



**NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY-KENYA**

**RESEARCH PROJECT**

**IMPACT OF REGIONALISM ON THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF EAST AFRICA  
COMMUNITY MEMBER STATES: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA**

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**October, 2023**

## DECLARATION

I hereby attest that the research I used for my thesis is wholly original and has never been presented in whole or in part at another university for the purpose of awarding a degree.

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### Approval by the Supervisors

This Thesis has been approved for presentation in to the institution of higher learning by me as a National Defence University supervisor.

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## ABSTRACT

The primary goal of the study is to determine how regionalism affects the sense of national security among members of the East Africa Community by using a case study of Kenya. Three specific goals of the study included ascertaining the impact of regionalism on the national security of the East African community member states, the benefits and challenges of regionalism for Kenya and determining the socioeconomic repercussions of regionalism on the country's national security as well as its effects on other members of the East African Community. Hegemonic Conflict and Change, a theory developed by Robert Gilpin, served as the study's theoretical foundation. Investigative study was conducted using a technique called exploratory research. Senior military officers from the Kenyan Defense Forces, senior staff from Kenya's Ministry of East African and Regional Development, representatives from the embassies of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and South Sudan were among the target population. The data was gathered using both surveys and interviews. The data analysis methodology employed both quantitative and qualitative data analysis methodologies. The analysis's outcomes were represented graphically using pie charts, bar graphs, and statistics graphs. The results show that respondents think regionalism has rekindled earlier East African Community (EAC) cooperation. National security and EAC regionalism had a favorable and important relationship. National security benefited greatly and significantly from regionalism's socioeconomic implications. In the past, there was a stronger and more significant association between the socioeconomic effects of regionalism and Kenya's regression coefficient. For Kenya, there is a positive and significant correlation between national security and the benefits and challenges of regionalism. The study's findings demonstrate that the long-standing cooperation between the EAC and regionalism has been rekindled. It demonstrates that in order to safeguard regional national security, Kenya and the other EAC member states must expedite the pace of socioeconomic development in each of their individual countries. According to the study's findings, Kenya should continue emphasizing the potential advantages of regionalism as a foundation for leveraging the national security of its people. The report encouraged the EAC's member nations to consistently support it financially and by putting in place the required processes in order to sustain regional peace and security. The study came to the conclusion that additional work should be done in this area since the socio-economic requirements of the EAC region serve as a road-map for addressing the region's security challenges. The study suggests that Kenya should take advantage of its tremendous economic influence as a developing member of the EAC in order to boost benefits for both its people's national security and the welfare of the entire population.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>ADF:</b>	Allied Democratic Force
<b>AGOA:</b>	African Growth and Opportunities Act
<b>AMISOM:</b>	African Union Mission in Somalia
<b>AMU:</b>	The Arab Maghreb Union
<b>ANOVA:</b>	Analysis of Variance
<b>APEC:</b>	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
<b>ARF:</b>	ASEAN Regional Forum
<b>ASEAN:</b>	South East Asia Nations
<b>AU:</b>	African Union
<b>CEN-SAD:</b>	Community for Sahel-Saharan States
<b>CM:</b>	Common Markets
<b>COMESA:</b>	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
<b>CU:</b>	Custom Union
<b>DRC:</b>	Democratic Republic of Congo
<b>EAC:</b>	East African Community
<b>EACRF:</b>	East African Community Regional Force
<b>EASF:</b>	East African Standby Force
<b>ECCAS:</b>	Economic Community of Central Africa States
<b>ECOWAS:</b>	Economic Community of West African states
<b>EU:</b>	Economic Union
<b>EU:</b>	European Union
<b>FDLR:</b>	Forces democracies deliberation du Rwanda (FDLR),
<b>FTAs:</b>	Free Trade Areas
<b>HOA:</b>	Horn of Africa

<b>IGAD:</b>	Inter-governmental Authority on Development
<b>IMF:</b>	International Monetary Fund
<b>KDF:</b>	Kenya Defence Forces
<b>LRA:</b>	Lord Resistance Army
<b>NAFTA:</b>	North American Free Trade Agreement
<b>NATO:</b>	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
<b>OAS:</b>	The Organization of American States
<b>OAU:</b>	Organization of African Unity
<b>OSCE:</b>	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
<b>RECs:</b>	Regional Economic Communities
<b>RSCT:</b>	Regional Security Complex Theory
<b>SADC:</b>	Southern African Development Community
<b>USA:</b>	United States of America
<b>WTO:</b>	World Trade Organization

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background of the Study

It is crucial to emphasize that there is a vigorous international effort being made to ignite the ardor for regionalism, especially among the political elite. There have been a number of calls for continental integration during this period, while others have advocated for regional groups made up of a few states with shared territorial integration goals. The European Union's (EU) role as a model of successful regionalization of Europe has served as inspiration for the current wave of regionalism. Clarke, Michael, Asante and Anthony are some examples of scholars<sup>1</sup> who have cited the EU as the centerpiece of the resurgent global strives for the spirit of regionalism.<sup>2</sup>

A wave of regionalism that culminated in the creation of the European Union in the middle of the 1980s was sparked by the necessity for economic reform, the difficulties that nation states were facing, and liberalization in continental Europe. Following the Maastricht Treaty's adoption in 1993, the EU was created in a continental assembly in accordance with the regionalist philosophy. The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), approved in 1994, was immediately put into effect with the primary objective of splitting the world into three important economic blocs. East Asia, America, and Europe were them.<sup>3</sup>

However, for the African continent, it was a wide berth that ended in abandonment and divorce from the rest of the world trading blocs. Africa was left dependent and at the mercy of these blocs and as purely a source of raw materials without protection from the newly forged strong and exploitative trading hegemonies. Even the trade protections

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<sup>1</sup> Anthony Ricketts, Michael, and Clarke." The issues of dominance, decline, and denial in American national security policy. *International Affairs in Australia Journal* 71, no. 5 (2017): 479-498.

<sup>2</sup> Asante, Samuel KB. *African development and regionalism: expectations, realities, and obstacles*. Springer, 2016.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel KB Asante, *African development and regionalism: expectations, realities, and obstacles*. Springer, 2016.

and preferences from the 1975 Lome agreement for the protection of the African raw materials was slowly being dismantled and under pressure of the World Trade Organization (WTO).

The African countries found themselves continuously subjected and threatened by the system of liberalized trading agenda and the formation of trading blocs that were geographically linked and that perpetuated the notion of dependent relationship as the purveyor of a new integration process. In response to the threat posed by EU, NAFTA, WTO and other hegemonic regional trading blocs, Africa established an Economic Community treaty in 1991 whose main objective was to spur economic cooperation in all African countries to the level of cushioning them from the trading threats posed by the external trading blocs.<sup>4</sup> This was the first attempt at forging the spirit of regionalism in Africa, in the spirit of matching the challenges from EU and other international regionalism organizations. The African Union (AU), a continental regionalism organization that steered the socioeconomic and political growth of the continent, was afterwards established as a result of this.

Since that time, the AU has accelerated its promotion of regional integration as a means of launching its member states through upcoming socioeconomic, political, and cultural collaboration. Kebret has captured the intensity and enthusiasm of the drive for integration movement in the continent by a report stating that;

*“In Africa, there has been an appeal and a speedy drift towards integration with several regional blocs being formed in other regions of the continent.”<sup>5</sup> The AU recognizes eight Regional Economic Communities (RECs), namely: The Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Community for Sahel-*

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<sup>4</sup> Andréas Litsegård and Nicoletta Pirozzi “The EU and Africa: Regionalism and inter-regionalism beyond institutions Interregional across the Atlantic Space, pp. 75–93. Cham: Springer, 2018.

<sup>5</sup> Kebret, Haile. "The Republic of South Sudan: Progress, Prospects and Challenges of Regional Integration." (2018).

*Saharan States (CEN-SAD), East Africa Community (EAC), Economic Community of Central Africa States (ECCAS), Economic Community of West African states (ECOWAS), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and Southern African Development Community (SADC)”.<sup>6</sup>*

Similar to other regions of Africa, Eastern Africa is currently experiencing the expansion of the regional integration concept. The Common Market for Eastern Africa, or the East African Community and Southern Africa, and the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development are the three most important regional groups in East Africa. A country like Tanzania has membership in EAC and in other regional blocks like COMESA.<sup>7</sup> This demonstrates that nations share the perception and understanding that membership in one or more Regional Economic Communities corresponds to their defined membership status when it comes to enjoying the advantages of regionalism. This appears to be carried out without a careful examination of the degree, timing, or stage of cooperation or the benefits and drawbacks of belonging to a particular group. The mid-1980s witnessed the birth of new chapter of regionalism that acted more like a response to the process of liberalization and economic restructuring in the foundation of nation states. A similar spirit was noticeable in Kenya and throughout East Africa. Kenya's search for regionalism in the form of the EAC is a result of the failure of the World Bank's and International Monetary Fund's (IMF) structural adjustment plans to address the nation's economic issues in the 1980s and 1990s. The IMF and World Bank's initiatives had a negative impact on Kenya's plans for economic progress.

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<sup>6</sup> Paul Mulindwa, "Interstate Border Conflicts and their Effects on Region-Building and Integration of the East African Community." *African Journal of Governance and Development* 9, no. 2 (2020): 599-618.

<sup>7</sup> Paul, Mutindwa "Interstate Border Conflicts and their Effects on Region-Building and Integration of the East African Community." *Journal of Governance and Development in Africa* 9, no. 2 (2020): 599-618.

The two lending institutions' reliance on export-promotion strategies and the stability of macroeconomic indicators like inflation and trade terms led Kenya to become overly dependent on and indebted to the interventions, which had a negative impact on the nation's future economic and national security. This led Kenya to put its future economic, political and national security on EAC, since regional-based integration was viewed as friendly. This is because it mostly campaigned for the spirit of accountability and desire for local solutions to the internal problems of the region that was specifically driven by the citizens. This was in contrast to the appeal made by global financial institutions like the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, which pushed for western-driven solutions to Africa's own socio-economic problems.

However, despite the existing optimism around the notion of regionalism reflected by the EAC, the regional body is grappling with some notable challenges. They include failure of the political elite to support and undertake full integration, competition on common export commodities that sometimes strain the political relations. Others include political strife emanating from stiff competition to secure resources so as to increase competitiveness in export commodities. For example, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania have made attempts at restricting and blocking export commodities like agricultural products that threaten their national interest in each other. These difficulties have detrimental effects on member states like Kenya's national security. Thus, it is crucial to ascertain the precise effects of regionalism in the context of the EAC on Kenya's national security.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Regionalist inclinations appear to be fueled by the creation of new, strong economic and trading blocs like the European Union, African Union, and East African

Community, among others.<sup>8</sup> Regional integration, which has many sides including economic, political, social, and cultural factors, has a substantial impact on a country's growth and development as well as its national security.<sup>9</sup> Through regionalism, there is dynamic potential for integration and cooperation that may catapult developing countries to escape from their narrow market orientation into regional groupings as a tool for economic decolonization.

Furthermore, regionalism is widely acknowledged to be essential to the revival of national security, economic growth, and prosperity in many nations around the world. By working together to make changes, areas like the EAC may stop their marginalization in global events and maintain a proper balance of political and economic power, ensuring political independence sustenance and cooperatively driven economic growth.<sup>10</sup>

However, the inclusion of new members like South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) may significantly reduce the prospects of reaching the desired economic, political, social, and cultural features of regionalism for the EAC.<sup>11</sup> In essence it may also pose a security threat to member states. For instance, South Sudan and the DRC are currently bogged down by internal strife and these are the burdens that EAC has to inherit.<sup>12</sup> The autocratic rule of a few EAC members may predictably impede the socioeconomic development that the EAC member states seek. Because of

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<sup>8</sup> Nicoletta Pirozzi, Andréas Litsegård, "The EU and Africa: Regionalism and inter-regionalism beyond institutions." In *interregional cooperation in the Atlantic area*, pp. 75-93. Springer, Cham, 2018.

<sup>9</sup> Ingo, Henneberg, and Sören Stapel. "Cooperation and conflict at the horn of Africa: a new regional bloc between Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia and its consequences for Eastern Africa." *Spectrum 55 in Africa*, no. 3 (2020): 339-350.

<sup>10</sup> Samwel Odoyo, Njura. "A comparative analysis of the European Union (EU) and the East African Community (EAC) Economic Integration Models: Lessons for Africa." PhD diss., 2016, University of Nairobi.

<sup>11</sup> Kebret, Haile. "The Republic of South Sudan: Progress, Prospects and Challenges of Regional Integration." (2018).

<sup>12</sup> Samwel Odoyo Njura. "A comparison of the economic integration models of the European Union (EU) and the East African Community (EAC) reveals lessons for Africa. 2016 University of Nairobi Doctorate dissertation.

this, it is noteworthy that the socioeconomic, political, and cultural opportunities and problems facing the EAC are global in scope and have a tendency to affect democratic member states like Kenya. Consequently, it is notable that the socio-economic, political and cultural prospects and challenges facing EAC transcend national boundaries and have the nature of spreading to democratic member states like Kenya.

Regionalism will undoubtedly have a big impact on Kenya's ability to achieve its goals in terms of the economy, politics, social issues, and culture because Kenya is the EAC's largest economy. Kenya is anticipated to take the lead in the rebirth of the EAC, which is significant given the swift growth of Kenyan organizations inside the regional body on the economic and trading fronts. Kenyan leading telecommunication and financial organizations like SAFARICOM, Equity Bank, Kenya Commercial Bank among others have opened commercial expeditions in all the EAC countries.<sup>13</sup> The expansionist interests of Kenya, like those of Tanzania and Uganda, have historically caused discontent, and this could lead to conflicts over rivalry that could threaten the security of these nations. People have moved from one country to another, which has also been witnessed by regionalism. For instance, Kenya has witnessed an influx of people from all over the region in search of employment. Some of the immigrants are combatants from countries facing civil strife like DRC, South Sudan and Burundi. This movement thus threatens the national security of Kenya.

Kenya has one of the most progressive constitutions in EAC and in Africa. This constitution has been in the forefront in driving the country as one with the most open and democratic systems of governance in the region. This is exemplified by the 2022 presidential elections that witnessed the Supreme Court in Kenya making the final

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<sup>13</sup> Esther Kariuki, Liisa, and Laako Election violence and political science knowledge: Evidence from Kenya and Zimbabwe. 1-23 in Development Studies Forum. 2019 Routledge.

determination of the outcome.<sup>14</sup> Exportation of this form of open democratic system to the recent of EAC members' states characterized by closed and sometimes autocratic governance may pose a challenge in the region. The resentment and resistance to this brand of democracy may have significant impacts on the national security of Kenya.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

- i) How has regionalism impacted the East African Community's member states' sense of security?
- ii) What socio-economic risks does regionalism bring to Kenya's national security?
- iii) What are the advantages and drawbacks of regionalism for Kenya's national security?

### **1.4 The study's Objectives**

#### **1.4.1 General Objectives**

Finding out how regionalism affects the national security of East African Community members is the study's main goal. Kenya is utilized as a case study to demonstrate this.

#### **1.4.2 Specific Objectives**

- i) To ascertain the impact of regionalism on the national security of the members of the East African Community.
- ii) To establish the socio-economic impacts posed by regionalism on national security of Kenya.
- iii) To assess the benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security of Kenya.

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<sup>14</sup> Esther Kariuki, Liisa, and Laako. Election violence and political science knowledge: Evidence from Kenya and Zimbabwe. 1-23 in Development Studies Forum. 2019 Routledge.

## 1.5 Literature Review

### 1.5.1 Theoretical Literature Review

#### 1.5.1.1 Theory of Hegemonic War and Change

The Robert Gilpins-promoted Hegemonic Conflict and Change theory serves as the foundation for this investigation. The theory dictates that those systems that are established through international agreements such as regionalism and that are aimed at integrating territories are binding. This is because such agreement calls for the participants to enact structures of social relations that have the sole aim of advancing and cushioning their common interests.<sup>15</sup> The benefit each participant is expected to gain dictates the general structure in the overall distribution of the final gains from the agreement.<sup>16</sup> The multiple actors that stand to gain from the modification in the system are motivated to further adjust it in an effort to achieve a more equitable distribution of benefits as the dominant interests shift over time.<sup>17</sup>

The idea contends that in this regard, a balance is frequently attained in circumstances where none of the participants stand to gain from modifying the system. This implies that each partner is aware of the benefits accrued from forging of the agreement right from the beginning. Secondly, the members may decide to strengthen the partnership when it is deemed that they have a better chance of benefiting from the alliance than making reciprocal losses. Thirdly, in order to put in place better chances of gaining rewards from the partnership, a country may decide to expand politically, economically and even on the territory of its interest as a way of enhancing its gains from the union.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Buzan, Bond., Robert, Davis and Gilpin Roberts. *Analytical framework based on security*. Publishers Lynne Rienner, London (1998).

<sup>16</sup> Buzan, Bond., Robert, Davis and Gilpin Roberts. *Analytical framework based on security*. Publishers Lynne Rienner, London (1998).

<sup>17</sup> Buzan, Bond., Robert, Davis and *Analytical framework based on security*. Publishers Lynne Rienner, London (1998).

<sup>18</sup> Asante Samuel. *Regionalism and the development expectations in Africa: expectations, realities and challenges*. Springer, 2016.

Finally, whenever a situation arises that the strong powers in the agreement are unable to mitigate on any situation that disadvantages some members, hegemonic war is the recourse for creating the new power distribution.

The theory is significant in this study because it clarifies and supports the idea of the advantages and difficulties that regionalism presents for the EAC members. For instance, the EAC has so far experienced considerable benefits of socio-economic, security and political cohesion as a result of regionalism. The region now has the benefit of confronting common challenges like global terrorism against terror groups like Al Shabaab that threatened their national security. The nexus of cohesion in EAC may act as a rudimentary example when assessing the nature of regionalism as a component of hegemonic maneuver where the member states aim at cushioning own interests. Through the union, the member states stand a better positioning of fighting for common goals and interests whenever threatened by foreign powers politically and economically and even by international threats such as international terrorism.

Furthermore, the theory develops the issue of heterogeneous relations that create the tendencies of expansionism. This is notable in cases such as regionalism like the EAC further abandoning the strict composition of membership to incorporate other like-minded and interested partners in the hegemonic maneuver. The EAC has further expanded and included new partners like DRC and South Sudan. There is also the inclusion of international intervening members like the USA and the EU who have been incorporated in the EAC affairs in policy and decision-making arena. The EU and USA have played leading roles in providing assistance to EAC in the fight against international terrorism like Al-Qaida and Al-shabaab.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Asante Samuel. *Regionalism and the development expectations in Africa: expectations, realities and challenges*. Springer, 2016.

The literature review is based on impacts of regionalism on national security of East African Community member states and specifically Kenya. The study highlights the drive of regionalism as the inspiration for the desire for various nations to merge into a regional bloc, thus foregoing the ability for individualistic conduct of domestic and foreign policies and the impact on national security of member states. The study reviews literature related to the influence of regionalism on national security of East African Community member states, the socio-economic impacts posed by regionalism on national security of Kenya and the benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security of Kenya.

## **1.6 Empirical Literature Review**

### **1.6.1 Influence of regionalism on national security of member states**

Throughout the history of the world, countries have continuously sought to unite for the interest of common good. Ancient alliances have been recorded between various groups of states for the purposes of furthering their political, economic, religious and cultural interest. The Egyptian civilization often created alliances with neighboring ancient kingdoms in the Middle East as fronts for hegemonic interests. Mansa Musa of the Mali Empire sought for integration with the Egyptian kingdom.<sup>20</sup> During the present times, examples of international spirit of regionalism abounds as witnessed by the creation of NAFTA, EU, and the African Union.

Since the beginning of colonialism in the early 20th century, Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania have worked together and expressed a desire for regionalism in the Eastern part of Africa. In order to promote regional cooperation between the two colonial regions, the British colonial authority in Kenya established the Customs Union in 1917.

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<sup>20</sup> Cichecka, Anna. "EAC—an Answer for Regional Problems or Failed Solutions in East Africa?" *Politeja* 56 (2018): 267-277.

Tanganyika later joined this union in 1927 and with the ever-approaching independence of the region, the Customs Union later converted to the East Africa Common Service Organization (EASCO), and then finally to EAC in 1967.<sup>21</sup>

There were a number of regional projects that precipitated the creation of EACSO in the final days of British colonial rule in East Africa. These included the Kenya-Uganda railway aimed at maintaining and strengthening the British control and access to mineral-rich and landlocked Uganda. The most important goal of the EAC was to accelerate and strengthen regional growth through the creation of shared markets and tariffs as well as public empowerment. However, the collapse of the EAC was eventually accelerated by the continuity of leadership differences that were either political or economic. This witnessed the ultimate dissolution of the community in 1977.<sup>22</sup>

Notably, the collapse of the first EAC in 1977 was due to economic and security concerns for member states. First, there was demand by Kenya for a share of more seats in decision making organs than Uganda and Tanzania. Kenya felt that she possessed a more economic contribution to the regional body than the other two members. This rattled the economic and national security of the other two parties who felt that Kenya was overbearing and suffocating their need for sovereignty in decision making. Secondly, there was disagreement between President Nyerere of Tanzania and Uganda's Idi Amin over the former's attempt at supporting and harboring forces fighting to topple the government of Uganda.<sup>23</sup> Tanzania felt that the existence of Idi Amin in Uganda was a security threat to their nation (Tanzania) and the region. This

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<sup>21</sup> Cichecka, Anna. "EAC—an Answer for Regional Problems or Failed Solutions in East Africa?" *Politeja* 56 (2018): 267-277.

<sup>22</sup> Bar. Joanna., "East African Communities (1967-1978, 1999-) and their Activity for Political Stability of the Region." *56 Politeja* (2018): 247-266.

<sup>23</sup> Chrysti M. Turinskaya. Regional political integration in East Africa. *Mirovaia economy and international cooperation* 63, no. 7 (2019): 67-75.

accelerated the collapse of the EAC. Finally, the economic systems of capitalism in Kenya and socialism in Tanzania were vehemently opposed to the economic well-being of the spirit of regionalism. Tanzania felt that capitalism in Kenya threatened its economic footpath of socialism (Ujamaa) and was also a threat to the ultimate integration of the union.

Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania signed the Treaty for East Africa Cooperation, creating a Tripartite Commission for Cooperation, in Kampala on November 30, 1993.<sup>24</sup> By working together on a triangle agenda in the fields of politics, economy, sociocultural, science and technology, defence and security, as well as legal and judicial concerns, the intention was to begin the reintegration process.<sup>25</sup> The second EAC was re-instituted on November 30th, 1999, following the signing of the reinstatement agreement. Exactly 23 years after the collapse of the first EAC, on July 7, 2000, the second EAC established a customs union, which came into force on January 1st, 2005. This agreement was signed in March 2004.<sup>26</sup> On November 30, 2016, it was declared that the EAC would cease to be a federation and instead become a confederation. The Democratic Republic of the Congo was admitted to the EAC as the sixth Partner State on March 29, 2022.<sup>27</sup> The EAC has made strides in establishing important economic parts of the organization, such as a common market, monetary union, and customs union, which are seen as prerequisites for the creation of a political federation.<sup>28</sup> Problems have also been noted; for instance, the industrialization process is criticized for moving too slowly. As such

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<sup>24</sup> "History of the EAC". EAC. On December 21, 2016, the original version was archived. obtained on August 24, 2022 Retrieved 24 August 2022

<sup>25</sup> "East African Nations agree to disagree". All of Africa. November 30, 2016. obtained on December 20, 2016.

<sup>26</sup> Joanna. Bar, "East African Communities (1967-1978, 1999-) and their Activity for Political Stability of the Region." *56 Politeja* (2018): 247-266.

<sup>27</sup> "East Africa: Regional Political Integration," Khristina M. Turinskaya. *Mirovaia ekonomika and international affairs* 63, no. 7 (2019): 67-75.

<sup>28</sup> Cichecka, Anna. "EAC—an Answer for Regional Problems or Failed Solutions in East Africa?" *Politeja* 56 (2018): 267-277.

the goals of sustainable economic development are still unattainable until industrialization is achieved. There is a complaint relating to Customs Union as provided by the Protocol. This mainly applies to commodities that are shipped to Tanzania and Uganda from Kenya. A lack of communication among political elites, dysfunctional and unbalanced relationships between member states, and other factors make it difficult to achieve political stability. Other challenges include political ones like civil turmoil in the DRC, South Sudan, and Burundi.<sup>29</sup> There is also the emergence of international terrorism particularly Al-Shabaab terrorists in Kenya. These threats risk the national security of member states and especially the sovereignty and regionalism ambitions of the region.

In a study in East Asia, Aditi explored the national security implication in this region due to adoption of regionalism.<sup>30</sup> A lengthy investigation into the topic focused on the three principles of regional regionalism: political harmony, economic interdependence, and shared identity. The results showed that regionalism is a complicated endeavor with major ramifications for member states' national security. The fact that this study is based in East Asia creates a contextual gap. There is a methodological mismatch here because the current study is utilizing an exploratory research design while this study chose a longitudinal research strategy.

Muntschick conducted research on the effect of regionalism on fostering democracy in the SADC.<sup>31</sup> The study examined the regional agenda of the SADC, democracy-building strategies, and national security of member states using a before-and-after

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<sup>29</sup> Cichecka, Anna. "EAC—an Answer for Regional Problems or Failed Solutions in East Africa?" *Politeja* 56 (2018): 267-277.

<sup>30</sup> Paul, Aditi. "Regional cooperation in South Asia: Exploring the three pillars of regionalism and their relevance." *Indian and Asian Studies Journal* 1, no. 02 (2020): 2050008.

<sup>31</sup> Muntschick, Johannes. "The impact of regionalism on democracy building: An examination of the Southern African development community (SADC)." *Among developing nations and marginalized groups, citizenship, democracies, and media engagement.* 55-80. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2017.

design. In light of the results, SADC has made some progress in achieving democracy through regional governance systems while also enforcing national security in the majority of member states. The study on the impact of regionalism on the development of democracy in the SADC is conceptually and contextually lacking in both the use of a before-and-after design and methodology.

Baogang examined regionalism as an instrument of power contestation in China.<sup>32</sup> The paper investigates the functions of China-led regionalism in the context of US-China competitiveness using longitudinal and exploratory methodologies. The results show how China's regionalism has altered the logic of alliance politics and has had a substantial impact on the national security of the entire South East Asian area. Contextual gaps are produced by the study's emphasis on China, whereas conceptual gaps are caused by regionalism and power struggles.

### **1.6.2 Socio-economic impacts posed by regionalism on national security**

Globally, the early regionalism discourse of 1950s and 1960s was mainly concerned with the technical and economic factors that aimed at achievement of peace and welfare of the citizens. However, from the 1970s there is remarkable change in empirical evidence that increasingly illuminated social economic and political factors that exacerbated economic challenges of societies.<sup>33</sup> The comeback of a socioeconomic and political-oriented economy, which culminated in the creation of a new regionalism that was distinct from the previous one, indicates that there was a notable transformation from the 1970s and 1980s.

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<sup>32</sup> Baogang He, the case of China: Regionalism as a Tool for Contesting Global Power. *Asian Studies Review* 44, no. 1 (pp. 79–96) (2020).

<sup>33</sup> Compton Jr, Robert W. "Comparative regional integration in SADC and ASEAN: Issues related to democracy and governance in a historical and socioeconomic setting. *Regions and Cohesion* 3, no. 1; 2013: 5–31.

While considering the interaction of socioeconomic and political forces, the new socioeconomic order of regionalism was distinguished by its multidimensionality and comprehensiveness. As a result of this paradigm change, regional integration blocs with a focus on the global socio-economic and political economy emerged. The European Union (EU), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and the Association of Southeast Asian States are a few instances of socioeconomic and political regional blocs (ASEAN). Their focus was on improving the socioeconomic conditions and political standing of regional societies and blocs.

There isn't a nation on the planet that can flourish socioeconomically without a climate of physical and social security. Every well-intentioned government has socio-economic development as its top priority since it has a significant impact on the amount of economic activity, which in turn depends on the harmonious coexistence of its citizens.<sup>34</sup> After the conclusion of the cold war, researchers have found significant connections between socioeconomic development and national security.<sup>35</sup> As such, socio-economic systems are the driving force for any regional, national economy and security. It is suggested that socio-economic development cannot be attained where there is conflicts, crisis and disagreements. There is consensus that socio-economic development and national security are two different and inseparable conflicts that impacts on each other. In the absence of national security, socio-economic development is never sustainable since it destroys the economic, human and social capital.<sup>36</sup>

For instance, activities of militia groups within the EAC environment pose serious threats to the socio-economic growth and progress of regionalism. For instance, the Al-

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<sup>34</sup> Ewatan, Olabanji Olukayonde and Ese Urhie. "Socioeconomic growth and insecurity in Nigeria." *Sustainable Development Studies Journal*, Volume 5, No 1 (2014).

<sup>35</sup> Olutayo, Adebuseyi Adeniran, and Akinpelu Odenwingieeds. "*Regional economic communities: Exploring the process of social economic integration in Africa*". Codesria, 2015.

<sup>36</sup> Ewatan, Ese Urhie, and Olabanji Olukayonde. "Socioeconomic growth and insecurity in Nigeria." *Sustainable Development Studies Journal*, Volume 5, No 1 (2014).

shabaab terrorists in Somalia have considerably reduced socio-economic activities in Kenya and Uganda.<sup>37</sup> Similar to this, the security risks provided by militia groups in the DRC continue to destroy the country's existing infrastructure, limiting the peaceful growth of such infrastructure and the socioeconomic activities of local populations. This is a danger to the national security of DRC, Rwanda, Burundi and the regional integration since it is a barrier to economic empowerment of households to sustain present and future sustainability of generations.<sup>38</sup>

The problem of refugees from South Sudan and Somalia is a constraint on Kenya's socioeconomic growth. Refugee camps such as Dadaab in the north eastern Kenya and others are fertile breeding grounds for Al-shabaab terrorists' cells that threaten the national security of Kenya.<sup>39</sup> Equally, important is that the refugees are strenuous to the infrastructures in Kenya since they rely on national shares of the Kenyan citizens thus posing current and future strains to resources such as food, water and security of the country.

In the backdrop of the Sahelian socioeconomic development issues and the Boko Haram threat, Badewa undertook a study on the regional security complex<sup>40</sup> The study employed the Regional Security Complex Theory to undertake an empirical analysis of secondary data (RSCT). The conclusions showed that state fragility and national security were impacted by conflict escalation and the unfavorable effects of interventions. This was demonstrated by the population displacement and devastation in the Sahel region. The suggestions called for the creation of a comprehensive regional

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<sup>37</sup> Olutayo, Adebuseyi Adeniran, and Akinpelu Odemwingieeds. "*Regional economic communities: Exploring the process of social economic integration in Africa*". Codesria, 2015.

