

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

**EFFECTIVENESS OF POLICE REFORMS IN CURBING TERRORISM IN
KENYA; THE CASE OF NAIROBI COUNTY**

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DECLARATION

This research project report is my original work and has not been presented for award of a degree in any other university.

Signature.....

Date.....

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Supervisor's Declaration

This research project report has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor.

Signature.....

Date.....

Professor Edward Mburugu

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ABSTRACT

This study was based on police reforms. The police reforms have been practiced in many parts of the world. The aim of reforms is to change the police structure to enhance security. Kenya has been in the recent past faced by many incidences of terror attacks. It is against this background that the study sought to examine the effectiveness of police reforms in creating public awareness of curbing terrorism. This study was guided by specific objectives which included examining the areas of success of police reforms in Kenya, impediments to police reforms, examining how successful police reforms have impacted police response to terrorism and finally finding out how terrorism can be reduced.

A survey was conducted where 210 respondents were issued with questionnaires and ten key informants were interviewed. Data was then collected and analysed using quantitative and qualitative techniques.

According to the results, 86.0% of respondents claimed that funds allocated for the implementation of police reforms at station level were not adequate. In addition, 77.8% of respondents acknowledged that the stalled police reforms affected police response to terrorism through lack of modern equipment, low motivation among others. 71.2% of respondents recommended community policing, intelligence collection and use of technology to help fight terrorism in Kenya.

The study concluded that proper remuneration and procurement of necessary equipment in addition to offering relevant training will go a long way in ensuring police fight terrorist. Finally, the study recommends political support so that the success of police reforms becomes a reality.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Security is a rudimentary human right as stipulated under article 3 of the universal avowal of human rights, police being the main actors in ensuring security besides other agencies like private security firms and the military. In ensuring that the police are in line with international standards, key changes were undertaken termed as police reforms that ensure confidence of the population in the capacity of the State to govern (UN, 2009). Across the world, reforms in the police force are an evolving activity that most economies consider critical in making initiatives (Savage, 2007).

Police reforms lay more emphasis on the need to review and revise governing principles involving local institutions and the need to adopt a new approach to do things. Bayley (2008) explains that police reforms comprise of modern services, acquisition of new equipments and ICT infrastructure, structural realignment in the police form, delegating authority and decentralizing process and procedures of making decisions. Development and implementation of these measures develops a police force that is service oriented in ensuring that the security needs of the public are well taken care of as well as institutions (Walker 2010).

In America, reforms involved making police a more systematic organization where use of force was regulated and an internal control mechanism was established to improve service delivery Carey (2001). In Latin American police reform was carried out which led to improved ability to fight transnational crime (Ungar 2012). Structural Reorganization was done to streamline militarized hierarchies; long-centralized agencies were broken up into regions according to their function of prevention and investigation units (Ungar 2012). Control Mechanisms was enhanced toward greater oversight of police activities, from general ombudsmen to internal affairs agencies.

The quest for reforming African police services was driven by the fact that in the past they had been portrayed as inefficient and in several instances brutal as they were initially created for colonial suppression and providing security to the colonial authorities (Waller, 2010; CHRI, 2006). After independence their role was supposed to change from protecting the colonial interest to providing security to the citizens. This necessitated reforming and re-orienting them towards serving the members of the public in a non-discriminatory manner.

Therefore, police institutions are as good as the broader justice sector in which they are embedded. In many African countries justice sector reform remains a monumental and largely unaddressed challenge. Indeed, the shortcomings of the justice sector are symptomatic of a wider structural problem in African societies. The inability of governments to collect sufficient tax revenue means they struggle to establish functioning civil services that deliver public services. If governments cannot pay their civil servants, police included, these employees are unlikely to perform to an adequate standard.

Furthermore, many African countries have shown little political will to take on the highly complex and politically sensitive task of police and justice sector reform, and there have been few incentives to do so. External pressures have focused more on military competence and professionalism, and while many domestic civil society organizations will often decry human rights abuses by the police, few have brought together the technical capacity and understanding the organizational will, and the power of advocacy to build constituencies for police reform or to constructively engage in debate on institutional solutions.

According to a study conducted in Kenya, police had been accused of impunity, use of excessive force, brutality, incompetence, corruption and human rights violation and these malpractices necessitated reforms which began in 2003 (Ndung'u, 2011). In 2009, the national task force on police reforms recommended reforms to focus on professionalism, accountability, administrative policy and legislation. These reforms, according the police reforms implementation commission report (2010) were aimed at strengthening operational, preparedness and logistical capacity in Kenya.

Despite carrying out reforms, the police are still one of the least effective institutions in our jurisdiction. Their failure has consequences not only for the safety of their own citizens but also for those of their friendly countries. In Kenya, the police are regarded with suspicion by large sections of the general public. The prevailing western image of the police officer as someone to turn to in times of need has been inverted, where the police are often seen as a threat to be avoided. However, to shed this image in Kenya where rule of law is weak and security is patchy, reforming the police has been a crucial thing to do. Therefore the main aim of this study was to ascertain whether the effort made towards police reforms has been successful in curbing terrorism in Kenya.

1.2 Problem Statement

Police force has been described as a key pillar contributor improving the security state of a country. However, insecurity is identified as an impediment to the security state of nation including foreign investment and business activities. Safety of a country is the foundation of all the activities that takes place in a country. However, threats from terrorism have posed a major risk to the security state among countries. While the police are part of the securities agency of a country, a lot needs to be done to ensure that they perform its functions correctly. Rand (2008) found that policies and intelligence are effective tools of military force to deal with terrorism. It was unraveled that the police function was impactful to any form of measures and the police was expected to lead together with the military in giving a back-up plan to support the police with specialized training to enable them to address the security needs.

Since the entry of Kenyan troops in Somalia for an operation ‘Linda Nchi’, the country has ever since been troubled by increasing terrorist attacks from militant and terrorist organizations. Although police reforms have been implemented among other things to strengthen its operations and logistical capacity, Kenyan’s deficient and flawed law enforcement capacity has aided the terror group in expanding their influence.

Police infrastructure is regarded as vandalized; it is also associated with poor training, political interference and inherently corrupt (David Rohde, 2002). The primary motive for these state affairs is a consequence of persistent failure by government to enforce reforms and modernization. In spite of regular internal crisis that range from cultural conflicts to a significant increase in criminal activities and rise insecurities has left the government and the ministry of security to consider the security as a priority. Better standards of policing and constant training can improve the quality of the police force in terms of performance and credibility. Learning lessons from recent numerous police post attacks in the Wajir and Garissa counties by terrorists especially in order to plan for any pre-emptive law enforcement actions is the need of the hour.

If police reforms are properly implemented, this will correspondingly lead to reduction and fear of crime, especially terror because Kenyans have come to fear public places. The government will also have a relief and gain since its dependence on the military law and order in areas that sustain terror attacks will decrease.

Previous studies have delved into this area. For instance, a study by Wanyoike (2013) focused on the implementation of police reforms and how it affects service delivery. He found out that there was a decrease on complaints against police which suggests accountability and adherence to human rights. Amnesty International (2013) also did a study on police reform in Kenya and remarked that although Kenya was in the midst of an ambitious reform program, including wholesale reform of its police force, the reforms were only a drop in the ocean. Similarly, a joint report by the Kenya National Commission of Human Rights and Centre for Rights and Peace (2015) conducted an audit of the status of police reforms in Kenya. The report recommended that in order to improve the administrative, operational and logistical capacity of the police, certain reforms were to be undertaken and these reforms were meant to provide an efficient and effective service that keep pace with modern policing techniques and standards recognized as international best practices. However, these studies have not examined whether the police reforms are effective in curbing terrorism.

Therefore, it is against this background that this study promises to investigate the implementation of police reforms and in addition examining whether the reforms are effective in curbing terrorism. It will also establish whether there are any impediments to the implementation of the reforms in Kenya, using Nairobi County as an illustrative case.

1.3 Research Questions

- i. To what extent have police reforms succeeded in Nairobi County?
- ii. What are the impediments to police reforms in Kenya?
- iii. What are the reasons for police success in pursuing terrorist and militant organizations in Kenya?
- iv. What works in policing to reduce terrorism in Kenya?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 Main Objective

The main objective of this study was to examine whether police reforms in Kenya are effective in curbing terrorism.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

The specific objectives that guided this study were;

- i. To find out how well police reforms have been done in Nairobi City County
- ii. To investigate the organizational impediments to police reforms in Nairobi City County
- iii. To examine how successful police reforms have impacted police response to terrorist and militant organizations in Nairobi City County
- iv. To find out how terrorism can be reduced in Nairobi City County.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The study provides valuable insights to the government, national police service and the communities on how stalled police reforms impact terrorism and areas that need to be improved in order to win the war on terror. The findings also provide the national police service with data on impediments to police reforms and thus are in a position to come up with strategies that are effective.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study was conducted in Central, Buruburu and Kamukunji police stations in Nairobi County. This research project examined the major areas of success of police reforms, investigated the organizational impediments to the reforms, sought to find out how police have tackled terrorism in the county and finally, examined how terrorism can be reduced in Nairobi County. The researcher also visited police stations that had been hit by terrorism to enable collection of valuable data. In addition, the researcher also visited anti-terror police headquarters and non-state actors involved in war on terror, such as Kenya legal report institute for legal framework in order to collect qualitative data for the study.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The researcher anticipated a limitation in accessing respondents in different police stations due to the nature of their work. To overcome this, the researcher came up with a schedule and traveled at convenient times when the respondents could be found. Another limitation was that the findings may not accurately be generalized to other stations due to the uniqueness of the police stations and thus suggested a study to be conducted in other counties. The researcher also encountered poor morale of the officers but convinced them to participate in the study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter addresses literature review, theoretical framework and the conceptual framework.

