University of Nairobi

Department of Diplomacy and International Studies

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN TERROR ORGANIZATIONS IN AFRICA:

KENYA AND NIGERIA
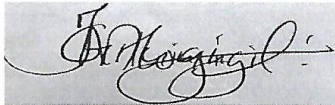
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A Research Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Award of

Master's Degree in International Studies at the Department of Diplomacy and

International Studies (IDIS), University of Nairobi.

November 2021

Declaration

This research project is my original work and has not been presented before to any university for academic award.

Signature ....   Date...31.10.2021.......................

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

Signature ....   Date ....

Amb. Prof. Maria Nzomo

Supervisor

Department of Diplomacy and International Studies (DDIS)

Dedication

This research is dedicated with love and gratitude to my family for their patience and understanding during the time of the research. I am also grateful to the Kenyan Government especially the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the Cordial liaison with the Nigerian Government.

Acknowledgement

I thank God for enabling me to complete my studies. I am particularly grateful but indebted immensely by my supervisor Amb. Prof. Maria Nzomo who read each and every sentence in this project report tirelessly, criticized my work after doing so many mistakes and gave me innovative, informed and intricate suggestions to improve my project. Thank you Madam, I'm greatly humbled by your support.

ABSTRACT

There is growing global recognition that women play multiple roles both within violent extremist organizations and in preventing and countering violent extremism. However, very little is known about women and violent extremism in the context of Kenya. Through focus group discussions with women in affected communities and individual interviews with returnees and other stakeholders – including government officials, donors and civil society – this study aimed to gain insights into the socio-cultural, economic and political issues compelling women to join the terror groups, the roles that women play and trends in relation to women involvement in terror organizations in Kenya and Nigeria and the gendered impacts of involvement in terror groups.

This study shows that there is a complex set of dynamics – including drivers, impacts and responses – influencing how and when women become involved in terror organization in Kenya in their communities. These dynamics operate at different levels societal, community, family and personal, are specific to the particular contexts in which they develop, and are fluid across time and space.

While there is little evidence of women from Kenya perpetrating acts of violent extremism, women are actively involved in non-combative roles such as recruiting, gathering intelligence, facilitating funding, radicalizing their children, and providing the invisible support structure for violent extremists, such as supplying food, shelter and medical care for fighters.

The findings demonstrate that terror groupings have multiple, and often mutually reinforcing, effects on the lives of women, their families and communities in Kenya. All the returnees interviewed for this research had experienced sexual violence in Al-Shabaab camps; there were also some incidents of sexual violence reported during counter-terrorism (CT) raids. Women have suffered physical, psychological and emotional harm as a result of violent extremism, with consequent physical health problems. Many women live in perpetual fear of terrorist

attacks, their children's safety and the hard security approach of some CT interventions, with some respondents feeling stigmatized, harassed and profiled by security agents because of their Muslim attire or because they looked Somali

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ABBREVIATIONS

AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
AS	Al Shabaab
AU	African Union
CBO	Community Based Organizations
CJTF-HOA	Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa
CT	Counter Terrorism
CVE	Counter Violent Extremism
FGDs	Focused Group Discussion
HOA	Horn of Africa
ISIS	Islamic State of Syria
ISWAP	Islamic State of West African Province
KDF	Kenya Defence Forces
NSA	Non State Actors
NCTC	National Counter Terrorism Centre
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations
NIS	National Intelligence Service
UN	United Nations
UNOCT	United Nations Office of Countering Terrorist
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USA	United State of America
VEO	Violent Extremism Organizations

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

 Terrorism can be defined is the unlawful use, or threatened use, of force or violence against individuals or property to coerce and intimidate governments or societies, often to achieve political, religious, or ideological objectives[1]. Equally, terrorism entails all criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act, which constitute offenses within the scope of and as defined in the international conventions and protocols relating to terrorism, are under no circumstances justifiable by considerations of a political, philosophical, ideological, racial, ethnic, religious or other similar nature, and calls upon all States to prevent such acts and, if not prevented, to ensure that such acts are punished by penalties consistent with their grave nature[2].

Terrorism can take many forms and involves a wide assortment of political, ideological, psychological agendas and environmental activism[3]. There are however similarities between all acts of terror and they comprise the use or threat of violence, they are random, against any target, at any time and their ultimate goal is to generate fear[4]. The face of terrorism has evolved rapidly in recent years, terrorism activities have increased in terms of frequency, change in its *modus operandi* which is coupled up with targeting of strategically hard targets as opposed to

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[1]U.S. Department of the Army and the Air Force (1990). Military operations in low intensity conflict (Field Manual 100 20/Air Force Pamphlet 3-20). Washington, DC: Headquarters, Department of the Army and the Air Force.
[2]Weigend, Thomas (2006). " The Universal Terrorist: the International Community Grappling with a Definition." *Journal of International Criminal Justice,* vol. 4, pp. 912-932.
[3]Spindlove, J. R. & Simonsen, C. E. (2013). Terrorism today: The past, the players, the future (5 th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson.
[4]Hoffman, B. (2006). Inside terrorism (2 nd ed.). New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

traditionally noncombatants[5]. Above all, terrorist activities have recently resulted to high magnitude of fatalities and injuries.

The profile of terrorist suspects and the disposition of their attacks have been shifting. Deviant women; women who engage in criminal acts are seen to be playing an increasingly significant role in terrorism. Since the advent of terrorism, women have played a small but expanding role in these organizations and their corresponding revolutionary movements[6]. Conventionally, women are seen as the 'fairer' sex, reinforcing the notion that they are unlikely to commit violent acts. Society has a difficult time understanding what motivates women to commit violent acts, especially when those acts are carried out in a public arena and impact a large number of people[7].

Females who engaged in deviant behavior have historically been perceived as individuals who are flawed in some respect. During the early 20th Century, criminologist Cesare Lombroso and psychiatrist Sigmud Freud attributed women's deviant behavior to something that was inherently wrong within them in physical or mental sense, respectively. Lombroso, describes female criminality as an inherent tendency of women who, in effect, had not developed properly into feminine women with moral refinements[8].

Traditionally, society's inherently nurturing, homemakers and non-violent caregivers, females tend to attract less attention from security services and are less prone to be searched, questioned, interviewed and interrogated in comparison to how male jihadist are subjected[9];

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[5]Prasoon, P. The Merchants of Terror: Vol. 1 Terrorism: Past, Present and Future, (Cipra Books, 2006).
[6]Cragin, R. K. & Daly, S. A. (2009). Women as terrorists: Mothers, recruiters, and martyrs, p. 103. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger Security International.
[7]MacDonald, E. (1991). Shoot the women first. New York, NY: Random House.
[8]Lilly,J. R., Cullen, F. T., & Ball, R. A. (2011). Criminological theory: Contexts and consequences (5 th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
[9]Cragin, R. K. & Daly, S. A. (2009). Women as terrorists: Mothers, recruiters, and martyrs. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger Security International.

especially in Muslim societies that emphasize sensitive cultural norms regarding the role of women. In the wake of the 21st century terrorism, terrorist organizations can exploit several tactical reasons to utilize women among them; helping to recruit others, intelligence gathering, raising funds, providing operational support and reinforcement[10]. Women are observed to elicit less attention and thus can execute a stealthier attack. Notably, attacks executed by women confuse profilers and raise the fear factor within the target group. For instance, female bombers often bring greater publicity, and that may be a draw for more recruits[11].

