

**EFFECTS OF TRANSNATIONAL TERRORISM ON HOSPITALITY
INDUSTRY IN KENYA**

BY

KIPKEMOI ARNOLD RONO.

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL
SCIENCES, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, POLITICAL SCIENCE AND
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS IN
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

MOI UNIVERSITY

2022

DECLARATION

Declaration by Candidate

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university. No part of this thesis may be reproduced without the prior written permission of the author and/or Moi University.

Sign: _____ Date : _____

KIPKEMOI ARNOLD RONO.

SASS/PGIR/02/15

Declaration by the Supervisors

This research thesis has been submitted with our approval as the university supervisors.

Sign: _____ Date: _____

The Late Prof. Ken Oluoch.

Department of History, Political Science and Public Administration

School of Arts and Social Sciences

Moi University

Sign: _____ Date: _____

Mr. Wenani Kilong'i.

Department of History, Political Science and Public Administration

School of Arts and Social Sciences

Moi University

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to gallant soldiers who have lost their lives to the enemy; their aspirations to liberate Kenya from thorny Al-shaabab would not go in vain.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am most grateful to Almighty God for his protection throughout this thesis writing; I sincerely appreciate my supervisors Prof. Ken Oluoch and Wenani Kilong'i whom they tirelessly and timely guided me throughout. I'm much indebted to other members of the Department of History, Political Science and Public Administration for their moral and supportive gesture in academic arena. Special thanks to Ms. Keziah, under Secretary ministry of Tourism, Mr. Sammy Inkwaye, CEO Kenya Association of Hotels and Caterers (KAHC) Coast Chapter, Office of the County Commissioner, Mombasa County, the chairman of Kenya Association of Tour Operators (KATO), Coast Region for their immense role during data collection. Last but not least I salute my family members and friends for their moral encouragement, support and prayers.

May Allah bless you All.

ABSTRACT

Hospitality industry is a key pillar to any state economy and a major contributor of country's GDP. However the rise of transnational terrorism in Kenya has brought devastating impact to the vibrant industry. It is on this basis that the study was carried to assess the effect of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry. The main objective was to assess the effect of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry in Kenya. With specific objectives being; to examine why hospitality industry in Kenya is vulnerable to transnational terror attacks, to assess the impact of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry in Kenya and also to assess the effectiveness of counterterrorism strategies on the hospitality industry in Kenya. This research was grounded on two theories, securitization theory and instrumental theory of terrorism. The research study adopted descriptive research design and mixed method research methodology. To achieve its objectives the study used both primary and secondary data. Data collection was both interactive (interview, and focus group discussions) and non-interactive which involved both questionnaires and documentary analysis. Primary data was obtained using in depth interview schedule, focus group discussions, observation and questionnaires, while secondary data was subjected to critical textual analysis and interpretation to test the relevance and accuracy of the document for the purpose of the study. The target population included management of hotels within star rating, Tour Guides, officials from ministry of tourism, department of tourism and culture in Mombasa County, security personnel and International Security table of mean and standard deviation. Analysis of data was done both in quantitative and qualitative, quantitative data utilized descriptive survey while qualitative data was analyzed thematically based on the objectives of the study. From the findings, the study found out that the hospitality industry has been vulnerable to terrorism attacks due to its economic pillar, a major source of Foreign Direct Investment, it also found that the transnational terrorism is a major threat to Kenya's peace and security and great hindrance to state's development. The study also pinpointed Kenya's achievement in countering transnational terrorism. In conclusion, the study recommends paradigm shift in securitization process with utilization of enhanced technology, broader and structure diplomatic engagement, policy and legal formulation towards crisis management of the hospitality sector.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	x
ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS	xi
OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS	xiii
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem.....	8
1.3 Objectives of the Study.....	9
1.4 Specific Objectives of the Study.....	9
1.5 Research Questions of the Study	9
1.6 Justification of the Study	9
1.7 Scope of the Study	10
1.8 Summary of the Chapter	10
CHAPTER TWO	11
LITERATURE REVIEW.....	11
2.0 Introduction.....	11
2.1 Transnational Terrorism on the Global Perceptive	11
2.2 Socio-Economic Impact of Transnational Terrorism.....	14
2.3 Africa and Transnational Terrorism Scourge.	19
2.4 Global Strategies in Counterterrorism	24
2.5 Kenya’s Hospitality and its threats from Transnational Terrorism.....	31
2.6 Kenya’s Counterterrorism Strategies.....	35
2.7 Theoretical Framework of the Study	40
2.8 Summary of Critical Research Views in Literature	42

CHAPTER THREE	45
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	45
3.0 Introduction.....	45
3.1 Design of the Study.....	45
3.2 Research Study Area	46
3.3 Target Population of the Study.....	46
3.4 Sampling Design Techniques.....	48
3.5 Sampling Size	48
3.6 Data Collection Methods	50
3.7 Data Collection Instruments	50
3.7.1 Questionnaire	50
3.7.2 Interview Schedule and Focus Group Discussion Guide.	50
3.7.3 Document Analysis	51
3.8 Data Collection Procedures.....	51
3.9 Validity and reliability of research instruments	51
3.10 Data Analysis	52
3.11 Limitations	52
3.12 Ethical Considerations	53
3.12.1 Response Rate.....	53
3.12.2 Conclusion of the Chapter	53
CHAPTER FOUR.....	55
THE PRONENESS OF HOSPITALITY INDUSTRY TO TRANSNATIONAL TERROR ATTACK	55
4.0 Introduction.....	55
4.1 Operation <i>Linda Nchi</i>	56
4.2 Why Hospitality Industry in Kenya are prone to transnational terror attack	57
4.3 Conclusion	73
CHAPTER FIVE	74
TRANSNATIONAL TERRORISM AND ITS EFFECTS ON HOSPITALITY INDUSTRY IN KENYA	74
5.1 Introduction.....	74
5.2 Transnational Terrorism Attacks in Kenya.....	74
5.3 Impacts of Transnational Terrorism to Hospitality Industry	77
5.4 Conclusion	89

CHAPTER SIX	90
COUNTERTERRORISM STRATEGIES ADOPTED IN IN KENYA	90
6.0 Introduction.....	90
6.1 Counter Terrorism Strategies	90
6.1.1 Legislations	91
6.1.2 National Centre on Counter Terrorism.	92
6.1.3 Anti-Terrorism Police Unit.....	92
6.1.4 Community policing and public engagement in securitization process.....	93
6.1.5 Kenya’s Diplomatic Engagement against Terrorism.....	94
6.2 Effectiveness of Counterterrorism Strategies on the Hospitality Industry in Kenya.....	95
6.2.1 Respondents Score on Kenya’s Cooperation with Other States and Non-State Actors in the War against Transnational Terrorism.....	103
6.3 Challenges Facing Counterterrorism Strategies in Kenya	112
6.4 Conclusion	113
CHAPTER SEVEN.....	115
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE FINDINGS	115
7.0 Introduction.....	115
7.1 Summary	115
7.2 Conclusions.....	117
7.3 Recommendations.....	118
7.4. Suggestions for Further Research	121
REFERENCES	122
APPENDICES	135
Appendix I: Questionnaire	135
Appendix II: Interview Guide Schedule	141
Appendix III: Focus Group Discussion Guide.....	142
Appendix IV: List of Hotels within Star Rating in Mombasa County.	143
Appendix V: List of Tour Guides Operators Operating in Mombasa County.....	144
Appendix VI: Research Authorization Letters	145

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Sample Size of the Study	49
Table 4.1: Proneness of the hospitality Industry to transnational terror attack	58
Table 5.1: Impacts of transnational terrorism to hospitality industry	77
Table 6.1: Effectiveness of counterterrorism strategies on the hospitality industry in Kenya	96
Table 6.2: National Security Kenya Budget 2018/2019 allocations	98
Table 6.3: Kenya’s cooperation with other states and non-state actors in the war against transnational terrorism	103

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1: Mombasa County Administrative Map.	47
Figure 5.1: Share of International Arrivals	80
Figure 5.2: International Visitor Arrivals and Tourism Earnings	83
Figure 5.3: Excursion Site.....	86
Figure 6.1: National Centre of Counter Terrorism Pillars	100
Figure 6.2: US Counterterrorism Aid	109
Figure 6.3: U.S. Counterterrorism Aid to Kenya from 2010-2015.....	110

ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

A.C.S.R. T	African Centre for the Study and Research of Terrorism.
A.U	African Union
AMISOM	Africa Mission on Somalia
CCTV	Closed Circuit Television
CVE	Countering Violent Extremism
E.A.C.T.I	East African Counter Terrorism Initiative
E.A.C	East African Community
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GoK	Government of Kenya
GWoT	Global War on Terrorism
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
ILEA	International Law Enforcement Academy
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
KDF	Kenya Defense Forces
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
KTB	Kenya Tourism Board
LAPSSET	Lamu Port South Sudan and Ethiopia Transport corridor,

N.A.T.O	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NPSC	National Police Service Commission
P.L.O	Palestine Liberation Organization.
U.N.W.T.O	United Nations World Tourism Organization.
U.N	United Nations.
U.S.A	United States of America
UKAID	United Kingdom Agency for International Development
USAID	United States Agency for International Development.
WMD	Weapons of Mass Destruction

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

- 9/11** - refers to a series of simultaneous attack on World Trade Centre and Pentagon House in the US on September 11 2001 which Al Qaeda claimed responsibility.
- Al Qaeda** - it is a militant Sunni Islamist multi-national organization founded in 1988 which has been operating Islamic extremist across the globe
- Al Shaabab** - it is a terrorist group affiliated with Al Qaeda and has been active in Southern Somalia where they occupy a dwindling territory due to concerned efforts of AMISOM
- Arabs Springs** - term often used to refer to a serious of anti-government protests, uprisings and armed rebellions that spread across Middle East and northern Africa in 2011
- Boko Haram** - refers to a terrorist group founded in 2002 in Northern Nigeri which is traced from “Hausa” word ‘Boko’ which means Book and Arabic word ‘*Haram*’ which refers to something ungodly, forbidden and sinful therefore Boko Haram in its deeper meaning is that western education is sinful, ungodly and should be forbidden that promotes a version of Islam that makes it forbidden for Muslims to take part in any political activities with western society.
- CNN Effect:** It’s a term in Political Science and Media Science which emphasize on the utilization of media in disseminating information majorily on politics and foreign policies to the public across the globe. It gained prominence courtesy of Cable News Network (CNN) on its role on disseminating information especially on 1990-91 Gulf war which eventually shaped foreign policy among the actors in the war.
- Fatwa** - refers to a legal opinion or decree handed down by an Islamic religious leader.

- Intifada** - refers to an armed uprising of Palestinians against Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.
- Hospitality Industry:** it's a broad term created by International Labour Organization in 1980 to refer to Hotels, Motels, and Restaurants, Night clubs, Travel agencies, Tour guides and Tourism Information offices. It also involves companies that cater to the cordial and generous reception or disposition towards guest such as hotels, resorts, restaurants, attractions and special events (Baker & Coulter, 2007)
- Nyumba Kumi-*** a Swahili name referring to a policing and community strategy which involves active participation of citizens by requiring them to know at least 10 immediate neighbors.
- Operation *Linda Nchi-***Codename for a co-ordinate military operation between Somali troops and Kenya troops which began in October 2011 which pursuit of Al-Shaabab
- Star-Rating** -Official classifications within hospitality and industry under World Tourism Council adopted in Kenya under Hotels and Restaurant Act of 2000 (Cap 494) to refers to luxurious hotels with exceptional modern and technical amenities.
- Usalama Watch:** Kenya's government military operation launched in April 2014, whose aim was to deport illegal aliens.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0. Introduction

This chapter examines the background of the study, statement of the problem under study, objectives and research questions as well as its justifications. It further discussed its scope and limitations of the study. Transnational terrorism has been a major security scourge to various nation states with its impact being directly and indirectly replicated in various economies of the state(s) on its part hospitality industry is a vital sector to any economy, and this informs why any government across the globe prioritize the sector in its securitization policies, it is on this basis that this thesis seeks to assess the impact of transnational terrorism in Kenya. This chapter briefly discusses the history of terrorism, its evolution as well as its complexity in forging a universal agreed definition.

1.1 Background of the Study

According to Chaliand & Blin (2016) Terrorism has been in existence as early as from 1st century during the reign of Jewish nationalists of Zealots and Sicarrii. It is as old as human willingness to perpetuate violence in influencing politics. However contemporarily it has become a daily phenomenon in geopolitical arena. Terrorism originates from French word 'terrere' which means to frighten. It obtained its modernist form during the reign of terror in France from 1793-1794, under the reign of Louis XVI which encompasses murder of individuals fighting the king, to full scale genocide as one way of coercing individuals and nations into submissions, (Mannik (2007). While there is a general concurrence among scholars that terrorism is an old phenomenon some scholars such as Jenkins (1974) view it as a new phenomenon in International Relations.

According to Hoffman (2006), scholars and governments have been incapable of giving a unanimously agreed definition to terrorism despite a clear characteristic which create a line of demarcation between terrorism and other crimes nevertheless, whereas Cronin (2003) attributes the challenges faced in conceptualizing terrorism partly to its changing nature and its association with subjective activities. Mackaitis (2007) on his part observed that the main obstacles to forging universal agreed definition of terrorism have surrounded on terror committed by state actors as well as non-state actors and the distinction between the activities of terrorists and those of freedom fighters. According to kterrorism is defined as fundamentally and inherently political and also ineluctably about power; pursuit of power, acquisition of power and use of power to achieve political change.

United Nations on its part defined terrorism as an intention to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or international organization to do or abstain from doing any act; this definition offers both aspect of international law by incorporating international organizations and municipal jurisdiction. As one way of safeguarding political liberators in Africa, the continental head of states and governments ractified A.U ptotocol of 1999 which sought to give explicit differences between terrorism and political liberation. Enders & Sandler (2006) comprehend terrorism as the premeditated use or threat of the use violence by individuals or sub-national groups in order to obtain political or social objectives through intimidation of large audience beyond that of their immediate victims.

Historically, terrorism acts involves both state and non-state actors though a lot of attention have been given to non-state actors. Nazi Germany, Stalinist Soviet Union, Pol Pots Cambodias for instance are among the earliest form of State terrorism. Jewish Zealots who assassinated enemies in their struggle against Roman Empire on the other hand is one of the earliest forms of non-state terrorism.

Terrorism can either be classified into domestic or transnational, the former refers to an act of terror which involves perpetrators, victims and audience of the country in which the incident occurs, the latter on its part refers to an incident in one country involving perpetrators victims, institutions, governments or citizens of another country. However according to Botha (2008) most transnational terrorism evolved from intra-state grievances such as economic deprivation, political and government oppression and religious and ethnic persecutions but due external factors such as globalization which eased access to global telecommunications thus uniting likeminded individuals to unite and conspire against common enemies,with such developments most of current transnational terrorism in Africa such as Al Qaeda, Alshabaab and Boko Haram have emerged.

Rapoport (2004) outlined evolution of transnational terrorism in “four waves”. This first wave of evolution which according to him is ‘anarchist’ began in Russia in the 1880s up to 1920s.It erupted out of deep dissatisfaction of anarchists, who viewed societies as a chained convention acts of terror. Anarchists had strong transnational orientation as they sought to internationalize their struggle by exporting it to various countries, (Sandler & Khusrar 2011). This period resorted to targeting of high-ranking officials such as heads of state, for instance the assassination of 25th US President, William Mc Kinley in 1901.

The second wave of evolution of transnational terrorism rose on the platform of political agitation and respects to democratic ideals. In this 'Anti-colonial Wave' (1920s - 1960s) emerged through assassination of those in authority, the masterminds of such were coined as "freedom fighters". This wave played a significant role in promoting political independence among various nation states such as Algeria, which attained her independence in 1962 from France, this concurred with PLO leader arguments "Once man's terrorists is another man's freedom fighter." Anti-colonial wave of terrorism gained transnational nature through utilization of foreign press in agitations of their rights.

Vietnam War brought a significant wave of 'New Left Terrorism' which rose in 1960s to 1980s due to then modern states vulnerability to unsophisticated weapons and tactics. Citizens in new states became dissatisfied with existing systems and subsequently elevated early terror groups such as Red Army Factions in West Germany. 'New Left-wing Terrorism' mainly targeted the population more so those in authority through kidnappings, hijackings and assassinations of high-ranking government officials such as Prime Ministers of Spain, Carrero Blanco in 1973 and Jordan, Wasfi Tell in 1971. Classic examples of New left-wing terrorists included Palestine Liberation Organization who took attacks to foreign capital cities and airports so as to gain attention especially with Israel in their quest for recognition of Palestine State. Enders & Sandler (2006) corroborated Rapoport's classification with main concerns on New Left-wing Terrorism in Europe who perpetrated acts of terror on symbols of capitalism and imperialism such as multinational corporations and multilateral organizations. International cooperation in counterterrorism emerged during this wave with major conventions being adapted by UN member states to outlawed hijackings, hostages taking and terrorism financing.

The last wave of international terrorism emerged in early 1980s and still exists up to date, fundamentalist wave of terror' emerged on a platform of religious fundamentalism, which perpetrated status quo, and agitated for their own government(s) through suicide bombing, and applications of WMD. It is in this period as Rapport (2014) observes, an escalation of GWOt with more than a hundred nation states playing a vital role. Fundamentalists began with the Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan and U.S embassy hostage in Tehran in 1979 by Iranian. Relevant literatures have noted that half of the active transnational terrorist groups are fundamentalist in nature. Hoffman (2006) corroborated this, though fundamentalist wave being seen by many as a perpetration of Islamic fundamentalists, it has its roots in all major religions. Hindu extremists for instance brought down Air India flight 182 in 1985, Jewish extremists on other hand assassinated Israel Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995. However, Islamic fundamentalist have gained relevance and attention over their continued perpetration of violence especially after 9/11 incident.

Little scholarly attention has been put forth on why fundamentalist transnational terrorism has swiftly spread to an extent of becoming an international security threat. Scholars such as Momdani (2004) however treat factors such as Iranian revolution of 1979 which disintegrated Shaha's secular state thus providing an enthusiasm among Iranians to aid other groups such as Shiite movements in Iraq, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon with religious fundamentalism being at the centre stage. USSR invasion to Afghanistan in 1979 on the eve of cold war escalated relevance of terrorism across borders with US siding with local Muslims even to an extent of funding terror through Pakistan Inter-Service Intelligence Agency, though this was one way of seeking political hegemony. This trajectory eventually led to rise of Al Qaeda and its leadership such as Osama bin Laden (9/11 Commission Report 2002) who utilized teachings on

Islamic doctrines to gain popularity and appeals on Arabs and Sunnis.

Enders & Sandler (2006), lamented that despite various definitions the motives of terrorists may differ but their actions follow a standard pattern with terrorist incidents assuming a variety of forms: These can be inform of airplane hijackings, kidnappings, assassinations, threats, bombings, and suicide attacks. Terrorist attacks are usually and most of the times intended to apply sufficient pressures to a government so that it grants political concessions. If a besieged government views the anticipated costs of future terrorist actions as greater than the costs of conceding to terrorist demands, then a government will make some accommodation. Thus, a rational terrorist organization can, in principle, reach its goal quicker if it is able to augment the consequences of its campaign. These consequences can assume many forms including casualties, destroyed buildings, a heightened anxiety level, and myriad economic costs.

The current wave of transnational terrorism is often directed towards the United States and other Western countries and their allies (Botha, 2013). Many Scholars such as (Zinn, 2002; Botha, 2013) argue that the reason behind this is the presence of US military troops in Saudi Arabia; the economic and military support to Israelis; and their policies towards Middle East countries. The role of US in global peace and security has increased its vulnerability. Clearly, 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, with hospitality industries in both developed and developing nations being heavily hit by this menace.

Kenya has been a major casualty of transnational terrorism ever since 1980s, according to Mazrui et al..., (2018) transnational terrorism initially did not target Kenyans as the

main targets were Israel and USA nationals over its role in Palestinian-Israel conflict, however the scourge increased heavily due to rise of Islamic fundamentalism and political instability in the horn of Africa. Kenya as a developing nation and a key ally to western powers and a major partner in GWOt it became a major target eventually leading to issuance of travel advisories amongst traditional international tourists for safety purpose, forcing the stakeholders in the hospitality industry to rethink its marketing strategy for industry's sustainability.

Hospitality industry has been a major victim of transnational terrorism, according to Michael & Tibbles (2016), hotels which are highly associated with western countries are more prone to transnational terror attack. Globally between 1970s and 2016s more than 200 attacks have been directed to hotels and its business affiliates with major international chain of hotels such Marriot being victims despite their perceived enhanced security. Hospitality industry within African continent has suffered heavy pruned from transnational terrorism attacks such as Corinthia hotel in Libya, 2015, Beach resort, Tunisia in 2015, Radisson Blue Hotel in Mali, 2015 and Splendid Hotel, Burkina Faso, 2016 (Onuoha, 2016). Many security analysts within the continent such as, Onuoha, 2016, attribute this development with presence of westerners, their role in foreign direct investment and enhanced securitization process on state agencies such as airports, embassies. Kenya's hospitality has been a victim of transnational terrorism as from Norfolk hotel in 1980s to more recent attack to Dusit2 attack, according to Mohammed (2018) the attack on hospitality industry can be so enormous to state's economy.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Tourism and hospitality are the Kenya's top earners of foreign exchange and major asset to her GDP offering direct and indirect employments to many Kenyans. However, hospitality industry has often been adversely affected by political instability and terrorism resulting to travel warnings and advisories.

The sector has frequently faced the affliction of transnational terrorism with the first incident being recorded in early 1980s on Norfolk hotel in Nairobi. Subsequently they have been increased attacks on the sector especially on hotels in Nairobi and Mombasa counties leading to near collapse of the sector. With growing of 'CNN effect' the industry has been greatly affected with many of the international visitors as well as domestic visitors cancelling their visits and excursions due to travel advisories and attack phobia. Despite the fact that hospitality industry has been under threats, increased insurgency by Alshabaab has subsequently spread its wings to its sister states with Kenya being a key target. Kenya's unilateral initiative 'Operation Linda Nchi' in 2011 which resulted to military incursion to Somalia was necessitated by sudden drop of international tourist influx to Kenya over security threats emanating from Somali based terrorists thus bringing to one's economic giant to its knees. It is on this basis that this research was carried out to examine the effect of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry and how the government of Kenya and states within the region as well as the international community have tried to salvage the situation as this would contribute immensely both academically and in terms policy. Literatures across the globe have focus on the general impact of transnational terrorism, while others have focused on general threats from robbery, diseases break up and terrorism on the hospitality. African continent especially EAC region have overemphasized on threats, motives as well securitization policies. This research would bring new insights on the impact of

hospitality from threats emanating transnational terrorism. With increased attacks to greatest pillars of economy many of states have diversified their budget towards securitization agenda.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study was to analyze effect of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry in Kenya.

1.4 Specific Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of this study were:

- i. To examine why hospitality industry is prone to transnational terror attack in Kenya.
- ii. To assess the impact of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry in Kenya
- iii. To assess the effectiveness of counterterrorism strategies on hospitality industry in Kenya.

1.5 Research Questions of the Study

The research questions of the study were:

- i. Why has the hospitality industry been prone to transnational terror attack?
- ii. To what extent has transnational terrorism impacted hospitality industry in Kenya?
- iii. Are counterterrorism measures effective in mitigating hospitality industry in Kenya against transnational terrorism?

1.6 Justification of the Study

Transnational terrorism has become one of the global threats to hospitality industry, with tourist's sites turning out to be soft targets of terrorist in its quest for political goals.

Majority of researchers on security studies such as Adan (2005), Nzau (2015) and Okinda (2016) have heavily focused on counterterrorism measures and Security sector reforms in Kenya, scholars such as Shinn (2006) and Botha (2013) have paid a lot of attention on regional counterterrorism and counter radicalization, Gure (2015), Vitisia (2015) and Mohammed (2018) are some of the scholars who have focused on impact of terrorism and tourists. These studies however have not provided in depth analysis on the effect of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry despite the vice having penetrated to the sector as from 1980s, Norfork attack. The ever-recurrent increasing threats emanating from transnational terror has created fear among stakeholders in the industry subsequently leading to travel advisories. The rationale of this study is to create an in-depth understanding on impact of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry this justifies the study since the recommendations will be of great assistance in reinforcing counter terrorism policies and strategies.

1.7 Scope of the Study

This research study mainly focused on the effect of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry in Kenya. It restricted itself to Mombasa County having been adversely hit by transnational terrorism for the last fifteen years, and the city being a host of major tourists' attraction sites in the region.

1.8 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter has dwelt on the abackground of the study by a giving brief history of the terrorism and its evolution and subsequent threats to global peace and security. It also discussed the statement of the problem and highlighted research objectives and questions discussed rationale and scope of the study. The next chapter will review literature thematically as per the research objectives.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter analyzed and interrogated relevant literatures related to the study problem. This was carried out with the aim of identifying the knowledge gap that exists and that the present study sought to fill. It reviewed relevant literature on transnational terrorism and its impact on the hospitality industry from various researchers and also cites certain cases which give stimulating insights. The literature review was organized around the following thematic issues: the globalization of terrorism, socio –economic impact of transnational terrorism and narrowed down to its impact to Kenya’s hospitality. The study adopted Securitization theory and instrumental theory of terrorism as its theoretical framework. The chapter also did a summary review of issues and makes a conclusion of the chapter.

2.1 Transnational Terrorism on the Global Perceptive

Transnational terrorism has become a major threat due to its complexity in monitoring and analyzing. The asymmetrical nature of transnational terrorism has evolved dramatically, in 1980s, it was a decade of State-sponsored terrorism (Hoffman 2006). However, after the mid-1990s, the number of transnational terrorist attack fell to approximately 100-200 attacks per year due to the decline of left-wing terrorist, Sandler (2013). Shughart (2006) in his study analyzed history of modern transnational terrorism dividing into three stylized wars which include, national liberation and ethnic separation who sought for cessation and political stability in Europe, left wing terrorists rose on economic marginalization during industrialization period, including the Islamist terrorists who executed terror during Iranian revolution. However, his focus on Western Europe and Middle East provided incomprehensiveness on terrorism studies. As soon

as Afghan-Soviet confrontation were over than acts of terror spread its wings to African Continent with Al Qaeda leader issuing a *fatwa* against western powers over continued oppression of muslims population across the globe. *Fatwa* decree resulted to simultaneous attacks of US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania and subsequent attacks across the Africa, however there is scanty of literatures on whether *fatwa* issuance has influenced the spread of fundamentalism terrorism especially in sub-saharan Africa and Middle East.

Transnational terrorism have been on existence for the last centuries, though it attracted much attention after successful execution of terror attacks in New York Twin towers and Pentagon house in US, this agrees with Kunreuther et al., (2003) findings who noted that 9/11 attacks demonstrated that fundamentalists type transnational terrorism have gone higher note to maximize their grievances on non-combatants, Crenshaw (2006) underscored that prior to 9/11, it was unbelievable to attack a super power such as US, the incident resulted to death of over 3000 individuals, 9/11 incident alone is estimated to have cause 80-90 billions US dollars in the United States alone with spills over across the globe causing devastating impact resulting into security dilemma. Crenshaw(2008) and arguments however doesn't points to why hospitality industry has a been a major target to transnational terrorism attacks.

Sandler, et al, (2008) report on transnational terrorism found that on average basis 420 people are killed, with 1249 people maimed annually as a result of its attacks with many developed nations viewing it as a greatest threat as compared to other criminal acts and other forms of disasters. For instance, in US over 30,000 people are killed as a result of road carnages but little attentions are given by the state operators this further attracts insignificant attention from state actors and other stakeholders in securitization process. Many security scholars agree that a lot of attentions have been given to transnational

terrorism by both state actors and non-state actors due its extreme characteristics which aim to create state of fear amongst combatants and non- combatants as terror executions seeks to attracts political attention by randomly targeting areas of interest.

Transnational terrorism has taken advantage of extensive transnational financial support network to spread its ideologies by empowering vulnerable members of society through financial aid, US Department of Justice Report, (1998) acknowledged that transnational terrorism especially those whose roots are traced in Middle East such as Al Qaeda relocated to East Africa and Horn Africa on humanitarian and economic endeavors. For instance, in 1991, Al Qaeda leader Osama bin Laden relocated to Sudan after disagreeing with Saudi Arabia's leadership over its role in supporting US Gulf war against Iraq, through his foundations which provided humanitarian needs to vulnerable members of society in Khartoum and clandestinely advocating Sharia laws and jihadism amongst population in northern part of Sudan ,which has suffered from weak governance, porous border and political instability in the Horn of Africa gave rise to Al Qaeda, within the region. Preeti, (2008) underscored that Osama bin Laden stay in Sudan allowed him to perpetrate its nefarious activities such as attacks to hotels in Yemen whose sole aim was attack US troops en route to Somalia for peace keeping in 1992, he however fails to explain why a lot of attention put being forth towards the hospitality industry.