<sup>38</sup> Olutayo, Akinpelu Odemwingie and Adebuseyi Adeniran, eds. "*Regional economic communities: Exploring the process of social economic integration in Africa*". Codesria, 2015.

<sup>39</sup> Kamau, Edward N. "Effects of Globalization on Regional Security in East Africa: a Case Study of East African Community." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2018.

<sup>40</sup> Badewa, Adeyemi Saheed. "Regional security complex: The Boko Haram menace and socio-economic development crises in the Sahel." *Conflict, Security & Development* (2022): 1-23.

security-development system to reduce the causes and consequences of insecurity in the Sahel and improve the socioeconomic conditions of the population. This contextual gap exists since the study is based in the Sahel region. The use of Regional Security Complex Theory is a theoretical gap.

Liulca conducted research on the Republic of Moldova's national security in light of socioeconomic, regional, and international concerns.<sup>41</sup> The study used a qualitative approach to illustrate and gauge popular perception of Moldova's most pressing national security difficulties in light of local socioeconomic problems. The results showed that all internal and foreign players in the country are thought to play a significant role in stabilizing the political and socioeconomic situation in the region. Ultimately, this would have positive and significant impact on the socio-economic state of Moldova, the region and possibility of integration into the European Union. The study is based in the republic of Moldova and there is a contextual gap. The use of qualitative design is a methodological gap.

Katsarski studied the impact of demographic situations on regional security in Slovenia.<sup>42</sup> In the context of regionalism, the significance of a country's demographic situation is seen from the perspective of whether or not a nation will remain. Both historical and longitudinal research designs were used in the study. The results showed that demographic issues have a meaningful impact on a state's overall growth since declining populations have an impact on a nation's vulnerability at both political and economic levels. This has a big impact on a nation's and a region's national security. This contextual gap exists because the study is based in Slovenia. A methodological flaw is the use of historical and longitudinal designs.

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<sup>41</sup> Liulca, Arina. "National security of the Republic of Moldova in the context of socio-economic, regional and global challenges." (2020).

<sup>42</sup> Katsarski, Nikolay. "Impact of the demographic situation on regional security." *31, No. 5 of Knowledge-International Journal* (2019): 1539-1543.

### 1.6.3 Benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security

Globally, there is no country that is immune from one form of insecurity or another. Even where countries coalesce to create regional bodies, insecurity challenges can never be wished away. For the regional blocs in both developed and developing countries, national security is synonymous with national unity and integration. Where national security cannot be guaranteed, regional unit is far from reality.<sup>43</sup> As such, the policy makers behind the endeavor for regionalism should take proactive measures to provide holistic approach to regional and national security for socio-economic, political, cultural and technological integration.

There are various benefits and challenges of regionalism that a country may get from regionalism. Regionalism has been linked to an increase in employment. In particular, this occurs when jobs are outsourced from developed economies to those in Africa and Asia that are still developing.<sup>44</sup> There are many companies like Cisco, Google among others that are using the labor force of developing countries through outsourced job opportunities. There is investment in infrastructure by the developed countries in the developing economies. For instance, China, USA and other European countries have massive investments in East African Community member states especially in energy, roads, and railway installations. Trade agreements like the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), which was passed between the United States and African countries for the exportation of African commodities, are evidence that regionalism has increased commerce between developed and developing countries.

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<sup>43</sup> Mou. Dan, "National Security Architecture, Good Governance and Nation Building-preventing Nigeria from becoming a "Failed State"." *International Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies* 5, no. 1 (2018): 1-32.

<sup>44</sup> The essay by Michael Clarke and Anthony Ricketts "US grand strategy and national security: the difficulties of supremacy, decline, and denial," was published in the journal." *71, no. 5 (2017), 479-498, Australian Journal of International Affairs.*

Politically, issues related to good governance, transparency and accountability as well as integrity and the adherence to the rule of law have gained credence in many countries through regionalism. These are the tenets that form the clarion call for African Union, EAC and other regional bodies. This shows that regionalism has significant impact on politics that informs the national security of member states.<sup>45</sup> Trade blocs like the European Union, World Trade Organizations, AU and EAC among others have initiated transformation that details the ability of governments to focus and find solutions to such threats to humanity like terrorism and global warming that are threats to national security. Good governance that is the key driver for national security is advocated by regional bodies like the EAC.

Regionalism has negative impacts on the political, socio-economic, cultural, and technological and security sectors.<sup>46</sup> In the economic sector, regionalism has continued to be a key driver to the economic might of the developed economies and has on the same line contributed to impoverishing the developing economies and especially those in Africa, Asia and South America.<sup>47</sup> Wherever issues related to outsourcing of jobs, huge profits are normally destined to the rich countries. Through regionalism, the drivers, owners and beneficiaries of the global policies that control the direction of politics and economics are usually the rich countries. The major shareholders in lending organizations like the World Bank and the IMF are the wealthy nations. On matters of financial aid and the use of borrowed funds, the poor countries must always abide by the dictates of the affluent countries.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Anthony Ricketts, Michael, and Clarke. "US grand strategy and national security: the dilemmas of primacy, decline and denial." *International Affairs in Australia Journal* 71, no. 5 (2017): 479-498.

<sup>46</sup> Peace A. Jiboku, "The Challenge of Regional Economic Integration in Africa: Theory and Reality." *Review of Public Service Delivery and Performance in Africa* 3, no. 4 (2015): 5-28.

<sup>47</sup> Asante, Samuel KB. *African development and regionalism: expectations, realities, and obstacles*. Springer, 2016.

<sup>48</sup> Asante Samuel, *Regionalism and the Expectations for Development in Africa: Expectations, Reality, and Challenges*. Springer, 2016.

Control of commerce and political sovereignty is a threat to national securities of developing countries like Kenya.<sup>49</sup> Even when it comes to the political and social security of the population, the populations from the wealthy and developed economies have access to potentially much higher protections than their counterparts in the developing world. This is especially on the security of basic needs like food, clothing and shelter where the populations from the developing countries are usually on their own and are constantly ravaged by hunger, diseases and extreme poverty. On issues like crime, developed countries have put in place measures to offer the best security against such vagaries like crime to their people whereas crime is the order of the day for many citizens in the developing economies.<sup>50</sup>

Keen, Meg and John studied the urban challenges of regionalism and resilience in Pacific Island States.<sup>51</sup> The study's goal is to advance knowledge of the difficulties associated with urban planning and management in the setting of a regionalized environment. The study used qualitative design where data was gathered from government officials in major urban centers in Pacific Island States. The findings established that due to weak urban planning and regulatory frameworks, efforts in regionalism are negated and this has serious implications on national security of the Pacific Island States. The suggested solutions include coordinated regional efforts to increase resilience and a pro-active political and policy agenda as a first step in reducing the difficulties. The study's location in the Pacific Island States creates a contextual gap. A methodological flaw is the use of qualitative design.

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<sup>49</sup> Asante Samuel. *Regionalism and the development expectations in Africa: expectations, realities and challenges*. Springer, 2016.

<sup>50</sup> Asante Samuel. *Regionalism and the development expectations in Africa: expectations, realities and challenges*. Springer, 2016.

<sup>51</sup> Meg, John Connell, and Keen. "Regionalism and resilience? Meeting urban challenges in Pacific Island states." *Research on Urban Policy* 37, no. 3 (2019): 324-337.

Research on regionalism and its advantages and drawbacks in Iran's foreign relations was conducted there by Zalei et al.<sup>52</sup> The study used data from the library as well as trustworthy internal and external sources to conduct descriptive analytical analysis. The results demonstrated that regionalism has enabled Iran to create eco-regional cooperation with Turkey and Pakistan. However, the regional cooperation has failed to attain economic, political and security benefits for Iran and the region. The study's Iranian base creates a contextual gap.

Sampson conducted research on the advantages and difficulties of the state-religion relationship's legal and constitutional limits in the context of regional and Nigeria's national security.<sup>53</sup> The goal of this exploratory study was to define the conceptual distinction between religion and politics via the prism of global and national security. The findings established that use of moderate secular regime has positive and significant implication in attainment of national and regional security. Additionally, existence of extreme secular regimes has continuously torpedoed the achievement of a healthy state-religion in Nigeria threatening the national and regional security. The study is based in Nigeria and this is a contextual gap.

## **1.7 Research Gaps**

The review of literature has established the existence of contextual, theoretical and methodological gaps. For instance, there were contextual gaps found in the following studies: Aditi's exploration of the national security implications of regionalism's adoption in East Asia; Muntschick's study on the influence of regionalism on the development of democracy in the SADC; and Baogang's study on regionalism as a tool

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<sup>52</sup> Seyed Mehdi Musavi Shahidi, Seyed Zarei, Bahador, Jalil Delshadzi, and Seyed Mahmoud Alavi. Regionalism and its difficulties in regard to diplomatic relations with Iran. *Research in Human Geography* 47, no. 4 (2015): 743-758.

<sup>53</sup> Isaac Terwase Sampson. "Religion and the Nigerian State: Situating the de facto and de jure Frontiers of State-Religion Relations and its Implications for National and regional Security." *3, no. 2 of the Oxford Journal of Law and Religion* (2016): 311-339.

for power struggle in China. The following studies had methodological flaws: Aditi's research in East Asia used a longitudinal design, Muntschick's research on the influence of regionalism on the development of democracy in SADC used a before-and-after design, and Liulca's study of the national security of the Republic of Moldova in the context of socioeconomic, regional, and global challenges used a qualitative design. Theoretical inadequacies were discovered in the study by Badewa, who employed the Regional Security Complex Theory to examine the regional security complex in the context of the Boko Haram threat and socioeconomic development difficulties in the Sahel region (RSCT). The current study makes an effort to close these knowledge gaps.

## **1.8 Hypotheses**

This study is guided by three null hypotheses assumptions;

1. There is no significant influence of regionalism on national security of East African Community member states.
2. There is no significant impact of socio-economic posed by regionalism on national security of Kenya.
3. There are no significant benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security of Kenya.

## **1.9 Justification of the Study**

### **1.9.1 Academic justification**

The goal of the study is to contribute to the rapidly expanding discourse of the literature on regionalism in Africa, the East Africa Community, and the impact on member nations' security environments, particularly Kenya. The study provides valuable literature on impact of regionalism and national security of East Africa Community since the information is gathered from conversant, knowledgeable and experienced regional officials. The study is valuable to current and future scholars since the

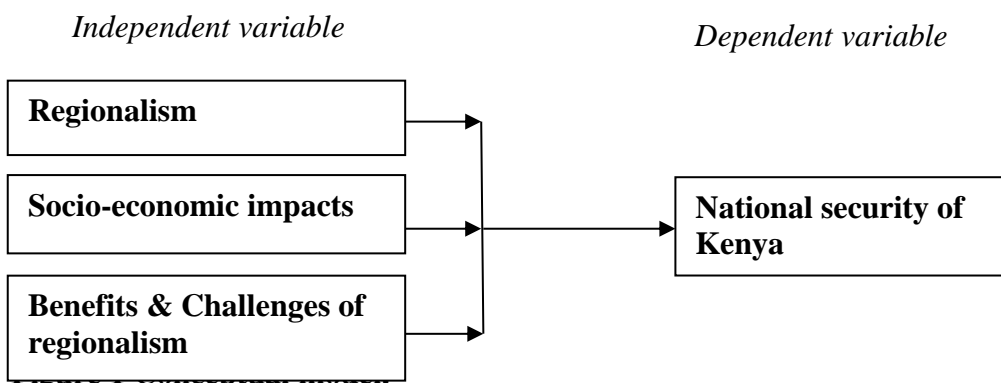
discourse will create a foundation for further inquiry on the aspect of regionalism and national security in the region.

### 1.9.2 Policy justification

Since it provides insight into the approaches to and ways to improve regionalism and national security within the East African member nations, and Kenya in particular, this study is essential particularly for the current and future military and civilian policy makers in the East African Community.

### 1.10 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework shows how regionalism and national security are related. It illustrates the relationship that regionalism as fronted through the impacts of socio-economic factors existing in a country, has considerable benefits and challenges on the state of national security of a country.



Source: Researcher, 2022

### 1.11 Methodology of the Study

In this part, the research technique is presented. The study population, sampling method, and sample size are all included. Instruments for gathering data, data analysis, and data presentation are availed.

### 1.12 Research Design

Exploratory design is the type of research that this study employs. Exploratory research

design is suitable for studies making inquiries on novel fields of study and especially where the scope, extent of a situation and the general problems or behaviors are being examined.<sup>54</sup> This design incorporates analysis of sample population as the representative of the entire population through interviews or use of key informant groups.<sup>55</sup> The approach is suitable for assessing the effects of regionalism on the national security of Kenya and other members of the East Africa Community. Because it allows for the use of both quantitative and qualitative data, the study design is beneficial.

### **1.13 Population of the Study**

The total population from which a representative sample is carefully chosen constitutes the study's population.<sup>56</sup> Personnel from the embassies of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and South Sudan made up the population in this study. Officials from Kenya's Ministry of East Africa and Regional Development were also included in the target population. Senior military officers from Kenya Defence Forces were also targeted. The sample size comprised of 20 respondents purposively selected. They included 10 representatives from the Kenyan Ministry of East Africa and Regional Development and 10 senior Kenyan Defense Forces officers. Questionnaires were used in collecting data and were administered to embassy and ministry officials. For the senior military officers in KDF, interview schedules were employed to gather information.

### **1.14 Data Collection**

Data from both primary and secondary sources were used. Secondary data on the effects

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<sup>54</sup> Bhattacharjee, Anol. *“Social Science Research: Principles, Methods and Practices”* Collection of Open Free Access Textbooks, 2012, Book 3.

<sup>55</sup> Finn. Laursen, *Theory and Practice of Regional Integration*. Robert Schuman Papers Series Vol. 8, 2008, No. 3.

<sup>56</sup> Roger, Uma Sekaran, and Bougie. *Research techniques for business: a method for developing skills*. Wiley & Sons, 2019.

of regionalism on the national security of East Africa Community member states was acquired from published studies and works from journals, books, papers, on-site and digital repositories from the EAC Secretariats Library. Questionnaires and interview schedules were used to collect the main data. Open and close-ended questionnaires were used in gathering data from respondents. Questionnaires targeted officials from embassies and ministries. Interviews targeted senior military officers from the rank of major sampled from Kenya Defense Forces.

### **1.15 Data Analysis and Presentations**

Quantitative and qualitative data analysis methodologies were used during the data analysis process. The open-ended questions and interview schedules' qualitative material was analyzed, condensed, and organized into pertinent themes. To ascertain which themes, recur frequently in certain contexts and how they linked to one another, content analysis was used. To determine its effectiveness, quantitative data from surveys and interviews were triangulated. Using both descriptive and inferential statistical techniques, this data type was examined. Measures of central tendency including mean and mode, percentages, and standard deviations were used in descriptive statistics. Regression and correlation analysis were both employed in inferential statistics. Pie charts, bar graphs, and statistical graphs were used to illustrate the results after analysis.

### **1.16 Scope of the Study**

The main goal of the study was to ascertain how regionalism affected Kenya in particular as well as the other member states of the East Africa Community as a whole. The study focused on the socioeconomic effects of regionalism on Kenya's national security, the advantages and disadvantages of regionalism for Kenya's national security, and the influence of regionalism on the national security of East Africa Community

member states. Data collection included representation from all seven East Africa Community member states. Senior military officers from the Kenya Defense Forces and representatives from the Kenyan Ministry of East Africa and Regional Development also took part in the study. The researcher overcame the limitations of time and money with travels to these countries thanks to the choice of respective embassies as representatives of the seven member states.

### **1.17 Chapter Outline**

**Chapter One** contains the study's background, problem statement, research questions, objectives, literature review, and research gaps. It also includes an introduction to the study, chapter summaries as well as descriptions of the study's objectives, theoretical framework, methodology, and hypotheses and reasons.

**Chapter Two** seeks to ascertain the impact of regionalism on the national security of the members of the East African Community.

**Chapter Three** establishes the socio-economic impacts posed by regionalism on national security of Kenya.

**Chapter Four** assesses the benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security of Kenya.

**Chapter Five** outlines the summary, conclusion and recommendations arising from the entire study.

**CHAPTER TWO**  
**REGIONALISM AND NATIONAL SECURITY OF EAST AFRICA**  
**COMMUNITY MEMBER STATES**

**2.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents a survey of the literature on regionalism and national security in East Africa Community member countries. The review aims to identify existing knowledge gaps and prior related studies.

**2.2 Regionalism and National Security of East Africa Community Member States**

National security and regionalism are terms that are defined and discussed in this section. Additionally, it presents the case for the regionalist discourse and national security of the East Africa Community Member States.

**2.2.1 Regionalism**

Regionalism is often defined as the development economic, political or sometimes social systems on the foundation of loyalty of a specific geographical region composed of homogeneous population with cultural or ideological identity.<sup>57</sup> A shared sense of identity that frequently leads to the accomplishment of goals and an improvement in the standard of living of the populace is the foundation for the development of regionalism, which is based on clear agreements among nations within groupings. So, through regionalism, formal economic or political institutions are established between member nations with the aim of achieving shared ideological objectives. Economic regionalism leads to the creation of formal international agreements that provide the

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<sup>57</sup> Fredrik, Söderbau, "Rethinking Regionalism." 2016 first edition; Springer; ISBN-10: 0230272401.

unrestricted movement of goods and services between countries. Modern regionalism has become more and more popular since the end of the Cold War.<sup>58</sup>

There are two phases of regionalism; old and new regionalism. The first attempt to establish the old regionalism commenced in the 1950s.<sup>59</sup> This era represented “old regionalism” attempts that ultimately were not successful. One exception, though, was the European Community, which was successfully founded in 1957. About 1990, the end of the Cold War, the end of the Berlin Wall and the demise of the Soviet Union signaled the start of a new era of “new regionalism.”<sup>60</sup> During this time, an era of active global economic integration began to emerge. The goal of greater economic integration culminated in the creation of international regional organizations that promoted countries' participation in international trade more so than those established during the previous era of regionalism.<sup>61</sup>

In the new period of regionalism, a variety of various political and economic forces, as opposed to the two antagonistic superpowers, the US and the Soviet Union, were in charge of the world's political and economic order.<sup>62</sup> The new motivators of multi-state accords were now based on non-economic elements including social policy and the environment that encouraged transparency and accountability in governmental processes. Globalization was now the new regionalism's main motivator. Although globalization had a significant impact on new regionalism, regionalism also had a

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<sup>58</sup> Púa, Riggiozzi. "Region, regionness and regionalism in Latin America: towards a new synthesis." 421-443 in *New Political Economics* 17, no. 4 (2012).

<sup>59</sup> Acharya, Amitav, “Comparative regionalism: A field whose time has come? *Spectator International*” *The International Spectator* 47, no. 1 (2012): 3-15.

<sup>60</sup> Kelly, Robert E. "Security Theory in the 'New Regionalism'." *Analysis of International Studies* 9, no. 2 (2007): 197-229.

<sup>61</sup> Amitav. Acharya, “Comparative regionalism: A field whose time has come?” *The International Spectator* 47, no. 1 (2012): 3-15.

<sup>62</sup> Kelly, Robert E. "Security theory in the “new regionalism”." *International Studies Review* 9, no. 2 (2007): 197-229.

significant impact on globalization.<sup>63</sup> Fundamentally, the impacts of globalization and trans-nationalism have been greatly advanced, altered, or even reversed under the influence of regionalism.<sup>64</sup>

The failure of the 2001 Doha round of World Trade Organization negotiations has significantly contributed to regional trade accords' overall success. This phenomenon occurs because, in accordance with the regionalism theory, the region's demand for total political integration grows in direct proportion to the expansion of economic integration within it.<sup>65</sup> A good example is the European Union (EU), a multinational group that collaborates on both the political and economic fronts. The European Community gave way to the European Union after 40 years of economic integration throughout Europe.<sup>66</sup> Regionalism has become a more noticeable feature of world politics after the end of World War II, and especially since 1990 with the end of the Cold War.<sup>67</sup> In the years immediately following World War II, multilateral regional organizations such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the European Community, the forerunner of the EU, the Organization of American States (OAS), the Organization of African Unity (OAU), the Arab League, and the Association of East Asian Nations were founded (ASEAN).<sup>68</sup> Regional cooperation frameworks like the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) are instances of this, just as the end of the Cold War in 1990 and the rise of globalization drove the need for new regionalism (APEC). In order to advance the economic,

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<sup>63</sup> Mario Tel is the editor of *European Union and New Regionalism: Regional Actors and Global Governance in a Post-Hegemonic Era*. the year 2013; Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

<sup>64</sup> Ellen L. Frost, "Asia's rising regionalism." 2008; Nus Press.

<sup>65</sup> Hudson Meadwell, "A Rational Choice Approach to Political Regionalism." *The 23.04 issue of Comparative Politics* (Jul., 1991).

<sup>66</sup> Fredrik. Söderbaum, "Introduction: theories of new regionalism." pp. 1–21 in *Theories of New Regionalism*. London's Palgrave Macmillan 2003.

<sup>67</sup> Barry. Buzan, "Will the 'global war on terrorism' be the new Cold War?" *Foreign affairs* 82, no. 6 (2006): 1101-1118.

<sup>68</sup> Nesadurai, Helen ES. "ASEAN and regional governance after the Cold War: from regional order to regional community?" *Pacific Review* 22, no. 1 (2009): 91-118.

political, cultural, and security interests of the continent in the twenty-first century, the OAU was revived in Africa during this time period, resulting in the formation of the African Union (AU).<sup>69</sup> This shows that regionalism is a precursor to national security, socio-economic, political and cultural security of individual countries and regions. Security cooperation has been a key component of the regionalism phenomena for the majority of the time since the foundation of the regional entities.<sup>70</sup> For instance, security organizations include the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), and NATO. The OAS, AU, and Arab League are just a few examples of regional organizations with broad mandates that have a contingent security component.<sup>71</sup> Even smaller regional groups such as IGAD, ECOWAS and SADC also have security dimensions.<sup>72</sup> As a result, many regional and sub-regional organizations function between the old meaning of security and the contemporary, frequently broader framework of democracy, which includes security appendages like democracy, human rights, environmental, and economic issues. Even regional institutions that are primarily constituted as economic in nature like EAC and COMESA are often designed with the capacity to promote stability, avoidance of conflict and collective protection of the livelihood and tranquility of the citizenry-which are important features of security.<sup>73</sup> This indicates that there are some regional bodies that were created for sole purpose of security such as NATO while others were forged for socio-economic, political and security gains like Arab League, the AU and the OAS.

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<sup>69</sup> Mansfield, Edward D., and Helen V. Milner. "The new wave of regionalism." *International organization* 53, no. 3 (1999): 589-627.

<sup>70</sup> Amitav. Acharya, *Constructing a security community in Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the problem of regional order*. Routledge, 2009.

<sup>71</sup> Helen ES. Nesadurai, "ASEAN and regional governance after the Cold War: from regional order to regional community?" *The Pacific Review* 22, no. 1 (2009): 91-118.

<sup>72</sup> Even smaller regional groups such as IGAD, ECOWAS and SADC also have security dimensions.

<sup>73</sup> Ross Buchanan, Terri E. Givens, Flavia Jurje, Lavenex, Sandra, and Sandra. "Regional migration governance." *The Oxford Handbook of Regional Comparative* (2016): 457-485.

### 2.2.2 National Security

National security is the ability of a state to guarantee the protection and defence of its population.<sup>74</sup> The power of the state to provide for the protection and defence of the populace is how Krahmman further develops the idea of national security. Potential threats to national security are inclusive of actions from other states that may range from issues like cyber-attack and military attacks.<sup>75</sup> Other potential threats may originate from violent non-state actors including terrorists, organized criminal gangs like drug cartels and effects from natural disasters like floods. Climate change, militarization, political isolation, and economic inequality are only a few examples of the systemic factors that contribute to insecurity.<sup>76</sup>

The definition of national security normally involves the aspect of factoring of state and individual as components of the wholesome identification. This brings the ideal of national security as encompassing the freedom of people from various dangers or threats that are provided by the state with the capacity to protect cherish and develop the welfare of the citizenry.<sup>77</sup> As a result, the aspect of national security places a lot of focus on a nation's security concerns. For instance, civil unrest in the DRC and South Sudan is one of the most pressing problems now threatening the national security of the various member states in a region like the East Africa Community. Accordingly, any attempt at defining national security in the region must include the capacity of the

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<sup>74</sup> Krahmman, Elke. "Security: Collective good or commodity?" *international relations magazine published in Europe* 14, no. 3 (2008): 379-404.

<sup>75</sup> Caplan, Nathalie. "Cyber War: The Challenge to National Security." *Study of global security* 4, no. 1 (2013).

<sup>76</sup> Sam Charles, Stephen J. Cimbala, John Allen Williams, and Sarkesian. *Political actors, administrative procedures, and US national security*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2008.

<sup>77</sup> Ehi Oshio. "The problem of global development and national security." In a presentation made on November 19, 2009, at the Grand Hotel in Asaba, Nigeria, for the Delta State Christian Professional League Conference on Crisis Management and Nation Building.

regional governments with socio-economic and political attempts to end the civil strife in DRC and South Sudan.<sup>78</sup>

At any moment that dangers exist, a nation's national security may manifest in a number of ways, including in the fields of economic security, physical security, energy security, food security, environmental security, and border security, among many others.<sup>79</sup>. Basically, governments have the habit of organizing their security policies in the context of a national security strategy.<sup>80</sup> As examples of such countries, we may consider the United Kingdom, the United States, Spain, and Sweden. There are other countries with a National Security Council or National Security Advisor who act as a mediator in disputes over matters of strategic importance and national security. The National Security Council's or advisor's responsibility is to instill national security plans, short- and long-term strategies.

In order to tackle systematic drivers of insecurity, countries have started to adopt non-military actions that represent coercive power like military capabilities. The military capabilities of countries have greatly evolved from the traditional military prowess based on land and sea power. The modern military capabilities include the power of air, space, psychological and cyberspace. Such military capabilities can be deployed for national security and equally for offensive purposes like conquest and annexation of resources and territories.<sup>81</sup> There are certain components of national security that when fully satisfied enable countries to enjoy interests, freedom and values to make informed

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<sup>78</sup> Ross Buchanan, Terri E. Givens, Flavia Jurje, Lavenex, Sandra, and Sandra. Regional governance of migration. *The Oxford Handbook of Regional Comparative* (2016): 457-485.

<sup>79</sup> Nathalie Caplan, "Cyber War: The Threat to National Security," *Global Security Studies* 4, no. 1 (2013).

<sup>80</sup> President of the United States. a plan for engagement and enlargement in national security. 1994: White House.

<sup>81</sup> David Held, Kevin Young, Hale, and Thomas. Why global collaboration is failing just when we need it most: gridlock. Polity, 2013.

choice of policies. Some of the components include aspects of security, politics, environment, energy and natural resources.<sup>82</sup>

It is notable that the elements of national security have a close relationship to the elements of national security. The idea of security complex, which refers to the scenario where the security demands of countries have a close connection, is the biggest problem in the field of global security.<sup>83</sup> This is in such a way that security needs of one country can never be considered realistically without the security considerations of other states. Consequently, the emerging fear of threatening the security complex creates potential for rivalry among countries and this has the net effect of threatening the national security. The remedy to this situation is cooperation among states which may be forged through regionalism integration that has the potential of guaranteeing global security measures among countries.<sup>84</sup> Hence, the establishment of regional bodies has a security agenda as one of its key priorities, and each regional body is formed with a security agenda.

### **2.2.3 Regionalism and National Security of East Africa Community Member States**

The countries of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, South Sudan, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo are included in the region known as the East Africa Community (EAC).<sup>85</sup> When regionalism and national security are discussed, the seven East Africa Community member states and the three security institutions that operate inside them are referred to as this region. They include IGAD, the EAC, and the East

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<sup>82</sup> David Held, Kevin Young, Hale, and Thomas. Why global collaboration is failing just when we need it most: gridlock. Polity, 2013.

<sup>84</sup> Barry G. Buzan, Ole W'ever, Ole Waever, and Ole Waever are all names of people. Buzan, Barry. Powers and regions: *the structure of international security*. Vol. 91. Cambridge University Press, 2003.

<sup>85</sup> Kamau, Edward N. "Effects of Globalization on Regional Security in East Africa: a Case Study of East African Community." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2018.

African Standby Force (EASF). Kenya and Uganda are IGAD and EASF members, and they are also members of the EAC. The DRC is not a member of either the EASF or IGAD, South Sudan is only an IGAD member.<sup>86</sup> The existence of many regional organizations in the greater Eastern Africa region is a reflection of the many security concerns the area faces and the various solutions put out to solve these challenges.

The EASF, formerly known as EASBRIG was created in 2004. The initial idea behind its formation was for integrating it into IGAD.<sup>87</sup> IGAD had the initial mandate of establishing the EASF which at first appeared obvious since IGAD has the widest coverage of member states in the Eastern Africa region. However, it proved impossible to incorporate EASF into the framework of IGAD. This challenge was precipitated by the divergence interests of Kenya and Ethiopia. Kenya felt that Ethiopia was too dominant in IGAD which led to Kenya and other like-minded countries to oppose the suggestion for strong military structure within IGAD.<sup>88</sup> This led to the eventual basing of EASF under a memorandum of understanding for enhancement of legitimacy and balance among member states. But despite the numerous setbacks, the EASF is the only military and security initiative in the East Africa area with participation from all nations, and it is where the senior military commanders frequently convene to discuss the security objectives of the region.<sup>89</sup> The fact that EASF has membership in every country in the region is an indicator that the region takes the threat of existential security from terror groups and armed combatants by member states seriously.

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<sup>86</sup> Oduma, Evans. "Regional approaches to conflict management in Eastern Africa: a case study of Eastern Africa Standby Force (2010–2017)." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2020

<sup>87</sup> "Ethnicity, Insecurity, and Geostrategic Change in the Horn of Africa," by Hassan, Hamdy A." In *Risks, Identity and Conflict*, pp. 61-83. Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore, 2021.

<sup>88</sup> Hamdy A. Hassan, "Ethnicity, Insecurity and Geostrategic Transformation in the Horn of Africa." In *Risks, Identity and Conflict*, pp. 61-83. Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore, 2021.

<sup>89</sup> Manasseh, Wepundi, and Roba D. Sharamo. "The state of peace and security in East Africa." *Institute for Security Studies Monographs* 2021, no. 205 (2021): 1-68.

