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INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**EFFECTS OF GLOBALIZATION ON REGIONAL SECURITY IN EAST AFRICA: A
CASE STUDY OF EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY**

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Signed..... Date.....

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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor;

Signed..... Date.....

Dr. Shazia Chaudhry

DEDICATION

Dedicated to my wife Catherine Wambui and children Valentine, Trevour and Elena

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I acknowledge my supervisor for guiding me throughout the entire research process, up to this successful end.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMISOM: African Union Mission in Somalia

CMR: Civil-Military Relations

CPA: Comprehensive Peace Agreement

EAC: East African Community

EASF: East Africa Standby Force

IGAD: Inter-Governmental Authority on Development

IGASOM: Peace Support Mission to Somalia

TGG: Transitional Federal Government

USA: United States of America

ABSTRACT

Globalization has ushered in an era of economic interdependence and liberalization which is acclaimed as the only hope for prosperity for the world. While, many parts of the world have moved towards greater political and economic stability and co-operation, the East Africa counties remain a cauldron of instability and economic deprivation emanating from globalization. The objective of the study is to examine the effects of globalization on regional security: a case study of East African Community. The specific objectives were; to establish the genesis of globalization process and region insecurity in East African Community states, to determine how the East African Community states respond to contemporary regional security issues and to identify the challenges facing the East African nation-states in the midst of an increasingly liberalized and interconnected world. This study used an exploratory research design to ensure that issues related to globalization and regional security are fully analyzed and interpreted. The population in this study was the officials from Ministry of foreign affairs in Nairobi, Kenya working under the department of East Africa, embassies of Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi in Kenya. The target population was twenty respondents. Ten from the Foreign Affairs ministry and two respondents from each of the five member states to allow for balance in the responses gathered. Purposive sampling technique was applied in selecting the 10 officials from the Ministry of Foreign affairs and the various embassies since they possess the requisite information that this study is focusing on. Simple random sampling technique was used in selecting the individual respondents in this study. The final sample size comprised of 10 respondents. Secondary data was obtained from published works and researches on globalization and security issues in EAC, EAC integration process, articles and reports by the EAC and other bodies that are involved in the security issues of the community. Primary data was obtained through questionnaires. The study used qualitative data analysis methods to analyze the responses of the respondents. Content analysis was conducted due to the fact that the study shall involve generating respondents' views on the problem. The showed that the current security threats facing the East Africa nation-states presents more than the threat of national security and to overcome them, military might and interventions is paramount. The main causes of the security threats in the East Africa region generally emanate from state failure like the example of Somalia; challenges arising from the phenomenon of weak states leading to problems with governance; as well as the threat of terrorism. Through the findings the recommendations of the study is that there is necessity for a more inclusive approach in an attempt at containing and managing the security challenges in the East African region. To counter the effects of terrorism, the nation states in the East African region should re-orientate the security challenges by adequately training the security forces confronting the terror actions through gathering of proper intelligence to deal with the terror menace.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1. Background of the Study

The end of the Cold War came after the fall of the Berlin Wall that separated East and West Germany in 1989. The end of this wall brought hope and a sigh of relief to mankind that a new era had ushered in peace, hope, harmony and tranquility. The one party rule that had dominated in many states and regions was characterized by centrally controlled economies had tumbled down after the end of the cold war as witnessed in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and Romania and in many African countries. Just like the rest of the world, the people of Africa hoped that the end of the cold war had swept aside the many episodes of conflicts that had beleaguered the continent. The people of Africa hoped for a decline in conflicts and the start of a new era of economic growth and progress.

The long witnessed incidents of the cold war customized by oppression and suppression of the will of ethnic minorities was a thing of the past. The people of Africa had now discovered the long-forgotten collective power of unity to shape their own destinies and the need to abide with it was irresistible. Although the end of the Cold War had loosened the shackles that oppressed the people through the intense rivalry of the superpower, new sources of conflicts cropped up. The new source of conflicts was still in existence during the cold war but the two main superpowers were able to repress them. These conflicts were characterized by the ushering in of globalization. In many spheres of international, regional and national relations amongst various countries, the spirit of globalization was connected with regional security and was the new centre of focus for international relations.

Globalization has heavily impacted on the systems of the world governments in a number of ways both positive and negative. Globalization has had impacts on the global governance systems as well as the national security of many countries. It indeed is one of the most influential and powerful forces that in totality dictates the policies of regional security of many nations. Throughout the world, the globalization of international systems of governance is looked as one of the most crucial areas of international relations. For a long period of time, globalization has come to be seen as a component of the new politics in the world. From this point of view, globalization has had many impacts on the international systems of relations between countries in terms of historical and geographical boundaries of integration.

This has created regional systems of integration with the aims of furthering the linkage and coexistence of nations for mutual benefits. There is no country that can exist on its own since there is none that is self-reliant. Globalization has thus created cross-linked interrelations that have bound people of different nations into regional blocks to cater for development, harmony and security. The forging of regionalism has brought forth one of the key discourses in international debates among scholars relating to the linkage between the phenomenon of globalization and regional security. One of the results of the globalization of international systems is the birth of the East Africa regions.

The East Africa region represents the geographical area currently occupied by countries that are member states of the Inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD). These countries include Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Eritrea, Somalia and South Sudan. With the spirit of globalization, for the Eastern African region, the history of the East Africa region can be traced to the formation of the Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Cooperation in 1967, by then known as the East African Community. The original East African

Collapsed in 1967 due to the political, economic and ideological differences between the leaders of these countries. The collapse led to the members settling to negotiations for a Mediation Agreement for the Division of Assets and Liabilities, which was formerly signed in 1984.

The provisions for the Mediation Agreement had a clause that mandated for future cooperation of the three East African states. To abide by that provision, the heads of the three states agreed to constitute for a future cooperation. In a meeting for the three heads of states of the three countries on 29th April 1997 in Arusha Tanzania, the Permanent Tripartite Commission was mandated to commence the process of upgrading the Agreement that formerly commissioned for the establishment of the Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Co-operation which was then ratified into a Treaty. The Heads of State of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania formerly ratified the Treaty leading to the establishment of the East African Community (EAC) in 1999 as a sub-regional body within Eastern Africa.

For the future success of the East African Community, this treaty identifies the necessity for peace and security of the membership of all the citizens as the most crucial necessity for the region. The East African states are is bedeviled by many security challenges ranging from human trafficking, smuggling of people, trafficking of firearms, and piracy in the Indian Ocean, money laundering, poaching and drug trafficking among many other menaces. This study seeks to analyze the relationship between globalization and regional security in East African Community members. To set the tone of the study this research project briefly intends to examine the effects globalization has ushered in East Africa community members and how this impacts on the security situation.

1.2. Statement of the Research Problem

Globalization has created hope in the world through bringing into the fore the period of economic integration and liberalization, a source of peace, harmony and security in the world. The world over, a greater sense of political and economic stability have been realized through globalization which has brought cooperation between nations. However, a number of political and economic challenges have continued to afflict the East Africa counties, leading to situations of instability and economic deprivation as a result of globalization. Indeed, globalization is seen as the cause of most of the political and economic instability witnessed in the East African Community. The members of the East African Community countries have documented incidents related to human trafficking, smuggling of people, trafficking of firearms, and piracy in the Indian Ocean, money laundering, poaching and drug trafficking. The major threat to security that is gaining currency in East African Community is international terrorism, especially with the emergency of Al Shabaab. This phenomenon has forced the members of East African Community to join hands and contribute to the fight against Al Shabaab in Somalia.

Despite the importance of globalization to economic integration and security in East Africa, problems of insecurity in Somalia and South Sudan, have been a hindrance to the regional response to security issues; terrorist attacks in Kenya, Somalia and Uganda represent an additional threat to stability and security. Globalization has become so strong that today it affects the East African regional security and social structure. Globalization is regarded as a threat to the nation-state system. Globalization has witnessed the emergency of old and outdated crises related to balkanization of people based on ethnic and religious affiliations. The membership of the East Africa have continued to face security challenges occasioned by the winding of the

traditional superpower rivalry between United States of America and Russia, which used to act as a deterrence on intrastate war and which was weakened by globalization.

For the East African Community members to leap the prosperity of globalization, a lasting success in ensuring security can only be achieved if the underlying negative repercussions of globalization are addressed. There is dearth empirical evidence on the relationship between globalization and regional insecurity in East Africa. It's against this backdrop that this research seeks filling this research gap on relationship between globalization and security in East Africa. Thus this study will answer following key questions.

1.3. Research Questions

1. What is the genesis of globalization process and regional insecurity in East African Community states?
2. How do the East African Community states respond to contemporary security issues?
3. Are the key challenges facing the East African nation-states in the midst of an increasingly liberalized and interconnected world?