United Nations Security Report attributed the failed assassination attack on Egyptian President Mubarak in 1995 as an orchestrated scheme of Osama bin Laden during his sojourns in Khartoum; (UN, Security Council Report, 1996). This eventually brought serious academic discourse on the role of state in supporting terrorism despite being signatories of international conventions against terrorism. Khartoum government castigated Osama's role in perpetrating fundamentalist terror in the Horn of Africa,

however their concurrence in opposing UN peacekeeping troops to Darfur, raised eyebrows on state sponsored terrorism.

2.2 Socio-Economic Impact of Transnational Terrorism

The modern terrorism has adopted use violence or threat to use violence either by individuals or group of individuals for the aims of political and social goals, Diriye, (2015). Immediately after 9/11, the joint economic committee of the US congress described the cost of terrorism as the loss of human and non-human capital, uncertainty in consumer and investor behavior, retrenchments in specific industries, increased cost of security thus leading to 'terrorist tax' and anti-terrorist expenditure crowding out more productive activity on its part, Gardeazabarb, (2013) cited four main areas that are affected by terrorism; Capital of a country, uncertainty due to threat to terrorism, Diversity of resources from productive areas of economy to security sector and other vital sectors of economy being adversely affected.

As one way of coercing governments to listen to its demands transnational terrorism has resorted to attacking elements of economy so as to destabilize governments such attacks or threats to attack have impacted economic sector negatively by diverting FDI, redirecting public and private funds towards securitization, however due to high level attention to its attacks they have resorted to attack specific industries with high economic values across the globe. Drakos, (2004) agrees that transnational terrorism has resorted to attacking specific industries as 9/11 incident did to airline and tourism industries, Paris 2018 train attack did to transport industry, Garissa University College attack of 2015 on education sector. Despite its acts globally directing to various sectors of the economy, it is fundamentally succinct that transnational terrorism is after non-combatants whom are seen as vulnerable and hopeless in the international system.

Economic consequences of transnational terrorism are at macroeconomic level in terms of reduced G.D.P, the consequences can be classified as Micro-economic level if it indirectly affects certain sectors of economy. For instance in a time-series analysis Stafford et al., (2001) lament that the effects of terrorist attacks might cause political instability which eventually leads to the decline or disappearance of tourist arrivals in tourist destination, Endlers et al..., (1992) showed that terrorist attacks directed at Greek tourist industry cost Greece 23.4% of its annual tourism revenue for 1998. In Austria, during 1985-1987 terror attacks, it cost 40.7% of its annual tourist revenue for 1988 (Drakos and Kutan 2003), a terrorist incident in Spain resulted in reduction of 140,000 tourist (Enders and Sandler 1991). Tarlow, (2005) argues that tourism is targeted by terrorist because it seen as outsiders representing a mode of neo-colonialism or a threat to their social norms, traditions and religious convictions such as 1997 attack in Luxor, Egypt where terrorist killed 71 tourists however contemporary attacks in Africa seems to target both tourists and non-locals which raises fundamental security questions in regards to motives of transnational terrorism.

The 9/11 incident eliminated gap that had persisted among terrorism and other warfare, Crenshaw, (2006) argues that before 9/11, it was unbelievable that the U.S would make terrorism the single priority of security strategy. 9/11 event had an immediate and substantial impact globally; its impact on travel and tourism flows to the U.S has been evaluated in several studies. Lee et al., (2005) for instance evaluated the initial impact of 9/11 attacks on the demand for air travel to the USA using time series intervention model and found a significant overall drop in demand. Lee et al., (2005) and Crenshaw, (2006) articulations on post 9/11 impacts did not provide much indebted analysis on hospitality industry in US especially in major cities of New York and Washington.

The World Travel and Tourism council estimated more than 10 million jobs in global tourism and travel industry lost aftermath 9/11. International travel and tourism demand decreased by 7.4% (Diriye 2015) this concur with Blunk et al., (2006) who they evaluated whether post 9/11 U.S airline travel volume returned to its pre 9/11 trend and found that it had not by 2004. The 9/11 incident furthermore resulted to psychological trauma in the minds of potential travelers subsequently as Chen & Noriega, (2004) noted resulting to huge decline in a number of international visitors leading to an estimation loss of 1.2 billion US dollars and an estimation of 453,000 jobs.

9/11 aftermath witnessed sudden decline in occupancy in hotels and restaurants as USA became less attractive to tourists with repercussions spilling to other economic sectors, Mbiyu (2014) this concur with Fawn, (2003) in his research on 9/11 incident who found that the airline industry lost approximately 15 billion US dollars due to passengers cut backs majority being international visitors. Swissair, one of the Airlines was declared bankruptcy also New York City controller estimated the attacks would cost the city's economy 1.7 billion US dollars in lost sales and 1.75 billion US dollars in lost rent by the end of financial year of 2003.

The attack had significant socio-economic impact on U.S and the world markets, in New York City alone about 430000 jobs and 2.8 US dollars were lost in between September 2001 and early 2002. The city GDP was estimated to have declined by 27.3 billion US dollars due to the attack resulting to readjustment of fiscal policies to gather homeland security reducing developmental budget by 5 trillion US dollars, Bysyuk, (2010). The famous hotels in New York city such as the Marriot and the Millennium hotels were dismantled causing international alarm among the international visitors leading more than 20 hotels to close down for lack of clients.

Hospitality industry has been a major target of terrorists in the Middle East due to rise of *jihadism* who see hoteliers as a soft targets, Delofontaine, (2017).The 2018, Intercontinental hotel attack in Kabul ,Afghanistan by ISIS resulted in the assassination of more than 20 individuals mostly targeting government officials and international visitors.Pakistan on its part is a favorite tourist destination due to its rich culture and heritage, Kumar et al., (2014), however, the scourge of terrorism attack has sluggish the sector.According to *Dawn News 2007*, Peshawar hotel bombing in 2007 alone inflicted hospitality industry with loss worth 400 million USD, a similar attack was also executed in 2008 Islamabad in a populous hotel, Marriot resulting to over 60 individuals dead, injuring scores and destruction of economic, this clearly demonstrate the vulnerability of hospitality industry in war torn region of Middle East. Many scholars such as William & Tibbler, (2007) and Delofontaine (2017), cites complexity of the industry as securitization is bestowed upon governments who have prioritize sensitive sectors such as air transport, on the other hand Burtons, (2008) research views attacks on hotels as a religious undertaking to safeguard Muslims doctrines from international visitors' exploitations.

The Asia continent have been a victim of transnational terror attacks, according Global Terrorism Index (2017), out of ten countries mostly impacted by terrorism in 2016, seven are in Asia continent. The increased securitization in war zones in Asia has shifted attacks to public places such as hotels, tourists' resorts and cultural sites, Indonesia, one of the populous nation globally which relies heavily on tourism and hospitality as a source of G.D.P ranging from 4-6% (Global Travel 2009) has been a victim of transnational terrorism as from 1990s Gulf wars with many international visitors fearing for attacks.This corroborates Enders et al., (1992) findings who found that transnational terrorism affect international tourism not only to the affected nation

but also its neighboring states. A vibrant tourist island in Indonesia, Bali in 2002 was attacked with masterminds targeting hotels hosting international visitors especially those from western countries which resulted to execution of over 200 people majority being international tourists.

This attack alone resulted to travel advisories which impacted negatively the hospitality industry. Hotels bookings drooped by 30%, Air industry suffered a blow as international tourists cancelled their air tickets resulting to reduction of flight frequency from/to Indonesia's airports and other international airports. Air Paradise International, an air carrier laid off over 350 of its staff.

Jakarta, one of the Indonesia's booming tourism cities in 2009 suffered a terror execution which was carried out by ISIS in two American-managed five-star hotels leading to travel advisories from various nations such as US and Australia causing huge drop in terms of hotel occupancy ranging from 20-30%. Global Travel Industry News, (2009). This terror attack reduced the rate of FDI as foreign enterprise became a target of ISIS.

Transnational terrorism has perfected attacks on hospitality industry in Indonesia; a January 2016 attacked brought a significant drop of international tourists with en masse travel booking cancellations due to insecurity phobia. Hospitality sector which was a leading contributor to Indonesia's GDP but according to A.T Kearney Foreign Direct Confidence Index in 2004, 2005 and 2007 survey results shows that leading multinational companies in the sector had pulled out of the industry citing transnational terrorism a great threat to their business, however no scholarly work has been put forth on the sector's resilience, despite pulling out of major players.

Middle East region has turned out to be a breeding ground of lethal transnational terrorists such as Taliban, Al Qaeda, and ISIS with its population subscribing to Islamic teachings and thirsty to natural resources especially petroleum has sought to establish status quo. The rise of these Islamic fundamentalists has been attributed to political violence and armed conflicts (Global Terrorism Index, 2014) on the oil exporting countries. The US led invasion to Iraq in 2003 escalated terror attacks with Al Qaeda leader urging Muslims dominated states to fight common enemy. Iraq invasion was as result of 9/11 attack and which had been sanctioned by UN security Council so as to destroy economic activities by Al Qaeda which had gained roots in the OPEC states. Middle East states is facing huge challenge with many states facing dilemma on the international legal binding expectations on war against terror vis-à-vis threats from insurgencies.

2.3 Africa and Transnational Terrorism Scourge.

Lack of universal accepted definition of terrorism, treated earliest forms of political agitations and nationalism in Africa as acts terrorism. Crenshaw, (1994) argues that Africa's transition to independence and even post independence involved the utilization of violence, threat to use violence as a political strategy for opponents. Makinda (2007), in his study on the history of terrorism in Africa categorized terrorism into four waves: the pre-independence nationalist movements; the post-independence, civil wars; the transplantation of the Israeli-Palestinian issue to the continent; and the emergence of al-Qaeda network that operated in Sudan in early 1990. It is the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that the al-Qaeda network has exploited in advancing their global agenda against the western countries and their allies. Makinda, (2007) further corroborated that Africa's dimension of al-Qaeda, can be authenticated by active participation of African citizens in the leadership of al-Qaeda. For instance, DrAyman al-Zawahiri an Egyptian

physician is alleged to have helped in turning Osama bin Laden to a terrorist. However, this has been disputed by security scholars, Okinda (2016) for instance, noted that Sudan hosting of Osama bin Laden after his expulsion from Saudi Arabia and subsequent facilitation of al-Qaeda organization headquarters demonstrates deep roots of Osama passion of fundamentalism terrorism.

Osama's sojourn in Sudan in early 1990s promoted extremists networking through entrepreneurial ventures and humanitarian assistance to covertly support his terrorism agenda, which mainly targets US and its allies. Shane, (2009) noted that through such endeavors forged alliances with small Islamist groups to a new transnational terror *World Front for Jihad Against Jews and Crusaders* was achieved. Cooperation among local extremists and Al Qaeda created a strong link in Africa subsequently setting up bases in Kenya, Uganda, Democratic Republic of Congo and Somalia, such cooperation for instance is witnessed when Osama Bin Laden, the Al Qaeda leader donated US dollars 3 million to Boko Haram leader, Mohammed Yusuf in 2002 to aid in its establishment of its network, Olomjobi (2016).

Recurrent conflicts in Africa as a result of economic deprivation promoted religious bigotry amongst Africa nation states attracting high number of insurgencies executing various aspects of terror to demonstrate their displeasure against ruling class, this clearly demonstrate why hospitality industry has been a major target of violent extremists.

In North Africa, former Libyan President Muammar Gaddafi was well known for his support of anti-western terrorist organization which is demonstrated through support to Irish Republican Army (IRA), Red Army Faction and Red Brigades such support eventually aid establishment of local organizations who rose on local grievances against

their own governments to transnational terrorists, Such organizations include, Boko Haram, Muslim Brotherhood who capitalized their grievances through attacks on various sectors of economy with the aim of achieving their social-political goals, The 2007 merger of Algeria's Salafist Group for Preaching and Combat (*Groupe Salafiste pour la Prédication et le Combat*, or GSPC) with Al-Qaeda resulted in the formation of the Organization of Al-Qaeda in the Lands of the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) (Forest& Jennifer ,2011).

Terrorism has had severe socio-economic consequences across in the continent, an attack to any sector result to decline in tourists which in thus replicate itself to the hospitality industry. In Egypt for instance, an Al Gama'a Al-Islamiya, an extremist group whose ideologies were to promote sharia law in 1992 attacked a cruise ship with German's tourists killing over 100 people with the aim of achieving its political objectives. The Cruise ship attacked resulted to a decline of water transport usage which ends up affecting the entire economic situation of Egypt, massive tourists drop out. One of Egypt's sources of revenue is tourism, which in the last decades has been under attack by terrorism. The 1997 attack on tourists from various nations in Luxor, Egypt resulted into 53% decline in tourist revenue, (Gurr& Cole 2002). According to Esmail (2008), such declined led to diversification of hospitality industry. The ousting of Hosni Mubarak in 2011 led to numerous attacks in Egypt which mainly target military personnel and international tourists this resulted to fleeing of tourists leading to huge decline in tourist revenue with various hoteliers recording huge drop in terms of bed capacity (Esmail, 2018)

Tunisia's economy had depended a lot on tourist revenue as major contributor to its GDP, contributing to 6.5% of its GDP and directly and offering 450,000 jobs. (Ibid). The 'Arab Springs' of 2011 affected the hospitality's industry heavily. No sooner had

death of international tourists than travel warnings issuance, reducing the tourist's revenue which affected the Tunisia GDP from 5.1% in 2010 to 1.8% in 2011, (Esmail, 2018). In March 2015, a terrorist attack was executed in Bardo National Museum killing 22 people, 20 being foreign tourists. In June 2015, another attack was carried out in Sea Side Resort in Sousse killing more than 38, majority being foreigners. The two attacks had devastating impacts on Tunisia's hospitality as international tourists became a target this led them to flee. After 2015 terror attacks, more than 22 hotels in the country were shut down, 2400 workers being laid off due to travel advisories issued by western nations (Diriye,2015). The impacts of 'Arabs Springs' of 2011 in Libya led to anarchy giving room to Islamic fundamentalism to perpetrate its actions by kidnapping of foreigners and bombings. In 2015, various international visitors were attacked in an international hotel in Tripoli leading to travel warnings from western powers whose nationals contributed a large number of international tourists.

The West Africa has been the main casualty of transnational terrorism with insurgence of Boko Haram especially in the Northern part of Nigeria which has demanded forceful adoption of Sharia laws across all the states in Nigeria. Islamic fundamentalism ensued immediately after 9/11 when Muslims attacked Christians killing over 500 and Injuring many and destructions of property (Daily Nation Sep 24 2002) to Muslims, the mastermind of 9/11 Osama Laden, was perceived as a 'David' fighting American 'Goliath. As per Global Terrorism index report (2014) Nigeria was in top in terms of attacks by terrorists in the entire continent as a results of Boko Haram and its affiliates with these attacks being majorly executed on hospitality industry have had a devastating effects, the influx of international tourists dropped in big hotels for instance Transcorp,a chain of hotels had a high occupancy rate ranging from 65% -70%,while ranged 40% -50% as from 2010.In 2011.Al Qaeda an ISIS affiliate terror group has also

executed a number of attacks in West Africa. In January 2016, they raided a luxurious hotel in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso massacring more than 30 individuals while injuring scores. It also executed an attack in a Beach Hotel based in Abidjan, Ivory Coast assassinating 16 people this resulted into sudden reduction of international tourists. These attacks are directly towards international tourists with the aim of cutting down tourist revenue which contribute a lot to many states GDP.

The E. Africa region is vulnerable to transnational terrorism because countries in the region experience conflict, weak governance, collapsed state institutions, porous borders, increased extremist, religious ideology and radicalization, (Kimungunyi, 2016), However the region has been the most vulnerable to terrorist in all the regions in Sub-Saharan Africa, (Bashir,2007) The earliest attacks on the region were perceived as an indirect target to citizens of western nations but the recent attacks have been targeting civilians from the region especially whose forces are in the forefront in the restoration of peace and stabilization of Somali nation under umbrella of AMISOM. Alshaabab terror group has set its base in Somalia and has gained global attention, Global Terrorism index of 2015 in its research found that the terror group has grown to number two globally in a recorded execution.

The GWOt in 2002 affected the region in terms of travel advisories as reduced influx of international tourist especially from western powers. This led to regional heads of state and government to cry foul on economic impact of these executions on the region. As the implementers of EACTI it became a soft target of Al Qaeda whose leader has set its base in Khartoum, Sudan in 1990s.

According to US intelligence the main targets of transnational terrorism include; nightclubs and bars, police posts and their vehicles, places of worships, to be specific,

churches, a downtown building, and bus terminus (Adan, 2005), this however doesn't underscore the increased attack on the hospitality industry within the region. These attacks have created a security dilemma within the region, forcing the member states to engage in military diplomacy

The Kampala attack of 2010 on a city-based restaurant killing over 70 people brought huge concern on securitization endeavors, Uganda being an active member of AMISOM. Such an attack affected the country's GDP according to New York Times, Ugandan government redirected its developmental budget allocations towards investigations of the attacks which cost over a half million US dollars. Kenya as a gateway to the region has suffered similar fate with its major tourist city, Mombasa being a regular victim of attacks from Alshaabab due to its strategic location. (Cannon & Kalya, 2017).

The scourge of terrorism in the continent has overstretched the continental developmental budgetary allocation, with majority of these nation states facing other challenges such as food insecurity, poor transport and communication, illiteracy, poverty and political instability. Averagely majority of African nations have allocated much resources towards securitization, the high presence of political activism groups which have utilized *modus operandi* of violence has subsequently internationalized the violence with the aim of seeking anarchy in progressing democracies of Africa.

2.4 Global Strategies in Counterterrorism

9/11 brought global security dilemma causing a paradigm shift in securitization strategies. Crenshaw, (2006) argued that war on terrorism is a general struggle with victory far in the future and the enemy is an ideology which threatens global peace, international security and prosperity, the rising tide of democracy and the right of all

people to live without fear of indiscriminate violence. Sandler et al., (2011) elaborated defensive and proactive measures as concurrent counter terrorism measures. Defensive measure involves strategic guarding of specific targets which results to difficulty to attacks, such as measures of building walls, technological barriers, enhanced surveillance and prescreening of airline passengers, as one way of countering defensive measure terrorists have engaged in transference. Transference involves changing mode of response of attack for instance installation of metal detectors in airports in 1970s for fear of being attacked by Left wing terrorists switched terrorists to skyjackings kidnapping, barricading of missions and assassinations of diplomatic personnel outside secured compounds, Enders & Sandler, (1993).

Proactive measures involve international cooperation through adoptions of treaties, conventions and resolutions so as to reduce chances of terrorism networking with respective states addressing local grievances before gaining international attention. Foreign aid has been a major tool of proactive measure with developed nations supporting financially developing states to combat terror groups, for instance post 9/11 led US supporting Philippines to confront Abusayyaf. Azen & Thelem (2010).

9/11 has huge consequences on the global economy, Sinclair (2002), estimated the impact of 9/11 incident on travel and tourism using computable general equilibrium which shows the impact was severe in terms of loss of income and employment. This resulted to robust counter terrorism so as safeguard global economy as well as safety, however, such counter terrorism results have not been sufficiently researched on its results to restore of global economy. UN through its organ Security Council in 2001 established a counter-terrorism committee and subsequent establishment of Counter-Terrorism Committee Executive Directorate in 2004 whose core role is to coordinate a counter terrorism measures across the globe. In 2006, the directorate recommended to

U.N General Assembly adoption of the U.N global counter-Terrorism strategy which advocated for holistic, inclusive approach to counterterrorism which includes adoption of measures to prevent and combat terrorism and capacity building, such measures however have not been measured on whether they are able to combat the asymmetrical nature of terrorism.

Transnational terrorism attack of 9/11 resulted into Global War against terrorism despite acts of these terrors having been witnessed in other nation-states such as simultaneous attacks of US embassies in Dar el Salaam, Tanzania and Nairobi, Kenya due to US role in global peace and security. This fundamentally raises security questions between the core and peripheral nations. George Bush regime put deliberate legislations and strategies such, National Security Strategy of 2003 which emphasize unilateral approach in its national interest which justified the war in Iraq Invasion as integral part of GwoT (Crenshaw 2006). Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004 which empower security apparatus to preempt such similar attacks was also adopted. Peoples Republic of China on its part amended its criminal law to punish more explicitly 'terrorist crimes' and strengthen its banking law in order to strengthen ant-money laundering and in line with UNSC resolution 1373 of 2001, it also adopted of financing of terrorism and nuclear terrorism conventions, with adoptions of such treaties and conventions a legal framework was set to tame spread of transnational terrorism.

International cooperation plays a pivotal role in countering transnational terrorism, with explicit breeding ground in developing states especially those in African continent. The US government resolutions to combat global threat redirection of diplomatic engagement, East African Counter Terrorism Initiative (E.A.C.T.I) is a key initiative of US to lend support to E. Africa nations with Kenya and Tanzania benefiting greatly

through training and empowering of its security personnel for being soft targets. Through the initiative E. Africa's states received over 100 million U.S dollars, (National Strategy 2003) also I.L.E.A has been set up in Gaborone, Botswana to counter crime especially terrorism also U.S department of treasury set up a unit in the same nation state with the sole main aim of combating money laundering and anti-terrorism financing scheme in Southern Africa. West Africa's states being vulnerable to Islamic terrorism benefitting through Gulf of Guinea Guard initiative whose focus was to beef up maritime security among Guinean countries. (Chau, 2008). The role of US in global fight against terrorism has further given impetus as a super power nation despite the globalization and industrialization giving rise to other states which seek to overshadow her, this is demonstrated through domestication of US patriotic Act of 2002 by various nations.

According to Kimungunyi (2015), AU has taken a broad approach based on a framework of treaties aimed at countering terrorism which include, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) counter-terrorism convention (1999) which was adopted in reaction to the 1998 al Qaida strikes in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, the African Union counterterrorism plan of action (2002) and the AU protocol to the convention (2004). It is vital to note that these treaties entail provisions on extradition, the exchange of information, capacity building, and other elements aimed at strengthening cooperation in the area of counterterrorism in Africa. However, these counter terrorism approaches are reactive in nature, this supports Rosand et al., (2009) observation that most counterterrorism efforts have focused on short-term security and law-enforcement efforts, which have affected longer-term measures to address primary conditions favorable for the increase of terrorist activities. The OAU 1999 charter laid a strong foundation on counterterrorism aspects in regards to Africa nations, the African definition of

‘terrorism’ and its explicit differences with ‘freedom fighters’ sought to protect African nations on neocolonialism threats and aid in legal jurisprudence in international law.

According to the AU protocol treaty terrorism refers to;

“(a) any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of a State Party and which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, or cause serious injury or death to, any person, any number or group of persons or causes or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to:

- (i) intimidate, put in fear, force, coerce or induce any government, body, institution, the general public or any segment thereof, to do or abstain from doing any act, or to adopt or abandon a particular standpoint, or to act according to certain principles; or*
- (ii) Disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the public or to create a public emergency; or*
- (iii) Create general insurrection in a State*

(b) any promotion, sponsoring, contribution to, command, aid, incitement, encouragement, attempt, threat, conspiracy, organizing, or procurement of any person, with the intent to commit any a act referred to in paragraph (a) (i) to (iii)”

Abang (2016) underscore that the entrenchment of AU protocol treaty provided an avenue for Africans to address their grievances in international platforms such as UN general assembly, thus safeguarding political nationalism as many African states were/ are progressing in their democratic governance. Consequently, in the wake of GWT, AU Summit adopted, the Plan of Action on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism (the Plan of Action) which was explicitly to provide a concrete expression to the

commitments and obligations of African countries, to combat terrorism and to enhance their access to appropriate counter-terrorism resources.

The AU Peace and Security Council (PSC) inability to combat transnational terrorism was as a result of scarcity of resources and expertise of counterterrorism, however in 2004 the AU established the African Centre for Study and Research of Terrorism (ACSRT) to specialize on matters relating to terrorism and implementation of the AU counterterrorism programme.

The ACSRT is responsible for organizing functions aimed at improving counterterrorism capacities and cooperation among AU member states. Its core functions include, to educate AU members about the threat of terrorism in Africa, provision of capacity-building assistance as one way of enhancing national and regional capabilities, mechanism creation for all member states to access expert guidance, building of database to facilitate the sharing of intelligence and other terrorism-related information, harmonization and standardization of domestic legal frameworks with the AU and international counterterrorism frameworks; and lastly disseminate counterterrorism research across the continent. However, establishment of such organs have yielded less fruits providing breeding grounds for transnational terrorism across the continent.

The continent through multilateral endeavors has received a sizeable contingent of American troops between 1200 to 1800 troops in 2002 who are stationed in Djibouti who formed Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA). The main task of the joint force is to patrol of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean which had become a target of terror who kidnapped cargo ships and tourists across the beach so as to demand ransom. The troops also provided military training to African counterparts as far anti-terrorism

measures are concerned. Notwithstanding, multilateral role in military intervention and securitization, Millar (2010) underscores the need for paradigm shift in traditional multilateralism to proactive engagement in counterterrorism by focusing on root causes of terrorism, his arguments also support 9/11 commission whose findings proposes urgent steps towards countering radicalization in both developed and developing nation states.

According to Security Council Report (2014), Al-Shabaab has increasingly engaged in asymmetric warfare as a result of the military campaign conducted by the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and the Somali National Army resulting to peace instability in the horn of Africa. Regional organization have played a significant role in counterterrorism, a desire to implement the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in the region, the IGAD Council of Ministers in 2009 adopted two new Conventions, one on Extradition, and the other on MLA. Another further step taken by IGAD in combating terrorism was the adoption of the Security Strategy in 2010. IGAD member States have also ratified the following key legal documents of AU's Counter-Terrorism Initiatives: The 1999 Algiers Convention (the OAU, 1999); Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism; The 2002 AU Plan of Action for the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism in Africa (AU, 2002), and The Algiers 2004 Protocol of 2004(AU, 2004; Wani, 2007; Wesi and Aning, 2006 and Ford, 2011). In addition to acceding to global, regional and sub-regional treaties on counterterrorism, IGAD member states have been introducing legal codes that help them in fighting terrorism and other transnational crimes at national level (CGCC and ISSP, 2012.)

Global communities have successfully instituted deliberate legal and policies to curb transnational terrorism. The top security organ in UN, Security Council has sought to curb misuse of international refugee law by perpetrators terror attacks in its resolutions of 1373 (2001) international refugee camps have risen to safe breeding grounds of terror with concern states facing a dilemma on its national security and its international obligation in international law and international humanitarian law .Despite existence of transnational terrorism prior 9/11 state actors never prioritize in its securitization strategies, its only after 9/11when it gained global attention.In its research Global Terrorism index (2015) noted that state actors has progressively funded counterterrorism measures as compared to other crimes such as homicide and violence despite having recorded high cases. However, literatures in counter terrorism have not paid special attention to role of non-state actors in counterterrorism measures despite its existence prior to 9/11 this lends to the arguments Buzan (2003) on securitization strategies in which states bestowed upon themselves in determination of threats in within the state.

2.5 Kenya's Hospitality and its threats from Transnational Terrorism.

Tourism and hospitality industry is a vital part of Kenya's economy. In 2014, Tourism and hospitality industry contributed 4.1% of Kenya's GDP and 3.5 % of total employment (Travel and Tourism 2015). Valle & Yobesia (2009) argue that tourism and hospitality represent a cheaper alternative for diversification of the economy, particularly considering the country's competitive advantage in terms of environmental attraction suitable for nature tourism, together with the abundance of labor. Kenya's independence in 1963 forced Jomo Kenyatta's administration to go back to drawing board in order to sustain its socio-economic developments. Tourism and hospitality

were cited as one of major contributors of GDP in order to maintain colonial expertise; government introduced favorable fiscal policies for capital investments (Kamau, 1999).

These policies encouraged multinational co-operations to venture into hospitality industry thus aiding FDI making Kenya a vibrant investment State. Through such initiative hotels such as Intercontinental, Hilton hotel in Nairobi and Diani beach in Mombasa were established. As way to promote its tourism globally international tour operators such as Hayes and Jaris were also contracted (Mbiyu, 2014)

Kenya's aspiration to improve her economic to a double-digit economy entrusted tourism and hospitality investment in its economic planning for her economic recovery strategy and wealth and employment especially on the wave of regime change from colonial regime to African's centred leadership, this resonate with Irandu&Shah (2016) research who argues that the main aim was to market Kenya's cultural heritage across the globe.