Kenya, Uganda, and South Sudan were the EAC's representatives when IGAD was established in 1986. Sudan, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea, and Somaliland are additional members of the Horn of Africa (HOA). IGAD is majorly a mediation group rather than an institutionalized military initiative. Its duties are primarily pursuit for cooperation and integration of member states. IGAD has witnessed perpetual disagreements since its creation characterized by full-blown and proxy wars between members, for instance, Ethiopia and Eritrea. This has hindered its full capacity to operate as well as limited its relevance and functionality.<sup>90</sup>

Among the membership of EAC, IGAD is a forum for significant security threats as seen with Somalia which is the home of Al-Shabaab that often unleashes terror attacks in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. Sudan is accused of arming Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and Allied Democratic Force (ADF) in Uganda. As a result, this phenomenon places the EAC in a position to serve the region's future socioeconomic, political, and security interests. Additionally, the complexity of belonging to numerous regional institutions can occasionally seriously compromise the EAC's security, particularly the national security of its member nations. This also highlights the complexity of combating the various facets of insecurity confronting member states in the region.

Seven nations make up the EAC, a regional intergovernmental group, including the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Southern Sudan, Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania (DRC). The EAC was established only to promote the competitiveness and political unification of East Africa.<sup>91</sup> In order to raise the region's residents' standard of life, it was also predicted that the region's economic, social,

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<sup>90</sup> Massoni, Marco. "Integration dynamics between the African Union (AU) and the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in light of a newly oriented Euro-African geopolitics." In *Africa–Europe Relationships*, pp. 140-156. Routledge, 2020.

<sup>91</sup> Massoni, Marco. "Integration dynamics between the African Union (AU) and the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in light of a newly oriented Euro-African geopolitics." In *Africa–Europe Relationships*, pp. 140-156. Routledge, 2020.

cultural, and political integration would deepen and widen. It is well recognized that the EAC has accomplished a lot. Since its establishment in 2001, the EAC has set forward lofty plans to establish a political federation, a shared market, a unitary customs union, and more.<sup>92</sup> Although the former East Africa Community (EAC) was dissolved in 1977, the current EAC was reinstated in 1999 and put into operation in 2000. After the three founding members, Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania, signed the Treaty of Creation in 1999, Rwanda and Burundi signed the Treaty of Accession to the Community in 2007.<sup>93</sup>

Though EAC was established for the purpose of improving, strengthening co-operation based on historical ties and understanding among member states, military cooperation was one of the most impressive and well-established aspects of the integration aim.<sup>94</sup> Thus, security concerns preceded other discussions on economic and political cooperation. Despite the numerous challenges, the EAC admitted its 7<sup>th</sup> Partner State with the inclusion of Democratic Republic of Congo on 29<sup>th</sup> March 2022.<sup>95</sup> For a very long time, the Democratic Republic of the Congo has faced severe social, political, economic, and global problems. These include strict leadership, perpetual conflict and war, significant structural barriers to effective governance, extreme poverty, slow socioeconomic development, and poor infrastructure, among many other things.<sup>96</sup> Thus, the current EAC has security as a main agenda due to the realities of insecurity

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<sup>92</sup> Oduma, Evans. "Regional approaches to conflict management in Eastern Africa: a case study of Eastern Africa Standby Force (2010–2017)." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2020.

<sup>93</sup> Dinah Nibizi. Nadège, "An Examination of the Role of Regional Bodies in Conflict Management: The Case of East African Community in Burundi Conflict (2009 To 2017)." PhD diss., United States International University-Africa, 2018.

<sup>94</sup> Kaguruka, Adolphe. "Efficacy of Regional Conflict Management Architecture: a Case Study of East African Community." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2021.

<sup>95</sup> Oduma, Evans. "Regional approaches to conflict management in Eastern Africa: a case study of Eastern Africa Standby Force (2010–2017)." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2020.

<sup>96</sup> Kaguruka, Adolphe. "Efficacy of Regional Conflict Management Architecture: a Case Study of East African Community." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2021.

situation in the region, in the Horn of Africa and Great Lakes region and that threatens the existence of the member states and the citizenry.

It is imperative that the inclusion of DRC in EAC has the positive and negative consequences for the region and specifically the founding members like Kenya. Though Kenya has faced numerous challenges on national security such as terrorism, electoral violence, ethnic clashes among many others, in retrospect, the admission of DRC promises some of the intense security burdens for the country. The intensity of the full implication of entry of DRC in EAC is witnessed from the efforts of the member states in striving to stabilize the conflict in eastern region of DRC. The EAC has contributed and deployed regional troops (East Africa Community Regional Force – EACRF) in North Kivu province in DRC to combat M23 armed group. In addition, Eastern DRC is unstable and home to numerous armed and dangerous militia groups like ADF, M23, Forces democracies deliberation du Rwanda (FDLR), *Interahamwe* among others. These are threats to security of EAC as well as national security of Rwanda, DRC, Uganda and Tanzania.<sup>97</sup> This has witnessed the stationing of the East African troops in DRC to shoulder the burden of cushioning DRC and the entire region from the insecurity posed by the armed groups. It is a strong indicator of the strength and commitment of the leadership of the EAC in securing the region.

As witnessed from the complexity of membership to regional bodies as a challenge facing EAC, multiplicity of membership may threaten the regional cohesion as well as national security. Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi are all members of COMESA, whilst Tanzania is a member of SADC. Many nations have quarreled and taken opposing stances as a result of this predicament, particularly when it comes to regional and international issues. Subsequently, economic challenges among member states

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<sup>97</sup> Omondi, Roselyne. "Special edition." (2020).

have negative implications on the spirit of integration and sometimes border on threatening the national security of member states. For instance, the mistreatment of Kenyan, Ugandan and other countries entrepreneurs especially during President Magufuli's reign in Tanzania was viewed as a threat to national security by the victim countries. Other economic sources of tension that threaten national security include hidden cost of doing businesses, documentation requirements, administrative requirements that amount to trade non-tariff barriers among others. The fact that the leadership of EAC often find reason and time for negotiations when such disagreements arise is an indicator of the sense of commitment for the security of the economic and political development of the region.

The EAC is also confronted by other challenges such as radical Islam that has ushered in the reality of "War on Terror" in the region.<sup>98</sup> Al-Shabaab and Al-Qaeda have attacked countries such as Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. EAC is also confronted with the phenomenon of civil war in South Sudan that has spilled over to the reality of refugees and displaced persons in Kenya and Uganda.<sup>99</sup> There is also the advent of climate change that has wreaked havoc on the livelihood of populations in EAC especially in Kenya and Uganda. Climate change has acted as a catalyst to violent confrontation between pastoralist and farming-oriented communities in Kenya and Uganda.<sup>100</sup> As such, it is imperative that the regionalism endeavor for EAC though ongoing is compounded by a number of challenges that creates setbacks to its success. In conclusion, multiplicity of membership, climate change, radical Islam, entry of new

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<sup>98</sup> Kamau, Edward N. "Effects of Globalization on Regional Security in East Africa: a Case Study of East African Community." University of Nairobi, 2018 doctoral dissertation.

<sup>99</sup> Adetula, Olugbemi Jaiyebo, Redie Bereketeab, and Victor AO. African regional economic communities and peacebuilding: ECOWAS and IGAD's experiences. 2016; Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.

<sup>100</sup> Abdullahi, Ibrahim B. "The Role of Governance in Countering Terrorism in Horn of Africa-a Case Study of Kenya and Somalia." PhD dissertation due at the University of Nairobi in 2021.

members like South Sudan and DRC among other have security implications that threaten the national security of member countries.

Various empirical studies have reviewed aspects of regionalism and national security of East Africa Community member states. For instance, the Onduko's study examined the statistics on regional integration and the development of labor mobility in the EAC. The study's main objective was to develop a knowledge of the key variables influencing professional labor mobility in the EAC based on CMP methodology on the barriers to skilled worker movement within the area. In order to obtain primary and secondary data for the study's descriptive survey, interviews, analyses, and book reviews of books, papers, and journals, among other methods, were used. The results demonstrated that only highly skilled and professional workers are permitted to move about freely in the region. This is true even though the majority of EAC employees are semi- or unskilled. According to the suggestions, it is necessary to review labor and immigration laws to bring them into compliance with the protocol on the free movement of labor because failure to do so could threaten the socioeconomic development of member states. The conceptual flaw is that although focusing on regionalism in the EAC, this study neglects to address problems and dangers to peaceful coexistence among EAC members as a danger to the national security of member nations.

In a similar study, Muthoni examined the progress of regional integration of EAC during 2000-2015 in terms of the four stages; customs union and common market, entry of new member states and new challenges to integration such as terrorism, and mistrust among member states.<sup>101</sup> The study is anchored on Customs union theory. This was a descriptive study where data was gathered using interviews. The findings established

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<sup>101</sup> Robert K, Muthoni. "Regional economic integration in Africa: a review of problems and prospects with a case study of east African community, 2001-2015." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2016.

that integration has relatively streamlined customs union and common market trade agreements leading to effective policy harmonization and coordination. The study's emphasis on regional integration in the customs union and single market, as well as the admission of new members, places minimal emphasis on national security, which creates a conceptual vacuum.

The focus of the Karagu's study was the relationship between regional financial integration and economic growth in EAC nations.<sup>102</sup> Both quantitative and qualitative data were submitted for the study by Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, and Rwanda. The study's primary theoretical framework was the System General Method of Moments dynamic panel model, which was utilized to assess ideas of regional integration and development. Findings indicated that regional financial integration and economic growth varied from one country to another. The conceptual gap is that the study associated regionalism and economic growth facet only missing the national security which is significant component of regionalism.

The Otieno study looked at the part that diplomatic development plays in the EAC's integration process.<sup>103</sup> The study targeted use of developmental diplomacy in EAC and the strategies adopted. Data was gathered using primary and secondary means with key informant interviews, collecting primary data using open-ended questions and document reviews. The findings demonstrated that EAC member states continue to struggle with implementing regional policies and integrating their national policies with EAC regulations. They are also struggling to solve past policies in EAC thus slowing the integration process. The members have the challenge of multiple memberships to

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<sup>102</sup> Karagu, Muthoga Samuel. "Effects of regional financial integration on economic growth and intra-regional trade of East African community member countries." PhD diss., Thesis submitted to the School of Economics of Kenyatta University for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Economics.163 pp, 2012.

<sup>103</sup> Otieno, Paul. "Developmental Diplomacy and Regional Integration in Africa; A Case Study of the East African Community." University of Nairobi, 2018 doctoral dissertation.

other regional bodies and these threaten the cohesion of EAC. The conceptual gap is the focus on developmental diplomacy as the pathway for integration process ignoring the aspect of national and regional security of member states.

A case study examined the value of regional integration in fostering safety and peace in the EAC.<sup>104</sup> Data for this qualitative study was gathered through interviews and previous related publications. The results demonstrated that there is still tension in the EAC despite the existence of a secretariat and regular meetings of heads of state. This was brought on by member states' sluggish ratification of different protocols and resistance to put established rules into action. This necessitates that the EAC take a more active role in promoting peace and security. This study concentrated on regional integration as a means of fostering security and peace in the EAC. Given that the study was entirely qualitative, there is a methodological flaw.

Kakuba and Mpawenimana investigated the economic achievement of EAC in reduction of conflict and promotion of peace building in the region<sup>105</sup> The study employed extensive literature review, document analysis, group discussions and interviews in data collection. The findings showed that there are a number of achievements made by EAC which have significantly reduced conflicts in the region. These include the creation of a shared identity to ease tension among the local population and the creation of a customs union, which significantly improves the economic well-being of the EAC people by harmonizing economic policies. The study's conceptual flaw is that it concentrated on the EAC's economic success in reducing conflict and fostering peace-building.

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<sup>104</sup> Akoth, Mercy. "The role of regional integration in promoting peace and security: A case of East African Community." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2017.

<sup>105</sup> Kakuba, Sultan Juma, and Mpawenimana Abdullah Saidi. "East African Community economic initiatives to reduce conflict among the member states." (2017).

In a separate study, Kamau looked at why the EAC member states haven't come up with a shared security plan despite the numerous risks the region faces.<sup>106</sup> With the EAC secretariat in Arusha as well as the several ministries in charge of coordinating regional issues in individual countries, the study used constructivist and qualitative research methodologies. Schedules for structured interviews were used to gather the data. The results showed that member states' state-centric and constrained views of regional security are what are preventing the formulation of an effective regional security policy. It has been challenging for the EAC to develop credible common regional security deterrence measures because member nations have consistently put their own national interests first. The conceptual discrepancy is that current research is focused on regionalism and national security, however the study is based on why the EAC member states have failed to adopt a shared security plan despite the numerous challenges facing the area.

### **2.3 Data Analysis and Presentation**

In this section, facts on regionalism and national security in the East Africa Community member nations are analyzed, presented, and discussed. The results are shown from table 1-3.

### **2.4 Response Rate**

The study targeted 20 respondents where 15 positively responded through answering the questionnaires. Table 1 show the tabulation of the results.

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<sup>106</sup> Kamau, Peter C. "Security or Development? The East African Community (EAC) Regional Integration Dilemma." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2013.

**Table 2.1 Response rate**

<b>Questionnaires</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Filled and collected	15	75
Discrepancy	5	25
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>

According to the findings, a response rate of 75% was reached, which was optimal and sufficient for the study's ongoing data processing. The researchers' use of self-administered data gathering tools for participants allowed for a high response rate. For an official introduction to the participants, the researcher additionally obtained an introduction letter and a permit from the university authorizing data gathering.

## **2.5 Demographic Information of Respondents**

In this section, the respondents' demographic data is displayed. It contained details on the employer, the position held, and the duration of employment. This is shown in table 2.

### **2.5.1 Place of work**

The respondents were asked to provide information about their workplace, job title, and time spent in their present role. The outcomes are presented in Table 2.

**Table 2.2 Demographic information**

<b>Place of work</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Department of Defence	3	20
Kenya High Commission- Dar salaam	2	13.2
National Treasury and Economic Planning	2	13.2
Ministry of East Africa Community	1	6.7
Deputy Director	1	6.7
MoSD	1	6.7
DHQ- Nairobi	1	6.7
MFA	1	6.7
The Embassy of the Republic of Kenya in Kinshasa, DRC	1	6.7
EACRF-FHQ DRC	1	6.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Job title</b>		
Military officer	6	40
Defence advisor	1	6.7
Minister counselor	1	6.7
Director of planning	1	6.7
Economist 1	1	6.7
SOI Career Progression and Courses	1	6.7
Deputy Director	1	6.7
Minister Counselor (Political) / Deputy Head of Mission	1	6.7
CIMIC	1	6.7
Defence Attaché	1	6.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Length of service in current position</b>		
1-5 years	10	67
Above 10 years	5	33
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100</b>

Place of work was important for the study as a way of ascertaining respondents were the bona fide targeted and sampled group. According to the findings, the Department of Defense accounted for 20% of the respondents, followed by the Kenya High Commission in Dar es Salaam (13.2%) and the National Treasury and Economic Planning (13.2%) (13.2 percent). The other respondents worked in places like Ministry of East Africa Community, Deputy Director, The Embassy of the Republic of Kenya in Kinshasa, DRC among many others. This implies that respondents in this study worked in designations enabling acquisition of information and knowledge on impacts of regionalism on national security of East Africa Community members and specifically Kenya.

Information on job title was important in order to understand whether participants held positions to warrant them requisite information and understanding on the impacts of regionalism on national security of East Africa Community members like Kenya. The results indicated that majority of the participants (40 percent) were senior military officers. Therefore, they were in high positions in the military to possess information on the impacts of regionalism on national security of Kenya and other East Africa Community members.

The length of service was important for this study since it shows whether respondents have knowledge and grasp of the issues being studied. Results show that 67 percent had worked for between 1-5 years while the other 33 percent had a working experience of above 10 years. This shows that 33 percent of respondents had accumulated a wealth of experience on impacts of regionalism on national security of Kenya and East Africa Community members. Similarly, the majority (67 percent) also have interacted on such information for a considerable 1-5 years which is quite substantial exposure. This

implies that participants in the study have relatively deeper understanding and experience of the concepts of the study.

## **2.6 Influence of Regionalism on National Security of East Africa Community members**

Descriptive analysis was conducted through average scale ratings, mean and standard deviation. This is presented in table 3-5. The first objective was to determine the influence of regionalism on national security of East Africa Community members. Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with the following factors related to regionalism on national security of East Africa Community members using **the scale of 1= Strongly disagree, 2= Agree, 3=Neutral, 4=Agree, 5= Strongly Agree**. The respondents were asked to rate statements measuring the influence of regionalism on national security of East Africa Community members and the findings presented in table 3.

**Table 2.3 Regionalism and national security of EAC**

Code	Factors influencing regionalism and national security of East Africa Community member states	SD	D	N	A	SA	Mea	Std.
		(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	n	Deviation
F1	Member states have created political alliances with neighbors	3	2	2	19	75	4.12	.851
F2	EAC monetary integration potentially strengthen regional and national security of members	3	3	10	22	62	4.37	.980
F3	Member states have created security and defense alliances with neighbors	3	5	15	27	51	4.19	1.026
F4	Member states have created integration with new neighbors like DRC	3	1	13	33	50	4.27	.911
F5	Through regionalism there is creation of hegemonic interests	3	1	13	31	51	4.27	.953
F6	Regionalism has resurrected historical cooperation in EAC	2	5	15	27	52	4.61	.996
F7	Regional projects like EA parliament have resurfaced	3	7	10	33	47	4.22	1.074
F8	Establishment of common tariffs and markets enhance and strengthen the regional economic growth	1	3	3	23	70	4.56	.816
F9	The EAC has made progress in establishment of key economic components like customs union, common market, and monetary union	3	4	6	25	63	4.41	.963

The range of the average scale scores was 4.12 to 4.61. This showed that respondents thought regionalism had a moderate impact on East Africa Community members' national security. The statement "Regionalism has revived historical collaboration in the EAC" had the highest mean rating of 4.61 (SD =.996). "Member states have formed

political partnerships with neighbors" received the lowest mean rating of 3.18. (SD= 1.340). The findings support Aditi in the study on national security implication due to adoption of regionalism.<sup>107</sup> The results support the fact that regionalism is a multifaceted task and has significant implications on national security of member states of any region. This is especially where the agenda is on articulating the regional and national security of member countries. The results support Kaguruka's assessment that though EAC was established for the purpose of improving, strengthening co-operation based on historical ties and understanding among member states, military cooperation was one of the most impressive and well-established aspects of the integration aim.<sup>108</sup> This suggests that discussions about economic and political cooperation came before those about security. The findings support Kamau's hypothesis of why the EAC member states have not come up with a coordinated security plan despite the numerous dangers to the region.<sup>109</sup> The study revealed that the continuous pursuit of national interests first by member countries has made it difficult for EAC to create reasonable common regional security deterrence instruments thus threatening national security of member states. This implies that regionalism has significant impact on national security of member countries and there is necessity for concerted effort to ensure that countries in EAC do all they can to create a strong federation since it holds the future of regional security.

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<sup>107</sup> Paul, Aditi. "Regional cooperation in South Asia: Exploring the three pillars of regionalism and their relevance." *The Journal of Indian and Asian Studies, Volume 1, Number 2, 2020, Page 2050008.*

<sup>108</sup> Kaguruka, Adolphe. "Efficacy of Regional Conflict Management Architecture: a Case Study of East African Community." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2021.

<sup>109</sup> Kamau, Peter C. "Security or Development? The East African Community (EAC) Regional Integration Dilemma." University of Nairobi, 2013, dissertation for a Doctorate.

**2.6.1 The opinion of the participants was sought on how EAC is a guarantor to the national security of Kenya. The responses are shown below;**

- a) *Participation of Kenya in EACSF both in training and deployment in countries such as DRC has given security agents requisite experience to deal with security threats*
- b) *As a member of EACSF and due to involvement in peace and security missions in the region, there is remarkable improvement in military and security hardware and software for Kenya*
- c) *Members have signed and ratified the protocol for peace and security and implementation of the protocol has guaranteed peace and security for Kenya*
- d) *EAC has created the regional force and police force that undergoes training on peace support operation in the region*
- e) *Guaranteed peace through a framework for information, knowledge and experience exchange*
- f) *Pooling of security resources and security efforts and state talents has strengthened the capabilities and capacity of Kenya to participate effectively in regional and local security and peace operations.*
- g) *Through Defence Cooperation, Intelligence Sharing, Mutual Economic Assistance, Common Approaches in controlling spread of pandemic diseases, economic cooperation and access to wider markets for national products and greater variety of commodities in the market, the future security of Kenya is well guaranteed.*

**2.6.2 Participants were asked to state their opinions on the challenges for Kenya with inclusion of new members like DRC to EAC. The responses are as shown below;**

- a) *Potential for increased cross-border crimes and increased costs of surveillance on security issues, due to the vastness of the region and related complexities of security a bigger regional interest.*
- b) *Kenyan troops may be threatened in deployment in insecurity-prone regional states like DRC which is detrimental to the interests of the country.*
- c) *Increased demand for Kenya to commit both people and money to help in crises among EAC members and to intervene in needy situation within the borders of individual members like in DRC and South Sudan*
- d) *Political power dynamics and equilibrium in EAC is likely to change with the entry of new members like DRC (already admitted) or Somalia and South Sudan, which are on the way. The position of Kenya as EAC economic powerhouse or hegemony, for example, may change.*
- e) *Relationships among EAC members may change or may have to be redefined. Rwanda, for example, has been a friendly country to Kenya for decades. However, the tension between Rwanda and DRC is likely to spillover and affect the relationship between Kenya and Rwanda.*
- f) *Uganda has been a leading trading partner of Kenya for decades. The entry of DRC is likely to threaten the Kenya-DRC and tilt the business scale.*
- g) *Involvement in conflict in Eastern DRC by EACSF may be strategic but it may also be a gamble. Strategic if the war is won and gambles if the victory proved elusive.*

- h) More allies will stand by Kenya in regional, continental and global politics and this is a tricky balancing act for Kenya to appease all.*

The results agreed with Ouma in a study on critical analysis of regional integration in Kenya in the context of trade, infrastructure and security.<sup>110</sup> The study established that Kenya has historically faced instability from neighboring countries and even some currently in EAC and this is a threat to its socio-economic growth as well as local political stability. This implies that such challenges are a threat to the national security of Kenya and act as drivers to regionalism.

**2.6.3 Opinions of participants were indulged on how the security of Kenya has improved as a member of EAC. The responses are shown below;**

- a) Terror surveillance, border surveillance and control and information sharing including the early warning system have improved security in Kenya. This is because EAC aims at regional security, stability and political unification*
- b) EAC membership makes it highly unlikely that there will be violent hostility among members. This is essential since EAC members believe in principle of pacific settlement of disputes. There also existence of EAC mechanism to help resolve territorial dispute or any dispute between Kenya and her neighbors / EAC Member States*
- c) EAC Court of Justice has mechanisms to preside over cases and impose sanctions on an individual or state that may be found culpable or having involved in committing serious crimes such as genocide. This is a guarantor for peace and security for Kenya.*

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<sup>110</sup> Lucian Basil, Ouma. "The question of regional integration in Africa: A critical analysis of Kenya's trade, infrastructure, and security in the context of the AfCFTA." Master's dissertation, Faculty of Commerce, 2021.

- d) *Intelligence information sharing on security matters to help combat run-away criminals or dismantle criminal networks beyond the national border. This is conducted under joint operations of the security agencies from member states to share surveillance, intelligence and defeat crime.*
- e) *The existence of East African Standby Force (EASF) which has its regional headquarters in Kenya guarantees security for Kenya. The force is currently the Force is in Eastern DRC, but can protect any other member state whenever the need arises and the Summit decides so.*

Makaka's assertion was supported by the findings of a study on regional integration in Africa, notably in the EAC, which was conducted under the premise that this comparison might be a false promise.<sup>111</sup> The findings revealed that EAC has made remarkable achievements in the realms of socio-economic and political-security sectors. This has created EAC as one of the most integrated regions in Africa. This implies that for Kenya, EAC is a critical tool for regional security, stability and political unification. This is since EAC members share intelligence on aspects of security like terror surveillance, border surveillance and control and information sharing including the early warning system have improved national security in Kenya.

**2.6.4 The opinions of participants were sought on how the national security of Kenya may be threatened as a member of EAC. The responses are as indicated below;**

- a) *There is probability of increase in criminal cases such as drug trafficking from joint criminal activities across borders, cross-border crimes and money laundering which threatens the national security of Kenya.*

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<sup>111</sup> Makaka, Lydia V. "Regional Integration in Africa-A False Promise? The Case Study of the East African Community." University of Nairobi, 2018 doctoral dissertation.

- b) *Increase and escalation of hostile groups like the Al Shabaab, Al Qaeda tend to punish countries for their grievances against countries that they perceive to be working against their wishes. EAC members including Kenya have been at one point or another been targeted by these groups*
- c) *Free movement of people including criminals which may lead to more proliferation of small and light weapons across the borders*
- d) *Easy spread of ideologies which are detrimental to the security of Kenya such as the Islamization, radicalization or establishment of terror cells in Kenya*
- e) *Many people from the conflict prone countries of EAC seek refuge in Kenya. A good number of refugees are criminals and aid in fueling more crimes and which is disastrous for national security of Kenya.*

The findings complement Dosch in a study on the challenges of regionalism in the Asian-Pacific region.<sup>112</sup> Findings show that countries under ASEAN have utilized regionalism as a means of solving regional economic, political and security challenges, through attainment of far-reaching visions of economic-community building without drastic changes to the traditional approach of regional cooperation between member countries. There are elevated security threats for Kenya as a member of EAC that are linked to regionalism. These include ease of spread of terror-linked ideologies which are detrimental to the security of Kenya such as the radicalization by terror groups from one country to Kenya.

## **2.7 Summary of the chapter key findings**

The failure of the Doha round of World Trade Organization negotiations in 2001 has been shown in this chapter to have had a substantial impact on the current wave of

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<sup>112</sup> Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Asia-Pacific region's regionalism challenge, by Jörn Dosch. The New Global Politics of the Asia-Pacific, pages 160–179, 2017. Routledge

regional trade agreements. The EAC uses regional integration as a guide to promote national development, socioeconomic security for its members, and regional integration.

The ideas of socio-economics and regionalism, as well as the overall effects of Kenya's national security, are covered in the next chapter.

**CHAPTER THREE**  
**SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS POSED BY REGIONALISM ON**  
**NATIONAL SECURITY OF KENYA**

**3.1 Introduction**

An overview of the literature on the socioeconomic effects of regionalism on Kenya's national security is included in this chapter. The review aims to identify existing knowledge gaps and prior related studies.

**3.2 Socio-economic impacts posed by regionalism on national security of Kenya**

This section will define, analyze and discuss the concepts of socio-economic and regionalism and the overall impacts of national security. Specifically, the discussion and analysis are guided by related empirical studies that expounds on these concepts.

**3.2.1 Socio-economic Impacts of Regionalism**

Socio-economic status is defined as the position held by individuals or groups that is determined by the existing social and economic factors such as income, education type, place of residence and the society. It is the standing of individuals or groups in society in terms of money, educational attainment, and other factors, and it determines the country's or society's development goal.<sup>113</sup> Another definition of socio-economic development is the process that integrates the social and economic transformation of a person, a group, a society, or a country. This process encompasses the social and economic changes that are now taking place in society. Hence, the direction and rate of socioeconomic growth in a society are determined by a combination of exogenous and endogenous causes. The GDP, freedom of association, personal safety, personal

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<sup>113</sup>. David Gordon, Deborah Johnston, Obinna Onwujekwe, Rita Patel, Bruna Galobardes, Alicia Matijasevich, Laura D. Howe, Elizabeth A. Webb, Debbie A. Lawlor, and James R. Hargreaves are some of the authors. "A methodology of measurement in epidemiology paper: Assessing socioeconomic position for epidemiological studies in low- and middle-income countries." *International journal of epidemiology*, vol. 41, no. 3, 2012, pp. 871–886.

dignity, levels of literacy and development, and employment rates are only a few of the metrics used to gauge socioeconomic progress.<sup>114</sup>

Every well-intentioned administration has socioeconomic development as its ultimate goal on a global scale. This typically depends on the overall intensity of economic activity inside national borders. In contrast, the level of economic activity depends on how peacefully people live in the nation. This implies that where national security is absent in a country, socio-economic development is not sustainable. This is because the implication of insecurity is the ultimate destruction of the economic, human and social capital<sup>115</sup>. Scholars have identified strong links between lack of socio-economic development and insecurity challenges since the end of the Cold War.<sup>116</sup> The argument is that it is absolutely impossible to attain socio-economic development in a climate characterized by conflicts, crisis and war.

There is consensus that socio-economic development and security are mutually inclusive and inseparable concepts that are naturally connected. This interconnectedness has often triggered the debate of socio-economic development-security nexus.<sup>117</sup> The socioeconomic growth of those areas have frequently been hampered by cases of instability, such as insurgencies by terrorist organizations like Boko Haram in Nigeria, Al-Shabaab in Eastern Africa, and conflicts in Southern Sudan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. This is because security crises are the main cause of infrastructural destruction and prevent the peaceful establishment of new infrastructure and a secure environment for economic expansion. Additionally, it

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<sup>114</sup>. Bruna, Galobardes, Mary Shaw, John W. Lynch, George Davey Smith, and Debbie A. Lawlor. *Journal of Epidemiology & Community Health* 60, no. 1 (2006): 7-12. "Indicators of Socioeconomic Position (Part 1)"

<sup>115</sup> Measurement of socioeconomic status from data from the United States census, Charles B. Nam and E. Walter Terrie. *Measurements of socioeconomic status*, pp. 29–42. 2021: Routledge.

<sup>116</sup> Ewetan, Olabanji Olukayode, and Ese Urhie. "Insecurity and socio-economic development in Nigeria." *Journal of sustainable development studies* 5, no. 1 (2014).

<sup>117</sup> Tafirenyika, Blessing. "The impact of regional integration on socio-economic development in Southern African Customs Union countries." PhD diss., 2020.

prevents households from gaining economic independence and building wealth for both current and future generations.<sup>118</sup>

It is noteworthy that the socioeconomic development that occurred soon after the end of World War II was predominantly of an economic nature, resulting in a sharp increase in per capita production and changes to the economic structure. This witnessed emergence of rapid growth rates in per capita income in many developing countries but minimal change in living conditions of the majority of the population.<sup>119</sup> Thus, there was juxtaposition of rapid economic growth and marginal development in the living conditions and welfare of population leading to clarion call for balancing of economic development and the social welfare of the population. This led to the establishment of development in a country as the qualitative and quantitative growth of societies and the economy.<sup>120</sup> Thus, the definition of socio-economic development was seen as change in quality of life and quantitative growth of various values such as employment levels, skills distribution, capital mobility, industrialization, trade and human development among others.

