

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**  
**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL**  
**STUDIES**

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF TERRORISM IN EAST AFRICA:**  
**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KENYA AND UGANDA**

**BY**

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**Research project submitted in partial fulfilment of the Post Graduate Diploma in Strategic  
Studies at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi**

**NOVEMBER, 2020**

**DECLARATION**

I, Jonathan Kipkemboi Kutto hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented in any other university for an award.

Signature: ..... Date.....

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

Signature..... Date.....

Dr. John Lekuton

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENT**

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## **DEDICATION**

I wish to dedicate this work to the entire department Lecturers for their unmatched guidance and mentorship, my classmates who shared ideas and all who contributed to the development of this paper. I pay gratitude to my employer for offering me the opportunity to pursue the course and better my academic qualification

## **ABSTRACT**

Terrorism is a contemporary security problem that has caused varied effect globally. In East Africa, little focus has been made on the socioeconomic impact of terrorism. This study sought to analyze Socio-economic effects of terrorism in east Africa with a comparative study of Kenya and Uganda. The specific objectives were to explore the effect of terrorism on the security sector, education system and on the business sector in Kenya and Uganda. The research theoretical perspective is anchored on the Structural Realism theory of Kenneth Waltz, 1979, which explains the socio-economic impacts of terrorism as the aftermath of the motives of a group of people who seeks to achieve anarchy in the society. Both primary and secondary data was used for this study. Data was collected using questionnaires and analyzed using quantitative analysis to understand the extent to which terrorism has affected security, education and economic sectors thus drawing a comparative understanding between Kenya and Uganda. Data analysis was done with help of SPSS software program version 21. The research findings indicated that Kenya has a higher socioeconomic impact of terrorism than Uganda. The finding pointed out that security, business and education sectors have been negatively affected in Kenya than in Uganda. The study findings and recommendations is aimed at policy formulation and develop strategies of addressing the threats posed by terrorism.

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**OPERATIONALIZATION OF TERMS**

**TERRORISM:** All criminal acts directed against a State and intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons or a group of persons or the general public.

**SOCIO-ECONOMIC:** the interaction between the social and economic habits of a group of people — like the dating habits of millionaires! ... The word economic refers to the economy, such as people's income and finances. Socioeconomic links financial and social issues together.

**COUNTER TERRORISM:** This incorporates the practice, military tactics, techniques, and strategy that government, military, law enforcement, business, and intelligence agencies use to combat or prevent terrorism.

**UNCONVENTIONAL:** being out of the ordinary” or “not bound by or in accordance with convention.

**LEGITIMATE TARGETS:** Include all military personnel who are active in the combat zone. It also includes anyone who takes a direct part in military hostilities. It also includes military equipment and bases and any buildings used as fortifications whether designed as such or used by the military ad hoc.

**COMBATANTS:** All members of the armed forces of a party to the conflict are combatants, except medical and religious personnel.

## **ABBREVIATIONS / ACRONYMS**

**USA:** United State of America.

**SAHEL :** Region of Western and North-Central Africa extending from Senegal Eastward to Sudan.

**MAKREB :** The region includes Algeria, Libya, Mauritania (part of West Africa), Morocco, and Tunisia, which are all member states of the Arab Maghreb Union.

**LRA:** Lord's Resistance Army

**CCTV:** Close Circuit Television.

**ISIS:** Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

#### 1.0 Introduction

Terrorism is a contemporary security issue in the world. Trends in the realms of security globally reveal that terrorism is a security nightmare in both the developed and developing nations. East Africa is one of the regions in the world that bore the full force of terrorist activities ranging from bombings to soft target shootings. Terrorist activities culminate in fear among people, especially when the stories from the incidences of terrorism are told and retold. Those who live the experiences, for instance, those who have lost close family members or whose friends have sustained life-altering injuries, can bear the witnesses of how adverse such activities can be. Mohamed<sup>1</sup> affirmed that terrorist activities have a profound socio-economic impact on the development in a particular location. Places that are prone to terrorism incur a lot of economic expenses besides the impediment of business and other development activities. Deaths and the confusion surrounding the violence culminate in psychological complications, issues of accessibility to social services, and increased crime. Terrorist activities equally disorient social order in communities. Kenya has witnessed several major terrorist activities, including the 1998 bombing of the U.S Embassy, the Westgate Mall attack in 2013, the Garissa University attack in 2015, and the DusitD2 complex attack in 2019. The core incidences of terrorist in Uganda include the 1990's Allied Democratic Front bomb attacks and the 2010 club bombings.

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<sup>1</sup>Diriye Mohamed Ahmed. "The Impact Of Terrorism On Socio-Economic Development, A Case Study Of Kenya's North Eastern Region." (2017). Last modified September 4, 2019.

<http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke/bitstream/handle/11295/101666/Final%20Project%20submission..pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

The numerous attacks have had a negative socio-economic effects whereby government employees like teachers are leaving their work without any immediate replacement for fear of being targeted by terrorist groups. In the education sector, both teachers and their pupils have been forced to cut short their academic plans due to sporadic attacks within their daily environment. Further, in the security sector, the cost of doing business has increased tremendously since there is a need to employ more security practitioners to protect businesses from attacks. this study therefore sought to establish the socio-economic effects of terrorism in relation to Kenya and Uganda and document it based on the area of the study.

## **1.1 Background of the Study**

Terrorist activities and counterterrorism activities have resulted in serious concerns about the observation of human rights. According to Human Rights Council<sup>2</sup>, terrorism is not conventional warfare where the success lies in the ability to invade and incapacitating the enemy such that he cannot wage war but depicts unconventional warfare, where it is hard to see and measure the enemy resources. An assessment of the chances of such attacks in the future is difficult to be estimated and it is also difficult to make plans reach a truce to end the conflict because terrorism is an amorphous organization that is known to a small group of the population. Terrorists are ready to unleash violence with a view of causing socio-economic effects. Zaman, Ghutai and Khan's<sup>3</sup> study focused on the socio-economic consequences of terrorism in Pakistan, primarily, Balochistan, which is one of the most affected provinces in the country. These study

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<sup>2</sup> Human Rights Council. *Draft report on Negative Effects of Terrorism on the Enjoyment of Human Rights*, 2017. Last modified September 01, 2019.

<https://www.google.com/search?q=social+effects+of+terrorism&oq=social+effects+of+terrorism+&aqs=chrome..69i57j0l5.6170j0j9&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>

<sup>3</sup> Uz, Nadeem Zaman, Gul Ghutai, and Kaneez Raza Khan. "The nature, sources and the socio-economic effects of terrorism in Balochistan." (2012), 1.



findings show that terrorism has immensely affected the social lives of youths in Balochistan. Violence resulting from terrorism hampers education and learning, besides creating an avenue for other forms of crime, a notorious one being human trafficking. Terrorist activities in the province also hamper social lives, especially entertainment.

Terrorist activities result in the loss of lives and livelihoods. Often, people focus on the economic impacts that exist in the active stages of terrorist activities; however, many other economic effects extend beyond the acts of violence. Bandyopadhyay and Younas<sup>4</sup> examines the issue of terrorism, primarily, its impacts on the growth of economies in developing nations. The study focuses on trade flows and the nations' attraction of foreign investments. It argues that terrorism culminates in a state of vulnerability, more so in countries that have experienced terrorist activities while investors want a destination that is free from all forms of chaos. Particularly, investors from foreign countries have a preference for a less –terror-prone country as the risks of establishing and running a business in such a state are low. Bandyopadhyay and Younas<sup>5</sup> listed some developing countries that have recorded a high number of terrorist activities from 2001 to 2012.

Top on the list is Pakistan, followed, by India, and Thailand respectively. Other countries include Nigeria, Somalia, Russia, Philippines, Colombia, Israel, Nepal, Turkey, and Yemen, respectively. Incidences of terrorism in these countries totaled 79% of terrorist activities recorded worldwide.

While developed countries have better security structures, they still experience terrorist activities. An example of a terrorist event that shook the world and brought to light the reality of

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<sup>4</sup> Subhayu, Bandyopadhyay, and Javed Younas. "Trade and Terror: The Impact of Terrorism on Developing Countries." *The Regional Economist* 25, no. 4 (2017): 12.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

terrorism is the September 11, 2001 twin attack in the USA. Paruchuri and Ingram<sup>6</sup> examine the impacts of the twin attacks in the U.S, noting that the attacks devastated the extended economic system of the city of New York. The researchers further explored the exogenous destructions associated with the 9/11 attacks. They brought out some psychosocial issues such as despair and fear among Americans. The bombings immensely affected social cohesion, with the question of unity and the concern of religion as a means of radicalization dominating the minds of people and policymakers. Fortunately, the issue of fear and despair was addressed satisfactorily by the authorities in the USA. The social response focused on the people in Manhattan, given their closeness to the attacks and the high probability of being affected. The essence of the response was to propagate the social mechanisms for people in the region to cope with all the psychological and social problems emerging from the attack.

Terrorist groups have dominated in some countries in Africa, causing all kinds of trouble to people. Nkwede, Abah, and Nwankwo's<sup>7</sup> study focus on the impacts of Boko Haram insurgency on the socio-economic progress in Nigeria. They noted that Boko Haram is one of the most significant impediments to the realization of unity and cohesion in Nigeria. The study affirms that terrorist activities can deter economic and social development. In the case of Boko Haram, the frequent attacks cause people to relocate to other places for fear of being attacked. Internal displacement has other vast economic effects, one of them being that it slows economic development by destroying livelihoods. Njoku and Nwachukwu<sup>8</sup> paid attention to the effects of

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<sup>6</sup> Srikanth, Paruchuri, and Paul Ingram. "Appetite for destruction: the impact of the September 11 attacks on business founding." *Industrial and Corporate Change* 21, no. 1 (2012): 4

<sup>7</sup> Joseph, Nkwede, Emmanuel Abah, and Oliver Nwankwo. "Effects of Boko Haram insurgency on the socio-economic development in Nigeria." *OIDA International Journal of Sustainable Development* 8, no. 06 (2015): 59.

<sup>8</sup> Uba, Julie Njoku, and Josephine Nwachukwu. "The effects of Boko Haram's insecurity on Nigeria's economy." *AFRREV IIAH: An International Journal of Arts and Humanities* 4, no. 3 (2015): 26.

Boko Haram activities on the economy of Nigeria. They found that the group is responsible for the loss of lives, displacement, and destruction of property. Boko Haram advances its agenda of destabilizing the country through various tactics. They include suicide attacks, bombings, sporadic gunfire targeting unarmed and innocent citizens, kidnapping, burning of police stations and churches, abductions, and raping of schoolgirls and women.

Various perspectives explain the economic impacts of terrorist activities on a country. The first viewpoint is that terrorist activities affect businesses adversely. Bandyopadhyay and Younas<sup>9</sup> examines that some terrorist activities aim at commercial centers, hampering business activities. The second perspective is that terrorist activities taint the attractiveness of a state for investment. Investors shy from putting their money in projects, arguing that they are vulnerable to terrorism-related destruction. Terrorism has far-reaching adverse impacts of financial markets. Investment activities in such markets dwindle amidst fears of terrorist activities.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Terrorism is one of the major challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, however unlike war, terrorism takes an unconventional path, making it difficult to detect and control. Potentially, everyone who holds an arm or a weapon can turn into a terrorist. The view emanates from the accelerating cases of active shootings in the United States and Europe. These incidences justify the belief that terrorism is not ending any soon. Therefore, the world must be ready to contend with terrorism, meaning that there should be a greater understanding of the diverse impacts. Sometimes, people tend to focus on the short-term impacts of terrorist activities such as deaths and destruction of property. The result is forgetfulness and the resulting vulnerability of the population to terrorist activities. Some socio-economic impacts of terrorisms are manifested

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<sup>9 9</sup> Subhayu, Bandyopadhyay, and Javed Younas. "*Trade and Terror*, 12.

immediately the act of terror takes place. However, there are other impacts which either takes longer to be felt or emerge. These consequences may not be seen easily, but they take a toll on people and can cause significant disruptions to livelihoods if not addressed sufficiently.

### **1.3 Research objectives**

This study examined the socio-economic effect of terrorist activities in relation to Kenya and Uganda.