The tourism sector generally and hospitality in particular is intrinsically vulnerable to disaster and crisis conditions (Sonmez et al., 1999). Sonmez & Sirakay (2002) on their part argue that in developing countries, safety is one of the factors that contribute to the development of tourism this has caused alarm as destinations prone to war, terror attacks or political instability deterred potential tourists from visiting due to perceived levels of risks.

Tourism and hospitality in Kenya have faced numerous challenges such as political instability, poaching and terrorism. Hospitality industry in Kenya has become a target of transnational terrorism since 1980s, Norfolk hotel attack which was linked to Popular Front for Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) was perceived to be directed to Israel and its

nationals, over Israel role in Palestinian conflicts especially for its logistical facilitation during the rescue exercise in Uganda during Amin reign, (Bundotich 2013)

The 1998 US embassy bombing by Al Qaeda tarnished the image of Kenya as a favorable tourist destination resulting to travel advisories subsequently reducing the number of influxes of tourist at alarming rate. Though, Kenya cried foul over travel advisories from western nations especially from US who was the main target, Smith (2010) argues that the simultaneous US embassy attack in Tanzania and Kenya was not only limited to transnational terrorism goals but also US influence in the continent in terms of trade and development with US being a major trading partner to two states. However, many scholars have disagreed with his arguments as Kenya and Tanzania were just a soft targets of transnational terrorism as the attacks were being directed towards US nationals and premises over their role in Gulf War.

Kuto & Groves (2004) noted that 9/11 incident alone resulted to Kenya's loss of an estimated amount of over 128 million U.S dollars per week, 500,000 direct jobs and 2.5 million indirect jobs being lost. GWT impact in 2002 on developing countries resulted into economic decline as international visitors became cautious on their safety. In May 2003 US and Britain issued a travel warning citing intelligence of plan to attack Britons and Americans this reduced influx of tourist by more than 20% as other states such as Germany, France, Belgium and Australia cautioned its citizens. A study conducted by ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kenya in 2004 on the impact of travel bans on tourism in country estimated that the direct impact of the travel ban imposed by US government alone amounted to 108 million US dollars with hotel occupancy recording lowest rate. Air industry faced similar fate as British Airways suspended its flight for a month. Kenya government market itself as a safe destination for tourist aftermath 9/11 citing terrorism as global threat to both developed and developing nations

The attack on the famous Paradise hotel by Al Qaeda terror group which was hosting Israeli tourists clearly shows hospitality vulnerability. With such attacks travel advisories are issued by various states. The increase in insurgency of Alshabaab terror group in Somalia republic has caused instability within the region, Kenya being a gateway to the East African region has become a main target of Alshabaab, it has perpetrated numerous attacks directly targeting tourists ranging from kidnapping and bombing of tourist points.

The Westgate mall attack in Nairobi City in September 23rd 2013 led to a decline in tourist earnings by 15.8% (Kenya Tourist Report, 2014) as Kenya has depended heavily on U.K, Australia and US tourists who issued travel advisories as some of its nationals died among the 16 international visitors who perished during the attack. The tourism and hospitality sector in the coastal city were also affected greatly as tourists fled for their safety leaving residents who entirely depended on international tourists as a source of their income after Alshabaab carried out an attack in Mpeketoni, Lamu County killing 60 people. This attack affected regional integration as one of the major regional projects, LAPSSET project worth 25.5 million U.S dollars in Lamu town came to a standstill due to insecurity threats from Alshabaab especially on Chinese contractors who had become a major client to Kenya's hospitality.

Garissa University College attack on 2nd April 2015 which massacred over 147 people mostly Christian students was perceived as a retaliatory attack towards Kenya's role in Somalia. This attack led to a decline in tourist revenue as many tourists cancelled their bookings, coastal towns recorded the highest number of cancellations. In its assessment, the World Travel and Tourism Council established that concurrent attacks in Garissa and Lamu resulted in the cancellation of multiple commercial and charter flights from Europe to Kenya, World Bank (2016), cancellations of charter flights from Europe alone in

2015, led to closure of at least 23 hotels and retrenchment of workers of more than 30,000, (Galgalo 2015).

The role of “CNN effects” on security threats has contributed to almost collapse to the sector for instance American owned media station, CNN described Kenya as a hotbed of terror towards US President Obama historic visit in July 2015 is taken by stakeholders within the industry as marketing strategy to weaken Africa’s economy. Under Kenya’s constitution, 2010, national security and foreign affairs responsibilities fall under jurisdiction of national government, despite its major role in hospitality industry; relevant literatures have not deliberated on county governments with study seeking to engage county governments with the aim of filling relevant literature gaps. The government of Kenya in recent years has been in forefront in promoting domestic tourism; however, scholars within the sector have not dwelt on its economic sustainability.

2.6 Kenya’s Counterterrorism Strategies

Kenya has been a major player in GWOt, with blossoming relationships with main targets of transnational terrorism such as US, Israel and UK. Kenya became a soft target due to its weakness in homeland security. Over the decades the government of Kenya has deliberately put both legal and policy frameworks to reinforce its strategies in countering transnational terrorism with regional cooperation being a vital device.

In 2013, the GoK acting on the increased terror attacks on its territorial sovereignty especially the attack on Westgate mall, Nairobi, it launched a “Nyumba Kumi” community policing with the intention of enabling individuals to recognize and organize their wellbeing, security needs and unite people in the community within the neighborhood, Ngige (2018). This initiative was a blue print of Tanzania ‘Nyumba

Kumi' initiative which had succeeded in promoting safety and security amongst the neighbours. Ngigi (2018) research on Nyumba kumi success on combating crime within the urban centers revealed huge drop in crime due incorporation of the public in policing, however combating organized crime such as terrorism, cyber crime has been futile as reflected in execution of Dusin Tu complex terror attack, Nairobi Kenya in 2019.

In 2014, the government launched "Usalama Watch Policy" a policy which sought to nab illegal aliens who had been blamed for being aiding terror executing attacks over 200 people were deported, majority from Somalia while over 400 being transferred to refugee's camps.

Security has been strengthened in all airports which had become a main target of transnational terrorism with installation of modern security gadgets. In his address to Parliament in 2017, the president noted that the government has increased security personnel in ratio of 1 officer to 380 civilians surpassing U.N recommended standards ratio of 1 officer to 450 civilians. A lot of budgetary resources have been deliberately put in place so as to restore economic stability in Kenya this has allowed enhanced intelligence collection and increased screening at entrance of government premises, business premises and even religious functions.

The government also has carried out numerous security operations whose aim is to mop up illegal immigrants suspected to be involved in youth indoctrination, masterminds of terror attacks. Operation in Boni Forest, Lamu County, Kenya which is being undertaken jointly Kenya Defense Force and National Police Service seeks to flush out Alshaabab militants who have been using forest as their hide out zone. (G.O.K & U.N.D.P, 2015)

The establishment of Anti-terrorism police unit, whose training mainly focus on curbing terror activities has restored hospitality faith on safety of tourism. Kenya's tourists' attraction has been enhanced by establishment of Tourist Police unit whose main focus is on safety and security of tourists, the two wings has played a key role in enhancing border control and surveillance.

Hospitality industry players have put deliberate plans to enhance its security; the installation of modernized security gadgets has bore fruits in enhancement of tourists' security. Its personnel have received basic training on safety.

The government also has put in place various legislations to curb transnational terrorism; Prevention of Terrorism act 2012 which provide stiff penalties on financiers and perpetrators. The proceeds of crime and Anti-Money laundering Act of 2009 which sought to monitor financiers of terrorism. The National Assembly in 2014 passed a controversial, Security Amendment Act of 2014 which sought to empower NPSC and other state agencies to crack whip on persons and media houses in securitization undertakings and also the bill sought to limit number of refugees in Kenya, though the bill received presidential assent the High court declared various clauses unconstitutional as it contradicts right to fair trail, freedoms of media and expression as entrenched in Chapter 4 (The Bill of Rights) in 2010, Constitution. Also the bill suffered a blow on the clause that sought to forcefully repatriate refugees and asylum seekers who had become security threats as it violated Article 33 of 1951 Principle of non-refoulement of U.N Convection on the status of refugees which forms part and parcel of Kenya's constitution under Article 2,(5) and (6). Oluoch (2017) concurs that Kenya has been implementing refugee law(s) however such implementations of such laws are hampered with lack of well developed institutional and legal framework, thus eventually contravenes securitization process as such actions by the state may be

deemed to contravene international law in which Kenya is a signatory, thus to some extent international obligations and expectations hampers fight against transnational terrorism.

The establishment of N.C.T.C in 2008 whose sole aim is to develop counter terrorism policies and also to promote cooperation among other actors in offering training on radicalizations process, over the couple of years the agency has collaborated with African Union, European Union, Government of Denmark U.S and Israel. This has yielded fruits in fight against radicalization process. For instance, the agency collaborated with European Union and Government of Denmark in training Anti-terror Police on how to combat radicalization. (G.O.K and U.N.D.P 2015).The center was empowered by Security Amendment Act of 2014:Clause 40 which emphasize inter-agency approach of National Security Council, Kenya Defense Forces, Directorate of Immigration and NPSC, as consequence the directorate of the centre has the responsible for national counterterrorism efforts which involves detection, deterrence and disruption of terrorism activities through establishment of database to assist law enforcement agencies ,public awareness on terrorism prevention and development of strategies to counter terrorism and radicalization. The government of Kenya as part of its international obligations adopted Prevention of Terrorism Act of 2012 as domestication of the United Nations Security Council prevention of terrorism which among sought to freeze funds and properties of perpetrators and sympathizers of terrorism, stiff visa travel permits on nationals from Somalia, Syria, Yemen, Libya, Iraq and Afghanistan. Despite various legal entrenchments, fight against transnational terrorism has been far from being reality.

The Government of Kenya has signed various bilateral agreements with various state partners in developing anti-terror policies and eradicating terrorism. In 2016, Kenya

government signed a bilateral agreement with Israeli government in which Kenya would benefit from intelligence sharing, in the agreement also Israeli would help Kenya in construction of security wall along Somalia-Kenya border (Daily Nation 6 July 2016). Kenya and U.S have signed bilateral agreement towards sharing of intelligence in order to preempt terror attacks, through the agreement Kenyan Forces have received training from Massachusetts National Guard on Disaster management training this has allowed Kenya's forces to provide humanitarian assistance to victims of terror attacks. Kenya also is one of the top five global recipients of state department Anti-terrorism Assistance (ATA) which supports border and maritime security.

The Kenya government through Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government in 2017 signed a security contract with Telecommunication firm, Safaricom worth 14.9 billion Kenya shillings for construction of communication and surveillance system of NPSC. In the accomplishment of the project all 195 police stations in Nairobi and Mombasa cities which have been prone to terrorists' attacks would be connected to high-speed fourth generation network popularly referred as 4G to ease communication for reinforcement in case of terror ambush. Also ultra-high definition CCTV cameras in both cities are being connected to national command and control centre as the government banks on the system to avert and preempt attacks by providing 24/7 surveillance. (Business Daily, 3rd January 2017). To make other big towns within Kenya safer from transnational terrorism and other forms of organized crimes, the government of Kenya and China Based telecommunication firm, Huawei signed a pact which would see security apparatus in Nakuru, Kisumu and Eldoret towns being equipped with modern communications systems so as to preempt any security threats. (PSCU, 14th May 2017)

Nevertheless, the government of Kenya is facing challenges in countering terrorism. Corrupt malpractices within immigration departments and National Police Service have allowed aliens especially from Somali to smuggle sophisticated weapons for executions of attacks, in 2015 two terrorists were captured with 130 pounds of ammunition within Nairobi city (May 4 2015 Standard Newspaper)

2.7 Theoretical Framework of the Study

This research employed the securitization theory of international relations which would be complemented by Instrumental theory of terrorism.

Securitization theory emerged in 1990s on the eve of US hegemony and it has become a critical approach towards security studies. It is embedded on Copenhagen School of Security Studies which conceptualizes security as a process of social construction of threats which involves securitizing actor mostly the political actors who at any time declare certain matter as security threat and legitimize extraordinary measures for neutralization of the threat. It was first coined by writings of Ole Waever: *Security; A new framework for analysis (Buzan, et al 1998)* which has been regarded as the key foundation of securitization studies. Buzan et al., (1998) argued that securitization is an inter-subjective establishment of an existential threat which demands urgent and immediate attention as well as the use of extraordinary measures to counter the threat.

Buzan et al., (1998) viewed securitization as an extreme politicization discourse, however all the proponents of this theory agree that the term 'securitization' lies on how people or policy makers view and deal with threats for instance transnational terrorism has been considered a threat to a national security and the government have taken huge measures such as 'operation linda nchi', 'usalama watch', increased

purchase of weapons to curb it despite existence of other crimes such as corruption, robbers.

The priority that is given to transnational terrorists is reflected in counter terrorism, security sector reforms, diversion of developmental budgetary allocation to security organs, proactive legal and policy frameworks as one way combating the threat.

This theory has its own shortcomings; Securitization theory is still embedded on traditional set up of security, where determination of threats is the sole responsibility of the state. *'Once man's terrorist as another man's freedom fighter'* dilemma might erupt as some people within the states view transnational terrorists as political liberators. However, despite the shortcomings securitization theory is a key theory that explains impact of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry as the government is keen on protecting key pillars of economic, hospitality industries being a key contributor to Kenya's economy and its legitimization on the use of force against transnational terrorism demonstrate the sole determination of state in dealing with threats or perceived threats.

Instrumental theory of terrorism on its part treats terrorism as a deliberate choice to achieve political goals. Its major proponents are Crenshaw Martha and David Long. Proponents of this theory treats terrorists as rational and conscious beings who perpetrate acts of terrorism on calculations on the benefits or value hence the success of any of terror organization according to this theory is by accomplishing its political ends and not to engage in a military warfare. For instance if a terrorist organization goals is nationalistic separation, its success is measure by achievement of an independent state, however, due to how its rival, the State is empowered militarily few terrorist organizations achieve its goals.

Crenshaw (1998) suggest that terrorism survives because terrorists' organizations achieve their tactical aims such as publicity and recognition hence influencing political policies this also is supported by numerous political changes that terror organizations have push despite their failure to achieve its political goals. Proponents of instrumental theory treats survival of any terror group as a success as it is able to survive from destruction by powerful state through use of tactics such as widespread recognition and utilization of propaganda hence achievements of such intermediary goals reflect attainment of political goals.

The Instrumental Theory of Terrorism is suitable to complement the main theory as it captures the motive behind attack on hospitality industries especially those hosting international terrorists as one way to gain political publicity. It also explains motives behind transnational terrorists' attack hospitality industry which is economic bedrock of government and major contributor of Kenya's GDP as the best way of forcing government/governments to change its policies in favors of its objectives.

2.8 Summary of Critical Research Views in Literature

Tourism has become a global leisure activity and this has been driven by human curiosity to learn more about fauna and flora and also to get insights of diverse cultures cross cutting the globe. The adoption of favorable modernized transport especially air transport has increased levels of international travels within tourists' attraction sites necessitating rise of hospitality industry due to high influx of international tourists thus making the industry a key pillar to any state's economy.

The rise of transnational terrorism, whose sole aim, is to achieve political goals by attacking international tourists with the aim of seeking audience with its adversaries had brought devastating effects on the hospitality industry,Diriye, (2015) International

visitors put safety and security as a priority, transnational terrorism has demonstrated beyond doubts that it targets both developing and developed nations, though any executed attack in developing nations seems to target developed nations either by targeting its citizens or its foreign direct investments such as hotels. In their research, the ministry of foreign affairs (2004); World Bank (2016) cited cancellations of charter flights from western Europe as a major predicament within the sector with its effects splitting over to the entire economy.

The global war against terrorism resolutions in 2002 sought to address fundamentalists' extremists who had taken advantage of vulnerability of developing nations to spread its actions by radicalizing youths across all religions especially in E. Africa with states within the region diversing its diplomatic engagements to more focus on regional peace and stability, Chumba, (2016).

Kenya entirely depend on U.S and Britain to sustain its socio-economic goals either through aid or F.D.I. The region also has several tourists' attraction such as savannah, beaches and natural forest, Kenya Tourist Report, (2014) this has made the country attracted thus making one of the pillars of country's GDP. However, political instability and transnational terrorism has been a great threat to a booming tourism and hospitality industry with globalization and efficient communication on such threats being felt by potential travelers resulting to huge decline of tourists' influx in the country.

The low influx of tourism has directly affected hospitality industry in Kenya leading to low occupancy rate and lay-off of workers as their services had become redundant, locals' business persons suffering loss and country's GDP remaining unstable due to huge decline in tourism revenue, Mohammed, (2018).

It's vital to note that there are gaps in literature, the government in the recent past has promoted domestic tourism as one way to mitigate the sector its success remain unknown as it has not been replicated in hospitality industry and lastly no substantive literature has been put forward on the effect of travel advisories from western powers on domestic tourism.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

Kothari, (2004) cited that research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with relevance in procedure. It is a procedure for collecting, analyzing, and reporting research in quantitative and qualitative form (Creswell, 2012).

3.1 Design of the Study

Research Design is a general plan that provides a framework for choice of data collection and data analysis techniques (Bryman & Bell 2007). This study adopted a descriptive design to analyse impact of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry in Kenya. This design was significant because it provided an in-depth examination of the phenomena of the study through ascertaining attitudes, values and opinions. The adoption of descriptive design was significant as it allowed mixed research methodology that combine elements of qualitative and quantitative methods.

Byrman, (2013) emphasize that mixed methodology is vital in areas which researchers collect, analyze and integrate both qualitative and quantitative in of addressing research questions. The philosophical rationale that compels mixing of qualitative and quantitative models of research into a single study is pragmatism, which supports researchers in choosing between different models of inquiry as research questions being addressed intrinsically determine which methods are best suited (Morgan, 2007). The pragmatic philosophy underpinning this study allowed for a systematic application of appropriate qualitative and quantitative methods utilizing convergence triangulation design strategy.

3.2 Research Study Area

The research study was based in Mombasa County which hosts over 150 internationally standardized hotels and a variety of tours guides. It is one of the counties in Kenya, situated in the south eastern part of Coastal Regional, Kenya covering an area of 229.7 square km, excluding water mass of 65 square km. It borders Kilifi County to the north, Kwale County to the south west and Indian Ocean to the East. The county is administratively and politically subdivided into six sub-counties/constituencies which are Kisauni, Chagamwe, Jomvu, Nyali, Likoni and Mvita. Its population as per 2009 KNBS national household census is 939,370.

This study area was chosen as it hosts a number of international resorts and is a preferred tourism destination for both the locals and non-locals. In addition, the hospitality industry within the County in the recent years has experienced a number of attacks perpetrated by transnational terrorists. The choice of this study area is based on the consideration of the fact that so far, no study similar to the one that is under investigation has been done in the county in the recent past particularly in the wake of devolution.

3.3. Target Population of the Study

According to Gall (2006), target population refers to set of people, events or objects the researcher wishes to generalize in the results of the research. Mombasa county hosts over 150 luxurious hoteliers, out of which 16 have been rated to star criterion by Tourism Regulatory Authority in National Classification Register 2015-2018, it hosts closely 100 tour guides operators. The target population included management hotels industry within star-ratings category or those hoteliers awaiting star rating as provided by Tourism Regulatory Authority, tour guides, officials from ministry of tourism, County government of Mombasa; Department of Tourism and Culture, Kenya

Association Hotelkeepers and Caterers, Coast Chapter, Kenya Tourist Federation, Mombasa County security committee, Security scholars and Kenya Association of Tour Operators, Coast branch.

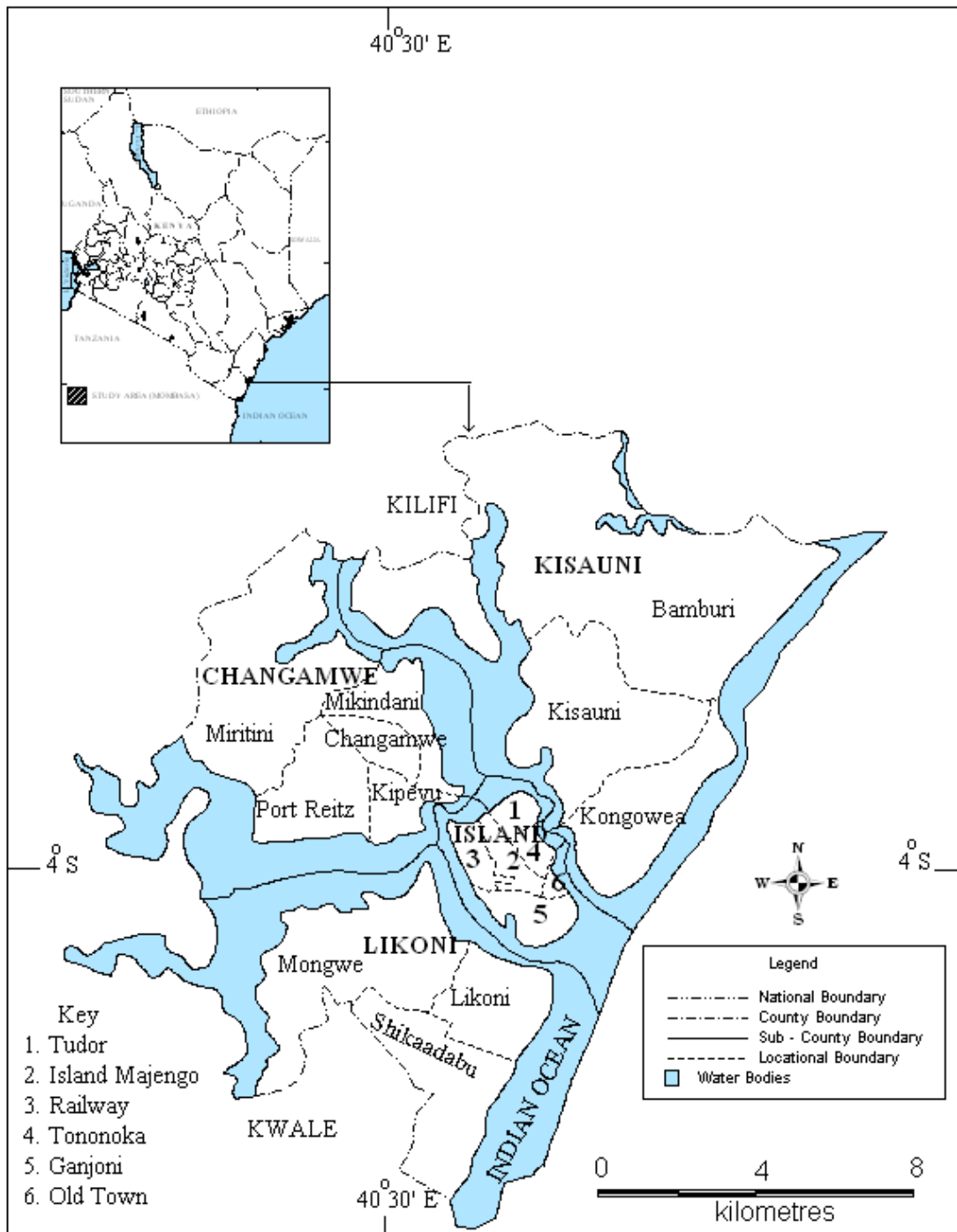


Figure 3.1: Mombasa County Administrative Map.

Source: GIS lab, Moi University

3.4 Sampling Design Techniques

The researcher employed non- probability sampling. Non-probability sampling is a sampling procedure that does not afford any basis for estimating the probability that each item in the population has of being included in the sample. The researcher settled on non-probability sampling design because the study is based on judgmental inference of the researcher guided by their aims.

The study utilized non-probability of both purposive and snowball sampling techniques. In purposive design, items in the study are selected deliberately by the researcher for the study (Kothari, 2004). Snowballing sampling was useful due to sensitivity of nature of the study hence knowledge of the insiders is required so as to locate the participants especially those in the state security departments. Purposive sampling was used to collecting data in hotels, tour guides operators and its relevant association, and on the other hand snowball sampling technique was utilized in collection of data amongst security experts both in academia and in government.

3.5 Sampling Size

According to Creswell's (1998), sample size ranges are a little different and are determined by the researchers' judgement to him he recommends between five and twenty-five interviews. The researcher was driven by certain specific objective concerning counterterrorism measures which makes the sample size to be small and optimum. An optimum sample is one which fulfills the requirements of efficiency, representativeness, reliability and flexibility. This was influenced by the desire to get a good precision and acceptable confidence level for the estimate.

All the respondents in this study are selected either because they are officials from ministry of tourism, County government of Mombasa, other stakeholders in hospitality

industry including Chief Executive Officers or its equivalent in hotels within star-ratings category as set out by Tourism Regulatory Authority, Kenya and EAC classification criterion and assessments policies; managing directors of tour guides and Kenya Association of Hotelkeepers and Caterers, Coast chapter officials Kenya Association of Tour Operators, Coastal branch, Kenya Tourists Federation or security personnel or security experts in institutions of higher learning with distinguish expertise in security and international relations and members of government security committee.

According to Kothari (1999), a sample size between 10% and 20% of the population is considered adequate for the study. On this strength the research would use 40% of the population to give a sample size of 46 as shown in table 1

Table 3.1: Sample Size of the Study

The target population and sampled size is represented below;

Target Population	Total Number	Sampled Size
Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife (heads of departments and other employees)	10	2
County of Government of Mombasa, Department of tourism Culture and sports (heads of departments and other employees)	10	2
Chief Executives of Hotels within *criterion	20	10
Managing Directors of Tour and Travel Agents	50	20
Kenya Tourist Federation (Coast Chapter)	5	2
Kenya Association of Tour Operators, Coast Branch	5	2
Kenya Association of Hotelkeepers and Caterers officials, Coast Chapter	5	2
Security Experts/Scholars	10	5
Government Security Personnel (Focused Group Discussion of 5)	1	1
TOTAL	116	46

3.6 Data Collection Methods

The study utilized both primary and secondary methods of data collection. Primary data was obtained through interactions of respondents using self-administered questionnaires surveys and in-depth interview guide, focus group discussions, secondary data were sourced from books, journals, thesis dissertations, newspapers and internet however it was subjected to content analysis.

3.7 Data Collection Instruments

3.7.1 Questionnaire

The research used questionnaire as one of the data collection instruments. The tool was semi-structured to encompass the characteristics of the respondents and second part structured to achieve the objective of the study. The questionnaires were used to obtain data from the ministry of tourism, county government, hoteliers and tour operators. The questionnaire produced both quantitative and qualitative data. The strength of the tool was that it allowed the researcher to control and focus the responses to the research objectives thus enhancing relevancy of the data collected.

3.7.2 Interview Schedule and Focus Group Discussion Guide.

The interview guide was used to collect qualitative data from key informants of the study. The key informants of the study included five security scholars whereas focus group discussion was undertaken amongst five government personnel in the security sector. Face to face interview between the researcher and the informants and use of open-ended interview questions were applied. The technique was advantageous by fact that the key informants provided more emphasis on key issues touching on the study.

3.7.3 Document Analysis

Various published documents such as government reports, thesis dissertations, scholarly research on transnational terrorism and its impact on the hospitality industry in Kenya was utilized.

3.8 Data Collection Procedures

The researcher sought authority from the relevant agencies before collecting data. Questionnaires were issued to respondents randomly upon establishing that they had the characteristics required by the study. Face to face interviews and focus group discussion with respondents were conducted after making prior appointments with relevant respondents.

3.9 Validity and reliability of research instruments

Validity is the measure of degree to which the research instrument measures what is supposed to be measured. Validity is established by experts' judgment (Gay, 1992). According to Bryman (2012), the usual procedure in accessing content validity of a measure is to use a professional or expert in a particular field. To verify the validity of the instrument to be used in the study, the opinion of experts was sought. The instruments were presented to thesis supervisors and other academic scholars in the field of international security who are conversant in the area of study and their inputs were incorporated.

