

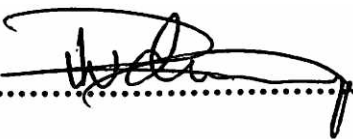


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**DECLARATION**

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for an Award in any other University.

Signature: .....

Date: 15 DEC 2017.....

**Martin Rubiu Ndirangu**

This research project was carried out under my supervision.

Signature: .....

Date: 18 Dec 2017.....

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this thesis to my parents who always encouraged me on all life milestones. I wish them all the best that this life can offer.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I wish to thank the Almighty God for giving me the gift of life and the grace to write this work. My sincere gratitude goes to my supervisors for their professional guidance and motivation that enabled me compile this project. I thank my family for supporting me throughout my studies at the various levels of this project their invaluable encouragement brought me closer to the finishing line each day. Lastly I am grateful to the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of Nairobi for according me an opportunity to pursue this course and being supportive throughout my study. And to my dedicated supervisor Prof. Amb. Maria Nzomo , I salute you for your patience and professionalism.

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## **ABSTRACT**

The study examined countering international terrorism through national policing using the case study of Kenya. The study sought to find out whether national policing has reduced and eliminated terrorist activities in Kenya, the effect that the national police has had on countering international terrorism in Kenya, whether national policy implementation has been done to counter international terrorism and whether the deployment of national police to their home locality has had any impact on international terrorism. This was done with the view to making recommendations on how to find long lasting solutions.

This study was based on neo-authenticity theory which contends that the world legislative issues are basically and unchangeably a battle among self-intrigued states for power and position under rebellion, and utilized both qualitative and quantitative research methods.

The study found that despite the various measures put in place over the years, more needs to be done to fight against terrorism and that the weakest link in this fight is that the government is yet to identify patriotic sentiment upon which to rally citizens in the fight against terror. In addition, the spread of international terrorism in Kenya can be attributed to inefficiency in governance thus: government's inability to effectively take charge and exercise its authority over all its territory; failure to address historical grievances, pervasive corruption, growing youth unemployment and hardline counter terror approaches that ethicize terrorism. Terrorism has shaped governance in Kenya by influencing law and policy formulations as well government decisions that in turn shape the political, social and economic order in Kenya

Based on these findings, the following recommendations are deemed to be appropriate: At the policy level, the government should make a national resolve to de-politicize and de-ethicize the war against terror. Politicians and citizens alike should embrace this approach regardless of their ethnicity or political affiliations. The government should encourage deployment of the National Police in their home localities as a counter narrative for violent extremism by finding a patriotic issue to rally Kenyans around to deter them from radicalization. The government must recognize that women are both victims as well as perpetrators of terrorism, hence the need to include gender in formulation of counter terror measures and assessment of the differential impact on men and women in the war against terror.

At academic level the research findings will be crucial in contributing to the body of knowledge on countering international terrorism. Researchers interested in this topic will borrow a leaf from the study findings.

The following are suggested areas for further research:

Countering international terrorism through national policing in other regions in Africa; Kenya's counterterrorism in the era of a legal counterterrorism framework from 2015 onwards, and harmonizing national and regional counter terror measures in the fight against terrorism in Kenya

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY**

### **1.1 Introduction**

The hindrances confronting those entrusted with making a completely incorporated security office equipped for avoiding or tending to psychological warfare are amazing. At the core of the test for countries' security organs has been the need to end up plainly promptly skilled in every aspect of counterterrorism while holding segment offices' unique and proceeding with obligations. In the meantime, states security organizations are being gotten some information about how to coordinate with all pertinent law requirement offices and the general population in their groups .

Patterns in worldwide security feature different new dangers that have emerged because of the globalization for example, scramble for vitality around the globe has for quite a while been a piece of the transoceanic civil argument about the dangers of reliance: disagreements about gathered European reliance on Russia have tormented the transoceanic relationship for as long as forty years. However these new dangers have been securitized, for example, developed as security issues in both talk and practice. The relative decay utilization of the military segment of security, which is reflected in giving security, has turned into a more intricate undertaking, which suggests the capacity to assemble various resources nearby military ones, and which can never again be depended solely to the state.

Wendt, affirms that throughout the years, law implementation foundations in both created and creating world Kenya included, have observed to statement the causes and diminution the terror

of bad behavior in crowds from side to side the production of authoritative associations with the assemblage and supplementary open and private-part resources, the application of life-threatening thoughtful classifications or strategies, and the change of office association and philosophy. Law requirement organizations all through the glob as of now wind up attempting to recognize their responsibilities and distinguish their forthcoming fragment in the impulsion to combat horror centered cruelty.

### **1.2 Background of the investigation**

Worldwide fear based oppression has been on the ascent as of late. Psychological oppression is the demonstration of utilizing savagery or undermines brutality against regular citizens keeping in mind the end goal to accomplish objectives or make arranges through imparting dread. Fear mongering abuses or strikes the qualities that lie at the core of the Charter of the United Nations, which incorporate; regard for human rights, rules overseeing outfitted clash, the control of law, shield of regular citizens and resistance among individuals and countries . It can destabilize a nation through imperiling peace and security, absence of social and monetary advancement, undermine common society and can likewise contrarily influence a specific group as expressed.

Kenya has demonstrated gigantic achievement in the battle against different nature of fear based oppression , however such worldwide tight clamps being high and as often as possible widespread, its obviously obvious that this issue to be tended to. Fear mongers have transformed from their standard of assaulting generally the US, Europe and center east and centering their consideration regarding Africa and clearly Kenya. One noteworthy psychological warfare assault was in 1998, besieging of the US government office, where it was thought as an assault to the US

as opposed to Kenya. The legislature of Kenya did not promptly think of measures to battle psychological oppression since they felt it was not their battle. The legislature was reluctant to estrange and chance distancing the Muslim people group.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Kenya has seen enormous achievement in the battle against fear. In spite of the enormous accomplishment by the Kenyan government to battle psychological warfare, this global dread has made feeble ranges/spots making the nation defenseless against fear based oppression. In the current years there have been fear based oppressor assaults focused to the administration of Kenya. In the vicinity of 1970 and 2012 there have been more than 250 fear based oppressor assaults in Kenya. These assaults murdered more than 1,000 and injured more than 5,000 individuals. The greater part of the fear monger assaults in Kenya were moved in six urban areas: Nairobi (61attacks), Garissa (27attacks), Mandera (19attacks), Mombassa (12attacks), Wajir (12attacks), and Dadaab (11attacks).

These assaults incorporate Westgate shopping center assault, Garissa University and successive Mandera and Mombasa assaults which have prompted numerous passings and setbacks . This went about as an eye opener for the administration to think of approaches that counter International fear based oppression. Legislature of Kenya, thought of measures/strategies to battle the risk of fear based oppression they joined whatever remains of the world in the battle against dread .Due to late assaults on Kenyan soil, a couple of issues have been distinguished to be the key elements of global psychological warfare in Kenya. The elements incorporate topography, unreliable neighbors, destitution, and Islamic fundamentalist and uncouth law

implementation. Kenya is an alluring fear monger focus because of its geographical area. These portals have driven Kenya to build up the worldwide airplane terminals in Mombasa and Nairobi, real seaport in Mombasa, rail and street foundation all through the nation. Because of the permeable outskirts in Kenya it's simple for Kenya to be a simple focus for fear based oppressors. This is the place there is trade of psychological militant related materials, actives and travel focuses.

Political shakiness in the neighboring Somalia has prompted the development of fear based oppressor enthusiasm in Somalia and Kenya. For example Somalia's crumple in 1991 hugely influenced security. The inadequacy of an administration in Somalia for the last more than 20 years has permitted unobstructed development of psychological militants' transverse the regular fringe. Somalia's fall brought a deluge of Somali outcasts into Kenya, enabling fear mongers to mix in with the evacuees, move unreservedly over the fringe, and effortlessly import psychological oppression into Kenya. Kenya has additionally been engaged with aiding in battling fear monger gatherings (Alshabab) in Somalia which has made Kenya an objective. The fear based oppressor aggregate has driven many assaults, requesting the GOK to leave Somali, which has not been the situation. Joblessness is a key issue in Kenya, with high youth joblessness at 40%. This has prompted destitution leaving the adolescent urgent for cash. Fear monger bunches have exploited this by enlisting youngsters in return for cash.

This has prompted numerous jobless and destitution stricken individuals, who are taken as newcomers to the reason to improve situational mindfulness and accumulate nearby knowledge for fear based oppressor exercises. The Northern and Coastal locale in Kenya are generally

involved by Arabs, who have solid ties with the Arabs from Somali and Middle East individually. Because of basic dialect and religion it has been viewed as factor advancing psychological oppression. This has been a noteworthy test to the administration since as they battle psychological oppression they would prefer not to distance the Muslim people group. Psychological militant have exploited this and settling in the nation as local people, making it difficult to recognize them. For instance, Fazul Abdullahi Mohammed worked from Siyu Island in the Lamu region on the Kenyan drift for quite a while without the specialists identifying him .

Real laws challenges are that the administration has not been sharp with laws to battle psychological oppression. Strategies have been made to check psychological warfare however a few issues like arrangement of police to their home area have not been given much consideration.

Many individuals have supported for policemen/law masters to be sent inside their home territory. This will be simple for them to see odd and suspicious individuals inside the group. This will make it simpler for them to development and report if there should be an occurrence of suspicious exercises. Additionally the group will feel free revealing cases to somebody they really know, this is coz of awesome question of people in general towards law implementation in Kenya. Likewise police in Kenya are estranged from natives since they live separated from the nationals i.e. in police military quarters.

Around the globe it has been exhibited that when police live among nationals it guarantees they are more responsible . With the police living among the group it causes them to end up plainly

more acquainted with the wrongdoing flow in the neighborhood groups and can be more responsive.

### **1.3 Research Questions**

- i. How has countering terrorism through national policing reduced and eliminated terrorist activities?
- ii. What effect do National police have on countering international terrorism in Kenya?
- iii. What have national polices implementations and reforms been done to counter international terrorism?
- iv. How has deployment of national police to their home locality impacted international terrorism?

### **1.4 Specific Objectives**

- i. Establish how countering terrorism through national policing is likely to reduce and eliminate terrorist activities.
- ii. Examine if National police have a significant effect on countering international terrorism in Kenya.
- iii. Critically examine national policies implemented and reforms to counter international terrorism reforms
- iv. Analyze the impact of deployment of national police in countering international terrorism.

### **1.5 Literature Review**

The worldwide war on dread need expressly focused with a worldwide reach. Actually, psychological militant associations have to be sure been more equipped for acting all around, drawing assets, enlist and support from numerous nations and executing assaults a long way

from their bases, contacting a worldwide crowd. Obvious pattern is the ascent and dispersion of suicide assaults, which have expanded significantly as of late. Observational examinations by Rousseau, David and Rocio on their exploration on the policing in American sets up that as ahead of schedule as 1990s, policing in American was gotten between old issues and new thoughts Dilemma of the unpredictable part of policing.

Regardless of the steadiness of the issues, the American police were likewise exploring different avenues regarding existing new thoughts and projects. Today it is vital to assess what is particular about American policing contrasted and different nations, American policing has three recognizing attributes. Initially, responsiveness to resident requests. Furthermore, police responsibility, the unified states demand making the police responsible through numerous foundations ,chose lawmakers, criminal and common court, the press and non military personnel audit of whines. Third, receptiveness to assessment and an arrangement in view of truthful data.

As indicated by Rousseau, David and Rocio , issue situated policing met on three fundamental topics: expanded viability, dependence on the skill and inventiveness of officers, and nearer contribution with the group. These subjects are actualized by assaulting fundamental marvels that drain watch officers' and criminologists' chance, and teaching officers to ponder issues and create inventive answers for guarantee that police address the necessities of nationals. Lynch and Marc fight that, absence of nearby impact was a typical routine with regards to enlistment staff from either the British military of somewhere else in the domain, guaranteeing that the police did not build up cozy association with the indigenous populace which isn't particular to Towards autonomy in numerous African states it is prominent that police numbers were expanded, focal



control was reinforced, police arms were enhanced and interfaces with military were improve. For sure local police arrangement show, singular officers must be given more extensive opportunity to determine worries inside their group.

Neighborhood police course of action underscores delegate bolster; solitary officers are given the pro to deal with issues and settle. Jackson and Richard observes that crucial staffing of police divisions is an incessant test and one that has ended up being more complicated starting late. Rapidly before the start of the present mental fighting fling, police commissions encounter issues selecting officers and responded by completing different creative enrollment inspirations.

While high situated police specialists give much astuteness with respect to police enrollment and support, they as often as possible dismissal a more significant request: what number cops successfully does a particular hazard require? Taking note of this request is fundamental to any discussion about managing workforce levels, paying little regard to whether there is an absence of qualified officers or an inability to help past staffing levels. Put another way, what number of officers would help an office most cost-effectively meet the solicitations put on it? This is an out of a general sense surprising request in contrast with what number of officers does a gathering need or can a gathering support. However taking note of the "need" question feasibly traces an exchange about "need" and "moderateness."

Grievously, police pioneers have couple of resources for guide them in choosing the amount of officers they require. There are distinctive approaches to manage noticing this request, reaching out from the simple to the brain bogging, each with an extent of great conditions, weights, and

suppositions. These procedures, regardless, all around have not been depicted and organized in a way that most specialists could in a split second appreciate and complete. In this work, we hope to give a sensible resource for help police pioneers understand the basics of choosing workforce require.

Analysts, for instance, Akolo , posts that distinctive nature of police sending and staffing task over the world are responsible for impelling the demonstration of the achievement in line of counter dread based abuse parts by the nation's state, neighborhood, area, and tribal law necessity workplaces through information and permit resources. Key national policing is a thinking that advances definitive philosophies that assistance the consider. Rather than simply responding to wrongdoings once they have been executed, key national policing centers around preventing wrongdoing and getting rid of the earth of fear it makes. Obtaining the trust of the gathering and making those individuals accomplices in their own specific security engages law prerequisite to better appreciate and address both the necessities of the gathering and the segments that add to wrongdoing.

