

Effects of Religious Profiling on the Fight against Terrorism

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Abstract: The paper is prepared by United States University-Africa (USIU-A) students: Waweru Keziah W., Kirenge Sidi G., Cheche Makena Knight, Toywa Sylvia and USIU-A lecturer Ng'eno KWA. The article seeks to assess whether or not the use of religious profiling as a mechanism to fight terrorism has been effective. It begins by separately analyzing terrorism, the fight against terrorism and religious profiling, by providing a brief background of the terms. It then investigates the connection between the fight against terrorism and religious profiling, and how this manifests itself. Two case studies, from a developing and developed country, are then provided to give context to the topic under analysis, and lastly the paper provides a critical summary on the negative effects of religious profiling to the fight against terrorism. Through this paper we seek to demystify the common perception that terrorism is a preserve of the Islamic minorities, by illustrating the outcome of such perceptions to the overall fight against terrorism.

Keywords: Terrorism, Religion, Islam, Security, Kenya, France, United States and Profiling.

I. INTRODUCTION

It is no doubt that there has been a rise of Islamophobia and general intolerance around the world which has been fueled by current trends in the International system. One of the most recent contributing factors has been the war in Syria, which has resulted to a surge in refugees within Europe. This occurrence has exposed the deeply entrenched intolerance among European countries and their lack of commitment to safeguard human rights in times of such crises. This refugees crisis and overall surge in European immigrants has resulted with some European countries tightening their refugee polices (Vonberg, 2017). The impact of the refugee crisis and the strain it has had on European countries has resulted to the emergence of radical right wing leaders around the world, who have not shied away from entrenching the intolerance.

The *BREXIT* debate brought forth existing resentments against immigrants in Europe, which exposed the existing racial and religious profiling of immigrants within the UK. Similar sentiments continued to emerge around Europe such as in the current election-related rhetoric in France and recently in Netherlands. Nonetheless, the election win by US President Trump has resulted to the establishment of the most right-wing US administration in recent history (Linker, 2016). Throughout his campaign, President Trump spoke very openly against Islam and emphasized the need to use religion as a counter-terrorism measure, a promise that he has since implemented through an executive order. The recent US travel ban against certain Islamic states including: Somalia, Sudan, Libya, Yemen, etc., has been the most obvious form of religious profiling that has been implemented as a counter-terrorism measure. The Trump administration has sort to maintain a 50,000 annual cap on America's refugee intake, which more than halved president Obama's pledge to resettle 110,000 refugees in 2017 (the guardian news)

Policies and rhetoric such as these have resulted to a rise in religious profiling and consequently Islamophobia around the world. There have been increased reports from Muslims and people from Middle Eastern descent reporting incidents of harassment, physical attacks, damage to property and all round abuse. Nonetheless, religious profiling has not been a

preserve of the developed states but manifests itself even in developing states, as will be illustrated through this paper. The article seeks to assess whether there is a direct correlation between terrorism and religion, and whether or not the use of religion as a mechanism to fight terrorism has been effective.

II. BACKGROUND AND MANIFESTATION

A. *Background of Terrorism:*

Terrorism is a premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience. (Shenkenbecher, 2012). The history of terrorism can be traced back to 1959 when an organization was formed called Students for a Democratic Society on the basis of peace and civil rights. This particular civil rights group would eventually become engrossed with protesting the Vietnam War, and would eventually splinter, leaving behind a terrorist organization called the Weathermen (Green, 2002). On March 3, 1971, they bombed the Capitol Building because they said it was “the worldwide symbol of government [in the United States] and in Latin America, Africa and Asia, and they saw it as a monument to U.S. domination over the planet.” (Letter Claims, 1971).

Another way to look at the history of terrorism is through waves, first of these waves, which started at Setif and ended with the withdrawal of American troops from the jungles of Southeast Asia, saw terrorism placed in the service of ethnic separatism and national liberation. Unleashed by the shrinking of the French and British empires, and emboldened by the self-determination language of the Atlantic Charter, colonial peoples in Algeria, Cochinchina (Vietnam), Palestine and Cyprus sought, often by violent means, to rid themselves of foreign rule and to create their own independent nation-states.