Reliability refers to the consistency of the scores obtained, how consistent they are for each individual from one administration of an instrument to another (Kombo & Tromp, 2009). A reliable instrument will constantly produce the expected results when used more than once to collect data from samples randomly drawn from the same population. . So as to achieve reliability, a pilot study was done in selected 5-star hotels in Nairobi

city, while a pilot interview was administered to few International Relations/Security Scholars. To test internal reliability, the researcher used the technique which involves splitting statements of a test into two halves, the odd and even items, (Mugenda & Mugenda 2003). The major advantage of split half technique is that it eliminates chances of error due to different test conditions. To achieve external reliability, a test-retest method was used; this method involves giving participants the same questionnaire on two separate occasions before the actual research, this would allow relevant modifications before the actual instruments are distributed to the sample. A reliable coefficient was calculated using the Pearson's product correlation formula. The research instrument was accepted as it yielded a coefficient of 0.8

3.10 Data Analysis

The Data processing and analysis was carried out in accordance with the objectives of the study. This was important because it provided an insight for ensuring that all relevant data for each objective was available. The data analysis was done through the use of descriptive statistics with the aid of SPSS and findings were presented by use of tables and frequencies. The secondary data and qualitative data were subjected to critical content analysis with aid of grounded theory; quantitative data was edited for the purpose of ensuring completeness, uniformity and accuracy of filled questionnaires before being analyzed descriptively with the aid of Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS Version 20).

3.11 Limitations

Transnational terrorism remains a sensitive issue across Kenya's social-political spectrum, the researcher faced number of limitations especially in accessing relevant information from various government agencies due to the sensitivity of the research

subject. Ability to get respondents willing to be interviewed and those willing to fill the questionnaire was also a huge challenge as may felt revealing so much information on the research subject might jeopardize the security situation. However secondary data especially government reports, thesis from recognized institutions heavily complemented the primary data.

3.12 Ethical Considerations

The research observed social science ethical research, respondents' right to privacy was protected assuring confidentiality that data would not be shared with the unauthorized persons. The researcher also informed the respondents through telephone and electronic mails prior to day of conducting the actual research detailing the purpose of the research. An authority was sought from National Council for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) and ministry of interior and coordination of national government and ministry of education, with a forward letter from the university.

3.12.1 Response Rate.

A total of 40 questionnaires were distributed for the sake of collecting primary data for the study, out of this only 37 were returned, with 5 being rejected due to incomplete information, leaving 32 fit for analysis representing 80% response rate, which included 20 male and 12 female representing 62.5% and 37.5% respectively. Respondents from interview schedule and focus group discussion yielded 100% response rate.

3.12.2 Conclusion of the Chapter

This chapter discussed the research methods which included research design, sampling techniques, target population, sample size and methods of data collection which included questionnaires and interview schedule, reliability and validity of the data collected, methods of data analysis, challenges encountered during the study, response

rate of data collection instruments and ethical considerations of the research study.

The next chapter will be discussing and presenting the data analyzed guided by the research objectives.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PRONENESS OF HOSPITALITY INDUSTRY TO TRANSNATIONAL TERROR ATTACK

4.0. Introduction

This chapter seeks to analyse, interpret, discuss and present the findings of the study with reference to the hospitality industry and its relations to transnational terrorism. Hospitality is a broad concept which includes facilities used for accommodations, lodgings, recreations, entertainment, clubs and travel agencies, globally contributing to economy due to its diversified goods and services. According to Walker (2010) the hospitality industry is the largest growing industry especially with high technological advancement and increased enthusiasm in discovery, this has allowed people to travel to various places.

Globally 9/11 created a domino effect to the global economy and hospitality at large with popular hotels and airlines being key targets raising an alarm on the safety of the population(s), this was too perceived as an asymmetrical nature of terrorism especially Al Qaida which had issued *fatwa* against Americans and its interest as it was no longer attainable to perpetrate terror on government offices such as embassies due to enhanced security after simultaneous attack of US embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. 9/11 incident had a global economic impact, Americans and its allies on their part suffered from terror phobia creating a paradoxical dilemma as on the need to be worried of individual security and the need to combat terror as a global phenomenon, however this attracted high level cooperation resulting to global war against terrorism.

Transnational terrorism has become a thorn in flesh to many governments and international agencies, with eradicating it far from reality, the rise of 'Arab springs and the entrenchment of Boko Harams and Alshaabab ideals to many African youths has

increased attacks to various aspects of economy, *inter alia* transport, education, tourism and hospitality and even production. Kenya as a gateway to horn of Africa and East Africa region has suffered from its fair share of transnational terrorism with main targets directed to its transport, education, and hospitality sectors raising a fundamental academic question on its subsequent nature and motives of transnational terrorism in Kenya. However, the number of recorded attacks being perpetrated by transnational terrorism has recorded significant number against the hospitality industry, as from 1980s Norfolk hotel attacked to latest attack of Dusit hotel complex, 2018 despite an increased multi-agency security personnel, proactive legal and policy framework the sector stills face myriad challenges in combating the vice.

4.1 Operation *Linda Nchi*

The military intervention to Somali in 2012 popularly dubbed ‘Operation Linda Nchi’ was necessitated by Kenya’s increased insecurity threats from Alshaabab, through execution of improvised explosive devices, bombings, kidnappings of government officers and foreign workers and tourists. The Kenya government arrived at this decision in line with her constitution, Article 241 3 (a);

“The Defense Forces are responsible for the defense and protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic”

Momanyi (2015) attested that the sole aim of ‘Operation Linda Nchi’ was to push the Alshaabab terror group from Southern Somalia which had become a threat to Kenya’s tourism industry. Despite enjoying municipal legal backing, ‘Operation Linda Nchi’, was also anchored in international law, UN charter ; Article 53 &54 and relevant agencies such as security council which permits any state to utilize anything within its disposal to tame other states or militia in those states for committing war crimes and

crimes against humanity. This further corroborates with Securitization theory proponents (Buzan B et al., 1998) which asserts that treating something as a security issue is always a matter of choice hence the operation was a culmination of more than 20 unsuccessful attempts by international community to restore political instability, however Kenya has persistently continued to suffer brunt of attacks which target key sectors such as tourism, education, transport as compared to sister nations who are also in the forefront in restoration of peace stabilization in Somali Republic. Oluoch (2017) asserts that Kenya's military intervention reflects the status quo in foreign policy which emphasize on the protection of its sovereignty as well as regional stability, such reactive measures support securitization theory arguments which empowers state as a custodian of peace and security to use extraordinary measures to counter any threat to its territorial sovereignty.

This chapter seeks to provide academic and policy insights discourse and why hospitality industry in Kenya has been prone to transnational terrorism notwithstanding other sectors of the economy.

4.2 Why Hospitality Industry in Kenya are prone to transnational terror attack

The first objective of the study was to examine why the hospitality industry has become prone to transnational terror attacks. The respondents were required to indicate reasons as to why the hospitality industry has become prone to transnational terror attacks. The findings arising from the analysis of responses on this objective are presented in table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Proneness of the hospitality Industry to transnational terror attack

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Is transnational terrorism a threat to Kenya's national security?	32	1.00	.000
Is Hospitality industry in Kenya prone to transnational terrorism attack?	32	1.00	.000
Hospitality industry being Foreign Direct Investment of main targets	32	1.97	.861
Valid N (listwise)	32		

Source: Researcher, 2017

The respondents in this study were asked to give their views as to whether transnational terrorism was a threat to national security. From the quantitative data analyzed, the findings reveal that all were in agreement that transnational terrorism posed greatest threat to national security as shown by the high mean and standard deviation ($M=1.00$; $SD=0$) with majority of the respondents citing sophisticated and asymmetrical mode of operation. This is in agreement with the National police annual crime report of 2017 which puts terrorism with illegal firearms, juvenile gangs in coastal region, and cattle rustling in some parts of North Rift as major security threat. Kones (2017) in his research on national threats and security in Kenya found that terrorism, drug smuggling, corruption and small arms and light weapons proliferation as a major transnational threat in Kenya. This corroborates counter terrorism committee executive findings in 2017 that terrorism acts are threats to international peace and security and no state is invulnerable. According to one of the security scholar '.....*global formulation and adoptions of various treaties and convections against terrorism clearly demonstrate how a threat is, USA for instance adopted homeland security act of 2002 and patriotic*

*act of 2001, United Kingdom on its part adopted terrorism act of 2000. Kenya's government adopted Anti-terrorism act of 2004, Security Act of 2014 demonstrate beyond reasonable doubts how transnational terrorism is a threat*¹ this supports Yussuf (2005) views that threats from terrorism undermines security and stability of a loving peace nations with its threats splitting over to its economy however governments across the global have galvanized efforts to ensure that transnational terrorism doesn't affect the economy which in turns affect the social strata of the people in the affected country, such efforts are demonstrated through government compensation to victims as USA did to businessmen after 9/11 by injecting more than 15 million US dollar bail out, Koroma (2011).

Focus group discussions with security personnel also revealed that indeed transnational terrorism is the greatest threat to Kenya's national security. According to one of the participant ".....*the government of Kenya has drastically improved budgetary allocation year by year to security sector with deliberate aim to tame terrorists attack ,this clearly shows how threat it is.*"² These findings correlates with the findings of Kones, (2017) who notes that terrorism, is a major threat to national and international security as it causes adverse effects on human rights, economic development and democratic institution. It further lends support to the findings by Aas (2007) who argues that transnational terrorists are pervasive and complex than before and new challenges to national security are being created as a result. In the same vein, Wang (2009) also points out that no state has the capability to prevent and contain different types of

¹ Interviewee is a Professor of Political Science specialized in International Relations

² The Focus Group Discussion amongst Mombasa Security County Committee conducted on 17th January 2018

transnational crime, as consequence, transnational terrorism and other transnational crimes have become severe challenges for the entire globe in the 21st Century.

For instance, over the past century, U.S. national security concerns have tended to focus on major threats coming primarily from nation-states. Over time, however, threats and challenges that are transnational in nature have become increasingly integrated into the U.S national security discourse. The most prominent example is transnational terrorism, which, after the attacks on the U.S. on September 11, 2001, was elevated to among the top national security threats to the United States, even further through establishment of a Commission which gave wide resolutions on war against transnational terrorism. Interactions among security personnel and stakeholders in the hospitality industry through observation revealed a lot of security operations manned in towns and hotels with the aim of preempting any attack that may occurred, this is further revealed through number undertakings coordinated by multi-agency unit of National Centre on Counterterrorism (NCTC) with sole aim of securing Kenya. (Ogada 2017)

The study further sought to establish whether the hospitality industry in Kenya particularly in Mombasa County was prone to transnational terrorism attacks. The study findings revealed from the responses collected and analyzed that the hospitality industry was indeed prone to transnational terrorism attacks as shown by the means and standard deviation ($M=1.00$; $SD=0$). This echoes the finding of (Economic Survey GoK, 2015) which notes that Tourism and the hospitality industry at large, which has been one of the foundation blocks of Kenya's economy, and has been adversely affected by the repercussions of transnational terrorism. According to an interviewee who was one of the key informants in this study, the hospitality industry is prone to transnational terrorist attack;

“...the haphazard securitization in developed countries has shifted attacks to booming economic Sectors such as hotels with sole intention to bring down the state’s economy, which has been portrayed recently Kabul Intercontinental hotel, Afghanistan in attacks 2018 and many attacks especially in Africa”³

This clearly raises the asymmetrical nature of terrorists, as corroborated by William & Tibbles (2016) arguments that after 9/11, state machineries globally improved key sectors that were vulnerable to attacks such as airports, diplomatic offices, this eventually shifted focus to other sectors, this is further supported by (Sonmez et al., 1999) findings that transnational terrorism targets tourists in hospitality so as to cause serious crisis in the sector thus gaining political goals which also led a supporting hand to Onuoha (2016) research which noted that hospitality industry across the African continent have attracted people of diverse background through hosting of tourists, investors making it a high value of being soft targets of terrorists. This also supports Abdulahi Abdille⁴ of International Crisis Group who noted that the choice to attack hoteliers especially those of high class such as Dusit hotel complex is meant to gain global attention as is perceived to host national of various countries, with such mission, Abdille noted that presence of three embassies in Dusit complex encourage the masterminds to unleash terror with hope of attracting global attention, this is in cognizance with Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso 2018 attack in which improvised explosive device was directed to France embassy which has been the most safest place in the city due to its enhance security⁵ with sole aim of internationalizing the attack.

Baker & Coulter (2007) on the findings of Bali’s hospitality after an attacked of 2002 found that the entire industry was affected with withdrawal of tour operators, occupancy levels in hotels plunged from average of 75% to 14% this also correlates with World

³ The Interviewer is a security scholar in one of public university in Kenya.

⁴ www.nation.co.ke/news/Why-terrorists-targeted-Nairobi-DusitD

⁵ www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-43257453.

Tourism Organization(2001)⁶ reports on 9/11 findings on hospitality industry, in its report, New York city suffered 60%-70% decreases in occupancy, with luxurious hotels of under 5 star criterion decreasing its occupancy by 20%-30% which resulted to over 260,000 jobs losses.

9/11 incident is estimated to have caused a declined close to 9.9 billion US dollars to travel agents due to lack of international clientele according to its American society of travel agents (Koroma, 2011), lack of international visitors in US after 9/11 had a devastating impact on hospitality of developed countries such Ireland, Mexico and Caribbean over its reliance on US hospitality and tourism unlike her which utilized patriotic nature of Americans to nurture its domestic tourism.

Focus group discussion explored the lapses on safety amongst hospitality industry players, with many stakeholders adopting unsophisticated measures such as metal detectors and lack of training amongst its workers. This resonates with sleuths investigations in Pakistan after Sarova and Marriot hotels attacks in Islamabad, Pakistan in 2014 (Business Recorded News June 2014) and Radisson hotel attack in Mali in 2015 (Chicago Tribune, November 2015). Also a task force constituted in India exposed various security lapses in hotels and malls especially which hosts international visitors, (Time India City, 2015). Although Despite security lapses being a key factor on why the industry is prone to terror attack, a site visit to many hotels revealed the contrary, with collaboration of ministry of tourism and wildlife, hospitality sector has enhanced their safety and clients safety by providing capacity building on security. (Utalii college Annual Report 2014) this is also supported with various institutional reforms in the National Police Service which include the establishment of Kenya Tourists Unit, Kenya

⁶ World Tourism Organization (2001). Tourism after 9/11, Analysis , remedial actions and prospects.

Maritime Authority ⁷One of the interviewer noted that ‘.....*transnational terrorism has penetrated every sector globally, whether core or peripheral nations with sole aim of influencing global politics, perpetrated attacks towards hospitality industry in Kenya is deliberate move to achieve political goals.*’⁸His arguments raise regional security dilemma amongst the nations especially in Horn of Africa and E. Africa region with nations joining hands to combat common enemy, a threat as postulated by Copenhagen school of securitization which demands that any security threat should be firmly dealt and proemptly (Buzan et al., 1998), thus justify a prioritization among various nation states in combating Alshaabab within the E.Africa and Horn of Africa regions.

According to one of the interviewers⁹ hospitality is prone to terror attack due to Kenya’s perception as a favorable destination internationally with US and its ally’s key interest in hospitality industry in Kenya being an additional factor, which underscore Crenshaw (2012) instrumental theory of terrorism which posit utilization of terrorism as a political tool to influence behavior of a state or non-state. Despite transnational terrorism seeking deliberate political goals, its socio-economic impact is of high magnitude as Buigut & Amenda (2015) noted that international terrorism has significantly affected tourists and subsequently affecting Kenya’s earnings, In their study a 1% increase in fatality decreases the arrivals of tourists by about 0.132% suggesting a close to about 157 million Kenya shillings in tourist revenue per unit this also resonates with (Akama, 1999) who observes that terrorism events destroy the brand image of Kenya as one of the best safari destinations in Africa thus affecting the foreign tourism stakeholders such as the tour operators and the travel agencies.

⁷<http://www.kenyapolice.go.ke/2015-09-07-17-41-13/> (accessed on 3 December 2018)

⁸ The Interviewer is a Security Scholar in one of Public Universities in Kenya.

⁹ The Interviewer is a professor of Political Science with expertise in Foreign Policy and Defense.

One of the respondents¹⁰ noted that ‘.....*hospitality industry in Kenya represents diversity of African culture which serves as a major attraction to many westerners as compared to African themselves, this gives terrorists impetuous against the perceived targets*’ Her arguments supports UNDP Report 2017, which noted that influx of tourist to Kenya can be estimated to over 500,000 visitors each year with Europe and the United States of America (USA) contributing significant number due to Kenya’s diverse culture and luxurious hospitality industry. The UNDP Report (2017) further noted that the core purpose of international attacks is to cripple the economy by making Kenya a hostile environment for FDI and international tourist. This is demonstrated by targeting traditional visitors such as Americans, Britons, however the entrance of China to Kenya’s economy has slightly enhanced her hospitality industry though their explorations is business endeavors unlike western visitors.

According to a focus group discussion¹¹ terrorism is a global phenomenon that targets every sector in the economy though it has been perceived by global media to targets Kenya and other developing nations which in thus results to travel warnings. The over extensive media coverage of terror attacks particularly on Kenya's severely tarnished its image. These reports led 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 after Westgate mall attacked in 2013, international tourists used to bring in an estimate of US \$500 million in annual revenue and was losing at least \$1 million everyday due to the decline in tourism, UNWTO (2018). Consequently, paralyzing Kenya's hospitality industry, this is clearly

¹⁰ Interviewer is a security scholar.

¹¹ Focus Group Discussion with Mombasa Security Committee conducted on 17th January 2018.

supports Henderson et al (2010) research findings that any incident of terror can have a devastating impact on hospitality industry and even fall of a government.

Kenya suffered a decrease in tourist arrivals. This had a ripple effect on all sectors of the industry. The cancellation of leisure trips and business conferences were rapidly on the rise. Kenya's reputation plummeted and this led to the loss of its competitive value. Kenya was no longer an option to be considered for vacation or investment. Tourism catered to the employment of 500, 000 Kenyans ranging from tour operators, tour guides, travel agencies, safari driver, dancers, hoteliers, restaurateurs, small business operators to airport and airline personnel. Subsequently, there was a significant increase in unemployment as many Kenyans lost their jobs. Employees that were still employed received salary cuts. For instance, at the Carnivore restaurant; all of the 330 staff had their salaries reduced, including Dunford, the chairman (National Geographic 2010).

An empirical observation by the researcher clearly demonstrate a huge challenge in the hospitality industry especially along the coastal region over threats emanating from transnational terrorism, many hotels and tours operators have shut down their businesses due to decline in international tourists who have been a main targets of terror groups, for instance Ukunda in Kwale county, prior to 9/11 used to host many travel tour agencies according to one of the Managing director of Travel Agencies but due to insecurity in the country especially on the rise of global war against terrorism, a once a booming 'city' of Ukunda is facing an economic decline, financial institutions that had established its branches are closing down their business, famous travel agencies relocated to other places due to clients declined, number of flights to Ukunda airstrip had drastically reduced, with commercial flights rarely seen touching this corroborate Muchai (2003) research which noted that crime and security concerns of both local and

international tourists and any form of insecurity results to alarm amongst locals with foreign missions going an extra mile to issue a travel warnings to its nationals. According to WTO report of 2013 insecurity situation in Kenya remains a major hindrance towards sustainable tourism development in Kenya ranking 135 out of 140 countries globally by the Travel and Tourism Competitive Index on safety and security concerns and the porous borders between countries in the region as well as the extensive coastline make it difficult to accurately monitor and mitigate security threats however this contradicts Hellsten (2017) arguments that security in Kenya especially along coastal line, border and places which are highly populated has been greatly improved due to enhanced intelligence and coordinated operations among security operators.

Hoteliers within classification of star criterion according to one of the key respondents¹² offers luxurious services which heavily attract international visitors, which this argument comprehends Clifton (2012) study which argues that because the hospitality industry has always adhered to a policy of having an open and welcoming atmosphere, its properties has become soft targets. He draws a parallel of the difficulty of protecting a heavily guarded nuclear power plant, to the difficulty of protecting a lightly guarded and open facility, such as a hotel property, this is also reflected in June 2015 Port El Kantaoui Resort in Tunis, Tunisia attacked in which a suicide bomber masquerade himself as a client¹³, an attacked to hotel which was popular to Europeans attracted evacuation of clients with many of international airlines declining to fly due to travel warnings by their respective governments. Hotels fail to succeed in this safety endeavor because they do not employ the most fundamental step of security, which is performing a risk assessment (Clifton, 2012), however as Nyamari (2015) research

¹² Interviewer is the Security expert.

¹³ www.news.com.au/travel/travel-updates/lost-paradise-photos-show-chilling-aftermath-of-beach-resort-massacre/news-story/8d053ee8a2e12483061276602777c880 accessed on 8 dec 2018.

points that hoteliers within 3-5 star had raised their service fees to its clients so as to gather for maximum security on the eve of terror for being attractive to tourists this is in cognizant of Tarlow (2005) arguments that tourists are targeted by terrorists as they are seen as outsiders who represent neo-colonialism and threats to their social norms, traditions and religious convictions.

Empirical observation by the researcher reveals sophisticated security measures in selected hoteliers such as Whitesands Resort, Pride Inn, Mombasa Beach Continental, Sarova, Serene Beach, Voyager Beach and Reef Resorts with proper screening of clients, installation of CCTVs, improved surveillance, wall perimeters erections so as to improve clients' confidence in their security majority being internationals despite national security being under the purview of national government. One of the security expert interviewed¹⁴, supports government of Kenya through Utalii College in providing enhancements courses for management of hotels which seeks to address hotels security in terms of counterterrorism and emergency response, he observed weakness in securing hospitality businesses with many hotels outsourcing security personnel from security firms who end up paying less wages, providing less skills and usage of unsophisticated weapons as compared to transnational terrorists who have advanced in weapons application with many adapting impoverished explosive devices (IED).

According to Kenya Association of Hotel Keepers and Caterers, hospitality industry has been immensely affected by insecurity especially those which emanates from Alshaabab with some of the hoteliers in Mombasa county closing down their business for lack of clients.¹⁵ Transnational terrorism is a vice that greatly affects economic and

¹⁴ Interviewer is the Security expert

¹⁵ www.nation.co.ke/counties/Hotels-shut-doors-in-face-of-dwind accessed on 5 dec 2018.

social life, nations states have to deal with this phenomenon day by day for instance the increased military incursion to Somali according to Kenya Hotels and Caterers Association Terrorism has resulted to business loss with laying off of more than 10,000 workers in 2017¹⁶ due to fear of retaliation attacks.

The first objective further sought to establish the repercussion of transnational terrorism in Kenya. As revealed by the mean and standard deviation (M=1.97; SD=0.861), majority of the respondents were of the view that foreign direct investment to the country had been adversely affected as a result of transnational terrorism. This also complements an interviewer's views, according to him *'...major hoteliers and even businesses which have been attacked by transnational terrorists are majorly owned by westerners, Americans and its keys allies such as Israelites. Kikambala attack of 2002 and Westgate mall of 2012 is said to have been owned by Israelites, any attack to any foreign investment eventually causes general fear amongst foreign investors.'*¹⁷ this also resonate with latest perpetrated attacks across the globe; Intercontinental hotel 2018 in Kabul, Serena attacked in Kabul 2018, Northgate in Afghan in 2016 whose sole aims is to frustrate international investors especially those with origin and interests of USA. Though there is a general concurrence that terrorism is a global threat more so businesses, we have witnessed some situation whereby businesses improved drastically, this is seen as an act of patriotism amongst the citizens as seen in Paris attacked in 2015¹⁸, however, New York City controller estimated the attacks would cost the city's economy 1.7 billion US dollars in lost sales and 1.75 billion US dollars in lost rent by the end of financial year of 2003, (Fawn 2003) notwithstanding high cost of running businesses with insurance companies raising the covers against terror this

¹⁶www.standardmedia.co.ke/business/article/2001238834/20-com accessed on 5 Dec 2018.

¹⁷ Interviewer is a Professor of Political Science.

¹⁸www.express.co.uk/travel/articles/848426/Paris-tourism-terrorist assessed on 5 Dec 2018.

supports Federal Bank of New York estimates reports which an estimated of 33-36 billion dollars loss with airlines and industry suffering a major setback, Bram et al (2003). This finding lends support to that of Abadie & Gardeazabal, (2008) whose survey findings established that terrorism is rated as the most important determinant when deciding whether to invest or not invest in a foreign country.

Transnational terrorism heightened insecurity and the costs of doing business, thereby the incentives for FDI in a specific country are lowered, this is however contrary to industry's players ,according to Kenya's Cabinet Secretary of Tourism and Wildlife Hon.Najib Balala the rate of foreign direct investment is improving especially in regards to hospitality industry with Kenya attracting many investors despite security threats, "...According to '*African Insights Hotel Outlook 2017-2021*' report by audit firm PricewaterhouseCoopers, in the next five years, Kenya is expected to open 13 new hotels, which will add 2,400 guest rooms, increasing the country's hotel capacity by 13 percent,"¹⁹this raises a lot of hope on the resilience of Kenya's hospitality industry and Kenya as the world's most popular tourism destinations thanks to its natural attractions, unique historical and archaeological sites, improved touristic infrastructure and its tradition of hospitality. Kenya Tourism Board opines that the concurrence of international recognized chains of hotels such as Raddisson, Marriot and Best Western to establish its other bases on Kenya soil has demonstrated Kenya's aspiration as team player in FDI and realization of Kenya's commitment to security especially in the Horn of Africa.According to Kenya's National Tourist Strategy 2013-2018 ,the tourism industry has been one of the most important drivers behind Kenya 's economic

¹⁹ www.nation.co.ke/oped/opinion/hospitality-industry-on-the-rise/440808-4786798-imh11z/index.html accessed on 6 Dec 2018.

development in recent decades by reducing unemployment, raising national GDP and improving the country 's balance of payments and attracting foreign investors.

Transnational terrorism seeks to destabilize factors of economy to any state, E. Africa and Horn of Africa is facing security complex due to its vulnerability to terrorism. An attack to the economy results to anarchy, countries or regions that depend heavily on tourism have been found to suffer significant economic losses from the persistence of terrorism attacks, losses that have been documented for the Basque region in Spain, as well as for Austria, Egypt, Greece, India, Israel, Italy, Kenya, and Turkey. Alberto & Gardeazabal (2002). Enders & Sandler (1996) contends that terrorism reduces inflow of foreign investments, this also resonates with Bank of Israel reports which estimated that the country's 2002 GDP was down by between 3 and 3.8 per cent as a result of the second *Intifada*, which began toward the end of 2000.

The initial negative impact on tourism, exports to the Palestinian territories, and construction were magnified as individuals began to translate the persistence of terrorist incidents into perceptions of a long-term decline in their income, and reduced their level of consumption. In some states resilience and disaster preparedness safeguard.

FDI in hospitality industry in Colombia for instance ,tourists boom in recent decades has coincided with increased security and a regular army presence on major highways and tourist hubs, such as the Caribbean city of Cartagena, even though the country's war with leftist guerrillas continues.²⁰Enders, Sandler and Sachsida (2006) investigated the extent of the impacts caused by transnational terrorism against the U.S and how it had affected FDI. They pointed out that some terrorists wanted to negatively impact both the U.S. investors and the U.S. as a whole. 40 percent of all transnational terrorist

²⁰www.bbc.com/news/magazine-33310217 "How Terrorists affect Tourism" accessed on 5 Dec 2018.

attacks in the world targeted American-related interests. A majority of these attacks occurred outside of the U.S. Choi & Powers (2012) examined whether transnational terrorism reduces FDI or not, they investigated 123 developing countries using a time series approach during 1980-2008, they distinguished between business-related and non-business-related terrorism which concluded that business-related terrorist attacks have a negative effect inflow of the FDI, while for the non-business targets there were no effect.

An empirical study by Kinyanjui (2014) using FDI as measured by Net Foreign Direct Investment in US\$ and terrorism as measured by number of terrorist attacks in Kenya during the period 2010-2012 found out that terrorism activities negatively affected FDI in Kenya through a negative effect on confidence. His study is supported by one of the participant of focus group discussion, *'.....immediately after GwoT, the rate of FDI in regards to hospitality reduced drastically especially along the coast as demonstrated with decline in request to license applications which was being coordinated by Mombasa municipal council and national government'*²¹ One of the Interviewer concur with the above observation²² raising an alarm on the rate of which international hotels and travel agencies are pulling out of the businesses despite the country of origin having experienced transnational terrorism, according to the association of operators, Kenya Association of Tour Operators (KATO) the government should waived cost operations of doing business especially when the service is at low, views that were supported by Kenya Association of Hoteliers and Caterers (KAHC) in their petition to the government after many of its members pulled out of business after suffering losses.²³

²¹ Focus Group Discussion with Mombasa County Security Committee conducted on 17th January 2018.

