

University of Nairobi

Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

The Role of Regional Integration in Combating Terrorism in the Horn of Africa:

A case study of East African Community (EAC)

Waweru Kellen

Supervisor: Dr. Martin Ouma

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2015

DECLARATION

I declare that this Research Proposal is my original work and has not been submitted anywhere else for any academic purposes.

Waweru Kellení í í í í í í í Dateí í í í í í í í í í í í í

Signed: í í í í í í í í í í í Date: í í í í í í í í í

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

Name: Dr. Martin Ouma

Signed: í í í í í í í í í í Date: í í í í í í í í í í

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my family who believed in me and has always supported me in their own special way. Thank you and God bless you!

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I highly appreciate the contribution and support received by various individuals for the success completion of this project. I wish to express my sincere appreciation to my supervisor Dr. Martin Ouma for his academic guidance and value he gave my study. I acknowledge the encouragement and inspiration of my family, relatives and my best friend Richardson Tito who supported me in their own special way.

ABSTRACT

This research examines the role, ability and the potential of regional integrated bloc to respond to terrorism in EA, which has seen the region as theatre for the most heinous terrorists' attacks in the sub-Saharan Africa. The research examines the efforts made by the East African community (EAC), in particular to counter terrorism, by providing an overview of the apparent vulnerability of the region, to increasing terrorist related activities and the weak capacities of countries to respond. The research argues that, although significant progress is being made to develop coherent counterterrorism approaches in East Africa, many challenges remain. They include extreme intra- and interstate conflict, increasing Islamic radicalization, lack of state capacity, competing national priorities and political sensitivity surrounding the very notion of counter-terrorism. Most counter-terrorism efforts have focused on short-term security and law enforcement efforts, which negatively affect longer-term measures to tackle the primary conditions that encourage the spread of terrorism. This research analyses the role of regional actor-the EAC in responding to the challenge of terrorism in EA. Firstly, the research briefly examines the vulnerability of countries in the region to terrorism and the capacities of EA countries to respond. Secondly, the research highlights responses to terrorism at the regional level with a particular focus on de-radicalization, de-politicization of terrorism and security reforms. The general objective of this research is to examine and analyze the role regional integration plays in fostering peace and security through combating terrorism. The research design used in this study is descriptive and explorative research. The study involved mostly the use of open-ended questions for the primary data collection. The research site in this study involves Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi. For the purpose of this study, the target population is 100 respondents who included; civil servants, business entrepreneurs, security agencies and academicians operating in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi. Purposive sampling approach will be used to ensure that reasonable representative sample is picked for the groups. A number of data collections methods will be used in this study and this includes an open ended questionnaire for the key respondents. Secondary data will also be used in addition to primary data.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AL-	Arab League
AMISOM-	African Union Mission to Somalia
AML-	Anti- Money Laundering
AMLA-	Anti money laundering act
ASEAN-	Association of South East Asian Nations
AU-	African Union
CARICOM-	Caribbean Community
COMESA-	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
EA-	East Africa
EAC-	East Africa Community
EACTI-	East Africa Counterterrorism Initiative
ECOWAS-	Economic Community of West Africa States
EU-	European Union
FDI-	Foreign Direct Investment
FIU-	Financial Intelligence Unit
GDP-	Gross Domestic Product

NAFTA-	North American Free Trade Area
NGOs-	Non- Governmental Organizations
RTAs-	Regional Trade Agreements
SADC-	Southern Africa Development Community
U. S. A-	United States of America
USAN-	Union of South American Nations
WMD-	Weapons of Mass Destruction

CHAPTER ONE

TERRORISM AND REGIONAL INTERGRATION IN EAST AFRICA

1.1 Introduction

This section is organized into four subsections which include; the background to the study which defines terrorism and also focuses on regional integration in a global perspective, regional integration in East Africa and terrorism in East Africa. There has been a growing realization that the regional integration has the potential to solve some of the socio-economic and political challenges facing countries. Regional integration is premised on the fundamental objectives that member state aspires to achieve. Some of the driving tenets of countries engaged in regional arrangements include; Trade gains where countries experience positive terms of trade occasioned by free trade and increased competition availing a variety to consumers vis-à-vis the rest of the world.

From experience it has been noted that regional integration increases investments in countries. Enlarging a sub-regional market will also bring direct foreign investment, which will be beneficial, provided that the incentive for foreign investors is not to engage in tariff-jumping.¹ Entering into regional trade agreements (RTAs) may enable a government to pursue policies that are welfare improving, and this opens a debate whether regional integration may be used by the government to formulate policies aimed at solving common security challenges.

¹Teunissen, JJ. (1996). *Regionalism and the Global Economy, the Case of Africa*. FONDAD: The Hague.

1.2 Background to the Study

In the Horn of Africa particularly East Africa, terrorism has been a security challenge affecting the social political and economic spheres of the societies. By definition terrorism refers to only to those violent acts that are intended to create fear (terror) and are perpetrated for a religious, political, or ideological goal and deliberately target or disregard the safety of non-combatants for instance, neutral military personnel or civilians.² Terrorism has no legally binding, criminal law and it has been practiced by a broad array of political organizations, both right-wing and left-wing political parties, nationalistic groups, religious groups, revolutionaries, and ruling governments to further their objectives.

Carsten Bockstette defined terrorism as political violence in an asymmetrical conflict that is designed to induce terror and psychic fear through the violent victimization and destruction of noncombatant targets. Terrorism aims at exploiting the media in order to achieve maximum attainable publicity, as an amplifying force multiplier in order to influence the targeted audiences, to reach short- and midterm political goals and desired long-term end states.³

1.3 Regional integration in a global perspective

Regional integration refers to a process by which states in close geographical proximity, enter into an agreement in order to upgrade cooperation through common institutions and rules. The common objectives of the agreement could range from economic, to political, to environmental and social ties.⁴ It is a worldwide phenomenon of territorial systems that increases the interactions between their components and creates new forms of organization, co-existing with

²Schilnder, p.(2008). *Concepts of Terrorism*.Netherlands: NIS

³Bockstette, C. (2008). *Terrorist Use of Strategic Communication Management Techniques*".Columbia:Columbia University Press

⁴Duina, F. (2007).*The Social Construction of Free Trade: The EU, NAFTA, and Mercosur*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

traditional forms of state-led organization at the national level. The degree of integration depends upon the willingness and commitment of independent sovereign states to share their sovereignty. Common objective pursued by states entering into regional integration entities include strengthening of trade integration in the region, development of infrastructure programmes in support of economic growth and regional integration, strengthening of the region's interaction with other regions of the world and most importantly states pursue integration with the main objectives of improving peace and security in the region.⁵

Regional integration arrangements are a part and parcel of the present global economic order and this trend is now an acknowledged future of the international scene. Most pronounced regional integrated blocs in the world include the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA), formed in 1994 when the Canada - U. S. Free Trade Agreement was extended to Mexico. Another vibrant example would entail as to how EU has formed linkages incorporating the transition economies of Eastern Europe through the Europe Agreements. Others include ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations), Arab League (AL), Caribbean Community (CARICOM), Union of South American Nations (USAN) and African Union (AU) among others. Those found in Africa include ECOWAS (Economic Community of West Africa States), SADC (Southern Africa Development Community), COMESA (Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa) and for the purpose of the research study the East African Community (EAC).⁶

⁵Haas, B.(1971) *.-The Study of Regional Integration: Reflections on the Joy and Anguish of Pretheorizing'.* Cambridge:Harvard University Press.

⁶Reith, S. (2011).*The East African Community regional Integration between Aspiration And Reality.* Kas International Reports

1.4 Regional integration in East Africa

The East African Community (EAC) is the regional intergovernmental organization of the Republics of Kenya, Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania, Republic of Rwanda and Republic of Burundi with its headquarters in Arusha, Tanzania. The EAC was established with primary objective of setting up a prosperous, competitive, secure, stable and politically united East Africa; and provide platform to widen and deepen Economic, Political, Social and Culture integration in order to improve the quality of life of the people of East Africa through increased competitiveness, value added production, trade and investments.⁷ Since the community's re-establishment in 1999, the community has recorded a number of achievements.

These achievements include: success in establishing the organs of the community as stated in the EAC treaty, establishment of the EAC Custom Union, strengthening of an East African identity, harmonization of monetary and fiscal policies, improvement of transport and communications systems, the launching of the Lake Victoria Commission and deepening of co-operations in different sectors.⁸ The regional integration in East Africa is confronted by a number of challenges, which hinder its development and achievements of its full potential. These challenges range from economic, global, political, and social and challenges concerning security issues with terrorism cited as stumbling block to EAC advancement.⁹

1.5 Terrorism in East Africa

Terrorism constitutes one of the major challenges that make the region lag behind in achieving its full potential. Although it is a global security concern affecting many countries, East African countries have borne great losses as a result of terrorism and other security related issues. There

⁷EAC (2002), *the Treaty for Establishment of the East African Community*, EAC Secretariat, Arusha Tanzania

⁸Diodorus, B. (2006). *The Achievements and Challenges of the New East African Community Co-operation*. London: University of Hull

⁹ ibid

are varied kinds of terrorism in East African countries (Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, and Tanzania). These are acts perpetrated by organizations based outside the region, those by an organization within the region but aimed at a neighboring country, and those instigated by an internal insurgent group against authority in a single country. An example of terrorism emanating from outside the region was the assassination by the Palestinian terrorist group, Black September in 1973 of the American Ambassador and Deputy Chief of Mission and a Belgian diplomat in Khartoum. The attempted assassination in 1995 of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Addis Ababa by the Egyptian terrorist group Gama'at al-Islamiyya also falls in this category.

Other examples include the bombing by *al-Qaeda* in 1998 of the American embassies in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and Nairobi, Kenya, the simultaneous *Al-Qaeda* attacks at Mombasa, Kenya, in 2002 against an Israeli airliner, bombing of a hotel popular with Israeli tourists and also through the current strings of terrorist attacks in the country. These are classic examples of international terrorism. The root causes are numerous and sometimes complex even within a single dispute. They include ethnic, language and cultural differences, arbitrary boundaries, religion, ideology, competition for scarce resources including pasturage and water, unequal sharing of resources controlled by the state, and the sheer desire for power.

East Africa (EA) is the most vulnerable to terrorism of all regions in sub-Saharan Africa. The research study explores the efforts of the regional bloc to support counter terrorism activities in the Horn of Africa states. It is recognized that the use of military measures in countering terrorism can be counterproductive. This was clearly demonstrated by US and Ethiopian military intervention in Somalia in 2006.¹⁰ The region is still confronted with many challenges including extreme intra- and interstate conflict, increasing radicalization, lack of state capacity, competing

¹⁰Kimunguyi,P.(2011). *Terrorism and Counter terrorism in East Africa*: Nairobi, Global Terrorism Research Centre

priorities, and political sensitivity surrounding the very notion of counter-terrorism. The research examines the capacities of the East Africa states to combat terrorism and the risks that member states have as posed by the terrorists groups in the region.

EA has been a priority area for radical Islamist organizations and movements for a long time .The research endeavors to highlight responses to terrorism at the regional level, with a particular focus on the East African countries, exploring the measures that the regional bloc has undertaken to combat the vice, the achievements and challenges that characterize the war on terrorism. The research will focus on all the underlying issues pertaining the increased indoctrination and radicalization that has been realized for the past one year. The political sensitivity surrounding the very notion of counter-terrorism is raising eyebrows about how leadership and power are interlinked in the fight against terror and therefore, this paper articulates the political decisions taken by EA member states in that regard.

The polarity of our borders is a serious issue, given that smuggling of illegal arms and uncontrolled movement of persons from the neighboring countries, continue to increase the threat of terror attacks among the member states of EA. This is particularly true in the case of the Kenya ó Somalia border, which has not only allowed the movement of refugees fleeing the conflict in Somalia, but also allows movement of terrorist and easy flow of illegal weapons.¹¹ Of note are the use of the Somali borders for safe passage for the 7 August 1998 terrorist bombings of the US embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, and the November 2002 hotel and international airport attacks in Mombasa (Kenya), for which al-Qaeda claimed responsibility. The polarity of the borders makes it easier for terror networks and smugglers to operate.