The majority of acts of violent extremism are perpetrated by men, but there is a long history of women as perpetrators of violence. Women have been involved in terrorist attacks carried out by groups across the world, including: Peru's Shining Path, both republican and loyalist groups in Northern Ireland, al Qaeda, Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka, Hamas in Palestine, the Zapatistas in Mexico, Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), Abu Sayyaf in the Philippines, as well as ISIS and Boko Haram [12].

Women perpetrated about 15% of suicide attacks between 1985 and 2006[13]. Attacks by women have been growing in number as well as in severity. In 2017, the Global Extremism Monitor registered 100 distinct suicide attacks conducted by 181 female militants, amounting to 11% of all incidents that year, while in 2016 women constituted 26% of those arrested on terrorism charges in Europe, up from 18% the year before [14]. In Nigeria the most deadly incident in 2018 involved three women bombers who killed 20 people in a crowded marketplace, while in Indonesia the deadliest attacks in decades were carried out by two family units that included

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[10]Ibid.
[11]Zedalis, D. D. (2008). Analyzing female suicide bombers. In C. D. Ness (Ed.), Female terrorism and militancy: Agency, utility, and organization (49-68). London: Routledge.
[12]McFarland, K. (2018). Lessons from the Past: Women, political violence and CVE. Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security. https://giwps.georgetown.edu/wp- content/uploads/2018/04/Lessons-from-the-Past
[13]Ibid.
[14]Bigio, J. & Vogelstein, R. (2019). Women and Terrorism: Hidden Threats, Forgotten Partners. Council on Foreign Relations (CFR).

both women and children [15]. Female suicide attacks are more lethal on average than those conducted by men: according to one study of five different terrorist groups, attacks carried out by women had an average of 8.4 victims—compared to 5.3 for attacks carried out by men—and were less likely to fail [16].

Women's participation in combat roles varies by group (Sahgal & Zeuthen, 2018). While some, e.g. FARC in Colombia and LTTE in Sri Lanka, have allowed women to serve in direct combat roles, others, notably ISIS/Daesh consider this undesirable, although it is permitted in exceptional circumstances[17]. Thus women were active in the Levant battlefields in the months leading to ISIS/Daesh's military defeat, and have also been featured in more recent propaganda distributed by the group, including images of them in combat positions[18].

Kenya has not been exempted from the narrative, recently, several highly publicized reports have drawn attention to the involvement of Kenyan women in violent extremist organizations[19]. The reported incidents have involved women traveling to join Al-Shabaab, recruiting for Al-Shabaab, masterminding terrorist attacks in Kenya, forming of terror cells, and channeling information and finances for terrorist organizations. In April 2015, three girls – one Tanzanian and two Kenyans – were arrested while allegedly in route to Somalia to join Al-shabaab[20]. Similarly, in Nigeria one Aisha Yusuf, one of the Chibok girls abductees was trained in explosive where she later became a chief trainer for female suicide bombers within Boko Haram[21].

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[15]Ibid.
[16]Ibid.
[17]OSCE (2019). Understanding the role of gender in preventing and countering violent extremism and radicalization that leads to terrorism: Good practices for law enforcement. Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).
[18]Ibid.
[19]Ndung'u, I., Salifu, U. & Sigsworth, R. (2017). Violent extremism in Kenya: Why women are a priority. Institute for Security Studies (ISS).
[20]Ndung'u, I. & Salifu, U. (2017). The role of women in violent extremism in Kenya. Institute for Security Studies (ISS).
[21]Nwadinobi, E. (2019). 'Trafficking and the Boko Haram Conflict: The Not So Good, the Bad and the Outright Ugly', in Winterdyk, J. & Jones, J. (eds.), The Palgrave International Handbook of Human Trafficking.

The central question that this paper seeks to answer is, what makes women susceptible to modern terrorism. This paper seeks to focus on role of these women in terrorist groups and also the resultant impact of women involvement in terrorist organizations.

1.2   Statement of the Problem

Terrorism is clearly one of the most important international security issues of our times. Its is a global problem that has awoken the world community to the interconnectedness of our human survival concerns in a globalized 21st century world. The rapid expansion of globalization at the beginning of the 21st century with all its benefits, complexities and challenges, has contributed to the increase of global human insecurity; upsurge of various forms, levels magnitudes of conflicts and violence in all its aspects, including terrorism. 21st century globalization has also inspired an upsurge of politics of identity and a resurgence of various forms of cultural and faith based fundamentalism resulting in multiplication of conflicts and what Huntington terms: "clash of civilization".[22]

Terrorism around the world has indeed continued to occur with increasing frequency and magnitude and with new modes of attacks. This has provoked debates and raised questions among scholars, policymakers and other stakeholders in the Africa and elsewhere, as to the efficacy of the mechanisms and strategies in place for responding to terrorism. Indeed, the high occurrence and global spread of terrorism and the seeming inability of the world community to combat it, despite legislative and other counter-terrorism measures, has not only brought into question the viability of the strategies in place for responding to terrorism, but also the underlying conceptual, ideological and institutional frameworks underpinning action.

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[22]Huntington, S.P. The Clash of Civilisations and The Remaking of World Order, (Simon and Schuster, 1996).

In particular, feminist scholars have questioned the viability and efficacy of the state-centric approach for managing terrorism that has tended to ignore the role of non-state actors (especially women) as both agents of counter-terrorism as well as perpetrators of terrorism. The existing frameworks for both analysis and policy interventions in conflict prevention and resolution as well as the existing counter terrorism measures have not meaningfully addressed the gender question. Pursuant to this, the feminist perspective argues that at the level of theory, the dominant international relations paradigms that populate the academy remain gendered; not value free but heavily influenced by patriarchal ideology that largely equates masculinity with objectivity.

Similarly, governance structures and processes as they exist at the beginning of the 21st century tend to be patriarchal and highly gendered. In this connection, although there is a steadily increase in data on terrorism in general and violent extremism in particular, neither policy makers, civil society nor scholars, have paid meaningful attention at both the level of analysis and praxis, to the gender aspects of international terrorism in Africa. Thus, the gender information available tends to employ perspectives that reveal the influence of patriarchal ideology. This tends to provide a distorted analysis of the gender factor in international terrorism and the roles women play in this terrorist organizations.

Guided by the feminist perspective, women just as men, are actors and change agents, whose agency, presence and voice must be made visible in all areas of human endeavor. This visibility also need to be accompanied by a recognition/ appreciation that as change agents, they are not mere instruments or service providers for male terrorist leaders.[23] In this regard, not all women

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[23]Eager, P.W. From Freedom Fighters to Terrorists: Women and Political Violence, (Ashgate, 2008).

are victims of war or a driving force for peace. Some, though fewer than men, are active actors in wars, as active combatants and as terrorists.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The specific objectives of this study are:

1 To analyze Socio-cultural, economic and political issues compelling women to join terrorist organizations.

2 To examine the trend and forms of women participation in terrorist organizations

3 To assess the impact of women involvement in terrorist organizations.

1.4 Research Questions

The study will seek to answer the following:

i What Socio-cultural, economic and political issues restraints present in the society inform women's involvement in terrorist organizations?

ii What roles do women play in terrorist organizations?

iii What are the impacts of women involvement in terrorist organizations?

1.5 Justification of the Study

The study will help researchers understand what roles women are performing in terrorist organizations. Additionally, it will also help moderate religious leaders understand various religious text and cultural issues used to coarse women to join jihad and come up with counter narratives. It will help policy formulators and implementers understand the cultural restraint in social norms that compel women to join terrorist organization. To security analyst, it will help profile what level of women are used to recruit other female into terrorist organizations.