2.1 Literature Review

This section looks at critical literature review highlighting the knowledge gap spelt out in the problem statement.

2.1.1 The Gains of Police Reforms in Kenya

The functions of police are complex and multi-faceted since they have a primary role of maintain law and order. This role might be achieved through combining local, global and local security agents as well as establishing basic law and justice which is critical for sustaining the development and rebuilding the people's trust in public institutions. Under normal circumstances, police is held responsible for preventing risks involved in public security and maintaining peace in the society (Meyer, 2006). Police are not solely actors responsible in safeguarding the public including non-state institutions private security is helps to boost security and other security agencies and personnel for policing (DFID, 2002). Police are perceived to be a social authority that regulates social conflicts under the rule of law. While police face different obstacles to main law and order, in most instances they serve as role models in illustrating how a democratic space and legitimate police run (Meyer, 2006). Reforms in the police service is a critical step especially in environment with high levels of impunity and a weak governance, failure to have security and stability including repressive behaviours by the police have been faced previously with a view of redeeming confidence to the citizens . Stodiek (2006) explains that to gain public confidence is unachievable without fighting crime successfully. Thus, security and police reforms locally is perceived to be a critical factor in reconstructing and becoming a prominent policy matter that have been discussed along with global efforts in order to build a functional police reform.

Effectiveness and operational preparedness of the police service is also very important. Many a times, inadequacy of motor vehicles for policing work, insufficient fuel, and lack of appropriate maintenance have impeded the work of the police especially when responding to terror. Although quite a number of police vehicles can still be seen broken

down in police stations' parking lots, since the implementation of police reform in 2009, the police service has been equipped with new motor vehicles. Nine hundred and eighty nine motor vehicles were provided to National Police Service in the period 2009-2015, 1,250 set of motor vehicles are currently being leased to NPS (2009-2016). Allocations for the leased cars have been done with a minimum cost of fuel monthly, 60 cars were rehabilitated (2009-2014) and two hundred cars were purchased (2009-2015). Whereas there exists a huge shortage of 3200 assorted motor vehicles, time to respond to these scenes and taking patrols in several parts of this country has risen significantly. A good number of armored vehicles procured this year for the police service have already been deployed in various regions in order to lessen dependency on the military on critical equipment during terror.

The National police service in 2014 introduced a Group Insurance cover with Pioneer, an insurance firm to cover for critical illnesses, risks of terrorism and suicide. In this case, the police officer was not required to make any contribution towards this scheme however, in case of death in the line duty him or her will get paid at least 20 times his or her basic salary on top of KES. 150,000, which is paid prior burial. Moreover, in case of death of a child, the officer gets paid Kshs. 100,000 before the date of burial. In the event of illness whereby an officer needs international form of treatment, the insurance might opt to pay Kshs. 1 million. This officer is equally covered by NHIF, which is a product of the police reform and a critical step in increasing the officer's morale to those who lose lives or got injured while in duty before the inception of the cover might not get compensated.

2.1.2 Obstacles to Police Reforms

Notwithstanding a few initial progresses, police reform is still coupled with numerous challenges. Some local bloggers refer police service as an organisation that turns into a criminal initiative in which tribalism and favoritisms has continued to thrive. Efforts to reform the police; administrative mergers and vetting processes have had limited impact. Corruption and failure to implement reforms create impediments to the immediate process of reform. Violation of human rights flourish in the police service, this is a strong sign that little change has taken place based on attitude and practices amidst the police officers (Annie Mageka, undated). Process of police vetting by NPSC, has been considered a key reform agenda, which takes a long duration of time hence a concern to

most civil society organisations (CSOs) and the police. The president expressed his concern indicating that this process is sluggish thus creating anxiety amidst the police (Daily Nation of March, 2015). This process was programmed towards the end of August, 2015 is currently overdue. Issues to do with transparency involving the process have come up; Kenya's constitution and Police Act indicate the affiliates of the KPS need to undergo vetting on competence and appropriateness focusing on performance, human rights and qualifications (academic and training). Focus has now shifted to issues that relate to wealth and finances involving police officers with limited attention to service records. NPSC (2015) have reported cases whereby the chairman of NPSC John Kavuludi who have been accused of graft charges by EACC.

Corruption epidemic has increasingly gone up, despite huge expectations by the public, there's a limited capacity for the police to effectively fight corruption. Although, in most developing nations the police population to citizen is in the ration of 1:1000, it is however recommended that the minimum prerequisite by UN is 1:450 (DFID, 2008). Achieving this target has been a major obstacle here in Kenya. Police planners find themselves in dilemmas in their attempts to reform the police force. For example, police officers who served before these reforms find themselves in temptations of corruptions in manner ways as they go about their work. Due to this, they might experience shortages of finances because of being used to excess money from shady deals and corruption. To boost efficiency in the implementation of these reforms, the police form need to set targets and motivate all the employees working for this institution to work towards achieving set goals.

Policy industry must consider dealing with a few constraints to effectively facilitate implementation of police reforms. For instance, in dealing with constraints of human resources, the institution needs to consider the number of available police officers in the jurisdiction. Secondly, they should take into account the number of recruits to train and the time that is needed. Also, it would be worthwhile to consider the materials available and infrastructure that is needed to accommodate the overall police capacity. Moreover, rural-urban inconsistency with regard to the equipment as well as personnel makes the process of implementation more complex. It is also important to consider the manner in which how resources should be allocated amongst the employees. Terrorism is also a

critical factor that need to be considered and the areas that need to be adequately guarded and those that are not.

UK Department for International Development (2015) asserts that complying with the regulations is a key component toward any form of a reform agenda. Although foreign experts recognize the developed system of police as the most effective, it might not be implementable in the local setting (DFID, 2002). Ziegler and Nield (2011) indicate that waste takes place when foreign expertise fails to implement reform programs to the local setting (2002: 69). Police traditions provide boundaries including some consistent patterns that define what can be achieved with these reforms (Bayley, 2008).

UN handbook (2012) of multidimensional peace operations documented by DPKO (2013) indicates that officers operating at local level may deem these police reforms as undesirable interference whereas their cooperation is essential in achieving success (2003: 89). It has been deduced that satisfactory leverage against affected parties is indispensable to overcome this form of resistance. In cases, where this leverage is meant to be overcome this form of defense behaviours against reformist is so far unanswered. For instance in Mozambique, police personnel do not trust initiatives for police promotions because of fear to lose jobs (Lalá & Francisco, 2006: 169).

Reforms in the police force have resulted into resistance due to uncertainties and failure to understand why ways of doing things need to be change. This has developed fear from a few quarters of loss of privileges and deals (Brzoska, 2006). Security reform ought to impact on strategic behaviors of domestic actors in a manner that is adoptable so as to make its implementation easier and minimize incidences of resistance. Peake, Scheye and Hills (2006), note that the security agencies have tendencies of inertia since they perceive change as a key impediment towards exercising their power and earning a livelihood. A conclusion was made that to deal cases of change resistance in the sector of security; no experts locally and internationally had documented any specific practices to employ. Global efforts or pressure to reorganize security locally are most too ambitious making it impossible to implement. As a consequence of short-lived donor cycles, any assistance given seeks to do a lot efficiently. Peake, Scheye and Hills, (2006) provides a description of what other people have described as failure to have a coordination and excessive governance and inadequate management. Police reform entails a long-term

commitment in ensuring sustainable changes and an organized transition from conventional system to the new-fangled reforms.

Once long-term commitments safe, the process of implementation might prove to be difficult. Locally, a dilemma exists amid immense deployment forces to counter terror and performance appraisal to new recruits (Dobbins et al., 2007). For instance in cases where prompt deployment had led to problems in the north-eastern and a sizeable number of police officers were trapped and murdered by al-Shabaab. Now that terrorism a major threat in Kenya's security, it has become a necessity to increase the training duration for recruits to effectively equip them skills and knowledge that is critical to their mission. Paucity of resources and scarce capacity, a decision has to be arrived amidst training or workshops for fresh recruits; this enhances the level of efficiency in which security gaps can be addressed (Stanley, 2000).

Occasionally, police reforms are highly exposed to key incongruity amidst policy suggestions and operational reality (Peake, Scheye & Hills, 2006). It is assumed that social change could be imposed externally through social engineering that is essential for reforms (DCAF, 2009). However, Police might opt to accommodate and in few cases such as Sierra Leon, welcome measures for reforms (DCAF, 2009). Therefore, any threat to security should not be underestimated when crafting the projected results from police reforms.

A common police reform program would take around five years not excluding the in progress organizational reforms, (Hartz 2000). There is even a bigger problem in case the judicial and legal reform falls behind the police reform. The reformed police might carry out a successful arrest and detainment of a terrorist in a correctional facility only to be frustrated by the fraudulent prison guards and undermined courts who let the terrorist walk exonerated of his crime (Stodiek, 2006). These incidences often lead to feeling of liberation amidst the people and disappointment amidst the police that might encourage illegal activities or seeking of self- justice. Consequently, the cooperation between the legal and judicial reform and the security sector reforms should be keenly taken into account.

Marenin (2000) recommends the minimization of rise of fraudulent practices through, payment of decent salaries to the police officers and the establishment of effective accountable mechanisms. The International Peace Academy (2003), alludes that the

intolerance of detestable behavior, can be achieved through setting up rank-and-file participants of the police being linked with higher leadership units and innovative snitch procedures that can help in achieving transparency within the police service.

