

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**THE GENDER FACTOR IN COUNTERING TERRORISM IN AFRICA: A CASE
STUDY OF KENYA**

BY

MAINA MARY WANGUI

R50/35331/2019

SUPERVISOR

PROF. MARIA NZOMO

**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE
AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES,**

DECEMBER 2020

DECLARATION

I, Mary Wangui Maina hereby declare that this research project is my own original work and has not been submitted for any award in any other institution.

Signature

Date

Maina Mary Wangui

R50/35331/2019

This research project has been submitted with my approval as the University Supervisor.

Signature

Date

Prof. Maria Nzomo

Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS)

University of Nairobi

DEDICATION

I humbly dedicate this work to the Almighty God, my family, and my supervisor Prof. Maria Nzomo

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to thank the almighty God for seeing me through this academic journey. I would also wish to express my deepest gratitude to my family for their steadfast support during the entire period of my study. Special appreciation goes to my supervisor, Professor Maria Nzomo for her guidance and advice that saw me complete this research study successfully. I would not also forget to sincerely thank the Commandant NDC and his staff for the support they accorded me during my stay and academic journey at the institution.

Lastly, I wish to thank all my classmates, friends, and everybody else who supported me in any way during this study.

God bless you all.

ABSTRACT

The overall objective of the study was to assess the gender factor in countering terrorism in Africa using Kenya as the case study. The study sought to achieve the following specific objectives; to assess the trends in male and female involvement in terrorist actions in Africa; to analyze the role of gender in the perpetration of terrorism in Kenya; and to examine the role of gender in countering terrorism in Kenya. The first objective, the trends in male and female involvement in terrorist actions in Africa indicated that there are new emerging trends in the 21st century in the role of gender in terrorism. Terrorist and violent extremist organizations have taken advantage by manipulating the stereotyping of gender especially women and their grievances to articulate their terror related activities. This has necessitated critical analysis on a gender-focused study to establish the role that gender plays in violent extremism and terrorism in order to proffer effective gender based counter-terrorism measures.

The study revealed that numerous factors influence men and women, boys and girls into acts of violent extremism or drive them into engaging in activities that can lead to terrorism. These acts have diverse impacts on the lives of society as well as on the families of those who are involved and directly or indirectly affects the security of the country. These factors are either intrinsic or extrinsic and include poverty, unemployment, marital relationships and others.

The study further discovered that men and women play crucial roles as, financiers, recruiters, radicalizers, spies and sympathizers of violent extremist organizations. They also take part in the actual perpetration and execution of the terrorist actions. The study also revealed the number of youths recruited into Violent Extremist Organizations (VEOs) had risen significantly. This has presented a great challenge to security agencies in responding to illicit activities of the VEOs. The involvement of women in terrorism has also presented a challenge to the law enforcers since it is not easy to detect a woman terrorist since they pose as innocent citizens while they are actually dangerous terrorists or sympathizers.

Men, women, boys and girls have crucial roles to play in prevention of violent extremism and terrorist activities. These roles include mitigation, persuasion, activism, building family ties, nurturing the youth and others. The government needs to come up with youth and women empowerment programmes or enhance the existing ones with a view to insulate these two groups against radicalization and recruitment into violent extremism and terrorist organizations. There is also need to strengthen counter terrorism institutions while enhancing multi agency approach in dealing with the issue of terrorism where all stakeholders including international agencies are incorporated. Additionally, neighbourhood watch programmes available in Kenya such as Nyumba Kumi should be strengthened.

In view of all the factors highlighted above, this study recommended that the government of Kenya considers the inclusion of gender factor in formulating new or enhancing existing policies and legal frameworks which deal with radicalization, violent extremism and terrorism.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
TABLE AND FIGURES	viii
LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS	x
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY	1
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Background to the Study.....	1
1.2 Problem Statement	6
1.3 Research Questions.....	6
1.4 Objectives of the Study.....	7
1.4.1 Overall Objective.....	7
1.4.2 Specific Objectives	7
1.5 Literature Review.....	7
1.5.1 Introduction	7
1.5.2 Theoretical literature.....	8
1.5.2.1 Constructivism theory	8
1.5.2.2 The Instrumental Approach	10
1.5.3 Empirical literature review	11
1.5.3.1 The trends in male and female involvement in terrorist actions in Africa	11
1.5.3.2 Role of Gender in the Perpetration of Terrorism.....	14
1.5.3.3 Role of Gender in Countering Terrorism	17
1.6 Hypotheses.....	18
1.7 Justification of the Study	18
1.7.1 Policy Justification	18
1.7.1 Academic Justification	19
1.8 Theoretical framework.....	19
1.9.1 Research Design	21

1.9.2 Sample for procedure	21
1.9.3 Sampling size.....	22
1.9.4 Target population.....	23
1.9.5 Data Tool and Collection.....	24
1.9.6 Data Analysis and Presentation	24
1.9.7 Ethical considerations.....	25
CHAPTER TWO	27
THE TRENDS IN MALE AND FEMALE INVOLVEMENT IN TERRORIST.....	27
ACTIONS IN AFRICA	27
2.1 Gender Involvement Terrorist Activities in Africa.....	27
2.2 Trends in Male Involvement of terrorism in Africa.....	30
2.3 Women involvement in Terrorism in Africa	32
2.4 Trends in Voluntary and Involuntary Pathways to Terrorism Recruitment	38
2.5 Impact of Digital Age in the 21st and the Trends of Youth Radicalization in Higher Education Institutions in Africa	41
2.6 Conclusion	43
CHAPTER THREE	45
ROLE OF GENDER IN THE PERPETRATION OF TERRORISM IN KENYA.....	45
3.0 Introduction.....	45
3.1 Radicalization and terrorism in Kenya	45
3.2 Gender and Terrorism in Kenya	46
3.3 Women and Terrorism in Kenya.....	48
3.4 Role of men as perpetrators of terrorism in Kenya.....	52
3.5 Role of youth as perpetrators of terrorism	56
3.6 Conclusion	58
CHAPTER FOUR.....	60
ROLE OF GENDER IN COUNTERING TERRORISM.....	60
4.1 Role of gender in countering terrorism in Kenya	60
4.2 Role of Women in Countering Terrorism in Kenya	61
4.2.1 Strengthening Family Ties	63
4.2.2 Mitigators	64

4.2.3 Predictors	65
4.2.4 Security Actors	65
4.2.5 Preventers	66
4.3 Role of Men in counter-terrorism in Kenya.....	67
4.3.1 Mediators and conciliators	67
4.3.2 Activists	68
4.3.3 Persuaders in De-radicalization community programs.....	69
4.3.4 Protectors	70
4.4 Chapter summary and Conclusion	71
CHAPTER FIVE	73
DATA FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS.....	73
5.1 Introduction.....	73
5.1 Response rate	73
5.2 Demography.....	74
5.3 Descriptive statistics	79
5.3.1 The trends in male and female involvement in terrorist actions in Africa;	80
5.3.2 Analysing the role of gender in the perpetration of terrorism in Kenya.....	82
5.3.3 Role of gender in countering terrorism in Kenya	83
CHAPTER SIX	85
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	85
6.0 Introduction.....	85
6.1 Conclusion	85
6.2 Recommendations.....	86
6.2.1 Academic recommendations	87
6.2.2 Policy recommendations.....	87
6.3 Areas for further study.....	87
REFERENCES	88
APPENDICES	94
Appendix 1: Introductory letter	94
Appendix 2: Questionnaire	95

TABLE AND FIGURES

Figure 5. 1 Response rate of respondents	74
Figure 5. 2 Age bracket of respondent.....	75
Figure 5. 3 Gender of respondents.....	76
Figure 5. 4 Levels of education of Respondents.....	77
Figure 5. 5 Years of experience of the respondents.....	78
Figure 5. 6 Profession of the respondents.....	79
Figure 5. 7 Trends in male and female involvement in terrorist actions in Africa.....	80
Figure 5. 8 Voluntary and involuntary female involvement in terrorism.....	82
Figure 5. 9 Perpetrators by gender.....	82
Figure 5. 10 Role of countering terrorism	83

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ATA	Anti-Terrorist Assistance
ATPU	Anti-Terror Police Unit
CT	Counter-Terrorism
CTC	Counter-Terrorism Committee
CVE	Countering Violent Extremism
DPP	Director of Public Prosecutions
EWARN	Early Warning and Response Network
EWS	Early Warning System
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia
GWOT	Global War on Terrorism
ISIL	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
KDF	Kenya Defence Forces
KENET	Kenya Education Network
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NSCVE	National Strategy on Countering Violent Extremism
NSIS	National Security Intelligence Service
P/CVE	Preventing and/or Countering Violent Extremism
UN	United Nations
UNCTC	United Nations Counter-Terrorism Committee
VE	Violent Extremism
VEO	Violent Extremist Organization

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the Research Study and Outlines the Background to the Study. It also deals with the Problem Statement, Research Questions, Study Objectives, and Justification of the Study, Literature Review, Theoretical Framework, Hypotheses, Research Methodology and Chapter Outline.

1.1 Background to the Study

The phenomenon of terrorism and violent extremism around the world continues to arouse many questions and challenges, which call for pertinent answers and sustainable solutions in academic as well as policy circles.¹ Given Africa's experience and the nature of the changing dynamics of this problem, it is critical that finding effective solutions to the challenge of violent extremism is given priority.² While studies on Preventing Violent Extremism and counter terrorism have increasingly been nuanced over the past years, most have tended to concentrate on the military and strategic aspects of the same. Lately however, the role of gender in countering terrorism in Africa has been gaining prominence.

Gender in this context implies the social characteristics and opportunities linked with being female or male as well as the associations and power dynamics between women and men, girls and boys. These attributes are not just biological but include opportunities and relationships that are constructed socially and erudite through the

¹ Haggerty, Kevin D., and Sandra M. Bucerius. "Radicalization as martialization: Towards a better appreciation for the progression to violence." *Terrorism and political violence* 32, no. 4 (2020): 768-788.

² Mwaniki, Dennis M. "Changing Strategies in Countering Violent Extremism and Terrorism in Africa: Case of Kenya." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2019.

processes of socialization. These attributes are constantly evolving and time bound, this means they keep changing over time. Gender also defines what is anticipated, permitted, and is of value in a man or in a woman in a given framework.³ In various social orders, there exists variances and inequalities between men and women in the roles and duties they are assigned in the society, the undertakings they carry out, their rights in the use of resources as well as their prospects for decision making involvement.

Furthermore, Gender has been considered instrumental, and plays a critical role in countering radicalization, violent extremism, and terrorism.⁴ Terrorists and violent extremist organizations have taken advantage to manipulate the stereotyping of gender (both male and female) and their various and numerous grievances to articulate their terror related activities. Law enforcers and other security organs have also ignored this whole issue because of the manipulation. In this respect, the development of significant examination of policy frameworks and programmatic initiatives aimed at counter terrorism have generated enormous interest to delve deeper into the gendered dimension of terrorism both in practice and at policy level.

According to Boulden, “various International, Regional and National bodies have acknowledged the dominant role of gender in violent extremism and terrorist activities and have hence included the gender factor in their approach of preventing and countering violent extremism and terrorism. At the global level, the United Nations Global Counter Terrorism Strategy (2006) and the Plan of Action to Prevent Violent Extremism of 2015 provide the general framework for countering violent extremism

³ Bonvillain, Nancy. *Women and men: Cultural constructs of gender*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2020.

⁴ Nwangwu, Chikodiri, and Christian Ezeibe. "Femininity is not inferiority: women-led civil society organizations and “countering violent extremism” in Nigeria." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 21, no. 2 (2019): 168-193.

and terrorism”.⁵ The framework is anchored on four main fundamentals namely; to act upon conditions conducive of extending terrorism, inhibiting and combating terrorism, developing the capacity of states to prevent, combat and tackle terrorism and enacting rule of law while combating terrorism. The plan of action echoes the provisions of relevant United Nations Security Council Resolutions such as, 1624 (2005), 2178 (2014) which address issues of foreign terrorist fighters. Where counter violent extremism has a role through counter narratives messaging, addressing structural causes, context specific programming such as promotion of social inclusion and cohesion, and UNSCR 2242 (2015) which focus on empowerment of women as a core strategic element for effective prevention of Violent Extremism.⁶

The global perspective of Countering Violent Extremism was initiated as a reaction to Violent Extremism propagated by groups such as Al Qaida, Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant, Boko Haram and Al Shabaab.⁷ This initiative was informed by the failure of the global war on terror especially after the September 11, 2001 Al Qaida attack on the United States, which was blamed for Human Rights violations and abuse in the way the suspected perpetrators were treated. Countering Violent Extremism was therefore, meant to address human rights concerns, promote voluntary participatory and inclusive approaches, involve local communities, adapt whole of government and rehabilitative approach rather than exclusive punitive strategy and promote inclusion of non-state actors as well as observe transparency and accountability in implementation of projects.⁸ Despite these numerous counter-terrorism frameworks and policies, there still

⁵Boulden, Jane. "The United Nations General Assembly and Terrorism." In *Research Handbook on International Law and Terrorism*. Edward Elgar Publishing, 2020.

⁶Garrido, Mariateresa. "Terrorist Fighters, Mass Surveillance, and International Law." In *The Difficult Task of Peace*, pp. 261-275. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2020.

⁷Omenma, J. Tochukwu, Ifeanyichukwu M. Abada, and Z. Onyinyechi Omenma. "Boko Haram insurgency: A decade of dynamic evolution and struggle for a caliphate." *Security Journal* (2020): 1-25.

⁸Duffy, Helen. *The 'war on Terror' and the Framework of International Law*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

lacks a gender perspective in all of them.

Over the years, scholars and academicians have delved into the aspects of the participation of women in political violence. However, on the issue of women and terrorism, there is little literature that exists as terrorism is mostly associated with masculinity, therefore, a lot of studies focused on men and terrorism leaving out women. Globally, there are different contexts of women's participation in acts of terrorism and movements. For example, in Russia, in the 19th Century, terrorist movements were extensively joined by women such as Vera Zasulich who was involved in the *Narodnaya Volya* (people's will) political movement, which participated in planning the assassination of the Russian Czar.⁹

Throughout the twentieth century, women played prominent roles in the front line for insurgency campaigns and ethno-nationalist struggles such as the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, Peru's Shining Path group, Hamas in Palestine, the Kurdish Workers Party in Turkey, Italy's Red Brigade, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil, the Zapatistas in Mexico, and the Japanese Red Army. Therefore, women's participation in insurgency or terrorist movements is not an exclusive phenomenon in the 21st Century.¹⁰

The case of women being involved in suicide missions has been a controversial one within the sphere of Islamist extremism or terrorism. Amidst differing motivations to join terrorist organizations, ideology played a vital role where women were attracted to idealistic or altruistic reasons and has the potential to become suicide bombers. Katherine Brown in her interview for the Daily Beast highlighted that some jihadist groups have denounced the utilization of women in suicide missions due to the rationale of women's modesty, where her

⁹ Mia Bloom, "Bombshells: Women and Terror," *Gender Issues* 28, no. 1-2 (2011): 1-21.

¹⁰ Agara, Tunde. "The Role of Woman in Terrorism and Investigation of Gendering Terrorism." *Journal of Humanities Insights* 1, no. 02 (2017): 46-56.

body would be exposed after her death, as in the case of Wafa Idris in Palestine.¹¹ Nevertheless, terrorist groups have continued to use women in suicide missions. By the beginning of 2017 alone, 27 women were used as suicide bombers by Boko Haram in Nigeria and Cameroon. Brown explains this as a recent trend in suicide bombings and direct violence compared to previous experiences of women being used in Islamist terrorist acts.¹²

In Kenya, far-flung areas such as the Coast and the North Eastern Regions are characterized by ineffective state-citizen relationships, marginalization and lopsided development create conducive environments for Al-Shabaab radicalization. Extremist networks such as Al-Shabaab utilize radical financiers to lure youth into Al-Shabaab.¹³ Recruitment is further facilitated by online platforms due to strong physical surveillance in the country, which makes it impossible for the recruits to meet physically with their recruiters. The evolution of Al Shabaab tactics in recruitment led to the recruitment of women and girls who to be used for strategic and tactical motives of the organization.

The media reports have continuously highlighted the involvement of Kenyan women and girls in violent extremism linked to terrorist organizations such as the ISIS and Al-Shabaab. The reports have focused on women and girls travelling to join violent extremist organizations as recruiters. They help with logistics, finances, espionage for terrorist activities, and, in some cases, they are involved in masterminding terrorist attacks or forming terror cells as in the case of the white widow, Samantha Lewthwaite's speculative role in the West Gate attack in Nairobi, Kenya.¹⁴ Similarly, Goldberg defined the various roles played

¹¹ Baniani, Sepideh. "The Lived Experiences and Perceived Challenges of Young Arab Muslim Females with the Hijab in Southern California in the Contemporary Era." (2019).

¹² Pearson, Elizabeth, and J. Zenn. "Wilayat Shahidat: Boko Haram, the Islamic State, and the question of the female suicide bomber." *Boko Haram Behind the Headlines* (2018).

¹³ Badurdeen, Fathima Azmiya, and Paul Goldsmith. "Initiatives and Perceptions to Counter Violent Extremism in the Coastal Region of Kenya." *Journal for Deradicalization* 16 (2018): 70-102.

¹⁴ Ngono, Sibangeni, and Fidelis Peter Thomas Duri. "Chapter Thirteen Problematising Victimhood and Agency: Women and Terrorism in 21st Century." *Violence, Politics and Conflict Management in Africa: Envisioning Transformation, Peace and Unity in the Twenty-First Century* (2016): 327.

women and girls in terrorist networks such as spies who gather valuable information on targets and conduct security surveillance. They also play the role of financiers who offer money for missions or act as conduits, suicide bombers who blend well with communities in circumventing detection, in logistics and aiding terrorist acts, and as recruiters who recruit members into the network. Goldberg further posits that there are other factors, which prompt women to join terrorist networks such as revenge for extra-judicial killings and historical injustices, unemployment and the need for better livelihoods, and kidnapping and coercion by the terrorist networks.¹⁵

1.2 Problem Statement

In tradition, literature focusing on terrorism has tended to exclude the role of women as actors in terrorism to the extent that they have been referred to as victims of terrorism, yet they are becoming more significant players in both countering as well as perpetrating terrorism.

The studies on this question (gender factor) in terrorism are beginning to emerge but not adequate work has been done on this area. There are still many unanswered questions on factors that lead both men and women towards terrorist action. It is therefore important to carry out more research on the gender factor in countering terrorism.

In view of the foregoing, this study seeks to assess the gender factor in countering terrorism in Africa using Kenya as the case study.

1.3 Research Questions

This study seeks to answer the following research questions;

¹⁵ Badurdeen, Fathima A. "Women and Recruitment in the Al-Shabaab Network: Stories of Women being recruited by Women Recruiters in the Coastal Region of Kenya." *The African Review* 45, no. 1 (2018): 19-48.

- i. What are the trends in male and female involvement in terrorist actions in Africa?
- ii. What has been the gender factor in the perpetration of terrorism in Kenya?
- iii. What has been the role of gender in countering terrorism in Kenya?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 Overall Objective

The overall objective of this study is to assess the gender factor in countering terrorism in Africa using Kenya as the case study.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

The study seeks to achieve the following specific objectives;

- i. To assess the trends in male and female involvement in terrorist actions in Africa.
- ii. To analyze the role of gender in the perpetration of terrorism in Kenya.
- iii. To examine the role of gender in countering terrorism in Kenya.

1.5 Literature Review

1.5.1 Introduction

This section will review both theoretical and empirical literature on the role of gender in countering terrorism in Africa. The section will further provide a critical review and expound on the research gap by identifying the missing link in pre-existing literature that has already been undertaken. Lastly, the study will highlight the gap that exists in both the theoretical and empirical literature review.

1.5.2 Theoretical literature

1.5.2.1 Constructivism theory

The constructivism theory of International Relations will help in illustrating the gender factor in counterterrorism. This theory was advanced by Nicholas Onuf to help in describing construct features in International relations. Alexander Wendt later advanced it in 1992.¹⁶ The theory mainly addresses human consciousness and the responsibilities of ideologies in International Relations. It explains the affairs of the global community in terms of engagements/interaction of various actors as well as ideological structures. This has been viewed as a branch of idealism that states the mutual fight against terrorist activities. The proponent of this theory challenges realist and liberalist theories since they rarely contribute to the illustration of the attacks driven by multiple convictions.

Constructivism is essential in explaining and analyzing transition in identity and interest within a given period of time. It further helps in explaining the changing nature on the response to Violence extremism.¹⁷ Further, the theory emphasizes the importance of culture, context and stresses the importance of conceptualizing what happens in a society and indeed builds information based on that particular understanding. Kukla avers that “the theory is premised on three assumptions; that reality is constructed through a human activity where certain members of society invent properties of the world”¹⁸. Secondly, it is a knowledge that

¹⁶ Wendt, A., "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics", International Organization, Vol. 46 (2), 1992

¹⁷ Wendt, A., "The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations", International Organization, Vol. 46 (2), 1987

¹⁸. Kukla,A.(2000).Social Constructivism and the Philosophy of Science.NewYork: Routledge

is socially and culturally constructed¹⁹ and lastly it is acquired through learning both on at the individual level and group level shaped by the external forces.²⁰

The theory is pertinent in examining how terrorists have taken advantage of the gender issues including grievances in Kenya and used them as tools to easily recruit, educate and assign roles to various groups in their activities and hence goes ahead to propose measures (such as economic, political and social equity) which can be utilized to counter their activities.