Where grasped, this nature of association gifts stipends to state, neighborhood, space, and tribal law execution workplaces to contract and plan police specialists, get and pass on cutting edge wrongdoing engaging progressions, and make and test imaginative policing strategies. Giving getting ready and concentrated help to amass people and adjacent government pioneers and all levels of law execution in enter in imperative national policing. Conveying and collecting a wide extent of information resources that can empower law necessity to better address specific wrongdoing and operational issues, and empower assemble pioneers to better perceive how to

work pleasantly with their law approval office to diminish wrongdoing. Cameron , fights that like standard Truth be told, regular wrongdoing and mental fighting are indivisibly associated. Worldwide and family mental activist social affairs are effective and arranged, and show the multifaceted nature of other, standard dealt with wrongdoing get-togethers.

These social events execute subordinate wrongdoings like distortion, illicit duty shirking, calm trafficking, and discount misrepresentation to give the resources for their dread based mistreatment. The investigative approach to manage a dread based oppressor event resembles that of a standard wrongdoing scene. Because of the likenesses between ordinary wrongdoing and dread based mistreatment, workplaces that have viably gotten a nearby police association hypothesis ought to find it a predictable change to watching out for mental fighting and dread mongering related wrongdoing.

Officers ought to starting at now have the correct stuff to separate the dread mongering issue, perform chance examination, make fitting responses and mirror these undertakings in the mission, goals and goals of the workplace. Much can be capable through the sorts of composed endeavors portrayed here, joint endeavors that attract, neighborhood and tribal law approval, and moreover those with various requests, the gathering, the private part and various diverse accomplices. All parts of police activity running from the lead of individual cops to procedures for police operations, course of action approach and spending organization are obligated to examination by a variety of oversight foundations, including overall bodies, state establishments, regular society, the media and the general populace, and frameworks are set up to address certified worries with respect to police coordinate.

Jackson and Richard feature that the change from provincial police to a post-frontier arrangement of policing by assent was hazardous. In result, the procedures as in Kenya appeared to supplant the (British) officer class however safeguard the key parts of the framework. For example at the Kenya police school senior preparing wing the classes used to prepare police seniors from individuals from inspectorate remain the provincial wooden structures. This is a physical exhibit of numerous other noticeable and imperceptible parts of the provincial government in our police association to date.

### **1.5.1: Terrorism and ICT mechanisms**

Present-day terrorism is characterized by the exploitation of the developed information communication and technology (ICT) system; faster transport systems that enable the individuals to traverse national borders with greater ease and frequency. The adoption of ideologies from extreme forms of religions and far-right political ideologies has bred Islamic terrorists, Jewish and Hindu- ultra nationalists, European anti-immigration as well as racist groups.<sup>1</sup>

Modern-day terrorist groups have developed complex organizational structures and levels of hierarchy that allow for vast networks of informants, thinkers, conveyors of commands and instructions, training grounds, safe havens or “sleeper cells,” sources of funding and collaborators. Well established groups with trans-national agendas and substantive resources have expanded operations to other national territories with the headquarters usually located in states characterized by lawlessness or minimal state jurisdiction. Yemen, Afghanistan, Pakistan,

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<sup>1</sup> Crenshaw M., op cit 10 Pimlot, John, Crenshaw, Martha (Eds), Encyclopedia of World Terrorism, (New York: Sharpe Reference, 1997), page 13. 11 Bleiker, Roland, Popular Dissent, Human Agency and Global Politics, (Cambridge University Press, 2000), page 24. 6

Lebanon and Somalia are such states. Other groups make use of state support to establish bases, such as Sudan, Iran, Syria and Libya.<sup>2</sup>

Methods employed vary from one terrorist group to another and depending on the magnitude of the political statement, among other factors. The most widely-used has been suicide bomb attacks, grenade explosions, kidnappings (often followed by ransom demands or demand for release of comrades), airplane hijackings and guerrilla warfare (the Taliban in Afghanistan, Al-Shabaab in Somalia, Hamas in Palestine). Some extremist groups have formed political organizations to clandestinely advance their views and seek wider backing and/or take part in the political process as has been the case in Tunisia, Egypt (Muslim brotherhood), Gaza and Ireland (the Irish republican army)<sup>3</sup>.

## **1.6 Conclusion**

To make sense of African native deployment policing in terms of where we are, we must make clear sense of how we get here and how it has occurred elsewhere. Imagining things have been the way they are is always easy. Contemporary arrangements are not often understood whether policing or any other area of modern life. It is therefore important to reflect on how it came to be the way we find it now. Little attention is often devoted to longer historical development and concerns. It is therefore the considered opinion of the researcher in this research project to provide partial historical context of policing in some African states. African states can be understood by a discussion of colonial societies, what is referred to as colonial model.

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<sup>2</sup> *ibid*

<sup>3</sup> Durandin, Catherine (2007): *La CIA – Cinq années de col re*, Armand Colin, Paris.

## **1.7 Justification of the study**

Hierarchical change includes the incorporation of the local police sending theory into the statement of purpose, approaches and methods, execution assessments and enlisting and special works on, preparing programs, and different frameworks and exercises that characterize authoritative culture and exercises.

### **1.7.1 Academic Justification**

The investigation will contribute hugely to the assemblage of learning on countering global fear based oppression through national policing for a situation investigation of Kenya. It will have a definitive impact of helping age of data that might be of esteem, to future scientists and as an archive for reference by the examination, got to by different researchers in future. Writing concerning worldwide fear based oppression has been dissected earlier yet be that as it may, this investigation looks to build up how battle against global psychological oppression has radically changed the motivation of Kenyas' procedures.

Kenya found that global help was essential to battle psychological warfare. The military operations require access to a remote area and airspace in this way, collaborating with different nations will satisfy the Kenyas' advantages for this situation. Local national policing was another technique. As of now, the police have not been outfitted with the fundamental instruments, information, aptitudes and mentalities to empower them release their security capacities successfully. This has prompted the expanded militarization of interior security capacities with the military, who are regarded to be better prepared, being progressively conveyed to do (some

of the time without the vital lawful approval as was different occurrences the inside policing elements of keeping up lawfulness.

### **1.7.2 Policy Justification**

At arrangement level, this investigation will try to give information on different government approaches from a pragmatist/Neo-pragmatist viewpoint toward the war on universal psychological oppression in Kenya after the various global fear mongering assaults. The strategy has been definitely changed toward a more forceful state of mind spoke to by coordinate military operations against worldwide fear took after, by a preemptive war against Somali and prevention arrangement towards all point of view psychological militant administrations that may support or support radicals to manage the issue of worldwide fear mongering in Kenya.

### **1.8 Research Hypotheses**

- i. Countering terrorism through national policing is likely to reduce and eliminate terrorist activities.
- ii. National police have a significant effect on countering international terrorism in Kenya.
- iii. Implementation of national policies and reforms to national policies has a significant impact in countering international terrorism.
- iv. Deployment of national police to their home locality has a significant impact on countering international terrorism.

### **1.9 Theoretical Framework**

Neo-authenticity, a contending hypothesis of International Relations by Pfaltzgraff, finds that "the world legislative issues is basically and unchangeably a battle among self-intrigued

states for power and position under rebellion". States inside this hypothesis would dependably feel unreliable about different nations therefore, they generally utilize military powers to prevent different. Concerning the neo-authenticity, it is "a hypothetical record of states' conduct that clarifies it as dictated by contrasts in their relative power inside the worldwide chain of command, characterized principally by the dissemination of military power" . This pattern concentrates on global insurgency instead of human instinct that reason rivalry and weakness. Also, the neo-pragmatists don't consider the residential arrangements and its effect on remote ones, however they surmise that all states have similar intentions as far as their universal relations.

Use of the hypothesis suggests sudden assaults of worldwide fear mongering and how countries respond and move its outside arrangement in a way that precisely fits the pragmatist speculations. The sudden assault brought about a sudden military response that endeavors to destroy worldwide psychological oppression everywhere throughout the world. In any case, the circumstance now is more similar to a war against belief system that can scarcely be looked by utilizing weapons. Consequently, while the pragmatist hypothesis teams up with the examination countering worldwide psychological warfare through national policing for a situation of Kenya, this hypothesis is as yet inadequate with regards to the long haul answers for the issue of fear mongering on the grounds that assaulting psychological militants militarily will just build their inspiration to carry out more suicide bombings to pick up affliction which is viewed as their very religious target and this will delineate them as casualties as opposed to offenders who ought to be annihilated from society.



### **1.10 Research Methodology**

In the examination system the accompanying parts of obtaining and exhibiting information were considered; inquire about outline, target populace, samplings and test strategy; guiding, explore instruments, legitimacy and dependability of instruments; information accumulation , information investigation method and introduction procedure; or and noting research inquiries, and discoveries introduction.

The examination was both quantitative and subjective in nature. The objective populace of this investigation was distinctive departmental staff working at Ministry inner security, staff National Police commission staff , NIS and the KDF. The examination concentrated on the area and especially on the best, center and lower level administration staff who are straightforwardly managing the everyday administration of the state security.

It clarified that the objective populace had some perceptible qualities, to which the scientist proposed to sum up the consequences of the examination. The key sources were drawn from staff of National Police commission, NIS and the KDF. The investigation will look to lead meet with respondents through surveys. The survey contained open and close finished inquiries which gave more data Research colleague had a meeting manual for guarantee they ask the correct inquiries, applicable to the examination. The contextual analyses were utilized to delineate the distinctive sentiment for viable police sending. Optional information was likewise utilized as a part of this examination attempted through desktop survey from existing investigations, insightful articles, government records, media highlights, and sites and baselines inquire about on household specialists.

Subjective information investigation will be gotten from information gathered amid the top to bottom meetings, key sources, center gathering exchanges and contextual analyses and will be broke down deliberately. A distinct approach will be included where coordinate citations and chose remarks from respondents will be utilized as a part of the answer to accentuation on the discoveries. When information is gathered it will be investigated it and concoct answers and speculations to this examination inquire about inquiry. The information will be coded Identify topics, thoughts and examples in the information. Content examination took a gander at writings or arrangement of writings and searches for topics and implications by taking a gander at frequencies of words.

Moral contemplations will be of incredible enthusiasm for this examination. Accordingly before any type of engagement with every one of the respondents of the examination, they was advised on the exploration and educated of the normal with the exploration on concurring they will sign an educated assent frame. The respondents were educated of their entitlement to pull back whenever amid the examination or potentially share what they are alright with. Secrecy and protection was maintained all through the information accumulation, amid examination and report advancement and in addition spread.

This will be done through utilizing nom de plumes, set up of genuine names. Information gathered will be subjected to subjective nature of examination. This strategy will empower the scientist to completely portray the discoveries from meetings and surveys utilizing a couple of insights. After the information will be gathered from the field, it was broke down and translated. The information was investigated utilizing recurrence table rates means and degrees.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **STRUCTURE OF TERROR GLOBALLY AND THE CHANGING NATURE OF TERRORISM**

#### **2.1 The Structure of Terror**

The fear based oppressor alliance's structure, support, assets, and security pick its capacities and reach. Regardless of their normal grouping in support, refinement, and quality, fear based oppressor affiliations share an essential structure. At the base, covered conditions, for example, destitution, contamination, religious clash and ethnic strife make open gateways for mental aggressors to manhandle. Some of these conditions are real and some made. Mental aggressors utilize these conditions to legitimize their activities and build up their help. The conviction that fear is an ensured hopes to address such conditions and impact political change is a dire issue connecting with mental manhandle to make and make. The overall condition depicts the purposes of constraint inside which mental aggressors' systems worked out obviously .

Mental oppressors must have a physical base from which to work. In spite of whether through disillusionment, or want, communicates the world over still offer asylums both physical for example safe houses, arranging grounds) and virtual, for example, reliable correspondence and money related systems that fear based oppressors need to arrangement, compose, prepare, and lead their operations. Once settled in a secured working condition, the association can start to bond and create. The mental oppressor alliance's structure, selection, assets, and security pick its capacities and reach. And no more lifted motivation behind the structure, the mental attacker expert gives the general bearing and logic that affiliations every single one of these parts and

subsequently revives a dread crusade. The association changes into the main impetus for fear based oppressor activity. The loss of the association can impact different relationship to fall. Two or three parties, notwithstanding, are more grounded and can advance new action should the principle fall or come up short.

The trial of countering severe obsession has ended up being logically key in light of the contemporary risk presented by fear based oppressor social occasions and frameworks bolstered by an unforgiving comprehension of Islam. Still others have grasped a more decentralized relationship with, as it were, self-representing cells, making our test essentially more conspicuous. The beginnings of these advancements and get-togethers are incredibly mind boggling and intertwine an extent of key affecting factors and on-screen characters, with a cross-treatment of feelings, qualities and theories oozing from unmistakable foundations and regions; to be particular the Salafi Wahhabi religious logic/conviction arrangement of Saudi Arabia, the rationality of people from the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and strikingly Sayyid Qutb's work 'Perspectives', and relationship, for instance, Mawdudi's Jamaat-e-Islami in Pakistan. These considerations and improvements reinforced into the wild Mujahedeen uprising against Soviet regulate in Afghanistan in the late 1980s, with the assistance of the US and Saudi governments through Pakistan, and gave the setting to the progression of these streams and conviction frameworks into the al-Qaeda story grasped by Osama repository Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri that has since been raised to a developing Muslim diaspora. The ideological and rational impetus of the Afghan wars was stayed aware of the generation of al-Qaeda by Osama canister stacked in view of saw US government in the Middle East and the 'insult' of their quality in the wonderful

spots in the midst of the Gulf War, the Palestinian intifada, and an extent of so far withdrew political conflicts and level headed discussion .