According to Dinnen, McLeod and Peak (2006:100) study, reveals that there exists major conflicts in operative culture between those reformed and the reformers, not to mention the lack of alliance of the rank-and-file participants of the police administration is subject to an engagement gap. A strong organizational stupor may be created in the case of lack of involvement of officers in all levels of the police structure. Some of the reforms are counteracted by public institutions especially where they pose a threat to officials who acquired influential posts in the outdated system (Pierson, 2000). Peake, Scheve and Hills 2006, suggested a transition in the management skills so as to overcome organizational counteraction and to achieve successful reforms.

Bayley (2008) study on the many reform efforts undertaken in the United States, shows that notable reform has unceasingly been outside-inside and top-down. The disregard of rank-and file participants of the police often caused resistance and dissatisfaction. Toch (2008), believes that an effective reform will be achieved in the event police officers are coordinated in the implementation and design and hence prompt change. The people who will be affected by the transition will opt reform whereby they will lose and others will gain the zero - sum game (O'Neill, 2005).

Kotter (1998) writes that in the event of visible delay of the police reform after the initial 12-24 months, the organization and the general public will lose trust on the envisioned transition. The short-term achievements could include better interaction between the police and local communities, advanced study courses and adequate equipment (O'Neill 2005). Wood, Fleming and Marks 2008 study shows that the police superiors can be productive innovators if they influence change both from bottom-up and top-down

2.1.3 Police Failure in Pursuing Terrorists

It is evident that there is lack of coordination between police, the national intelligence agency, and the military-run intelligence agency. The lack of trust between civil and military agencies also plays a negative role. For instance, there were claims that the national intelligence service had informed the office of inspector general of a planned terrorist attack prior to the Westgate aftermath. Even today, to get data from telephone companies like Safaricom and Airtel or to trace calls made by criminals and terrorists, the

police have to request intelligence agencies – and, at times, such delays waste crucial time bearing in mind that many such confidential communications are encrypted to a high level standard and not many police officers have the knowhow to decrypt.

Again, a poor data collection capability as regards crimes and criminals is a big hindrance in Kenya. Many criminals who joined militant religious groups are not traced and tracked efficiently. Even banned militant organizations are not well profiled. In many instances, such organizations continue their publications and, in some cases, wanted criminals and terrorists simply change their affiliations to those groups that are not under government scrutiny. All the while, the police remain clueless. The police are also handicapped as many militant groups are producing criminals who even have working relations with elements in the intelligences services. Hence, many police officials are reluctant to go after them, thinking that they might be held accountable for “harassing” an intelligence agency’s assets.

To Hassan (2009), the undercover police have been trying to interrogate terrorists, identify and arrest the most wanted terrorists, detect terrorist financing, and coordinate with the national intelligence service in investigating major terrorist incidents. Its strength, however, is surprisingly low and insufficient. The police have even sought assistance from foreign police expected to train national police service officials on how-to-locate weapons like grenades, bombs, take post-blast action, trace terror financing, investigate money-laundering, combat corruption within law enforcing agencies, manage crises and improve techniques for fingerprinting and interviewing. Although this has been a good move, only few officers have successfully gone through and completed these short training courses. In other words, such collaboration and cooperation has been quite limited so far.

In addition, no special security measures or rewards are provided to police officials, investigators, and lower court judges involved in pursuing counterterrorism cases. Consequently, a few of them have been assassinated in targeted killings, which further demoralizes the police and discourages their anti-terrorism efforts. Moreover, the police are increasingly victims of terror attacks, especially in the northern frontier and the coast regions where such attacks are rampant and many officers have lost their lives in the line of duty.

The national police service, since the introduction of police reforms, has never been provided with adequate resources, despite their persistent requests every year, even when it is apparent to all that al-Shabaab militia have been focusing on expanding their influence in the various districts in the coastal and north-eastern regions. So far, the national police service has only procured a handful of armored vehicles and a few helicopters. The case is even more troubling, especially for police officers who go for operations in dangerous terrain or terrorist hubs like Mboni forest with few resources like troop carriers, vehicles, motorcycles, bullet proof vests etc. keeping in mind that they also get few special incentives from the government if at all. On the contrary, militant groups normally offer higher incentives to their potential recruits than do the police officers fighting terrorism (Hassan, 2009).

Human Rights Watch (2016), residents in northeastern Kenya fail to report cases of terrorism to the police for the fear for their lives. The public have lost confidence with the police and crime reporting has gone down. The report alleges that there are people who cannot be accounted for, for over nine months. A number of them are taken in for questioning for days or even a few weeks and are then returned, this situation has created distress to the residents. The residents live with fear and the anxiety of who will be the next victim. the human rights organization are convinced that the 34 people are only prey to compelled disappearance, described in international law as deprivation of freedom by state personnel with conspiracy of the state denial to take responsibility of concealing the domicile of the victims. The police have not thoroughly looked into these deaths according to the non-governmental organizations. The human rights watch 2016 reveals the negligence and conspiracy between the law enforcement representatives and the terror groups such as the al-Shabaab causing insecurity in the northeast part of Kenya between the period of 2013 and December 2015.

2.1.4 Reducing Terrorism

The local police are the best agents to curb the ongoing events of terror attacks in Kenya by demilitarizing the sleeper cells and terrorist groups through carrying out their duties of gathering information, patrolling and keeping a close watch of prime suspect locations. They are best suited for unmasking and carrying out investigations on possible terrorist threats, by subduing sleeper cells and protecting the vulnerable targets in their locations. Chidambaram 2013 writes that a policeman who patrols the street cannot be substituted. This is because he gathers intelligence, prevents occurrence of an offense, enforces the

law, investigates crime, and is the standard agent of authority meaning, is he is absent all these functions will not be accomplished. Police patrol is the major role of a police agent, constant patrolling establishes a recognized presence of the police that elevates the security levels and builds trust in the residents.

The police are compelled to compassionately undertake daytime patrols that go undercover at night to track identified suspects and terror groups. On the occasion of the alert times, the police keep a close watch of the target terror locations by deploying small patrol units working together to deter any terror attacks. Bhanu (2013) writes that the most reliable source of information about security could be collected from the police stations within the country. Terrorist plans to attack are usually homegrown and any sensitive information may be used to forewarn over a future attack resulting from the collected information at the police stations. In order to detect terrorist activities before an attack the police intelligence unit would be the valuable and primary team in any sensitive terror location. Under the administration of a police station, there are officers such as the constables who are to patrol in their concerned jurisdictions for security reasons. They should be familiar with the people in their location, the people's professions and religions, be familiar with the villages of city in their jurisdiction, the local authorities and the members of assembly. The police officials should always communicate regularly with the business people, local residents, hawkers, street vendors and take note of any fragile changes within their jurisdiction.

The police are familiar with the local residents and its people; they are therefore best suited to execute the primal deterrent capability to curb terror attacks. To promote this competence and capacity, the police institution might be influenced to make necessary changes in their operation activities to eradicate terrorism by acquiring techniques such as community policing and intelligence led policing. The Main aim of intelligence led policing technique is on the basis of analysis, identification and supervision of the dwelling and in coming terror impendence in future. The gathered information would be beneficial in overseeing the field activities.

By community policing, police constables are allocated to particular areas so that they can hang about there for a period of time, to be acquainted with the locals and talking with them about local problems and doubtful persons. For instance in Nairobi city, the police personnel of one area police station are in a better position to know responsible leaders,

residents, business people in the Islamic and Hindu communities and can reach out to them for information or assistance in knowing the details of like who are the illegal immigrants? Who are the homegrown terrorists? What motivates them to be recruited in for waging war against their country in the name of jihad? Why and how are the terrorists getting their followers?

Such input could be used to fabricate the intelligence which offers the best probability of preventing and deterring future forms of terror attacks. In the view of that an inspector and one or two constables should be exclusively devoted to monitor community policing and should not be burdened by any other work. Nyumba Kumi is a solution to Kenya's crime and general insecurity but certainly not in the way it is being implemented; it is not people-centered as its essence of the design would require. In this opinion, the core argument is that Nyumba Kumi is not unilaterally the solution.

Even though intelligence inputs are disseminated to the police force in the field, it does not certainly convert into action by the deployment of enough police personnel in the sensitive areas to make out surveillance activities and to protect susceptible targets. Lack of sufficient manpower in the national police service is slowing down and obstructing their heavy new responsibilities of dealing with terror related activities that are significantly increasing the workload of police officers already engaged in hectic work schedule. To address terrorism and prevent terror activities in Kenya, we must have more police stations and more constables. On top, there is a need to reshuffle the police officers by posting the young and newly recruited officers trained with tactics and technology in critical wings of the police to deal with the terrorism.

Undoubtedly, local police is the primary source to keep the terror groups off balance, and the population reassured by neutralizing the terror activities and attacks to create an accommodating milieu. But short of visibility and response are damaging the policing and police are becoming ineffective in preventing terror related attacks and sleeper cell activities. However, the police service is not supposed to be held culpable and responsible for their incompetence and ineffectiveness because their hands are cuffed due to political interference, intimidation and patronage, also shortage of man power. At this crisis time, it is necessary for the politicians to not only not interfere in police acts related terror activities but also rapid expansion of police service with a modern outlook (Bhanu, 2013).