### **3.2.2 Regionalism, Socio-economic and National Security**

Regionalism is defined as the process by which countries closely located together work harmoniously in an attempt to uplift their political and economic policies for the purpose of attaining common goals. Regionalism is seen as a collaboration between a group of economies under the governance of a regionalized code of conduct. Thus, regionalism is a social institution for the economic and political transformation of

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<sup>118</sup> Ewetan, Olabanji Olukayode, and Ese Urhie. "Insecurity and socio-economic development in Nigeria." *Journal of sustainable development studies* 5, no. 1 (2014).

<sup>119</sup> Tafirenyika, Blessing. "The impact of regional integration on socio-economic development in Southern African Customs Union countries." PhD diss., 2020.

<sup>120</sup> Courtney Vegelin and Gupta, Joyeeta, "Sustainable development goals and inclusive development." *Political, legal, and economic sciences* 16, no. 3 (2016): 433–448.

countries.<sup>121</sup> A notable feature of regionalism is that it creates constraints on the autonomy of the state, although the extent is dependent on the type of regionalism. Regionalism has various facets such as functional regionalism, political regionalism, and economic regionalism.

Functional regionalism is a condition of inter-state collaboration which has specified concerns. Some of the common functional regionalism in Africa include transportation links, river basins, and generation of improved regional infrastructure among others. With the presence of many landlocked countries, regionalism is an important development for the African continent. Thus, poor infrastructure development is a significant challenge for the overall socio-economic development of the continent.<sup>122</sup> For the regional groups like the EAC, functional regionalism is active with the development of link roads, water and railway networks across the region. However, the situational lack of full functionality of these infrastructures is still an impediment to the overall socio-economic development of the region.

Political regionalism is the collaboration that aims at enhancing collective bargaining of member countries and one entity. The aim of political regionalism is to increase political power, influence and self-determination of people in countries in a region.<sup>123</sup> The African Union is a perfect example of political regionalism and it has witnessed immense success in the facilitation and institutionalization of collective bargaining for African countries far beyond that ability and capacity of individual countries. Political regionalism is the most beneficial component for promoting the participation and

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<sup>121</sup> Bhagwati, Jagdish. "Regionalism and multilateralism." *New dimension in regional integration* (1993).

<sup>122</sup> Dennis M. Dent, "East Asian Regionalism," Routledge, 2016.

<sup>123</sup> Telò, Mario. "Globalization, new regionalism, and the European Union's role." *New regionalism and the European Union* (2007): 1–21 in *Regional Players and Global Government in a Post-Hegemonic Age*.

contribution of individual countries as well as improving sovereignty.<sup>124</sup> So there are better chances of achieving socioeconomic growth of the region and its people through political regionalism under the EAC. This socioeconomic development is closely related to the resolution of the security issues in the region because there is an ingestion of improved competitive platforms where countries may leverage on better resource opportunities, more capital, and proactive partnership that could improve the socioeconomic capability of the population.<sup>125</sup>

Economic regionalism is the deliberate effort made to manage the benefits and difficulties brought on by the sharp rise in worldwide economic cooperation following the end of World War II.<sup>126</sup> Economic regionalism is centered on enabling member nations to engage in regional free trade. It consists of common markets, free trade zones (FTAs), custom unions (CUs), and economic unions (EU). Free trade, a collective agreement to harmonize tariffs, the freedom of capital movement, a common currency, and the harmonization of economic and monetary policies are all made possible by FTAs, CUs, CMs, and the EU.<sup>127</sup> Economic regionalism is essentially a tool for advancing the socioeconomic advancement of the area and its people. It improves the population's participation, mobility, and overall standard of living. As a result, it is crucial for addressing the security issues in a region.

Regionalism became popular after the Second World War and has become fashionable ever since with new regional blocks being created and old ones are being re-launched. Additionally, collapsed regional organizations are being revived and existing ones

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<sup>124</sup> William D. Schanbacher, *The politics of food: the global conflict between food security and food sovereignty*. ABC-CLIO, 2010.

<sup>125</sup> Samuel K. B. Asante, "Regionalism and Africa's Development: Expectations, Reality, and Challenges." In 2016, Springer.

<sup>126</sup> Helen Nesadurai. An examination and critique of the literature on globalization and economic regionalism. Center for the Study of Globalization and Regionalization, University of Warwick, 2002.

<sup>127</sup> Jorge F. Garzón, "Multipolarity and the Future of Economic Regionalism," *International Theory* 9, no. 1 (2017): 101–135.

expanded. From this trend, the role of independent nation states seems to be diminished as the regional blocks assume a more visible outlook. Integrated regional blocs include the Arab Maghreb Union, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Community for Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), the East Africa Community (EAC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and the Southern African Development Community (SADC).<sup>128</sup> Their main interest is the socioeconomic growth and general wellbeing of regional societies and blocs.

Due to socio-economic crisis in many countries globally and particularly in Africa in the 1980s, the establishment of regional economic blocks was a necessity to enable a more efficient use of available resources by partner countries. This was aimed at increasing growth in productivity, competitiveness and improving the living standards of the population.<sup>129</sup> Again, with the relatively small size, lack of diversification and small manufacturing capacity of most of the countries in Africa, regionalism was an important link to socio-economic development. For these countries, regionalism has the capacity to open trade links to regional markets and uplift the living conditions of the population through access to abundant labor and supply chains. Capacity challenges also bedevil most of these countries in terms of shortage of critical knowledge, leadership crises and weak institutions. The solution to these challenges is regionalism that offers a competitive platform where countries in a regional block may leverage

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<sup>128</sup> Paul, Mulindwa. "Interstate Border Conflicts and their Effects on Region-Building and Integration of the East African Community." *African Journal of Governance and Development* 9, no. 2 (2020): 599-618.

<sup>129</sup> Maruping, Mothae. "Challenges for regional integration in Sub-Saharan Africa: Macroeconomic convergence and monetary coordination." *Africa in the World Economy* 129 (2005).

resource opportunities, more capital and proactive partnership that could improve the socio-economic ability of the population.<sup>130</sup>

From the debate on socio-economic development-security nexus, it is imperative that no single country can successfully attain socio-economic development without the environment of social and physical insecurity. Socio-economic development is the primary goal of every well-meaning government and has a high-level bearing on the level of economic activities that in retrospect is dependent on peaceful co-existence of the people.<sup>131</sup> As such, socio-economic development is the foundation attainment of regional and national security of member countries. In the case of EAC, security challenges abound and as such, socio-economic development cannot be effectively attained without getting solutions to the security challenges.<sup>132</sup> For instance, the presence of security challenges such as Al-Shabaab activities in Kenya, civil-conflict in South Sudan and DRC pose serious threats to the socio-economic development of the EAC. Where such conflicts exist, cases of poor standards of living, dilapidated or total lack of infrastructures, low literacy levels among others exist.

Similar to this, the Great Lakes region's insecurity poses a threat to life and property and has impeded commercial operations. Additionally, it dissuades both domestic and foreign investment, which altogether hinders the socioeconomic growth of the area. This is notable since the region has some of the poorest road networks in the world.<sup>133</sup> The crises in the Great Lakes region and particularly DRC is a danger to the national security of DRC, Rwanda, Burundi and the regional integration of EAC since it is a

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<sup>130</sup> Asante, Samuel KB. *Regionalism and Africa's development: expectations, reality and challenges*. Springer, 2016.

<sup>131</sup> Ewatan, Olabanji Olukayonde and Ese Urhie. "Insecurity and socio-economic development in Nigeria". *Journal of Sustainable Development Studies* 5, No.1 (2014).

<sup>132</sup> Ewatan, Olabanji Olukayonde and Ese Urhie. "Insecurity and socio-economic development in Nigeria". *Journal of Sustainable Development Studies* 5, No.1 (2014).

<sup>133</sup> Patrick Kanangra, "Conflict in the Greater Lakes Region: Root Causes, Dynamics, and Effects." *Conflict Trends* 2016, Number 1 (2016), Pp. 3–11.

barrier to economic empowerment of households to sustain present and future sustainability of generations.<sup>134</sup>

The socio-economic development-security nexus is also evident in the case of Kenya acting as the bastion for the waves of refugees from Somalia and South Sudan. Presence of refugees' camps like Kakuma and Daadab is a threat to the national security of Kenya and the EAC at large. This is because it is strenuous to the infrastructural and the general socio-economic development of the country. The camps are also a national security concern for Kenya since they act as recruitment grounds for Al-shabaab terror group that has frequent carried out attacks in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.<sup>135</sup>

One of the main causes of conflicts in the Eastern African region is scarcity of socio-economic development in countries such as Somalia, South Sudan, and Northern Eastern Kenya among others. This coupled with the perception of marginalization; corruption and poverty have acted as the catalysts for socio-political conflicts that contribute to civil-strife and eventual refugees' crises.<sup>136</sup> Thus, in order to find permanent solutions to the national security of EAC, it is imperative for the member states to accelerate the pace of socio-economic development in their individual countries. This involves creation of economies with relevant socio-economic and physical infrastructures for business, employment, literacy and other facets of growth. From the empirical literature, it is evident that there is a nexus between socio-economic development, regionalism and national security.<sup>137</sup> For example, Ewatan, Olabanji and Ese examined the issues of insecurity and socio-economic development in Nigeria. The

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<sup>134</sup> Olutayo, Akinpelu Odemwingie and Adebuseyi Adeniran, eds. "*Regional economic communities: Exploring the process of social economic integration in Africa*". Codesria, 2015.

<sup>135</sup> Kamau, Edward N. "Effects of Globalization on Regional Security in East Africa: a Case Study of East African Community." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2018.

<sup>136</sup> Spitzer, Helmut, and Janestic Twikirize. "Social innovations in rural communities in Africa's Great Lakes region. A social work perspective." *Journal of Rural Studies* (2021).

<sup>137</sup> Ewatan, Ese Urhie, Olabanji Olukayode. "Insecurity and Socioeconomic Development in Nigeria." *Journal of Sustainable Development Studies* 5, no. 1 (2014).

findings established a time increase in serious threats to lives and property in Nigeria due to terror threats from Boko Haram. The insecurity hinders business activities and investors in essence retarding socio-economic development in Nigeria. These threats have assumed dangerous dimensions to the corporate existence of Nigeria. The recommendation is the general acceleration in the rate of socio-economic development in Nigeria as an inducement of hope of economic future of the population. The contextual gap is that the study is in Nigeria. Despite this, the study illuminates the general trends and consequences of insecurity on the socio-economic development of a country. It also mirrors the situation in EAC where the dimensions of insecurity due to terror attacks by Al-Shabaab in the region has prompted a regional response with countries contributing troops to AMISOM to lower the capacity of the terror group's threat to the region. The insecurity situation has also prompted the government of Kenya to upscale the rapid development of road and communication infrastructures in Lamu, North Eastern regions among others as means of combating insecurity. This is for the betterment of national security of Kenya and the region as a whole.

In another study in Nigeria, Osawe and Onyepuemu examined the increased wave of violent crime and insecurity and the threat to socio-economic development in the country.<sup>138</sup> The findings have revealed an increased trend in violent crimes that threaten the future of socio-economic development in Nigeria. The violent crimes have witnessed sabotage of oil infrastructures, private property and government utilities. The study submits that apart from use of conventional means to combat the violent crimes, there is necessity to address the root causes such as reduction of youth unemployment. This is only possible with socio-economic development all over the country. Again, the

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<sup>138</sup> Onyepuemu, Osawe. "Increase wave of violent crime and insecurity: A threat to socio-economic development in Nigeria." *Journal of Social Science and Humanities* 20, no. 1 (2015): 123-133.

contextual gap is that the study is based in Nigeria. However, it has parallel with the reality in EAC region where the bulging issue of youth unemployment is one of the major causes of current and future national security threats for the region. This is witnessed from the fact that terror groups like Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab have a fertile ground for recruitment of the idle and often unemployed and disillusioned youths from the region. The conflicts in South Sudan and DRC are largely driven by waves of idle and often frustrated youths from the region. Thus, addressing the socio-economic needs of the EAC region is a panacea for solving the insecurity situation in the region.

In a study in Kenya by Mauti on the effects of high crime rate and socio-economic development of households in Nairobi County.<sup>139</sup> 384 households in Kawangware suburbs of Nairobi City were targeted. Data was gathered using questionnaires and key informant interviews conducted among community policing committees, district peace committees, civil society organizations, national police, private security firms, hospitals and insurance firms. The findings established that among the major cases of insecurity included drug trafficking, assault, pick pocketing, and robbery with violence house-breaking, terrorism, car-jacking among others. It was also established that due to high crime rates, households have been forced to abandon important activities such as attending to jobs making the cost of living go up. The socio-economic implication is that business loss and lack of outside investment has been on the increase. The recommendation was for the improvement on socio-economic factors like access roads, lighting of streets, more police posts and general employment of the youths. This study reflects the reality in many urban centers in EAC region where population growth has dwarfed socio-economic development resulting into criminal activities among the

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<sup>139</sup> Miruka Mauti, Daniel, "High crime rate on socio-economic development of selected house hold groups in Nairobi City County, Kenya." PhD diss., Kenyatta University, 2020.

youths. This is a serious threat to the security situation of the urban centres that requires socio-economic development as a solution to such threats.

In another study in Kenya, Kamais studied on security implications of oil exploration and socio-economic activities in Turkana County.<sup>140</sup> The theoretical foundation of the study was the Resource Curse and Environmental Justice theories. This was a cross-sectional survey design study with a sample size of 382 respondents. Data was collected using key informant interviews, Focus Group Discussions and semi-structured interviews. The data was analyzed using qualitative and quantitative techniques and using SPSS and Excel software. The findings indicated that oil exploration had positive and negative implications on socio-economic activities of Lokichar community in Turkana County. The positive implication is development of infrastructure, uplifting of standards of living and regional investments in the oilfields. The negative implications were security-oriented and emanated from poor management of the expectations of the community from the benefits of oil. This resulted in clashes between the locals and the oil companies, a rise in crime rates and general insecurity of the area.

The report called for bettering the socioeconomic well-being of the area and its residents, including employment of locals, provision of water, and road improvements. The theoretical gap is that the study used the Resource Curse and Environmental Justice theories while a current study by Robert Gilpins is anchored on the theory of Hegemonic War and Change. Though the study is localized in Kenya, it highlights the situation in the EAC region where exploitation of natural resources is often accompanied by conflicts with locals in terms of sharing of the such resources, lack of socio-economic development and sometimes lack of any benefits for the local

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<sup>140</sup> Kamais, Cosmas. "Security implications of oil exploration on socio-economic activities in south Lokichar basin, Turkana County, Kenya." PhD diss., Egerton University, 2019.

communities. This is the source of conflicts and insecurity in DRC, South Sudan, North Eastern Kenya, Coastal region of Kenya and Northern Uganda.

In a related study, Atai and Ita analyzed the impact of global security and socio-economic development in terrorist prone regions.<sup>141</sup> The study used qualitative approach based on descriptive and historical analysis and was anchored under realist theory by Hans Morgenthau and further developed by Kenneth Waltz. The findings established that terrorism is the origin of insecurity and an impediment to sustainable national development. Terrorism creates economic sabotage, loss of lives and endangers public safety. The causes of regional and global terrorism are sources of funding, religion and ideological beliefs, and idleness among the youth and the end results is terrorism in form of economic misfortunes, closure of business, more global unemployment and destruction of national security capabilities of countries. The conceptual gap is the focus on global security and socio-economic development in terrorist prone regions with the current study illuminating on socio-economic and regionalism and the overall impacts of national security.

In their research on the effects of migration, socioeconomic processes, and national security in Russia, Marina Olga Vinogradova and others.<sup>142</sup> Abstraction strategies and comparative analysis procedures are two of the research methodologies used. Systematization and structural-descriptive methods were used to analyze the data. The results showed that uncontrolled migration has a beneficial and considerable impact on Russia's national security. The study's location in Russia, which has a more developed

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<sup>141</sup> Victor E. Ita and Atai, Anietie J., "Terrorism and Global Security: An Analysis of Regional and Socio-Economic Effects on National Security." *The international journal of social science research and innovation (IJRISS)* 5, no. 2 (2021): 623-631.

<sup>142</sup> Marina V. Vinogradova, Anna A. Larionova, Victoriy A. Koroleva, and Olga S. Kulyamin. "Migration processes' effects on Russia's national security system." *Journal of Social Sciences from the Mediterranean* 6, no. 3 S5 (2015): 161.

economy than Kenya, creates a contextual mismatch. The adoption of notions of migration, socioeconomic processes, and national security is the conceptual gap. The employment of research tools like abstraction techniques and comparative analysis methodologies is the methodological gap.

The Boko Haram insurgency and its consequences for Nigeria's national security were the subject of a research by Okolo, Ikani, and Aduku.<sup>143</sup> The study employed historical research method, content analysis and descriptive and exploratory approaches. The findings indicated that Boko Haram insurgency has resulted in serious humanitarian situation characterized by loss of lives, human rights abuses, population displacement and public insecurity. The counter terrorism efforts have also been detrimental since it has caused more harm to the already dire situation of conflicts and suffering in Northern Nigeria. The methodological gap is the use of multiple approaches in methodology comprising of historical research method, content analysis and descriptive and exploratory approaches. The contextual gap is that the study is based in Nigeria.

A study was conducted by Mateley analyzing the impact of illegal immigration on national and regional labor markets as a national security indicator of Russia.<sup>144</sup> The study employed economic-mathematical and statistical methods in the field of labor and employment in Russian Federation. The study designed analytical indicators using statistical methods for identifying trends in labor market. The findings indicated that illegal immigration has a significant impact on the national security of Russia Federation. The contextual gap is that the study was based in Russia Federation.

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<sup>143</sup> Okolo, Benjamin Ikani, and Aduku A. Akubo. "Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria: Implications for national security and restorative justice." *African Journal on Conflict Resolution* 19, no. 2 (2019): 109-132.

<sup>144</sup> Metelev, S. E. "Migration as a threat to national security." *Indian Journal of Science and Technology* 9, no. 14 (2016): 1-6.

A study was conducted by a Biodun, Oluwasolape and Ifeoluwa on the security implication of the alarming rate of child poverty in Northern Nigeria.<sup>145</sup> The study motivation emanates from the concern that children growing and living in poverty have profound effects on their health, educational achievement, future earnings and mortality rates. The high mortality rate among children in Northern Nigeria is due to socio-economic variables like poverty, corruption, poor leadership among others. This was a qualitative study where data was gathered using interviews. The findings established that child poverty has significant threat to national security of Nigeria. The contextual gap is that the study is based in Nigeria while the current study is in Kenya.

### **3.3 Data Analysis of Socio-Economic Impacts Posed by Regionalism on National Security of Kenya**

This section analyses and discusses the data on socio-economic impacts posed by regionalism on national security of Kenya. The results are shown in table 4.

#### **3.3.1 Impact of socio-economic factors on national security of Kenya**

The second objective was to establish the socio-economic impacts posed by regionalism on national security of Kenya. Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with the following factors related to socio-economic impacts posed by regionalism on national security of Kenya using **the scale of 1= Strongly disagree, 2= Agree, 3=Neutral, 4=Agree, 5= Strongly Agree**. The respondents were asked to rate items measuring socio-economic impacts posed by regionalism on national security of Kenya and the findings presented in table 4.

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<sup>145</sup> Abiodun, Temitope Francis, Oluwasolape Onafowora, and Ifeoluwa Ayo-Adeyekan. "Alarming rate of child poverty in Northern Nigeria: Implications for national security." *American Research Journal of Humanities Social Science* 2, no. 1 (2019): 1-10.

**Table 3.1 Socio-economic and national security of Kenya**

Code	Socio-economic factors on national security of Kenya	SD (%)	D (%)	N (%)	A (%)	SA (%)	Mean	Std. Deviation
SE1	Effective regional economic governance has promoted the national security of Kenya	2	5	26	28	39	3.98	.879
SE2	EAC monetary integration potentially strengthen national security of Kenya	1	1	10	41	47	4.33	.764
SE3	Imports substitution policy of EAC guarantee the economic and national security of Kenya	1	1	5	41	51	4.40	.763
SE4	Integration of EAC has reduced disproportionate taxes and levies of Kenyan people and products	2	3	4	29	61	4.45	1.013
SE5	Through integration there is reduction of cumbersome and stringent cross borders rules and regulations	2	2	11	38	47	4.26	.881
SE6	Integration has minimized harassment, intimidation and arbitrary arrests of Kenyan citizens in neighboring countries	1	6	11	36	46	2.79	.818
SE7	Symbiotic nature of socio-economic and political integration has boosted the national security of Kenya	14	21	13	34	18	3.20	1.340
SE8	The easing of cross-national border movement has eased the movement of people and products	4	11	22	40	22	3.65	1.075
SE9	The idea of EAC citizenship promises to strengthen the national security of Kenya	31	10	19	29	11	4.20	.930

Average scale ratings ranged from 2.79 to 4.45. This indicated that the respondents rated moderate to high levels of socio-economic impacts posed by regionalism on national security of Kenya. The highest mean rating was 4.45 for the statement “Integration of EAC has reduced disproportionate taxes and levies of Kenyan people

and products.” (SD = 1.013). The statement with the lowest mean rating of 2.77 “Integration has minimized harassment, intimidation and arbitrary arrests of Kenyan citizens in neighboring countries” (SD = 0.818). These results agreed with Ewatan, Olabanji and Ese in the study on issues of insecurity and socio-economic development in Nigeria. The findings established that due to terror threats from Boko Haram, there is hindrance to exploitation of business activities and investors and in essence retarding socio-economic development in Nigeria. These threats have assumed dangerous dimensions to the corporate and national existence of Nigeria. The insecurity situation and negative impact on socio-economic development in Nigeria mirrors the situation in EAC where the dimensions of insecurity due to terror attacks by Al-Shabaab in the region have threatened socio-economic development in Kenya prompting a regional response with countries contributing troops to AMISOM to lower the capacity of the terror group’s threat to the region.

The results complement the findings by Osawe and Onyepuemu in a study on increased wave of violent crime and insecurity and the threat to socio-economic development in Nigeria.<sup>146</sup> The findings revealed an increased trend in violent crimes threatening the future of socio-economic development in Nigeria. This is because the violent crimes have witnessed sabotage of oil infrastructures, private property and government utilities. The findings are parallel with the reality in EAC region where the bulging issue of youth unemployment is exploited by terror groups like Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab as a fertile ground for recruitment of the idle and often unemployed and disillusioned youths from the region. The findings support Mauti in a similar study on the effects of high crime rate and socio-economic development of households in

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<sup>146</sup> Osawe, Onyepuemu. "Increase wave of violent crime and insecurity: A threat to socio-economic development in Nigeria." *Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 20, no. 1 (2015): 123-133.

Nairobi County.<sup>147</sup> The socio-economic implication is that business loss and lack of outside investment has been on the increase. The results finally agree with Kamais who studied on security implications of oil exploration and socio-economic activities in Turkana County, Kenya.<sup>148</sup> The findings indicated that the negative implications of oil exploration were security-oriented and emanated from poor management of the expectations of the community from the benefits of oil. This resulted in clashes between the locals and the oil companies, rise in crime and general insecurity of the area. Thus, addressing the socio-economic needs of the EAC region is a panacea for solving the insecurity situation in the region. The implication is that presence of national security is a guarantor to improvement of the socio-economic welfare of EAC region and its people in terms of improvement on roads, provision of water, employment of locals among others.

**3.3.2 Opinions of participants were sought on socio-economic rewards gained by Kenya as a member of EAC. The responses are shown below;**

- a) *There is increased employment creation for Kenya through export of manufactured products from Kenya into the EAC market.*
- b) *There is rise in employment of skilled labor force from Kenya into regional banking, insurance and other professional services.*
- c) *Increase in investment opportunities that eventually contributes to industrial development of Kenya*
- d) *There is political stability which is healthy for development of the socio-economic and cultural spheres in Kenya.*

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<sup>147</sup> Daniel, Miruka Mauti. "High crime rate on socio-economic development of selected house hold groups in Nairobi City County, Kenya." PhD diss., Kenyatta University, 2020.

<sup>148</sup> Kamais, Cosmas. "Security implications of oil exploration on socio-economic activities in south Loki char basin, Turkana County, Kenya." PhD diss., Egerton University, 2019.

- e) *The presence of common tourism visa with member countries has increased tourism earnings and eased travel within EAC for Kenyan citizens for leisure and business activities.*
- f) *There is availability of greater food security for Kenya through ease of importation from neighbors whenever there is food shortage.*
- g) *There is increased volume of international trade in EAC market. This has led to more Kenyan export products reaching the EAC market*
- h) *There is remarkable increase in volume of inbound and outbound Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in EAC market. Thus, EAC members invest in Kenya, as Kenyans increase their investments in EAC countries.*
- i) *Existence of EAC Single Customs Territory, has transformed to facilitating fast clearance of cargo, particularly at the port of Mombasa, destined to the EAC market. This is good for growth of the economy.*
- j) *There is increased human capital development as shown by increase in the number of students or trainees from EAC region (particularly South Sudan, DRC and Tanzania) seeking tertiary / university education or training in Kenya.*
- k) *Employment opportunities found within the EAC headquarters in Arusha or EAC Offices spread in EAC Member countries is good for Kenya's human resource development and absorption.*
- l) *Increased remittances of USDv to Kenya from EAC market*
- m) *Development of transport infrastructure and enhanced free movement of Kenyans, goods and services*
- n) *Financial support to business people from EAC Development Bank, based in Kampala, as well as from the local (or banks which originate from E. Africa like Equity Bank.*

The results are congruent with Spitzer, Helmut and Janestic that in order to find permanent solutions to the national security of EAC, it is imperative for the member states to accelerate the pace of socio-economic development in their individual countries.<sup>149</sup> This involves creation of economies with relevant socio-economic and physical infrastructures for business, infrastructure, employment, literacy and other facets of growth.

### **3.3.3 Socio-economic benefits and Challenges of Regionalism on National Security of Kenya**

The respondents were asked to indicate their opinion on the regional-based socio-economic threats to the national security of Kenya. The responses are shown below;

*The opinion of participants showed that the major socio-economic threats to national security of Kenya included perceived hostile governments that hindered trade activities from Kenya like the constant stand offs between Kenya and Tanzania. Kenya faces threats of disease/pandemics emanating from lack of regional cooperation in combating such cases as shown by COVID-19 pandemic where Tanzania totally rejected any regional efforts and cooperation in dealing with the issue. There are cross border crimes that include drugs, illegal substance and human trafficking, terrorism and contra-bands that threaten the security of Kenya. There are threats related to high level of youth unemployment plus drought and hunger due to climate change that threaten the national security of Kenya due to forced migration and conflicts of affected populations. With the opening of cross-national border movements, there is possibility and threat of persons with negative intentions like terrorists getting to Kenya and spreading terror attacks. Similarly, the general laxity at border stations might lead to easy infiltration/smuggling of weapons. Kenya faces consequences of spread of neighboring problems like those caused by inadequacies of political leadership such as*

*an influx of refugees from Burundi, South Sudan and DRC due to political upheavals in these countries. With cycles of weak economic growth in some regional countries coupled with poor governance, corruption, high poverty levels, low agricultural productivity, the unending socio-economic challenges threaten to affect the national security of Kenya. Incidences of EAC member states involving themselves in stiff competition and rivalry over limited and often similar economic resources like agricultural products is a threat to economic progress of Kenya as well as its national security. Due to the fact that each member state in EAC has stringent and deterrent visa conditions- there is the continuous challenge of restriction on movement of people across the borders. This affects the ability of Kenyan business people to effectively participate in regional trade as they are constantly harassed and encounter arbitrary arrests and confiscation of their goods. This is a threat to economic progress and national security of Kenya. Generally, all the member states of EAC are poor countries, and they lack appropriate funds for supporting integration and regionalism such as lack of common currency, and also possess differing development ideologies and programs. Unless this reality is resolved, it has the net effect of curtailing the regionalism agenda and may threaten the future national security of Kenya. Language barrier is a threat to integration and regionalism as seen from countries like Burundi, Rwanda and DRC with French as domiciled national language with the other members using English as official language. Lack of unifying language in EAC regional acts as a barrier for instantaneous articulation of the common agenda in the region since language is viewed as a barrier and divides the English-speaking Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and South Sudan and French-speaking, Burundi, Rwanda and DRC. Language barrier is thus a threat to regionalism. Other threats include insecurity, due to conflicts, wars and activities of illegitimate armed groups as well as Neo-colonial*

*and hegemonic influence that continuously threatens the spirit of unification of the EAC region.*

### **3.4 Chapter Summary**

This chapter has outlined the concepts of socio-economic and regionalism and the overall impacts of national security. It has further discussed and analyzed the related empirical studies that expounds on these concepts. The chapter has established the presence of the nexus between socio-economic development, regionalism and national security. This is illustrated by various empirical studies that have established that lack of socio-economic development is a precursor of national and regional security challenges. Likewise, regionalism is a catalyst for the socio-economic development of individual countries as well as the region. The next chapter focuses on benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security of Kenya.

**CHAPTER FOUR**  
**BENEFITS AND CHALLENGES OF REGIONALISM ON NATIONAL**  
**SECURITY OF KENYA**

**4.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the literature review on the benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security of Kenya. It outlines the review of literature from related studies and the subsequent study gaps.

**4.2 Benefits and Challenges of Regionalism on National Security**

Regionalism has gained traction in several regions of the world since the end of the Second World War. Since the 1960s, over 14 regional arrangements relating to peace and security, customs union and free trade zones have been created.<sup>149</sup> Though regionalism harbors the potential of improvement of the socio-economic, political, security, technological and cultural spheres of member countries, there exists challenges that sometimes inhibit the achievement of these ideals. It is imperative that no country is immune from challenges of insecurity despite its relative proximity from the strengths of regional integration.<sup>150</sup> This chapter outlines these benefits and challenges that emanates from regionalism on the national security of countries like Kenya.

**4.2.1 Benefits of Regionalism on National Security**

Nowadays, it has become fashionable for many countries to be part of regional grouping. The rationale has been the hope to overcome the many challenges that affect society ranging from poverty eradication, political unity, improved socio-economic and security policy among many others. This is also because a secure region is critical for

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<sup>149</sup> Makaka, Lydia V. "Regional Integration in Africa-A False Promise? The Case Study of the East African Community." University of Nairobi, 2018 doctoral dissertation.

