

## **Politics, Media Propaganda, Counter-Terrorism And Securitization During The War on Terror.**

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**Abstract:** In recent years, acts of terrorism have increased world over. Arguably, every country in the world has suffered terror attack on its soil, or lost a person(s) in terror related crimes or its domestic or foreign interests have been affected or targeted. In Africa, from 2006-2016, the number of terror attacks increased more than 1000%! This was the same in Europe including attacks in the heart and political seat of Europe – Belgium. In the United States of America, there have been several attacks, with Orlando shooting being the worst on U.S soil since 9/11.

In this article, authors posit that as the war on terror intensifies, terrorists have also learnt to be more sophisticated making it hard to defeat them decisively. The authors also suggest that there is increased securitization in name of fighting terrorism by right-wing politicians and white supremacists in Europe and U.S who portray Muslims and Immigrants as terrorists, which analysts say in the long run, diverts attention from the real problem. Studies have concluded that a chance to have an American killed in a Muslim immigrant planned terror is 1 in 3.64 billion in one year while the chance of being killed by not a foreign-born terrorist in US is 252.9 times the chance of being killed in a terror attack planned by a foreign born / immigrant terrorists which all challenges securitization of Muslims and immigrants as terrorist.

The authors also highlight that the war on terror in developing countries especially in Africa has been politicized, with governments in power often branding opponents as ‘terrorists’. Using Securitization and Framing theories, the study concludes that there is increased securitization in war on terror and that considering media’s role in constructing frames, media is a potential tool in securitization process.

**Key words:** Terrorism, Securitization, Framing, Threat, Propaganda.

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### **I. INTRODUCTION**

In recent years, terrorism acts in Europe and all over the world have been on increase, at the same time terrorists have been learning new tricks in how they plan and effect their attacks which security experts say has made them more sophisticated and difficult to be dealt with. Indeed, Jean-Charles Brisard - the president of the Centre for the Analysis of Terrorism, a Paris-based think tank noted that, “They’re using anonymity as much as they use encryption, because encryption can attract the attention of intelligence services, it’s a huge challenge.” (Schchner and Faucon, 2016), while the head of France’s main domestic intelligence agency, Patrick Calvar told French parliament investigators in May 2016 terrorists groups like Islamic State had become a hierarchical, militarized organization, “We’re dealing with people who are well versed in clandestine operations, and who understand our capabilities, we’re up against real professionals.” (Schchner and Faucon, 2016). Such revelations coupled with the already existing response to 9/11 terror attack on US that claimed thousands, it is evident that terrorism is seen as “the key threat for international peace and security ... it was linked with other security concerns” (Rychovská, 2014)

This in many ways resulted into a debate among stake holders and scholars worldwide trying to understand what could be the motivations and causes of terrorism, as well as forging away on how to effectively deal with this peace and security threat (Rytter and Pedersen, 2014). Because of how terrorists move, location of

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their networks, this has resulted into a section of people being seen as either security threat themselves or as accomplices to groups of people who are a threat to security and peace.

This notion is due to the fact that some of suspects and convicts of terror attacks are immigrants, or have background of immigrants (Hussain and Bagguley, 2012; Kundnani, 2014; Rytter and Pedersen, 2014). This notion has been re affirmed by other scholars such as Huysmans and Squire, and 2010, Jamal and Yusuf 2014. In European Countries, refugees and immigrants especially from Muslim countries have been at center of discussion with several countries especially in Eastern Europe covertly showing they are not welcome<sup>2</sup> as many are seen as a security threat (Esipova and Ray, 2017).

While it is a fact that some Western Europe countries such as Germany and Sweden have been open to immigrants and refugees who would often join labor-force especially in Germany (Noack<sup>3</sup>, 2015), the current debate does not show if this has changed and generally media seem to be interested in highlighting side effects of immigrants. This is the same case with politicians especially the right wing who see nothing good from refugees. This in many ways has resulted into securitizing immigration (Jackson and Parkes, 2009)

One can argue that it is public knowledge at least to scholars and security experts that since mid-2000, terrorists seem to have placed Europe on their target. In 2004 was Madrid attack where terrorists with ten bombs targeted ten commuter trains in Madrid during rushing hour and killed 192 people leaving more than 1,400 injured in what was described as the deadliest<sup>4</sup> terror attack on European soil since World War II. A year later, another major<sup>5</sup> terror attack in London<sup>6</sup> where terrorists detonated three bombs in three different locations all within 50 seconds of each other occurred killing 52 people with more than 700 injured. In 2015, Europe was hit hard again when terrorists attacked Paris on night of Friday 13<sup>th</sup> November 2015 by gunmen and suicide bombers who attacked and hit a concert hall, a major stadium, restaurants and bars almost simultaneously killing more than 130 people and several hundreds wounded. The then French president, Francois<sup>7</sup> Hollande described the attack as an “act of war” on France, Europe and the entire world by the Islamic State. After a few months, there was another major terror attack, this time round in the heart of Europe and the continent’s Political City Brussels – Belgium. Terrorists conducted coordinated attacks at a train station and airport and killed more than 31 people, injuring more than 300.

It should be noted that there were also other terror attacks with many foiled by security. Aware that most people in Europe consider terrorism as a major threat to peace and security, and with an increase in terror attacks, authorities devised ways of countering terrorism and ensuring there is peace (Rychovská, 2014) by announcing several measures. This paper will investigate if there were Securitization<sup>8</sup> moves embarrassed by media in the wake of terror attacks in different countries. The paper will further investigate if there were

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<sup>2</sup>Neli Esipova and Julie Ray, 2017, “Syrian Refugees not welcome in Eastern Europe“, gallup, 5 may, available at: <http://news.gallup.com/poll/209828/syrian-refugees-not-welcome-eastern-europe.aspx>

<sup>3</sup>Rick Noack, 2015, “This map helps explain why some European countries reject refugees, and others love them” The Washington Post, 8 September, available at: [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/09/08/this-map-helps-explain-why-some-european-countries-reject-refugees-and-others-love-them/?utm\\_term=.3ec4610437d7](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2015/09/08/this-map-helps-explain-why-some-european-countries-reject-refugees-and-others-love-them/?utm_term=.3ec4610437d7) accessed 31 March 2018.

<sup>4</sup>Elaine Sciolino, 2004, “Bombings in Madrid: The Attack: 10 Bombs Shatter Trains in Madrid, Killing 192”, The New York Times, 12 March, available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2004/03/12/world/bombings-in-madrid-the-attack-10-bombs-shatter-trains-in-madrid-killing-192.html> accessed 31 March 2018

<sup>5</sup>In this attack, major attack means any attack that resulted into death of ten or more people.

<sup>6</sup> CNN, 2017, July 7 2005 London Bombings Fast facts, CNN, 29 June, available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2013/11/06/world/europe/july-7-2005-london-bombings-fast-facts/index.html> accessed 31 March 2018.

<sup>7</sup> BBC, 2015, Paris Attacks: What happened on the night, BBC, 9 December 2015, available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-34818994> accessed on 31 March 2018

<sup>8</sup>Securitization moves in this paper are understood as events, in which actors (securitizing actors) speak of people or objects as a threat that needs to be fought urgently by implementing extraordinary political measures, in particular new practices or laws

extraordinary<sup>9</sup> measures taken as a response to terror threats. The paper will also highlight if right wing politicians used such attacks to call for tighter security policies.

## **2. Debate(s) around Terrorism and Securitization**

Several scholars have written confirming that indeed, in the aftermath of terror attacks, in various parts of the country, there is securitization of immigration and/or Muslim in communities, sometimes facilitated by selfish political elites and that in this new wave of securitization, media has played a role overtly or covertly, but its role remains crucial and has contributed to success of Securitization moves.

In his 2003 scholarly work titled, 'Miscounting Race: Explaining Whites' misperceptions of Racial Group Size' Gallagher, C. A (2003) explains that in past years especially in the US, there has been a growing negative trend on the way whites perceive other races regarding them as a likely source of societal trouble(s) and insecurity. Other scholars such as Cisneros, 2008; Brader et al., 2008; and Strabac 2011 contended that though the population of immigrants for example in Europe is not of a significant size to cause fear as some times projected, in some countries the issue is real. Indeed, Semyonov et al., (2004) in their work 'Population size, perceived threat, and exclusion: a multiple-indicators analysis of attitudes toward foreigners in Germany' the scholars agree that in Germany, anti-foreigner sentiments are common among citizens many portraying them as a cause of threat, or to be associated with insecurity. Semyonov et al., (2004)'s findings resonate well with other scholars such as Scheepers (2002).

Scholars such as Boswell, (2007), Messina, (2014) all point out the feeling among the populace that in one way or another is that immigrants can be or can support or facilitate terror acts, and therefore they are a potential threat. Messina (2014) explicitly investigated on political discourse of media vis-a-vis the role of media towards Securitization especially since the attack on the US hereafter referred to as 9/11. Other scholars such as Cesari (2012), Hussain and Bagguley (2012) Amin-Khan (2012) and Kundnani (2014) all show that the way media has been reporting about terror attacks, portraying Islam and Muslims as a faith related with terrorism. The same scholars also argue that the same portrayal is given in to immigrants.