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This literature review shall be guided by two theories, namely

- a) Institutional anomie theory and
- b) General strain theory

2.2.1 Institutional Anomie Theory

This theory was put forth by Messner and Rosenfeld who argued that institutions that are mandated to regulate individual behaviour must work very hard so as to remain relevant and to impact on the behavior of people. Failure to this, such kind of institutions might be rendered irrelevant and their existence might be questioned. Anomie (2010) explains that the desire to achieve drives people apart based on their zeal and determination to work towards set goals and targets. This results into a breakdown of communities and social institutions that are considered to be benevolent. A breakdown of institutions and the desire to accomplish success, which is not easy to achieve exposes some individuals to crime. Institutional anomie theory maintains that a general assessment involving the social structures and its functions is essential in assisting the society to effectively perform just like other organs that are within the same body. Each organ is important for the survival of the body as such all institutions operating in a given society are critical for the existence of that society.

Messner and Rosenfeld (2010) explained that institutions are meant to address the societal needs and its people, however, in order to adapt to an environment that keeps on evolving, it is necessary to allocate resources and motivate all the societal members to work in the same direction with the goal of achieving set targets. They note that there are four different kinds of institutions which are considered relevant in understanding crime; economic, education, family and police. Inefficiencies and inconsistencies in the police force can be looked at in the line of political institutions that prompts the policy makers such as the government to introduce reforms. Political form of institution is held responsible for all the activities that are gainful to the community as a whole such as organizing the police to ensure that they are safer. Messner and Rosenfield (2010) put more emphasis that any economy maintains unbalanced power. The reason for this is that other institutions are devalued based on strict economic goals. Those who are held responsible to educate and socialize children, for instance get lower salaries or nothing.

In addition, other institutions ought to accommodate needs of the economic institutions as opposed to rejecting them. Finally, the mentality to do business infiltrates into other institutions. Economic institutions are deemed to compete and this is a major concern however, there are less concerned with a few rules unlike getting profits. This may explain why some law enforcement officers are corruptible, some even selling intelligence to the criminals they are supposed to be fighting. Therefore, the remaining institutions need to train people on the importance of abiding with the rules. Police reforms can thus be seen as a move to revive the political institution in a move to make it more effective.

2.2.2 General Strain Theory

According to Robert Agnew individuals who feel stressed and strained are more likely to commit crime. This happens among all elements of society i.e. young and old women to men, poor and rich. Agnew (2010) suggests multiple sources of stress which include; Stress or strain caused by failure to achieve positively valued goals for instance due to the low wages that police officers get, strain as a removal of stimuli for instance when a police officer is transferred to an unfavorable location and strain as presentation of negative stimuli for instance hardship of police work. Agnew (2010) the main source of strain is failure to achieve desired goals. Here, the individual may become angry, frustrated and disappointed thus leading to depression and fear. As a result, deviant behaviour may arise.

Dream et al., (1994) explain that social reform could contribute to a more mature society one that can exploit abilities and talents of its inhabitants through mutual and collective support. This theory suggests a two-step approach in dealing with crime by social restructuring. In the first place, the society must consider reforming its social organisations through crafting policies and social changes that are in line with the needs of social institutions such as schools as well as the political class. This is critical in increasing the power of distinct goals that are linked towards improving the institutions and strengthening their capacity to apply social control.

In redefining the American dream of minimizing cultural pressures to mitigate criminality in the society must not put a lot of emphasis on materialism. It is worth noting that the society must be built with altruism and selflessness by cultivating a culture to improve the society by faithfully executing duties and responsibilities as expected. Parenting is

considered to play a critical role in shaping the behaviour and beliefs of individuals in their work.

This theory has a public policy initiative. It brings the idea of extending opportunities to police officers through looking into their pertinent needs so that they can fit with liberal view of international police and as a result reduces much of their strain. For instance, this idea has informed the idea of introducing insurance cover and compensation for police officers who die in the line of duty.

Strain theory also provides a clear understanding as to why police are corrupt. Society's desire for law and order contrasts with its dislike towards governmental authority. The police thus end up suffering from strain of being pulled between competing goals like arrest indictment and conviction of offenders on the one hand and the rule of law on the other. Due to pressure they end up involving themselves in devious deals like engaging in entrapment, falsify evidence, incriminating statements, leaking intelligence to terrorists and even plant evidence at crime scenes. Thus police deviance may be best understood as resulting from strains created by an ambiguous social system.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

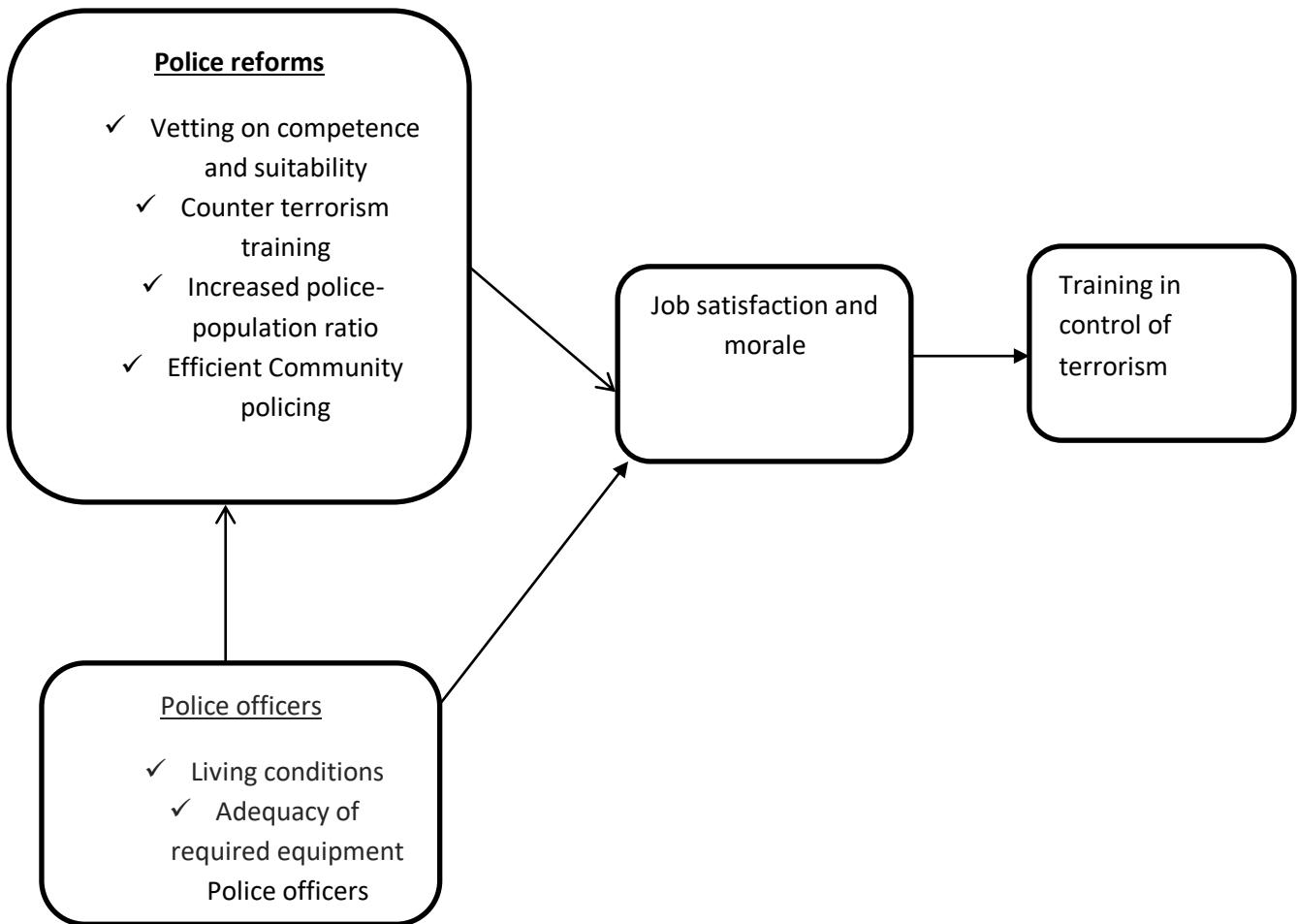
The conceptual framework for this study is based on police reforms and the law enforcement officers as the independent variables, job satisfaction and morale as the intervening variable and training in control of terrorism as the dependent variable.

This means that if reforms like vetting on competence and suitability of the law enforcement officers, training on counter terrorism measures, effective community policing and increased ratio of police officers to citizens are properly implemented in Kenya, then war on terrorism can be won.

In other words, incompetent and corrupt officers should be sent home. Focus should then be given to the training in control of terrorism. For instance, this can be done by revising police training curriculum so that it can comprehensively equip officers with knowledge on covert action, counterterrorism, and intelligence collection among other methods of curbing terrorism. In addition to promoting community policing which encourages information sharing between police and the citizens, the current number of police officers should be significantly increased and posted to countrywide for effective policing.

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework for the study

Independent variable	Dependent	Intervening variable	Dependent
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CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter is covering the approach that the research utilized in collecting and analyzing data, it has discussed several sub-headings that have been described below as follows:

3.2 Site Description

The site of the research was Nairobi County. Founded in 1899, Nairobi was and remains the epicenter of Kenya's administration and commercial capital. It occupies an area of 696KMsq. Nairobi city had been experiencing rapid expansion hence not spared the vulnerability of emerging crimes, from petty crimes to convoluted ones like terrorism. In 2001, the UN ICSC rated Nairobi as one of the most insecure cities across the world. C." In the year 2010 alone percentage level of reported crimes rose by 28% (Kenya Police, 2010). With Nairobi being the melting pot of political activities, terrorism cases have been numerous in the recent past and many citizens including police officers have lost their lives.