²² Interviewer with Security Scholar

²³ www.youtube.com/watch?v=k5RUT8D0on4

Empirical observation by the researcher also reveals the sudden drop of foreigners running hospitality industry especially after military incursion to Somali in 2011, the main factor according to one of the interviewer ‘...*military incursion towards Somali was necessitated by attacks and kidnapping of international tourists and western community’s interest in safeguarding citizens investment*’²⁴This supports focus group discussion sentiments, that security within the region has been beef up to safeguard key interests of the economy which include provision of conducive environment for investments especially with entrenchment of devolution in the country.²⁵

Majority of the respondents especially those developed from interview rapport agree that hospitality industry especially 5 and 4 star hotels host many international clientele and any successful execution of terror attack would attract a lot of casualties and high personalities across the globe and with the utilization of “CNN effect” as such as the attacked of Paradise Hotel in Kikambala, Kilifi in 2004 and a foiled detonation of Israelite airline in Moi Airport Mombasa by suicide bombers gained a lot global of media attention causing fear and tension amongst tourists resulting to a lot of investment in intelligence with three states being involved; Kenya, U.S and Israel this attention allows survival of transnational terrorism through being given much attention and as a result influencing political policies.

Focus group participants noted that establishment of Kenya Tourist Police, a special unit in National Police Service whose core functions are: to provide security and safety to tourists, investigate tourists related crimes, patrol beaches, hotels and tourists circus and roads used by tourists was conceived with a view of any further averting attacks to the sector this comprehends Hotelseducators.com (2012) which noted that security

²⁴Interviewee is a Security Expert.

²⁵ Focus Group Discussion with Mombasa County Security Committee conducted on 17th January 2018.

threats and easy access of information among potential clients in United Kingdom had affected hotels thus complicating business due to threats emanating from transnational terrorism forcing hoteliers in UK to forge partnership with the police.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter delved into analyzing proneness of hospitality industry to transnational terror attack in Kenya. From the foregoing discussion, it was established that several implications of analyzing the factors that have made the hospitality industry prone to transnational terrorism attacks exist. The information gathered from this chapter can be tailored to suit Kenya in order to revitalize Kenya's ailing tourism industry. This information may also enable Kenya to have a better response rate to possible future attacks, greatly reducing the amount of damage that could otherwise be done. This implies that the hospitality industry in Kenya should expect the worst and should develop a tailored crisis management strategy in case they are not able to counter future terrorist plans. Unless terrorism is viewed as a crisis by the hospitality industry in Kenya, not enough energy and resources will be channeled to its management. These submissions lead to the presentation of findings and discussion of the impact of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry in Kenya, the subject of the next chapter

CHAPTER FIVE

TRANSNATIONAL TERRORISM AND ITS EFFECTS ON HOSPITALITY

INDUSTRY IN KENYA

5.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to explore the impact of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry in Kenya. Kenya's hospitality has heavily faced a terror scourge as from 1980's though the reasons behind these attacks vary. The popular military operation dubbed "Operation Linda Nchi" was necessitated by a sudden drop in influx of international tourists which resulted to a near collapse of hospitality industry in Kenya. As one of the popular global destinations in terms of conferences and excursions as per World Travel and Tourism Council 2009 Reports, Kenya is experiencing negative perception on insecurity situation especially on threats emanating from horn of Africa.

5.2 Transnational Terrorism Attacks in Kenya

The Kenya's constitution 2010, Article 238:1 defined national security as the protection against internal and external threats to Kenya's territorial integrity and sovereignty, its people, their rights, freedoms, property, peace, stability and prosperity and others on national interest. Securitization process in Kenya especially on the eve of GWOt in 2002 has shifted diplomatic engagements from economic aspect to Peace and security base level of engagement as evidently witnessed in Kibaki and Uhuru regimes.

Kenya's hospitality has experienced a number of terrorist attacks since 1970s to date. As mentioned earlier, the first attempt terrorist attack was in 1976, a plot by the Palestinian Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) and the Baader-Meinhof group (Red Army Faction) to shoot down an El Al Israeli civilian plane passenger plane during a scheduled stopover for refueling in Nairobi after the Entebbe raid dubbed 'thunderbolt' (Mogire & Agade, 2011; Wilkinson, 1986). This was thwarted due to

intelligence sharing between the Israelis and Kenyan security apparatus (Aronson, 2013). This was followed by first successful international terrorism attack on Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi by the PLO in 1980 as retaliation against Kenya for allowing Israeli military planes to refuel in Nairobi during their raid to free Israeli hostages at Uganda's Entebbe Airport, in 1976 (Otenyo, 2004). This was after the hijacking of France Airline carrying 248 passengers. The attack resulted in death of 15 people and injuring 80 (Forest & Giroux, 2011; Otenyo, 2004). The bomb was planted by a Moroccan, Qaddura Mohamed Abdul el Hamud a member of the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Palestinian (PFLP) (Oketch, 2001). The Norfolk Hotel in Kenya was choice of target because it was owned by a Jewish family (Otenyo, 2004), this subsequently drew Kenya into the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

The 1998 twin attack on the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania conveyed to the world the presence of al-Qaida operatives in East Africa and the Horn of Africa. The al-Qaeda attack on the US embassies in Tanzania and Kenya were planned during Osama's stay in Sudan. The August 7, 1998, attack resulted in the destruction of property and loss of life of 224 Kenyans and 12 Americans and injured more than 5,000 people (Adan, 2005).

The terrorist attack on the embassies of US in Kenya and Tanzania was revealed during the trial of Jama Ahmed Al-Fadi testimony in 2001. According to his testimony, the embassies were bombed because bin Laden was angry at the US intervention in the civil war in Somalia in the early 1990s (Griset & Mahan, 2003). This attack laid the ground for Kenya's cooperation with international communities in the fight against terrorism. As retribution for Kenya's cooperation with the Western countries and Israel in the fight against international terrorism the Palestinian Army bombed, an Israeli owned Paradise

Hotel along the Kenyan coast in 2002 (Botha, 2013). Two suicide bombers blew the hotel, killing 12 locals, three Israelis and wounding another 80 people (Botha, 2013; Kagwanja, 2006; Krause et al., 2005).

Garissa University College attack on 2nd April 2015 which massacred over 147 people mostly Christian students was perceived as a retaliatory attack towards Kenya's role in Somalia. This attack led to decline of tourist revenue as many tourists cancelled their bookings, coastal towns recorded the highest number of cancellations. International Media houses came under attack for portraying Kenya as unsafe state; American owned media station, Cable News Network, (CNN) described Kenya as a hotbed of terror towards US President Obama historic visit in July 2015. The recent 2018 Dusin hotel complex attack in Nairobi raised a lot of security questions regarding counter terrorism measures and how the scourge can penetrate to Kenya despite high investment in security and intelligence gathering.

The rapid increase of transnational terrorism attacks on Kenya's territorial integrity and sovereignty eventually led to military incursion in Somalia with Kenya citing numerous threats to its territorial integrity and sovereignty, its people and properties and key national interests such as tourism. The legitimization of Alshaabab as a security threat in Kenya triggered political intrigues within Kenya's geopolitical landscape with a section of population feeling victims of war against terrorism this subsequently became a tool of campaign in 2007 general elections with Muslim leaders signing a secret pact of memorandum of understanding with a key political contender in presidential election²⁶. This created religious tensions within the state and geopolitical spectrum with Christians becoming a soft target of attacks as witnessed in Garissa

²⁶ The Standard Newspaper 28th November 2007: "Raila Secret Mou with Muslims Revealed"

university attacked in 2015 and Majengo church attack in Mombasa county ,2015.²⁷ This asserts Crenshaw (2008) instrumental theory of terrorism in which perpetrators of terrorism seeks to achieve socio-economic and political goals across the population spectrum.

Travel advisories from western powers has been treated as a tool of political and economic witchhunt to developing nations as witnessed by IGAD General Summit of 2004 communique which cited western powers interest in the E. Africa region as a source of increased attacks within the region. Such advisories has reduced rate of foreign exchange,foreign direct investment in Kenya.

5.3 Impacts of Transnational Terrorism to Hospitality Industry

The second objective of the study was to examine the impact of transnational terrorism on the hospitality industry. To achieve this objective, respondents were asked to give their views on the impact of transnational terrorism on the hospitality industries. Their responses on quantitative data were analyzed and presented as shown in table 3

Table 5.1: Impacts of transnational terrorism to hospitality industry

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Has transnational terrorism affected hospitality industry?	32	1.00	.000
Has travel advisories affected hospitality industry?	32	1.00	.000
To what extent?	32	1.38	.492
Has transnational terrorism affected Kenya's economy	32	1.00	.000
Has transnational terrorism attacks reduced Foreign Direct Investment in hospitality industry in Kenya?	32	1.00	.000
Has hospitality industry suffered business loss from transnational terrorism attacks?	32	1.00	.000
Emanated through?	32	2.31	.896
Does Transnational Terrorism targets International tourists?	32	1.00	.000
Why?	32	2.34	.701
Valid N (listwise)	32		

Source: Researcher, 2017

²⁷ The Standard Newspaper 11th January 2015: Mombasa church attack leaves official dead

Analysis from table 5.1 above reveal that all the respondents were in agreement that transnational terrorism affects the hospitality industry, this is also in cognizant with one of the respondents views “..... *clearly significant number of attacks recorded in Kenya empirically have both direct and indirect effect on the hospitality industry*”²⁸ Another respondent in the security sector supported this argument “..... *the fundamental function of any state is to protect its economic agents, and with government of Kenya’s deliberate attempts to safeguard hospitality industry has been necessitated by reliable intelligences.*”²⁹ This corroborates Kuto and Groves (2004) findings that Kenya’s hospitality has become an exceptional target of international terrorism due to its geo-political linkages and its economic value to host state. This also further resonates with Diriye (2015) findings that terror incident always has devastating effects on the hospitality industry, a Garissa University College incident itself led to a massive decline in bed night capacity along the coastal region, Nyali International, a 4-star hotel in Mombasa for instance had to diversified to conference clientele and lower its standard so as to lure domestic tourists after its occupancy rate reduced by 80%.

This finding also correlates, Seabra et al..., (2014) in their, study majority of people across the globe considers negative reports much more interesting than positive news, hence any on attack or threat to attack hospitality industry would eventually lead to mass cancellation of visits. Kenya Tourist Federation in its annual report of 2015 estimated a job loss in Kenya of over 40,000 in hotels and entire hospitality on the eve global war against terrorism as many of those intended to visit Kenya on excursion purposes. Many of the stakeholders in hospitality industry agree that hospitality industry is targeted by transnational terrorism as it hosts many tourists’ majority being

²⁸ The Respondent is a Security Expert

²⁹ The Respondent is Member of Mombasa County Security Committee.

nationals from developed countries who are on vacation excursions, such tourists in most cases are major policy makers in the respective states with an attack having severe consequences in their respective states.

According to one of the respondents³⁰ “... *despite transnational terrorism motives not only direct victims but also those in authorities, hospitality industry especially hotels have been a soft target due to its convenience to many citizens from different nation-states and also the overemphasize on traditional approach in securitization strategies such as border patrol, airport screening, government offices have enhanced hospitality’s vulnerabilities.*” This resonates with National Counter Terrorism Centre’s database³¹ with a lot of recorded transnational terrorism attacks targeted hospitality industry with the recent being Dusit hotel complex in Nairobi³², this is also in agreement with Global Terrorism Index (2017) report which revealed an increased number of attacks in form of suicide bombings in hotels and cafes across the Africa.

The study also sought to establish whether travel advisories affect hospitality industry, this is revealed by high means and standard deviations (M=1.00; SD=0). With most respondents agreeing that travel advisories have negative impact on the hospitality industry. One of the responded noted that the proactiveness of diplomatic engagements has been awoken by huge demand to protect its nationals and their interest resulting to recurrent travel advisories and warnings which in thus lead to poor business in hospitality industry.³³ This also cognizant with Sonmez and Graefe view that fear of terrorism has led to anxiety toward destination travel this is further supported by Kenya

³⁰ The Respondent is Security Scholar.

³¹ <http://www.counterterrorism.go.ke>

³² www.nation.co.ke/news/Dusit-attack--Kenyan-response-praised/1056-4941836-118nggi/index.html assessed on 5 march 2018.

³³ The Respondent is a Foreign Relations Expert.

Association of Hotelkeepers and Caterers national chairman Jaideep Vohra official statement which estimated a business loss of 40 billion Kenya shillings in 2014 as a result of travel advisories aftermath of Westgate attack³⁴. Vitisia (2015) research on travel advisories and its impact on tourism in Kenya also revealed great negative impact to the sector especially when a travel advisory is issued by traditional allies such as Britain and United States of America, to her research a travel advisory issued by Britain to her nationals not visit coastal region, Nairobi and former North Eastern Province after Westgate attack led to suspension of Virgin Atlantic Airline flights due to lack of clients and high cost of operation. This also corroborated by economic survey (2018) which puts a significant number of international visitors on those on holiday purposes with traditional visitors such as Americans, Britons and France dominating as shown below;

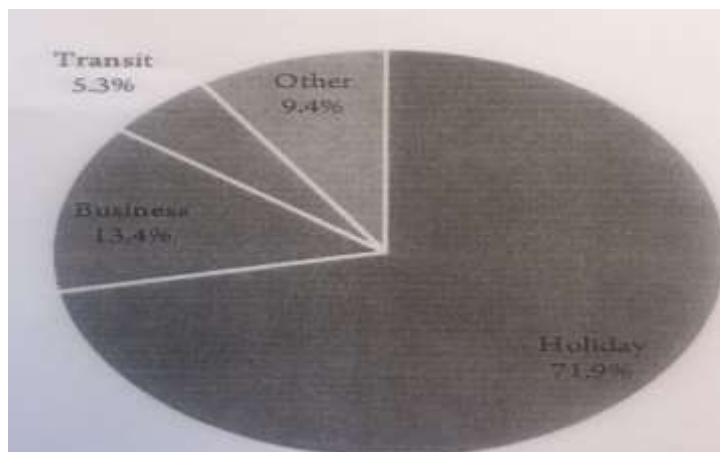


Figure 5.1: Share of International Arrivals

Share of International Arrivals by the purpose of the visit 2016. Source KNBS 2018.

Travel advisories are issued by governments to its citizens as part of their diplomatic responsibility, such advisory or warning has severe impact to the host nation, an Interview with CEO of Kenya Association of Hotels and Caterers Mr. Mike Macharia

³⁴ www.nation.co.ke/news/Tourism-Kenya-Hotels-Travel-Advisorie

with a 'Daily Nation' newspaper in 2014 revealed an enmass cancellation of holiday visits to Kenya with more than 900 international tourists fleeing Kenya due to terror phobia.³⁵ This led to Mombasa city like a ghost town as National Public Radio noted that immediately after travel warning were issued by Britain, United States, Australia and France with more than 25 hotels being closed and over 5,000 hotels being laid off.

The chapter further sought to assess the extent to which transnational terrorism has affected Kenya's economy this is as revealed by the high means and low standard deviations (M=1.00; SD=0) respectively. This however contradicts Kenya's Economic Survey (2018) which revealed a great improvement in tourist revenue despite travel advisories issuance from traditional visitors such as US due to security situation in Kenya, in their findings, tourist and hospitality sector recorded 20.3% rise from 99.7 billion in 2016 to 111.9% billion in terms of revenue, with international visitors and hotel bed occupancy increasing by 8.1% and 11.3 % respectively in 2017. However according to one of the respondent in the security sector "*.....any scourge of terror in the country always have had a devastating impact on the economy, with as a result spill over to the public through loss of jobs, business low returns and reduced government revenue*"³⁶ His arguments resonates with International Relations Scholar in one of the public universities in Kenya who argues that any incident of transnational terrorism recorded in Kenya has always negatively affected the country's economy with hospitality industry being the major causality, citing closure of some hotels in Mombasa, Kilifi and Kwale counties in 2011 after increased kidnapping of tourists and foreign workers by Alshaabab, this further corroborated by Tourism Research Institute report , which found incidents of terrorism, organized crime and electioneering

³⁵ <https://mobile.nation.co.ke/news/Tourism-takes-a-plunge-after-terrorist-threats/1950946-2341576-format-xhtml-naxotuz/index.html>

³⁶ The Respondent is a member of Mombasa County Security Team

period(s) in Kenya as factors that derailed tourism and hospitality sector as an agent of the economy. This is also supported by study by Wesley and Lumumba (2013) on the effect of terrorism on the Nairobi Securities Exchange (NSE) found that terrorist activities significantly lowered stock returns at the Nairobi Securities Exchange market on the day of terrorist attack occurrence

An empirical observation by the researcher also revealed a struggling sector having been hit by transnational terrorism, many hotels and travel agencies recording low income returns with many of tourists choosing other countries such as Tanzania and Botswana as their preferred destination due terror phobia, this resonates with Professor Subhayo³⁷ research study on transnational terrorism and its impact on the economy of Spain and Greece which shows significant reduced of net foreign direct investment in the two nations after terror attacks. A policy brief of United Nations Development Programme; UNDP (2017) on the impact of terrorism and violent extremism on Kenya's economy concluded on its findings that terrorism has a negative effect on Kenya's stock market as it negatively affects transactions processing in the market place and impedes the buying and selling of securities by instilling fear as well as destroying infrastructural facilities.

³⁷ Subhayu Bandyopadhyay is an economist at the Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, and Javed Younas is an associate professor of economics at American University of Sharjah, United Arab Emirates.

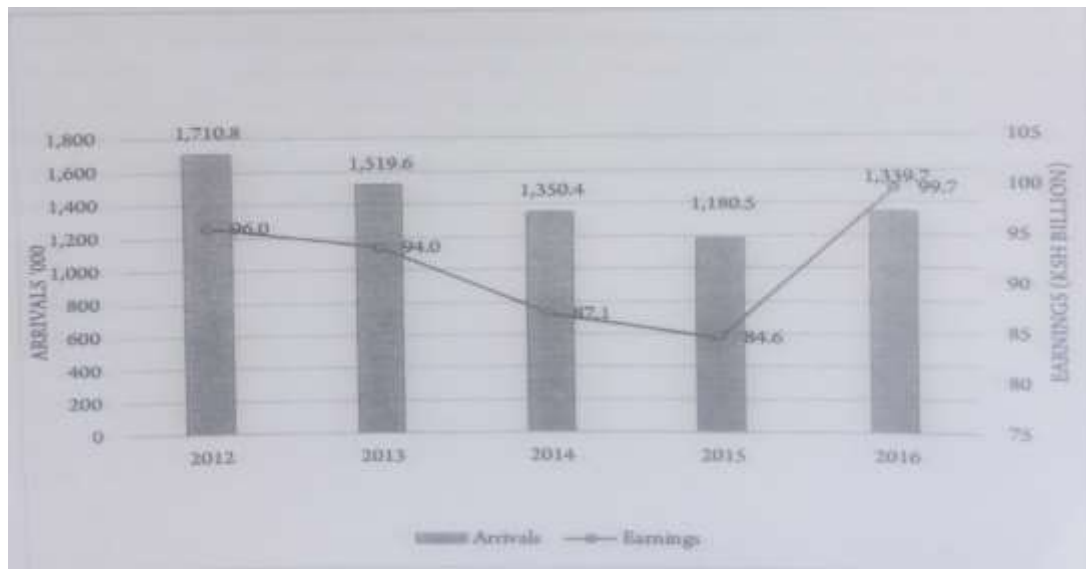


Figure 5.2: International Visitor Arrivals and Tourism Earnings

International Visitor Arrivals and Tourism Earnings, 2012-2016; Source KNBS 2018.

From the above table, it's clear that any attack has devastating effect on a number of international tourists, would eventually impact negatively the hospitality sector. According to Kenya's Economic Survey (2018), incidents of Westgate and Garissa attacks greatly affected level of doing business across the globe. According to one of the respondents³⁸ any event of terrorism demoralizes investor's confidence in the business with some resorting to 'wait and see' policy with some even contemplating quitting the business. This correlates with Globerman & Storer (2019) findings on the level of business between US and Canada after 9/11 in which it recorded significant decline with tourists and business men, terror phobia became a major factor in day-to-day activities.

This chapter further analyze whether transnational terrorism has reduced foreign direct investment in Kenya which is revealed the high means and low standard deviations ($M=1.00$; $SD=0$) respectively with majority of the respondent's citing relocation of global businesses in Kenya to other states. This is supported by Kinyanjui (2014)

³⁸ The Respondent is security scholar in one of the private universities in Kenya.

findings which noted a low rate of foreign direct investment as results of terror attack in Kenya; this further supports Shahbas at el (2013) findings in Pakistan which shows negative results in terms of FDI due to terrorism attacks, Anyanwu (2006) on his study, found that the impact of 9/11 resulted to huge decline in foreign direct investment globally with many developing countries facing hard economic times, his findings is in cognizant with one of the respondent views on Kenya's FDI after transnational terrorism. According to him ".....*Kenya relies heavily on the foreign direct investment with relevant agencies more so the highest apex of executive participating in various global businesses seminars with sole aim of attracting foreign investors, however little has been achieved due to security situation in the horn of Africa*"³⁹, his views are also supported by other findings such as a Eight Young Economists Seminar (2013) findings where they found that on average, if FDI host country increases the number of terrorist attacks towards investor by one standard deviation, there is a decrease in the flow of investment by 14 percent of the average FDI share in a host's GDP. One of the respondents⁴⁰ noted that an attack or a threat to attack one FDI would eventually spill over to other FDI's as investors would adopt wait and see approach, this argument is in cognizant with Kinyanjui (2014) findings which revealed that if one investor experiences an attack, other investors suffer from a negative spillover effect this as further corroborated Enders and Sanders (1996) on their study on the performance of economy of Spain after scourge of terrorism which found that terrorism such as Basque nationalists rose on the national and international platforms by targeting foreign investors in the region with aim of scuttling Spain's economy. Czinkota et al..., (2010)

³⁹ The Respondent is Professor of Political Science.

⁴⁰ The Respondent is a Lecturer of International Security in one of the public universities.

lament that foreign business activities are very attractive due to its impacts to the local economy.

The study also analyzes whether hospitality industry has suffered business loss on threats emanating from transnational terrorism this is revealed by high means and standard deviations ($M=1.00$; $SD=0$), with majority of the respondents citing closure of businesses units such as hotels, travel agencies and unprecedented dismissal of workers as major indicators. This correlates with Mohammed (2018) findings which revealed that transnational terrorism in Kenya has contributed to a large extent to the decline of hospitality businesses as compared with other organized crimes and even political instability, this also corroborated by Mwakio (2017) report that more than 20 hotels have shut down operations due to prolonged electioneering period and security situation in the horn of Africa.

According to one of the respondent in the security sector “.....*evidently there have been an increased cases of insecurity in the region, with intelligence directing at the poor performance of the sector which was an employer to many vulnerable youths across the county.*” This is fully supported by another respondent ⁴¹ to him “.....*transnational terrorism has perfected its attacks globally with main targets being hotels; closure of Marriot hotel in Bali, Indonesia after suffering an attack for instance, heavily affected the Indonesia’s economy with international tourists redirecting to other destinations resulted to massive dismissals.*” This also in cognizant with Omondi (2015) findings which shows that fundamentalism terrorism has contributed to a business loss amongst the 5 star hotels in Nairobi, Kenya, a similar study by Ranabhat (2015), shows a huge decline in hospitality industry in terms insufficient clients in New

⁴¹ The Respondent is International Relations Lecturer.

York, US immediately after 9/11 eventually leading to closure and suspension of some of the businesses such as airlines and hotels and further supported by Onuoha (2016) findings on terrorists attacks in Tunisia and Burkina Faso which negatively affected the economy, with 70 hotels out 600 in Tunisia closing down its operations in 2015 due to low demand of hostels for fear of being attack.

An empirical observation by the researcher also revealed a massive closure of hotels, which were giants in the sector with insiders citing complexity of security situation in Kenya, low returns and high cost of doing business on the eve of GWoT.



One of tourist's excursion sites in one of the 4-star hotels in Mombasa County.

Figure 5.3: Excursion Site

Kenya Association of Hoteliers and Caterers (KAHC) in 2016 organized a multi-agency symposium which involves members of diplomatic corps, national government, county governments, hoteliers and travel agencies which all participants unanimously on the grave threats facing hospitality industry in Kenya with transnational terrorism being a leading factor. However, Kenya's Economic Survey (2018) gives contradictory opinion, giving north coastal counties a success in terms businesses, this however has put the Kenya's hospitality industry in dilemma, with coastal region Executive officer, Mr. Sam Inkwaye raising an alarm on the sustainability of hospitality investors in regards to fight against terrorism. According to an interview with one of the respondent with specialization in international security, hospitality

industry is a complex industry with cannot stand on its own in terms of operational, whenever a disaster erupts which is beyond their jurisdictions the sector suffers a lot, citing 2017 cholera outbreak in Mombasa county which resulted to a significant business loss, his views was in agreement with the focus group discussions with members of the security committee who also noted the complexity of the sector in addressing disaster crisis such as terrorism, citing increased cases of insecurity within the industry despite presence of security personnel across the coastal city.

Baraga (2015) noted that Kenya has persistently reduced in terms of foreign direct investment as compared to her peers such as Uganda and Tanzania with majority of hoteliers pulling out of Kenya in favor of Tanzania due to security situation Kenya with Americans which formed a large component of international visitors to Kenya as per US Department of State in 2018 redirecting their holiday excursions to shores of Zanzibar, this is also in supports by Mutinda (2013) who assert that the hospitality industry is facing immense threats such as organize crime, terrorism and unpredictable political instability which increase insurance cost as also operational manpower. One of the interviewees ⁴² underscored that hospitality industry is financially facing a serious challenge ranging from oppressive tax regime, complex insurable requirements to safeguard its properties in case of any terror or political instability. This however has not affected the entire economy, as it has been demonstrated by the performance of Nairobi Stock Exchange immediately after successful execution of transnational terror⁴³ this resonates Kiptoo (2017) findings on effects of terrorism on performance of Nairobi stock exchange, which found no correlation between terrorism and

⁴² The Interviewee is a security scholar is one of the public universities.

⁴³ www.nation.co.ke/business/NSE-gains-Sh4bn-more-in-second-day-after-attack/996-4940318-tfdda4z/index.html

performance of Nairobi Stock Exchange using Westgate, Lamu and Garissa University transnational terrorism attacks.

The chapter further sought to establish whether transnational terrorism targets international tourists, this is revealed by high means and standard deviations ($M=1.00$; $SD=0$). With majority of the respondents citing international attention and political objectives as the major aims of the attack which corroborate Crenshaw (1987), Instrumental theory of terrorism. This resonates with Bruto and Williams (2013) underscore that military intervention in Somalia was necessitated Kenya's aim to protect its vital interest such as tourism which was on its dead bed after increased attack on tourists along the coastal city of Mombasa and Lamu county this was also complemented by a focus group discussion encountered with security committee whom they emphasized the sophisticated training of Kenya Tourist Police with aim of gaining confidence amongst international tourists who always yield to travel advisories from their respective governments and global media platforms. According to one of the respondents in the focus group discussion⁴⁴ tourism and hospitality is a traditional source of foreign exchange which ought to be protected by the government as its slight destabilization hinders the economic growth, incidents such as terrorism, sophisticated crime and political instability always have a huge impact to the sector. A personal engagement with some of the international tourists who were at the coastal city beaches also revealed the nature of adhering to travel warnings, with one of them⁴⁵ citing the increased intelligence by their states so as to safeguard her citizens..." *Whenever a travel advisory or even travel warning is issued by our embassies against visiting such places or nations , we have no option but to remain within our door steps, as we believe*

⁴⁴ The Respondent is the Deputy County Commissioner in one of the sub counties of Mombasa.

⁴⁵ Tourist from USA.

if our nation could be attacked despite being super power, what about the peripheral nations.....”

5.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this Chapter was to examine the impact of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry in Kenya. In presenting the findings of the study, various key streams of observations are evident. Firstly, Kenya has suffered the brunt of terrorism over the past decade in the hands of Al-Shabaab and Al Qaeda. Secondly, the impact on these transnational terrorist attacks on the hospitality industry has led to a decline in visitor arrivals from a peak of 1.8 million visitors in 2011 to about 1.5 million in 2013 with the figure recording significant downwards on the awake of military intervention in Somalia. Tourism earnings have also dipped significantly as a result. The raids which led to several casualties disrupted Kenya’s tourism sector leading to hotel closers, suspension of airlines, and layoffs. Given the transnational threat of terrorism and terrorist attacks is a growing threat, a more robust understanding of the effectiveness of counter-terrorism strategies need to be developed. The next chapter deals with the effectiveness of counterterrorism strategies on hospitality industry in Kenya.