Indeed, Buzan et al., (1998:124) affirms that media is a potential agent of securitization noting that, media plays a key role in the "definition of situations" an indication that what media publish, the chances are high that the public will take the given definition as gospel truth. If media reports about a certain race or group of people portraying them as a source of trouble, the public is likely to take it that way, hence the role of media in securitization is key.

Worth noting is that despite the claims by a section of some whites and among right wing movements who brand Muslims and immigrants as potential cause of threat are largely speculation and lack significant evidence (Esses and Medianu, 2013; Nowrasteh, 2016).

### **2.1 Defining Security and Securitization Theory**

Security scholars argue that security itself is in many ways intertwined and connected with insecurity (Schulze, 2012) and that security goes beyond services offered by military or police and should not only be related to absence of war (Buzan et al., 1988). Other scholars argue that security is also manifested in context of speech where people are speaking peace rather than war and threats (Balzacq, 2010; Léonard and Kaunert, 2011), indeed quoting Wæver, (1995:55), Balzacq empathizes this that word(s) or speech alone can be a source of security or insecurity "by saying it something is done...the word 'security' is the act" (Wæver, (1995:55). This is echoed by Schulze (2012) stressing that through speaking or language we construct security. Relatedly, in their scholarly work, **Security. A New Framework for Analysis**, scholars Buzan, B., Wæver, O. and Wilde, J. D. (1998) contend that, in most cases, desecuritization is very needed stressing that, there is need for "the shifting of issues out of emergency mode and into the normal bargaining process of political sphere" (Buzan et al., 1988:4).

### **2.2 Defining Securitization Theory.**

Securitization theory came to being in the late 1990s being developed by scholars of society's security (Oli Wæver, Barry Buzan and Jaap de Wilde 1998). The scholars at Copenhagen School had a view of presenting a new scholarly theoretical framework known to have dealt with state and military (Theiler, 2010). Scholars Buzan et al., (1998), Schulze, (2012) and Léonard and Kaunert (2011) explain that at this time there was no framework to the two elements that necessitated combination of the two concepts to have one. Since then, Securitization Theory has gained prominence and several scholars continue to write and debate it (Rychovská; Schulze, 2012; Stritzel, 2007).

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<sup>9</sup>In this article, extraordinary measures means a response suggested by securitizing actor or those with authority and in process of achieving such a measure, rights of the target are violated in name of protecting the country or ensuring peace.

According to authors Rychovská; Schulze, (2012), Stritzel (2007) Balzacq, (2011b) and Balzacq, (2011a), Securitization theory is associated with the ideas of constructivists and is known to relate on analyzing how issues of public interests emerge and also vanish. Put differently, the theory is about how issues in society become securitized, as a result of the act of speeches and words, “language is not only concerned with what is ‘out there’... but it is also constitutive of that very social reality” (Balzacq, 2010:50).

Securitization is largely about energizing a topic associating it with threats and suggesting that it can only be dealt with if it is treated urgently while suggesting that ideas and measures be brought forward as away of definitively dealing with the topic since it is portrayed as a real existential threat (Schulze, 2012; Theiler, 2010).

Several scholars broadly define securitization as a process where issues that are not directly related to security are covertly portrayed as issues of urgency and concern which if not addressed can result into danger or severe consequences. Buzan et al., (1998) argue that securitizing actors normally depict issues being securitized as serious and a threat to everyone causing fear that if not urgently given due and maximum attention, the threat<sup>10</sup> they cause can affect all. Giving an example of how authorities are securitizing immigrants in Europe, Messina (2014) in his scholarly work “Securitizing Immigration in the Age of Terror”, Messina (2014) defines Securitization as a process “by which ostensibly nonsecurity issues, such as immigration, are transformed into urgent security concerns” (Messina 2014:530).

Relatedly, Buzan et al., further explains that the securitizing actor<sup>11</sup> will build a case to show that the issue being securitized is of “existential threats to a referent object by a securitizing actor who thereby generates endorsement of emergency measures beyond rules that would otherwise bind” (Buzan et al., 1988:5).

Buzan et al., (1988) explains that in this case, securitizing actor(s) normally are state or those with political powers or political elites, while making their case (securitizing through speech act) they create an impression that their act is meant to benefit society members creating impression that for them they are assured of security but the masses face existential threat and they must be protected (Buzan et al., 1988; Schulze, 2012). After causing fear in populace and portraying the issue being securitized as a threat, at this stage the securitizing actor will announce that all means possible, which normally include use of extraordinary measure(s)<sup>12</sup>, should be used to address the threat what he has portrayed as a potential threat sometimes state of emergency can be declared giving securitizing actor all powers to use any means available in name of security (Buzan et al., 1988).

It is important to note that all this can be termed as a political game where the actors are agents of state and have underlying political interests but are using the issues at hand as an excuse to execute their hidden political interests. However, there is also a possibility that the state may not be much interested in the issue being securitized or may lose interest and in such a case if there is nonpoliticization and the state does not work on the issue at hand and at the same time the issue fail to gather public interest and attention to be kept alive, sometime activists or even Non-Government Organization (NGO) may intervene, sometimes making the issue political (Buzan, et al., 1998). In most cases, Securitization moves that state actors push or have interests such as populists ones, securitizing actors will often try to push hard to make their case. Other actors such as media also play a pivotal role in securitization process, “the media is an important actor that contributes significantly to the definition of situations” (Buzan et al., 1998: 124).

Securitization scholars such as Theiler (2010), Schulze, 2012, Léonard and Kaunert (2011) among others argue that, there is always a beneficiaries of a Securitization moves and often such benefits are political or rotate around political power or gaining influence in society. With such in mind, it is important if studying or debating about securitization moves to investigate who stands a chance to gain from securitization move, how and who is using language and speech as an act in the process of Securitization. Attention should also be given to understand the reasons behind such securitization moves fully rather than going by reasons advanced by securitizing actors.

Several scholars have argued that, it is possible to turn securitizing moves into successful securitization. Shulze (2012) says to transform securitizing move into a successful securitization, the actor should be with power to ensure securitization process takes place. This may explain why state actors or organized group such as NGOs or even political elites often engineer most of the securitization moves. While

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<sup>10</sup>The term **threat** in the context of this study means Change capable of negatively affecting the **reference object** to the extent of threatening its survival

<sup>11</sup>For this paper, **securitizing actor** means an actor speaking security with an aim of introducing measures which are extraordinary with aim of ensuring survival of the state or reference object

<sup>12</sup>In this study, extraordinary measure means where a securitizing actor decides to use all means or measures possible and such measures in some way infringe on rights or values of the targeted group, which is being seen as a threat (securitized), in the context of this study, such a measure(s) is/are considered extraordinary measure.

Buzan et al., (1998) explains that the already existing suspicion and fears may facilitate or fail successful securitization move, in his book **Societal Security**, Theiler (2010) explains that suspicion in audience is another key factor in attempt to turning securitization move to successful securitization explaining that if there are already fears in the audience, the chances are high that the audience will accept securitization moves since they will be echoing with the already existing fear(s). The societal security expert warns that in any case of securitization move process, it is prudent to respect norms and values of the targeted audience (Theiler, 2010).

The assumptions of Securitization theory are largely based on language, diction and speech. The choices of words, or how the language is used matter a lot. Securitizing actors often process securitization move through speeches and use of words. The diction or choice of words are meant to deliver threatening message and at the same time propose a measure that the audience who listens or are being addressed will see securitization move being suggested as a necessity because through speech act, they have been told that there is existential threat that must be addressed as a matter of urgency; "...if the problem is not handled now, it will be too late, and we will not exist to remedy our failure" (Buzan et al., 1988:26).

Actors of securitization move don't openly advocate for security involvement on the issue or topic but rather deliver their message through speech act, and their speech often is claimed to be to whom it may concern, but because of the words used in speech, security will pick interest and debate it as a matter of public interest since the topic being debated or (securitized) is portrayed as a cause of serious threat (Schulze, 2012). The major but hidden ultimate interest of securitizing actor is to show the audience they are of same social status, but in his mind the ultimate goal is to convince the audience to believe in his/her idea and accept it if his intention (securitization) is to be realized (Schulze, 2012).

### 3. FRAMING

While studying securitization, one of key issues to consider is how issues being securitized are portrayed and defined. This is also known as framing of issues (Pinto, 2014). Framing Theory rotates on discourse of orientalism focusing on diction<sup>13</sup> or choice of words in speech. The theory was first used by sociology scholars, media and scholars followed and since 1980s; it has gained fame and is being used by several scholars such as in social sciences (Pinto, 2014).

Several scholars have shown interest by investigating the usefulness of using framing theory especially on securitization topics. Pinto (2014) explain that with framing, actors package their information in a way that is convincing no matter how provided it is believed by the targeted audience to accept or buy their argument.