The second wave began on 22 July 1968, when Palestinian terrorists, to avenge Egypt’s defeat in the 1967 Six Day War, hijacked an El Al flight from Rome to Tel Aviv. Terrorism was elevated to the international stage over the next two decades as ethno-national movements in the Netherlands, Turkey and elsewhere attempted to duplicate the Palestine Liberation Organization’s success in galvanizing popular opinion. Fueled by opposition to the Vietnam War, conscription and anti-Americanism in general, left-wing terrorist groups in Europe and North America, such as the Red Brigades, the Red Army Faction and the Weathermen, occasionally aided and abetted by the PLO, waged campaigns of political assassinations, bombings and hijackings that continued until the fall of the Berlin Wall, at which time the third wave of post-war terrorism already was underway. This last wave, mostly Muslim in origin, was set in motion by the Iranian Revolution in 1979, and is still ongoing, pushed forward in Central Asia by the collapse of the Soviet Union, in the Middle East by animus to American support of Israel, and inspired everywhere – from Algeria to Chechnya, Kashmir, Indonesia, the Philippines and beyond – by pan-Islamic dreams of uniting fundamentalist Muslim states, freed from western cultural contamination, under Caliphate hegemony and Sharia law (Fromkin, 1989; Macmillan, 2002; Shughart, 2004).

Different approaches have been identified in the fight against terrorism; while countering terrorism has been on the agenda of the United Nations System for decades, the attacks against the United States on 11 September 2001 prompted the Security Council to adopt resolution 1373, which for the first time established the Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC). Five years later, all Member States of the General Assembly for the first time agreed on a common strategic framework to fight the scourge of terrorism: the UN Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. The Strategy is a unique instrument to enhance the efforts of the international community to counter terrorism along four pillars:

1. Addressing conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism;
2. Preventing and combatting terrorism;
3. Building Member States’ capacity to prevent and combat terrorism and to strengthen the role of the United Nations system in this regard;
4. Ensuring the respect for human rights for all and the rule of law as the fundamental basis for countering terrorism.

At the time of the adoption of the Strategy, the General Assembly also endorsed the Counter Terrorism Implementation Task Force (CTITF), which had been established by the Secretary General in 2005. Consisting of 38 entities of the UN and affiliated organizations, CTITF works to promote coordination and coherence within the UN System on counter-terrorism and to provide assistance to Member States. The UN Counter Terrorism Centre (UNCCT) provides capacity-

building assistance to Member States and carries out counter-terrorism projects around the world in line with the four pillars of the Global Strategy (United Nations, 2012).

The Security Council works to enhance the capacity of Member States to prevent and respond to terrorist acts through its subsidiary bodies, which include the Counter-Terrorism Committee, the 1267/1989/2253 ISIL (Daesh) and Al-Qaida Sanctions Committee, as well as the 1540 Committee on the non-proliferation of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons. The Committees are supported in their work by different entities; whereas the Counter-Terrorism Committee has its Executive Directorate (CTED) to carry out its policy decisions and conduct expert assessments of Member States, the 1267 Committee draws on a Monitoring Team (United Nations, 2012).

There exist many different types of terrorism (Richard Jackson, 2011)

- State-Sponsored terrorism, which consists of terrorist acts on a state or government by a state or government.
- Dissent terrorism, which are terrorist groups which have rebelled against their government.
- Terrorists and the Left and Right, which are groups rooted in political ideology.
- Religious terrorism, which are terrorist groups which are extremely religiously motivated.
- Criminal Terrorism, which are terrorists' acts used to aid in crime and criminal profit.

B. Religious Profiling:

The terrible events of September 11, 2001 have left a permanent mark on the fight against terrorism debate. The 19 men who hijacked airplanes to carry out the horrific terror attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were supposedly Arabs from Muslim countries (Federation for American Immigration Reform, 2011). This position has been denied by some authors who note that the actions of some of the hijackers such as Mohammed Atta in Las Vegas preceding the attack suggested otherwise, this is because Atta was seen to be actively enjoying worldly pleasures which is against Islam's teachings and practices (Griffin, 2008). In response to these attacks and assumptions, the US Federal Government has engaged in a sweeping anti-terror campaign focused almost exclusively on individuals who are of Arab or South Asian descent, Muslim, or Sikhs. Most of the approaches in this campaign amount to racial and religious profiling by law enforcement officials in determining who to target as part of the anti-terrorism effort (The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights/The Leadership Conference Education Fund, 2017).

