

**IMPACT OF TRASNATIONAL TERRORISM ON HUMAN SECURITY IN  
KENYA**

**BY  
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## DECLARATION

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this project to my late father KABURU MUKETHA for always believing in my abilities as a young scholar. For always pushing me to be the best version of myself through chasing my dreams. Am grateful to my mother for being a source of inspiration in my life and for the great support and encouragement to me throughout my life that I can achieve anything that I desire and for her financial support. My siblings (Mark, Lucas and Gloria) for being my emotional support system throughout this journey I thank them all.

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## ABSTRACT

Terrorism has been a global security threat and Kenya has always been a partner to fight terrorism. The human security approach, which will be described briefly below, can be usefully applied to the fight against transnational terrorism. The concept's focus is on the security needs of the individual, who is the main victim of terrorism although terrorism also threatens the security of the state. Therefore, in addressing these threats not only state security but the security of citizens in particular needs to be given attention. The main agenda of human security is that people matter and that the focus has to be on their vulnerabilities, which can also mean that state structures, like the police and the judiciary, need to be strengthened. The state has the primary function of protection, but the protection needs to be provided in such a way that the security of the citizens is in the foreground. The distinction between the two main pillars of human security freedom from fear and freedom from want, provides a useful methodological approach in order to analyze the vulnerabilities of citizens and the threats against them. For example, security sector reform is of crucial importance, because in post-war situations the security sector is often linked with organized crime and therefore rather a threat to citizens than a provider of protection. The study is also important since it explores thematic issues in regard to the impact of terror activities since these terror activities lead to loss of life and property and threatens the dignity and security of human beings. The Al-Shabaab terrorist organization are largely thought to be behind these last attacks and are thus the main focal point of this discussion. This research sought to uncover the answers to the following questions: Who are the members of the Al-Shabaab and their financiers? Why are they attacking Kenya and her citizenry? How can the activities of terrorist groups such as the Al Shabaab be curtailed. Theories were used to explain a deep insight on terrorist, for example rational choice explains human behavior. What drives the behavior of a terrorist? Data was collected using both qualitative and quantitative methods with a view to enriching the findings of the study. Kenya as a state must be ready to protect her people from threat of terrorism and this must be demonstrated clearly by developing the ways of countering terrorism in order to provide for human security.

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## **DEFINITION OF TERMS**

- Al Qaeda/ Al Qaida-** a terrorist group, founded by Osama bin Laden, whose meaning is ‘the foundation.
- Al- Shabaab-** translated as “the youth” in Arabic; this Al Qaeda linked radical terrorist group operating from Somalia.
- Dadaab-** a refugee camp in Garissa County, Northern Kenya
- Human security–** As noted in General Assembly resolution 66/290, “human security is an approach to assist Member States in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood and dignity of their people.” It calls for “people-centred, comprehensive, context-specific and prevention-oriented responses that strengthen the protection and empowerment of all people.”
- Respondent-** a participant in the field study who provided answers to the interview questions of the study
- Transnational terrorism-** An act involves actions in which victims, perpetrators, and sites of violence represent different states and nationalities. Transnational terrorist attacks may be initiated by local actors against. of violence aimed at harming innocent unarmed civilians in order to achieve religious and/or political goal.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

AFRICOM:	Africa Command
AHF:	Al Haramain Foundation
AMISOM:	African Mission in Somalia
AML: Anti-	Money Laundering
AQIM:	Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb
ASD:	Acute Stress Disorder
ATPU:	Anti-Terrorism Police Unit
AU:	African Union
CBK:	Central Bank of Kenya
CFT:	Combating the Financing of Terrorism
CJTF-HOA:	Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa
COMESA:	Common Market for East and Southern Africa
CTF:	Counter Terrorism Financing
E.O:	Executive Order
EAC:	East African Community
EACTI:	East African Counter-Terrorism Initiative
ESAAMLG:	East and Southern Africa Anti-Money Laundering Group
FATF:	Financial Action Task Force
FIU:	Financial Intelligence Unit
FRC:	Financial Reporting Centre
FTO:	Foreign Terrorist Organization
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
GWOT:	Global war on terror
IAAF:	International Association of Athletics Federations

ICU:	Islamic Court Union
IGAD:	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IMF:	International Monetary Fund
KNCHR:	Kenya National Commission on Human Rights
NCTC:	National Counter Terrorism Centre
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organization
OFAC:	Office of Foreign Assets Control
PLO:	Palestinian Liberation Organization
PTSD:	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
RPG:	Rocket Propelled Grenade
SOT:	Suppression of Terrorism
TFG:	Transitional Federal Government
TIP:	Terrorism Interdiction Program
U WB:	World Bank
UDHR:	Universal Declaration on Human Rights
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
WoT:	War on Terror

## CHAPTER ONE

### BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

#### 1.0 Introduction

Terrorism is without a doubt, one of the biggest challenges facing Kenya and the world in general, serving as major threat to security and the economy. Terrorism is defined as a form of violence targeted against unarmed civilians with the aim of achieving a political and/or religious goal. The ultimate goal that terrorists seek to accomplish is to create an atmosphere of fear and anxiety among the populations where they carry out terror attacks (Neria, 2006). Once the people's way of life has been disrupted, terrorists' organizations ensure that they create a climate where people have lingering concerns about their security (Neria, 2006). Africa faces the same threat of terrorism as the rest of the world. According to Mathew Thomas (2013), Al-Shabaab originated from the remnants of the Islamic Court Union (ICU) also known as Al-Ittihad Mahakem Al-Islayiya, which used to be a union of different Islamic militant groups in Somalia after the collapse of the Somalian government in 1991.

The ICU had sought to close the power vacuum that had been left by the collapse of the Government of said barre in 1991. Somalia has been engaged in a civil war, resulting in waves of Somali refugee's crossing over the Kenyan border in search of security. Provisions towards accommodating the influx of refugees, both from Somalia and other neighboring countries, were made by the Kenyan government by setting up remote refugee camps, which offered temporary protection in the North Eastern Province (NEP) and the South Western Province of Kenya. In October 1991, the management of refugee affairs were delegated to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (Lindley, 2011:20).

The UNHCR states that by January 2014, there were over one million registered Somali refugees in East Africa, with about 50 per cent flocking to Kenya (UNHCR, 2015). As argued by Kumssa et al., (2014:145 – 146), refugee influxes tend to have critical consequences particularly in the regions that host refugee communities, such as the NEP, as they negatively affect the access to basic needs and local resources. As the population in these regions increase, it is inevitable that the competition for resources, such as land, water and food, would increase as well. Similarly, Snyder (2008:65 – 66) emphasises that there is a link between refugee migration and insecurity as demographic and economic changes as well as ethnic, cultural and religious identity could become a source of insecurity in refugee hosting countries.

The idea of extending the concept of security from state security to individual human beings was first articulated by the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues in 1982. The Common Security report provided the first comprehensive criticism of the purely military approach to security while highlighting the need to devote due attention to the relation between security and the well-being of individuals. After years of latency, a crucial point in history for the development of the concept is the end of the Cold War and the revitalization of long-standing bottom-up arguments within progressive academic and policy circles, once it was realized that the disappearance of the superpowers' military threats did not necessarily entail an enhanced level of security for citizens within states. The evolution of the security discourse was also molded by the need to address the global social problems arising within the context of a globalizing world. The potential threats to individuals' lives and well-being were therefore extended from being primarily military to broadly encompass economic, social, environmental, and health concerns. In connection with the immediate post-Cold War period and the new development agenda, the first



authoritative definition of human security was provided in 1994 when Mahbub ul Haq drew attention to the concept in the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Human Development Report. Beyond territorial and military concerns, the report argued that human security is fundamentally concerned with human life and dignity. human security meant safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression, and it meant protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life.

The sources of human insecurity in the Kenyan context are numerous and varied. Porous borders, inadequate policies and poor management of the influx of Somali refugees have been identified as significant factors that have contributed to the human security challenges in Kenya (Kumssa et al., 2014:145). According to Kumssa et al., (2014:146), the initial provisions set out by the Kenyan government towards the management of Somali refugees were temporary, as it was assumed that the refugees would return home once the situation was stabilized. In 2006, the Ethiopian Army invaded Somalia to intervene in the country following the strict Sharia law that ICU had established in Somalia. The defeat of the ICU by the Ethiopian Army led to the formation of Al-Shabaab which also means “the youth.” In the year 2011, they pledged their allegiance to Al Qaida. To finance their operations, Al-Shabaab became actively involved in the Indian Ocean piracy which earned them a lot of financial muscle. They also started kidnapping foreigners from Kenya to Somalia and then seeking ransom for them. This began to have a negative impact on the Kenyan tourism industry and the human security of Kenya’s citizens also their foreign visitors.

It seems that Africa is more vulnerable in the fight against terrorism due to several reasons ranging from weak governments, porous borders and weak security organs

among others. Some of the terrorist groups that operate in Sub-Saharan Africa, include, Al-Shabaab operating in Somalia, Boko Haram operating in Nigeria, Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb operating in the Sahara (AQIM) and the Lord's Resistance Army operating in Uganda (Kaufman, 2012).

### **1.1 Terrorism in East Africa**

Terrorism is a significant threat to world peace and security, and as such remains high on the agenda within policy and intelligence circles. Al-Shabaab is the biggest threat in east Africa to the security of the region. Operating from the “failed state” of Somalia, the Al Qaida affiliated group has been behind several attacks in the region. The Terrorist attack from mainly the Al-Shabaab have heavily affected the Kenyan people and it has opened a gap against their human security. Despite a state protecting its borders they also have to protect the psychological and emotional wellbeing of its citizens As Kenya was faced with threats such as piracy by Somalis along the coastal border and the increased threats to national security by Somali Islamist insurgents such as Al-Shabaab who were crossing over the Kenya-Somali border, the government chose to address these threats aggressively through the establishment of the Anti-Terrorism Police Unit (ATPU), the deployment of Kenyan troops into Somalia, encampment policies and the establishment of new security laws under the Security Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2014 (Wilson, 2014). The operation was dubbed “Operation Linda Nchi” led by the Kenyan Defense forces. The idea of the operation was aimed at pushing back the Al-Shabaab from southern Somalia and to weaken their operation.

In Africa, the notion of terrorism itself can be traced back to anti-colonial struggles whilst the more recent terrorist attacks in Kenya and Tanzania give some indication of the severity of the threat of terrorism in the Horn of Africa. Terrorist attacks in Kenya,

both those which may be described as 'domestic' as well as 'international ' appear to be associated with some of the country's Muslim population as well as with Kenya's political relations with the US and its abides. Following the collapse of the Soviet block, the US re-oriented the objectives and course of its foreign policy. This reorientation helped the US to realize its contemporary interests and aspirations at the new global level in which it has become the world's only superpower. America's new global foreign policy has brought it into Conflict not only with specific 'regimes of terror' such as Iraq or North Korea but also with relatively amorphous groups/individuals whose attempts to challenge America's geo-political hegemony has led them to be regarded as the new menace of international terrorism. Kenya is closely allied to US and Israeli interests, acts of terror in Kenya appear to be an indirect way of attacking the US and Israel. Details of major terrorist threats and attacks in Kenya are described in the main body of this paper and in the light of this account; I suggest that in order to deal with international terrorism in Kenya, its root causes must be addressed. In this paper I propose that we can best understand the problem of international terrorism as played out in Kenya, by looking at both the internal socio-economic conditions of Muslims in Kenya as well as the external situation of Kenya's international relations.

East Africa and global, have intertwined in a kind of 'triple helix'. Somalia serves as the geographic and organizational host; East African extremists provide soldiers who can operate most effectively across the wider region; and al-Qa`ida provides the ideological legitimacy, Monetary expenditures and global appeal. The attacks aimed to force Kenya to withdraw her soldiers from Somalia but Kenyan soldiers are still holding strong defending Kenya's citizenry against any harm. Although Kenya is paying a heavy price the war against Al-Shabaab is being fought by the joint forces of Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia, Burundi and Somalia, it seems that Kenya is paying the highest price

in this war. In retaliation to Operation Linda Nchi, the Al-Shabaab has carried out a number of attacks in Kenya from 2011. The attacks aimed to force Kenya to withdraw her soldiers from Somalia where they are jointly fighting as part of the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM).

Most of the attacks have occurred in Nairobi, Mombasa and the North- Eastern province, particularly in Mandela, Wajir and Garissa counties. The attacks were small scale and were carried out on churches, buses, bars, bus stations, military camps, market places and shopping centers. Al shabaab also targeted other east African states, in July 11<sup>th</sup> 2010 it Coordinated bombings killing 74 people in the Ugandan capital Kampala, marking Al-Shabaab's first major assault outside Somalia. In November 2013 the Al-shabaab child indoctrination camp was shut down by the Authorities and they arrest 69 people running the "camp" for over 50 children aged four to thirteen in Tanga, Tanzania.

