UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

THE IMPACT OF TERRORISM ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

A CASE STUDY OF AL-SHABAAB IN EAST AFRICA

PRESENTED BY

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DECLARATION

I wish to declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for another academic award in any other University or Institution.

Signature -------------------------------------- Date ---

LEONARD WAMALWA SILISISI **R50/87966/2016**

This Research Project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this proposal to my family, and my dear lovely wife Elizabeth Wamalwa for her tremendous support during the time I wrote this project and the profound encouragement for me to pursue further education. She remains a role model in my boundless quest for high education may god bless her more abundantly

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I thank Almighty God first for his favor, strength and boundless mercies over my life that has enabled me complete this study. To my supervisor I am greatly indebted for his consistent guidance and support. He was patient with my inconsistence and mischief and provided the necessary encouragement, technical support and ideas for continuous improvement. I was greatly impressed by his ability to read the entire project and provide useful guidance, God abundantly bless you so much. To the entire university of Nairobi fraternity thank you for empowering the society through your unlimited search for knowledge, two hats for you all.

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ABSTRACT

This research looks at the impact of international terrorism on international relations. It focuses on the Al-Shabaab terrorist organization in Somalia and its impact on the international relations of African states, more particularly the East African states and their regional integration. The focus underscores the fact that there is a paradigm shift in the manner in which states address the issue of national security, from unilateral to multilateral strategies. International terrorism is a glue that is binding states together in their struggle for national security and safety. No state, even the most powerful ones can claim that that it can fight international terrorism alone. Al-Shabaab remains the greatest threat on the fight against terror groups in the region and this has pushed states to come together through the African mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and forge a common strategy to deal with the criminal organization. The Al-Shabaab terrorist activities have shaped the foreign policies of the affected states with countries believed to be supporting terrorist activities having their relations with other countries severely weakened or even totally cut off. The study also looks at the alternative approach to the study of international relations. For a long time, scholars of international relations have remained focused on interstate engagements this study looks at other non-state actors and especially criminal organizations as key players in international system. The study also analyzes factors contributing to terrorism and further discusses foreign and domestic policy formulation to deal with terrorist groups.

ABBREVIATIONS

ADF   …………………. Alliance of Democratic Forces

AFRICOM……………….   Africa Command

 AQl   ……………………Al-Qaeda

 AQAP …………………   Al -Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula

 EACTI   ………………… East Africa Counterterrorism Initiative

FTO   ……………………. Foreign terrorist Organization

 GPOI …………………. Global Peace Operation Initiative

US   ……………………. United States

 LRA   …………………. Lord's Resistance Army

 KKK …………………. Ku Klux Klan

IRA ………………. … Irish Republican Army

 JTF-HOA ……………… Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa

UN   ……………………. United Nations

TSCTI   ………………. Trans-Saharan Counter Terrorism Initiative

 UNGCT ……………. United Nations Counterterrorism Strategy

UNGC-T ………………. Strategy United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy

 SROs   ………………. Sub-Regional Organizations

UNC-T Task Force ……. UN Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force

EU-PSC ……………………. European Union Political and Security Committee

AU-PSC ……………………African Union Peace and Security Council

APSA **……………………….** African Peace and Security Architecture

EUTM Somalia ……………. European Union Training Mission – Somalia

TFG ………………………… Transitional Federal Government

IOM …………………………. International organization for Migration

AU ………………………… African Union

ACSRT ………………………. African Center for study and research of Terrorisms

IGAD ……………………… Intergovernmental Authority on Development

ICPAT ……………………… IGAD Capacity Building Program against Terrorism

NGOs …………………………. Non-Governmental Organization

NCTC ………………………….. National Counter-Terrorism Centre

POCAMLA ………………………Proceeds of Crime and Anti–Money Laundering Act

OAU …………………………… Organization of African Unity

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This chapter delves into the background of the study, with a focus on the introduction of the subject and area of study. The section further looks at the statement of the problem, research questions, both general and specific objectives of the study, justification of the study, theoretical and empirical literature review, hypothesis, theoretical framework and conceptual framework, scope and limitation, ethical issues and the research methodology.

1.2 Background of the Study

Africa is a continent that has been devastated by conflicts mostly erupting as a result of internal issues such as ethnic marginalization, small arms proliferation, religion, bad governance and corruption. Primary causes of conflicts have been consequences of both national and international factors. Kadende-Kaiser states that "International factors include the consequences of the Cold War and its aftermath, as well as the globalization and liberalization of the world economy". Kadende-Kaiser[1] further identifies national factors, and these include "discriminatory political processes, skewed resource distribution, centralized and highly personalized forms of governance, corruption and mismanagement". All these factors have played a role in erupting terrorism in Africa that have either destabilized states or led to complete collapse.

Alex P. Schmid, Political Terrorism: A Research Guide to Concepts, Theories, Data Bases, and Literature (Amsterdam: Transaction Publishers, 1984), pp. 119–158, cited in Walter Laquer, The Age of Terrorism (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1987), p. 143.

East Africa (EA) region has recorded the most terrorist attacks as compared to other countries in in sub-Saharan Africa. Key to note is that almost every country in this region has suffered a terror attack of varying magnitude. These attacks can be closely linked to a domestic cause thus targeting a country or some attacks on a country resulting from its association with Western countries and this take the form when foreign embassies and foreign missions are targeted. The region has been marked with political instability resulting from perennial intra- and inter- state conflicts, a situation that has been escalated by poverty leading to susceptibility of the population to terrorism activities. Case in point is the political situation in Somalia; a country that has been ravaged by civil war since the early 1990s which has left the country in a deep struggle in rebuilding the national government despite efforts from the international partners and other countries. Peace and reconciliation processes have remained elusive and Somalia has consequentially has remained a training and breeding ground for terrorists and in the promotion of radicalization and violent extremism in the East Africa region and beyond. The Al-Shaabab has been accused of having their main operations base in Somalia and the place has been used as a launch pad for terror activities across different countries. There has been deliberate efforts from countries such as Kenya, Uganda, Burundi, and Djibouti among others in countering terrorist activities through their contributions as troops in the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), which was launched in 2007.

These joint military interventions yielded some results a few years later when the Al-Shabaab were pushed and suppressed but this success did not last as internal conflicts within the troops contributing countries negatively implicated the mission. Further, when Al-Shabaab became an affiliate of the international terror wing Al-Qaeda in 2012, this marked a major setback on the fight

against terrorism as the groups now resulted to new strategies and metamorphosed into a dangerous

transnational threat. The question is what impact does the Al-Shabaab have on the international

relations in East Africa?

Figure 1: Map of East Africa

1.3 Statement of the Research Problem

This study was undertaken with an objective of understanding the impact of terrorism on international relations and specifically the impact of Al-Shabaab terrorist organization on the inter-state relations of the East African states. Terrorism has serious negative impact on international relations. For states to interact freely there must be adequate security to allow free movement of people and goods between two states but tin the recent past interactions.

Between East African states have been seriously interrupted by terrorist activities leaving hundreds of people dead and thousands others maimed and nursing serious body injuries. The threat by terrorism to both national and international security is an issue of international interest and concern. Most terror attacks in East Africa in countries such as Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda have largely been blamed on the Al-Shabaab and Somalia has been their operating base and hideout where planning is conducted before execution. Regular attacks in Uganda was perceived as a way of the terror group in pressuring the Ugandan government to withdraw their troops from the AU peace-keeping mission in Somalia[2]. In other countries like Tanzania, Kenya, Burundi, Rwanda, and Ethiopia however, though not implicitly stated, it could have resulted from these countries real or perceived close relations with countries in the West. Indeed, East Africa has provided a destination choice for most investors and tourists from Europe, and the US.

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[2] Alex P. Schmid, Political Terrorism: A Research Guide to Concepts, Theories, Data Bases, and Literature (Amsterdam: Transaction Publishers, 1984), pp. 119–158, cited in Walter Laquer, The Age of Terrorism (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1987), p. 143.

This has left the East Africa region as a soft target for this terror groups since there are loopholes in terms of the security structures which makes such countries easy to attack that it would be say carrying out an attack in the US or in Europe. Nevertheless, terror groups have proven their tactics and prowess by attacking security tight nations such as those in Europe and the US. Many East Africans, have been keen in supporting government efforts in fighting terror activities and this has enhanced inter-state relations in East Africa. The problem investigates the impacts of Terrorism on international relations, with East Africa under the threats of the Al-Shabaab militants used as a case study. How do terror activities by Al-Shabaab impact on international relations in East Africa?

1.4 Research Questions

i.   Why is East Africa vulnerable to terrorism?

ii.   What is the impact of terrorism on international relations of East African states?

iii.   How can terrorism in East African be combated?

1.5 Research Objectives

The objective of the study is to assess the impact of terrorism on international relations in East Africa

1.5.1 Specific Objectives

i.   To examine why East African states are more vulnerable to terrorism

ii.   To determine the impact of terrorism on international relations in East Africa

iii.   To establish the strategies to combat terrorism in East Africa

1.6 Definition of Key Terms

1. Terrorism is a multidimensional concept with over 100 definitions of the term which has been advanced by scholars. The widely used definition however, it can be defined; "the use of psychologically, culturally, or legally unacceptable violence or threat to use such force or violence by state or even non-state actors generally with the intent to achieve or express some form of politically socially economically or ideologically motivated agenda.[3]

   1. International Relations: "Is an academic discipline that focuses on the study of interaction of the actors of international politics including states and non-state actors in an environment known as international system." It involves such issues like foreign policy, international conflict and negotiations, war, nuclear proliferation, Terrorism, international Trade and Economic and international development among other issues

   2. Al-Shabaab. Also variously known as Harakat ash-shabaab al-Mwaahidin, Xarakada Mujaahidiinta al-shabaab, mujalideen Youth movement or movement of striving youth, the youth or the youngsters or the guys is a jihadist fundamentalist group based in East Africa that operates mainly in Somalia but have cells in the Horn of Africa. The group has pledged allegiance to the militant organization of Al-Qaeda.

1.7 Literature Review

Definition of concepts and terms relating to terrorism has been crucial in the theoretical work as has been observed by leading scholars in the study area.

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[3] Polland, Paul. (2001). "Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy." Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.pg.108

Enders and Sandler for instance, define terrorism as "the premeditated use or threat of use of extra-normal and extreme violence or brutality by sub-national groups to obtain a political, religious, or ideological objective through intimidation."[4] of the general public by targeting persons who are not policy makers but creating an impact that will attract the attention of those directly responsible for designing policies." Chomsky however notes that whenever a group uses forcible methods on a target population to achieve a political or religious cause as an act of terrorism. Chalk provides another understanding, stating that terrorism is "the systematic use of illegitimate violence that is employed by sub-state actors as means of achieving specific political objectives, these goals differing according to the group concerned." Although there are different definitions of terrorism, there exists certain commonalities that help provide for a widely acceptable term universally. Such characteristics include; the target population by terrorists, use of force of violence, motivating factors i.e. political, or and ideological.