1.4. Research Objectives

1. To establish the genesis of globalization process and regional insecurity in East African Community states.
2. To determine how the East African Community states respond to contemporary security issues.
3. To identify the challenges facing the East African nation-states in the midst of globalization.

1.5. Literature Review

1.5.1. Globalization and International Security

Globalization as a part of the international system is an important force in determining the future of countries and the people. It covers areas such as economic, political, security, environmental, health, social, cultural and others. Globalization is not a new phenomenon in the world and many countries have sought to gain from it. In Africa, the integration process of the continent into the general economy of the global system started in the sixteenth century and has continuously been occurring since that time though sometimes unevenly. The process of globalization is a manifestation of massive connectivity of global systems with an attempt at minimizing the importance of territorial and national boundaries, which characterized the structure of the old world order.

Globalization also manifests as mode of the continuous interconnectedness between members of different societies. This phenomenon constitutes the process of harmonization of the free flow of information technologies, capitals and commodities and people across boundaries leading to the growth of global scale markets. For its success, globalization has led to the abolition of state-centred agencies in favour of regional-centred agencies operating in line with the general terms of regional, global and international standards.

According to Hughes to understand the concept of globalization on regional security, its influence need to be considered alongside the many other processes that have continuously shaped the relationship among various sovereign nations and the impacts it portends on the security system. To clearly comprehend this relationship, the general effects of globalization should never be separated from those factors that have forged the historical and regional relations

pacts. In addition, the commonalities of the memberships of the various regional arrangements should be put into context in order to relate and understand them from the global security order. There is a cross relationship between regional security and the spirit of globalization. This relationship forms the foundation for the understanding of the modern global political as well as economic situation. Regional security constitutes the various activities undertaken by nations and people within a certain geographical region with the sole goal for the provision of mutual safety and other security related challenges in the regional politics. This set of activities comprises the implementation of military actions and diplomatic treaties and agreements. The two categories of security, national and regional are closely connected.

To the people of various cultural, political, social and economic backgrounds, globalization is tailored to offer a healthy interaction in all aspects of human activities leading to a hope of a better future. This however, is not always the case. This is mostly due to the fact that discrepancies exist in certain spheres of human interaction such as religion, for instance, or in property issues. One of the key challenges facing humanity and emanating from globalization is terrorism. This is more so in the post- September 11th 2001 era, which being the first such attack of its magnitude had a ripple effect globally leading to a new way of judging and confronting the international security issue. The attack was as a result of the interplay between the increasing political globalization and the aspiration of the US to enhance its pole position as the sole world superpower in charge of all aspects of the world political order including far flung territories like in Iraq.

Globalization of diverse entities has impacted both positively and negatively right from the closing of the twentieth century up to the beginning of the twenty first century. The positive effects emanating from globalization has called for closer and more effective cooperation of

nations on various security related issues. They range from the parameters of political, cultural, economic cooperation of nations. Similarly, the same globalization may constitute negative impacts brought about by the collision of different views resulting from the various conflicts as witnessed from the terrorist attacks of 9/11 in USA and the later terrorist attacks in the East African Community member states. Therefore, the intensity of the increase of terrorist attacks has led to the general desire of nations to improve their international security. The way to go for many nations has been through involvement in a number of globalization related ways: ranging from through joint military actions, or forging of agreements and treaties and participation in international security programs or associations.

To most people, the end of the Cold War heralded a dramatic improvement and general global advancement in the sphere of international and regional security. However, the expectations have been dashed since new challenges and misfortunes more dire than the threat of nuclear weapon and civilization destruction face mankind. In East African new challenges related to the future of the regional security emanating from globalization have come into play. They range from the threat of terrorism, emergence of various types of extremism, sky rocketing crime rates, increase in criminal activities, massive corruption, intensified regional conflicts, natural disasters etc. Although these calamities have been in existence before, they have found another footing in the era of globalization since the world is more closely interconnected than previously. The magnitude of these challenges have taken the dimension of universal character rapidly, and in the process being a serious threat to the national and international stability and security.

The stated issues have often dictated the way of living of many people in the East African nations. The same issues have also continuously influenced and enhanced the challenges

especially to the regional and international communities, impacting greatly on the growth of the region. Globalization has risen as one of the greatest and the most influential determiner of the global and international security landscape and indeed in East Africa. The general influence of globalization on the development and enhancement of the interactions between nations is rather confusing. The positives of globalization are that it enhances the rapid advancement of technological and scientific sphere and facilitates rapid growth of communication among nations. Therefore, globalization is more useful as it enhances the rapid advancement of humanity in terms of provision of the welfare of the people for improvement of the quality of life and the situation of the international security and the level of development. The inevitable and realistic situation where countries are mutually dependent on each other politically, socially and economically is the one that leads to the necessity for the development of political integrations aiming at creation of the current democratic multiparty organizations that is currently controlling the international system of security and acting as a security problems.

Needless to say, globalization has its dark side articulated by increasing of the age-old challenges highlighted through international security putting the prosperity, development and security of citizens of the world in constants threats and fears. The peaceful coexistence of people of different ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds is crucial for the health of development. The various differences manifested through the economic and financial power of nations, the interrelation and mutual dependency of various nations becomes more difficult to acquire and sustain if security is not guaranteed. It is evident that it is only a minor group of leading industrialized countries that usually almost level and improves the existence conditions for healthy globalization to thrive. The rest of the world communities are left in the financial

economic advancements leading to the current situation with gapping differences based on the economic and social advancement of the global community.

Relating to the need for mutual dependency on matters relating to globalization and international security, the East African Community member states have witnessed a number of negative globalization aspects. The truth of the matter is that the third world nations usually encounter a lot of hardships in attempt to defend them from the negative influence of globalization. For the populations of East Africa, they are less defended from the negative economic and political effects of globalization than their peers living in developed countries. Consequently, the reactive manner of dealing with the negative aspects of globalization processes results in the ever widening gaps in the economic and social development of whole regions of the world. The notion of the state power as is known today is rapidly changing. The concept of international security in the modern world is again accompanied by not only military forces as usual but also with massive propping of financial, economic, information technology and other resources which affects the level of the relationship.

The critical challenge facing mankind today is the causal identification of the problems associated with the interplay of on one side the national security and on the other the international security. The two faces of security are usually highly related and interconnected. The various global attempts by the community of nations to fight these menaces need to be clearly analyzed and timely understood to gain the knowledge of such fundamental attempts. Through globalization the threat of the international terrorism has been exported to places like in the East African Community where countries like Kenya, Somalia, Uganda and Ethiopia have to undergo terrorism related challenges from international affiliated groups like Al Qaeda and Al

Shabaab. One of the most difficult issues in for the EAC members in fighting terrorism is that terrorists usually change their techniques and strategies of fighting for their aims, and they are able to find ever new targets of their just retribution.

1.5.2. Challenges facing the East African nation-states in the midst of globalization

There exist numerous globalization-related challenges facing the East Africa region. Some of the key challenges have been resulting from political and state weaknesses, lack of resources, and the menace of environmental degradation. These factors have largely led the emergence of East Africa as one that is characterized by political and religious related extremism as well as conflicts and wars within states. The raging civil wars and conflicts within the state boundaries have in turn resulted in forms of statelessness and marginality of the afflicted people, deepening the already worsening societal insecurities and in the process constraining on human livelihoods.

Further to the situation of worsening situation of political instability and economic destitution for the population, the human security is often disrupted by the escalating violence among communities, the proliferation of small and light weapons, and massive disruptions of the masses within and beyond the East Africa region. The East African region is surrounded by legions of again insurmountable security challenges that interfere with the socio-economic development of its population. Some of the most critical challenges include; the civil wars, acts of terrorism, poaching, proliferation of small arms and light weapons and the precarious pandemic of HIV/AIDS.

The root cause of the security situation in the East Africa region according to Fulgence is persistently originating from the unsolvable or unsolved internal ethnic conflicts, disputes relating to power sharing, vacuum resulting from infringement on the of rule of law,

undemocratic and weak institutions, border disputes between countries, religious and cultural differences, poor agricultural reforms among many others. The emerging terror groups in the East Africa countries are mostly based on revolutionary agenda, religious antagonism and extremism; strive for institutional change, claiming minority groups fighting over oppression among many others. The weakness of institutions, ethnic affiliated governments that overstay in power, election disputes, disputes over resources and power sharing. Others include the general failure of social inclusion policies to allow participation, macroeconomic imbalances, ineffective border control, climatic conditions, uncontrollable migration of populations through the numerous porous borders and the involvement in criminal activities by government officials.

The insecurity situations witnessed in the East Africa region has created global interests resulting in the international actors dropping in to offer assistance in terms of empowering institutions and offers of resources. The international community has often been in the East African region with assistance on finding solutions to the various man-made conflicts and natural disasters, ranging from droughts, floods and many other such catastrophes. With the emergency of the war on terrorism, the international community will continue with the current engagements in East African Community for the time being and in future. Threats such as the security threats posed by Al Shabaab terrorism and piracy in the Indian Ocean are threatening the security of societies and the region. Empowerment of security structures with the aim of minimizing the challenges to human livelihoods in Eastern Africa will call to the going back to the drawing board with the aim of reconfiguring the existing national cohesion, economic viability, and the building of regional institutions for security and prosperity of the people.