The key objective of the study was to interrogate the socio-economic effect of terrorist activities in Kenya and Uganda. The specific objectives are as follows:

- i. To explore the effect of terrorism on the security sector in Kenya and Uganda.
- ii. To assess the effect of terrorism on the education system in Kenya and Uganda.
- iii. To interrogate the impact of terrorism on the business sector in Kenya and Uganda.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

The core objective of this study was to assess the socio-economic impacts of terrorism activities in Kenya and Uganda through responses to the three questions below.

- i. How has the security sector been affected by terrorism in Kenya and Uganda?
- ii. How has terrorism affected the education sector Kenya and Uganda?
- iii. How has the business sector been affected by the terrorism activities in Kenya and Uganda on antiterrorism policies?

### **1.5 Literature Review**

Terrorism is a modern-day security concern that has been spreading across the globe with its negative impact. In Europe, terrorism has been felt as evidence by the simultaneous attacks on the subways and train networks. America was hit by terrorists during the 9 /11 attack that brought about numerous negative impacts across the various sectors.

In Africa, the SAHEL region have been battling the impact of terrorist groups like the Al Qaeda in the MAKREB and the Boko Haram in the L. Chad basin. East Africa, Kenya and Uganda have sustained the impact of terrorism especially in the core sectors of the economy like the security, education and business. The literature uses the structural realism theory by Kenneth Waltz in explaining the concept's relation to power hungry, selfish, and uncouth means to yielding power. The literature looks at the socio-economic impact of terrorism propelled by a group of people that forms a terrorist group with an aim of creating a state of anarchy.

Terror attacks have been mutating and adopting new modus operandi like carrying out attack on critical or vital installations. In the recent past, school, hospitals, and transport system have become terrorist “legitimate” targets which poses a great challenge to the security sector in terms of protecting these soft targets. Many people have lost their lives due to terror attacks which is followed by untold fear being instilled to the civilian population. Consequently, terrorism have led to occasional issuance of travel advisories by the western governments to their citizens. Terrorism affects the social orientation of communities negatively as it presents cases like radicalization to the citizens<sup>10</sup>. In Kenya, the coastal strip, Nairobi, Mombasa, Lamu, Garissa, Wajir, Mandera and Tana River counties registered impacts of terror attacks and associated actions. The terrorist activities present new and complex state of affairs that is characterized by uncertainty both in Kenya and Uganda.

The security sector is expected to defend the citizens from terrorist attacks and in the process of executing their duties, they are exposed to dangers and threats of terrorism. Terrorism

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<sup>10</sup> Botha, Anneli. *Terrorism in Kenya and Uganda: radicalization from a political socialization perspective*. Lexington Books, 2016.

is known to target both the combatants and the non-combatants thus they respect no border nor the rules of war (Jus in Bello and Jus Ad Bellum). Several instances of attacks on security camps especially along the borders have been on the rise.

As a result, the non-natives are forced to flee the affected areas due to threats from terrorist groups like Al Shabaab leaving the affected areas profiled as insecure. Security of a given area defines the probability of investment, development, and settlement<sup>11</sup>. The threat on the security sector affects peace, stability, and conducive environment required for the progression of businesses.

Kenya has experienced a numerous of attacks compared to Uganda which are from the Al-Shabaab group. Such attacks include the bombing of U.S Embassy, Westgate Mall, DusitD2 attack, Garissa University, attacks on the transport system in North Eastern region among others. Consequently, Uganda has experienced lesser attacks with the prominent ones being 1990's Allied Democratic Front Bomb attack and the 2010 club attack in Kampala and the Lord's Resistance Army's (LRA) abductions in the Gulu district.

The education sector has been hit adversely in areas prone to terrorism because of the interference and interruption of the continuous teaching program callender. Teachers and public servants, especially the non-locals working in the region been forced to flee from these areas during such attacks, have. The Garissa University attack was the turning point whereby students and the teaching staff refused to return to the institution<sup>12</sup>. Furthermore, doing business in the

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<sup>11</sup> Mogire, E., Mkutu, K., & Alusa, D. (2017). Policing Terrorism in Kenya. *Security Governance in East Africa: Pictures of Policing from the Ground*, 79.

<sup>12</sup> Alfano, M., & Görlach, J. S. (2019). Terrorism, Education, and the Role of Expectations: Evidence from al-Shabaab Attacks in Kenya.

terrorist prone towns became a night-mare. Mass exodus of students, teachers and investors have been reported citing fear of terrorist attacks.

The cost of doing business in Kenya and Uganda have become expensive due to the requirement to guard against terrorist attacks. Further, investments have been affected since most towns that have experienced terrorism are not lucrative for business. Businesses are threatened and the investors are faced with uncertainties. Terrorism negatively affects the socio-economic existence of people which calls for a well-coordinated strategy that is all encompassing to fight it.

### **1.6 The Literature Gap**

Despite the numerous studies conducted on the effect of terrorism, there still a big gap that is to be explained. Few researchers have attempted to analyze the contemporary security impacts of terrorists which are continuously changing in Kenya and Uganda. Therefore, the question to be answered was; how has terrorism affected the socio-economic functioning of the population of Kenya and Uganda.

Further, scholars have researched the effects of terrorism more critically from a negative perspective and less on consequential impact like modernization in the security sector.

### **1.7 Research Assumptions**

The study was based on the assumption that most Kenyans and Ugandans have a wide and untapped knowledge of the social and economic consequences of terrorist activities in the two countries since the two states have experienced a myriad of attacks. The general public has a pool of first-hand information sufficient for the research, data that was acquired from security sector was used to ascertain the viability of the already collected data so as to achieve reliability.

## **1.8 Theoretical Framework**

This study used the Structural Realism to examine the socio-economic impacts of terrorist activities in Kenya and Uganda. The structural realism is associated with international relations theorist who believe that man is inherently uncouth, unreliable, power hungry, jealous, selfish, generally egoistic and that power is the most important factor as argued by Kenneth Waltz in 1979 and it proceeds from the ideologies of Hans Morgenthau. Structural theorists explain the socio-economic impacts of terrorism as the aftermath of the motives of a group of people who seeks to achieve anarchy in the society by use of superfluous means that causes fear and mayhem as it has been experience both in Kenya and Uganda whenever terrorist attacks takes place. According to the theory, there is no formal central authority and thus state acts according to logic based on their interests and survival. Terrorist on the same note seeks to establish their believes by resorting acts of violent extremism to coerce the population to rally their course. In effect it causes socio-economic effects.

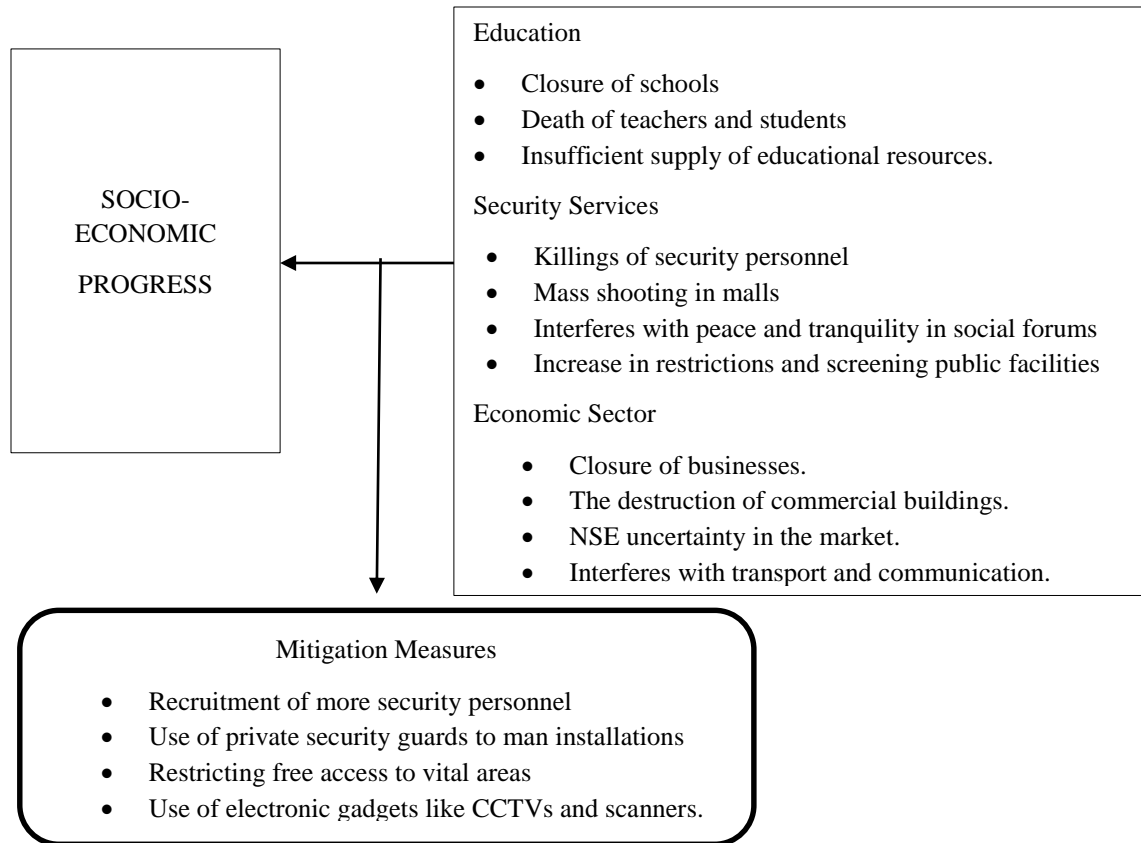
The theory posits that “man uses thy neighbor for thy interest” thus terrorists uses their targets as a collateral to relay their messages, the socio-economic effects are geared towards intimidating the state to conform to the terrorist ideologies. Terrorism scuffles the socio-economic practices of the public by attacking them indiscriminately. The socio-economic matters are close to the heart of any government and all measures are in place to reduce terrorist acts from attacking them.

## **1.9 Conceptual Framework**

In this study, the conceptual appreciation is that terrorism incorporates heinous activities that are planned and executed for the purposes of disorienting the existing social, political and economic order. It leads to the destruction of property, loss of lives, and the dispersion of the



population from their respective areas of domicile or business. Terrorist has adversely affected the movement of goods and services in the economy. The threat that ascends from terrorism causes panic among the people, hindering the consumption of some services such as entertainment, delivery of public services to people. The following figure (Figure 1) represents the relationship between socioeconomic development and terrorist activities:



**Figure 1:** Conceptual Framework

**Source:** Researcher, 2020

## 1.10 Research Methodology

### 1.10.1 Research Design

This study employed a descriptive qualitative design since the research involved a wide area of concern that ranged from cultural to economic and it cuts across all strata of life. The study made a comparison on the terrorism impact between Kenya and Uganda.

### 1.11.2 Population and Population Sampling

According to Mugenda and Mugenda, the target population is a set of units with observable characteristics which are used to generalize the study findings. Thus the target population of this study was drawn from the education, business and security sector within Kenya and Uganda.

### 1.10.3 Study Sample Size

The study utilized purposive sampling formula as advanced by Kothari, 2004. Kothari recommends a purposive sampling of 10-20% of the population. The study sampled 20% of the Commanding Officers in the military, 20% of top managers of 3 Star Hotels and 20% of Head teachers of schools in Nairobi and Kampala.

**Table 1-1: Representation of the sample**

Respondent	Population	Sample	Sampling Type
Commanding Officers	80	16	Purposive sampling
3 Star Hotel Managers	45	9	Purposive sampling
Head Teachers	25	5	Purposive sampling
Total	150	30	

Source: Researcher, 2020

The target sample population was 20 respondents from Kenya and 10 from Uganda so as to address the objectives of the research.

#### **1.10.4 Data Collection**

The study utilized both primary and secondary data collection approaches. The primary data was collected using questionnaires. A wide range of different secondary sources was derived from the library, including books, organizational reports, journal articles, magazines, internet and newspapers, among other references were used. The few primary data was used to triangulate and used to ensure credibility and reliability was upheld. Diverse themes were synthesized based on the already enlisted research questions and objectives to explore the effect of terrorism on the security sector in Kenya and Uganda, assess the effect of terrorism on the education system, interrogate the impact of terrorism on the business sector and establish the best strategy to address the effect of terrorism in in Kenya and Uganda. The core element of this study was to draw conclusions on each of the themes, resulting in actionable recommendations on how to deal with the challenge of terrorist activities in Kenya and Uganda. This chapter was the basis for scholarly recommendations, which are vital for making and reforming policies on terrorism in Kenya and Uganda. Secondary data was mainly used which included published journals and books with compliments from the minimal primary data from the questionnaires that were delivered to selected people from the affected areas or with experience in responding to terrorist actions like the security personnel and first aiders in Nairobi, Kenya and Kampala, Uganda.