¹¹ Chalk, P. (2007). *Case Study: The East Africa Corridor*. RAND Corporation: California

Understanding the vulnerabilities as well as the root causes of terrorism in the EA region is vital and essential, for ensuring a more proactive approach, to enhancing the effectiveness of counter-terrorism efforts in the region as undertaken by the community of regional states. This research will therefore, discuss the in-depth details pertaining terrorism in the EA region and the steps the role regional integration can play in combating the vice while focusing on the achievements on the ground and the challenges encountered. The research will presents its findings and recommendations as part of the holistic approach, towards eradication and combatant of terrorism to policy makers and implementers in the EA region.

1.6 Statement of the Problem

There exist a number of factors causing terrorism in EA which have not been adequately addressed by the governments and most scholars have not elaborated on the critical issues, to be addressed jointly by the same government in the region in the fight against terror. In the efforts to combat terrorism in EA member states have been confronted by common short comings among them; unshared intelligence information among member states, porous boundaries manned by corrupt officials, rampant radicalization associated with religious indiscrimination and improper monitoring and surveillance of terror cells. Corruption makes the operations of terrorists easier by allowing them to use bribes to travel discreetly between countries.

It facilitates criminal activity, which often is a source of funding for terrorists. Corruption is a problem in every country in East Africa. It undermines the credibility of the government which the terrorists groups exploit to gain entry to their respective targets. In East Africa, this has been achieved through the acquisition of ÷validö registration documents issued by corrupt and gullible

immigration officials at countries' border points.¹² Poverty is a central theme and a key issue associated with religious indiscriminate, which as a result has led to increased radicalization among religious factions. A case study in particular points to religious indifference among the Kenyan Muslims in relation to their Christian counterparts.

The grievances of Kenyan Muslims stem in part from the fact that under British rule Muslims were privileged, but lost this privilege under independence. Poverty of Kenyan Muslims has particularly led to feelings of injustice, as they have seen their economic prosperity decline sharply over the last 30 years. Many Kenyan Muslims, who live mainly on the coast, feel more connected to the traditional trading partners in the Gulf than to the rest of Kenya.¹³ Many of these Muslims are ethnically distinct from the rest of Kenya, including Arab, Arab-Swahili and Somali minorities. These factors combine to give radical Islamist terrorists the environment and population they need to operate.

Intelligence sharing among the security apparatus in the EAC manifests loopholes which deter close monitoring and effective counter terrorism measures. Information gathered is not shared and if shared it is not processed and acted upon in real time. Intelligence gathering constitutes a major milestone, in combating terrorism and the sharing of the same with other partners helps in deterrence. The above mentioned factors have had a significant impact on the spread of terrorism in EAC member states, as it is evidenced by the August 7, 1998 attack in Kenya, where a truck filled with explosives parked outside the American Embassy detonated, killed 213 people and

¹²Shinn, D. (2003). Terrorism in East Africa and the Horn: An Overview. Vol. XXIII, No. 2, journal of conflict studies. The Gregg Centre for the study of war and society

¹³ ibid

wounding over 4,500. Four years later, in November 2002, al-Qaeda again attacked in Kenya, this time bombing an Israeli-owned hotel, killing 15 and injuring 35.¹⁴

In the neighboring country Tanzania, an Islamist group in Zanzibar called Simba wa Mungu (God's Lion), has led the movement to radicalize Zanzibar and the rest of Tanzania. They have called for alcohol to be banned and for women to change their public appearance. Uganda another EAC member state was the site of one of the biggest terrorist attacks in sub-Saharan Africa, since the 1998 Embassy bombings. Two bombings attacked civilians watching the World Cup in Kampala, the capital of Uganda, killing 74 On July 11, 2010. The Somali Islamist group al-Shabaab soon claimed responsibility for the attacks, and threatened that the attacks were only the beginning.¹⁵ Thus, this research endeavors to provide new evidence to fill in the gaps left in production of knowledge on the role of regional integration in combating terrorism in the Horn of Africa.

1.7 Objectives of the Study

1.7.1 General Objective

To analyze the roles played by EAC in countering terrorism in the Horn of Africa.

1.7.2 Specific objectives

- i. To find out how terrorism affects regional growth and development in East Africa
- ii. To analyze the impact of terrorism in EAC
- iii. To analyze the strategies that have been used to deal with terrorism in East Africa

¹⁴ ibid

¹⁵Wee, L. (2004). *War against Global Terrorism: Winning the Hearts, Minds, and Souls of the Muslim World*. Washington, DC: National Defense University Press.

1.7.3 Specific research questions

- i. How does regional terrorism affect regional growth and development in East Africa?
- ii. What is the impact of terrorism in EAC?
- iii. Which strategies have been advanced in East Africa to combat terrorism?

1.8 Justification of the Study

This study will explore the role of regional integration in combating terrorism in the Horn of Africa, with specific focus of EAC. Integration being the new phenomenon in the conduct of international relations, has the potential to solve both economic, social, political, developmental and security concerns facing sovereign states as evidenced by the various regional integrated blocs, in existence in the international system. Economic partnerships among states have increased trade volumes and investments, while at the same time reducing the costs of doing business and improving infrastructure. It is therefore in the same perspective that when states come together and pool resources, they can advance a common agenda and can obtain common objectives, be it social or security issues.

With that in mind, EAC being a regional bloc of states confronted by a common security concern; terrorism, they can collaborate and formulate elaborate policies geared towards eliminating terrorism a vice that is detrimental to development, peace, security and stability in the region. The findings of the study will assist policy makers in the region and international community, to adopt appropriate measures to guide policy formulation and implementation, aimed at tackling security challenges facing Horn of Africa. It will also contribute to a more peaceful co-existence with its neighbors in the Horn of Africa; especially those neighboring EAC. The study hopes to contribute to develop literature in academics, giving a critical analysis

of the existing approaches by policy makers and recommendations that will contribute to the academic knowledge to both masters and postgraduate students at higher institutions of learning.

1.9 Literature Review

Literature review utilizes primary and secondary data in this academic research. It is organized into four subsections each dealing with contextual framework related to the study. The preceding literature review will be divided under the following sub-sections: Global context of terrorism, regional response to terrorism in EA, socio-economic and political costs of terrorism, policy framework of combating terrorism in EA.

1.9.1 Global context of terrorism

Terrorism by definition is the use of indiscriminate violence to intimidate the general majority of people in a state to accept the changes advocated by the terrorists. The essence of terrorism is to kill or injure opponents in ways specifically designed to cause fear and, thus, to disorganize the opposing society to a degree far out of proportion to the number of victims.¹⁶ As terrorism is a global phenomenon, a major challenge facing policymakers is how to maximize international cooperation and support without unduly compromising important national security interests and options. Terrorists have been able to develop their own sources of financing, which range from NGOs and charities to illegal enterprises such as narcotics, extortion, and kidnapping.

Several states have been cited as the state sponsors of terrorism globally and they include the states of Cuba, Iran, North Korea, Sudan, and Syria are known or suspected to have had one or more WMD-related program. Two of the states Iran and North Korea have, or have had, nuclear

¹⁶Bruce, H.(1998). *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

weapons-oriented programs in varying stages of development.¹⁷ According to the Global terrorism index 2014, the top leading countries with the highest incidences of terror include from top; Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nigeria, Syria, India and Somalia in that order. The majority of deaths from terrorism in 2014 occurred in Iraq, accounting for 35 per cent of all deaths. In that year alone, almost 10,000 terrorist incidents worldwide resulted in approximately 18,000 fatalities.¹⁸

The number of deaths and fatalities in the world as a result of terrorism is alarming and the real threat is bound to escalate if concrete measures are not adopted. The most notorious and dangerous terrorist groups in the world include: Boko Haram, Al-Qaeda, Islamic state of Iraq and the Levant (ISIS) and the Al-shabaab among others. While terrorism is an international phenomenon and affects almost all African states, this research focuses on five East African countries, Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi with a special focus on the first three. This region (EA) has experienced terrorist attacks in the past and has the potential to experience even more terrorist attacks, due to its proximity to countries and regions that sponsor and harbor terrorist organizations, such as countries in the Middle-East, Somalia and Sudan.¹⁹

In East Africa, the Somalia-based terrorist group al-Shabaab remained the primary terrorist threat. Somali security forces and the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), continued to make gains against al-Shabaab in 2013, but an inability to undertake consistent offensive operations against the group, allowed al-Shabaab to develop and carry out asymmetric attacks, including outside of Somalia. Most notably, al-Shabaab launched an attack against the Westgate Mall in

¹⁷ CRS Report RL30699, *Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical Weapons and Missiles* and CRS Report RL32359, *Globalizing Cooperative Threat Reduction: a Survey of Options*, both by Sharon Squassoni.

¹⁸ Global report on impact of terrorism in 2014

¹⁹ Nthamburi, N. (2005) .*Fighting Terror In East Africa: Less Liberty for more Security? Analysis of Anti-Terrorism legislation And Its Impact on Human Rights*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Nairobi, Kenya on September 21 that left at least 65 people dead. The attack, which targeted innocent civilians, was claimed by al-Shabaab as a response to the involvement of Kenyan armed forces units in Somalia.²⁰ East African countries have continued to detect, deter, disrupt, investigate, and prosecute terrorist incidents; enhance domestic and regional efforts to bolster border security; and create integrated and dedicated counterterrorism strategies. Counterterrorism cooperation across the region picked up following the Westgate attack and nations began to examine their procedures, for responding to attacks on soft targets and these responses will be analyzed in the subsequent sub-topic.

1.9.2 Regional Response to Terrorism

The Horn of Africa has been the most conflicted part of Africa during the last 50 years. The genesis of these conflicts differs from one state to another. The root causes are numerous and sometimes complex even within a single dispute. They include ethnic, language and cultural differences, arbitrary boundaries, religion, ideology, competition for scarce resources including pasturage and water, unequal sharing of resources controlled by the state and the sheer desire for power. Several reasons have been advanced to explain the violent nature of these states and from the above findings these causes do not operate in isolation. There are underlying conditions in East Africa and the Horn that contribute directly to conflict and the use of terrorist tactics.

Poverty and social injustice are widespread and borders are porous even by African standards.²¹ All of the EA countries have a severe shortage of financial resources and trained personnel to counter the activities of terrorist elements. Corruption is endemic in the region and a particularly serious problem in several countries. The rampant corruption committed by gullible immigrant

²⁰ ibid

²¹ Shinn, D. (2003). Terrorism in East Africa and the Horn: An Overview. Vol. XXIII, No. 2, journal of conflict studies. The Gregg Centre for the study of war and society.

officials manning border points have created conducive environment for smuggling illegal weapons and penetration of terrorist elements in the respective countries. Countries facing serious corruption, combined with low pay for security personnel, leave officials wide open to the temptation of accepting money from terrorists in return for support.

With this background of information, the member countries making the EAC have formulated concrete responses to counter terrorism. Counter terrorism policies are determined by the politics and philosophies of a particular state. These counter terrorism measures include and often begin with the passing of antiterrorism legislation.²² Most of the countries constituting the EAC, have adopted the following counter terrorism measures among other policies. Some elements of an effective counterterrorism strategy relevant to this research, cited by various authors, are public diplomacy and information campaigns; legislation; financial controls and socioeconomic development; use of military force; and creation of a specialized judicial system for terrorism suspects.²³

Military action is one of the tools available to counterterrorism and is the most effective measure to physically eliminate terrorists, as witnessed in Operations staged by the EAC countries in Somalia as part of the larger battalion of AMISOM, which is stabilizing the country. Operation òLinda Nchiö employed by Kenya Defense Forces is part of the wide strategy to militarily defeat terrorist in the Horn of Africa. Recent experience shows that, the best military action against the war on terrorism is the use of preemptive strikes as opposed to retaliatory strikes, as happened in

²² ibid

²³ Adan, H. (2005). *Combating Transnational Terrorism In Kenya*. Kansas: Fort Leavenworth

Afghanistan and Operation Iraqi Freedom. Such counterterrorism measures will discourage more states from supporting terrorists groups.²⁴

Public diplomacy coupled with social economic developments has proved instrumental the fight against terrorist as indicated earlier poverty and exclusion are the most profound motivating factors enticing marginalized populations into terrorist's groupings. It is in this sense therefore, that state have adopted public diplomacy to mitigate the root causes of terrorism and the use of diplomacy and information campaigns with the objective of winning the hearts, minds, and souls of the international Muslim community, through the promotion of the Islamic culture and teaching.²⁵ As part of the wide and far reaching measures aimed at combating terrorism in EA, Muslim communities in the respective countries have embraced Islamic charitable organizations, because those organizations provide social amenities such as schools, health centers, relief food, and the like.