1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW

1.6.1 Theoretical Literature Review

1.6.6.1 GENERAL STRAIN THEORY(GST)

General Strain Theory, coined by Robert Agnew in 1992, states strain increases the likelihood of individuals committing crimes. Strain can be defined as; to stretch to maximum extension and tautness[24], in regards to strain theory this 'tautness' is created by social and economic factors. General Strain Theory is an expansion of Robert K. Merton's strain theory which noted that economic desires were the only strain that would turn an individual to crime. Agnew expanded this to note three different types of strain:

1. Strain as the failure to achieve positively valued goals (traditional strain).

2. Strain as the removal of positively valued stimuli from the individual.

3. Strain as the presentation of negative stimuli[25].

These various types of strain indicate a variety of factors which can contribute to an individual committing various crimes. While this has typically been applied to criminal behavior, the theory is just as relevant for terrorists[26]. Some individuals who join a terrorist organization are likely influenced by various societal strains which move them in the direction of terrorist acts. This theory proposes that when individuals are unable to adapt to or cope with the strain, they engage in criminal behaviors.

The general strain theory of terrorism builds upon the previously mentioned elements and attempts to evaluate 'collective strains'. Agnew argues that "terrorism is more extreme than

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[24]Merriam-Webster Online. Retrieved from http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/motivation. Accessed 13 June 2014.

[25]Lilly,J. R., Cullen, F. T., & Ball, R. A. (2011). Criminological theory: Contexts and consequences (5 th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.

[26]Agnew, R. (2010). A general strain theory of terrorism. Theoretical Criminology, 14(2), 131-153.

most common crimes, since it often involves the commission of serious violence against civilians who have done nothing to directly provoke their victimization". Based on this, Agnew suggests that the strains terrorists encounter is collective in nature, which creates a different type of strain than those found in GST. Three collective strains are noted to contribute to the likelihood of terrorism, they are: "(a) high in magnitude, with civilian victims; (b) unjust; and (c) caused by significantly more powerful others, including complicit civilians, with whom members of the strained collectivity have weak ties".

This approach takes the general premise of GST and refines it using the literature discussing terrorism[27]. While the expanded GST of Terrorism is applicable to this study, it should be noted that there are a number of factors which contribute to terrorism. When looking at female participation in terrorist organizations it is important to note the factors that contribute to their decision to become involved with the group. It is often a culmination of a number of these factors which leads individuals to participate in terrorist organizations.

1.6.2 Empirical Literature Review

1.6.2.1 Socio-Cultural, Economic and Political issues

Just as there is gender differentiation in the roles men and women play in violent extremist groups, so there is some gender differentiation in motives for joining such groups. To some extent, the reasons for women supporting or participating in terrorist groups are largely the same as those driving men, e.g. grievance about socio-cultural and political conditions, fanatical commitment to religious or ideological beliefs, grief about the death of a loved one. However, the literature also identifies women's participation in violent extremism and

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27   Ibid.

terrorism as a reaction against gender-based inequality and discrimination, violence, and denial of rights and opportunities, sex slavery, arranged and forced marriages. Involvement in violent extremism allows women to break out of traditional roles – which in patriarchal societies will often be limited to the household, with a far lower social status than that of men – and forge a different path. Elsewhere, gender inequality provides fertile ground for terrorist groups who readily exploit to their advantage the victimization of women in patriarchal societies. Violent extremist organizations (VEOs) are cognizant of the constraints and limitations that women in traditional societies/households face and exploit these to win recruits.

Terrorist organizations have demonstrated a nuanced understanding of gender norms and stereotypes and exploited social constructions of masculinity and femininity to tap into different vulnerabilities among diverse groups of men and women in different local contexts, as a means to attract, recruit and maintain adherents. The use of social media by extremist groups 'to actively enlist women into supportive roles, reaching unprecedented numbers through narrowcasting - creating a targeted message for a specific subgroup. ISWAP, for example, conducted a concerted campaign to recruit women in the West which 'emphasized camaraderie, sisterhood, and opportunities to enjoy freedom and adventure as state-builders' stresses that women's paths to radicalization and their reasons for joining VEOs will depend on the context: women's decisions to join violent groups have been, and will remain, varied and contextually specific. This points to the need for a thorough understanding of both the diverse roles women play in violent extremist organizations, the contexts in which these play out and the factors driving them.

1.6.2.2 Roles of deviant women

Terror groups contain a structure characterized by roles and signals that range from support to active operational assignments. Though dependent on the terror organization, women have been active in various roles. The roles of women as such, their roles in warring have been clearly delineated and boundaries unmistakably demarcated. Society, through its body of rules and its numerous institutions, has conventionally dictated women's roles within the boundaries of militancy. There is limited evidence of women carrying out acts of violence for the groups; there have been a few incidents of female suicide bombers but Al-Shabaab uses these far less than Boko Haram. However, women play many supporting roles: intelligence gathering, recruitment, fund-raising and financial transactions, transporting goods, and domestic chores. Al-Shabaab treats Kenyan women differently to Somali women: moral codes are enforced more strictly for the latter, meaning they are more likely to be wives while Kenyan women are used as sex slaves and for domestic labour.

Women can play important roles in violent extremist organizations, helping to recruit others, raising funds, providing operational support in carrying out various activities, and being responsible for enforcement. Operational support can include feeding and clothing combatants, transporting weapons and other goods, and providing medical treatment. In groups like ISIS which was trying to create a caliphate women were responsible for various functions, e.g. the Al-Khanssa Brigade was an all-female unit which enforced the group's strict moral code. Moreover, it has been found that significant levels of brutality were perpetrated by women against women who did not comply with the strict moral code imposed by the group. In the case of ISWAP and Al Shabaab, women were also tasked with giving birth to and raising children to grow the caliphate. In many such groups, women encourage indoctrination and radicalization within their own families and communities, e.g. encouraging male family

members to join such groups and carry out violent extremist acts. Women can be especially effective in recruitment. Notably, online pro–ISIS/AS groups female recruiters had higher network connectivity than men, making them more effective at spreading the group's message than their male counterparts - an important finding given that an increasing number of extremists are radicalized online. Women's participation also improved the survival rate of online pro–ISIS/AS groups, extending the time before technology companies shut them down. Despite the multiple military defeats suffered by ISIS/AS, the continued role played by women online in advancing their ideologies, new technology allows for more sophisticated outreach, directly targeting messages to radicalize and recruit women. It also provides a platform on which female extremists thrive by expanding their recruitment reach and taking on greater operational roles in the virtual sphere. Auxiliary, women are also used to enforce population compliance, socialize combatants, promote unit cohesion and drive instability to achieve the organizational goals.

1.6.2.3 Impact of Women involvement

The findings demonstrate that violent extremism has multiple, and often mutually reinforcing, effects on the lives of women in Kenya, and on their families, communities and the continuing dynamics of the affected areas. This stigmatization of certain groups and community tension are particularly marked in places that have experienced a terrorist attack.

On a personal and family level victimization is usually a role assigned to women within the context of violent extremism, this can also be seen as one of the impacts of violent extremism on women in Kenya.

The likelihood of psychological trauma resulting from kidnapping or rape has been well documented. Akwash, for instance, argues that impaired memory and concentration, as well as recurring fear and anxiety, are some of the signs of the psychological impact of kidnapping,

while 'devastating mental health problems' are 5.5 times more likely to occur in rape survivors than among the general population.

On a community level there exist reported harassment of certain population groups by the police, terrorist attacks and sensationalized media reporting have, together, served to fuel suspicion and mistrust between Muslim and non-Muslim members of the affected communities. Community relations have suffered as a result, according to women in Kwale, with people living in fear and mistrust of one another.