The conflict in South Sudan, which erupted in late 2013, has attracted international players and is a significant concern for U.S. and African policymaker. A shaky peace agreement, signed in

August 2015, collapsed in July 2016, spurring a new round of violence. By some estimates, more than 50,000 people have been killed and more than 3.4 million people have been displaced. It is Africa's largest refugee crisis and the third largest in the world. Some 4.9 million people face "severe" food insecurity, with more than 100,000 experiencing famine and 1 million on the brink. The United States is South Sudan's largest bilateral donor of humanitarian aid.

The threat emanating from the existence of insurgence led by the terrorist group Al Shabaab in war-torn Somalia remains severe to the security of the people of East Africa. Coupled with the never ending drought conditions and the combined security restrictions on humanitarian access, the situation has worsened the food security situation in Somalia. Furthermore, large parts of Somalia have consistently faced the threat of famine in 2017. Statistics estimate that roughly 1.2 million people remain displaced in Somalia, with almost 900,000 living as refugees in neighboring countries in East Africa as well as in Yemen.

Al Shabaab has demonstrated its intent to destabilize the security situation in the region with its ever increasing ability to conduct terrorist attacks against targets in the broader East Africa region, most notably Kenya, which has seen a significant increase in Al Shabaab attacks since 2011. Kenya, along with Uganda, Djibouti and Ethiopia, has also been the target of terrorist attacks in retaliation for its role in AMISOM, which has led the military offensive against Al Shabaab.

1.5.3. Response of East African Community states to regional security issues

A lot of responses on the need for addressing the challenge relating to security issues in the post-Cold War era of globalization have elicited diverse views from the many actors and stakeholders involved. The duties of each state or nation both at the sub-regional level and the United Nations

level have attempted to define the various challenges of developing approaches to conflicts on the context of the African continent. At all the levels, the African Union and United Nations recognize the mandate of regional organizations, as key stakeholders in security related issues. It is true to state that the African Union has created a foundation principle by tagging certain regional organizations like the East African Community as the monumental foundation for peace and security of its people.

Ikenberry argued that for the last two decades since the end of the Cold War, and the beginning of the globalization process defined by new paradigm shift in international security setting, little attention has focused on the need for critical input from African perspectives. This has resulted in emergence of new international security system that has been put in place without the very important participation from the African people. The resultant to this is that the new concept of international security is critically incomplete as it lacks the much needed African input. The East Africa region is grappled with constant threats to human security, sustainable development and political stability. Some of the factors that have led to this situation include the poor institutional and political governance; presence of illicit proliferation of small arms and light weapons; wanton violations of human rights; and violent confrontations especially among pastoralist communities.

The solutions to these catastrophes include the need for broader comprehensive regional peace and security framework for the sake of security in the region. There is also the need to come up with a well-informed framework that leads to sustainable, focused strategies that enhance the region's capacity in conflict prevention, management and resolution. It is also important and urgent for the region to seriously address the ongoing conflicts and at the same time consolidate

the gains emanating from the numerous peace processes that have been undertaken on the emerging threats to human security.

For the East African region, there is scarcity of the ability to possess credible deterrent and emergency preparedness capacities especially when confronted with emergency situations from external destabilization shocks. This has continuously made the region increasingly susceptible to terrorist attacks, uncontrolled migration, food insecurity, natural disasters and environmental-related emergencies. To survive as a nation a region should have capacity and capability to project legitimate power in order to maintain and preserve territorial integrity. In addition, it should also have the legitimacy to assure the welfare of its people.

This is a fundamental cornerstone of any sovereign state as stipulated by the UN which rightly places primary responsibility for peace and security as a mandate of member states. For the East African Community which belong to the developing group of nations, the severe lack of incomplete state formation, weak institutions of governance, and ever increasing completion between the demands of the ruling regime and human security, has consistently failed in this cardinal responsibility as stipulated by the UN.

Pape asserts that there is lack of East Africa in the agenda setting for international security. He adds that East Africa should take an active role in participating in the process of rethinking the international security agenda. The East Africa's security problem is currently occasioned by the operative epistemological standpoint. Therefore, a necessity occurs for the need for a methodological pluralism on the security front, and that more diversity should be included as Africans engage in security related debates. Many experts and governments have the mindset that a time has come to include terrorism as a major threat to national and international security,

as opposed to the current view where terrorism is a second-order security issue. Some security experts consider the 9/11 attacks as having led to the creation of the phenomenon of new form of terrorism, “hyper-terrorism” or “super-terrorism”, with the capability of inflicting significant damage to even the most powerful nations especially on the civilian targets.

According to Rogers, human security approach to terrorism has metamorphosed into the main challenge to international security, despite the fact that globally it is counted as a minor issue from the perspective of global human security in comparison to the impact of wars or malnutrition, whose victims are in millions. The situation is that way since the target of terrorism are the civilian populations and the end results is often the production of high levels of public anxiety. Rogers further argues that the issue of immigration, global energy, the environment and health situations of people have often been given much attention on the international arena. However, the emerging security challenges from these areas have often run counter to the concretized and effective ways of solving these issues. The author finally states that the clarity of the risks and threats emanating from such areas is often abstract to many security experts.

Of late Most in East Africa, the situation of the necessity for environmental security issues have has been one of the most mentioned policy agenda of governments and intergovernmental organizations for two important reasons. The first one relates to the fact that national security has become wide and is currently inclusive of the extraordinary challenges such as the repercussions of climate change. The reason is that climate change has the potential to endanger large swaths of population leading to provocation and total disruption of state institution.

The people of the Horn of Africa, North Eastern Kenya, North Rift and Eastern Uganda which forms the larger parts of the East Africa Community understands the importance of water-related

issues especially in the context of the most severe security threats in East Africa. The response to the water-related conflict has witnessed of ten sluggish responses from East African nations and their international partners leading to more conflicts. The error that the East African nations and their international partners have often been committing is classifying of the water-related conflicts as future and emerging challenges. The truth of the matter is that the water-related security threats are only future threats for the time being since statistics clearly show that they will finally and inevitably become more severe.

1.5.4 Research Gaps

It is factual that regional development of the East African Community can only be achieved if the security challenges are addressed. Security threats are likely to occur when individual human needs have not been met. It is a wide consensus that peace is inexorably tied to both security and development. The findings from the empirical local studies indicate that few studies on globalization and regional security have been conducted in the East African Community region. Studies by Nafula and Hitimana et al., though focusing on regional security have mostly leaned on identifying the Protocols that have been adopted by member states in order to deal with security related issues like arms trafficking. However, there are no clear studies done specifically on globalization and regional security in the East African Community. This is the gap that this study sought to bridge.

1.6. Hypotheses of the Study

H₀₁: There is a significant relationship between the genesis of globalization process and regional insecurity in East African Community states.

H₀₂: There is no significant response by East African Community states to contemporary regional security issues.

H03: There are no significant challenges facing the East African nation-states in the midst of an increasingly liberalized and interconnected world.

1.7. Justification of the Study

The current reality of a complex and globalized security environment, calls for need of embracing strong and capable partners in the global and regional arena to tackle transnational security challenges, greatly advances through global security interests. In this context, the current study aims at adding new knowledge to current security initiatives aimed at growing capabilities of East African countries to effectively respond to regional security challenges. Additionally, the study aims at contributing to effective policy making that will be articulated through provision of deeper understanding of the changes in the international security arena resulting from globalization and how they affect the security management in East African region.

In addition the study will profoundly seek to contribute to action oriented strategies by governments, security managers, concerned agencies, actors and stakeholders in the East Africa region. A study should input on the scholarly and create bases for future scholars to extend the scholarly discourse a given line of study. In this regard, this study therefore aims at contributing to scholarly literature and promotes greater academic appreciation for the changes in the global security environment and its impact on the management of security in the East African Community states.

1.8. Theoretical Framework

The foundation of this study is the theory by Robert Gilpin's et al in his theory of Hegemonic War and Change which opines that an international established system (like globalization) is constituted since the main participants have forged a kind of social relations through creation of

structures aimed at the advancement of their own interests. The structure and distribution of benefits often highlight the dominant interests of the various actors within the system. Changes to the dominant interests usually change over time leading to the various actors bound to benefit from a change in the system seeking to further reconfigure the system in order to get a more favorable distribution of benefits.