1.9.3 Socio-economic and political costs of terrorism

There are numerous social and economic costs distinctions that could be drawn regarding terrorism losses. Direct costs, for example, involve the immediate losses associated with a terrorist attack or campaign and include damaged goods, the value of lives lost, the costs associated with injuries (including lost wages), destroyed structures, damaged infrastructure, and reduced short-term commerce. On the other hand indirect costs or secondary costs concern attack-related subsequent losses, such as raised insurance premiums, increased security costs, greater compensation to those at high-risk locations, and costs tied to attack-induced long-run changes in commerce. Other indirect costs incurred as a result of terrorism include; reduced

²⁴ ibid

²⁵Wee, L. (2004). *War against Global Terrorism: Winning the Hearts, Minds, and Souls of the Muslim World*. Washington, DC: National Defense University Press.

growth in gross domestic product (GDP), lost FDI, changes in inflation, or increased unemployment.²⁶

Terrorist incidents have economic consequences by diverting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), destroy infrastructure, redirecting public investment funds to security, or limiting trade. Intense terrorist campaign may greatly reduce capital inflows. Terrorism, like civil conflicts, may cause spillover costs among neighboring countries as a terrorist campaign in a neighbor dissuades capital inflows, or a regional multiplier causes lost economic activity in the terrorism-ridden country to resonate throughout the region.²⁷ For instance the attacks on September 11, 2001 (henceforth, 9/11) had significant costs that have been estimated to be in the range of \$80 to \$90 billion when subsequent economic losses in lost wages, workman's compensation, and reduced commerce are included.²⁸

In East Africa the cost of terrorism both direct and indirect runs into billions of dollars. In East Africa, Kenya has borne the biggest brunt of terrorism attacks of all the East African states. By May 2014, the United States, United Kingdom, France and Australia began issuing travel warnings to their citizens in Kenya. This had an immediate impact on Kenya's tourism industry, as European visitors left the country and hotel establishments were consequently forced to lay off staff.²⁹ Apart from the economic costs incurred as a result of terrorism the many lives of innocent civilians killed remains one of the highest in Kenya, since 2011 with the recent massacre being that of 64 persons in Mandera County. On 22nd November 2014, gunmen attacked a bus

²⁶Sandler, T et al. (2003). *Economic Consequences Of Terrorism In Developed And Developing Countries: An Overview*. Washington, DC: University of Alabama

²⁷Sandler, T, & Walter, E. (2004). "An Economic Perspective on Transnational Terrorism," *European Journal of Political Economy*, vol. 20, No 2.

²⁸ *ibid*

²⁹Macharia, J. (2014). *"Bombings threaten Kenya growth goals, open new strains with wary West"* Associated Press.

traveling from Mandera to Nairobi, killing 28 persons, mostly teachers and government workers heading to Nairobi for the December holidays.

A week later Al-Shabaab militants attacked and killed a further 36 quarry workers, many of whom were non-Muslims, near Mandera Town.³⁰ Tourism, one of the foundation blocks of Kenya's economy, constitutes 25% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and has been adversely affected by the repercussions of terrorism. USA, Germany, Great Britain and some other countries, upon receiving the news about the terrorist attacks on Kenya's US Embassy in Nairobi, immediately issued travel advisories to their citizens and imposed travel bans to refrain travel to Kenya as it was deemed unsafe.³¹ These responses lead to a decline in travel to Kenya and some neighboring countries as travelers feared the spillover of the terrorist attacks. For example, tourism businesses were terribly affected by the travel warnings.

Tourism brought in US \$500 million in annual revenue and was losing at least \$1 million everyday due to the decline in tourism.³² Subsequently, there was a significant increase in unemployment as many Kenyans lost their jobs. Employees that were still employed received salary cuts. Another hindrance to Kenya's tourism industry in light of the terrorist attacks is the slump in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Investors were inclined to nullify their FDI in Kenya due to some of the shocks felt by the terrorist attack such as the direct destruction of infrastructure, the rise of operating costs due to an increasing need of security measures and the rise of recruiting costs due to missing incentives to work in terrorism prone regions. Other costs included as a result of terrorism involve cancellation of flights, job cuts, merging of airlines for

³⁰ ibid

³¹ ibid

³² Sloboda, Brian W. (2003), "Assessing the Effects of Terrorism on Tourism". *Tourism Economics*, 9(2), 179-90

survival and closure of some other airlines. The real socio-economic cost of terrorism in East Africa cannot be quantified in monetary terms and if it is it runs into Trillions of dollars.

1.9.4 Policy framework of combating terrorism in East Africa

The East African states have engaged in multilateral approaches in fighting terrorism in the region for instance, through the East Africa Counterterrorism Initiative (EACTI) and Intergovernmental Authority and Development (IGAD), by forging a partnership on the war against terrorism with neighboring countries. These multilateral approaches have resulted in greater intelligence sharing, especially for the purpose of law enforcement.

The framework for countering terrorism starts with the legislation that these particular states have put in place and the implementation of certain policies that have been advanced to contain terrorism. Each particular country has developed its own perspective of containing terrorism. Burundi has demonstrated a commitment to addressing international terrorism and contributed six battalions to the AU Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). A counterterrorism cell, formed in 2010, consists of elements of the police, military, and the National Intelligence Service.³³ Burundi is a member of the Partnership for Regional East Africa Counterterrorism; and as such, has received funding for military and law enforcement counterterrorism training.

The country has cooperated with neighboring countries to exchange information on suspected terrorists. Kenya being a member of the Partnership for Regional East Africa Counter terrorism, adopted the 2012 Prevention of Terrorism Act, 2011 Proceeds of Crime and Anti-Money Laundering Act, and 2010 Prevention of Organized Crime Act, which together provided a strong legal framework under which to prosecute acts of terrorism. Kenya was recognized by the FATF

³³Bureau of Counter terrorism.(2013).*Country Reports on Terrorism. Africa overview*

for progress in improving its anti-money laundering/countering the financing of terrorism (AML/CFT) regime. This legislation framework was effective for establishing and implementing an adequate legal framework for the identification and freezing of terrorist assets.³⁴

Kenya's primary contribution to supporting counterterrorism capacity building in other nations was its significant troop contribution to AMISOM. Terrorism is subject to prosecution in Tanzania under the 2002 law on counterterrorism. The regulations established the police and the Financial Intelligence Unit (FIU) as the institutions that are to collect and respond to reports of terrorist activity. The regulations also formalized the process for freezing assets, deeming a person a suspected terrorist, and sharing information between government agencies.³⁵ Tanzania is a member of the Partnership for Regional East Africa Counter terrorism and participates in Global Counter terrorism Forum events focused on the Horn of Africa.

The Tanzanian police work closely with the Interpol in policies that are aimed at neutralizing the avenues of terrorism in the mainland and in the coastal island of Zanzibar. Tanzania's Financial Intelligence Unit (FIU) is responsible for combating money laundering and terrorist finance. All these measures have been put in place to counter the activities of terrorists given that the country was a victim of attack in 1998. The government of Uganda is committed to fight terrorism in its soil as it's evidenced by the numerous policies, which have been advanced in collaboration with other like-minded partners, to fight terror, given the losses Kampala incurred after terrorists attacked and claimed more than 70 lives of innocent civilians during the 2010 world cup match.

In October 2013, Uganda made significant strides in creating the legal framework to deter, detect, and investigate terrorist financing with the passage of the Anti-Money Laundering Act (AMLA).

³⁴ *ibid*

³⁵ *ibid*

From the above literature review, the study has established that causes of terrorism in the Horn of Africa are numerous and efforts to combat the vice in EA, have been confronted by common short comings which include them; unshared intelligence information among member states, porous boundaries manned by corrupt officials, rampant radicalization associated with religious indiscrimination, improper monitoring and surveillance of terror cells, corruption among others. These factors have not been addressed adequately by the governments in the region and most scholars; have not elaborated on the critical issues to be addressed jointly in the fight against terror in EA. This research aims at production of new knowledge and evidence on the role of regional integration in combating terrorism in the Horn of Africa.

1.10 Theoretical Framework

This research study will adopt the game theory. The Game theory is the science of interactive decision making.³⁶ Created by John Von Neumann and Oskar Morgenster, the theory argues that empirical content associated with the outcome will vary with the game being analyzed. The basic concept is that of a game which maybe thought as any situation where the outcome depends on choices of two or more decision makers (EA governments). Most, if not all terrorists attacks qualify as serious games.³⁷ In game theory decision-makers who represent states are called "players" and these players may constitute a group of two or more states. In this study the five countries in the regional bloc are viewed as players.

The decisions these five countries make leads to outcomes which could amount to a *Zero sum game*. Zero sum game is any game where the interest of players is diametrically opposed.³⁸ On the other hand in a *non-cooperative game* the players are unable to irrevocably commit

³⁶ Siefulaziz, M. (2004). *Baseline study for the Ethiopian side of the karamoja cluster*. Addis Ababa: National Institute Research for Ethiopia.

³⁷ Zagare, F. (2008). *Security studies*. New York: Routledge

³⁸ *ibid*

themselves to a particular course of action. In a game theory players choose strategies simultaneously before the beginning of the game. If two actors A and B (terrorists and states), are in a competition be it -ideological or territorial each actor will choose either of the strategy: To cooperate or to defect. For instance if actor A retaliates and actor B still retaliates then an outcome of compromise or military balance is achieved. On the other hand, if actor A retaliates and actor B does not, then actor A gains strategic advantage and B is at military disadvantage. If both retaliate they all loose.

Game theory assumes that both states and non-state actors are rational and they try to avoid worst possible outcomes in an anarchic international system.³⁹ The game theory is very much relevant in the study of terrorism and counter-terrorism by states and transnational actors. The decision makers of the five countries constitute the players who are bound to make decisions rationally that will change the security landscape of the region with either an outbreak of war and conflicts or maintenance of the *status quo*. The game theory is relevant in employing deterrence as a tactic in counter terrorism which will reduce the frequency of attacks in the Horn of Africa particularly EA and also save it from a security dilemma.

1.11 Methodology

This section provides the research methodology for this study. The research methodology is presented in following sequence: study design, study site, data collection methods, target population/sampling frame, sampling and sampling size, ethical issues, data analysis and presentation, scope of the study, limitations of the research and chapter outline.

³⁹ ibid

1.11.1 Study Design

Research design is a road map guide of how research itself will be conducted.⁴⁰ It gives the methods, instruments for data collection and interpretation.⁴¹ The function of a research design is to ensure that the evidence obtained enables us to answer the initial question as unambiguously as possible.⁴² The research design to be used in this study is a case study approach.

1.11.2 Study Site

The study site will be in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi. The data will be collected from civilians, business entrepreneurs, clerics, civil servants, Academicians and security agencies with proven knowledge on the impact of terrorism in the region.

1.11.3 Data Collection Methods

A number of data collections methods will be used in this study and this include; an open ended questionnaire for the respondents. Open-ended questions will be used to obtain the respondents' opinions on regional integration in combating terrorism. This will present an advantageous side to it because the response will not be limiting respondents in answering the questions. Detailed data on the opinions of experts on regional integration in combating terrorism will be obtained through unstructured interviews. The experts will include both the practitioners and researchers involved in the area of security. Secondary data will be used in addition to primary data.

1.11.4 Target Population and Sample Size

This study targets a body of professionals who are well versed with regional integration in combating terrorism in the Horn of African states, on industry globally but have expert knowledge in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi. With a combined population of

⁴⁰ Law, J& Lodge, T. (1984). *Science for social scientists*. London: Macmillan.pp.20-46.