Criminal profiling as practiced by police, is the use of personal characteristics or behavior patterns to make generalizations about a person. These characteristics are then used to determine whether a person may be engaged in illegal activity. Racial and Religious profiling however refers to the discriminatory practice by law enforcement officials of targeting individuals for suspicion of crime based on the individual's race, ethnicity, religion or national origin (American Civil Liberties Union and the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation., 2017). Notably, any definition of racial and religious profiling must include, in addition to racial, ethnic and religious discriminatory acts, any discriminatory omissions on the part of law enforcement as well.

In some cases, the inference arrived at is made out of the tabulation and analysis of statistics and the data thereon is used by law enforcement agencies to prevent and fight crime. In other cases, it is derived from assumptions that have been made within the society or stereotypes and clichés formed from actions or inactions of certain members of society. Stereotypes sometimes have some truth to them, what they don't have is a legitimate bearing on how the Government should treat an individual person, whatever group he or she belongs to (Ellmann, 2013).

There is a general belief and perception that Islam's teachings encourage terrorism. The fast growth of Islam as a religious group combined with the regional migration of Muslims and the ongoing impact of the Islamic State (also known as ISIS or ISIL) and other extremist groups that commit acts of violence in the name of Islam have brought Muslims and the Islamic faith to the forefront of the political debate and doubt in many countries (Lipka, 2017). The belief and practice is that Islam is a religion which sanctions force if necessary to advance its purpose. The other belief that fuels this notion is the assurance that if a Muslim dies while engaging in Holy War, he will enter heaven (Love, 2002).

This has led to the notion and action by Governments, law enforcement agencies and even the wider populace of sidelining individuals and groups from the Islamic community and classifying them as potential threats to the wider

community. This is the case despite Western leaders such as George W. Bush and Tony Blair previously reiterating time and again that the war against terrorism has nothing to do with Islam but instead is a war against evil (Bar, 2004).

However, a closer look at the statistics shows that the perception that Muslims make up majority of the terrorists in the United States is actually false. According to the FBI, 94% of the terrorist attacks conducted between 1980 and 2005 were conducted by non-Muslims. The report also recorded more Jewish acts of terrorism in the United States than Islamic acts (Alnatour, 2015)

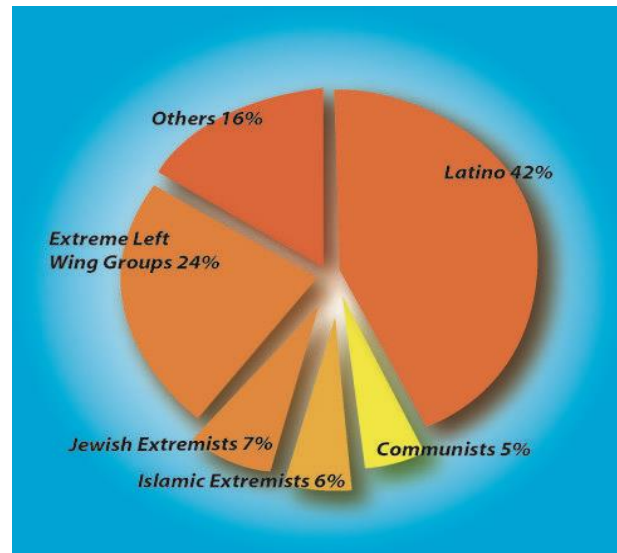


Fig I: Characteristics of Terrorists (Washington Blog, 2013)

Manifestations of Religious Profiling in the United States:

Studies and data show that profiling is a tactic practiced on a regular basis by many law enforcement agents, whether intentional or subconscious.