Al-Qaeda and related jihadi frameworks endeavored to weave together an extent of grievances to make and claim activity of a more broad widespread improvement, with their confirmation of war on the United States in 1998 a basic progress in this change. With the key move of al-Qaeda operations toward attacking the 'far foe' from its base in Taliban controlled Afghanistan accomplishing its peak in 9/11 strikes, trailed by the US 'war on fear', the fields of Iraq and Afghanistan and furthermore Pakistan's North West Frontier, have all ended up being key execution focuses of dispute. In the midst of this time France furthermore experienced post-pioneer mental mistreatment and horrendous radicalization oozing from loyalist and Islamist clusters from North Africa . In Western Europe, and especially the UK, key social interfaces with areas of ideological change and fields of conflict addressing open entryways for sensible premium (Pakistan, Afghanistan and Bosnia) have supported into thick and free relational associations exploring newfound characters and relationship with their certainty, social and political status. The closeness of key radical improvement conversationalists and ideologues propelling jihadist 'takfiri' conviction framework , and moreover those returning from Afghanistan and Pakistan and later the Bosnian war.

## **2.2 The Changing Nature of Terrorism**

While holding this essential structure, the fear monger challenge has changed stunningly finished the before decade and likely will keep progressing. Abruptly, the specific idea of the fear based oppressor risk we resist today springs in liberal part from some of our past triumphs. In the

1980s, the United States for example and its associates battled by and large standard and supporter fear monger get-togethers, endless relied upon intense state supports. While issues of state sponsorship of mental battling proceed with, years of supervised counterterrorism endeavors, including propitiatory and cash related partition, have impacted a few governments to abridge or even leave bolster for fear based mistreatment as an instrument of statecraft.

The overlay of the Soviet Union for example which gave central help to fear based oppressor get-togethers and certain state supports restored the diminishment in state sponsorship. Different fear monger affiliations were appropriately pounded or killed, including the Red Army Faction, Direct Action, and Communist Combatant Cells in Europe, and the Japanese Red Army in Asia. Such past triumphs give profitable lessons to what's to come. With the entire of the Cold War, we in like way watched bewildering changes in the ease of transnational correspondence, trade, and travel. Dreadfully, the mental oppressors changed as per this new general condition and changed the advances of the twentieth century into the risky drawing in administrators of the 21st century .

While these nations social events, story and conviction frameworks are set inside the setting of overall political movement, and once in a while are associated with moving degrees by frameworks of individuals and relationship to savage get-togethers, for instance, al-Qaeda, after some time they showing an especially European trial and point of view . Encompassing these stream in Europe has been the progression of a revivalism of Muslim character among masses that is intervening reality and evaluations of living in an overall population opposing to their

quality, or suspicious of Islam in the present climate, and the particular experiences of being second or third time minority peoples in post pioneer States.

These political and character movement are normally set inside thick relational associations, sooner or later mediated around disclosure of new sorts of religious practice, yet furthermore political care and stress over key political issues. These political concerns are consistently associated with the administrative issues of diaspora yet what's more seriously instructed by across the board guidelines and contemplations and verbal encounters. While there are various typical subjects and issues of stress over these ages, clear assortments and differentiations in both talk and systems for assurance can be seen.

The dynamic and settings being depicted breaker a wide not too bad assortment of individual and social event entertainers and individuals from the dynamic to direct, the political radical to religious pietist, the doctrinal fundamentalist to the repulsed, through to those pulled in to a discussion or a down to business duty in regards to savage movement, be it in wars in Europe or abroad. This setting ought to be understood, and responded to as a wide based social advancement where savage radicals are attempting to choose new people and now and again can build more broad certain or unequivocal help on specific occasions around issues that are of stress to all Muslims, including isolation and money related and social minimization .<sup>45</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> Alexander, Yonah and Seymour Maxwell Finger (eds.), *Terrorism: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (New York: The John Jay Press, 1977).

<sup>5</sup> Buzan, Barry. (2002). The Implications of September 11 for the Study of International Relations. Draft manuscript, conference on the 'Research Agenda in International Politics in the Aftermath of September 11th.

### **2.3 A New Global Environment**

Globalization isn't only a general framework. It supplanted the old Cold War structure and, as it has its own specific laws and technique for thinking, which may influence, especially or roundaboutly, regulatory issues, condition, geopolitics and the economy of any nation. Globalization has its own particular advances: computerization, scaling back, digitization, satellite correspondence, optic fiber and Internet, which maintains the portraying viewpoint of globalization. Once a nation goes into the game-plan of globalization, its elites start to disguise the viewpoint of mix and endeavor to fit in a general setting. While depicting the Cold War was the touchy vitality of shots, depicting the level of globalization is speed – speed of trade, travel, correspondence and progress .

This rate increment in mental lobbyist acts is pushing toward 200% or astonishingly all the more considering the irritating progression of general clashes. Additional irritating is that the new showings of mental manhandle are created against local people and not against governments (COKER, 2002). Also, globalization animates religious fundamentalism. 40 years sooner there was no single religious fear monger headway around the world. In the 80's just two of 64 known mental oppressor relationship on the planet were vilified by religious assurance. Most fear monger packs are trans orchestrated, however some like AlQaeda are truly around the globe. The master professional killers in charge of the defeat of the Afghan weapons trafficker, Ahmed Shah Masood were Algerians with Belgian travel stipends, who had visa to enter Pakistan, issued in London. Masood's ruin demonstrates how radical Islam does not dismiss globalization. Al-Qaeda



(in Arabic: "base") isn't a fear monger relationship in the standard sense, with a particularly depicted pecking demand, yet rather a decentralized general course of action of Islamic radicals .

They are joined by a regular reason: the Arab world lastly, the entire world "paganize" and to force a religious government under Islamic law. The basic foes are accepted to be the world's amazing forces – the U.S. likewise, its associates, the appearance that they destroy the Muslim world. They see their part in drawing in against associations in the Middle East, all around Islamic, however under Western influence. In spite of show the shortcoming of the West and its way of life, through fear monger strikes completed in "adversary space", thusly obliging States to quit trading Western respects and instances of direct. Islamists from the rash assaults of 11 September 2001, building up the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon has wound up being certain that the danger postured by Al-Qaeda is for Western countries. What sees the Islamic mental extremist structure it is worldwide and decentralized. Not in the smallest degree like past general mental manhandle, AlQaeda depends little on state sponsorship it fortified financially by the business and differing shade establishments.

Selecting new trains knows no national purposes of repression, however is far and wide, however gathered in North Africa and Southeast Asia. Parties and Al-Qaeda aficionados are spreading in all areas of the world, making the system to an incredible degree flexible and advantageous in its activities. Once, in 2001, the control focus in Afghanistan was decimated by U.S. Military, ideological rationalities and course of action happen for the most part on the Internet.

On a fundamental level, anybody can make up for lost time for the upside of Al-Qaeda. The authoritative structure of meander sort and utilizing the most present day types of progress, it makes challenges our battle against fear based abuse. Beginning at now this isn't sufficient to dispose of fragments of master or catch of the heads of fear based oppressor social affairs. A framework that clearly would have more prominent accomplishment in the avoiding of new fear based oppressor cells would be that they require an appropriate political range spread through quiet down spirits in the issue districts far and wide. To the degree its different leveled adaptability and flexibility, its structure and exchanges, al-Qaeda isn't not under any condition like a gainful, amazing affiliation – or even a hypothesis firm. It has an unmistakable message, an enchanting pioneer, a firm reason and isn't hesitant to appoint. The post 9/11 al-Qaeda has thusly shown itself to be an astoundingly deft, flexible and versatile part. It has all the earmarks of being about as the model shark in the water, pushing ahead reliably, however modifying course subtly, recalling the genuine target to survive.

Al-Qaeda's focal test is to advance and confirmation its quality as a conviction structure and an idea. It can do this specific by remaining in the news and driving new ambushes. In the post 9/11 condition, mental battling's effect to weight and terrify, to propel changes in our standard lead, and to influence our strategies and effect how and on what we expend through cash, has broadened gigantically. Expressive brutality of the strike at the World Trade Center had essentialness for both misfortune (strain and disgrace) and for your idea (status, magnificence, assertion and notoriety in the Islamic world). So also picking an objective, the World Trade

Center, a general picture, it exhibits how globalization expressive furiousness now more basic operator control than at later. Globalization, as a surge in section and neo-progressivism as actuation to activity, has come to arrange the political scene and overpower elective undertakings. Regardless, the help at first baffled toward the entire of the Cold War got a few accents of agitating on the condition the West, particularly in the float of good and social. There have been questions raised with respect to the entire arrangement reasonability a Western social requests that appear to have lost extraordinary pointer, which induced the listing of the demand whether the pulverization of socialism was when in doubt the triumph of bigger part control government.

Al-Qaida addresses how fear monger structures have turned the purposes of intrigue and offices of our irrefutably open, encouraged, and modernized world to serve their unsafe motivation. The al-Qaida sort out is a multinational meander with operations in more than 60 nations. Its camps in Afghanistan gave safe house and its cash related modifies filled in as a place stock in help for mental mishandle. Its general exercises are shaped using individual dispatches and correspondence progressions noteworthy of our possibility cell and satellite telephones, encoded email, web talk rooms, tape, and CD-roms. Like a talented promoting expert, Usama holder Laden and al-Qaida have misused the overall media to extend his photograph and message far and wide. Individuals from al-Qaida have made a trek from landscape to landmass without hardly lifting a finger of a vacationer or business voyager. Despite our coalition's achievements in Afghanistan and around the globe, some al-Qaida administrators have turned out to be away to plot extra fear monger assaults. In the midst of a period set apart by astonishing conveyability

and relocation, they rapidly mix into bundles wherever they move. They pay their way with stores raised through front affiliations, calm trafficking, charge card bending, coercion, and cash from covert supporters. They utilize plainly beneficent affiliations and non-administrative affiliations (NGOs) for financing and selection. Cash for their operations is exchanged surreptitiously through various banks, cash trades, and substitute settlement frameworks (as regularly as conceivable known as "hawalas") some certifiable and unwitting, others not.

These fear based oppressors are moreover transnational in another, all the more genuine way their misfortunes. The September 11 assaults executed subjects from Australia, Brazil, China, Egypt, El Salvador, France, Germany, India, Israel, Jordan, Japan, Pakistan, Russia, South Africa, Switzerland, Turkey, the United Kingdom and scores of different nations. As the al-Qaida arrange appears, the fear monger danger today is changing into something especially not the same as its antecedents. Mental aggressors would now have the ability to utilize the upside of headway to diffuse master, preparing, and coordinated efforts not simply locally but rather all around.

Working up and moving cells all around that truly matters any nation is generally clear in our present reality where more than 140 million individuals live outside of their nation of starting and a considerable number of individuals cross general edges each day. What's more, fear monger groups have wound up being constantly self-ruling by mishandling the general condition to help their operations. Regardless of whether it is the FARC's thought in the cocaine exchange Colombia, al-Qaida's benefitting from the poppy fields in Afghanistan, or Abu Sayyaf's seizing for advantage in the Philippines, mental oppressors are constantly utilizing criminal exercises to

help and spare their dread. Regardless of discovering cover inside the cutoff purposes of a state reinforce, mental aggressors reliably search out states where they can work with prohibition in light of the way that the focal government can't stop them. Such districts are found in the Americas, Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and Asia. All the more daringly, remote fear based oppressors in like way set up cells in the to an extraordinary degree open, liberal, and tolerant social demands that they intend to strike <sup>6</sup>.

#### **2.4 Interconnected Terrorist Organizations**

The psychological oppressor danger is an adaptable, transnational system structure, empowered by present day innovation and portrayed by free interconnectivity both inside and between gatherings. In this condition, psychological oppressors cooperate in financing, sharing insight, preparing, coordinations, arranging, and executing assaults. Fear monger bunches with targets in a single nation or district can draw quality and support from bunches in different nations or locales. For instance, in 2001, three individuals from the Irish Republican Army were captured in Colombia, associated with preparing the FARC in how to lead a urban shelling effort. The associations between al-Qaida and psychological militant gatherings all through Southeast Asia additionally feature this reality.

The fear based oppressor danger today is both versatile and diffuse due to this commonly strengthening, dynamic system structure. There are different illustrative of how fear based oppressors and psychological oppressor associations work on three levels. At the main level are

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<sup>6</sup> MGureanu, Virgil (2003): Declinul sau apoteoza puterii?, RAO Internaional Publishing Company, Grupul Editorial RAO, Bucureti.

those fear based oppressor associations that work principally inside a solitary nation. Their scope is constrained, yet in this worldwide condition their activities can have universal results. Such state-level gatherings may extend geologically if their desire and capacities are permitted to become unchecked. At the following level are fear monger associations that work territorially. These provincial operations rise above no less than one worldwide limit. Fear monger associations with worldwide reach contain the third class. Their operations traverse a few districts and their aspirations can be transnational and even worldwide. These three sorts of associations are connected together in two ways.

To start with, they can participate straightforwardly by sharing knowledge, work force, mastery, assets, and places of refuge. Second, they can bolster each other in less immediate routes, for example, by advancing the same ideological motivation and fortifying each other's endeavors to develop a good universal picture for their "cause." By profiting by the exceptionally mechanical advances that we use inside our nation, fear monger associations take in and share data gathered from our sites, abuse vulnerabilities inside our basic framework, and impart over a similar web ways we utilize every day. The interconnected idea of psychological oppressor associations requires that we seek after them over the geographic range to guarantee that all linkages between the solid and the frail associations are broken, leaving each of them confined, uncovered, and helpless against vanquish.