Terrorism has been defined as an act of war, criminal act or evil practice that jeopardizes human security and this has contributed to development of various measures for countering terrorism. For instance, counter-terrorism measures taken by military and immigration officers as opposed to measures like negotiations and induced economic changes can be counterproductive as they minimize factors that can influence someone to join terror group. Terrorism uses different features of constructivism theory like ideals, identities as well as norms to strike. This enhances persuasion. Failure by the rationalists in analyzing constructivism enhances state centric policies in responding to terrorism.²¹

Constructivism theory perceives terrorist activities as a challenge that does not occur independently of the opinions of the persons that are involved in it. The theory enhances the formation of varied notions, understanding of different groups of people, which assists in understanding how states respond to terrorism, unfolding the continuous transition of

¹⁹ Gredler, M.E.(1997).Learning and instruction: Theory into practice(3rded).Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

²⁰McMahon,M.(1997,December).Social Constructivism and the World Wide Web Paradigm for Learning .Paper presented at the ASCILITE conference. Perth, Australia.

²¹ David Schild, "Constructivism as a basis for understanding International Terrorism: a Case study of Al Qaeda," University of Johannesburg, 2011.

opinions as well as identities. It can as well help in explaining terrorism and those who are joining through various factors.²²

It is also relevant in that it fosters peace and security through the participation of multiple actors using ideas, interdependence of international relations as well as fiscal development, morals, law and order.

1.5.2.2 The Instrumental Approach

Instrumental approach is one of the approaches established for the field of political science to help in understanding terrorist activities. The approach was advanced by Crenshaw who stated that the actions of actors in the international system could be illustrated by their behaviour based on the available principles and norms. The approach asserts that an act of violence is something that is deliberate and used by various actors to achieve their interests.

Hence, Crenshaw posits, violence is not the end as stated by other approaches such as the psychological theories. The act of violence is perceived as a reaction to certain policies initiated by governments or a group of people to instil fear in people so that their grievances can be heard.²³ The envisaged changes may take radical political and social dimensions in the society. Crenshaw argues that violent activities are committed with certain intentions and have their own objectives. Violent extremists use violence as a means of forcing the government to change the policies, rules and decisions, which they consider unfavourable to them. At the same time, it is pertinent to note that terrorist groups tend to analyse the costs of

²² Wendt, A., "On Constitution and Causation in International Relations", *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 24 (special issue), 1998.

²³ Crenshaw, Martha. "The debate over "new" vs. "old" terrorism." In *Values and Violence*, pp. 117-136. Springer, Dordrecht, 2008.

carrying out their operations. They make decisions by engaging with other parties within their networks.²⁴

The approach states that the survivals of the violent groups are essential to their members just like the survival of political interest. Crenshaw posits that terrorists achieve their survival through various such as publicity as and recognition have been the through which terrorists achieve their survival. They have devised various ways of advancing their scope, like radicalization amongst the youth and vulnerable people in the society whom they recruit, train and pay to facilitate their dangerous acts. Violence has not only been used by terrorists to coerce states with an intention to achieve their goals but has also been used by political class to achieve their selfish goals.

Based on the actions that advance violent activities, the instrumental approach is essential in that it satisfies and gives the society/people simple intelligence services on secretive terror groups. Despite its provisions on addressing security issues, this approach is criticized by other scholars since it does not provide analysis of the internal operations of the terrorists that promotes violent extremism, hence the need for other theories like securitization theory.

1.5.3 Empirical literature review

1.5.3.1 The trends in male and female involvement in terrorist actions in Africa

The gender factor Gender in terrorism has not been given much attention in most research studies, as it has been predominantly considered a male phenomenon. However, due to the increased involvement of women in the attacks especially as suicide bombers, the study has

²⁴Crenshaw, M. (1990). *Questions to be answered, research to be done, knowledge to be applied*. In W. Reich (Ed.), *Woodrow Wilson Center series. Origins of terrorism: Psychologies, ideologies, theologies, states of mind* (p. 247–260). Cambridge University Press; Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

taken a new turn.²⁵ Researchers and analysts on the terrorism trends and counter terrorism efforts have now included women in their research since their presence has changed the structure and organization of the terrorist groups.²⁶

The males have dominated the terrorist group such as in Boko Haram, which was established in 2002, and carries out warfare on non-Islamic groups and the government of Nigeria. The Boko Haram is known to target majorly the vulnerable male population for recruitment. Their main interests are the educated but unemployed, illiterate and poor young men though it is not uncommon to find some rich and powerful funding the terrorist groups.²⁷ The males are motivated to join the rebel groups by numerous factors like ‘awarding of wives’, thoughts of prestige and power, demonstration of masculinity and other incentives that boost their male ego out of their chauvinistic beliefs. Due to the strength and masculine nature of men, they have been predominantly in the frontline in spying for terrorist groups as well as carrying out the actual attacks.

Men have also formed or joined various terrorist groups such as Al-Shabaab, Al Qaida, Lords resistance movement, Libyan Islamic Fighting Group, Egyptian Islamic Jihad, Sudan’s People Liberation Army and other terrorist groups which have been responsible for perpetration of violence in various Africa states including Nigeria, Somalia, Libya, Egypt, Kenya, Uganda, Sudan and many others. On the other hand, the subject of females in terrorism has not been greatly explored as historically, most terrorist groups were majorly consisted of males until recently where women became increasingly being involved in the terrorist acts.

²⁵Herschinger, E. (2014). Political science, terrorism and gender. *Historical Social Research*, 39(3), 46-66.

²⁶Ortbals, Candice D., and Lori M. Poloni-Staudinger. "Terrorism and the Public: Gender, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior." In *Gender and Political Violence*, pp. 247-271. Springer, Cham, 2018.

²⁷ Cilliers, ‘Terrorism and Africa,’ *African Security Review* 12(4) (2003). Christopher, C. H. (2000). *Terrorism Today*. London, Frank Class Publishers.

Owing to the persistent capture and execution of men in the rebel groups, there arose a need to fill in the void. This led to the serious recruitment of women into terror groups who also participated in acts of terrorism either directly or indirectly. Their main roles included raising funds for their cause, convincing and recruiting new members, collecting intelligence and even the actual perpetration of violence in acts like suicide bombing. It is imperative to note that the driving factors to women joining terror groups are similar to those of men and include low literacy levels, poverty, unemployment, fanatics, persuasion, revenge and enticing benefits.²⁸ Considering that, women termed as people responsible for fostering and maintaining societal values and norms, this role gives them powerful influence in the fight for or against terrorism.

Majority of the religious extremist groups are prejudiced against women and hence rank them lower than men in the terror field craft. According to Jessica Auchter, women who actively participate in the terror acts are not awarded high-ranking positions or leadership roles as men.²⁹ Despite that, they can play a major role in influencing mitigation of attacks through the influence of their mothering nature. On the other hand, this factor has been utilized by men to take advantage of women as they take charge of all their activities for financial gains and thus use them as a source of labor and for siring children.³⁰

This prejudice has also led to the use of sexual violence against women by terror groups such as Al- Shabaab, Boko Haram and others during attacks in order to instill fear in them. They also achieve this through abduction of young girls and women who play the role of wives to

²⁸Bloom, M. " Bombshells: Women and Terror. " Gender Issues 28 (2011): 1-21.

²⁹Auchter, Jessica. " Gendering Terror: Discourses of Terrorism and Writing Woman-As-Agent. " International Feminist Journal of Politics 14, no. 1 (2012): 121-139.

³⁰ J.S Hendrickson, *Counter Radicalization: Combating Terrorism at The Core*(Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore Maryland,2014)

the men in the rebel groups. In spite of all these, there are also women who support the rebels in the form of food, money, supplies, time, sex and safe place.³¹

In perpetration of violence across nations, women are assigned limited roles with restrictions such as not being allowed to wage the jihad on battlefield unlike the males.³² They have majorly been used as suicide bombers as witnessed in the Boko Haram and Al- Shabaab attacks, spies of the targeted areas and facilitators because of the unlikelihood of suspicion hence the increasing need of more female recruits. According to bloom, female terrorists attract more media attention than their male counterparts do especially if that was the major objective of the terrorist group.³³

1.5.3.2 Role of Gender in the Perpetration of Terrorism

Terrorists and violent extremist organizations have taken advantage of the stereotyping of gender and their grievances to carry out their terror-related activities. Despite that, violent extremism has predominately been associated and viewed as a male problem due to the patriarchal nature of the society. However, there has been a spike in the role played by women in these movements as either active members or supporters. This has necessitated critical analysis on a gender-focused study to establish the role gender plays in violent extremism to determine effective gender-based counterterrorism measures. Both female and male law enforcers in countering terrorism must comprehend at minimum how the gender factor influences radicalization, violent extremism and terrorism.

Women's participation in terrorism acts has been on the rise in the 21st century. However, this is not a new phenomenon since for a long time in history; women have taken part in

³¹ Committee of Experts on Terrorism. " Discussion Paper on Possible Gender-Related Priorities. " Committee of Experts on Terrorism&39; s 27th Plenary Meeting. Strasbourg, France: Council of Europe, 2014.

³²Herschinger, E. (2014). *Political science, terrorism and gender*. Historical Social Research, 39(3), 46-66.

³³ Bloom, Mia. "Women and terrorism." In Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. 2017.

various roles in terrorist organizations and networks. They played roles as passive sympathizers of movements; supporting roles of spies and logistics to the network, strategic roles of spies and trainers to active combatants in the frontlines. The earliest reports of women involvement in terrorist activities were evident in the movement Narodnaya Volya in Russia, where women anarchists participated in planning the assassination of the Russian Czar.³⁴

Throughout the twentieth century, women played prominent roles in the front line for insurgency campaigns and ethno-nationalist struggles such as the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, Peru's Shining Path group, Hamas in Palestine, the Kurdish Workers Party in Turkey, Italy's Red Brigade, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil, the Zapatistas in Mexico, and the Japanese Red Army. Therefore, women's participation in insurgency or terrorist movements is not an exclusive phenomenon in the 21st Century. The role of women and girls in ISIS, in combat, was highlighted during the battle for Mosul in Iraq. Besides their role in supportive engagement, only a limited number of reports on women's motivations, backgrounds, and involvement in combat have been publicized. In some cases, coercion is a possibility. Coercive strategies have been evident in suicide attacks of female bombers associated with al Qaida in Iraq in the 2000s. Some terrorist organizations such as the Taliban in Afghanistan had to re-adjust their stance on women participation in jihad due to the fear of societal backlash.³⁵ While personal motivations of women are varied, organizational motivation in using women and girls is mainly tied to the strategic and tactical advantage women, and girls have over men and boys. This includes their ability to evade detection and security measures due to their clothing, or the assumption that women are passive victims only. Further, women in terrorist acts secure eight times more media coverage than men, and

³⁴ Mia Bloom, "Bombshells: Women and Terror," *Gender Issues* 28, no. 1-2 (2011): 1-21.

³⁵ Alvi, Hayat. "Secularism Versus Political Islam: The Case of Tunisia." In *The Political Economy and Islam of the Middle East*, pp. 153-187. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2019.

this heightened publicity has the ability to arouse public emotions for outrage on the deaths of women thereby publicizing the terrorist organizational cause.

The youth (both male and female) also play a key role in the perpetration of violent extremism and terrorism. There is increased recognition, both in policy and in academic circles, that young people in Kenya and other African counties remain major targets for recruitment into violent extremism and terrorism. It is worth noting here that Abdirahman Abdullahi, one of the gunmen in the Garissa University Attack of April 2015, was a young law graduate from the University of Nairobi.³⁶ He was only 24 years old.

It took the country by surprise when on the morning of September 11, 2016, three young women, believed to have been operating at a tiny sleeper cell, and staged an attack at the Mombasa Central Police Station before security personnel overpowered them. They were all less than 25 years of age. In all these cases, these are youths, not only perpetrators but also conduits and victims of violent extremism.³⁷ This study seeks to look into the perpetrators of terrorism from wide lenses of the society in a holistic manner to involve male, female and youth who have been involved in terrorism. It is through uncovering perpetrators and identifying the root causes or motivating factors for them to join terrorist organizations that policy makers will come up with appropriate measures targeting every aspect of gender in the community.

³⁶ Apronti, Rose Toloo. "Terrorism and Ethics in Counterterrorism in Africa." PhD diss., University of Ghana, 2017.

³⁷ Asante, Doris, and Laura J. Shepherd. "Gender and countering violent extremism in Women, Peace and Security national action plans." *European Journal of Politics and Gender* (2020).

1.5.3.3 Role of Gender in Countering Terrorism

The utilization of the gender aspect in counterterrorism is greatly not recorded or talked about and has frequently been overlooked by practitioners and policymakers³⁸. Both male and female genders can play crucial roles in preventing or deterring acts of terrorism, as they both also play key roles as perpetrators. Male and female, including the youth, are equally instrumental in countering terrorism so as improve peace and security in the country.

The inclusion of the role gender framework within CVE initiatives enables a deep analysis of the gender dynamics behind the recruitment process, revealing why men and women take part in terrorist activities. This knowledge provides useful insights for preventing men, women and youth from being recruited or engaging in extremist activities.

Terrorist movements are increasingly taking advantage of the failure to tap into this potential area. In this regard, women's specific capacities, experience, knowledge and talents that can be utilized to make a vital contribution towards a stable and secure society, need to be investigated and documented, through a systematic research. Such research would help identify social contexts and conditions where women could have a significant impact in preventing their children from joining or being exposed to extremist activity. They, therefore, can make effective agents of counterterrorism within the context of their socially acquired maternal roles and capacity to influence and dissuade their children away from terrorism.

Women are capable of playing a greater role in curbing and preventing terrorism than they can in perpetuating it. They are therefore considered more important actors against terror, as well as instrument for peace. Other roles of Women's in areas of peace building and peacemaking, especially in post-conflict societies are well documented in many studies.

³⁸ Schmidt, Rachel. "Duped: Examining Gender Stereotypes in Disengagement and Deradicalization Practices." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (2020): 1-24.

However, women's role in preventing radicalization and violent extremism that lead to terrorism has hardly been documented.³⁹

Men and Women at the community level should continue taking part in counterterrorism initiatives in their communities aimed at integrating terrorist group members' returnee or defector. Community sensitization and awareness programs on the reintegration of men, women, and the youth returnees should also focus on accepting these members and preventing stigmatization of men, women, and youth returnees.⁴⁰

1.6 Hypotheses

This study must test the following hypothesis.

H1: There are significant trends in male and female involvement in terrorist actions in Africa.

H2: There is a significant role of gender in the perpetration of terrorism in Kenya

H3: There is a significant role of gender in countering terrorism in Kenya

1.7 Justification of the Study

1.7.1 Policy Justification

The findings of the study will influence policy choices and options at the disposal of the government and relevant stakeholders in the counter terrorism domain.

³⁹Nzomo, Maria, Patrick Maluki, Yusuf A. Mustafa, Adams Oloo, Martin Ouma, and Winnie Rugutt. "IDIS Journal of International Studies and Diplomacy: Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century Africa," 2018.

⁴⁰Weine, Stevan, Zachary Brahmatt, Emma Cardelli, and Heidi Ellis. "Rapid review to inform the rehabilitation and reintegration of child returnees from the Islamic State." *Annals of global health* 86, no. 1 (2020).

1.7.1 Academic Justification

This study will seek to broaden the academic literature and add a new dimension of knowledge in matters of gender and terrorism, which other scholars and academicians can borrow or build on.

1.8 Theoretical framework

Radical Feminism theory

The study employed radical feminist theory to illustrate the gender factor in countering terrorism. This theory examines the role of gender in experiences, ideas, interests, injustices, oppression and discrimination as well as feminist politics in different sub fields in the society.⁴¹ It seeks to create a new knowledge of the world and seeks to change the unequal gender relationship. This is a theory that advocates for equality, it is guided by the experiences of women, and is not compromised by other existing approaches and political agenda. The theory puts into consideration the challenges that women go through and is obligated to end this.⁴²

The female gender has different interests that are not similar to those of the male gender. Women possess some common interests, which drive them to fight against racism, issues of class and instead advocate for various ways that help in advancing societal freedom. The theory argues that the power occupied by male is not opined to the general domain of politics and is extended to individuals lives, hence authority and power in the traditional set up are challenged since they are linked to people's lives, families as well as sexual orientation that makes people vulnerable in the society. Radical Feminist seeks to remedy the shortcomings

⁴¹Belknap, Joanne. *The invisible woman: Gender, crime, and justice*. SAGE Publications, 2020.

⁴²Bryson, Valerie. "Modern radical feminism: the theory of patriarchy." In *Feminist Political Theory*, pp. 181-193. Palgrave, London, 1992.

of the traditional international relations approaches by integrating women and gender experiences and perspectives into theory building and analysis.⁴³

According to Prof. Maria Nzomo, inclusion of women experiences will expand the knowledge of International relations and lead to the generation of new questions and data.⁴⁴

Feminists seek to remedy the inadequacies of the traditional international relations approaches by integrating women and gender experiences and perspectives into theory building and analysis.⁴⁵ Prof. Nzomo further posits that feminist scholars are concerned by exclusion of women from participation in matters of war and peace, by for example their marginality in military combat positions and highest levels of governance.⁴⁶

The theory brings various things to perspective by putting gender issues at the center of analysis at various fronts. It goes against the traditional theories on violence and terrorism that are dominated by the “male-gaze” and individual stereotypes and perspectives. Feminist approach offers a fresh perspective on security research. It highlights gender experiences or narratives that counter or deepen the studies in International Relations. The theory is relevant in this study in that it offers understanding of gender in its relation to power at both face-to-face interaction level and the way it is reflected within a social structure at large. It is important in addressing terrorism issues by putting into consideration the value of women’s experiences and contribution to terrorism. It also provides a lens for analyzing gendered ideas about who does what, who experiences what and why in terrorism and terror field craft. It relevant in crafting appropriate responses to these issues. The theory also offers a lens that

⁴³ Ibid

⁴⁴ Nzomo, Maria. "Rethinking Peace & Security in Africa: A Feminist Perspective." (2011).

⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ Nzomo, Maria. "Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies." Phd Diss., University of Nairobi, 2009.

recognizes the role of women as critical agents in political, economic and social processes that are part of a holistic approach to countering terrorism.⁴⁷

1.9 Research Methodologies

1.9.1 Research Design

This study will undertake a case study method approach to facilitate and ventilate an up-close, in-depth and comprehensive investigation of the study subject. In addition, the case study will facilitate the carrying out of studies on every phenomenon of interest in this research within its actual life context. This survey has several benefits as it permits a vast deal of data to be gathered at any given time. Secondly, it is an affordable and appropriate method when gathering data in a short period of time. Thirdly, its versatility makes it an overwhelming choice of researchers for collecting primary data. This design is considered more suitable because the researcher wants to find out the existing data. Hence, utilization of the case study will aid the holistic approach of investigating the role of gender in countering terrorism.

1.9.2 Sample for procedure

According to Mugenda and Mugenda, for a population of 10,000, the under listed formula will apply.⁴⁸

$$nf = n/(1+n/N)$$

Where:

nf= desired sample size when the population is less than 10,000.

⁴⁷Mills, Sara, and Louise Mullany. *Language, gender and feminism: Theory, methodology and practice*. Taylor & Francis, 2011.

⁴⁸Mugenda, Olive Mwhaki, and Abel Gitau Mugenda. 2003. *Research methods quantitative & qualitative approaches*.

n= desired sample when the population is more than 10,000. (Which is 157)

N= estimate of the population size.

1.9.3 Sampling size

A sample can be described a smaller representation of a given population, which is depicted by similar characteristics. The main usage of sampling is to form the representativeness of the phenomenon under investigation conversely and minimized bias. Purposive sampling will be utilizing the quota. In quota sampling, the enumerator is directed to continue sampling until the required quota has been obtained in each stratum. From Mugenda and Mugenda the formula where the population size is less than 10,000 will be utilized to determine the number of respondents.

$$nf = \frac{n}{1 + n)N}$$

Where nf is the desired sample size, when the population is less than 10,000

N is desired sample when the population is more than 10,000

N is estimate of the population size.

$$\text{Sample size} = \frac{157}{1 + \left(\frac{157}{307}\right)}$$

=157 Respondents

Table 1.1 Sampling Frame

Category of Respondents	Desired Sample	Sampling Technique
Experts in security and counter terrorism	25	Purposive selection
General public of Nairobi county	50	Random Sampling
University of Nairobi student & Academicians undertaking International Studies course	50	Random Sampling
Key informants from the Ministry of Interior and Co-ordination	7	Purposive Selection
National Police Service personnel	25	Random Sampling
Total	157	

Researcher 2019

1.9.4 Target population

Target population refers to the aggregate number of persons from which the research samples will be drawn from.⁴⁹ The target population is what the researcher will be targeting with a view of gathering primary data. This target population will entail residents of Nairobi county, security personnel such as the National Intelligence Service, the National Police Service, university students undertaking International Studies, and experts in security and counter terrorism measures. This population has been selected due to their direct involvement with counter terrorism matters and are conversant with the study topic.

⁴⁹Arocha, J. F. (2020). Scientific realism and the issue of variability in behavior. *Theory & Psychology*, 972.