In his article; **Exploring the interplay between Framing and Securitization theory**, Pinto, (2014) explains that in framing theory, words or issues are given meaning or defined by securitizing actor, giving them meaning of how they are portrayed. In framing, meaning given through frames purposely to achieve intentions and wishes of securitizing actors who also ensure that the way information is delivered does not contradict their objectives (Buitago, 2013, Pinto 2014; Schmidt 2014).

In his 2014 article about threat construction, Svantesson, underscores the need to carefully examine how securitizing actors present their arguments on issues being debated stressing that actors often over simplify such issues, breaking them into easy to understandable topics, and in this process framing takes place and new meaning is conveniently constructed and given, hence the high chances of changing the public or audience's opinion on the issue to support the one advanced by securitizing actor (Svantesson 2014).

As Mullen (2009) notes, in framing process in media plays a key role since the assumption is that media is free and fair and can construct frame in information they are giving the public. Schmidt (2014) says media frames have great potential to influence the public's perception and opinion on any given topic or issue. Media/News frame is not different from propagandagoing by Herman and Chomsky (1994) views on propaganda.

#### 3.1 Key Words in Framing Theory

Schmidt (2014) in his book **Framing The Arab/Muslim** explains that in Securitization, Frames<sup>14</sup> can play a pivotal role in changing and influencing opinions of people/public on issues at hand.

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<sup>13</sup> In this study, diction exclusively means the choice of words by media and politicians and any securitization actor identified/mentioned during this study.

<sup>14</sup>The windows through which people look at the world, implying selectivity and limitation in what is perceived and constructed as reality.

### 3.1.1 Framing Actors

Framing is a process and it involves campaigns and negotiations where each actor or side tries to convince the other to buy their side of argument, giving justifications for their stand. The ultimate aim behind each actor's mind is turning things upside down and change the status quo as the actor portray certain section of people or object as a cause of existential threat that if left unaltered, inevitably it will leave behind die consequences and the only remedy is to cause change through new laws or policies (Rychovská 2014).

Rychovská (2014) explains that there are three major kinds of frames, namely; **Diagonostic frame** where persons or even object are singled out as a cause and source of trouble or threat. Diagonostic frames the actor sees nothing good in such persons but rather a threat. The second type is **Prognostic Frame**. To Rychovská, (2014) is more less a response to diagonostic frame, explaining that prognostic frame typically comes up with a solution on how to solve the challenge or problem identified in diagonostic frames. The third type of frame is a **Motivational Frame, which** advocates for a visible solution through acting to cause or bring about change (Rychovská 2014).

Different scholars have argued that despite the three different frames looking similar and connected, their strength in causing intended change differs depending on how they are applied to the audience or frame resonance. Any type of frame can be effective but this will depend on the audience being addressed and often in process of securitization, the speaking actor who takes into mind of his audience tend to deliver his/her message well and his argument maybe accepted by the audience (Rychovská 2014; Pinto, 2014). Indeed, Theiler (2010) contends that in securitization theory, frame resonance plays a pivotal role towards the success of securitization move. Quoting Benford-Snow's 2000 work, Rychovská (2014) further explains that if the securitizing actor addressing the audience has good reputation in the public, commands respect of the audience, and his frame is consistent linked with facts which may be connected to the values and norms of the audience, he will be thought right (Rychovská 2014).

## 4. Selected cases of terror incidences; securitization, and counter terror(ism) measures.

In this article, the author opted to use a selected cases of terror attacks, incidences and also cases of countries in Europe, The US and Africa to give a world overview on Securitization moves made in different parts of the world as the war against terrorism intensifies and also highlight key observations by various Securitization scholars on the role media play towards such moves (securitization). The author contends that a case study will bring a clear picture, after all, securitization scholars have attested to this as Balzacq (2011a) notes that, case studies give a clear and precise overview to scholars investigating and debating about securitization.

### 4.1 Terrorism in United States of America (US)

Arguably, the United States of America in the world has suffered several terror attacks with the worst being 9/11 by Alqa'eda terror group. Since then there has been several other terror attacks killing many people while thousands more have been injured, making terrorism a major challenge and threat to peace in the US and indeed in the entire world, as Rychovská (2014) noted, terrorism remains "the key threat for international peace and security...it was linked with other security concerns" (Rychovská, 2014:10).

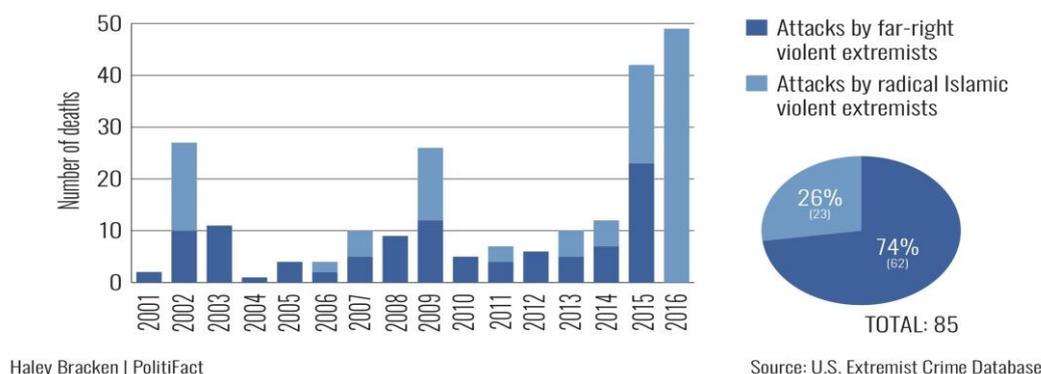
The threat terrorism pauses to the US has resulted into several counter terrorism measures including what rights defenders say extraordinary measures as well as violation of human rights and international norms (Birdsall, 2016; Allawi and Changfeng, 2016; Cesari, 2012). Indeed, in his scholarly article "*But we don't call it 'torture'! Norm Contestation during the US 'War on Terror'*", Birdsall (2016) explains how the US has used the war on terror to violate international rights norms. The same view is held by Global governance scholars such as Allawi and Changfeng, (2018). In their scholarly article "*Global governance and norm contestation; perspectives from BRICS*", the two scholars contend that the US has often violated rights of suspects and international laws including those US ratified.

According to Albert Ford, the program's associate at International Security and Fellows program at New America, recent studies indicate that, terrorist threat is largely homegrown terror, in most cases with no foreign terror group known to have directly planned a successful attack on US soil since 9/11. Ford further explains that of the 418 who are accused of jihadist terrorism related crimes who New America tracked, since 9/11, majority of them accounting to 85% were either US citizens or were legal American residents, while more than a half of them were America born citizens (Valverde, 2017).

Worth noting is that, until Orlando<sup>15</sup> nightclub attack where a gun man killed 49 people and injured several others, death caused by far-right-wing were more<sup>16</sup> compared to those caused by jihadism- related attacks (Ellis et al., 2016; Valverde, 2017).

**Figure 1.**

From Sept. 12, 2001, to Dec. 31, 2016, there were 85 attacks by violent extremists in the U.S. resulting in 225 deaths.



As a result of increased terror attacks in the US, analysts contend that this resulted into increased securitization of terrorism with white supremacists and some politicians portraying Muslims as terrorists and a cause of threat Hussain and Bagguley, 2012; Kundnani, 2014 Rytter and Pedersen, 2014). Indeed, in his first days in office, the US president - Donald Trump issued executive order<sup>17</sup> announcing a ban on several Muslim countries banning their citizens including refugees from entering US claiming the move was meant to keep US safe claiming immigrants were a threat to the country’s security (Mindock, 2017). According to scholars such as, Hussain and Bagguley, (2012); Rytter and Pedersen, (2014); Cesari, (2012); Jamal and Yusuf, (2014), portraying a group of people such as immigrants is another textbook example of securitization.

However, several studies indicate that Trump’s claims and securitizing Muslims and immigrants and refugees, as a threat to terrorists and US are unfounded. Indeed, as earlier noted in the graph above, (figure 1) attacks and death caused by far-right-wing were higher compared with those of jihadists’ related cases (Ellis et al., 2016; Valverde, 2017).

Another study conducted by CATO institute in 2016 looking at terrorists attacks in US from the year 1975 – 2015 revealed a sharply different view contrary to President Trump’s idea of banning Muslims and immigrants and refugees claiming they are a source of terrorism and pause threat to US’s peace (Nowrasteh, 2016). The study indicated that, from 1975 throughout 2015, of the 3,252,493 refugees allowed entry and to settle in the US, only 20 were terrorists representing 0.00062%! The same study revealed that of these 20 terrorists, only three of them were able to plan successful attacks killing three people. None of these three refugees came from any Muslims countries; actually, all the three were from Cuba (Nowrasteh, 2016)

Another striking observation by this CATO institute study is that, a chance to have only American killed in a refugee planned terror was 1 in 3.64 billion in one year!