Psychological oppression is a standout amongst the most unpredictable and furthermore the most confused marvels of the contemporary world. With regards to fear based oppression, we quite often, two adversarial shafts of understanding: if a post is a demonstration qualified as psychological oppressor, the other might be viewed as a gallant signal. In this elucidation, or social components identified with the kind of development, the qualities shared by a given society have a substantial part. In any case, they are not generally definitive, but instead a connection of powers which at last choose whether a demonstration or another .

Psychological oppression has various faces and might stow away under the name of a religion, rationality, governmental issues, or some other name. Fear mongering is a lifestyle. It might be a piece of the historical backdrop of human progress and culture. Characterizing psychological warfare is most vital all together not to be variable amongst "fear mongering" and "the warrior of flexibility". The researchers have their own particular meaning of fear based oppression in light of their perspective and field, or they characterize it as the ruler's viewpoint. Anyway, how jumpers those definitions, yet the might is the rulers' definition who uphold their definition to be acknowledged by the general population either utilizing military, political, monetary, innovation or social power.

Fear mongering might be gotten from religious precept or roused by some other convictions. Fear mongering might be gone to the genuine when the psychological militants view themselves as the casualty of an abusive and double-dealing administration that never deals with them, for example: the IRA, EPTA, and a few gatherings of psychological oppressors in Latin America, and the intifada development of the Palestinians (PRAJA, 2003). Psychological oppression is an

eccentric fight strategies used to accomplish simply political objectives that depend on demonstrations of brutality, damage or danger made against a State, association or social gathering against regular people having the particular reason for delivering impact mental summed up dread and terrorizing. A definitive goal is to apply weight on the element being referred to decide to act as per the desires of fear based oppressors, if that goal can not be accomplished by ordinary means. There is notwithstanding setting off a war against psychological oppression, which is as of now demonstrating greatly troublesome and likely protracted, on the grounds that fear mongering is created by complex cases, some notwithstanding going up against the idea of present day social orders . Battle against fear mongering has demonstrated unsafe to the Bush organization since it has unexpected unfriendly outcomes: intrusion of Iraq has transformed into a debacle. In all actuality, fear based oppressors must be tended to by implies other than war. By its extremely nature, war includes honest casualties.

When driving a battle against psychological militants who are concealing, the odds of guiltless casualties there are much more prominent. Fear mongering is awful in light of the fact that it prompts passing or mutilation of guiltless individuals for the benefit of political causes. The war against psychological warfare brings out a response from the individuals who fall casualties like those that had an assault of September 11. Therefore, more individuals will hazard life and assaulting them today than there were prior. Battle against psychological warfare can not be translated as a solitary request nations or locales. This is a worldwide marvel with worldwide



results and in such manner requires an all encompassing methodology. Collaboration ought to be reached out for some designs: resistance strategy, budgetary control, worldwide stream of data, money related control, movement, fringe administration, and considerably kill. Against war of century, has infiltrated into spirits, it was acknowledged, in light of the fact that countries fear for their security arranging, security of supply for their vitality, however question their military, their military powers and their data. This no uncertainty alludes to both the authenticity of measures taken to guarantee control of the general population inside, as the viability of expensive military exertion embraced since 2001.<sup>7</sup>

## **2.5 Availability of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD)**

Weapons of mass annihilation represent an immediate and genuine risk to countries and the whole worldwide group. The likelihood of a psychological militant association utilizing a synthetic, natural, radiological, or atomic weapon, or high return explosives, has expanded essentially amid the previous decade. The accessibility of basic advances, the ability of a few researchers and others to participate with fear based oppressors, and the simplicity of intercontinental transportation empower psychological oppressor associations to all the more effectively procure, make, convey, and start a WMD assault either on countries soil or abroad. While new instruments of dread, for example, digital assaults are on the ascent, and other regular instruments of fear have not decreased, the accessibility and potential utilization of a WMD is in a class without anyone else. The risk of fear mongers securing and utilizing WMD is an obvious

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<sup>7</sup> Soros, George (2006): *The Age of Fallibility: Consequences of the War on Terror*, Public Affairs, New York.

peril. A focal objective must be to keep psychological oppressors from procuring or assembling the WMD that would empower them to follow up on their most exceedingly awful desire.

Since fear based oppression has turned into a worldwide risk, the inquiry identifying with human rights has turned out to be unavoidable at all levels of society. Assaults of September adherents war offered a phenomenal open door and access to social solidarity and patriotism has been utilized to fabricate an American patriotism that could frame the reason for an alternate imperialistic conduct and inward control. Most liberals, even the individuals who until the point that at that point scrutinized royal practices, the Administration bolstered war propelled against fear mongering and were set up to yield some social equality, to serve the reason for national security. Allegation of being without patriotism was then used to smother the basic accents or any thought that does not regard this approach. The press and political gatherings have set the current. What's more, this initiative has permitted the U.S. to build up a so harsh enactment that would unnerve anybody might need to oppose what is most imperative law "Country Security and Patriot Acts" (which contained arrangements for keeping up inward security). Were presented draconian confinements of social equality. Prisons were wrongfully held in jail in Guantanamo, there were various strike and hold suspects in a way that could make envious of those of the Gestapo or the general population of Lavrenti Beria. Huge numbers of those captured were held a very long time without access to a legal advisor in the workplace and to make realized what they were kept. Police can keep, discretionarily, on any individual even

associated with "fear mongering", and this must be incorporated soon antiglobalization even activists, who until the point when September 11 not know who is Osama Bin Laden.

Strategies of observation have turned out to be draconian, the FBI could approach the accounts of books on advance from open libraries, was educated of the offer of books, Internet associations, knew nearly everything about the understudies or workforce of people, regardless of whether they were outsiders or Americans, to be educated about the clubs and jumping sports. In the climate of dread and outrage produced by the assaults of September 11, the neoconservative has the open door and propelled into drive. Not long after, neoconservative Bush II organization and the premises were changed into military convention and strategy official. Promptly after September 11 regulation has been poured on residential strategy. Dread of fear based oppression engendered on all channels, made another political culture in which moral conviction is risky close to the edge of social narrow mindedness, particularly against those with beginnings or an appearance that could give the presume .

Building up an essential lawful system, which have a preventive part and regard while human rights in the battle against psychological warfare, for instance identified with Bacillus anthracis frenzy of 2001 (which, eventually, couldn't be made by virtue of fear mongering outside the nations), prompted the foundation of a law which required bioterrorism controls in regards to recording and recording by organizations wishing to send out items in the countries. Countries

express that directions are not cumbersome and expensive, but rather more outside firms contend something else. The guidelines are, best case scenario an extra cost related with deals to the Nations.

## **2.6. Section Summary**

While fear mongering isn't new, the present psychological militant danger is unique in relation to that of the past. Present day innovation has empowered fear based oppressors to design and work worldwide as at no other time. With cutting edge broadcast communications they can arrange their activities among scattered cells while staying in the shadows. The present psychological oppressors progressively appreciate a power multiplier impact by setting up joins with other similarly invested associations around the world. Presently, with a WMD capacity, they can possibly amplify the impacts of their activities many overlay. The new worldwide condition, with its resultant fear monger interconnectivity, and WMD are changing the idea of psychological warfare. Our system's adequacy at last relies on how well we address these key aspects of the fear monger risk.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **KENYA'S SECURITY SITUATION, AND POLICY RESPONSE BY THE GOVERNMENT TO TERRORIST ATTACKS**

#### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

This section provides a brief history of terrorism activities in the global scene and then an analysis of terrorists' activities in Kenya and the country's foreign policy behaviour in response to international terrorism.

#### **3.2 Kenya's Security Situation in Relation to Terrorism Activities**

The circumstance that Kenya winds up in to the extent fear mongering is concerned is driven by the union of four components. Kenya is profoundly influenced by occasions there. Kenya, in addition, remains a possibly prime focus for fear mongers in its own particular right. It gets a considerable number of sightseers from the West. Moreover, it has the central station of the United Nations Environment Program and the United Nations Habitat Program, countless government offices, and a few worldwide organizations and multinational enterprises.

Kenya gloats of the most steady, powerful and fair government contrasted with every one of the nations in the HOA. Be that as it may, regardless of all these, the nation in latest years has encountered the most fear based oppressor assaults against Western focuses; notwithstanding being the most helpful imperative operational base for Al-Qaeda and of late, the Somali based Alshabaab (an off-shoot of Somalia's Islamic Courts Union (ICU)). In the first place, Kenya gives an objective rich condition to fear mongers in light of its generally propelled economy and

its long-standing ties with the UK, US, and Israel. Second, Kenya keeps up a working sovereign government, one progressively subject to general conclusion. As far as possible the operational flexibility of Western knowledge and counter psychological oppression units, and the last uplifts the cost of supposedly being doing others' offering in the "War on Terror."

Third, Kenya experiences frail administration in various basic regions, including security and the criminal equity framework. This demoralizes those Kenyans who may have applicable data from giving it to the specialists. Fourth, the nearness of an alienated minority Muslim populace, particularly along the Kenyan drift, gives both Al-Qaeda and AlShabaab, agents a domain in which they can work with less security weight than somewhere else in the district and in this way making Kenya an alluring spot for both Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab to work.

### **3.3 Terrorism Acts in Kenya**

A couple of years back, fear based oppression in Kenya was for the most part an outsider marvel until the point that the nation encountered its first psychological militant assault in 1980. On New Year's Eve in December 1980, a bomb detonated at the Norfolk Hotel in downtown Nairobi. The lodging possessed by a Jewish family was then a mainstream vacationer goal. individuals kicked the bucket in the impact, which likewise harmed 80 individuals and somewhat crushed the building. to vindicate Kenya's authorization to Israeli warriors to refuel in Nairobi amid the Entebbe prisoner emergency. After this psychological oppressor occurrence, Kenya did

not establish any enactment to address fear mongering wrongdoings and no sorted out fear monger related assaults happened in Kenya then period.

In any case, the following two psychological oppressor assaults reclassified the GoK's comprehension of the danger of fear mongering to its national security. It needed to reexamine its national security system, and place counter psychological warfare at the middle. The fear based oppressor assault on the US government office in Nairobi's downtown area on the seventh of August 1998, the twin assaults of Paradise lodging in Kikambala and the leaving Israeli air ship in transit to Tel Aviv in 2002 gave the driving force to this move. The 1998 US Embassy Bombing By far, the single biggest assault on American interests previously September 11 included the deplorable fear monger assaults on the US government offices in Kenya and Tanzania. Individuals from the psychological militant gathering Al-Qaeda assaulted the US government office in Nairobi with a truck-bomb .

The fear assault on the US international safe haven executed around 220 individuals and harmed about 5,000 individuals, made out of the government office staff, passers-by and individuals in neighboring structures the most influenced being at Ufundi co-agent house and Co-agent house which at that point housed the Teachers Service Commission. Al-Qaeda in the meantime assaulted the US government office in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania killing 11 and harming another 70. The two international safe havens were effectively open and generally unprotected, making them especially simple targets. In many regards, these assaults and the resulting assault on the WTC in the US on September 11 2001 were the opening round of the Global War on Terrorism (GWOT). Following these assaults, the US shelled a Sudanese-based compound production line,

suspected to have joins with the then Al-Qaeda plan Osama receptacle Laden. Rockets were likewise let go into Afghan-Pakistan fringe where Taliban volunteer army and Osama canister Laden were accounted for to work from. These future the main shots of what has progressed toward becoming to be known as the GWOT.

Instantly after the staggering dread assault on the US consulate, the administration made significant proclamations with respect to the quest for fear mongers in the nation, and vowed to convey the driving forces to equity. The then President of Kenya, Daniel Arap Moi, implied that the administration had intimations in the matter of who the aggressors were. Knowledge specialists from Kenya and the US escalated the look for the dread driving forces and inside, seven days one of the suspects in the fear plot Mohammed Sadeq Odeh was captured.

The bomb-loaded vehicle endeavored to enter the underground stopping zone, yet security protects kept it from doing as such. Had they not, the quantity of Embassy setbacks would have been far higher, and the "inadvertent blow-back" far less. In any case, regardless of the dread assault on the US consulate and the consequent capture of the fear suspects, the national attitude was still saturated with refusal. The fundamental purpose of contention inside the nation was that Kenya is a peace adoring country; one that does not harbor psychological militants. Amid this period, the administration just utilized its conciliatory armory by having a meeting with US Secretary of State Madeline Albright, and participating with the US investigative organizations.



The GoK did not attempt any endeavors to start a more extensive national counter fear based oppression system that would illuminate its own war on dread neither did it participate with local nations in creating a joint program for counter psychological warfare. The careless approach by the administration to concoct a counter fear based oppression technique was prefaced on the presumption that Kenya was only a casualty of, not a source or focus of psychological warfare. This suspicion and different factors, for example, a degenerate law authorization and migration framework, poor monetary revealing components, lacking knowledge framework, and insufficient enactment to manage fear based oppressor related offenses to a great extent added to the proceeded with utilization of Kenyan region as a hatchery for assist psychological militant movement in the nation, and somewhere else in the district.

The trial completed in New York against four men connected to the bombarding of US international safe havens in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 uncovered the presence of a fear organize that had flourished in Kenya, because of frail movement and security laws. The key authority of the Al-Qaeda Kenyan cell was made out of fundamentally residents of the Gulf States, Somalia, Pakistan, and the Comoros Island who had acclimatized into neighborhood societies along the Kenyan drift. They progressively selected neighborhood Kenyans, especially from the beach front area. Because of debasement common in the migration framework at the time, remote occupants of the Kenyan Al-Qaeda cell achieved citizenship and set up private ventures and Muslim NGOs.