April 2017 Militants ambush and kill eight police officers just outside Kibiti on the Tanzanian coast. Security operations in Kenya increasingly force Al-Shabaab to mobilise elsewhere. Its fighters forge alliances with local Islamist groups in Tanzania and northern Mozambique.

## **1.2 Terrorism in Kenya**

In October 2011, a coordinated operation between the Somali military and the Kenyan military began against the Al-Shabaab group of insurgents in southern Somalia. The mission was officially led by the Somali army, with the Kenyan forces providing a support role. In early June 2012, Kenyan troops were formally integrated into AMISOM. (Godfrey Mwakikagile, 2007).

Since the Operation Linda Nchi began, Al-Shabaab vowed retaliation against the Kenyan authorities. The lack of stable governance in Somalia has led to the emergence of a clan-based insurgent and terrorist group like the Al Shabaab. years of instability have led to a large number of refugees and illegal immigrants in Kenya and other countries within the East Africa .They form an extensive network for the Somali ethnic group within the region, which makes it easy for Al Shabaab to recruit fighters from within this network. The refugee situation in Kenya and the open border between Kenya and Somalia allows the Somali-based Al Shabaab terrorists to blend in with the refugees and move freely across the border. The political instability in Somalia provides a favorable Breeding environment for terrorist training that poses an immense security challenges to the east African community.

A significant increasing number of terrorist attacks in Kenya have since been carried out by local Kenyans, many of whom are recent converts to Islam. Estimates in 2012 placed the figure of Kenyan fighters at around 10% of Al-Shabaab's total forces who are referred to as the "Kenyan Mujahedeen". The converts are typically young and overzealous, poverty making them easier targets for the group's recruitment activities. Because the Kenyan insurgents have a different profile from the Somali and Arab militants that allows them to blend in with the general population of Kenya, they are also often harder to track. According to diplomats, Muslim areas in coastal Kenya such as Mombasa are also especially vulnerable for recruitment.

Kenya has experienced a number of attacks in the recent past. Majority of the recent attacks from 2011 were retaliation of the “operation linda nchi” with the most notable ones being

The Garissa university attack was the deadliest in Kenya since the 1998 United States embassy bombings, and is the second deadliest overall, with more casualties than the 2002 Mombasa attacks, the 2013 Westgate shopping mall attack, the 2014 Nairobi bus bombings, the 2014 Gikomba bombings, the 2014 Mpeketoni attacks and the 2014 Lamu attacks.

The attack was On 2 April 2015, gunmen stormed the Garissa University College in Garissa, Kenya, killing 148 people, and injuring 79 or more. The militant group and Al-Qaeda offshoot Al-Shabaab, which the gunmen claimed to be from, took responsibility for the attack. The gunmen took over 700 students hostage, freeing Muslims and killing those who identified as Christians. The siege ended the same day, when all four of the attackers were killed. Five men were later arrested in connection with the attack, and a bounty was placed for the arrest of a suspected organizer.

On 21 September 2013, four masked gunmen attacked the Westgate shopping mall, an upscale mall in Nairobi, Kenya. There are conflicting reports about the number killed in the attack, since part of the mall collapsed due to a fire that started during the siege. The attack resulted in 71 total deaths, including 62 civilians, five Kenyan soldiers, and four attackers. Approximately 200 people were wounded in the mass shooting.

In 2014 there was an attack in Mpeketoni attacks ,Between 15 and 17 June 2014, more than 60 people were killed in attacks in Mpeketoni, Lamu County. Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility, but the Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta asserted that the attacks were organized by local politicians with ties to a network of gangs. Correspondents from the area suggested that the attacks may have been motivated by ethnic or religious hatred, or revenge for land grabbing.

On 15 June 2014, about 50 masked gunmen hijacked a van and raided a police station in the predominantly Christian town of Mpeketoni, as well as burning hotels, restaurants, and government offices

On 22 November 2014, 28 people on board a bus were executed in the Omar Jillo area of Mandera County in the north-eastern tip of Kenya. According to reports, the bus was hijacked by suspected members of the Islamist militant organisation al-Shabaab who identified and killed the non-Muslim passengers. Ten days later in the early hours of 2 December, news emerged of another brutal attack. This time, 36 people had been killed at a quarry in Koromei in the same county.

On 15 January 2019, four gunmen attacked the DusitD2 complex at 14 Riverside Drive junction around 2.30PM. Before they were contained and brought down by the Kenya security forces, the terrorists killed 21 people and injured several others in the process. The 1980 terror attack at the Norfolk hotel in Nairobi owned by a Jewish block company. A total of 20 people perished and more than 80 were wounded. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) was blamed for the attack. According to some news reports, the attack on Kenya was linked to the role Kenya played in allowing the Israeli rescuers to fuel in Nairobi after fleeing Israeli hostages from Entebbe Airport in 1976 (Kiruga, 2013). A more recent attack was the 1998 US embassy bombing in Nairobi and DaresSalaam which targeted US citizens. Over 200 people died in these attacks and hundreds more were wounded. The Al Qaida terrorist group led by Osama Bin Laden claimed responsibility. In 2002 a missile attack aimed at an Israeli plane was launched after it took off from a Mombasa airport. Luckily, the missile missed the plane. At the same time, however, a car carrying explosives was crashed through the barrier at the Paradise Hotel in Mombasa that had just received over 60 tourists who

had checked in. This attack killed about ten Kenyans and three Israelis and Al Qaida was linked to the attacks. However, from 2011 the attacks in Kenya seemed to have taken a different course with Al- Shabaab seemingly taking over the reins of control as far as terrorist activity targeted at Kenya is concerned.

On 18 November 2012, 10 people were killed and 25 seriously injured when an explosion ripped apart a route 28 mass transit mini-bus (matatu) in Eastleigh. The blast was believed to have been an improvised explosive. Looting and destruction of Somali-owned homes and shops by angry mobs of young Kenyans ensued. Somalis defended their property, and interpreted the bus explosion as a pretext for non-Somalis to steal from their community.

Kenya has experienced a number of attacks in the recent past. Majority of the recent attacks from 2011 were retaliation of the “operation linda nchi” with the most notable ones being

Since 11 September 2001, terrorism has been a global security threat. One of the partners in the war on terrorism is Kenya. Considering Kenya’s experience with terrorist acts, their effects on its public psyche, and Kenya’s reactions to them in domestic and foreign policies, this study presents perceptions on terrorism from an exploratory survey in Kenya. Respondents feel most threatened by terrorism because they have infiltrated the society.

Anzalone (2016), On 8 January Al Shabaab released a public statement ‘Kenya Must Take Heed’; this state’s Al Shabaab intent to attack tourists, including those on safari trips. It also references government institutions and military installations as potential attack targets. On 5 January 2020 Al Shabaab conducted an attack on a military airstrip



in Lamu County, killing 3 US personnel. Terrorism threat is from extremists linked to Al Shabaab, a militant group in Somalia opposed to the Somali government. Al Shabaab has issued public threats against Kenya due to Kenya's military intervention in Somalia. The Kenyan authorities have increased security to counter potential reprisal attacks by Al Shabaab.

There are frequent attacks in the north eastern border regions, particularly in Garissa, Lamu and Mandera counties and other areas close to the Somali border, most of which were attributed to Al Shabaab. These have killed members of the Kenyan security forces as well as civilians. The Kenyan security forces have increased their presence in the affected areas. Armed militia groups operate within the Boni Forest and along the border between Garissa County and Somalia. The Foreign Commonwealth and Development Office (FCDO) advise against all but essential travel to within 60 km of the Kenya-Somali border.



**Plate 1: Westgate attack (2003)**

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

Al Shabaab, has made Kenya a target for its terrorist activities. Terrorist's activities weaken state's ability to provide peace to its citizens ,ensuring there is adequate provision of human security. Terrorist activities have increased in many regions in the recent past and the term "terrorism" gained a lot more weight and international attention after the September 11th terrorist attack in New York City in 2001 which killed approximately 2,800 people (Boscarino, 2003). terrorism is considered by many to be increasing in Sub-Saharan Africa (Perry, 2011). Cilliers (2010), states that "the opportunities that Africa presents to international terrorists are limitless where multi-national companies and donor agencies are numerous making Africa a victim to a pattern of attacks." Sonmez (1998), states that countries struggling with hunger, disease, socio-economic and environmental problems further complicated by population growth have a combination of challenges that may nurture terrorism. Terrorist organizations can easily recruit members by offering better conditions to people living in undesirable circumstances in underdeveloped nations. According to Koroma (2011), to completely eradicate terrorism is physically impossible. Terrorism just like any other crime committed, steps are taken to prevent the crime from occurring but there are not enough resources such as funds and manpower to eliminate terrorist threats completely. It is necessary to bring into attention the impact of transnational terrorism on human security. While there has been an increased amount of research on the phenomenon of terrorism and how it affects society in the last decade, Llorca-Vivero (2008) argues that this topic still remains relatively unexplored. Despite the increase in research especially post September 11th , no study has been carried out on the impact of transnational terrorism on human security in Kenya specifically on the

effects of terrorism on human security Thus, there is a need for more empirical research which has the potential to help identify solutions and minimize the problem.

#### **1.4 Research Objectives**

This study is aimed to achieve a number of objectives. The overall objective is to determine the impact of transnational terrorism on human security in Kenya. The more specific objectives of the study are as follows:

1. The study is aimed at finding out the public opinions to the terrorist attacks and how it has affected human security through foreign policy.
2. The study sets out to determine the economic, political and social ramifications that the terrorist attacks have had on Kenya.
3. The study is aimed to find out the challenges of human security, what the government of Kenya is doing to combat it.
4. The study will seek to ascertain the reason as to why Kenya is a regular target of terrorism.

#### **1.5 Research Questions**

The study was anchored on the ensuing research questions.

1. What should be put in place to combat transnational terrorism activities within and beyond our borders?
2. How has the Kenyan government dealt with the human security threats emanating from transnational terrorism?
3. What are the human security challenges that have resulted in Kenya from terrorism?
4. How has the government of Kenya conceptualized and responded to the human security challenges.

## **1.6 Scope of Research**

The study focuses on how transnational terrorism activities have affected human security in Kenya. The study looks at the specified actions the government is doing to create and maintain adequate human security, despite the many challenges that are being faced.

## **1.7 Significance of the Study**

This research is very important since transnational terrorism is an ever-present current reality for Kenya and globally.

This research seeks to understand the threat of transnational terrorism and human security in Kenya with the goal of using the information accrued herein towards preventative measures.

Despite the constant threat that transnational terrorism poses and the existing harm it has caused, very few empirical researches have looked into its threat on human security. More specifically, very few of these studies have looked into Kenya as a case study.

This study, although not comprehensive due to time and resource constraints, will attempt to reveal how the public are affected by transnational terrorist attacks in the country. The researcher intends for this research to contribute to establishing better ways of handling the threat due to the human security and the post trauma effects that have engorged on human security.

This research is crucial as it shall create a better understanding on the dynamics of transnational terror activities in Kenya and terrorism as a whole. The study comes at a

time when world peace is threatened by terrorism in different parts of world like Syria, Iraq, Nigeria, Somalia, France, Uganda and many more.

### **1.8 Research Limitations**

For the purposes of this research, limitations are impediments that prevent the researchers from achieving objectives of the study. Due to COVID-19 the world has really slowed down and even others shutdown. It has been a bit difficult to conduct research mostly gathering of primary data information. Analyzing the effects of terrorism is a political research and it involves embassies, foreign affairs ministry, senior government officials and political non-governmental organizations which deal with human rights. These sources did not release accurate information easily depending on the complexity and nature of information being solicited and some of the offices were closed down. Failure to access some of the information has affected the outcome of the research.

Besides, a state, foreign missions, international organizations, local political practitioners and other sources provided partisan information depending on their political orientation and ideologies. Withholding information and provision of partial, partisan and subjective information are limitations that have largely affect this research.

To overcome the said limitations, I used qualitative and quantitative methodology in form of interviews which provides for questions probing during data gathering and analysis. which provided several sources to increase information base. Media, Books, journals, articles, reviews were also used on literature review and data collection.