While the chance of being killed or murder by not a foreign-born terrorist was much higher standing at

<sup>15</sup>Ellis, R, Fantz, A, Karimi, F, McLaughlin E.C. 2016, “Orlando shooting: 49 killed, Shooter pledged ISIS allegiance”, CNN, available at: <https://edition.cnn.com/2016/06/12/us/orlando-nightclub-shooting/index.html> [accessed 29 April 2018]

<sup>16</sup>Valverde, 2017, “A look at the data on domestic terrorism and who’s behind it”, PolitiFact, 16 August, available at: <http://www.politifact.com/truth-o-meter/article/2017/aug/16/look-data-domestic-terrorism-and-whos-behind-it/> [accessed 29 April 2018]

<sup>17</sup>Mindock, 2017, “Trump’s travel ban on six Muslim-countries majority countries to be fully enacted after Supreme Court ruling”, Independent, 4 December, available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/trump-travel-ban-muslim-countries-supreme-court-ruling-allowed-go-ahead-latest-a8092086.html> [accessed 29 April 2018]

252.9 times the chance of being killed in a terror attack planned by a foreign born / immigrant terrorists (Nowrasteh, 2016). All the above is an indication that securitization of Muslims and immigrants and refugees being portrayed as terrorist or a threat in the US is to a greater extent wrong.

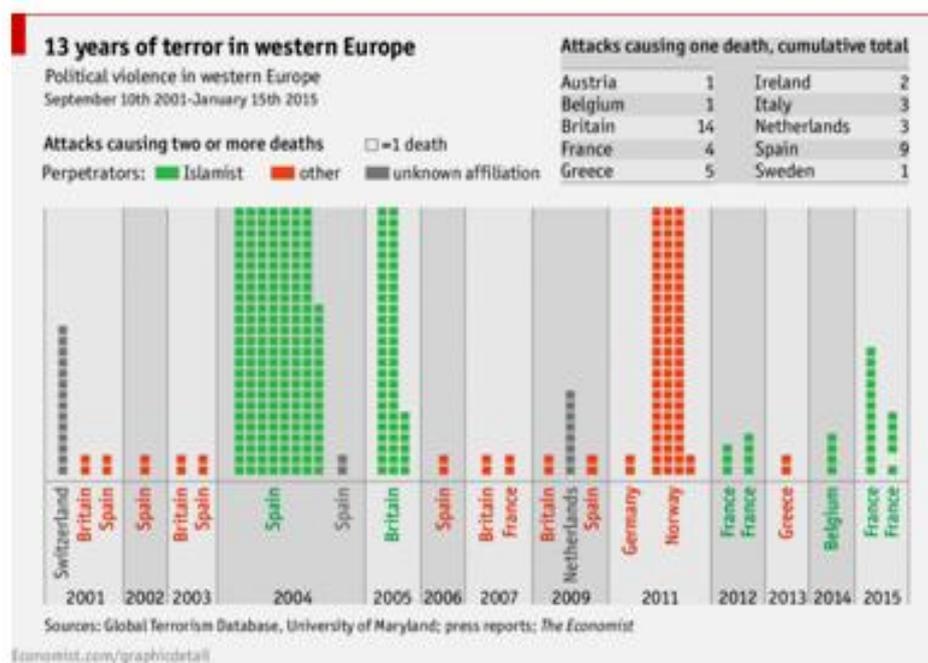
#### 4.2 Terrorism in Europe

Europe has also not been spared by terrorists. Since 9/11, and intensification of war on terror where some European countries such as France, and United Kingdom joined allies like the U.S in the war on terrorism, there has been several cases of attacks on European countries with some attacks claimed by ISIS fighters or Alqa'eda who claim they are revenging<sup>18</sup> since some European countries directly or under NATO joined forces against them like in Iraq, Syria and Libya (BBC, 2015; Burke, 2016; Tom Batchelor, 2016)

Arguably, since 11/9, all European countries have suffered terror attacks either directly or their citizens, relatives, business or allies have been attacked. From Madrid where over 192 people were killed, to UK's London where 52 people lost lives and 700 left with injuries, to France's Paris in 2015 where 130 died and later in Europe's heart – Brussels, where over 31 people were killed and the attack in Sweden's Stockholm, indeed as French president (2014) Francois Hollande noted, Europe has been under attack (BBC, 2015). See figure 1 and 2.

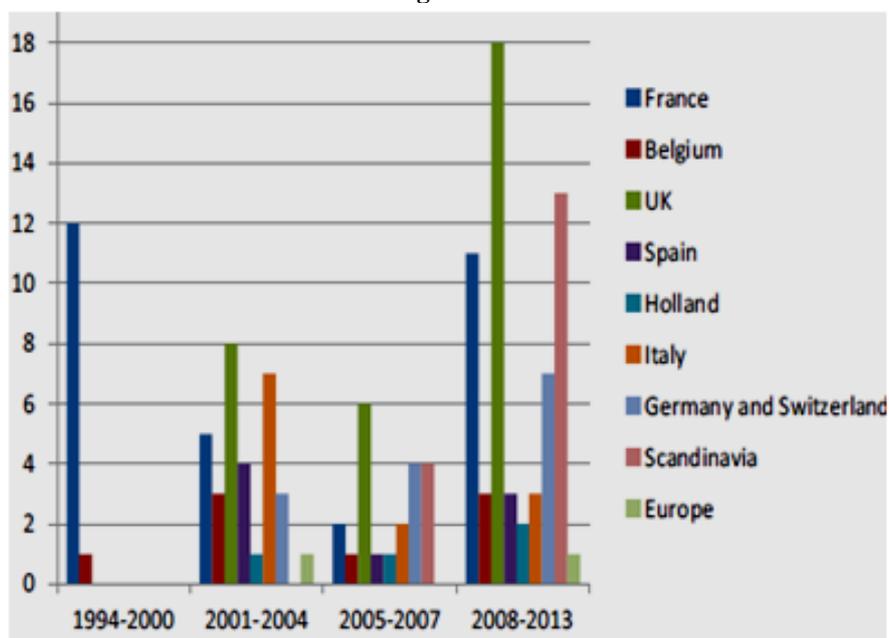
However, it is important to note that, though the number of attacks on Europe have increased in the past, this does not justify Islamizing terrorism or even claims that immigrants are to blame for increased terror in Europe but such conclusion should only be seen as a perception by right wingers and a view held by white nationalists for own reasons (Bakker, 2006). Indeed, the Spain attacks and some attacks in France have been blamed on Basque nationalists (Bakker, 2006; Cesari, 2012).

**Figure 2. Attacks in Western Europe since 2001-2015**



<sup>18</sup> Jason Burke, 2016 “Brussels attacks: Were they revenge for Abdeslam’s attack?” *The Guardian*, March 22, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/22/brussels-attacks-show-how-global-terror-networks-act-local> ; Tom Batchelor, 2016, “ISIS Revenge: Terror group claims responsibility for Brussels attacks”. *Express*, 30 March, available at: <https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/654577/Brussels-terror-attack-Islamic-State-responsibility-Belgium-bomb-blasts>

**Figure 3.**



#### 4.2.1 Germany

In Western Europe, Germany is another country listed among five danger zones of terror (Rodrigues, 2015). Indeed, Germany's federal ministry notes that international terrorism is her key concern which the federal government is concerned the federal government and which must be dealt with, "Islamist-motivated international terrorism... the greatest threat to the security of the Federal Republic of Germany" (Ministry of the Interior, 2015)

Though Germany in past is known to have been focusing on controlling internal terrorism, things seem to be changing. German citizens have also been reported to have left the country for Syria to fight alongside jihadist a development that worries Germany's security. It is reported that there are 270 Germany citizens who are known to have left and are actively fighting alongside terror groups in Syria and others with ISIS in different parts of the world (Rodrigues, 2015).

Indeed, upon that background, Germany has intensified internal measures meant to counter all forms of terrorism and several policies and laws have been enacted. Such laws include laws allowing security to obtain financial records of suspects, increased power of police, and effectively restricted religious groups the federal government deemed to be a roadblock to free democracy (Cesari, 2012).

#### 4.2.2 France

In the whole of Europe, France is considered one of the most vulnerable countries when it comes to being a target of terrorists. Indeed, in 2015, The Guardian ranked France among the first five danger zones<sup>19</sup> of terrorists. Additionally, ISIS have declared themselves to have attacked France, referring to it as "Spiteful French" and a great enemy of ISIS's existence (Burke, 2016; Rodrigues, 2015)

There is no doubt that France's self-given responsibility of being a champion in fighting terrorism left the country seen as terrorist's top enemy. While to terrorists US maybe seen as the source of what they call moral decadence and economic exploitation, France has positioned itself as a standard measure of western

<sup>19</sup> Jonson Rodrigues, 2015 "Terror attacks in Europe: the five danger zones" The Guardian 16 January Available: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/16/terror-threat-jihadis-five-countries> ; Jason Burke, 2016. "Why does France keep getting attacked" The Guardian, 15 July, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/15/why-does-france-keep-getting-attacked>

secular liberalism and the claim of being a champion in defending human rights, to terror groups, France is seen as an evil since claiming France wants to impose such democracy onto them (Jason Burke, 2016).