<sup>150</sup> East Africa's Regional Economic Integration is Developing, *Journal of International Commerce, Logistics and Law* 7, no. 1 (2021): 67-74, Yusuf, Abdulmalik Abukar.

the overall regional integration process.<sup>151</sup> In addition, safeguarding peace and security is one of the most important goals for the integration agenda for many countries. For the EAC, there was the formulation of the code of correct conduct on peace and security officially published in November 2013.<sup>152</sup> The article aimed at prevention and combating of cattle rustling, transnational and cross-border crimes control the use and distribution of illicit weapons, management of refugees, reduction of disaster risks and management and response to crisis. Others include combating of terrorism, suppressing piracy, prevention of genocide among others.<sup>153</sup>

There are numerous benefits to national security that member states of EAC have gained from regionalism. For instance, EAC admitted its 7<sup>th</sup> Partner State- Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) on 29<sup>th</sup> March 2022. DRC has a population of 95 million people, which now expands the combined-market driven economy of 303 million people with a GDP of 243 billion dollars.<sup>154</sup> This is a game-changer for EAC whose intra-trade, infrastructure development, food and health security were devastated by COVID-19 pandemic. The entry of DRC has created a trade bloc that stretches from the Indian Ocean in the east to the Atlantic in the west and eventually connects the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic Ocean trading belt.<sup>155</sup>

Additionally, DRC is a SADC member state and membership of EAC and SADC are mutually inclusive. The entry of DRC into EAC has the potential of strengthening the

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<sup>151</sup> Muriuki, Tina Kagwiria, and George Kosimbei. "Effects of Regional Integration on Economic Growth of East African Community." 3, no. 11 (2015): 1090–1113 for the international journal of commerce, management, and economics.

<sup>152</sup> Mwaura, Patrick M. "Strategic national interests in regional integration in East Africa-Case study of Kenya." University of Nairobi, 2013, dissertation for a Doctorate.

<sup>153</sup> International Trade, Logistics, and Law Journal 7, no. 1 (2021): 67-74. Yusuf, Abdulmalik Abukar. "Development of Regional Economic Integration in East Africa."

<sup>154</sup> Possibilities and challenges Opportunities and burdens brought to the EAC table by DR Congo are available at <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/-opportunities-and-burdens-dr-congo-brings-to-eac-table-3769482>.

<sup>155</sup> Possibilities and challenges Opportunities and burdens brought to the EAC table by DR Congo are available at <https://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/tea/news/east-africa/-opportunities-and-burdens-dr-congo-brings-to-eac-table-3769482>.

EAC-SADC relationships, first forged by Tanzania when she joined SADC. The new relationship will bolster the ongoing bilateral agreements for the creation of a Grand Free Trade Area between EAC and SADC's 16 member countries and between EAC, SADC and COMESA. This has the net effect of creation of the largest trading bloc in Africa- a 613 million people trade bloc.<sup>156</sup> These bilateral trade agreements have great potential for free movement of people and goods notwithstanding current and future peace and security for EAC, SADC and COMESA regions. It also guarantees national security of member states. This is also because member states are always keen to do business with peaceful partners.<sup>157</sup>

EAC as a regional body has increased peace between the member states, emanating from the code of correct conduct on peace and security of November 2013.<sup>158</sup> For instance, in the year 2013, there were skirmishes between Kenya and Uganda over Migingo Island- located between the common borders in Lake Victoria. To settle, the conflict, the two countries decided to negotiate as guided by the code of correct conduct on peace and security. The ensuing negotiations resulted to resolution of the conflict through creation of an amicable strategy to ensure no more clashes in the islands.

Additionally, when Kenya decided to send its forces to Somalia to fight the Al-Shabaab terror group which was interfering with movement of goods in the Indian Ocean, the EAC decided to assist. This is because 80% of the EAC imports and exports which come through the ocean were threatened and the outside world was getting paranoid of the terror group. There was a general lowering of the economic status of EAC, which

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<sup>156</sup> The Benefits and Drawbacks of the Democratic Republic of the Congo Being a Member of the East African Community: <http://horninstitute.org/the-benefits-and-drawbacks-of-the-democratic-republic-of-congo-becoming-a-member-of-the-east-african-community/>

<sup>157</sup> Cichecka, Anna. "EAC—an Answer for Regional Problems or Failed Solutions in East Africa?" *Politeja* 56 (2018): 267-277.

<sup>158</sup> Mwaura, Patrick M. "Strategic national interests in regional integration in East Africa-Case study of Kenya." University of Nairobi, 2013, dissertation for a Doctorate.

was detrimental to the economic future of the region.<sup>159</sup> Al-Shabaab terror group was also a threat to national security and overall survival of member states, especially Kenya. The joint effort at eliminating the terror threat was therefore good for the national security of EAC.<sup>160</sup>

EAC has helped in forging bilateral trade interdependence between member states which has inadvertently created peace and security in the region. For instance, as a landlocked country, Uganda has strived to create very close ties with Kenya and Tanzania since it depends on the two for import and export of its good to the outside world.<sup>161</sup> Trade is critical in the free-flow of people and goods and in essence a barrier to military disagreements and wars- member states are always keen to do business with peaceful partners.<sup>162</sup> The drive for peaceful co-existence in EAC has witnessed the creation of common currency agreements for the purpose of establishing a trade bloc that has reconciled financial policies and common banks for effective serving the member states.<sup>163</sup> This move has the net effect of a strong EAC currency and currency stabilization that minimizes volatility and fluctuation. The endeavor aims at free movement of people and goods across the region, faster border payments and promote peace and security of individual member states like Kenya.<sup>164</sup>

EAC has been active in resolving various intrastate and interstate conflicts in member states. Interstate and intrastate conflicts such as insurgencies, corruption, epidemics,

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<sup>159</sup> Yusuf. Abdulmalik Abukar, "Progress of Regional Economic Integration in East Africa." 67–74 in Volume 7, Number 1 of the Journal of International Commerce, Logistics and Law (2021).

<sup>160</sup> Makaka, Lydia V. "Regional Integration in Africa-A False Promise? The Case Study of the East African Community." University of Nairobi, 2018 doctoral dissertation.

<sup>161</sup> Francis Akena. Adyanga, "Regional Integration, a Prospect for Development: Lessons from Rwanda's Experience in the East African Community." 2019; Peter Lang AG.

<sup>162</sup> Cichecka, Anna. "EAC—an Answer for Regional Problems or Failed Solutions in East Africa?" *Politeja* 56 (2018): 267-277.

<sup>163</sup> Adyanga. Francis Akena, "Chapter Seven: Regional Integration, a Prospect for Development: Lessons from Rwanda's Experience in East African Community. 2014; Counterpoints 443: 128–141."

<sup>164</sup> Matte, Rogers. "Analysis of the East African community integration process as an opportunity for Uganda's medium-to-long-term development." *Economics, Law and Policy* 2, no. 1 (2019): 12-54.

and environmental degradation, ethnic and religious hatred among others have been rife in the region. When these conflicts arise, EAC has been active in ensuring peaceful coexistence and stability in the region. The EAC region has often been eclipsed by such conflicts. For instance, there was the conflict in Rwanda and Burundi and specifically the 1994 genocide that found Tanzania harboring over 300,000 refugees from the two countries.<sup>165</sup> Similarly, the civil war in South Sudan and Somali has led to Kenya establishing some of the largest refugee camps in the world namely Kakuma and Daadab refugees' camps. Kenya was engulfed in the 2007/8 post-election violence that was ethnically oriented. Though the EAC failed to offer concrete solutions to the clashes, its chair, President Jakaya Kikwete of Tanzania actively participated in resolving the conflict.

Kenya and Uganda have had the menace of cattle rustling in their common borders. The leadership of the two countries have jointly undertaken disarmament campaigns in an attempt to reduce the endemic culture of cattle rustling.<sup>166</sup> EAC has also established a strategic program for control and registering of small arms and light weapons. This is through elaborate cooperation between the EAC police bosses and through the activation of the Protocol on Illicit Drug Trafficking. All these efforts are aimed at guaranteeing peace and security for the region and national security for member countries.<sup>167</sup>

#### **4.2.2 Challenges of Regionalism on National Security**

Together with benefits, the EAC, like other regional organizations, faces some extremely difficult obstacles that jeopardize its progress. Change has been resisted by

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<sup>165</sup> Akena, Francis Adyanga. "Chapter Seven: Regional Integration, a Prospect for Development: Lessons from Rwanda's Experience in East African Community." *Counterpoints* 443 (2014): 128-141.

<sup>166</sup> Matte, Rogers. "Analysis of the East African community integration process as an opportunity for Uganda's medium-to-long-term development." *Economics, Law and Policy* 2, no. 1 (2019): 12-54.

<sup>167</sup> Akena, Francis Adyanga. "Regional Integration, a Prospect for Development: Lessons from Rwanda's Experience in the East African Community." In 2019, Peter Lang AG.

several member nations, and they have consistently failed to fully support the EAC's operations. The struggle between the pursuit of sovereignty and achieving the advantages of integration is what is causing resistance to this transformation. The EAC is using education, treaty amendments to give the community more authority, stronger sanctions in accordance with the treaty's requirements, and improved resource management by member nations of the community in their budgeting and resource allocation.<sup>168</sup> These challenges lead to constant squabbles that threaten the peaceful coexistence of members and if escalated is a further danger to national security of member states like Kenya.

One of the ultimate objectives of creation of EAC is formulation and operationalization of political federation. The enactment of a political federation has the potential of enabling the bloc to have unilateral might in terms of integration and thus elevating the ability to participate strongly on pursuing the interests of EAC in international arena. Delays in the decision-making process, however, have occurred because a Sectoral Council on Political Federation was not constituted by the end of 2016 as initially envisaged. The intended implementation of the small arms and light weapons control programs was further postponed due to insufficient capacity to monitor and respond to the entry of such weapons. Due to the EAC law enforcement organizations' scant attempts at cooperating, the threat posed by these weapons has not been fully handled. This has the result of endangering the regional peace as well as the national peace of member nations like Kenya.<sup>169</sup>

Constant squabbles by leadership of EAC are a challenge that threatens peace and security in the region. For instance, in February 2017, news emerged in Rwanda that

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<sup>168</sup> Matte, Rogers. "Analysis of the East African community integration process as an opportunity for Uganda's medium-to-long-term development." *law, policy, and economics* 2, no. 1 (2019): 12-54.

<sup>169</sup> Matte, Rogers. "Analysis of the East African community integration process as an opportunity for Uganda's medium-to-long-term development." *law, policy, and economics* 2, no. 1 (2019): 12-54.

Rwanda National Congress, had been formed by a businessman from Rwanda who had a falling out with Kagame. In Uganda a rebel training camp was established. The following October, nine people were detained and accused in Uganda of plotting to kidnap and forcibly extradite former exiled military officials from Rwanda to that country. The accusations and counter-accusations escalated with the leadership of the two countries accusing each other of sabotage leading to Rwanda advising its citizens against travelling to Uganda and to the eventual closing of common borders by 2020. This has led to the disruption of trade and movement of people. It should be noted that the two countries had engaged in wars in 1999 and 2000 that killed hundreds of their soldiers.<sup>170</sup> Such conflicts are not only a security threat to EAC but also pose a national security threat to the entire EAC region. It should be pointed out that similar skirmishes exist between Kenya and Tanzania over trade agreements that have witnessed destruction of Kenyan products and even confiscation of cattle by Tanzanian authorities. Such acts are a threat to peaceful coexistence of EAC.

The inclusion of DRC in EAC has its own challenges to the community. DRC has everything that a country requires to develop. Despite this massive potential, DRC has the lowest global nominal Gross Domestic Product (GDP).<sup>171</sup> Additionally, a majority of the citizens have continuously struggled to survive. There is gross mismanagement of mineral deposits with a total lack of accountability on their exploitation. There is wanton mismanagement of public offices, corruption, and theft of public coffers, dictatorship, nepotism, selective justice and lack of rule of law among many other vices. This is a pointer to the deep-rooted culture of incompetence and unethical leadership.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> East Africa should step in to stop the verbal conflict between Rwanda and Uganda <https://theconversation.com/global/topics/east-african-community-22702>

<sup>171</sup> Tengu, Y., E. R. Anaya, and N. Vundi. "Models of Empowerment and Governance for Sustainable Development of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC): Prospects and Potential." (2020).

<sup>172</sup> Oostman, Charlotte, and O. B. R. C. van Cranenburgh. "Good Governance in the Democratic Republic of the Congo; reality or a mere fantasy." (2017).

Above all, the pursuit and protection of the never-ending competing interests for local population, government of DRC, neighboring and foreign countries, multinational corporations, development partners and peacekeeping forces have created a security dilemma. This has led to emergence of over 100 armed groups like Allied Democratic Forces (ADF) and M-23 in North Kivu province- the bedrock of mineral wealth in DRC.<sup>173</sup> The insecurity situation has created tension between DRC and Rwanda with the former accusing the later of funding and supporting the M-23-armed militia that threatens the security of the entire Great Lakes region. The EAC has sent a regional force to DRC to support the Armed Forces of DRC (FARDC) against the armed groups in North Kivu province.<sup>174</sup>

When it comes to political clashes, EAC has been unable on many occasions to offer amicable solutions. When Kenya faced the post-election violence of 2007/8 that paralyzed the economy leading to loss of lives and destruction of property, the EAC was unable to help the deteriorating security in the country. Only Tanzania's leadership openly voiced their concerns over the clashes while other member states kept a distance watching over the situation. It took the efforts of the United Nations under Kofi Anan to create a platform for negotiations and peaceful resolution of the skirmishes. Even the investigation bit of the cause and perpetrators of the clashes was conducted by the International Criminal Court (ICC).<sup>175</sup> After the identification of the culprits, the trials were conducted at The Hague-outside the EAC region.

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<sup>173</sup> The Benefits and Drawbacks of the Democratic Republic of the Congo Joining the East African Community: <https://horninstitute.org/the-pros-and-drawbacks-of-the-democratic-republic-of-congos-joining-the-east-african-community/>

<sup>174</sup> Can the EAC keep the eastern DRC stable? <https://issafrica.org/iss-today/can-the-east-african-community-stabilise-eastern-drc>

<sup>175</sup> Lynne Muthoni Wanyeki. "African solutions for African problems' or a 'liberal peace': the African Union (AU) and Kenya." 2018 doctoral dissertation, SOAS University of London.

Additionally, EAC was unable to intervene during the Uganda chiefdom skirmishes of 2016 where the police killed Baganda royal security officers at Rwenzururu. The situation was never mentioned or even deliberated on by EAC.<sup>176</sup> Another instance where EAC failed to act was during the upheavals in Burundi in 2016 when then President Pierre Nkurunziza attempted to run for office for the third term. This resulted in massive demonstrations in the country, shutting of the internet and eventual arrest and killing of many protestors. There was even an attempted coup at the same time when Nkurunziza was in Tanzania attending a peace meeting that was eventually closed the following day.<sup>177</sup> However, there was no intervention from EAC. Such incidents pose national security threats for the entire region.

On the quest for infrastructure developed in the EAC disagreements have arisen on the nature and approach of cooperation. This has witnessed the forging of phrases such as “Coalition of the willing” created in 2013 due to lack of political will to jointly participate in infrastructure development.<sup>178</sup> This was particularly true of the international agreements on standard gauge railway linking Kenya, Rwanda, and Uganda that excluded Tanzania and Burundi since they were unwilling to take part in the project. The idea also called for sharing an oil refinery and building a pipeline between Kenya and Uganda. Due to Tanzania's desire for multilateral agreements with Uganda for the Dar-Salaam-Kampala railway and road network, this caused tensions and strains among the EAC countries. Kenya decided to go it alone and build its own SGR.<sup>179</sup> The uncoordinated regional transport network development does not augur

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<sup>176</sup> Tshimba, David Ngendo. "Society against state or state against society? The unfolding of violence in contemporary Uganda's Rwenzori region." (2020).

<sup>177</sup> Mpofo, Shepherd. "His Excellency, the Internet and Outraged Citizens: An Analysis of the Big Man Syndrome and Internet Shutdowns in Africa." In *African Social Media Censorship: Digital Dissidence*, pp. 37-57. Routledge, 2023.

<sup>178</sup> Mohamed, Ahmed A. "The challenges of cooperation in foreign policy coordination. A case study of East African Community integration." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2015.

<sup>179</sup> [http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke/bitstream/handle/11295/77098/Opiyo\\_Prospect%20And%20Pitfalls%20Of%20The%20Proposed%20East%20African%20Political%20Federation.pdf?sequence=3](http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke/bitstream/handle/11295/77098/Opiyo_Prospect%20And%20Pitfalls%20Of%20The%20Proposed%20East%20African%20Political%20Federation.pdf?sequence=3)

well for the efforts at peaceful coexistence and security of EAC. It also fails to sustain the spirit of cooperation and is a threat to future development and national security of the region.

Uncertainty over the future of political leadership is a threat to national security of many countries in Africa and even in EAC. On many occasions, political strife emerges during and after presidential elections due to accusations of election manipulation or the quest for incumbency to maintain status quo. This is a reality in EAC where political violence has constantly been witnessed in Kenya since the introduction of multiparty elections in 1991. Cycles of political violence have been a common occurrence in 1992, 1997, 2002, 2007 and 2017.<sup>180</sup>

In Uganda, political violence has engulfed elections leading to arrest and detention of opposition leaders such as Kiiza Besigye and Robert Kyagulanyi “Bobby Wine”. This is coupled with violent protests, killings of protestors and destruction of property in every cycle of election in Uganda. The situation is made worse in Uganda with the incumbent President Yoweri Museveni clinging to power and striving for status quo since 1986. In Rwanda, President Kagame has been in power since 2004 and has silenced the opposition leading to steaming of silent disquiet in the political scene in the country.<sup>181</sup> In Tanzania, there are clashes between the ruling *Chama cha Mapinduzi* and the opposition parties every time elections are held. In South Sudan, the country has been engulfed in civil war since independence in 2011 due to political differences between the political leadership. This has led to killing of innocent civilians and displacement of millions of refugees.<sup>182</sup> Consequently, uncertainty over the future of

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<sup>180</sup> Makaka, Lydia V. "Regional Integration in Africa-A False Promise? The Case Study of the East African Community." University of Nairobi, 2018 doctoral dissertation.

<sup>181</sup> Patricia Mukiri, Mwithiga. "The Challenges of Regional Integration in the East Africa Community." Pages 89–108 of *Regional Integration and African Policy Problems*. 2015, London's Palgrave Macmillan.

<sup>182</sup> Ngari, David N. "Challenges and prospects of regional integration in Africa: a case study of East African Community." University of Nairobi, 2016 doctoral dissertation.

political leadership is an existential threat to existence of EAC and a threat to national security of member states.

Thus, regionalism enables regions like EAC to overcome marginalization in international affairs and collectively effect changes which ensure adequate balance of political and economic powers for political independence, sustenance and economic development rooted in collective efforts.<sup>183</sup> However, expanding regionalism for EAC as noted by inclusion of new members like South Sudan and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) may substantially narrow the chances of achieving the intended economic, political, social and cultural aspects.<sup>184</sup> For instance, South Sudan and DRC are currently bogged down by internal strife and these are the burdens that EAC has to inherit. Others member states in the EAC are characterized by autocratic governance. However, it is notable that the socio-economic, political and cultural prospects and challenges facing EAC transcend national boundaries and have the nature of spreading to democratic member states like Kenya.

Empirical studies have outlined the aspect of benefits and challenges of regionalism. For example, Yusuf researched on progress of regional economic integration in East Africa.<sup>185</sup> The study illuminated the priorities, major achievements and problems that threaten the EAC. This is a desktop research study undertaken on East African countries from articles and document analysis of secondary data sources. The findings established that political will power of leadership and existential threats from crimes such as insurgency and piracy is a threat to attainment of economic and political integration.

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<sup>183</sup> Njura Samwel Odoyo. "A Comparative Analysis of The European Union (Eu) And the East African Community (EAC) Economic Integration Models: Lessons For Africa." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2016.

<sup>184</sup> Kebret, Haile. "The Republic of South Sudan: Progress, Prospects and Challenges of Regional Integration." (2018).

<sup>185</sup> Yusuf and Abdulmalik Abukar. "Progress of Regional Economic Integration in East Africa." *International Trade, Logistics and Law Journal* 7, no. 1 (2021): 67-74.

The conceptual gap is that the focus of this study was mostly on economic integration while the focus of the current study is regionalism and national security. However, it is notable that this study has made attempts at understanding and creating awareness on the institutional strengths and weaknesses of integration objective in EAC.

Makaka examined regional integration in Africa, and more specifically in the EAC, in a study akin to this one conducted in Kenya using the assumption of whether this parallel is a false promise.<sup>186</sup>The Custom Union theory and Functionalism theory serve as the study's theoretical cornerstones. Secondary information was acquired for the study using an exploratory research approach and was taken from published journals and papers. Using content analysis, the qualitative data that was acquired was examined. The results showed that EAC has accomplished tremendous things in the socioeconomic and political-security fields. As a result, the EAC has become one of Africa's most integrated areas.

The main methods of integration are the broadening of the purview of legal tools, coordination of national economic and social policies, and increased trade between member states and the rest of the globe. The region's prevalence of security and peace has also been influenced by the EAC. The research's application of the Custom Union theory and Functionalism theory contrasts with the current study, which is grounded in Robert Gilpins's theory of Hegemonic Conflict and Change. Though the study is based in Kenya, it illuminates the reality of the regionalism situation throughout the EAC region.

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<sup>186</sup> Makaka, Lydia V. "Regional Integration in Africa-A False Promise? The Case Study of the East African Community." University of Nairobi, 2018 doctoral dissertation.

In Iran, Zalei et al. researched on regionalism and the benefits and challenges of regionalism in Iran's foreign relations.<sup>187</sup> The study adopted descriptive analytical analysis through use of library data and reliable internal and external sources of data. The findings showed that Iran has established Eco-regional cooperation with Turkey and Pakistan through regionalism. However, the regional cooperation has failed to attain economic, political and security benefits for Iran and the region. The contextual gap is that the study is based in Iran. The methodological gap is the use of descriptive analytical design while current study has employed exploratory design. However, the study reflects the reality of benefits and challenges of regional organizations in other parts of the world. Specifically, the common challenges often pose serious threats to the security situation of member states.

Barnekow, Ellis and Kulkarni examined various reasons why African countries have chosen to engage in regional agreements.<sup>188</sup> This is based on the assessment by Jacob Viner in the 1950s that not all trade agreements lead to higher economic benefits for countries involved in them. The findings revealed that for most African countries, the limitations from small variations in the goods produced from one country to another make them unsuitable for intra-continent trading. Similarly, due to lack of infrastructure and trading systems designed to promote intercontinental trading, there is little trading connectivity among African countries. Such variations imply that regional trade is not well embraced among countries and efforts to promote regionalism and regional trade may be seen as efforts to threaten the interest of states. This sophistication is risky for national security of African countries like Kenya.

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<sup>187</sup> Seyed Mehdi Musavi Shahidi, Seyed Zarei, Bahador, Jalil Delshad zad, and Seyed Mahmoud Alavi. Regionalism and its difficulties in regard to diplomatic relations with Iran. 743–758 in *Human Geography Research* 47.4 (2015).

<sup>188</sup> Kishore G. Kulkarni, Sarah Ellis, and Barnekow "Regionalism: Why? An examination of the advantages and disadvantages of regional trade agreements in Africa." 99–117 in *World Business Review* 18, no. 1 (2017).

A related study was conducted by Kathleen on economic and security regionalism among patrimonial authoritarian regimes in Central Asia.<sup>189</sup> The study is based on the fact that security regionalism has gained more success than economic regionalism in these countries. This is in spite of the fact that economic regionalism has potentially more benefits than security regionalism for the welfare of these countries. The reason behind this contradiction is alluded to the presence of patrimonial authoritarian regimes in the region. Findings show that for the leaders of Central Asian countries, the driver to adopt security regionalism is the need for survival and personal enrichment rather than economic prosperity and national security for their citizens. Since economic regionalism involves such practices as liberalization that may have adverse effects on such leaders, the only option is 'virtual' economic regionalism for the purposes of personal survival. Security regionalism is a threat to national security of the population in these countries since it only bolsters patrimonial regimes that have little interest for democracy, economic and security needs of the population.

Another study was conducted by Roland-Host, David and Mensbrugge on opportunities and challenges related to globalization and regionalism in the Americas.<sup>190</sup> The study is based on the issue that trade liberalization is the key to substantial regionalism between South and North Americas. The study evaluated the incentive compatibility of regional agreements in the Americas for individual member countries and structural compatibility for the larger global trade liberalization. The findings established that regionalism has potential benefits for economies of member

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<sup>189</sup> Collins, Kathleen. "Economic and security regionalism among patrimonial authoritarian regimes: The case of Central Asia." *61, no. 2 (2009): 249-281 in Europe-Asia Studies.*

<sup>190</sup> Dominique van der Mensbrugge and David, and Roland-Holst. "Regionalism versus globalization in the Americas: empirical evidence on opportunities and challenges published simultaneously in *Integration and Trade and Économie Internationale*, by the Inter-American Development Bank, the Center for the Integration of Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Centre d'Études Perspectives et d'Informations Internationales, in Washington and Paris, forthcoming 1, no. 27 (2002): 2003.

countries. Additionally, due to complexity of adjustments and effects of large trade initiatives, regionalism may not fully guarantee the future economic welfare of member countries. The conceptual gap is that though the study has attempted to highlight issues related to regionalism and national security, it has done so from a generalized point of view.

In a similar study, Dosch evaluated the challenges of regionalism in the Asian-Pacific region.<sup>191</sup> The study expounds on issues of regionalism and regionalization in terms of structural frameworks for community building in Southeast Asia. The focus on the discourse of regionalism is due to strong linkages between the new regionalism debate and international political economy agenda. Findings show that countries under ASEAN have utilized regionalism as a means of solving regional economic, political and security challenges. This is being done through attainment of far-reaching visions of economic-community building without drastic changes to the traditional approach of regional cooperation between member countries. The conceptual gap is that the study has employed regionalism as a driver of mostly the economic, political and security welfare of regional membership as a whole entity with less focus on national security of member countries.

Melissa discussed various theories of regional security and the relationship to successes and challenges of regionalism agenda in East Africa.<sup>192</sup> The study used case study research design to contextualize the utility of regional security analysis. Through a rigorous analysis of the regional security theory, the study established that the theory is useful in explaining the security complex and gives a basic understanding of the multitude of various security issues in East Africa. The results show that for those

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<sup>191</sup> Dosch, Jörn. "Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the challenge of regionalism in the Asia-Pacific." In *The New Global Politics of the Asia-Pacific*, pp. 160-179. Routledge, 2017.

<sup>192</sup> Jennings, Melissa. "Regional security theory: the East African experience. A look back at the challenges entering the new millennium." *Inna Portas-Studia na Bezpieczestwe* 2 (2017): 71-86.

countries without threats of survival, regionalism is important since it guarantees future security and survival. As such, regionalism is an important tool for enhancing security of member states. The methodological gap is the use of case study design.

In a related study in Kenya, Ouma conducted a critical analysis of regional integration in Kenya in the context of trade, infrastructure and security.<sup>193</sup> The study employed in-depth interviews and analysis of empirical studies in gathering of data. The study established that trade in Kenya is relatively integrated with other countries although at a significantly lower level than in those countries that are fully integrated. In addition, the current levels of inter-Africa trade for Kenya are relatively low due to customs related challenges, customs and administrative procedures and the issue of over-reliance on imports from other continents. The study established that Kenya has historically faced instability from neighboring countries as well as local political instability. These challenges are a threat to the national security of Kenya. The conceptual gap is the focus on regional integration in Kenya in the context of trade, infrastructure and security while the current study illuminates the issues of regionalism and national security.

### **4.3 Data Analysis and Presentation**

This section analyzes and presents data on the benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security of Kenya. Inferential statistics of the three objectives that included correlation and regression analysis was also conducted. This is shown in table 6-13.

### **4.4 Benefits and Challenges of Regionalism on National Security of Kenya**

The third objective was to assess the benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security of Kenya. Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with

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<sup>193</sup> Ouma, Lucian Basil. "The question of regional integration in Africa: A critical analysis of Kenya's trade, infrastructure, and security in the context of the AfCFTA." Master's thesis, Faculty of Commerce, 2021.

the following factors related to benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security of Kenya using **the scale of 1= Strongly disagree, 2= Agree, 3=Neutral, 4=Agree, 5= Strongly Agree**. The respondents were asked to rate items measuring benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security of Kenya and the findings presented in table 5.

**Table 4.1 Benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security**

<b>Code</b>	<b>Benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security of Kenya</b>	<b>SD (%)</b>	<b>D (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>A (%)</b>	<b>SA (%)</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>
BC1	As a member of EAC Kenya has increased the span of employment of its citizen across the region	1	3	8	34	54	4.39	.803
BC2	Kenya has benefitted due to its strong human resource through outsourcing of jobs across EAC	1	2	11	37	49	4.31	.807
BC3	The EAC has accelerated investment in infrastructure by Kenya like Standard Gauge railway and roads networks	5	14	11	34	36	3.82	1.203
BC4	As a member of EAC, Kenya has benefitted from trade agreements like AGOA to access USA markets	1	5	6	40	48	4.28	.881
BC5	As a member of EAC, Kenya is made to adhere to principles of good governance, transparency and accountability	1	7	12	43	37	4.06	.952
BC6	Adherence to integrity and the rule of law has elevated the democratic space for Kenya in the region	3	5	2	30	60	4.39	.984
BC7	Economically and politically, Kenya is still at the mercy of lending institutions like the World Bank and the IMF	3	5	7	29	57	4.33	.980
BC8	As a regional partner, Kenya is made to carry the responsibility of hosting refugees from across the region	1	3	3	23	70	4.56	.816
BC9	Terror networks and criminal gangs have found a safe haven in Kenya	3	4	6	25	63	4.41	.963

Average scale ratings ranged from 3.82 to 4.56. This indicated that the respondents rated moderate to high levels of benefits and challenges of regionalism on national

security of Kenya. The highest mean rating was 4.27 for the statement “As a regional partner, Kenya is made to carry the responsibility of hosting refugees from across the region.” (SD = .833). The statement with the lowest mean rating of 3.82 “The EAC has accelerated investment in infrastructure by Kenya examples being the Standard Gauge railway and roads networks” (SD = 1.245). From the point of view of benefits of regionalism, these results concur with Makaka’s study on regional integration in Africa and specifically in EA through the presumption of whether this analogy is a false promise.<sup>194</sup> The results agreed with Ouma’s study on critical analysis of regional integration in Kenya in the context of trade, infrastructure and security.<sup>195</sup> The study established that the current levels of inter-Africa trade for Kenya is relatively low due to customs related challenges, customs and administrative procedures and the issue of over-reliance on imports from other continents. The study established that Kenya has historically faced instability from neighboring countries as well as local political instability. These challenges are a threat to the national security of Kenya.

The results agreed with the assertion by Roland-Host, David and Mensbrugghe on opportunities and challenges related to globalization and regionalism in the Americas.<sup>196</sup> The findings of the study established that regionalism has potential benefits for economies of member countries. The results are convergent with the findings by Dosch which evaluated the challenges of regionalism in the Asian-Pacific region.<sup>197</sup> Findings showed that countries under ASEAN have utilized regionalism as a means of solving regional economic, political and security challenges. This is being

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<sup>194</sup> Makaka, Lydia V. "Regional Integration in Africa-A False Promise? The Case Study of the East African Community." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2018.