CHAPTER SIX

COUNTERTERRORISM STRATEGIES ADOPTED IN IN KENYA

6.0 Introduction

This chapter examined the effectiveness of counterterrorism strategies in Kenya more in particularly towards the hospitality sector. Globally counterterrorism involves international formulation of treaties, military cooperation and shared intelligence; however, with lack of agreed definition, thus allowing most of the developing countries to utilized the ‘lacuna’ to suppress their political competitors. However, it’s vital to note countering this scourge especially the fundamentalist nature of it gained international attention on the awake of GwoT in 2002 attracting both soft and hard power. The chapter provides findings and discussions as well as a summary of key findings.

6.1 Counter Terrorism Strategies

Kenya has been a victim of fundamentalists terrorisms, this has awakened securitization reforms and counter terrorism strategies to curb the ever-asymmetrical nature of terrorism. National Police Service in Kenya though established in 1887 has undergone major reforms in terms of training and artillery acquisition with the aim of securing its people and properties. Kenya government in 2016, formulated a national strategy which geared towards promoting and safeguarding her national security with interest of achieving vision 2030 and also as key a partner in the fight against global terrorism. Such resolutions have also elicited sharp reactions from section of political elites and spiritual leaders and human rights defenders

Fight against terrorism was a major item in 2007 general elections in Kenya, with the Islamic religion categorically opposing the then President, Mwai Kibaki a PNU candidate over his government failure to safeguard muslim population, such counter terrorism took political dimension, with the government of the day being alleged to be

executing extra-judicial killings on terror suspects especially along the coastal city, some parts of Nairobi and former central province. Countering terrorism in many instances has conflicted with municipal and international laws especially on the need to protect fundamental human rights, with such instances Prof. Philip Alston a UN rapporteur detailed report pointed an accusing finger to national police service and military personnel for their failure to respect a fundamental universal human rights.

Countering terrorism has attracted huge debate on the need to safeguard state(s) security and the need to respect and upholds fundamental human rights, but with scourge biting more as unexpected, international organizations and nation states has developed more comprehensive counter terrorism measures encompassing both proactive and reactive measures. Kenya's measures can be summarized as follows;

6.1.1 Legislations

The global war against terrorism (GwoT) of 2002 resulted in diverse legal reforms towards Kenya's national security, with GoK domesticating some of the international treaties with sought to fight the vice. Government efforts to join global world in fight against terror resulted to The Suppression of Terrorism Bill of 2003 which was according to some scholars was a blue print of US Patriotic Act of 2002 which sought to extradite suspects of terror though it didn't see the light of the day in the parliament due to its contents which could have led to religious conflicts in Kenya.

The Prevention of Terrorism Bill of 2006 was an escalation of UN resolutions to its member states to prioritize fight against terrorism, the bill sought to empower the minister of internal security to declare any group as an agent of terrorism, due to the political nature in Kenya then, the bill which as being sponsored by the government failed to get requisite number in the parliament.

The Kenya's government has successfully enacted Security Amendment Act of 2014 which established multi-agency security team with the aim of addressing a rising insecurity threats. Proceeds of Crime and Anti-Money Laundering Act of 2010 was also entrenched in her laws so as to tame financiers of terrorism.

6.1.2 National Centre on Counter Terrorism.

Following the 9/11 bombings and subsequent UN actions and resolutions including UN resolutions 1373/01, 1377/01 and 1624/2005 constrained the Kenyan government to adopt counterterrorism strategies that included, legislative reforms, institutional building, trainings and bilateral and multilateral collaboration with like-minded states including the US and UK on the actions(s) this eventually led to the establishment of the centre. The national counter terrorism centre is a multi-agency instrument primarily of security agencies built to strengthen coordination in counter terrorism. The centre was established through security amendment act of 2014 though it has existed prior to through an executive order of a cabinet of 2004 as an advisor to national security advisory committee. The composure of the centre include officers from national police service, military personnel, national intelligence service with the expectations of preempting terror attacks especially over the increased terrorism attacks on Kenya's soil. The core functions of the centre include capacity building in counter terrorism and prevention, development of strategies to counter radicalization and fostering deradicalisation, and coordination amongst government officials in countering violent extremism and radicalization.

6.1.3 Anti-Terrorism Police Unit

The 9/11 incident created huge fear to the perceived soft targets, Kenya's relations with the U.S informed the need to streamline its security agencies on the awake of Al Qaeda issuance of *fatwa* against US and its allies. Kenya began the foundation for counter

terrorism network by establishing a special force of Anti-terrorism police unit which is a section within N.P.S whose functions *inter alia* to preempt terror activities, it was established in 2003 after simultaneous attack in Kikambala hotel and foiled missile attacked in Moi airport in Mombasa County. With the specialized unit on terrorism the government has endeavor to give serious attention to the threats of terrorism. The unit however has been blamed for violating human rights such as detention without trials, homes raiding and mysterious execution of suspects, subsequently the unit has thwarted a number of attacks, Mutahi et al., (2017). In line with Kenya's military cooperation, the unit has received immense support from Kenya's allies such as USA and Israeli in terms of training and military equipments.

6.1.4 Community policing and public engagement in securitization process.

Community based policing has gained roots globally especially on the rise of terrorism and violent extremism for instance after 9/11 US and UK adopted this strategy as one way of mitigating the terror threats. Saferworld (2008) defined community-based policing as a philosophy and organizational strategy which allow the police and the community to work together so as to solve security problem such as crime, disorder issues with the aim of improving the quality and life of everyone in the community.

This model has been adopted in Kenya's security system with the aim of eradicating radicalization, violent extremism. *Nyumba Kumi inniative* for instance seeks to promote safety amongst the neighbors with the aim of fostering peace and tranquility in the country, through public-security coordination. *Usalama watch initiative* is another securitization iniative which was launched in 2014 by the government after attack in Likoni church in Mombasa County and detonation of an explosive in Eastleigh in Nairobi County, this iniative sought to nap illegal migrants residing in the country.

6.1.5 Kenya's Diplomatic Engagement against Terrorism

Kenya has enjoyed cordial relations with many nations, with its latest diplomatic engagement centering on safeguarding its people and its neighbors against the scourge of terrorism. Through such diplomatic endeavors, it has received a sizable support in terms of training of her security personnel, financial support towards stabilization of Somali, acquisition of modern and sophisticated weapons to fight terrorism. Intelligence sharing and gathering amongst Kenya and her sister nations has also been enhanced with the aim of eradicating terrorism across the globe. For instance August 2018, bilateral meeting between Presidents Trump and Uhuru in Washington US heavily centered on fight against terrorism in the East Africa region, and the Horn of Africa, with US providing a commitment for manpower training and weapons acquisition to Kenya Defense Forces who are in the leading front in AMISOM ⁴⁶. Trump administration in its diplomatic endeavours on the African continent, 'connect Africa Programme' has facilitated Kenya in implementation of border control management programme and police-civilian security aid with the aim of eliminating terror groups and violent extremism ⁴⁷. Kenya's and Israeli's engagement resulted to bilateral agreements on immigration, security training ⁴⁸, this clearly demonstrate the globalization of terrorism, with security scholars such as Martha Crenshaw advocating for elimination of ideology as compared to what states are reacting to. Kenya's foreign affairs cabinet secretary, Monica Juma in 2019, underscored Kenya's threats of businesses with super powers such as U.S on the scourge of transnational terrorism. ⁴⁹

⁴⁶ usembassy.gov/joint-statement-from-president-donald-j-trump-and-uhuru-kenyatta. accessed on 31st March 2019.

⁴⁷ Daily Nation, May 8 2019. "Terrorism Biggest Threat to Kenya-US Business Ties, CS Juma

⁴⁸ www.nation.co.ke/news/Uhuru-Kenyatta-Israeli-PM-Netanyahu-sign-security-pacts accessed on 31st march 2019.

⁴⁹ Daily Nation, May 8 2019. "Terrorism Biggest Threat to Kenya-US Business Ties, CS Juma Says"

Pesto (2010) emphasized the utilization of anti-terrorism diplomacy as the vital tool in elimination of terrorism, this is achieved through entrenchment of public diplomacy in foreign engagements which negates terrorism as an outdated human activity. However, in some cases various governments have been forced to enter negotiations with the perpetrators of terrorism especially when they have held its citizens or tourists hostage, such negotiations often make terrorists to achieve political goals and publicity as put forward by the proponents of instrumental theory of terrorism. In such instances the GoK have utilized council of elders in northern region in directly negotiating with the Alshaabab terror group whenever they abducted government officers as reflected in its role in trying to engage Alshaabab when they abducted Cuban doctors who were based in Mandera county.⁵⁰

This chapter would therefore seek to assess effectiveness of such counter terrorism measures in Kenya, paying a particular attention to the hospitality sector.

6.2 Effectiveness of Counterterrorism Strategies on the Hospitality Industry in Kenya

The third objective of this study was to assess the effectiveness of counterterrorism measures in regards to hospitality industry. To achieve this objective, respondents were asked to give their views on the effectiveness of counterterrorism measures undertaken by the hospitality industry in Kenya

⁵⁰ <https://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2019-04-13-somali-elders-in-talks-with-al-shabaab-over-cuban-doctors/> accessed on 9th May 2019.

Table 6.1: Effectiveness of counterterrorism strategies on the hospitality industry in Kenya

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Has government efforts to curb Transnational terrorism improved the performance of hospitality industry?	32	1.19	.397
Are you satisfied with government's investment in Security?	32	1.19	.397
Has National Counter Terrorism Centre done enough to curb spread of Transnational Terrorism in major tourists' site?	32	1.28	.457
Has government and other stakeholders put enough policies to revive tourism and hospitality industry?	32	1.25	.440
Valid N (listwise)	32		
MEAN SCORE		1.23	.422

Source: Researcher, 2017.

Table 4 shows that the average scores for the direct response items on measures undertaken to address counterterrorism show that all the respondents agreed to the items posed to them (M=1.23, SD= 0.422) with respondents agreeing that the government efforts to curb transnational terrorism has improved the performance of hospitality industry M=1.19,SD=0.397,this findings is in cognizant with Mohammed (2018), which underscored government deliberate efforts in safeguarding its vital economic interest such as airports, hotels, and transport sector however this contradicts one's of the respondent views ,according to him⁵¹ the government has focused on the 'the hardware' forgetting 'the software', in this case, the hardware refers to application of military force whereas the software refers to addressing the root causes of terrorism. The focus group discussion with Mombasa security committee also underscored the incooperation of citizens and county governments in securitization endeavors through policies such as '*usalama watch*', '*Nyumbi kumi policy*' county police authority which encompasses leadership of devolve units, representatives of NPS and the locals, this

⁵¹ Mombasa County Security Committee Focus Group Discussions

correlates with Ruteere et al., (2017) propositions that county governments should be legally in cooperated in security operations with an aim of addressing emergent threats such as youths radicalization, banditry, border disputes and fundamentalist terrorism. This chapter also sought to assess whether the government has done enough in investment of security with respondents agreeing that the government has done a lot in investing in security $M=1.19, SD=0.397$. This corroborate with GoK ever increasing annual budgetary allocation to national security since military incursion to Somali in 2011, with the latest 2018/2019 allocation rising to Kshs.142 billion from Kshs.124 billion⁵². According to one of the security scholars “.....*government efforts to achieve its developmental goals would be a pipe dream, if security organs are underfunded especially on the eve of global fight against terrorism, as security remains a greatest pillar to any developmental or investment undertaking*” his arguments supports National Treasury cabinet secretary Henry Rotich in his budget policy statement noted ;” *“Recognizing the importance of security as an enabler for the achievement of our development goals, the Government has continued to implement reforms targeted at supporting our security forces and guaranteeing Kenyans safety”*⁵³ this supports Instrumental theory as postulated by Crenshaw (2017) in which terrorists aims to achieve intended goals by calculating on the benefits from their action, redirection of budget is a classic example of terror success in their political goals. Though the government has investment a lot in national security, the said investments has been dogged with corruption malpractices further giving room to terror activities this raises of suspicions amongst Kenyans. One of the respondents⁵⁴ contended that “.... *national*

⁵² www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001284209/amount-kenya-plans-to-spend-on-national-security accessed on 31st march 2019.

⁵³ 2018/2019 Kenya's Budget statement.

⁵⁴ The respondent is a security scholar in one of the public universities.

security organs operations in an opaque manner with no room for auditing of its expenditure has resulted to misuse of public monies “citing substandard wall in Kenya-Somali border in Garissa despite being allocated huge budgetary allocation in 2015/2016 financial year, however in terms of paper work the national security organs have received huge budgetary allocation, as shown in the table below;

Table 6.2: National Security Kenya Budget 2018/2019 allocations

• Leasing of police vehicles:	9.2 million
• police and prison officers’ medical insurance scheme:	6.5 billion
• enhanced security operations:	Ksh 8.9 billion
• police and military modernization:	Ksh 29.8 billion
• securitizing our borders:	Ksh 3.0 billion

Source: Budgetary Policy Statement, GoK 2018/2019

Okinda (2016) noted that securitization lies on how a group of people uses it and not others thus making a security a social and inter-subjective construction thus justify Kenya’s priority in terms of budgetary allocation to security sector despite facing other challenges such as corruption and droughts.

Focus group engagement also reveals improved disaster and emergent responses due to deliberate government efforts to safeguard Kenya’s people and properties, according to one member of Mombasa county security team, GoK has strategically trains its officers in the security sector and avail modernized facilities to tame terror activities within the country citing public-private partnership between government and telecommunication firm, safaricom in enhancing communication in terror prone areas. An empirical observation by the researcher further ascertains government efforts in investment of securitization; with increased improved and modernized vehicles this also correlates

government efforts in 2017 in which President Kenyatta unveiled 30 APCs, 25 mine-resistant Armoured Personnel Carriers (MRPs), and over 500 vehicles under the police modernization scheme. According President Kenyatta said the equipments will boost the counter-terrorism war and insecurity especially in Baringo, West Pokot, and Bungoma's Mount Elgon region where cases of insecurity were on the rise. In 2018 the N.P.S received sophisticated 3 helicopters at a cost of Kshs.4 billion for emergency response⁵⁵ this has allowed the government to safeguard its people as well as investments.

The GoK has deliberately invested heavily in youth empowerment as one way of countering terror and CVE according to one of the member of county security committee⁵⁶ however such empowerment opportunities has turned out to be agents of seeking foreign aid for African states (Shin,2016) notwithstanding that the region has been insecure from poverty and diseases.According to a security scholar in one of the public universities,poverity stricken youths especially in slums,former north eastern province and coastal region as been lured into terrorism thus necessating the need to empower these vulnerable segment of the society,this corroborates Former Ethiopian President Girma in 2005 address in UN Summit in Oslo,Russia that poverity creates marginalized people which serves a fertile ground for terrorists,this contradicts Mills (2017) arguments that relationship between poverty and terrorism is not clear as the former has existed for years ,this justify Botha (2005) arguments that many youths across the continent has been attaracted by ideologies.

⁵⁵ www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2018/06/police-receive-3-helicopters-including-an-advanced-mission-chopper accessed on 31st march 2019

⁵⁶ Focus Group Discussion with Mombasa County Security Committee conducted on 17 th Janury 2018.

This study further sought to assess whether National Counter Terrorism Centre had done enough to curb the spread of transnational terrorism, this is revealed by mean and standard deviation respectively of $M=1.28$, $SD= 0.457$, this findings is also supported by security scholar's arguments⁵⁷ which to him, the centre has attracted both preemptive and reactive mechanism which has enabled the government to thwart many attacks on the Kenya's sovereignty, this is also supported by security amendment act 2014 which empowered the centre to establish a preventive mechanism to eliminate root causes of terrorism in Kenya. Focus group discussion also revealed the entrenchment of the centre in securitization especially counties that are prone to alshaabab attacks. Kegoro (2007) contends on his findings where he cited philosophical rationale in its establishment so as to provide timely and factual intelligence to assist in the fight against terrorism. This is also corroborated by the centre's deputy director, Onyango Oloo, who in his presentation on 'Role of Security Sector and Civil Society in Responding to and Preventing Violent extremism held in Accra, Ghana in 2017 cited the entrenchment of eight pillars with the aim of building a strong cohesive and resilient communities against violent extremism. Through such pillars the government has sponsored various legislative recommendations to the parliament.

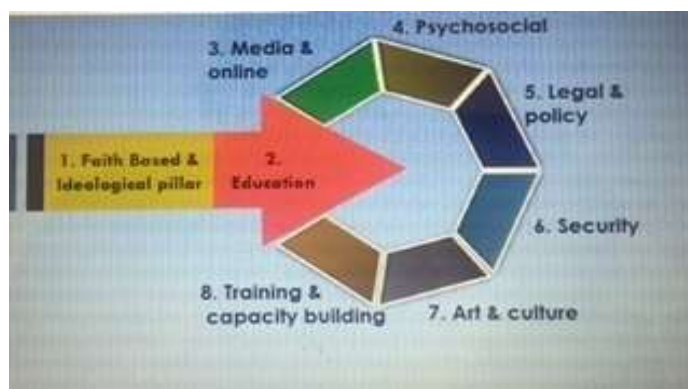


Figure 6.1: National Centre of Counter Terrorism Pillars

Source: National Centre of Counter terrorism, (2018)

⁵⁷ A respondent is a security scholar in one of the public universities.

The President of Kenya in 2018 in his presentation to AU Peace and Security Council cited the establishment of the centre as a milestone in countering radicalization and violent extremism both at regional and national level as it also resulted to amnesty to voluntary returnees of many youths who had joined Alshaabab⁵⁸ this has allowed the centre to explore strategic ways to eliminate the terror group, which has become a thorn in the flesh of E. Africa's governments.

National counter terrorism centre has developed its action plans so as to embody the county level especially to counties where violent extremism is on the rise with Kwale and Mombasa counties being the first counties to benefit, such endeavors led to establishment of Mombasa County Action Plan for Preventing and Counter Violent Extremism which is co-chaired by the county commissioner and county governor with a composure of locals whose mission is to address root causes of radicalization and violent extremism, Mbugua & Missiani (2017). This supports Focus group discussions which further revealed the multi-agency composure of the organ which allows its officers to utilize their different expertise in the fight against terrorism. This however contradicts Gatuiku (2015), findings which observed corruption, organization inefficiency, lack of resources and technical capacity, poor interagency law enforcement coordination among, insufficient training, politicization of some terrorist incidents, and several other factors have affected the centre's capacity to sufficiently fight terrorism especially in line with its law enforcement.

Amnesty international further noted that the centre has failed as an advisor to national advisory security committee as some of the counter terrorism measures recently undertaken has brought allegations of discrimination on the basis of ethnicity and

⁵⁸ <http://www.president.go.ke/2018/01/28/kenya-has-instituted-measures-to-fight-terror>

religion as it has seemed to target aliens from former Northern Eastern Province and Coastal region. However this contradicts latest arrests of suspects of terrorism as it has involved Kenyans across all the tribes and religion such as arrest of recruited Jihad Bride Kemunto⁵⁹ with security committee promoting preemptive measures to curb rapid spread of terrorism ideologies.

The chapter further sought assess whether the GoK and other stakeholders has put sufficient policies to revive tourism and hospitality industry in the country, this is revealed by a mean and standard deviation $M=1.25$, $SD= 0.440$ respectively, with the respondents complementing government efforts to restore tourism and hospitality industries. This resonates with one of the security scholar's arguments; to him the government has adopted blue print tourism strategy with the sole purpose of safeguarding Kenya's economy and promoting foreign direct investment, citing the establishment of tourists' police within NPS and increased security surveillance within the hoteliers, increased marketing of Kenya's major tourists. These arguments also lends support to the assertion of Adan (2005) who posit that after the 2002 attack in Kenya, the government publicly declared that transnational terrorism had taken root in the country greatly affecting Kenya's hospitality prompting the government to establish a specialized anti-terrorism police unit (ATPU) within the police force to deal with issues of terrorism. According to Adan (2005), the extension of ATPU offices in various parts of the country has enabled the apprehension of terrorist suspects and disruption of planned terrorist attacks safeguarding Kenya's image especially on the rise of 'CNN Effect' which could have eventually led to travel warnings.

⁵⁹ www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2019/01/probe-intensified-for-riverside-drive-attack-after-11-suspects-arrested/ accessed 31st March 2019.

6.2.1 Respondents Score on Kenya's Cooperation with Other States and Non-State Actors in the War against Transnational Terrorism

The second part of this objective was to assess the effectiveness of Kenya's cooperation with other state and non-state actors in the fight against transnational terrorism. The responses of the respondents were generated and summarized as shown in table 6:

Table 6.3: Kenya's cooperation with other states and non-state actors in the war against transnational terrorism

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Sharing of Intelligence among states to preempt terror attacks	32	4.47	.507
Acquisition of Artillery between and among states	32	4.09	1.118
Training and manpower development in counterterrorism policies	32	4.62	.492
Extraditions of suspects of terrorism between and among nations	32	4.38	1.008
Countering radicalization of youths and other vulnerable groups	32	4.66	.483
Valid N (listwise)	32		
MEAN SCORE		4.44	.721

Source: Researcher, 2017.

The average mean score generated from the responses on this part of the objective was $M= 4.44$ and the standard deviation was 0.721 with respondents generally agreeing that Kenya's cooperation with other states and non-state actors have yielded positive fruits in countering radicalization of youths and other vulnerable groups $M= 4.66$, $SD=0.483$. This resonates with security personnel arguments that areas are prone to radicalization especially in coastal region and former north eastern province have received sizable support by international non-governmental organizations such as USAID and UKAID to counter radicalization by directly engaging the youths in empowerment training, talents search and also through fighting the notion that 'Muslim is terrorism' such endeavors is corroborated by Denmark government through Danish Police intelligence bilateral engagement with Kenya's security organs especially National Counter Terrorism Centre and National Intelligence Service to eliminate violent extremism.

Multilateral cooperation has also allowed many of non-state actors to take a pivotal role in countering violent extremism (CVE) as it being witnessed in the coastal regions by engaging the local community, regional leadership and security apparatus. According to a security scholar⁶⁰ who have served a lead consultant in Danish initiative in CVE its diplomatic rationale is to safeguard peace and security across the region for realization of sustainable development goals especially in E. Africa region, by engaging the community directly it creates a link for dialogue between the perpetrators of CVE and the state as entrenched in Denmark Peace and security for development programme (2006-2015),the programme comprises five local based societies in the coastal region yielded fruits when many youths denounced the vice, this supports Badurden & Goldsmith who cited a success of USAID 2016 funded project against violent extremism in Kwale county which succeeded through engaging push and pull factors on violent extremism and radicalization and by further engaging the county government in CVE measures.

This chapter also sought to assess Kenya's cooperation in counterterrorism especially extraditions of suspects among/between nations states with majority of the respondents agreeing that Kenya's has played heavy role as reflected by a mean and standard deviation respectively $M= 4.38$, $SD= 1.008$. This is also supported by one of the respondent⁶¹ "*.....the declaration of GwoT and issuance of 1373 resolutions by the United Nation Security Council tied members states to cooperate in fighting terrorism in which Kenya is a key stakeholder, through such extradition of Kenyan national, Agade to Uganda authorities by the Anti-terror police units over his alleged role in 2010 Kampala terror attack.*" This also resonates with focus group discussions⁶²

⁶⁰ The Respondent is a security scholar is one of the Private University.

⁶¹ The Respondent is an International Relations Scholar in Kenya's University.

⁶² Mombasa County Security Committee.

according to them successful counterterrorism strategy in E. Africa and Horn of Africa requires regional cooperation in which some instances forcing states to extradite suspects to other states for trial, citing instances in which Tanzania has extradited her nationals to Kenya's authorities to answer terror related charges and Kenya's extradition of its citizen majority from muslim nation eventually sparking religious tension between the state and the Muslim community.

Noting the legal complexities in extraditions process among/between states, majority of the international security scholars interviewed opined the harmonization of municipal laws and international conventions especially in regards to counter terrorism measures, such undertakings would address challenges of *habeas corpus* of suspects, which has been a hindrance to security investigations among the nations. According to Prof. Peter Kagwanja, extraditions need a complex multilateral engagement which ought to uphold international law(s) and relevant municipal laws citing Uganda and Tanzania entrenchment of Anti-terrorism Act of 2002 and Prevention of Terrorism Act of 2002 respectively as a clear road map in fight against transnational terrorism through extraditions of suspects. Kenya's Security Amendment Act of 2014 provided a leeway to the government to extradite any suspects of terror.

The Kampala 2010 terror attack attracted multilateral cooperation as far as the masterminds of the attacks with US and UK taking the lead in unearthing heinous attack⁶³, Kenya's on its part extradited her three nationals Idris Magondu, Mohammed Adan Abdow and Hussein Hassan Agande after FBI investigation linked them to

⁶³ FBI New York, "FBI and Uganda Police Seek Assistance Identifying 7/11 Bombers" (Press Release), July 19, 2010, at www.fbi.gov/newyork/press-releases/2010/nyfo071910-1.htm, accessed August 20, 2012. See, generally, *Omar Awadh Omar and others v. Attorney General*, Constitutional Court of Uganda, Constitutional Petition No. 55 of 2011, November 15, 2011 (affidavits of Omar Awadh Omar, Idris Magondu, Hussein Hassan Agade, Mohammed Hamid Suleiman, Yahya Suleiman Mbuthia, Habib Suleiman Njoroge, and Selemi Hajar Nyamandondo).

Kampala attack⁶⁴ such multilateral diplomacy demonstrated how cooperation amongst the states can join hands in the fight against terrorism in securitization endeavors as postulated by Securitization theory which demands urgent and immediate attention as well as the use of extraordinary measures to counter any threat.(Buzan et al.,1998,Weaver 1995) in which in some instances exist loopholes which can be used to justify infringement of human rights and excessive use of force in the name of security (Okinda,2016).

According to one of the international security scholar, extradition of terror suspects was culmination of counter terrorism measures after 9/11 incident as recommended by 9/11 commission Report.Subsequently other nations developed counter terrorism policies which emphasize cooperation amongst nation states, for instance German anti-terrorism policy of 2001 amongst other things sought to strengthen international cooperation and data exchange on suspicious immigrants and terrorists, Albrecht (2006).Many other states developed legal policies against counter terrorism which in many cases were a blue print of US Patriotic Act of 2001.

This chapter also sought to assess Kenya's cooperation in terms of training on manpower development in counter terrorism policies this is revealed by mean and standard deviation respectively $M= 4.62$, $SD=0.492$, with majority of the respondents agreeing that Kenya has received immense support in terms of man power development and training in special regards to counter terrorism. This resonates with the focus group discussion with members of security committee who underscore the high level of training offered to security apparatus especially ATPU on counter terrorism and in countering violent extremism by developed countries this is attested by various

⁶⁴ Counterterrorism and Human Rights Abuses in Kenya and Uganda; The world cup and Beyond (2013).

memorandum of understanding among NPS and foreign governments such as 2018 Turkey agreement with Kenya Police to offer training to its officers on three thematic areas; Mobile tracking, shooting techniques, organized crime and counter terrorism.⁶⁵ This is further corroborated through United Kingdom aid to the establishment of modernized ATPU Coastal Headquarters at a cost of 60 million Kenya shillings⁶⁶ with the aim of preempting and combating terrorism on coastal region, through such collaboration with developed nations capacity building, intelligence sharing and weapons acquisitions are achieved.

According to one of the security scholars, Kenya has been strategic partner to west within the E. Africa region in terms of military support immediately after the cold war due to its peace stability and capitalistic nature of the economy, subsequently receiving immense military supports from them, however 1998 simultaneous attack on US embassy in Nairobi and Dar el Salaam led to paradigm shift in military aid to Kenya, with Kenya Police and US FBI cooperating in intelligence gathering. This attested by Whitaker (2008) that 1998 Al Qaeda attack in Kenya resulted to some of the military officers and Kenya Police officers being offered free military and intelligence training in US military institutions.

One of the respondents in public university noted that “.....9/11 incident was a turning point towards global fight against fundamentalist terrorism which could be achieved through mutual cooperation.” This kind of mutual cooperation was reflected heavily through military aid to soft targets such as Kenya, this is reflected in Aronsom, (2010) which underscored high levels of military aid to Kenya by US such as Anti-terrorism assistance with Kenya being top beneficiary of military aid in African

⁶⁵ Guardian Newspaper 2018 “Turkey to Train Kenya’s Police to fight Crime and Combat Terrorism.

⁶⁶ Daily Nation 29th 2019;” Alshaabab Returnees join Criminal Gangs in Coast.

continent, such assistance came through training of security personnel, modernization of weapons and intelligence gathering. Kenya as a member of the Partnership for Regional East Africa Counterterrorism, and is a strong ally of the United States in the fight against al-Shabaab and al-Qa'ida (AQ) still Kenya remains one of Africa's largest beneficiaries of the US government's Antiterrorism Assistance (ATA) program focused on building law enforcement capacities in the areas of border security, investigations, and crisis response, and on the institutionalization of counterterrorism prevention and response capabilities.