France has also been accused by terror groups of denying Muslims their rights. For example, they have issues with France's ban on wearing of full-body coverings and the veil in public; something that terror groups like ISIS say is a violation of Muslims rights. (Jason Burke, 2016)

France has also been involved in foreign interventions where they have directly targeted Jihadists groups overseas in countries such as Libya, in Mali, and in Syria. (Nasser, 2014; Bakker 2006; Burke, 2016). According to Bakker, (2006), between 1968 and 2005, there were over 1089 terror attacks incidences in France and of these, 185 were fatalities including where attacks were done with assailants shouting "Allahu Akbar"<sup>20</sup> (God is great), this was the case where a man deliberately drove his car into pedestrians in Dijon and injured many before his arrest (Penketh, 2014).

In the entire Europe, France has the highest number of citizens who crossed to join and fight alongside jihadists in Syria. According to The Guardian (2015), there are over 700 French citizens who are fighting alongside Jihadists movements (Rodrigues, 2015).

Such incidences and in response to 9/11 and other attacks in Europe, France enacted several counter terrorism laws and policies also known as "counterterrorist powerhouse" such as tight boarder policies, investigating electronic transactions without prior knowledge of parties involved among others. (Foley, 2015; Cesari, 2012).

France has been accused of violating human rights and international treaties on pretext of fighting terrorism. Amnesty International accuses France of arbitrary arrests on terror suspects and holding them without evidence, which the human rights body calls a textbook example of international human rights law abuse. Citing example of a Canadian professor Hassan Diab who France arrested on accusations that he participated in Paris attack where four people were killed, Amnesty International Canada says professor Diab's rights have been continuously abused by France despite having no evidence that he was involved in the attack. In 2017, Amnesty International Canada secretary general Alex Neve observed that, "And there is absolutely no doubt that France has breached those safeguards, has violated and continues to violate Hassan Diab's right to liberty, and thus stands in violation of numerous international human rights treaties ratified by France over several decades"<sup>21</sup>. (Cobb, 2017). Indeed, Diab denies the accusations maintaining he is not a terrorist and has never participated in terror acts. Investigating Judge, Jean-Marc Herbaut has been on record noting that, "there is 'consistent evidence' that Diab is telling the truth and that he was not in Paris in Oct. 1980" (Cobb, 2017).

In 2016, Human Rights Watch (HRW) accused France of gross human rights abuse and securitization of Muslims portraying them as a threat. The rights group indicated that France's counter terrorism measures and state of emergency, there have been untold suffering and abuse of human rights, "France has carried out abusive and discriminatory raids and house arrests against Muslims under its sweeping new state of emergency law. The measures have created economic hardship, stigmatized those targeted, and have traumatized children" (HRW, 2016). Izza Leghtas, HRW's researcher testifies that, "Police have used their emergency powers in abuse, discriminatory, and unjustified ways. This abuse has traumatized families and tarnished reputations leaving targets feeling like second-class citizens"<sup>22</sup>. After terror attack in 2015, France announced state of emergency laws which gave police power to search homes of suspects, place all persons under house arrest after suspecting them without prior judicial approval (HRW, 2016).

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<sup>20</sup> Anne Penketh, 2014, "Driver attacks Pedestrians in Dijon" The Guardian, 21 December, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/21/france-dijon-driver-attacks-pedestrians>

<sup>21</sup> Cobb, 2017, "France accused of violating human rights by group lobbying for academic Hassan Diab Release" Ottawa Citizen, 21 June, available at: <http://ottawacitizen.com/news/local-news/france-accused-of-violating-human-rights-by-group-lobbying-for-release-of-ottawa-academic>

<sup>22</sup> HRW, 2016, "France: Abuses under state of emergency" HRW, 3 February, available at: <https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/02/03/france-abuses-under-state-emergency>

**Figure4. Map of France with terror attacks on French soil between 2015-2016**



**Source: The Guardian, 2016**

**Key to the map:**

1 Paris, 7-9 January 2015

People 17 killed in attacks that started at the Charlie Hebdo office

2 Nice, 3 February 2015

Three soldiers guarding Jewish community centre targeted in knife attack

3 Paris, 19 April 2015

Algerian IT student arrested on suspicion of shooting dead a women in her car

4 Saint-Quentin-Fallavier, 26 June 2015

Man kills and beheads his boss, tries to blow up gas plant

5 Amsterdam - Paris train, 21 August 2015

Moroccan national opens fire on train but is overwhelmed by passengers

6 Paris, 13 November 2015

130 killed in gun attack on restaurants and Bataclan concert hall

7 Valence, 1 January 2016

Man tries to run down troops guarding a mosque

8 Paris, 7 January 2016

Moroccan-born man wielding a meat cleaver tries to attack police station

9 Magnanville, 13 June 2016

Police officer and partner killed at their home in knife attack

10 Nice, 14 July 2016

At least 84 dead in truck attack during Bastille Day celebrations

**Source:** Information obtained from *The Guardian*<sup>23</sup>, 15 July 2016.

#### **4.2.3 United Kingdom**

Since 9/11, The UK has been at fore front of fighting terrorism. The UK was US' major ally when US was invading Afghanistan and Iraq, in what president Bush and David Cameron argued was a war against terrorism. To many scholars, this left UK a target<sup>24</sup> country, which in some ways put them at risk of terrorists (Dearden and Bulman, 2017).

Since the July 7<sup>th</sup> 2005 London attacks, which claimed lives of over 52 people and injured more than 700, United Kingdom has suffered several terror attacks and also foiled other many other planned attacks. It can be recalled that on 07<sup>th</sup> July 2005, in a coordinated move, terrorists detonated three bombs in three different locations and all the three bombs were detonated within 50 seconds of each other (CNN, 2017).

In 2014, Scotland Yard Commissioner Sir Bernard Hogan-Howe revealed that intelligence had foiled<sup>25</sup> four major attacks in the weeks leading to the month of November. The commissioner agreed that terrorism was a major challenge UK was facing at the time (The Guardian, 2014) Indeed, in 2014, Erol Incedal was arrested and accused of plotting to carry out terror attacks in London including targeting the Country's PM<sup>26</sup> then David Cameron and his wife (Cobain, 2014).

In 2015 it was reported that over 400 UK citizen had joined ISIS fighters in Syria and other countries which in many ways left fears in security circles and fears in public (Rodrigues, 2015).

In 2017, analysts observed that anti-Muslims rhetorics and hate in London had increased fivefold with more than 54<sup>27</sup> cases of hate targeting Muslims reported almost on a daily basis (Dodd and Marsh, 2017). Indeed, in 2018, a man attacked Muslims who were from prayers at a mosque in Finsbury Park, security later said the attacker was "brainwashed by anti-Muslim propaganda"<sup>28</sup> (Dodd and Rawlinson, (2018). In the same year, Scotland Yard reported that anti-Muslims hate cases had increased by 40%<sup>29</sup> indicating that,

There were 1,678 anti-Muslim hate crimes reported in London alone in the year (2017) up to January 2018 - up from 1,205 the year before (De Peyer, 2018).

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<sup>23</sup> See Jason Burke, 2016. "Why does France keep getting attacked" *The Guardian*, 15 July, available at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/15/why-does-france-keep-getting-attacked>

<sup>24</sup> Lizzie Dearden and May Bulman, 2017, "London terror attack: ISIS claims responsibility group's 'amid calls for increased attacks'" *Independent* 4 June, available at: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/london-terror-attack-isis-claims-responsibility-borough-market-bridge-a7772776.html>

<sup>25</sup> *The Guardian*, 2014 "Increased terror threat is stretching resources, says met Police chief". *The Guardian* 23 November available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/nov/23/terror-threat-metropolitan-police-chief-bernard-hogan-howe-isis>

<sup>26</sup> Ian Cobain, 2014, "Secrecy restrictions in place for the UK terrorism trial of Erol Incedal, *The Guardian*, 15 October, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2014/oct/15/unprecedented-secrecy-restrictions-uk-terrorism-trial> ;Lizzie Dearden and May Bulman, 2017

<sup>27</sup> Dodd.V and Marsh. S, 2017, "Anti-Muslim hate crimes increase fivefold since London Bridge attack" *The Guardian*, 7 June, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2017/jun/07/anti-muslim-hate-crimes-increase-fivefold-since-london-bridge-attacks>

<sup>28</sup> Dodd V. and Rawlinson K. 2018, "Finsbury Park attack: Man 'brainwashed by anti-Muslim propaganda' convicted", *the Guardian*, 1 February, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/feb/01/finsbury-park-van-attacker-darren-osborne-found-guilty-murder-makram-ali>

<sup>29</sup> De Peyer, 2018, "Revealed: Anti-Muslim hate crimes in London soared by 40% in a Year", *Evening Standard*, 26 February, available at: <https://www.standard.co.uk/news/crime/revealed-antimuslim-hate-crimes-in-london-soared-by-40-in-a-year-a3775751.html>

Since 2005 London attacks, there are several arrests<sup>30</sup> made and prosecutions as a result of terror attacks. New counter terrorism measures including new laws have been enacted and these are also known as CONTEST<sup>31</sup>.