### **1.9 Justification**

The UN (2002: V) Preface by the former UN Secretary General Koffi Annan states that, “terrorism strikes at the heart of everything the UN stands for. It presents a global

threat to democracy, the rule of law, human rights and stability.” Since its inception in 1945, the UN has been less successful in eliminating terrorism in all its manifestations. Governments on the other hand find it very difficult to uproot terrorists in their territorial boundaries. Terrorism disrupts livelihoods, increases violence and fear, affects production in all sectors of economy, destroys infrastructure and has resulted in bloodshed which inhibits human security from transnational society. In all cases of terrorist attacks, it has disrupted normal

education life, stalled production in the economy and international effort to provide peace and security. In recent years, Kenya has witnessed an expanding number of attacks involving Al-Shabaab, the Somali-based militant organization. Kenya’s state responses to these attacks derive from a social construction of Somalis as a threatening presence, justifying a raft of hard security measures. The targeting has been counter-productive by driving a deeper wedge between Somalis, other Muslims and the state. This has caused a deeper wage of human security in the nation, the Kenyan citizenry has to feel safe and protected. The levels of transnational terrorism violence have remained high. Reducing violence and building peace require greater understanding of how violence and human security are seen and experienced at the margins. This research study will help researchers understand the fundamental importance of human security.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This literature review seeks to gain understanding on transnational terrorism and its impact on human security through several other factors.

The September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks rekindled wide interest in the patterns of transnational terrorism. Terrorist incidents often appear to concentrate in particular geographic regions and yet are relatively rare in others. Meanwhile, terrorist networks such as the Al Qaeda are more active in certain parts of the world and are frequently observed as having spread their activities across national borders. The literature on transnational terrorism is growing, but remains small.

Transnational terrorism poses a threat to all countries but is of immediate concern to the Kenyan government. The UN Security Council resolution 1566 (2004) defines terrorism as: “Criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act.”

It interrogates the security gaps in Kenya that emanate from state retreat and fragility leading to human insecurity. The research strives to reveal that the link between terrorism and challenged human security contributed by illegal refugee migration who are mostly the transnational terrorist who are looking to recruit or plan an act of terror. A consensus must be reached on how the terrorist nature of insecurity could be handled vice versa meeting the humanitarian objectives. Social and structural gaps arising from

state retreat and fragility are strategic to answering to human insecurity in Kenya. Internal security policy must seek to increase the capacity of citizen response, recovery and adaptability while reducing the current sense of powerlessness through increased knowledge acquisition.

### **2.1.1 Transnational terrorism**

Transnational terrorism is seen to operate in many states, utilizing the 'shadow globalization' flows of people, weapons and information to further their cause. The causes of this new type of terrorism reflect the deepening of human interconnectedness worldwide.

Today's terrorism is therefore transnational in cause, operation and effect. Its essential features ensure its importance within international relations because it represents a whole new security concern for states the risk of attack does not just come from other states (war) but from mobile criminal groups that move between states and are dispersed globally (transnational terrorism). States perceive this new wave of terrorism as threatening core elements of their sovereignty, their capacity legitimacy and autonomy within a particular jurisdiction. This all-encompassing threat has led to a range of responses. These have included the creation of new criminal offences, broadened legal definitions of terrorism, the granting of greater powers of detention and arrest, as well as improving funding for state agencies involved in countering terrorism. In light of the transnational elements, states have also sought closer cross-border cooperation between government agencies, most notably in policing and intelligence, in order to prevent the spread of terrorism. States have also reacted to the new threats by seeking to prevent or disrupt the emergence of ideas that might support terrorist violence through anti-radicalization initiatives. The biggest threat to global and in particular, Kenya's security



has been terrorism. With terror attacks occurring between 1998 and 2019, Kenya has been a prime target for terrorist groups in particular, Al-Shabaab. The first terror attack that happened in Kenya was in 1998, at the American embassy, by Al-Qaeda, killing over 200 Kenyan civilians, partly due to the American invasion in Somalia and the presence of US troops in Saudi Arabia (CNN, 2013). The terror groups seem to attack any states who support “western agendas” or are allies to the western countries for example the book haram in Nigeria, their main aim is to stop Africans from having “western mentality “. While the resource-driven, irredentism and secession conflicts previously covered are based on the Somali ethnic group identity at different scales, terrorism provided a conflict involving individuals and groups who use identity as a mobilizing factor to recruit fighters who are used to committing acts of terror. Somalia provided safe havens for the training and growth of terrorism, due to the lack of a stable government to maintain the rule of law. The prolonged instability in Somalia defines an unstable political identity .According to Kagwanja (2006:73), the attack took place in Kenya as a result of its close proximity to Somalia and the porous Kenya Somali border, which made access to the country easy. It has led to Kenya hosting some 511,000 refugees in Dadaab refugee camps, which have been in existence for the 25 years of the conflict in Somalia. Dadaab refugee camps are located in the Northern Province, 85 kilometers from the Kenya-Somalia border. The location and conditions at the refugee camps offer no educational or economic opportunities, especially for the young Somali refugees, and so a number of them moved to Kenya’s urban areas for a number of reasons: “to access better education opportunities and health facilities; to find work and build a different future for oneself and one’s family; to get in contact with relatives abroad with a view to arranging onward migration to other countries.” The protracted refugee situation in Kenya and the open border between Kenya and

Somalia allows the Somali-based Al-Shabaab terrorists to blend in with the refugees and move freely across the border, while the political instability in Somalia provides a favorable environment for training, posing enormous security challenges to Kenya. Al Shabaab exploits ethnic and religious similarities in identity at the borderlands, the grievances of a marginalized community, and the vulnerability of the young Somalis in the refugee camps for recruitment. NgalaChome writes, Al-Shabaab leaders have circulated a narrative of victimization and alienation of Somali (and Muslim) interests by the Kenyan government and its Western allies.

On 28 September 2001, acting under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, adopted resolution 1373 (2001), stating explicitly that every act of terrorism constitutes a “threat to international peace and security” and that the “acts, methods, and practices of terrorism are contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.” In 2000 another terrorist attack also took place at the Israeli owned Paradise hotel in Mombasa, by another Islamist militant group, targeting Israeli tourists (Kagwanja, 2006:73). Kenya’s sovereignty has been under threat due to the increasing presence of militant Islamists such as Al-Shabaab, who have established a presence on the other side of the Kenya-Somali border. These Islamist groups have been trickling over into Kenya since the 1990s (Bradbury and Kleinman., 2010:27).Al-Shabaab is reported to have had the most significant impact in Kenya, due to the large Somali refugee population, which has allowed them to infiltrate the state and target the greater population, Kenyan Muslims, Somali refugees and Kenyan-Somalis in an attempt to radicalise, recruit and spread extremism from its bases in Somalia. The majority of those being targeted for recruitment.

The relationship between the causes and symptoms of transnational terrorism are complex. Transnational terrorism does not exist in isolation from challenges of economic development , human security and sustainability . It could be argued that in Kenya, terrorist activities occurred when the economy was at its lowest socio-economic level, thereby leading to the proposition that poverty triggers crime including terrorism. Barrie Anthony (2006:33) has asserted that about 15 million Kenyans live below the poverty line which the terrorist groups use to their advantage. Majority of Kenyans face a gap for human security in their day to day lives. It seems that poverty is caused by both external and internal vested interests that put profit before the legitimate aspirations of the society. As poverty is evident in Kenya, one can justifiably conclude that poverty provides a fertile ground for the recruitment of terrorists. The foreign domination of Kenya has aggravated the level of poverty in Kenya. Domination and injustice resulted from the wrong policy, can nurture terrorism.



**Plate 2: Transnational terrorist elements**

### **2.1.2 Human Security**

The concept of human security is gaining traction due to the growing and unconventional security challenges. The human security concept is comprehensive and looks at ways of intervening to protect and safeguard human lives. It refers to actions that put people first and provides them with a sense of security in their homes, at their jobs, and in their communities. It encompasses the idea of liberty, specifically in its three pillars: “freedom from fear” (human rights) and “freedom from want” (basic human needs) and freedom to “live in dignity”. The freedom from fear component focuses on protecting individuals from violent conflicts and from denial of civil liberties. It assures freedom of expression and belief. The freedom from want factor emphasizes satisfying people’s basic needs, food, shelter and clothing. The freedom to live in dignity underscores the right of individuals and communities to a decent human life and greater commitment to justice and peace. Human security is founded on the fundamental principle that violence, poverty and inequality are inseparable when it comes to explaining and addressing the root problem of insecurity, whether social or economic. Inequality is caused by the imbalanced economic progress and deprivation (Kumssa, Jones, & Williams, 2010). The challenges facing the international community at the present time are such that, without respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, the attainment of lasting peace would be impossible and human security would remain illusory. The re-balance of security away from an exclusive and excessive focus on military security of the state and its institutions, towards the people whom the state serves. Globalization has helped in the focus on global threats and challenges to human wellbeing and advancement. The concept’s focus is on the security needs of the individual, who is the main victim of terrorism, although terrorism also threatens the security of the state. In addressing these threats not only state security but

the security of citizens in particular needs to be given attention. The human security approach entails that people matter and that the focus has to be on their vulnerabilities, which can also mean that state structures, like the police and the judiciary, need to be strengthened (albeit) with a view to securing human rights and ensuring democratic governance. The state has the primary function of protection, but the protection needs to be provided in such a way that the security of the citizens is in the foreground. Post-conflict situations are often characterized by weak states, which still need to consolidate themselves and to reform the police and the judiciary in order to make sure that these are operating in the interest of the citizens. The distinction between the two main pillars of human security freedom from fear and freedom from want which provides a useful methodological approach in order to analyze the vulnerabilities of citizens and the threats against them in post-conflict situations. The state, by not providing adequate protection or by repressing (some) of its citizens, like critical civil society groups or media, violates its basic functions of providing human security for its people.

If we take the seven target areas of human security distinguished by the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report (economic security, food security health security, environmental security, personal security, regional security, and political security) During and immediately after conflicts the freedom from fear, the protection of the human person against violence and therefore its personal security, is in the foreground. Gradually, freedom from want, consisting of food security, health security, and economic security may gain in importance. Certainly, the two pillars are interlinked in practice, as there can be no economic security without personal security and vice versa. This raises the issue of the meaning of ‘personal security’, which can be understood as protection of people from physical violence, but also has a wider meaning, namely protecting the human person against all violations of its civil and political rights. For

example, if the police, the judiciary, server terrorist attacks occurred or the administration of a state does not function properly, this creates a problem of personal security. If crime is not prevented and criminals (terrorist) are not held accountable, the state does not fulfill its basic functions.

Security has now finally been reconciled with its true purpose people," human beings". Human Security is an instrument for the advancement of human progress and the construction of humanism. The notion of military security tended to make security not so much an instrument as an end in itself, and tended, where security remained an instrument, to make it no more than an instrument of power. The idea of military security was associated more with the idea of an instrument of power than an instrument of human development. Reverting to the idea of human security means reshaping security into what it ought to be a means of humanity.

## **2.2 Human security in Kenya**

Human security is an emerging paradigm for understanding global vulnerabilities whose proponents challenge the traditional notion of national security through military security by arguing that the proper referent for security should be at the human rather than national level. Human security reveals a people-centred and multi-disciplinary understanding of security.

In order for human security to challenge global inequalities, there has to be cooperation between a country's foreign policy and its approach to global health. However, the interest of the state has continued to overshadow the interest of the people. Human security criteria is based on the core values and interests of the state, that is best suited to analyze the human security challenges that have resulted from transnational terrorism. Human security in the Kenyan context has been approached by policy makers

through a human development lens, since the 1990s. According to the UNDP (2006:5), the risks and vulnerabilities faced by the country at a national, community and individual level have required a developmental approach as issues such as increasing poverty and declining livelihoods have had a profound effect on human insecurity. Development has since been a priority for the Kenyan government as there has been a significant decline in human security that needs immediate attention (UNDP, 2006:5).

The philosophy of African socialism informed Kenya's development paradigm after it gained independence in 1963. This development paradigm explored both human security and human development principles even though the terms were not used explicitly. Kenya prioritized equal opportunities, freedom from want, freedom of conscience, human dignity and social justice among other elements in its development objectives. However, these objectives proved to be a challenge to obtain and maintain as there has been, in recent years, a decline in human security ranging from issues of general insecurity and petty crimes to more serious human security violations such as ethnic cleansing and terrorism (UNDP, 2006:4-7).

While development has been singled out as a key player in human insecurity, government institutions have also played a significant role in the deteriorating human security conditions. The failure of government institutions in outlining adequate security policy objectives and implementing them due to issues of corruption and inefficiency, have been to blame (ICTJ, 2010:3). According to Uhuru Kenyatta the current President of Kenya, "departments have been unable to perform their duties, either owing to weak leadership, poor strategic guidance or lack of adequate resources. Weakness in the state is the leading cause of insecurity of all forms, and this brings us

to how our daily work must begin to consciously focus on its value-addition to national security” (Kenyatta, 2014).