A law enforcement agent includes any person acting in a policing capacity for public or private purposes. This includes security guards at department stores, airport security agents, police officers, or, more recently, airline pilots who have ordered passengers to disembark from flights, because the passengers' ethnicity aroused the pilots' suspicions (American Civil Liberties Union and the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation., 2017). Religious profiling can also be undertaken by civilian populations and leaders based on their suspicions and stereotypes formed who then communicate to these law enforcement agencies for action to be undertaken. An example of this is a tweet in 2016 by the National Security Adviser of the United States- Mr. Michael Flynn, which has since been deleted stating that the fear of Muslims is rational and that the truth fears no questions. He also added that the message be forwarded to others (McGeough, 2017).

Other instances of such profiling include the acts of "Driving while Arab", Detention and Deportation without due process for Arabs, South Asians, Muslims and Sikhs, subjection to random and arbitrary searches, the questioning of Arab men. The Alien Registration program which went into effect in 2002 enforced a requirement that foreign visitors needed to keep law enforcement apprised of their whereabouts. Whereas the Justice Department claimed that the law applied to all, the first individuals subjected to this hailed from the Arab or Muslim states of Iran, Iraq, Syria, Sudan, Libya (American Civil Liberties Union and the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation., 2017).

In his presidential campaign in 2016, Mr. Trump suggested that all Muslim immigrants posed potential threats to America's security and called for a ban on migrants from any part of the world with "a proven history of terrorism" against the United States or its allies. He also insinuated that American Muslims were all but complicit in acts of domestic terrorism for failing to report attacks in advance, asserting without evidence that they had warnings of shootings like the one in Orlando. Trump described Islamic extremism as a pervasive global menace that was penetrating the United States through unchecked immigration (Martin & Burns, 2016).

Religious profiling may in addition be given backing by law. In January 2017, President Trump gave an Executive Order to block entry into the US citizens coming from Muslim countries to “protect the American people from terrorist attacks by foreign nationals admitted to the United States (Office of the Press Secretary, 2017).”

Legality of Religious Profiling:

Religious profiling is “invidious discrimination” that is inimical to America’s founding principles (Goiten & Patel, 2002). Singling out individuals based solely on their appearance for investigation by law enforcement is ineffective and dishonest - Profiling of Arabs and Muslims amounts to selective enforcement of the law against anyone with a certain type of "swarthy" foreign-looking appearance even if they do not in fact fit the terrorist profile (The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights/The Leadership Conference Education Fund, 2017). Racial and religious profiling in any manifestation is a flawed law enforcement tactic that is in direct conflict with constitutional values. Religious profiling has been shown to be an ineffective policing tool, often distracting law enforcement from the actual perpetrators of the crimes being investigated. Racial and religious profiling ultimately destroys trust in the police and government authorities. It also alienates racial and religious minorities, thus diminishing cooperation and effective law enforcement.

The End Racial and Religious Profiling Act which was introduced in the Senate by Sen. Ben Cardin on February 16, 2017 would prohibit federal, state, and local law enforcement from targeting a person based on actual or perceived race, ethnicity, national origin, religion, gender, gender identity, or sexual orientation without trustworthy information that is relevant to linking a person to a crime. The bill would require law enforcement to maintain adequate policies and procedures designed to eliminate profiling, including increased data collection in order to accurately assess the extent of the problem. The bill would also require training for law enforcement officials on issues of profiling and mandates the creation of procedures for receiving, investigating, and responding to complaints of alleged profiling (Human Rights Campaign, 2017).

III. CASE STUDIES

A. Religious Profiling in Kenya:

The onset of religious profiling in Kenya can be traced back to government’s reaction to the secession threats of ethnic Somalis in Northern Eastern province which commenced in 1963. According to the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS), Muslims constitute 11 percent of Kenya’s population, and majority of them can be found in north-eastern and coastal regions (KNBS, 2011). Historical marginalization of this minority group in Kenya emerged after the 1963-1968 Shifta war where the ethnic Somalis in North Eastern Province were seeking to secede and be part of the ‘greater Somalia’. The Shifta war then culminated into the Wagalla Massacre in 1984. The outcome of these threats, war and massacre was the suppression of Somalis living in Kenya after the government declared a state of emergency in North Eastern Province for almost three decades. The region was therefore severely ignored by the government resulting to serious underdevelopment compared to other regions in Kenya, brewing resentment among the Somalis living in Kenya. This resentment was further compounded by the use of religious profiling by the Kenyan Government as a reaction in the fight against terrorism.