1.6.3 Gaps in the Literature Review

The changing dynamics of terrorism has attracted different studies in relation to involvement by women. These studies, however, are not conclusive due to the difficulty in obtaining data to perform a quantitative study. A qualitative approach, was therefore most ideal through accounts of women involved in terrorism as well as those around them and their communities. Through this, projections could be made about the impact and future of these organizations with women in them.

1.7 Hypotheses of the study

   i.   Women are involved in terrorism just like their male counterparts.

  ii.   Jihad is not a man-only duty, women must do their part as well.

 iii.   The involvement of women increases man power for terrorist groups

1.8 Overview of literature review and research gaps

The changing dynamics of modern terrorism has attracted different studies in relation to involvement by women. These studies, however, are not conclusive due to the difficulty in obtaining data to perform a quantitative study. A qualitative approach, was therefore most ideal

through accounts of women involved in modern terrorism as well as those around them and their community. Through this, projections could be made about the impact and future of these organizations with women in them.

1.9 Research Methodology

1.9.1 Research Design

According to Kothari (2003), research design refers to the way a study is planned and conducted as well as procedures and techniques used to address the research problem[28].This study will adopt both descriptive and historical research design. This is concerned with describing such things as norms, values and behavior. Descriptive design therefore becomes adequate for the study. Historical design will assist in exploring, explanation and understanding the past about the subject from data already available. The researcher will employ a mixed method approach to data collection, analysis and presentation.

1.9.2 Target Population

The research will be conducted in Mombasa, Nairobi, Isiolo, Mandera and Borno state in Nigeria. The data will be collected using; In depth interviews and Focused group discussions with; Affected women undergoing returnee programs, security agencies, religious leader, academicians and resident of the- aforementioned states/counties, aged between 18-60 years. The participants were drawn using purposive sampling.

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[28] "Kothari Research Methodology Pdf - Free Download," accessed November 20, 2019, https://ebookpdf.com/kothari-research-methodology-pdf.

1.9.3 Sample size and Design

Sampling refers to the process of selecting a portion of the population that conforms to a designated set of specifications to be studied. Sampling is advantageous for it allows the researcher to draw generalization and reduce biasness. [29] According to Nachmias & Nachmias (1996), sampling is necessary because it is extremely expensive and nearly impossible to collect data from all members of the study population. The study will employ both probability and non-probability sampling procedures.

Figure 1.9: Sample Size

Respondents	Sample size
Affected women	150
Family members	27
Religious leaders	8
Security officers-ATPU/DSS	5
Academicians	10
TOTAL	**200**

Source: Author (2021)

The study will employ both probability and non-probability sampling procedures. Purposive sampling ensures that only participants who are knowledgeable about an issue in question are selected Brink (1996). [30] The study will use purposive sampling as it will ensure that only participants who are knowledgeable about an issue in question are selected. The study will target both male and female participants. Participants will come from the age set between 18-

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[29] Frankfort-Nachmias, C. and Nachmias, D. (1996) Research Methods in the Social Sciences. Fifth Edition, Arnold, London.

[30] Hilla Brink, *Fundamentals of Research Methodology for Health Care Professionals* (Juta & Company, 1996).

60 years. Participants should be residing in the target population to get an idea of how terrorism affects both genders.

1.9.4 Data Collection procedure

Data will be collected with the aid of gate keepers and other associates on the ground. We will acquire respondents and conduct Focused Group Discussions (FGDs) on the area of interest. In-depth Interviews (IDIs) with relevant stakeholders and observations on returnees, local women, security officers, administrators from Kenya and Nigeria's central government offices. Key informants especially those involved in the fight against terrorism. Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) and Counter terrorism (CT) programs Representatives from faith based organizations. Civil societies and Non-State Actors (NSA) like NGOs and CBOs will be interviewed. Further involved in identification of credible sources for in-depth interviews. Snowballing technique will also be used to identify other relevant respondents.

1.9.5 Data Analysis and Presentation

The study will apply both qualitative and quantitative techniques in data analysis and presentation. Qualitative data from FGD's and Interviews will be analyzed by coding common themes and presenting in form of generalized statements. Quantitative data from questionnaires will be analyzed using descriptive and inferential statistics. Measures of distribution, percentages and frequencies will be applied in analyzing the data with the aid of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 20.

1.9.6 Ethical consideration

The researchers will commit to and apply the ethics of research during and after data collection. This will involve the treatment of research respondents with sensitivity, care and dignity. The researchers will ensure that the respondents remain anonymous and one way of achieving this will be not including their name in the research document. The researchers also explain the purpose of the research and the right of the respondents at the beginning of every interview. The respondents will be given an opportunity to ask questions for clarity of the exercise before and during the interview.

1.10 CHAPTER OUTLINE

Chapter one; This chapter introduces the topic of study, provides a background for the study, problem statement, research questions, research objectives, research justification, literature review, theoretical and empirical frame work, hypotheses and lastly, the research methodology

Chapter two; This chapter tries to demystify the socio-cultural, economic and political issues present in the society norms that contribute to the involvement of women in terrorist organization.

Chapter three; This chapter tries to examine the various gender deferential role in terrorist organizations. With the involvement of women, though fewer than men, this chapter takes into account gender differential modes of participation in terrorism.

Chapter four; This chapter tries to assess the impact of women involvement in terrorist organizations.

Chapter five; This chapter entails data presentation interpretation of research findings and analysis.

Chapter six; This chapter entails conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SOCIO-CULTURAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL ISSUES PRESENT IN THE SOCIETY NORMS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO THE INVOLVEMENT OF WOMEN IN TERRORIST ORGANIZATION.

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the trends female involvement in terror activities in Africa. The chapter examines the compelling issues that contribute to the involvement of women in terrorism acts in Kenya

2.2 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.[31] 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.

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.[32]

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[31] Muliru, Scofield YA. "Challenges of Countering Terrorism in Africa: Youth Radicalization in Schools in Kenya." PhD diss., University of Nairobi, 2016.
[32] Breuning, Marie-Claire, and African Studies Center. "The ambiguity of marriage among formerly abducted Acholi women in Northern Uganda." (2020).

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 momentumas 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 agent[33]

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 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

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[33] Elu, 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

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"[34].

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, caringand empathetic for a long of time. However, studies have shown that they are active agents and voices of terrorism activities. This has necessitated critical analysis on a gender-focusedstudy to establish the role that gender plays in violent extremism to determine effective gender-based counter-terrorism measures.[35]

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 are increasingly being involved in terror acts. Due to the capture and execution of male personnelin the rebel groups, there arose a need to fill in the void and hence women started being directly or indirectly involved in terrorism.[36]

According to Jacques and Taylor, "the majority of female terrorists were single, below

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[34] Aslam, Maleeha. 2012. Gender-Based Explosions: The Nexus between Muslim Masculinities, Jihadist Islamism and Terrorism. Tokyo`: UNU Press.

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

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

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."[37]

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 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 bombers[38].

After examining the role of women in terrorist actions, Tunde Agara concluded that "the

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[37] Jacques, K., and P. J. Taylor. 2013. "Myths and realities of female-perpetrated terrorism." Law and Human Behavior 37 (1): 35–44.
[38] Raghavan, S. V., and V. Balasubramaniyan. 2014. "Evolving Role of Women in Terror Groups: Progression or Regression?" Journals and Campus Publications 15 (2).