In this regard, the theory proposes that: (1) a balance is often obtained in a situation where none of the actors is bound to gain from changing the system; (2) the involved states may deem it necessary to reinvigorate the system if expected benefits are more than expected costs; (3) for change to occur, a state may decide to apply territorial, political and economic expansion until marginal costs of further change are equal to or greater than the marginal benefits; (4) If the dominant powers fail to resolve the imbalance, then the system will change to reflect the new distribution of power (usually through a hegemonic war).

Nevertheless, Gilpin's theory is likewise rooted on Modelski's theory of Long Cycles that postulates that since the period of the Great War between Sparta and Athens in 431 to 404 BC, and probably before, The theory rightly observed that due to man's predisposition every one hundred years or so, a great war erupts that changes the world order and ushers in a new international system.

This theory is relevant in this study because it will assist to explain the concept of globalization related challenges and hegemonic wars like the one pitting the East African Community members against terror groups like Al Shabaab, as they are bound to occur in the international system beginning at the regional level wherein a global war finally erupts. The extent to which the East African Community members are interrelated and work towards a common goal may

therefore be brought out when considering the impact of globalization on Africa as part of a hegemonic maneuver to try and ward off competitors such as terror groups.

To further give impetus to the hegemonic war proposition, the classical heterogeneous security complex theory proposed by Buzan et al., will also anchor this study. The theory holds that, security complexes emerge within the regional systems due to mutual dependence and insecurity occasioned by other neighbour's activities and the need to satisfy the interests. These sub-systems develop over short distances as insecurity is usually associated with proximity. A sense of interdependence ensues as a result of distribution of power and historical relations of amity or enmity. In addition, belligerence towards one another is informed by regional patterns of historical affinity in which some countries are included in or kept outside the complex. Consequently, classical complexes play a crucial role in relations among other members and they also determine how and whether stronger powers may penetrate or be allowed into the region.

The theory moves on to incorporate a heterogeneous association which makes the further assumption that the regional logic (East African Community) now abandons its strict regionalism and brings in other like-minded actors across two or more regions (globalization partners). Intervening actors (like United States of America in the fight on terrorism in East African region) though not inherently part of the system, serve to influence decision making and policy direction and these are therefore considered. The entry of USA in the East African theatre of war on terror has ushered global terror actors like the Al Qaeda, ISIS and Al Shabaab. This study is there informed by the apparent security challenges in East Africa which do not seem to have immediate solutions amidst the contemporary conceptualization of the concept of security that has been broadened to encompass human security.

1.9. Methodology of the Research

The methodology in this study mainly included the proposed research design, population, sampling, data collection tools, data analysis and presentation procedures.

1.9.1. Research Design

This study used an exploratory research design. This type of research design is undertaken to inquire where the aims of the research are to find out the extent of a given situation, problem, or behavior. The intention of using this design was to ensure that issues related to globalization and regional security are fully analyzed and interpreted. The research design was based on both qualitative and quantitative data. The use of the exploratory research design was in line with similar studies such as Masikonte on Managing security in a changing international environment: A case study of Kenya 2000-2014 where a similar design was used.

1.9.2. Population of the study

A population is the larger group from which the sample is taken. The population in this study was the officials from Ministry of foreign affairs in Nairobi, Kenya working under the department of East Africa, embassies of Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi in Kenya. The target population involved twenty respondents. Ten from the Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and two respondents from each of the five member states to allow for balance in the responses gathered.

1.9.3. Sampling Design

The population for the study comprised all staff officials at the Kenya Ministry of East Africa Affairs, Commerce and Tourism, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, embassies of Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi in Kenya. The research administered questionnaires to two

respondents from each of the five member states to allow for balance in the responses gathered. Purposive sampling technique was applied in selecting the 10 officials from the Ministry of Foreign affairs and the various embassies since they possessed the requisite information that this study is focusing on. Simple random sampling technique was used in selecting the individual respondents in this study. The final sample size thus comprised of 10 respondents.

1.9.4 Data Collection

The study used secondary and primary sources for analysis of its data.

1.9.5 Secondary Sources

Secondary data was obtained from published works and researches on globalization and security issues in EAC, EAC integration process, articles and reports by the EAC and other bodies that are involved in the security issues of the community.

1.9.6 Primary sources

Questionnaires were utilized to collect primary data obtained through open and close ended questions administered to the target respondents. The target respondents comprised of the officials at the Kenya Ministry of Foreign Affairs, embassies of Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi in Kenya.

1.9.7 Data Analysis

The study used qualitative as well as quantitative data analysis methods to analyze the responses of the respondents. Content analysis was conducted due to the fact that the study involved generating respondents' views on the problem. The method does not limit the respondents from divulging information hence it is suitable for the study

1.10. Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study focused on the effects of globalization in the security situation in East African Community members. The scope of the study entailed all the five members of the EAC and the population comprised of the officials at the Kenya Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in the various embassies of partner states in Kenya. The study was limited by respondents not providing full information that they considered confidential. However the researcher assured the respondents of the confidentiality of the information they provide and sought authority from the relevant bodies to undertake research.

1.11. Chapter Outline

Chapter one introduces the topic of our research study, by first setting the broad context of our research study, the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, literature review, hypotheses, justification, theoretical framework, and the methodology of the study. Chapter two provides the background of the globalization and related security situation in East African and the extent of the effects of globalization on regional security specifically in East African Community. Chapter three highlights the genesis of globalization and security situation in East Africa. Chapter four analyzes the data collected in the previous chapter in the light of the hypotheses and theoretical framework already stated. Chapter five finally provides the conclusions of the study, recommendations and provides suggestions on areas for further study.

CHAPTER TWO

GLOBALIZATION AND REGIONAL SECURITY IN EAST AFRICA

2.1. Introduction

This chapter highlights the concept of globalization and its contribution to security in Africa. It also explains the genesis of globalization and how it relates to security issues in the African context. Globalization is generally seen as the concept that led to the creation of enhanced economic, political, social and cultural relations globally and is viewed as the origin of dynamic interaction amongst nations. But from the security point of view, globalization is stated as the genesis of increased state of insecurity emanating from increased occurrence of ethnic violence, cyber-crimes, drug trafficking, environmental pollution, weapons proliferation among many other such criminal activities.

Wherever there is constant cooperation in matters relating to maintenance of global security, globalization may act as a crucial means of enhancing and propagating security. This is especially so where regional and even sub regional security is concerned. Before countries of the world developed interest in the aspect of globalization as an important tool for enhancement of security, matters related to world security was a preserve of one state.

Security Council Research Report states that currently, globalization is the utmost central developments in matters pertaining to global security relations. Globalization represents a phenomenon where nation states have to operate in a platform of shared power with other states for the sake of mutual benefits of the involved parties. Globalization has ushered a new era with the nation state as the foundation of world affairs where there is mutual cooperation with entities such as Transnational Corporations (TNCs), Inter-Governmental Organizations (IGOs) and Non-

Governmental Organizations (NGOs). This new arrangements greatly impacts on the order of world security.

2.2. Genesis of Globalization

Globally, transformation has been witnessed in the system of the world from the original Westphalian period to the current globalized world. There are five stages of global transformation ranging from the westphalian system, the nation system, transnational cooperation system, inter-governmental organizations and finally the non-Governmental Organizations.

2.2.1. Westphalian System

This system is being phased out and it views nation-state as the basic unit of the politics in the world. According to Suter, the systems of Westphalia existed in Europe before 1648 with some coming into place later on. This system was characterized by the Thirty Year War in Europe that ushered in the life of sufferings, diseases and poverty with no guarantee of peace. The treaty of Westphalia marked the end of the Catholic Church legacy and domination of the politics of Western Europe. The Catholic Church had a unique culture with a distinct ways of living as seen from it edifices of language, its officials and the common training camps. By 1540's, the church started embracing the spirit of reformation in an effort to thwart the spread of the Protestant movement in Europe that eventually ushered the Thirty Years War.

2.2.2. The Nation-State System

The Nation-State evolved after 1648 with the birth of a distinct state characterized by the control of a central government. The evolution of a nation-state was as a result of the need for consolidation of nation power as witnessed by the effort of the creation of feelings of national

loyalty, sovereignty and equality among nation states. All these developments occurred hand in hand and were mutually inclusive. This system was also constituted by the need for the rulers to amass power against both the potential domestic and foreign forces and hence the need for a loyal nation state. The concept of sovereignty also experienced evolution with its political foundation germinating from the 15th and 16th centuries turmoil's in Europe.

2.2.3. Transnational Corporations (TNCs)

With the emergence of the global order, the new nation-states have been forced to undertake power sharing with actors in the international sphere such as Transnational Corporations and Intergovernmental organizations including the United Nations as well as Non-governmental organizations. Currently in the global sphere, Transnational Corporations play the leading role as the leading global force in controlling the field of global economy. A good example is Coca-Cola which is a major economic player with tentacles in all the corners of the world.

