio-economic amenities, thus limiting other rights of the residents. They have destroyed communication infrastructure in the region, sabotaged development projects as many contractors working on road networks have been killed among others. From 2020 to 2022 for instance, Al Shabaab destroyed over ten communication masts in Wajir and Mandera counties besides other development projects. Generally, the attacks have negatively impacted on the socio-economic status of the society and compromised several dimensions of human security.

United Nations Security Council has noted the following regarding the impact of terrorism on human rights:

Terrorism threatens the dignity and security of human beings everywhere, endangers or takes innocent lives, creates an environment that destroys the freedom from fear of the people, jeopardizes fundamental freedoms, and aims at the destruction of human rights. Moreover, it has an adverse effect on the establishment of the rule of law, undermines pluralistic civil society, aims at the destruction of the democratic bases of society, and destabilizes legitimately constituted Governments (UNSC, 2003).

The frequent use of Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) by terrorists has not only led to the death of many but has also maimed thousands and instilled an environment of fear, thus limiting the freedom of movement. Civilians, especially non-locals and security agents find it difficult to freely move and do their businesses due to the fear of attack by IEDs often planted by terror groups. This not only interferes with their freedom of movement but also limits their potential, a situation that leads to structural violence. As underlined in this section, terrorism has negatively affected various human rights in the North Eastern region, thus creating an environment that compromises several dimensions of human security.

**Terrorism and sustainable economic opportunities**

Terrorism has detrimental effects on economic opportunities that manifest directly in terms of both short and long-term- economic opportunities within the region. Terrorism affects economic opportunities directly through deaths, injuries, and destruction of property. Asked about the extent of the effect, 80% affirmed with a yes response whereas 20% downplayed the impact as indicated in Figure 1
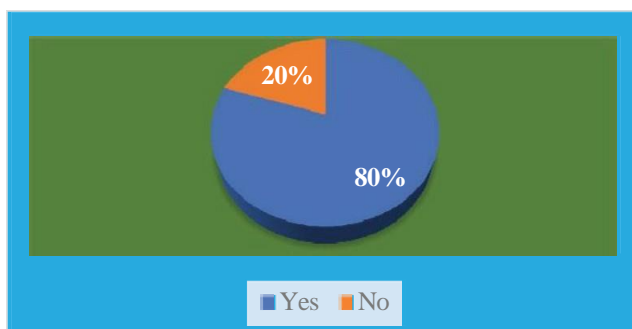


**Figure 1: Socio-economic Impact of Terrorism.**
**Source: Field Data, 2024.**

The maiming, loss of lives and the destruction of private and public properties witnessed during a terrorist attack cause a significant economic disruption (Bardwell and Iqbal, 2020). As was stated

by some respondents, the disruptions inevitably shrink economic activities in the region and subsequently diminish economic opportunities for the residents. Hotel industries and tourism are some of the economic activities that have significantly been affected by terrorism in the region, a development that has reduced job opportunities for the residents.

The high number of terror incidences in the region has culminated in the direct loss of human resources, leading to concomitant loss of production. The attacks have also disrupted the normal functioning of the labor market, leading to high levels of unemployment. Furthermore, the attacks that have targeted health centers, schools, and other public institutions have significantly disrupted access to social services and livelihoods hence the negative effect on the economic opportunities in the region (Ross, 2022).

In line with the liberalist theory which this study is premised, some economic experts interviewed observed that high incidences of terrorism have led to a decrease in Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) and savings. It further diverts funds meant for development projects to security related expenditure. Thus, terrorism has a negative effect on FDI and the volume of trade, a situation that adversely impacts on economic activities and opportunities (Bayrak, 2020). Furthermore, terrorism destroys social structure and order, traditional governance systems and social networks. This makes people live in fear, high levels of uncertainty and economic underdevelopment. This has been the case in North Eastern region where incidences of terrorism have been on the increase in the last decade.

Terrorism has imposed unprecedented levels of emotional toll to not only the residents of North Eastern region, but the entire country. The victims of terrorism whether relatives, friends or the survivors have had to deal with emotional trauma that has sometimes made them unable to engagein productive business. Additionally, terrorism has altered economic behavior mainly by changing investment and consumption patterns. The menace has forced policy makers to divert resources from productive activities to protective security measures. All this has a ripple effect on shrinking the economic opportunities, a development that further heightens cycles of poverty, discontent and more terrorism.