Focus Group Discussion further revealed huge factor of US in fight against transnational terrorism and CVE in Kenya, though due to sensitivity of subject matter, they could not dwell deep on that, however it revealed that US through EACTI Kenya's security has been reformed in light on fight against terrorism, through this initiative national security organs are able to combat terrorism through establishments of National Security Advisory Committee, Anti-terrorism police unit and National Counter Terrorism Centre.

The US East Africa Counterterrorism Initiative (EACTI) has dedicated sizeable resources so as to improve police and judicial counterterrorist capabilities in the East African countries of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Djibouti, Eritrea, and Ethiopia. The EACTI has also provided training and some equipment for special counterterrorism units for senior-level decision makers and for legislators who are concerned with drafting legislation on terror and money laundering as admitted by then Kenya government Minister of Justice and Constitutional Affairs in 2003 Hon. Kiraitu Murungi especially on influencing Suppression of Terrorism bill of 2003.

U.S Counterterrorism Aid to Kenya shows increased focused on Kenya's military as show per graph chart below.

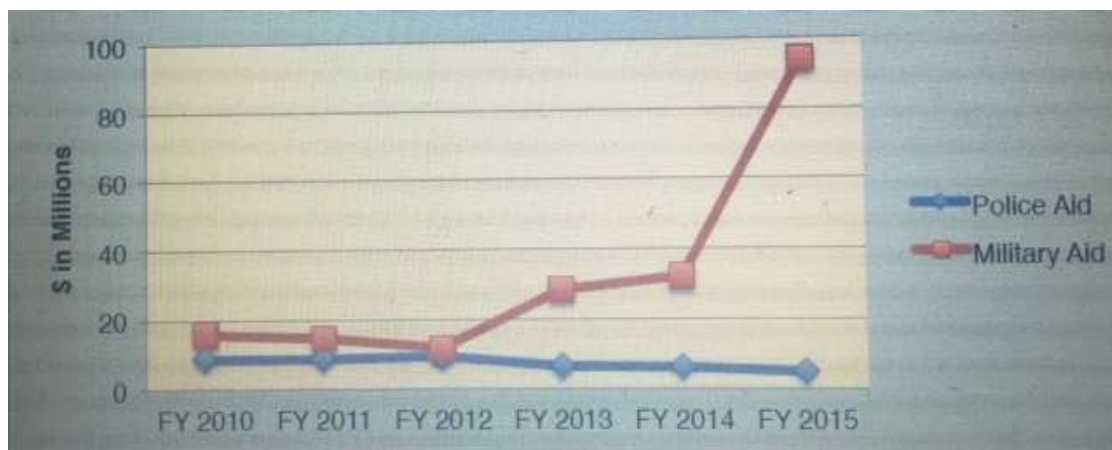


Figure 6.2: US Counterterrorism Aid

Source: US Counterterrorism Aid to Kenya, Security Assistance Monitor (2016).

Such Significant increased of military aid as compared to NPS is due to Kenya's role in 'Operation Linda Nchi' with one of the respondents⁶⁷ underscoring Kenya's paradigm shift in diplomatic engagement with main focus shifting to stabilization of Horn of Africa which received significant boost from western countries such as US as revealed by President Kenyatta and President Trump 27 August 2018 bilateral meeting in Washington Dc US.⁶⁸

As revealed by majority of the respondents in the field of international relations and security studies, US role in Horn of Africa especially Somalia a strategic move to maintain its hegemony across the continent, utilizing cordial relationships amongst AMISOM contributing states such as Kenya and Uganda. Through its developmental programs such as health and education these states have received sizable donor funding from US and its partner states, this attest Buzan et al (1998) view that securitization

⁶⁷ The Respondent is a member of Mombasa Security Committee.

⁶⁸ <https://ke.usembassy.gov/joint-statement-from-president-donald-j-trump-and-president-uhuru-kenyatta/> accessed on 4th April 2018.

process is a highly politicized with states using it to further their own political agenda such US domination in GwoT resulted to securitization of international terrorism.

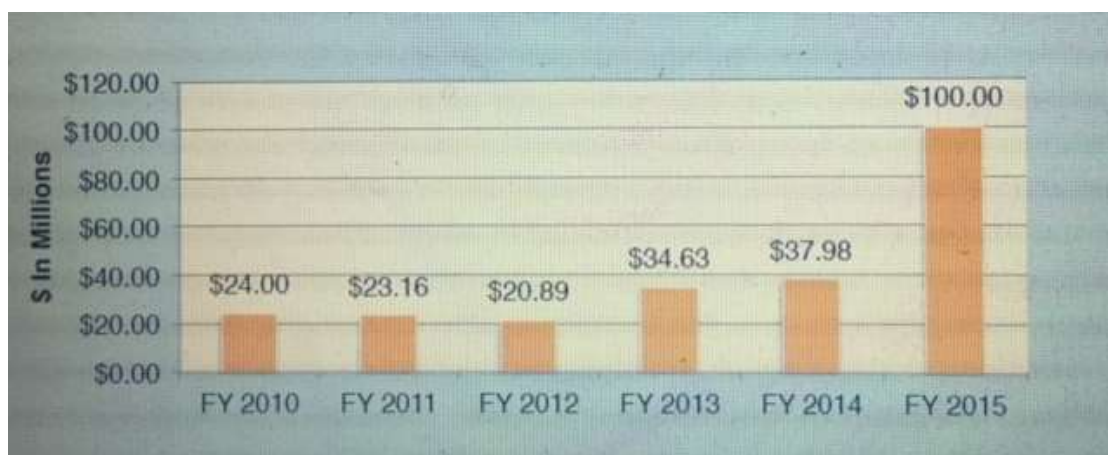


Figure 6.3: U.S. Counterterrorism Aid to Kenya from 2010-2015

Source: US Counterterrorism Aid to Kenya, Security Assistance Monitor (2016)

The chart above clearly shows how US government has increased counterterrorism aid to Kenya wake of military incursion to Somali by Kenya's soldiers.

This chapter also further sought to analyze Kenya's cooperation in terms of acquisition of artillery between and among her friends, this is reflected by mean and standard deviation respectively $M= 4.09$, $SD=1.118$. Though the focus group could not revealed as much as expected, secondary sources clearly affirmed Kenya's diplomatic engagement towards acquisition of modern weapons to deal with scourge of terrorism, US Department of State (2010) affirms this argument of military cooperation in the awake of GwoT with US government funding the establishment of Maritime Police unit to patrol Kenya's Indian Ocean which had become a safe haven to insurgents from Somali, the Kenya government also received three patrol boats from the US government. According to one of the security scholar, Kenya has relied on her colonial master, UK in acquisition of weapons due its traditional secrecy accompanied in acquisition of weapons .Exchange military training between Kenya and her colonial

master has been a major diplomatic pillar with Kenya offering her territory for UK to train its soldiers, however due to Kenya's change of political landscape, there has been increased military diplomacy to non-traditional allies such as China, Njagi (2013), with one of its major aviation industry, China Aviation Industry Corporation supplying military helicopters and other security apparatus ,as reflected in Kibaki' s and Uhuru' s regime, Wezerman (2009)

The last question this objective sought to assess Kenya's cooperation among other states and non-states in sharing of intelligence, this is revealed by mean and standard deviation respectively (M=4.47; SD=0.507), this is corroborated by focus group discussions which to them it has enhanced security situation across the country especially areas which are prone to terrorism such as coastal region, intelligence collection by foreign embassies has being coordinated and directed to security apparatus with aim of thwarting a terror attacks, this also resonates with International Security Scholar arguments, ".....*intelligence sharing has been a major thematic area of diplomatic engagement between Kenya and her sister states, due to magnitude and systematic nature of organized crimes and transnational terrorism.*" With such multilateral engagement Kenya has been able to thwart a number of attacks such as April 2019, Chinese Construction Company in Garissa.⁶⁹The European Union in 2018 hosted states in the horn of Africa which included Kenya to underscore the essence of intelligence sharing with the aim of curbing violent extremism and countering radicalization which was on the rise on the horn of Africa. This is supported by Chumba, (2016) assertions that eliminations of terrorism in the horn of Africa can only be realized on the mutual cooperation by the state actors and other stake holders has

⁶⁹ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/africa/kenyan-police-thwart-suspected-terror-attack-18904737> assessed on 4 April 2019.

been demonstrated by high level diplomatic engagement by nation states centring on peace and stability in the horn of Africa, which in thus lend a hand to Ole Weaver et al., (1998) securitization theory which bestow political class to determine and prioritize any matter in the society or in the global spectrum as a threat.

6.3 Challenges Facing Counterterrorism Strategies in Kenya

In Kenya, the state-driven counterterrorism measures employ the use of force have, to some extent and it has succeeded in reducing the frequency of large-scale attacks like the Westgate Shopping Mall, Mpeketoni, Garissa University and DusitD2 Complex attacks, kenya's counterterrorism efforts have also been seriously compromised due to the violation of human rights committed by those agencies involved in countering terrorism.

Many of the counterterrorism agencies do not adhere to the rule of law. The most notable of these agencies that has been accused of violating human rights in the course of its operations is the Anti Terror Police Unit (ATPU). It has been accused of engaging in religious discrimination particularly violating the fundamental rights and freedoms of Muslims in the country. It is in this context that counterterrorism measures are exacerbating rather than mitigating radicalisation and terrorism in the country, Mwangi (2019).

Corruption and the lack of effective inter-agency cooperation have been cited also to be affecting counterterrorism measures in Kenya. The most prevalent form of corruption that has adversely affected counterterrorism efforts in the country is bribery in the country's security and security-related agencies, especially the National Police Service. Bribery at Kenya-Somalia border facilitates the movement of illicit weapons hence enhancing terrorism in the country. The lack of capacity in terms of state policing

personnel indicates that the state security agencies cannot be effective in policing crimes like arms trafficking and terrorism especially in a sub-region where conflicts are persistent. Corrupt police officers and immigration officials often allow illegal immigrants access into the country.

Counterterrorism operations in Kenya have also often been hindered by a lack of collaboration, coordination and cooperation among the security agencies involved in such operations. The lack of collaboration, coordination and cooperation among Kenya's counterterrorism security agencies often results in unintended adverse consequences. There is lack of coordination in the command and control, intelligence sharing and official information shared with the public pertaining to the stages of counterterrorism operations. These security agencies share similar responsibilities and jurisdictions in the rest of the country's counterterrorism efforts. The inter-agency conflicts reveal that the country's security elites pursue personal and agency-specific interests that are aimed at maintaining organisational supremacy over counterterrorism efforts. But there are, notably, a remarkable improvement with regards collaboration, coordination and cooperation among the security agencies involved in the rescue operations in the DusitDs2 Complex attack given that about 700 people were rescued.

Diplomatic engagement has been a vital element in countering terrorism with sharing intelligence being a tool of preempting any attack, however due to high level

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter discussed in detail the effectiveness of counterterrorism strategies on the hospitality industry in Kenya, such counterterrorism strategies include both reactive and proactive measures. The findings reveal that a combination of varied strategies to counter terrorism has led to relative enjoyment of peace and tranquility in Kenya.

However more needs to be done in order to sustain this momentum. This chapter summary leads to the next chapter that constitutes the summary, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

7.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of key findings of the study, conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further research. They are presented on the basis of the specific objectives and the responding research questions which were posed in pursuit of realizing the general objective of on the effects of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry in Kenya.

7.1 Summary

The broad objective was to analyze impact of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry in Kenya. The summary of the study was informed by the objectives below:

- i. To examine why hospitality industry is prone to transnational terror attack in Kenya.
- ii. To assess the impact of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry in Kenya
- iii. To assess the effectiveness of counterterrorism strategies on hospitality industry in Kenya

With respect to the first specific objective, the results revealed that transnational terrorism posed greatest threat to national security and indeed the hospitality industry was prone to transnational terrorism attacks. The geographic proximity of Kenya to southern Somalia—Al-Shabaab’s current stronghold—makes it easier to plan and launch terrorist attacks in Kenya. Beyond attacks in Nairobi, transnational terrorist groups such as Al-Qaida and Al-Shabaab have concentrated on targets close to the Somali border, such as Mandera and Garissa, and locations on or close to Kenya’s

tourist-filled coast, such as Mombasa and Lamu, all of which are even closer geographically to Somalia than Nairobi.

Kenya has a highly developed hospitality and tourism sector, especially compared to that of its neighbour to the north, Ethiopia. Tourism is at the heart of the Kenyan economy.

The second objective sought to assess the impact of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry in Kenya. The results revealed that transnational terrorism affects the hospitality industry negatively and the resultant travel advisories issued by various states has led to drastic decline of tourist revenue as many tourists cancelled their bookings, coastal towns recorded the highest number of cancellations. The spillover effect of this on the economy has led to reduced foreign direct investment in the hospitality sector as well as incurring business losses to existing investors in the sector.

Following these acts of terrorism, and due to imminent terror alerts from intelligence, Western governments, led by the United States, Britain and a number of European countries, issued travel advisories to all their citizens against traveling to Kenya in 2003. The Kenya Tourism Federation stated that the suspension of British Airways regular and charter planes flying to Nairobi, coupled with travel advisories, closed down access to 90% of Kenya's overseas markets. The country was losing an estimated amount of over 1 billion Kenya shillings (\$128 million) per week. In addition to the revenue loss, at stake were over 500,000 direct jobs and another 2.5 million indirect jobs.

With respect to the third specific objective of the study which was to assess the effectiveness of counterterrorism measures in regards to hospitality industry, the study revealed that the National Counter Terrorism Centre had done enough to curb the spread

of transnational terrorism and that the government together with the relevant stakeholders have put adequate policies to revive tourism and hospitality industry in the country. It further revealed that efforts by the government to curb transnational terrorism has led to improved performance in the hospitality sector and are satisfied with the government's investment in security. Kenya's cooperation with other states and non-state actors has yielded positive fruits in deradicalization of youths and other vulnerable groups.

The efforts of the government in counterterrorism over the years has been aided by the establishment of the National Counter Terrorism Centre (NCTC), a coordination focal point for counter terrorism operations, including the operationalization of the National strategy on countering violent extremism; the support for international missions on the war against terrorism like the presence of Kenya in the African Mission in Somalia; the institutionalization of the NyumbaKumi initiative/ strategy on community policing; the operational improvement of the Kenya Defense Forces and the Kenya Police with an improved equipment and infrastructure in preparedness for countering terror acts; and operationalized partnership agreements with other countries and entities like the IGAD, American Mission in the Horn of Africa, and other Diplomatic missions) on training and capacity building of Law enforcement agencies in fighting and preventing terrorism.

7.2 Conclusions

Arising from the findings of the study the following conclusions are drawn:

Hospitality has been one of the leading industries in Kenya as well as a major contributor towards the Kenyan economy. Kenya has relied heavily on international tourists in the past. However, following acts of terrorism, such as the bombing of the

United States embassy in Nairobi and the bombing of Paradise beach hotel in Mombasa, the hospitality industry suffered a great blow. While the government has taken several preventive measures, it is still necessary for the government through relevant agencies to develop a crisis management strategy in order to reduce the aftermath of such horrendous acts in the future.

The negative coverage from the media has contributed to huge losses of jobs in tourism and hospitality industry and also huge cancellation of tourist's hotel bookings especially in the coastal region. It is undeniable that the effects of terrorism in tourist areas have an adverse effect on the economy of that country. There is need for concerted efforts by the media and the general public at large to portray the image of the country in good light.

The counterterrorism strategies adopted by the government to curb transnational terrorism need to be enhanced and implemented. This can be done by use of a multidimensional approach that involves State agencies and non-states like NGOs and CBOs, religious communities, the media, private sectors, affected communities, families of victims, and relevant research entities.

7.3 Recommendations

Based on the study findings and subsequent conclusions, the study recommends key areas of follow-up to effectively manage the transnational terrorism threat. Since addressing the challenge of transnational terrorism over the long term demands multilateral cooperation capacity building and considered efforts to counter violent extremism by all levels of society and government, the recommendations are presented in the order of efficacy with respect to the threats posed by transnational terrorism on the hospitality industry in Kenya.

- i. There is need to extensively investments in technology, capacity building and intelligence so as to counter the continued threats posed by transnational terrorism
- ii. Understanding the vulnerabilities as well as the root causes of terrorism in the region is crucial for ensuring a more proactive approach to enhancing the effectiveness of counter-terrorism efforts in the region.
- iii. The study recommends that there is need for paradigm shift in policy so as address emerging terrorism trends to enable the security arms to pay greater attention to security matters. Extra diligence should be exercised at entry points and close monitoring of suspicious characters in the country, with parents being at the forefront in monitoring their children's character so as to preempt any sign of radicalization.
- iv. The study also recommends that the citizens, the hospitality industry stakeholders and the security organs need to work more closely to forestall any future terrorist attacks.
- v. The study also recommends that the both levels of government should invest in fighting radicalization and countering violent extremism by raising awareness among the youth on the negative consequences of extremism. The government should 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. This information campaign should focus on areas where terrorists have penetrated the community. For the

campaign to be effective, the government should enlist the support of prominent Islamic scholars and Islamic organizations, such as the Council of Imams and Preachers of Kenya, the Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims, the Kenya Assembly of Ulamaa, and the National Union of Kenya Muslims, with a view to incorporating the clerics as a platform to launch antiterrorism appeals and to build a consensus on an antiterrorism bill. The Muslim clerics are in a better position to educate their followers on the issue of terrorism.

- vi. The study also recommends that the GoK through ministries of tourism and foreign affairs should invest more in “tourism diplomacy” by targeting both traditional visitors and new visitors.
- vii. The public should also be sensitized about terrorism and this should be done under the auspice of community policing. Through community policing, the public could be used to improve intelligence gathering of terrorists’ activities and other crimes. This will also oversee the improved relationship between the public and the police; thus, helping in the mitigation of crimes.
- viii. The government should train stakeholders in the hospitality industry on dealing with imminent attacks targeting them and tourists to avoid being caught unaware. In addition, there is need for the country to be prepared for crisis management with a guideline that will serve as a guide for managing the aftermath of terrorism. This guideline will save time by providing a roadmap to follow in a time of confusion resulting from terrorism attack and will facilitate the recovery of hospitality and tourism sectors from the negative occurrences, thus rebuilding Kenya ‘s image.
- ix. The government of GoK and other development partners should establish rehabilitation centres especially in Coastal region which is a hotspot to terror

related activities with the aim of deradicalizing 'Alshaabab' returnees. Through such centres, the GoK would be able to tap talents and opportunities to these vulnerable groups.

- x. The hospitality industry should invest more in securitization process by recruiting more trained personnel expertise in counter terrorism and intelligence with sole aim of liaising with security apparatus so as avert any attack.
- xi. The study also recommends that the Government of Kenya should strive to eliminate corruption amongst counterterrorism units.
- xii. And finally, the institutions of learning in Kenya should review their curriculum(s) with the sole aim of entrenching counter terrorism and counter radicalization process, these would shape Kenya's youths on the sense of patriotic and more so discouraging such younger generation from being recruited to terror groups.

7.4. Suggestions for Further Research

This study was mainly concerned with analyzing the impact of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry in Kenya. There is need of a macro view of the entire economy and how it has been affected by terrorism. This study therefore recommends that subsequent studies adopt a broader view of a comparative examination on the influence of transnational terrorism on other sectors of the economy.

There is also a need to examine the impact of terrorism on the flow of foreign direct investment to the terror hit countries, there is also further a need for to explore the relationship in poverty, radicalization and terrorism in Kenya.

REFERENCES

- Aas, K.F. (2007) *Globalization and Crime*
- Abadie A., Gardeazabal Javier (2008). The economic costs of conflict: A case study of the Basque Country. *American Economic Review* 93(1): 113–132. Peace Research Institute.
- Abimbola O. A. (2011). Between Maitatsine and Boko Haram, Islamic Fundamentalism and the Response of the Nigerian State, *Africa Today*, Vol.57, Pg 99-119, Indiana University Press.
- Abrahms, M. (2008). What Terrorists really want. *International Security* 32.
- Adan, A. M. (2018). *The Effect of Terrorism on Hospitality Industry in Kenya*, MA, Moi University.
- Adan, H. H. (2005). Combating Transnational Terrorism in Kenya. DTIC Document. Retrieved from <http://oai.dtic.mil/oai/oaiverb=getRecord&metadataPrefix=html&identifier=ADA43667>
- Alberto, A., & Javier, G. (2002). “The Economic Costs of Conflict: A Case-Control Study for the Basque Country,” National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper No. W8478, September 2001, www.nber.org/papers/W8478
- Alden, E. (2008). *The closing of the American border: terrorism, immigration, and security since 9/11*. Harper Collins, 2008.
- Amara Koroma 2011. MA thesis, Ball State Univesity.
- Amnesty International, *Kenya: The Impact of "Anti-Terrorism" Operations on Human Rights*, 23 March 2005, AFR 32/002/2005, available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/42ae982b0.html> [accessed 31st March 2019]
- Andrew Lesage (2014). The Rising threat in Tanzania; Domestic Islamist Militancy and Regional Threats. National Defense University, Strategic Forum
- Ayodo Samuel Omondi (2015) : Effects of Terrorism on 5 Star hotels in Nairobi, Kenya. MA, University of Nairobi.
- Badrah Binti Yussof (2005). Terrorism- The threat to Democracy, Peace and Security.
- Bank of Israel, “The Economy: Development and Policies,” *Bank of Israel Annual Report – 2002*, July.
- Bashir A.H (2007); Executive Secretary of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, IGAD, Speech at the Meeting of Justice of IGAD member States on legal cooperation against Terrorism.
- Benjamin Kuto & James L Groves (2004): The Effect of terrorism; Evaluating Kenya’s Tourism Crisis,.e-Review of Tourism Research (eRTR), Vol. 2, No. 4, 2004. Review of Tourism Research.

- Blamires, C.P., & Jackson, P. Cooper, H. H. A. (1978). Psychopath as terrorist: A psychological perspective. *Legal Medical Quarterly*.
- Blunk et al.,(2006):Tourism and Crisis Management.
- Botha, A. (2008). Challenges in understanding terrorism in Africa: A human security perspective. *African Security Review*, 17:2, 28-41.
- Botha, A. (2013). Assessing the vulnerability of Kenyan youths to Radicalisation and extremism. *Institute for Security Studies Papers*, (245), Pp1-28.
- Botha, A.(2005).A Case Study of Radical Islam in South Africa,*Terrorism Monitor* 3,no 17.
- Brannan, D. W., Eslerm, P. F., & Anders Strindberg, N. T. (2001). Talking to "terrorists": Towards an independent analytic framework for the study of violent sub state activism. *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*.
- Brooks, D. (2002). The culture of martyrdom: How suicide bombing became not just a means but an end. *Atlantic Monthly Journal* 289:18-20
- Bruto & William Reno (2013). *Rethinking Counter-Insurgency in Somalia*.
- Bundotich JK (2013): *Challenges in Counter Terrorism in the Third world Countries*. MA Thesis, University of Nairobi.
- Buzan B, Weaver O and de Wilde J (1998). *Security, A New Framework for Analysis*.
- Buzan, Barry, Ole Wæver and Jaap de Wilde, *A New Framework for Analysis* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., 1998).
- Bysyuk Veronika (2010) *Impact of 9/11 Terrorist Attacks on US and International Tourism Development Bachelor Thesis*. Modul Vienna University.
- Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation and IGAD Security Sector Program (2012). *Fighting Terror Through Justice: Implementing the IGAD Framework for Legal Cooperation Against Terrorism*. New York and Addis Ababa.
- Chaliand, G., & Blin, A. (Eds.). (2016). *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to ISIS*. Oakland, California: University of California Press.
- Charles R.Smith (2010). *Radical Islam in East Africa, perspectives on Africa and the World*
- Chau D. (2008).U.S counterterrorism in Sub-saharan Africa: Understanding Costs, cultures and conflicts. *Strategic Studies Institute, U.S Army war college*.
- Chen, R., & Noriega, P. (2004). The impacts of terrorism: Perceptions of faculty and students on safety and security in tourism. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*.
- Chumba C. (2016). *Security-based Diplomacy Influencing Transnational Terrorism Management between Kenya and Somali*, PhD Thesis, Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology.

- Collier, P Elliott, E., Hegre, H., Reynal-Querol, M., & Sambanis, N. (2003). *Breaking the Conflict Trap: Civil War and Development Policy*. Washington: World Bank
- Counterterrorism and Human Rights Abuses in Kenya and Uganda; The world cup and Beyond (2013).
- Crenshaw M. (2006). *The War on Terrorism: Is the U.S winning?* Real Instituto Elcano Journal.
- Crenshaw, M. (1992). *How terrorists think: What psychology can contribute to understanding terrorism?* In L. Howard (Ed.), *Terrorism: Roots, impact, responses*. New York, USA.
- Cronin, K. A. (2003). *Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism*. *International Security*, Vol. 27, No. 3. pp. 30-58.
- Czinkota M. Knight & Gabriel Suder (2004): *Terrorism Studies in International Business; Increasing Knowledge, Reducing Victimization; Volume 13, N0 44 Research Agenda AIB Insights journal*.
- Daily Nation 24, Sep 2001 “Boko Harams backs Al Qaeda war against America”
- Daily Nation 29th 2019;”Alshaabab Returnees join Criminal Gangs in Coast.
- Daily Nation 6, July 2016 “Kenya and Israel Security Pact on Terror”
- Daily Nation, 15th March 2017 ‘President Kenyatta’s State of the Nation address 2017’
- Daily Nation, 23rd February 2015 ‘Security Laws illegal, declares High court’
- Daily Nation, May 8 2019 “Terrorism Biggest Threat to Kenya-US Business Ties, CS Juma Says”
- Daily Nation, May 8 2019 “Terrorism Biggest Threat to Kenya-US Business Ties, CS Juma
- Davis, Brian Lee, *Qaddafi, Terrorism, and the Origins of the U.S. Attack on Libya*, New York: Praeger, 1990.
- Delafontaine Adrien, (2017) :Hotels as Targets of Jihadist Terror: An Empirical Analysis of the Period from 1970 to 2016
- Diriye Gure Hussein, (2015). *The Effect of Terrorism on Tourism in Africa in the 21st Century. A Case of Kenya*. M.A Thesis University of Nairobi
- Drakos, K. (2004). *Terrorism-induced structural shifts in financial risk: airline stocks in the aftermath of the September 11th terror attacks*. *European Journal of Political Economy*. Vol.20, issue 2. Pg.435-446.
- Drakos K. & Kutan A. (2003). *Regional Effects of Terrorism on tourism in 3 Mediterranean Countries*, *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 47 (5), 621-641.
- Dubrovnik Economic Seminar, June 2013

- E.U (2018): Strengthening Regional Information Sharing Cooperation to fight terrorism in the Horn of Africa.
- East African Standard 27 September 2001 'New FBI East African Link Bin Laden'
- East African Standard Newspaper, Tuesday, June 29, 2004
- Economic Impact 2015 (Kenya).Travel and Tourism by World Travel and Tourism Council.
- Elisabeth Valle &Mark Nelson Yobesia (2009) Economic Contribution of Tourism in Kenya.Tourism Analysis, Volume 14, Number 3, 2009, pp. 401-414(14),Cognizant Communication Corporation.
- Enders W & Sandler T. (1993). The Effectiveness of anti-terrorism Policies: A vector auto regression intervention. *American Political Science Review* 87 pp 829-884.
- Enders W & Sandler T. (2006) Economic Consequences of Terrorism in Developed Countries
- Enders W & Sandler T. (2013).The Political Economy of Terrorism, Cambridge University Press.
- Enders, W.& Sandler, T. (1996).Terrorism and Foreign Direct Investment in Spain and Greece.
- Enders, Walter, Todd Sandler, and Gerald F. Parise. "An Econometric Analysis of the Impact of Terrorism on Tourism." *Kyklos*45, no. 4 (1992): 531-554.
- Enock Sikolia's Ntv Kenya Investigative 2015 'Breeding terrorism and Violation of human rights causing youths to resort to terrorism'
- Esther Baraga (2016): Impact of terrorism on Economic development in Africa, case of Kenya's FDI, M.A thesis UoN.
- Fathima Azmiya & Dr. Paul Goldsmith (2018)' Initiatives and Perception to counter violent extremism in the coastal region of Kenya'
- Fawn R, (2003); Global Responses to Terrorism;9/11 Afghanistan and Beyond
- FBI New York, "FBI and Uganda Police Seek Assistance Identifying 7/11 Bombers" (Press Release), July 19, 2010, at www.fbi.gov/newyork/press-releases/2010/nyfo071910-1.htm, accessed August 20, 2012. See, generally, *Omar Awadh Omar and others v. Attorney General*, Constitutional Court of Uganda, Constitutional Petition No. 55 of 2011, November 15, 2011 (affidavits of Omar Awadh Omar, Idris Magondu, Hussein Hassan Agade, Mohammed Hamid Suleiman, Yahya Suleiman Mbuthia, Habib Suleiman Njoroge, and Selemi Hajar Nyamandondo).
- G.O.K, Government of Kenya and United Nations Development Programme U.N.D.P 2015;Project Title;"Strengthen Community's Capacity Against Radicalization and Violent Extremism in Kenya"

- Global Terrorism Index (2015); Institute for Economics and Peace Global Travel 2009.
- GoK National Tourist Strategy 2013-2018.
- GoK, Countering Violent Extremism 2016, National Counter Terrorism Centre Document Strategy.
- Gok, President Address to the Parliament 2017
- GoK; Role of Security Sector and Civil Society in Responding to and Preventing Violent Extremism ,2017Report 9.
- Government of Kenya (2002) Economic Recovery Strategy for Wealth and Employment Creation 2003-2007.Government Press, Nairobi
- Grossman, D. (1995). On killing: The psychological cost of learning to kill in war and society.Boston: Little, Brown
- Guardian Newspaper 2018 “Turkey to Train Kenya’s Police to fight Crime and Combat Terrorism.
- Gurr N. & Cole B (2002). The New Face of Terrorism; Threats from Weapons of Mass Destruction.
- Hanaa Esmail (2018): Impact of Terrorism and Instability on the Tourism Industry in Egypt and Tunisia after Revolution.
- Hans-Jorg Albrecht (2006): Counter terrorism Policies in German, Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International criminal Law.
- Hoffman B (2006).Inside Terrorism, New Columbia University Press
- Hoffman B. and Reinares F (1998).The Evolution of the Global Terrorists Threat:From 9/11 to Osama Bin Laden’s Death.
- Hoffman, B. (2004). Defining Terrorism. In Kaufman, D. Parker, M., Howell, P., & Doty, G. *Understanding international relations: the value of alternative lenses*. Boston: McGraw-Hill Custom Publishing. 5th Ed. (Pp. 821-841).
- <http://www.counterterrorism.go.ke>
- <http://www.kenyapolice.go.ke/2015-09-07-17-41-13/> (accessed on 3 December 2018)
- <http://www.npr.org/blogs/parallels/2014/06/10/320335669/western-countries-issue-warnings-kenyan-tourism-gets-pummeled>, 10 June 2014.
- <http://www.president.go.ke/2018/01/28/kenya-has-instituted-measures-to-fight-terror>
- <https://ke.usembassy.gov/joint-statement-from-president-donald-j-trump-and-president-uhuru-kenyatta/>accessed on 4th April 2018.
- <https://mobile.nation.co.ke/news/Tourism-takes-a-plunge-after-terrorist-threats/1950946-2341576-format-xhtml-naxotuz/index.html>.
- <https://www.iol.co.za/news/africa/kenyan-police-thwart-suspected-terror-attack-18904737> assessed on 4 April 2019.