1.9.5 Data Tool and Collection

The study encompasses both qualitative and quantitative data, which will be collected from primary and secondary sources of data. Primary data will be obtained through administering questionnaires and scheduling interviews. The nature of questionnaires will be structured questionnaires entailing both open-ended and closed-ended questions. Open-ended questions will be utilized to collect qualitative data while on the other hand the closed-ended questions will be used for collecting quantitative data. The questions have been formulated in a very flexible questioning and follow up questions to give a chance to the respondent to ventilate and express their views in-depth.

The questionnaires will target security officials, International Studies experts, public from Nairobi County, informants from the Ministry of Interior and Co-ordination. Secondary data will be obtained from a collection and review of books, journals, academic and research papers. The research will undertake face-to-face interviews with a few key chosen informants using an interview schedule. This interview schedule will assist the researcher to get more detailed and comprehensive information generated from the qualitative data.

1.9.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

Suitable data analysis approaches and procedures will be utilized in coming up with responses to the research questions through an analytical and critical investigation and interpretation of the attained data. After the questionnaires are received back from the various respondents, they will be edited, coded and then the data will be tabulated. The editing will make sure that the questionnaires are complete, consistent and readable. On other hand, coding will allow the transfer of the raw primary data to the computer. The coding will

enable the SPSS analytical process, which will be utilized in identifying issues, determining the availability of suitable data, summarizing and communicating the results findings. The study will entail the use of both qualitative and quantitative approach. Results of data analysis will be published or summarized in formal Statistics, while results from surveys will be presented in graphical representation format. A narrative technique will be utilized in analyzing qualitative data while quantitative data will utilize statistical summaries.

1.9.7 Ethical considerations

Various ethical codes will be taken into account while conducting this research. These include no respondent will be forced or coerced to participate in this research. The participants will be informed the purpose of this research for them to make an informed decision on whether to participate or not, and, the information that will acquired from this study will be handled with utmost confidentiality, and will be only used for the purpose specified for this study.

1.9.8 Scope and limitations of the research

The general purpose of this study is to assess the gender factor in countering terrorism in Africa using Kenya as the case study. The study examines the gender factor in terrorism since 1998 when the bombing of the United States Embassy in Nairobi took place up to 2019. Geographically, the study is limited to Kenya even though the whole of Africa is reviewed in order to examine the trends of male and female involvement in terrorist action since these have an impact on what is happening in Kenya.

This study might face some challenges in collecting data due to the COVID 19 Corona Virus but the researcher will use other methods of data collection like questionnaires and online interviews.

1.10 Chapter outline

Chapter One

Chapter One is the proposal for this thesis. It introduces the topic of the research study, detailing the background for the study, the research hypothesis, research objectives, research justification, summary of key concepts, theoretical framework, literature review as well as proposed research methodology. This chapter sets the foundation and framework under which the study will be undertaken.

Chapter Two will seek examine trends in male and female involvement in terrorist actions in Africa

Chapter Three will seek to assess the role of gender in the perpetration of terrorism in Kenya

Chapter Four will seek to investigate the role of gender in countering terrorism in Kenya

Chapter Five will look at data analysis and the findings of the study

Chapter Six will deal with the summary, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

THE TRENDS IN MALE AND FEMALE INVOLVEMENT IN TERRORIST

ACTIONS IN AFRICA

2.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the trends in male and female involvement in terror activities in Africa. The chapter examines the changing trends on operations of terrorist groups such as soft target bombings in shopping malls, religious places such as churches, car bombing, suicide attacks, and abduction of schoolchildren.⁵⁰ The chapter also looks into the changing trends of radicalization undertaken by terrorist groups, both voluntary and involuntary pathways to recruitment. Finally, the chapter will examine the digital trend explosion in the 21st century and the rise of youth radicalization in higher education institutions in Kenya.⁵¹

2.1 Gender Involvement Terrorist Activities in Africa

Terrorism is the criminal act of violence towards a certain group of individuals due to different ideologies to instill fear and chaos among the people.⁵² Terrorist acts could be in form of rebels going against the government, religious affiliation or crime for-profit purposes. Terrorism poses a threat to a nation's security and economy. In the past 20 years, Africa has experienced a sharp rise in terrorism with many fatal attacks with dozens of casualties experienced in countries such as Libya, Egypt, Kenya and Nigeria.

⁵⁰ Ogege, S.O. (2013), "Insecurity and sustainable development: The Boko Haram debacle in Nigeria", *American International Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 2 No. 7, pp. 82-88.

⁵¹ Muliru, Scofield YA. "Challenges of Countering Terrorism in Africa: Youth Radicalization in Schools in Kenya." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2016.

⁵² Collins, Alan, ed. *Contemporary security studies*. Oxford university press, 2016.

Some of the main terrorist groups in Africa include Boko Haram of Nigeria and Al-Shabaab of Somalia whose actions are mostly religiously motivated. Others include the Lord's Resistance Army from Northern Uganda whose goal was to overthrow the Government of President Yoweri Museveni and operates in South Sudan and the Central African Republic.⁵³

Terrorism has clouded international scene with nearly every single state being affected directly or indirectly by the acts of terror. World over, this area is quickly gaining momentum as the global community is quickly rallying round the idea of prevention and managing acts of terror both at the national and international levels. Gender factor as an aspect of terrorism becomes even of more concern as this traditionally male dominated act is quickly indicating significant shift toward a both gender activity. Noting the degree of female involvement in this area for example would be remarkable as it may likely change the traditional view held about terrorism.

In their examination of the causes and consequences of terrorism in Africa, Juliet U. Elu and Gregory N. Price are of the view that the reason why African countries have experienced fairly high levels of terrorism and of either gender being recruited into terrorism and terror field craft can largely be attributed to economic deprivation. This is largely to the fact that terrorism as a source of economic empowerment been used as an economic good and as such, the terrorist of either gender is seen as a rational economic agent⁵⁴

According to Maleeha Aslam, the propensity for men to outnumber women in terror field craft emanates from the fact that the Fourth Wave of Terrorism i.e., the religious wave has

⁵³ Breuning, Marie-Claire, and African Studies Center. "The ambiguity of marriage among formerly abducted Acholi women in Northern Uganda." (2020).

⁵⁴ ⁵⁴Elu, Juliet U., and Gregory N. Price. 2015. "The Causes and Consequences of Terrorism in Africa." In *The Oxford Handbook of Africa and Economics*, by Célestin Monga and Justin Yifu Lin. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

the Muslim world at the very centre of terror. The Islamic world's recent history, Aslam avers, is however complicated. This is because the Islamic world saw through the first half of the 20th century as a colonized people. Currently, the Islamic world is experiencing political oppression, marginalization, humiliation and dejection. As such, Aslam further postulates, "many Muslim men in and outside Muslim countries have no opportunities to prove themselves as honorable or practice masculinity in culturally prescribed ways. In the backdrop of this socio-political reality, many turn to militant jihadist networks to achieve self-actualization and heroism. Terrorist networks, acting as surrogates to national liberation and antiauthoritarian movements, further complicate these dynamics"⁵⁵.

Despite violent extremism and terrorism predominately being viewed as a problem associated with men due to the patriarchal nature of the society, women have increasingly played key roles in terrorist organizations as either supporters or active members of these organizations. This is because female gender has been stereotyped to be harmless, caring and empathetic for a long time. However, studies have shown that they are active agents and voices of terrorism activities. This has necessitated critical analysis on a gender-focused study to establish the role that gender plays in violent extremism to determine effective gender-based counter-terrorism measures.⁵⁶

⁵⁵Aslam, Maleeha. 2012. *Gender-Based Explosions: The Nexus between Muslim Masculinities, Jihadist Islamism and Terrorism*. Tokyo: UNU Press.

⁵⁶ Smyth, "Transforming power to put women at the heart of peacebuilding: A collection of regional-focused essays on feminist peace and security." (2020).

2.2 Trends in Male Involvement of terrorism in Africa

Over the years, males have dominated the terrorist groups such as in Boko Haram, which was established in 2002 and carried out warfare on non-Islamic groups and the government of Nigeria. The Boko Haram has always targeted the vulnerable male population majorly as recruits such as the educated but unemployed, illiterate and poor young men. However, it also constitutes rich and powerful people who fund the terrorist groups.⁵⁷ The males are motivated to join the rebel groups through 'awarding of wives', thoughts of prestige and power, demonstration of male dominance and other incentives that boost their male ego as they have chauvinistic philosophies. Due to the masculine nature and strength of males, they have been in the frontline in carrying out attacks, and spying for the VEOs with the assistance of the females.

The Boko Haram has carried over 36,000 killings since its inception.⁵⁸ Clashes between the army and the rebels led by their then male leader, Mohammed Yusuf, resulted in the death of 1000 Nigerian soldiers in July 2009. The Boko Haram men were used to facilitate bombing attacks in the police barracks in 2010. They also carried out attacks at police headquarters, churches targeting Christians and vehicles. They also attacked Gujba College in 2013 killing 50 students and international agencies such as the Abuja United Nations was attacked in 2011. Other atrocities include the massacres of Christian villagers in 2014, suicide bombs in schools, roads and in the cities of Abuja and Kano led to the loss of civilian and police lives.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Cilliers, 'Terrorism and Africa,' African Security Review 12(4) (2003). Christopher, C. H. (2000). Terrorism Today. London, Frank Class Publishers.

⁵⁸ Ogege, S.O. (2013), "Insecurity and sustainable development: The Boko Haram debacle in Nigeria", American International Journal of Social Science, Vol. 2 No. 7, pp. 82-88.

⁵⁹ Afinotan, L. A., Adedayo O. Olaleye, and V. E. C. Afinotan. "National Security, Boko Haram Insurgency and the International Dimensions of Terrorism." Covenant University Journal of Politics and International Affairs 4, no. 2 (2017).

Several Boko Haram male terrorists also participated in the 2014 abduction of 276 school girls from Chibok village to be used as exchange plea for release of their fellow rebels and further kidnapped 80 people in 2015. They have also expanded their terrorist acts to Cameroon and Chad where they took responsibility for the several bomb attacks in 2015 as they invaded the region and suicide bombers killing seven civilians in April 2020.

The Al-Shabaab gunmen have carried lethal attacks in the East African region. Within Somalia, it has carried out attacks by use of suicide bombers such as Shirwa Ahmed in 2008 who detonates a bomb killing 24 people, car bombs within Mogadishu town that killed over 30 people in 2009, improvised explosives in the AMISOM Force Headquarters killing 17 officers, attack on the Supreme Court in 2013 and U.N compounds in 2014.⁶⁰

Uganda was also hit in 2010 when simultaneous attacks happened at sports bars while people were watching the World Cup and claimed 76 lives. Al-Qaeda, which originated from Afghanistan in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) is a male-dominated group headed by Abdelmalek Droukdel with the main aim of overthrowing Algerian government and making it an Islamic state. They focus on the kidnapping of westerners for ransom, drug and arms trade to fund their activities. It was formed in 1998 in Algeria but later expanded to other parts of North Africa. The group is also known to have carried out the 9/11 attacks which killed and injured hundreds of innocent civilians in the United States of America.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Hesterman, Jennifer. *Soft target hardening: protecting people from attack*. Routledge, 2018.

⁶¹ Yousaf, Farooq. "US drone campaign in Pakistan's Pashtun 'tribal' region: beginning of the end under President Trump?." *Small Wars & Insurgencies* 31, no. 4 (2020): 751-772.

2.3 Women involvement in Terrorism in Africa

The phenomenon of female involvement in terrorism has not been greatly explored as the most terrorist groups majorly consisted of males until recently when women became increasingly being involved in terror acts. Due to the capture and execution of male personnel in the rebel groups, there arose a need to fill in the void and hence women started being directly or indirectly involved in terrorism.⁶²

According to Jacques and Taylor, “the majority of female terrorists were single, below 35 years old, native to the country they were perpetuating terror in, employed, educated to at least secondary level, and rarely involved in criminality. Compared with their male counterparts, female terrorists were equivalent in age, immigration profile, and role-played in terrorism. However, they were more likely to have a higher education attainment, less likely to be employed, and less likely to have prior activist connections. The results clarify the myths and realities of female-perpetrated terrorism and suggest that the risk factors associated with female involvement are distinct from those associated with male involvement.”⁶³

Raghavan and Balasubramaniyan posit that traditionally, women have been more of victims of terror violence than agents have. The beginning of the 1970s however saw women emerging as significant players in the conflicts all over the world. The 21st century witnessed an increase, in suicide attacks committed by women suicide bombers. Furthermore, Raghavan and Balasubramaniyan further posit, the role of women in terrorist organizations have also changed starting from the 1970s. Consequently, in the mid-1980s, women were no longer used for “soft tasks” like facilitation and recruitment, rather, they started taking up frontline

⁶² Bloom, M. " Bombshells: Women and Terror; Gender Issues 28 (2011): 1-21.

⁶³Jacques, K., and P. J. Taylor. 2013. "Myths and realities of female-perpetrated terrorism." *Law and Human Behavior* 37 (1): 35–44.

duties in perpetration of terror like suicide bombing which is considered more dangerous than that of facilitation or recruitment. The two scholars further argue that there are several interrelated factors and issues of economic, psychological, sociological, religious and political nature, which push women to join terrorism specifically as suicide bombers⁶⁴.

After examining the role of women in terrorist actions, Tunde Agara concluded that “the participation of women in terrorists’ organizations and terrorism has been made complex by policy makers and the media who make it appear like it is a new occurrence yet traditionally, women are shown to have been involved in terrorism from the start”⁶⁵. Tunde Agara is of the view that there is a need for scholars to assess whether women take part on political, personal or religion motives and which among all is more crucial as a guide and motivation for their decisions. Furthermore, Agara calls for the need to examine targeted women enrolment through compulsion, abduction, or it is done willingly, an important variable in comprehending this occurrence as well as the connection or magnitudes of relationship between women, gender and terrorism⁶⁶

According to Bloom, in the 21st century, “women are playing an increasingly significant role in terrorism. The rationale for their increased role lies in the object of terror field craft. This is because security personnel progressively target men, as such, using female operatives provides terrorist organizations with a “win-win” scenario. First, if security forces avoid invasively searching women for fear of outraging the local conservative population based on social norms of women’s modesty and the honor code, women are the ideal stealth

⁶⁴Raghavan, S. V., and V. Balasubramaniyan. 2014. "Evolving Role of Women in Terror Groups: Progression or Regression?" *Journals and Campus Publications* 15 (2).

⁶⁵ Agara, Tunde. 2017. "The Role of Woman in Terrorism and Investigation of Gendering Terrorism." *Journal of Humanities Insights* 1 (2): 46-56.

⁶⁶ Agara, Tunde. 2017. "The Role of Woman in Terrorism and Investigation of Gendering Terrorism." *Journal of Humanities Insights* 1 (2): 46-56.

operatives. If security personnel are too aggressive in searching women, they aid terrorist recruitment by outraging the men in that society and providing the terrorists with propaganda that “our women” are being violated”⁶⁷. Another rationale for increased women involvement in terrorism is that women remain an unexploited resource in many conflicts. Women recruitment permits terrorist groups to get an added 50% of the populace. Furthermore, attacks perpetrated by females attract more media response as compared to those carried out by males. This is particularly applicable when the main objectives of the terrorists is to attract the media attention.⁶⁸

2.5 African context-Nigeria and Kenya

In recent years, Africa has witnessed many terrorist activities, which emerge in various parts of the continent and have been a main challenge to the concerned nations. The insurgents are different in the way they carry out their activities, what motivates them, financiers, linkages, and security repercussions and outcomes. Terrorist actions, continuous attacks and propaganda in the global arena and Africa shows the fresh capabilities, opportunities and intentions for more attacks. These can be attributed to deadly outcomes of use of religion for political purposes, a system of education which is defective, not forgetting the socio-economic idiocy of Africa amongst others, which generate threats to the security of the nations and creates stumbling blocks to development both socio-economically and politically. The Sub Sahara Region of Africa is known for terrorism and sixteen countries in the region are rated highly for terror. These nations which stretch from East to West Africa

⁶⁷ Bloom, Mia. 2017. "Women and Terrorism." *Politics*.

⁶⁸ *ibid*

include Kenya, Nigeria, Mali, Somalia, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan, Central African Republic, etc. The Southern Region is however considered relatively stable.⁶⁹

There is no clear definition of terrorism but the UN (1999) in Vázquez, et.al defined terrorism “as any act carried out in a bid to cause death or serious injury to the body of a civilian, or to other persons that hitherto do not take active part in the hostilities”. Such terror actions are naturally intended to intimidate a group of people or to force a government or international institution into taking or not taking a particular action. In defining terrorism, two considerations come into play. Firstly, there is terrorism, which seeks to rule a society by use of actual or psychological fear and terror. Secondly, terrorism can be used as asymmetrical warfare, a system of conflict in which an organized or non-organized group, with fragile conservative military strength and financial influence pursues to attack the fragile points essential in moderately affluent and open societies. These attacks are conducted using different weapons and approaches devoid of political or military department.⁷⁰ In the asymmetrical warfare and state perpetrated terrorism, the goal of the terrorist is to attain religious, political or other objectives by imparting panic and generating fear in the people.

The media has focused on covering Terrorism in the African Sub-Saharan Region. Thirteen countries have witnessed sustained terrorist attacks mainly Boko Haram group, found in Nigeria and actions have also been documented in adjacent Chad, Cameroon and Niger. Additionally, the Al-Shabaab domiciled in Somalia with sequences of actions in Kenya and other bordering countries. Boko Haram is a dreaded Islamic group whose with its formal term adopted as "the Congregation of the People of Tradition for Proselytism and Jihadll, and is the

⁶⁹ Blackwell E.(2015), “Kenya and the Al-Shabaab Struggle”, Available at: <http://natoassociation.ca/kenya-andthe-al-Shabaab-struggle/> (Accessed 02, June 2020).

⁷⁰ Campbell, J. (2014), “Kenya’s Al-Shabaab Problem”, Available at: <https://www.cfr.org/blog/kenyas-alshabaab-problem> (Accessed 11 June, 2017)

English version of “Arabic Jamā'at ahl as-sunnah lid-da'wa wa-l-jihād.”⁷¹ The Boko Haram sect is not only a security threat in Nigeria, more so the Northern part of the country, but also poses a serious problem to the federal government. The terrorist operations took a dangerous angle from 2010 up until now when they blew-up the Nigeria Police Headquarters and the United Nations House the two of the based in Abuja in 2011. These were their maiden assaults beyond the Northern zone. Amid the continuous rebellion in the North East, the cattle rustlers’ attacks in the Middle Belt, the turbulence in the Niger Delta and the wave of abduction and violent robberies in different regions of the country, the security organs definitely have a enormous task to subdue the vicious danger in the Nigeria.⁷²

The Al-Shabaab, a terrorist group linked to the Al Qaeda radical group is believed to have been formed from Al-Ittihad Al-Islami (AIAI, or “Unity of Islam”).⁷³ AIAI is a radical Salafi group whose activities escalated during the Somalia’s civil war of the 1990s following the ouster of the Siad Barre government. The Al-Shabaab has continued to execute attacks on targets in Somalia and also regionally. Fresh incursions by Al-Shabaab in Kenya were possibly triggered by Kenya’s action of posting of troops to Somalia in 2011 in a bid to eradicate insurgent clinches and to avert Al-Shabaab from acquisition of more ground.

Other leading countries ahead of Nigeria in the world include Pakistan, Somalia Iraq, India, Yemen and Afghanistan. On the other hand, Kenya is placed on 18th position in-group two with an index of 5.266. This implies that it ranks poorer in terms of terrorism than Egypt, Mali, the United States and 139 other listed states. In the meantime, in 2014 the total number of deaths from terrorist acts worldwide rose by 80 per cent when equated to the previous

⁷¹ Akinfala, Akinbode and Kemmer, 2014

⁷² Ogege, S.O. (2013), “*Insecurity and sustainable development: The Boko Haram debacle in Nigeria*”, American International Journal of Social Science, Vol. 2 No. 7, pp. 82-88.

⁷³ *ibid*

year. From the start of the 21st century, the number of deaths from terrorism increased by over nine times. The number of deaths spiked from 3,329 in 2000 to 32,685 in 2014. In 2015, Boko Haram surpassed ISIL (also identified as the Islamic State) and became the most lethal terrorist group in the world⁷⁴. According to the GTI 2015 report, Nigeria became the third state with the utmost effect of terrorism with an index score of 9.213, only outdone by Afghanistan Iraq. Kenya, which likewise has a top index, retained the 18th position after scoring 6.66 (IEP, 2015). Nevertheless, in 2016, whereas Nigeria remained 3rd while Kenya moved lower to the 19th position. The number of terrorism related deaths has reduced since 2010.

Nigeria and Iraq led with 5,556 less deaths (IEP, 2016). There has been a rise on research on terrorism since the 9/11 attacks on the US.⁷⁵ The phenomenon was foreseen as the 9/11 saw the greatest damaging terrorist attacks in the history of humankind. These assaults resulted the bloodiest conflicts as a consequence of the resulting fight against terrorism.. Terrorism has subsequently become the most crucial topic of in politics internationally in the first decade of the 21st century. Likewise, considering the violence, which was meted out by these prominent terrorist organizations in Africa, it is essential to study their actions in order to support previous studies.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Institute for Economics and Peace (2012), “*Global Terrorism Index: Capturing the Impact of Terrorism from 2002 to 2011*”, Available at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/world/2012-global-terrorism-index-capturing-impact-terrorism-2002-2011>. (Accessed 19 February, 2017).