The high levels of uncertainty caused by terrorism in the North Eastern region have led to the diversion of foreign resources to other counties that are considered more peaceful. This has significantly reduced economic opportunities in the region, further exacerbating the already dire economic situation in the region. Further, the uncertainty due to terrorism has led to the postponement of long-term investments in the region. Besides, this menace in the region has made policymakers to shift their attention from productive spending on health, education, food security among others to focus more on security (Meierrieks and Gries, 2013).

Terrorism has bred structural violence in North Eastern region of Kenya, a development that could trigger more instability and rebellion in the future. In addition, the increasing incidences of terrorism in North Eastern have negatively affected economic opportunities in the area of farming, livestock keeping, and infrastructure development. The increasing attacks and extortion by Al Shabaab have made it very difficult for the residents to engage in productive economic activities such as farming and livestock keeping.

> Infrastructural developments such as roads, electricity, water, schools among others have negatively been affected due to the fear of attacks (interview, 2023).

Al-Shabaab activities have been an antithesis to economic growth and development in the North Eastern region. This terrorist group often disrupts main supply routes, a development that hinders trade even between counties in the North Eastern region. The group establishes roadblocks where they extort those transporting food, and medical equipment, among other necessities. It is at the same roadblocks that the terrorists attack those deemed enemies, particularly the non-locals who are not of Islamic faith. This negatively affects economic growth of the region and subsequently diminishes economic opportunities in the area, thus breeding more poverty.

Through interviews, it was reported that Al Shabaab extorts locals through the forced Zakat collection, kidnapping and demanding ransom and sometimes engaging in illegal economic activities such as money laundering, drug trafficking, human smuggling, among other black market practices, a development that negatively affects the genuine business. This sometimes creates a very hostile environment for business to thrive, a development that has forced some locals to

relocate, taking business to other counties. This has a net effect of constricting economic opportunities in the region, hence negatively affecting the human security of the residents.

It is a clear indication therefore that terrorism compromises human security and economic opportunities in diverse ways including : creating an environment of uncertainty where business cannot thrive, forcing domestic and local investors to re-locate their businesses, destruction of properties, killing and maiming productive workforce, disrupting business environment including trading routes among others.

**Terrorism, safety and the rule of Law**

Al Shabaab has significantly affected safety, security, and the rule of law in the North-Eastern region. The group has targeted not only civilians but also national and county leaders. Security personnel, Members of the County Assembly, and Governors have all been targets for attacks. In 2017, the public works principal secretary (PS) was for instance abducted and attacked, leading to her death. In one of the interviews conducted, respondents indicated that this had created a lot of fear among many stakeholders, a situation that continues to compromise the provision of basic services by the government, thus adversely affecting the rule of law.

The majority of the respondents mainly from the security sector (74%) observed that the continued attacks on the security personnel using Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) and ambushes have significantly restricted security patrols and vehicle surveillance in the region, hence negatively affecting the law enforcement in the region culminating in lawlessness that creates "ungoverned spaces" that terrorist has in turn used to install informal governance structures where they even collect taxes. This has subsequently compromised accountable and transparent governance, personal security, democracy and various rights and freedoms, hence adversely affecting human security.

The study observed that magistrates, judges and other judicial staff charged with the responsibility to dispense justice in the region operates under intense fear of attack by terrorists. This uncertainty has made many judicial staff to be reluctant to work in North Eastern region, resulting in the delays in delivering justice since only few cases are handled to conclusion. Further, prosecution and

conviction in terrorism cases has been a toll order due to a number of reasons including, the difficulty to convert intelligence into evidence and lack of witnesses to testify for fear of reprisal attacks (Jose, 2016). Failure to deliver justice promptly has had adverse effect on the rule of law and consequently human security in the region.