<https://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/688334-1003928-baewcgz/index.html>
accessed on 2nd April 2019.

<https://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2019-04-13-somali-elders-in-talks-with-al-shabaab-over-cuban-doctors/> accessed on 9th May 2019.

Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004.U.S Bill

Jackson, Brian A., L. Dixon, & V.A. Greenfield.(2007). Economically Targeted Terrorism, A Review of the Literature and a Framework for Considering Defensive Approaches, Santa Monica. RAND Corporation Kenya Foreign Investment Survey 2010

Jason Bram, James Orr, and Carol Rapaport (2002). “Measuring the Effects of the September 11 Attack on New York City,” and Jason Bram, Andrew Haughwout, and James Orr, “Has September 11 Affected New York City’s Growth Potential?” Federal Reserve Bank of New York *Economic Policy Review* 8:2 (November

Jason Bram, James Orr, and Carol Rapaport,(2003) “Measuring the Effects of the September 11 Attack on New York City,” and Jason Bram, Andrew Haughwout, and James Orr, “Has September 11 Affected New York City’s Growth Potential?” Federal Reserve Bank of New York *Economic Policy Review* 8:2

Joseph Mbugua & Geoffrey Missiani (2017). An Appraisal of the Responsiveness of CVE Measures. International Peace and Support Training Centre,Nairobi, Kenya.

Joseph Mbugua & Geoffrey Missiani (2017). An Appraisal of the Responsiveness of CVE Measures. International Peace and Support Training Centre, Nairobi, Kenya.

Kamau Paul (1999) Government Policy and Foreign Investment in Kenya

Kamau, W. C. (2006). Kenya & the War on Terrorism. Review of African Political Economy, No. 107, pp.133–141.

Kenya Country Programme: 2016-2020, Danish Embassy Nairobi Report 2016.

Kenya Tourists Report 2014.

Kenya Utalii College, Nairobi Kenya: Management Development Programmes

Kimunguyi P (2011). Terrorism and Counter Terrorism in East Africa

Kinyanjui Solomon (2014) The Impact of Terrorism on FDI in Kenya, International Journal of Business Administration.

Krishna Ranabhat (2015): Effect of Terrorism Industry, Case of 9/11 terrorist attacks in World Trade Centre. Centria Univesity.

Kuto B & Groves J. (2004). The Effect of Terrorism; Evaluating Kenya’s Tourism Crisis.

- Lee Chia-yi (2016). Resurgent Terrorism in Southeast Asia: Impact on the Economy, SRajaratnam School of International Studies Commentary.No.012-21 January 2016.
- Looney, R. (2002). Economic Costs to the United States Stemming from the 9/11 Attacks.Strategic Insights.
- Makinda, S. (2007). The History and Root Causes of Terrorism in Africa. In Okumu, W. & Botha, A. (Eds.). *Understanding Terrorism in Africa: In Search for an African Voice*. Pretoria; Institute for Security Studies, (Pp.15- 22).
- Mamdani M (2004) Good Muslim; Bad Muslim, America, the cold war and the root of terror. DakarCodesria.
- Mannik Erick (2007). Terrorism: Its Past, Present and Future Prospects.
- Maranga Vincent Nyamari (2016) Manager's Perception Towards Security Factors: a Comparative Examination of 3 to 5 star hotels in Nairobi and Mombasa Counties-Kenya, Phd Dissertation, Kenyatta University.
- Mazrui et al ..., (2018): Global and Local Context of Terrorism and Counterterrorism in Kenya.
- Mbiyu Milka (2014). Analysis of Destination Image Formation among Foreign Travel Intermediaries.The Case of Terrorism Events in Kenya. M.A Thesis, Mid Sweden University.
- Mockaitis, Thomas R. (2007): The "New" Terrorism: Myths and Reality. Westport, London: PraegerSecurity International.
- Mohammad Hannif Hassan (2006) "Unlicensed to kill: Countering ImanSamudra's Justification for the Bali Bombing peace matters"
- Mohammed Adan (2018) MA thesis Moi University.
- Momanyi M Simeon (2015). The Impact of Al-Shaabab Terrorist Attacks in Kenya.MA Thesis, The Arctic University of Norway.
- Morgan David L (2007) Paradigms Lost and Pragmatism Regained: Methodological Implications of Combining Qualitative and Quantitative Methods.
- Mr. Philip Alston (2009). Report of the special Rapporteur of extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions: Human Rights Council, UN.
- Muchai, A. (2003). Kenya crime survey 2003: security and information centre.
- Munene Njagi (2013) The Colonial Legacy in Kenya-British Military Relations 1963-2005, MA thesis KU.
- Mutinda Ndivo (2013) Perspective of the Hotel Investor on the Kenya's competitiveness as a tourism investment destination, PhD thesis, Kenyatta University.
- Mutuma Ruteere et al., (2014): Securing the counties options for security after devolution in Kenya.

- Mwazighe, C. L. (2012). *Legal Responses to Terrorism: Case Study of the Republic of Kenya*. Unpublished Master Thesis, Monterey, California. Naval Postgraduate School.
- National Police Service Act, 2017; Kenya Law Reforms Achieves.
- National Public Radio, *Western Countries Issue Warnings; Kenyan Tourism Gets Pummeled*. [Online]
- National Public Radio, *Western Countries Issue Warnings; Kenyan Tourism Gets Pummeled*. [Online]
<http://www.npr.org/blogs/parallels/2014/06/10/320335669/western-countries-issue-warnings-kenyan-tourism-gets-pummeled>, 10 June 2014.
- Okinda Ochieng Albert (2016): *Security Reforms and their implications in Fighting Against Terrorism in Kenya (1998-2015)*. M.A Thesis, Kenyatta University.
- Olomjobi Y (2016): *Boko Haram; Its Terror Networks and West Reponse*.
- Oluoch Ken (2017): *Foreign Policy and the Threat of Global Terrorism; Kenya's Military Intervention in Somalia*.
- Oluoch Ken. (2017): *Reconciling Security Concerns & Refugee Protection*; Journal of American Research Institute for Policy Development.
- Onuoha Freedom (2016). *Attacks on Hotels in Africa*, Al Jazeera Centre for studies.
- Patrick Kiptoo (2018): *The Effect of Terrorist attacks on the Performance of Nairobi Stock Exchange*, MBA thesis, UoN.
- Patrick Mutahi et al (2017). 'Killing a Mosquito with a hammer' Alshaabab Violence and State Security responses in Kenya.
- Paul D. Williams (2016). *The Battle at El Adde; The Kenya Defence Forces, Alshaabab and Unanswered Questions*, International Peace Institute, July 2016.
- Pearce, K. I. (1977). *Police Negotiations*. Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal, Jun;22 (4):171-5.
- Pesto Haris (2010). *The Role of Diplomacy in the fight against terrorism*. Volume 10; Winter pg 64-81.Pg 55-66 , American Academy of Political and Social Science Press.
- Peter Gatuiku (2015): *Countering Terrorism in the Horn of Africa*, MA thesis University of Nairobi.
- Philip Mwakio 7th May 2017, Standard Newspaper '20 Coast Hotels Shut Operations Due to Low Season'
- Post, J. M. (2004). *Leaders and their followers in a dangerous world: The psychology of political behavior*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press
- Poverty, Terrorism and National Security (2003). *Environmental change in security project Report 9*.

- Preeti B. (2008): Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (Sri Lanka Separatists), Council of Foreign Relations.
- Presidential Strategic Communication Unit, GoK Kenya:14th May 2017 ‘Security as Police in Nakuru, Kisumu and Eldoret get advanced communication equipment’
- Prevention of Terrorism Act of 2012. The Government Printer, Nairobi
- Prof. Oscar Mwangi (2019) “Counter terrorism in Kenya; Oxford University Press.”
- Prof.Peter Kagwanja ‘Ruling on anti-terrorism law a triumph for Kenya’s Judiciary’; Daily Nation Newspaper 28 February 2015.
- Rapoport, D. C. (2004). The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism. In A. K. Cronin, & J. M. Ludes (Eds.), *Attacking Terrorism: Elements of a Grand Strategy*, (pp. 46-73). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Rasch, W. (1979). Psychological dimensions of political terrorism in the Federal Republic of Germany. *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, Vol 2, Issue 1, Pg 79-85.
- Razoah KeredaVitisia (2015) Travel Advisories and their Impacts on Tourism, Case Study of Kenya, 2000-2014. M. A Thesis University of Nairobi.
- Reuters, Kenya attacks undermine plans for east African trade hub, <http://www.reuters.com/article> .accessed on 25th Jan 2017.
- Rinnah Ngoiri Ngigi (2018): Role, Practice and Challenges of Nyumi Kumi Initiative in Crime Reduction in Kenya.MA Thesis Strathmore University.
- Rosand E.....et al (2009).Countering Terrorism and Building Cooperation in North Africa.The Potential Significance of UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy .
- Saferworld (2008). Implementing Community-Based Policing in Kenya. The September 11th Commission Report 2004.
- Sandler, T et al.,(2008):Copenhagen Consensus on Transnational Terrorism.
- Sandler, T, Tschirhart, J. T., &Cauley, J. (1983). A theoretical analysis of transnational terrorism. *American Political Science Review.*, Vol 77, Issue 1 Pg 36-54.
- Sandler, T., & Siqueira, K. (2009).Games and Terrorism: Recent developments. *Simulation & Gaming*.
- Sandler, T., &Arce. D. G. (2003). Terrorism and game theory. *Simulation & Gaming*
- Sandler, T., &Lapan. H. E. (1988). The calculus of dissent: An analysis of terrorists' choice of targets.
- Schbley, A. H. (2000).Torn between God, family, and money: The changing profile of Lebanon's religious terrorists. *Journal Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*,Vol 23,Issue 3 Pg 175-196
- Shahbaz, M.A, Javed, A., Dar, A., & Sattar, T. (2012). Impact of Terrorism on Foreign Direct Investment in Pakistan. *Archives of Business Research*, 1(1).

- Shane, J. (2009). September 11 Terrorist Attacks Against the United States and the Law Enforcement Response. In Habersfeld, R. & Hassell, A. (Eds.) *A New Understanding of Terrorism: Case Studies, Trajectories & Lessons Learnt*. New York: Springer, (pp. 99- 142).
- Shinn David (2016). Poverty and Terrorism in Africa, Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, Vol 17.
- Sinclair, M.T. (2002) 'Tourism Crisis Management: Responding to September 11', Working Paper, Christel DeHaan Tourism and Travel Research Institute, Nottingham, University Business School, UK.
- Sonmez S.F & Yiorgos Tarlow P (1999): Tourism in Crisis: Managing the effects of terrorism. Journal of Travel Research 38.
- Sonmez & Sirakey (2002): A Distorted Destination Image? The Case of Turkey. Journal of Travel Research, Vol 24, Issue 4, Pg 185-196.
- Stephen P. Marks (2004) International Law and the 'War on Terrorism' Post 9/11 Response by United States and Asia Pacific Countries. Asia Pacific Law Review, Vol 14. No.1
- Stephenson John D (2010) Countering Terrorism; Engagement Development and Deterrence, M.A thesis in Security Studies, Naval Postgraduate School.
- Study of Terrorism and Response to Terrorism; S.T.A.R.T (2014)
- Tarlow P. (2005): Strategies for Effectively Managing Travel Risk and Safety.
- The 9/11 Commission Report 2001
- The Constitution of Kenya 2010: Kenya Law Reports.
- The Huffington post (2011); The Online U.S newspaper
- The Security Laws (Amendment) Act, 2014. The Government Printer, Nairobi.
- The Standard Newspaper 11th January 2015: Mombasa church attack leaves official dead
- The Standard Newspaper 28th November 2007 : "Raila Secret Mou with Muslims Revealed"
- The Telegraph 14th January; Jakarta Attacks: 'How Terror Dents Tourism in Indonesia
- Tourism Sector Performance 2018
- Tourism Sector Performance 2018 ,GoK
- Tsiddon, "Macroeconomic Consequences of Terror: Theory and the Case of Israel," *Journal of Monetary Economics*, 51, 5 (July 2004), 971-1002, conclude that the combination of shifts in government
- U.S Department of State (2010).

- UNDP 2017 Policy Paper ‘Articulating the pathways of the impact of terrorism and violent extremism in Kenya’
- United Nations World Tourism Organization Report 2018
- United States District Court Southern District of New York (1998) USA Vs Osama bin Laden
- United States District Court Southern District of New York (1998) USA Vs Osama bin Laden
- US Counterterrorism Aid to Kenya (2016)
- US Department of State (2003)
- US Department of State (2010) Congress Report.
- usembassy.gov/joint-statement-from-president-donald-j-trump-and uhuru Kenyatta.accessed on 31st March 2019.
- Valle Elisabeth,Yobesia Mark (2009).Economic Contribution of Tourism in Kenya.Tourism Analysis Volume 14.
- ViadislavaStoyanova (2008). The Principle of Non-Refoulement and the Right of Asylum Seekers to enter State Territory.Interdisciplinary Journal of Human Rights Law,Volume 3,Issue 1.
- Victoroff, J. (2005). The mind of the terrorist: A review and critique of psychological approaches. Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol 49 Issue 1,Pg 3-42
- Vincent NyamariMaranga (2015) Managers’ Perception Towards Security Factors ; A Comparative Examination of 3 to 5 star hotels in Nairobi.Phd thesis of Tourism Management of Kenyatta University,Kenya.
- Wæver, Ole. 1995. Securitization and Desecuritization. In *On Security*, ed.Ronnie Lipschutz. NY: Columbia University Press.
- Walker J. (2010). Supervision in the Hospitality Industry.A Leading Human Resources.
- Wesley, K. K., Lumumba, B. L., (2013). “The Effect of Terrorism on Kenya’s Securities Market: The Case of The Nairobi Securities Exchange,” OSREAJournal, 3(3): 66-111
- Wezerman, P. D (2009) Arms Transfers to East and Southern Africa.” *SIPPRI*: Sweden.
- Whitaker, Beth Elise. 2008. "Reluctant Partners: Fighting Terrorism and Promoting Democracy in Kenya." *International Studies Perspectives* 9:254-271.
- Whittaker D.J (2001): The terrorism reader; London: Routledge.
- Wieviorka, M. (1993).The making of terrorism.Translated Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Wilkinson P (2006). *Terrorism versus Democracy; The Liberal State Response* Cass Series Political Violence
- William Michael Jr. & Stephen Tibbles (2007): *Hotels at Risk: The Legal Consequences of Terrorist Attacks on Hotels*
- Williams, Paul D. 2008. Regional Arrangements and Transnational Security Challenges: The African Union and the Limits of Securitization Theory. *African Security* 1:1, 2-23.
- Wilson, M. A. (2000). Toward a model of terrorist behavior in hostage-taking incidents. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol 44, Issue 4 Pg 472-507
- World Tourism Organization (2001). *Tourism after 9/11, Analysis, remedial actions and prospects.*
- www.cnn.com/2015/08/22/europe/france-train-shooting-heroes/index.html
- www.bbc.com/news/magazine-33310217 “How Terrorists affect Tourism” accessed on 5 Dec 2018.
- www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2018/06/police-receive-3-helicopters-including-an-advanced-mission-chopper accessed on 31st march 2019
- www.capitalfm.co.ke/news/2019/01/probe-intensified-for-riverside-drive-attack-after-11-suspects-arrested/ accessed 31st March 2019.
- www.counterterrorism.go.ke
- www.express.co.uk/travel/articles/848426/Paris-tourism-terrorist assessed on 5 Dec 2018.
- www.gov.uk/foreign-travel-advice/kenya/terrorism
- www.gov.uk/foreign-travel-advice/libya
- www.judiciary.go.ke/portal/assets/filemanager_uploads/Court%20Decisions/Press%20Summary%20-%20Security%20Case.pdf.
- www.nation.co.ke/business/NSE-gains-Sh4bn-more-in-second-day-after-attack/996-4940318-tfdda4z/index.html
- www.nation.co.ke/counties/Hotels-shut-doors-in-face-of-dwind accessed on 5 dec 2018.
- www.nation.co.ke/news/Dusit-attack--Kenyan-response-praised/1056-4941836-118nggi/index.html assessed on 5 march 2018.
- www.nation.co.ke/news/Tourism-Kenya-Hotels-Travel-Advisorie
- www.nation.co.ke/news/Uhuru-Kenyatta-Israeli-PM-Netanyahu-sign-security-pacts accessed on 31st march 2019.
- www.nation.co.ke/news/Why-terrorists-targeted-Nairobi-DusitD

www.nation.co.ke/oped/opinion/hospitality-industry-on-the-rise/440808-4786798-imhl1z/index.html accessed on 6 Dec 2018.

www.nber.org/papers/W8478;

www.news.com.au/travel/travel-updates/lost-paradise-photos-show-chilling-aftermath-of-beach-resort-massacre/news-story/8d053ee8a2e12483061276602777c880 accessed on 8 dec 2018.

www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001284209/amount-kenya-plans-to-spend-on-national-security accessed on 31st march 2019

www.standardmedia.co.ke/business/article/2001238834/20-com accessed on 5 Dec 2018.

www.youtube.com/watch?v=k5RUT8D0on4 accessed on 6th Dec 2019.

Zinn, H. (2002). *Terrorism and War*. Toronto: Seven Stories Press.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Questionnaire

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a Masters student at Moi University, Eldoret, Kenya, carrying out a research on “**Impact of Transnational Terrorism on Hospitality Industry in Kenya**” I wish to request your participation in the study by providing information requested below. The response would be confidential and would only be used on the purpose of this study

Thanks.

Instruction: Tick where appropriate

I. Socio-demographic information

1. What is your gender?

Male () Female ()

2. What is your age?

18 – 30 years () 31 – 40 years () 41 – 50 years () 51 – 60 years () Over 60 years ()

3. What is your level of education?

Primary () Secondary () Tertiary () None ()

4. What is your current Occupation?.....

5. Number of years of experience in your occupation?

5-10 Years () 6-10 Years () 11-15Years () 16-20 Years () Over 20 Years ()

II. The Impacts of Transnational Terrorism on Hospitality Industry

6. (a) Has transnational terrorism affected hospitality industry?

Yes () No ()

(b) If yes, how has it affected the industry?

7. (a) Has travel advisories affected hospitality industry?

Yes () No ()

(b) If YES, to what extent?

() Adversely () Moderately

8. Has transnational terrorism affected Kenya's economy?

Yes () No ()

Justify your response above

9. Has transnational terrorism attacks reduced Foreign Direct Investment in hospitality industry in Kenya?

Yes () No ()

Justify your response above

10. (a) Has hospitality industry suffered business loss from transnational terrorism attacks?

Yes () No ()

(b) If yes, emanated through?

- a. Laying off its workers
- b. Closing down its entire business
- c. Reduced number of guests/tourists
- d. Others (please specify).....

11. (a) Does Transnational Terrorism targets International tourists?

Yes () No ()

(b) If Yes, Why?

- i. To achieve their Political goals.
- ii. To gain international attention
- iii. To Indirectly targets western powers and its key allies
- iv. Others (Please Specify)

Kenya's Counterterrorism Policies

12. (a). Has government efforts to curb Transnational terrorism improves the performance of hospitality industry? Yes () No ()

(b) If NO what should be improve?

.....
.....
.....

13. Are you satisfied with government’s investment in Security?

Yes () No ()

14. **(a)**.Has National Counter Terrorism Centre done enough to curb spread of Transnational Terrorism in major tourists’ site?

Yes () No ()

(b).If NO, what should be improved?

.....
.....

15. **(a)**. Has government and other stakeholders put enough policies to revive tourism and hospitality industry?

Yes () No ()

(b)If yes, cite any two policies.....

16. The following views represent positive results on Kenya’s co-operation with other states and non-state actors in war against terrorism. Please state the extent to which you agree or disagree with these statements by ticking the most appropriate response

Key: (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree and 5 = strongly agree)

Statements	1	2	3	4	5
Sharing of Intelligence among states to preempt terror attacks					
Acquisition of Artillery between and among states					
Training and manpower development in counterterrorism policies					
Extraditions of suspects of terrorism between and among nations					
Deradicalization of youths and other vulnerable groups					

Any other? Please specify

17. The following factors explain why hospitality industry is prone to transnational terrorism attacks. Use the 5-level point likert scale given to indicate your answer in the table below (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree and 5 = strongly agree. Tick where appropriate).

Factor	1	2	3	4	5
Hospitality Industry as FDI of main targets					
Hospitality Industry as a main source of host country's GDP					
Hospitality Industry as a host of main targets					

Hospitality Industry being more vulnerable to terrorism attacks					
Hospitality Industry as a main source of employment to host country.					

Appendix Ii: Interview Guide Schedule

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a Masters student at Moi University, Eldoret, Kenya, carrying out research on **“Impact of Transnational Terrorism on Hospitality Industry in Kenya.”** The response would be confidential and would only be used only on the purpose of the study

Interview A. Schedule for Security Experts /Scholars.

1. Why is hospitality industry in Kenya prone to transnational attack?
2. What are the general effects of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry?
3. Does travels advisories affect hospitality industry in Kenya?
4. Has Kenya’s military intervention to Somalia yielded any fruits in fight against terror?
5. Has Kenya put in place adequate measures to protect International Visitors?
6. What is the effectiveness of international cooperation in curbing transnational terrorism?
7. Has Institutions of higher learning played any significant role in curbing radicalization of youths?

Appendix III: Focus Group Discussion Guide

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a Masters student at Moi University, Eldoret, Kenya, carrying out a research on **“Impact of Transnational Terrorism on Hospitality Industry in Kenya.”** The response would be confidential and would only be used only on the purpose of the study

Focus Group Discussion Guide Schedule for Security Personnel.

- Which year did the country first experience transnational terrorism?
- Why are transnational terrorists rampant in Kenya and who are the main targets?
- Why is hospitality industry so prone to transnational terrorism?
- What has been the government response in mitigating it?
- Are there some changes that security department has gone through with the aim of combating transnational terrorism in the country?
- In your own opinion, are the government responses enough? Please explain your response.
- Are there implications of government responses?
- Do you think the issue of fighting terrorism should be solely left to the security agencies? Please expound on your answer.
- In your own opinion how best can the issue of transnational terrorism threat addressed?
- Has government of Kenya received any security supports from its sister states and international organization as far as combating transnational terrorism is concerned?

Appendix IV: List of Hotels within Star Rating in Mombasa County.**I. 4 Star Rating Hotels.**

- Serena Beach Resort and Spa
- Voyager Beach Resort
- Marina English Resort
- Sarova Whitesands Beach Resort and Spa
- Severin Sea Lodge

II. 3 Star Rating Hotels.

- Bollywoods Bites Resort.
- Bahari Beach Hotel
- Royal Court Hotel
- Isinya Resort.
- Jack Joka Apartments
- Azul Margarita Beach Resort.

III. 2 Star Rating Hotels.

- Plaza Beach Hotel.
- Castle Royal Hotel.
- Midkview Hotel
- Voyager Safari Camp.
- Gasaro Hotel Ltd.

Source: Tourism Regulatory Authority, National Classification Register, 2015-2018.

Appendix V: List of Tour Guides Operators Operating in Mombasa County.

- Big Apple Tours & Safaris.
- Arlom Safaris
- Top Africa Safaris
- Jingo Tours and Safaris
- Kentanza Tours and Safaris
- Twiga Tours Ltd.
- Tour Africa Safaris Ltd.
- Accor Africa Safaris
- Big Five Tours and Safaris Ltd.
- Coast Prestige Ltd.
- Sky Air Safaris
- Ltu Touristik Service Tours
- Spot the Beest Tours & Safaris
- STT Safaris
- Bongo Tours & Safaris Ltd.
- Windrose Tour and Safaris Ltd.
- Diani Safaris
- Fredlink Safaris
- Bonfire Adventures Safaris

Source: Kenya Association of Tour Operators; www.kato.org



**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,
TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION**

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,
2241349, 3310571, 2219420
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

9th Floor, Utalii House
Uthmaniyah Highway
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref No. **NACOSTI/P/17/29082/17211**

Date: **6th June, 2017**

Kipkemoi Arnold Rono
Moi University
P.O. Box 3900-30100
ELDORET.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Effects of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry in Kenya. Case of Mombasa County,*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Mombasa County** for the period ending **2nd June, 2018.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Mombasa County** before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit **two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf** of the research report/thesis to our office.

**PP GODFREY P. KALERWA MSc., MBA, MKIM
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO**

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Mombasa County.

The County Director of Education
Mombasa County.



OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND COORDINATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Telegrams: "PROVINCER", COAST
 Telephone: Mombasa 2311201
 Fax No.041-2013846
 Email: msacountycommissioner@yahoo.com
 when Replying please quote

COUNTY COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE
 P.O. BOX 90424-80100
MOMBASA
 Tel.0715040444

Ref.No. MCC/ADM.25 VOL.1/62 **17th July, 2017**

Deputy County Commissioners
MOMBASA/KISAUNI/NYALI

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

This is to authorize **Kipkemoi Arnold Rono** Permit no. **NACOSTI/P/17/29082/17211** of Moi University, Eldoret to carry out research on "**Effects of transnational terrorism on hospitality industry in Kenya in Mombasa County**" for the period ending 2nd June,2018.

Any assistance given to her will be highly appreciated.

RASHID WERE
FOR: COUNTY COMMISSIONER
MOMBASA COUNTY

c.c:

Director of Education
MOMBASA