Kenya also lacks a comprehensive national security policy, which has managed to hinder cooperation, coordination and joint planning (ICTJ, 2010:4). Kenya however relies on the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 as a guide that informs the security sector. The Constitution of Kenya, 2010 explicitly states that the promotion of human security and the prevention of conflicts in the future are the priorities of the state. The Constitution of Kenya, 2010 provides a framework that aims to prevent the recurrence of violent conflict by promoting human security, identifying and addressing the root causes of insecurity in Kenya. The Constitution 2010, addresses human security concerns and dispenses a framework for restoring democracy and justice (ISS, 2010:2). The president of Kenya, Uhuru Kenyatta, in a public address speech, in accordance with the core values and principles of the state outlined in the constitution affirmed that the priority of the state is to preserve human security as “there is no higher calling or responsibility that exists for us as the top public servants than to lead efforts to secure our people's lives, property, the country's territorial integrity, and the defense of our constitution against all enemies, foreign and domestic, on which is premised every other economic, social and political aspiration we have as Kenyans”(Kenyatta, 2014).

The Constitution of Kenya, 2010, the Bill of Rights and the President's speech all clearly identify and contextualize the core values and interests of Kenya, which fall in line with the two dimensions of human security based on vulnerability and deprivation, as argued by Gomez and Gasper (2014:2). The pursuit of these core values and interests by the government of Kenya has however been hindered by several challenges which



range from weak and poor government institutions, economic constraints and the most debilitating, its proximity to the conflict in Somalia. Kenya's geopolitical position not only positions the economic stability of East Africa as a region on Kenya's prosperity but also places it as the regional safe haven for the majority of the Somali refugees who are fleeing the conflict in Somalia. The continuous influx of refugees and other spillover effects have proven to be significant challenges in ensuring human security. The conflict in Somalia therefore increases the burdens and challenges of achieving human security and maintaining stability (Burns, 2010:6) within Kenya.

The spillover effects of the conflict in Somalia have caused many human security challenges in Kenya, with the most debilitating effects occurring in the rural area of the North Eastern Province (NEP) and the urban areas of Nairobi and Mombasa. The rural NEP faces human security challenges that revolve around the access to basic human needs, while the urban areas of Nairobi and Mombasa face human security challenges that revolve around human rights and general security.

The basic needs approach analyzes the human security challenges that are faced by individuals in the rural area of the North Eastern Province of Kenya (NEP), Nairobi and other parts of the nation, as feelings of insecurity tends to arise from the challenges of daily lives. The basic needs approach offers the best indicator for human security, as the root causes of tension and conflict tend to result from social and economic challenges that have had a profound effect on the quality of human life, due to the increasing number of Somali refugees in the NEP and Nairobi (Eastleigh). The categories for human security in the basic needs approach, such as personal security, community security and economic security, will be used as a criteria for the assessment

of human security. These categories will be used to test how the increase in population in the NEP and Nairobi has affected human security.

The human security challenges in the NEP have been attributed to the presence of the Dadaab refugee camp, located in the region, due to its close proximity to the Kenya-Somalia border, which has created a significant increase in population and affected human security. The majority of the human security challenges in the NEP are primarily based around the two dimensions of deprivation and vulnerability.

- The distress of and competition for local resources such as land, water, energy and the environment;
  - Underdevelopment particularly in terms of infrastructure and health care;
  - Severe deprivation due to scarcity of natural resources such as land, water and food; and
- Access to basic human needs, such as adequate education, food, adequate housing and healthcare (Kumssa et al., 2009:1008 – 1013).

The basic needs approach corresponds well with this context as it tackles developmental issues broadly, which would allow for an adequate assessment of what the human security challenges are, if they have been adequately addressed and the developmental agendas and policies that can be put into place to ensure human security in the future (Wamucii and Idwasi., 2011:191-192).

On the other hand, the urban areas, particularly the capital city of Nairobi and Mombasa, face human security challenges from the conflict in Somalia which has strengthened the terrorist groups, to have fear in the country. These human security challenges tend to arise from the Somali refugees and to an overwhelming extent, the

response of government institutions to the conflict in Somalia and its effects on human security in Kenya. According to Newman (2001:244), the interventionist approach will provide criteria for assessment that will measure the successes and failures of intervention through strategies and policies proposed to promote human security and the effects of different actors, such as, government institutions and terrorist groups on human security.



**Plate 3: Civilians protesting for human security**

### **2.3 Theoretical Framework**

Taking into account the complexity of the impact of transnational terrorism on human security, this study will apply Rational choice theory and Domino theory/domino effect. A major aspect of the theoretical work concerning terrorism comprises of defining terms and this has been undertaken extensively in the works of many academics such as Ruby (2002); Jenkins (2001); Cooper (2001); and (Hoffman, 1998, pp.13-15) among others. Chalk (1999: 151) he states that terrorism is “the systematic use of illegitimate violence that is employed by sub state actors as means of achieving specific political objectives, these goals differing according to the group concerned. There are two main theories guiding this dissertation understanding the concept of human security and how transnational terrorism has challenged it. This research will present a detailed discussion of the theoretical frameworks.

### **2.3.1 Rational Choice Theory**

This theory will be important in explaining the behavior and thinking pattern of terrorists groups and even government leadership as they attempt to tackle terrorist threats. The Rational Choice Theory is a theory based on the notion that man is a reasoning being who weighs the costs and benefits of choices and therefore makes decisions based on rational calculations (Business Dictionary, 2013). Terrorists, despite being considered by many to be inhumane and irrational, are nevertheless human beings and are prompted to commit their acts of terrorism by some form of ideology and beliefs, mainly stemming from religious beliefs. As such, it is crucial that psychoanalysis into the psyche and mindsets of terrorists be undertaken for the findings of this research to be valid and empirical. The Rational Choice Theory will therefore be helpful in that regard, to understand the motivations for the terrorist acts of the Al-Shabaab. This school of thought based on the assumption that individuals choose a course of action that is most in line with their personal preferences. Rational choice theory is used to model human decision making such an understanding has been largely unclear and thin at best yet it may be the key to helping eradicate terrorism from not only Kenya, but the world at large.

While rational choice theory is logical and easy to understand, it is often contradicted in the real world. For example, political factions that were in favor of the Brexit vote held on June 24, 2016, used promotional campaigns that were based on emotion rather than rational analysis. These campaigns led to the semi-shocking and unexpected result of the vote, when the United Kingdom officially decided to leave the European Union.

### **2.3.2 Domino theory**

Domino theory also known as the domino effect was first a geopolitical theory prominent in the United States from the 1950s to the 1980s which posited that if one country in a region came under the influence of communism, then the surrounding countries would follow in a domino effect. The domino theory was used by successive United States administrations during the Cold War to justify the need for American intervention around the world. A theory of accident causation and control, developed by H.W. Heinrich, that purports that all accidents, whether in a residence or a workplace environment, are the result of a chain of events. The chain of events consists of the following sequential factors: ancestry and social environment, an individual's mistake, an unsafe action and/or physical hazard, the actual accident, and an injury as the result of the preceding factors. These factors are described as dominoes, and the removal of any one of these five factors can prevent the accident.

During the Cold War, America's political leaders subscribed to the domino theory. The theory, whose name comes from a 1954 speech by President Eisenhower of the United States, held that if one country fell to communism, then its neighbors would fall next, toppling like dominoes. This also works with human security if any part of human security falls, then they all fall because they are interconnected to one another. Apart from President Eisenhower's description, American academic Victor Cha also explained the domino theory in his book, titled *Power play: The Origins of the American Alliance System in Asia*.

Human security emphasizes the interconnectedness of threats and responses. They are interlinked in a domino effect in the sense that each threat feeds on the other. For example, violent conflicts can lead to deprivation and poverty which in turn could lead

to resource depletion, infectious diseases, education deficits, etc. Also threats in a given country or area can spread into a wider region and have negative externalities for regional or international security". Now you have broader considerations that might follow what you would call the "falling domino" principle. You have a row of dominoes set up, you knock over the first one, and what will happen to the last one is the certainty that it will go over very quickly. So you could have a beginning of a disintegration that would have the most profound influences.

Domino theory will therefore be important in understanding human security and how its challenges are connected with transnational terrorism. Linguist and political theorist Noam Chomsky wrote that he believes that the domino theory is roughly accurate, although he put a more positive spin on the threat, writing that communist and socialist movements became popular in poorer countries because they brought economic improvements to those countries in which they took power. For this reason, he wrote, the U.S. put so much effort into suppressing so-called "people's movements" in Chile, Vietnam, Nicaragua, Laos, Grenada, El Salvador, Guatemala, etc. "The weaker and poorer a country is, the more dangerous it is as an example. If a tiny, poor country like Grenada can succeed in bringing about a better life for its people, some other place that has more resources will ask, 'Why not us?'" Chomsky refers to this as the "threat of a good example".

A domino effect is the cumulative effect produced when one event sets off a chain of similar events. The term is best known as a mechanical effect and is used as an analogy to a falling row of dominoes. It typically refers to a linked sequence of events where the time between successive events is relatively small. It can be used literally (an observed series of actual collisions) or metaphorically (causal linkages within systems

such as global finance or politics). I know you might wonder why am not only concentrating only on personal security which is the main challenge on human security through transnational terrorism, but according to me they are all inter connected if one fails then the rest won't be able to function well.

The world is still struggling to realize the fundamental principle contained in the Report of the United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan entitled in Larger Freedom, which argued that there is an important and inseparable link between development, peace and human rights it appears more difficult to realize some of the observations contained in the Report of the Human Commission. According to the Human Security Commission, human security is defined by its aims: to protect the vital core of human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms –freedoms that are the essence of life. It means protecting people from critical (severe) and pervasive (widespread) threats and situations. It means using processes that build on people's strengths and aspirations. It means creating political, social, environmental, economic, military and cultural systems that together give people the building blocks of survival, livelihood and dignity (Commission on Human Security, 2003: 4).

### **2.3 Conceptual Framework**

Bryman defines conceptual framework as an analytical tool with several variations and contexts. He further explains its application in making a conceptual distinctions and organization of thoughts and ideas. He emphasized that strong conceptual frameworks should capture something real and must do this in a way that is easy to remember and apply (Bryman, 2011).

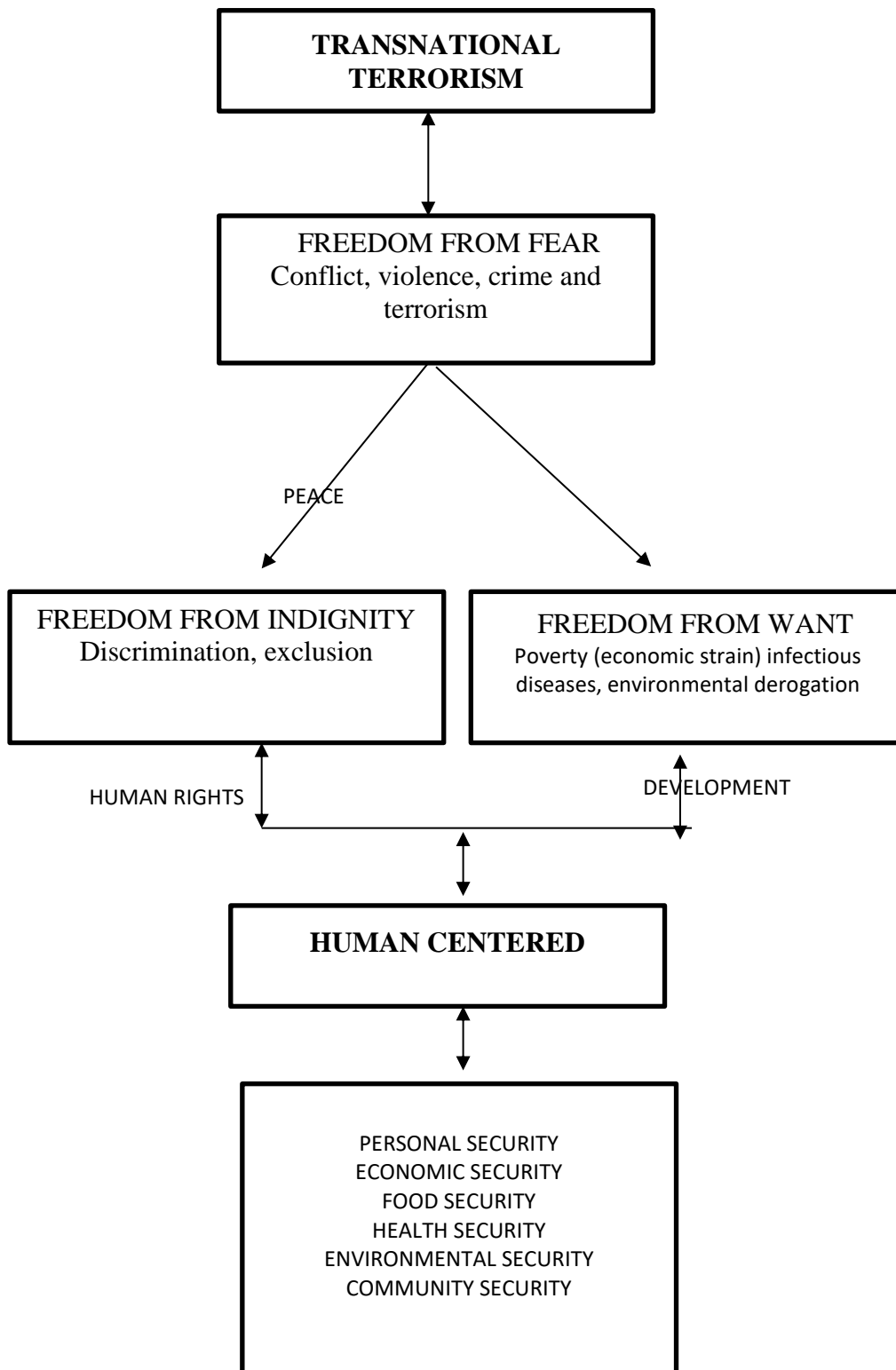
Domino theory also goes further to demonstrate the domino effect where every chain of reaction depends on each other. This theory shows how transnational terrorism has affected human security. Human development involves nongovernmental development organizations, sector-specific agencies in governments, overseas development assistance. Human rights mobilizes the international legal framework, UN Conventions, human rights organisations and legal instruments. State security mobilizes foreign policy, military expenditures, and defence and intelligence departments. These distinctions are key, and indeed one of the distinctions of human security from each of the other three approaches will be the unique blend of disciplines and institutions it engages. As the Commission on Human Security stated "Human security is to protect the vital core of all human lives in ways that enhance human freedoms and human fulfillment. Human security means protecting fundamental freedoms, freedoms that are the essence of life. Human security integrates three freedoms: freedom from fear, freedom from want and the freedom from indignity.