3.3 Research Design

This design was selected because it was considered to be appropriate when using both interviews and questionnaires in collecting data from the police officers. Kothari (2004) explains that a survey allows the researcher to define the problem of the research and gather relevant information that can assist in establish relationships between study constructs and parameters as well as gathering detailed information concerning the object that was under investigation.

3.4 Unit of Analysis and Units of Observation

The unit of analysis for this study was effectiveness of police reforms in curbing terrorism in Kenya, taking a case of Nairobi County. The units of observation were police officers in police stations located within Nairobi County. These are individuals who provided quantitative data for the study. In addition, ten key informants' were included as units of observation and provided qualitative data for the study.

3.5 Target Population

The target population in the study was two thousand one hundred (2100) police officers working in all the 42 police stations in Nairobi County. The study thus considered police officers across all ranks, gender, years of service and the sections within the police stations in the county of Nairobi.

3.6 Sample Size and Sampling Procedure

3.6.1 Sample Size

Gay (1981) observed that 10% and above of a population was appropriate for research. Kilemi and Wamahiu, (1995) concurred with this formula. Thus, size of the sample was 210 in this research and this represented 10% of the 2100 participants in this population. The largest police stations in Nairobi county by numbers of police officers are central (with 426 officers), followed by Kamukunji (300 officers) and finally Buruburu (186 officers) hence out of the 42 stations, these three stations were purposively selected due to their size to provide convenience of accessing respondents for the study. The stations thus provided the intended sample size of 210 police officers.

3.6.2 Sampling Procedure

Since police officers in Nairobi County were attached to several geographically positioned distinct police stations that served the neighborhoods with individuals from different socio-economic status, a form of stratified sampling approach was applied in drawing the respondents from the research population. Kothari (2004) explains that stratified random samples give comprehensive information which is more reliable.

Table 3.1: Distribution of Target Population and Sample Size According to Stations

Police station	Target population	Sample
Nairobi central	426	98
Kamukunji	300	69
Buruburu	186	43
Total	912	210

Central, Kamukunji and Buruburu police stations in Nairobi County are the biggest police stations by size and by number of police officers as can be seen from table 3.1 above. This means that proportionate sampling was used to arrive at the sample size and as a result, three strata were derived from the three stations from which the participants were selected randomly to give equal opportunities in participating in surveys.

Here, each stratum (police station) was sampled separately. Simple random sampling was utilized in choosing the participants from each police station. Since a register of police officers existed in these stations, this formed a sampling frame where a sample size of 210 was collected (98 officers from central, 69 officers from Kamukunji and 43 officers from Buruburu police station). The procedure was to substitute names with cards, mix the cards picking one at a time until the target sample was reached. The last step was to match the picked cards with actual names to form the sample for the study. This method merit of this approach is because it enabled the researcher to lower costs by randomly selecting samples in each stratum since the estimates based on each stratum was considered to be more reliable per unit cost. Again, all respondents in the strata had an equal chance of being chosen for the study.

3.7 Methods of Data Collection

For this study, both qualitative and quantitative data was collected.

3.7.1 Collection of Qualitative Data

Qualitative data was collected to complement quantitative data. Interview schedule were used to conduct interviews to the key informants which were both semi-structured and structured. The semi-structured ones were flexible in gathering in-depth information from sensitive topics. Structured questions were utilized to accomplish the research objective. In total, 10 key informants were drawn from the top police leadership and selected civil society organizations which deal with security sector reforms to provide qualitative data for this study. These individuals have a superior knowledge on police reforms and terrorism. In the process, a notebook and a recorder were used to keep record of responses given by the key informants.

3.7.2 Collection of Quantitative Data

Questionnaires were the instrument used to collect quantitative data. Questionnaires have the ability to collect information from large samples and uphold confidentiality. Therefore, 210 respondents were issued with questionnaires. The questionnaires constituted both open ended and closed questions. Closed ended ones dealt with objectives of the study while open ended ones provided an opportunity for clarity to the closed ended questions.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Ethics involves moral principles that govern an individual behaviour in conducting an activity. The researcher conducted this research with utmost care considering the nature of the information obtained. Firstly, consent was obtained by engaging and interacting with the resident engineer in the respective project areas, this was helpful in commissioning the course, to win their trust, support and permission to investigate road projects. The researcher took his time to explain to the respondents the significance of this research and the set goals that he intended to achieve.

The nature of this research was also acknowledged to them including the questions, privacy was achieved by assuring the respondents that their identities and all the information that they gave would be kept confidential. This highly motivated them to participate in taking part in this research. Then, questionnaire administration was done to all the respondents that the researcher had communicated to prior the administration of questionnaires. This aided in improving their willingness to take part in the research by giving accurate and reliable information and thus improved the quality of the research findings.

3.9 Data Analysis

This survey was mainly geared towards generating information on the effectiveness of police reforms in curbing terrorism in Kenya. Quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics which include frequencies and percentages. Analysis of quantitative data was further statistically analysed using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) software. On the other hand, qualitative data from key informants was descriptively analysed and placed under various themes based on the objectives of the research.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an analysis of data, presentation and its interpretation on the effectiveness of police reforms in curbing terrorism. The analysis covers issues revolving around the extent of success of police reforms, impediments to police reforms, reasons for failure of police in pursuing terrorist and militant organizations and finally obstacles to police reforms.

4.1.1 Response Rate

Questionnaires were administered to 210 respondents out of which 203 were successfully completed and returned. In addition, ten key informants were interviewed to provide qualitative data for the study.

4.2 Background Information of Respondents

This construct was considered important in enabling the researcher to find out the respondent's background in terms of age, gender, and professional experiences. The responses to each of the mentioned aspects are represented in the following sub-sections:

4.2.1 Gender Distribution

The respondents who participated in this study were asked to state their gender

Table 4.1: Gender Distribution

Gender	Frequency	Percentage
Male	161	79.3
Female	42	20.7
Total	203	100.0

From the table 4.1, (20.7%) of the respondents who participated in this study were females while (79.3%) were males. Female gender is lower than that of males. This has the implication that the women in our jurisdiction have not been very much attracted to police work despite gender balance campaigns. This reduced number of female police officers also implies that the police reforms have not succeeded in striking gender balance in recruitment process.

4.2.2 Age of Respondents

Concerning the age of respondents who took part in this research, they were requested to state their age. The following results were obtained;

Table 4.2: Age Distribution of the Respondents

Age	Frequency	Percentage
18-28 years	66	32.5
29-39 years	85	41.9
40-50 years	38	18.7
51-60 years	14	6.9
Total	203	100.0

It is evident from table 4.2 above that majority of the respondents were aged between 18-39 years who may be considered to be in their youth. Those aged between 40-50 years formed 18.7% while those between 50-60 years only formed 6.9%. The implication here is that majority of the police officers working in stations today are in their youth as most of long serving police officers have retired and exit the police service. It also implies that the long serving officers could also be the ones occupying senior positions and resisting police reforms.

4.2.3 Education Level of Respondents

The respondents were asked to state their education level and responses were as follows:

Table 4.3: Education Level of Respondents

Professional qualification	Frequency	Percentage
Masters	2	1.0
Bachelor's degree	15	7.4
Diploma	51	25.1
Certificate	77	37.9
Form iv	58	28.6
Total	114	100.0

Table 4.3 shows that majority of the respondents had only attained certificate level, who formed 37.9%, followed by form four level (28.6%), then by diploma level (25.1%). Those who had a bachelor's degree formed 7.4% while those with masters formed only 1.0%. As can be seen from this table, most officers are determined to go back to learning institutions to further their education and to add on what they got in their training. The implication here is that majority of police officers serving in our stations have only attained the certificate they got during their pass out. Those who have served for many years may have gotten senior positions and thus able to advance their education. It also implies that education is valued in our police service and that is why some officers are taking the initiative to go back to school.

4.2.4 Rank in the Police Service

The respondents were asked to state their rank in the police service and responses were as follows:

Table 4.4: Ranking the Police Service

Rank	Frequency	Percentage
Superintendent	2	1.0
Chief inspector	11	5.4
Senior sergeant	17	8.4
Sergeant	26	12.8
Corporal	35	17.2
Constable	112	55.2
Total	203	100.0

Table 4.4 shows that majority of the respondents were constables (55.2%), followed by corporals (17.2%), then sergeants (12.8%), senior sergeants (8.4%), chief inspectors (5.4%) and finally superintendent (1.0%). Officers in junior ranks are more in police stations and this is an indication that there are few senior police officers manning stations and majority of police officers are in junior level where they are tasked with fighting crime such as terrorism. It also implies that the senior few may have turned the police service into criminal enterprise by showing favoritism, tribalism, and corruption in transferring and posting police officers to areas hit by terrorism.

4.2.5 Number of years served in Police Service

Here, the researcher was interested in knowing how long the respondents had served in the police service. The following was discovered from their responses:

Table 4.5: Number of Years Served in Police Service

Duration of service	Frequency	Percentage
0-5 years	67	33.0
6-10 years	72	35.5
11-15 years	38	18.7
16 years and above	26	12.8
Total	203	100.0

From what can be seen in the table 4.6 above, majority of the respondents had served the national police service for 0-10 years (33.0% and 35.5%). Those who had served for 11 years and above were 31.5% (18.7% and 12.8%). Many officers have an experience in terrorism since this type of crime is relatively new in Kenya and may thus have been sensitized about this new vice in order to be proactive in their work. This implies long serving officers may have secured high positions in the police service and they are the ones responsible for posting and transferring junior officers to terrorism hotspots.