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"[39]. 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 relationshipbetween women, gender and terrorism[40]

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 isbecause 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 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"[41]. Another rationale for increased women involvementin 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

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

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

[41] Bloom, Mia. 2017. "Women and Terrorism." Politics.

response as compared to those carried out by males. This is particularly applicable when the main objectives of the terrorists is to attractthe media attention.[42]

2.4 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 include Kenya, Nigeria, Mali, Somalia, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, South Sudan, Central African Republic, etc. The Southern Region is however considered relatively stable.[43]

There is no clear definition of terrorism but the UN (1999) in Vázquez, et.al defined

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[42] ibid
[43] Blackwe llE.(2015),"Kenya and the Al-Shabaab Struggle", Available at: http://natoassociation.ca/kenya-andthe-al-Shabaab-struggle/ (Accessed 02, June 2020).

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 deportment.[44] 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 Jihad, and is the

English version of "Arabic Jamā'at ahl as-sunnah lid-da'wa wa-l-jihād."[45] The Boko Haram sect is not only a security threat in Nigeria, more so the Northern part of the

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[44] Campbell, J. (2014), "Kenya's Al-Shabaab Problem", Available at: https://www.cfr.org/blog/kenyas-alshabaab-problem (Accessed 11 June, 2017)
[45] Akinfala, Akinbode and Kemmer, 2014

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 organsdefinitely have a enormous task to subdue the vicious danger in the Nigeria.[46]

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").[47] 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 werepossibly 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 year.

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[46] 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.
[47] ibid

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 world[48]. 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.[49] 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 theseprominent terrorist organizations in Africa, it is essential to study their actions in order to support previous studies.[50]

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[48] 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-capturingimpact-terrorism-2002-2011. (Accessed 19 February, 2017).
[49] Chen, H., Reid, E., Sinai, J., Silke, A. and Ganor, B. (Eds) (2008). Terrorism informatics
[50] ibid

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter examined the trends in male and female involvement in terror activities inAfrica, changing trends of radicalization undertaken by terrorist groups, both voluntary and involuntary pathways to recruitment.

The chapter revealed that there is a change in the trends of 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 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.

In view of the above, it is important for governments to look at terrorism from a genderedlens 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

3.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the various differential roles played by 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 as perpetrators.

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 Autcher, 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. Autcher's school of thought 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 being 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 whole.[51] Studies show that women's role in terrorism has always been given less attention sincesociety perceives women as potential de-radicalizers, allies to the security, and repositories ofcommunal 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".[52]

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.[53] 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 contextof VE organizations, which were consistent with prevailing gender norms; women

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[51] Ibid

[52] 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.

[53] Agara, Tunde. "The Role of Woman in Terrorism and Investigation of Gendering Terrorism." Journal ofHumanities Insights 1, no. 02 (2017): 46-56.

are recruited to provide logistical and nurturing support.[54] 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.[55]

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 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". [56]

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 'passivewing' 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 reportat the time highlighted women's contribution in aiding the Mau Mau, whom colonial authorities labeled 'terrorists' as considerable.

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[54] 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.
[55] Ibid
[56] https://www.nation.co.ke/news/Terrorists-turn-to-female-suicide-bombers-in-new-trend/1056-5222218

The British administrators were alarmed by their role in the Mau Mau movement leading to detentions.[57] 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.[58] 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 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.[59]

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[57] Anderson, David M., and Øystein H. Rolandsen. "Violence as politics in eastern Africa, 1940–1990: legacy, agency, contingency." (2014): 539-557.
[58] Badurdeen, Fathima Azmiya. "Women who volunteer: a relative autonomy perspective in Al-Shabaab female recruitment in Kenya." Critical Studies on Terrorism (2020): 1-22.

[59] ibid

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.[60]

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.[61]

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

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

[61] ibid

livelihoods, kidnappings, and coercion by the terrorist network as factors that drove women to terrorism.[62]

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 toSomalia 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 tojoin 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.[63] 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. [64]

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[62] 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.
[63] Badurdeen, Fathima A. "Women and Recruitment in the Al-Shabaab Network: Stories of Women beingrecruited by Women Recruiters in the Coastal Region of Kenya." The
African Review 45, no. 1 (2018): 19-48.
[64] ibid

3.4   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.[65] 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 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

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[65]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.

grievances that contribute to radicalization. Violations of women's human rights, including neglecting the male gender, make them vulnerable and desperate to survive.[66]

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.[67]

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.[68] 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.

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

In Sudan, students left universities to fight for ISIS in Syria, with its (ISIS) leadership boasting about its widening international networks and outreach.[69] 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.

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.[70] 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.[71]

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

[70] Hellsten, Sirkku. Radicalization and terrorist recruitment among Kenya's youth. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2016.

[71] Sukhani, Piya. "The route to radicalisation for Malay-Muslim women: tracing the Nexus

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.[72] According to Reuters, reports from Somalia indicated that a former student of Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology (JKUAT), who is in al-Shabaab's power, is in the echelons of al-Shabaab was involved in the exterminatingof two Kenyan fighters accused of spying on behalf of the Kenyan government.[73]

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 ofradicalization and recruitment by terrorists in Somalia and Syria.[74]

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between universals and particulars in Malaysia." (2020).

[72] Monje, Fred, Esther Kisaakye, Alex Riolexus 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).

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

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

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. 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 supportersof violence has received relatively little attention.

CHAPTER FOUR

IMPACT OF WOMEN INVOLVEMENT IN INTERNATIONAL TERRORIST ORGANIZATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis on the impact of women involvement in international organization. The important step to understanding women's impact in the terrorism spectrum is to recognize their agency as well as their victimhood. For a long time, women were perceived only as the victims – direct or indirect – of male-dominated terrorist organizations and individual male terrorists. However, this narrow lens has given way over time to an acknowledgement among experts that women's involvement in terrorism is 'a complex phenomenon with no one pathway into involvement and no one catalyst that can explain all women in all movements'.[75]

4.2 Community level

This stigmatization of certain groups and community tension are particularly marked in places that have experienced a terrorist attack. The reported harassment of certain population groups by the police, terrorist attacks and sensationalized media reporting have, together, served to fuel suspicion and mistrust between Muslim and non-Muslim members of the affected communities.282 Community relations have suffered as a result, according to women in Kwale, with people living in fear and mistrust of one another.[76]

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[75] M Bloom, Bombshell: Women and Terrorism, Gender Issues, 28:1-2, 2011, 6

[76] FGD, Diani, Kwale, 26 September 2016

Tensions within communities have also been intensified by government activities. It is alleged that security agencies create suspicion between community members by publicly profiling ethnic Somalis and Muslims, amplifying existing grievances among these ethnic and religious groups. In addition, the government's response to violent extremism has strained relations between Kenyan security agencies and communities affected by violent extremism.

This tension between different groups in the same community has several implications. The crucial support networks that many women have grown accustomed to as an essential component of communal living are breaking down.

4.3 Relationships

Studies have shown that family relationships is a key predictor of women's involvement in an extremist group. These studies indicate that if a woman has a male relative who is already involved in an extremist group, then it 'exponentially increases the likelihood that she will be welcomed in that group'.[77] As Finthe et al have argued, current literature often views women as 'passive or coerced actors or supporters rather than active participants or perpetrators of terrorism and violent extremism'.[78]

Victimhood is usually a role assigned to women within the context of violent extremism, victimization can also be seen as one of the impacts of violent extremism on women in Kenya. As Sureya Roble-Hersi has noted, women experience the worst effects in all types of conflict situations. The likelihood of psychological trauma resulting from kidnapping or rape has been well documented. Akwash, for instance, argues that impaired memory

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[77] The changing nature of women in extremism and political violence, Freedom from Fear magazine, http://f3magazine. unicri.it/?p=1093.