Actions by Al Shabaab have no regard for human rights which sometimes compels the security forces to respond in ways that may not reflect democratic culture (Aning and Lartey, 2019). The majority of the respondents drawn largely from the security personnel (63%) observed that in cases whereby the society may be seen to be harboring terror suspects and being reluctant to reveal their whereabouts to law enforcement agencies, counter-terrorism operations are therefore likely to result into abuse of human rights. When terrorists target security officers and other key installations, as has been the case mostly in North Eastern Kenya, an officer whose colleague has been killed is likely to hit back vengefully especially in cases whereby the society may be unwilling to cooperate with the security agencies. Thus, locals end up suffering in the hands of terrorists and/or security agencies.

Security agencies have been a major target of terrorists in the North Eastern Region. Since 2019, more than 100 security officers have been killed in the region mainly by suspected terrorists. On 15th June 2019, terrorists attacked and killed 11 police officers and abducted 3 police reservists in Wajir. On 26th October 2019, 11 General Service Unit (GSU) officers were killed and on 6th December the same year, 6 police officers and 4 civilians were killed in Wajir. On 9th January 2020, 4 police officers were killed within the Liboi and Kulan areas of Garissa County (CHRIPS, 2023). Similar attacks were sustained in the year 2021, 2022, and 2023 with many casualties. The latest of these incidences include the attack on the border patrol unit officers, Alunga police station, and the July 2023 attack on the Special Operations Unit in Mandera that claimed the lives of at least 6 security officers *(Ibid)*

Whether during war time, in emergency or at peace, good governance demands that the actions of groups, government institutions or even individuals must be consistent with the law of the land at all times (Igwe, 2014). The rule of law is very critical since it protects civilians from the arbitrary exercise of state power. However, the rule of law is often put under stress when the actions of Al

Shabaab leads to national security emergencies. The actions of terrorists, like Al Shabaab, sometimes also compel governments to enforce curfews that equally undermine the rule of law. This is inconsistent with the liberal thought that envisions a free state where the security of an individual is upheld.

Terrorism continues to erode the social fabric of the residents of North Eastern region due to its disruptive nature on the society, hence affecting it socially by negatively impacting the norms, traditions, and value systems that hitherto hold the community together. Further, many people especially the youth harbor extremist ideologies that continue to erode the social fabric, while the victims of terror live in unprecedented levels of fear and anger, a situation that has compromised community security.

The increasing levels of terrorism fueled partly by other vices such as corruption has heightened impunity in the North Eastern region. Terrorists and sometimes government officials have acted with a lot of impunity, a development that has created an atmosphere where residents feel less obliged to respect the rule of law. To most residents, maintenance of the rule of law has become a burden, rather than an obligation. This is exacerbated by the perception among the residents that, very few terrorism cases are successfully prosecuted and convicted, thus they perceive the region to be a jungle where the rule of law is never taken seriously (Yamamoto, 2017).

The majority of the respondents largely drawn from the NGOs (83%) observed that terrorism coupled with other incidences of insecurity in the North Eastern region has made the area to continue lagging in terms of development as some parts of the region now suffer the acute absence of government services occasioned by insecurity. Mahmud, (2020) affirms this on his accretion that due to acts of terror, some basic services that are ideally supposed to be provided by the government are instead being offered by Non-Governmental organizations (NGOs) whose funding is largely foreign-based. Alade ( 2021) reports that 91 percent of the funding of most local NGOs operating in the area is from international sources, while the local sources and the government account only for 8 and 1 percent respectively. This should raise the question: whose interests do these NGOs serve? Is it the Kenyan government's interests or the interests of those who funds them? This has an indirect negative effect not only on the rule of law and safety but also on human security.

**Terrorism and Human Development**

Based on key indicators such as long and healthy life, decent standard of living life expectancy, education, and career progression, the study examined how terrorism has affected human development. Human development involves the process of enabling people to achieve the goals that they value, engaging them actively in shaping development and expanding their freedom to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives. It also involves empowering individuals in all aspects of life so that they can enjoy greater civil and political liberties (HDR, 2010).