Freedom from fear refers to protecting individuals from threats directed at their security and physical integrity and includes various forms of violence that may arise from external States, the acts of a State against its citizens, the acts of one group against others and the acts of individuals against other individuals.

Freedom from want refers to the protection of individuals so that they might satisfy their basic needs and the economic, social and environmental aspects of life and livelihoods.

- Freedom from indignity refers to the promotion of an improved quality of life and enhancement of human welfare that permits people to make choices and seek opportunities for that empower them.





**Figure 1: Conceptual Framework**

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.0 Introduction**

This chapter provides a discussion of the research methodology that will be used in this Study. It gives a description of the research design, target population, sampling design, and data

Collection methods, research procedures and data analysis methods. The methodological considerations are discussed in this chapter. This chapter explores what Maxwell (2013) refers to as the “where, who and what and why and how of conducting social research.” the chapter highlights issues such as, study area, the choice of the method of research, informant selection, data collection techniques.

This study used both primary and secondary data (mixed methods). For primary data I used Interviews and Questionnaires to obtain the information. Secondary data was derived from first-hand information written by other field researchers. It used reports written by relevant government authorities, inter-governmental organizations and also non-governmental organizations. The literature review is from published books obtained from the library of the Moi University Library, other university libraries, and local Government offices, social media and publications and articles. The research also used authentic internet sources and journals from previous scholars and authors. The study approached all relevant documents available from also previously covered course content. The data collected has been analyzed for the final product of this research project.

Qualitative and Quantitative data were the main sources of information in this research. The use of such material can help to explain what is ongoing and what has been done

by other scholars and the reasoning behind their implementation. It can also provide a critical appraisal for such issues commenting on their application and identifying existing problems with the legislation.

Singhal and Malik (2012) suggest that secondary sources are “primary material that has been investigated, analyzed and elucidated by many different authors in a variety of contexts and from wide ranging perspectives. The use of secondary sources can provide some interesting viewpoints may also identify the current issues in the area. Singhal and Malik (2012) added that doctrinal research is much focused and involves “specific enquiries in order to locate particular pieces of information.” Malik (2012). This is indeed the case and the research carried out can help to define the areas of concern. In this thesis it will confirm that with regard to the adverse impact of transnational terrorism, and how best it won’t influence human security

### **3.1 Research Design**

A research design is a detailed framework or plan that helps to guide the researcher through the research process, allowing a greater likelihood of achieving the research objectives (Wilson, 2011). According to Cooper and Schindler (2001), a research design is the blueprint for fulfilling objectives and answering questions. In essence, research designs are detailed plans to focus and guide the research process.

This study adopted the Mixed methods research. This is the type of research in which a researcher combines elements of qualitative and quantitative approaches (e.g., use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the purpose of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration. the data collection methods are popular because they are relatively straightforward. The specification of methods and procedures for acquiring the information needed. It is the

overall operational pattern or framework of the project that stipulates what information is to be collected from which source by what procedures.

### **3.2 Data Collection Methods**

Choice of data collection methods depends on the degree of accuracy needed, expertise of the researcher, time span, costs and facilities available to the researcher (Sekaran, 2003). The study made use of primary and secondary sources of data for effective conclusion of the study. Primary data refers to information obtained firsthand by the researcher for the specific purposes of the study, while secondary data refers to that information gathered from already existing sources. Secondary sources of data include government publications, statistical publications, other published or unpublished information, case studies and library records, online data, websites and the internet (Sekaran, 2003). Primary data was collected using questionnaires that were sent out online to the respondents. The questionnaire was based on the research topic, the impact of transnational terrorism on human security in Kenya.

#### **a) Primary Data**

This is a research design where you interact directly with the respondents either through dialogue or in writing. In this research I used both interviews (dialogue) and Questionnaires (Written) to obtain the required data.

#### **3.2.1 Interview**

- I organized an interview with one of the police officers in the D.C.I who opted to remain anonymous. In the interview, I wanted to find out how this terrorism has impacted the entire police force and the human security of Kenya's citizenry in all aspects. I began by posing this question to the police officer, "how long have you been in the police force". He told me that he had served for more than

twenty five years through different ranks. I asked him what has changed from the time he began his job as a police officer until now as far as terrorism is concerned. He explained to me that things have really changed over time. For instance, during those days, the police were just concentrating on local crimes like robbery with violence, murder and many other crimes committed by locals and it was easy to manage and control. Over time, terrorism knocked our nation and many things had to change because we were now dealing with external forces trained to murder at no mercy without necessarily taking anything. I asked him how has transnational terrorism has affected the human security in Kenya .He told me because of globalization terrorism has been rampant. It has affected the personal security of citizens ,they no longer feel safe in places they used to feel safe in for example The church .The government had also spent more on purchasing more vehicles for the police to hasten response, making of more sophisticated weapons, increase the number of police posts all over the nations and more especially the cohort areas, increase the number of police officers in the nation. All this aimed at countering terrorism. I asked him the main challenges he thinks terrorism has had on human security. He told me that there were so many challenges given that these terrorism groups are also well trained. He also reiterated that a group like Al-shabaab is also well funded by other global terrorist groups and has modern weapons. Moreover, their believes also makes it difficult for any Nation to deal with them for to them death is a joy and celebration. Their mode of attack is well planned before striking. They can spend even a year strategizing, planning, and researching using their sleeper cell agents within the nation. He said that transnational terrorism has affected Economic security ,Food security, Health security ,Environmental security,

Personal security Community security, Political security as seen in the table below

**Table 1: Possible types of human security threats**

<b>Possible Types of Human Security Threats</b>	
<b>Type of Security</b>	<b>Examples of Main Threats</b>
Economic security	Persistent poverty, unemployment
Food security	Hunger, famine
Health security	Deadly infectious diseases, unsafe food, malnutrition, lack of access to basic health care
Environmental security	Environmental degradation, resources depletion, natural disasters, pollution
Personal security	Physical violence, crime, terrorism, domestic violence, child labor
Community security	Inter-ethnic, religious and other identity - based tensions
Political security	Political repression, human rights abuses

I then posed a question, “In your own opinion, what is the Impact of terrorism on Kenyan economy?”. He said that terrorism had caused a lot of setback in our economy. This is because, the terrorists target advanced and well developed areas causing a lot of loss to building owners, business owners and even loss of lives. The government has had to overstretch in its expenditure to purchase more cars for the police, buy more sophisticated weapons and sustain the KDF in their mission in Somalia for all this years. All this is done courtesy of Kenyan tax money which could have done many other things for Kenyans.

I finally asked him , how best can governments achieve human security? He said, The government needs to create strategies that should be people centered and comprehensive. A comprehensive approach should be used

Since I believe that if one type of insecurity is not addressed feeds into another.

I ended my interview at this point and thanked him for his time. After this comprehensive interview with the officer, I went ahead and sought for more opinions by interviewing a total of 28 respondents from 3 different counties Nairobi,

Mombasa and Garissa. The respondents were male and female and all the respondents were between the ages of 18 years and 40.

### **3.2.2 Questionnaires**

I prepared questionnaire forms and distributed them to four categories of people;

- I. The first group is the ordinary civilians. In this category, the researcher sought the views of ordinary Kenyans without considering their socioeconomic status position in society.
- II. In the second group, the views of professionals were sought. This group includes aid workers, religious leaders and business people
- III. The third group was the police. Here, the views of those involved in gathering intelligence were sought in addition to those who are involved in counter-terrorism efforts.
- IV. Finally, the fourth group was the government officials.

I gave them a week to respond to the questions then I collected them back and was able to compile a report.

### **3.2.3 Secondary Data**

This secondary data was collected from reports from official policy documents from the Government of Kenya, the United Nations and other agencies reports, journals, academic findings and newspapers.

The goal of this study is to provide a contemporary overview of the field of transnational terrorism studies that is detailed, extensive in its coverage, and able to chart developments over time. To do so, data was gathered from the available research papers and articles published between 2007 and 2019 in nine journals on terrorism. This provides insights into how the field has fared in the decade since Silken last reviewed it, but coincides with the creation of seven new journals.

### **3.3 Target Population and Sources of Information**

A population is the total of all elements that share a common set of characteristics. A group of knowledgeable people can be referred to as a population (Hair et al., 2011). According to Hair et al., (2011), the target population is the complete group of objects or elements relevant to the research project. They are relevant because they possess the information the research project is designed to collect. Other practical factors such as knowledge of the topic of interest, access to individuals or companies, availability of elements and time frame may influence the definition of the target population. The target population normally has different features and at times also called the theoretical population. According to Ngechu (2004), a population is a well-defined set of people, services, elements, and events group of things or households that are being investigated to generalize the results. Target population in statistics is the specific population about which information is desired.

The Kenyan government official documents and policy statements from then ministry of defense, interior and national securities were all included in this study.

### **3.4 Sample Size and Sampling Procedures**

A sample can be defined as a relatively small subset of the population. It is drawn using either probability or non-probability procedures (Hair et al., 2011). Some of the myths



concerning the right sample size advocate that the sample size must be large or it is not representative and that a sample should bear some proportional relationship to the size of the population from which it is drawn (Cooper & Schindler, 2001). In reality however, (Cooper & Schindler, 2001) argue that how large a sample should be is a function of the variation in the population parameters under study and the estimating precision needed by the researcher. According to Sekeran (2003), as a rule of thumb, sample sizes should be thirty to five hundred in size. He also recommends that samples be broken into sub-samples of 30% for each category. Since researchers can never be 100 percent certain a sample reflects its population, they must decide how much precision they need. The sampling frame is a complete list of elements from which the sample is actually drawn. Ideally it is a complete and correct list of population members only (Cooper & Schindler, 2001). This part of the research study describes the sample size and the procedure used in picking the sample subjects for the study. Sampling is a procedure by which some elements of the population are selected as the articles, books, journals, research articles, research notes that gives representative degree of reliability in the selected area.

The sampling procedure outlines the sampling units as well as size for the study. The study will use the stratified random sampling to choose the articles to be used. This is because of lack of the homogeneity of the population to use in the study. Kombo and Tromp (2006) stated that the stratified random sampling involves making inhomogeneous population into homogeneous groups for further sampling.

### **3.5 Sampling Technique**

The study used convenience sampling which is a non-probability sampling technique. Convenience sampling involves selecting cases that are easily available or most

convenient to obtain by the researcher (Saunders et al., 2012). It is simply a sampling technique that is available to the researcher by virtue of its convenient accessibility and proximity. Saunders et al., (2012) also points out that samples that are seemingly chosen for convenience often meet purposive sample selection criteria that are relevant to the research aim. In this study, convenience sampling was used to collect data from anyone with adequate information on the impact of transnational terrorism on human security. The articles used were categorized according to their characteristics. The articles were set apart and their data reviewed, the ordinary Kenyans within the scope also provided some data to make inferences in the study.

### **3.6 Research Instrument**

Interview transcript from reports from official policy documents from the Government of Kenya, the United Nations and other agencies reports, journals, academic findings and newspapers, were used to collect the secondary data desirable for the study. According to Jankowicz, (2005) questionnaires are any written instruments that present respondents with a series of questions or statements to which they are to react either by writing out their answers or selecting from among existing answer. The design of the questionnaires were based on a multiple-item measurement scale.