⁴² *ibid*

151 million people, collecting data on all these experts is impractical and equally cumbersome.⁴³ Therefore a sample will be chosen to represent the relevant attributes of the whole set of units termed as 'population'.⁴⁴ The sample size for this study will be arrived at through sample size computation at 95% confidence level and a 5% margin of error (Research advisors 2006)⁴⁵. The study will use Proportionate stratified sampling and Purposive Sampling Techniques.

Proportionate stratified sampling will be used to identify the necessary study population in the five countries. To identify the study units, purposive sampling will be used to identify the six study units which will include: civilians, business entrepreneurs, clerics, civil servants, Academicians and security agencies with proven knowledge on the impact of terrorism in the region. The target population is the specific pool of cases that the researcher wants to study.⁴⁶ Thus, the population should fit a certain specification, which the researcher is studying.⁴⁷

⁴³ <http://www.eac.int>

⁴⁴ Graziano, A & Raulin, M. (1997). *Research methods: a process of inquiry*. New York: Longman Pub Group.

⁴⁵ <http://research-advisors.com>

⁴⁶ Neuman, L. (2006). *Social Research Methods. Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Whitewater: University of Winsconsin, p.224.

⁴⁷ Cooper, D. R. & Schindler, P. S. (2003). *Business research methods*. Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon, p. 560.

Table 1.1 Target Populations and the Sampling Size

Target sample	Kenya	Tanzani a	Uganda	Burundi	Rwanda	Size of the Sample
Civil Servants	2	2	2	2	2	10
Academicians	4	4	4	4	4	20
Civilians	4	4	4	4	4	20
Security agencies	4	4	4	4	4	20
Clerics	4	4	4	4	4	20
Business Entrepreneurs	2	2	2	2	2	10

The researcher will also use non-probability sampling method of purposive or judgmental sampling in accordance with the research objectives. Purposive sampling generally considers the most common characteristics of the type it is desired to sample, tries to figure out where these individuals can be found and tries to study them.

1.11.5 Ethical Issues

While doing research, the researcher will be aware of what is considered acceptable and what is not. Neumann states that ethical research does not inflict harm of any sort, be it physical, psychological abuse or even legal jeopardy. Taking these principles into account benefits not only the participants and the researcher but also those who get to read the research work. It helps

to establish credibility.⁴⁸ He further maintains that the researcher has a moral and professional obligation to be ethical even when his research subjects are unaware or unconcerned about ethics. The researcher therefore will not take advantage of subjects' ignorance about ethics to harm them in any way. The researcher questionnaires will take into account confidentiality and any information that respondents give will only be used for the sole purpose of academics.

1.11.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

The data collected will first be coded. Coding involves giving all statements numeric codes based on their meaning for ease of capturing data. After coding there will be data entry and analysis. The percentage distribution will then be utilized and the results illustrated in terms of explanation in a story form.

1.11.7 Scope of the Study

The study covered the role of regional integration in combating terrorism in Horn of African states. The study specifically utilized a case study of; EAC

Limitation of Research and Delimitations

This study will be limited by certain challenges which include sensitivity of information of which many respondents may not be willing to provide. To tackle this challenge there a need to convince the informants that the confidential information provided will solely be used for academic purposes. Language barrier will also present another limitation of research since all communities targeted in the research do not share a common language. This necessitates an interpreter.

⁴⁸Booth, C. W &Colomb, G.G., & Williams, M. J. (1995).*The craft of research*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. P.258.

1.12 Chapter outline

The study is divided into five chapters. Chapter one is the introduction and it discusses the background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, specific research questions, literature review, theoretical framework and methodology. Chapter two will analyze role regional integration in fostering peace and security through combating terrorism. Chapter three will try to find out how terrorism affects regional growth and development. Chapter four will analyze the strategies that have been used to deal with terrorism in East Africa. Chapter five is the summary, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

HOW TERRORISM AFFECTS REGIONAL GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses how regional growth and development in the region has been affected by regional terror activities. It further describes the specific sectors mostly affected by terror activities and how they have managed to adjust their strategies to remain relevant and achieve their objectives. This chapter will highlight survival strategies employed by the affected sectors and how effective they have been, challenges and avenues available for improvement. This chapter attempts to point out on how respective regional governments have been instrumental in mitigating the challenges. Further, the contribution of international community is integrated in the research to buttress the need for international commitment in the fight against terror in the region.

As noted above terrorist attacks follow a particular pattern with a myriad of actions which include airplane hijackings, bombings, assassinations, kidnappings, threats and suicide bombings among other actions. These particular actions produce a variety of consequences which this chapter endeavors to establish. Among the forms of consequences as result of terror activities include loss of lives, casualties, destroyed buildings, increased anxiety levels and myriad economic costs later to be analyzed in this research. Regionally the acts of terrorism have had a significant impact on growth and development as pointed out by the respondents who participated in this research.⁴⁹ The most recent terrorist attack have been directed to Kenya the biggest economy in the region with latest incident occurring in Mandera early 2015, claiming over 70 people and disrupting social order and tranquility.

⁴⁹ Walter, E.(2003). *Economic consequences of terrorism in developed and in developing countries. An overview.* Washington:University of Alabama press

2.2 East African Regional Growth and Development

Over the decade, economic growth has been strong in East Africa, with regional real GDP growth averaging 6.6% annually.⁵⁰ Such performance is even more remarkable given the turbulent global economic and financial crisis. Regional growth and development was fuelled by the discovery of oil in the region coupled with mineral exports from the region. Kenya is arguably the regional trade hub for the East Africa being the transport link for many of the countries making the East African Community. Although regional integration has ensured freer flow of goods, capital, technology, skilled labor force and services across the regional borders the danger posed by terror in the region has slowed down upward trajectory of revenue among key sectors of the economies.⁵¹

The East Africa region comprises about 26% of Africa's population, 16% of the combined GDP of Africa in 2009 current prices, and 22% of the continental landmass. The region thus represents an important market which potentially offers opportunities for trade expansion, growth and poverty reduction in member countries if well integrated.⁵² Tourism is predominantly the leading key driver of economic growth in the respective countries particularly Kenya after agriculture. The Kenyan government's economic recovery strategy for wealth and employment creation places emphasis on tourism identifying it together with manufacturing and trade as the main drivers of economy.

It has been argued that tourism represents a cheaper alternative for diversification of economy, particularly considering the countries competitive advantage in terms of the environmental

⁵⁰Davoodi, H.(2012). *The East African community after 10 years*. Deepening integration: IMF Publication

⁵¹African development bank. (2011-2015). *Regional integration strategy paper*.

⁵² ibid

attraction suitable for nature tourism together with abundance of labor.⁵³ According to UNWTO tourism contributes an average of 12% of the GDP compared to agriculture which contributed a significant 9.6% of the GDP.⁵⁴ Tanzania's primary source of economic growth is associated with mineral production (gold, tanzanite and diamonds), making one of the fastest growing economy in the world propelled mostly by favorable gold prices and tourism. Mining sector represented the biggest foreign exchange earner in the country eventually attaining a GDP of \$73.5 billion which represented a real growth rate of 6.5 %.⁵⁵ Uganda's strong economic growth has been driven mainly by services, manufacturing and construction sectors which contribute a significant figure to the country's GDP.

2.3 Worst hit sectors of the economies

A close analysis of the sectors that were hard hit by the activities of terrorist, tourism sector which constitutes the backbone of many economies topped the list of the sectors mostly affected by terrorism. Crucially, the tourism industry on which so many East African depend for their livelihood, has suffered a heavy blow as a direct result of terrorism. East African region prides itself with very many and diverse tourist destinations with a variety of breathtaking beaches, game parks, mountains and wide range of wildlife which attract tourist from all over the world. The member countries comprising of the East Africa have invested heavily on these tourist destinations to ensure competitiveness and uniqueness. Some of the tourist destinations like the great wild beast destinations have been labeled as world heritage destinations and classified in the world wonders list.

⁵³ Valle, E. &Yobesia, M. (2009). *Economic Contribution of Tourism in Kenya*. Washington D.C.: University of Balearic Island.

⁵⁴ *ibid*

⁵⁵ World fact book 2015 (Tanzania)

The tourism sector in East Africa has employed many people both skilled and unskilled as well as professionals. Taking a country specific case study of Kenya, Tourism, is the driving force of the economy, accounts for 25 percent of the GDP. Terrorism has had a grievous effect on the sector and it has seen the darkest of the days with many lay-offs and job losses. Many Western Governments have warned their citizens visiting as tourists in Kenya particularly, amid fears of an imminent attack on the capital city, Nairobi, Kenya's coast and other destinations preferred by tourist. These travel advisories have discouraged tourist from travelling to certain areas of East Africa.

Consequently, these advisories suggest that tourists should avoid all but essential travel to Kenya, and the Kenya/ Somali border is usually categorized as out of bounds. In respect to western governments the attacks are usually labeled as indiscriminate and target Kenyan institutions as well as places where expatriates and foreign travelers gather, such as hotels, shopping centers and beaches. Foreign nationals are often advised to exercise extra vigilance and caution in public places and at public events consequently labeling the entire country insecure.⁵⁶ Because of the travel bans, many Kenyans have lost their jobs, which directly affect the economy. The government also has lost a major source of revenue from its formal sector of the economy attributed to these advisories and general insecurity. Insecurity increases the cost of doing business which makes a country unattractive for foreign investments even as local investors shy off from new ventures.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Thompson, A. S. (2008). *Terrorism's Effect on Tourism: Developed Vs. Developing Countries*. American Economic Review

⁵⁷ Hared, H. (2013). *Combating Transnational Terrorism in Kenya and Whether the Kenyan Government Effort to Fight Terrorism is Effective*. Amazon press

In 2014, for example, the Kenya Tourist Federation estimated that, as a result of the travel advisories, the country's tourism industry lost out on an estimated US\$2 million per week for several months from Western visitors and it is clear that the Kenyan economy took a long time to recover from this unexpected shock. Given that the country depends on tourism and it forms a substantial part of their GDP and anything that impacts on tourism will have a profound impact on their economies. According to Neumayer, he finds that if a country within the East Africa region is hit by a terrorist attack, this will reduce the number of tourists visiting the region.⁵⁸ Other sectors of the east African economies adversely hit by terrorism include the transport sector air, sea and road transport. The biggest airliner in the region the Kenya Airways (KQ) has registered enormous losses in revenue attributed to decline in passenger numbers visiting the region a move that has led to job cuts and lay-offs.

2.4 Kenya the worst hit country in East Africa

According to the majority of the respondents who participated in the research, Kenya a country with the biggest economy in the region experienced more terrorist attacks than any other state. A number of factors help explain why Kenya has been a great victim of past terrorist attacks. The main factors include the country's geography, ethnic composition, political stability, unstable neighbors, poverty, Islamic fundamentalism, and lax law enforcement. Kenya's geography and geographic location contribute to making the country an attractive terrorist target. Kenya's strategic location makes it a significant gateway from the Middle East and South Asia to East Africa and the Horn of Africa.

⁵⁸Neumayer, E. (2004). *The Impact of Political Violence on Tourism*. Journal of Conflict Resolution , 48 (2), 259-281.

Because it is a geographic gateway in east Africa, Kenya has developed a major seaport at Mombasa, international airports in Mombasa and Nairobi, and extensive rail, road, and communications infrastructure throughout the country. In addition, Kenya is relatively easy to enter and travel within undetected, because of its porous borders shared with its five neighbors, and its long, largely unmonitored coastline. This combination of infrastructure and porous borders makes Kenya an attractive target and an easy conduit for terrorist personnel, logistics activities and even training grounds⁵⁹. The country also increased the chances for attacks given the military incursion in Somalia to flush out the notorious militants who targeted foreign visitors along its coastal lines. A chronology of the major attacks the East African country has experienced over the years can be tabled below.