4.3 Extent of Success of Police Reforms in Nairobi County

4.3.1 Adequacy of Funds Allocated for Implementation of Police Reforms at Station Level

Seventy six percent (76.0%) of the respondents who responded to this question claimed that such funds were inadequate. They claimed that funds allocated for reforms were not reaching the station level; despite of the fact that such allocations were very little. 14.0% of participants did not answer this question.

4.3.2 Clarity of Responsibilities

Table 4.6 below indicates views of respondents on whether lines of responsibilities are clear;

Table 4.6: Clarity of Responsibilities

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	112	55.1
No	85	41.9
Don't know	6	3.0
Total	203	100.0

From table 4.7, 55.1% of the respondents indicated that the lines of responsibilities of officers were clear. 41.9% claimed otherwise while 3.0% of the respondents were not sure about it. Those who said yes explained that their senior would brief them of what they were supposed to do and a close consultation would be made in case of confusion or clarification. Those who said no explained that sometimes issues of dilemma would occur especially where a junior officer would receive two conflicting orders from the seniors and in such a case, issues of 'who is superior to who' would be witnessed.

4.3.3 Delegation of Duties and Responsibility

When asked to give a rating of delegations of responsibility and duties in the station, the following results were obtained;

Table 4.7: Rating of Delegations of Responsibility and Duties

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Very good	34	16.7
Good	54	26.6
Average	73	35.9
Fair	12	5.9
Terrible	30	14.8
Total	203	100.0

The table above indicates that 16.7% of respondents believed that delegation of duties and responsibility was very good at their station while 26.6% believed that it was good. Thirty six percent of respondents gave it a rating of average, 5.9% claimed it was fair while 14.8% said it was terribly done.

On asked why they gave it that rating, those who claimed that it was very good acknowledged that there were no complaints from junior officers on allocation of duties. Others cited that officers are equipped differently with knowledge and skills and that sometimes determine the delegation exercise. Those that rated delegation as being terrible noted that many times, the exercise would be based on nepotism, corruption and ethnicity.

4.3.4 Measures that should be taken to Enhance Security and Curb Terrorism.

Many officers claimed that enough resources such as vehicles and other consumables should be provided to the officers. In addition, the welfare of the officers should be looked at in order to motivate them. Others were of the opinion that more funds needed to be allocated to the national police service in addition to training and retraining officers on matters of terrorism. It was also echoed that the national intelligence agency needed to work closely with the police, and that the police needed to work closely with community members in policing.

4.3.5 Presence of Notable Changes in Police Reforms that aid Fight against Terrorism

The researcher wanted to find out whether there were notable changes in police reforms that facilitated eradication of terrorism and the following responses were obtained;

Table 4.8: Response on notable changes in police reforms that facilitates eradication of terrorism

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	65	32.1
No	138	67.9
Total	203	100.0

From the table above, 67.9% of respondents claimed that there were no notable changes in police reforms that facilitated the fight against terrorism while 32.1% claimed there were. Those who claimed in the affirmative cited the change from police force to police service has encouraged civilian participation in sharing information particularly regarding suspicious characters in their neighborhoods. In addition, formation of anti-terror police unit was seen to be a major step towards attainment of the same objective. Those that said there were no notable changes in police reforms that facilitated eradication of terrorism

noted that the vetting process has discouraged many officers in their work performance. They also noted that the reforms were to come with salary increment which has not yet been effected thereby demotivating police officers.

4.3.6 Achievements of Police Reforms

The researcher sought to know whether the police reforms had made any achievements. Many respondents indicated that the reforms had decreased cases of nepotism in the police service unlike in the past where senior officers would frustrate junior officers. The reforms were also said to facilitate corporation between police and civilians through community policing, and mobility of officers through purchase of more motor vehicles.

4.3.7 Existence of a Committee to Foresee Reforms at Station Level

The researcher wanted to know whether a committee existed at the station level to foresee the implementation of police reforms. The results below were obtained;

Table 4.9: Existence of a Committee to foresee Reforms at station level

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	3	1.5
No	179	88.2
Don't know	21	10.3
Total	203	100.0

From the table above, 1.5% of respondents said a committee existed to foresee implementation of police reforms while 88.2% claimed that such a committee never existed. Ten percent of the respondents were not aware of existence of such a committee at the station level. The implication here is that there is no up to date efficient oversight mechanism to ensure that police reforms are properly implemented at the grass root level and this becomes a major impediment to the effectiveness of police reforms. For instance existence of a committee would necessitate procurement and speedy disbursement of police infrastructure to areas mostly affected by terrorism.

4.3.8 Improvement of Relationship between Police and Community

The researcher on wanting to know whether the police reforms had improved the relationship between community and police obtained the following results;

Table 4.10: Improvement of relationship between police and community

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	103	50.7
No	98	48.3
Don't know	2	1.0
Total	203	100.0

The results above show that half of respondents believed that police reform had improved the relationship between the police and the community. Such respondents cited that community policing had improved crime reporting and sharing of information between the police and community. Forty eight percent of the respondents believed that the reforms had not improved the relationship between the police and community because many civilians were still reluctant to divulge crucial information regarding criminals in their neighborhoods. One percent of the respondents were not aware whether the reforms had any effect on improving relationship between the police and the community.

4.3.9 Existence of Strong Community Partnership in Crime Prevention at Station Level

The following are the views of respondents on whether a strong partnership in crime prevention existed at station level;

Table 4.11: Existence of Strong Community Partnership in Crime Prevention at Station Level

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	74	41.1
No	106	58.9
Total	180	100.0

From table 4.11, 41.1% of the respondents believed that a strong community partnership in crime prevention existed at the station level. Such respondents claimed for instance that the police were working closely with security guards within their stations in alarm response and also in providing valuable advice on how crime could be reduced in those neighborhoods. Fifty nine percent of the respondents said that there was no strong partnership between police and community in crime prevention and thus suggested that a committee be put in place at station level to facilitate attainment of this objective. They also added that a lot be done in improving police-public image so that the community can gain trust and confidence with law enforcement officers.

4.3.10 Ability of the new legislation in policing to enhance service delivery

On being asked whether the new legislation in policing had encouraged good service delivery, the following responses were collected;

Table 4.12: Response whether the new legislation in policing enhanced service delivery

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	34	16.7
No	167	82.3
Don't know	2	1.0
Total	203	100.0

From table 4.12 above, 16.7% of respondents claimed that the new legislation in policing enhanced service delivery because members of the police could now serve the public in a professional manner and would be held accountable. Eighty two percent of the respondents claimed that the new legislation in policing had no effect on service delivery because already there were plenty of laws in existence and so of importance would be to improve remuneration of officers and procure more resources instead. In addition, they also claimed that the new legislation had mostly focused on rights of criminals and neglected the rights of victims. One percent of the respondents were not aware whether the new legislation in policing had any effect on service delivery.

4.3.11 Ability of reform on police welfare to facilitate fight against terrorism

The following responses were collected on whether the reform in police reforms motivated police officers in the fight against terrorism;

Table 4.13: Ability of reform on police welfare to facilitate fight against terrorism

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	12	5.9
No	191	94.1
Total	203	100.0

From the table above, majority of the respondents (94.1%) believed that the reform in police reform was not motivating police officers especially in fighting terrorism. This was because the reform was stalled by inadequate funds for its implementation which led to the officers not being adequately catered for in terms of their welfare. Six percent of the respondents believed that the reform on welfare was motivating police officers because those who would die in line of duty would be compensated. Respondents advocated for the motivation money to be paid direct in the pay slips. This concurs with an observation of a key informant that the issue of police welfare has to be tackled early enough in the reform process.

4.4 Impediments to Police Reforms

4.4.1 Factors hindering realization of police reforms in Kenya

The responses collected from most of the respondents concerning factors hindering the realization of police reforms in Kenya were poor housing, low payment, lack of enough equipment, corruption, nepotism and that the funds allocated for police reforms are not dispersed in time.

4.4.2 Capacity of police managers in managing change process in police service

Seventy two percent of respondents who commented on this issue indicated that police managers have not yet introduced any change because they are still in the colonial minds and they dictate instead of consulting. Some respondents quipped that the capacity is low since there is lack of skills and knowledge in running the police service. A key informant added;

'Police managers face seemingly insurmountable challenges. The old police may be corrupt at all levels and these guys most likely will resist any change that may jeopardize their positions irrespective of whether change is positive. So, police managers have a lot to do in among other things creating an organizational climate that promotes change and also countering internal opposition to change.'

4.4.3 Consultation in Decision Making Process

The researcher wanted to know whether the management sought the opinion of officers in decision making. The results below were obtained;

Table 4.14: Consultation in Decision Making

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	99	47.8
No	104	52.2
Total	203	100.0

According to the results above, majority of participants (52.2%) claimed that opinions of officers are not considered by the management during decision making. However, 47.8% said that the scope of consultation involves the senior officers and very few junior officers. Those who said yes explained that all directions must come from the senior and junior officers have to wait for orders from their bosses before embarking of any operation in the stations. However, those who said no remarked that sometimes, police managers in the stations would fail to reach a consensus in a decision and in such cases, power struggle would be witnessed and it would affect major operations.

A key informant added indicated that police were considered as effective innovators in building leverage in reforms not only from the top-down but also from bottom-up implying that the seniors should contact the assistants in key decisions.