### **3.7 Data Collection and Analysis**

The method of data collection was mixed methods. It refers to an emergent methodology of research that advances the systematic integration, or “mixing,” of quantitative and qualitative data within a single investigation or sustained program of inquiry. The basic premise of this methodology is that such integration permits a more complete and synergistic utilization of data than do separate quantitative and qualitative data collection and analysis. The researcher made a formal request to the relevant

agencies then did a follow up to obtain them. Those that are posted online were accessed and cited in the study.

I conducted the bulk of the data collection from the articles, journals, questionnaires, interviews. Once data collection was complete, the dataset was analyzed using the Microsoft Access and Microsoft Excel software packages. Access “queries” were created to enable specific types of information to be drawn from the dataset, such as the number of articles using primary sources published per year. This yielded data-subsets that were then imported into Excel for straightforward descriptive statistics to be applied to them, yielding such information as the average number of articles using primary sources, how this differed between journals, and whether trends in such usage could be seen over the decade under investigation.

Literature was thoroughly and critically reviewed and the findings reported under various sub-headings and titles.

### **3.8 Limitations**

As outlined in the methodology section, several guidelines were established to standardize data collection and make it as objective as possible. Inevitably, however, the choices made inject a degree of subjectivity into the results and their interpretation. In particular, some readers might object that only articles including first-hand information on terrorists should have qualified for the “mixed method data” designation. Indeed, if the data were to be recorded with such a much more stringent guideline, the results would undoubtedly paint a very different picture of the field. Yet, such a narrow perspective on primary sources would do a disservice to the many authors who have labored to advance our understanding of the social, political, and economic causes and consequences of both transnational terrorism and human security.

The difficulty in accessing the informants and persuading respondents to take part in the study was a major stumbling block for the research. Also the Covid 19 restrictions hindered adequate gathering of information. Availability of secondary data from the needed records of the agencies was difficult to find. Time, cost and location factors become major difficulties in completion of research. However, to overcome the limitations and maintain the effectiveness of research work sincere efforts were put.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **FINDINGS OF THE STUDY**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the findings as per the outlined research questions. To that respect, it presents findings in relation to the nexus between transnational terrorism, use of force and repressive policies, the implication of the use of force and repression against al-Shabaab and the extent of threat of the al-Shabaab in the Kenyan Territory and its effects on human security.

Framework analysis, which incorporates both case and thematic approaches, was used for data analysis. It was suitable as it is a form of analysis that aids in the combination of the theories gained from the literature review and the data collected from the interviews with participants. It additionally aids in the triangulation between literature review and data collected. Combining themes and cases aids in interpretation. It likewise helps in assessing for possible confounders such as age, education level and other factors collected as part of the demographic survey. Through this iterative process, dominant themes emerged that shall be analyzed.

This study sought to find out the impact of transnational terrorism on human security. Demographically, the focus was on the informant's age, gender, educational background, and religion. The interviewees varied from aid workers, religious leaders, business people, the police, prison officers and civilians.

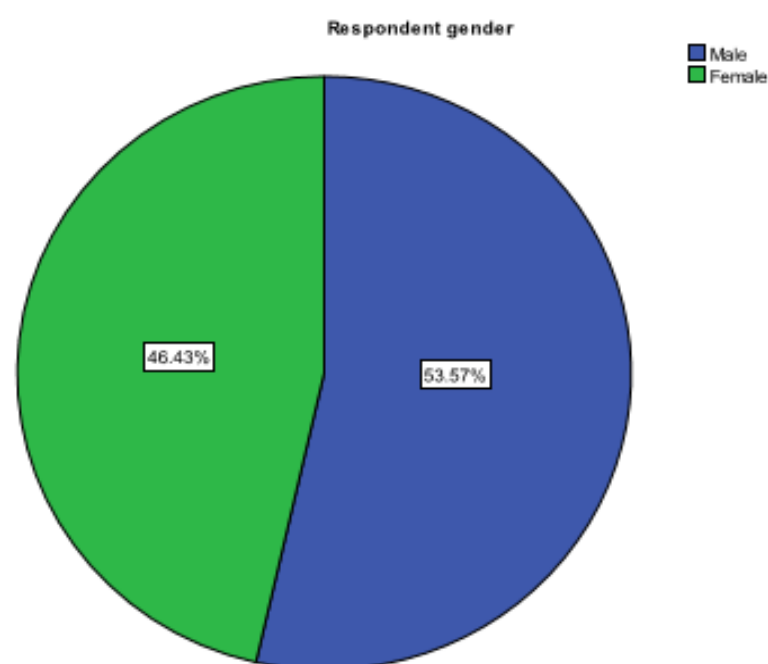
This presentation of data is arranged by themes as they emerge from the transcriptions of the interviews and interactions with the notes that were obtained from both primary and the secondary data.

## 4.2 Data Analysis and Presentation

### 4.2.1 Demographic Data

A total of 28 respondents were individually interviewed from 3 different counties Nairobi,

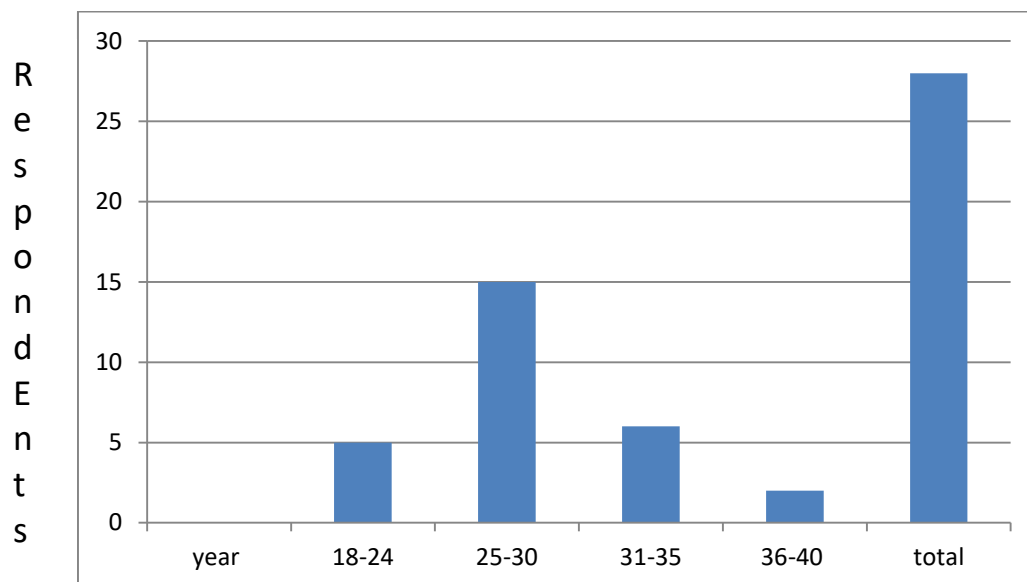
Mombasa and Garissa. The respondents were male and female and all the respondents were between the ages of 18 years and 40. The respondent ages are illustrated below.



Years	Frequency	Percentage
Valid Male	15	53.6
Female	13	46.4
Total	28	100.0

**Figure 3: Gender**

Figure 3 shows that the number of the male respondents (53.6%) is close to the female (46.4%) amount with the total being 15 for male and 13 for female. Based on the figures, the dominant gender among the respondents is male. Over a half of the respondent composition is male while less than half are females.



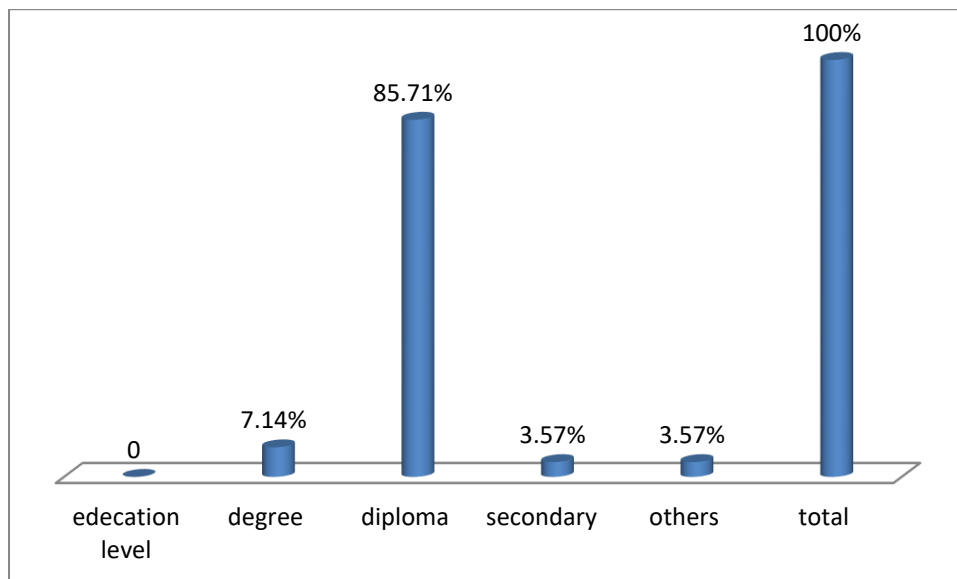
**Figure 4: Age**

Figure 4 shows the age range of the respondents. 53.57% of the respondents were between 25 and 30 years, showing that most of them are young adults. 21.43% were between 31 and 35, 17.86% were between 18-24 years old and those aged between 36-40 comprised 7.14% of the total respondents. The evident diversity of the maturity in the ages of the respondents has implications for the research findings. It can be deduced that in the areas within which the research took place, a considerable number of those concerned about the transnational terrorist activities and its effects on human security were young adults.

**Table 2:**

Title	Frequency	Percentage
Valid Civilians	15	53.6
Professionals	7	25.0
Police	4	14.28
Government Officials	2	7.12
Total	28	100.0

According to table 4, a vast majority of respondents are Civilians representing 53.57% of those surveyed. 25% are Professionals, 14.28% are Police while 7.12% are Government Officials. The implication for the research is that a majority of respondents involved were civilians, implying that civilians are most concerned about the Al-Shabaab.

**Figure 5: Educational Level**



The chart above reveals that the highest level of education for a majority of respondents (85.71%) is a Diploma holders. Only 7.14% are university graduates while 3.57% are at the secondary level and the remaining 3.57% have other educational qualifications. These results are indicative of the fact that most respondents have not obtained university degrees though they have some form of tertiary education.

### **4.3 Findings**

#### **4.3.1 Personal Impact/Reactions**

Personal security aims to protect people from physical violence, whether from the state or external states, from violent individuals and sub-state actors, from domestic abuse, or from predatory adults. For many people, the greatest source of anxiety is crime, particularly violent crime. From all the data analyzed from the initial research the reaction to the Al-Shabaab attacks was that of fear. The people were especially uncertain about where Al-Shabaab will attack next which has made them afraid to live a normal life hindering their personal security which is an important aspect of human security(freedom from fear). One respondent replied , “Life in Kenya has changed; we are afraid that terrorist might attack us in the mall, in the bus, in the church or even in the bus stop, we are not safe.” (Respondent, H). A conversation with one respondent who works in a refugee camp in Dadaab said, “Every day I live to see a new day I just thank God, this place you’ll never know when they are going to attack, at night I sleep but am not sure what tomorrow will be like. When I travel to Nairobi from Dadaab I have to use a plane. Remember what happened to the teachers from Garissa? But anyway our lives are on God’s hands.

Another respondent expressed their fear by saying, “It’s really hard to know who these people are, they can be anyone and can be anywhere, and everybody is a suspect these

days. As you see we have to pass through a scanner when we enter the buses, the malls, and offices and all the time the police are stopping you to ask for identification, life in Kenya is not like it used to be.” (Respondent, J)

This sentiment was clearly observed in the daily lives of the people especially in Nairobi and Mombasa. In Nairobi, I observed that each mall and government office has armed security forces in addition to ordinary guards at the entrances. In local transport, every passenger has to go through the security check where bags and luggage are opened and checked before starting the journey.