<sup>195</sup> Ouma, Lucian Basil. "The question of regional integration in Africa: A critical analysis of Kenya's trade, infrastructure, and security in the context of the AfCFTA." Master's thesis, Faculty of Commerce, 2021.

<sup>196</sup> Roland-Holst, David, and Dominique van der Mensbrugghe. " "Regionalism versus globalization in the Americas: empirical evidence on opportunities and challenges,"

<sup>197</sup> Dosch, Jörn. "Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the challenge of regionalism in the Asia-Pacific." In *The New World Politics of the Asia-Pacific*, pp. 160–179. In 2017, Routledge.

done through attainment of far-reaching visions of economic-community building without drastic changes to the traditional approach of regional cooperation between member countries. This is similar to the spirit of regionalism in EAC. The results again support the findings by Melissa in a study on various theories of regional security and the relationship to successes and challenges of regionalism agenda in East Africa.<sup>198</sup> The findings showed that for those countries without threats of survival, regionalism is important since it guarantees future security and survival. As such, regionalism is an important tool for enhancing security of member states. The methodological gap is the use of case study design. However, the results contradict the findings by Kathleen on economic and security regionalism among patrimonial authoritarian regimes in Central Asia.<sup>199</sup> Findings showed that for the leaders of Central Asia countries, the driver to adopt security regionalism is the need for survival and personal enrichment rather than economic prosperity and national security for their citizens. This is centrally from the situation in EAC that is driven by mostly economic benefits and partially by security needs and rarely by personality benefits.

From the outlook on challenges to regionalism in EAC, the findings agreed with Yusuf's study on progress of regional economic integration in East Africa.<sup>200</sup> The study established that political will power of leadership and existential threats from crimes such as insurgency and piracy are a threat to attainment of economic and political integration. The results concur with the study by Zarei et al. on regionalism and the benefits and challenges of regionalism in Iran's foreign relations.<sup>201</sup> The findings

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<sup>198</sup> Jennings, Melissa. "Regional security theory: the East African experience. A look back at the challenges entering the new millennium." *Ante Portas—Studia nad Bezpieczeństwem* 2 (2017): 71-86.

<sup>199</sup> Collins, Kathleen. "Economic and security regionalism among patrimonial authoritarian regimes: The case of Central Asia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 61, no. 2 (2009): 249-281.

<sup>200</sup> Yusuf, Abdulmalik Abukar. "Progress of Regional Economic Integration in East Africa." *Journal of International Trade, Logistics and Law* 7, no. 1 (2021): 67-74.

<sup>201</sup> Zarei, Bahador, Jalil Delshad zad, Seyed Mahmoud Alavi, and Seyed Mehdi Musavi Shahidi. Regionalism and its difficulties in regard to diplomatic relations with Iran. 743–758 in *Human Geography Research* 47, no. 4 (2015).

showed that Iran has established eco-regional cooperation with Turkey and Pakistan through regionalism. However, the regional cooperation has failed to attain economic, political and security benefits for Iran and the region. Finally, the results complement Barnekow, Ellis and Kulkarni in a study on various reasons why African countries have chosen to engage in regional agreements.<sup>202</sup> The findings revealed that for most African countries, the limitations from small variations in the goods produced from one country to another make them unsuitable for intra-continent trading. Similarly, due to lack of infrastructure and trading systems designed to promote intercontinental trading, there is little trading connectivity among African countries. Such variations imply that regional trade is not well embraced among countries and efforts to promote regionalism and regional trade may be seen as efforts to threaten the interest of states. The results amplify the reality of benefits and challenges of regionalism in other parts of the world that mirror the situation in EAC. Specifically, these common challenges often pose serious threats to the security situation of member states.

**4.4.1 The opinions of participants were sought on the contribution of regionalism to benefits and threats to national security of East Africa Community member states. The responses on some of the benefits are indicated below;**

- a) *Regionalism creates a sense of belonging and brotherhood, hence promotes mutual cooperation as tensions and suspicion decrease in among EAC member states.*
- b) *Through interstate military cooperation and intervention, there is robust regional peace and stability through collective defence*

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<sup>202</sup> Kishore G. Kulkarni, Sarah Ellis, and Barnekow. "Why regionalism? A look at the costs and benefits of regional trade agreements in Africa." (2017) World Business Review 18, no. 1: 99–117.

- c) *There is rapid resolution of inter-member conflicts driven by collective security through information sharing*
- d) *There is efficient resolution of conflicts due to enhanced cooperation when dealing with threats to security*
- e) *There is effective management and sharing of trans-boundary resources coupled with collaboration among security organs to curb terror and crime that culminates in secure border and a peaceful EAC.*
- f) *There is promotion of free movement of people and goods.*
- g) *There is enhanced information/intelligence sharing, collective solutions to border disputes, resolution of inter and intra-state conflicts; joint training, operations, and surveillance as indicated by the formation of EACF like the one operating in Eastern DRC*
- h) *There are robust joint operations against insurgencies, armed groups and more possibility of sharing security military/ military hardware and soft wares in times of need.*
- i) *Member states support each other, militaries and security agencies through training and capacity development programmes.*
- j) *There is presence of structured security/military cooperation throughout signing bilateral and multilateral MoUs, Agreements etc.*
- k) *There is existence of mechanisms e.g., EAC Court of Justice in Arusha, which has capacity to resolve disputes between or among member states*
- l) *A rogue member state which fuels conflict within the territory of another member state can be prevailed upon by the group and compelled to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the offended state*

**4.4.2 Some of the threats to national security of East Africa Community member states include;**

- a) *Evolution of separatist ideas together with evolution of insurgent groups with anti-regionalism doctrines as shown by M23 in Eastern DRC that treats the regional force with suspicion.*
- b) *With free movement of people across the region, there is possibility of increased criminal activities like drugs and human trafficking, increase in trans-boundary crimes and drug trafficking and increase in cases of counterfeit goods.*
- c) *A very strong EAC may lead to ceding of sovereignty of member states, loss of traditional and cultural norms as well as acquisition of negative foreign practices.*
- d) *Impact of instability in one-member state may escalate to other members e.g., insecurity stemming from failed states may spread its tentacles throughout the region. For instance, instability within one-member state, like DRC, has significant effect on security of other member states like Rwanda and Uganda.*
- e) *Free movement of people may allow even criminal elements to move around taking advantage of open and porous borders thus facilitating proliferation of small and light weapons. Such insecurity may breed conflicts resulting in internally displace persons (IDPs) and refugees from affected member states to others.*
- f) *There is possibility of corruption and other bad habits from one country being exported to other member states.*

*g) Terrorists or insurgents defeated in one territory may find it easy to move to the territories of other EAC member states.*

**4.4.3 The opinion of the participants was sought on how being a member of EAC is beneficial to the national security of Kenya. Responses are provided below;**

- a) Enhanced conflict resolution mechanism, sharing of security related information and well as joint surveillance and training of security forces from Kenya and the EAC member states.*
- b) Border control and management that augur well for enhanced cooperation in security and defence of EAC as well as Kenya.*
- c) There is more robust collaboration in cross-border fight against organized crime, terrorism and drug and human trafficking*
- d) EAC recognizes that economic growth is only realizable where peace and security are guaranteed- thus the focus is on crisis prevention and conflict resolution, promoting good governance and curbing widespread of SALW.*
- e) EAC membership promotes peaceful resolution of disputes and cooperation in matters of both national and international interest*
- f) Kenya is in a position to utilize EAC facilities such as the EAC Court of Justice in Arusha to enhance democracy, rule of law, good governance practices as well as peace and security*
- g) Kenya is in a good position to lobby among the EAC Member States for support in event of any threat to her national security*
- h) Kenya's security agencies usually cooperate with their EAC counterparts to fight crimes in the region such as terrorism, money laundering, proliferation of*

*small and light weapons, human trafficking and other crimes which threaten security of Kenya*

**4.4.4 Participants were asked to state their opinions on the benefits gained by Kenya as a member of EAC. The responses are shown below;**

- a) There is reduced regional tension leading to shared regional prosperity and enhanced national security for Kenya.*
- b) There is increased trade and investment opportunities resulting from free movement of Kenyan across EAC and eventually increasing investment in regional infrastructure.*
- c) Expanded market for manufactured and processed goods for Kenya as well as expanded market for Kenya service sector like banks, insurance, transport and logistics.*
- d) EAC is a major source of raw materials for value addition and export in Kenya and also a source of food products to meet local deficit.*
- e) Existence of joint infrastructure development leading to affordable and efficient transport, energy and communication system for increased regional competitiveness which augurs well for Kenya as the leading economy in EAC.*
- f) As of January 2023, the population of EAC is approximately 474,000,000 people which bring an expanded market for Kenyan export goods, targeting the entire population in East Africa.*
- g) Expanded market for Kenyan outbound and inbound investment opportunities provides expanded opportunity for Kenyans to get jobs and provide services in EAC market.*

- h) Being a member of EAC is a bonus for attracting large number of EAC members to acquire education and training in Kenyan universities, technical institutes and various training institutions*
- i) Membership to EAC has led to enhanced tourism sector, increased number of tourists from EAC Member States*
- j) Kenya and EAC member states have a stronger voice in international arena when the global community makes decision and this leads to enhanced opportunity for Kenya to lobby for her candidature or the candidatures of her citizens for international jobs or positions in International Organizations.*
- k) Membership to EAC is a guarantor for enhanced opportunity for transfer of skills and expertise for Kenya.*

#### **4.5 Inferential analysis**

Inferential statistics included correlation and regression analysis. In addition, tests for classical linear regression analyses were conducted that included multicollinearity, homoscedasticity, normality and reliability analysis.

##### **4.5.1 Multicollinearity test**

Multicollinearity was performed on the data by examining VIF (variance inflation factor) and assessing the tolerance ( $1/VIF$ ). Independent variables are considered collinear if the value of VIF exceeds 3. Table 6 presents VIF values ranged from 1.305 to 1.781 implying that multicollinearity is not a problem in the data.

**Table 4.2 Test for multicollinearity**

Model	Collinearity Statistics	
	Tolerance	VIF
1 (Constant)		
Regionalism of EAC	.561	1.781
Socio-economic impacts of regionalism in Kenya	.766	1.305
Benefits and challenges of regionalism for Kenya	.582	1.718

Dependent Variable: National security

#### 4.5.2 Heteroscedasticity test

The study used Breusch-Pagan and Koenker test to estimate heteroscedasticity. Table 7 displays the results of Breusch-Pagan and Koenker test. The results present significant values more than 0.05 indicating that heteroscedasticity was not a problem.

**Table 4.3 Test for heteroscedasticity**

	LM	Sig
BP	.738	.390
Koenker	.774	.379

Null hypothesis: heteroskedasticity not present (homoskedasticity)- if sig-value less than 0.05, reject the null hypothesis

#### 4.5.3 Normality test

The normality of data distribution was assessed by examining its skewness and kurtosis as presented in table 8. Normality of the variable is assumed if its skewness and kurtosis have values between the range of -1.0 and + 1.0. All the items in the study measured

values of skewness and kurtosis between 1 and -1. This implies that the assumption of normality was satisfied.

**Table 4.4 Test for normality**

Variables	N	Skewness		Kurtosis	
		Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic	Std. Error
Regionalism of EAC	307	.357	.198	-.406	.394
Socio-economic impacts of regionalism in Kenya	307	.491	.198	-.382	.394
Benefits and challenges of regionalism for Kenya	307	.734	.198	.622	.394

#### **4.5.4 Reliability test**

The results of internal consistency of the study variables were measured using Cronbach Alpha statistics as shown in table 9. The Cronbach Alpha values for regionalism in EAC was 0.825, for socio-economic impacts of regionalism in Kenya was 0.848 and benefits and challenges of regionalism for Kenya was 0.853. The average Cronbach Alpha for the three constructs was 0.842. This implies that all the three variables were reliable.

#### 4.5.5 Table 4.5 Reliability test

<b>Variables</b>	<b>No of items</b>	<b>Cronbach's Alpha</b>	<b>Comments</b>
Regionalism of EAC	9	.825	Reliable
Socio-economic impacts of regionalism in Kenya	8	.848	Reliable
Benefits and challenges of regionalism for Kenya	7	.853	Reliable
Overall	24	.842	Reliable

#### 4.5.6 Correlation among study variables

Correlation was tested to measure the strength of relationship among the variables of the study as indicated in table 10. Regionalism of EAC had a positive and significant relationship to national security ( $r = 0.498$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). Socio-economic impacts of regionalism had a positive and significant relationship to national security ( $r = 0.660$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). Benefits and challenges of regionalism for Kenya a positive and significant relationship to national security ( $r = 0.533$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). This implies that the entire three variables had a positive and significant relationship with national security of EAC and Kenya.

**Table 4.6 Test for correlation**

Variables		National security	Regionalism of EAC	Socio-economic impacts of regionalism	Benefits and challenges of regionalism for Kenya
National security	Pearson Correlation	1	.498**	.660**	.533**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000
	N	15	15	15	15
Regionalism of EAC	Pearson Correlation	.498**	1	.692**	.645**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.000
	N	15	15	15	15
Socio-economic impacts of regionalism	Pearson Correlation	.660**	.692**	1	.670**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		.000
	N	15	15	15	15
Benefits and challenges of regionalism for Kenya	Pearson Correlation	.533**	.645**	.670**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	
	N	15	15	15	15

#### 4.6 Regression Analysis

Regression analysis is a statistical method that allows the estimation of relationship between dependent variables and one or more independent variables.<sup>203</sup> Table 11 presents R, R<sup>2</sup> and adjusted R<sup>2</sup> and the standard error of estimate. R represents multiple

<sup>203</sup> Roger, Uma Sekaran, and Bougie. Research techniques for business: a method for developing skills. 2019 John Wiley & Sons.

correlation coefficients,  $R^2$  shows coefficient of determination and adjusted  $R^2$  presents the statistical value adjusted for the purpose of number of independent variables in the model. It is imperative that a strong linear relationship exists between the variables in the study as shown by  $R=0.866$  and  $R^2=0.750$ . This implies that 75% of were as a result of change in national security. Further, other factors not in this study contributed to the remaining 25% of national security.

**Table 4.7 Model summary**

<b>Model</b>	<b>R</b>	<b>R Square</b>	<b>Adjusted R Square</b>	<b>Std. Error of the Estimate</b>
1	.866 <sup>a</sup>	.750	.743	.41325

a. Predictors: (Constant), Regionalism of EAC, Socio-economic impacts of regionalism in Kenya, Benefits and challenges of regionalism in Kenya

#### **4.6.1 Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)**

Regression ANOVA is used to statistically measure and create understanding on the level and extent of variability in the regression model.<sup>204</sup> The findings form the basis of testing significance. A regression ANOVA test for measuring the goodness of fit was conducted for the overall regression model. The results in table 12 shows that the model connecting Regionalism of EAC, Socio-economic impacts of regionalism in Kenya, Benefits and challenges of regionalism in Kenya and national security was statistically significant as represented by  $F(4, 15) = 108.568, p < .05$ . Thus, the significance p-value was less than the conventional probability of 0.05 significance level ( $p \leq .05$ ) in the study.

<sup>204</sup>Roger, Uma Sekaran, and Bougie. Research techniques for business: a method for developing skills. 2019 John Wiley & Sons.

**Table 4.8 ANOVA**

<b>Model</b>	<b>Sum of Squares</b>	<b>Df</b>	<b>Mean Square</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
1 Regression	74.164	4	18.541	108.568	.000 <sup>b</sup>
Residual	24.763	9	.171		
Total	98.927	15			

**4.6.2 Regression Coefficients**

Regression coefficient is the slope portrayed by linear relationship between the independent and dependent variables. This is presented in table 13.

The model is as;

$$\text{National security} = 7.531 + 2.126_{REAC} + 3.081_{SEI} + 4.118_{B\&C} + \varepsilon$$

**Table 4.9 Regression coefficients**

<b>Model</b>	<b>Unstandardized Coefficients</b>		<b>Standardized Coefficients</b>		<b>Sig.</b>
	<b>B</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>Beta</b>	<b>t</b>	
1 (Constant)	.217	.029		7.531	.000
Regionalism of EAC	.122	.057	.213	2.126	.001
Socio-economic impacts of regionalism in Kenya	.230	.075	.229	3.081	.002
Benefits and challenges of regionalism for Kenya	.284	.069	.273	4.118	.000

a. Dependent Variable: National security

Results in table 13 indicated that the regression coefficient for the relationship between regionalism of EAC and national security was positive and significant (t = 2.126, p-value 0.001). The results support a study by Aditi on national security implication in

Asia region due to adoption of regionalism.<sup>205</sup> The findings of the study indicated that regionalism is a multifaceted task and has significant implications on national security of member states. The results concurred with the study by Kakuba and Mpawenimana that showed that there are a number of achievements made by EAC which have significantly reduced conflicts in the region. They include establishment of common identity for tension reduction among the regional population and establishment of the customs union which greatly contributes in harmonization of economic policies for betterment of the economic welfare of the people of EAC. The results disagreed with Akoth study on the role of regional integration in promotion of peace and security in EAC.<sup>206</sup> The findings showed that in spite of existence of regionalism spirit in EAC, conflict still exists in EAC. This was due to slowness by member states in ratifying various protocols and reluctance to implement agreed policies. This implies that regionalism if well enacted and supported has significant potential of elevating national security of member states like Kenya.

The regression coefficient between socio-economic impacts of regionalism in Kenya was again positive and significant ( $t = 3.081$ ,  $p$ -value 0.002). The results concur with Ewatan, Olabanji and Ese study on the issues of insecurity and socio-economic development in Nigeria. The findings established a time increase in serious threats to lives and property in Nigeria due to terror threats from Boko Haram. The insecurity hinders business activities and investors and in essence retarding socio-economic development in Nigeria. The dimension of these threats has assumed dangerous dimensions and is a threat to the national and corporate existence of Nigeria. The results agreed with another study in Nigeria by Osawe and Onyepuemu that examined the

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<sup>205</sup> Paul, Aditi. "Regional cooperation in South Asia: Exploring the three pillars of regionalism and their relevance." *The Journal of Indian and Asian Studies' first volume* (2020): 2050008.

<sup>206</sup> Akoth, Mercy. "The role of regional integration in promoting peace and security: A case of East African Community." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2017.

increased wave of violent crime and insecurity and the threat to socio-economic development in the country.<sup>207</sup> The findings revealed an increased trend in violent crimes that threatens the future of socio-economic development in Nigeria. The results support Mauti's study on the effects of high crime rate and socio-economic development of households in Nairobi County, Kenya.<sup>208</sup> The findings established that among the major cases of insecurity included drug trafficking, assault, pick pocketing, and robbery with violence house-breaking, terrorism, car-jacking among others. It was also established that due to high crime rates, households have been forced to abandon their important activities such as jobs with cost of living going up. The high crime rate is a serious threat to the national security of Kenya. The findings also support Vinogradova, Marina Olga et al. in the study on the impact of migration, socio-economic processes and national security in Russia.<sup>209</sup> The findings established that unregulated migration of people had positive and significant impact on national security of Russia. Finally, the results mirror findings from Biodun, Oluwasolape and Ifeoluwa on the security implication of the alarming rate of child poverty in Northern Nigeria.<sup>210</sup> The findings established that child poverty has significant threat to national security of Nigeria.

Finally, regression coefficient for the relationship between benefits and challenges of regionalism for Kenya was positive and significant ( $t = 4.118$ ,  $p$ -value 0.000). The results agreed with findings by Yusuf in a study on progress of regional economic

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<sup>207</sup> Onyepuemu. Osawe, "Increase wave of violent crime and insecurity: A threat to socio-economic development in Nigeria." *Journal of Social Science and Humanities* 20, no. 1 (2015): 123-133.

<sup>208</sup> Daniel. Miruka Mauti, "High crime rate on socio-economic development of selected house hold groups in Nairobi City County, Kenya." PhD diss., Kenyatta University, 2020.

<sup>209</sup> Marina V. Vinogradova, Anna A. Larionova, Victoriy A. Koroleva, and Olga S. Kulyamin. "Migration processes' effects on Russia's national security system." *Social Sciences Journal from the Mediterranean* 6, no. 3 S5 (2015): 161.

<sup>210</sup> Abiodun, Temitope Francis, Ifeoluwa Ayo-Adeyekan, and Oluwasolape Onafowora. Concerns for national security arise from the child poverty rising at an alarming rate in Northern Nigeria.2, no. 1 (2019): 1–10 in the *Journal of American Research in Humanities and Social Science*.

integration in East Africa.<sup>211</sup> The study illuminated the priorities, major achievements and problems that threaten the EAC. The findings established that political will power of leadership and existential threats from crimes such as insurgency and piracy is a threat to attainment of economic and political integration. The results compliment the findings by Dosch on the challenges of regionalism in the Asian-Pacific region.<sup>212</sup> Findings show that countries under ASEAN have utilized regionalism as a means of solving regional economic, political and security challenges. This is being done through attainment of far-reaching visions of economic-community building without drastic changes to the traditional approach of regional cooperation between member countries. The results agreed with a similar study in Kenya by Makaka on regional integration in Africa and specifically in EAC through the presumption of whether this analogy is a false promise.<sup>213</sup> The findings revealed that EAC has made remarkable achievements in the realms of socio-economic and political-security sectors. This has created EAC as one of the most integrated regions in Africa. Integration is mostly through expansion of the scope of legislative instruments, national economic and social policies coordination and expansion of trade between member states and the rest of the world. The results agreed with Roland-Host, David and Mensbrugge in a study on opportunities and challenges related to globalization and regionalism in the Americas.<sup>214</sup> The findings established that regionalism has potential benefits for economies of member countries. Finally, the findings support Ouma in a study on

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<sup>211</sup> Yusuf and Abdulmalik Abukar. "Progress of Regional Economic Integration in East Africa." *Journal of International Trade, Logistics and Law* 7, no. 1 (2021): 67-74.

Jörn Dosch, "Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the Challenge of Regionalism in the Asia-Pacific." Pages 160–179 in *The Asia-New Pacific's World Politics*. 2017 edition of Routledge. N<sup>212</sup>.

<sup>213</sup> Makaka, Lydia V. "Regional Integration in Africa-A False Promise? The Case Study of the East African Community." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2018.

<sup>214</sup> David, Dominique van der Mensbrugge, and Roland-Holst. "Regionalism versus globalization in the Americas: empirical evidence on opportunities and challenges." *jointly published in Integration and Trade and Économie Internationale, Washington and Paris: Centre d'Études Prospective et d'Informations Internationales and Center for the Integration of Latin America and the Caribbean/Inter-American Development Bank, forthcoming 1, no. 27 (2002): 2003.*

critical analysis of regional integration in Kenya in the context of trade, infrastructure and security.<sup>215</sup> The study established that Kenya has historically faced instability from neighboring countries as well as local political instability. These challenges are a threat to the national security of Kenya and act as drivers for regionalism interests.

However, the results contrast the study by Barnekow, Ellis and Kulkarni in a study on reasons why African countries have chosen to engage in regional agreements.<sup>216</sup> The findings revealed that for most African countries, the limitations from small variations in the goods produced from one country to another make them unsuitable for intra-continent trading. Similarly, due to lack of infrastructures and trading systems designed to promote intercontinental trading, there is little trading connectivity among African countries. Such variations imply that regional trade is not well embraced among countries and efforts to promote regionalism and regional trade may be seen as efforts to threaten the interest of states. This sophistication is risky for national security of African countries like Kenya. The results also disagree with findings from Kathleen on economic and security regionalism among patrimonial authoritarian regimes in Central Asia.<sup>217</sup> Findings show that for the leaders of Central Asia countries, the driver to adopt security regionalism is driven by the need for survival and personal enrichment rather than economic prosperity and national security for their citizens. Since economic regionalism involves such practices such as liberalization that may have adverse effects on such leaders, the only option is ‘virtual’ economic regionalism for the purposes of personal survival. Security regionalism is a threat to national security of the population

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<sup>215</sup> Ouma, Lucian Basil. "The question of regional integration in Africa: A critical analysis of Kenya's trade, infrastructure, and security in the context of the AfCFTA." Master's thesis, Faculty of Commerce, 2021.

<sup>216</sup> Kishore G. Kulkarni, Sarah Ellis, and Barnekow. "Why regionalism? A look at the costs and benefits of regional trade agreements in Africa." *Global Business Review* 18, no. 1 (2017): 99-117. According to Kathleen Collins' article, "Economic and security regionalism among patrimonial authoritarian regimes: The case of Central Asia," 2009, Volume 61, Number 2, Pages 249–281.<sup>217</sup>

in these countries since it only bolsters patrimonial regimes that have little interest for democracy and economic and security needs of the population. This is contrary to the driver for regionalism in EAC which is mostly economic, political and security interests.

#### **4.7 Chapter Summary**

This chapter has presented the issue of benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security of Kenya. It has further discussed and analyzed the related empirical studies that expounds on these concepts. The chapter has established that regionalism has numerous benefits that continuously strengthen the spirit and endeavor for regionalism. The benefits of regionalism include mutual security cooperation, bilateral trade interdependence, and political federalism among others. Similarly, there are a number of challenges that threatens the total achievements of the intended aims of regionalism. Some of the challenges include lack of political will, political incumbency, resistance to change and consistent lack of full funding of its operations from some member countries.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Introduction

The general objective of the study is to establish the impacts of regionalism on national security of East Africa Community members: a case study of Kenya. Three specific objectives guided the study; to determine the influence of regionalism on national security of East Africa Community members, to establish the socio-economic impacts posed by regionalism on national security of Kenya, to assess the benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security of Kenya. This chapter contains the findings from the research study that were analyzed using the SPSS tool. The chapter contains interpretation of the data that was collected and analyzed based on the research objectives.

#### 5.2 Response Rate

The study targeted 20 respondents where 15 positively responded through answering the questionnaires. Table 1 show the tabulation of the results.

**Table 4 Response rate**

Questionnaires	Number	Percentage
Filled and collected	15	75
Discrepancy	5	25
<b>Total</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>

The results show that a response rate of 75 percent was attained which was deemed ideal and satisfactory for further data analysis in the study. The high response rate was possible due to researcher's use self-administering the data collection tools to

participants. The researcher also acquired data collection authorization permit and introductory letter from the University for Official Introduction to the participants.

### **5.3 Demographic Information of Respondents**

The demographic information of respondents is presented in this section. It included information on place of work, job title and length of service. This is shown in table 2.

#### **5.3.1 Place of work**

The respondents were asked to indicate their place of work, job title and length of service in current position. Table 2 represents the results.

**Table 5 Demographic information**

<b>Place of work</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Department of Defence	3	20
Kenya High Commission- Dar salaam	2	13.2
National Treasury and Economic Planning	2	13.2
Ministry of East Africa Community	1	6.7
Deputy Director	1	6.7
MoSD	1	6.7
DHQ- Nairobi	1	6.7
MFA	1	6.7
The Embassy of the Republic of Kenya in Kinshasa, DRC	1	6.7
EACRF-FHQ DRC	1	6.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Job title</b>		
Military officer	6	40
Defence advisor	1	6.7
Minister counselor	1	6.7
Director of planning	1	6.7
Economist 1	1	6.7
SOI Career Progression and Courses	1	6.7
Deputy Director	1	6.7
Minister Counselor (Political) / Deputy Head of Mission	1	6.7
CIMIC	1	6.7
Defence Attaché	1	6.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Length of service in current position</b>		
1-5 years	10	67
Above 10 years	5	33
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>100</b>

Place of work was important for the study as a way of ascertaining respondents were the bona fide targeted and sampled group. The results indicate that most of the respondents (20 percent) were from the Department of Defence, followed by Kenya High Commission- Dare salaam (13.2 percent) and National Treasury and Economic Planning (13.2 percent). The others worked in places like Ministry of East Africa Community, Deputy Director, The Embassy of the Republic of Kenya in Kinshasa, DRC among many others. This implies that respondents in this study worked in designations enabling acquisition of information and knowledge on impacts of regionalism on national security of East Africa Community members and specifically Kenya.

Information on job title was important in order to understand whether participants held positions to warrant them requisite information and understanding on the impacts of regionalism on national security of East Africa Community members like Kenya. The results indicated that majority of the participants (40 percent) were senior military officers. Therefore, they were in high positions in the military to possess information on the impacts of regionalism on national security of Kenya and other East Africa Community members.

Length of service was crucial for this study since it is an indicator of whether respondents have experience and deeper understanding of the concepts under study. Results show that 67 percent had worked for between 1-5 years while the other 33 percent had a working experience of above 10 years. This shows that 33 percent of respondents had accumulated a wealth of experience on impacts of regionalism on national security of Kenya and East Africa Community members. Similarly, the majority (67 percent) also have interacted on such information for a considerable 1-5

years which is quite substantial exposure. This implies that participants in the study have relatively deeper understanding and experience of the concepts of the study.

#### **5.4 Descriptive Analysis of study Variables**

Descriptive analysis of study variables was conducted through average scale ratings, mean and standard deviation. This is presented in table 3-5.

##### **5.4.1 Influence of regionalism on national security of East Africa Community members**

The first objective was to determine the influence of regionalism on national security of East Africa Community members. Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with the following factors related to regionalism on national security of East Africa Community members using **the scale of 1= Strongly disagree, 2= Agree, 3=Neutral, 4=Agree, 5= Strongly Agree**. The respondents were asked to rate statements measuring the influence of regionalism on national security of East Africa Community members and the findings presented in table 3.

**Table 6 Regionalism and national security of EAC**

<b>Factors influencing regionalism and national security of East Africa Community member states</b>								
<b>Code</b>		<b>SD</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>SA</b>	<b>Mea</b>	<b>Std.</b>
		<b>(%)</b>	<b>(%)</b>	<b>(%)</b>	<b>(%)</b>	<b>(%)</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>Deviation</b>
F1	Member states have created political alliances with neighbors	3	2	2	19	75	4.12	.851
F2	EAC monetary integration potentially strengthen regional and national security of members	3	3	10	22	62	4.37	.980
F3	Member states have created security and defense alliances with neighbors	3	5	15	27	51	4.19	1.026
F4	Member states have created integration with new neighbors like DRC	3	1	13	33	50	4.27	.911
F5	Through regionalism there is creation of hegemonic interests	3	1	13	31	51	4.27	.953
F6	Regionalism has resurrected historical cooperation in EAC	2	5	15	27	52	4.61	.996
F7	Regional projects like EA parliament have resurfaced	3	7	10	33	47	4.22	1.074
F8	Establishment of common tariffs and markets enhance and strengthen the regional economic growth	1	3	3	23	70	4.56	.816
F9	The EAC has made progress in establishment of key economic components like customs union, common market, and monetary union	3	4	6	25	63	4.41	.963

Average scale ratings ranged from 4.12 to 4.61. This indicated that the respondents rated moderate levels of influence of regionalism on national security of East Africa Community members. The highest mean rating was 4.61 for the statement “Regionalism has resurrected historical cooperation in EAC” (SD= .996). The

statement with the lowest mean rating of 3.18 “Member states have created political alliances with neighbors”. (SD= 1.340). The findings support Aditi in the study on national security implication due to adoption of regionalism.<sup>218</sup> The results support the fact that regionalism is a multifaceted task and has significant implications on national security of member states of any region. This is especially where the agenda is on articulating the regional and national security of member countries. The results support Kaguruka assessment that though EAC was established for the purpose of improving, strengthening co-operation based on historical ties and understanding among member states, military cooperation was one of the most impressive and well-established aspects of the integration aim.<sup>219</sup> This implies that security concerns preceded other discussions on economic and political cooperation. The results also agree with Kamau in the study why the EAC member states have failed to develop a common security strategy in spite of the many threats facing the region.<sup>220</sup> The study revealed that the continuous pursuit of national interests first by member countries has made it difficult for EAC to create reasonable common regional security deterrence instruments thus threatening national security of member states. This implies that regionalism has significant impact on national security of member countries and there is necessity for concerted effort to ensure that countries in EAC do all they can to create a strong federation since it holds the future of regional security.