1.7.1 Terrorism Linkage to International Peace and Security

Terror gangs' main objective has been to disrupt peace and order at the international sphere and this has been achieved to a greater extent through varying sporadic attacks across different places globally. The period 2000-2010 saw an escalation of terror activities which has been credited to advancement in technologies and globalization. This has provided more sophisticated methods to launch attacks ranging from kidnappings, victimization, and actual attacks while creating a general fear among the populations. Worse is that terrorists have remained faceless making it rather

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[4] Mark Sedgwick (2004) "Al-Qaeda and the Nature of Religious Terrorism", Terrorism and Political Violence, 16:4, 795. 5 Ibid.799

difficult for security agencies to fight a "ghost enemy". This situation has been compounded by the fact that terrorism and terrorist's activities are not regulated or accountable to any international rules. They activities are motivated and their impacts are widely felt on the political, social and economic frontiers.

The motivation behind terrorists in modern times is to cause a disruption in what may be perceived as a stable governments and this causes distrust between the people and their government. This causes a conflict between the government and the people thus weakening the social and political fabric of a country. Terrorists activities are transnational by nature and transcends borders making it a global threat and complicating any countering initiatives. This exposes the government and challenges its power to keep their countries and citizens safe.

Humphries defines terrorism as "the act of using force or violence by terrorist gangs, individual terrorist, state, or guerrillas on a targeted persons or on infrastructure with an objective of sending a political message. There is still no agreement on a single definition of the term or concept of terrorism as debates continue within the United Nations (UN) and among other scholarly fields. The lack of clarity on what amount to terror activities within the UN body has been exploited by terrorists in perpetuating their attacks and to promote their global disruption. Some of the devastating and dangerous terror attacks that get the attention of the world includes; the United States of America (USA) particularly the World Trade Centre (WTC) and the Pentagon in the New York City (NYC) on 11 September 2001, Mumbai attacks (9/11) in 2008, Bali bombing, Istanbul bombings, Chechnya, and London bombings to mention but some. Since terrorism presents a

greater challenge to world peace and stability, this calls for concerted efforts from the domestic to the international level.

Contemporary terrorism gained global awareness following the attack on the United States was attacked in the infamous 11/9/2001 thus prompting for a public dialogue. This debate however took a simplistic and narrow narrative as terrorism was labelled as an activity perpetuated by Islamic extremists led by terror groups such as the Al-Shaabab. In the evolution of concepts of terrorism, most scholars have ignored the origin of terrorism during the French Revolution; whether deliberately of unconsciously. To this end, terrorism cannot be exclusively being associated with Islam and neither should it be discussed as a modern concept while ignoring the historical evolution. The typology of terrorism illustrates broad characteristics which offers a distinction to the different forms that aggregates to terrorism: social revolutionary terrorism (left-wing), right-wing and racist terrorism, single issue terrorism, nationalist and separatist terrorism (including ethnic terrorism), and finally, religious terrorism.[5]

Terrorism concept in modern days has taken new form and approaches that challenge the premise that the typical nature of terror is driven by revolutionaries and patriots as it were in the traditional understanding of terrorism. Scholars have come up with a classification in an effort to differentiating contemporary terrorism and this involves; evaluating the structural networks of terror groups, the degree of extremism in violence metes out during an attack and the deeper convictions that drives the terrorist's agenda.

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[5] Mark Sedgwick (2004), "Al-Qaeda and the Nature of Religious Terrorism," Terrorism and Political Violence, 16:4, 795. 5 Ibid.799

Giddens notes that the new style of terrorism transcends national and international borders since the terrorists' agenda is to disrupt the international system. In their desperate efforts to achieve global attention, terror gangs have continued to invest more destructive and brutal ways of applying violence[6]. Gupta observes that these methods of attacks have contributed to devastating impacts with an increase in loss of lives and destruction of infrastructures. Further, new trends and developments in technology, communication, weapon manufacturing and systems facilitate in promoting high end and seamless terror activities.[7] Worth noting is the similarity of the operational structure of terrorist groups organization in relation to other network organizations. Many organizations of this nature are well coordinated an aspect that is overlooked and this elucidates how terror attacks are executed without being detected by security and anti-terror multi-agencies.

This notion and characteristics of new style terrorism can however be challenged in reference to the 9/11 and attacks before that. This is because even before the Al-Shabaab group gained prominence in terror activities; other groups such as the communist group existed with the same agenda of creating a global shake up by introducing communism although they may not have been called terrorist groupings. Critics have also disputed the notion that terrorists use more ruthless methods in their activities as a result of technological advancement and state of the art weaponry as a partial reality. Proponents of this argument while referencing the 9/11 as world's deadliest act of terrorism have concluded that even then or at any other times in the past, there is no evidence pointing to cases where terror groups have successfully used weapons of mass destruction

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[6] Schmid, A P, "Framework for Conceptualizing Terrorism", Terrorism and Political Violence, 16, no. 2, 2005, pp. 197 – 221

[7] Gupta, D.K., "Exploring roots of terrorism, in: Root causes of terrorism: myths, reality and ways forward," New York: Routledge, 2005.

(WMDs). In addition, the structural network adopted by terrorists is not a new phenomenon since in the beginning of the 20th century, historically groups with the agenda of restructuring the world have utilized more or less similar structures.

1.7.2 The Role of Al-Shabaab in East Africa International Relations

Terrorism remains a threat that is deeply rooted due to its formational and structural nature thus a holistic remedy is required to deal with its menace. The impact of terror activities on the population and infrastructure leaves behind a trail of destruction and lead to many social ills and effects as an aftermath whether on short and long term.

Al-Qaeda is the international terrorism group which over the years has split or natured new and regional terror gangs such as the Al-Shaabab. The transnational nature of terrorists groups is a calculated strategy for them to achieve a global presence or fear. Al-Shaabab has exploited the anarchic and unstable political situation in Somalia to create a strong base for their operations. This has been abetted by the fact that majority population in Somalia is predominantly Islam thus making it easy to use the religious propaganda of *'Jihad'* to win new recruits and launch attacks. In the last decade, Al-Shaabab has undergone transformative episodes making it emerge as an international terror gang that is works alongside the Al-Qaeda in their pursuit.

The invasion of Ethiopia in 2006, and early 2008 prompted the reorganization of the formerly perceived guerilla military groups into a pronounced terror organization. Before then, the group operated under the shadow of ICU, taking their place in enforcing courts' judgements and yielded no significance power which limited their influence and operations. In just below 12 months, the

new terror group had won the support of the local population making it easy to spread their agenda, which culminated in mass recruitment of fighters and though controversial where the group was receiving its financial support, clear thousands of dollars were in circulation. It remains a vague question where terror gangs receive their financial backing although there has been indication that money laundering and prominent individuals who pose as charity foundations have been closely linked to sources of terrorists' money. The Al-Shaabab group remains the main disrupting player for the instability environment that torments the transnational government in Somalia.

The civil unrest in Somalia for the last two decades since Mohammed Siad Barre's regime collapsed in 1991, has left Somalia with a shaky political situation with no government that has been able to receive legitimacy and acceptancy from the population. This ungovernable environment has led to the rise of different militia groups including the Al-Shaabab who have much control of key parts in Somalia has been largely ungoverned.

New trends and developments in information and communication technologies (ICT) has introduced new dynamics in the operations of terror groups as this has opened borders and increased people's relations across the globe. ICT has been used as a basic avenue for terrorists to sell their agenda on the internet and recruit new fighters from different corners of the world. This strategy has seen Al-Shabaab and other leading terrorism groups such as the ISIS to achieve a global face since recruits come from different countries, religions, political, social, and economic backgrounds. In sharp contrast to when Al-Shaabab was starting out when most recruiters were from local Somalia community whose agenda was to fight the Ethiopians, the current compositions is a representation of most facets of the global population with a significant number of foreigners

who are professionals and experts in different fields. Al-Shaabab as it stands now is not that group of poorly and ideologically motivated persons, but a rich network consisting of the crème de la crème of the society. This has enhanced the efficiency in which they plan and execute their attacks in different locales. To appeal to a wider audience online, the group in following the Al-Qaeda's footsteps started producing videos which were shared online and which in most instances have gone viral as a way of reaching the foreign audience. This videos are also calculated in content to project as a force to recon with and successful in its own right. Surprisingly, this tactic seems to have worked as most new recruiters when asked how they joined, a significant number give reference to watching online videos. Popularly watched videos include "Ambush at Bardale," "At Your Service, Oh Osama," and "No Peace Without Islam," which projects Al-Shabaab cause as a just war against the West's dominance and the preservation and promotion of Islam.

1.8 Literature Gaps

This study has established that although there is much written literature on terrorism in East Africa little is said about the impact of terrorism on international relations of the affected states. The narratives about counter-terrorism also concentrate about hard power strategy and not soft power or diplomatic methods of conflicts resolution a paradigm shift is need in this area and states engages combatant's in dialogue to resolve conflict.

Finally, much of the terrorism discourse fails to address of the issue of susceptibility of East African states. It's therefore imperative to address this issue before coming up with strategies to manage the threat of terrorism in East Africa.

Scholars of international relations have also not fully explored the role of organized criminal organization as key actors in international relations. This paper therefore seeks to add new knowledge to the existing knowledge on the impact and role of criminal organization especially terrorism groups in international relations and provide a paradigm shift from hard power to soft power in deal with such groups to achieve everlasting solutions to state peace and security.

1.9 Hypotheses

1: western economic interests is the root cause of terrorism in East Africa

2: Terrorism has negatively impacted on international relations in East Africa

3: Terrorism can be combated more effectively through diplomatic methods

1.10 Justification of the Study

1.10.1 Policy Justification

Many previous researches on terrorism have tended to overly emphasize on the after effects of terrorism such as related conflicts that accrue as a result of terror, impacts of such conflicts on the vulnerable victims, the 9/11 incident and the reaction of the United States to terrorist threats, the Al-Qaeda and their activities, and so on. While this study acknowledges the importance of such previous studies, it seeks to redirect such an approach to terrorism from such 'loud' and visible events to the nitty-gritties of terror but which nonetheless, should form the basis of any serious inquiry into the motivation of terrorists, especially within the region where this study shall be based. Thus, my research intends to demonstrate that terrorism has strong implication on the international relations in East Africa, and also impacts on the efforts aimed at regional integration.

The East African public, no doubt, shall be interested in knowing how terrorist activities have impacted on international relations in the region. In addition, this study shall offer insights on the Al-Shabaab as a terror group, thus giving the public new information into the group.