⁷⁵ Chen, H., Reid, E., Sinai, J., Silke, A. and Ganor, B. (Eds) (2008). *Terrorism informatics knowledge management and data mining for Homeland Security*, Springer, New York, USA, pp. 558.

⁷⁶ *ibid*

2.4 Trends in Voluntary and Involuntary Pathways to Terrorism Recruitment

Recruitment of male and female into the terrorism networks is gendered; this is because the motives of the recruiter and the recruited are based on gendered perceptions and attitudes. For example, male and female may respond to ideological narratives in terrorist group propaganda along gender themes, such as jihad is not only a ‘man’s only job’. A narrative like this, which is pegged on religious ideology, highlights female is responsibilities in jihad and, with or beside the male. The gendered recruitment pathways of male and female into terrorist may be viewed along the continuum of voluntary and involuntary pathways.⁷⁷

Voluntary recruitment is linked to intrinsic or extrinsic satisfaction along with religious, spiritual, financial or political reasoning. Therefore, male and female are recruited along these pathways based on an intrinsic or extrinsic motivation where they volunteer themselves into the organization. The ideological, religious, spiritual or financial aspects that give inner satisfaction for the recruited drive intrinsic motivation.⁷⁸ Marital relationship or relationships are driven by the love of the spouse or lover or spiritual satisfaction linked to religious or ideological fulfilment; revenge-driven motivations or carrying out family desires within an extremist family influenced by family members forms the intrinsic motivation of a person. Similarly, these factors on voluntary recruitment can also fall within the extrinsically motivated if the recruited joins terrorist groups for an external reward such as money, fame, praise or relationships.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Badurdeen, F.A., 2020. Women who volunteer: a relative autonomy perspective in Al-Shabaab female recruitment in Kenya. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, pp.1-22.

⁷⁸ Omena, J. Tochukwu, Cheryl Hendricks, and Nnamdi C. Ajaebili. "al-Shabaab and Boko Haram: Recruitment Strategies." *Peace and Conflict Studies* 27, no. 1 (2020): 2.

⁷⁹ Bloom, Mia. *Small arms: Children and terrorism*. Cornell University Press, 2019.

However, not all who have joined terrorist groups volunteered themselves. Some of them had no motivation at all to be in the extremist group. They were forced or coerced into the organization using threats, deceptive strategies, kidnap, or abduction. An analysis of their recruitment helps us to understand various causes that have led to their decisions as well as causes for forced or deceptive strategies used in recruitment. This knowledge is important in designing effective mitigation measures to prevent male and female that are recruited into terrorist groups. Others joined the organization or carried out activities for the organization due to monetary gains.⁸⁰

The personal crisis between male and female, which contributed to their voluntary recruitment, included revenge-seeking behaviors out of anger of being neglected by the family or being abandoned by their spouses. Being part of these groups gives them a sense of belonging and hope that one day they could find themselves stronger to defend themselves or to be independent. Some young boys and girls joined terror groups as a way of showing hatred or animosity to their families and loved ones as they had neglected them and it was an avenue to display their anger.

The social media platforms facilitate the luring of both male and female into extremist networks. Bloom describes online platforms in disseminating radical messages online and online chat rooms as spaces to '*express their fanatical support*'.⁸¹ Some male and female youths who spent time on social media sites mostly tended to fall victims of ideology-related content and discussions. Terrorist group recruiters prey on such individuals who are available online. Constant discussions on ideology can encourage them to participate in chat rooms where they meet like-minded people to bolster terrorist groups' propaganda and

⁸⁰ van Zyl, Isel, and Cheryl Frank. "Preventing extremism in West and Central Africa." Institute for Security Studies 28 (2018).

⁸¹ Bloom, Mia. "Women and terrorism." In Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics. 2017.

recruitment.⁸² Peer pressure may influence each other to explore new things and is felt most when they are pushed into accepting particular tenets of a terrorist group ideology. It is documented that terrorist recruiters use girls and women to recruit their peers from their neighborhoods. Recruitment in schools and universities was greatly aided by peer pressure.

Ignorance and adventure-seeking behaviors greatly facilitate girls into terrorist organization recruitment, as they like to venture out due to their associated curiosities to the organization's propaganda, recruitment strategies and how media portrays terrorist groups' activities. The dimension of religious conversions emerged as a factor within voluntary recruitment. It has been reported that males and females who were recent converts were less knowledgeable about the religion, and were more vulnerable to recruitment as they tend to believe that several terrorist groups such as Al-Shabaab ideology within the twisted religious preaching by radical recruiters.⁸³ A religious leader who explained Muslim converts within the recruitment phenomenon were not attracted to Islam, but the extreme violent form as propagated by Al-Shabaab recruiters reiterated this. Hence, the attraction is mainly on the violent aspect and has nothing or little to do with the real essence of Islam.⁸⁴

⁸²Speckhard, Anne, and Ardian Shajkovci. "The Jihad in Kenya: understanding Al-Shabaab recruitment and terrorist activity inside Kenya—in their own words." *African Security* 12, no. 1 (2019): 3-61.

⁸³Badurdeen, Fathima Azmiya. "Women who volunteer: a relative autonomy perspective in Al-Shabaab female recruitment in Kenya." *Critical Studies on Terrorism* (2020): 1-22.

⁸⁴Awan, Imran, and Surinder Guru. "Parents of foreign "terrorist" fighters in Syria—will they report their young?." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40, no. 1 (2017): 24-42.

2.5 Impact of Digital Age in the 21st and the Trends of Youth Radicalization in Higher Education Institutions in Africa

Globalization has mobilized communities to embrace the core values of interconnectedness through the development of internet technologies in the 21st Century. Internet-enabled cell phones are providing students with knowledge, skills, behaviors, and attitudes that help them succeed at schools, their jobs, and in their lives. More so, these gadgets have exposed young people to learn about anything, including harmful content aimed at influencing their choices toward violence.

In Sudan, students left universities to fight for ISIS in Syria, with its (ISIS) leadership boasting about its widening international networks and outreach. An investigation conducted in 2015 by Brookings Institute revealed that students from well-off families were leaving prestigious universities in Khartoum like the University of Medical Sciences and Technology to join violent extremist groups in Syria.⁸⁵ This case reveals that ISIS is particularly effective in their online recruitment drive, appealing to students with special skills. ISIS's most interesting phenomenon is its special project recruit foreign fighters, particularly those schooled in the West, to send a message that its ideology is a worthwhile alternative to Western ideology.

While reflecting on radicalization and terrorist recruitment among young people in Kenya, Hellsten argues that recruitment and active engagements have expanded beyond the traditional grounds like Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps, and have now infiltrated the

⁸⁵ Abdo, Hazem Ghassan. "Impacts of war in Syria on vegetation dynamics and erosion risks in Safita area, Tartous, Syria." *Regional Environmental Change* 18, no. 6 (2018): 1707-1719.

university environment, which is mostly inhabited by young people.⁸⁶ In institutions of higher learning, many youths view themselves as having little hope to secure good employment. Others from poor backgrounds are lured by the promise of big money and other material rewards. Caught between the stage where they are viewed as inexperienced, and hence lack proper employment experience. Some end up seeking validation by joining violent extremist groups, which give them an adult-like status through responsibility, purpose, and, often, financial compensation.⁸⁷ Thus, the VEOs take advantage of socio-economic factors that render the youth in institutions of higher learning vulnerable to radicalization.

Students who have fallen prey to terror groups that are on a recruiting spree in the universities are not exclusively from poor and marginalized backgrounds. In 2015, media reports revealed that the son of a high-profile public servant, a director of the National Museums of Kenya, had disappeared from the university to join the Al-Shabaab terrorist group.⁸⁸ Isaac Ochieng, the former Director of the National Counter-Terrorism Center (NCTC), stated that some students continue to enjoy being on Al-Shabaab's payroll, including those of other groups affiliated to al-Qaida.

Consequently, it has been argued that there have been increased recruitment, training and indoctrination of young people into violent extremism cells. These extremist groups are now targeting brilliant youth with specific technical skills in law, medicine, nursing, psychology, and engineering. In Botha's empirical study, extremists had pursued higher education found that their specialization ranged from those who studied Islamic studies, electrical engineering,

⁸⁶ Hubi, Nesteha Hussein Mohamed. "The Role of Social Media in Influencing Radicalization (Case Study of Majengo-Nairobi, Kenya)." PhD diss., United States International University-Africa, 2019.

⁸⁷ Rice, Tara, Goetz von Peter, and Codruta Boar. "On the global retreat of correspondent banks." *BIS Quarterly Review*, March (2020).

⁸⁸ Mogire, Edward, Kennedy Mkutu, and Doreen Alusa. "Policing Terrorism in Kenya." *Security Governance in East Africa: Pictures of Policing from the Ground* 79 (2017).

information technology, commerce and business administration. Some of them studied medicine and psychology from the University of Nairobi.⁸⁹

In an attempt to understand the demographics of young people that join the Al-Shabaab terror group operating in Kenya, Botha found that 17 per cent of the respondents were students when they were recruited. She noted that majority of the respondents, 57 per cent joined the extremist group between the age of 10 and 24, with only two per cent of them joining after their 35th birthday.⁹⁰

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter examined the trends in male and female involvement in terror activities in Africa, changing trends of radicalization undertaken by terrorist groups, both voluntary and involuntary pathways to recruitment. Finally, the chapter examined the digital trend explosion in the 21st century and the rise of youth radicalization in higher education institutions in Kenya.

The chapter revealed that there is a change in the trends of male and female involvement in terrorism whereby beginning 1970s, there has been a spike in female recruitment into violent Extremist organizations and terrorist groups. Scholars have argued that there are multi causal interplay of psychological, economic, political, religious and sociological factors and issues which drive women to join terrorism and more so as suicide bombers. Further, it has been argued that the media and policy makers have complicated the involvement of women in

⁸⁹ Kariuki, Alice Mary Wamuyu. "Challenges of Combating Homegrown Terrorism in Kenya: A Youth Radicalization Perspective." (2019).

⁹⁰ Githigaro, John Mwangi. "Harnessing Youth Agency in Countering Radicalization in Kenya." *Challenges to Peace and Security in the East African Community*: 35.

terrorism making it look as if it is a recent phenomenon when history actually shows that women involvement had been from inception.

The chapter also revealed that women, men and the youth join the violent extremism organizations either voluntarily or involuntarily. The targeted women recruitment is done through either abduction, compulsion or willingness. Recruitment is done through various pathways based on an intrinsic or extrinsic motivation where they volunteer themselves into the organization. Intrinsic motivation is driven by the ideological, religious, spiritual or financial aspects that give inner satisfaction to the recruited.

Lastly, the number of youths being recruited into terrorist organizations is in the rise. This is because in institutions of higher learning, many youths view themselves as having little hope to secure good employment. Others from poor backgrounds are lured by the promise of big money and other material rewards. Studies revealed that terrorist groups are now targeting brilliant youth with specific technical skills in law, medicine, nursing, psychology, and engineering.

In view of the above, it is important for governments to look at terrorism from a gendered lens as opposed to stereotyping the role of women as caregivers, sympathizers and nurturers. It is important to recognize their roles as active members and sympathizers of terrorist organizations.

CHAPTER THREE

ROLE OF GENDER IN THE PERPETRATION OF TERRORISM IN KENYA

3.0 Introduction

This chapter unravels the various roles played by male and female gender in enhancing the perpetration of terrorism by specifically illustrating the increased role of gender, increased trends of women involvement in suicide bombings, and the role of youth as perpetrators.

3.1 Radicalization and terrorism in Kenya

Terrorists and violent extremist organizations have taken advantage of manipulating the stereotyping of gender and their diverse grievances to carry out their terror-related activities.⁹¹ Despite violent extremism being predominately associated and viewed as a men problem, women have played an increased role in these movements as active members and supporters. This has necessitated a critical analysis of a gender-focused study to establish the role gender plays in violent extremism to determine effective gender-based counter-terrorism measures. Both female and male law enforcement in countering terrorism must comprehend how gender factors influence violent extremism, terrorism, and radicalization.

The methods of radicalizing men and women to terrorism activities does not differ; rather, the process is similar in one way or the other. They are influenced by either social, economic or

⁹¹ Mogire, Edward, Doreen Alusa, Laura Wunder, Daniel Nygaard Madsen, Patrick Mutahi, Tom Ogwang, Emmanuel Lameck Mkilia, Venance Shillingi, Perry Stanislas, and Lusungu Mbilinyi. Security governance in East Africa: pictures of policing from the ground. Rowman & Littlefield, 2017.

political factors. Human rights violations by State actors, including those that result from the adverse effects of counter-terrorism measures themselves, are another powerful factor driving individuals towards radicalization.

A recent United Nations Development Programme study into drivers of extremism in Africa states that the "tipping point" to radicalization for 71 per cent of the individuals surveyed was State abuse of law or human rights, making State action "the primary factor finally pushing individuals into violent extremism in Africa." Similarly, civil society leaders in many conflict-affected countries have stated that a lack of trust and negative experiences with law enforcement drive the corrosion of state legitimacy and generate grievances that contribute to radicalization. Violations of women's human rights, including neglecting the male gender, make them vulnerable and desperate to survive.⁹²

Kenya is facing a great challenge in dealing with the "enemy within" who has executed several terror attacks undetected. Kenya Defense Forces and its allies effectively fight external aggressors Al-Shabaab in Somalia.⁹³

3.2 Gender and Terrorism in Kenya

In analyzing the role of gender in the perpetration of terrorism, Jessica Auchter posits that there is a need for a more gender holistic discourse on the issue. In a study undertaken by Auchter, it examined the role of women in political practices; he observed that scholars worked through a stringent agent or victim contrast. This classification depicted women in bias as victims in a patriarchal system rather than agents. Auchter's school of thought

⁹² Turner, Bryan S. *Vulnerability and human rights*. Vol. 1. Penn State Press, 2006.

⁹³ Kyule, Mutinda Mutisya. "Assessment of Counter Terrorism Strategies In East Africa: A Case Of Kenya." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2018.

contradicts this finding by showing women as both victims and agents in a patriarchal system. In addition, Auchter further states that the natural and general linking of terrorism with men was a classic example of a patriarchal system of violence where women are depicted as victims. He states that general depiction and classification leaves behind enormous gaps to the whole part of the story thus leading to a false conclusion. Such false conclusion and stereotyping of the male gender as perpetrators of terrorism has been reinforced by mainstream media and discourses in scholarship fields which is a dangerous notion. This usage of naturalism discourse and line of thought has sidelined the role of women in aiding and preventing terrorism. There has been no agreed mechanism of correlating gender and terrorism activities therefore women have been falsely been viewed as intruders in a male dominated field. This has skewed the understanding of female terrorists by scholars as a result tinkering our perspective of the gender role in terrorism as a whole⁹⁴.

Studies show that women's role in terrorism has always been given less attention since society perceives women as potential de-radicalizers, allies to the security, and repositories of communal values. Women are largely viewed as either 'assets' or 'allies' in countering the threat of violent extremism partly because of the role that they are perceived to have as "inside mediators' in families and communities". Because of their role, women are considered by policymakers as having the ability to interrupt or "influence the social mechanisms that guide individuals to violent extremism".⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Ibid

⁹⁵ Sahgal, Gayatri, and Martine Zeuthen. "Analytical Framing of Violent Extremism and Gender in Kenya: A Review of the Literature." *The African Review* 45, no. 1 (2018): 1-18.

3.3 Women and Terrorism in Kenya

Women's participation in terrorism acts has been on the rise in the 21st century. Throughout history, women have taken part in various roles in terrorist organizations and networks.⁹⁶ They played roles as passive sympathizers of movements, supporting roles of spies and logistics to the network, strategic roles of spies, and trainers to active combatants in the frontlines.

The lower social position of women in patriarchal societies often is replicated in the context of VE organizations, which were consistent with prevailing gender norms; women are recruited to provide logistical and nurturing support.⁹⁷ Based on a study with Islamic State (IS) recruits, by Spencer in (2016) similarly finds that except for a handful of narrowly defined circumstances, women in the so-called Caliphate inherently hold "back seat" roles. In general, they are expected to perform activities that are largely in keeping with the idea that a woman's purpose is to support the Ummah by being a good wife first to her husband, reproducing the next generation of fighters, and maintaining the household.⁹⁸

In Kenya however, the Kenya Police are not only concerned about the high rate at which the Al-Qaeda-affiliated group is enlisting young and well-educated women to the insurgency movement but also the high profile positions it is giving them in the movement as they feel

⁹⁶ Agara, Tunde. "The Role of Woman in Terrorism and Investigation of Gendering Terrorism." *Journal of Humanities Insights* 1, no. 02 (2017): 46-56.

⁹⁷ Sahgal, Gayatri, and Martine Zeuthen. "Analytical Framing of Violent Extremism and Gender in Kenya: A Review of the Literature." *The African Review* 45, no. 1 (2018): 1-18.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*

that women are less likely to attract attention. “A significant number of women is currently thought to be undergoing training in Somalia, some of them Kenyan”.⁹⁹

Women and girls' involvement in insurgency or 'terrorist' movements is not a new Kenya phenomenon. During the Mau Mau rebellion, women assumed various military, civilian and activist roles. Their role in the civilian front was crucial as they belonged to the 'passive wing' providing supplies and intelligence information to Mau Mau fighters. Women formed part of the Mau Mau council and as well took part in decision making. A government report at the time highlighted women's contribution in aiding the Mau Mau, whom colonial authorities labeled 'terrorists' as considerable. The British administrators were alarmed by their role in the Mau Mau movement leading to detentions.¹⁰⁰ Further, women and girls have also bore the brunt of terrorist acts in the pre-and post-independence eras.

Recent media reports highlighted Kenyan women and girls' involvement in violent extremism linked to terrorist organizations such as Al-Shabaab and ISIS. Reports have focused on women and girls travelling to join violent extremist organizations as recruiters.¹⁰¹ They help with logistics, finances, espionage for terrorist activities, and, in some cases, they are involved in masterminding terrorist attacks or forming terror cells, as in the white widow, Samantha Lewthwaite's speculative role in the Westgate mall, Nairobi attack in September 2013.

The Al-Shabaab is reportedly training women to be deployed as facilitators, logisticians and even as attackers in Somalia, Kenya and other East African countries. Previously it was

⁹⁹<https://www.nation.co.ke/news/Terrorists-turn-to-female-suicide-bombers-in-new-trend/1056-5222218vwqel0z/index.html>. Accessed on 18/4/2020

¹⁰⁰ Anderson, David M., and Øystein H. Rolandsen. "Violence as politics in eastern Africa, 1940–1990: legacy, agency, contingency." (2014): 539-557.

¹⁰¹ Badurdeen, Fathima Azmiya. "Women who volunteer: a relative autonomy perspective in Al-Shabaab female recruitment in Kenya." *Critical Studies on Terrorism* (2020): 1-22.

broadly assumed that women were mainly enlisted by Al-Shabaab as brides for fighters and were meant to cook and clean in the militants' camps. However, more women are now assuming greater roles in active combat, intelligence gathering, planning, coordination, and execution of attacks, according to the intelligence report. These roles were previously reserved for men. Some of the women are deployed to befriend government officials and identify loopholes in security and report to Al-Shabaab for planning of the attacks.¹⁰²

The most recent high-profile case in Kenya involved Violet Kemunto who was believed to be the wife of Ali Salim Gichunge, aka Farouk, the mastermind of the DusitD2 hotel complex in Nairobi, attack in January this year. Kemunto is said to have been responsible for the welfare of Gichunge and his fellow assailants. She is believed to have fled to Somalia on the day of the attack that claimed 20 lives. Another female accomplice, Miriam Abdi, whom is believed to have played a central role in the delivery of the deadly weapons used in the attack is still on the run.¹⁰³

Another interesting occurred In September 2016 when three women; Tasmin Yaqub, Maimuna Abdirahman, and Ramla Abdirahman calmly walked into Mombasa Central Police Station dressed in buibui and proceeded to the occurrence book desk as if they intended to report an incident. The officers on duty who never suspected anything sinister welcomed them to present their case and that is when one of the women is alleged to have lurched forth and attacked the officers with a dagger while the two others attempted to set the station ablaze with petrol bombs. The women were shot dead in the resultant commotion.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² *ibid*

¹⁰³ <https://www.nation.co.ke/news/Terrorists-turn-to-female-suicide-bombers-in-new-trend/1056-522218-vwqel0z/index.html>. Accessed on 18/4/2020

¹⁰⁴ *ibid*

Similarly, Goldberg reported the role of women and girls in terrorist networks as spies who gather valuable information on targets and conduct security surveillance, financiers who offer money for missions or act as conduits, suicide bombers who blend well with communities in circumventing detection; in logistics and aiding terrorist acts, and as recruiters who recruit members into the network. Goldberg also mentioned revenge for extra-judicial killings and historical injustices, unemployment, and the need for better livelihoods, kidnappings, and coercion by the terrorist network as factors that drove women to terrorism.¹⁰⁵ The case of women travelling to join terrorist organizations first came into the limelight when three girls, two Kenyan and a Tanzanian were arrested at the border town of Elwak, allegedly en-route to Somalia to join Al-Shabaab. Initially, the case became complicated because it was not clearly ascertained to which terrorist organization they had been recruited. The media report, 'State: jihadi Brides have links with ISIS' stated: "They were lured by a Syrian female contact to join the war-torn nation's jihad, promised to be married by Somalia Islamic fighters. Still, they ended up as widows of Islamic holy fighters in Syria, where they hoped to reach through turkey after flying from Mogadishu. "While their motivations remain unclear, various media reports highlighted motivations such as the girls' intentions to become wives for jihadists using captions like 'jihadi brides.'¹⁰⁶ Further, the usual notion that jihadi brides are rich or educated, middle-class youth: the jihadi women profiled were young, more so those falling between 19-21 years were mostly Muslims, the urban middle, and having a good education. A number of these women are from higher learning institutions, which advances the understating that violent extremism is driven by many factors and not only poverty and inadequate education.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Razack, Sherene H. "When a place becomes a race." Gupta, T., James, E., Andersen, C., Galabuzi, G., Maaka, R. *Race, and Racialization* E 2 (2018): 113-129.