There have been several cases of human rights abuse by UK government in its war against terrorism. In 2017, Prime Minister Theresa May announced<sup>32</sup> her government would give up on all human rights that impeded fighting terrorism, “If our human rights laws stop us from doing it, we’ll change the laws so we can do it<sup>33</sup>” (BBC, 2017; Mason and Dodd, 2017).

#### **4.2.4 Belgium**

To many regarded as Europe’s capital for housing European Union’s headquarters and parliament, when Belgium was attacked by jihadists on 15<sup>th</sup> January 2015, many analysts saw the attack as a sign of terrorists strength that they were able to enter and strike Belgium. In the same year, Belgium’s counterterrorism unit foiled<sup>34</sup> a jihadist attack prosecutors said was likely to be a major attack in eastern Belgium, in the raid where two men were killed and three arrested. All the suspects Belgium Police noted they were citizens who had returned to Belgium from fighting alongside ISIS in Syria (Topping., et al, 2015)

In 2016, Belgium faced yet another major terror attack when terrorists targeted airport and metro stations killing more than 32 people a claim that ISIS<sup>35</sup> immediately made (BBC, 2016)

There are also reports that 250 Belgians joined terrorists groups and are fighting alongside ISIS in Syria and other parts of the world, an indication that terrorism is now a major concern to Belgian authorities.

According to a Belgium 2016 international religious freedom report,<sup>36</sup> following Brussels’ airport and metro attacks, anti-Muslims sentiments in Belgium have increased, despite Muslim leaders having condemned these attacks and many others on different occasions.

#### **4.3 Terrorism in Africa**

In the recent years, African several countries have experienced significant levels of terror attacks and threats. From eastern parts of Africa, countries like Somalia, Kenya, Uganda, and so on- to West Africa in countries like Mali, Burkina Faso, Nigeria and in Northern Africa in countries like Libya, Egypt have among others have suffered several attacks while in many instances several attacks have been foiled (US Department of State, 2016).

In East Africa, Al Shabaab militants continue to cause fears and have carried out several attacks in different countries killing hundreds and injuring thousands. Somalia, Kenya, and Uganda, the scars of Al shabaab are still fresh. In West Africa, Nigeria based terror group Boko Haram (BH) has also left thousands dead, while several hundreds have sustained injuries and many including young girls and women including the famous Chibok<sup>37</sup> girls have been abducted by the terror group (BBC, 2017; John, 2018)

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<sup>30</sup>The UK CT strategy provides detailed statistics on arrests and prosecutions of suspected terrorists and terror threats. See [https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/97995/strategy-contest.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/97995/strategy-contest.pdf).

<sup>31</sup>Francis Richards, “The Development of the UK Intelligence Community after 9/11,” in *International Terrorism Post-9/11 Comparative Dynamics and Responses* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 118.

<sup>32</sup>Mason, R. and Dodd, V. 2017, “May: I’ll rip human rights that impede new terror legislation” *The Guardian*, 6 June, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jun/06/theresa-may-rip-up-human-rights-laws-impede-new-terror-legislation>

<sup>33</sup>BBC, 2017, “Theresa May: Human rights laws could change for terror fight”, BBC, 7 June, available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/election-2017-40181444>

<sup>34</sup>Topping., et al, “Two dead as Belgium Police Foil grand scale terrorist plot” *The Guardian*, 16 January 2015 available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jan/15/three-killed-belgium-counter-terror-raids-reports-verviers>

<sup>35</sup>Brussels explosions: What we know about Airport and metro attacks, BBC, 09 April available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35869985>

<sup>36</sup>Belgium 2016 international religious freedom report <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/269038.pdf>

<sup>37</sup>BBC, 2017, “Nigeria Chibok abductions. What we know” BBC, 8 May, available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-32299943> [accessed 28 April 2018]

John T, 2018, “Boko Haram has kidnapped dozens of schoolgirls, again. Here is what we know. *Times*, 26 February, available at: <http://time.com/5175464/boko-haram-kidnap-dapchi-schoolgirls/> [accessed 28 April 2018]

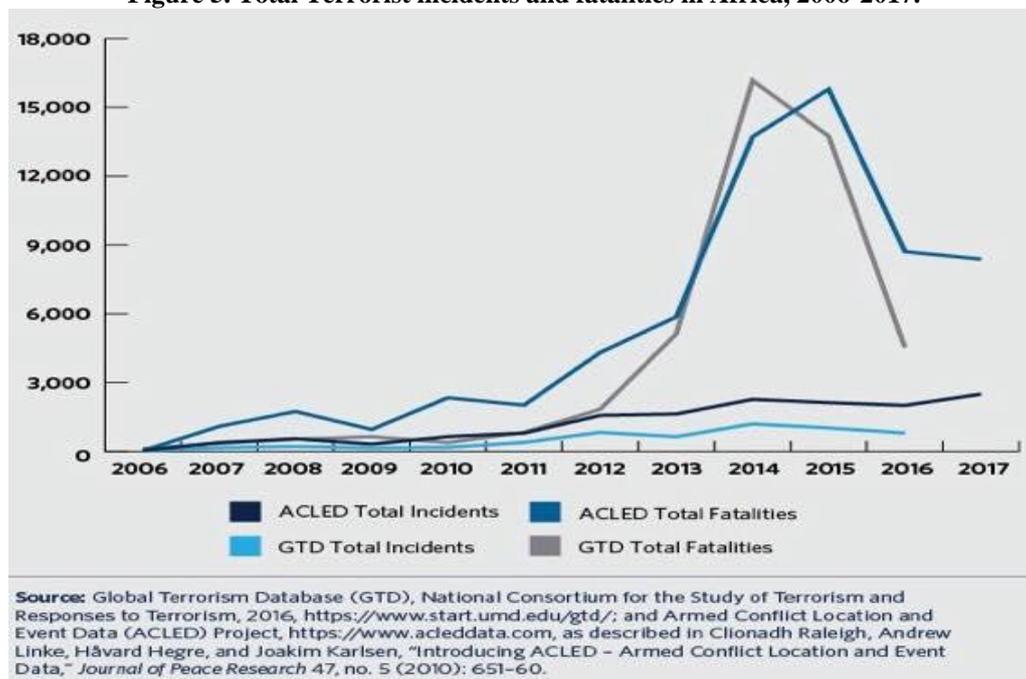
Generally, almost all African countries have suffered terror attacks or have been a target of such attacks. (Bashir, A.H., 2007; Rosand, Millar and Ipe, (2009).

It is important to note that, as a result of continued threats posed by terrorists groups to African countries and in some other modern democracies around the world, sometimes the war on terror has sometimes been politicized. In Africa, some countries such as Uganda, Kenya, Burundi, Egypt, among others, governments have been accused of using terror card to cling in power and abuse human rights especially of opposition political parties (Akid, 2015; Fisher, 2012; U.S Department of State, 2016;). In many countries, governments in power define terrorism according to their political interests and as Schmid, (2013) noted, to date, there is no agreed common definition of terrorism, not even one offered by United Nations which gives various countries chances to define terrorism according to their politicians' wishes and mood. Even in liberal democracies like in the US, international norms have been grossly violated in name of fighting terrorism (Birdsall, 2016).

To sum it all, many African countries consider terrorism as a major threat, which must be dealt with decisively. Indeed, studies show that since 2006-2016, the number of terror attacks on African continent has grown by more than 1000%<sup>38</sup> (Cochi, 2017; Bashir, 2007, Feldstein, 2018; Turse, 2016).

Between 2006 and 2016, terror attacks in Africa increased<sup>39</sup> from 400 to over 2000. In 2015, the commander of US' special operations command in Africa (SOCAFRICA) general Donald Bolduc noted that the threat caused by Al Shabaab was not only a cause of concern to Somalia and East Africa but the entire continent and the world at larger (Feldstein, 2018). This revelation resonates well with a study by Global Terrorism Database (GTD) and Armed Conflict Location and event Data project (ACLED) despite minor differences in the numbers<sup>40</sup>.

**Figure 5. Total Terrorist incidents and fatalities in Africa, 2006-2017.**



<sup>38</sup>Marco Cochi, 2017, "Terrorism since 2006 attacks in Africa increased by 1,000%", East West, 19 May, available at: <https://eastwest.eu/en/opinion/sub-saharan-monitor/terrorism-since-2006-attacks-in-africa-increased-by-1-000>

<sup>39</sup>Steven Feldstein, 2018, "Do Terrorist Trends in Africa Justify the U.S Military's Expansion?" Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 09 February, available at: <http://carnegieendowment.org/2018/02/09/do-terrorist-trends-in-africa-justify-u.s.-military-s-expansion-pub-75476> Accessed 09 April 2018; Nick Turse, 2016, "Even AFRICOM's Own Commander Admits Its Strategy Is Not Working", The Nation, 2 August, available at <https://www.thenation.com/article/even-africoms-own-commander-admits-their-strategy-is-not-working/>

<sup>40</sup>The reason for the difference can be explained by the fact that GTD data focused on terrorist incidences while ACLED records captures broader incidents of political violence.