The findings from the study will also elucidate some insights on areas that can benefit the civil society which is a major player in advocating for good governance and the respect of human rights which has been a blurred line on the fight against radicalized groups and persons. There has been conflict arising when such groups advocate for the rights of terror suspects who are incarcerated by the government in the past.

1.10.2 Academic Justification

There is little documented knowledge on the effect of terrorism in the East Africa region and thus this study shall take a unique position in contributing to new knowledge on the subject matter. This new information shall particularly be of importance for governments and policy makers in the process of formulating both domestic and foreign policies in relation to terrorism. Further, the East African Community will be able to get new insights on the impact of terrorism in the pursuit of integration efforts. Findings from the study can form a reference point for future students and researchers who would be interested in conducting further research on the area.

1.11 Theoretical Framework

1.11.1 Realism and Idealism Theories

The study will be guided by the realism and idealism theories. Realism theory is built on the premise that power struggle among human beings is inevitable and this is reflected in real politics.

This approach was propagated by political philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679). According to Hobbes, human beings possess an inert need to have control over others and this characteristic emanates from what he believed to be "an inherent dark side." Hobbes offers a practical example in that if two persons were interested in the same thing, they would compete and fight to have it by all means possible even if it means one destroying the other. Hobbes proposition has been supported by Hans Morgenthau who is a famous scholar of modern day realism. Hans argues out that this ubiquity of evil as witnessed in human actions has made noble institutions such as "*churches to turn into political organizations, revolutions into dictatorships and what is the motivation that turns ones' loyalty and love of a country into imperialism.*"

Scholars, the likes of Hans and other neo-realists' emphasis is on the international system and the anarchic tendencies emanating from competition among the various players other than the human nature influence at the international interface. Proponents of this arguments note that the international system is comprised of actors (both state and non-state) who are in pursuit of their self-interests with clear objectives and ready to apply any means to realize these interests. To them it's the cliché believe that the end justifies the means and that the stronger ones will survive at the end. To this players, security and order takes a back seat as they pursue whichever means to achieve their objectives even if the use of force and violence is their only alternative. In such a scenario, such sovereign actors are not accountable to anyone and this is how international actors find themselves in war as the phrase goes, "everyman for himself."

Proponents of idealists' approach rejects the realists view that human beings are inherently evil and rather support the notion that it's possible to pursue and achieve peaceful co-existence in the

international realm. This approach holds to the believe that actors in the international system have the ability to achieve greater good for all by collaborating with one another, increasing cooperative opportunities and enhancing that world order is maintained. Idealists concept and theory has been traced back to political philosophers and scholars such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778). Rousseau in his publication, *"The Social contract (1762)"* raises critical arguments that analyzes the motivating factors behind the formation of civil societies in that the world; confronted by challenges and obstacles in the journey to making their lives better, encountered major hurdles with limited resources to cater for each individual needs. This stumbling block led to the realization among human beings that if they would not work collectively in finding solutions to collective challenges, perishing together would be their option bringing an end to their existence. Rousseau school of thoughts has been backed by notable idealist scholars and thinkers who hold on to the vision of the people who came together to form the civil societies with an objective of making the world a better place and a more peaceful global world. The theories form a fundamental reference point upon which to build an inquiry on the Al-Shabaab activities in East Africa, bearing in mind that religion has been used to appeal to peoples' soft spot which has led to sympathizers being recruited as fighters in this region.

1.11.2 Rational Choice Theory

The theory focuses on why people tend to project a certain behavior and their thinking under certain circumstance. This approach is based on the notion that man is a rational creature who weighs the risks and benefits attached to their choices and decisions and thus informs their actions in light of their reasoning (Business Dictionary,2013). In the precepts of the study, the applicability

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of the theory will examine the thoughts and behaviors of different players such as terrorists, terrorist's organizations, leaders and governments in the face of terrorism.

First and foremost, terrorists are human beings and this cannot be disputed despite the fact that they have labelled to be "inhumane and irrational" from different quarters. This being said, it means that their actions are considered to emanate from a rational conclusion at least in their own eyes and for their personal justification. This rationale maybe influenced by their religious convictions, political ideologies or from other push and pull factors that encourages violent extremism. Thus there is a crucial need for psychoanalysis into the mindsets and thoughts of terrorism to be conducted for a more practical and factual finding. The Rational Choice theory will be of significant help in seeking to get into the minds of the Al-Shaabab group and to having a clear understanding on their motives as getting it right on this maybe the key to eradicating terrorism in Kenya and beyond.

1.12 Research Methodology

1.12.1 Research Design

The researcher adopted a mixed methodology design due to its capacity in analyzing the practicalities of real-life, diverse viewpoints, and cultural influences. The design also utilized mixed approaches in collecting data which included in-depth interviews, different forms of interventions, and frames the investigation within philosophical and theoretical positions.

1.12.2 Study Site

The study site was the security Agencies in Kenya such as the Kenya Police Service and Kenya Defense Forces (KDF) the Ministry of Interior and Co-ordination of National Government. Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Office of East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) in Kenya, and the general public especially in Kenya.

1.12.3 Target Population

The target population was the security personnel in both Kenya Police Service (KPS) and Kenya Defense Forces (KDF) especially the Anti-terrorism police Unit (ATPU), Kenya Security Agencies fighting Al-Shabaab along Kenya Somalia Border Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government officials, Kenyan Members to EALA, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials and members of the public within Kenya.

The study targeted members of public in East Africa member states, including Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and South Sudan. The members of public are the people affected by the terrorist activities of Al-Shabaab. The reports detailing the terrorism activities of Al-Shabaab was reviewed. Group discussions was held for groups of 20 people who will be selected based on the judgement of the researcher. This enabled the researcher to get the information required for the research.

1.12.4 Sampling Procedure

Sampling procedure this is the technique a research uses in choosing part of a population to use to test hypotheses about the entire population in this study the researcher used mixed method and with simple and stratified random sampling was applied

1.12.5 Sample Size

This was informed on the statistical nature of the concept that comprised determining the number of participants that a research intends to use in the study; It is used to represent the entire population of the study.

The study intended to use 300 questionnaires and Interview 100 people with at list 5 people from the relevant departments of the security Agencies, Ministries of Foreign Affairs interior and coordination of National Government EALA members and members of the public. The study will use quarter, purposive/judgment and convinces sampling type of non-probability sampling. Sample size calculation

This is done because one cannot gather data from the entire population, even in relatively small population and also data may be required in relatively short time and including every character in the population in your data collection my take a short of time and funds.

Sample calculation

The researcher used Bill Golden (2004) statistical formula in among all the sample size to be used in the study.

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The formula for unlimited or infinite particulars is

$$n = \frac{Z^2 \times P\,(1\text{-}p)}{e^2}$$

Where

Z is the z score

e is the margin of error

N is population size

p is the population proportion

My desired confidence level is 90% and a margin error of 4% assuming a population proportion if 0.04 for unlimited population size. Z score for 90% is 1.65

$$n = \frac{Z^2 \times P\,(1\text{-}p)}{e^2}$$

$$n = \frac{1.65^2 \times 0.4\,(1\text{-}0.4)}{(0.04)^2} = 408.375$$

Which is approximately 400 people?

Since my target population is over 500 participants my sample size with be over 3oo using the principle of the law of large number

Desired confidence lever %	70	75	80	85	90	92	95	96	98	99
Z score	1.04	1.18	1.28	1.44	1.65	1.75	1.90	2.0	2.33	2.58

1.12.6 Data Collection Instruments

The study employed the following various data collection instruments including the use of questionnaires, interviews, focus group discussion guideline, and content analysis guide.

The study further enlisted the use of secondary data such as journals, books by different authors, and other relevant literature for the purposes of comparison so as to get the most accurate data possible. These sources were complimented to a small extent by secondary data collection through discussion with members of the public and knowledge experience of the researcher, who hails from the region and understands the region well. The data collected in this method will be analyzed through both quantitative and qualitative techniques.

1.12.7 Validity and Reliability

The validity and reliability of the data collected can be trusted because the researcher used the nonprobability method of identifying respondents both at the individual level and organizational level. Through the use of nonprobability sampling, the researcher will target

1.12.8 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher visited the interviewees and had face to face interactions. Where this was not practical online interviewing was undertaken. The essence of this was to obtain extensive primary data without much undue delay. The focus group discussions were done in open halls where the researcher discussed key issues relating to terrorism and its impact to socio-economic and political issues in the East African region. Besides this, secondary data was obtained by way of undertaking extensive analysis of existing relevant literature and documents and the information generated qualitatively analyzed. The unit of analysis for the purpose of research was institutions and individuals that are directly involved in security and inter-state relations.

The secondary data was collected by the research assistants who sat on a computer and got data from the internet. The data was recorded on excel sheet and word document for ease of analysis. The focus group discussions were done with the members of public by holding meetings in halls. This was done with the assistance of research assistants. The use of an interpreters was utilized to address the language barrier.

1.12.9 Data Analysis

The data was analyzed using both qualitative and quantitative methods. The quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics like percentages and frequencies. This data was presented in form of tables. Content analysis was utilized to analyze qualitative data which included data grouping into themes and this was then presented in prose form for clarity.

1.12.10 Ethical Considerations

The respondents were assured that their names and the names of their family members would not be revealed. The respondent's identities were to remain anonymous; coding was used instead of the participants' names. Participants were informed of the purpose of the study and guaranteed that the study will be used of the sole intention of obtaining knowledge and that they shall not be victimized in any manner. The focus group discussions were conducted in a voluntary manner, with the participants not being coerced in any way to take part in the research. The researcher strived to get a research permit from the National commission for science, technology & innovation (NACOSTI) as required for any academic study.

1.12.11 Scope and Limitations

The study was confined within a period of ten years from 2007 to 2017. This is because during the period there was a steady upsurge in terrorism in East African and the region recorded the highest number of terrorist activities with over 300 incidents reported in Kenya alone over the period. The study was also restricted within the borders of East African countries, that is Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and South Sudan

The study had several constrains, such limitation included inadequate time and budget hostile sample members and the inability to reach the violent and hostile Al-shaab organization found in Somalia.

The study focused on the impact of terrorism on international relations of East African states. The study was based on the impact of Al-Shabaab in the region. The study was carried within a period of 10 years from January 2007 to October 2017. The study was limited by the finances in that the study was self-sponsored. The researcher overcame this by getting a reliable sample from the population. The Study was also limited in its generalization in that the findings may were generalized to other regions. This is because the dynamics of East Africa and the operations of Al-Shabaab differ with those of other terror groups like Al-Qaeda and Boko haram. The study was also limited by language since most of the members of the public to be interviewed are semi illiterate and the English language that the study will mostly employ may be a great challenge to most respondents.