¹⁰⁶ Badurdeen, Fathima A. "Women and Recruitment in the Al-Shabaab Network: Stories of Women being recruited by Women Recruiters in the Coastal Region of Kenya." *The African Review* 45, no. 1 (2018): 19-48.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid*

3.4 Role of men as perpetrators of terrorism in Kenya

Men have predominately played numerous roles within their terrorist groups and VE organizations; they have taken roles of leadership, planners, financiers, executors, recruiters and spreaders of fear with propaganda.

One key role played by men is that of radicalization and have propelled their radical teachings using the guise of religious ideologies. This phenomenon was been witnessed in the coastal town of Mombasa where security agencies reported mosques such as Masjid Musa and Masjid Sakina as the few religious institutions propagating radicalization to the youth within the coastal towns. Charismatic and radical cleric's sheikhs Abdul Rimo, Sheikh About Rogo and Sheikh Shariff Ahmed all who were male, led these two Mosques.¹⁰⁸ Their radicalization ideologies greatly influenced young men who later emerged as the future leaders of various Kenyan's terror cells and terror groups such as Al-Hijra as well as important members of Al-Qaeda in East Africa group.

Another role is that of execution of terrorist attacks whereby it was observed that after being radicalized through radical ideologies, there was an increased level of attacks perpetrated by thee youthful militants In 1996 and 1997 two infamous mosques in the coastal town Masjid Musa and Masjid Sakina hosted young militants. Some of the militants hosted were Saleh Nabhan who later become a future symbol as an al-Qaida, Bamusa, and Fumo Mohamed later drove a vehicle improvised explosive device into Paradise Hotel in 2002 and Ahmed was

¹⁰⁸Githigaro, John Mwangi. "*Discontinuities In Radicalization Trends.*" The Handbook of Collective Violence: Current Developments and Understanding (2020).

later accused in aiding the 1998 embassy bombing, he escaped to Pakistan where it was alleged to be killed in a drone strike in 2009.¹⁰⁹

Men also play a key role in the leadership of terrorist groups. This was evident when the focus of Kenyan jihadism gravitated from Mombasa to Nairobi. Documentation of the transition of Ahmed Iman Ali, one of Sheikh Rogo and Makaburi's promising young followers, was being groomed for the leadership of the Muslim Youth Center. Under Ali's leadership and Rogo's guidance, the Muslim Youth Center later emerged as the nucleus of al-Shabaab's new Kenyan associate, al-Hijra.¹¹⁰ Another role played by male terrorists is planning and coordinating attacks as depicted in a recorded video by a male suicide bomber in Kampala¹¹¹, identified as Salman al-Muhajir, who warned of the group's plans to expand the scope of its 'jihad' to other countries in East Africa.

Another male figure in Kenyan terrorism in the aspect of radicalization was Ahmed Ali, who was a youth leader of MYC from Nairobi. He undertook an intensive radicalization and recruitment 'jihad' campaign in Kenya. The charismatic Sheikh Rogo paid a courtesy call to Ali, who was a former student of the Sheikh in 2009. The purpose of the visit was to transform the role of MYC into a gateway for Al-Shabaab recruitment and radicalization into Kenya.

¹¹²Male terrorists, just like women, have played a huge role in spreading, instilling fear as well as propaganda in society. There have been numerous publications and video footages designed by terrorist groups to instill fear among the general public.

¹⁰⁹ Gregory, Derek. "Dirty dancing: Drones and Death in the Borderlands." *Life in the Age of Drone Warfare* (2017): 25-58.

¹¹⁰Ibid

¹¹¹ Comfort, Louise K., and Naim Kapucu. "Inter-organizational coordination in extreme events: The World Trade Center attacks, September 11, 2001." *Natural hazards*, 39, no. 2 (2006): 309-327.

¹¹²Ibid

In 2010 the Al-Shabaab released video footage entitled, *“Message to the Umma: And Inspire the Believers.”*¹¹³ The video footage captured nine foreign fighters affiliated to the Al-Shabaab terrorist group, six whom were from the East Africa region. Chants of “Al-Shabaab ndio sisi” would be heard in the video footage from the Al-Shabaab trainees.¹¹⁴

Another propaganda video footage was released in March 2015; the footage documented the terrorist raids of Mpeketoni of June of 2015. The propaganda video footage was based on false allegations of reclaiming back the Muslim land in Land under Kenyan occupation. It employed the title: *“Reclaiming back Muslim Lands under Kenyan occupation.”*¹¹⁵ Also the video footage depicts graphic scenes of the Mpeketoni massacre, in addition it shows Jaysh Ayman fighters speaking to local Muslim residents in their local Swahili language in their place of worship at a mosque in Pandanguo, advocating against the oppression against Muslim by the Kenyan government agitating for its overthrow.¹¹⁶

In yet another propaganda video clip, it entailed radical and religious extremist sermons by Sheikh Aboud Rogo. In the footage, the Sheikh calls for his followers to take up Jihad and free the Muslim land of Mpeketoni that had been taken over by ‘disbelievers’. Despite the fact, the sheikh was killed before the terrorist raid the video narrator says, "his words are being transformed into reality."¹¹⁷

Another role of the male in perpetrating terrorism is assembling and producing explosive devices. There have been numerous reported cases of men undertaking the production of

¹¹³Bryden, Matt. "The Decline and Fall of Al Shabaab, Think Again." Nairobi: SAHAN (2015).

¹¹⁵ Ndzovu, Hassan Juma. "The Rise of Jihad, Killing of ‘Apostate Imams’ and Non-Combatant Christian Civilians in Kenya: Al-Shabaab’s Re-Definition of the Enemy on Religious Lines." *Journal for the Study of the Religions of Africa and its Diaspora* 3 (2017): 4-20.

¹¹⁷Bryden, Matt, and Premdeep Bahra. "East Africa’s terrorist triple helix: The Dusit Hotel attack and the historical evolution of the jihadi threat." *CTC Sentinel* 12, no. 6 (2019): 2-11.

explosive such as one Adan Garaar, who was a vicious and brutal leader, who headed a male-dominated cell in production of sophisticated Improvised Explosive Devices.

In 2014, he was reported to have assembled a large, sophisticated car bomb that was designated to be delivered in Mombasa. However the swift actions of the police intercepted the vehicle transported the explosive consignment, the police apprehended a VBIED having 58kilograms of plastic explosive.¹¹⁸ Another key role played by men in perpetrating terrorism is that of financing; this was evident as Kenya's Interior Ministry named nine top financiers of terror activities carried out by Somali-based al-Qaeda affiliated Al-Shabaab group.

In a statement, Fred Matiang'i, the Cabinet Secretary for Interior and Coordination, was quoted, "I directed all the assets of the individuals; Halima Adan Ali, Waleed Ahmed Zein, Sheikh Guyo Gorsa Boru, Mohammed Abdi Ali, Nuseiba Mohammed Haji, Abdimajit Adan Hassan, Mohammed Ali Abdi, Muktar Ibrahim Ali and Mire Abdullahi Elmi to be seized and their funds frozen for supporting Al-Shabaab that has wreaked havoc in East Africa leading to the deaths of thousands of people and destruction of property."¹¹⁹

¹¹⁸Hesterman, Jennifer. *Soft target hardening: protecting people from attack*. Routledge, 2018.

¹¹⁹ Onguny, Philip. "Framing the fight against terrorism in Kenya: perspectives on the attacks at Westgate Mall and Garissa University." *African Journal of Terrorism and Insurgency Research* 1, no. 1 (2020): 77-101.

3.5 Role of youth as perpetrators of terrorism

Other major perpetrators of terrorism are the youth, both male and female. There is increased recognition in policy and academic circles that young people in Kenya remain a major target for recruitment into violent extremism and terrorism. It is worth noting here that Abdirahman Abdullahi, one of the gunmen in the Garissa University Attack of April 2015, was a young law graduate from the University of Nairobi.¹²⁰ He was only 24 years old. It took the country by surprise on the morning of September 11, 2016, where three young women, believed to have been operating at a tiny sleeper cell, staged an attack at the Central Police Station Mombasa before the security personnel overpowered them. They were all less than 25 years of age. In all these cases, these were youth, not only perpetrators but also conduits and violent extremism victims.

In Sudan, students left universities to fight for ISIS in Syria, with its (ISIS) leadership boasting about its widening international networks and outreach.¹²¹ An investigation conducted in 2015 by Brookings Institute revealed that students from well-off families were leaving prestigious universities in Khartoum like the University of Medical Sciences and Technology to join violent extremist groups in Syria. This case reveals that ISIS is particularly effective in its online recruitment drive, appealing to students with special skills. ISIS's most interesting phenomenon is its special project recruit foreign fighters, particularly those schooled in the West, to message that its ideology is a worthwhile alternative to Western ideology.

¹²⁰ Magan, Abdi Ibrahim. "Somalia: instability, conflict, and federalism." Master's thesis, Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Ås, 2016.

¹²¹Phillips, Christopher. The battle for Syria: International Rivalry in the new Middle East. Yale University Press, 2016.

While reflecting on radicalization and terrorist recruitment among young people in Kenya, Hellsten argues that recruitment and active engagements have expanded beyond the traditional grounds like Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps and have now infiltrated the university environment, which is populously inhabited by young people from different backgrounds in the society.¹²² In higher learning institutions, many youths view themselves as having little hope to secure good employment. Others from poor backgrounds are lured by the promise of big money and other material rewards. Caught between the stage where they are viewed as inexperienced and hence lack proper employment experience, some end up seeking comfort and a sense of belonging through joining the violent groupings that give them responsibilities, adult recognition, and financial support. Thus, the VEOs take advantage of socio-economic factors that render the youth in higher learning institutions vulnerable to radicalization.¹²³

Incidences involving students include the arrests of Hassanaen Ahmed, a biochemistry student at the University of Nairobi in February 2016 enroute to Libya, Gloria Kavaya, a Kenyatta University student, in May 2016, while making plans to travel to Syria; and Mohamed Abdi, a medic at Wote Hospital, in May 2016, after being linked to a foiled mass biological (anthrax) attack.¹²⁴ According to Reuters, reports from Somalia indicated that a former student of Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT), who

¹²² Hellsten, Sirkku. *Radicalization and terrorist recruitment among Kenya's youth*. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2016.

¹²³ Sukhani, Piya. "The route to radicalisation for Malay-Muslim women: tracing the Nexus between universals and particulars in Malaysia." (2020).

¹²⁴ Monje, Fred, Esther Kisaakye, Alex Rioplexus Ario, Daniel Eurien, Vivian Ntono, Daniel Kadobera, Benon Kwesiga et al. "Anthrax Outbreaks among Domestic Ruminants Associated with Butchering Infected Livestock and Improper Carcass Disposal in Three Districts of Uganda, 2016-2018." (2020).

is in al-Shabaab's power, is in the echelons of al-Shabaab was involved in the exterminating of two Kenyan fighters accused of spying on behalf of the Kenyan government.¹²⁵

Others are .Ahmed Ali, aged 25 years, and Farah Dagane Hassan, aged 26 years, Kitale hospital medical interns. The two were killed in Libya during a sting operation against Islamic State terrorists. Before their death, the two were wanted terrorists. A four million bounty was placed on their heads after they were linked to planned biological terror attacks in Kenya. Ascertaining this emerging space for terror radicalization, Deputy Secretary for Internal Security in Kenya, Thomas Sarah, during the orientation of new university council members in Naivasha on April 18, 2017, emphasized that universities have become centers of radicalization and recruitment by terrorists in Somalia and Syria.¹²⁶

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter looked at the gender factor in perpetration of terrorism in Kenya. In doing so, it addressed the role of women and men in perpetration of terrorism and the involvement of youth in terrorism. It revealed that Gender plays numerous roles in advancing the objectives of the terrorists through spying, sympathies, funding and gathering of information among many others. It also revealed that many youths are joining VEOs out of Frustration because of lack of employment, poverty and following charismatic religious leaders, for example Imams. Most of these youths are in higher learning institution and this makes it a challenge to security agencies in responding to illicit activities of the militia groupings.

¹²⁵ Okeyo, Washington O. "Terrorist Radicalization, Recruitment, and Prevention in Kenya." *Management and Leadership Studies (IJMLS)* (2016): 32.

¹²⁶ Mkutu, Kennedy, and Vincent Opondo. "The Complexity of Radicalization and Recruitment in Kwale, Kenya." *Terrorism and Political Violence* (2019): 1-23.

Decision-makers must consider gendered approaches to understanding and formulating strategies that can help mitigate acts of terrorism more efficiently and effectively. They also must look at the role of women in this whole issue. This will be of significance because while women are adversely affected by acts of terrorism, and can, in some context, contribute towards peace building and resolution efforts, women's agency as perpetrators or supporters of violence has received relatively little attention.

CHAPTER FOUR

ROLE OF GENDER IN COUNTERING TERRORISM

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the role of gender in countering terrorism in Kenya with specific illustration on the female and male gender perspective in countering terrorism. The chapter also examined the role played by women as agents of counter-terrorism, roles such as security actors, predators, security actors and preventers.¹²⁷ On the other hand, the study looked into the role of men in countering terrorism such as mediators, conciliators, activist, and protectors in the community.

4.1 Role of gender in countering terrorism in Kenya

The utilization of the gender aspect in counter-terrorism is greatly not recorded or spoken, and many are times, practitioners and policymakers overlook it.¹²⁸ Both male and female genders can jointly play a crucial role in limiting or deterring acts of terrorism, as they both also play key roles as perpetrators. Male and female, including the youth, are equally instrumental in countering terrorism so as enhance peace and security in the country. The inclusion of gender framework within countering violent extremism initiatives enables a deep analysis of the gender dynamics behind the recruitment process, revealing why men and women take part in terrorist activities.

¹²⁷ Amusan, Lere, Adebawale Idowu Adeyeye, and Samuel Oyewole. "Women as Agents of Terror: Women Resources and Gender Discourse in Terrorism and Insurgency." *Politikon*, 46, no. 3 (2019): 345-359.

¹²⁸ Schmidt, Rachel. "Duped: Examining Gender Stereotypes in Disengagement and Deradicalization Practices." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (2020): 1-24.

This knowledge provides useful insights for prevention and mitigating men and women and the youth from being recruited or engaged in extremist activities. Gender-specific recruitment strategies entail integrating gender as an analytical category in the study on men and women recruitment for terrorism activities.

In a study undertaken by Salman, he observes that the role played by gender to counter terrorism cannot be disputed. Additionally he states that there is a significant correlation between terrorism and gender inequality. He achieved this by utilizing data from the World Value Survey and global Terrorism Database in a cross-national time series covering fifty-seven countries. The study covered the periods between 1994 and 2002. Salman's study findings depicted that gender equality negatively significantly influenced acts of terrorism. He observed that advancements in women rights to education, political inclusivity and employment opportunities empowered the role of women in reducing terrorism and cultural vices. He recommended that there was an urgent need economic, social, and political empowerment to minimize the levels of terrorism.¹²⁹

4.2 Role of Women in Countering Terrorism in Kenya

In analyzing the significance of Women, peace and security program in countering terrorism, Aoláin observes that it is only lately that intensive logical feminist analysis has been lacking in the examination of terrorism, fanaticism and counterterrorism dissertations. As such, counter-terrorism and counter- violent extremism discussions and measures continue to neglect gender perspectives. As a result, the delayed late attention to gender in counterterrorism, Aoláin postulates, leaves little capacity to produce an inclusive and

¹²⁹Salman, Aneela. 2015. "Green houses for terrorism: measuring the impact of gender equality attitudes and outcomes as deterrents of terrorism." *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice* 39 (4): 281-306.

reimagined feminist agenda addressing the causes conducive to the production of terrorism and the costs to women of counterterrorism strategies. In her pessimistic assessment of the gendered approaches to countering terrorism, Aoláin warns that there are potential pitfalls of exclusion and inclusion in the new security regimes that have been fashioned post 9/11 by states¹³⁰.

Studies have also shown that the role that women play or can play in curbing and preventing terrorism outweigh the role they play in perpetuating it. Women are important actors against terror, as well as an instrument for peace. Women's role in other areas of peacebuilding and peacemaking, especially in post-conflict societies is well documented in many studies. However, the role of women in preventing violent extremism and radicalization that lead to terrorism has not been well documented.¹³¹

In Kenya, "women human rights and peace building NGOs such as FIDA (K), the African Women's Development and Communication Network, the Nairobi Peace Initiative (NPI-Africa), Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization, the National Council of Women of Kenya, the Coalition on Violence against Women, and the Association of Media Women in Kenya, could work together with governments to implement at the national level, programs for countering violent extremism and terrorism".¹³²

The above notwithstanding, it is increasingly acknowledged that women like men have the potential to play a major role in combating terrorism. However, this can only happen if they

¹³⁰Aoláin, Fionnuala Ní. 2016. "The 'war on terror' and extremism: assessing the relevance of the Women, Peace and Security agenda." *International Affairs* 92 (2): 275–291.

¹³¹Nzomo, Maria, Patrick Maluki, Yusuf A. Mustafa, Adams Oloo, Martin Ouma, and Winnie Rugutt. "IDIS Journal of International Studies and Diplomacy: Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century Africa," 2018.

¹³²Ibid.

are actively and consciously involved in decision-making processes, intelligence efforts and community initiatives being implemented to deter extremism and radicalization. For women to become a strategic asset in combating terrorism, they also need an enabling environment that adequately responds to their socio-economic welfare and other needs that drive some to terrorist activities. Terrorist movements are increasingly taking advantage of the failure to tap into this potential.

In this regard, women's specific capacities, experience, knowledge and talents that can be used to make a vital contribution to a stable and secure society, need to be investigated and documented, through systematic research. Such research would help identify social contexts and conditions where women could have a significant impact in preventing their children from joining or being exposed to extremist activity. They, therefore, can make effective agents of counter-terrorism within the context of their socially acquired maternal roles and capacity to influence and dissuade their children away from terrorism.

4.2.1 Strengthening Family Ties

According to some scholars, strengthening relationship bonds within the family component can function as a non-violent alternative strategy to counter extremism and terrorism. Bjørge emphasizes the importance of avoiding a 'social vacuum' when a terrorist turns away from terrorism and repents. In his study of "what moves right-wing extremists to de-radicalize", he elucidates that safeguarding family commitments like getting a girlfriend or boyfriend outside a particular setting, are some of the sturdiest incentives for abandoning a terrorist

organization.¹³³ Another way is by coming up with programmes, which facilitate girls getting married or employment. All these are aimed at ensuring the rehabilitation of extremists and terrorists.¹³⁴ "These programs adopt 'softer' strategies rather than the militaristic approaches, which were adopted by many states, especially following the 2001 September 11 terrorist attack. Such programs include education and dialogue, poverty eradication policies, etc. Through these programs, violent and radical terrorists and extremists get rehabilitated and incorporated into credible social networks that discourage them from involving themselves with their former extremist affiliations".¹³⁵

4.2.2 Mitigators

Women play a vital role in preventing and countering violent extremism and terrorism in their societies. However, their voices are never heard when it comes to counter-terrorism discourses. Including women's outstanding viewpoints can result in improved intelligence collection and more targeted reactions to possible threats to security. Civil society groups led by women are essential partners in mitigating violence though more often than not, they are never incorporated in counter-terrorism efforts.¹³⁶

¹³³ Bjørger, T. "Processes of Disengagement from Violent Groups of the Extreme Right" in Bjørger T. & Horgan, J. *Leaving Terrorism Behind: Individual and Collective Disengagement* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2008) pp.30-48, pp. 41 – 42.

¹³⁴ Boucek, C. "Extremist Re-education and Rehabilitation in Saudi Arabia" in Tore Bjørger T. & Horgan, J. *Leaving Terrorism Behind: Individual and Collective Disengagement* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2008), pp. 212 – 223, pg. 214.

¹³⁵ Nzomo Maria, "IDIS Journal of International Studies and Diplomacy: Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century Africa," 2018. pp27-28

¹³⁶ Louise Olsson and Johan Tejpar, eds., *Operational Effectiveness and UN Resolution 1325—Practices and Lessons From Afghanistan* (Stockholm: FOI, 2009), 117, 126–127;

4.2.3 Predictors

Attacks on women's rights and physical interdependence are often the primary signs of an increase in fundamentalism. Women are in a better position to recognize these initial signs of radicalization than their male counterparts are. Furthermore, Women are significantly exposed to extremism through harassment in public places, compulsory isolation, dress regulations, restrictions on schooling for girls and other forms of abuses.¹³⁷ Women's key duties in the families and communities give them a special point from which to understand abnormal patterns of behavior and predict impending conflicts.