Kenya has been a victim of terrorist attacks since the 1980s when the Israeli-owned Norfolk Hotel was bombed on New Year’s Eve resulting to the death of 20 people and injuring 80 others. The Arab group that claimed responsibility claimed that the attack was a retaliation to Kenya’s support for Israel troops that rescued 100 hostages being held by pro-Palestinian hijackers at Entebbe Airport in Uganda (Laing, 2013). Nonetheless, the most prominent terrorist attack was the August 7, 1998 bombing of the US Embassy in Nairobi which resulted to the death of approximately 221 people and thousands wounded. The Al-Qaeda group claimed responsibility of this attack as retaliation to eight years of the existence of US troops in Saudi Arabia, home of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, which Osama Bin Laden considered a grave offense (CNN Library, 2016).

Nonetheless, the US embassy attack was just the beginning of numerous terrorist attacks that followed in Kenya. According to Nzes (2012), the escalation of terrorist attacks in Kenya was a direct result of Al-Shabaab insurgency in neighbouring Somalia. A series of cross-border attacks spurred Kenya's military intervention in Somalia on October 14, 2011. This intervention however made Kenya a prime target of Al-Shabaab resulting to an escalation of terrorist incidences between from 2011 to the most prominent 2015 attack at the Garissa University.

The Kenyan Government response to these attacks was through the creation of the anti-terrorism bill that gave birth to the Anti-Terrorism Police Unit (ATPU). These initiatives have however faced a lot of criticism for being counter-productive due to the use of religious profiling as a mechanism to counter terrorism. According to a report by the United States Department of State Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (2013), Muslim leaders have criticised the government for using the law and greater fight for terrorism as a pretext to arrest, harass and sometimes deport Muslims. Police reforms was a necessary prerequisite to the enactment of the anti-terrorism legislation due to the reports of corruption, use of torture and ill treatment within the general police force compounded by the lack of transparency on their operations and mandate (REDRESS and REPRIEVE, 2009).

The Kenya National Commission for Human Rights (KNCHR) through their report titled “The Error of Fighting Terror with Terror” illustrate the numerous instances the government violated human rights in its fight against terror. The commission highlights the discrimination and disproportionately targeting of ethnic Somalis and members of the Muslim faith in the coast region and emphasizes that the profiling of people along ethnic or religious lines constitute discrimination, is unconstitutional and against international norms (KNCHR, 2015). Several other human rights groups have reported that the government security forces were subjecting citizens of Somali origin, who are predominantly Muslim, to arbitrary detention and punishment based on the presumed links to extremism. Specifically, the government came under heavy criticism of the Operation Usalama Watch in April 2014 when it detained over 500 people following a deadly grenade attack. President Obama during his official visit to Kenya in July 2015 warned the government against use of racial and religious profiling in the war against terrorism (Kubania, 2015).

The main consequences of this reaction by the Government has been domestic radicalization of Kenyans by extremist groups. Al-shabaab recruiters fed off disillusionment among Somalis in Kenya who complained of anti-Somali discrimination, harassment and government neglect (Anzalone, 2012). The disillusionment created a ripe ground for youth radicalization who began to view the Muslim Brotherhood and consequently the situations in Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia and Palestine as problems affecting all Muslims across the world and therefore worthy of their involvement (Otundo, 2015). Youth radicalization was particularly enforced by the Salafi/Wahhabi missionaries who penetrated the Muslim communities in both urban and marginalized rural areas. Poverty, underdevelopment and hopelessness provided a strategic opportunity for the Salafi movement to penetrate through the use of social and economic empowerment programmes which included provision of bursaries and start-up capital for their businesses.

The Institute for Security Studies (ISS) points to the historical marginalization of Muslims in Kenya as a contributor to the radicalization of youth. Botha (2013) describes the current approach as “collective punishment based on perceptions”, and notes that most perceptions are completely wrong especially that Somali nationals are responsible for attacks in Kenya or that other Kenyans are innocent bystanders as acts of terrorism are committed in its soil. This is an error in judgment is confirmed by the United Nations Security Council report by the UN Monitoring group, which indicates that non-Somali Kenyan nationals constituted the largest and most organized non-Somali group within Al-Shabaab (UN Monitoring Group, 2011). This indicates that by focusing on religious profiling, the government may have missed the main target perpetrating terrorism in Kenya and may have further fueled the terror by creating the root causes of this threat.