Transnational Corporations have revolutionized the global commerce and with the free flow of information, the consumers are kept up to date with the products of these TNCs. The global community is made aware whenever the leading TNC brands such as Coca-Cola, Pepsi or MacDonald are opening a new store or whenever they are introducing or advertising new products in the market. Thus TNCs through the control of the global commerce are a force to reckon in pushing the spirit of globalization and eventually influencing the global political and security spheres.

2.2.4. Inter-Governmental Organizations (IGOs)

Global governments value the creation of IGOs such as the United Nations, European Union, and African Union among many others since nation states find the necessity to operate in mutual

harmony in a number of areas such as in health, environment and security areas. IGOs such as the United Nations have brought global governments in forging partnership in confronting issues that threaten their existence such as wars, terrorism and famine among many such issues. The United Nations have been very vocal in confronting the security challenges throughout the world such as the Iran-Iraq war, the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, the war in Somalia, Liberia and Sierra Leone.

2.2.5. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

The term Non-Governmental Organization refers to an organization that is independent of the control of the governmental in the territory it is operating from. NGOs and the Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) are indeed partners in working with governments and development partners in many spheres of interaction such as in human rights, politics, economic development as well as in environmental areas. NGOs sometimes in their operations are at loggerheads with the nation-states especially where the former attempts at criticizing the transparency in the operations of the later. NGOs also work with the national governments in confronting the common economic, environmental and political challenges that face the national governments. This is especially so in areas related to terrorism, famine, environmental degradation, war and many such areas.

2.3. Globalization and Regional Security in Africa

Globalization has led to injection of transnational threats in Africa which has persistently led to security issues to the continent. The African continent has uneven democratic and economic growth juxtaposed by pockets of conflict that usually lead to a disproportionate distribution of weak and failed nation states that often open the door to terrorism, criminal outbreaks and disease epidemics. This is seen from the fact that terror groups like the Islamic State of Iraq and

al-Sham (ISIS) and other such groups are spreading their tentacles across the African continent. The Ebola crisis in West Africa in 2014-2016 led to over a million deaths, untold human suffering and economic losses. Regional security issues have had significant impact on the economic growth and the security situation in the continent. Some of the regional security issues include terrorism, health threats, cyber-crime, trafficking, piracy and environmental degradation and climate change.

2.3.1. Terrorism

Terror groups with bases in and out of Africa are inflicting wanton destruction of the economic and security fabric of many countries in the continent. The deaths resulting from terror acts in the African continent in both 2015 and 2016 was of similar magnitude or higher in comparison to the total fatalities caused by ISIS in Middle East during the same period. Terrorism is thus a cause of worry for the unity, security and economic growth of the African countries. African based terror groups have links to international terror groups like ISIS and al-Qaeda. For example, terror groups in the Sahel region have formed links with al-Qaeda and ISIS with devastating attacks on the civilian populations and military installations in Egypt, Libya, Mali, Mauritania and Nigeria. ISIS is currently fully operational in three countries in Africa which includes Libya, Mali and Nigeria, where it secured allegiance to Boko Haram in 2015.

Boko Haram, which mainly operates in Nigeria, is the second most lethal terrorist group in the world was responsible for staging an attack on the United Nations (UN) building in Nigeria in 2011. The Africa-based al-Qaeda affiliates in North Africa masterminded attacks against hotels in Mali in 2015, Burkina Faso in 2016 and Côte d'Ivoire in 2016. Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) made more than \$90 million kidnapping of Europeans for ransom from 2008-2014. In addition, al-Shabaab, which is an affiliate of al-Qaeda in East Africa, has conducted

various attacks including at a restaurant and rugby club in Uganda in 2010, Westgate Mall in Kenya in 2013 and Garissa University in 2015. It has also staged attacks against AMISOM and Somalia soldiers leading to the death of more than 1000 soldiers.

2.3.2. Health Threats

Globalization has led to the spread of communicable diseases across oceans and national borders. Combating these epidemics is chiefly dependent on the availability of effective health institutions to timely detect and prevent the spread of such epidemics. A lot of resources are required to develop such capabilities especially financial and human capital to develop early warning systems and requisite health care systems.

Global partners like the World Health Organization, the United States and the European Union have often made great strides in reducing the direct and indirect impacts of devastating epidemics in Africa. Under President George Bush, the United States established the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) which ultimately managed to salvage the lives of 740,000 civilians in Africa in a period of over four years. The same partners acted swiftly when the Ebola crises erupted in West Africa in 2014-2016 leading to the prevention of spread of the epidemic through halting of over 1.4 million cases of the infected civilian population in four months. They were also able to prevent the mutation of the Ebola virus which in effect would have had enormous consequences on the continent and global population at large.

The African countries like Kenya reacted by sending health workers and military assistance to curb the spread of the Ebola epidemic. The effect of the Ebola crises to the entire African continent would have been much detrimental if the Ebola outbreak occurred in a country with more concentration of human travel and commercial links to the rest of the continent like

Nigeria, Kenya, Egypt or South Africa. The African continent also face the risk of weaponizing a highly infectious disease for bioterrorism purposes by terror groups operating in the continent like ISIS, Boko Haram, al-Qaeda and al-Shabaab. Though the likelihood of this happening with Ebola is low due to logistical and financial hurdles, that has not stopped state and non-state actors from trying in the past and the possibility that such a threat could emanate from Africa should not be overlooked.

2.3.3. Illicit Trade and Trafficking

There are various types of illegal trades documented as taking place in Africa. They include drugs, illegal weapons and human trafficking that strengthen the financial muscle of terrorists and criminals involved. The illicit trade and trafficking often threaten the stability and peace of the African countries, the border sanctity, the rule of law and the lawful trade existing in the continent. For certain goods like illegal drugs, the scale of trafficking has skyrocketed tremendously. In the 1990's less than one metric ton of cocaine was seized per year in the entire African continent. Recently, twenty two tons of cocaine was confiscated in a period of less than sixteen months on their way to West Africa from South America.

The trafficking in wildlife and wildlife products has had a devastating impact on the iconic African species like elephants and rhinos. A case in point is Tanzania which lost more than half of its elephant population that supplied one hundred metric tons of ivory in period 2008-2015. Trafficking is a symptom of underlying instability in Africa. Drug trafficking has been the chief cause of instability in the West African region. The situation of drug trafficking has gained new heights in Guinea-Bissau that is labeled as the "narco-state". It has witnessed the US Drug Enforcement and Administration (DEA) arresting the head of Guinea-Bissau navy in 2013 for cocaine smuggling into US.

Increased trafficking of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) is an issue of security concern to the African continent. There is an increase importation of SALW by African countries some of which find their way into illegal armed groups leading to the exacerbation of conflicts in the continent. In Mali, for instance, most of the illicit flow of arms is coming from licit stocks.

Armed groups in Africa usually profit from illicit trafficking, contributing to widespread violence and counter-violence. In Sudan, Janjaweed militia funds its activities through ivory trafficking that exacerbate the Darfur conflict. In Uganda, the Lord Resistance Army (LRA) of Joseph Kony is known to engage in elephant poaching and ivory trafficking that fund the violent conflict in the Great Lake region. Armed groups in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) have engaged in illicit trade in gold, charcoal and timber to finance their activities. By motivating and supporting armed groups, these lucrative trafficking opportunities contribute to state fragility. In the Congo alone, around 1.6 million people remain displaced by these conflicts.

Another worry is that African states, which produce 20 percent of the world's uranium, may lack the security or verification capacity to prevent uranium resources from contributing to nuclear weapons programs. Relatedly, over a dozen African countries have shown interest in developing nuclear power, and radioactive sources are used in medical and industrial applications across the continent. Weak governance and inadequate technical expertise could leave nuclear facilities vulnerable to theft or sabotage by terrorists seeking the raw materials for a dirty bomb. Containing such threats requires close cooperation with African countries and the African Union (AU), which have shown increasing commitment toward criminalizing the use and production of WMDs.

2.3.4. Piracy

Maritime piracy in Africa threatens the lawful flow of international commerce—which affects energy prices globally and endangers lives and assets, particularly in two hotspots of high strategic importance. The first area of concern is Somalia, which sees from 12 to 20 percent of the world’s ships pass along its coast and through the Gulf of Aden. At the height of the piracy crisis in 2011, around 237 ships were attacked, of which twenty-eight were successfully high jacked. During the ten years prior, Somali piracy led to trade reductions worth \$22—25 billion annually; the European Union (EU) bore the vast majority of these losses. In addition, lives of people have been directly endangered, and even lost, at the hands of Somali pirates. As of 2013, up to 3,741 crewmembers of 125 different nationalities had been captured at different points, and 97 sailors had lost their lives.

The second worrisome area is the Gulf of Guinea, the gateway to trade with Nigeria, traditionally Africa’s largest producer of oil. While US reliance on Nigerian crude oil imports has decreased over the years, just a few years ago Nigeria supplied the United States with about the same amount of oil as the Middle East. Unfortunately, pirates in West Africa, some with links to Nigerian militant groups have targeted petroleum tankers to feed the region’s black market for fuel. The impact on the local oil industry has been significant: between 2006 and 2009, Nigerian oil exports declined by 600,000 barrels a day.