1.13 Chapter Outline

Chapter one defines the Problem, the Research Questions, the Dependent Variables, Thesis, and Hypothesis and the Methodology. This chapter introduces our research study first by setting the broad context of our research study. It gives the statement of the problem, justification of the study, theoretical framework, literature review, hypotheses plus the methodology of study. Chapter two looks at terrorism in depth, and discuss why East Africa is more vulnerable to terrorism. Chapter three critically assess the impact of Al-Shabaab terrorist activities on the international relations of East African states. Chapter Four looks at the alternative necessary mechanisms for mitigating the impact of terrorism in East Africa.

 Chapter five will provide conclusions of the study and give recommendations and suggestions on further areas of study.

CHAPTER TWO

VULNERABILITY OF EAST AFRICAN STATES TO TERRORISM

2.0 Introduction

Terrorism remains an issue of concern in the arena of global peace, security and sustainable development. The African continent like any other part of the world have been Adversely affected by terrorist attacks and the East Africa region in particular has taken the lions biggest share of this heinous activities most of which has been perpetrated on Kenyan soil.

Africa has found itself in the middle of supremacy battle between terrorists and the West, thus bearing the full brutality of terrorism. The Al-Qaeda, the most prominent terrorism group carried out their major attacks in the African continent in 1998; not much targeting the Africans but the US. Unfortunately, the blunt and direct effects of their bombings in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam were borne by the innocent citizens of those countries as much as it was targeting the US embassies. Many Kenyans and Tanzanians lost their lives, hundreds sustained injuries, and the aftermath of the effects became a burden for families who lost their breadwinners, parents, and left devastating social and economic losses. The West gate terror attack and the attack on students in Garissa University are some of the deadliest terror activities perpetrated against the Kenyan population. The Boko Haram in Nigeria continues to cause havoc and cause fear in villages and areas of concern, leaving the citizens with a mistrust that the national government lacks the capability to protect security for its people. Boko Haram insurgency group became popular in 2009 when it emerged as an armed rebellion against the government. The insurgency group received world attention when they kidnapped 276 school girls in Nigeria, a move that caused uproar and condemnation from world leaders, organizations and people from across the world. Terrorism

attacks have claimed the lives of over 33,000 people in a period of five years in the African continent who in most cases are caught in a war they are not part of. Violent extremism groups seem to be on the rise in the continent and with new dynamics on its recruits, where we seem more professionals and experts joining the terror gangs poses a new threat to security and development. This has caused a spiral back on gains made on the development of the African continent and thus caused an implication in the lives and livelihood of the local people.[8]

There are factors that predisposes the continent and the people to an easy get target for radicalization and violent extremism ideologies. This includes high poverty index, illiteracy, political instability, and poor governance coupled with weak institutions; a recipe for breeding of terrorists. In addition, the problem with youth unemployment especially with a significantly educated population of young graduates who are ICT savvy and aggressive in making a livelihood for themselves and their families leave them exposed and vulnerable to recruitments by terror groups with a promise for a better life, at least financially.[9]

Like many other countries globally, governments in Africa, in an effort to deal with extremism have focused more on the hard approach of engaging the security and military forces in suppressing radicalization and violent extremism groups. This strategy has not proven effective in stopping terrorists' attacks or suppressing their activities such as recruitment and training. In fact, this approach seems to have caused more animosity between the terror groups and the respective

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[8]Bashir, Attalla. "Legal Cooperation against Terrorism". Speech, Meeting of Ministers of Justice of IGAD member states, 2007.
[9]Fraser, J. (2001) Global terrorism –the complete reference guide by Check mark books. New York. USA.pp 71-72.

governments leading to more attacks on innocent citizens as a soft target of retaliation attacks. For instance, there were increased indiscriminately causing a public outcry on the Kenyan government to withdraw their troops from Somalia but the government turned this down as this would have been perceived as giving in to the demands by Al-Shaabab.

New findings on the push and pull factors on why people joining extremist's groups indicate that although poverty and economic depravity has been largely linked to recruitment of people from underprivileged backgrounds, this notion has been challenged by most recent developments which has seen the professionals and persons from well to do families joining terrorists' groups. In fact, the poorest and those living in dire economic situations rarely join Al-Shaabab. Nevertheless, this factor cannot be completely ignored as reformed radicalized persons have quoted poverty, political disenfranchisement and marginalization as some of the motivations behind their decision to join extremist groups. More research is needed to identity the structural root causes of terrorism in East Africa.

These chapter attempts to look at why the East Africa states are more vulnerable to terrorism by analyzing the factors that make the region more susceptible to terrorist activities. The chapter gives a brief definition of the key words in the study that is vulnerability and terrorism, it also gives the different forms of terrorism commonly found in the contemporary world. The effects of terrorism will be discussed in the later chapters.

2.1 Defination of Terms

Vulnerability

Bohle argues out that the term vulnerability has different definitions and connotations in debates focusing on terrorism depending on the field of knowledge. He defines vulnerability as the pre-existing conditions that make infrastructure, processes, services and productivity more prone to be affected by an External hazard.[10] The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) defines vulnerability as a human condition or process resulting from physical, socio-economic and environmental factors or processes which determine the likelihood and scale from the impact of a given hazard "UNDP 2004 II" and the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (UN/ISDR) on the other hand see vulnerability as the conditions determined by physical, social economic and environmental factors or processes which increases the susceptibility of a community to the impact of hazard.[11] Looking at these different approaches and definitions, vulnerability encompasses human conditions of a society affected by a disaster and the risk factor after a hazard thus terrorism seeks to cause fear among people[12]

Terrorism

Like vulnerability, terrorism has various different definitions and connotations with a non-universally accepted definition currently. Over 100 0definitions of terrorism have been provided by different scholars, researchers and academicians. While some definitions focus of terrorist group or organizations and the modus operandi, other focus on the persons involved. In general

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[10] Bohle (2001) "Vulnerability and Criticality Perspectives from Social Geography.", St. Martin's Press
[11] Ibid
[12] Birkmann, J., Wisner, B., 2006. Measuring the un-measurable. "The challenge of vulnerability". Source, No. 5/2006. United Nations University—Institute for Environment and Human Security, Bonn

the definition of Terrorism raises considerable controversy among scholars, this is because one's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter for example Africa's Icon freedom fighters like Nelson Mandela of South Africa , Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya among other were seen by the colonial powers as terrorist while the native Africans saw them as Heroes , However Terrorism can be defined as a form of violence targeted against unarmed civilians with aim of achieving a political and /or religions goal. The US defines terrorism as the act of targeted violence on noncombatant population by a sub-national group or clandestine agent with a deliberate political motivation.

2.2 Forms of Terrorism

There are different types and forms of terrorism but the concept of terrorism can wide be divided into two as Domestic Terrorism and international Terrorism.

The following are some of the major types of terrorism.

State terrorism: This refers to terrorism that is restricted to acts by state agents within its borders. Example the Kenya's operation Linda Nchi in 2011 carried out by the Kenya defense forces or Germany under the NAZI regime. In this type of terrorism, "the state use force or the threat to use force without declaring actual war to remove citizens and achieve a political goal." Grothaus argues that state terrorism is mostly carried out by authoritarian regime, and it involves the systemic use of terror by government agencies with an aim of subduing or suppressing their citizens.

State sponsored terrorism: This refers to the form of terrorism where the state sponsors terrorist groups. Typical example includes Hamas Hezbollah Kurdistan workers party and Islamic jihad

Bio- terrorism: This types of terrorism occurs when there is an international release of toxic biological agents to harm and terrorize civilians for political and other reasons. The biological agents may include viruses, bacteria and toxic chemicals or biological diseases such as Anthrax Botulism smallpox, the plague, tularemia and hemorrhagic fever.

Narcho Terrorism: This has to do with drugs and it refers to the use of violence by drug traffickers to influence state and government or prevent government effort to stop or frustrate drug business. It refers to a situation where terrorist organizational use proceeds of drug trafficking to fund their operations. Example is the Mexico cartels that carries out most killings and Burials to intimidate population from cooperating with the Authorities.

Religious terrorism: This is perhaps the most rampant type of terrorism in the 21sst century. It is a type of Terrorism where the perpetrators are motivated by a religious ideologies and grievances and is the most dangerous terrorism due to fanaticism of those who practice it, as they are willing to sacrifice themselves to die for the for what they believe is a just cause. In these type of terrorism, the terrorist use tactics such as suicide bombings, usually encouraged by religious teachings. The Al-shabaabs faction for example believe that those who die through self-sacrifice will inherit heaven and will be given seven virgins as wives the most prominent examples of terrorist Organizations characterized as religious terrorism include Al-Shabaab, Al-Qaeda, Hamas, Hezbollah Boko haram and catholic-protestants and Muslim –Hindus violence in Ireland and Pakistan and Indian respectively.

Rightwing Terrorism: This type of terrorism is usually characterized by racial motivation and use militias and gangs to marginalize minority groups in the society.

Leftwing Terrorism: This type of Terrorism usually seeks to over thrown capitalist democracies. It limits the use of violence and the role is to attack the established system in order to do away with class distinction. The best example of this type of terrorism is the Revolutionary Armed Force of Columbia, the Revolutionary people's liberation part front in Turkey, the lord's resistance Army in Uganda and Mwakenya in Kenya.

Nationalist Terrorism; Nationalist Terrorism uses violence to get, peoples sympathy because they try to fight for National liberations it is closely associated with separatist terrorism. The best example is the Irish Republican Army and Kurdistan workers party   in Turkey and Iraq.

Pathological Terrorism. Refers to terrorist acts of individuals who use such strategies for sheer joy of terrorizing others pathological terrorist often operate alone rather than in a group due to lack of well-defined political motive the terrorist are sometimes not recognized as terrorist. It's closely related to lone work terrorism.

Cyber Terrorism: Refers to the use of information technology by a group of people to attack civilians and draw attention to their cause and it involves the use of information technology such as computer systems and telecommunications as a tool to orchestrates a Traditional attack. It also refers to an attack on information technology itself.

2.3 Vulnerabilities of East Africa to Terrorism

Africa like any other continent on the world has had its shares of terrorist activities, of all the attacks meted on the continent the East African region has bored the biggest brand of this attacks and especially Kenya. Among this attacks, the most prominent ones include the simultaneously twin attack of US Embassies in Nairobi Kenya and Dar-es-Salaam Tanzania on August 7th 1998 killing 2254 and injuring 5000. Kikambala Hotel Bombing and Israel based Airline Missile attack in Mombasa, Westgate mall attack in 2013. Mpeketoni attack in 2014, The Garissa University attack in 2015 and Kampala attack in 2010. This attacks have caused huge loss of human life and property. The upsurge in terrorist attack has caused scholars to question why the East African region is so vulnerable to this attacks several factor have been advanced by Academic and professionals as facilitating terrorism in East Africa region. They include Conflicts (inter and intra), Failed state & weak governance, Corruption and weak security Architecture, Porosity of Border, Weak and hash economic conditions, Proximity to Somalia, Globalization, Technological Advancement, Geo-political position to India ocean, Western Economic interest, Poverty and unemployment and Amisom presence in Somalia.