The Kenyan people like to gather in places of public meetings in their hundreds and even thousands at times. One respondent narrated an incident that made her fear being in crowded places. She narrates, “I talked to one young guy who was imprisoned on charges of terrorism, he told me he was selling peanuts and was an Al-Shabaab (transnational terror group) recruit, he was going around selling his peanuts hiding a grenade under the peanuts box, as he was about to let it explode, he saw his mother whom he had not seen for months after leaving home, that is the only thing that made him stop killing innocent people that day.” (Respondent, C)

There was fear expressed in the words of the respondents regarding being close to or living with the Somali-Kenyans and Muslims. It is easy to tell the difference between a Somali and an ordinary Kenyan due to their distinctive physical features and mannerisms which includes chewing khat. For the Muslims, they can be distinguished by their way of dress and some physical characteristics like growing of long beards for men. One interviewee said, “I try as much as possible to stay away from someone who looks like a Muslim, experience has thought us that a terrorist can be one of them,” (Respondent, G) When asked to clarify on these she said, “Every time there is an attack

here, it is always the transnational terrorist group called the al shaabab so how can I trust these people? Better be safe than sorry” (Respondent, G)

#### **4.3.2 Health impact**

Health security aims to guarantee a minimum protection from diseases and unhealthy lifestyles. In developing countries, the major causes of death traditionally were infectious and parasitic diseases, whereas in industrialized countries, the major killers were diseases of the circulatory system. Today, lifestyle-related chronic and mental diseases are leading killers worldwide. From my analysis I realized that, one of the symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder is that the victims tend to avoid places or situations that remind them of a traumatic event. From some respondents, it is evident that they are still traumatized by the terrorist attacks. One respondent said, “I will never visit DusitD2 or Westgate mall again even if they say it is safe there” (Responded L). Another one said, “I am not going to go out to a mall with my kids again, the experience of what I saw on TV was too much, imagine being in a mall with your kids and a terrorist strikes, these people are worse than animals, they don’t spare even children, tell me what can I do if am there with my children? It is better if am alone at least if am killed my children will live.” (Respondent, N).

One respondent was a direct victim of the Westgate attack and was one of those who had been hostages in the Mall for several hours during the siege. She experienced severe post-traumatic stress disorder following the attack and still attends weekly counseling sessions. The attack had a major impact on her and her family, not just psychologically but also socially whereby she no longer patronizes malls, big shopping outlets or venues with prominent Western symbolism such as the UN Offices and the US Embassy as she believes these are potential terrorist targets

This was corroborated by newspaper reports which reported that following the 2013 Westgate attacks, the cases of post-traumatic stress disorder were so high such that a trauma center had to be set up at a center known as the Visa Oshwal Centre where victims were receiving counseling sessions and psychological examinations.

#### **4.3.3 Community impact**

Community security aims to protect people from the loss of traditional relationships and values and from sectarian and ethnic violence. Traditional communities, particularly minority ethnic groups are often threatened. About half of the world's states have experienced some inter-ethnic strife. The United Nations declared 1993 the Year of Indigenous People to highlight the continuing vulnerability of the 300 million aboriginal people in 70 countries as they face a widening spiral of violence. The respondents' answers to the questions by non-Muslims, there was evidence of a significant level of hatred directed toward Muslims and refugees. This came up a number of times in the response of the interviewees. An example is from one who said, "Let all the refugees leave our country, we can't be a host to our killers. We have been helping them for many years so why do they turn around to kill us here? Let the government close that refugee camp in Dadaab and send all of them back to Somalia." (Respondent, F).they felt that the community was not secure enough and the transnational terrorist cause great harm in the community.

From the speech of the Kenyan president after the Westgate attack, Uhuru Kenyatta, Kenya has hosted the refugees for 20 years and had entered Somalia to help bring order in their country. This speech concentrated more on state security more than human security. The Vice President asked the United Nations to close down all refugee camps.

This was under the assumption that the terrorists could be taking cover with the refugees and they are not reporting them.

#### **4.3.4 Economic Impact**

Economic security requires an assured basic income for individuals, usually from productive and remunerative work or, as a last resort, from a publicly financed safety net. In this sense, only about a quarter of the world's people are presently economically secure. While the economic security problem may be more serious in developing countries, concern also arises in developed countries as well. Unemployment problems constitute an important factor underlying political tensions and ethnic violence. Transnational terrorism in Kenya has affected the businesses of areas which have been frequently plagued by terrorism. Eastleigh, for example, is a neighborhood in Nairobi with a high level of Muslims and Somalis. It is also a noted business hub where people with small businesses from different parts of the country come to buy goods at a wholesale price and then sell them at retail prices in their respective business locations. Since the Al-Shabaab claims to fight for Somalia and Somali people, other non-Somali businessmen from the rest of the country seem to have changed their mind about buying from Eastleigh. An interview with a section of business people in Eastleigh confirmed this.

One interviewee said, “Now I can hardly afford to pay my rent, business is so bad now. People are afraid to come to buy from us, maybe because we are Somali, or because the Al-Shabaab has been killing Christians. I don't know. Before this war with transnational terrorist (Al-Shabaab) started, life was good here, business was very good, and now I am wondering if I should close it down but how can I send my children to school?” (Respondent B)

Another interviewee who used to get his goods from Eastleigh said, “My money is not going to go to the terrorist. Muslim people are brothers, when we buy from them they make profit which they use to fund terrorist activities” (Respondent, K)

Transnational terrorism has also had a big impact on the tourism industry in Kenya. Many tourists who visit Kenya now mostly visit the national parks which contribute to the economy of Kenya, but they avoid the Coastal region as much as possible due to the high Muslim population there and the fact that it is a hotbed of terrorism in Kenya. This follows a number of travel warnings by the western countries to their citizens concerning the terrorist attacks. After the Westgate terrorist attack, the Kenyan president, Uhuru Kenyatta and the Opposition leader Raila Odinga urged western countries to consider not issuing travel warnings to Kenya, as it would harm the economy of the country

Mombasa (a coastal city in Kenya frequented by tourists on the summer), there were less tourists on the beaches and the researcher realized that most of the hotels were either not occupied or it was mainly occupied by the locals. A manager from a big hotel in Mombasa revealed that, “Business has been really bad these days (referring to the period between 2011 and 2019). In fact, the management is considering relocating to Dar es Salam or any other city which is relatively safe. In the last two years we have had to terminate the contract of half our workers or some have gone on mandatory leaves because we don’t have business so we cannot afford paying them.” (Respondent, E)

#### **4.3.5 Political Impact**

Political security is concerned with whether people live in a society that honors their basic human rights. According to a survey conducted by Amnesty International,

political Repression, systematic torture, ill treatment or disappearance was still practiced in 110 countries. Human rights violations are most frequent during periods of political unrest. Along with repressing individuals and groups, governments may try to exercise control over ideas and information.

### **I. Local**

Kenya has enacted an anti-terrorism law, the Security Laws (Amendment) Act, 2014, which clearly breach of human rights for example, “it is illegal to utter or publish a statement that can encourage a terrorist act.” This is because of the terrorist acts by groups such as the Al Shabaab. The Kenyan Parliament passed the law on December 18, 2014 and as a result, the government has increased its surveillance and vigilance against transnational terrorism. However, the impact of this legislation is yet to be truly felt on the ground where day to day life appears to continue as usual. The full implementation of this law by the government and law enforcement needs to be undertaken.

In addition, the government and the opposing coalition took a major hit in the court of public opinion as most Kenyan citizens put the blame for the attacks on the Government and her institutions. The government has the responsibility of ensuring that her citizens are secure and protected, that their human security is put first . Whenever there is a transnational terrorist attack, attention is focused on the internal security ministry and the police. Usually the top bosses are under scrutiny for their performances on how they will handle the situation. A number of respondents in this research took issue with the performance of the Police and the Ministry of Internal Affairs with regard to how they handled the situation when the Westgate terrorist attack struck. One interviewee said,

“I don't trust that our police are doing enough, we are protecting Somalis in their country with our Kenya defense forces, while our country is on fire.” (Respondent, A)

Another respondent stated that the Internal Security Minister and Inspector of Police should just resign, they have let us down. These days we have grenade explosions sprouting everywhere like mushrooms. Why is the president not firing them?” (Respondent, M).

Others placed the blame on the whole government. One respondent lamented that “In the past, these terror attacks were not this frequent. I think this government should just step aside and let the able people lead this great nation. How do people enter Kenya without notice and plan an attack and execute it without any detection? What has happened to our intelligence sector? We don't even know who they are or how many the attackers were. All we heard were conflicting reports from government officials, concerning majority of attacks that has happened in Kenya. (Respondent B). The public pressure on the president finally saw him dismiss two government officials (Minister for Internal Security and the Inspector of Police on the other hand, terrorism has seen Kenyans unite against the acts of terrorism. When the Westgate terror attack happened; Kenyans came together under the motto of ‘We Are One’ to donate blood, money and food stuff to the victims. They also came together to pray for one another and for the nation and even supported the rescuers and responders like the Red Cross in the rescue efforts. The attack additionally saw the opposition and the ruling party come together in a rare show of unity against the common enemy the Al-Shabaab.

## **II. International**

Transnational terrorism in Kenya has not only affected the local people, but it has had an effect on Kenya's relation with their international partners. The western nations have



had a habit of issuing travel warnings to their citizens against travelling to countries affected by transnational terrorism, especially in the third world. The Kenyan government reacted by telling off the west for issuing travel warnings against travelling to Kenya.

One of the respondents (a senior police officer) had a view that the attacks were aimed at the West, and Kenya is just a playground according to him. He said, “The war on terror in Kenya is an international war. Kenya represented the western influences and they were open allies to the west. Although the Al-Shabaab say they are attacking Kenya for being in Somalia, I think the transnational terror group doesn’t really have the capacity to launch large scale attacks in Kenya. I’ll give you an example, in 1998 the US embassy was attacked, the target was the Americans, when the Kikambala Hotel was attacked in 2002, you remember the hotel had just accommodated Israeli tourists plus at the same time a missile was launched aiming at the Israeli plane which had left Mombasa airport. The target was the Israelis who were favored and supported by the west in my view. Again in the case of the Westgate, the target was actually the Israelis in my opinion. The reason I am saying this is because these are the major attacks so far in Kenya, so it is possible that the Al Qaida is taking advantage of the Al-Shabaab attacks to take cover and launch their attacks.” (Respondent, D)

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

#### 5.1 Introduction

This relatively short chapter presents a key theoretical puzzle of transnational terrorism to underscore why improving our understanding of human security is important from a purely academic perspective. In particular, I argue that the puzzle of transnational terrorism has important implications for the rationalist explanations for war, so that until the puzzle of transnational terrorism is adequately addressed, the puzzle of human security cannot be fully solved.

#### 5.2 Summary

In summary, it is evident from the research analysis that transnational terrorism is a major threat to human security. Its perhaps the most significant threat of the new millennium. As the world becomes more technologically advanced, transnational terrorism has arisen as a major setback to the advancement of the human race. Kenya, specifically, has been hard hit by transnational terrorist attacks during the past twenty years or so. In 1998, Kenya experienced its first major terrorist hit when the US Embassy was bombed, resulting in hundreds of deaths and injuries. The next significant attack took place in 2013 at the Westgate Mall where hundreds were likewise killed. The most recent attack occurred 2019 Dusit2 hotel where 22 people lost their lives. The Al-Shabaab terrorist organization are largely thought to be behind these majority of the attacks and were thus the main focal point of this discussion on how they affect human security.

Transnational terrorism, human security and its preeminent objective; to perpetrate terror to its target audience resulted in massive implications on its victims and the

governments alike, as exemplified in the Kenyan case. Transnational terrorism, though not a new phenomenon has kept reinventing itself, terrorists are looking for more lethal, massive, media-attracting yet covert ways to perpetrate heinous acts. Governments on the other hand are looking for practical and more tangible ways that will incapacitate these terror operations and networks. The role of the government is to protect its civilians and any government that fails to do so is deemed as failed. Governments therefore strive to build their capabilities to meet this goal that is militarily, economically etcetera.

It is on this note that governments adopt the realist strategies of the use of force and repressive measures to combat transnational terrorism. Kenya is not a stranger to the use of repression to combat terrorism, after the 9/11 and the formulation of the Global War on Terror Network (GWOT), Kenya and other states have been under immense pressure to combat transnational terrorism, the rhetoric of the “war on terror” has not helped much either. Predominantly, pressure from the United States as a super power has oriented Kenya to both reactionary and repressive policies in the fight against terrorism

### **5.3 Conclusions**

The world's efforts to maintain international peace and security have been undermined by the sporadic acts of terrorists who use violence to pursue their political objectives. From the year 2000 to 2019, the world experienced fresh attacks which were aided by advanced technology. The advancing twenty-first century technology provides sophisticated methods of unleashing terror, murder, kidnapping and victimization of the civilians. This has made people to live in constant fear and that one day humanity will be wiped out by such threats. This is because transnational terrorists are not bound

by the rules of international law, neither do they have a government as understood in the conventional sense of statehood but they clandestinely perform covert and overt operations.

They're seven target areas of human security distinguished by the 1994 UNDP Human Development Report (economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, regional security, and political security) as a starting point and apply them to a post-conflict situation like the one in the Western Balkans, certain priority areas may be identified. They can usefully be divided between the two main pillars of human security: the freedom from fear and the freedom from want. During and immediately after conflicts the freedom from fear, the protection of the human person against violence and therefore its personal security, is in the foreground. Gradually, freedom from want, consisting of food security, health security, and economic security may gain in importance. Certainly, the two pillars are interlinked in practice, as there can be no economic security without personal security and vice versa.