4.2.4 Security Actors

Women security officers provide divergent perceptions and information that can be essential to the mission. Women deployed as security leaders can carry out searches of female fighters in ways that men often cannot. Tactful deployment of women can, therefore prevent extremists from avoiding search. Women security officials can access to people and places men cannot, thereby allowing them to gather important information about possible security threats.

Furthermore, it has been revealed that women's involvement in the military and police have improved how residents in a given area view the enforcement of the law. This in turn impacts positively on their capability to deliver security. The under-representation of women in security roles, however, creates a weakness that terrorist groups exploit to their advantage. Females comprise just 15 per cent of police forces all over the world. In the absence of effort

¹³⁷ Valerie Hudson et al., "The Heart of the Matter: The Security of Women and the Security of States," *International Security* 33, No. 3 (2008/2009), <http://mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/isec.2009.33.3.7>.

to improve the gender gap in national security roles, female extremists will retain an advantage in evading suspicion and arrest.¹³⁸ According to Bhulai and others, 'Policewomen are vital to enhancing counter-terrorism and P/CVE efforts because they are more likely to reduce the occurrence of human rights abuses, access marginalized communities, limit the use of excessive force, and more efficiently deescalate tension'.¹³⁹

4.2.5 Preventers

Attempts by governments and non-governmental organizations to combat radicalization normally focus mainly on male political and religious leaders. There is a need to focus more on the women since they play a major role in their families and in communities, which makes them more effective in minimizing the ability of extremist groups to enlist and mobilize.

Women are in a better position to counter extremist accounts in family set-ups, schools and social settings. As such, they can influence the youthful populations who are normally easy targets of extremists. Where the societies are very conservative such that women are only allowed to communicate with fellow women or males only related to them, the women have exclusive access to other women and girls who are at risk of being radicalized¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸Bigio, Jamille, and Rachel Vogelstein. Women and Terrorism: Hidden Threats, Forgotten Partners. Council on Foreign Relations, 2019

¹³⁹Bhulai, R., Peters, A. and Nemr, C. (June 2016). From Policy to Action: Advancing an Integrated Approach to Women and Countering Violent Extremism. Global Centre on Cooperative Security.

¹⁴⁰ The Role of Civil Society in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization That Lead to Terrorism: A Focus on South-Eastern Europe (Vienna: Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, 2018), <http://osce.org/secretariat/400241>.

4.3 Role of Men in counter-terrorism in Kenya

Men who are seen as the major perpetrators of violent extremism and acts of terrorism have key roles to play in countering terrorism not only in Kenya but also all over the world. These roles include; mediators' conciliators, protectors, activist and persuaders in countering terrorism.

4.3.1 Mediators and conciliators

Men in the community should continue taking part in counter-terrorism initiatives in their communities aimed at integrating terrorist group members' returnees or defectors. Men as head of the family in a patriarchal society should focus on empirical data of the different motivations associated with their recruitment and the reasons for return or defection. Different motivations entail different mitigation efforts. For example, if the women, the men, or the youth joined due to ideological motivation, intervention in line with livelihood opportunities alone will not be sufficient. Even psychosocial support will need to look into the in-depth analysis of the real motivation if interventions on psychosocial needs to be integrated. Reintegration should consider the gendered nuances in integration, which needs to consider the gendered nature of trauma. Culturally appropriate model in the community needs to be emphasized rather than external models, which may lack contextual concerns of the reintegration process.

Community sensitization and awareness programs on the reintegration of men, women, and the youth returnees should also focus on accepting these members and preventing

stigmatization of men, women, and youth returnees.¹⁴¹ Reducing stigmatization entails community support, psychosocial support to the family in terms of family groups' therapies, and forgiveness therapies that have the potential to heal. The returnee's acceptance is based on family engagement, where the family is willing to accept the man or the woman, boy or girl. The community's response towards the individual and the family has a greater implication on how the family will accept the returnee. The returnee motivation of coming back is dependent on this acceptance by the family and the community.

4.3.2 Activists

The Kenyan Government has been engaging in generating counter-terrorism narratives to change the negative ideological persuasions among the men, women, and youth. The narratives and messages shared by extremists have acted as the main instruments for radicalizing youths into violent extremism. Therefore, there is a need to work towards supporting civil society organizations, faith-based institutions offering religious training, and local respectable community leaders to generate counter violent extremism narratives.¹⁴² Such counter-narratives should be aimed at undermining the sharing or spreading of violence supporting narratives by extremists. The counter-narratives should also be keen on protecting potential targets of radicalization who may be suspected to have adopted the ideas or ideologies but have not yet become extreme to commit acts of violence. For example, in Kenya several radicalization exercises were undertaken in Mosques such as Masjid Musa and Masjid Musa by male leaders such as Abud Rogo and Makaburi in Mombasa thus there need to deliberate male religious leaders to counter such radical extremist messaging.

¹⁴¹ Weine, Stevan, Zachary Brahmatt, Emma Cardelli, and Heidi Ellis. "Rapid review to inform the rehabilitation and reintegration of child returnees from the Islamic State." *Annals of global health* 86, no. 1 (2020).

¹⁴² Miles, William FS. "Strange Bedfellows at the United Nations: African Religions, Human Rights Covenants, and Faith-Based Initiatives for Peace and Development." *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 17, no. 2 (2019): 26-36.

Research in counter-terrorism messages to counter gendered ideologies should concentrate on how terrorist groups legitimize violence or extremist. This includes knowledge on various religious themes framed along with the ideology, which includes an understanding of the discourse analysis of the ideological interpretation, designing counter-narratives taking account of the ideological interpretation, and substituting with counter-narratives with credibility, authenticity and aimed at particular target-specific interventions.

4.3.3 Persuaders in De-radicalization community programs

Kenya continues to experience an increase in the radicalization of men, and this calls for a need to develop and implement community programs' de-radicalization as part of a 'whole society' approach and should target grassroots community leaders right from local chiefs, youth community leaders, religious leaders, and community-based organizations to participate in reversing violent generating behavior in the society.¹⁴³ Such initiatives have been effective in Sudan, where the government uses respected scholars of Islam to hold intellectual dialogue with potential extremists to convince them to change their extremist course and convince them to denounce and reject radical ideas or ideologies.¹⁴⁴

Men through the council of elders play a huge role in creating positive awareness within their environment on threats of violent extremism; this also helps in tapping into the core grievance of the vulnerable groups and individuals within their communities. Coastal elders have already developed action plans and are increasingly attempting to address a gendered understanding of radicalization and recruitment, specifically in areas considered hotspots for radicalization and recruitment. Acknowledging men's involvement within the terrorist group

¹⁴³ Brown, Katherine E. *Gender, Religion, Extremism: Finding Women in Anti-Radicalization*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2020.

¹⁴⁴ Farhadi, Adib. "Countering Violent Extremism by Winning Hearts and Minds." (2020).

influences the formulation of adaptive CVE policy and practice. For example, the National Counter-Terrorism Center is in its process of reviewing the national agenda of countering extremism by including an emphasis on promoting men's participation in the grassroots in CVE. Such initiatives have been facilitated by the Muslim community along the coastal region where young men are taught and are engaged in the decision-making on matters security.¹⁴⁵

4.3.4 Protectors

Men have been involved in community policing programs such as 'Nyumba Kumi initiative' in promoting collective community participation in identifying criminal elements within the community, being aware of suspicious activities or persons, and working with the police to forestall terror attacks.¹⁴⁶ Since its introduction in 2013, this initiative has succeeded in arresting minor criminal activities in areas where citizens followed it. As noted by Joel (chairman of one such group in Nairobi's South C estate) and highlighted, "In our adjacent estate, the cluster group noticed a group of suspicious young men who frequented a certain house during the day carrying bags. They reported to the police, who raided the house found tens of weapons, including rifles and ammunition. It was later revealed that they were part of a gang that had been robbing motorists in Nairobi at gunpoint." Successes have also been recorded in alerting the police of intended terror attacks, some of which have been successfully foiled. The big question, however, is whether this initiative can contribute more towards countering terrorism.

¹⁴⁵Meinema, Erik. "'Idle minds' and 'empty stomachs': youth, violence and religious diversity in coastal Kenya." *Africa* 90, no. 5 (2020): 890-913.

¹⁴⁶ Freear, Matt, and Andrew Glazzard. "Preventive Communication: Emerging Lessons from Participative Approaches to Countering Violent Extremism in Kenya." *The RUSI Journal* (2020): 1-17.

The answer is yes. However, success is pegged on a clear and objective counter-terrorism measure to which citizens can participate. As alluded to earlier, one of the fundamental flaws of Kenya's counter-terrorism measure is that it is perceived as biased towards male Muslims and ethnic Somalis. Without a shift in this approach, the community policing initiative will become an additional avenue for religious and ethnic profiling, and therefore further alienating communities with little results in countering terrorism.¹⁴⁷ Thus, men must continue to champion for community policing and play their rightful role as protectors within their communities.

4.4 Chapter summary and Conclusion

In conclusion, the chapter has revealed that the multiple roles of gender in violent extremism and counter-terrorism require numerous understanding of the approaches to integrating gender to respond to threats to peace and security. Numerous influences lead to gender/women involvement in multiple acts of violent extremism or engage in activities that can lead them to acts of terrorism. Acts of terrorism have various effects on the lives of people as well as of the families of those who are involved. Failure to consider gender activities on a broader lens can jeopardize the government's mitigation strategies. Building on inclusive gender issues, men women as well as the youth, to enhance peace and security remain essential for all stakeholders involved in addressing conflicts, radicalizations, and violent extremism and terrorism activities.

The study observed that the Kenyan government has put in place several soft power measures to counter violent extremism in the country. On the one hand, the government has

¹⁴⁷Ingutiah, Tunnen Carolyne. "Examining the Use of Force by Police as a Driving Factor to Youth Radicalisation and Recruitment in Kenya." PhD diss., United States International University-Africa, 2019.

relied on the conviction that development and national security are closely related because there would be no development without security. Conversely, there would be no security without development. In that connection, the government is committed to equitable social-economic development, and this requires interventions to reduce specific political or social and economic factors that contribute to communities' support for violent extremism.

Several specific actions are necessary, such as injecting resources to boost livelihood sources increasing market opportunities, putting contingency measures to mitigate community vulnerabilities by capacity building community members to boost its social capital. Skills development is in envisaged investment areas for the youths and other vulnerable groups such as mining and agriculture.

The proliferation of militia in Kenya's big cities, particularly in Nairobi, is attributed to many idle youths, many of whom are dropouts of school due to poverty and the breakdown in social safety nets.

In conclusion, the study recommends that the role of gender in countering terrorism is crucial in combating terrorism from all-inclusive initiatives where both male and female are involved at the local community to the international level.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

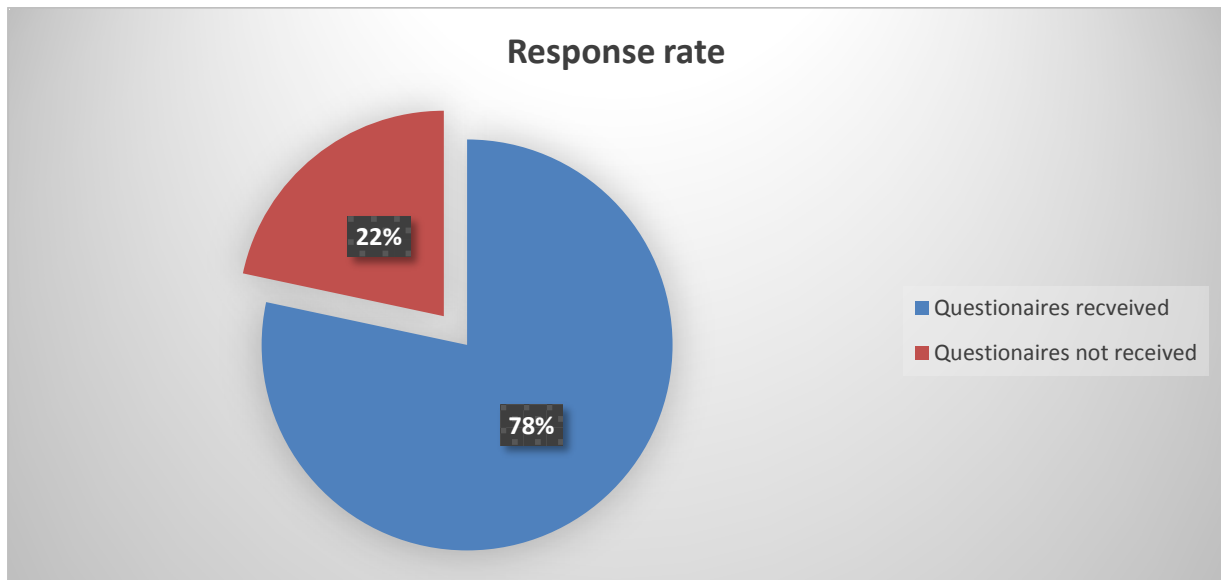
5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses the findings on the study topic; the gender factor in countering terrorism in Africa; a case study of Kenya. The overall objective of this study is to assess the gender factor in countering terrorism in Africa using Kenya as the case study. The study sought to achieve the following specific objectives; to assess the trends in male and female involvement in terrorist actions in Africa; to analyse the role of gender in the perpetration of terrorism in Kenya, and to examine the role of gender in countering terrorism in Kenya. The investigation was done through descriptive, content analysis and data presented through charts and tables.

5.1 Response rate

An aggregate of 157 questionnaires were administered out for the collection of primary data. However, 123 of the questionnaires were conscientiously filled and returned; hence, the rate of response was notably 78.3% as illustrated in figure 5.1. As the threshold of 50% and above was attained from the respondents, the response was adequately sufficient for descriptive study.

Figure 5. 1 Response rate of respondents



Source: Field Data, 2020

5.2 Demography

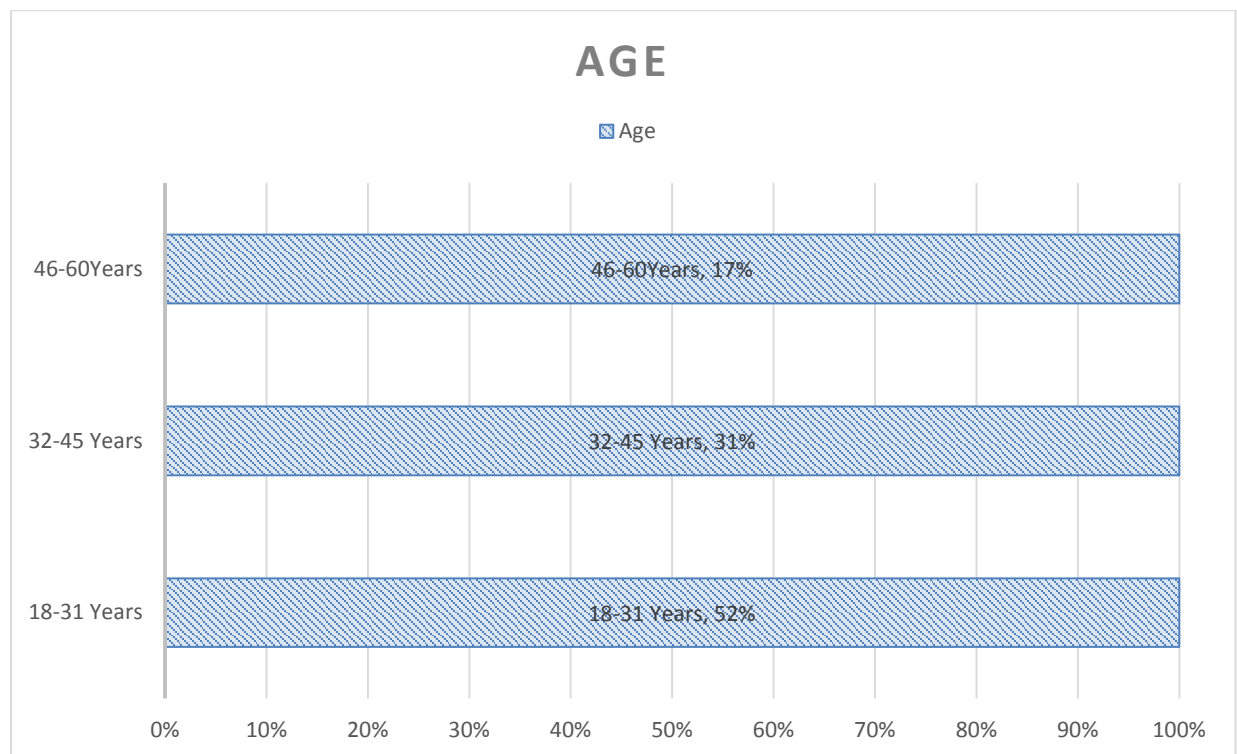
Demographic characteristics of the respondents

i. Age

The respondents to this study involved people of different ages, and are outlined as follows.

- a) 18-31 years (31%).
- b) 32-45 years (52%).
- c) 46-60 years (17%).

Figure 5. 2 Age bracket of respondent



Source: Field Data, 2020

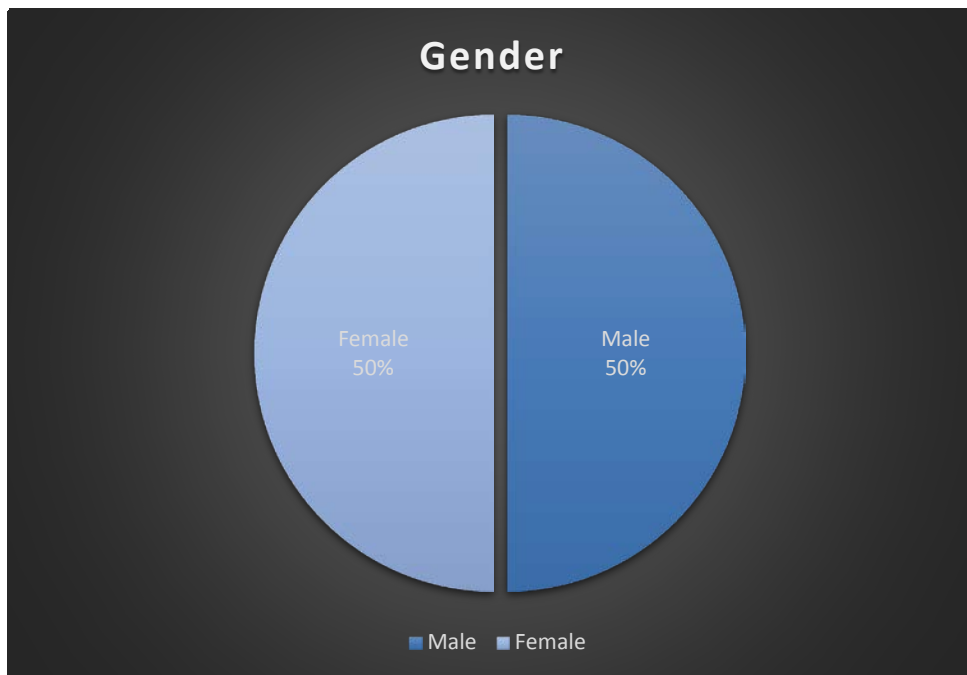
A majority of the respondents were between the age of 32 and 45 years. This is attributed to the fact they possessed credible and informative information regarding this research.

ii. Gender

Apart from age, gender was also another point of consideration as far as the demography of the respondents was concerned was gender.

- a) Male (50%)
- b) Female (50%).

Figure 5. 3 Gender of respondents



Source: Field Data, 2020

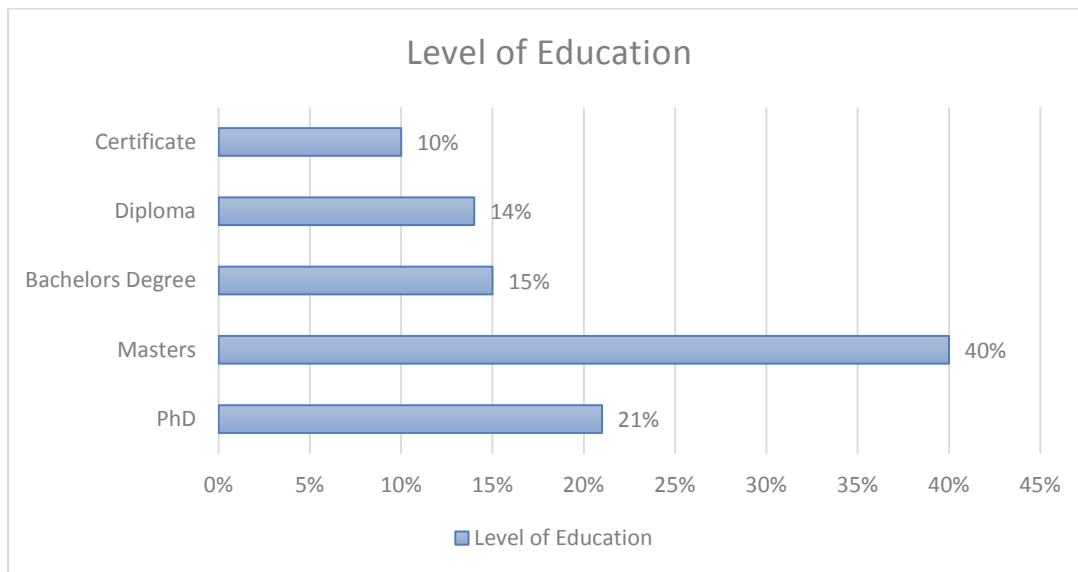
Gender aspect was considered very crucial and important for this study since the role of the gender factor in countering terrorism aspect under investigation is perceived to affect different gender groups differently. It was, therefore, important to get the perception and views of different gender groups. The reason as to why there was a selection of an equal number of male and female is to avoid bias.

iii. Level of Education

Level of education aspect was considered important for this study since the role of the gender factor in countering terrorism aspect under investigation is viewed and interpreted differently by people with varying level of academic qualification in the formulation of policy

recommendations. It was, therefore, important to get the varying point of views of different groups. This study comprised people who hold various awards such as PhD (21%), Masters (40%), Bachelor's Degree (15%), Diploma (14%), and Certificate (10%).