The increase in extremism linked to Islamist insurgence groups has taken a new wave sweeping across different countries and cities across the globe which indicates terrorism as a global threat. Calculated and well executed terror attacks in some cities such as Brussels and Paris which are generally considered safe with state of the art security surveillance left the world shocked with the planning and penetration of terrorists in launching their attacks. Most countries in the Horn of Africa and Eastern Africa have experienced a fair share of terror attacks. Kenya has particularly been a target especially since the Kenya Defense Forces went into Somalia in 2012 and launched

retaliatory attacks on Al-Shabaab base in most parts controlled by the group. The mission was to protect Kenyan borders and the population from repeated attacks and to crush the group or at least suppress their operations. Prior to the KDF mission, the country had consistently been attacked with the Al-Shabaab claiming responsibilities and this led to a tainted image of the national government which was losing confidence among the masses on its capability to fight the Al-Shaabab. The war on terrorism in Kenya took on a political and religious angle when certain leaders and politicians accused the state of targeting certain communities; a perspective that was countered by another group blaming such politicians of hosting and shielding the perpetrators of terrorist attacks. Some leaders from the Northern parts of Kenya were also accused of benefiting from proceeds from Al-Shaabab activities in Somalia ranging from pirate's operations and illegal sugar and charcoal businesses.

There has been contrasting hypothesis on past and ongoing theoretical and practical debates in Kenya in relation to the causes and conditions that has facilitated for increased violent extremism.[13] One of the hypothesis focuses on the external factors such as the country's foreign policy with countries in the West and Europe, unstable neighboring countries, the refugees factor, and Kenya's troops in the Amison. The second hypotheses focus on the domestic factors which ranges from poverty, high unemployment rates, marginalization of certain communities, historical injustices, and economic and political grievances.

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[13]J. Shola Omotola. (2014). Assessing Counter Terror Measures in Africa: Implications for Human Rights and National Security.

The mentioned factors cannot be exclusively pinned on the different attacks that have happened in Kenya since terrorism presents unique dynamics owing to the complexity of the matter. Therefore, it would be a misconception to entirely credit this factors as the sole driving causes of terrorists' activities in Kenya. Like many other attacks in different places, different groups such as the Taliban in Afghanistan, Boko Haram in Nigeria, ISIS in Syria, and Iraq presents differing motivations in their terror operations.[14]

The question and complexity of the issue of land in Kenya has been marked with perennial land injustices, and unaddressed local and public injustices in relation to land ownership especially in the Coastal region. In analyze and map out on the most prevalent regions that experienced rising extremism in the recent and past years, the study is of the view that land grievances have been a cause factor whether indirectly or even directly. This situation has been compounded by ethnicity, Islamic ideologies and deteriorating economic activities subjecting the local communities to abject poverty. There exist limited research findings on the link between land grievances and internally instigated terrorists' attacks since in most studies, land is only accounted as just another general factor that contributes to radicalization and violent extremism.

Most countries in Sub-Sahara continue to experience political instability coupled with civil wars, tribal conflicts and poor or weak state institutions. This means that even in more stable nations, the government lacks the capability to exercise control in their jurisdiction. Regions along the borders and particularly those bordering failed or failing states, or more internally, slums in cities

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[14]J. Shola Omotola. (2014). Assessing Counter Terror Measures in Africa: Implications for Human Rights and National Security.

include some of the areas that remain a challenge for the state in terms of providing adequate security and exercising full control. In addition, the security officers are inadequately trained, the instruments used ineffective and corruption plays a key role in luring this officers to bend over backwards when dealing with criminals and those that contravenes the law. The economy of such states further relies on dubious and illegal businesses which includes drugs trafficking, illegal weapon sale, raw materials, and human trafficking; activities which have been mentioned as means through which terrorists sustain their financial base. The inability of security forces in most African countries to protect their population and infrastructure especially in areas which remain an easy target for terrorists' attacks means that terrorists will continue to intimidate the public by executing their plans.

2.4 Factors Influencing Terrorism in East Africa

- ➢ Conflicts (inter and intra)
- ➢ Failed state & weak governance
- ➢ Corruption and weak security Architecture
- ➢ Porosity of Border
- ➢ Weak and hash economic conditions
- ➢ Proximity to Somalia
- ➢ Globalization
- ➢ Technological Advancement
- ➢ Geo-political position to India ocean
- ➢ Western Economic interest

> ➢ Poverty and unemployment

> ➢ Amisom presence in Somalia

2.4.1 Proximity to Somalia and Arabian Peninsula

East Africa is close to the failed state of Somalia and the Arabian Peninsula which are heaven for terrorist and this has enabled the East African region to provide a safe operations base for Al-Qaeda affiliated terrorist groups Al-Shabaab to carry out their activities in and beyond the region itself.

The collapse of the Somalia state in 1991 left the country vulnerable to lawlessness and emergence of insurgency groups such as the Al-Shabaab. Lack of a stable government and working institution since then has facilitated an environment conducive for extremism to thrive and further cross borders. This has encouraged the propagating of Islamic and Jihadists ideologies, recruitment of fighters, training of recruits and planning of terrorist attacks not only targeting the Transitional national government but also those aimed at other nations like Kenya. Most terrorists are bred in Somalia and in the Middle East a fact that prompted President Bush to support the stabilization efforts in Somalia as this will go a long way in the fight against Islamic extremism and terrorism.

2.4.2 Porosity of Border

The geographical terrain in most parts of Kenya where violent extremism is deeply rooted and widely spread faces unique security challenges owing to porous borders and proximity into unstable nations. Ombaka notes that the porous borders offer an easy entry of criminals in and out of the country; with those coming from Somalia to Kenya, launching attacks and slipping back

into Somalia unnoticed. Internal conflicts within communities living in Northern Kenya's arid and semi-arid areas serves to escalate the insecurity question, leaving the people more vulnerable to recruitment into terrorists' groups. Cattle rustling and competition on scarce natural resources such as grazing land and water has caused animosity and divisions among the people making them an easy target.[15]

Mogire and Agade argues that most attacks on Kenyan soil have been planned in Somalia and exported to Kenya whether in terms of weapons, grenades or the terrorists themselves. This has been aided by permeable borders and corrupt security officers on the entry points and highways. Once in the country, the criminals choose to go and hide in some of those areas considered abandoned by the government and where security surveillance is limited. For instance, the Mpeketoni attack exposed laxity on government security and rescue agencies but the terrorists managed to carry out such a brutal attack with high level of impunity. The location that was attacked is close to the Pandaguo forest which extends to the north to the expansive Boni forest which is a region notorious for harboring Al-Shabaab fighters and thus offered a convenient hide out for the attackers.[16] There has been evidence pointing to the direction that the perpetrators of the 1998 and 2002 devastating attacks could have been staying in the same location. Nonetheless, the argument that Al-Shaabab operatives decided to attack Mpeketoni owing to a lack of government presence and the easier escape routes does not hold water. In fact, and in contrary, the area attracts the attention of security officers due to its proximity to the General Service Unit

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[15]Laqueur, Walter. The New Terrorism. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
[16]Mogire, E., & Agade, K. M. (2011). Counter terrorism in Kenya. Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 29(4), 473-491.

(GSU) and KDF bases in Hindi, Mokowe and Witu. Currently, the region boosts heavy security personnel both military and general police in comparison between now and in 1998 and 2002 thus disputing the "ungoverned spaces" factor associating Mpeketoni.[17]

2.4.3 The Growth of Selfish Religious Ideology in East Africa

The East African region has for long enjoyed the diversity and cooperation resulting from different faith groups which is a feature characterized in many countries in the region. This interfaith tolerance among the people is however being threated whenever there is a terrorist attack as a group from one faith may feel targeted by another thus encouraging religious animosity and intolerance. Further, there is a general perception in the public domain that Saudi Arabia and the states in the Gulf regions have been making attempts to enforce Islamic religion and conservative practices within the East Africa. The approach of propagating Islamic ideologies has been targeting children in Madrassas, and young persons in Mosques and other recreational areas. This has caused suspicions from people of a different faith and the frosty relationship has been escalated by socio-economic, and ethnicity differences. The approach by the government when reacting to terror attacks has also been criticized as targeting a certain community or religion which has served to intensify the divide between people living in these areas. To fight terrorism collectively, there is an urgency to first address the internal factors before even looking at the external factors. This is because addressing the domestic factors will play an important role in building resilience of the communities in fight violent extremism and radicalization.[18]

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[17]Paul Wilkinson. (2006). Terrorism versus Democracy: The Liberal State Response. Routledge, London.
[18]Patrick Kimungunyi. (2015). Terrorism and Counter Terrorism in East Africa. EU Centre Monash University

The focus of Islamic extremism on prominent groups such as the Al-Shabaab in Somalia, or Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan has ignored home grown terrorists and the concept of "sleeper cells". This category of individuals form the most difficult to fight extremists as in most cases they blend in with the local communities making it hard for security officers to identify them. Another factor that has been under looked is the opportunity for young Muslim youths to go study on scholarships or self-sponsored programs in the Arab world. These people when they come back, they bring with them cultural practices and extremists interpretation of Islam. Further, the accessibility of Arab Satellite and television channels such as the Al-Jazeera have contributed to the widespread agenda of the Islamic faith across the globe.[19]

The result has been a growing strain and misunderstanding and misrepresentation of Islam which has caused interfaith conflict even among Muslim brothers. Extremists lean towards false teachings and prey on weak followers in preaching false teaching in contrast to what true Islam teach about love and peace. Unfortunately, some of this false and radicalized teachings take place in Mosques and are led by popular Muslim Imams and Sheikhs making the people susceptible to such beliefs and preaching. This has caused disharmony among Muslims who do not agree with this approach but also caused suspicions and tensions from the non-Muslims, a trigger factor to full blown violence on the slightest provocation.[20]

There had been limited attacks from terrorists in East Africa before 2012 but this rose to roughly 20 per year since with Kenya bearing most of the attacks. The most memorable was the West-gate

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[19] Ibid

[20] Rapoport, David, and Yonah Alexander. The Rationalization of Terrorism. Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, 1982

attack when a few terrorists staged a siege for three days overwhelming the security forces and causing panic in the country. The horrifying attack left over 60 persons dead, scores injured and more indirect economic and social effects. The Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility for the attack but intelligence services focused more on the local sympathizers whom could have aided in the planning and executing of such a daring attack. Barely two years after, the group attacked Garissa University at night and killed 147 students, particularly targeting non-Muslims. The strategy used in the two cases was an attempt to cause divisions and animosity by sparing Muslims.