### **1.10.5 Data Analysis**

The researcher analyzed the data based on the objectives of the study. This was based on the source of data as well as type of the data. On the objectives of the study, data was organized into themes.

### **1.10.6 Data Presentation**

Qualitative data analysis was presented in chronological basis as per the objectives of the study after being analyzed while quantitative data was presented in forms of tables, graphs once processed.

### **1.11 Ethical Considerations**

The researcher sought the full consent from the participants prior to the research study so that the participants could gain confidence in the research to be undertaken. The preservation of privacy was guaranteed by ensuring that the names of the respondents were not be disclosed. Respect and dignity of the respondents were upheld by avoiding questions of sensitive nature. Clearance was sought from the institution of study and presented to respondents prior to conducting the research to ensure that research followed the laid down regulations and guidelines.

### **1.12 Significance of the Study**

This study was necessitated by the aftermath of terrorism which has caused panic, tension, and instability in Kenya and Uganda that has adversely affected business enterprises, security and education sectors without any formal documentations on the effects. Terrorist have killed people, resulting in a wave of panic and anxiety, which ends up disrupting business and the social order as witnessed in Kenya and Uganda. This study sought to establish the nature of preparedness that governments have put in place, the measures that have been taken to ensure the

prevention of terrorist activities. The two countries have been making attempts to re-orient its security architecture to make it equipped to handle terrorist activities. Response to terrorist activities, the likelihood of terrorist activities or any related threats to occur is still high, meaning that the socio-economic effects from the past occurrences integrates with the impending dangers, affecting people immensely. The results of this study are relevant for policy development, aimed at minimizing and averting terrorist activities as well as limiting their socio-economic impacts.

This research sought to provide additional information on the changes the phenomenon has brought on the security. This focused on the personnel, economic and infrastructural modifications that has seen the modernization efforts being hyped by Kenya and Uganda security agencies.

Al Shabaab terrorist group which is linked to the Al Qaida and ISIS is operating from the war torn Federal State of Somalia has on many occasions extended its terror activities to Kenya and Uganda thus affecting the peaceful tranquility of the two states that enjoyed stability and peace for a long duration.

### **1.13 Limitation of the Study**

The first limitation of this study was that there was little information available that were not classified which limits the accessibility of relevant information. To overcome the challenge, secondary data was used. Also, the use of questionnaire enhanced the collection of limited primary data, which was integrated with the secondary data; thus, depicting the reality of terrorist activities and the resulting socioeconomic effects.

Another limitation of this study was that it uses two broad case studies, Kenya and Uganda are large entities, making it difficult to evaluate terrorist activities. To overcome this limitation, the study focused on the mini-case examples of terrorist activities in the two

countries. The public already have much information on terrorist activities, either having heard or experienced their impacts directly or indirectly.

Time constraint was a major limitation for the research work given the nature of work schedule that was to be undertaken concurrently. Time to get a bigger sample size in the area of study was a limitation. To overcome the limitation, the researcher selected a sample of the population purposively from all the study areas based on the objectives of the study. The researcher augmented the few primary data collected with secondary data to ensure reliability and validity was upheld.

### **1.14 Chapter Outline**

Chapter One: Encompass the introduction, Statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, research questions, hypotheses, significance of the study, limitations, research assumptions, theoretical and conceptual framework and the research methodology.

Chapter Two: Includes the introduction part, background and review of literature whereby an analysis of socio-economic effect of terrorism in Kenya and Uganda will be delved. Then a conclusion will sum-up the chapter.

Chapter Three: Encompasses the discussion of terrorist activities in Nairobi, Kenya and Kampala, Uganda which commences with a brief introduction then critically interrogate the socio-economic effects of terrorist actions on the security, economic and education sectors in the two countries. The chapter eventually end with a concise conclusion.

Chapter Four: The chapter gives a detailed analysis of mitigation measures to counter terrorism in Kenya and Uganda. It assesses the multi-agency relationship that includes the public as the contemporary strategy to contain the terrorism menace. It discusses the improvements that are necessary for the public as well as security policy makers to take into consideration in an

effort to address the socio-economic effects of terrorism to the population. The chapter ends by giving a conclusion.

Chapter Five: This chapter analyzes the data collected from the questionnaire and interpret it accordingly in order to address research objectives. It gives a detailed comparison of terrorism effects between Kenya and Uganda quantitatively across the security, economic and education sectors and finally gives a conclusion.

Chapter Six: The chapter discusses the findings, then provide a conclusion and the recommendations for the study.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE EFFECT OF TERRORISM ON THE SECURITY SECTOR IN KENYA AND UGANDA

#### 2.0 Introduction

Africa has experienced numerous terrorist related attacks which has adversely affected various areas of the state's operations. In Northern Nigeria violent extremism acts by a group called Boko Haram has been terrorizing the population by conducting atrocities that are aimed at advancing their ideological goals. The group is known for attacking both the civilians and the security forces within Nigerian and the neighboring states in the Lake Chad basin. Security in the region has been affected tremendously. Their violent acts of abducting girls attracted a multi-national operation to destroy the group <sup>13</sup>.

The East Africa region has had a myriad of terror attacks for instance in June 1976, terrorist from Palestine hijacked a commercial Air France heading to Entebbe, Uganda, the perpetrators were targeting the Israelis in an effort to advance their ideologies. In his research on the terrorist effects in the continent, Jacob Zenn argues in his publication (CTC Sentinel) that terrorism had affected the security situation of the concerned areas. Jacob Zenn focused his research on the general security issues brought about by the acts of terrorism and not the socio-economic aspects. In East Africa, the Lord Resistance Army which started in 1987 has caused superfluous atrocities while claiming to be advancing ideologies of apocalyptic Christian group using coercion, violence and intimidation by instilling fear to the Ugandans. A number of researchers have delved and establish the effects of terrorism on the general security of the

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<sup>13</sup> "CTCSentinel-Vol7Iss5.Pdf."



civilians. This research in particular, seeks to analyze further the effects of terrorism that is not isolating civilians from the armed personnel.

In the contemporary terrorist operation, there has been a sudden increase in youth radicalization, recruitment as a strategy to spread terrorism themes across Kenya and Uganda. As a counter-measure, there has been a marked increase in installation of Kenya and Uganda. This chapter assesses the effect of terrorism on security in Kenya and Uganda. security devices like Close Circuit Television cameras (CCTVs)

## **2.1 Security Effects of Terrorism**

The frequent attacks on the people and infrastructure by Al Shabaab terrorist group has caused drastic changes in security consciousness of both Kenya and Uganda<sup>14</sup>. The long porous borders and the nature of the people along the boarders makes Kenya and Uganda more prone to Somalia based Al Shabaab attacks and the Lord's Resistance Army group that operate in Uganda<sup>15</sup>.

A number of scholars have strongly suggested that terrorism has become a major challenge facing Kenya and Uganda in general given the countries are engaged in counter terrorism campaigns in Somalia. The terrorist group targets the less protected installations in cities like Nairobi and Kampala, the affected are mostly the civilians.

Terrorists use violence against civilians to create fear and anxiety with a goal of achieving ideological goal. Terrorism in Kenya and Uganda is focused at altering people's way of life as seen by the frequent attacks that are directed on soft targets.

Al-Shabaab's attacks in Kenya have affected the country's stability and security adversely since investors have been forced to incur more expenses to secure their installations by

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<sup>14</sup> "Policy Brief - Impact of Terrorism & Violent Extremism on Economy.Pdf."

<sup>15</sup> Momanyi, "The Impact of Al-Shabab Terrorist Attacks in Kenya."

use of security guards and hardening the buildings by installing cameras and scanners. The attacks often are aimed at Western interests which in most cases leads to issuance of travel advisories to their citizens. The government in response places a lot of measures to address the security lapses which entails police operations in both private and public areas. The research sought to provide informed analysis of the contemporary initiatives like employment of technology and private guards to respond to the menace in Kenya and Uganda.

Terrorism leads to a state of fear following the devastating effects in the country that it will targeted. This will in turn increase the risk for foreign investors forcing them to seek for “safer” investment destinations. In Kenya and Uganda, terrorism has increased the costs of doing business leading to an increase in the prices of products. The investors are forced to close business for fear of losing their investments to the ever increasing terror attacks that is becoming a night mare to the security practitioners. Researchers have analyzed the need to improve security strategies to deal with terrorism. The study thus provides viable recommendations that the security apparatus can consider in an effort of securing the county.

Terrorism disrupts the domestic industry of states like Kenya and Uganda who relies on imports which leads to increased prices of goods and services in their markets. The government is spending a bigger share of the national budget to put measures in place to mitigate insecurity concerns. This can be in terms of training special security forces and equipping them adequately to be able to respond to terrorism.

In Kenya, the effects of Al Shabaab terrorist attacks have taken toll on felt on infrastructure, human capital, throughput and economic progression by causing uncertainty in the market and reallocation of resources the national/ regional security<sup>16</sup>. In areas like Eastleigh,

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<sup>16</sup> “GCTF-Rabat-Washington-Good-Practices\_ENG.Pdf.”

police in plain clothes have been deployed in big numbers at the expense of other areas because of the effects of terrorism that are tracked to the shopping hub.

Terrorist activities have led to higher operating costs like insurance premiums and added security measures especially in the city of Nairobi and Kampala whereby CCTV cameras and metal detectors. It is argued that Al Shabaab attacks in Kenya and Uganda is to harm the economy. Kenya's reputation plummeted and this led to the loss of its tourism competitiveness<sup>17</sup>. Unemployment has been increased by the frequent terrorist attacks and in some instances employees received salary reductions so as to beef up the security kitty.

Terrorism has also led to a reallocation of resources from growth-enhancing investment to spending designed to increase national security in Kenya. The security sector allocation in the national budget for Kenya and Uganda has been on an increase since the two countries ventured into Somalia. The notable terrorist attacks in Kenya includes the Norfolk hotel in Nairobi perpetrated by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). The 1998 US embassy bombing in Nairobi whereby over 200 people died executed by the Al Qaida terrorist group led by Osama Bin Laden. In 2002 a missile attack against Israeli plane. The result is that the airports accessibility has been highly restricted and security measures Improved by deploying specialized personnel and equipment to detect illegal items like explosives and fire-arms.

A lot of financial expenditure is being channeled to counter terrorism actions like use of grenades and the consequential effects like the loss of confidence in security systems. Scholars have attempted to quantify security effects of terrorism such as direct costs to property and impacts on human hours wasted during security checks as well as an increase in government

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<sup>17</sup> "Policy Brief - Impact of Terrorism & Violent Extremism on Economy.Pdf."

defense expenditure<sup>18</sup>. The huge allocation of funds during the national budgetary allocation has been criticized as diverts funds from other main stream ministries to the security sector. The numerous interagency security measures put in place translate to higher transportation costs that negatively affect emerging economies.

In retaliation to Operation Linda Nchi, the Al-Shabaab has carried out a number of attacks in Kenya from 2011<sup>19</sup>. The attacks carried out are directed on churches, buses, bars, bus stations, military camps, market places and shopping centres. In 2013, about 67 people lost their lives during the West Gate mall attack whereby about 18 foreigners from different nationalities were killed. Further, the terrorists divided the Christians from Muslims and then killed the Non-Muslims, this led to mistrust amongst the Kenyan's citizen. The terrorist occurrences have targeted churches Kenya which has caused a lot of concerns and the need to scrutinize worshippers and preachers before entering any religious sites.

Major impact of terrorism on the security sector such as the psychological consequences for instance the acute stress disorder and trauma that the security personnel get exposed to in an event of a terror attack was assessed. Security personnel who respond to distress are vulnerable to scenes that makes them mentally and emotionally disturbed<sup>20</sup>.