Figure 5. 4 Levels of education of Respondents



Source: Field Data, 2020

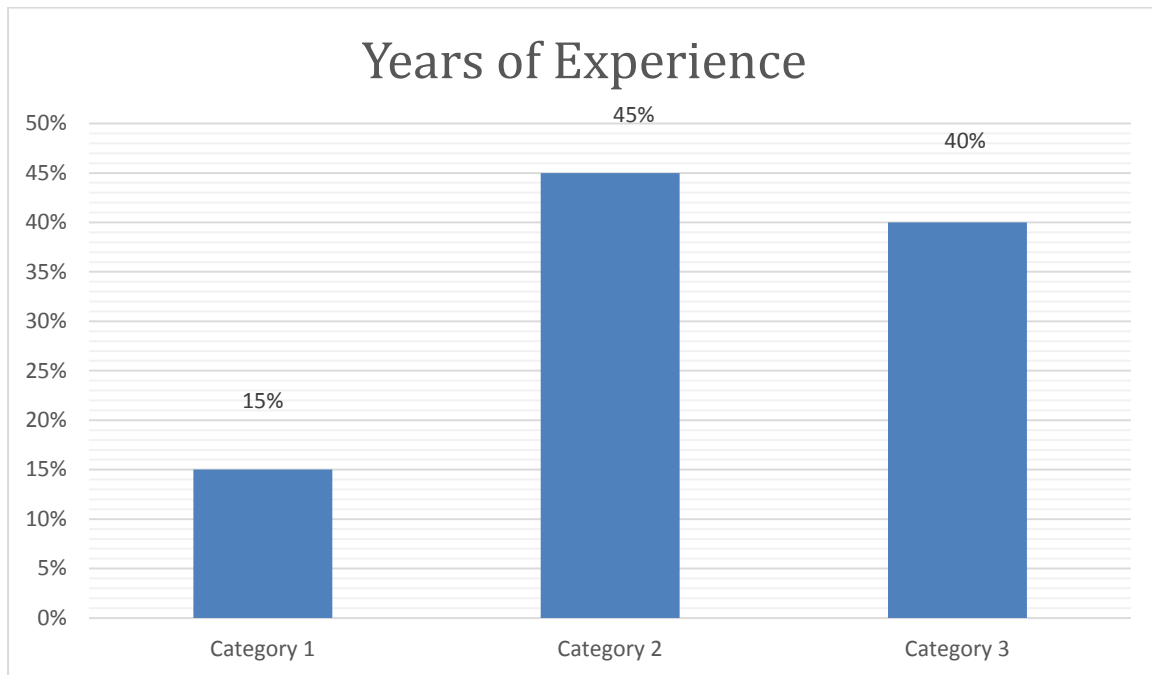
Most of the respondents in this study had a master's degree. The rationale for this choice was that such respondents possessed sufficient knowledge about our topic under research and because they were easily accessible.

iv. Years of experience

Years of experience aspect was considered important for this study since the gender factor in countering terrorism aspect under investigation is viewed and interpreted differently in the formulation of counter-terrorism policies or any given profession. It was, therefore, important to get the insights and views of different groups with different years of experience in their respective fields. Finally, the years of experience was put into consideration in this study as outlined.

- a) Category 1: 1-3 (15%)
- b) Category 2: 4-6 (45%)
- c) Category 3: 7-10 (40%)

Figure 5. 5 Years of experience of the respondents



Source: Field Data, 2020

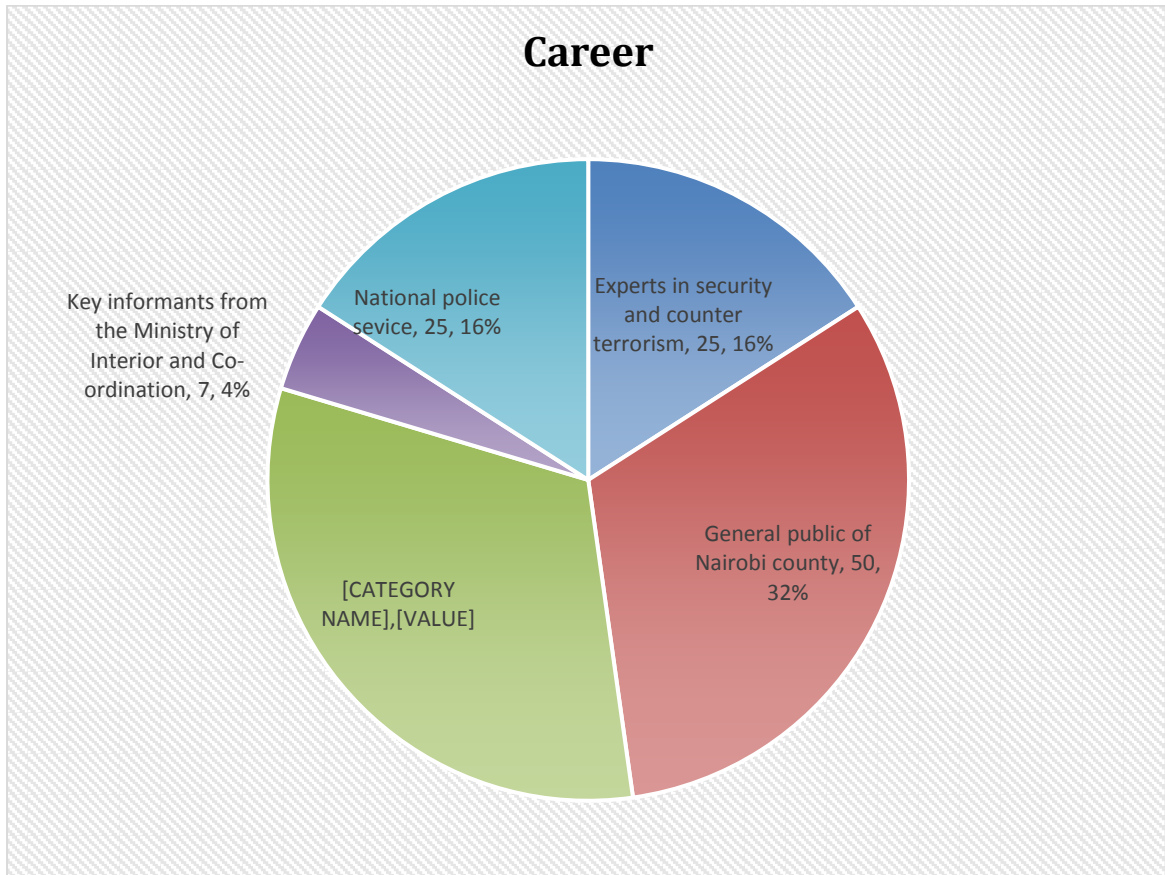
Majority of the respondents to this study had between 7 to 10 years of experience majorly drawn from (32-45) and (46-60) age groups bracket. The reason for narrowing down to this was to come up with findings that are more objective to the study.

v. Careers of Respondents

The profession of the respondent aspect was considered important for this study since the role of the gender factor in countering terrorism aspect under investigation involved a multifaceted approach of professions to address the various challenges and solutions in their different areas of expertise. It was, therefore, important to get the insights and views of different groups. A majority of the respondents to this study were drawn from UON

academicians, Ministry of Interior and co-ordination, National Police, and Security analysts. The reason for narrowing down to this was to come up with findings that are more objective to the study.

Figure 5. 6 Profession of the respondents



Source: Field Data, 2020

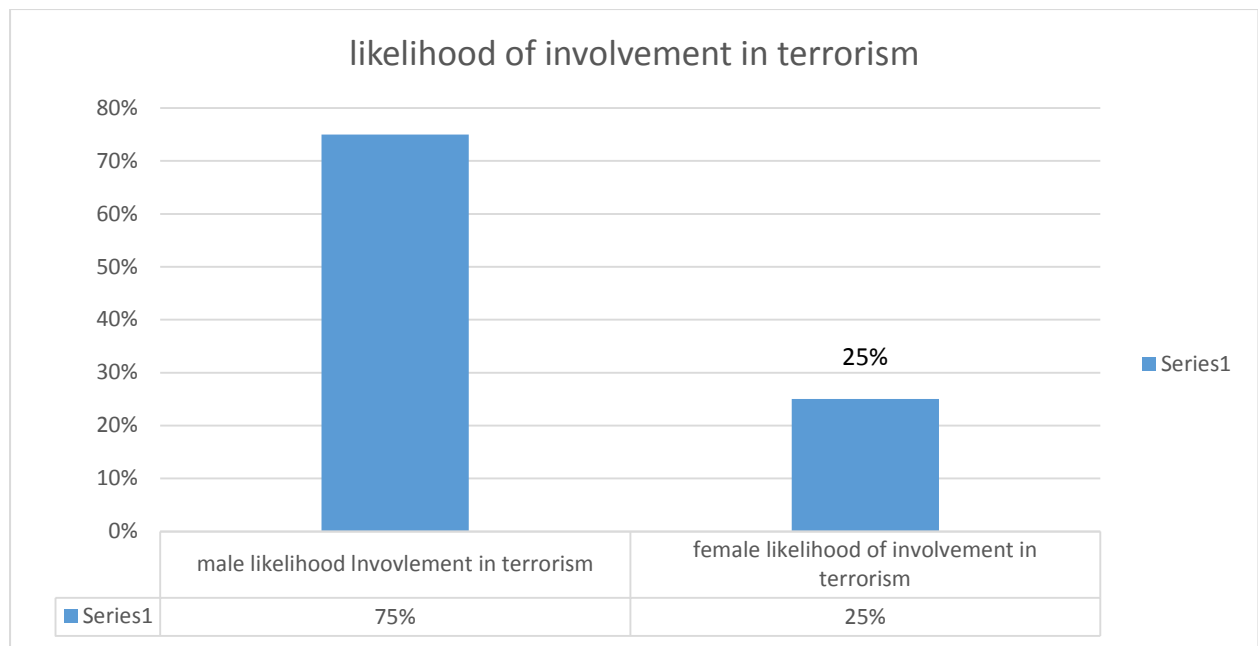
5.3 Descriptive statistics

This section illustrates descriptive results on the role of the gender factor in countering terrorism in Africa utilizing a case study of Kenya.

5.3.1 The trends in male and female involvement in terrorist actions in Africa;

Despite violent extremism and terrorism being predominately associated and viewed as men phenomenon, an overwhelming majority of the respondent that is, 75% indicated that there was an increased role played by women in these terrorist movements as active members and supporters.

Figure 5. 7 Trends in male and female involvement in terrorist actions in Africa



Source: Field Data, 2020

From the findings, it is imperative for both female and male law enforcers especially in the Counter Terrorism sector to comprehend at minimum how the gender factor influences violent extremism, terrorism, and radicalization.

Majority that is, 55 % of the respondents indicated that female involvement in terrorism was involuntary. They cited the use of deceitful means and forced recruitment of women and girls within into terrorist groups such as Al-Shabaab as some of the factors. Deceitful recruitment involves luring women and girls into the terror group network without their

knowledge.¹⁴⁸ Some of the strategies and practices reported by the respondents included manipulating of women and girls through employment networks or marriages. Other strategies include using educational scholarships for deserving needy students and creating online-offline friendship linkages.

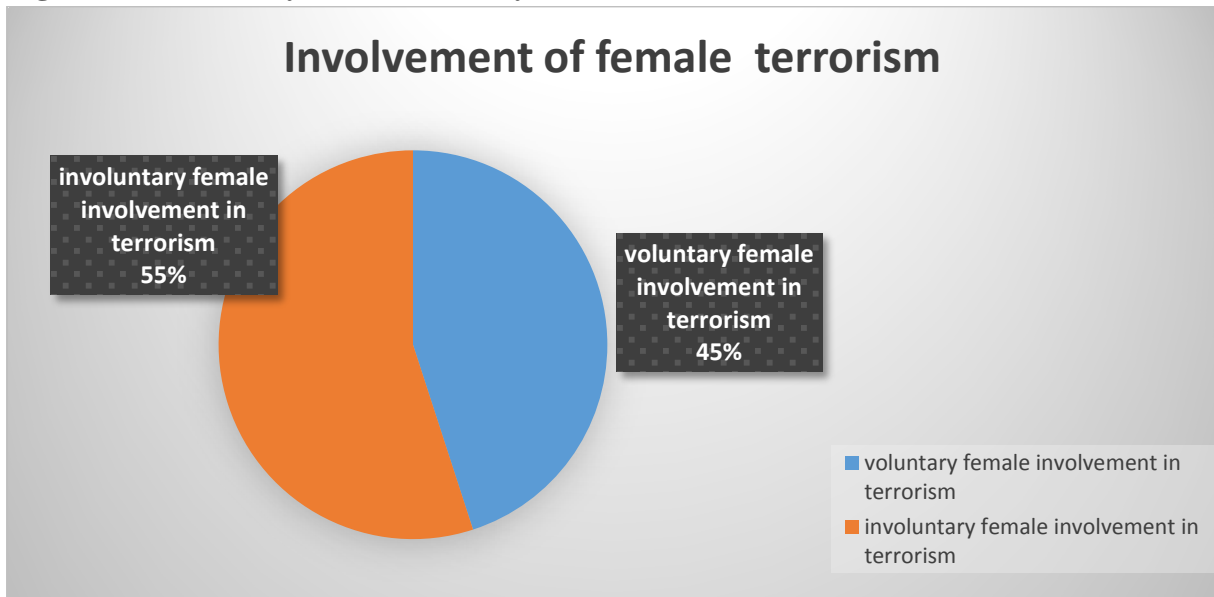
While on the other hand, 45% of the respondents indicated that female involvement in terrorism was voluntary. They pointed out that the recruitment of women and girls into the terrorism networks is gendered; this is because the motives of the recruiter and the recruit are based on gendered perceptions and attitudes. They believed that voluntary recruitment is linked to intrinsic or extrinsic satisfaction along with religious, spiritual, financial or political reasoning.

Intrinsic motivation indicated by the respondents were ideological, religious, spiritual or financial aspects that give inner satisfaction for the recruited.¹⁴⁹ Marital relationship or relationships are driven by the love of the spouse or lover or spiritual satisfaction linked to religious or ideological fulfilment; revenge-driven motivations or carrying out family desires within an extremist family influenced by family members forms the intrinsic motivation of a person. Extrinsic motivated to join terrorist groups for an external reward such as money, fame, praise or relationships.

¹⁴⁸ Badurdeen, Fathima Azmiya. "Online Radicalisation and Recruitment: Al-Shabaab Luring Strategies with New Technology." *Confronting Violent Extremism in Kenya* 15, no. 1: 93.

¹⁴⁹ Omenma, J. Tochukwu, Cheryl Hendricks, and Nnamdi C. Ajaebili. "al-Shabaab and Boko Haram: Recruitment Strategies." *Peace and Conflict Studies* 27, no. 1 (2020): 2.

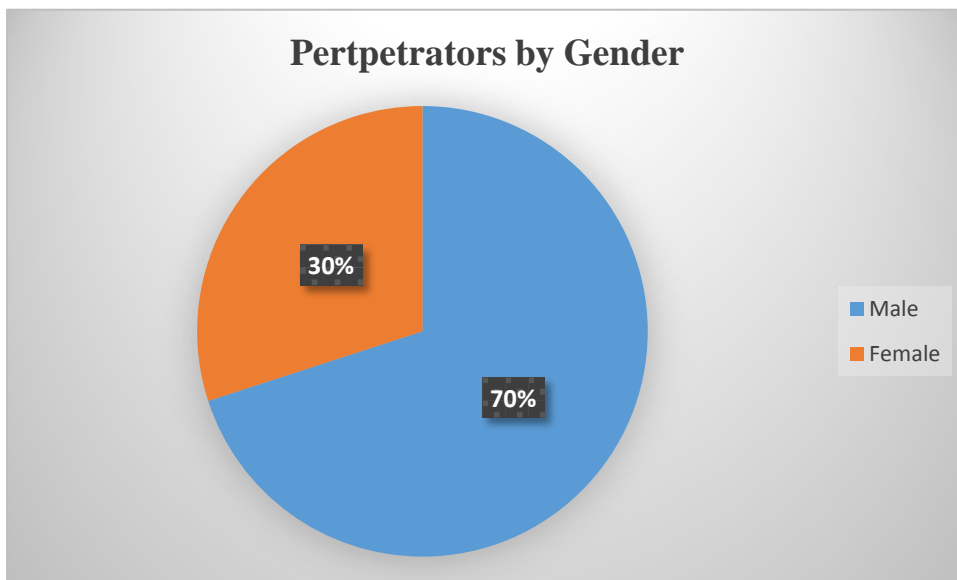
Figure 5. 8 Voluntary and involuntary female involvement in terrorism



Source: Field Data, 2020

5.3.2 Analysing the role of gender in the perpetration of terrorism in Kenya

Figure 5. 9 Perpetrators by gender



Source: Field Data, 2020

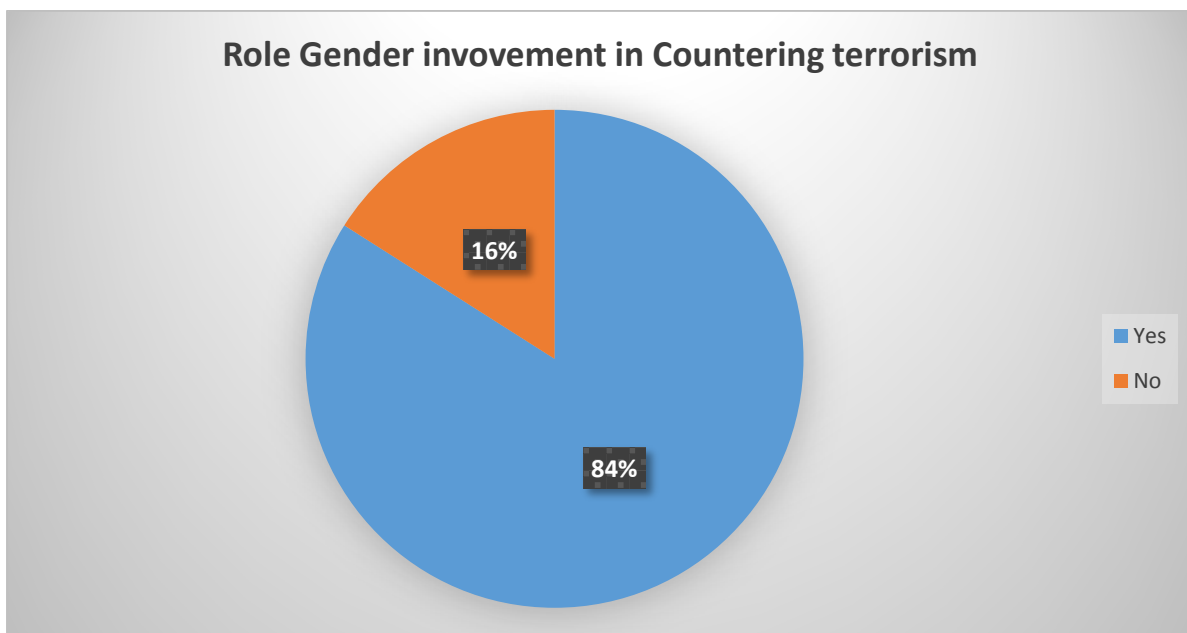
Majority of the respondents (70%) indicated that terrorist activities were more likely to be carried out predominantly by males than females; this is because of the patriarchal

nature of the society where men are considered as leaders and protectors of the community. However, on the hand, minority (30%) indicated that females were also perpetrators of terrorist activities.

5.3.3 Role of gender in countering terrorism in Kenya

Majority of the respondents (84%) indicated that gender factor in countering terrorism still faces numerous bottlenecks; thus, the gender factor has been not taken into account in combating terrorism. Many citizens indicated the current institutional, legal framework in place both state and non-state actors do not meet the threshold of promoting the gender factor in countering terrorism.¹⁵⁰

Figure 5. 10 Role of countering terrorism



Source: Field Data, 2020

Minority of the respondents (16 %) felt that gender factor in countering terrorism had been taken into account in the country. The study further observed that the existing framework are

¹⁵⁰ Nzomo, M. Countering International Terrorism in Africa: The Gender Factor1. Idis Journal Of International Studies And Diplomacy (Idis-J), 7.

more state-centric in their approach to countering terrorism despite the changing trends of terrorism where gender plays a significant role.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

The study sought to assess the gender factor in countering terrorism in Africa using Kenya as the case study. Consequently, this chapter discusses each objective in terms of the summary of the key findings, conclusion and necessary recommendations that will be significant in the gender factor in countering terrorism.