From the figure above, GDT findings shows an increase of terror attacks and fatalities in Africa in the period 2006- 2016 increased, from a mere 114 attacks and 1,944 fatalities in 2006, to staggering 2,051 attacks and 13,182 fatalities in 2016. Even when GTD filters the findings and remove numbers of attacks that were not claimed by terror groups and focus on the numbers where attacks were clearly terror or claimed by terror organizations, though the number decreases, one can confidently say terrorism remains a threat as it causes several deaths. In 2006 the number of attacks was 101 with 1,880 fatalities and in 2016, the number was put at 1,612 incidents with 9,620 fatalities (Feldstein, 2018).

On the other side, ACLED which captured figural with a wider definitional rubric of political violence where the study includes numbers of incidents of militant Islamist groups, the number still show terror as a threat; that is 41 attacks in 2006 with thirty-seven fatalities. In 2015 the figure went high to 15,791 fatalities from 2,129 incidents and then in 2017, the number reduced again to 8,386 fatalities from 2,498 incidents. However, it is important to note that though the number of incidents in 2017 reduced (2,498), the number of fatalities was too high (8,386) (Feldstein, 2018). However, the difference between the two independent researching bodies above can as well explain the point that there is growing securitization moves around African countries hence, creating the threat and portraying terrorism as an imminent cause of threat.

#### **4.3.1 Uganda**

Uganda has two domestic terror groups; Allied Democratic Forces (ADF), Lords Resistance Army (ADF) which have been fighting the government for several decades now. The two groups started as rebel movements fighting Ugandan governments from Western and Northern parts of the country respectively and as a result of their atrocities, the two former rebel groups were listed by the US' Department of State in 2004 as a terror<sup>41</sup> in 2004.

The two groups have been accused of killing of thousands innocent Ugandans by different rights groups and the Ugandan government (HRW<sup>42</sup>, 1998). In 2004, United Nations Security Council (UNSC) under resolution 1533<sup>43</sup> (2004) reaffirmed the threat ADF pauses to peace and the group was effectively became a terror group. The group was overpowered by Ugandan army forcing them to run into Democratic Republic of Congo where they are currently based and sometimes launch some attacks in Uganda. Their leader Jamil Mukuru was also arrested<sup>44</sup> in 2016. LRA, which was formed in 1987, was defeated by Ugandan army, forcing them into forests of neighboring South Sudan, DRC, and CAF from where they sometimes base to attack Uganda.

In 2007, Uganda became the first East African country to send<sup>45</sup> troops in Somalia under the arrangement of African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) to fight Al Shabaab, and to date; Uganda is the largest troops contributing country under AMISOM. Many analysts and scholars argue that Uganda's decision to send troops in Somalia was a miscalculation and poorly<sup>46</sup> thought move claiming that the war in Somalia whether against terrorists is not in interests of Uganda but rather America's<sup>47</sup>(Mwenda, 2010; Damon, 2012;

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<sup>41</sup> U.S Department of State, 2004, "Terrorist Exclusion List" U.S Department of State, 29 December, available at: <https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/other/des/123086.htm>

<sup>42</sup> HRW, 1998, "HRW condemns Deadly attack by Ugandan rebels on school children", HRW, 10 June, available at: <https://www.hrw.org/news/1998/06/10/hrw-condemns-deadly-attack-ugandan-rebels-school-children>

<sup>43</sup>UNSC, 2004, <https://www.un.org/sc/suborg/en/sanctions/1533/materials/summaries/entity/allied-democratic-forces-%28adf%29>

<sup>44</sup>Nicholas Bariyo, 2015, "Tanzania detains Ugandan Rebel Leader Jamil Mukulu", The Wall Street Journal, 30 April, available at: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/tanzania-detains-ugandan-rebel-leader-jamil-mukulu-1430385011>

<sup>45</sup> See more at <http://amisom-au.org/uganda-updf/> [Accessed 28 April, 2018]

<sup>46</sup> Andrew Mwenda, 2010, "Why Museveni is wrong on Somalia" The Independent, 1 August, available at: <https://www.independent.co.ug/museveni-wrong-somalia/>

<sup>47</sup>Mark Mazzetti, Jeffrey Gettleman and Eric Schmitt, 2016, "In Somalia, U.S Escalates a Shadow war", The New York Times, 16 October, available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/10/16/world/africa/obama-somalia-secret-war.html>; Damon, 2012, " Why is Uganda fighting in Hellish Somalia?" BBC, 15 March, available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-16853499>; Simon Allison, 2012, "Uganda Holds Somalia hostage in high-stakes diplomacy", The Guardian, 05 November available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/nov/05/uganda-withdraw-troops-somalia>

Mazzetti, et al, 2016; Allison, 2012). Indeed, in 2010 when Al Shabaab attacked Uganda, they claimed the attack was a revenge for Uganda's intervention in Somalia. This claim resonates well with securitization and terrorism scholars' views such as Kundnani's (2014), "what governments call extremism is to a larger degree the product of their own wars" (Kundnani 2014:25).

Uganda has also suffered attacks from foreign terror group Al Shabaab. In 2010, the terror group attacked Uganda and killed more than 74 people who were watching 2010 during FIFA world cup finals. Al Shabaab claimed the attack calling it revenge (Jonathan Fisher, 2012; Simon Allison, 2012; Mike Paflanz, 2010; The Guardian 2010; The Guardian 2015). Ugandan security officials also accused Al Shabaab and ADF of being behind the attack that killed Uganda's top prosecutor – Joan Kagezi on 30<sup>th</sup> March 2015.

Indeed, security scholar Jonathan Fisher (2012) after conducting his study in Uganda concluded that, Uganda's choice to send troops to Somalia to fight Al Shabaab was a political move by Ugandan politicians who saw this as a way of winning support from Western countries (donors) interested in fighting terrorism "...*Museveni's decision to intervene in Somalia is the most recent example of his regime's multi-pronged 'image management' strategy in which the President has involved Uganda in numerous foreign and domestic activities to ensure that donors perceive his government in a particular way vis-à-vis their interests: as an economic success story, a guarantor of regional stability, or, in relation to Somalia, an ally in the global war on terror...*" Jonathan Fisher, (2012: 405). This view is held by other analysts (Akid, 2015).

That said, other scholars contend that like other countries in volatile region, Uganda's real threat terror groups like Al Shaabab, should be and contained from within Somalia than allowing it to spread in the region (Patrick Kimunguyi, 2011).

It is important to note that, while Uganda has been praised for her steadiness in the fight against terrorism, the country has also been accused of securitization moves in some cases portraying Muslims as terrorists. For example, Uganda police has been accused of targeting Muslims and sometimes with accusations of framing them. In 2015, Police shut<sup>48</sup> down several religious (Muslims) schools also known as "Madrasa", arrested a number of Muslim clerics<sup>49</sup> a move that can be described as textbook example of securitization (Kaaya, 2013, Kisa, 2015). This resonates with scholars such as Hussain and Bagguley, (2012), Kundnani, (2014), Rytter and Pedersen (2014), Huysmans and Squire, (2010) Jamal and Yusuf (2014) who argue that targeting a group of people and portraying them as a threat in all manners is securitization move.

In 2016, US State Department accused Ugandan government of using terrorism to silence dissenting voices whom the State department said they are often portrayed as terrorists there by effectively portraying them as a threat (US State Department, 2016; Abrahamsen, 2016).

#### **4.3.2 Kenya**

In East African region, Kenya has in recent years suffered most terror attacks and Al Shabaab has claimed most of such attacks. Indeed, studies have shown that in the last two decades, terror attacks in Kenya have been on increase with attacks targeting government buildings, police stations, Kenyan army, people, business schools and places of worship (START, 2015).

In 1998, Al- Qa'ida terror group had covertly established themselves in Kenya targeting US interests which the terror group effected in August 1998 by bombing US embassy killing more than 200 people in an attack that left several thousands injured (CNN, 2017; START, 2015).

Between 2008 and 2014, Kenya was attacked by Al Shabaab<sup>50</sup> terror group and more than 200 died. These

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<sup>48</sup> Farahani Mukisa, 2015, "Nakibinge Criticizes Closure of Madrasas", Daily Monitor, 23 March, available at: <http://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Nakibinge-criticises-closure-of-Madrasa/688334-2662408-5vn65k/index.html>

<sup>49</sup> Sadab Kitaata Kaaya, 2013, "What do Madrasas Teach?", The Observer, 28 April, 2013, available at: [http://www.observer.ug/ndex.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=24973:what-do-madrasas-teach](http://www.observer.ug/ndex.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=24973:what-do-madrasas-teach)

<sup>50</sup> Mark Doyle, 2013 "Somalia's Al Shabab Claims Nairobi Westgate Kenya attack", BBC, 22 September, available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-24191606> accessed 11 April 2018; The Guardian, 2013 "Kenya Mall attack: Somalia's Al-Shabaab claims Responsibility" The Guardian, 21 September, available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/21/kenya-mall-attack-al-shabaab>

attacks included one at Garissa<sup>51</sup> University where 147 students were killed and Westgate mall attack where 72 people lost lives (BBC, 2015; Doyle, 2013; The Guardian, 2013).