[78] N Chowdhury Fink, S Zeiger and R Bhulai (eds), A Man's World? Exploring the Roles of Women in Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism, 2016, www.globalcenter. org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/AMansWorld_FULL.pdf.

and concentration, as well as recurring fear and anxiety, are some of the signs of the psychological impact of kidnapping,236 while 'devastating mental health problems' are 5.5 times more likely to occur in rape survivors than among the general population.[79]

The impact can also be seen on the safety of women in their surroundings. When attacks occur, women reported being forced to flee or hide.[80] Some women from Lamu were forced to hide in the Boni Forest, where they were vulnerable to being attacked.[81] Violent extremism can also result in trauma in families and trigger the break- up of family units. To give some examples, individuals suspected of links with extremist organizations have been ostracized by their own families;[82] families have experienced years of physical separation when husbands or children have left home to join al-Shabaab in Somalia;[83] families have been separated when suspects are arrested; many women have been widowed as a result of violent extremism, and some of them have been forced to remarry someone not of their choice;[84] and families have suffered when violent extremist acts are committed by someone within or close to the family.[85]

4.4 CONCLUSION

This section looked into the impact of women involvement in international terrorist organization. It is worth noting that with women involved the impact is felt at family and personal level which leads to disintegration of the family unit. At the community level there is victimization and profiling as an impact of their involvement in the terror groups.

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[79] D Kilpatrick, The Mental Health Impact of Rape, 2000, https://mainweb-v.musc.edu/vawprevention/research/mentalimpact.shtml.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Interview with government official, Nairobi, 3 October 2016.
[83] Interview with government official, Nairobi, 3 October 2016
[84] Ibid.
[85] FGD, Tiwi, Kwale, 23 September 2016; FGD, Mombasa,21 September 2016

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

5.1Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses the findings on the study topic. Globally, the main drivers behind women's involvement in violent extremism and terrorism are grievances with their economic and socio-political circumstances, the strong ties of relationships – family, kinship and romantic – and a commitment to and/or the oppression of religious or ideological beliefs. The interplay between these drivers and factors, which create the dynamics for women's involvement in violent extremism, is also reflected in the findings from this study

5.2 Economic issues

One woman explained that 'there are two types of al-Shabaab: those who recruit for ideological reasons and those who recruit for economic reasons'.[86] In the communities in which this research was undertaken, economic reasons were cited much more frequently than ideological reasons as the motivation for women to become involved with al-Shabaab.

Women from Majengo and Mombasa blame the poverty and unemployment in their communities for the radicalisation of their children and the inducement to join al-Shabaab.[87] They noted that al-Shabaab was taking advantage of this poverty by promising young people jobs, money and 'free stuff'.[88]Criminal groups are also taking advantage of the poor economic situation to exploit young women in these communities: one woman's 24-year-old daughter was promised a job in Oman by a fake employment agency. She is now being held in Oman

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[86] FBI, Three Defendants Arrested on Charges of Providing Material Support to a Foreign Terrorist Organization, July
2014, www.fbi.gov/contact-us/field-offices/washingtondc/ news/press-releases/three-defendants-arrested-on-charges-of-providing-material-support-to-a-foreign- terrorist-organization
[87] FGD, Mombasa, 21 September 2016.
[88] FGD, Majengo, Nairobi, 5 October 2016

and the fake agents are demanding Ksh40 000 (US$380) from her family in order to release her.[89]

Al-Shabaab has also capitalized on high levels of unemployment in the Coast Region by luring people with promises of jobs,[90] money[91] and other livelihood opportunities.[92] One woman explained that poverty was 'pushing people to AlShabaab; if one is earning Ksh3 000 [US$28] but is promised Ksh26 000 [US$250], that is a lot of money and the person will choose to join al-Shabaab'.[93] Two of the three woman returnees interviewed for this study left for Somalia to find work at a young age. One interviewee as illustrated below said that her need to find work led to her involvement with al-Shabaab.

"I am 24 years old and I was born in Garissa. I became involved with al-Shabaab when I was 20 years old. I went to college and high school. I became involved because I was jobless and needed a job. A friend took me to Mombasa where we stayed for some days before we got on a bus and were given a drink, after which I found myself in Barawa."

These findings support the views that 'idleness and under-employment may make youth far more receptive to the salaries and other material benefits which violent extremist organizations often provide',[94] and that poverty can be a powerful motivator for radicalization into violent extremism, especially in countries where poverty-stricken young people have few livelihood options other than that of joining a militant group'.[95]

In many cases, women's lack of formal education may limit the choice of employment or livelihood available to them and with which they have to provide this financial and material

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[90] FGD, Tiwi, Kwale, 23 September 2016
[91] FGD, Mpeketoni, 30 September 2016.
[92] Atle Mesøy, Poverty and radicalisation into violent extremism: a causal link? https://www.files.ethz.ch/ isn/158431/e60a8a679f48427d592a1906daf569d4.pdf.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Graff Corinne, Poverty, Development, and Violent Extremism in Weak States, https://www.brookings.edu/ wp-content/uploads/2016/06/2010_confronting_poverty.pdf.
[95] Ibid

support. In addition, men who have joined al-Shabaab in Somalia often stop providing for their families once they leave Kenya.[96] As a result, the loss of a breadwinner may also result in forced displacement and the loss or destruction of family assets, such as a house. Some women therefore choose to join their husbands in Somalia rather than succumb to poverty.[97]

Women are also drawn into violent extremism's sphere of influence through al-Shabaab's recruitment of husbands and sons who wish to escape poor areas. This means that whether they choose to or not, wives and mothers are almost inevitably caught up in playing roles that support violent extremists or their organizations. Poverty and lack of economic opportunity are the driving factors for involvement in violent extremism, and simultaneously the result of it.

Kenya has one of the highest youth unemployment rates in the region,[98] many of the youth in the study areas have no jobs and no prospects of finding employment. Many of the women from Majengo lamented the lack of livelihood options for their husbands and children, especially their sons. The women involved seem to be caught in the center of this web: not only are they vulnerable to the economic lure of joining an extremist group, but they are also doubly affected by the impact of violent extremism. This is because women experience the economic downturn of the communities affected by terrorist attacks as well as often losing their families' breadwinners to violent extremism, through death or recruitment.

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[96] FGD, Tiwi, Kwale, 23 September 2016.
[97] FGD, Diani, Kwale, 26 September 2016.
[98] World Bank Group, Kenya: From Economic Growth to Jobs and Shared Prosperity, March 2016, xiii, http://documents. worldbank.org/curated/en/763771468597384854/ pdf/103822-WP-Kenya-Country-Economic-Memorandum- PUBLIC.pdf.

Poverty is not only a driver of violent extremism, but is exacerbated and made more complicated because of violent extremism. The direct economic and social effects of violent extremism on individual households can include the death or loss of the household breadwinner, forced displacement and the loss or destruction of family assets, such as a house.

5.3 Governance

Studies have suggested that 'poorly governed or ungoverned areas may create passive or active support for extremist groups by communities who feel marginalized or neglected by a lack of government reach'.[99] In Kenya, it is unclear whether the investment in security responses by the central government has been equally matched with and balanced by a similar investment in development by the relevant county authorities in the areas affected by violent extremism. Women interviewed reported that their communities were both economically marginalized and socio-politically neglected by the government. Turner et al note that in places where 'armed violence is linked to social exclusion, diminishing investments in social services are likely to exacerbate tensions'.[100] And evidence from elsewhere in Africa suggests that these disadvantages make such communities particularly vulnerable to violent extremism, which promises income as well as a form of retaliation against a government that neglects their needs.[101].