6.1 Conclusion

This study was guided by three major objectives. The overall objective of the study is to assess the gender factor in countering terrorism in Africa using Kenya as the case study. The study sought to achieve the following specific objectives; to assess the trends in male and female involvement in terrorist actions in Africa; to analyze the role of gender in the perpetration of terrorism in Kenya, and to examine the role of gender in countering terrorism in Kenya.

The first objective, the trends in male and female involvement in terrorist actions in Africa revealed that there is a change in the trends of male and female involvement in terrorism in Africa whereby beginning 1970s, there has been a spike in female recruitment into violent Extremist organizations and terrorist groups. This has been attributed to psychological, economic, political, religious and sociological factors. Further, it was revealed that the media and policy makers have complicated the involvement of women in terrorism by making it look as if it is a recent phenomenon when history actually shows that women involvement had been from inception.

The second objective, assessing the role of Gender in the Perpetration of Terrorism

revealed that Gender plays numerous roles in advancing the objectives of the terrorists through spying, sympathies, funding and gathering of information among many others for the violent terrorist organizations. It also revealed that many youths are joining VEOs out of Frustration because of lack of employment, poverty and following charismatic religious leaders, for example Imams. Most of these youths are in higher learning institution and this makes it a challenge to security agencies in responding to illicit activities of the militia groupings.

The third objective explored the role of gender in countering terrorism. It revealed that both genders have a role to play in countering terrorism. These roles include mediation reconciliation, protection, activism and persuasion.

In conclusion, this study found that the significant increase in the number of women and girls used by terrorist clearly demonstrate that there is need for the African states to formulate new policies and legal frameworks to include the gender perspective in combating terrorism in the region. Failure to consider gender activities on a broader lens can jeopardize the mitigation strategies employed by the government. Building on gender issues, utilizing women as well as men in enhancing peace and security remains essential for all stakeholders involved in addressing terrorism related activities.

In view of all the factors highlighted above, this study recommends that the government of Kenya considers the inclusion of gender factor in formulating new or enhancing existing policies and legal frameworks which deal with radicalization, violent extremism and terrorism.

6.2 Recommendations

The study makes the following academic and policy recommendations:

6.2.1 Academic recommendations

There is need to carry out more studies in the area of gender and terrorism, specifically; what motivates men and boys, women and girls into joining terrorist and violent extremism organizations. There is also need to research on the trends of male and female involvement in terrorism using a gendered lens and proffer policy measures or solutions, which the government can use to prevent or counter radicalization and recruitment into Violent Extremism Organizations.

6.2.2 Policy recommendations

The Ministry of Interior and Co-ordination of Government should come up with policy frameworks of dealing with the new trends of radicalization taking into consideration the gender factor. It should also come up with policies that encompass multi agency approach in fight against terrorism, which should involve institutions of higher learning.

The government through the ministry of public service, youth and gender should enhance women and youth empowerment programmes to insulate them from recruitment by VEOs.

6.3 Areas for further study

This study recommends that further research be conducted on the effectiveness of the Kenya's existing legal and policy counter terrorism frameworks and why they are unable to address effectively terrorism issues.

That further research should also be conducted to address the many unanswered questions on factors that lead both men and women towards terrorist actions.

REFERENCES

- Abdo, Hazem Ghassan. "Impacts of war in Syria on vegetation dynamics and erosion risks in Safita area, Tartous, Syria." *Regional Environmental Change* 18, no. 6 (2018): 1707-1719.
- Agara, Tunde. "The Role of Woman in Terrorism and Investigation of Gendering Terrorism." *Journal of Humanities Insights* 1, no. 02 (2017): 46-56.
- Alvi, Hayat. "Secularism Versus Political Islam: The Case of Tunisia." In *The Political Economy and Islam of the Middle East*, pp. 153-187. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2019.
- Amusan, Lere, Adebawale Idowu Adeyeye, and Samuel Oyewole. "Women as Agents of Terror: Women Resources and Gender Discourse in Terrorism and Insurgency." *Politikon*, 46, no. 3 (2019): 345-359.
- Anderson, David M., and Øystein H. Rolandsen. "Violence as politics in eastern Africa, 1940–1990: legacy, agency, contingency." (2014): 539-557.
- Arocha, J. F. (2020). Scientific realism and the issue of variability in behavior. *Theory & Psychology*, 972.
- Aslam, Maleeha. 2012. *Gender-Based Explosions: The Nexus between Muslim Masculinities, Jihadist Islamism and Terrorism*. Tokyo: UNU Press.
- Auchter, Jessica. "Gendering Terror: Discourses of Terrorism and Writing Woman-as-Agent."
- Badurdeen, Fathima Azmiya. "Women who volunteer: a relative autonomy perspective in Al-Shabaab female recruitment in Kenya." *Critical Studies on Terrorism* (2020): 1-22.
- Baniani, Sepideh. "The Lived Experiences and Perceived Challenges of Young Arab Muslim Females with the Hijab in Southern California in the Contemporary Era." (2019).
- Bhulai, R., Peters, A. and Nemr, C. (June 2016). *From Policy to Action: Advancing an Integrated Approach to Women and Countering Violent Extremism*. Global Centre on Cooperative Security.
- Bigio, Jamille, and Rachel Vogelstein. *Women and Terrorism: Hidden Threats, Forgotten Partners*. Council on Foreign Relations, 2019
- Bjørge, T. "Processes of Disengagement from Violent Groups of the Extreme Right" in Bjørge T. & Horgan, J. *Leaving Terrorism Behind: Individual and Collective Disengagement* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2008) pp.30-48, pp. 41 – 42.
- Bloom, M. "Bombshells: Women and Terror." *Gender Issues* 28 (2011): 1-21.
- Bloom, Mia. "Women and terrorism." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. 2017.
- Bonvillain, Nancy. *Women and men: Cultural constructs of gender*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2020.

- Boucek, C. "Extremist Re-education and Rehabilitation in Saudi Arabia" in Tore Bjørge T. & Horgan, J. *Leaving Terrorism Behind: Individual and Collective Disengagement* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2008), pp. 212 – 223, pg. 214.
- Boulden, Jane. "The United Nations General Assembly and Terrorism." In *Research Handbook on International Law and Terrorism*. Edward Elgar Publishing, 2020.
- Breuning, Marie-Claire, and African Studies Center. "The ambiguity of marriage among formerly abducted Acholi women in Northern Uganda." (2020).
- Brown, Katherine E. *Gender, Religion, Extremism: Finding Women in Anti-Radicalization*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2020.
- Bryden, Matt, and Premdeep Bahra. "East Africa's terrorist triple helix: The Dusit Hotel attack and the historical evolution of the jihadi threat." *CTC Sentinel* 12, no. 6 (2019): 2-11.
- Cilliers, 'Terrorism and Africa,' *African Security Review* 12(4) (2003). Christopher, C. H. (2000). *Terrorism Today*. London, Frank Class Publishers.
- Collins, Alan, ed. *Contemporary security studies*. Oxford university press, 2016.
- Comfort, Louise K., and Naim Kapucu. "Inter-organizational coordination in extreme events: The World Trade Center attacks, September 11, 2001." *Natural hazards*, 39, no. 2 (2006): 309-327.
- Crenshaw, Martha. "Questions to be answered, research to be done, knowledge to be applied." (1990).
- Crenshaw, Martha. "The debate over "new" vs. "old" terrorism." In *Values and Violence*, pp. 117-136. Springer, Dordrecht, 2008.
- David Schild, "Constructivism as a basis for understanding International Terrorism: a Case study of Al Qaeda," University of Johannesburg, 2011.
- Diphoom, Tessa, and Naomi van Stapele. "What Is Community Policing?: Divergent Agendas, Practices, and Experiences of Transforming the Police in Kenya." *Policing: A Journal of Policy and Practice* (2020).
- Elu, Juliet U., and Gregory N. Price. "The Causes and Consequences of Terrorism in Africa." In *The Oxford*
- Europe, 2014.
- Farhadi, Adib. "Countering Violent Extremism by Winning Hearts and Minds." (2020).
- Garrido, Mariateresa. "Terrorist Fighters, Mass Surveillance, and International Law." *The Difficult Task of Peace*, pp. 261-275. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2020.
- Githigaro, John Mwangi. "DISCONTINUITIES IN RADICALIZATION TRENDS." *The Handbook of Collective Violence: Current Developments and Understanding* (2020).
- Gredler, M.E.(1997).*Learning and instruction:Theoryintopractice(3rded)*.UpperSaddleRiver, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

- Haggerty, Kevin D., and Sandra M. Bucerius. "Radicalization as martialization: Towards a better appreciation for the progression to violence." *Terrorism and political violence* 32, no. 4 (2020): 768-788.
- Hellsten, Sirkku. *Radicalization and terrorist recruitment among Kenya's youth*. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2016.
- Herschinger, E. (2014). *Political science, terrorism and gender*. *Historical Social Research*, 39(3), 46-66.
- Hesterman, Jennifer. *Soft target hardening: protecting people from attack*. Routledge, 2018.
- Hubi, Nesteha Hussein Mohamed. "The Role of Social Media in Influencing Radicalization (Case Study of Majengo-Nairobi, Kenya)." PhD diss., United States International University-Africa, 2019.
- Idris, Iffat. "Gender and countering violent extremism (CVE) in the Kenya-Mozambique region." (2020).
- Ingutiah, Tunnen Carolyne. "Examining the Use of Force by Police as a Driving Factor to Youth Radicalisation and Recruitment in Kenya." PhD diss., United States International University-Africa, 2019.
- International Feminist Journal of Politics* 14, no. 1 (2012): 121-139.
- Kelly, Gary. *Revolutionary feminism: The mind and career of Mary Wollstonecraft*. Springer, 1992
- Kyule, Mutinda Mutisya. "Assessment of Counter Terrorism Strategies In East Africa: A Case Of Kenya." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2018.
- Lambert, Robert, and Tim Parsons. "Community-based counterterrorism policing: recommendations for practitioners." *Studies in conflict & terrorism* 40, no. 12 (2017): 1054-1071.
- Lord-Mallam, Nanna Charlotte. "Women and Terrorism in Nigeria." *The Impact of Global Terrorism on Economic and Political Development*. Emerald Publishing Limited, 2019.
- Louise Olsson and Johan Tejpar, eds., *Operational Effectiveness and UN Resolution 1325—Practices and Lessons From Afghanistan* (Stockholm: FOI, 2009), 117, 126–127;
- Magan, Abdi Ibrahim. "Somalia: instability, conflict, and federalism." Master's thesis, Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Ås, 2016.
- McMahon, M. (1997, December). *Social Constructivism and the World Wide Web Paradigm for Learning*. Paper presented at the ASCILITE conference. Perth, Australia.
- Meinema, Erik. "'Idle minds' and 'empty stomachs': youth, violence and religious diversity in coastal Kenya." *Africa* 90, no. 5 (2020): 890-913.

- Miles, William FS. "Strange Bedfellows at the United Nations: African Religions, Human Rights Covenants, and Faith-Based Initiatives for Peace and Development." *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 17, no. 2 (2019): 26-36.
- Mills, Sara, and Louise Mullany. *Language, gender and feminism: Theory, methodology and practice*. Taylor & Francis, 2011.
- Mkutu, Kennedy, and Vincent Opondo. "The Complexity of Radicalization and Recruitment in Kwale, Kenya." *Terrorism and Political Violence* (2019): 1-23.
- Mogire, Edward, Doreen Alusa, Laura Wunder, Daniel Nygaard Madsen, Patrick Mutahi, Tom Ogwang, Emmanuel Lameck Mkilia, Venance Shilling, Perry Stanislas, and Lusungu Mbilinyi. *Security governance in East Africa: pictures of policing from the ground*. Rowman & Littlefield, 2017.
- Mogire, Edward, Kennedy Mkutu, and Doreen Alusa. "Policing Terrorism in Kenya." *Security Governance in East Africa: Pictures of Policing from the Ground* 79 (2017).
- Monje, Fred, Esther Kisaakye, Alex Rioplexus Ario, Daniel Eurien, Vivian Ntono, Daniel Kadobera, Benon Kwesiga et al. "Anthrax Outbreaks among Domestic Ruminants Associated with Butchering Infected Livestock and Improper Carcass Disposal in Three Districts of Uganda, 2016-2018." (2020).
- Mugenda, Olive Mwhiki, and Abel GitauMugenda. 2003. *Research methods quantitative & qualitative approaches*.
- Muliru, Scofield YA. "Challenges of Countering Terrorism in Africa: Youth Radicalization in Schools in Kenya." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2016.
- Mwaniki, Dennis M. "Changing Strategies in Countering Violent Extremism and Terrorism in Africa: Case of Kenya." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2019.
- Ngono, Sibangeni, and Fidelis Peter Thomas Duri. "Chapter Thirteen Problematizing Victimhood and Agency: Women and Terrorism in 21st Century." *Violence, Politics and Conflict Management in Africa: Envisioning Transformation, Peace and Unity in the Twenty-First Century* (2016): 327.
- Nwangwu, Chikodiri, and Christian Ezeibe. "Femininity is not inferiority: women-led civil society organizations and "countering violent extremism" in Nigeria." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 21, no. 2 (2019): 168-193.
- Nzomo Maria, "IDIS Journal of International Studies and Diplomacy: Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century Africa," 2018. pp27-28
- Nzomo, Maria, Patrick Maluki, Yusuf A. Mustafa, Adams Oloo, Martin Ouma, and Winnie Rugutt. "IDIS Journal of International Studies and Diplomacy: Countering Terrorism in the 21st Century Africa," 2018.
- Nzomo, Maria. "Rethinking Peace & Security in Africa: A Feminist Perspective." (2011).
- Ogege, S.O. (2013), "Insecurity and sustainable development: The Boko Haram debacle in Nigeria", *American International Journal of Social Science*, Vol. 2 No. 7, pp. 82-88.

- Omena, J. Tochukwu, Cheryl Hendricks, and Nnamdi C. Ajaebili. "al-Shabaab and Boko Haram: Recruitment Strategies." *Peace and Conflict Studies* 27, no. 1 (2020): 2.
- Omenma, J. Tochukwu, Ifeanyichukwu M. Abada, and Z. Onyinyechi Omenma. "Boko Haram insurgency: A decade of dynamic evolution and struggle for a caliphate." *Security Journal* (2020): 1-25.
- Otieno, Fredrick Okoth. "Counterterrorism Strategies and Performance Of The National Police Service In Managing Terrorism In Lamu County, Kenya Fredrick Okoth." PhD Diss., Mmust, 2019.
- Oyebode, A. (2012), "Legal responses to the Boko Haram Challenge: An assessment of Nigeria's Terrorism (Prevention) Act, 2011", Paper delivered at the Oxford Round Table, Holden at Harris Manchester College, the University of Oxford, England, July 22-26, 2012.) START (2014), "Boko Haram recent attacks", Available at www.start.umd.edu/pubs/STARTBackgroundReport_BokoHaramRecentAttacks_May2014_0.pdf. (Accessed 05 June 2017).
- Phillips, Christopher. *The battle for Syria: International Rivalry in the new Middle East*. Yale University Press, 2016.
- Razack, Sherene H. "When a place becomes a race." Gupta, T., James, E., Andersen, C., Galabuzi, G., Maaka, R. *Race, and Racialization E 2* (2018): 113-129.
- Rice, Tara, Goetz von Peter, and Codruta Boar. "On the global retreat of correspondent banks." *BIS Quarterly Review*, March (2020).
- Rothermel, Ann-Kathrin. "Gender in the United Nations' agenda on Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism." *International Feminist Journal of Politics* (2020): 1-22.
- Sahgal, Gayatri, and Martine Zeuthen. "Analytical Framing of Violent Extremism and Gender in Kenya: A Review of the Literature." *The African Review* 45, no. 1 (2018): 1-18.
- Schmidt, Rachel. "Duped: Examining Gender Stereotypes in Disengagement and Deradicalization Practices." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (2020): 1-24.
- Smyth, "Transforming power to put women at the heart of peacebuilding: A collection of regional-focused essays on feminist peace and security." (2020).
- Speckhard, Anne, and Ardian Shajkovci. "The Jihad in Kenya: understanding Al-Shabaab recruitment and terrorist activity inside Kenya—in their own words." *African Security* 12, no. 1 (2019): 3-61.
- Terdiman, Moshe. *Somalia at war: between radical Islam and tribal politics*. S. Daniel Abraham Center for International and Regional Studies, Tel Aviv University, 2008.
- The Role of Civil Society in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization That Lead to Terrorism: A Focus on South-Eastern Europe (Vienna: Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, 2018), <http://osce.org/secretariat/400241>.

- Valerie Hudson et al., "The Heart of the Matter: The Security of Women and the Security of States," *International Security* 33, No. 3 (2008/2009), <http://mitpressjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.1162/isec.2009.33.3.7>.
- Weine, Stevan, Zachary Brahmatt, Emma Cardelli, and Heidi Ellis. "Rapid review to inform the rehabilitation and reintegration of child returnees from the Islamic State." *Annals of global health* 86, no. 1 (2020).
- Weine, Stevan, Zachary Brahmatt, Emma Cardelli, and Heidi Ellis. "Rapid review to inform the rehabilitation and reintegration of child returnees from the Islamic State." *Annals of global health* 86, no. 1 (2020).
- Wendt, A., "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: the Social Construction of Power Politics", *International Organisation*, Vol. 46 (2), 1992
- Wendt, A., "The Agent-Structure Problem in International Relations", *International Organisation*, Vol. 46 (2), 1987
- Wendt, A., "On Constitution and Causation in International Relations", *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 24 (special issue), 1998.
- White, Jessica. "Gender in Countering Violent Extremism Program Design, Implementation and Evaluation: Beyond Instrumentalism." *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (2020): 1-24.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Introductory letter

University Of Nairobi
P.O Box 30197-0010
Tel: 318262

Mary Wangui Maina
Mobile No: 0722721407
Email:marywangui2012@gmail.com

Dear respondent,

The questionnaire and interview guide is aimed at collecting data for research purpose on the assessment of the role of gender in countering terrorism in Kenya.

The research will be in the fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of master in arts in international studies.

Please note that any information collected will be treated with the utmost confidentiality.

Your cooperation in this exercise will be appreciated.

Thank you so much for your attention and participation.

Yours sincerely,

Mary Wangui

Appendix 2: Questionnaire

PART A: Demographic characteristics

Tick as appropriate

i. Age

- a) 18-31 []
- b) 32-45 []
- c) 46-60 []

ii. Gender

- a) Male []
- b) Female []

iii. Level of Education

- a) PhD []
- b) Master []
- c) Bachelor's Degree []
- d) Diploma []

iv. Years of Experience

- a) 1-3 []
- b) 4-6 []
- c) 7-10 []

PART B

Trends in male and female involvement in terrorist actions in Africa

1. What is your understanding of terrorism in Africa?

.....
.....
.....

2. How do terrorist activities spread in the African continent?

.....
.....
.....

3. How do men and women get involved in terrorism in Africa?

.....
.....
.....

4. What are some of the factors that motivate women and men in participating in violent extremism in Africa?

.....
.....
.....

5. Do poor socio-economic conditions such as low income, unemployment, illiteracy and marginalization influence Terrorism? Explain your answer

.....
.....
.....

6. Do the counter terrorism measures in Kenya curbs men and women involvement in terrorism?

.....
.....
.....

7. What are some of the pathways through which women and youth get involved in terrorist activities?

.....
.....
.....

8. Is the recruitment to terrorism activities deceitful or forceful?

.....
.....
.....

9. Does technology have a role in the promoting acts of violence in the society?

.....
.....
.....

PART C

Gender factor in the perpetration of terrorism in Kenya

1. What is your understanding of gender and terrorism?

.....
.....
.....

2. Why do terrorists diversify to the use of women and girls in promoting their illicit acts in Kenya?

.....
.....
.....

3. Is it true that there is an increase in the role of women in advancing violent extremism?

.....
.....
.....

4. What do you think is the motivating factor for the use of women?

.....
.....
.....

5. Does community neglect push women and girls into terror activities?

.....
.....
.....

6. Do you agree that poverty amongst women and youth is a motivating factor that makes terrorists to deceive women and youth into acts of terror?

.....
.....
.....

7. In your opinion, what should the government do to eliminate women and men involvement in terror activities?

.....
.....
.....

PART D

Gender in countering terrorism in Kenya

1. How effective is gender involvement in countering terror activities in Kenya?

.....
.....
.....

2. Are there avenues for gender inclusivity in combatting violent extremism?

Yes { }

NO { }

Not Aware { }

3. What would you consider as challenges affecting gender involvement in combating terrorism?

.....
.....
.....

4. Do you think inclusion of women and men can help in reducing radicalization in the society?

Yes { }

NO { }

Not Aware { }

5. What are your suggestions on the best ways that men and women can be involved in combatting terrorism in Kenya?

.....
.....
.....

6. Mention a few global and Regional organizations that enhance gender participation in promoting security in the region.

.....
.....
.....

7. What are some of the strategies employed by Kenya help gender inclusion in combating radicalization in the society?

.....
.....
.....

8. Are mechanisms put in place by the government to promote gender participation in promoting security in Kenya? Explain your answer

.....
.....
.....