Philip Alston in his report showed that Muslims have become victims of religious profiling for being a "potential" terrorists by the law enforcement based on mere appearance<sup>21</sup>. Such categorization has led to people to have a negative feeling towards the group the terrorists asserts to represent. This may create an image of Muslims as terrorists and security threats that should be avoided at all costs. Hostility and suspicion of those that the terrorist group represent is

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<sup>18</sup> "Global-Terrorism-Index-2017.Pdf."

<sup>19</sup> "Prism105-118\_warner.Pdf."

<sup>20</sup> "The Police Response to Active Shooter Incidents 2014.Pdf."

<sup>21</sup> "Chrgj.Pdf."

also on the increase in society. However, this research seeks to provide addition information in that the security profiling is not limited to the Muslims alone but also the non-Muslims.

The way a society has been operating changes as a result of recurrent terrorism, they become more security conscious and suspects any unusual events in their respective environment<sup>22</sup>. In Nairobi, citizens have changed their way of socializing with respect to security and Muslims. They have become more vigilant of their surroundings than before. Security screening at vital installations like airports, malls and government offices are becoming a routine<sup>23</sup>.

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<sup>22</sup> Botha, "Recruitment to Al-Shabaab and the Mombasa Republican Council."

<sup>23</sup> Mary, "Impact of Terrorism on Africa Economic Performance: A Case Study of Kenya (2000 – 2016)."

## CHAPTER 3:

### EFFECT OF TERRORISM ON EDUCATION SECTOR IN KENYA AND UGANDA

#### 3.0 Background

Terrorism poses a serious issue that distorts peaceful interactions amongst the citizens and thus leads to breakdown of the social structures. Despite lacking a universally agreed definition, terrorism is best known as a form of coercion that uses threats and acts of violence in spreading fear towards ideological gains. Al-Shabaab, a terror group, was primarily dedicated to ejecting foreign influence from Somalia and govern using a strict form of Islamic laws on the Somalia nation. According to Maina (2019), the type of attack causes fears as persons are attacked unexpectedly to convince governments to turn their position or policies towards one that favors the attackers<sup>24</sup>. The effects of the terror attacks target state officials, government installations, institutions, and private entities with one agenda in mind. This segment of research focuses on the effects of terror attacks on education and the extent to which it affects the socioeconomic development.

#### 3.1 Impact of Terrorism on Education Sector

Terrorist related attacks targeting learning institutions in Uganda took place in Gulu district whereby students were abducted by the Lord's Resistance Army which made schools to closed within Gulu district. Terror attack in Kenya is present in selected regions with others experiencing surprise attacks unlike in Uganda whereby terrorist incidents have been reported in Kampala and the Northern part of the country where the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) have

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<sup>24</sup> Maina, N.K., 2019. Freedom of religion. *Freedom of Religion at Stake: Competing Claims among Faith Traditions, States, and Persons*, p.65.

been operating. Many researchers have explained that traditional terrorist attacks were directed to investments owned by non-Muslims, Christian Churches, hotel, and bars frequented by non-Somalis and areas of residence. For some time, the education sector remained excluded in the attacks until recently when the Garissa University became an eye-opener, followed by a series of other schools in the primary and secondary sector<sup>25</sup>. Teachers and other professionals in the education sector were not directly attacked as the main target remained in non-Christians, where some of them could be caught in between the attack in hotels and shopping malls and not in schools. The sector that had remained immune to the terror attacks saw a primary enrolment and development in the northern regions until the resurgence of attacks in education-based institutions.

Scholars had interrogated and established that the advent of terrorism has caused adverse effects on several sectors of the economy. However, the education sector receives the worst scenario based on the ripple effects caused both in short and long term basis. The short-term effects relate to the absenteeism of students and members of staff due to fear of attack that affects performance. On the other hand, the long-term effects result in the current and future generation missing out on a crucial aspect of life that remains a fundamental right for every citizen- the right to education.

Education is a critical factor in the success and development of communities both in Kenya and in Uganda. The education system is divided into four levels; early childhood education, primary school, secondary school, and higher education industry composed of colleges and universities. The areas under concern have medical, teacher training colleges, and universities offering diverse courses in the education sector.

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<sup>25</sup> Mohammed, A.J., 2016. Citizen Journalism and Conflict News Reporting: A Case Study of the Garissa University Terror Attack. *A research project submitted to the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi.*

The wave of terrorism sweeping through the globe causes adverse effects to the education sector, particularly in areas prevalent with acts of terrorism. Terrorism remains a threat to global security, the political sphere, and the broader socio-economic development, where education is one of the core factors. Terrorism related insecurity has stamped on several developments agendas with the education sector remains a significant target that has instilled fear and sense of hopelessness among citizens. The terror group, Al-Shabaab, which has always claimed responsibility for the acts of terrorism across the border, has frustrated and paralyzed the education sector in institutions across the border and worse enough within areas away from the edge.

Before the widely-shared Garissa University College attack, the 2014 event of a bus attack heading from Mandera to Nairobi registered a worrying trend in the education sector. The attack saw most non-Somalis attacked where it turned out that most teachers killed in the attack were non-Muslims returning to their homes after the school closure. The outcry for transfers began at the time with the teachers in the following school term declining to report to their work stations, citing the fear of attack and standing in solidarity with the rest who died in the attack. The teachers sought for unconditional transfer leading to the camping at the Teachers Service Commission headquarters in Nairobi in demanding for transfer due to fear of possible attacks.

The Garissa University College 2015 attack serves as the worst-case example that shall be used to analyze the effects of terrorism on the education sector. The attack saw one hundred and forty-seven students lose their lives, with several others being left with wounds. In the attack, gunmen stormed the establishment indiscriminately shooting students and in some cases singling out and killing Christians. The situation raised several questions on the safety of campuses in areas prone to terror attacks.



The effects of the attack are felt on other campuses away from the border, with the fear and uncertainty of attacks on schools remaining a worrying factor. Students on campuses such as Kenyatta University, Pwani University, and several others live in fear of attack in that the security at the Garissa University College was present but failed to capture the terror threat given the sophisticated nature of the attacks. The fears could be confirmed through the reactionary measure by Nairobi University in shifting its satellite campus that had been opened in Garissa to Mwingi, which was considered less risky for its population.

### **3.2 Cases of School Attacks**

The last major terrorist attack by Al Shabaab in Uganda took place in 2010 and it affected learning institutions tremendously. Since then, Uganda has not registered another major terrorist attack but the threat level still remains high given the participation of Uganda's military in Somalia. The Allied Democratic Front (ADF) terrorist group is active in sleeper cells along Uganda-Rwanda- Democratic Republic of Congo's border.

In Kenya, there are numerous terrorist attacks that were perpetrated against learning institutions as indicated below:

- The 2013 explosion at a primary school in Garissa through a device planted in the school, this caused widespread fear and uncertainty.
- 2013 device explosion in a primary school to be used as a polling station in Mandera, this was aimed at disturbing the national process.
- 2014 incidence of an explosive device being thrown at a school in Mombasa County damaging the building.
- Attack on St. Charles Mutego Education Centre situated in Dagoretti in Nairobi County holding students hostage, killing one student and wounding 40 others.

- 2017 Attack in Fafi school in Garissa county setting ablaze the building, kidnapping one teacher and killing one leading to transfer of teachers to other safe locations.
- 2017 attack on Pandanguo village damaging a school and civilian structures.
- 2015 kidnap of a female teacher in Dadaab, Garissa County and 2017 Hagadera kidnap of three teachers
- 2017 holding of 95 students and two teachers from a madrassa in Likoni, Mombasa County, on the charge of a wrong doctrine of radicalization.

As reflected from the highlighted incidences, terrorist linked cases stretches beyond the students in the institute of education to the teachers, tutors, and other members of staff serving in the areas. In the recent past, cases of lecturers and teachers at college and secondary school seeking transfer have remained on the rise. The terror attack target on non-Muslim professionals has lowered the probability of teachers accepting posting and continued service delivery in the respective areas prone to attack.

Professionals in the education sector opt to resign if their appeal for transfer ends up being declined rather than stay in an area where their lives remain under threat. The resignation and fear of freely working in these areas remain a serious threat to the development of education and growth of institutions to match the number of population in the regions. The fear and suspicion registered in the area directly affect the education sector, given the fact that several professionals emanate from the other areas and religions that places them as primary targets to the terror attacks. The reality presents a worrying trend in the education sector, owing to acts of terror prevalent to regions around the border and the coastal towns.

### 3.3 Effects on Education

#### 3.3.1 Absenteeism

Terror attacks are meant to inflict fear and frustrations among its primary targets to spread or convince the execution of an ideology. While the government, in this case, remains the target, the ripple effect is felt by the students and the teachers across the education sector<sup>26</sup>. Teachers involved in the attack and those reading the same causes a sense of fear that turns into absenteeism among the parties involved. The security challenges in Kenya affected education, where 700 teachers in Mandera County failed to report to their respective work stations following the killing of teachers in the bus attack<sup>27</sup>.

Researchers argue that terror attacks on schools across the borders disrupt learning and the probability of students turning in daily or their studies. They do not go deeper in establishing the consequential effects that the community is poised to suffer in the long run. The 2013 explosion at a primary school in Garissa where devices were planted serve as an example to the fear that culminates in higher absenteeism among students. Students and parents that experienced and heard of the attack would not dare step to the school the following week, thus justifying the effect of terrorism on educational development.

Scholars have linked absenteeism rate to reduced performance by students who compete equally with their counterparts in other regions of the nation. The education sector in such areas ends up lagging with non-local teachers reluctantly putting their efforts into the success. The attack on key installations in the education sector promotes a lack of teachers and pupils in

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<sup>26</sup> Bertoni, E., Di Maio, M., Molini, V. and Nistico, R., 2017. Education is forbidden: The effect of the Boko Haram conflict on schooling in Nigeria.

<sup>27</sup> Patterson, W.R., 2015. Islamic Radicalization in Kenya. *Joint Forces Quarterly* (78).

schools and colleges that directly affects their performance and socio-economic development.

### **3.3.2 School Drop-out**

The marginalized areas in the northern part of Kenya have, over time, been characterized by lower enrolment in the education sector. The acts are prompted by the nomadic lifestyle of the communities in the area that made it challenging to develop the regions in terms of education. The recent government efforts in setting up schools and institutions of higher learning have experienced a setback with the coming of terrorism. The instances of attack on schools and destruction of classes encourages school drop-out as they are constantly in and out of schools. On the other hand, parents fear to have their children in schools that have been or are highly suspected to be attacked. While the reasoning of the parents might be valid, it affects the standards of education by encouraging a high drop-out rate owing to the lack of alternative schools in the region. The cases of increased drop-out caused by fear of attack and the presence of explosives on playgrounds affect the probability of students remaining in schools.

### **3.3.3 Radicalization**

The radicalization of youths in the Kenyan society remains a prime challenge to the growth and development in the education sector. According to Patterson (2015), radicalization in Kenya began in the 1970s by the Muslim elite returning from Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, where they went for education<sup>28</sup>. Some of the returning Muslims went to Somalia. They joined the Islamic Court Union while some remained as clerics in the coastal regions like the known preachers Aboud Rogo and Makaburi<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>28</sup> Patterson, W.R., 2015. Islamic Radicalization in Kenya. *Joint Forces Quarterly* (78).

<sup>29</sup> Cannon, B.J. and Ruto Pkalya, D., 2019. Why al-Shabaab Attacks Kenya: Questioning the Narrative Paradigm. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 31(4), pp.836-852.

The two are famous for their controversial sermons that sought support for the Muslim brothers back in Somali as a show of solidarity in the name of ‘jihad.’ The activities have promoted religious extremism with the radical minds using the Muslim faith to promote their ideologies while recruiting and facilitating the transfer of youths to Somalia. The radicalization of youths occurs across the ages, with children from as low as the primary school level dropping out of school to assist and serve with the terrorists. The 2017 holding of the 95 students and two teachers accused of radicalizing the youths in a madrasa in Mombasa County justifies the reality of radicalization. While poverty accelerates the probability of youths being radicalized, the incentives given by the terror group recruiters increase the number of school drop-outs. The worse situation occurs where the recruiters target upcoming professionals in colleges essential for their technological needs and development of weaponry.

The coastal region, as well as towns bordering the Somali nation, has experienced increased cases of radicalization with cities of Nairobi and Mombasa topping the list. Youths, most of which are in school, end up in radicalization with the religious leaders in the mosques watching the menace grow<sup>30</sup>. The education sector remains affected as children who ought to be in school end up being recruited in terror gangs hurting their nation. A nation that does not educate its people hinders its development.