The costs of piracy in the Gulf of Guinea approached \$720 million in 2015, of which over 60 percent was borne by the shipping industry. Oil theft through piracy and other illegal activities could have severe destabilizing effects across the African region and potential implications for the global supply of petroleum products.

Thanks in part to policing by the United States, the EU, NATO, and other forces like AMISOM and Kenya security forces, there were no major incidences of piracy in Somali waters from mid-2012 to early 2017. However, the underlying conditions for piracy, including poor governance, conflict, and poverty are still in place. In fact, in the wake of reduced security measures, drought, and continued political turmoil, Somali pirates seized four ships in a one-month period in early 2017.

The situation in the Gulf of Guinea, where AFRICOM is providing maritime security training and equipment, is equally challenging. Although oil theft diminished alongside falling oil prices, attacks on ships are increasing, as are incidents of kidnapping-for-ransom. As a result, the Gulf of Guinea is now considered the world's most dangerous region for sailors. The failure to resolve the threat of Somali piracy, despite the massive cost of the international naval response, underscores the importance of working with African partners not only to combat immediate piracy threats and develop strategies for regional maritime security, but also to create alternative livelihoods that can strengthen local economies in a legal and sustainable manner.

2.4. The Effects of Globalization

The effects of globalization are both positive and negative. For example, globalization has positively impacted on the global economy and similarly negatively impacted on the socio-cultural and political status of the global community.

2.4.1. Positive Effects of Globalization

A number of positive effects of globalization include the economic effects, political and technological advancement. Globalization has seen a drastic rise in the employment of people globally especially with the outsourcing of jobs by developed countries from their developing

counterparts. The developed countries are also involved in massive investments in the developing world. For example the American, Chinese and European countries have invested in the development of the infrastructure in the developing economies like Kenya and Ghana especially in the energy and transportation sectors. Through globalization, increased trade between the developed and the developing countries has been witnessed. The United States of American created the African Growth and Opportunities Act (AGOA) to support the exportation of the African goods and in the process enhance trade between the two continents.

Politically, has witnessed agreements constituted on areas related to good governance, respect of human rights, rule of law and such areas. Globalization has had an impact on politics through elimination of the need for nation-states. Trade blocs such as European Union, World Trade Organization and G8 have led to the shift on the power of national governments in confronting such areas menace such as global warming. Good governance is being advocated by regional and sub-regional entities throughout the world. Other similar bodies such as the International Criminal Court have been constituted to enhance the internationally related agreements, human rights and justice.

Globalization has also ushered in the era of advancement in technology. Technology such as the internet and personal computers has seen a wave of market reforms that plays a crucial role in eliminating trade barriers and led to the development of export based economies. Through advancement in technology, political and economic reforms have led to the reduction on the movement of goods and services as well as money transfer.

2.4.2. Negative Effects of Globalization

Globalization has made significant negative effects on the economic sector, political sector and even in the security sector. In the economic sector, the greatest effect of globalization is continual in enriching the rich countries and impoverishing the poor ones. The global opportunities in the economic sector have mostly benefitted the rich countries, the top echelon corporations and the rich individual at the expense of the poor ones. Even in the situations where there is out sourcing of jobs by the rich countries from the poor ones, the huge profits and other direct gains in the field of commerce are in the hands of the developed and rich countries.

Politically, colonization of the developing countries by the developed ones is still ongoing, though in a very sophisticated manner. The political decisions made by the developing countries are often determined through the suggestions and manipulations of the developed partners who often gain mileage at the expense of the poorer developing partners. The developing countries have to rely on the developed partners in policies related to the global commerce and political dimensions. Global institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank which are usually controlled by the developed countries are the policy makers for the developing countries especially on the economic and political fields.

The citizens of the developed countries have more security cover than those of the developing nations. The people of the developed and richer countries have sufficient supply of basic commodities like food, shelter and security, are less exposed to crime and have had a longer political, economic and social stability in their countries. On the other hand, citizens of the developing countries have to survive with economic and political hardships and have to withstand repression, oppression and bad governance in their countries. Globalization related phenomenon like terrorism has more prominence in the developing countries.

2.6. Conclusion

The chapter has shown that globalization has both the positive and negative effects on regional security. Globalization has led to creation of jobs through outsourcing, advancement in technology, good governance among other positive outcomes. Globalization has also led to rise in global terrorism, arms trafficking and drug trafficking. The negative effects however, have ushered in security challenges in the East African region.

CHAPTER THREE
GLOBALIZATION RELATED CHALLENGES FACING THE EAST AFRICAN
NATION-STATES

3.1. Introduction

Globalization in Africa and specifically in the Eastern Africa region is identified as the precursor to the proliferation of indigenous and international terrorism. The East African region is also well known for the widespread cases of terrorism, internal and regional conflicts as a result of the increase in local conflicts, corruption, political crisis, maritime conflicts and other such factors that contribute greatly to insecurity.

3.1.1. Terrorism

The greatest challenge facing the nation-states in the East Africa region is the threat of terrorism. Poverty and widespread of social injustice coupled with the phenomenon of porous borders have contributed a great deal to the menace of terrorism. Kenya, Tanzania, Somalia and Eritrea have for a long time confronted insecurity due to the nature of porous border points especially the countries fronting the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. This has made it very easy for terror organizations to transport weapons throughout the region. The fact that the East African governments lack the requisite resources to properly man their porous borders has made it difficult to properly counter the terror groups.

There are three categories of terrorism facing the Eastern African countries that constitutes the Horn of Africa. The three includes terrorism acts by terror groups internally-affiliated groups that mostly attack countries outside the region and terror groups within the region attacking their countries. First are the terrorist acts perpetrated by groups hailing from outside the East African region like Al-Qaeda that carried out the attack of Embassies of USA in Tanzania and Kenya in

1998 perpetrated by al-Qaeda. Other includes the attempted missile attack of an Israeli airliner in Mombasa in 2002 and the bombing of Kikambala hotel in 2002 still by al-Qaeda. These cases involve an external extremist group whose sole interest is to harm the interests of a third party such as USA and Israel.

Secondly, is the existence of the terror attacks by organizations in the East Africa region with the target as neighbouring countries. A good example is the numerous attacks conducted by Somalia-based *al-Ittihad al-Islami* (AIAI) targeting civilian in Ethiopia specifically in 1990s. In Sudan the locally based Eritrean Islamic Jihad (EIJ) repeatedly attacked Eritrean interests leading to the death of innocent civilians even though the actual targets were military installations and personnel.

Thirdly we have terror attacks by locally based indigenous terror organizations with the classic example being the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) plus the sister group, the Allied Democratic Front (ADF) in Uganda that have conducted terror attacks in Uganda. Also in the category is the military wing of the Ogadeni National Liberation Front (ONLF) and Oromo Liberation Front (OLF) in Ethiopia that repeatedly perpetrated terror attacks against the Ethiopian government. In Uganda, the LRA has had its operational base in Sudan and the ADF operates from eastern Congo. On the other hand, the ONLF operated from Sudan, Somalia and Eritrea. The aim of this category of terror organizations is to embarrass, attack and overrun the government of the day and are never aimed at a third party.

In East African Community, al-Shabaab is the main terror group that has wreaked havoc in the entire region. The terror group has undertaken indiscriminate attacks in and outside Somalia. The attacks are mostly against countries in the region that are directly involved in military campaigns

in Somalia under the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). Member states of the East Africa Community have upped their counter-insurgency campaigns against al-Shabaab that has managed to blunt the strength of the group.

Globalization has ushered in another primary security challenge in the East African region resulting from perpetration of acts of terror by organizations not indigenous to the region against foreign interests. The attacks by al-Qaeda and Islamic States (ISIS) in the East African region have specifically targeted those establishments owned, frequented or operated by the foreign governments. The attack of Westgate Shopping mall in Nairobi in 2015 by al-Shabaab, an al-Qaeda affiliated group is a classic example. This attack was targeting this establishment since it's owned by Israel and has foreigners frequenting it. These attacks are usually aimed at hurting the interests of the foreign governments and at the same time embarrassing the host government.

The incursion by the East African military forces has also posed a security challenge to the region. In an attempt to pacify the crises in Somalia, the East African governments led by Kenya, Uganda, Burundi and Ethiopia have committed their forces to the African Union funded AMISOM. This has resulted in al-Shabaab attacking AMISOM troops inside Somalia and also striking military and civilians installations in Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia. This situation continues to be a major security challenge to the governments in the region.