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<sup>218</sup> Paul, Aditi. "Regional cooperation in South Asia: Exploring the three pillars of regionalism and their relevance." *Asia and India Studies Journal* 1, no. 02 (2020): 2050008.

<sup>219</sup> Kaguruka, Adolphe. "Efficacy of Regional Conflict Management Architecture: a Case Study of East African Community." 2021, University of Nairobi, dissertation for a Doctorate.

<sup>220</sup> Kamau, Peter C. "Security or Development? The East African Community (EAC) Regional Integration Dilemma." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2013.

**5.4.2 The opinion of the participants was sought on how EAC is a guarantor to the national security of Kenya. The responses are shown below;**

- h) Participation of Kenya in EACSF both in training and deployment in countries such as DRC has given security agents requisite experience to deal with security threats*
- i) As a member of EACSF and due to involvement in peace and security missions in the region, there is remarkable improvement in military and security hardware and software for Kenya*
- j) Members have signed and ratified the protocol for peace and security and implementation of the protocol has guaranteed peace and security for Kenya*
- k) EAC has created the regional force and police force that undergoes training on peace support operation in the region*
- l) Guaranteed peace through a framework for information, knowledge and experience exchange*
- m) Pooling of security resources and pooling together of security efforts and state talents has strengthened the capabilities and capacity of Kenya to participate effectively in regional and local security and peace operations.*
- n) Through Defence Cooperation, Intelligence Sharing, Mutual Economic Assistance, Common Approaches in controlling spread of pandemic diseases, economic cooperation and access to wider markets for national products and greater variety of commodities in the market, the future security of Kenya is well guaranteed.*

**5.4.3 Participants were asked to state their opinions on the challenges for Kenya with inclusion of new members like DRC to EAC. The responses are as shown below;**

- i) Potential for increased cross-border crimes and increased costs of surveillance on security issues, due to the vastness of the region and related complexities of security on bigger regional interests.*
- j) Kenyan troops may be threatened in deployment in insecurity-prone regional states like DRC which is detrimental to the interests of the country.*
- k) Increased demand for Kenya to commit both people and money to help in crises among EAC members and to intervene in needy situation within the borders of individual members like in DRC and South Sudan*
- l) Political power dynamics and equilibrium in EAC is likely to change with the entry of new members like DRC (already admitted) or Somalia and South Sudan, which are on the way. The position of Kenya as EAC economic powerhouse or hegemony, for example, may change.*
- m) Relationships among EAC members may change or may have to be redefined. Rwanda, for example, has been a friendly country to Kenya for decades. However, the tension between Rwanda and DRC is likely to spillover and affect the relationship between Kenya and Rwanda.*
- n) Uganda has been a leading trading partner of Kenya for decades. The entry of DRC is likely to threaten the Kenya-DRC and tilt the business scale.*
- o) Involvement in conflict in Eastern DRC by EACSF may be strategic but it may also be a gamble. Strategic if the war is won and gambles if the victory proved elusive.*

*p) More allies which stand by Kenya in regional, continental and global politics and this is a tricky balancing act for Kenya to appease all.*

The results agreed with Ouma in a study on critical analysis of regional integration in Kenya in the context of trade, infrastructure and security.<sup>221</sup> The study established that Kenya has historically faced instability from neighboring countries and even some currently in EAC and this is a threat to its socio-economic growth as well as local political stability. This implies that such challenges are a threat to the national security of Kenya and acts as drivers to regionalism.

**5.4.4 Opinions of participants were indulged on how the security of Kenya has improved as a member of EAC. The responses are shown below;**

- f) Terror surveillance, border surveillance, border control and information sharing including the early warning system have improved security in Kenya. This is because EAC aims at regional security, stability and political unification*
- g) EAC membership is an assurance that highly unlikely, there will be violent hostility among members. This is essential since EAC members believe in principle on pacific settlement of disputes. There is also existence of EAC mechanism to help resolve territorial dispute or any dispute between Kenya and her neighbors / EAC Member States*
- h) EAC Court of Justice has mechanism to preside over cases and impose sanctions on an individual or state that may be found culpable or having*

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<sup>221</sup> Lucian Basil, Ouma. "The question of regional integration in Africa: A critical analysis of Kenya's trade, infrastructure, and security in the context of the AfCFTA." Master's thesis, 2021: Commerce Faculty.

*involved in committing serious crimes such as genocide. This is a guarantor for peace and security for Kenya.*

- i) Intelligence information sharing on security matters to help combat run-away criminals or dismantle criminal networks beyond the national border. This is conducted under joint operations of the security agencies from member states to share surveillance, intelligence and defeat crime.*
- j) The existence of East African Standby Force (EASF) which has its regional headquarters in Kenya guarantees security for Kenya. The force is currently the Force is in Eastern DRC, but can protect any other member state whenever the need arises and the Summit decides so.*

The findings agreed with Makaka in a study on regional integration in Africa and specifically in EAC through the presumption of whether this analogy is a false promise.<sup>222</sup> The findings revealed that EAC has made remarkable achievements in the realms of socio-economic and political-security sectors. This has created EAC as one of the most integrated regions in Africa. This implies that for Kenya, EAC is a critical tool for regional security, stability and political unification. This is since EAC members share intelligence on aspects of security like terror surveillance, border surveillance and control and information sharing including the early warning system have improved national security in Kenya.

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<sup>222</sup> Makaka, Lydia V. "Regional Integration in Africa-A False Promise? The Case Study of the East African Community.". University of Nairobi, 2018 doctoral dissertation.

**5.4.5 The opinions of participants were sought on how the national security of Kenya may be threatened as a member of EAC. The responses are as indicated below;**

- f) There is probability of increase in criminal cases such as drug trafficking from joint criminal activities across borders, cross-border crimes and money laundering which threatens the national security of Kenya.*
- g) Increase and escalation of hostile groups like the Al Shabaab, Al Qaeda tends to punish countries for their grievances against countries that they perceive to be working against their wishes. EAC members including Kenya have been at one point or another been targeted by these groups*
- h) Free movement of people including criminals which may lead to more proliferation of small and light weapons across the borders*
- i) Easy spread of ideologies which are detrimental to the security of Kenya such as the Islamization, radicalization or establishment of terror cells in Kenya*
- j) Many people from the conflict prone countries of EAC seek refuge in Kenya. A good number of refugees are criminals and aid in fueling more crimes and which is disastrous for national security of Kenya.*

The findings complement Dosch in a study on the challenges of regionalism in the Asian-Pacific region.<sup>223</sup> Findings show that countries under ASEAN have utilized regionalism as a means of solving regional economic, political and security challenges, through attainment of far-reaching visions of economic-community building without drastic changes to the traditional approach of regional cooperation between member countries. There are elevated security threats for Kenya as a member of EAC that are

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<sup>223</sup> Dosch, Jörn. "Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the challenge of regionalism in the Asia-Pacific." Pages 160–179 of *The New World Politics of the Asia-Pacific*, Routledge 2017, p.

linked to regionalism. These include ease of spread of terror-linked ideologies which are detrimental to the security of Kenya such as the radicalization by terror groups from one country to Kenya.

### **5.5 Impact of socio-economic factors on national security of Kenya**

The second objective was to establish the socio-economic impacts posed by regionalism on national security of Kenya. Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with the following factors related to socio-economic impacts posed by regionalism on national security of Kenya using **the scale of 1= Strongly disagree, 2= Agree, 3=Neutral, 4=Agree, 5= Strongly Agree**. The respondents were asked to rate items measuring socio-economic impacts posed by regionalism on national security of Kenya and the findings presented in table 4.

**Table 7 Socio-economic and national security of Kenya**

<b>Code</b>	<b>Socio-economic factors on national security of Kenya</b>	<b>SD (%)</b>	<b>D (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>A (%)</b>	<b>SA (%)</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>
SE1	Effective regional economic governance has promoted the national security of Kenya	2	5	26	28	39	3.98	.879
SE2	EAC monetary integration potentially strengthen national security of Kenya	1	1	10	41	47	4.33	.764
SE3	Imports substitution policy of EAC guarantee the economic and national security of Kenya	1	1	5	41	51	4.40	.763
SE4	Integration of EAC has reduced disproportionate taxes and levies of Kenyan people and products	2	3	4	29	61	4.45	1.013
SE5	Through integration there is reduction of cumbersome and stringent cross borders rules and regulations	2	2	11	38	47	4.26	.881
SE6	Integration has minimized harassment, intimidation and arbitrary arrests of Kenyan citizens in neighboring countries	1	6	11	36	46	2.79	.818
SE7	Symbiotic nature of socio-economic and political integration has boosted the national security of Kenya	14	21	13	34	18	3.20	1.340
SE8	The easing of cross-national border movement has eased the movement of people and products	4	11	22	40	22	3.65	1.075
SE9	The idea of EAC citizenship promises to strengthen the national security of Kenya	31	10	19	29	11	4.20	.930

Average scale ratings ranged from 2.79 to 4.45. This indicated that the respondents rated moderate to high levels of socio-economic impacts posed by regionalism on national security of Kenya. The highest mean rating was 4.45 for the statement “Integration of EAC has reduced disproportionate taxes and levies of Kenyan people and products.” (SD= 1.013). The statement with the lowest mean rating of 2.77 “Integration has minimized harassment, intimidation and arbitrary arrests of Kenyan citizens in neighboring countries” (SD = 0.818). These results agreed with Ewatan, Olabanji and Ese in the study on issues of insecurity and socio-economic development in Nigeria. The findings established that due to terror threats from Boko Haram, there is hindrance to exploitation of business activities and investors and in essence retarding socio-economic development in Nigeria. The dimension of these threats has assumed dangerous dimensions and is a threat to the corporate and national existence of Nigeria. The insecurity situation and negative impact on socio-economic development in Nigeria mirrors the situation in EAC where the dimensions of insecurity due to terror attacks by Al-Shabaab in the region have threatened socio-economic development in Kenya prompting a regional response with countries contributing troops to AMISOM to lower the capacity of the terror group to threaten the region.

The results complement the findings by Osawe and Onyepuemu in a study on increased wave of violent crime and insecurity and the threat to socio-economic development in Nigeria.<sup>224</sup> The findings revealed an increased trend in violent crimes threatens the future of socio-economic development in Nigeria. This is because the violent crimes have witnessed sabotage of oil infrastructures, private property and government utilities. The findings are parallel with the reality in EAC region where the bulging

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<sup>224</sup> Osawe, Onyepuemu. “Increase wave of violent crime and insecurity: A threat to socio-economic development in Nigeria.” *Social Science and Humanities Journal*, Volume 20, Number 1. (2015): 123-133.

issue of youth unemployment is exploited by terror groups like Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab as a fertile ground for recruitment of the idle and often unemployed and disillusioned youths from the region. The findings support Mauti in a similar study on the effects of high crime rate and socio-economic development of households in Nairobi County.<sup>225</sup> The findings established that due to high crime rates, households have been forced to abandon their important activities such as jobs with cost of living going up. The socio-economic implication is that business loss and lack of outside investment has been on the increase. The results finally agree with Kamais who studied on security implications of oil exploration and socio-economic activities in Turkana County, Kenya.<sup>226</sup> The findings indicated that the negative implications of oil exploration were security-oriented and emanated from poor management of the expectations of the community from the benefits of oil. This resulted in clashes between the locals and the oil companies, rise in crime and general insecurity of the area. Thus, addressing the socio-economic needs of the EAC region is a panacea for solving the insecurity situation in the region. The implication is that presence of national security is a guarantor to improvement of the socio-economic welfare of EAC region and its people in terms of improvement on roads, provision of water, employment of locals among others.

**5.5.1 Opinions of participants were sought on socio-economic rewards gained by Kenya as a member of EAC. The responses are shown below;**

- o) There is increased employment creation for Kenya through export of manufactured products from Kenya into the EAC market.*

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<sup>225</sup> Daniel Miruka Mauti. "High crime rate on socio-economic development of selected house hold groups in Nairobi City County, Kenya." PhD diss. 2020, Kenyatta University.

<sup>226</sup> Kamais, Cosmas. "Security implications of oil exploration on socio-economic activities in south Loki char basin, Turkana County, Kenya." PhD diss., Egerton University, 2019.

- p) *There is rise in employment of skilled labor force from Kenya into regional banking, insurance and other professional services.*
- q) *Increase in investment opportunities that eventually contributes to industrial development of Kenya*
- r) *There is political stability which is healthy for development of the socio-economic and cultural spheres in Kenya.*
- s) *The presence of common tourism visa with member countries has increased tourism earnings and ease d travel within EAC for Kenyan citizens for leisure and business activities.*
- t) *There is availability of greater food security for Kenya through ease of importation from neighbors whenever there is food shortage.*
- u) *There is increased volume of international trade in EAC market. This has led to more Kenyan export products reach the EAC market*
- v) *There is remarkable increase in volume of inbound and outbound Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in EAC market. The EAC members invest in Kenya, as Kenyans increase their investments in EAC countries.*
- w) *Existence of EAC Single Customs Territory, has transformed to facilitating fast clearance of cargo, particularly at the port of Mombasa, destined to the EAC market. This is good for growth of the economy.*
- x) *There is increased human capital development as shown by increase in the number of students or trainees from EAC region (particularly South Sudan, DRC and Tanzania) seeking tertiary / university education or training in Kenya.*
- y) *Employment opportunities found within the EAC H/Quarters in Arusha or EAC Offices spread in EAC Member countries is good for Kenya human resource development and absorption.*

- z) *Increased remittances of USD to Kenya from EAC market*
- aa) *Development of transport infrastructure and enhanced free movement of Kenyans, goods and services*
- bb) *Financial support to business people from EAC Development Bank, based in Kampala, as well as from the local (or banks which originate from E. Africa) like Equity Bank.*

The results are consistent with Spitzer, Helmut and Janestic that in order to find permanent solution to the national security of EAC, it is imperative for the member states to accelerate the pace of socio-economic development in their individual countries.<sup>227</sup> This involves creation of economies with relevant socio-economic and physical infrastructures for business, infrastructure, employment, literacy and other facets of growth.

## **5.6 Socio-economic benefits and Challenges of Regionalism on National Security of Kenya**

The respondents were asked to indicate their opinion on the regional-based socio-economic threats to the national security of Kenya. The responses are shown below;

*The opinion of participants showed that the major socio-economic threats to national security of Kenya included perceived hostile governments that hindered trade activities from Kenya like the constant stand offs between Kenya and Tanzania. Kenya faces threats of disease/pandemics threats emanating from lack of regional cooperation in combating such cases as shown by COVID-19 pandemic where Tanzania totally rejected any regional efforts and cooperation in dealing with the issue. There are cross border crimes that include drugs, illegal substance and human trafficking, terrorism*

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<sup>227</sup> Spitzer, Helmut, and Janestic Twikirize. "Social innovations in rural communities in Africa's Great Lakes region. A social work perspective." *Rural Studies Journal* (2021).

*and contra-bands that threaten the security of Kenya. There are threats related to high level of youth unemployment plus drought and hunger due to climate change that threatens the national security of Kenya due to forced migration and conflicts of affected populations. With the opening of cross-national border movements, there is possibility and threat of persons with negative intentions like terrorists getting to Kenya and spreading terror attacks. Similarly, the general laxity at border stations might lead to easy infiltration/smuggling of weapons. Kenya faces consequences of spread of neighboring problems like caused by inadequacies of political leadership such as refugees from Burundi, South Sudan and DRC due to political upheavals in these countries. With cycles of weak economic growth in some regional countries coupled with poor governance, corruption, high poverty levels, low agricultural productivity, the unending challenges socio-economic challenges threaten to affect the national security of Kenya. Incidences of EAC member states involving themselves in stiff competition and rivalry over limited and often similar economic resources like agricultural products is a threat to economic progress of Kenya as well as its national security. Due to the fact that each member state in EAC has stringent and deterrent visa conditions- there is the continuous challenge of restriction on movement of population across the borders. This affects the ability of Kenyan business people to effectively participate in regional trade as they are constantly harassed and encounter arbitrary arrests and confiscation of their goods. This is a threat to economic progress and national security of Kenya. Generally, all the member states of EAC are poor countries, and they lack appropriate funds for supporting integration and regionalism such as lack of common currency, and also possess differing development ideologies and programs. Unless this reality is resolved, it has the net effect of curtailing the regionalism agenda and may threaten the future national security off Kenya. Language*

*barrier is a threat to integration and regionalism as seen from countries like Burundi, Rwanda and DRC with French as domiciled national language with the other members using English as official language. Lack of unifying language in EAC regional acts as a barrier for instantaneous articulation of the common agenda in the region since language is viewed as a barrier and divides between the English-speaking Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and South Sudan and French-speaking, Burundi, Rwanda and DRC. Language barrier is thus a threat to regionalism. Others include insecurity, due to conflicts, wars and activities of illegitimate armed groups as well as Neo-colonial and hegemonic influence that continuously threatens the spirit of unification of the EAC region.*

#### **5.7 Benefits and Challenges of Regionalism on National Security of Kenya**

The third objective was to assess the benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security of Kenya. Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with the following factors related to benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security of Kenya using **the scale of 1= Strongly disagree, 2= Agree, 3=Neutral, 4=Agree, 5= Strongly Agree**. The respondents were asked to rate items measuring benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security of Kenya and the findings presented in table 5.

**Table 8 Benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security**

<b>Code</b>	<b>Benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security of Kenya</b>	<b>SD (%)</b>	<b>D (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>A (%)</b>	<b>SA (%)</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Std. Deviation</b>
BC1	As a member of EAC Kenya has increased the span of employment of its citizen across the region	1	3	8	34	54	4.39	.803
BC2	Kenya has benefited due to its strong human resource through outsourcing of jobs across EAC	1	2	11	37	49	4.31	.807
BC3	The EAC has accelerated investment in infrastructure by Kenya like Standard Gauge railway and roads networks	5	14	11	34	36	3.82	1.203
BC4	As a member of EAC, Kenya has benefited from trade agreements like AGOA to access USA markets	1	5	6	40	48	4.28	.881
BC5	As a member of EAC, Kenya is made to adhere to principles of good governance, transparency and accountability	1	7	12	43	37	4.06	.952
BC6	Adherence to integrity and the rule of law has elevated the democratic space for Kenya in the region	3	5	2	30	60	4.39	.984
BC7	Economically and politically, Kenya is still at the mercy of lending institutions like the World Bank and the IMF	3	5	7	29	57	4.33	.980
BC8	As a regional partner, Kenya is made to carry the responsibility of hosting refugees from across the region	1	3	3	23	70	4.56	.816
BC9	Terror networks and criminal gangs have found a safe haven in Kenya	3	4	6	25	63	4.41	.963

Average scale ratings ranged from 3.82 to 4.56. This indicated that the respondents rated moderate to high levels of benefits and challenges of regionalism on national

security of Kenya. The highest mean rating was 4.27 for the statement “As a regional partner, Kenya is made to carry the responsibility of hosting refugees from across the region.” (SD= .833). The statement with the lowest mean rating of 3.82 “The EAC has accelerated investment in infrastructure by Kenya like Standard Gauge railway and roads networks” (SD= 1.245). From the point of view of benefits of regionalism, these results concur with Makaka study on regional integration in Africa and specifically in EA through the presumption of whether this analogy is a false promise<sup>228</sup>. The results agreed with Ouma’s study on critical analysis of regional integration in Kenya in the context of trade, infrastructure and security.<sup>229</sup> The study established that the current levels of inter-Africa trade for Kenya is relatively low due to customs related challenges, customs and administrative procedures and the issue of over-reliance on imports from other continents. The study established that Kenya has historically faced instability from neighboring countries as well as local political instability. These challenges are a threat to the national security of Kenya.

The results agreed with the assertion by Roland-Host, David and Mensbrugghe on opportunities and challenges related to globalization and regionalism in the Americas.<sup>230</sup> The findings of the study established that regionalism has potential benefits for economies of member countries. The results are convergent with the findings by Dosch evaluated the challenges of regionalism in the Asian-Pacific region.<sup>231</sup> Findings showed that countries under ASEAN have utilized regionalism as a means of solving regional economic, political and security challenges. This is being

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<sup>228</sup> Makaka, Lydia V. "Regional Integration in Africa-A False Promise? The Case Study of the East African Community." University of Nairobi, 2018 doctoral dissertation.

<sup>229</sup> Lucian Basil, Ouma. "Regional integration in Africa: A critical examination of Kenya's infrastructure, security, and commerce in the context of the AfCFTA." a master's thesis from the business school, 2021.

<sup>230</sup> David, Dominique van der Mensbrugghe, and Roland-Holst. "Regionalism versus globalization in the Americas: empirical evidence on opportunities and challenges.". jointly published in the Institute for Integration and Commerce and Economies Internationales.

<sup>231</sup> Dosch, Jörn. "Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the challenge of regionalism in the Asia-Pacific." Pages 160–179 of *The Asia-Pacific Region's New World Politics*, 2017. Routledge.

done through attainment of far-reaching visions of economic-community building without drastic changes to the traditional approach of regional cooperation between member countries. This is similar to the spirit of regionalism in EAC. The results again support the findings by Melissa in a study on various theories of regional security and the relationship to successes and challenges of regionalism agenda in East Africa.<sup>232</sup> The findings showed that for those countries without threats of survival, regionalism is important since it guarantee future security and survival. As such, regionalism is an important tool for enhancing security of member states. The methodological gap is the use of case study design. However, the results contradict the findings by Kathleen on economic and security regionalism among patrimonial authoritarian regimes in Central Asia.<sup>233</sup> Findings showed that for the leaders of Central Asia countries, the driver to adopt security regionalism is driven by the need for survival and personal enrichment rather than economic prosperity and national security for their citizens. This is centrally from the situation in EAC that is driven by mostly economic benefits and partially by security needs and rarely by personality benefits.

From the outlook on challenges to regionalism in EAC, the findings agreed with Yusuf study on progress of regional economic integration in East Africa.<sup>234</sup> The study established that political will power of leadership and existential threats from crimes such as insurgency and piracy is a threat to attainment of economic and political integration. The results concur with the study by Zalei et al. on regionalism and the

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<sup>232</sup> Jennings, Melissa. "Regional security theory: the East African experience. A look back at the challenges entering the new millennium.". (2017). *Ante Portas-Studia nad Bezpieczestwem* 2, pp. 71–86.

<sup>233</sup> Collins, Kathleen. "Economic and security regionalism among patrimonial authoritarian regimes: The case of Central Asia.". 249–281 in *Europe-Asia Studies* 61, no. 2 (2009).

<sup>234</sup> Yusuf, Abukar. Abdulmalik "Progress of Regional Economic Integration in East Africa." *Journal of International Commerce, Logistics, and Law* 7, no. 1 (2021), pp. 67–74.

benefits and challenges of regionalism in Iran foreign relations.<sup>235</sup> The findings showed that Iran has established Eco-regional cooperation with Turkey and Pakistan through regionalism. However, the regional cooperation has failed to attain economic, political and security benefits for Iran and the region. Finally, the results complement Barnekow, Ellis and Kulkarni in a study on various reasons why African countries have chosen to engage in regional agreements.<sup>236</sup> The findings revealed that for most African countries, the limitations from small variations in the goods produced from one country to another make them unsuitable for intra-continent trading. Similarly, due to lack of infrastructures and trading systems designed to promote intercontinental trading, there is little trading connectivity among African countries. Such variations imply that regional trade is not well embraced among countries and efforts to promote regionalism and regional trade may be seen as efforts to threaten the interest of states. The results amplify the reality of benefits and challenges of regionalism in other parts of the world that mirror the situation in EAC. Specifically, the common challenges often pose serious threat to the security situation of member states.

**5.7.1 The opinions of participants were sought on the contribution of regionalism to benefits and threats to national security of East Africa Community member states. The responses on some of the benefits are indicated below;**

*m) Regionalism creates a sense of belonging and brotherhood, hence promote mutual cooperation as tensions and suspicion decrease in among EAC member states.*

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<sup>235</sup> Zarei, Bahador, "Regionalism and the Challenges of Regionalism in Iran Foreign Relations," Jalil Delshad, Seyed Mehdi Musavi Shahidi, and Seyed Alavi. 743–758 in *Human Geography Research* 47, no. 4 (2015).

<sup>236</sup> Kishore G. Kulkarni, Sarah Ellis, and Barnekow. "Why regionalism? A look at the costs and benefits of regional trade agreements in Africa." *International Business Review*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 2017, pp. 99–117.

- n) *Through interstate military cooperation and intervention, there is robust regional peace and stability through collective defence*
- o) *There is rapid resolution of inter-member conflicts driven by collective security through information sharing*
- p) *There is efficient resolution of conflicts due to enhanced cooperation when dealing with threats to security*
- q) *There is effective management and sharing of trans-boundary resources coupled with collaboration among security organs to curb terror and crime that culminates in secure border and a peaceful EAC.*
- r) *There is promotion of free movement of people and goods.*
- s) *There is enhanced information/intelligence sharing, collective solutions to border disputes, resolution of inter and intra-state conflicts; joint training, operations, and surveillance as indicated by the formation of EACF like the one operating in Eastern DRC*
- t) *There are robust joint operations against insurgencies, armed groups and more possibility of sharing security military/ military hardware and soft wares in times of need.*
- u) *Member states support each other militaries and security agencies through training and capacity development programmes.*
- v) *There is presence of structured security/military cooperation throughout signing bilateral and multilateral MoUs, Agreements etc.*
- w) *There is existence of mechanism e.g., EAC Court of Justice in Arusha, which has capacity to resolve dispute between or among member state*

*x) A rogue member state which fuels conflict within the territory of another member state can be prevailed upon by the group and compelled to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the offended state*

**5.7.2 Some of the threats to national security of East Africa Community member states include;**

- h) Evolution of separatist ideas together with evolution of insurgent groups with anti-regionalism doctrines as shown by M23 in Eastern DRC that treats the regional force with suspicion.*
- i) With free movement of people across the region, there is possibility of increased criminal activities like drugs and human trafficking, increase in trans-boundary crimes and drug trafficking and increase in cases of counterfeit goods.*
- j) A very strong EAC may lead to ceding of sovereignty of member states, loss of traditional and cultural norms as well as acquisition of negative foreign practices.*
- k) Impact of instability in one-member state may escalate to other members e.g., insecurity stemming from failed states may spread its tentacles throughout the region. For instance, instability within one-member state, like DRC, has significant effect on security of other member states like Rwanda and Uganda.*
- l) Free movement of people may allow even criminal elements to move around taking advantage of open and porous borders thus facilitating proliferation of small and light weapons. Such insecurity may breed conflicts resulting in*

*internally displace persons (IDPs) and refugees from affected member states to others.*

*m) There is possibility of corruption and other bad habits from one country being exported to other member states.*

*n) Terrorists or insurgents defeated in one territory may find it easy to move to the territories of other EAC member states.*

**5.7.3 The opinion of the participants was sought on how being a member of EAC is beneficial to the national security of Kenya. Responses are provided below;**

*i) Enhanced conflict resolution mechanism, sharing of security related information and well as joint surveillance and training of security forces from Kenya and the EAC member states.*

*j) Border control and management that augur well for enhanced cooperation in security and defence of EAC as well as Kenya.*

*k) There is more robust collaboration in cross-border fight against organized crime, terrorism and drug and human trafficking*

*l) EAC recognizes that economic growth is only realizable where peace and security are guaranteed- thus the focus is on crisis prevention and conflict resolution, promoting good governance and curbing widespread of SALW.*

*m) EAC membership promote peaceful resolution of disputes and cooperation in matters of both national and international interest*

*n) Kenya is in a position to utilize EAC facilities such as the EAC Court of Justice in Arusha to enhance democracy, rule of law, good governance practices as well as peace and security*

- o) Kenya is in a good position to lobby among the EAC Member States for support in event of any threat to her national security*
- p) Kenya's security agencies usually cooperate with their EAC counterparts to fight crimes in the region such as terrorism, money laundering, proliferation of small and light weapons, human trafficking and other crimes which threaten security of Kenya*

**5.7.4 Participants were asked to state their opinions on the benefits gained by Kenya as a member of EAC. The responses are shown below:**

- l) There is reduced regional tension leading to shared regional prosperity and enhanced national security for Kenya.*
- m) There is increased trade and investment opportunities resulting from free movement of Kenyans across EAC and eventually increasing investment in regional infrastructure.*
- n) There is an expanded market for manufactured and processed goods for Kenya as well as for Kenya's service sector like banks, insurance, transport and logistics.*
- o) EAC is a major source of raw materials for value addition and export for Kenya and also a source of food products to meet Kenya's local deficit.*
- p) It has led to the existence of joint infrastructural development leading to affordable and efficient transport, energy and communication system for increased regional competitiveness which augurs well for Kenya as the leading economy in EAC.*
- q) As of January 2023, the population of EAC was approximately 474,000,000 which brings an expanded market for Kenyan export goods, targeting the entire population of East Africa.*

- r) *Expanded market for Kenyan outbound and inbound investment opportunities provides expanded opportunity for Kenyans to get jobs and provide services in EAC market.*
- s) *Being a member of EAC is a bonus for attracting a large number of EAC members to acquire education and training in Kenyan universities, technical institutes and various training institutions*
- t) *Membership to EAC has led to enhanced tourism sector, increasing the number of tourists from EAC Member States*
- u) *Kenya and EAC member states have a stronger voice in the international arena where the global community makes decision and this leads to enhanced opportunities for Kenya to lobby for her candidature or the candidatures of her citizens for international jobs or positions in International Organizations.*
- v) *Membership to EAC is a guarantee for enhanced opportunities for transfer of skills and expertise for Kenya.*

## **5.8 Inferential analysis**

Inferential statistics included correlation and regression analysis. In addition, tests for classical linear regression analysis were conducted that included multicollinearity, homoscedasticity, normality and reliability analysis

### **5.8.1 Multicollinearity test**

By looking at the VIF (variance inflation factor) and calculating the tolerance (1/VIF), multicollinearity was conducted on the data. If the VIF value is more than 3, independent variables are thought to be collinear. Inferring that multicollinearity is not a problem in the data, Table 6 shows VIF values ranging from 1.305 to 1.781.