The denial of their rights as citizens was also cited as a driving factor in radicalization. Two women in Lamu reported that their sons had been denied identity documents because they looked Somali.[102]Not being permitted a national identity document has major implications for

[99] P Justino and P Verwimp, Poverty dynamics, violent conflict and convergence in Rwanda,2006, https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/12dd/ a10e6ecfda99ba01ab87c53c95764bc24c19.pdf
[100] M Turner, J Ginifer and L Cliffe, The impact of armed violence on poverty and development, 2005, https:// bradscholars.brad.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/10454/1006/ AVPI_Synthesis_Report.pdf?sequence=1
[101] RC Cachalia, U Salifu and I Ndung'u, The dynamics of youth radicalisation in Africa: reviewing the current evidence, Institute for Security Studies, ISS Paper 296, August 2015.
[102] FGD, Lamu, 29 September 2016.

travel and access to higher education.[103]Ironically, the economic distress and unemployment in some of the areas covered in this study are as much a result of terrorist activities in the area as they are of perceived or real government neglect or marginalization.

5.4 Relationships

Studies have shown that relationships may be a key predictor of women's involvement in an extremist group. These studies indicate that if a woman has a male relative who is already involved in an extremist group, then it 'exponentially increases the likelihood that she will be welcomed in that group'.[104]

The returnees interviewed for this study did not appear to be inspired by ideological or religious factors in joining al-Shabaab. The primary motive for them, besides finding work, was to follow their partners and husbands to Somalia. This was echoed in the FGDs.[105] One woman reported that her brother's widow had gone to Somalia with their daughter to visit his grave; they have not returned.

The family fears that the child will not be educated and they have tried in vain to persuade the woman to return.[106]Some of the women in the FGDs revealed that their partners and sons were part of al-Shabaab in Somalia, and explained that young girls were at risk of radicalization by their partners or husbands.[107] In Majengo the girls who have left to join loved ones are reported to be as young as 16 or 19 years old.[108]

The findings also showed that some women were coerced into joining their husbands. One

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[103] Ibid.
[104] The changing nature of women in extremism and political violence, Freedom from Fear magazine, http://f3magazine. unicri.it/?p=1093.
[105] FGD, Majengo, Nairobi, 5 October 2016; FGD, Eastleigh, Nairobi, 7 October 2016.
[106] FGD, Majengo, Nairobi, 6 October 2016
[107] FGD, Majengo, Nairobi, 5 October 2016.
[108] FGD, Majengo, Nairobi, 5 October 2016; FGD, Eastleigh, Nairobi, 7 October 2016.

returnee indicated that she was forced to join her husband in Somalia by his friends – her husband had left for Somalia after they had been married for six months.[109] Respondents also noted that young girls were influenced by their peers and friends,[110] and there were reports of women being blackmailed, intimidated and kidnapped by people they knew so that they would join al-Shabaab.[111]

A senior CT official in Nairobi noted that most girls who were recruited to join al-Shabaab through personal relationships had no more than a primary school education.[112] However, other reports and data presented here indicate that educated young women are also being recruited.[113] For other women, joining their loved ones in Somalia was a choice that was actively made. A woman from Kwale explained that her 34-year-old cousin was radicalized by her husband and followed him to Somalia, where she has also joined al-Shabaab.[114]

As Fink et al have argued, current literature often views women as 'passive or coerced actors or supporters rather than active participants or perpetrators of terrorism and violent extremism'.[115] The findings from this study, however, suggest the women's motivations to join violent extremist organizations defy simplistic labelling, such as choice or coercion.

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[109] Interview with returnee, Mombasa, 21 September 2016.
[110] Interview with government official, Nairobi, 3 October 2016.
[111] FGD, Lamu, 29 September 2016; FGD, Garissa,
11 October 2016.
[112] Interview with government official, Mombasa,20 September 2016.
[113] UN, Women Against Violent Extremism, UN Counter- Terrorism Committee, open briefing on the role of women
in countering terrorism and violent extremism, 9 September 2015, www.un.org/en/sc/ctc/docs/2015/Open%20 Briefing%20Statement%20by%20Sureya%20Roble.pdf.
[114] FGD, Kwale, 26 September 2016.
[115] N Chowdhury Fink, S Zeiger and R Bhulai (eds), A Man's World? Exploring the Roles of Women in Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism, 2016, www.globalcenter. org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/AMansWorld_FULL.pdf

Economic factors, for instance, reduce the agency that women might have under more favorable circumstances and may lead them to make 'choices' they would not have had to make in other circumstances. Agency and coercion may apply at different stages of the process of becoming involved in extremist groups. Returnees interviewed for this study chose to travel to Somalia to search for jobs and be reunited with their loved ones. However, personal agency was later overtaken by coercion and the women became trapped in situations where they did not want to be

5.5 Ideology and Religion

Women in the FGDs suggested that youth radicalization was taking place in contexts where extremist ideologies were taught in mosques and madrassas.[116]This is especially the case in the Coast Region and Majengo where, because of low levels of education, young people may rely solely on religious instructors to interpret religious texts, leaving them vulnerable to manipulation.

There were reports that clerics from a mosque in Majengo suspected to be sympathetic to al-Shabaab were paying the school fees of children whose fathers had joined al-Shabaab or had been killed while fighting for the group. This has the potential to cause the mothers of these children to become economically dependent on such clerics.

The women in the study areas also stated that unscrupulous religious teachers used distorted narratives and extremist ideology to mislead children, teach only selected aspects of Islam, and misinterpret the Koran to radicalize the youth.[117]

Another woman described how her nephew, whom she had raised since he was very young,

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[116] A madrassa is an Islamic religious school that is often affiliated to a mosque.
[117]FGD, Diani, Kwale, 26 September 2016

had left for Somalia when he was a teenager. She explained that his behavior and attitude began to change after he had attended a madrassa for a few months, that he had become insulting towards her and criticized the way she dressed, saying she should be covering up.[118]

In Kwale, young people reportedly take oaths not to reveal what they are taught in madrassas and mosques, which, as the women respondents noted, makes it impossible for parents to keep abreast of and assess what they learn.[119]Mothers in the FGDs expressed a need to be made aware of the madrassa curriculum, so that they were able to provide guidance to their children, who may become exposed to controversial teachings.

Some experts contend that due to the influence they wield in their positions in families and communities, mothers can provide effective and powerful counter narratives to dangerous ideologies that may lead to the radicalization of their children. Others, however, have described this analysis as oversimplified.

Woman participants in the FGDs also explained that perceived injustices against Muslims, as well as media profiling, had created a feeling of oppression among Muslims, especially among their husbands and sons.[120]This feeling of persecution has resulted in Muslim women and men from these communities becoming defensive of their faith, and of themselves, given their sense of being under attack. One of the government officials was of the view that Muslim women were being radicalized because they were brought up with extremist teachings and were taught

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[118] Ibid
[119] FGD Tiwi, Kwale, 23 September 2016.
[120] SAVE, The Roles and Capabilities of Yemeni Women Against Violent Extremism, 2010, www.women-without- borders.org/save/reports/7/. Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, Preventing and countering violent extremism: The role
of women and women's organizations, in N Chowdhury Fink, S Zeiger and RA Bhulai (eds), A Man's World? Exploring the Roles of Women in Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism, Hedayah and The Global Center on Cooperative Security, 2016, www.globalcenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/AMansWorld_FULL.pdf

to accept everything that their husbands, fathers or brothers said.[121]However, none of the returnees in this study referred to being influenced or motivated by religious or ideological reasons to join al-Shabaab. As one Muslim woman noted: 'Islam is not terrorism; Islam is a religion but it has been misused to carry out terror attacks.'[122]

5.6 Impact of Radicalization On Women

The findings demonstrate that violent extremism has multiple, and often mutually reinforcing, effects on the lives of women in Kenya, and on their families, communities and the continuing dynamics of the affected areas.