### **3.3.4 The Decline in Appointment Take-up**

The focus and trend of terrorist attacks in Kenya’s northern towns and part of the coastal cities target the non-Muslims. The government recruits its teachers and posts them across the nation, with many beginning their careers in such areas where teacher shortage exists. However,

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<sup>30</sup> Cannon, B.J. and Ruto Pkalya, D., 2019. Why al-Shabaab Attacks Kenya: Questioning the Narrative Paradigm. *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 31(4), pp.836-852.

the fear of attacks and victimization among the non-Muslims deters the high acceptance of recruitment in the areas as mentioned above. The teachers' service commission records a lower number of people willing to take up jobs in the 'hotspot' areas for the same reasons. Moreover, teachers in the college and universities decline transfers and opportunities in the areas common with terrorism.

As professionals in the education sector decline appointments in the cities, education remains affected with the regions recording lower performance due to lack of a sufficient number of teachers and tutors willing to take up the opportunities.

### **3.3.5 Integration of Students and Teachers**

Integration institutions of higher learning are a critical factor in socioeconomic development and national heritage. Bringing together students from diverse regions of the nation guarantees the exchange of culture, ideas, and ideologies aimed at attaining the best experience in the process of their learning<sup>31</sup>. Teachers from a diverse background inject positive energy in transforming the culture and performance of the institutions towards greater heights. However, the existence of terrorism in some areas of the nation undermines the existence of integrative efforts in education. Students and teachers fleeing the terror-prone regions affect the number of those coming in, given the negative association and treatment of non-locals by terror groups. People from one area cannot bring in a new experience, and maximum expertise and thus denies the education sector the possibility of development and increased performance through integration.

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<sup>31</sup> Edling, C., Rydgren, J. and Sandell, R., 2016. Terrorism, belief formation, and residential integration: Population dynamics in the aftermath of the 2004 Madrid terror bombings. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 60(10), pp.1215-1231.

### **3.3.6 Performance of Students**

Optimum performance is guaranteed through uninterrupted study opportunities and resources in place towards the achievement of goals. According to Mohamed (2017), students in areas where terror activities occur to fail to exercise their maximum potential given the cases of disruptions and lack of resources<sup>32</sup>. Destruction of schools, as in the case of Fafi School in Garissa County that was set ablaze, reduces the probability of development. Furthermore, the threats and activities such as explosives being found in schools affect the number of students reporting in schools and actively participating in co-curricular activities. The time-to-time destruction leads to missed classes, poor concentration, and lack of interest in educational activities. The students in the region are expected to compete with the rest across the nation that does not face similar challenges, thereby accounting for the lower performance registered in the areas. Consequently, the situation leads to reduced performance among students pointing out the effect on acts of terrorism.

### **3.3.7 Religious Intolerance**

Institutions of higher learning have students from diverse regions and religions that ought to live and study together. The aspect of terrorism has distorted the spiritual tolerance levels that were earlier experienced in the region, with Christians being allowed to work and live in the Muslim dominated areas while exercising their faith<sup>33</sup>. As the terror groups attack a section of the non-Muslims, as in the case of the Manderu bus attack where 17 teachers were killed, the question of religion arises. People with a deep religious affiliation tend to pull away from

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<sup>32</sup> Mohamed, A.D., 2017. The Impact Of Terrorism on Socio-Economic Development, A Case Study Of Kenya's North Eastern Region.

<sup>33</sup> Maina, N.K., 2019. Freedom of religion. *Freedom of Religion at Stake: Competing Claims among Faith Traditions, States, and Persons*, p.65.

working or learning in such areas for fear of attack and lack of tolerance. The situation forces people to work in areas where their faith is accepted, thus depriving the region of experts and technocrats in the education sector. The high level of intolerance is a result of terrorism whose effects trickle down to the education sector.

### **3.3.8 Conclusion**

Terrorism has affected the way of life and the education system in areas familiar with the attacks. The disruption and selective attack on individuals present a worrying trend that influences the integration of people. At the same time, the infrastructures focusing on education are destroyed, leaving behind huge costs in re-investment while drawing away investors in the education sector.

The challenge is felt not only by the students but also by the teachers and other professionals in the education sector, thus hurting the economy. There is a need to secure the education sector in ensuring the best for the current and future generations. The challenge presents the need for research and development in taming the effects of terrorism from spiralling down to education that is a fundamental right to life.



## CHAPTER 4

### THE IMPACT OF TERRORISM ON BUSINESS SECTOR IN KENYA AND UGANDA

#### 4.0 Background

Terrorism affects the economic environment as it brings forth a feeling of insecurity in the country where attacks have been registered. The feeling of vulnerability is undesirable to trade as foreign investors prefer doing business in safer environment. Terrorism affects economy negatively in terms of economic costs to the society which results in direct material damage as well as the growth of economies. It increases the costs of doing business in the terror-prone countries.

The estimation of the effects has received significant attention since the 9/11 event and is being used in estimating the damages in the developing nations owing to terrorism<sup>34</sup>. The economic impacts stretch from the primary ones to the secondary which relate to the persons suffering from the primary effects who do not remain direct targets of an attack. The economic sector receives the worst effects in the event of a terror event or threats to their occurrence.

Whenever the terrorist groups become unable to directly attack their opponents in the battlefield, they turn to attacking nations allied to their removal and possible destruction. Uganda has two terror sources mainly from Al-Shabaab and the Lord's Resistance Army a militant group attacking from the northern border of Uganda. The use of force and violence in promoting religious, cultural, or economic activities threatens the economic stability of nations. The economy suffers in diverse dimensions from the effects of terrorism which directly affects the

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<sup>34</sup> Czinkota, Michael R., Gary Knight, Peter W. Liesch, and John Steen. "Terrorism and international business: A research agenda." *Journal of International Business Studies* 41, no. 5 (2010): 826-843.

stability and the degree of investment that Kenya and Uganda experience. The chapter records key sectors of the business sector that are affected directly and indirectly by the cases of terrorism in Kenya and Uganda.

#### **4.1 Destruction of Commercial Buildings and Lives**

Terrorism attacks result in destruction of lives and properties thereby creating an economic effect. Loss of life bears an economic effect not only to the government but also individuals responsible for the victims and their subsequent dependents. The economic sector is affected directly through the destruction of business premises and assets which require time for compensation or even a complete loss in cases where businesses lack insurance<sup>35</sup>. The economic cost incurred in getting a new business stock and reconstructing their premises adversely affects the business environment. An example is the Dusit D2 attack on January 15<sup>th</sup> 2019 where businesses experienced the terror attack and their assets destroyed. In the case, individuals that lacked business insurance experienced immense losses where a few gave up their business due to lack of funds to reconstruct and sustain the same. As a result, the business sector is affected by the terror attacks and threats thereof.

#### **4.2 Closure of Businesses Due to Terrorism**

Acts of terror call for a direct government intervention in line with the primarily responsibility in protecting and catering for the aftermath of a terror event. Countries with a higher terror alert engage in several efforts to make their nation safe and handle issues should case of terror attack arise. The actions taken by the government leads to burdening the business

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<sup>35</sup> Muna, Wilson. "The Cost of Terrorism in Kenya." *The Journal of Social, Political, and Economic Studies* 42, no. 3/4 (2016): 289-306.

community in terms of taxes. In stepping in and providing security, the government increases its spending directed to the intelligence and heightened security checks which affects the economy of the nation. The measures taken in most cases reduces the freedom of undertaking economic activities.

The strained government expenditure that could be directed to other sectors of the economy affect the business sector and the circulation of money that has received an alternative spend<sup>36</sup>. Furthermore, the business sector is affected in the increased taxes expected to cater for the increased government spending which further threatens the business environment. In the long run, the increased cost of business leads to a decline in the profitability that adversely affects the business environment thus leading to mass closure of businesses.

#### **4.3 Foreign Direct Investment**

Nations that are prone to terror attacks and threats risk having a lesser rate of foreign direct investment (FDI). Foreign investors and nations, prior to conducting a selection on the nation of investment carry out an assessment of the security situation which includes terrorism acts. Countries with higher probabilities of facing terror attacks are less preferred compared to the more stable economies free from terror attacks and civil war<sup>37</sup>. Foreign Investors have a choice of engaging in business with less terror-prone countries. Kenya and Uganda risk facing reduced foreign direct investment as the threats to terror attack continue to realized.

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<sup>36</sup> Niyitunga, E. B. "The economic effects of terror attacks and their impact on the African Union (AU) agenda 2063: a neglected dimension." *African Journal of Public Affairs* 10, no. 4 (2018): 23.

<sup>37</sup> Mogire, Edward, Kennedy Mkutu, and Doreen Alusa. "Policing Terrorism in Kenya." *Security Governance in East Africa: Pictures of Policing from the Ground* 79 (2017).

#### 4.4 Tourism sector

Tourism sector is adversely affected by terrorism in Kenya and Uganda owing to the travel advisories and the threats of terror events. Tourists comes with business potential to the nation as hotels and holiday destinations hosts immense visitors yearly. Terrorism steadily informs the choice of destination for tourists thus affecting the host nation<sup>38</sup>. Countries with rampant cases of terrorism often suffer the challenge whenever travel advisory are issued by foreign governments. Tourists is an easy target for terror acts where most of them remain ambassadors of their countries<sup>39</sup>. Terrorist target tourists and thus have to be cautious visiting a nation with such threats.

The abduction of tourists in the Kenyan coast where the Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility is a classic example. Furthermore, the attack and abduction of foreign aid workers in the north eastern region led to foreign nations placing travel advisories to its citizens against visiting the affected areas. This acts affect the Kenyan economy by discouraging the non-locals from visiting hence denying the country income. The coastal region's economy relies heavily on the tourism sector whereby terror alerts results in a negative signal to the economic status of the region. Therefore, terrorism has a direct effect on the economy as the preference of tourist destination changes.

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<sup>38</sup> Masinde, Brian, and Steven Buigut. "Effect of Terrorism and Travel Warning On Kenyan Tourism Demand." *Tourism Analysis* 23, no. 2 (2018): 284.

<sup>39</sup> Asongu, Simplicie A., Joseph Nnanna, Nicholas Biekpe, and Paul N. Acha-Anyi. "Contemporary drivers of global tourism: evidence from terrorism and peace factors." *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing* 36, no. 3 (2019): 345.

#### **4.5 Increased Market uncertainty**

Uncertainty in the business sector results in less spending and availability of products in the market. Similar to political unrest, terrorism affects the business environment in that it increases market uncertainty mostly in areas prone to the attacks. Kenya and Uganda experience reduced investment whenever cases of terror occur or threats issued by insurgency groups. The efficient market hypothesis asserts that markets incorporate all known information in making changes to the business environment<sup>40</sup>. Terrorism affects the market by creating an uncertainty that the players in the industry cannot anticipate in order to create an alternative or cushioning factor. As a result, the occurrence of a terror event threatens the market by creating a situation that cannot be prevented thereby damaging the business sector. Such a business environment fails to attract a large pool of investors as key players are up for markets that have less market uncertainty.

#### **4.6 Increased insurance costs**

Terrorism leads to destruction due to the several untold damages it tags along within its occurrence period. In the process, business under insurance cover are bound to be paid. As such cases begin to rise and be frequent, the cost of insurance increases based on the probability of increased risk which forces the insurance firms to pass the costs to the clients in terms of premiums charged<sup>41</sup>. As this is done, the businesses experience an increased cost of operation

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<sup>40</sup> Mohamed, Ahmed Diriye. "The Impact of Terrorism on Socio-Economic Development, A Case Study of Kenya's North Eastern Region." (2017).

<sup>41</sup> Mogire, Edward, Kennedy Mkutu, and Doreen Alusa. "Policing Terrorism in Kenya." *Security Governance in East Africa: Pictures of Policing from the Ground* 79 (2017).

which adversely affects their profitability. Business persons unable to carry the costs and afraid of the attacks opt to move out of business or relocate their enterprises to other locations deemed safer. In the process, the business sector in a given country or county experiences immense drop that tampers with the economy.