Notwithstanding osmosis, fear based oppressor gatherings and systems, for example, Al-Qaeda and AlShabaab rely upon decentralization and adaptability. For instance, when Osama container Laden's secretary, Wadih El-Hage (who is credited with building up the Kenya cell in 1994), came back to the US in 1997 subsequent to being investigated by the FBI, the Kenyan cell supplanted him with an Egyptian citizen.<sup>104</sup> Following the US international safe haven bombarding, the Egyptian and other key pioneers of the Kenyan cell vanished. Working with the FBI and Interpol, the administration tried endeavors to pulverize the Al-Qaeda cell, securing a few suspects in Nairobi and Mombasa. Regardless of these captures, a few key pioneers of the 1998 shelling, including two Mombasa based men stayed on the loose. .

Amid the assault, two Strela 2 (SA-7) surface-to-air rockets were let go at, yet barely missed, an Israeli contract stream taking off from Moi International Airport in Mombasa in transit to Tel Aviv with more than 261 travelers on board. After five minutes, a truck-bomb was exploded quite recently outside the anteroom of the Israeli-claimed Paradise Hotel in Kikambala along the shoreline, north of Mombasa. The inn was frequented by voyagers of Israeli root and truth be told, the blast occurred quickly after around 60 vacationers had registered with the lodging, every one of them from Israel. 15 individuals were slaughtered and 80 harmed in the assault. 12 Kenyans and 3 Israelis 2 of them kids kicked the bucket in the assault.

Among the casualties of the dread assault, 9 of them were stimulation who had been utilized to welcome visitors to the inn. Unmistakably, for this situation Al-Qaeda's consideration moved from the US to Israel with the apparent defenselessness of the two focuses on a reasonable impetus for their choice. Dissimilar to the fear monger assaults on the US government offices in Kenya and Tanzania four years sooner, the twin assaults at the Kenyan drift were not shocking. They happened two and half months after the principal commemoration of the September 11 assaults in New York and Washington, DC. In addition, without further ado before the assaults, there had been notices of a looming assault on Western targets, provoking nations, for example, the UK, and Australia to issue head out notices to their natives venturing out to Kenya. An essential result of these assaults was that they affirmed to the GoK that the nation to be sure prov. <sup>8</sup>

Moreover, it restored its responsibility regarding a compelling counter psychological oppression administration by shaping the ATPU and setting up the NCTC in 2003 and 2004 individually to deal with fear monger related wrongdoings. ATPU was going by a senior chief of police and it united law authorization authorities prepared in counter psychological oppression operations. After the dread assault of 2002, there was developing proof of an indigenous fear based oppressor development in Kenya. Following the capture of Yemeni speculates connected to Al-Qaeda in Somalia in March 2003, Kenya's service of remote issues for sure recognized the association of Kenyan nationals in 1998 and 2002 dread assaults. The captures that concentrated exclusively on nationals from Yemen, Pakistan, and Somali constituted the main stage. The

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<sup>8</sup> . ibid

second period of the captures essentially comprised suspects of Kenyan starting point (neighborhood individuals connected to organizations).

Al-Qaeda has supported AIAI in the past and it is the most intense radical band in the HOA with a participation of 2,000 work force. As indicated by reports, Dadaab exile camp on the Somalia-Psychological oppressor Activities in Kenya from 2003 to 2012 The Paradise inn assault was trailed by a fear plot to assault the impermanent US consulate along Mombasa street in June 2003. As indicated by the plot, the assault was to be executed utilizing a truck-bomb and a hazardous loaded plane which was to be taken from Nairobi's Wilson Airport. In the mid 1990s, this same air terminal went about as the organizing base for Al-Qaeda agents' entrance flights to Somalia.

Luckily, the endeavored assault on the US consulate was thwarted by Kenyan experts. One of the suspects captured by Kenya police demonstrated that people associated with the November 2002 assaults on the Paradise Hotel arranged this fizzled assault. On May 12, 2006, another fear based oppressor episode not related with Al-Qaeda happened when three aggressors oil besieged the Nairobi workplaces of the Christian radio station Hope FM in the wake of picking up section to the station's premises by slaughtering a private security protect. Be that as it may, an inward security entryway kept the attackers from achieving the upper floor where a few staff individuals were covering up. Little is thought about their character and intentions. At the season of the assault, the station's week after week program, "Jesus is the Way," which many accept was

expressly intended to win believers to Christianity from the Islamic confidence, was on air. Despite the fact that the assault on Hope FM was somewhat unimportant regarding the effect, it denoted Kenya's first completely residential instance of Muslim-based fear based oppression. The period between 2007 and 2010 saw the country witnessing terror attacks of minor scale. It is during this period that Mohammed Abdulmalik Bajabu, a Kenyan citizen was arrested. He was arrested in February 2007 on suspicion of leading a terrorist bomb plot in Mombasa during the World Cross Country Championships that were held in Mombasa in March 2007. Besides that, Abdulmalik was suspected of being involved in the terror attack of Paradise Hotel in Mombasa. After the arrest, the terror suspect was transferred to Guantanamo in the US on 26 March 2007.<sup>9</sup> The move demonstrated a clear shift in GoK policy in cooperating with the US government on the GWOT. "moved to Guantánamo Bay with the full consent of the Kenyan government as part of collaboration between the two governments to fight global terrorism."<sup>10</sup> The period also saw intensified efforts by Kenyan and US security agencies in tracking the 1998 and 2002 terror mastermind and leader of Al-Qaeda cell in East Africa Fazul Abdullah Mohammed.

Fazul escaped arrests on several times before finally being shot dead by Somali police on 7 June 2011 when he and an associate Musa Hussein who was known to Fazul as Abdullahi Dere Musa refused to stop at a checkpoint north-west of Mogadishu.<sup>11</sup> In mid October 2011, Kenya made an incursion to Somalia which was largely influenced by frequent abductions of Kenyans and tourists by operatives suspected to be from the Somali based Al-Shabaab. They

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<sup>9</sup> ibid

<sup>10</sup> B. 2011. 43

<sup>11</sup> ibid

held hostage a number of cargo ships and demanded ransom running into millions of dollars. This money has continuously been used by AlShabaab to fund terrorism activities in the region. Prior to the incursion into Somalia, a number of abductions and terror attacks against Kenyan citizens and foreigners were carried out by suspected Al-Shabaab militants<sup>12</sup>.

Toward the beginning of September 2011, an English vacationer was grabbed by Somali privateers from a remote Safari hold up close to the Somali fringe. Judith Tebbutt was abducted and her significant other, David Tebbutt, executed in the assault when he opposed the grabbing. The Somali privateers took the woman over the outskirts into a remote corner of the untamed nation and held her prisoner while requesting buy-off from the British government. On second October 2011, the media announced that 10 vigorously outfitted Somali criminals accepted to be Al-Shabaab agents had grabbed a French lady from her vacation home in Manda Island. They were "intensely furnished Somali crooks suspected to be Al-Shabaab agents from Ras Kamboni, over the outskirts in Somalia", the late Professor George Saitoti, at that point Kenya's inside security serve said in an announcement. The men were sought after by Kenya's security powers as they hustled in a rapid watercraft towards the outskirts. Officers from the Kenya Navy figured out how to harm a few abductors in a shoot-out. The men figured out how to achieve Ras Kamboni and got away into Somalia. After the snatching, the French government office in Nairobi encouraged "extraordinary alert" for individuals going to Lamu and the encompassing regions. Saitoti named the snatching a "genuine infringement of Kenya's regional uprightness".

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<sup>12</sup> ibid

Because of these and different occurrences, nations like the UK, Australia and the US issued tourism warnings to their subjects against going by a few sections of the nation particularly the drift. For example, in its tourism warning, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in the UK prompted its nationals as tails: "We exhort against everything except basic go to waterfront territories inside 150 km off the Somali outskirts, following two assaults by outfitted groups in little pontoons against shoreline resorts in the Lamu territory on 11 September and 1 October 2011." On its part the US cautioned its natives that, "The US Department of State cautions US residents on the dangers of making a trip to Kenya".

It exhorted its subjects to assess their own security circumstance in light of proceeding with uplifted dangers from psychological warfare. The assaults and snatchings completed by Al-Shabaab undermined the nation's security and subsequently its dependability. Then again, tourism warnings undermined the nation's financial prosperity since it specifically influenced tourism, the backbone of Kenya's economy regarding remote trade profit. The decaying security in the drift and parts of north eastern region notwithstanding the tourism warnings along these lines affected Kenya's approach on the invasion into Somalia where it dispatched KDF military staff to work in conjunction with the TFG powers keeping in mind the end goal to control the treat of Al-Shabaab to Kenya's security and also its financial prosperity.

The primary performers associated with the attack into Somalia were the late Professor George Saitoti, who bent over as then clergyman accountable for inner security and acting priest for remote undertakings, Yusuf Haji at that point serve for barrier, and General Julius Karangi, Chief of KDF. Preceding the invasion into Somalia, the three were seen on a few times tending to question and answer sessions both neighborhood and universal cautioning that the consistent assaults by Al-Shabaab were not going to be endured by the legislature. Following the invasion, various psychological militant assaults were done by Al-Shabaab in countering to Kenya's attack into Somalia..

A projectile was flung inside the bar slaughtering 1 individual and harming more than 20 individuals. As per the Police, the weapon utilized was a Russianmade F1 grenade.<sup>122</sup> around the same time, yet a moment impact happened, when an explosive was hurled out of a moving vehicle into the Machakos transport end where 5 individuals passed on, 69 individuals were harmed in which 2 of them were conceded at the emergency unit. Before the assaults, the US had issued a ready cautioning of fast approaching dread assaults in the nation. The notice demonstrated that Al-Shabaab fear gathering would do retaliatory assaults in light of Kenyan troops' attack into Somalia in mid-October.<sup>123</sup> A Kenyan Muslim change over Elgiva Bwire Oliacha, was captured regarding the two impacts and was consequently condemned to life detainment in the wake of having confessed to every one of the charges favored against him.



Al-Shabaab aggressors did a few assaults over the initial couple of long stretches of 2012. January saw three fear based oppressor assaults, whereby in one of the assaults, the director of the Community Peace and Security Team in Hagadera camp and in addition a few cops were executed. Amid the period of February, Al-Shabaab guaranteed obligation regarding an assault that brought about the demise of a cop and a non military personnel while harming two different regular folks.

The aggressor, by the name of Amar, entered the congregation and left. He later returned and flung an explosive at admirers while they had been called by the minister to the lectern. The aggressor at that point fled from the scene. The assault brought about the demise of 1 individual and 11 individuals were harmed and were in this manner conceded at Kenyatta National Hospital. The specialists said that the explosive utilized was fabricated in China. On 28 May, 2012 an impact went off inside the, harming 27 individuals 4 of them fundamentally. Mathew Iteere then Commissioner of Police said that the blast was because of either an explosive or a bomb. On 24 June, 2012, at around 10 pm when individuals had assembled.

The assault likewise harmed 30 individuals including a speculate who was claimed to be a piece of the aggressors, and a 9-year old kid. This assault occurred around the same time the Kenya Navy had taken away two unstable gadgets that had been discovered skimming in the Indian Ocean. Athman Salim, a 23-year old Kenyan Muslim from Kilifi District was the primary suspect of the assault. He guaranteed that he had gone by the bar to hear some out neighborhood music, and demonstrated that he had never worked outside the city of Mombasa. He was discharged on 9 July in the wake of burning through 10 days in authority at Nyali police

headquarters. Veiled shooters assaulted two places of worship in Garissa all the while on 1 July, 2012. The holy places, the Central Catholic Cathedral and Garissa AIC are 3 kilometers separated. The aggressors executed 17 individuals and left 50 harmed. The dead included 2 cops, 4 men, 9 ladies and 2 kids.

The Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims (SUPKEM) cautioned against the confusion of this assault as a pious war against Christians. A joint exertion by the Kenya Police, AP, NSIS now NIS and the paramilitary GSU saw the capture of 83 suspects regarding the assault amid a gigantic security swoop did thereafter.<sup>133</sup> In the period of August, 1 individual was murdered and 6 were harmed in Eastleigh close to the Kenya Air constrain central command. The assault was completed on third August and it happened on the eve of a visit by Hillary Clinton, the then US secretary of state. The suicide bombarding was coincidentally done by a honest bearer of an exploded home-made gadget. This mode was embraced by the aggressors as another method for executing their plans by giving clueless residents outfitted home-made explosives that they thus explode remotely at a sheltered separation. November 18 2012, saw a dread assault on a minibus in Eastleigh where 10 individuals were executed and 25 genuinely harmed. The blast was caused by an ad libbed hazardous gadget. Following the assault, plundering and pulverization of Somali-claimed homes and shops by irate swarms of youthful Kenyans resulted. On 7 December, 5 individuals were murdered and 8 others harmed in a blast close to a mosque in Eastleigh zone of Nairobi. Among the injured was the zone individual from parliament Abdi Yusuf Hassan. Hassan was truly harmed is as yet recuperating from the wounds even at the season of composing this undertaking.

### **3.4 Policy Response by the Government to Terrorist Attacks and Threats**

The ease back government reaction to fear monger assaults and dangers since the 1998 bombarding developed from a refusal in view of the impression of Kenya as a casualty, instead of a wellspring of universal psychological oppression. This dissent was likewise fixing to the failure to recognize the more extensive setting that prompted the development of fear based oppression: the disintegration of administration structures, prominently feeble authorization and entryway keeping establishments. Thusly, the legislature has dependably been reluctant to distance Kenya's Muslim minority who frequently grumble of underestimation. There was, in any case, a checked move in approach after Muslim protestors humiliated the Moi administration by walking in help of Al-Qaeda in the wake of September 11 assaults in the US. The new legislature of Mwai Kibaki moved to set up instruments to meet the developing danger of fear mongering exercises in Kenya. In February 2003, the legislature framed the ATPU made out of officers prepared in hostile to fear based oppression.