Table 2

*Impact of Terrorism on Human Development*

| Key Indicators | Number of Respondents | Proportion |
|---|---|---|
| Long and healthy life | 20 | 40% |
| Decent standard of living | 10 | 20% |
| Life expectancy | 5 | 10% |
| Education and Currier progression | 25 | 50% |
| **Total** | **50** | **100%** |

**Source: Research Data, 2024**

The study reveals that terrorism has had adverse effects on human development in an already vulnerable region as captured on Table 2 It has negatively affected business activities, leading to retarded economic growth in the region. It has further culminated in low enrolment rates in schools, high rates of illiteracy, poor water and sanitation services and low levels of health care services among other basic services, hence significantly compromising the standards of living and subsequently human development.

Human security must underline sustainability, equity and grassroots participation to allow citizens to exercise their many choices including access to markets and social opportunities, a move that plays a key role in promoting human development (UNDP, 1994). Engaging residents actively in shaping development is a key pillar in promoting human development (Mahmud, 2020). However, the high levels of terrorism in North Eastern region has negatively affected the cardinal pillars of human development, including market sustainability, equity, grassroots participation and

stakeholder engagement in shaping development, hence compromised the key pillars of human development and negatively affecting human security.

Alkire (2003) links human development to human security by observing that the latter is the pre-condition for the former. He asserts that an underlying pre-condition for sustainable human development is human security. This is because human security addresses various aspects of human life such as psychological, social, political, and economic. He further observes that in times of crisis or severe deprivations, these aspects are compromised, making the survival of individuals and groups very difficult. These compromises subsequently affect a decent standard of living, life expectancy, and health, which are some of the key indicators of human development. This underscores the United Nations report which argues that countries can achieve sustainable development by promoting human security (UN, 1994).

The increased incidences of terrorist attacks in the North Eastern Region have decreased the legitimacy of the government in the region. The residents feel alienated and their political security is threatened. They feel their social contract with the government has been breached, hence they rarely depend on the government for some services, including provision of security. This has hindered the residents from achieving their set goals in life, shaping development in the region, and enjoying long, healthy, and creative lives, thus affecting human development and security.

**Conclusion**

This study depicts that human security in the North Eastern region of Kenya has been significantly affected by terrorism which has in turn negatively affected some of the key qualitative indicators of human security such as human rights, sustainable economic opportunities, safety, the rule of law and human development. This has culminated in high levels of insecurity, human rights abuse, diminished economic opportunities, and disregard for the rule of law by the residents, a development that has further bred more terror groups.

Further, the study reveals that terrorism has detrimental effects on economic opportunities in North Eastern region. These effects manifest either directly in terms of short-term costs of terrorism on economic opportunities or indirectly in terms of medium or long-term costs. The direct short-term

costs of terrorism includes deaths, injuries and the properties destroyed when terrorists attack. The indirect costs of terrorism on economic opportunities may include the uncertainty that terrorism creates that kills the investor confidence, diverting resources that would have been used for development in counter-terrorism, the failure by residents to engage in productive economic activities such as farming and livestock keeping due to terrorism and low production in various sectors due to insecurity. This in turn compromises several dimensions of human security.

Terrorism has adverse effects on human development in an already vulnerable region. It has negatively affected welfare improvement, human capital development and business activities in the region. This has culminated in low enrolment rates in schools, high rates of adult illiteracy, poor economic growth and low levels of service delivery. As a result, this has negatively affected the standards of living and subsequently human security. The high levels of terrorism in North Eastern region have negatively affected the cardinal pillars of human development, including market sustainability, equity, and grassroots participation in shaping development. This has culminated in human insecurity in the region.

### Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, this paper recommends that policymakers need to rethink the impact of terrorism on security in the region from a human security perspective. It, therefore, recommends that policymakers should come up with policies that address not only the direct short-term costs of terrorism but also the indirect costs that examine structural issues that have far-reaching implications on an individual or the society at large. Policymakers and scholars have largely been examining the effect of terrorism from the direct short-term costs which is largely narrow in scope.

Effective counter-terrorism measures and the protection of human rights are complementary and mutually reinforcing objectives which stakeholders must take a pensive balancing to pursue together as part of the intervention strategy and a duty to protect individuals within their jurisdiction.

The study further recommends that counter-terrorism measures should seek to restore confidence among residents by addressing the key indicators of human security often negatively affected by terrorism. These indicators are safety and rule of law, participation and human rights, sustainable economic opportunities, and human development.

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