4.4.4 Effects of stalled police reforms on police response to terrorism

The following views were collected in regard to whether stalled police reforms have affected police response to terrorism.

Table 4.15: Effects of stalled police reforms on police response to terrorism

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	158	77.8
No	40	19.7
Don't know	5	2.5
Total	203	100.0

From table 4.15, majority (77.8%) of the respondents acknowledged that the stalled police reforms have affected police response to terrorism. They indicated that in times of terror, many officials have to be consulted before the police officers are ferried to the scene and this consumes much of the crucial time before rescue team is allowed to leave or respond. This then hampers their effectiveness in response. Some respondents added that the vetting process is shifting attention from real issues like terrorism to non-issues like the wealth of officers. The police are yet to be fully equipped with sophisticated equipment necessary to handle terrorists. However, 19.7% of respondents indicated that the stalled reforms have no effect on police response to terrorism while 2.5% were not aware. A key informant said; ' indicated that the expectations of the citizens and the capacity of the police were found to be in a mismatch. This was considered a central gap in police-population ratio and this gap was filled.

4.4.5 Measures that can improve implementation of police reforms

Sixty four percent of respondents indicated that the vetting process should be stopped immediately because it is concentrating on material wealth of the officers instead of focusing on how best to improve the welfare and needs of officers and to motivate them to deliver their services to Kenyans. They added that authority be solely left to the inspector general of police so that critical decisions can be made in time without having to consume time consulting many parties.

4.5 Reasons for police failure in pursuing terrorists and militant organizations in Kenya

4.5.1 Effects of political manipulation on police response to terrorism

The following results represent opinions of respondents on whether political manipulation affects police in their attempts to fight terrorism;

Table 4.16: Effects of political manipulation on police response to terrorism

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	187	92.1
No	16	7.9
Total	203	100.0

From the results in the table above, majority of respondents (92.1%) acknowledged that the police were indeed affected by political manipulation when dealing with terrorism cases. They indicated that some politicians are always on the forefront in protecting some suspects from arrest, and this demoralizes hard working police officers in their work. Many respondents were quoting that the operation flush out terrorists in Eastleigh was hampered by some politicians and that's why it failed. However, 7.9% of the respondents said that political manipulation did not affect police in their response to terror.

4.5.2: Effectiveness of the system of transferring and posting police officers

The researcher wanted to know whether the system of transferring and posting police officers in Kenya was effective and the following results were collected;

Table 4.17: Effectiveness of the system of transferring and posting police officers

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	10	4.9
No	190	93.6
Don't know	3	1.5
Total	203	100.0

From 4.17, a big percentage of the respondents (93.6%) said that the system of transferring and posting police officers is not effective. They said that it is done in a biased manner and mostly depends on 'who you know' in the commission or in the police service. Corruption, favoritism and tribalism thus characterize the process. Five percent of the respondents claimed that the process was effective and were okay with it because it gave them the opportunity to serve in many parts of the country and gain vast experience. Two percent of the respondents were not sure about whether the system of transferring and posting police officers was effective or not.

4.5.2 Observance of human rights in responding to terrorism

Table 4.18 below represents views of respondents on whether police officers observe the issue of human rights when responding to terrorism;

Table 4.18: Observance of human rights in responding to terrorism

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	166	81.8
No	37	18.2
Total	203	100.0

It is clear from the results above that majority (81.8%) of respondents believed that police officers observe human rights even when responding to terrorism cases. However, 18.2% of the respondents were of the contrary. Those who said yes explained that police response to terrorism is constantly monitored by civilian and independent oversight bodies and this deters those who may be tempted to veer too far from the issue of human rights. However, those who said no remarked that, since police officers are also targeted by terrorists, this tempts some officers to use too much force on suspects and issues like forced disappearance may ensue. Frustrations would cause some police officers to engage in extra-judicial killings. To a key informant, it can be deduced that running any institution would turn out to be impossible without a clear set standards that govern the manner in which employees work and deal with the public. It would be of essence to have a code of conduct that guides the manner, in which the police conduct themselves as they go about the duties.

4.5.3 Rating of training of police officers in the light of terrorism

The researcher wanted to find out how respondents would rate police training in the light of terrorism and the following results were gotten;

Table 4.19: Rating of training of police officers in the light of terrorism

Rating	Frequency	Percentage
Good	53	26.1
Average	119	58.6
Fair	31	15.3
Total	203	100.0

From the results above, 26.1% of respondents said it was good because the officers were being given enough training to protect the nation against terrorism. Fifty nine percent of the respondents believed that the training was average because up to date training requires

a lot of resources and little resources were set aside for this purpose. Fifteen percent of the respondents said that the training was fair because the training duration is considerably small and the police officers has to be training on many aspects, terrorism just being one of them. In addition, some claimed that the police officers in their training do not access modern sophisticated fighting equipment and even after basic training, many officers do not get the chance to go back for further training.

4.5.4 Presence of good coordination between police and other security agencies

Table 4.20 below has some view of respondents regarding presence of good coordination between police and other security agencies;

Table 4.20: Presence of good coordination between police and other security agencies

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	104	51.2
No	99	48.8
Total	203	100.0

The results from table 4.20 indicate that 51.2% of respondents believed that the police were having good coordination with other security agencies such as the national intelligence service and Kenya defense forces. However, 48.2% of the respondents were of the contrary opinion and cited that national intelligence service seems to have a superiority complex in their relations with the police and this affects good cooperation; sometimes, intelligence if fed to the police but the police fail to act on it. Respondents claimed the best way to close this gap is to increase the remuneration of police officers and other welfare issues like their counterparts in National Intelligence Service and Kenya Defense Forces.

4.5.5 Reward of police officers who act heroically in fighting terrorism

The researcher on wanting to know whether police officers who acted heroically in fighting terrorism received rewards got the following responses;

Table 4.21: Reward of police officers who act heroically in fighting terrorism

Response	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	139	68.5
No	64	31.5
Total	203	100.0

Majority (68.5%) remarked that police officers who acted heroically during terrorist raids were actually rewarded. Thirty two percent of the respondents said that such officers were not rewarded. Those who acknowledged that police officers were rewarded claimed that the government was doing a good job in appreciating officers and even though the figure was still wanting, it was better than when such incentives never existed. Those who said no explained that they had not yet witnessed any reward given to their fallen colleagues apart from rumors that such money existed.

4.5.6 Rating of financial incentive given to police officers

The researcher then wanted the respondents to rate the reward, and the following results were obtained;

Table 4.22: Rating of financial incentive given to police officers

Rating	Frequency	Percentage
Good	12	8.6
Average	34	24.5
Fair	67	48.2
Terrible	26	18.7
Total	139	100.0

From the results in table 4.22 above, 8.6% of the respondents rate the reward as good as the family of the deceased officer would receive some compensation and funeral costs would be incurred by the government. Twenty five percent of the respondents rate the reward as average or fair because it was better than none. Those who rated the reward as terrible remarked that the reward was too little compared to the life of the officer, keeping in mind that the slain officer's family would be left without a breadwinner. They further added that in some cases such incentives are misappropriated by senior police officers.

4.5.7 Areas to be improved in police curriculum in order to better fight terrorism

Sixty seven percent of the respondents indicated that more training should be given to the police officers in the area of intelligence collection. In addition, the police should be properly trained on the use and application of new technology in crime prevention and crime scene management so that they can collect and preserve crucial evidence that can facilitate investigation and arrest of terrorists. Thirty three percent of respondents indicated that the training curriculum as it is today is effective in curbing terrorism, and what needs to be done is to motivate officers through better terms of service in order to be efficient in their work.

4.6 Reducing Terrorism in Kenya

4.6.1 Improving community policing

Seventy one percent of respondents commented that more should be done to encourage community to participate freely in policing because community cooperation aid crime prevention by facilitating crime reporting, neighborhood surveillance, information sharing between law enforcement and community and creating community cohesion. Some respondents added that by opening offices and desks in all police stations and other administrative offices, and by introducing policing and security studies in school curriculums, this will promote awareness. In addition, when the police socialize with the public for instance through crusades, this may also promote trust and confidence and may encourage the public to report crime to the police or join hands with the police in community policing.

4.6.2 Measures that police can take to win war on terrorism

Eighty six percent of the respondents remarked that the security sector should be allocated more resources to enable it to operate smoothly. The officers also need to be well motivated in terms of salaries and welfare so that they can dedicate themselves wholly in protecting the country. Some respondents proposed that Nyumba Kumi initiative should be strengthened and that the government should strive to create jobs for the youth so that they are not lured into terrorism. In addition, it was remarked that police need to embrace technology in fighting terrorism. In the words of a key informant, more funds need to be allocated towards reforming the police locally however the process of disbursing these funds is marred by bureaucracies and inefficiencies that impact negatively on implementation of these reforms. This creates a barrier in responding to cases of emergencies as well as opportunities in a short notice.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the summary of the study outcomes, conclusions and recommendations in line with the research objectives.

5.2 Summary

5.2.1 Extent of Success of Police Reforms in Nairobi County

The study found out that the funds allocated for the implementation of police reforms does not reach station level. Although the lines of responsibility are clear, many respondents rated delegation of duties and responsibility as fair and remarked that many times, the exercise would be marred by corruption, nepotism and favoritism. Some of the measures that were highlighted that should be taken to enhance security and curb terrorism included allocating more for security operations, training and retaining police officers on intelligence collection, encouraging community policing and improving the welfare of officers.