Table showing occurrence of terrorist attacks in Kenya

Date	Location	Fatalities	Injured
1st March 1975	Starlight Club, Nairobi	27	Several
31st December 1980	Norfolk, Nairobi	20	80
7th August 1998	US Embassy, Nairobi	200	Several
11th June 2007	Ambassadeur, Nairobi	2	Several
29th November 2002	Paradise hotel, Mombasa	15	Several
Jun-10	Uhuru Park	6	30
Dec-10	Kampala Bus, Nairobi	3	39
17th October 2011	Mwauras bar, Nairobi	1	15
24th October 2011	OTC Bus, Nairobi	1	8
16th November 2011	EAPC Church, Garissa	2	Several

⁵⁹Fisher,J (2013). *The Journal of Modern African Studies*. Cambridge University Press. UK

27th October 2011	Garissa	4	Several
24th November 2011	Holiday Hotel, Garissa	3	Several
4th April 2012	Mtwapa crusade, Mombassa	2	30
May-12	Belle Vista, Mombassa	1	Several
16th May 2012	Assanands, Nairobi	1	30
25th June 2012	Jericho bar, Mombasa	1	Several
1st July 2012	Garissa AIC & Catholic church	17	45
28th September	Westgate Mall, Nairobi	69	175
22 nd November 2014	Mandera county	28	Several
2 nd December 2014	Mandera county	36	several
12 th March 2015	Mandera county	4	Several

2.5 Survival strategies

In an attempt to eliminate or at least mitigate the incidences of terrorism and stay focused on their objectives, states have taken a number of measures. These measures range from the national front to the international arena all aimed at rescuing the vital sectors of their economies. Various states have enacted legislation that provides for protective measures and post-attack measures in a bid to remain relevant and secure gains made over the years. Such strategies, for instance the development of sophisticated tools in the prevention, detection and deterrence of internet terrorist activity show a shift to a more effective way of combating terrorism.

Some elements of an effective counterterrorism strategy relevant to this research, cited by various respondents, are public diplomacy and information campaigns; legislation; financial

controls and socioeconomic development; use of military force; and creation of a specialized judicial system for terrorism suspects. Public diplomacy has saved the tourism sector in some states for example Tanzania where the number of tourist getting into the country has increase in those turbulent times. Military action is one of the tools available to counterterrorism and is the most effective measure to physically eliminate terrorists, as witnessed in "Operation Linda Nchi" in Somalia where Al Qaeda's affiliated Al shabaab structures were dismantled and many terrorists were killed or captured.

With the increased use of technology, the mass media has had a larger impact on the global scene since it has the ability to instantaneously reach the global audience. When attacks from terrorists take place, the media plays two roles: firstly, it is used by terrorists to communicate what they want to the global public and secondly, it provides information to the public at the time of crisis. Indeed, the media has contributed a conducive platform from which sector players have hyped their marketing coupled with public diplomacy to mitigate on the dark image displayed by the western governments concerning travel advisories.

The East African countries have adopted legislation on anti-terrorism which effectiveness in curbing terrorism has been varied and draws mixed response from respondents. Tanzania adopted its prevention of terrorism Act in 2002 while Uganda enacted the anti-terrorism Act in 2002.⁶⁰ Although Kenya adopted the prevention of Terrorism Act in October 2012, the legislation never saw the light of the day due to political manipulation that ensued rendering the Act ineffective.

⁶⁰ Kagwanja,P.(2015).*Ruling on anti-terrorism law a triumph for Kenya's judiciary*.Daily Nation, March 1 2015.Nairobi-Kenya

2.6 Challenges

Acts of terrorism have had grave economic, political, and social implications in East African countries. Human lives, tourism, agriculture, and the transportation sectors have been severely affected. As noted above in this research, the worst hit sectors have heavily invested in mitigating the cost and staying focused on their objectives but occasionally confronted by a number of unavoidable challenges. Religion stands out as one of the major challenge to the war against terror in the region. Elements of Islamic fundamentalism have been invading East Africa from the east through Somalia and along the Kenyan coast and Tanzania's coast.

This encroachment has resulted in a growing dissent among the Muslim population, making them easy recruits for terrorist activities. In particular Kenyan mosques, individual Imams preach about perceived injustice to their Muslim brothers in Afghanistan, the unresolved Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and the ongoing war in Iraq. Aided by technology, in the form of the Internet, satellite TV, and Kenya's increased travel and employment around the globe, Muslims in Kenya are becoming more globally aware. Individual Imams are using this increased global awareness to encourage Kenyan empathy with more extreme views of the needs, hardships, and philosophies of their core religion worldwide.⁶¹ The religion stands out as one of the major challenge the states in East Africa are facing in their efforts to counter terrorism. Intelligence sharing among the states in East Africa is questionable and states agencies mandated with gathering, interpretation and implementation of policies are ill-equipped to expedite their mandate. Such gap in sharing of information on intelligence is a major hindrance in fight against terror in East Africa.

⁶¹Hared, H. (2013). *Combating Transnational Terrorism in Kenya and Whether the Kenyan Government Effort to Fight Terrorism is Effective*. Amazon

2.7 Summary

From the findings established by this research it has been noted that in East Africa the state of Kenya which is the biggest economy in the region has borne the greatest cost of terrorism. This can be evidenced by the many incidents of terror that has befallen the country since 1975, the many casualties and loss of property which runs into millions of shillings as well as the negative image that the country has earned in the international community. The most recent attack to hit the country has been the most fatal since 1998 bombing of the US Embassy in the capital Nairobi. It occurred on 3rd April 2015 claiming the lives of 147 people, most of them university students and security guards belonging to Garissa University College in northern Kenya.

Additionally, the research has established that tourism and transport sectors of the economy have experienced the highest cost related to terror. Tourism businesses were terribly affected by the travel warnings issued by western countries which contribute the highest visitors to the country. Tourism contributes US \$500 million in annual revenue and the current projections in 2015 indicate that the country is losing at least \$1 million everyday due to the decline in tourism. The national carrier, the Kenya airways has registered huge losses also partly attributed to terror attacks in the country.

Kenya has borne the highest incidences of terror due to a systemic corruption that has bedeviled the country rendering state operatives ineffective in securing the country and executing policies that can secure the country from external threats. Also, to blame for the increased terror incidents is the country's geography, ethnic composition, political infighting, unstable neighbors, poverty, Islamic fundamentalism, and lax law enforcement among the security apparatus. Unshared intelligence information, slow response to disasters and lack of preparedness to eminent attacks can be cited as some of the factors responsible for increased attacks.

CHAPTER THREE

IMPACT OF TERRORISM IN EAST AFRICA

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on both socio-political and economic consequences as they have been brought up by the advent of terrorism in East Africa. Impacts of terrorism in EA are tenfold and they touch entirely on all spheres of both national and regional existence. One cannot divorce social aspects that terrorism has caused from the economic consequences that are inflicted by the same, hence this research will endeavor to critically analyze the impact of terrorism in respective countries and more specifically the hard hit country- Kenya.

Terrorism perpetrated mostly by Al Qaeda and related groups have executed subsequent attacks in East Africa which has had both positive impact as well as negative impact in the region. As well terror in east Africa has brought forth profound political changes, social changes as well as economic alterations. According to the U.S. State Department, the continued presence of Al Qaeda operatives in the region and Islamist militants in Somalia poses the greatest threat to East Africa and individual government interests in the region. Porous borders remain a strategic avenue for the movement of terrorists and illicit materials.⁶² Although the impact varies from one state to another the entire region experiences almost similar results due to events of terrorism.

3.1.1 Regional economic impact of terrorism

This research has established from majority of the respondents that the greatest impact of terrorism has been loss of lives, economic sluggishness exhibited by reduced foreign direct investments and declined performance in particular sectors of the economy in specific terms

⁶² Ploch, I. (2010). *Countering Terrorism in East Africa: The U.S. Response*. New York: Congressional Research Service

tourism, air and foreign relations. Most of the respondents pointed out tourism sector, has being adversely affected by the terrorism activities where foreign countries issued travel advisories to their nationals against visiting some parts of particular countries. The advisories have led to decline in number of tourists visiting particularly Kenya a move that has seen many job layoffs and decline in revenues, as most hotels closed down their operations.

Terrorism not only causes primary economic impact, but also produces considerable secondary impacts popularly known as indirect costs. Terrorism can impose costs on a targeted country through a number of avenues. Terrorist incidents have economic consequences by diverting foreign direct investment (FDI), destroying infrastructure, redirecting public investment funds to security or limiting trade.⁶³ Terrorism, like civil conflicts, may cause spillover costs among neighboring countries as a terrorist campaign in a neighbor dissuades capital inflows, or a regional multiplier causes lost economic activity in the terrorism-ridden country to resonate throughout the region. Regionally the economic cost of terrorism runs into billions of shillings occasioned by increased expenditure on improving the security structure as well as funding of military missions all aimed at destabilizing or uprooting terrorist cells. Several countries in the region have contributed troops to the AMISOM which is mandated with fight against terrorism in the neighboring country Somalia. The cost of maintaining the troops in the war torn country is financed through public funds.

3.1.2 Country specific (Kenya)

Majority of the respondents observed that, Kenya has borne the highest cost of terrorism compared to other countries in East Africa. As a result, its economy has incurred the highest cost associated with terror. The first terrorist attack to hit Kenya occurred as early as 1975, claiming

⁶³ Sandler, T& Enders,W.(2000). *Economic Consequences of Terrorism in Developed and Developing Countries: An Overview* . California: University of Southern California.

the lives of 27 people and injuring several. Since then, the country has experienced subsequent attacks with escalation of the attacks occurring from 2011 upon military incursion of the country to the neighboring Somalia. From the time of the incursion up to date the number of fatalities as a result of terrorism has increased exponentially, with the recent massacre of 148 students in Garissa University College.⁶⁴

Kenya is a target of global terrorism because of a combination of geographic, regional, historical, political, and economic and socio cultural factors. The country has experienced all four major types of terrorism which include leftist, rightist, ethno nationalist and religious terrorism with the most devastating attacks coming from ethno nationalistic and religious terrorism.⁶⁵ These factors have been discussed in-depth in this research study and they have resulted into dire economic consequences that have derailed economic development achievement in the country. economic effects of Kenya's terrorist attacks are most noticeable in the tourism sector. The sector that represents 15% of foreign exchange earnings and 12% of GDP has been adversely hurt.⁶⁶

Tourism sector employs more than one million people both directly and indirectly; and attracts millions of tourists from the western countries, who flock to Kenya coastal beaches and wildlife sanctuaries. Due to terror attacks in the country the number of tourists has reduced significantly rendering many people jobless. Thus, while the country received over 1 million tourists in 1997, the attacks scared away many tourists causing a 25% decline in the number of tourists in 1998. In the 1999-2000 period, the number of tourist arrivals rose slowly before further declines occurred

⁶⁴ ibid

⁶⁵ Cronin, A. K. (2002). *Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism. International Security*. New York: Ballantine Books.

⁶⁶ Business Daily, *Kenya economy's profile suffers from insecurity setback*, April 14, 2015

following the September 2001 attacks in the US and the second terrorist attack in Kenya in 2002.⁶⁷

Kenya lost \$14 million (about Sh1 billion) a week in tourism earnings and tax revenues due to the US and British warnings of a looming terrorist attack in the country.⁶⁸ Moreover, slump in the tourism sector increased the size of the government's budget deficit and worsened the country's balance of trade since tourism is a major source of foreign currency. On 21st September 2013 Al-shaabab militants from Somalia attacked the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi, killing 69 people and injuring 175 others with destruction of properties running into millions of shillings.⁶⁹ Most firms suffered huge losses in the attack with Nakumatt retail chain store losing more than one billion Kenya shillings. Fortunately, the up market shopping mall was insured to the tune of \$100 million (Sh8.7 billion) by London-based Lloyd's.⁷⁰

3.1.3 Economic cost of terrorism in Uganda and Tanzania

Most of the respondents in these two countries indicated that terrorism has had more social cost compared to the economic cost. Loss of lives and livelihood has been cited as the greatest impact experienced by the two countries. Most of the respondents in these two countries disagree that terrorism has affected the cost of doing business in their countries, while majority in the same countries hold the view that Kenya has borne the greatest cost of terrorism. Additionally, most respondents strongly disagree that terrorism has led to decline in Foreign Direct Investment. Uganda's terrorism stems primarily from the Lord's Resistance Army headed by Joseph Kony, who commits atrocities mainly in the northern part of the country.

⁶⁷ Maclean, W. (2003). *Bombers Push Kenya's Coast Deeper into Poverty*. The Financial Standard, August 26 - 1 September.