For instance, people with businesses in Lamu and Garissa in Kenya which experience frequent cases of terrorism have to insure their business. Based on the high probability of attacks, insurance firms in the region have to increase their premiums to reduce on the losses incurred on their side. However, the fear of attack might drive many out of business as the alternative of relocating becomes inevitable as those that remain have to condone with the high insurance overheads of maintaining their business. All these affect the business sector negatively in places where terror events occur frequently as I the case mentioned above.

#### **4.7 Mass Movement**

Terrorism from its definition is meant to instill fear and drive a given policy intended to be followed based on religious or social factors. As this happens frequently, people become fearful of being targeted and decide to migrate to safer regions<sup>42</sup>. As this occurs, the business sector is undesirably affected as its prime market shifts leaving the enterprises with a reduced margin in their market segments. For instance, the recent spark of attacks of non-locals in social places and in the transport system in Garissa has seen teachers and other professionals in the public and private sector seek transfers to other areas deemed safer.

As they move to the intended areas, Garissa's business environment is affected through the loss of potential clients seeking safe refuge. The case is true following the Garissa University

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<sup>42</sup> Combs, Cynthia C. *Terrorism in the twenty-first century*. Routledge, 2017.

attack that saw people migrate out of the region and students refusing to return to the school even after the government's assurance of security. The student population contributed a lot to the economy of the town and thus faced a sharp decline in trade activities. In the process, the business sector experiences a reduction in the demand of commodities as it becomes less profitable to trade in less thriving markets.

#### **4.8 Interferes with Cross-border Trade**

Terrorism leads to government reactions through formation of anti-terror policies in reducing the threat and safeguarding its individuals. The process calls in for a tighter border control where in worse cases trade between the nations with perpetrators experience reduced trade activities as a security measure to prevent insurgents from moving in a nation<sup>43</sup>. For instance, the Ugandan government closed the northern parts from trade in preventing movement of insurgents from the Lord Resistance Army in securing the region.

Tight border control policies affect businesses across the border which immensely damages the business sector that thrives from such locations. At the same time, close scrutiny of products might lead to increased costs of importation which discourages traders from engaging with a given nation. In the process, the business world is affected as traders opt to receive similar products from border points deemed to be safe and reduced taxation. Tight border control policies affect the business which directly lowers the economy of a region or nation at large.

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<sup>43</sup> Czinkota, Michael R., Gary Knight, Peter W. Liesch, and John Steen. "Terrorism and international business: A research agenda." *Journal of International Business Studies* 41, no. 5 (2010): 828.

#### **4.9 Increased Public Spending**

The market spends less on items that do not directly drive I profits to their business segments. However, in safeguarding business environments, firms have to place security measures meant to screen possible weapons of attack and in preventing themselves from possible attacks<sup>44</sup>. In the process, people increase their security spending in winning clients that are security conscious to visit their business locations. For instance, the Westgate Mall that experienced attack had to do more after the attack in restoring investor confidence and clients back to its business locations.

Similarly, other malls and business centers had to undergo a revamp in their security system that entails huge sums of money in remaining relevant I the market. The increased spending affects the business profitability due to acts of terrorism that indirectly affect the pricing of commodities in filling for the increased costs incurred by business owners. As the cost is passed to the consumers, their spending ability reduces thus affecting the supply and demand situation.

#### **4.10 New Insurance Policies**

Insurances gain more customers in the aftermath of a terror attack as everyone seeks to safeguard their businesses against unforeseen business risk<sup>45</sup>. In the process, anti-terror insurance policies begin to thrive in the market with a set of policies put in place that requires businesses to

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<sup>44</sup> Frey, Bruno S. "How can business cope with terrorism?" *Journal of Policy Modeling* 31, no. 5 (2009): 7-780.

<sup>45</sup> Frey, Bruno S. "How can business cope with terrorism?." *Journal of Policy Modeling* 31, no. 5 (2009): 787.



comply prior to the issuance of a policy. Insurance firms would always desire for its clients to install security features that enhance early detection and screening of individuals gaining entry to their property.

The situation directly places costs on a business that has to comply with the new policy requirements where those unable opt out of business due to increased costs. As the norm of insurance claims in Kenya dictate less prompt repayment, businesses affected take time to return their operation thus affecting the business sector in terms of activities. All these reduce the potential of business growth as the threat of terror attack remain in parts of Kenya such as Lamu along the coastal strip and the towns I the north eastern region.

#### **4.11 Increased Shipping Costs**

The case of Al-Shabaab insurgents hijacking ship and seeking ransoms have been common in the past decade. Water vessels attacked or hijacked end up spending millions of dollars in securing their occupants and the products on transit<sup>46</sup>. In cushioning the traders from the loss of property under shipping, the cost of insurance and safeguard through anti-piracy groups has seen the costs of shipping rise. As this occurs, businesses face the direct effect that is transferred to the consumers thus affecting the stable supply-demand situation in the nation<sup>47</sup>. An increase in the commodity price affects the consumption of luxurious goods as less spending is exercised by consumers. In the long-run, the business sector is affected as well as tourism sector where the tourists have to incur increased costs of travel using the water vessels. All these emanate from the terrorism that occurs across the Indian Ocean perpetrated by insurgents from the Somali nation who use the proceeds to sustain and equip their terror groups.

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<sup>46</sup> Bates, Rodger A., and Bryan LaBrecque. "Terrorism as Economic Warfare: America's Risky Business." *The Journal of Public and Professional Sociology* 11, no. 1 (2019): 5.

<sup>47</sup> Bates, Rodger A., and Bryan LaBrecque. "Terrorism..." *The Journal of Public and Professional Sociology* 11, no. 1 (2019): 5.

#### **4.12 Increased Military Spending**

The Al-Shabaab menace led the government to use its military in safeguarding the borders and fighting the group within the Somalia nation. The policy and decision is a costly affair that requires funding from the public sector where the costs are passed to the business sector through increased taxation. The more the military remain in their nation, the more funds are needed to sustain their existence. On the other hand, the increased costs begin to be felt through increased custom costs which directly affect businesses as they pass the same to the consumers. At the same time, it affects the government's concentration on developmental infrastructure that would ease the process of doing business such as road construction and improved market structures that cut down the cost of transport and provide proper locations for businesses. In the long-run, the business sector experiences reduced profitability which discourages not only foreign investors but also the local ones from trading within a given nation or region.

#### **4.13 Migration Flows and Brain-drain**

A nation that remains a primary target for terror activities scares not only businesses but also its citizens. Citizens remain the main consumers in the business sector whose presence counts and whose absence means a loss or reduced profitability in the market structures. As people begin to migrate from areas prone to attacks to safer locations, a lot of potential is lost in the process which adversely affects the business sector and its sustainability<sup>48</sup>. Investor and professionals move from areas with increased risk of attack such as Lamu and Garissa where

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<sup>48</sup> Muna, Wilson. "The Cost of Terrorism in Kenya." *The Journal of Social, Political, and Economic Studies* 42, no. 3/4 (2016): 289-306.

recent and frequent cases of attacks occur. Locals with lesser risk of direct attack also fear for their security situation and the market uncertainty caused by threats to terror attacks.

Similar to the case of war, the situation has affected the nation of Somalia and Sudan where mass migration has left the countries with lesser business prosperity owing to the threats of terrorism that scares populations. In the process the counties experience brain drain situations where doctors, nurses, teachers, business men, and the wider labor market experiences increased migration out of a region. The persons migrating might be the key policy makers in the business world and potential clients for the products in the market. Thus, the migration of people and brain drain situation leaves a certain area or country with reduced business potential as people move to safer locations with greener pastures.

#### **4.14 Reduced Government Investment**

The government sets priorities based on prevailing circumstances where the budget is made depending on the needs of a nation. In the wake of terrorism, governments spend much on securing its borders and citizens locally thereby channeling adequate funds to the respective needs of its security forces<sup>49</sup>. The terror attacks in the northern region are directly aimed at churches, bars, military camps, government installations, communication masts, shopping centers and institutions of learning. In preventing a shutdown in business and restoring security, the government engages in efforts of repairing damages, increasing police presence, and infrastructure towards safety<sup>50</sup>.

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<sup>49</sup> Ghani, Maria. "Impact of Terrorism on Stock Market: Evidence from Pakistan Banking Sector." *International Journal of Management Sciences and Business Research* 5, no. 11 (2016).

<sup>50</sup> Muna, Wilson. "The Cost of Terrorism in Kenya." *The Journal of Social, Political, and Economic Studies* 42, no. 3/4 (2016): 289-306.

While the move might be beneficial, it affects the business environment where lots of funds are redirected from economic and socially benefitting projects meant to empower the market consumers and the business world at large. The difference is felt in reduced business potentials which remain a worry to the growth of regional trade and cross border growth of towns. As evident in other nations at war, increased government spending in seeking peace and stability directly affects the business sector as reduced trade activities emerge.

Businesses thrive in less risky environments as clients are free to engage in trade without fear. In the absence of such an environment, a lot of costs have to be incurred in reducing the possible risks that may surface owing to intended damages. As this occurs, the cost of safeguard is passed to the consumers thereby reducing their potential to purchase products or services. The issues mentioned above explain the effects of terrorism and the manner in which it can destroy the business sector and the larger economy of a nation in cases where terror threats become persistent.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter focuses on analyzing the data collected from the questionnaire and interpret it accordingly in order to address research objectives. This was based on a quantitative interpretation of data based on the questionnaire's answers received.

The questionnaire was designed to have four sections to ensure that the objectives and quality of responses meets the required threshold. The respondent was required to give his or her response to each question by ticking the appropriate answer based on the degree of agreement or disagreement.

#### **5.2 Data Collection from Kenya and Uganda**

The total number of questionnaires dispatched were 35 but only 31 were returned back after being dully filled. The filled questionnaires were received as follows; 20% from Commanding Officers in the military, 20% from top managers of 3 Star Hotels and 20% from Head teachers of schools. The questionnaires received had one that was partially filled and thus discarded, leaving 30 questionnaires that were utilized in the interpretation of results. The results from the questionnaires were reconciled based on the number of responses per question and the corresponding rating given and then presented in terms of percentages.

### 5.3 Demographic Data

This section captured demographic information of the respondents in terms of gender, level of education, age, occupation status, duration of residence in Nairobi/ Kampala, the gender distribution, age distribution, nationality and occupation of the research population is discussed as follows:

#### 5.3.1 Gender Representation from Kenya and Uganda

The study recorded a high number of men (80%) than women (20%), the sample population remained at 10 from Uganda and 20 from Kenya. It was established that majority of women that were sought for the research cited lack of interest and lack of knowledge on the matter terrorism with others remaining reluctant. This can be attributed to the cultural orientation of the population that regarded issues of security to be a task for men. The representation is shown graphically below;

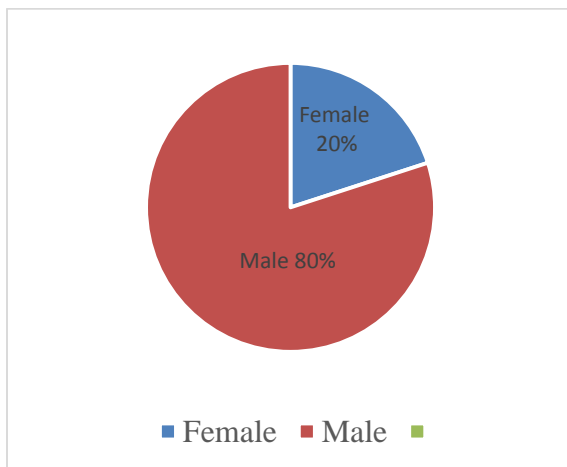


Figure 5.1: Gender Representation from Kenya and Uganda

Source: Researcher, 2020

### 5.3.2 Education Level of Respondents from Kenya and Uganda

The respondents were drawn from different levels of education across Kenya and Uganda. The sample size was purposively selected from the security, education and the business sectors. The distribution indicated that 15% of the respondents had education level of secondary school and below, 55% had attained diploma and 35% university levels of education thus bringing in-depth knowledge on the topic. The distribution in terms of education was as shown below:

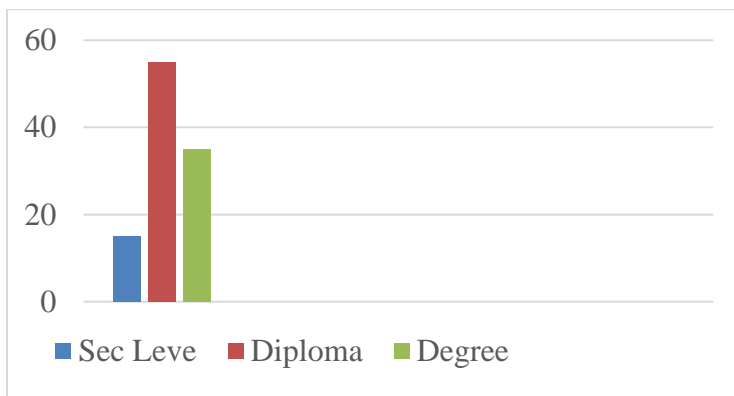


Figure 5.2: Education Levels

Source: Researcher, 2020

### 5.3.3 Age Representation of Respondents from Kenya and Uganda

The ages of the respondents were spread with 50% coming from the range of 30-50, 35% had 20-30 years with the rest being below 20 years of age. This gave the researcher the opportunity to get response from people who are well informed in matters to do with the subject study area.