In the meantime, the bureau approved transactions between the official and authoritative branches on enactment to identify and rebuff speculated psychological oppressors. In June 2003, Kalonzo Musyoka who was then the priest for outside issues approached parliament to speedily pass the counter fear based oppression charge. To the extent counter psychological oppression systems are worried in Kenya, the discretionary angles have developed substantially speedier than the administrative ones. As far back as 2003, an attempt to pass the Suppression of Terrorism Bill 2003 was rejected by Kenyan parliament. Even a revised bill known as Suppression of Terrorism Bill 2006 met equal resistance from law makers and the Muslim

community in Kenya. On the judiciary front, seven terror suspects that were arrested in connection with the 2002 bombings in Kikambala were acquitted in 2005 due to lack of laws that govern terrorism. The closest Kenya came to strengthening the prosecution of terrorist suspects was in the amendment of the Evidence Act that made confession taken before a police officer admissible in a court of law.<sup>13</sup> The amendment of the act led to a number of successful prosecutions of terrorist suspects.

### **3.5 Legislative Initiatives Suppression of Terrorism**

In 2003, the GoK distributed the Suppression of Terrorism Bill with far reaching arrangements on what added up to psychological oppression. The bill characterized fear based oppression, entomb alia, as "the utilization of danger or activity" where: a) the activity utilized or undermined: (i) includes genuine savagery against a man, (ii) includes genuine harm to possessions (iii) imperils the lifetime of some individual other than the individual submitting the activity (iv) makes a genuine hazard to the wellbeing or security or the general population or a segment of people in general or (v) is planned truly to meddle with or truly disturb an electronic framework; (b) the utilization or risk is intended to impact the legislature or to scare the general population or an area of the general population; and (c) the utilization or danger is made with the end goal of propelling a dogmatic, devout or party-political reason.<sup>14</sup>

The definitional problem that bedevils the global quest for a precise operationalization of the concept of the term "terrorism" was evident in this definition and in the bill in particular. Like

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<sup>13</sup> . Amnesty International, "Kenya: Memorandum to the Government of Kenya on the Suppression of Terrorism Bill, 2003." (p.1) Amnesty International, September 2004.

<sup>14</sup>

most counter terrorism legislations, the bill was described as being riddled with vague and broad parameters that open them to abuse by the state.<sup>15</sup> As a result, it was met by stiff opposition from all quarters including parliament, civil society, and international human rights organizations<sup>16</sup> which subsequently led to the withdrawal of the bill pending further consultations. It was later revised and taken back to parliament for debate. Suppression of Terrorism Bill 2006 This bill was a revised version of the Suppression of Terrorism Bill, 2003.

Over the years, twelve key international conventions have been developed within the UN to address the threat of terrorism, and the obligations of state parties under those conventions and protocols. Kenya is party to all the conventions. Moreover, the bill distinguished between free speech, acts such as protests, demonstrations, or work stoppages, and overt acts of terrorism. An important provision of the draft bill was that it addressed issues of international terrorism. Under the bill, the incitement to commit a terrorist offence does not have to take place in Kenya for it to be an offence under the proposed act. Section 8 (2) of the bill noted that, "It is immaterial whether or not the person incited is in Kenya at the time of the incitement."<sup>17</sup> This part of the bill recognized that Kenya was a critical partner in the GWOT.

It also signaled the government's acknowledgement that Kenya was no longer merely a victim of terrorism, but a harbor of terrorists. Another important provision of this bill that related to GWOT was the provision for mutual assistance and extradition. Under section 33 (1) of that

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<sup>15</sup> Amnesty International, "Kenya: Memorandum to the Government of Kenya on the Suppression of Terrorism Bill, 2003." (p.1) Amnesty International, September 2004.

<sup>16</sup> 147 Government of Kenya, "The Anti-Terrorism Bill, 2006" (Draft), p.3. 52

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.,p.6. 53

proposed bill, Kenya's AG may have shared information regarding terrorists with a foreign state. Such information included details of movement, travel documents, communication technologies, or terrorist related offences committed. However, under section 34 (1) of the proposed bill, the AG could only have done this with permission of the High Court.<sup>18</sup> If passed, the act would have also allowed Kenya's AG to make similar requests to a foreign state. Although the proposed bill was somewhat an improved version part of a counter terrorism program were written at the behest of the US government. The second argument was that the laws were discriminatory and that they targeted the Muslim community. This was reinforced by the fact that the Kenyan police arrested and detained, sometimes incommunicado, many people from the Muslim community on suspicion of involvement in terrorist activities.<sup>19</sup>

The Terrorism Suppression Bill 2006 was not passed as it was rejected at parliamentary committee level. The government made several overtures to the Muslim community assuring them that their community will not be targeted. However, Muslim leaders remained adamant in their opposition to the bill leading to its withdrawal from parliament. This was a setback to the government in its GWOT. On 28th August 2012, Yusuf Haji, then the defence minister and acting internal security minister tabled the Prevention of Terrorism Bill 2012 in parliament.

The bill was passed by parliament and President Mwai Kibaki consented to it on twelfth October 2012 and it turned into the Prevention of Terrorist Act 2012 which gives law requirement offices more powers to battle fear mongering in the nation. Under the Act, people

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid. p.23. 54

<sup>19</sup> ibid

discovered participating in fear based oppression exercises prompting passings of different people was detained forever while exercises which don't result to passings will pull in prison terms of up to 30 years. Those indicted aiding the commission of fear mongering acts and those found possessing property proposed for the commission of the demonstrations are on conviction obligated for a term not surpassing 20 years. The Act which drew sharp feedback from individuals from the Muslim people group additionally gives firm punishments to the offenses of participation to fear based oppressor gatherings, enlistment and in addition preparing. While the administration's work on the authoritative parts of its counter fear based oppression arrangement was for quite a while undermined by an emphatic parliament, an energetic common society, and a decided religious group, its work on both two-sided and multilateral activities on counter psychological warfare has been more beneficial.

### **3.6 Diplomatic Initiatives**

Following repeated threats to Kenya and the impact of these threats on the national economy and security, the GoK initiated both multilateral and bilateral initiatives to build partnerships with affected countries both inside and outside the region.<sup>20</sup> As part of its regional counter terrorism initiatives, the GoK has participated in numerous discussions under the auspices of regional organizations such as IGAD, the AU, the Commonwealth and the UN. Nevertheless, the most prominent diplomatic initiative is the bilateral cooperation with the US government on improving Kenya's counter terrorism readiness. For the US, counter terrorism

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<sup>20</sup> Amnesty International, "Kenya: Memorandum to the Government of Kenya on the Suppression of Terrorism Bill, 2003." (p.1) Amnesty International, September 2004.

efforts have been described as a “high priority” in the fight against terrorism in the region.<sup>21</sup> Military Training and Counter terrorism Strategy Bilaterally, the US government has been Kenya’s greatest partner.

The US has supported Kenya’s counter terrorism operations which have been on the rise since 1998. Despite the existence of the high profile cooperation between the two countries, the US continues to view Kenya’s efforts in counter terrorism measures as inadequate. According to President Bush administration at the time, there was little progress made by Kenya on the war on terror. In its annual Patterns of Terrorism report, the US State Department faulted Kenya for disbanding the Joint Terrorism Task Force established in 2004 with US funding to improve cooperative work on counter terrorism among the police and armed forces. According to the report, the GoK did not complete the National Counter terrorism Strategy, nor did it sensitize the country on the terrorist threat.<sup>22</sup>

The nature of support from the US government has been varied. It ranges from provision of military hardware to counter terrorism training. For instance, among the highly publicized counter terrorism joint exercise was in June 2003 when the US military’s Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA) personnel arrived in Mombasa to conduct joint training with Kenyan military as part of the counter terrorism preparation.<sup>155</sup> A press release from the CJTF-HOA secretariat indicated that “the goal, for what was an extended period of operations in coastal and international waters between Kenyan and CJTF-HOA forces, is the integration of a

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variety of advanced technologies into coastal and maritime counter terrorism plans and operations.”<sup>23</sup> Operationally, CJTF-HOA covers the total airspace, land areas, and coastal waters of Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Yemen. Other joint operations carried out were in June and July 2003 when the Kenya Navy and USS Joint Venture (HSV-XI) undertook joint coastal and interdiction operations. Other training operations were jointly conducted with the USS Jarret (FFG33) and Kenya’s Shupavu in January 2004. Kenya’s Defence Department and the USS Central Command signed a memorandum providing for joint maritime operations at least two times a year under the US military’s CJTF-HOA.<sup>24</sup>

According to top commanders of the Kenya Navy, it was anticipated that the training operations were to enhance both the operational and tactical capacity of the Navy to protect Kenya’s coastline. Ultimately, this was expected to “produce and increase Kenya’s counter terrorism capability, deter cross-border movement, and create credible pressure on terrorism activities within Kenyan waters and in Somalia from the south.”<sup>25</sup> Apart from joint counter terrorism training of military personnel, Kenya is also a major beneficiary of 100 million US Dollars EACTI that was launched by President Bush in 2003.

Under the initiative, Kenya received funding to improve the NCTC and to fund the joint counter terrorism task force. The joint task force was established to improve interagency and information sharing to better target and disrupt terrorist activities in the country and the region.

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<sup>23</sup> J. Davis, (2007) *Africa and the War on Terrorism*, (p.55). Ashgate Publishing Limited. CJTF-HOA, Press Release, June 15, 2003. Available on the web: <http://usembassy.state.gov/nairobi/wwwhrel14.html>. 57

<sup>24</sup> CJTF-HOA, Press Release, June 15, 2003. Available on the web: <http://usembassy.state.gov/nairobi/wwwhrel14.html>.

<sup>25</sup> *ibid*

The task force was later disbanded in 2004. Additionally, as part of the initiative, Kenya received funding for police training and modernization of its communication equipment. In addition to these more visible programs, with support from the US government, the GoK became part of the Terrorist Interdiction Program (TIP).<sup>26</sup>

Through this program, custom officials can identify terrorist suspects entering the country. The data can then be shared among countries for effective monitoring of suspected terrorists. Another important aspect of border controls is the Export Control and Related Border Security Assistance project that has received substantial funding from the US government. Under this program, the GoK is provided with funds to improve border controls to prevent transfer of weapons of mass destruction through the country's borders.<sup>27</sup> These and other programs remain some of the most important outcomes of bilateral negotiations between Kenya and the US in the GWOT.

### 3.7 Chapter Summary

Kenya was pushed into the focal point of universal psychological oppression in 1998 when the US international safe haven in Nairobi was shelled. After four years, a bomb decimated the Israeli possessed Paradise inn in Kilifi. Despite the fact that, in both Al-Qaeda psychological militant occurrences, the essential targets were Americans and Israelis, Kenyans paid the heaviest cost as far as lives lost and number of wounds, also the financial interruptions

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<sup>26</sup> P.

<sup>27</sup> . Amnesty International, "Kenya: Memorandum to the Government of Kenya on the Suppression of Terrorism Bill, 2003." (p.1) Amnesty International, September 2004.

occasioned by these occasions.<sup>28</sup> This chapter has addressed the steps undertaken by the government through the institution of the judiciary in combating international terrorism.

It has also addressed some of the diplomatic initiatives undertaken by Kenya both bilaterally and multilaterally in addressing international terrorism and hence bringing into focus the role of international state actors in shaping Kenya's foreign policy behaviour in response to international terrorism. The steps undertaken in enacting the Prevention of Terrorism Act 2012 will go a long way in prosecuting masterminds of terrorism activities. The act will address the institutional weaknesses that the judiciary has suffered for a very long time in as far as prosecuting crimes related to terrorism is concerned.

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28 Amnesty International, "Kenya: Memorandum to the Government of Kenya on the Suppression of Terrorism Bill, 2003." (p.1) Amnesty International, September 2004.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **KENYA POLICE/CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES, SUCCESS AND FAILURES IN THE SOLUTION TO INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM**

#### **4.1: Introduction**

An investigation of Kenya's history of battling fear mongering affirms that the most ideal approach to crush psychological warfare is to confine and limit its exercises and after that devastate it through serious, maintained activity. Political weights and financial approvals have directed some state supports, yet have had little impact on singular gatherings that can maintain an autonomous nearness. Kenya's hostile to fear technique starts to develop Victory against psychological warfare won't happen as a solitary, pivotal turning point.

In any case, through the upheld push to pack the degree and limit of mental oppressor affiliations, detach them locally, and decimate them inside state edges, Kenya and its associates and accomplices will secure a region in which our adolescents can live free from fear and where the danger of dread monger ambushes does not portray our consistently lives . Triumph, thus, was secured similarly as long as Kenyan national policing and the overall gathering keep up their carefulness and work inexhaustibly to keep fear based oppressors from causing aversions like those of Garrisa University

#### **4.2 Terrorists and Their Organizations**

The initial principle of the 4D system calls for vanquishing fear monger associations of worldwide reach through the immediate or circuitous utilization of discretionary, monetary, data, law requirement, military, money related, insight, and different instruments of influence. The

development of psychological oppressor associations into free, adaptable systems with little, casual gatherings exacerbates the difficulties of fighting them. Kenya and its accomplices will focus on the people, state supports, and transnational systems that empower psychological warfare to prosper.

Nonetheless, because of the wide span and modernity of some of these worldwide psychological militant associations, we should first act to lessen their extension and ability. This exertion expects us to distinguish the fear based oppressors, find their asylums, and obliterate their capacity to design and work. We can't sit tight for fear based oppressors to assault and afterward react. The United States and its accomplices will upset and debase the capacity of psychological militants to act, and propel supporters of fear mongering to cut it out. Keeping fear based oppressor bunches from accessing innovation, especially that which bolsters WMD, was one of our most noteworthy needs .

#### **4.3 Identify psychological oppressors and fear based oppressor associations.**

The Intelligence Community and law authorization offices will in this way proceed with their forceful endeavors to recognize fear mongers and their associations, delineate order and control and bolster foundation, and afterward guarantee we have expansive, yet fitting, appropriation of the insight to government, state, and nearby offices and also to our worldwide partners. While the policing technique not overlook territorial or developing dangers, our operational endeavors and knowledge will concentrate basically upon the most perilous gatherings, specifically, those with worldwide reach or goals to obtain and utilize WMD.