⁶⁸ Kelley, K. J. (2003). *Kenya seeks Sh30b from US*. Daily Nation on the Web, Thursday, June 26, 2003

⁶⁹ *ibid*

⁷⁰ Business Daily, *Kenya economy's profile suffers from insecurity setback*, April 14, 2015

Additionally, the country has recently suffered terror attack as a result of military incursion in Somalia which occurred in July 2010, in an entertainment spot perpetrated by Somalia militia group ó Al-shabab. The attacks claimed 74 lives and injured scores.⁷¹ Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Johnnie Carson called the 2010 Kampala bombings a ÷wake up callö for the international community and argued that Al Shabaab's ability to conduct suicide bombings outside Somalia indicates that threat has risen. Uganda has charged more than 30 people in connection with the attacks, including 14 Ugandans, 10 Kenyans, 6 Somalis, 1 Rwandan, and 1 Pakistani. According to news reports, the two suicide bombers were believed to be of Kenyan and Somali origin. A Ugandan self-proclaimed Al Shabaab member accused of leading the attacks told journalists that he was motivated by ÷rage against the Americans,ö in part for U.S. support of the TFG.⁷² The economic cost of terrorism in both countries can be quantified both at the primary level and secondary level. The primary level includes aspects of loss of lives, properties and utmost decline in economic activities characterized by job losses in the affected countries.

According to majority of the respondents, terrorist activities increase uncertainty in the market, decrease foreign investment, alter trade and change consumption and savings behavior. Further, economic cost associated with terrorism can be analyzed at the secondary level taking to account aspects of reduced foreign direct investment (FDI), increased insurance cost and decreased trade, and decreased tourism. Whereas the primary economic cost of terrorism in these two countries is documented, little research exists on the secondary cost of terrorism. In 2013, two separate blasts in the northern city of Arusha gave rise to fears of home-grown political and sectarian terror cells, in Tanzania indicating the ever developing threat of terrorism in the country.

⁷¹ Munyua, D. (2012). *Combating Terrorism: A Ugandan Perspective*.

⁷² Ploch, L. (2010). *CRS Report for Congress Prepared for Members and Committees of Congress Countering Terrorism in East Africa: The U.S. Response*. New York: Congressional Research Service

Majority of the respondents in Tanzania, have pointed aspects of reduced foreign direct investment following the terrorist attacks.

The terrorist attack in Kampala was linked to a terror cell operating in Tanzania a clear indication that the Al-shabaab terrorist group had deep roots in the country. The economic cost associated with the terror attack in these two countries has been experienced at the primary level. Destruction of infrastructure and loss of lives can be cited categorically as the huge economic cost these countries have suffered, comparatively with their counter parts in East Africa.⁷³ The economic cost associated with terrorism in these countries has not deterred economic development nor has it deterred foreign direct investment in the country though it has implicated financial losses.

3.1.4 Social- political impact of terrorism

This research has established that, terror attacks have produced profound sociopolitical effects in the entire East African region. Some of the socio-political cost associated with terror include the loss and disruption of lives, escalating tension between Muslims and Christians, radicalization of the country's youthful Muslims, harassment of Kenyans by the security forces in security swoops, further erosion of the country's sovereignty and increasing anti-western sentiments.⁷⁴ Terrorist attacks have claimed thousands of civilian lives in their agenda to create havoc and instill fear among the populace. Among those who have lost their lives include youthful people in their most productive years and bread winners to very many families, consequently disrupting the normal livelihoods resulting in family breakages, orphans, widows and widowers.

⁷³ ibid

⁷⁴ Otiso, K. (2009). *Kenya in the Crosshairs of Global Terrorism: Fighting Terrorism at the Periphery*. KSR Volume 1, Number 1

There has been a growing and eminent animosity between people who profess Muslim faith and Christian faith. It is in general knowledge that perpetrators of terrorist attack have been mostly people who profess Muslim faith against Christian. After the 1998 terrorist attacks by purported Islamic extremists, relations between the two groups began to sour with many Christians blaming local Muslims for abetting the attacks. For Muslims, these accusations add insult to injury because many of them believe that they are disadvantaged in their access to jobs and other socioeconomic opportunities. Whether rightly or wrongly, Muslim perception that they are under siege is beginning to radicalize them resulting into their increasing demand for a federal system of government that could make it easier for them to introduce Sharia (Islamic) law in their regions as they have done in Northern Nigeria.⁷⁵

Radicalization of youthful Muslims in East Africa has been rampant and a socio-political thorn in the flesh of security organs of the respective governments. The process of radicalization is deep rooted and a complex phenomenon hard to crack, given the dynamics that have emerged in recent times, with not only youthful from disadvantaged backgrounds being lured into extremist practices, but also those from well up and educated backgrounds. Radicalization has seen many youthful people both men and women, cross over national boundaries and enter into the war torn Somalia, in an effort to join the militant terrorist group Al-shabaab as fighters. Recent reports indicate that, one of the masterminds of the Garissa University massacre was a law educated student in a local university in Kenya, indicating the penetration of Islamic fundamentalism in schools. Therefore, it is evident the problem of radicalization is a socio-political cost associated with terror.

⁷⁵ Mulama, J. (2003). *Christians fear Shariah will Undermine Tolerance*. Inter Press Service News Agency, June 18, 2000

Local people especially in Eastleigh and coastal town of Mombasa have borne the biggest harassments by security agencies in their crack down of suspected militia. During such crackdowns, local people complained of excessive force employed by the security personnel and exorbitant bribes solicited by the security agencies. This amounted to violation of fundamental freedoms as most people were arrested and detained in deplorable conditions, for more than a week, while others were deported forthwith. The whole process of searching for hideouts for terrorists, which in a way were believed to be sheltered by their relatives inside the country, was characterized by ethnic profiling and the operation did not receive adequate political goodwill, from legislators majority of whom represented the targeted communities. All that happened in the wake of Westgate terrorist attack. The net effect resulting from the security swoop was hatred and increased ethnic tensions, between Somali communities in Kenya and other tribes who viewed the latter as sympathizers and financiers of terrorism.

3.2 Homeland security versus unstable neighbor

Following a string of terrorist attacks on countries in East Africa, member states resolved to intervene militarily in Somalia and flush out militants who had occasionally threatened national security of respective states. Uganda, Kenya, Burundi and Rwanda sent their troops into the war-torn Somalia, following a wake of attacks perpetrated by Al-shabaab militias originating from that country. This was done in an effort to secure inland security and stabilize the region. As a result, these countries sent their troops in Somalia. However, the militants (extremists) turned such an intervention into an excuse to undermine mostly Kenya's and Uganda's internal security.⁷⁶ For instance, Kenya rolled into southern Somalia with the aim of creating the long desired buffer zone which was largely successful culminating in the capture of Kismayu, the sea port route used by the militants to smuggle weapons and foreign fighters.

⁷⁶ Daily Nation, (April 12, 2015) *how Kenya brought the Al-shabaab cancer home*. Sunday Review, Nairobi

As a result, the militants were starved of revenue and instead retreated to other places. Consequently, Al-shabaab vowed revenge for the invasion which it characterizes as a war between Muslims and Christians.⁷⁷ To further their claims, the militants escalated their attacks in respective countries more especially in Kenya with the attacks being more vicious than ever before as evidenced by the Westgate, Mpeketoni, Mandera and Garissa attacks. It is evident that homeland security in countries that intervened in Somalia deteriorated with foreign fighters being engaged in the war, as a result making the incursion more complex and more intertwined in the accounts of religion and security. The impact of terrorism on internal security is tenfold with many aspects ranging from economic, social and political a case which has necessitated this research and from the same, legislative framework is of great essence in understanding the dynamics of terror and how countries in east Africa have responded starting from legal frameworks.

3.3 Legislative framework initiated

The human cost of terrorism has been felt virtually in every corner of the globe. The United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism strategy recognizes the promotion and protection of human rights for all and the rule of law. Effective counter terrorism measures and protection of human rights as well as their promotion are not conflicting goals but complimentary and mutually reinforcing. As part of government's obligations to secure its citizens, it must put in place effective legislation to deter the commission of terrorist attacks as well as investigate and prosecute criminal elements arising from the acts of terror. Governments also hastily introduced counter-terrorism legislations as curbs against terrorist incursions.

In 2002, Tanzania ratified seven of the twelve international counter-terrorism instruments and passed the Prevention of Terrorism Act which criminalized support for terrorist groups operating

⁷⁷ ibid

within its territory amid fierce protests by human rights activists and opposition parties.⁷⁸ Uganda ratified all the twelve international conventions and protocols on terrorism and enacted the Anti-Terrorism Act (formerly known as the Suppression of Terrorism Act) in May 2003. This legislation has enabled the said countries to effectively manage all the activities related to terror. East Africa therefore, has not relented in its efforts to counter transnational terrorism as well as organized crime in its frontiers.⁷⁹

The advent of counter terrorism legislation is an impact of terrorism which has confronted the region with legal obligation to protect fundamental human rights as well curb terror. In February 2003, Kenya formed a special counter-terrorist unit consisting of officers picked from the police force. The government of Mwai Kibaki ratified all the twelve international counter-terrorism conventions and protocols and published the Suppression of Terrorism Bill on 30 April 2003.⁸⁰ Kenya also established an inter-ministerial task force on Anti-Money Laundering and Combating the Financing of Terrorism. The task force reviewed existing legislation and recommended ways of formulating a national policy shutting down channels of financing of terrorism.

3.4 Summary

The impacts of terrorism across the East African region have been varied ranging from economic cost that countries have to grapple with to social issues which affect the social fabric of the society. Fragmentation of social ties has been an emerging issue since the advent of terrorism in the region due to increased fatalities. The politics surrounding the whole issue of curbing terrorism has to been a walk in the park as political arguments and sentiments continue to accompany the fight against terrorism. Countries in the East African region have paid the

⁷⁸*Daily Nation* (Kenya), 24 September 2004

⁷⁹KaranjaM(20004), "East Africa: A Haven or Hapless Victim of International Terrorism," *Conflict Trends*, Vol. 3 pp.31-37.

⁸⁰Ibid

ultimate price in an effort to curb terrorism and secure their territories. In response to the growing security threat that terrorism has posed in the East Africa, African governments and regional organizations have joined efforts on war on terror. However, ideologically-charged counter-terrorism is becoming a sword that cuts both ways at once catalyzing and supporting peace processes and undermining democracy and stability in weaker states at the same time. The East African states continue to experience the varied impacts of terrorism and continue to relentlessly confronts the monster head on.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE STRATEGIES TO DEAL WITH TERRORISM IN EAST AFRICA

4.1 Introduction `

This chapter highlights in depth the strategies and measures that have been employed by states at the national level and at the regional level to counter terrorism. The chapter will also focus on the effectiveness of the measures and the overall goal achievement through these strategies. In assessing the effectiveness of the instruments and assets that have been employed by the governments and other regional players interested in combating terror both primary and secondary data will inform and guide this research study.

4.2 Strategies employed to combat terrorism

East African states have responded to terror threat in different ways and have used different strategies with different levels of effectiveness. Some of the most used strategies in combating terrorism in East Africa include the employment of the military to combat and uproot terrorist by identifying and attacking suspected terrorist cells and their operations. Police and intelligence assets have been deployed extensively in fighting national terrorism through intelligence gathering, identification, monitoring and attacking suspected terror suspects. Both legislative and financial controls have been used by the government to advance the war against terror. Stringent security laws focusing on anti-terrorism have been enacted by the legislative bodies coupled with close monitoring of financial transactions of suspected terror masterminds, most resulting to asset freeze.

Majority of the respondents identified military deployment as one of the widely used instrument of combating terror. Military incursion into terror cells has been widely pronounced following sending of military troops by national government of East African states to the perceived terrorist

hideouts in neighboring country. Majority of the respondents perceived military as the utmost solution available to eradicate terror in the region and secure the region. Police and intelligence assets have been instrumental in tackling homeland terror threats. This is evident through the existence of specialized anti-terror police units, for instance Recce Company of the general service unit and anti-terror police unit (ATPU).