There have been continued attacks of smaller magnitude in bus stops, cafes, churches, and even some targeting moderate Imams and Mosques. This attacks have been blamed on the Muslim Youth Center (MYC), an urban based group that has emerged in Nairobi and which has professed allegiance to the Islamic terrorist groups. MYC is suspected to be an affiliate of Al-Shabaab and was blamed for the internal planning of the West gate attack. Further, the group is claimed to have been recruiting youths, both Muslims and non-Muslims from different ethnicity groups to join their cause. The group emerged in the public domain in 2012 when it was using the name Hijra and has been accused of fundraising for Al-Shabaab activities.

2.4.4 Socio-economic Grievances

The extremist ideologies witnessed in East Africa is not home grown but exported from Somalia and the Middle East but are enforced by domestic factors. The perception that terrorists have a lot of wealth and yield power and influence is a contradiction at the local context in East Africa when one pays a closer attention at the caliber of recruits who make the biggest chunk. This is not to dismiss in entirety that some persons behind the terror groups are millionaires and they fund the

activities of terrorists. There have been claims from different quarters that Al-Shabaab receive financial support from charity organizations that pose as foundations and running philanthropic missions around the world. In East Africa, Muslims have shown discontentment on how the respective governments have dealt with the fight against violent extremism and this has pushed some groups who are more sympathetic towards Islamic extremists to lean to their defense. This of course pushes the narrative of "us" vs "them".[21]

Muslims living in certain regions in Kenya such as Coast and North Eastern may have legitimate grievances such as rampant unemployment, marginalization and harassment by the state machinery. Further, there are low enrolments rates in primary schools, even lower numbers transition into secondary schools as high rates of school dropout remain on the rise as students' progress into higher education. This can be linked to fewer schools and worrying teacher-student ratio in these counties as compared to the average in other parts of Kenya.[22]

This situation is replicated in other countries such as Tanzania with Zanzibar, which is predominantly Muslims has high unemployment rates standing at 17% in comparison with 9% average for the national index. Similarly, there are no clear laws on land and property rights in most of the Coastal areas leaving community and private land susceptible to government confiscation or land grabbing by powerful business people or entities.[23]

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[21]Schmid Alex and Jongman Albert. (1988). Political Terrorism: A New guide to Actors, Authors, Concepts, Databases, Theories and Literature. Amsterdam: Transaction books.
[22]Spencer. A. (2006). Questioning the concept of New Terrorism. Peace conflict and development. Issue 8.www.peacestudies.Journal.org.uk. Accessed on 10th may 2015.
[23]United Nations (2008), United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy: Activities of the United Nations System in Implementing the Strategy, Report of the Secretary-General, UN Doc. A/62/998, Annex. 7 July.

Ironically, members of the public do not realize or notice the glaring differences on the socio-economic status on the basis of their religion. In a recent survey conducted among the public in Kenya, Muslims respondents perceived their lives and living conditions to be equal or better than those of others. Christians respondents at two third projected the same views in relation to their living conditions. This shows a slight shift in perceptions in comparison to earlier surveys conducted between 2008 and 2011 which showed that Muslims perceived their living conditions to be better than those of others. For instance in Tanzania, a survey conducted showed that 53% of Muslims respondents believed that their living conditions were better or at least similar to other citizens a response that matched that of the Christians respondents.[24]

Findings from such public surveys reinforces the history of interfaith connections and resilience of members of the public despite divisionary tactics a long religious or political lines.

The narrative and threat of Islamic extremism is a challenge in certain areas of the countries such as Mandera, Lamu, Kilifi, Mombasa, and Nairobi in Kenya, with Zanzibar, Tanga, and Daresalam. In addition, there is a small group of Muslims within East Africa who subscribe to extreme Islamic ideologies but this group has been vocal and effective in propagating their agenda and causing fear.[25] The justification propagated by moderate and extremist Muslims to growing radicalization and violent extremism is to push a political and religious agenda that Muslims have been deliberately been denied socio-economic opportunities. This narrative provides for an easy

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[24]Bashir, Attalla. "Legal Cooperation against Terrorism". Speech, Meeting of Ministers of Justice of IGAD member states, 2007
[25]Drakos, Konstantinos. (2004). Terrorism induced structural shifts in financial risk. Airlines stocks in the aftermath of the September 11th terror attacks. European Journal of Political Economy, 20(2) 436-446.

propaganda to sell to desperate and unemployed youths in Mosques, Madrassas and recreational centers.

Kenya's domestic policies in connection to distribution of resources in different parts of the country has led to unequal socio-economic developments in marginalized areas and this has been interpreted by moderate to extremism Muslims as a calculated state strategy to treat them as "second class citizens". This has been met by rebellion from the Islamic communities. Historical injustices, marginalization, under development, natural and environmental factors are some of the drivers to rising radicalization. This means that there are legit reasons that drive people to terrorism and extremists groups continue to exploit this gap and to offer solutions to problems and challenges facing the local people.[26]

Osama Bin Laden's statement following the terrorists attack in the US reinforces the premise built on the deprivation theory that poor and oppressed communities; whether real or perceived develop frustration tendencies which leads to violent extremism. This explains why certain communities are more vulnerable to radicalization while others are more resilient to the same. Unfortunately, the hard approach to countering violent extremism by the state has only served to create more frustrations anger among the Muslims in the Coastal and North Eastern regions.[27] The unfair treatment of terror suspects in the hands of government security officers have been met with condemnation by Muslim leaders and civil societies. Many suspects have been kidnapped, tortured and killed once they are arrested with some still missing after they arrests by the anti-terror police

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[26]F. Clifford-Vaughan. (1987) "Terrorism and Insurgency in South Africa", Journal of Social. Political and Economic Studies, Vol.12, No.3.
[27] Ibid

unit. In retaliatory responses, more youths have been recruited by extremists' groups as a counter measure to what they consider as collective targeting by the state and the treatment of all Somalis even those of Kenyan origin as suspects of terrorism.

2.3.5 Youth Radicalization

Poverty and unemployment has been sighted as key drivers to Recruitment and subsequent radicalization of youths into terror organizations. Radicalization is one of the most crucial processes of a terror network. Behind every terrorist act are many people who help project extreme ideologies, recruit and effectively indoctrinate the recruited to be able to carry out the acts of terror[28]. Facilitation of this act often requires the commission of many criminal activities including transport of weapons or explosives, illegal financing and money laundering, and illegal movement of people. Peer pressure among youths and friends especially in their recreational spaces has served as a viable ground for radicalization to take place.

According to Kruger, the individuals recruited often know they are serving the organization. But on many occasions, the individuals who are recruited may only be connected with the criminal side of the activities and will therefore not be aware that they are working with a terrorist organization[29]. While this situation applies to all members of terrorists groups, it is particularly true for the recruitment of juveniles and youth who may often have less political understanding of the environment in which they operate. In contrast, politicized youth in colleges and high schools

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[28]Israel. A Oche. (2014). Africa and the Resurgence of Terrorism: Revisiting the Fundamentals.
[29]Hoffman, B. 1995.Holy terror: The implications of terrorism motivated by a religious imperative. Studies in Conflict& Terrorism 18 (4): 271 – 284.

may be more willing to commit criminal acts if they do this to support a political cause they believe in.

Numerous presumptions exist about why young people are easily lured into violent extremism in their teenage years. This can be linked to physical and emotional body changes that influences a teenager in terms of their relationships and interactions with their peers. In many cases, this stage is marked with emotional instability, mood swings, need for acceptance, identity crisis, and self-esteem issues. These competing emotions can take a toll on a person leaving a person more prone to joining violent activities. Most persons are also more rebellious in their teen years and this offers an enticing time for extremists groups to lure them with money and other forms of adventure.[30]

2.3.6 Corruption and Weak Security Architecture

Al-Shabaab has heavily exploited the weak and inefficient security architectures in the East Africa region especially Kenya that is highly riddled with corruption to move freely through the entry points and even through security checks and road blocks as they compromise their screening after corrupting the security agents there have been strong allegations and well placed hard evidence that Kenya police and military offices occasionally attended with Al-Shabaab and even get full police escorts of explosive disguised as food or electrical merchants.

Corruption is the fuel that enables social ills to thrive and go unabated and this has been reflected in conflicts and in the fight against extremism. Corrupt officials indirectly aid criminals in carrying

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[30]Hoeffler, Anke. On The Causes of Civil War. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

out their activities as it exposes every person to danger in the case of terrorism. Security officers driven by greed and love for money become an easy target for terrorists' groups as they mostly have money to buy their way in and out making it easy for them to perpetuate their attacks.[31]

Corruption weakens institutions and in the case where its rampant like in the military and security agencies, it becomes a threat to a nation. In East Africa, corruption is widespread in government security agencies which can be linked to poor remuneration for officers, poor equipment, and lack of patriotism. In many instances, money meant for purchase of equipment, training of officials, logistics and coordinating operations and missions is mismanaged and swindled by officers in charge to a point of crippling security operations.

Corruption in investigation agencies and in the Judiciary provides for loopholes for intimidation of court clerks, manipulation of lawyers and judges, shoddy investigations and interferences in cases involving terror suspects[32]. Terrorists groups require financial capacity to be able to run their operations as seamless and as clandestine as possible. Most of their funding is suspected to come from proceeds from dubious businesses such as illegal sugar and charcoal business in Kismayu. Further, terrorists engage in other forms of criminal activities such as counterfeiting documents such as passports which they use for their travels.

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[31]Cronin, Audrey Kurth. "Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism." International Security 27, no. 3 (2003): 30-58.doi:10.1162/01622880260553624.
[32]Bashir, Attalla. "Legal Cooperation against Terrorism". Speech, Meeting of Ministers of Justice of IGAD member states, 2007

Corruption undermines security at every level and lead to the collapse of institutions mandated with securing a country's borders and protecting its citizens. For instance when weapons export control policy is not implemented, there is proliferation of weapons which falls in wrong hands thus endangering every citizen.[33] This is done when officers at the border collaborate with criminal elements in cheating on the number of weapons transferred and faking documentation. Terrorists and other criminal groups are specialists in identifying security loopholes which they then manipulate to have their way.

2.4.7 Western Economic Interest

East African region possess a greater danger to the region itself more than developed states. Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda have close diplomatic ties with western countries and this is reflected with the presence of international organization offices and foreign embassies and high commissions. Example United Nation Environment Programme and United Nations Human settlement programme in Nairobi and International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) in Arusha Tanzania this Western interest are key targets for other states and groups against western civilization proximity to Somalia the regions proximity to Somalia and especially Kenya which shares a common border makes the region more vulnerable to terrorism by the Al-Shabaab group that has a bale in Somalia. The region becomes a soft target as the members of the terrorist group can quickly and easily more and reaches their target in the region in a short time. The western interest in East Africa is evident from the 1980 attack in Norfolk hotel in Nairobi which is owned by a

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[33] Ibid

Jewish company and the missile attack on Israel airplane in 2003 and west gate mall attack all are foreign economic interest in Kenya.