It was discovered from the respondents that there were only a few notable changes in police reforms that facilitated fight against terrorism and they would cite increased number of procured motor vehicles to enhance swift mobility and the financial incentives accorded to heroic officers. However, many police officers claimed that police vetting exercise was shifting attention from real issues like terrorism to other aspects like financial statuses of officers and recommended it to be stopped.

Respondents also acknowledged that at least some level of cooperation exist between the police and the community in crime prevention. However, it was noted that there is need to enlighten the community on the importance of partnering with police in community policing. The new policing legislation was seen to enhance service delivery because it prompted police officers to serve in a professional manner. The police reform on welfare was considered by some police officers as not motivating enough and advocated for more resource allocation.

5.2.2 Impediments to Police Reforms

Among the key factors mentioned by respondents as hindering the realization of police reforms in Kenya were bad politics and inadequate funds. Some respondents claimed that funds were not dispersed in time and this slowed down the implementation process.

Leadership wrangles in the commission was also noted to slow down decision making in police reforms. Some respondents remarked that some police managers are unable to manage the change process in police service especially where they have to make decisions that might affect them and for that reason, they become a big impediment to positive change. More often, the police management does not seek the opinion of junior officers in decision making.

5.2.3 Reasons for Police Failure in Pursuing Terrorists and Militant Organizations in Kenya

Political manipulation was considered a strong factor that hinders police response to terrorism. In some cases, some politicians would interfere with police operations. The system of transferring and posting officers was also noted to be affected by malpractices like corruption, nepotism, ethnicity and favoritism and thus many respondents claimed it was not effective. In most cases, respondents claimed that police officers observed the issue of human rights when responding to terrorism, but in very rare cases, a few officers could be involved in the violation of this right.

In terms of training given to the police officers in line with terrorism, majority of respondents were not content with it, and recommended crucial aspects to be added into the police training curriculum. Among the critical areas of focus mentioned included intelligence collection and management, crime scene management, adoption of technology in crime prevention, community policing among others.

Many respondents remarked that good coordination between the police and other security organs in the country already existed save for a few cases. They advocated that if salaries and benefits of police officers were put at par with those of their counterparts in military and intelligence service, then this coordination could improve. Some respondents' mentioned that police officers who would die or get maimed in line of duty received some compensation. However, this financial incentive was not satisfactory.

5.2.4 Reducing Terrorism

Community policing, intelligence collection, good coordination between the police and other security organs like the national intelligence service, and adequately procuring modern equipment for police work in addition to improving the welfare of officers were seen as some of the best approaches to improve security status of the country. According to most respondents, motivated officers were more likely to be effective in their work.

5.3 Conclusion

A conclusion can be drawn that security is critical for development of a country. The need to reform the police force has been fuelled by increasing cases and incidences of insecurity that has impacted negatively on businesses and foreign investment. Government of Kenya should deal with this issue decisively by ensuring that there's a functional police that can efficiently maintain justice and order by dealing with corruption, motivating the police through better remuneration and employees benefits, provision of facilities and equipments to effectively execute their duties and sponsoring the police in a continuous training and development programmes to improve their skills and knowledge on their work. Nyumba kumi initiative is considered to be helpful in providing information to the police on security matters.

The government should conduct regular audits to find out whether the police perform their duties in accordance to the law. Civil societies play an instrumental role in ensuring that the rights of the citizens are protected and that the police do not engage in extra-judicial killings. These lenders an effective police force with an agenda to fight terrorism in Kenya. Media houses can assist through carrying out campaigns and sensitizing the public about their rights, exposing the police who are involved in bribery and corruption and violation of human rights.

5.4 Recommendations

In order to curb terrorism in Kenya, there is need for proper implementation of the police reforms. The researcher recommends the following areas to be improved;

1. Institutionalize change such that the inspector general of police can introduce change and participate in building up the local management capability.
2. Align lower rank officer in the process of reform to counter institutional resistance and motive employees by influencing them to be part of the reform agenda.
3. Improve systematic interaction with the civil societies since public relations capacity aligned with a media strategy are critical components in maintain corporate image in the police force.
4. Maintaining long-term sustainability of police aid when need arises.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A. QUESTIONNAIRES FOR POLICE OFFICERS

SECTION A. SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. What is your gender?

Male	
Female	

2. Indicate your age

18-28	
29-39	
40-50	
51-60	

3. What is your highest level of education?

Doctorate	
Masters	
Bachelor degree	
Diploma	
Certificate	
Form iv	
Others (specify)	

4. What is your rank in the police service?

Rank	Tick
Senior superintendent	
Superintendent	
Chief inspector	
Senior sergeant	
Sergeant	
Corporal	
Constable	

5. How many years have you served in the police service?

0-5 years	
6-10 years	
11-15 years	
16 years and above	

SECTION B: EXTENT OF SUCCESS OF POLICE REFORMS IN NAIROBI COUNTY

6. Comment on the adequacy of funds allocated for the implementation of police reforms at station level

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7. Do you think the lines of responsibilities are clear?

Response	
Yes	
No	
Don't know	

8. a) Give a rating of delegations of responsibility and duties in your station

Excellent	
Very good	
Good	
Average	
Fair	
Terrible	
Others (specify)	

b) Why do you give it that rating?

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9. Highlight measure that are taken or should be taken to enhance security and curb terrorism

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10. a) Are there notable changes from police reforms effort that have facilitated fight against terrorism?

Yes	
No	
Don't know	

b) If yes, explain them

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11. In your view, what could you say are the main achievements of police reforms?.....

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12. Does a committee exist to foresee reforms at station level?

Yes	
No	
Don't know	

13. a) Has the police reform improved the relationship between community and the police?

Yes	
No	
Don't know	

b) If yes, comment how

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c) If not, why do you think so?

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14. Does a strong community partnership in crime prevention exist at station level?

Yes	
No	
Don't know	

c) If not, what do you think should be done to achieve this objective?

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15. a) Has the new legislation in policing enhanced good service delivery?

Yes	
No	
Don't know	

b) If yes, comment on why you think so.

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c) If not, comment on why you think so.

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16. Has the reform in police welfare motivated officers particularly in the fight against terrorism?

Yes	
No	
Don't know	

c) If not, what do you think should be done about it?

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SECTION C: IMPENDIMENTS TO POLICE REFORMS

16. What are some of the factors that are likely to hinder the realization of police reforms in Kenya?.....

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17. Comment on the capacity of police managers in managing change process in police service.....

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18. a) Do the management personnel seek the opinion of officers in decision making process?

Yes	
No	

b) If yes, state the scope of consultation

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19. a) Do you think the stalled police reforms have in a way affected police response to terrorism?

Yes	
No	
Don't know	

b) If yes, specify in what ways the stalled police reforms have affected police response to

terrorism.....
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20. Suggest measures that can be taken to improve the implementation of police reforms.....

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SECTION D: REASONS FOR POLICE FAILURE IN PURSUING TERRORIST AND MILITANT ORGANIZATIONS IN KENYA

21. Do you think political manipulation has affected police attempts to fight terrorism?

Yes	
No	
Not sure	

b) If yes, explain why you think so.

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22. In your opinion, do you think the system of transferring and posting policers in Kenya is effective?

Yes	
No	
Not sure	

b) If yes, comment on why you think it is effective.

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C) If not, comment on why you think it is ineffective.

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23. In response to terrorism, do you think police officers observe the issue of human rights?

Yes	
No	
Not sure	

B) If not, why do you think they disregard human rights in such cases?

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24. Give a rating of the training that police officers receive in the light of terrorism

Excellent	
Very good	
Good	
Average	
Fair	
Terrible	
Others (specify)	

b) Why do you give it that rating?

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25. a) In your view, do you think there has been a good coordination of efforts between the police and other agencies such as the military and the intelligence service?

Yes	
No	
Not sure	

b) If not, what causes this gap?

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c) How can this gap be filled?

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26. Are police officers who act in a heroic manner in fighting terror rewarded?

Yes	
No	
Don't know	

b) If yes, rate the financial incentive

Excellent	
Very good	
Good	
Average	
Fair	
Terrible	
Others (specify)	

d) Why do you give it that rating?

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27. In order to better the police service and make officers more efficient in responding to terrorism, which areas in training curriculum do you should be added or improved?

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SECTION E: REDUCING TERRORISM IN KENYA

28. In your view, how can policing be improved in Kenya?

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29. Suggest other measures that police can use to win the war on terrorism.

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THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY

APPENDIX B. INTERVIEW SCHEUDLE FOR KEY INFORMANTS

PART A: EXTENT OF SUCCESS OF POLICE REFORMS

1. What measures are taken or should be taken to enhance security and curb terrorism in Kenya?

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2. In your view, which notable changes from police reforms effort have facilitated fight against terrorism?

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3. Do you think there are enough resources allocated for the implementation of police reforms?

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PART B: OBSTACLES TO POLICE REFORMS

4. What do you think are the factors hindering the realization of police reforms in Kenya?

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5. In your opinion, do police managers have the capacity for managing change process in police service?

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6. What measures can be taken to improve the implementation of police reforms in Kenya?

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SECTION C: POLICE FAILURE IN CURBING TERRORISM

7. In your opinion, which factors have affected negatively the police in their attempts to fight terrorism in Kenya?

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8. Do you think the current police training curriculum is effective in curbing terrorism in our country?

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9. Has there been good coordination among the police and other agencies like the military and the intelligence service in the fight against terrorism?

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SECTION D: REDUCING TERRORISM IN KENYA

10. In your view, how can policing be improved in Kenya?

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11. Suggest other measures that police can use to win the war on terrorism