Kenya must compose its undertakings in light of the speedy hazard and our national points of interest. In perspective of this prioritization and mapping of dread monger affiliations, the policing procedure make sense of where to position forces and collection points of interest for perceive mental oppressor ground, air, maritime, and computerized works out. Favorable and gainful arranging of these advantages was key for procuring learning and making choices for complete action. A key piece of this power and asset course of action was our ability to fathom the mental oppressor desire through specific and report manhandle . This will require a breathtaking addition in phonetic offer assistance. Along these lines, all organization workplaces will review their lingo tasks to ensure acceptable resources are available to deal with this request.

For comprehension to win in this war on mental battling, Kenya must depend upon particular learning, and furthermore reestablish its supplement on different sorts of data expected that would get inside the affiliations, find their safe houses, and shock their plans and operations. The Intelligence Community will audit its present ability to accumulate human and specific comprehension on mental oppressor affiliations and make suggestion, as pivotal, to widen its enlistment, preparing, and operations.

The Intelligence Community will proceed with its wide push to get new revealing sources, by then utilize those sources to enter doled out mental lobbyist relationship to give data on association, plans, destinations, old news, resources, correspondences, and choice . The law endorsement gathering, utilizing the use gave by our criminal esteem structure, will proceed with its endeavors to see and find fear monger affiliations working at home and abroad. Our regular embellishments are much of the time best balanced over Kenya to get to data and learning. In

like way, the learning and law endorsement bundles must proceed to create and enhance their relations with their remote accessories with an extreme target to take better supported position of their source announcing.

#### **4.4 Destroy fear based oppressors and their associations.**

When we have distinguished and found the psychological militants, Kenya and its companions and partners will utilize each device accessible to disturb, disassemble, and demolish their ability to lead demonstrations of dread. The last component to the Defeat objective is a forceful, hostile procedure to dispense with capacities that enable fear mongers to exist and work assaulting their havens; initiative; charge, control, and correspondences; material help; and funds. While disclosing the points of interest of this part of the methodology would be incautious, Kenyan policing system concentrate our endeavors on three columns.

To start with, Kenyan policing technique grow our law implementation push to catch, keep, and indict known and suspected fear mongers. Second, Kenyan national policing center definitive military power and concentrated knowledge assets to crush psychological oppressor organizes internationally . At last, with the participation of its accomplices and proper universal associations, Kenyan policing system proceeds with its forceful arrangement to wipe out the wellsprings of psychological oppressor financing. To synchronize this exertion, the Department of State will lead the pack in creating particular territorial techniques for the thrashing of fear mongering. The policing system additionally use territorial connections, by guaranteeing fitting united interest with the provincial Combatant Commanders as they indict the war on psychological oppression.

#### **4.5 Deny Sponsorship, Support, and Sanctuary to Terrorists**

The National Strategy's second front strains denying mental aggressors the sponsorship, support, and haven that empower them to exist, get quality, prepare, design, and execute their ambushes. Kenya has a long memory and is finished to holding mental activists and the general population who harbor them accountable for past encroachment. The states that harbor mental activists take after decoration who offer safe house to blameworthy gatherings. They was seen as responsible for the activities of their "visitors." The structure to deny sponsorship, support, and asylum is three-cover. Regardless, it concentrates on the commitments of all states to satisfy their obligations with respect to battle mental abuse both inside their edges and all around.

Second, it causes target Kenyan help to those states who will battle mental manhandle, however won't not have the procedures. Taking everything into account, when states show hesitant or unwilling to meet their comprehensive obligations in regards to deny support and asylum to fear mongers, the United States, in speculation with companions and accessories, or if basic, acting independently, will make sense of how to impact them to change their techniques. The objective of this front is to intrude with the establishment of fear based oppressor bunches their way to an area, stores, hardware, preparing, improvement, and unhindered travel . This approach will therefore debilitate fear based oppressor affiliations and their capacity to arrange operations. Of specific criticalness is trying to shield mental oppressors from acquiring the capacity to utilize made, characteristic, radiological, or atomic weapons, or extraordinary yield explosives.



Non-state performers expect an essential part in the general condition. Nongovernmental affiliations are fundamental in connecting with comprehensive fear based abuse and the policing framework work with them to shield mental aggressors from abusing their associations.

#### **4.6 Chapter Summary**

It is vital for all nations to receive a "zero resilience" approach for psychological militant movement inside their outskirts. In the new worldwide condition it is additionally critical for states to see how fear mongers and their supporters may utilize genuine methods for correspondence, business, and transportation for illicit exercises. Each express that escapes the matter of supporting psychological warfare speaks to a huge advance forward and offers an unmistakable measure of achievement. Kenya will dependably never try to expel states from the sponsorship list by bringing down the bar; rather, these states ought to be urged or constrained to clear the bar .

The Kenyan national policing methodology must not have a solitary, firm way to deal with taking care of the perceived state patrons of psychological warfare. Each case is special, with various interests and heritage issues included. Every circumstance requests particularly custom fitted strategies. Kenyan programmes are interested in suggestions from states that need to put their sponsorship of psychological warfare behind them, however won't trade off on the fundamental rule that there are no "great" or "just" fear based oppressors. The policing methodology is tireless in defaming fear based oppression as a genuine methods for communicating discontent.

To guarantee that it have an all around coordinated and synchronized approach, the Kenyan policing technique will lead the pack in creating strategy activity designs that utilize the two motivations and disincentives to end state sponsorship of fear based oppression. Every single fitting office will draw in key partners to create normal or integral techniques to help the above plans. So no state errs Kenya resolve, the policing methodology explains these arrangement objectives through suitable open and political channels.

Given these stakes, we should drive forward until Kenya, together with its companions and partners, wipes out psychological oppression as a danger to our lifestyle. As our foes abuse the advantages of our worldwide condition to work the world over, our approach must be worldwide also. When they run, was take after. When they cover up, was discover them. A few front lines was known, others obscure. The battle ahead was long and laborious. In this unique sort of war, we can't expect a simple or authoritative end to the contention. National policing Strategy should dependably mirrors the truth that components of national power political, monetary, data, budgetary, law requirement, knowledge, and military at the same time crosswise over four fronts. Kenya will in this way vanquish fear based oppressor associations of worldwide reach through persistent activity and deny psychological militants the sponsorship, support, and haven they have to survive.

#### **4.7 Recommendations**

Kenya's police philosophy should address key highlights of the dread monger chance. The desire of Kenyan police framework should be to stop fear monger ambushes against the country, its locals, its interests, and our mates and accomplices the world over and in the long run, to make

an overall circumstance unwelcoming to mental oppressors and every single one of the people who reinforce them. To complete these assignments the police will in the meantime follow up on four fronts. While fear mongering isn't new, the present mental oppressor risk isn't exactly the same as that of the past. Display day advancement has enabled mental activists to plan and work worldwide as at no other time.

With cutting edge media trades they can support their activities among scattered cells while staying in the shadows. The present mental aggressors powerfully esteem a power multiplier influence by working up joins with other likewise contributed relationship around the world . The United States and its colleagues will beat fear based oppressor relationship of general reach by striking their havens; movement; summon, control, and trades; material help; and backings. This approach will have a falling impact over the more prominent mental attacker scene, irritating the fear based oppressors' capacity to framework and work. In like way, it will drive these relationship to diffuse and a brief timeframe later endeavor to reconsolidate along ordinary lines to enhance their correspondences and venture<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> . Amnesty International, "Kenya: Memorandum to the Government of Kenya on the Suppression of Terrorism Bill, 2003." (p.1) Amnesty International, September 2004.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CRITICALLY ANALYSES AND EXAMINE THE ROLE OF THE KENYA POLICE SERVICE IN COUNTER-TERRORISM

#### 5.1: Introduction

During the past four decades, the role of the Kenyan Police in counter-terrorism has been a topic of interest among academics and practitioners working in the area Terrorism<sup>30</sup>. This discourse is outlined in the following subsections.

#### 5.2 Personnel Reforms and Counter-terrorism

Inability to make police oversight establishment keeps the arrangement of a security benefit in a setting where recreation and peace-building can prosper. History additionally shows that policing is a major factor adding to both the issue and arrangement of uprising. As opposed to limit military power, effective counterinsurgency crusades have been the real power utilized by the legislature. Not by their usage as assistant military powers, but rather as regular citizen law implementation operators established in the nearby group and with connections to the masses. Their significance is as often as possible and bloodily featured by the quantity of assaults agitators dispatch against police targets .

The Kenya Police Service (KPS) is understaffed and the officers are not enough prepared regarding assets to counter universal psychological oppression. The current 1:850 proportion of

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cops to nationals misses the mark concerning the United Nations (UN) suggested proportion of 1:450. Additionally, cops work under wretched conditions and terms of administration, which may incline them toward mistreating the general population they should serve . Concerning enlistment, straightforwardness, normality and decency must be signs of faculty choices not just at the highest point of the Police Service, yet at all positions. Many cops, at all positions, owe their positions not to their scholarly capabilities or to their execution at work, but instead to the support of capable people outside the Police Service

Enrollment into the police is ordinarily forked, on the premise of formal training, prompting an association that recognizes, in military design, among general population. Lower positions require insignificant levels of training, verified by endorsements; officers are enrolled from foundations of advanced education. With uncommon special cases, it is hard to climb in the chain of command from bring down positions to officer levels through understanding and legitimacy . The outcomes of this example of enrollment are appalling for recognizable proof with the association, resolve, and adequacy. Lower positions realize that their vocation openings are seriously restricted, regardless of to what extent or how well they perform, and that their predominant officers look down on them since they need longer times of formal instruction.

Officers, as they are among the informed elites of their nations, or as understudies will disclose to you they may be 'the future pioneers of their nation' (college instruction is unequivocally pyramidal), are totally persuaded that they are superior to anything less-taught society, and that

they merit regard from others, including their own particular police; they know minimal about policing as it occurs in the city not having come up through the positions, nor are they prepared formally in such issues; and they have a poor opinion of utilizing the lower positions as individual defenders and even hirelings. There is little recognizable proof crosswise over positions in any case, perhaps inside positions (this is a speculation since there is no examination on this), that all have a place with a typical association or that all police are occupied with a typical venture .

Stone and Ward contend that changes can likewise be accomplished through police preparing. As indicated by them, any adjustment in the propensities and exercises of police requires new preparing. In any case, preparing alone has constrained effect unless combined with functional changes in administration, organization, and supervision. In each power or administration, newcomers grumble that instructional classes don't set them up for what they experience in the city. Once at work, they are frequently advised to leave their preparation in the classroom and take after the lead of experienced officers. Preparing that precisely expects the circumstances police will experience - including antagonistic vibe from normal nationals and protection from suspects - can enable police to plan to deal with those circumstances less fiercely, yet more successfully .

Preparing programs in the correct, controlled utilization of guns and in contrasting options to deadly power, for example, verbal judo (a strategy of utilizing words, not constrain, to stifle a

suspect), are famous with police and human rights gatherings. The abuse of guns by police is in charge of many regular citizen passings every year in the United States . Preparing in examination and real cross examination strategies may correspondingly help lessen the superfluous utilization of power to separate admissions. What they require is viable, hands-on preparing on cross examination without utilizing power, in addition to preparing in fingerprinting, dealing with confirmation, and insight gathering. Building up these fundamental aptitudes, and refreshing them for senior officers, could enable police to abstain from utilizing mental or physical manhandle to acquire data. Administration and official instruction is likewise a recently prominent type of inservice preparing for the police. Senior officers will probably think about themselves as commandants as opposed to administrators or officials, albeit some police officials have started to apply private-segment administration hypothesis to policing (Hoover, L., 1996).

One can discover, on official sites and in periodic police reports, what practical units in the association officers are ostensibly relegated to. Be that as it may, little is known on how and where the police really function. One example that is known is that police staff appointed to watching essentially work in high society and exile zones and lodging domains, and that many are redirected into insurance administrations for VIPs. Police territory regarded as a grown-up toy by the political elites. One can simply tell how vital a man is by the quantity of cops who twirl around her or everything he might do . The other example which can be found in each state are detours hurled by the police, legitimately or all alone activity, apparently to control

movement, check vehicle security, and keep the go of hoodlums on streets. Their genuine reason, which everybody knows – police, their administrators, general society, media – is gathering a 'street impose,' cash which must be 'paid' to the police for one to be permitted to proceed. The 'assessment' hits hardest and most every now and again on individuals who bring home the bacon driving cabs, open administration vehicles, and lorries as their work. Any individual who has ever determined in African nations, or taken a long separation taxi, has encountered the standard introductory statements (or some adaptation thereof) by a cop when ceased at a barricade, in particular, 'what have you brought for me today?'<sup>31</sup>

### **5.3 Financial Reforms of Police in Counter-terrorism**

The essential reason for useless policing is the serious shortage of assets with which the police must fight counter universal fear mongering (KPS, 2007). All the more significantly, the police in African nations are under-financed, particularly contrasted with the military and other state security organs; one outcome of under-subsidizing is an absence of ability to methodically get and investigate the data vital for a successful and productive running of the association . While making recommendations for a patched up police benefit in the United Kingdom, the UK Home Office (1993) gave projects on the most proficient method to make the police benefits more successful to the extent counter-fear based oppression is concerned. Among these is the self-rule to do the accompanying, among others: to set the financial plan for the year and to endorse and distribute a cost design of policing.

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<sup>31</sup> . Amnesty International, "Kenya: Memorandum to the Government of Kenya on the Suppression of Terrorism Bill, 2003." (p.1) Amnesty International, September 2004.