2.4.8 Geopolitical Location to the Indian Ocean

The East Africa's geographical location to the Indian Ocean possesses a great danger to the region and the countries and particularly littoral states of Kenya and Tanzania becomes soft target to pirate groups operating on the Indian Ocean. Kenya and Tanzania are the get way to East & Central Africa they become soft target for terrorist group attacking interest of land locked countries in the region such as Uganda, Sudan and Rwanda. The close ties of the region with the west and Israel makes the region susceptible to terrorist attacks from groups targeting the economic interest of the West and Israel. The Indian Ocean is a heaven for Al-Shabaab pirates who hijack cargo ships and crew and demand exorbitant ransom.

2.4.9 Globalization and Advanced Technology

Terrorist organization has benefited a lot from the negative impact of globalization. The East Africa region and particularly Kenya have advanced technology in Transport and communication. Kenya is recorded as Africa's power house in technology with good internet communication. Terrorist organization finds the country a heaven of their activities at one point CNN reporter described Kenya as a hot bed for terror activities. Advanced technology has let terrorism to use local material such as manmade bomb to execute their agenda. It has also let to the use of other activities that are least suspected to be expensive such as mobile phones that are remotely operated.

The East African region also is a host of most international media houses such as xiuhuqi, CNN and Al-Jazeera terrorist always want international publicity and therefore international media coverage would give them need oxygen to survive and thrive.[34]

2.4.10 AMISOM

The presence of African mission in Somalia (AMISOM) with the backing of inter-governmental development authority (IGAD). Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda Burundi and Ethiopia are jointly fighting as part of the AMISOM and the Al-Shabaab attacks to these countries are aimed at forcing them to withdraw their troops from Somalia

2.4.11 Tourism

The advanced tourism sector in East Africa also attract Tourist who to get foreign international Tourist that frequent the region Example is the British coups kidnapped in a hotel in Kilifi in 2014. Tourist in the region has a major target to terrorism attacks over the years.

 Foreign Tourist targeting was evident in 2002 when Paradise Hotel in Kikambala, Mombasa was attacked after receiving over 600 tourists.

2.5 Conclusion

While explanations may differ when focusing at terrorism from an international perspective, findings from recent studies indicate that rising extremists' groups and terrorists' attacks in East

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[34] Anneli, Botha. "Relationship between Africa and International Terrorism: Causes and Linkages". In Southern African and International Terrorism. Tswalu: Brenthurst Foundation, 2007.

Africa are mostly motivated by domestic rather than domestic factors. These push and pull factors such as unemployment, marginalization, economic grievances, and religious ideologies. Land grievances remain an issue of contention which has been used as a tool of oppression and conflicts.[35].

Politicians have continued to use the land question to achieve their political agenda by preying on the sensationalism surrounding land. In the case of Kenya, Al-Shabaab have exploited this grievance to win more sympathizers by causing divisions based on ethnicity or religious differences. This is by targeting attacks on certain communities as a way of settling land grudges and driving them out what the local communities believe to be their ancestral land.

Counter terrorism strategies pursued by the government have served to enlarge the differences between the different groups thus escalating radicalization. Targeting Muslim youths as the main terrorists' suspects has stirred interfaith tensions between Muslims and Christians which provides a leeway for Al-Shabaab to exploit. This study proposes that any counter-terrorism efforts seek to address internal factors contribute to growing voices of violent extremism.[36]

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[35]Anneli, Botha. "Relationship between Africa and International Terrorism: Causes and Linkages". In Southern African and International Terrorism. Tswalu: Brenthurst Foundation, 2007.
[36] Ibid

CHAPTER THREE

THE IMPACT OF TERRORISM ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF EAST AFRICAN STATES

3.0 Introduction

This chapter of the study looks at the impact of terrorism on International relations with a specific focus on the East African states of Kenya-Tanzania-Uganda Rwanda, Burundi and Southern Sudan. (EAC). Over the decades the EAC has enjoyed good ties both diplomatic and Economic as well as political relations but the scenario has changed drastically over the last two decades as the results of terrorism.

The East African states share a number of things such as political boundaries, natural resources such as water in lake and rivers, land and people and therefore it's important for the countries to cooperate for a common goal since interdependence among states is inevitable.[37] Among the key issue that brings these countries together includes security, immigration, Trade, Terrorism cross border conflict and regional integration. These issues can be categorized as social, economic and political. [38]

Terrorism has both Negative and positive impact on inter-state relations this make the core issues of analysis of this chapter. States interrelate on a number of social, economic and political issues Key issue in international Relations includes

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[37] Patrick Kimungunyi. (2015). Terrorism and Counter Terrorism in East Africa. EU Centre Monash University
[38] Ibid

- International Trade

- National peace and security

- Foreign policy

- Foreign investment (direct Foreign investment (DFI)

- Migration and movement of people

- Cross border conflicts

- Natural resources

- Economic growth and development

- Regional integration

- Tourism

1. Kenya Economic Survey 2016. 2 National Tourism Strategy, 2013, 2013-2018. 3 Kenya Institute for Public Policy and Research, 2017, Kenya Economic Report 2017, 4 Institute **for** States interrelate on a number of social, economic and political issues.

3.1 Social

Security

It's a core function of government to provide security to her people (population) and every state has put in place strategies and measure to ensure that there is adequate security for the people but over years' state efforts have been hampered by Terrorist activities. The Al-Shabaab group in East Africa has dealt a major blow to state security as countries has battled the group without much

success. Due to the changing Nature and magnitude of terrorism. [39]No country in the world today can claim to be strong enough to deal the vice alone even the most powerful states like US have accepted that terrorism is a global security treaty and there is need for the international community to form effort in the war against Terrorism. In totality Terrorism is the glue that us holding states together and this has clearly manifested itself in East Africa through the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISON) to fight Al-Shabaab in Somalia.[40]

Terrorism has changed the manner in which states handle the National Security issue. Kenya entered Somalia in 2008 to fight Al-Shabaab but the country quickly called for International intervention since the country could not face the Al-Shabaab challenges alone. Other East African states joined forces with Uganda and Burundi sending the tropes in Somalia. Tanzania pledged to train Somalia land army troops. Other African countries with troops in AMISOM are Ethiopia, Djibouti and Sierra Leone. The Al-Shabaab threat has forced countries in the East African Region to come together and forge collection security strategy to fight the war against terrorism. [41]

Terrorism has changed the way people perceive their security when considering a business trip or holiday people now have to factor in the question whether the destination is considered safe what's the lease dangerous route and means of travel to get there. Terrorism has caused states to put

[39] Mogire, E., & Agade, K. M. (2011). Counter terrorism in Kenya. Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 29(4), 473-491.
[40] Economics and Peace, 2015. 5 Kenya Tourism Board, 2015. 6 Central Bank of Kenya,2015. 7
[41] Ongoma, V. and Onyango O. A. (2014). A Review of the Future of Tourism in Coastal Kenya: "The Challenges and Opportunities Posed by Climate Chang".

sophisticated and thorough security apparatus at all entry points of their countries especially at the Airport and boarder points.

SOCIAL

Terrorism has a psychological and emotional suffering of families. Terror activities has cause untold loss of life and property and fractured interstate relations. Many families have lost their loved ones and hundreds of thousands others left maimed and orphaned as a result of terrorism. Many civilians have been killed in terrorist attacks such as the August 7th 1998 targeted on the US Embassy attack in Nairobi, Kenya which almost happened concurrently minutes apart to that of on the American embassy in Dar-es-salaam, Tanzania. Other notable terror attacks in Kenya were the Westgate mall attack in and Garissa University attack in 2015. In this three incidents alone over 500 lives were lost. Translating to over tens of thousands of other people getting psychological trauma.[42]

Masses have been displaced and life disrupted as state security agencies under the auspices Africa Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) battled the Al-Shabaab Insurgents on Somalia. The displacement of peoples has led to increased Refugee camps in the region such as Dadaab, IfO and Lagidera Refugee Camps in North Eastern Kenya and Kakuma and Kalobeyei in Turkana. There are other Isolated refugee camps all the East Africa. The disruption of life means that People cannot freely move within the region disrupting the social network.[43]Within the states. Refugee camps have been accused of being the breeding Ground for terrorism by the international community as the

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[42] Krause, V. & Otenyo, E. (2015). Terrorism and the Kenyan public. Studies in Conflict Terrorism, 28(2), 99-112.
[43] Ibid

Refugees themselves regroup and fight back to displace the government of their country, the best example is the Rwanda Genocide of 1994.Who Main perpetrators were Rwandese Refugees in Uganda through Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) led by the incumbent president.

Terrorism has increased xenophobia among the communities of the East African region especially the people of Somalia origin. People of Somali community have been treated with contempt by other communities as they are believed to be Al-Shabaab sympathizers.

Free movement of people from state to state has been curtailed as states put Security measure in place. The normal free movement of people from one Country to another have been interrupted leading to isolation of state from one another as states are a people. There is also serious Religious and Ethnic tension among communities of East Africa region the East Africa is predominantly Christian and Muslim.

With diverse ethnic composition Kenya alone for example has over 42 tribes. There has been that insinuation among the Christian community that Muslims are the Al-Shabaab sympathizers and financial supporters and this has to resulted into bad relationship between the Muslims and Christian brothers who have otherwise co-existed harmoniously for a long time in history. The Christian fraternity believe that the Muslims are fighting a local war (Jihad) to spread Islam and turn the whole world into Islam. There was evident with it the various attacks on various churches in Garissa, Mandera, Mombasa, and Nairobi

3.2 Economic

Terrorism has led to serious negative economic impact to East African state Al-Shabaab Terrorism group has dealt a big blow in trade, tourism and foreign direct investment in East Africa the group has established business chains in the region and has been involved in what business aspiration contraband goods such as sugar drugs money laundering human traffic.[44]

The impact of terrorism cannot be over emphasized. Terrorism has caused untold physical destruction loss of life economic damage disrupted household spending and livelihood. Terrorism has also dissuaded foreign direct investment (FDI) and led to reallocation of resources from Economic growth enhancing investment to spending designed to increase national security. Terrorism has adversely impacted on the following of key economic stimulus in East Africa, tourism trade ADI Foreign Agriculture, exchange education health transport infrastructure etc.