In a bid to fight and counter terrorism, Kenya enacted several laws all meant to fight and counter the terrorism. Among other laws enacted to counter terrorism include Anti-money laundering Act passed in 2012, prevention of Organized crimes passed in 2011, and security laws 2014 (U.S State Department, 2016).

It is important to note that, as Kenya intensifies her efforts to counter terrorism, there have been reports of securitizing Muslims<sup>52</sup> and immigrants especially of Somali origin as a threat to the country, portraying them as terrorists. As a result, many have been targeted<sup>53</sup>, and killed by security operatives who reports and investigations indicate kill them in extrajudicial manner (BBC, 2016; Al Jazeera, 2014; U.S Department of State, 2016).

### 5. Is media a potential tool for securitization?

World over, the widely held assumption is that in most of liberal and democratic countries, public or privately owned media are independent, ethical and all their work is done with objectivity and free from influence of the powers that be, especially political elites. This in many ways is different in authoritarian societies where states tend to control media (Mullen, 2009:5). At least the public assumes that public media is independent and is often seen as a watchdog of government, and a voice to the voiceless.

However, authors, Herman and Chomsky (1994) think otherwise arguing that media seem to have lost their independence, even in liberal societies like the United States of America (USA), media is also under siege of corporate and political elites whose interests are given priority. The two authors argue that corporates and elites have turned media into a machine to create public support and consent on matters of public interests at expense of truth (Herman and Chomsky, 1994:2).

It is important to note that; media plays a significant role in rallying the public. This in many ways leaves states, interested private people with special interests such as the corporate and elite struggling to have the media air out their interests and propaganda. The public is often forced to be fed with this propaganda at the cost of news and public interest.

It is therefore possible that while reporting about war(s) on terror, the way media frames news can contribute to securitization process because framing includes constituting meaning which can be given to a securitized group/persons or race thereby emphasizing claims of securitizing agent (Buitrago, 2013, Pinto, 2014, Powell, 2011, Schmidt, 2014). Since the war on terror requires public support, securitizing actors and all governments involved in war against terror would be interested in controlling media to help them in ensuring their agenda of framing, after all, framing itself is often applied where a securitizing actor is interested in mobilizing to buy his or her argument (Pinto, 2014) hence, framing can help in creation of a much closer link between events and the perceived interpretation of the latter in eyes of the public (Pinto, 2014, Schmidt, 2014).

Indeed, in his paper "*Threat Construction inside Bureaucracy. A bourdieusian Study of the European Commission and the Framing of Irregular Immigration*" Svantesson (2014) explains how media can effectively be an agent of securitization in a way they disseminate information/message of securitizing actors by creating a debate about it in media, and simplifying the issues and breaking them into less complex for the masses to buy them, but while explaining and making the issues more simpler, sometimes media ignores parts that are not in their interest but would maybe be in interest of the public. This way, framing creates new, different and own meaning according to the interests of the actor in this case media while speaking to audience (Svantesson, 2014). By applying such filters, it is clear that the actor, in this case media, ignore presenting some aspects of a topic while emphasizing those serving their interest. Svantesson, (2014). Therefore, one can conclude that, depending on how the media frames and package their news, the actor can easily influence the public by creating new information in this case consent.

According to Rychovská, (2014) article titled, "*Securitization and the Power of Threat Framing. Perspectives*", Rychovská explains three different types of frames, stressing if media use the three frames, securitization move(s) can easily succeed. Firstly, **Diagnostic frame** where by media frames issues at hand that is being securitized and goes beyond to create connotations of them portraying them as problematic. By doing this Rychovská (2014) argues that media in one way or the other influences the public by presenting the issue being discussed as a source of threat. The second frame is **prognostic** where media tries to find a solution of the

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<sup>51</sup> BBC, 2015, "Kenya Attack, 147 Dead in Garissa University assault", BBC, 3 April available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-32169080>

<sup>52</sup> BBC, 2016, "Kenya Muslims 'targeted in extrajudicial killings'"BBC, 07 December, available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-38239138> Access 21 March 2018

<sup>53</sup> Al Jazeera, 2014 "Inside Kenya's Death Squad" December 7, available at (<https://interactive.aljazeera.com/aje/kenyadeathsquads/>) accessed 21 march 2018

problem identified in one. This is often done through expressing opinions and some times biased opinion pools. And thirdly is **motivational** frame where literary media advance views and reasons suggesting action must be taken.

On America's war on what Washington call 'war on terror' for example the invasion of Iraq, was largely due to media's campaign. American media and Western media at large securitized the war on Iraq as a 'war on terror' and often portrayed Iraq as a threat claiming Iraq had weapons of mass destruction which were never found. In days leading to the war, American media portrayed Americans who were protesting US' invasion in Iraq and branded them unpatriotic. Even US' intervention in Somalia has been attributed to the so-called "CNN Effect" an indication that the war on terror is partly about foreign policy and that media shapes the agenda for this policy hiding in the so called 'humanitarian protection' (Robinson, 2000).

A conclusion can be made that; media plays a greater role in framing and in influencing opinions especially towards war. They do this through frames and concepts such as "war on terror", "terror state" "Rough regime", "Self-defense" among others. On 11/9 2001, CNN news frame was by all intent meant to cause fear, and call for a retaliation. They broke the story, "America Under attack"<sup>54</sup>! CNN later changed the heading when US decided to attack Afghanistan, and the headline was, "America strikes back". The choice of words in both headlines were meant to sway public opinion, first to sympathize with US for being attacked, and the second headline was not to blame US for it only struck back – after it had been hit.

## 6. CONCLUSION

In recent years, acts of terrorism have been on rise in a number of countries, and indeed, many countries consider terrorism a major threat towards peace and security (Rychovská, 2014). Different scholars attest that almost all countries in the world have suffered terrorism either as a result of direct attack, or their citizens being hurt in terror attacks elsewhere in the world or at least terrorists have threatened or affected domestic or foreign interests of all countries (Bashir, A.H., 2007; Rychovská, 2014).

In Europe for example, terrorists have targeted almost all countries, among others including France, Sweden, United Kingdom, Spain, Germany and the political seat of Europe – Belgium. Consequently, there has also been increased reports of right-wing movements and nationalists political parties with many being accused of taking a hardline stand in their proposals on how to counter and defeat terrorism.

In Africa, terrorism cases also soared with studies indicating that from 2006 – 2016, terrorism had risen by over 2000% with cases of fatalities also increasing. Al Shabaab and Boko Haram are the most active terror groups in Africa, and the US' SOCAFRICA general Donad Bolduc expressed concern that Al Shabaab is a terror group threatening the entire East African region and the world at large including the US (Feldstein, 2018).

Some scholars have however argued that the threat terror groups pose is at times over exaggerated, and in some cases the war on terrorism is used for political purposes with governments in power branding their political opponents terrorists (Department of State, 2016; Fisher, 2014; Akid 2015).

There have also been increased cases of securitization with often Muslims and immigrants portrayed as terrorists. This is common in Western Europe and in the US where president Donald Trump issued an executive order banning entry of immigrants and Muslims from Muslim countries claiming this was meant to keep US safe from terror attacks (Hussain and Bagguley, 2012; Rytter and Pedersen, 2014; Cesari, 2012; Jamal and Yusuf, 2014). The situation is the same in countries like Kenya and Uganda where Muslims and immigrants especially of Somali origin have also been detained or targeted (BBC, 2016; Al Jazeera 2014; Times Live, 2017; Kaya, 2013; Mukisa, 2015).

However, studies conducted also suggest that claims by far-right-wing, nationalists' movements and white supremacists branding Muslims and immigrants as terrorists lack evidence. For example, a study by CATO Institute revealed that in US, from 1975 to 2015, attacks and deaths caused by far-right-wing were higher compared to those of jihadists related cases (Ellis et al., 2016; Valverde, 2017). The study further revealed that of the 3,252,493 refugees allowed entry in the US, only 20 were terrorists which representing 0.00062%! And, of these 20 terrorists, only three of them were able to plan successful attacks killing three people. None of these three refugees came from Muslims countries as securitizing actors claim. To be precise, all the three of the 20 said terrorists were from Cuba (Nowrasteh, 2016)

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<sup>54</sup> CNN, 2001, Breaking News: "America under attack", CNN, 11 September, available at <http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0109/11/bn.11.html> [accessed 30 April 2018]

Terrorists often claim they attack countries in revenge. For example, Al Shabaab on attacking Kenya and Uganda claimed the attacks were a revenge following the two countries' intervention in Somalia by sending their troops. ISIS made the same claim while claiming responsibility after attacking France and the UK. This resonates well with securitization and terrorism scholar Kundnani who argued that, "*what governments call extremism is to a larger degree the product of their own wars*" (Kundnani, 2014:25). The study also concluded that media can play a leading role in securitizing process, hence it is a potential tool.

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