This raises the issue of the meaning of 'personal security', which can be understood as protection of people from physical violence, but also has a wider meaning, namely protecting the human person against all violations of its civil and political rights. For example, if the police, the judiciary, or the administration of a state does not function properly, this creates a problem of personal security. If crime is not prevented and criminals are not held accountable, the state does not fulfill its basic functions. Post-conflict situations are often characterized by weak states, states that need to consolidate and to rebuild their state functions. The discussion on 'fragile states', which mainly is focused on the weaknesses of developing states, is also of relevance in the post-conflict context. This debate addresses the strengthening of the state in order to provide basic

services for its people and protect them against threats challenges similar to those that appear in post-conflict situations.

### **5.3.1 The Effects of Transnational Terrorism**

Terrorism is a menace and is like an aching tooth which needs to be rooted out but has no immediate remedy. The magnitude of destruction, loss of life, injuries and disabilities have all made human kind fail to find comfort in their governments as citizens are left vulnerable to indiscriminate attacks of terrorists. The effects of terrorism range from short, medium and even long term. The researchers will discuss the effects of terrorism in the context of military-political, economic, and human security problems.

### **5.3.2 The Effects of Terrorism on personal Security and Education**

The terror attacks have led to human insecurity and people within and Kenya and Somalia never live in peace because they don't know when the next strike is coming. Those who live along the borders experience sporadic attacks which always disorganize their life styles and activities. Gasper (2008:12) states that "human security redirects attention in discussions of security from the national or state level to human beings as the potential victims; beyond physical violence as the only relevant threat or vector; and beyond physical harm as the only relevant damage." Human security includes economic security, food security, health security, environmental security, personal security, community security and political security. Transnational terrorism is deemed to be a usurper of human security in general such that there is chaos among the civilians after being denied access to the securities. As such the masses will revolt and use violence to their government. This also breeds an environment for the emergence of terrorists.

The greatest danger that the humankind is facing today comes from transnational terrorists who are more inspired by radical religion values which are state-sponsored and are seeking to develop Weapons of Mass Destruction . Transnational terrorists have no “return address” in that they cannot be made easy targets but as they make publicity, they pounce on civilians who are left languishing in pain, poverty, disabilities and diseases. From all history of terrorism, mankind have been suffering and the major casualties die indiscriminately leaving behind their families, widows, orphans and disabled who in most cases cannot sustain themselves. This will present a burden to the financial side of the government to commit funds for rebuilding and construction.

The research concludes that transnational terrorism has negatively affected collective state effort in maintaining international peace and security especially the period between 2000 and 2019. The decade in the millennium witnessed the major attack of a superpower where almost 3000 people dead of over 50 nationalities. Of the dead, they left orphans and widows who are not able to pay the school fees for their kids because the bread winners were killed. This is a challenge not only in America but in Africa as a whole.

The concept of collective security has been discussed in detail but it has remained very difficult for states to collectively co-exist. This is because of the ideological and geographical differences between and among member states of the UN. The collective security agenda is overridden by state interest. This is accompanied by refusal by some member states to be bound by the rules of the UN. This concept is based on the pacifist settlement of disputes but on the other hand diverge from the real practice of politics and peace. The concept is usually favored during large conferences whose idea is to stimulate research while on the ground states act together with friends than enemies.

As noted earlier, the concept of collective security is outweighed by the theory of Realism which is clear on the reasons why states are reluctant to fight terrorism collectively. It states that politics is ridden by selfishness and egoism of states and individuals who are always in pursuit of power. Politics is thus the struggle for power and peace. The theory of realism explains the real practice and contact of states and the exercise of hard power in a political world. The research study used rational choice and domino theory because they are relevant in the contemporary times when there is need to eradicate terrorism or reduce its effects.

### **5.3.3 The Impact of Terrorism and Disasters on Children**

Most children suffer from posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD). This condition “develops in response to witnessing or experiencing threatening or harmful events that elicits fear, helplessness or horror.” This condition can affect the children even after 15 years. A research survey indicated that six months after 9/11 attacks, approximately 75 000 New York City public school children in grades 4 through 12 were suffering from PTSD including children who were not directly affected by the event.

It can be argued that transnational terrorism highly affects personal security and education of both adults and young. The continued killings and bombings leaves people with no sense of pride in education as the fruits are not realized due to terrorism.

Displaced women and children are threatened by deprivation of home and goods and services. Prior to becoming refugees, women often suffer sexual violence as a form of political persecution UNHCR(1995). In its section on refugees and internally displaced children, the Girls and women are especially vulnerable to physical and sexual assault while they are in transit or resettling. Within camps, women and adolescent girls frequently experience sexual assault and other forms of violence because of family

breakdown and general lack of protection, for example when there is poor lighting around latrines. Well-designed camps can reduce the problems of camp security and improve women's physical and psychological health.

The combination of displacement, war, and deprivation of fuel, food, and medicine results in large increases in death rates (Mann et al., 1994). Study notes that pregnant and lactating women in camp require particular attention, as do children with disabilities. Gender bias compounds the problems of survival in camps, for example, in refugee camps in many countries men eat first so that starving women and children stay alongside well-fed men (Ashford & Huet-Vaughn, 1997).

#### **5.3.4 The Effects of Terrorism on Economic Security**

Abadie (2007:) states that terrorism “reduces capital stock of a country, threatens higher level of uncertainty, increases in counter-terrorism expenditure, and drawing resources from productive sectors for use in security and affects specific industries like tourism.” It is history that terror causes investment to decrease immediately, income and consumption to decline with time. While confronting terror as a reactive measure, the optimizing government uses taxes to manufacture security weapons in order to reduce terror levels. The terror levels which are indiscriminate can be less successfully minimized.

The economic effects of terrorism are enormous and they erode the savings of the state, divert some money designed for other projects to fighting terrorism and rebuilding of infrastructure as well as relief services. The European Journal of Political Economy states that “the estimated economic costs of the 9/11 attacks were USA \$14 billion for private sector, USA \$1,5 billion for state and local government, USA \$0.7 billion for the Federal government and USA 11 billion for rescue and cleanup operation.” The



estimated cost was not the money budgeted for but it was an expense to the coffers of the collective efforts of the USA and its allies. This results in the disadvantaging of other sectors at the expense of security.

While death, injuries and capital destruction are the most visible effects of terrorist attacks, fear, violence, uncertainty and indirect effects of terror are harmful to the economy in the long term. The *European Journal of Political Economy* (2004:295) states that “consumer confidence in the USA had started to recover before 9/11 and was held back by psychological impact of the attack.” The loss of confidence had a negative impact on growth in the USA and Europe in that it led to reduced spending, slowed down investment, led to layoffs and increased number of unemployed. Sandler (2006:2) states that “\$80 to \$90 billion resulted in economic losses in lost wages, workman’s compensation and reduced commerce, diverting Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), destroying infrastructure, redirecting public investment funds to security or limiting trade.” Given the above, it can be argued that the developed countries may be able to resuscitate their economies because of its reserves.

The *European Journal of Political Economy* (2004:295) states that “terrorism, like civil conflicts, may cause spill over costs among neighboring countries as terrorists campaign in a neighbor dissuades capital inflows, or a regional multiplier causes loss in economic activities in the terrorism ridden country to resonate throughout the region.” An economist and veteran politician in ZANU PF gave an example of “Yemen shipping industry which suffered greatly in terms of its economic growth after the terrorist attacks on the USS Cole and Limburg diverted half of Yemen’s port activities to competitive facilities in Djibouti and Oman due to increase in insurance premiums.” The effects of terrorism are contagious in a global village where there is

interconnectedness of activities including trade routes. However, the transportation sector suffers increases in insurance premiums because of the risky environment as the demand was high

### **5.3.5 The refugee problem and insecurity in Kenya.**

For a long time, Kenya has been one of the most generous refugee-hosting countries, taking in hundreds of thousands of people fleeing war and instability. Now, that looks set to change. In spite of the high influx of refugees into the country, Kenya has fundamentally pursued an open door policy by among others allowing a free flow of refugees into the country. Human Rights Watch (2009). The policy is characterized by the liberal admission of asylum seekers who are then awarded full socio-economic rights and are only repatriated to their countries when conditions become favorable. This means that a majority of the immigrants are accorded refugee status without undergoing the scrutiny that they would be get under the UN Convention and Protocol and other international instruments that govern refugees

This comes especially with the rise of Al-Shabaab insurgency in the Horn of Africa, which has exposed Kenya to security threats from the militia men. As such, with the current security threats, Kenya ought to shift its policy with regards to refugees' freedom of movement and engagement in self-reliance activities. The damaging impact of refugees can be cited as challenging the above policy shift meaning that Kenya should state its intents to call for a review of the current international refugee regime. This would enable protection of refugees in 'safe zones' in their countries of origin.

The study concludes that Kenya's open door policy on refugees has led to an infiltration of refugees in the process contributing to an increase in insecurity and more so terrorism in the country. Although disapproval of terrorist activities by the international

community has been undivided and unequivocal, their efforts to control this menace have been tarnished by approach differences and competing concerns. Transnational terrorism is still one of the main threats against which the international community, above all countries states, must strive to protect their citizens. The international community not only has the right but also the duty to do so.

Countries on the other hand however must also take it upon themselves to ensure that counter-terrorism measures do not end up being an all-embracing concept, any more than sovereignty, used to impede or excuse recognized humanitarian standards and violations of human rights.

#### **5.4 Recommendations**

Terrorism aims at the very destruction of human security, democracy and the rule of law. It attacks the values that lie at the heart of the Charter of the United Nations and other international instruments: respect for human security; the rule of law; rules governing armed conflict and the protection of civilians; tolerance among peoples and nations; and the peaceful resolution of conflict. Transnational terrorism has a direct impact on the enjoyment of a number of human security rights, in particular the rights to life, liberty and physical integrity. Terrorist acts can destabilize Governments, undermine civil society, jeopardize peace and security, threaten social and economic development, and may especially negatively affect certain groups. All of these have a direct impact on the fundamental human security. The destructive impact of terrorism on human security.

In order for the human security to be valid the government needs to implement strict measures on fire arms on Dadaab refugee camp. This can be achieved through creating

several check points from Dadaab to Nairobi and Mombasa. Moreover, the Kenyan government needs to put human security as a priority.

The only way of isolating individual terrorists is to do so politically, by addressing the issues in which terrorists 'wrap themselves up.' Without addressing the issues there is no way of shifting the terrain of conflict from the military to the political, and drying up support for political terror.

It is commendable in this research study that the UNSC should be reformed, rebranded or abolished and submits all veto to the General Assembly in order to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century. The P5 status was made by the victorious powers of the WW2. But this is an era that has since passed. Today there are some states which are more advanced than France for example Japan and South Africa who can take over from France. The Asian Tigers have a success story of economic boom while the USA, EU and Africa are facing financial crisis. Thus there is a need to re-look at the criteria which warrant veto status.

The GWOT needs to be based on a clearly defined concept of terrorism and has to be conducted in such a way that it does not itself resort to terrorism. Instead, it has to be integrated into a balanced international economic order, one that will make the incidences of terrorist thwarted and finally erode the social support for terrorism. It is commendable that the UN find a common definition of transnational terrorism which is more accommodative than the current case where "terrorist" defend themselves through definitions which are not universally bound. If there is no definition of transnational terrorism which is agreed then there is no basis for such a war because it is baseless.

The study recommends that there is need to observe human security rights and all protocols relating to the protection of civilians. Without observance of human rights then the humans will continue to suffer transnational terrorism. The methods applied to the conduct of war should be observed without fail and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and African Charter for People's Human Rights. Besides it is suggested that all states begin to create structures that will cater for all human security needs from security, food, health, environment, and community security. To that end, this will provide a new world political dispensation which tolerate the existence of all securities.

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Terrorists understand killing innocent people is bad indeed, very bad but might have been denied an alternative way of expressing their discontent. It is therefore within the remit of the state as a key actor to halt the drift towards transnational terrorism and human security. Mark Twain, the great American author, while reflecting on Europe of the 1790s reminds us of two kinds of terrorism: terrorism that brought 'the horror of swift death' and terrorism that resulted in 'lifelong death from hunger, cold, insult, cruelty and heartbreak'. Kenya experiences and reflects Twain's two

Citizen cooperation is necessary if the war on terror is to be won. It is therefore necessary that political, human and civil rights should be prioritized. The government of Kenya needs to pay attention to the negative views and impact that the war on terror has brought with it and make adjustments accordingly (Otiso, 2009:128).

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