Responses to terrorism are often determined by what the responding power perceives as the key considerations of self-interest. Counter terrorism policies are determined by the politics and philosophies of a particular state. These counter terrorism measures include and often begin with the passing of antiterrorism legislation. These measures encompass changes in the criminal law, increasing law enforcement powers and administrative functions.⁸¹ Legislative bodies in the respective countries in East Africa have enacted legislation dealing with anti-terrorism. The introduction of the Suppression of Terrorism Bill 2003 in Kenya marked a milestone in the legislative framework the country embarked on in dealing with terrorism. Although the legislation faced a myriad of criticism from Muslims as they termed it as an infringement on their fundamental human rights. The Prevention of Terrorism Act 2012 was signed into law by then president Mwai Kibaki although also it had controversial clauses that touched on people's freedoms.⁸² Terrorism legislation is meant to address the crime of terror and mitigate the risks posed. It must balance its counter terrorism measures with its obligations to protect the fundamental civil liberties of its citizens.

4.2.1 Military strategy

Military is an instrument of power used by states to combat threats directed to its territory and to secure the nation from external threats. Military action is one of the tools available to counter

⁸¹Maloka, E.(2005). *Africa and the War on Terror*. Issue 2 *New England Journal of Public Policy* ,365

⁸²The Suppression of Terrorism Bill, 2003, 30 April 30, 2003), Clause 12(2).

terrorism and is the most effective measure to physically eliminate terrorists, as witnessed in Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan where Al Qaeda structures were dismantled and many terrorists were killed or captured. The offensive into southern Somalia, known as *Operation Linda Nchi* (Swahili for 'Protect the Country') initiated by the government of Kenya is a military strategy employed in 2011 to combat terrorism in the region which had de-stabilized statehood. The invasion of Somalia by the Kenya Defense Forces (KDF) re-amplified the already existing military incursion led by AMISOM to combat terrorism and stabilize the war-torn country in the Horn of Africa.

According to the respondents who participated in this research military strategy of combating terrorism is a long term strategy which will stabilize Somalia and create conducive environment for a an operational government which can create a stable and secure state in Somalia consequently reducing transnational terrorism.⁸³ Majority of the respondents supported the military incursion; strongly agreeing it will end lawlessness in Somalia and uproot terrorist cells. Benjamin Netanyahu an Israel prime minister believes the use of military action to defeat terrorists discourages dictators from undertaking terrorist campaigns against the West or its allies.⁸⁴

4.2.2 Police and Intelligence Assets

Police and intelligence gathering constitute an integral part of state machinery in the fight against terror. Police forces are mandated with homeland security of their nations and are responsible for maintenance of law and order. Intelligence gathering and dissemination remain to be an invaluable asset in police operation as it forms the basis upon which police can detect an eminent crime and thwart it before it is actualized. Police and intelligence services in Kenya remain a

⁸³ Adan, H.H. Maj. (2005). *Combating transnational terrorism in Kenya*. Fort Leavenworth, Kansas

⁸⁴ Netanyahu, B.(2001). *Fighting Terrorism: How Democracies can Defeat the International Terrorist Network*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux

central pillar in war against terror. Effective law enforcement and increased intelligence gathering have led to the disruption of terrorists cells in Kenya and foiling of planned terrorist attacks directed to the country.

Some of the police's achievements that continue to deter terrorism include the arrest in August 2003 of terrorist suspects who were planning new terrorist attacks aimed at US, British, and Israeli diplomatic missions and tourists' centers and airlines in Kenya. In other actions, the police seized an arms cache that included five shoulder-launch missiles, a hand grenade, and ammunition for AK-47 assault rifles in Mombasa.⁸⁵ This research has established that police and intelligence assets were able to identify, monitor and attack known or suspected terrorist cells and terrorists support organizations. Majority of the respondents termed the police and intelligence services as an integral part of government's strategy in combating terror in the country. In January 2005, the police arrested a Yemeni terrorist suspect at Likoni, South Coast, in Mombasa which in turn revealed a sleeper cell of Al-Qaeda terrorist in the country.⁸⁶ This clearly demonstrated the effective use of intelligence and law enforcement in the counterterrorism campaign. Future effectiveness, however, depends greatly on whether law enforcement and intelligence will continue being used effectively.

4.2.3 Legislative and financial controls

Inadequate legislation has made Kenya ripe for money laundering and easy exploitation by terrorists. Terrorist groups have for a long time exploited the weak financial system and monitoring to facilitate transfer of money to fund terrorist activities undetected. There has existed a system of money transfer popularly referred to as *hawala* which has been for a long time been associated with aiding terrorist activities in Somalia. The *hawala* system of money

⁸⁵Oketch, W. (2005.)*Police Arrest Suspected Terrorist. The East Africa Standard*, Nairobi, 18 January.

⁸⁶ *ibid*

transfer makes it difficult to fight money laundering because the system does not leave paper trails.⁸⁷ Huge amounts of money have been transferred through the system undetected and it has ended financing terror activities.

The government of Kenya has responded to this particular economic crime through the cabinet approval of the Crime and Money Laundering (prevention) Bill of 2004, which enables law-enforcement officials to identify, trace, and freeze proceeds from crimes and requires financial institutions and designated nonfinancial institutions to take prudent measures to help fight money laundering.⁸⁸ The recent move has seen the closure of all Hawalas and freezing of bank accounts of individuals the government suspected of facilitating terror activities following the massacre of 142 students in Garissa University College. Majority of the respondents hold the opinion that both legislative and financial controls employed by the government as a strategy of combating terrorism is productive as it will dry the much needed funds to facilitate terror activities and therefore, constrain the advancement of terrorism in the country.

Both the legislative and the financial controls have not been effected with ease as they have clashed with people's civil liberties. Some genuine and some suspect NGOs that played a critical role in humanitarian activities have been deregistered by the government. After the 1998 terrorists attack, for example, the Government of Kenya deregistered such Muslim NGOs as Al Haramain (due to its involvement in terrorist funding), which provided social support mostly to Muslim communities in the northeastern part of the country. Most of the communities in northern eastern Kenya who benefited from the de-registered NGO were rendered destitute.

⁸⁷ Wako, A. (2004). Kenya Attorney General, Money Laundering Thriving, *The Sunday Standard*, Nairobi, 5 December

⁸⁸ Mutua, M. (2005). Cabinet Approves Crime and Money Laundering Bill, *The East Africa Standard*, Nairobi, 18 February.

4.3 International Response to Terrorism in Kenya

This research has established that international response to terrorism in East Africa and particularly Kenya has been positive and productive solidifying the common objective that states share in bid to fight global terror. The Kenyan government's efforts to fight transnational terrorism alone cannot yield significant results without the cooperation of the countries in the region and other development partners in the international community. According to the results produced by this research majority of the respondents indicated that international response in combating terror in Kenya has come along through logistical, financial and military assistance that the country receives from well-established counterterrorism partners like the USA, Israel and the UK.

Intelligence sharing has been an aspect where international response has been credited by most of the respondents. In October 2002; the US launched the East Africa Counter-Terrorism Initiative (EACTI) and the Combined Joint Task Force ó Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA).⁸⁹The CJTF-HOA has focused on training with allied forces and the troops of Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya. The task force has also facilitated the sharing of intelligence with regional countries, with its commanders claiming that it had captured dozens of terrorists and averted at least five terrorist attacks.⁹⁰

4.4 Regional response

Regional response to counter terrorism has been advanced through a number of initiatives that regional governments have initiated for mutual benefit. The governments of Kenya, Uganda and that of Burundi have jointly sent military troops to Somalia to supplement and reinforce the AU

⁸⁹ Kagwanja, P.(2014).*Counter-terrorism in the Horn of Africa: New security frontiers, old strategies*:African Security Review 15.3 JOURNAL

⁹⁰Shanin, D.(2010) *Fighting terrorism in East Africa and the Horn. A report of the Africa Policy Advisory Panel, CSI, Washington, DC*

backed AMISOM military expedition, in a bid to secure the country and stabilize the region. Although Kenya joined AMISOM later on the government of Burundi and UGANDA had troops on the ground fighting Alshabaab militants. According to the results produced by this research majority of the respondents indicated that regional response in combating terror in East Africa calls for joint efforts by the countries comprising the regional bloc. Joint operation missions, intelligence sharing and common legislative framework to deal with issues of extraditions were cited as regional responses commonly pursued.

Countries in the sub region have identified common objective in particular need of support in terms of equipment; training for police, judges, and prosecutors; improving border control and monitoring of unpatrolled coastlines; strengthening interdepartmental cooperation; upgrading communications equipment and facilities; combating terrorist financing; detecting document forgery; and combating arms trafficking.⁹¹ All these undertakings cannot be achieved by a country in isolation but jointly through cooperation and sound diplomatic engagement. According to the results produced by this research majority of the respondents representing 30% agreed that measures undertaken jointly by the EAC memberø states are highly effective. While 10% of the respondents who participated in this study disagreed that measures undertaken jointly by the EAC memberø states are hilly effective. However, 15% were neutral. Additionally, 20% of the respondents strongly disagreed that measures undertaken jointly by the EAC memberø states are hilly effective.

4.5 Effectiveness of strategies in combating terrorism

The effectiveness of the strategies that have been employed to combat terrorism in East Africa region cannot be ignored as it is through such measure of effectiveness that decision making is

⁹¹Rosand,E. (2002). *Implementing the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in East Africa*. New York:CGCC Publication

guided and prioritized. This research embarked on a study to establish the effectiveness of the government strategies mentioned above with variables of ; not at all effective being represented by a numerical value of zero(0), barely effective, marginally effective, fairly effective, effective, very effective being represented by numerical values of one, two, three, four, five respectively and not applicable. Based on the accounts of the respondents the effectiveness of government overall strategies and policies in combating terrorism in East Africa, majority of the respondents (60%) held the view that the overall strategy were fairly effective. Consequently, minority of the respondents (15%) rated overall strategies as very effective.

The deployment of military assets in combating terror by identifying and attacking known or suspected terrorist cells and terrorist operations was viewed as fairly effective by majority of the respondents representing 45%, while 5% of the respondents representing minority termed military strategy as not all effective. Only a small percentage of the respondents (10%) held the view that military was very effective while 30% termed the strategy as only effective. The effectiveness of both police and intelligent service in fighting regional terrorism in East Africa has been rated as fairly effective due to a number of challenges that still haunt the police force for instance, corruption and bribery allegations leveled against police officials, who compromise national security by colluding with suspected terrorist. Majority of the respondents (45%) held the view that police and intelligent assets were fairly effective, While 10% representing minority viewed police as barely effective.

4.6 Summary

This research has established that both national and regional governments have confronted threat of terrorism in their respective countries, through a number of strategies that have had profound impacts in regards to national security and regional stability. These strategies range from military

actions to legislative and financial controls. Police and intelligence assets have been deployed extensively to monitor, gather and act on information related to terror, and as a result secure homeland. Government's overall counterterrorism strategies have become increasingly more effective in combating transnational terrorism in terms of the strategy's ends and means. The effectiveness of these strategies has been tested through subjection to a poll and a popular vote casted to determine the popularity of the strategy.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the entire research study by focusing on the objectives highlighted and which this research endeavors to achieve chapter by chapter. It highlights the major themes and aspects that have been explored and noted as comprising the exact face of terrorism in East Africa. Given that terrorism is a global phenomenon which not only affects East Africa it has been researched in depth in various scholarly and academic documents in different geopolitical settings and socio-economic backgrounds. The findings of the research produced have enabled policy makers to adopt relevant strategies aimed at combating and eradicating the global vice. This research concludes and gives relevant recommendations and policy briefs on the role regional integration plays in combating regional terrorism particularly in East Africa.

5.2 Executive summary

Firstly, Terrorism has been defined as premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents. Violent extremism is a broader term that may encompass acts against both non-combatant and combatant targets. The aim of terrorism is to exploit the available communication in order to achieve maximum attainable publicity, as an amplifying force multiplier in order to influence the targeted audiences, to reach short- and midterm political goals and desired long-term objectives. This research was premised on account of establishing how terrorism affects regional growth and development in East Africa, as well as the impact terrorism has on both socio-economic and political landscape of the entire East African region.

Additionally, the study analyzed strategies that have been used to deal with terrorism in East Africa. From these objectives, the study established that terrorism is multi-faceted and has manifested itself in the region as a threat to the survival of the state and stability of the whole region. The research has examined the steps that have been undertaken by the regional integrated bloc to counter terrorism. This research has established that causes of terrorism take political, social and economic dimensions and they include among others: repressive governments, religious extremist ideologists, and socioeconomic conditions among some Muslim populations, lack of democracy, inequality of power, illegitimate or corrupt governments, expression of social injustice and failure or unwillingness by the state to integrate dissident groups or emerging social classes.