Indigenous terror groups are a security challenge to the security situation for the East Africa governments since they attempt at harming the interests, civilians and security forces. The governments in the region should enhance and expand the effort to collect intelligence on these groups in order to preempt their attacks. They should also increase the implementation of training and appropriate counter-terrorism programs against the insurgent groups. There is also

necessity of eliminations of the basic conditions that give rise to the emergence of terrorism, through better intelligence and carefully designed counter-terrorism measures.

3.1.2. Conflicts and Corruption

There are various conflicts encompassing the East African region that has major impact of the security situation of the East Africa region. The conflicts include terrorism, hunger and other such related calamities like displacement of refugees leading to the world largest population of internally displaced persons in Kakuma and other refugee camps in East Africa. The attempt to resolve the conflicts is inhibited by the increased climate of mistrust, enmity and rivalry among member states. The East Africa region has experienced conflicts that have spanned for a long period of time. The root causes of the insecurity situation in the East African region ranging from ethnic related challenges, language and cultural differences, disputed boundaries, religious related ideological differences, competition for scarce resources and greed for power.

Corruption in the East African region is widespread with the member countries ranking lowly in the global corruption index. In 2016, Transparency International in its annual Corruption Perception Index had Kenya at position 96, Uganda at 93, Tanzania at 71 and Ethiopia at position 59. Terror groups have exploited this factor to freely operate in the region and in the process perpetrated the terror acts with regular basis. The presence of widespread corruption together with low pay for security personnel is an indicator of state security with a high probability of being compromised by terror groups.

The conflict in Sudan involves the historical conflict emanating way back before independence of South Sudan that is characterized by civil and political conflict amongst the two countries. One regional body that is heavily involved in this conflict is IGAD through the effort of Kenya

and Ethiopia and a host of other players both regional and international. Through these efforts, a peace agreement was penned down in 2005. This was the foundation of South Sudan independence after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2011.

3.1.3. Maritime Security Threats

The East African region continues to experience maritime security threats posing significant socio-economic, safety and security challenges. The sources of threats to maritime security in East African region are mainly land based and are better addressed through land based strategies for long term solutions. Maritime piracy, terrorism, Illegal Unreported and Unregulated fishing, weak maritime governance, narcotics drug trafficking, human trafficking, trafficking in small arms and light weapons, and other transnational crimes are threats to maritime security in the region. Addressing the security, political and socio-economic situation in Somalia and enhancing the regional state capacities in managing their maritime domains are important issues for the East African community membership's in dealing with the root causes and in combating threats to maritime security in the region.

3.1.4 Proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SAWL)

Another security challenge in the East African region is proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SAWL) which has taken a more devastating impact on the security of the region. The United Nations Office of the Special Adviser on Africa (OSAA) reported that during the last two decades of the 20th century, in Rwanda, alone, in the 1994 genocide, approximately 800,000 people died. In this instance, millions of non-combatants, women, children, the elderly, the disabled, and the poor died due to the conflicts, directly or as a result of hunger, injuries and disease.

In Kenya, the main sources of SALW are mainly the unstable states in the Horn of Africa comprising of Southern Sudan, Somalia, Uganda and Ethiopia. Civil war and unending civil strife has been a recurrent event in these countries for the last 50 years (Mbugua, 2007). The lack of government control and instability in the region has done much to facilitate the illicit trade and spread of weapons. The inability of Kenya's government to exercise control over her borders makes it difficult to stop the trafficking of illicit arms. With five neighbouring countries with relatively small security budgets, it becomes difficult to stop the flow of arms from one country to the next. In addition to the lack of adequate structures, corruption is extremely prevalent in the region.

Although proliferation of SAWL generates huge sums of money for those who manufacturers and arm traders, the East African civilians pay a hefty price due to a lack of accountability or international regulations to address the abuses those products cause. Countries such as France, Russia, China, UK and USA, which are the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, account for 88 Percent of the world's conventional arms exports. These countries are now increasingly being joined by some countries from the former Warsaw Pact countries notably, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, the Ukraine and Belarus.

Insurgents, armed gang members, pirates, and terrorists in East Africa are currently increasing efforts in multiplication of their force through the use of unlawfully acquired firepower. The illicit circulation of SAWL and their ammunition destabilizes communities, and impacts security and development in all regions (Khadiagala, 2003). In addition, the supply and sale of purchase of assault rifles, especially the AK47s, has dramatically changed since the end of the Cold War ended. Thousands of Kalashnikovs are bought, trafficked and brokered by a new crop of middlemen, international networks of companies, government agencies, and individuals in

Europe, the Middle East and North America to the East African region. These new crop of arms dealers are involved in complex supply networks for delivering assault rifles using a myriad of interconnected companies that have tentacles in the region.

3.2. Role of East African Community in dealing with Security Challenges

There are two regional bodies involved in conflict resolution in East Africa region; the Inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the East Africa Community (EAC). The membership of EAC includes Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and Rwanda. The new formation of EAC came into being in 1999 with the chief aim of economic integration and a forward-looking mechanism for conflict prevention and management in the region.

The EAC has witnessed disagreement on the management of Eastern African Standby Force (EASF) with IGAD as stipulated by the African Union. In terms of success, the EAC has a dismal history in restoration and maintenance of peace and security in the region. This is due to the fact that the regional political leadership has failed in performing their role especially related to political affairs of member states. Divisions are also evident specifically where Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda have forged political and economic integration excluding Tanzania and Burundi. The differences in leadership styles have also been a stumbling block to the smooth relationship between the leadership of Paul Kagame of Rwanda and Yoweri Museveni of Uganda. The fact that Tanzania and Kenya have a more enabling democratic space is a cause of tension to the regional body.

3.3 Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and Regional Conflict Resolution

The membership of IGAD comprise of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan, South Sudan and Somalia. In terms of maintenance of regional peace and security, IGAD

has had more success than EAC. The main objectives of IGAD range from political to humanitarian related causes especially those affecting the integration of the member states. IGAD has achieved great success in mediating and resolving conflicts in the East Africa region. Under the leadership of Kenya in 1990's IGAD was successful in mediating and resolving the Sudanese civil war that culminated in the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) that eventually led to the independence of South Sudan. IGAD was also successful in leading to the formation of Transitional Federal Government (TFG) in Somalia in 2004. IGAD mediated the Somalia conflict eventually leading to the collapse of Islamists in Mogadishu in 2006. IGAD was at the forefront in establishment of Peace Support Mission to Somalia (IGASOM) in 2005 comprising of 10,000 troops which was however reduced to 8,000 troops by African Union.

After the invasion of Somalia by Ethiopia in late 2006, IGAD through the AU established the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) with the first deployment of 1,500 troops from Uganda in January 2007. The achievements of IGAD in both Somalia and Sudan have enabled it to be perceived as a stabilizing and crucial security organ for mediating conflicts in the East African region. IGAD has established the Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) with donors support in January 2000 to act as a regional mechanism for timely anticipating and responding to regional conflicts.

The Ethiopia-Eritrea conflict was a challenge to the authority of IGAD especially during a summit in Nairobi where Eritrea accused Ethiopia and USA of fanning the conflict and withdrew its membership. IGAD also is occasionally competing with EAC that has Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and Rwanda, some of whom are members of IGAD. Kenya and Uganda seem more comfortable enhancing their trading position in the region more than dealing with IGAD.

The Eastern African Standby Brigade (EASBRIG) is a boost to the security of the Eastern Africa region. It however had friction between EAC and IGAD especially when debates of including more members outside IGAD were envisaged.

Hitimana, Shukla and Bajpai assessed the role of regional integration on security in Africa and is carried out on East Africa Community as the case study with the following objectives; to find out the challenges of security in EAC region, to examine the various forms of regional integration in East African Community and to find out the impact of EAC integration on security in East African community. The research design used is descriptive and analytical while the population is 210 from staff of Magerwa, officials from ministry of East Africa Community and foreign affairs. The sample size was 68 selected from the total population using purposive and simple random sampling techniques. Data was collected using questionnaires and interviews. The findings were that the impact of regional integration on security includes encouraging conflict resolution and working together towards a peaceful regional block. Although this study assessed the role of regional integration on security in Africa and is carried out on East Africa Community, it was globalization and security was not studied.

Nafula carried out an assessment of the relationship between economic integration and regional security in East Africa. This was done by examining the factors leading to security threats in the East African region and efforts put in place to deal with them. The East African states continue to face many security challenges which include: trafficking in persons and migrant smuggling, firearms trafficking, drug trafficking, environmental crimes, counterfeit, money laundering and piracy. Twenty officers from the ministry of East African Community and that of Regional Affairs were interviewed with the aim of trying to get their opinion on the role of economic integration in regional security.