The police experts ought to guarantee that the arrangement is intended to convey both the key government's destinations and those which are set locally, to screen budgetary and other execution of the police benefit amid the year regarding key and neighborhood goals and targets, and to keep up exchange with the Home Office on key and nearby goals for policing, among others. Concerning the planning, the police experts ought to be constituted as unattached corporate bodies with possess standard spending evaluation. Like other state bodies, the police spending will be liable to review by Government Auditors. One of the principle targets here to give police chiefs more opportunity to deal with their assets so as to convey what is anticipated from them by the individuals from open. .

Lawmaking bodies manage the financial plans of law implementation organizations and can control the police by guiding assets to specific stations, units, or projects. However, similar remains constant: once in a while are officials willing to withhold subsidizing for such a fundamental administration as policing. Nor do they ordinarily utilize their power to deny financing for specific exercises or force conditions and constraints on how the assets are spent by police organizations (Stone and Ward, 2010). In any case, a mixture of assets alone won't take care of KPS's administrative and social issues; just genuine, practical institutional changes can change the Kenya Police from being a "Power" to an "Administration" .

#### **5.4 Legal Reforms of the police in Counter-fear based oppression**

Conveyance Police change can likewise be directed through official oversight. For this situation, police boss answer straightforwardly to chose authorities - chairmen, governors, or presidents - or to somebody delegated by a chose official, for example, a leading group of chiefs or a Cabinet Secretary. Some of these authorities endeavor to coordinate police strategies and systems in counter psychological oppression; others practice control basically through the financial backing; still others submit to their police boss totally. The power of official control appears to rely upon identities and political conventions more than on its exact structure .

In social orders tormented by fear based oppression, nationals request that police crackdown on psychological warfares, even to the detriment of their own freedoms. To be sure, in numerous nations, the lion's share of subjects support of the utilization of mercilessness to battle wrongdoing (Stone and Ward, 2010). For instance, in 2006, Amnesty International (AI) issued an archive on unlawful killings by police and passings in police authority in Trinidad and Tobago (T&T). Of concern was unnecessary utilization of power, including outline executions, passings of people in police guardianship, and the disappointment of specialists to appropriately complete examinations and authorize officers' direct (AI, 2006).

#### **5.5 Cultural Reforms of the police in Counter-terrorism**

It is critical to recognize the trouble and the need of changing the way of life of policing in Kenya. Eventually, the long haul accomplishment of any program of police change depends, as it

were, on the institutional culture that wins inside the Service. Where the predominant culture is one of debasement and exemption, changing that culture must be one of the focal objectives of police changes. A progress from a "power" to an "administration" is a central change in the way the individual cop puts forth a concentrated effort/herself to his/her work and imagines his/her association with people in general, all the live long day .

In Africa, the way of life of the police has not changed much, to the extent one can tell, from the causes of the police as a provincial institutional innovation and burden, as a device for the 16 government and social pioneers to control neighborhood populaces and secure the rights and benefits of the intense .For instance, the Police Law in Nigeria, which still oversees the association, parts, and obligations of the police, was composed amid British manage in 1943 and just in 2007 has the Nigerian lawmaking body started to hold hearings on reworking the law .

Chan (1996) found that police culture was frequently refered to just like the significant impediment to police change, subsequently pushing for the need to take into account the presence of various societies. Hence, exhorting on police change in creating and progressing nations requires a valuation for, and alteration to, the nearby culture, and additionally the thought of the capacities of the neighborhood establishments . Different investigations of police culture that exist show that the police share many esteems and needs with other police benefits crosswise over Africa and the globe and share in like manner social perspectives of their social orders, the principle ones being that the intense should be secured and that defilement is adequate and even essential keeping in mind the end goal to make due on what are by and large very pitiful pay rates, as often as possible financially past due, not paid by any stretch of the imagination, or

redirected by more ranking staff. Incidental advantages are not paid, or just vanish. Indeed, even essential gear isn't given and at times the police need to utilize individual telephone cards to direct authority business since the official police telephones don't work. Shared police culture esteems incorporate the view that power is a suitable device to go up against suspects or people in general, to pick up admissions, and to rebuff faultfinders, Cretans, and emblematic aggressors (Carter and Marenin, 1981); intense mindfulness that being a cop gives chances to take part in join; a sense among bring down positions that the police need to secure themselves and each other ('the blue shade'); and the learning that the general population does not put stock in, acknowledge, or needs anything to do with them. At the lower positions particularly, policing isn't viewed as an occupation however as an occupation one is happy to have, regardless of its disadvantages, when numerous others are jobless (Marenin, 2009).

It is conceived that there will be requirement for change of disposition by the cops toward their obligations. The Police Service will be situated towards addressing the necessities of regular folks and foundations of a just society through the conveyance of policing administrations of exclusive expectations; guided by the standards of honesty, regard for human rights, non-17 segregation, unbiasedness and reasonableness. Appropriately, the Service must arrangement both at individual and institutional level with issues that bring offensiveness. Such conduct is showed in aloofness and absence of hard working attitudes, absence of duty, guarded way to deal with issues, daze reliability to powers outside the administration, and lack of interest approach in counter-psychological oppression. In Kenya, it is the obligation of government through the police to guarantee decrease of sex based savagery (GBV) by authorizing culprits of

wrongdoings and sending a reasonable message to the populace that such activities won't go on without serious consequences; by expanding mindfulness all through society that physical and sexual viciousness are criminal acts; by expanding access to the lawful framework and by enhancing institutional reactions to the survivors of brutality. In such manner, the Police Force has initiated changes to make the police more open to the group and more receptive to the group's needs, for example, setting up police sexual orientation work area to react to instances of GBV at police headquarters .

In light of the worries of ladies' and hostile to aggressive behavior at home gatherings, some police offices have made extraordinary assets for female wrongdoing casualties. Police offices in Brazil and India have set up ladies' regions - staffed essentially by ladies cops - where ladies are urged to report assault, aggressive behavior at home, and kid manhandle . Another issue is that the modest bunch of unique regions is just available to ladies who live close them. The Uganda Police Force has built up a moment display for reacting to violations against ladies: sex work areas, or family security units, in each station house, staffed by an officer, male or female, who is extraordinarily prepared and delicate to sex issues. Notwithstanding managing the criminal cases in more prominent security than regular, the officer alludes casualties to covers, guiding, legal counselors, and different administrations .

## 5.6: Chapter Summary

Various worldwide and provincial bodies have put enormously in endeavors towards fighting fear mongering both in Africa and by expansion all inclusive, they have concentrated on nearby issues that influences them to appropriate to form approaches that consider social and other relevant issues and embrace area or sub-district particular activities that supplement and expand upon worldwide counterterrorism destinations through expanding a feeling of neighborhood responsibility for activities and encouraging interest and keeping up force on the ground that is enter in actualizing counterterrorism activities. Some of their endeavors incorporate the trading of skill and data among administrative and non-legislative specialists, and also the sharing of good national practices and lessons gained from national usage among the different nations.

The last permits the pastor accountable for security to forbid criminal gatherings, subject to legal audit. Likewise, the law criminalizes different types of help for and investment in these gatherings. Up until this point, somewhere in the range of 33 bunches have been banished, these incorporates the al-Shabaab, Mungiki, Baghdad Boys, Mombasa Republican Council among Others. These laws give the Kenyan National Assembly a critical chance to help official activity against fear based oppression and give governing rules (Ploach 2010). Kenya has depended remarkably on casual types of participation, for example, police-to-police collaboration, particularly under the sponsorship of Interpol (Aronson, 2013). Inside this system, Kenya has taken an interest in various joint police examinations together with Tanzania and Uganda, most quite an arrangement concentrated on the exchange stolen autos.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.1: Conclusion**

The Kenya Police is actively engaged in the fight against terrorism using precautionary and reactive measures with a decline of terror attacks in 2015. Terror attacks still occur despite the various measures put in place over the years; an indication that more needs to be done in the fight against terrorism. Perhaps the weakest link in the fight against terrorism is that the government is yet to identify patriotic sentiment upon which to rally citizens in the fight against terror.

Despite the strategic role played by radical islamism and Kenya harbouring western interests, to a large extent the growth and spread of international terrorism in Kenya can be attributed to inefficiency in governance thus: government's inability to be effectively take charge and exercise its authority over all its territory; failure to address historical grievances, pervasive corruption, growing youth unemployment and hardline counter terror approaches that ethnicise terrorism. Terrorism has shaped governance in Kenya by influencing law and policy formulations as well government decisions that in turn shape the political, social and 122 economic order in Kenya. The fight against terrorism has negated constitutionalism and has served to justify human rights violations and not upholding the rule of law.

## **6.2: Recommendations**

The government should make a national resolve to de-politicize and de-ethnicise the war against terror. Politicians and citizens alike should embrace this approach regardless of their ethnicity or political affiliations. The government should encourage deployment of the National Police in their home localities as a counter narrative for violent extremism by finding a patriotic issue to rally Kenyans around to deter them from radicalisation. For instance create national cohesion by resolving historical injustices and grievances as well as addressing the growing youth unemployment.

Security officers and agencies need to respect rights and uphold the rule of law at all times in the fight against terrorism. They should adhere to relevant treaty provisions safe guarding human rights while those found culpable for human rights violations should be charged in court as a deterrent for further rule of law and human rights violations. The government must recognise that women are both victims as well as perpetrators of terrorism. Women should have a role in the designing and implementation of counterterror measures hence the need to include gender expertise in formulation of counter terror measures and assessment of the differential impact on men and women in the war against terror.

## **6.3 Suggested areas for further Research**

The researcher proposes the following areas for future research:

1. Countering international terrorism through national policing in other regions in Africa.
2. Kenya's counterterrorism in the era of a legal counterterrorism framework from 2015 onwards.
3. Harmonizing national and regional counter terror measures in the fight against terrorism in Kenya



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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR COUNTERING INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM THROUGH NATIONAL POLICING IN KENYA.

Good morning/afternoon Sir/ Madam;

This is an academic research which investigates Countering international terrorism through national policing in Kenya.

Use a tick (√) to indicate your response where appropriate

#### PART A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. What is your age?

- |                    |     |                    |     |
|--------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|
| Less than 30 years | ( ) | 31 – 40 years      | ( ) |
| 41 – 50 years      | ( ) | More than 50 years | ( ) |

2. What is your gender?

- |      |     |        |     |
|------|-----|--------|-----|
| Male | ( ) | Female | ( ) |
|------|-----|--------|-----|

3. What is your highest Education qualification?

- |             |     |              |     |
|-------------|-----|--------------|-----|
| Certificate | ( ) | Diploma      | ( ) |
| Degree      | ( ) | Postgraduate | ( ) |

4. How long have you worked in your organization?

- |                   |     |                    |     |
|-------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|
| Less than 5 years | ( ) | 5 – 10 years       | ( ) |
| 10 – 15 years     | ( ) | More than 15 years | ( ) |

**PART B: MOTIVES BEHIND INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM**

1. Do you believe there are motives behind international terrorism?

Yes ( ) No ( )

2. What are some of the motives behind International terrorism?

3. To what extent do you agree with the following statement in regard to motives behind international terrorism?

Statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Religion differences play a major role in international terrorism.					
Historical injustices have a big impact in international terrorism.					
Participants in terrorism are forced into it due to poverty					
Discrimination of the Muslim community has accelerated international terrorism					
Leadership of terrorist groups plays a big role in international terrorism					
Government involvement in fighting Alshabab in Somalia has led increased terrorism in Kenya					
Availability of mass destruction of weapons have contributed to high rise in international terrorism					

**PART C: NATIONAL POLICIES TO COUNTER INTERNATIONAL TERRORSIM**

1. Do you know the national policies to counter International terrorism?

Yes ( ) No ( )

2. To what extent do you agree with the following statement in regard to national policies to counter international terrorism?

Statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The government should have strong policies on entering the borders of Kenya.					
The government should take responsibility for external impacts of conditions within the border.					
Public should be taught on ways they can curb terrorism					
Policies are in place to ensure that there is no discrimination against Muslims in regard to terrorism					
Government has come up with a program that soldiers fighting terrorism are highly trained and equipped					

**PART D: IMPLEMENTATION OF NATIONAL POLICIES ON CURBING TERRORISM AND REFORMS**

1. To what extent do you agree with the following statement in regard to implementation of national policies on curbing terrorism and reforms that can be done?

Statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
The national policies to curb terrorism have been effective.					
The public is not involved in the fight against international terrorism.					
Identifying terrorists and their organizations is easy					
Have there being destruction of terrorist and their organizations					
Soldiers in Kenya are not highly trained and equipped					

2. Should more reforms be done in Kenya in regard to countering International terrorism?

Yes ( ) No ( )

3. If yes, state some of the reforms that you would recommend?

**PART E: DEPLOYMENT OF POLICE TO HOME LOCALITY IN COUNTERING INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM.**

1. To what extent do you agree with the following statement in regard to implementation of national policies on curbing terrorism and reforms that can be done?

Statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neutral	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Police are alienated from the community.					
Police are deployed in their local community.					
Is idea of community policing clearly understood by the police force.					
Is idea of community policing clearly understood by the public.					



## **APPENDIX II: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE**

1. What motives are behind international terrorism?
2. Is religion difference a major factor for international terrorism?
3. Are historical injustices a factor of international terrorism?
4. Do locals (youth) participate in International terrorism due to lack of unemployment?
5. Is leadership of terrorist organizations a crucial part in international terrorism?
6. How does the government of Kenya protect our borders?
7. How does the government ensure that Muslims are not alienated in the fight against international terrorism?
8. Is the public involved in the fight against terrorism?
9. Are soldiers involved in the fight against terrorism well trained and highly equipped?
10. What reforms would you recommend for the fight against terrorism?
11. Do you believe that the Kenya police are alienated from the community?
12. What is community policing according to the police and the public?

# COUNTERING INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM THROUGH NATIONAL POLICING: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA

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