5.2.1 Summary

Following the first objective of finding out how terrorism affects regional growth and development in East Africa, the research has also established the impacts that terrorism has had on the East African region and it is noteworthy, to categorically state that, Kenya among the countries in the region has borne the highest incidents of terror activities. Compared with her neighbors in East Africa, Kenya has experienced the most heinous attacks on her soil, a move that has necessitated a number of policy articulations by the government of Kenya, the regional bloc and the international community.

The second objective aimed at establishing and analyzing the impacts that terrorism has in East Africa and the study found out that, Kenya has attracted more attacks than other countries due to a number of factors attributed to the country's porous borders, proximity to the Arabian Peninsula, weak law enforcement and judicial institutions, pervasive corruption, and, in some cases, state complicity in terrorist activities, combined with the almost 20-year absence of central

authority in Somalia. The impacts of terrorism are direct and in-direct, short-term and long-term. Direct costs involve the immediate losses associated with a terrorist attack and include damaged goods, the value of lives lost, the costs associated with injuries (including lost wages), destroyed structures, damaged infrastructure, and reduced short-term commerce. On the other hand, indirect costs associated with terror in East Africa include: reduced growth in gross domestic product (GDP), lost FDI, changes in inflation, or increased unemployment especially in hospitality industries such as tourism and travel.

The third and the last objective of this research study aimed at establishing the strategies that have been initiated in East Africa and their level of effectiveness in combating regional terrorism. The study found out that the regional governments have initiated various instruments in line with combating terrorism which include military expeditions, police and intelligence assets, de-radicalization programs as well as legislative and financial controls. Additionally, the study found out that, the strategies that the governments in East Africa, have initiated vary in their effectiveness according to the primary data collected. Military operations have been rated as highly effective, as per the respondents while the employment of both the police and intelligence assets have been rated as marginally effective. The study also found out that, Legislation is one of the means of effectively countering terrorism. Such legislation needs to consider the concerns of the infringement of civil liberties. Specialized judicial process and training of those involved in administering justice play key roles in counterterrorism strategy.

5.3 Conclusion

Chapter two aimed at, establishing how regional growth and development in East Africa has been affected by terrorism and this research has revealed that, the worst hit of all sectors in the economies of East Africa economies is the tourism sector. Tourism being rated as the highest

foreign exchange earner in the most of the countries' economies in East Africa, has seen many job lay-offs, reduced revenues and negative growth in the sector attributed to travel advisories issued by the traditional source market. Additionally, the research revealed that transport sector both air, sea and road have borne related negative cost associated with terror activities characterized by piracy, hijackings coupled with murder as well as reduced revenues specifically with the aviation industry.

Chapter Three of the research study aimed at establishing the impacts of terrorism in the region and it concludes by noting categorically that each specific country in the region has experienced varied impact as a result of terrorism. The impacts range from social to economic costs that states have borne as a result of terror. From the research, the tourism sector has been the most affected sector of economy that largely contributes considerable income to country's GDPs. Tourism has been highly affected as a result of travel advisories that have been issued by the western countries, a move that has seen many job lay-offs especially in the Kenya's tourism sector specifically at the coast. The study further establishes that, both financial and legislative controls have the immense power to contain terrorism when employed together with other counter measures of terrorism. There are impediments to the enactment of the legislation drawn from the opposition of Muslim religious leaders, who term the legislation as infringement to their civil rights and freedom.

Chapter Four aimed at, analyzing the strategies and their effectiveness as they have been employed by the regional government and other security stakeholders to deal with terrorism in East Africa. Among the strategies revealed by this research include; military incursion on terror cells, employment of the police and intelligence assets to take charge of homeland security in member countries, operationalization of both legislative and financial controls as well as de-

radicalization of the extremist members of the society who have been indoctrinated in to religious fundamentalism. The research has revealed that, anti-terrorism legislation adopted in the three East African countries have the potential to undermine human rights norms and to unravel the progress made by these countries over the last decade in terms of human rights. The legislation under study vests unprecedented powers to the executive with regard to such matters, as the banning of organizations and the listing of persons suspected of having terrorist links.

The anti-terrorism legislation in East Africa exhibits, a preference for national security at the expense of the protection of human rights of those suspected of or accused of terrorist activities. Hence the anti-terrorism legislations are retrogressive, as they take away the gains that have been made by these countries in democratization. The effectiveness of the strategies that security agencies have employed to counter terror, are unpopular as residents of these countries rated them averagely. The overall government's counterterrorism strategy has not been effective in removing the underlying conditions that give rise to terrorism recruits, which is the perceived economic imbalance among the people in East Africa.

5.4 Recommendations

The recommendations given by this research mainly follows the objectives that were aimed at and as a result the research study has critically observed the underlying issues, surrounding the phenomenon of terrorism in East Africa and makes the following recommendations both to the governments and other stakeholders engaged in the fight against terrorism in the East African region. This research has revealed the impacts terrorism has on the leading sectors of the economy and as a result recommends to the government, to embark on public diplomacy aimed at marketing their countries, to not only the traditional source market, but also to other emerging markets by portraying a good image of their country. This will go along in diversifying the

markets which will cushion their economies against travel advisories issued by their traditional source market.

In order to mitigate the impacts of terrorism the governments in the region should further embark on an aggressive information campaign to educate the populace on terrorism. The campaign should be aimed at sensitizing the public about the fact that terrorist attacks do not only affect the targeted victim but everyone, either directly or indirectly, not just as potential victims, but also as taxpayers because most of the government resources that would have been invested in development are being diverted to fight terrorism. The populace should be sensitized that, terrorism is a global problem which has the potential to divide nations across religious lines, as it is the intent of Islamic militants who wish to create caliphates in the region. Adequate civic education and sensitization programs should be rolled out in all the countries in the region jointly.

The governments of the respective countries forming the EAC should exploit current political and economic good will in the region, play a greater role in intelligence sharing among the security organs, to ensure accurate and timely gathering of credible information, which can be acted upon before the actual perpetration of terror activity. Joint training on counterterrorism and disaster response as well as intelligence gathering, would improve cooperation among the agencies involved in the counterterrorism campaign as well. In addition, the government should provide adequate resourcing in terms of vehicles and communication to the police and the intelligence communities to improve their efficiency. These will complement on the strategies already employed by the governments in the region to fight terrorism.

The governments in the respective countries making the EAC should also consider building forensic science laboratories, to facilitate the effective and efficient processing of evidence. The

fingerprint database at the Registrar of Persons in each country should be interlinked with the criminal investigation departments to facilitate quick tracking of suspects. The regional governments should employ both the traditional methods of deterrence which include joint military incursions, diplomacy, economic sanctions, information campaigns and legislation to curb terror. This is achievable through availing of resources to finance the initiatives that have been undertaken by the governments in the region.

A one command center is essential for effective deployment of forces in the event of terror attack. The police force in respective countries should be specially trained in counterterrorism techniques and public relations, to inculcate a high degree of professionalism when dealing with the public. A professional police force will enhance the public's confidence in the police and forge a more effective partnership to fight terrorism and other crimes in the country. Aspects where police receive bribes to let criminals enter the country will be eliminated through, professionalization of the police force and fair remuneration. The empowered police force in the region will be able to detect and deter terror activities in the region.

In regards to the strategies employed, which reflect the fourth objective, in order to realize a more effective counterterrorism response, the governments in the region should strengthen and resource the Counterterrorism initiatives, established in the respective countries to coordinate all counterterrorism efforts in the region, in respective areas such as immigration and manning of border entry points. To address underlying conditions that promote terrorism in the region, the government should address the real and perceived socioeconomic imbalance within the marginalized communities, especially those at economic disadvantage specifically in northern Kenyan and Uganda and in the coastal part of Kenya who have been marginalized. Establishing

economic development programs in these areas is critical if there is to be any real progress in mitigating the factors that lure people to engage in terrorism.

Appendix 1: Research Questionnaire – Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania

Dear Respondent

I kindly request you to provide information on my Masters research study titled: *The Role of Regional Integration in Combating Terrorism in the Horn of Africa: A case study of East African Community (EAC)*. The study intends to analyze the roles played by EAC in countering terrorism in the Horn of Africa.

You have been identified to provide critical information to make this study a success. All responses will be acknowledged, credited and strictly used only for academic purposes. Information obtained will be treated in confidence. Your cooperation is highly appreciated.

Thank you
Kellen Waweru

Masters candidate: University of Nairobi, Kenya

SECTION A: Bio Data. Please tick as appropriate

- i. Sex: ☐ Male ☐ female
- ii. Age ☐ 20-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐ 41-50 ☐ 51-60 ☐ 61-80
- iii. Level of formal education: ☐ None at all
 - ☐ Primary education
 - ☐ Secondary education
 - ☐ College education
 - ☐ University education
- iv. Organization: ☐ Government Ministry ☐ Military and Security Agencies
 - ☐ UN ☐ AU

Questions on How Terrorism Affects Regional Growth and Development in East Africa

Kenya	
Tanzania	
Uganda	
Rwanda	
Burundi	

☐ Yes ☐ No

[illegible]

Yes [] No []

[illegible]

☐ Yes ☐ No

Questions on the Impact of Terrorism in East Africa

Q7. In your opinion what has been the greatest impact of the terror attack that occurred in your country?

[illegible]

Q8. Have the terrorism activities affected the cost of doing/conducting business in your country?

Strongly agree [] Agree [] Neutral [] Disagree [] Strongly Disagree []

Q9. Which sector in your country's economy has been adversely affected by the terrorism activities?

[illegible]

Q10. How has the sector named in the above question been affected by the terror activities?

[illegible]

Q11. In your opinion did the impact of the terror activity in the sector affect regional growth and development?

Strongly agree [] Agree [] Neutral [] Disagree [] Strongly Disagree []

Q12. From your knowledge and experience which country in East Africa has borne the highest cost of terrorism?

[illegible]

Q13. Have the terrorism activities in the respective countries led to decline in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the region?

Strongly agree [] Agree [] Neutral [] Disagree [] Strongly Disagree []

Q14. Terrorist threats result in travel advisories that greatly affect socio-economic wellbeing of partner states in East Africa?

Strongly agree [] Agree [] Neutral [] Disagree [] Strongly Disagree []

Questions on the strategies that have been used to deal with terrorism in East Africa

NOTE: Kindly respond to these questions based on your assessment of the effectiveness of the government's response to fighting terrorism in EAC. They range 0-5 (0 = Not at all effective; 1 = Barely effective; 2 = marginally effective; 3 = fairly effective; 4 = Effective; 5 = Very effective; N/A = Not applicable).

Q15. After the terror attacks in your respective country, how would you rate the effectiveness of government's overall strategies and policies in combating terrorism in EAC? (**TICK ONE**)

0	Not at all effective	
1	Barely effective	
2	Marginally effective	
3	Fairly effective	
4	Effective	
5	very effective	
N/A	Not applicable	

Q16. After the recent terrorist attacks in your country, how would you rate the government's employment of the **MILITARY** to combat terrorism in EAC by identifying and attacking known or suspected terrorist cells and terrorist operations? (0-5)

0	Not at all effective	
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1	Barely effective	
2	Marginally effective	
3	Fairly effective	
4	Effective	
5	very effective	
N/A	Not applicable	

Q17. How effective was your government's employment of **POLICE AND INTELLIGENCE ASSETS** in fighting regional terrorism in EA by identifying, monitoring, and attacking known or suspected terrorist cells and terrorist support organizations? (0-5)

0	Not at all effective	
1	Barely effective	
2	Marginally effective	
3	Fairly effective	
4	Effective	
5	very effective	
N/A	Not applicable	

Q18. How would you rate the employment of **LEGISLATIVE AND FINANCIAL CONTROLS** in relation to the perceived need to enact antiterrorist legislation, such as legislation on financial controls to combat terrorism in EA or special judicial processes for terrorism suspects? (0-5)

0	Not at all effective	
1	Barely effective	
2	Marginally effective	

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