The study findings indicated that there exists cooperation in priority areas of trade and industry, security, immigration and promotion of investment in the region. Three issues that pose major threats to regional security are: ethnicity, economic crisis and political violence. Mutual accountability and strengthening African security capacity are the most important factors in ensuring regional security in East Africa. The study though focusing on East Africa was on the relationship between economic integration and regional security while the current study is on globalization and regional security

3.4 Conclusion

There are numerous conflicts in the East African region ranging from interstate to intra state conflicts. These conflicts continue to pose a challenge to the security and economic development of the member countries. The interconnectivity of conflicts due and other security related issues to globalization represent a major challenge to the governments in the East Africa region. Usually, due to the numerous conflicts in the region, like movements of refugees embedded with terrorist have been on both directions and in the process spreading the acts of terror throughout the region and widening the conflicts. Both the EAC and IGAD re the main actors in resolving the conflicts in the East Africa region and a lot still need to be done to secure the region for ultimate economic development. IGAD though seems to have had more success than EAC.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1. Introduction

This study aimed at examining the effects of globalization on regional security: a case study of East African Community. This was based on the aspect of globalization and regional security in Africa, followed by the challenges of globalization in the East African community. The role of East African Community and IGAD in mitigating the challenges was highlighted. This chapter has examined the results of the data analyzed starting with the demographic information of the respondents. This was followed by results of the analyzed data based on the objectives of the study. The key findings of the study are finally provided.

4.1.1. Results of data analyzed

The study targeted 20 officials from the various Ministry of foreign affairs and embassies of East Africa Community member states. Results shows that 60% response rate was achieved which is ideal for this study.

Table 4. 1 Response rate

Country	Targeted Respondents	Actual Responses	Total (%0
Kenya	2	2	100
Tanzania	2	1	50
Uganda	2	1	50
Burundi	2	1	50
Rwanda	2	1	50
Total	10	6	60

4.2.2. Demographic information of respondents

The gender of the respondents as indicated by the results had each 50% of male and females are respondents.

Table 4. 2 Demographic information

Country	Respondents	Gender		Total (%)
		Male	Female	
Kenya	2	1	1	2
Tanzania	1	1	0	1
Uganda	1	0	1	1
Burundi	1	1	0	1
Rwanda	1	0	1	1
Total	6	3	3	6

4.2.3. Causes of conflict in East Africa region

The results show that globalization is the leading cause of conflict in the region as stated by 70% of the respondents. Politics, internal strife and poor governance are the other causes of conflict in the region.

Table 4. 3 Causes of conflict

Causes	Frequency	Percentage
Politics	5	50
Poverty	1	10
Globalization	7	70
Internal strife	5	50
Boundary conflicts	1	10
Poor governance	5	50

4.2.4. Countries confronting insecurity in East Africa region

The results indicate that Kenya (90%), Uganda (60%) and Burundi (50%) are the leading East African countries fighting terrorism in the region.

Table 4. 4 Countries fighting insecurity

Country	Frequency	Percentage
Kenya	9	90
Uganda	6	60
Tanzania	1	10
Rwanda	1	10
Burundi	5	30

4.2.5. Regional response to insecurity

The results show that both EAC and IGAD have been instrumental in maintaining regional security in East Africa. IGAD has more success with 80% of the respondents indicating that it is more active than EAC with 40% of the respondents appeal.

Table 4. 5 Regional response to insecurity

Regional body	Frequency	Percentage
EAC	4	40
IGAD	8	80

4.2.6. Ways in which region bodies have resolved conflicts

Both EAC and IGAD have been successful in establishment of the AMISOM force in Somalia as stated by all the respondents. The regional bodies were also active in mediating the post-election violence in Kenya.

Table 4. 6 Regional conflict resolution

Conflict mediation	Percentage
Establishment of AMISOM in Somalia	100
Signing of Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in Sudanese conflict	10
Mediating the conflict in Burundi	30
Mediation in post-election violence in Kenya	70
Settling the refugee crisis in Somalia	20
Mediation of conflict in South Sudan	30

4.2.7. Key security challenges facing the EAC

The respondents were asked to state the challenges facing the East African Community. The results were that terrorism is the major security threat stated by all, followed by civil wars and proliferation of SALW.

Table 4. 7 Security challenges in East Africa

Challenges	Frequency	Percentage
Terrorism	10	100
Maritime conflict	1	10
Civil wars	7	70
Poverty	2	20
Diseases	3	30
Small weapons	5	50
Hunger	3	30

4.2.8. Terrorist groups threatening security in East African region

The respondents indicated that Al-Shabaab was the major threat to the regional security in the East Africa. It was remotely followed by Al-Qaeda at 30%.

Table 4. 8 Names of terror groups

Challenges	Frequency	Percentage
Lord resistance Army	1	10
Al-Shabaab	10	100
ISIS	2	20
Democratic Allied Force	1	10
Al-Qaeda	3	30

4.2. Key Findings of the Study

The genesis of the security challenges in East African region is a precursor to the phenomenon of globalization. The current security threats facing the East Africa nation-states presents more than the threat of national security and to overcome them, military might and interventions is paramount. Due to globalization, these security threats are new and trans-national in nature and as such have also gained prominence in the sub-Region. The main causes of the security threats in the East Africa region generally emanate from state failure like the example of Somalia; challenges arising from the phenomenon of weak states leading to problems with governance; as well as the threat of terrorism.

Globalization has ushered other man-made security threats to the East Africa states security as witnessed with cases of drug trafficking, terrorism, piracy, proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALW's), cyber-crime, terrorism, and money laundering. The presence of regional and global perpetrators of these security challenges poses a serious security threats to the very

existence of the people and the states in the East African region. Indeed the security situation in the region has attracted the attention of the international community especially the United Nations, the European Union, and the United States government and the African Union as seen through the establishment of AMISOM in Somalia.

Through globalization, the situation of emergence of failed states has been witnessed in the East African region with the classic case of Somalia. This has posed a security scare to the whole of the region with the constant threat of terrorism arising from terror organizations like the al-Shabaab. Indeed, it is observed that the leading challenge of insecurity in the East African region is posed by terrorism which has forced the member states to commit their troops in Somalia in an attempt at crushing the al-Shabaab and other affiliated terror groups.

The raging civil wars in the Eastern African region and especially in South Sudan are a security challenge to the region. The civil war in South Sudan and the crisis in Somalia have precipitated an exodus of refugee into the East African states that are sometimes the cause of proliferation of SALW and also drain the financial basis of the host countries.

The study revealed that the other major security challenge in the East Africa nation states is as a result of piracy and SALW's. The two threats have had great political, economic, social, and cultural impacts on the overall existence of the governments and people of the region. The threat of piracy has led to political, institutional, financial, as well as technical bankruptcy or human resources in the region trade leading to a lot of constraints to the member states. The threat of piracy in the Indian Ocean waters has led to disruption of trade in the region. The disruption has resulted into global powers patrolling the Indian Ocean trade channels.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Conclusion

This study is hinged on the hypothesis that globalization has effects on regional security in East African Community. Globalization has had compounding national security challenges to the East Africa region. The data gathered has confirmed the hypothesis and emphasized on the fact that globalization has ushered in new security challenges on the security apparatus of the region.

5.2. Recommendations

Through the findings the recommendations of the study is that there is necessity for a more inclusive approach in an attempt at containing and managing the security challenges in the East African region.

To counter the effects of terrorism, the nation states in the East African region should re-orientate the security challenges by adequately training the security forces confronting the terror actions through gathering of proper intelligence to deal with the terror menace. This is due to the fact that the current acts of terror in the region are different from what has been witnessed in the past where domestic terror groups were the main perpetrators of terrorism. The current terror groups like al-Shabaab are sophisticated transnational security threats, have the ability to cause of wanton destruction of property and civilian life and may threaten the very existence of a nation.

The study recommends that since transnational terror organizations like al-Shabaab are the major causes of security challenges in the East African region, there is need to seek for cooperation and assistance from other partners like the United Nations, African Union, USA and European Union among others. This is due to the fact that these partners have the capacity to share intelligence

data and offer military support to confront the terror groups. With the support from partners the regional governments will develop the capacity to eradicate this security threats.

The study recommends that there is a need for proper, coordinated and adequate training of the security apparatus in the East African region as a pre requisite to effectively combat the menace of terrorism and such security challenges. As a matter of urgency leaders in the region should initiate training programmes on information communication technology in counter terrorism, forensics, law enforcement, among others for their security forces with support from the international community, as well as resources from within to combat security challenges such as piracy and terrorism. This will inculcate the effective capacity of the security forces and allow them free hand to recruit qualified personnel for training.

The study recommends that the member nations in the East Africa region should enhance and make proper provisions for regular patrols of their common borders to eradicate the challenge of proliferation of SALW. Contraband goods such as illegal arms and drugs are easily trafficked through the common borders since the traffickers have expansive networks and can easily manipulate the security forces.

5.3. Areas for further research

1. The study on the effects of globalization on regional security may be scaled down to research on the unique consequences of globalization in each country.
2. A study should be undertaken on role of globalization in the security situation in West Africa region.
3. A study on the role of regional bodies on fighting terrorism should be conducted.

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