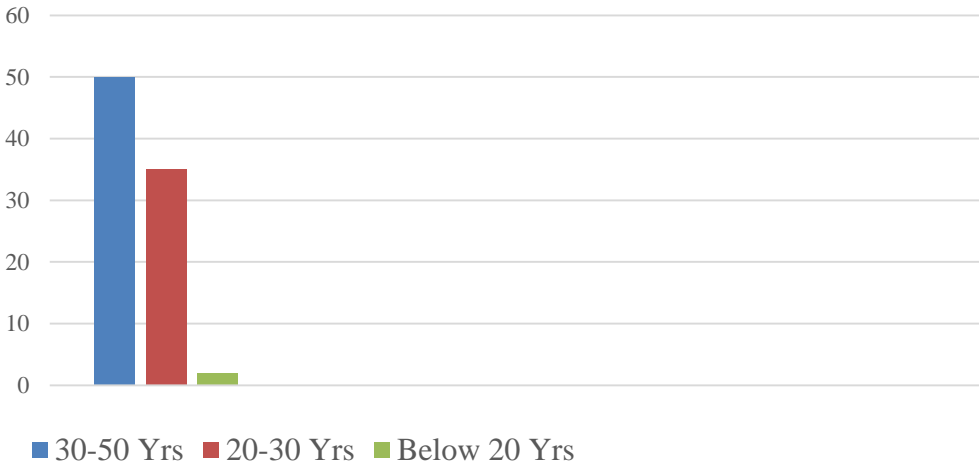


Figure 5.3: Age Representation of Respondents from Kenya and Uganda

Source: Researcher, 2020

### 5.3.4 Occupation of Respondents from Kenya and Uganda

The sample population was composed of persons employed in the security, business, and education sectors so as to acquire firsthand experience that were in line with the study objectives. The rest of the sample population were drawn from people from self-employed and unemployed population.



## 5.4 Effect of Terrorism on Security Sector in Kenya and Uganda

The finding on the extent to which terrorist actions impacted on the security sector in Kenya/ Uganda is as indicated on the table below:

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Moderate	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Security personnel have been killed by terrorists.	Ke	-	-	10%	35%	55%
	Ug	-	-	30%	40%	30%
2. Terrorist attacks have caused Screening to be done by security guards when accessing social facilities.	Ke	-	5%	20%	25	50
	Ug	-	10%	30%	40%	20%
3. There is an increase in the number of security officer deployed in vital installations after the terror attacks.	Ke	-	-	15%	50%	35%
	Ug	-	10%	20%	40%	30%
4. The terror attacks on Shopping malls have led to many deaths.	Ke	-	-	15%	40%	45%
	Ug	-	-	20%	40%	40%
5. Peaceful coexistence and tranquility has been affected negatively by terrorist threats and attacks.	Ke	5%	10%	10%	35%	40%
	Ug	-	10%	20%	40%	30%

Table 5-1: Terrorist Effect on Security Sector

Source: Researcher, 2020

The collected data indicated 55% of the respondent strongly agreed that more security personnel had been killed in Kenya as compared that those in Uganda whereby 30% strongly

agreed. In terms increased screening due to terrorist attacks when accessing social facilities, 50% from Kenya strongly agreed as compared to 20% from Uganda.

There was an equal agreement from the sample population between Kenya (50%) and Uganda (40%) that there was a marked increase in the number of security officer deployed in vital installations after the terror attacks.

In terms of terror attacks on Shopping malls that have led to many deaths, 45% of Kenyans strongly agreed as compared to Uganda's 40%. This showed that terrorist activities have affected the socio-economic orientation of the population.

The data collected indicated that 40% of Kenyans as compared to 30% of Ugandans strongly agree that peaceful coexistence and tranquility has been affected negatively by terrorist threats and attacks.

## 5.5 Effect of Terrorism on the Education System in Kenya and Uganda

The research findings on the extent to which terrorist threats or attacks affected Education sector in Kenya/ Uganda is as tabulated below:

Table 5.2: Terrorist Threats/Attacks Effect on Education Sector in Kenya and Uganda

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Moderate	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Many schools have been closed due to terror attacks or threats	Ke	-	5%	20%	30%	45%
	Ug	10%	40%	30%	10%	10%
2. Many Students and teachers have been killed by terrorist attacks	Ke	-	5%	20%	35%	40%
	Ug	-	30%	30%	30%	10%
3. Most terrorist attacks are targeting learning institutions	Ke	-	-	5%	40%	55%
	Ug	20%	10%	20%	20%	30%
4. Many youths have been Radicalized in schools	Ke	-	-	5%	45%	50%
	Ug	20%	40%	30%	10%	-
5. There is a drop in the number of students / teachers in schools prone to terrorist attacks	Ke	5%	10%	10%	35%	40%
	Ug	30%	30%	30%	10%	-

Source: Researcher, 2020

The research findings postulate that, 45% of Kenyans compared to Ugandan's 10% strongly agreed that many schools have been closed due to terror attacks or threats. This points to a deduction that the impact of terrorist actions is much pronounced in Kenya.

In terms of students and teachers been killed by terrorist attacks, only smaller number of 10% of Ugandans agreed strongly that this has happened unlike in Kenya whereby 40% strongly agreed that teachers and students have been killed by terrorist groups. The impact in Kenya is thus more felt than that in Uganda.

In Kenya, 55% strongly agreed that terrorist attacks have been targeting learning institutions as compared to Uganda's 30%. Many schools and colleges have been attacked which led to death and destructions in Kenya. The 30% of Ugandans sited that the terrorist actions against learning institutions happened in Gulu district.

From the data analyzed, Kenya has registered a higher number of youths getting radicalized in schools whereby 50% of the respondent strongly agreed. In Uganda, 40% disagreed that radicalization took place which means that the impact of terrorism is on a smaller scale.

Further, 40% of the Kenyan sample population reported that there has been a drop in the number of students / teachers in schools prone to terrorist attacks as compared to the case of Uganda where 30% disagreed. This analysis points to a conclusion that Kenya has sustained more terrorism impact than Uganda.

## 5.6 Impact of Terrorism on the Economic Sector in Kenya and Uganda

The collected and analyzed data from the sample population on the effect of terrorist threats or attacks on the economic sector in Kenya/ Uganda is as shown on the table below:

Table 5.3: Terrorist Effect on Economic Sector in Kenya and Uganda

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Moderate	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Many business premises have been closed down due to terror attacks and threats	Ke	-	-	10%	40%	50%
	Ug	-	20	30%	40%	10%
2. Many Commercial facilities have been destroyed by terrorist actions	Ke	-	5%	10%	45%	40%
	Ug	20%	60%	20%	-	-
3. Many Investors have fled to other countries causing a reduction of FDI to Kenya and Uganda	Ke	-	5%	5%	35%	55%
	Ug	10%	30%	50%	10%	-
4. There is a decline of tourists visits due to terror threats	Ke	-	-	5%	45%	50%
	Ug	20%	40%	30%	10%	-
5. Transport and communication networks have been affected tremendously by terrorist activities.	Ke	-	-	5%	50%	45%
	Ug	10%	20%	20%	40%	10%

Source: Researcher, 2020

The data analysis indicated that 50% of Kenya's sample population strongly agrees that many business premises have been closed down due to terror attacks and threats as compared to

Uganda's 10%. This indication suggests that the impact of terrorism in Uganda is on lower scales.

In terms of Commercial facilities being destroyed by terrorist actions, an aggregate of 85% of the sample population agreed/ strongly agreed as compared to Uganda's 60% that disagreed. From this data, Kenya suffers more impact than Uganda.

A total of 55% of Kenya's sampled population strongly agreed that many Investors have fled to other countries causing a reduction. This is a higher proportion when compared to responses from Uganda that recorded a total of 10%.

In Kenya, an aggregate of 95% of the sample population agreed/ strongly agreed that there has been a decline of tourists visits due to terror threats as compared to 10% of Ugandans who agreed.

The data analysis indicated that an aggregate of 95% of Kenya's sample population agreed/strongly agreed that transport and communication networks have been affected tremendously by terrorist activities. This is in comparison to an aggregate of 50% of Ugandan's who agreed/strongly agreed. This shows that both Kenya and Uganda have experienced a marked impact of terrorism in the transport and communication sectors because both countries are interdependent of each other.

## **5.7 Conclusion**

Kenya has a registered a higher degree in terms of the effects of terrorism as compared to Uganda whereby 90% of the respondents agreed strongly that cases of terrorism have taken place in Kenya. In terms of severity, Uganda had 35% of the respondents agreed that the economic sector had been negatively affected. Kenya has experienced higher impact in Economic, Education and Security sectors where Uganda has registered lower levels of impact.

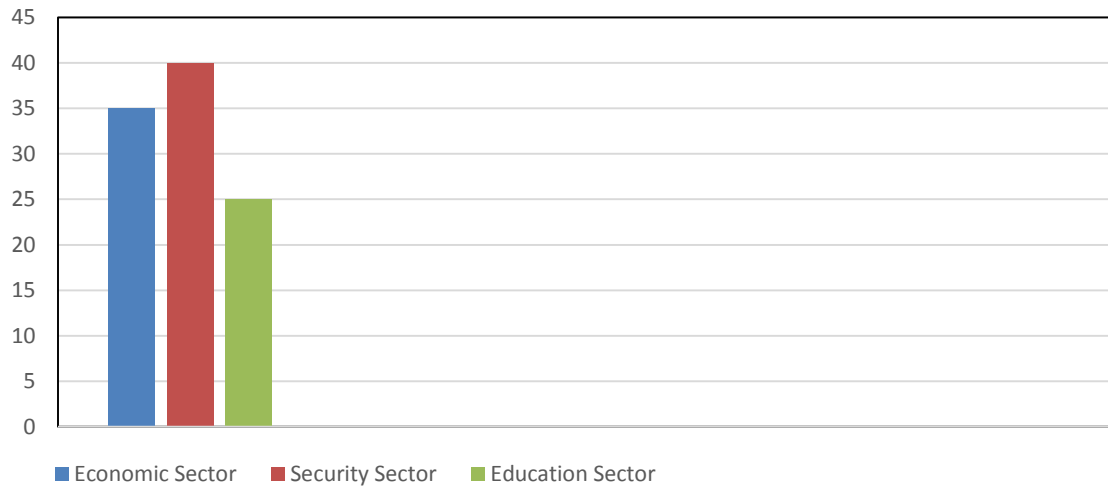


Figure 5.4: Sectors Affected in Kenya and Uganda

Source: Researcher, 2020

## CHAPTER 6

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the summary for the research discussions as well as the findings with regard to the terrorism threat as discussed both in Kenya and Uganda. The discussion is followed by the conclusion and subsequent recommendation on the probable measures and policies to ensure the terrorist activities are managed and remain at their minimal.

#### 6.2 Summary of the Study Findings

This study was based on the following objectives:

- i. To explore the impact of terrorism on the security sector in Kenya and Uganda.
- ii. To explore the impact of terrorism on the education sector, and
- iii. To explore the impacts of terrorism on the business sector in Kenya and Uganda.

It was found that the security sector was the most hit with the cases of attacks on security personnel, police vehicles, stations, and key government installation becoming a tenacious problem. Cases of increased numbers of the security sector being killed and other people in different sectors indicated a negative effect associated with the terrorism case.