B. Religious Profiling in France:

Religious profiling as a form of intolerance in France can be traced back to its colonial policy of assimilation. The French colonial theory was based on the idea of assimilation, which essentially gave France the responsibility to 'civilize' its colonies both culturally and administratively (Betts, 1960). Tsiwah (2014) states that the assimilation policy was adopted to implant French culture and civilization on the people with the intention of suffocating their culture, which were seen as inferior to the French. Post-colonialism, this policy has been applied by the France administration with regards to immigration where the immigrants are expected to adhere to traditional values and cultural norms of the French society and abandon their own (Zappi, French Government revives Assimilation Policy, 2003). An immigrant therefore has to choose to become 'French' or they cannot gain residency status in France. This means that French immigrants who chose to retain their culture or heritage are viewed as outsiders and not welcome in France.

Although the assimilation through immigration had initially relaxed, it was revived in 2003 when the government required that an estimated 100,000 legal immigrants sign an “integration contract” upon arriving prior to obtaining a residence card. Through this contract, immigrants agreed to undergo language training and instruction on the “values of

French society,” a move that was aimed at safeguarding France’s national identity which conservatives feared was threatened by the culturally distinct communities of the immigrants (Zappi, 2013). In France, the *other* is welcomed only if the *other* blends in, based on the assimilation culture, which has been a big challenge for Muslims.

Religious intolerance has mainly been entrenched through assimilation entrenched in immigration policies. France officially adheres to republican secularism which emerged after the 1789 French Revolution following the separation of the church from the state. Based on this foundation, the French Government passed a law in 2014 prohibiting the wearing or open display of religious symbols in French schools including crucifixes, Jewish skull caps and the hijab (Mulholland, 2013). This policy was nonetheless indiscriminately adopted by some other public and private sectors which has been a big challenge for the French Muslim minority.

Religious profiling and discrimination in France is an interesting paradox given the stringent laws and policies that were put in place to essentially prevent such occurrences. The France Constitution and Penal Code prohibits the collection of data that distinguishes origin, race or religion of individuals. The prohibition was enacted to prevent the discrimination of certain types of people based on their innate characteristics but has instead inhibited the tracking and monitoring of such incidences (Randall, 2010). There is therefore a sense of denial from the government that such a problem actually exists, arguing that there isn’t sufficient data to support the discrimination of any minority groups. There are therefore need to ask critical questions on the effectiveness of these laws in fulfilling their original objective. According to Fekete (2012), the use of religious profiling is tactically approved by the European Union (EU) as a means of fighting ‘Islamic Terrorism’, which has become very difficult to deligitimize given the media rhetoric that has played a big role in portraying Muslims as ‘enemy citizens.’

France was a victim of multiple terrorist attacks in the 1990s which resulted to the strengthening of their counterterrorism security apparatus that was considered a benchmark by other countries (Rault, 2010). It was claimed that it was due to this strategy that France had managed to escape a terrorist attack, prior to the 2015 Paris attack. The 2015 Paris attack therefore brought the focus for France’s counterterrorism strategy under heavy criticism. It was noted that the strategy casts a blanket scrutiny of Muslims without individualized suspicion, which has resulted to the wastage of resources investigating innocent people and losing the opportunity to detect the guilty (Aziz). Various rights groups have continuously accused the police for conducting racially motivated checks whereby they routinely stop black and Arab residents on the streets to ask for their identity papers (Hamza, 2013). Therefore, despite the fact that it is prohibited to profile individuals by their race, ethnicity or religion, police have been seen to apply religious profiling based on physical features or external outlook.

The Muslim community faced a lot of criticism following the *Charlie Hebdo* attack in Paris, which manifested through a broad range of rumours, raids and deep suspicion towards France’s Muslim community. In France, the republican secularism and policies against public religious identifiers, have presented significant tensions for the Muslims. Politicians have not been left behind in perpetrating negative sentiments against since they have publicly declared that ‘France isn’t a land of Islam,’ demanding that the Muslim need to conform to the French culture (Badger, 2015). There is therefore a widespread public support on the government policies against Muslims since they are seen as immigrants who have refused to conform or respect the French culture.