**Table 9 Test for multicollinearity**

Model	Collinearity Statistics	
	Tolerance	VIF
1 (Constant)		
Regionalism of EAC	.561	1.781
Socio-economic impacts of regionalism in Kenya	.766	1.305
Benefits and challenges of regionalism for Kenya	.582	1.718

a. Dependent Variable: National security

### 5.8.2 Heteroscedasticity test

The Breusch-Pagan and Koenker test was employed in the study to calculate heteroscedasticity. The outcomes of the Breusch-Pagan and Koenker test are shown in Table 7. Although the data show significant values over 0.05, heteroscedasticity was not a concern.

**Table 10 Test for heteroscedasticity**

	LM	Sig
BP	.738	.390
Koenker	.774	.379

Null hypothesis: heteroskedasticity not present (homoskedasticity)- if sig-value less than 0.05, reject the null hypothesis

### 5.8.3 Normality tests

The skewness and kurtosis of the data distribution, as shown in table 8, were examined to determine the distribution's normalcy. If the variable's skewness and kurtosis have values between -1.0 and +1.0, it is believed to be normal. The study's items all measured

skewness and kurtosis values between 1 and -1. It follows from this that the presumption of normality was met.

**Table 11 Test for normality**

Variables	N	Skewness		Kurtosis	
	Statistic	Statistic	Std. Error	Statistic	Std. Error
Regionalism of EAC	307	.357	.198	-.406	.394
Socio-economic impacts of regionalism in Kenya	307	.491	.198	-.382	.394
Benefits and challenges of regionalism for Kenya	307	.734	.198	.622	.394

#### 5.8.4 Reliability test

The results of internal consistency of the study variables were measured using Cronbach Alpha statistics as shown in table 9. The Cronbach Alpha values for regionalism in EAC was 0.825, for socio-economic impacts of regionalism in Kenya was 0.848 and benefits and challenges of regionalism for Kenya was 0.853. The average Cronbach Alpha for the three constructs was 0.842. This implies that all the three variables were reliable.

**Table 12 Reliability test**

Variables	No of items	Cronbach's Alpha	Comments
Regionalism of EAC	9	.825	Reliable
Socio-economic impacts of regionalism in Kenya	8	.848	Reliable
Benefits and challenges of regionalism for Kenya	7	.853	Reliable
Overall	24	.842	Reliable

### **5.8.5 Correlation among study variables**

Correlation was tested to measure the strength of relationship among the variables of the study as indicated in table 10. Regionalism of EAC had a positive and significant relationship to national security ( $r = 0.498$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). Socio-economic impacts of regionalism had a positive and significant relationship to national security ( $r = 0.660$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). Benefits and challenges of regionalism for Kenya had a positive and significant relationship to national security ( $r = 0.533$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). This implies that the entire three variables had a positive and significant relationship with national security of EAC and Kenya.

**Table 13 Test for correlation**

<b>Variables</b>		<b>National security</b>	<b>Regionalism of EAC</b>	<b>Socio-economic impacts of regionalism</b>	<b>Benefits and challenges of regionalism for Kenya</b>
National security	Pearson Correlation	1	.498**	.660**	.533**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000
	N	15	15	15	15
Regionalism of EAC	Pearson Correlation	.498**	1	.692**	.645**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.000
	N	15	15	15	15
Socio-economic impacts of regionalism	Pearson Correlation	.660**	.692**	1	.670**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		.000
	N	15	15	15	15
Benefits and challenges of regionalism for Kenya	Pearson Correlation	.533**	.645**	.670**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	
	N	15	15	15	15

### 5.8.6 Regression analysis

Regression analysis is a statistical method that allows the estimation of relationship between dependent variables and one or more independent variables.<sup>237</sup> Table 11 presents R, R<sup>2</sup> and adjusted R<sup>2</sup> and the standard error of estimate. R represents multiple correlation coefficients, R<sup>2</sup> shows coefficient of determination and adjusted R<sup>2</sup> presents the statistical value adjusted for the purpose of a number of independent variables in the model. It is imperative that a strong linear relationship exists between the variables in the study as shown by R=0.866 and R<sup>2</sup> =0.750. This implies that 75% of national security was as a result of change in socio-economic status of the region. Furthermore, other factors not in this study contributed to the remaining 25% of national security.

**Table 14 Model summary**

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.866 <sup>a</sup>	.750	.743	.41325

a. Predictors: (Constant), Regionalism of EAC, Socio-economic impacts of regionalism in Kenya, Benefits and challenges of regionalism in Kenya

### 5.8.7 Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)

Regression ANOVA is used to statistically measure and create understanding on the level and extent of variability in the regression model.<sup>238</sup> The findings form the basis of testing significance. A regression ANOVA test for measuring the goodness of fit was conducted for the overall regression model. The results in table 12 shows that the model connecting Regionalism of EAC, Socio-economic impacts of regionalism in Kenya, Benefits and challenges of regionalism in Kenya and national security was statistically

<sup>237</sup> Roger, Uma Sekaran, and Bougie. Research techniques for business: a method for developing skills. 2019 John Wiley & Sons.

<sup>238</sup>. Roger, Uma Sekaran, and Bougie. Research techniques for business: a method for developing skills. 2019 John Wiley & Sons

significant as represented by  $F(4, 15) = 108.568, p < .05$ . Thus, the significance p-value was less than the conventional probability of 0.05 significance level ( $p \leq .05$ ) in the study.

**Table 15 ANOVA**

Model		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	74.164	4	18.541	108.568	.000 <sup>b</sup>
	Residual	24.763	9	.171		
	Total	98.927	15			

### 5.8.8 Regression Coefficient

Regression coefficient is the slope portrayed by linear relationship between the independent and dependent variables. This is presented in table 13.

The model is as;

$$\text{National security} = 7.531 + 2.126_{REAC} + 3.081_{SEI} + 4.118_{B\&C} + \varepsilon$$

**Table 16 Regression coefficients**

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients		Sig.
	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	
1 (Constant)	.217	.029		7.531	.000
Regionalism of EAC	.122	.057	.213	2.126	.001
Socio-economic impacts of regionalism in Kenya	.230	.075	.229	3.081	.002
Benefits and challenges of regionalism for Kenya	.284	.069	.273	4.118	.000

a. Dependent Variable: National security

Results in table 13 indicated that the regression coefficient for the relationship between regionalism of EAC and national security was positive and significant ( $t = 2.126$ ,  $p$ -value 0.001). The results support a study by Aditi on national security implication in Asia region due to adoption of regionalism.<sup>239</sup> The findings of the study indicated that regionalism is a multifaceted task and has significant implications on national security of member states. The results concurred with the study by Kakuba and Mpawenimana that showed that there are a number of achievements made by EAC which have significantly reduced conflicts in the region. They include establishment of common identity for tension reduction among the regional population and establishment of the customs union which greatly contributes in harmonization of economic policies for betterment of the economic welfare of the people of EAC. The results disagreed with Akoth's study on the role of regional integration in the promotion of peace and security in EAC.<sup>240</sup> The findings showed that in spite of the existence of regionalism spirit in EAC, conflict still exists in EAC. This was due to slowness by member states in ratifying various protocols and reluctance to implement agreed policies. This implies that regionalism if well enacted and supported has significant potential of elevating national security of member states like Kenya.

The regression coefficient between socio-economic impacts of regionalism in Kenya was again positive and significant ( $t = 3.081$ ,  $p$ -value 0.002). The results concur with Ewatan, Olabanji and Ese's study on the issues of insecurity and socio-economic development in Nigeria. The findings established a time increase in serious threats to lives and property in Nigeria due to terror threats from Boko Haram. The insecurity hinders business activities and investors and in essence retarding socio-economic

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<sup>239</sup> Paul, Aditi. "Regional cooperation in South Asia: Exploring the three pillars of regionalism and their relevance." *International Journal of Asian Studies* 1, no. 02 (2020): 2050008.

<sup>240</sup> Akoth, Mercy. "The role of regional integration in promoting peace and security: A case of East African Community." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2017.

development in Nigeria. These threats have assumed dangerous dimensions to the national and corporate existence of Nigeria. The results agreed with another study in Nigeria by Osawe and Onyepuemu that examined the increased wave of violent crime and insecurity and the threat to socio-economic development in the country.<sup>241</sup> The findings revealed an increased trend in violent crimes that threaten the future of socio-economic development in Nigeria. The results support Mauti's study on the effects of high crime rate and socio-economic development of households in Nairobi County, Kenya.<sup>242</sup> The findings established that among the major cases of insecurity included drug trafficking, assault, pick pocketing, and robbery with violence, house-breaking, terrorism, car-jacking among others. It was also established that due to high crime rates, households have been forced to abandon their important activities such as jobs with cost of living going up. The high crime rate is a serious threat to the national security of Kenya. The findings also support Vinogradova, Marina Olga et al. in the study on the impact of migration, socio-economic processes and national security in Russia.<sup>243</sup> The findings established that unregulated migration of people had a positive and significant impact on national security of Russia. Finally, the results mirror findings from Biodun, Oluwasolape and Ifeoluwa on the security implication of the alarming rate of child poverty in Northern Nigeria.<sup>244</sup> The findings established that child poverty is a significant threat to national security of Nigeria.

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<sup>241</sup> Onyepuemu, Osawe. "Increase wave of violent crime and insecurity: A threat to socio-economic development in Nigeria." *Journal of Social Science and Humanities* 20, no. 1 (2015): 123-133.

<sup>242</sup> Daniel. Miruka Mauti, "High crime rate on socio-economic development of selected house hold groups in Nairobi City County, Kenya." PhD diss. 2020, Kenyatta University.

<sup>243</sup>. Victoriy A. Koroleva, Olga S. Kulyamin, Anna A. Larionova, and Marina V. Vinogradova. "Migration processes' effects on Russia's national security system." (2015): 161–161. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences* 6, no. 3 S5.

<sup>244</sup> Abiodun, Ifeoluwa Ayo-Adeyekun, Temitope Francis, and Oluwasolape Onafowora. "Alarming rate of child poverty in Northern Nigeria: Implications for national security." 2, no. 1 (2019): 1–10 in the *American Research Journal of Humanities and Social Science*.

Last but not least, the regression coefficient for Kenya's relationship between the advantages and difficulties of regionalism was favorable and significant ( $t = 4.118$ ,  $p$ -value 0.000). The outcomes were in line with Yusuf's research on the development of regional economic integration in East Africa.<sup>245</sup> The study illuminated the priorities, major achievements and problems that threaten the EAC. The findings established that political will power of leadership and existential threats from crimes such as insurgency and piracy is a threat to attainment of economic and political integration. The results compliment the findings by Dosch on the challenges of regionalism in the Asian-Pacific region.<sup>246</sup> Findings show that countries under ASEAN have utilized regionalism as a means of solving regional, economic, political and security challenges. This is being done through attainment of far-reaching visions of economic-community building without drastic changes to the traditional approach of regional cooperation between member countries. The findings corroborated a related study conducted in Kenya by Makaka on regional integration in Africa, and specifically in the EAC, based on the assumption of whether or not this comparison is a broken promise.<sup>247</sup> The results showed that EAC has accomplished tremendous things in the socioeconomic and political-security fields. As a result, the EAC has become one of Africa's most integrated areas. The main methods of integration are the broadening of the purview of legal tools, coordination of national, economic and social policies, and increased trade between member states and the rest of the globe. The results agreed with Roland-Host, David and Mensbrugge in a study on opportunities and challenges related to

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<sup>245</sup> Abdulmalik Abukar and Yusuf. "Progress of Regional Economic Integration in East Africa." 7, no. 1 (2021): 67-74 in *Journal of International Commerce, Logistics and Law*.

<sup>246</sup> Dosch, Jörn. "Southeast Asia: ASEAN and the challenge of regionalism in the Asia-Pacific." In *The New Global Politics of the Asia-Pacific*, pp. 160-179. Routledge, 2017.

<sup>247</sup> Makaka, Lydia V. "Regional Integration in Africa-A False Promise? The Case Study of the East African Community." 2018 PhD dissertation, University of Nairobi.

globalization and regionalism in the Americas.<sup>248</sup> The findings established that regionalism has potential benefits for economies of member countries. Finally, the findings support Ouma in a study on critical analysis of regional integration in Kenya in the context of trade, infrastructure and security.<sup>249</sup> The study established that Kenya has historically faced instability from neighboring countries as well as local political instability. These challenges are a threat to the national security of Kenya and act as drivers for regionalism interests.

Nevertheless, the findings diverge from those of research by Barnekow, Ellis, and Kulkarni on the factors that led African nations to choose for regional accords.<sup>250</sup> The findings revealed that for most African countries, the limitations from small variations in the goods produced from one country to another make them unsuitable for intra-continent trading. Similarly, due to lack of infrastructure and trading systems designed to promote intercontinental trading, there is little trading connectivity among African countries. Such variations imply that regional trade is not well embraced among countries and efforts to promote regionalism and regional trade may be seen as efforts to threaten the interest of states. This sophistication is risky for national security of African countries like Kenya. Also, the outcomes contradict Kathleen's conclusions regarding economic and security regionalism among patrimonial authoritarian governments in Central Asia.<sup>251</sup> Findings show that for the leaders of Central Asia countries, the driver to adopt security regionalism is the need for survival and personal enrichment rather than economic prosperity and national security for their citizens.

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<sup>248</sup> David, Dominique van der Mensbrugge, and Roland-Holst. "Regionalism versus globalization in the Americas: empirical evidence on opportunities and challenges.

<sup>249</sup> Lucian Basil, Ouma. "A critical examination of Kenya's commerce, infrastructure, and security in the context of the AfCFTA is presented in the article "The Question of Regional Integration in Africa." Master's dissertation, 2021, Commerce Faculty.

<sup>250</sup> Kishore G. Kulkarni, Sarah Ellis, and Barnekow. "Why regionalism? A look at the costs and benefits of regional trade agreements in Africa." (2017) *World Business Review* 18, no. 1: 99–117.

<sup>251</sup> Collins, Kathleen. "Economic and security regionalism among patrimonial authoritarian regimes: The case of Central Asia." 249–281 in *Europe-Asia Studies* 61, no. 2 (2009).

Since economic regionalism involves practices such as liberalization that may have adverse effects on such leaders, the only option is 'virtual' economic regionalism for the purposes of personal survival. Security regionalism is a threat to national security of the population in these countries since it only strengthens patrimonial regimes that have little interest in democracy, economic and security needs of the population. This is contrary to the drivers for regionalism in EAC which are mostly economic, political and security interests.

### **5.9 Summary of Key Findings**

Establishing the effects of regionalism on the national security of East African Community members through a case study of Kenya is the study's overarching goal. The study's three main goals were to ascertain the impact of regionalism on the national security of East African Community members, to establish the socioeconomic effects of regionalism on Kenya's national security, and to evaluate the advantages and drawbacks of regionalism in terms of Kenya's national security. This study was anchored by the theory of Hegemonic War and Change as fronted by Robert Gilpins. An exploratory research approach served as the study's direction.

Personnel from the embassies of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and South Sudan made up the study's population. Officials from Kenya's Ministry of East Africa and Regional Development were also included in the target population. Furthermore, targeted were senior military officers of the Kenyan Defense Forces. 20 respondents in total, 10 from the Kenyan Ministry of East Africa and Regional Development and 10 senior military commanders from the Kenya Defence Forces, made up the sample size. Questionnaires were used in collecting data and were administered to embassies and ministry officials. For the senior military officers in KDF, interview schedules were employed to gather information.

Quantitative and qualitative data analysis methodologies were used during the data analysis process. The open-ended questions and interview schedules' qualitative material was analyzed, condensed, and organized into pertinent themes. To ascertain which themes, recur frequently in certain contexts and how they linked to one another, content analysis was used. To determine its effectiveness, quantitative data from surveys and interviews were triangulated. Using both descriptive and inferential statistical techniques, this data type was examined. Measures of central tendency including mean and mode, percentages, and standard deviations were used in descriptive statistics. Regression and correlation analysis were both employed in inferential statistics. A response rate of 75% was reached, which was regarded excellent and sufficient for the study's ongoing data processing.

### **5.9.1 Regionalism and National Security of East African Community Members**

Identifying the impact of regionalism on the national security of East African Community members was the first goal. Results showed that respondents hold that regionalism has resurrected historical cooperation in EAC. This implies that regionalism has articulated the issues of security, economic and political cooperation in EAC. Regionalism of EAC had a positive and significant relationship to national security ( $r = 0.498$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). The correlation between the regionalism of the EAC and national security had a substantial and positive regression coefficient ( $t = 2.126$ ,  $p = 0.001$ ). This suggests that regionalism has a considerable potential to improve the national security of member states like Kenya if properly implemented and maintained. A concerted effort must be made to ensure that nations in the EAC do everything in their power to build a robust federation since it holds the key to the future of regional security. It is essential that regionalism has a substantial impact on the national security of member countries.

Regionalism is also important to the security of EAC since it helps in mobilizing security resources and security efforts and in the process strengthening the capabilities and capacity of Kenya to participate effectively in regional and local security and peace operations. Additionally, regionalism has significantly contributed to the security of Kenya since EAC has emerged as a critical tool for regional security, stability and political unification. This is as a result of EAC members sharing intelligence on aspects of security like terror surveillance, border surveillance and control and information including the early warning system. However, it is notable that the national security of Kenya may be threatened as a member of EAC since ease of spread of terror-linked ideologies have been elevated due to the radicalization by terror groups from other countries to Kenya and is detrimental to the security of Kenya.

The second goal was to determine how regionalism affected Kenya's national security on a socioeconomic level. There was a general consensus of the existence of positive and negative socio-economic impacts of regionalism on national security of Kenya. Socio-economic impacts of regionalism had a positive and significant relationship to national security ( $r = 0.660$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). The regression coefficient between socio-economic impacts of regionalism in Kenya was again positive and significant ( $t = 3.081$ ,  $p$ -value  $0.002$ ). This implies that investment in development of socio-economic dimensions such as infrastructure, poverty eradication, and education among others has the potential of enhancing regional security and national security of countries like Kenya.

The positive socio-economic gains for Kenya as a member of EAC include a rise in employment of skilled labor force from Kenya into regional organizations such as banking, insurance and other professional services. There is political stability which is healthy for development of the socio-economic and cultural spheres in Kenya. There is

availability of greater food security for Kenya through ease of importation from neighbors whenever there is food shortage. There is increased volume of international trade in the EAC market. This has led to more Kenyan export products reaching the EAC market. Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) flow into and out of the EAC market has increased noticeably. As Kenyans increase their investments in EAC nations, so do the EAC members in Kenya. Moreover, the EAC Single Customs Territory has changed the speed with which cargo headed for the EAC market is cleared, especially at the port of Mombasa. The economy will grow as a result of this. Finally, there is increased human capital development as shown by an increase in the number of students or trainees from EAC region (particularly South Sudan, DRC and Tanzania) seeking tertiary, university education or training in Kenya.

Some of the negative socio-economic situations in EAC include certain dimensions of insecurity such as terrorism due to terror attacks by Al-Shabaab in the region. The attacks have threatened national security and socio-economic development in Kenya prompting a regional response where countries contribute troops to AMISOM to lower the capacity of the terror groups' threat to the region. Others threats include the soaring problem of youth unemployment, which is used by terrorist organizations like Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab as a prime location for recruiting the idle, frequently jobless, and disillusioned teenagers from the area. There is also insecurity due to high crime rates, resulting in households being forced to abandon important activities such as jobs for safety reasons making the cost of living go up. There is perceived hostility among governments that hindered trade activities from Kenya like the constant stand offs between Kenya and Tanzania. Kenya faces threats of disease or pandemics emanating from lack of regional cooperation in combating such cases as shown by COVID-19

pandemic whereas Tanzania totally rejected any regional efforts and cooperation in dealing with the issue.

Generally, all the member states of EAC are poor countries, who lack appropriate funds such as common currency for supporting integration and regionalism, and also possess differing development ideologies and programs. Unless this reality is resolved, it has the net effect of curtailing the regionalism agenda and may threaten the future national security of Kenya. Language barrier is a threat to integration and regionalism as seen from countries like Burundi, Rwanda and DRC with French as domiciled national language with the other members using English as official language. Lack of a unifying language in EAC regional acts as a barrier for instantaneous articulation of the common agenda in the region since language barrier divides the English-speaking Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and South Sudan and French-speaking, Burundi, Rwanda and DRC. Language barrier is thus a threat to regionalism. Others factors include insecurity, due to conflicts, wars and activities of illegitimate armed groups as well as Neo-colonial and hegemonic influence that continuously threatens the spirit of unification of the EAC region.

### **5.9.2 Benefits and Challenges of Regionalism on National Security of Kenya**

The third goal was to evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of regionalism for Kenya's national security. There was a balanced consensus from respondents that regionalism has benefits and possesses challenges to the national security of Kenya. Benefits and challenges of regionalism for Kenya had a positive and significant relationship to national security ( $r = 0.533$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ). For Kenya, the regression coefficient between the advantages and difficulties of regionalism was both positive and significant ( $t = 4.118$ ,  $p\text{-value } 0.000$ ). Hence, regionalism has the potential to be advantageous if it is used to ensure the security of the EAC and Kenya's national

security. Failure to focus on the many benefits of regionalism may put Kenya in a position of dealing with the underlying negative consequences.

The study established that Kenya has historically faced instability from neighboring countries as well as local political instability. These challenges act as a driver for support of regionalism for Kenya to confront the threat to national security. The benefits of regionalism to national security of East African Community member states like Kenya include creation of a sense of belonging and brotherhood, hence promoting mutual cooperation as tensions and suspicion decrease among EAC member states. Due to interstate military cooperation and intervention, there is robust regional peace and stability through collective defence. There is rapid resolution of inter-member conflicts driven by collective security through information sharing as shown by the EAC forces currently pacifying rebel groups in Eastern DRC. There are robust joint operations against insurgencies, armed groups and more possibility of sharing security military or military hardware and soft wares in times of need. There is existence of other mechanisms such as EAC Court of Justice in Arusha, which has the capacity to resolve disputes between or among member states. Finally, the organization is likely to prevail over a rogue member state that foments strife within the borders of another member state and forces it to respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the offended state.

One concern to the national security of East African Community members like Kenya is the development of separatist ideologies as well as the emergence of insurgent groups with anti-regionalism philosophies, as demonstrated by M23 in Eastern DRC, which views the regional force with distrust. As more individuals move freely around the region, there is a chance that illegal activities including drug use and human trafficking, border-crossing crimes and drug trafficking, and the sale of fake goods may rise. The

impact of instability in one-member state may escalate to other members for instance, insecurity stemming from failed states may spread its tentacles throughout the region. Moreover, instability within one-member state, like DRC, has a significant effect on security of other member states like Rwanda and Uganda similarly, instability in Somalia has been a threat to national security of Kenya. Free movement of people may allow even criminal elements to move around taking advantage of open and porous borders thus facilitating proliferation of small and light weapons. Such insecurity may breed conflicts resulting in internally displaced persons (IDPs) and refugees from affected member states to others. There is possibility of corruption and other bad habits from one country being exported to other member states. Terrorists or insurgents defeated in one territory may find it easy to move to the territories of other states.

#### **5.10 Conclusions**

The first objective was to determine how regionalism affected the national security of East African Community members. Regionalism in the EAC and national security have a good and important relationship. The study concluded that regionalism has resurrected the historical cooperation in EAC. There is need for concerted effort to ensure that countries in EAC do all they can to create a stronger federation since it holds the future of regional security.

The second objective was to establish the socio-economic impacts posed by regionalism on national security of Kenya. There was a general consensus of the existence of positive and negative socio-economic impacts of regionalism on national security of Kenya. The study came to the conclusion that Kenya and the other EAC member states must accelerate the pace of socioeconomic progress in each of their separate countries because doing so is a guarantee of EAC national security. It is equally a guarantee for national security of member states like Kenya.

The third goal was to evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of regionalism for Kenya's national security. The benefits and challenges of regionalism had a favorable and significant relationship for Kenya. The study came to the conclusion that Kenya should continue to emphasize the potential advantages of regionalism as the cornerstone for leveraging the national security of its people. Kenya should also mitigate on the various threats emanating from being a member of EAC through mutual collaboration on security issues with other EAC member states.

### **5.11 Recommendations**

The report recommended that member nations of the EAC constantly support it financially and by putting the required mechanisms in place in order to ensure peace and security in the region. The only way to create a successful EAC federation is through the national security of each member state.

The research advised stepping up efforts to meet the socioeconomic requirements of EAC member states because doing so will pave way for resolving the region's security issues. Development of infrastructure, trade, education, poverty eradication among others act as guarantors to national security of EAC and specifically Kenya.

The study recommended for Kenya to utilize its dominant economic presence as a member of the expanding EAC to accrue more benefits for the national security of its people and the general welfare of the entire population in the region. Kenya should support and sensitize her population to participate and invest more in regional trade in EAC.

### **5.12 Future Studies**

Since the study's primary focus was on the implications of regionalism on the national security of East Africa Community members: a case study of Kenya, future research

should be regional. For example, a study should be conducted on impacts of regionalism on national security of other countries in East African Community.

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Through regionalism there is creation of hegemonic interests					
Regionalism has resurrected historical cooperation in EAC					
Regional projects like EA parliament has resurfaced					
Establishment of common tariffs and markets enhance and strengthen the regional economic growth					
The EAC has made progress in establishment of key economic components like customs union, common market, and monetary union					

5. Indicate your level of agreement with the following socio-economic factors and their impact on national security of Kenya. Use the scale of 1= Strongly disagree, 2= Agree, 3=Neutral, 4=Agree, 5= Strongly Agree

<b>Impact of socio-economic factors on national security of Kenya</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>SA</b>
Effective regional economic governance has promoted the national security of Kenya					
EAC monetary integration potentially strengthen national security of Kenya					
Imports substitution policy of EAC guarantee the economic and national security of Kenya					
Integration of EAC has reduced disproportionate taxes and levies of Kenyan people and products					

Through integration there is reduction of cumbersome and stringent cross borders rules and regulations					
Integration has minimized harassment, intimidation and arbitrary arrests of Kenyan citizens in neighboring countries					
Symbiotic nature of socio-economic and political integration has boosted the national security of Kenya					
The easing of cross-national border movement has eased the movement of people and products					
The idea of EAC citizenship promises to strengthen the national security of Kenya					

6. What are the regional-based socio-economic threats to the national security of Kenya?

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7. Indicate your level of agreement on the following benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security of Kenya. Use the scale of 1= Strongly disagree, 2= Agree, 3=Neutral, 4=Agree, 5= Strongly Agree

Benefits and challenges of regionalism on national security of Kenya	SD	D	N	A	SA

As a member of EAC Kenya has increased the span of employment of its citizen across the region					
Kenya has benefitted due to its strong human resource through outsourcing of jobs across EAC					
The EAC has accelerated investment in infrastructure by Kenya like Standard Gauge railway and roads networks					
As a member of EAC, Kenya has benefitted from trade agreements like AGOA to access USA markets					
As a member of EAC, Kenya is made to adhere to principles of good governance, transparency and accountability					
Adherence to integrity and the rule of law has elevated the democratic space for Kenya in the region					
Economically and politically, Kenya is still at the mercy of lending institutions like the World Bank and the IMF					
As a regional partner, Kenya is made to carry the responsibility of hosting refugees from across the region					
Terror networks and criminal gangs have found a safe haven in Kenya					

8. In your own understanding, what are the benefits and threats to national security of East Africa Community member states?

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## **APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE AND KEY INFORMANT DISCUSSIONS**

### **FOR SENIOR MILITARY OFFICERS**

1. How is EAC been a guarantor to the national security of Kenya?
2. Explain how being a member of EAC beneficial to the national security of Kenya?
3. Which benefits does Kenya gain as a member of EAC?
4. Which socio-economic rewards has Kenya gained as a member of EAC?
5. How has the security of Kenya improved as a member of EAC?
6. How is the national security of Kenya been threatened as a member of EAC?

## APPENDIX 3: LETTER OF AUTHORIZATION

RESTRICTED

Telephone: 254-2-884036  
Fax: 254-2-884036  
E-mail: [ndc@ndc.go.ke](mailto:ndc@ndc.go.ke)



National Defence College  
Warai North Road  
P.O Box 24381  
Karen - Nairobi  
Kenya

When replying please quote:

Ref: NDC/A/141

16 November 2022

**TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**

**FACILITATION FOR COL COLLINS OTIENO MITOKO ADMN No. ND601/0006/2022**

The above Senior Officer is a course participant at the National Defence College and has been admitted for Masters of Arts in National Security and Strategy, under the National Defence University- Kenya Programme.

As part of academic requirements, Col Collins Otieno MITOKO is required to undertake a research project in partial fulfillment of MA degree programme he is enrolled in. His approved research topic is **"Impact of Regionalism on National Security of East Africa Community Member States: A case Study of Kenya"**.

The purpose of this letter is to kindly request your office to facilitate the Officer as he conducts his research project.

Submitted for your kind consideration and facilitation.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'F M Mabeya', written over a circular stamp.

**Mr F M MABEYA**  
Head of Programme  
for Commandant



**THE SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION ACT, 2013 (Rev. 2014)**  
Legal Notice No. 108: The Science, Technology and Innovation (Research Licensing) Regulations, 2014

**The National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation**, hereafter referred to as the Commission, was established under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act 2013 (Revised 2014) herein after referred to as the Act. The objective of the Commission shall be to regulate and assure quality in the science, technology and innovation sector and advise the Government in matters related thereto.

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  - i. Endanger national security
  - ii. Adversely affect the lives of Kenyans
  - iii. Be in contravention of Kenya's international obligations including Biological Weapons Convention (BWC), Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO), Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN).
  - iv. Result in exploitation of intellectual property rights of communities in Kenya
  - v. Adversely affect the environment
  - vi. Adversely affect the rights of communities
  - vii. Endanger public safety and national cohesion
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14. The Commission shall have powers to acquire from any person the right in, or to, any scientific innovation, invention or patent of strategic importance to the country.
15. Relevant Institutional Scientific and Ethical Review Committee shall monitor and evaluate the research periodically, and make a report of its findings to the Commission for necessary action.

National Commission for Science, Technology and  
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Telephone: 020 4007000, 0713788787, 0735404245  
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## MITOKO OTIENO COLLINS

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