The education sector experienced adverse effects given the present status of schools remaining less operational. Non-local teachers have been transferred in large numbers following the decision by the Teachers Service Commission owing to the recent killings and security threats that were posed by terrorists. Furthermore, the case of children in schools without adequate human and non-human resources following cases of destruction has slowed the pace of



education in the region. The situation has led to the outcry by professionals and members of parliament from the affected regions like larger North Eastern Region of Kenya. Consequently, little or no learning is taking place in the region which in turn affecting the competitive edge of students that are to sit for national exams with the rest in relatively peaceful areas.

Business sector is also adversely hit by terrorist attacks since it depends and is supplemented by the other sectors affected by terrorism. For instance, the businesses in the Northern region in Kenya are affected by the insecure nature orchestrated by terrorism which reduces the number of people making purchases and the stability of doing business in the region. Businesses cannot thrive in places where random attacks occur and in the process discourages the rate of investment because of the associated risks. Therefore, it is evident that terrorism affects the business world as investors become less willing to invest.

### **6.3 Research Findings**

The study recorded a high number of men than women with the numbers remaining 10 and 20 respectively. Most of the women sought for the research cited lack of interest and lack of knowledge on the matter terrorism with others remaining shy. The respondents mostly had attained diploma and university levels of education thus bringing in-depth knowledge on the topic. The ages of the respondents were spread with 50% coming from the range of 30-50 with the rest being below 30 years of age.

In finding meaning and driving evidence to the practice, persons employed in the security, business, and education sectors came in handy in obtaining firsthand experience with the rest being done with people from self-employed and unemployed population.

The residents selected for the study had resided in the respective nations for at least 8 years under which the respective terror events and threats had been witnessed. The selection was appropriate in enhancing knowledge on the research objectives.

#### **6.4 Responses from the Target Population**

The respondents gave a 70% admission on security sector being affected by citing cases of police officers being killed especially by those in Kenya. A 20% response was given on the side of those in Uganda as they cited lower numbers of security officers recorded at moderate being killed as a result of terrorism.

The question on increased security screening received a strongly agree mark with respondents from both nations indicating the truth of the same at over 90% with the 10% mostly from Uganda expressing less number of screening as opposed to the Kenyan case.

The case of increased deployment of security personnel were mostly recorded by Kenyan respondents at 70% with the evidences pointing to the north eastern region and part of coastal regions where the probability of terrorism occurrence is high. 20% cited little deployment as in the case of Ugandans with the rest 10% being unsure of further deployment.

There was a high agreement at 98% recording that many attacks on shopping malls have caused many deaths. The Kenyan respondents were quick to note of the two prominent attacks on Dusit D2, Garissa University and Westgate Mall with the saddening number of deaths registered. The Ugandans agreed to the question while pointing more in Kenyan case and less in Uganda as the case in Kampala given the little or no attacks on shopping complex. All of the respondents strongly agreed to the threat on peaceful coexistence caused by terrorism threats that causes unrest, suspicion, and distrust among individuals.

In terms of the extent that terrorism has affected peaceful coexistence and tranquility, the collected data indicated that 40% of the respondents from Kenya strongly agreed as compared to 30% from Uganda. This shows that the social living of the citizens has been affected across Kenya and Uganda and the degree of suspicion especially in Nairobi and Kampala.

On the extent to which terrorism has affected the education sector, the data collected and analyzed showed that 45% of respondents from Kenya strongly agreed that many schools have been closed because of terror attacks in comparison to 10% from Uganda. This interpretation points that Kenya's' education system has suffered more than that of Uganda which can be attributed to the proximity to Al Shabaab's operating areas in Somalia.

An average of 75% of Kenya's respondents agreed that many teachers and students have lost their lives as a result of terrorist attacks as compared to 40% from Uganda. In Kenya, many schools especially in Mandera, Wajir and Garissa have been attacked leading to death of teachers who are mostly non-locals.

Kenya has registered more terrorist attacks on learning institutions whereby an average of 55% strongly agreed as compared to that of Uganda whereby 30% strongly agreed. The data collected and interpreted indicated that Kenya has recorded terrorism activities that targeted learning institutions like the Garissa University attacks in April 2015.

Radicalization of youths in schools by terrorist has been taking place and the data collected and interpreted confirmed this terrorist tactic that is aimed at recruiting sympathizers. An average of 95% of the target population agreed that radicalization has been going on in schools unlike in Uganda whereby 40% of the respondents disagreed.

In areas that are considered to be prone terrorist attacks, an average of 75% of respondents from Kenya agreed that there has been a marked drop in the number of students/

teachers in schools within those regions. Contrary findings were realized in the case of Uganda whereby 60% disagreed. The data collected further indicated that 10% of the respondents from Uganda agreed that there the number of students and teachers dropped, this is linked to the LRA's actions in Gulu District of Uganda whereby students were abducted.

In average, there was a high response on the strongly agree recorded at 80% where Kenyan respondents were quick to point on the cases in north eastern region where schools have been shut. On the other hand, Ugandans at 30% recorded a moderate to somehow disagree given the less number of school closures experienced in their nation. A similar number of recording was noted on the number of teachers and students killed with Kenyan having more cases while Uganda having little or no cases. A moderate level was noted on the learning institutions being targeted with the radicalization case receiving a higher number of agree recorded at 95%. The numbers prone to terror attacks received a somehow disagree as the numbers are projected to rise.

The data collected in regards to the terrorism effects on economic sector in Kenya indicated that an average of 90% of the respondents strongly agreed that there has been closure of business premises mostly at border points. This is in comparison to 50% agreement in Uganda whereby businesses have been affected in areas that the LRA has been operating.

Destruction of commercial facilities received acknowledgement with the key installations remaining a primary target. The data collected indicated a total of 85% of the respondents agreed as compared to that of Uganda whereby 60% disagreed that terrorist have destroyed commercial facilities.

In terms of investors leaving Kenya or Uganda to other countries for fear of attacks, the data collected indicated that an average of 90% of Kenyan's respondents agreed in comparison to Uganda's 10%. This shows that Kenya's FDI has been negatively affected than that of Uganda.

Cases of declined tourists were evident in Kenyan respondents whereby 95% agreed that there has been a negative effect especially in the coastal regions such as Lamu. However, in Uganda, 40% of the respondent disagreed on their side because the effects of terrorism on tourism sector is flourishing.

The collected data indicated that an average of 95% of the respondents drawn from Kenya agreed that the transport and communication networks have been destroyed in Kenya citing the frequent attacks on communication masts and road attack. This is in comparison to an average of 50% from Uganda who agreed that transport and communication networks have been affected, this can be attributed to the nature of the country whereby it is land-linked and depends on the sea port of Mombasa, Kenya.

## **6.5 Conclusion**

The study findings indicate terrorism to be a major cause of negative effects on both economic and social dimensions within a community. Although the residents are not directly responsible or target for the perpetrated terror attacks, they are the one who bear the harsh consequences with development being hindered. The three affected sectors determine the prosperity of a nation since any damage on the sectors posits serious consequences with long lasting effects on the subjects.

The locals in the regions remain disadvantaged and negatively affected as their children are no longer free to go to school, they lack teachers therein which is a threat to their future as well as posterity. Consequently, without businesses, people are most likely to be jobless thus

increasing the probability of youths being lured into terrorism which worsens the situation. Security remains a critical aspect that guarantee a conducive business environment; the absence or threat on the same renders a given place as a no go zone thus giving the terrorists an advantage. With all these present, the locals suffer as they cannot shift to other areas for settlement but rather remain in the hands of the terrorists. The situation calls for a remedy and an ongoing research on the means to reduce or end the outstanding threat in Kenya and Uganda.

The study findings indicate a high rate of terrorism threats in Kenya compared to Uganda based on the level of response and number of deaths recorded. The security measures taken into consideration different among the nations based on screening and deployment numbers in terrorism prone areas. However, there seems to be a collaboration in policies on terrorism between the two nations in fighting a common problem regardless of the fact that the aggressors are different. However, both nations are placing efforts towards combating the problem at different levels and capacities.

## **6.6 Recommendations**

In view of the following reality, there is a need for the following recommendations to be considered in safeguarding the region and the entire nation from facing adverse effects of terrorism.

- i. Research on the reasons that lead to radicalization have to be identified in addressing the root cause of the problem given the high number of youths being recruited to the terror group.
- ii. There is a need for the locals to train as teachers, medical practitioners, and other key professions and be offered adequate support to increase the number of local teachers

to aid in filling the gap existing in the region to safeguard the education sector in the region.

iii. Research and development on the latest security trends in combating terrorism. The continuous research shall enable the security officials to remain relevant and be at par in containing the terror threats.

iv. Security in the learning institutions have to be improved to restore confidence in the education sector. The step shall encourage teachers and also learners in embracing education for posterity.

v. Telecommunication companies and the security departments have to provide coverage and utmost security on the key installations to avert and make it difficult for terrorists to destroy them.

vi. The government should adopt a multi-agency security approach and border security to keep the cases at bay while increasing aerial surveillance as a proactive measure in combating terrorism.

vii. Provide night and day patrol in the business section to restore confidence among investors. The step shall deter the rate of businesses being closed in the region.

viii. Community policing needs to be encouraged in getting intelligence information from the locals while building trust and partnership in solving the terrorism menace.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Participant,

My name is Jonathan Kipkemboi Kutto. I am a student in University of Nairobi, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies pursuing a PGD in Strategic Studies. I am conducting a study to assess the socio-economic effects of terrorist activities in Kenya and Uganda. Your responses will be used for academic purposes only and will be treated confidentiality and your name shall not be mentioned in any part of this research.

#### Section A. Background Information

1. What is your sex?
  - a. Male
  - b. Female
  
2. What is your highest level of education?
  - a. Secondary school/ below
  - b. Diploma level
  - c. University level
  
3. What is your age?
  - a. 18 – 30 years
  - b. 31 – 45 years
  - c. 46 years and above
  
4. What is your occupation status?
  - a. Employed

- b. Self employed
  - c. Unemployed
5. How long have you been residing in Nairobi/ Kampala?
- a. 1 – 5 years
  - b. 6 – 10 years
  - c. More than 10 years

**Section B: Effect of Terrorism on Security Sector**

To what extent do terrorist threats or attacks affect security sector in Kenya/ Uganda using the scale of 1 – 5 (1 – *strongly disagree*; 2 - *Disagree*; 3 *Moderate*; 4 – *Agree*; 5 – *Strongly agree*).

Activity	1	2	3	4	5
6. Security personnel have been killed by terrorists.					
7. Terrorist attacks have caused Screening to be done by security guards when accessing social facilities.					
8. There is an increase in the number of security officer deployed in vital installations after the terror attacks.					
9. The terror attacks on Shopping malls have led to many deaths.					
10. Peaceful coexistence and tranquility has been affected negatively by terrorist threats and attacks.					

Thank you for taking part in this study



### Section C: Effect of Terrorism on the Education System

To what extent do terrorist threats or attacks affect Education sector in Kenya/ Uganda using the scale of 1 – 5 (1 – *strongly disagree*; 2 - *Disagree*; 3 *Moderate*; 4 – *Agree*; 5 – *Strongly agree*).

Activity	1	2	3	4	5
1. Many schools have been closed due to terror attacks or threats					
2. Many Students and teachers have been killed by terrorist attacks					
3. Most terrorist attacks are targeting learning institutions					
4. Many youths have been Radicalized in schools					
5. There is a drop in the number of students / teachers in schools prone to terrorist attacks					

Thank you for taking part in this study

#### Section D: Impact of Terrorism on the Economic Sector

To what extent do terrorist threats or attacks affect economic sector in Kenya/ Uganda using the scale of 1 – 5 (1 – *strongly disagree*; 2 - *Disagree*; 3 *Moderate*; 4 – *Agree*; 5 – *Strongly agree*).

Thank you for taking part in this study.

Activity	1	2	3	4	5
1. Many business premises have been closed down due to terror attacks and threats					
2. Many Commercial facilities have been destroyed by terrorist actions					
3. Many Investors have fled to other countries causing a reduction of FDI to Kenya and Uganda					
4. There is a decline of tourists visits due to terror threats					
5. Transport and communication networks have been affected tremendously by terrorist activities.					



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# AN ASSESSMENT OF THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF TERRORISM IN EAST AFRICA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF KENYA AND UGANDA

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