The French Government reaction to the 2015 Paris terrorist attack was the declaration of a State of Emergency where President Nicholas Sarkozy ordered that roughly 10,000 people on the government list of residents suspected of posing a security threat, be arrested. This resulted to more than 3200 raids and house arrest of about 400 people, all of whom were muslims. However, only five terrorist-related investigations have emerged from these raids (France: Abuses Under State of Emergency, 2016). This operation has been criticized for human rights violations of Muslims in France where majority of the victims noted that they were never charged with any crimes despite the arbitrary arrest and reported that they faced undue harrasment from the police.

As Aziz (n.d) puts it,

“It goes without saying that it is morally wrong to impose guilt on individuals who happen to share the same immutable characteristics or religious faith as a criminal and it also poses serious dangers to society. In determining what went wrong, the French government would be well advised to reconsider the use of ethnic and religious profiling as a counterterrorism tool. Terrorism can be prevented by focusing on illegal activity rather than religious practices” (Aziz).

Ultimately, the French administration has been criticized for its blanket scrutiny of Muslims, without any regard to an individual's criminal record. Religious profiling in France is already building tensions and causing a lot of resentment among Muslims in France. If not watched, it may result to devastating effects like radical extremism, as has emerged in Kenya.

IV. EFFECTS OF RELIGIOUS PROFILING ON THE FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM

Violation of human rights has been one of the major effects of religious profiling in the fight against terrorism. First, every human being has the right to religion. They are free to join any religion they wish and should not be incriminated for it. By religious profiling Muslims, who are the main victims of the process, their rights are being violated. They are not able to carry out their religious practices freely since they will end up being suspected of terrorism (Holt *et al.* 2014). Secondly, the use of religious profiling to Muslims results to undue suffering by innocent people, who are not terrorists who end up being denied some of their rights such as the freedom for movement and speech. For instance, the current US travel ban against citizens from certain Muslim countries, indiscriminately affects the innocent.

Religious profiling has also led to increased radicalization and is thus counter-productive. Unfortunately, some Muslims become religiously radicalized in an attempt to fight back the discrimination they suffer. As a matter of fact, even non-Muslims may become radicalized in the process out of empathy, an issue that is likely to increase terrorism rather than reduce it, which is thus counter-productive. Religious profiling is a discriminatory way of fighting terrorism. Since Muslims are the most discriminated in this process, they end up taking a stance stand to defend their religion. In a bid to retaliate against this discrimination, most Muslims become radicalized and join terrorist groups. In fact, the terrorists often vie their act as a fight for their space rather than executing terrorist attacks (Holt *et al.* 2014). The acts of radicalization have resulted to an increased the number of terrorists as well as an increased the number of attacks. Terrorist groups have huge finances and as a result, they are able to prey on existing discriminatory sentiments to lure people to join them, which in turn increases their size and force.

Religious profiling has resulted to increased hatred among people from different religions and cultures. This hatred has manifested into Islamophobia, which is a form of religious discrimination. Muslims have often been treated harshly as they are seen as terrorists (Holt *et al.* 2014). They are the major victims of hatred. They have also been denied access to some places and facilities. As a result of this form of profiling, there is a general perception amongst non-Muslims that Muslims are bad people thus perpetuating the hatred towards them. Religious profiling has branded Muslims as terrorists. Due to this hatred, Muslims also result to hating non-Muslims. This creates bad blood among people of different religions. They hate each other, a form of hatred that in the real sense lacks any basis.

The other effect of religious profiling is criminalization of innocent people. All Muslims have often been seen as terrorists, a general view which is normally guided by stereotype rather than facts. After the September 11 attacks in the United States of America, Muslims, Arabs and South Asians became targets of the government investigative agents as they are seen as the race connected with terrorism. All the terrorists linked to the 9/11 attacks were a Muslim Arab, a fact that suggested the need for religious profiling as necessity in the fight against terrorism. The U.S. government has taken strict measures against Muslims immigrants (Holt *et al.* 2014). It is believed that terrorists are Muslims and hence the government has taken all possible measures to reduce their entry into the U. S.