Tourism

The tourism sector which is a key foreign exchange earner in Kenya for example has been crippled by the tourism atrocities these atrocities has caused cancellation of Hotel bookings and trips by both local regional and international tourists. Many international tourist has changed their destination from East African to other parts of the continent especially west and South Africa due to terrorist activities in the region. Kenya alone for example in 2015 had the number of tourist

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[44] J. Shola Omotola. (2014). Assessing Counter Terror Measures in Africa: Implications On Economics and Development

visiting the country dropping from 800,000 in 2014 to 750,000 causing decrease in government revenue and foreign exchange by Ksh 96 million.[45]

Both Europe and America who are the international tourist to East Africa have over the last two decades warned and discouraged their citizen visiting East Africa over terrorist attacks in the region. Terrorism has a psychological effect on the tourist's behavior and a single terrorist attack in a region can cause thousands of tourist to change their destination or council the trip all over a certain safety and negative media images can highly influence a tourist destination choice.

Trade

Trade is a key issue in international relations. The East African states have been trading with one another for a long time, with export and import earnings contributing to the GAP Gross products (GDP) of every state, however Terrorist groupings have been involved in illicit business to support financial needs and funding of their activities. Terrorist smuggle foods in the country which they sell at lower prices, this gives the competition to legal merchants in the market. The illegal business popularly known of goods. The illicit economy can destroy the legitimate economy of the country. The contraband goods smuggled into the country are also substandard and inferior in quality.

The East African states have traded with one another over decades every country have developed foreign policies endeavored to promote and improve trading ties with its partners in the region and beyond. Trade policies have also been aimed at establishing new trade relations with new trade

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[45] http://www.hivisasa.com/posts/us-approves-sale-of-sh42bn-military-equipment-to-kenya 13 Economic Survey 2015 and 2016

partners. Such new ties have seen the East African countries shifting trade relations from the west.US and European countries to China. The East African states have continued deepening ties with regional and international partners in order to expand markets for the domestic products and create employment growth

The states have enjoyed good Trade ties with each other for over four (4) decades but over the last one decade now the trade partnership in the region has be damaged by the Al-Shabaab and other terrorist organization. Al-Shabaab terrorist organization has been involved in organized criminal activities such as piracy drug traffic youth radicalization and smuggling of goods specially sugar and charcoal and proliferation of small arms, the smuggling of contraband goods denying states revenue and opportunity for legitimate trade. Al-Shabaab has been involved in privacy on Indian Ocean hijacking cargo ships and demanding huge ransom from member states example.[46]

Privacy has made the Mombasa port in Kenya which has been a key gateway to most land locked countries in East Central Africa such as Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and southern Sudan, Sudan and Democratic republic of Congo (DRC) to abandon the port and seek for alternative route for the export and import.[47] The Dar-es-salaam port in Tanzania has been the immediate alternative this has denied Kenya Revenue collection in terms of tax which has negative implication to the country's economic.[48]

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[46] Economic Survey, 2015. 9 National Geographic, 2010. 10 Kenya National Bureau of Statistics.
[47] Ibid
[48] Kenya Investment Authority and Central Bank of Kenya, (2015) Foreign Investment Survey, 2015. 11 2017/18 Budget Statement

Al-Shabaab sympathizers has also opened business chains in the region and engages in illicit business contraband good have caused unfair competition to genuine products sugar and narcotic drugs and smuggling into the region through the port of Kisimayu in Somalia flooding the local market with foreign products and denying the local sugar industry market for some time mumias sugar was being exported to Uganda and Tanzania.

Al-Shabaab threat caused the Republic of Uganda to change their all pipeline from Lamu to Northern Uganda to Dar-es-salaam which is longer than Lamu.

CHAPTER FOUR

TRATEGIES OF COMBATING TERRORISM IN EAST AFRICA AND THEIR CHALLENGES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter of the study explores approaches employed by both the East African states and non-state actors in fighting terrorism in the region and the Horn of African and particularly Kenya The chapter examines the efforts by stats and other non-state actor, locally and internationally to counter terrorism in the region. The chapter begins by highlighting the responses to terrorism by region, continental as well international organizations. Although much have been done to combat terrorism in East Africa the vice seems to be uncontained the up surge is worrying.

The chapter secondly looks at the challenges facing states and non-state actors in combating terrorism and concludes by looking on the way forward in dealing with the problem of Terrorism in the region.

A number of regional and international organization as well as individual states have been involved in efforts to combat Terrorism in East Africa[49]. Al-Qaeda affiliated terrorism UN and union AU the US and the Ethiopia and Kenya and some of the states and organizations in the fore front to fight terrorism in the region other inter-governmental organization involved in the fight against Al-Shabaab in East African include the United nations, European union (EU) Inter government

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[49] F. Clifford-Vaughan. (1987) "Terrorism and Insurgency in Africa", Journal of Social. Political and Economic Studies, Vol.12, No.3.

Authority on development (IGAD). Other government organization include United States African Command (AFRICOM) through its component the United States combined joint task force. Horn of Africa (CJTF_HOA) and non –government organization and the civil society and programmes such as the East Africa counter-terrorism initiative (ERCTI) modeled from the Trans-sahara counter terrorism initiative (TSGTI).

4.2 The United Nations Counter-terrorism Efforts in East Africa

In 2006 UN General Assembly adopted United Nations Global Counter Terrorism Strategy (UNCCT-T strategy) on 8th September that called for inclusive and logistic approach to counter terrorism globally. The strategy emphasized the need to incept the role of regional ad sub-region al organization and other stakeholders and particularly UN member states in dealing with terrorism this led to the establishment of UN counter terrorism implementation task force (UNC_T Task force) that created an opportunity to improve both regional and sub-regional counter terrorism cooperation in East Africa. The strategy was aimed at taking proactive measures to deal with pre-conditions for terrorism such preventive measure which include prevent and combat terrorism capacity building human rights and the strict adherence to the rule of law when dealing with terrorist throaty.

Current counter terrorism programs military presence and security cooperation programs with regional states in East Africa by the United states and its coalition partners especially United Kingdom (UK) and France demonstrate the importance these super power attack to the security challenges posed by terrorism state collapse insurgences and other threats to peace and stability in the region –the combined form task force-Horn of Africa (CJTF_HOA) based in Djiboutis as part

of US Africa Command (AFRICOM) which was established in October 2008 has CJTF-HOA'S area of responsibility includes Kenya Ethiopia Eritrea, Sudan ,Somalia Djibouti Yemen and the Seychelles CJTF_HOA also have projects in Uganda and Tanzania with the objectives of fostering security in the regions build littoral capabilities and support the AU and UN peace keeping cooperation in its Area of Responsibility (AOP).

Given the state of terrorist threat in East Africa building counter terrorism capabilities of the regional states is paramount. CJTF_HOA together with Brefan has helped to build Yemen Coast guards and provide military training to Ethiopia, Uganda and Djibouti and navies of Kenya and Djibouti. To gain support of the population against terrorist elements the CJTF_HOA has a strong focus on civil affairs training in Uganda, Tanzania, Kenya, Djibouti and Yemen through school renovation medical provision and Veterinary services as well as water drilling across its AOR.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Terrorism and violent extremism has led to massive destruction of infrastructure and physical human capital. As a result of terrorism incidents productivity and economic growth in East Africa has Slowed down tremendously, more over the increased number of terrorist atrocities in the region has led to high costs of operating business through increased insurance premiums, enhanced security measures such as CC TV and private security to frisk people in and out of premises and high labor costs. The massive installation of expensive security cameras metal detectors makes business unproductive causing many investors to re-locate their business in other regions of the African continent. Although the effort put in place so far has yielded some positive results but still much in need to be done. The resources diverted to fight terrorism could have been directed to other economic growth projects and hence these resources are apparently wasteful.

States have employed hard power in dealing with terrorism. This has been mainly military power to deal with terrorist organizations and leaders in the political circle have been sighted as saying "We as government cannot talk with criminal gangs" However, this had power seem not be working well since the number of terrorist incidents continue to increase. It's over a decade since Kenya send troops in Somalia, and Amisom have been in Somalia for equally the same period but the war against Al-Shabaab seem to be far from over. The East African countries have employed reactive strategies in the fight against terrorism as they have mainly dealt with the effects of terrorism rather that the root causes of terrorism and its therefore imperative that the government change their style and strategies if they hope to deal with the Al-Shabaab menace once and for all. rather than the hard political power employed by government and which have not worked so well,

the soft power could be the ultimate alternative and employ pacific methods of conflict resolution. History has shown that diplomacy has worked where hard military power has failed, a practical example is Boko Haram in Nigeria. After abducting the hundreds of school girls the government relented and negotiated with the terrorist group and the innocent hostages were released and handed over to the government. Mediation and negation is the way to go in dealing with Al-Shabaab pandemonium in East Africa.

Social, Economic and political inequality and bad governance in East Africa has been suggested as situational precondition for recruitment and radicalization of youths in East African. States should invest more in projects that can improve their economy and alleviate poverty and improve that standards of living of people. Job creation for unemployed youths who forms the highest percentage of the population should be enhanced to deter them from being lured to join terrorist grouping in false hope of getting better life.

States need to formulate anti-terrorism policies since existing policies are weak and outdated since may policies were formulated when terrorism was misunderstood and seen as mere thuggery and in small scale and localized and the new form of international terrorism make the current national policies ineffective likewise New legislation is required to deal with terrorist cases .Many of the terrorist cases taken to court have been dismissed with costs for weak for weak prosecution procedures or lack of evidence.

Training of Security Agents and particularly those charged with dealing with terrorism, 'The Anti-Terrorism Police Unit (A.T.P.U) '. They need to be retrained in terrorism. Many of the officers lack the prowess and expertise necessary to deal with highly skilled and well trained. Terrorist It's astonishing to note that some of the security officers do not understand the difference types of explosives and therefore search and detection of such devices is done through share good luck.

East African states need to expeditiously ratify both continental and international treaties and their protocol against terrorism, for example the AU convention against terrorism1999 and their protocol of 2002 took long to come into operation required the 16 member states to ratify the treaty to make it come into effect, was hampered by the lack of political will of member states to ratify the convection. The countries should impress the civil society empowerment against terrorism through community policing popularly known as 'Nyumba Kumi' Initiative. This will deter and expose terrorist activities who live and freely mingle with civilians'. The war against terrorism should move away from state centric to encompass other non-state actors such as non-governmental organization. The East African states should now declare terrorism a National disaster and look for international intervention to deal with the rise and avoid future Human catastrophe. The international community should come to aid the East African states in the fight against terrorism since the countries are overwhelmed and risk running down their already weak economy. If terrorism persists, the East African region risk becoming the poorest part of the world. Terrorism has let the affected state to over spending as the wasteful expenditure to fight terrorism has led to over borrowing. The Odious debt is likely to ruin the ailing economy of East African countries has been devastated by terrorism.

There is also need for the countries for establish ways of strengthening community's resilience against radicalization and violent extremism through economic empowerment of communities especially the youth who are most prone to criminal activities. Economic growth can help build resilience against violent extremism, which adverse economic conditions have the effect of encouraging both radicalization and violent extremism.

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