For instance, in the year 2002, the U.S Attorney General, John Ashcroft directed that Special Registration qualifications should be checked on all Muslim and Arab males entering the country. Similarly, in the recently concluded U. S. elections, Donald Trump presented a hard stance on Muslims, stating often that his administration will not allow them into the country. As a matter of fact, it is not all Muslims who are terrorists (Holt *et al.* 2014). Actually, the number of Muslims who are terrorists represents a very small percentage. However, they have created a perception that all Muslims are terrorists and this has led to stereotyping. Innocent people end up being taken as suspects (McCulloh & Pickering, 2009). Some are even detained or punished for wrongs they have never done. At times, they may be treated as outcasts especially in a non-Muslim community.

In addition, focusing too much on religious profiling has led to an increase in terrorism instead of reducing it. This is due to the fact that religious profiling deters the focus on non-Muslims, thus giving them an opportunity to perpetrate terrorist attacks since they are would be the last suspects. They are highly likely to execute the attacks and implicate Muslims since the later are a soft target (McCulloh & Pickering, 2009). As a matter of fact, statistics indicate that most of the

recent attacks have been perpetrated by non-Muslims. However, there have not been any notable efforts to fight terrorism in other religions or in countries that are not predominantly Muslims. Much of the focus has been on the Muslim countries where the United States military has camped. Similarly, there are no known terrorist groups from non-Muslim countries. However, this is not to mean that they do not exist. They are might be there but they have not been given so much attention both by the media and the anti-terrorist agencies and countries. Therefore, instead of bringing to an end the problem of terrorism, religious profiling creates other ripe opportunities for non-Muslim terrorists.

It is notable that from FBI reports that non-Muslims have executed the most terrorism attacks between the years 1980-2005, an indication that the threat of Muslim terrorism on the US soil is an exaggeration. It is therefore important to strike a balance in the profiling so as to detect all possible suspects and reduce the stereotype against Muslims.

The definition of the term terrorism has also been limited in that it is only associated with Muslims. Since Muslims are the ones who are mainly implicated in terrorism activity means that the term terrorism has become like a religious synonym. This also limits the ability of investigative agents to carry out their investigations objectively. As it has been mentioned earlier, this is a stereotype that sets up Muslims as the only terrorists. In turn, they are the first to hit anyone's mind at the mention of the word terrorism. In other words, the most basic definition of terrorism to most people is Muslims (McCulloh & Pickering, 2009). This notion has led to religious profiling which has actually yielded some results. After the 9/11 events, the government tightened its measures against Muslims. Since then, there has not been any other major attack in the U. S. soil. Also, the most dangerous terrorism groups such as Al Qaeda, ISIS, Al Shabaab, Hezbollah and Taliban among others originate from Muslim countries.

V. CONCLUSION

Based on the illustrations made in their article, the use of religion as a counter-terrorism measure has significant flaws that cannot be ignored. Infact, there is evidence that it is actually counter-productive and should therefore be avoided in its entirety. There is also no automatic correlation between terrorism and religion, as is the current perception around the world. The blanket generalization that all muslims are terrorists is flawed since evidence shows otherwise. Additionally, such an argument ignores historical facts such as the erroneous use of Judeo-Christian beliefs to perpetrate and justify slavery, colonisation and other historic injustices.

In order to effectively fight terrorism, there is need for world leaders to assess the facts wholesomely and address the root causes of terrorism. Most importantly, there is need to review the perverse counter-terrorism measures that seek to target a specific group of people regardless of their criminal background. The authors of this paper therefore recommend the use of an individual's criminal background as a more effective mechanism to profile terrorist suspects rather than innate attributes of race or religion. Secondly, the paper recommends the need to establish measures to change negative perceptions against certain religions and races, through provision of factual information to the public. Finally, there is need to reverse some of the damaging effects religious profiling has already had to counter resentment from certain communities/religious in order to avoid radical violent extremism. This would include more inclusive policies that seek to address the human right violations that have already been experienced. Most importantly, there is need to address the root causes of youth radicalization in order to counter violence extremism.

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