5.6.1 Community level

The reported harassment of certain population groups by the police, terrorist attacks and sensationalized media reporting have, together, served to fuel suspicion and mistrust between Muslim and non-Muslim members of the affected communities.[123] Community relations have suffered as a result, according to women in Kwale, with people living in fear and mistrust of one another.[124]

This stigmatization of certain groups and community tension are particularly marked in places that have experienced a terrorist attack. For instance, the attack by three women on a police station in Mombasa described earlier in this report 'has created suspicion and mistrust of Muslim women within the community, both among themselves and by others'.[125] In Garissa and Mpeketoni, women described how terrorist attacks had damaged social cohesion and

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[121] Interview with government official, Mombasa,20 September 2016.
[122] FGD, Lamu, 29 September 2016.
[123] FGD, Mombasa, 21 September 2016
[124] FGD, Diani, Kwale, 26 September 2016.
[125] FGD, Tiwi, Kwale, 23 September 2016.

generated 'disaffection between Muslims and non-Muslims'.[126]

In Garissa it was reported that non-Muslims felt threatened by women in hijabs,286 and Muslim women in Majengo complained that they could not form support groups without being viewed and treated with fear and suspicion.[127]The attacks have therefore heightened differences between Christians and Muslims. The perception among some Christians that Muslims are terrorists has aggravated these tensions.[128]

Tensions within communities have also been intensified by government CT activities. Respondents alleged that security agencies created suspicion between community members by publicly profiling ethnic Somalis and Muslims, amplifying existing grievances among these ethnic and religious groups. In addition, the government's response to violent extremism has strained relations between Kenyan security agencies and communities affected by violent extremism.

Human rights abuses including enforced disappearances, torture, beating and extra-judicial killings of individuals suspected of links with al-Shabaab have been documented both by the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights and HRW.[129] This has led to fear of victimization, harassment and worse by security officials, and resentment in the communities affected by violent extremism.

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[126] Interview with government official, Garissa, 12 October2016; FGD, Garissa, 11 October 2016; FGD, Mpeketoni,
30 September 2016.
[127] FGD, Majengo, Nairobi, 5 September 2016.
[128] FGD, Lamu, 29 September 2016.
[129] Human Rights Watch, Kenya: Events of 2015, 2016, www. hrw.org/world-report/2016/country-chapters/kenya

The insecurity caused by terrorist attacks along Kenya's coastline has led to a decline in tourism in these areas, with many foreign governments issuing travel warnings to their citizens. Hotels have laid off workers or closed down, leading to an increase in unemployment and rising levels of poverty in the area.[130] Women who ran businesses that served the tourism industry, such as providing supplies to hotels, have lost their livelihoods.[131] In Lamu, the government-imposed security curfews have restricted fishing operations, leading to a decline in the catch that fishermen rely on for subsistence and to sell in order to earn a living.

In Mpeketoni, women described how people who usually brought food to sell in the area were coming less often for fear of being attacked en route, which has limited the availability of food in the area.[132] Similarly, in Lamu, the availability of basic commodities is limited because of the reduction in vehicles transporting basic goods to the area, and this has resulted in limited food supplies and increased food prices.300

5.6.2 Family and Personal Level

As Sureya Roble-Hersi has noted, women experience the worst effects in all types of conflict situations.[133]Victimhood is usually a role assigned to women within the context of violent extremism, but the findings of this study show that victimization can also be seen as one of the impacts of violent extremism on women in Kenya.

Sexual violence perpetrated by violent extremists was reported by the returnees as well as government officials. The returnees described being sexually abused by fighters during their time with al-Shabaab. Reports indicated that the women in the camps were forced to use

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[130] Interview with government official, Mombasa,20 September 2016; interview with government official, Diani, 26 September 2016
[131] Interview with government official, Mombasa, 20 September 2016.
[132] FGD, Mpeketoni, 30 September 2016.
[133] FGD, Lamu, 29 September 2016.

contraception, so they did not conceive, but that the men who raped them did not always use condoms, resulting in one of the returnees reporting having contracted HIV.

As well as rape, forced marriage to extremist fighters was also reported. A senior police investigator in Nairobi said that 2% of cases handled countrywide involved girls, recruited between the ages of 14 and 16, who had been forced to marry fighters. He described a 2008 case in which two 16-year-old female recruits were forced to marry fighters whom they had never met, and both were widowed at a young age.[134] These young girls would then have been forced to marry another fighter because 'when a woman loses her husband in Somalia, she is passed on to another man'.[135]

The likelihood of psychological trauma resulting from kidnapping or rape has been well documented. Akwash, for instance, argues that impaired memory and concentration, as well as recurring fear and anxiety, are some of the signs of the psychological impact of kidnapping,[136] while 'devastating mental health problems' are 5.5 times more likely to occur in rape survivors than among the general population.[137]

One of the returnees interviewed for this study, who reported being held against her will and sexually abused, showed signs of concentration difficulties during the interview and said she had experienced memory loss. This particular returnee is currently on antiretroviral drugs (ARVs) and is receiving counselling, but one of the other returnees reported that she was too afraid to seek counselling, putting her at risk of mental and physical health problems. Although

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[134] Interview with government official, Nairobi, 3 October 2016.
[135] Ibid.
[136] FA Akwash, The Psychological impact of Kidnapping, Scholarly Journal of Science Research and Essay, 5:1, March 2106, 1-5, www.scholarly-journals.com/sjsre/ publications/2016/March/pdf/Akwash.pdf.
[137] D Kilpatrick, The Mental Health Impact of Rape, 2000, https://mainweb-v.musc.edu/vawprevention/research/ mentalimpact.shtml.

the psychological impact of violent extremism cannot be assessed by this study, there is evidence from respondents that violent extremism can have serious mental and subsequently physical health implications.[138]

In addition, whether they are involved in violent extremism or not, women in the affected communities live in constant fear for themselves and for their families of violent attacks, the actions and attitudes of security agencies, stigmatization or reprisals from community members, and of the extremists. This trauma reverberates through the different aspects of women's lives and influences their day-to-day interactions. Some women in Eastleigh impose curfews on their children, making sure they are home by 18:00 each day.[139] In the Diani region of Kwale County, some women have relocated from their homes as a result of the violence in the areas in which they lived. They described how they were not coping with the stress and fear in their daily lives. In Majengo and the Coast Region, women live in persistent fear of retaliatory terrorist attacks perpetrated by both violent extremists and returnees, and have to be constantly vigilant.[140]

5.7 Roles Women Play in Aiding the Terror Organizations

5.7.1 Supporters and Facilitators

The findings show that women are far more actively involved in violent extremism in non-combative or indirect roles, and that they provide the 'invisible infrastructure' for al-Shabaab by enabling, supporting and facilitating violent extremism through a number of roles and activities.[141]Participants in the FGDs cited women who use their positions as wives, sisters and

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[138] FGD, Lamu, 29 September 2016.
[139] FGD, Eastleigh, Nairobi, 7 October 2016.
[140] FGD, Majengo, Nairobi, 6 October 2016.
[141] M Sageman, Understanding Jihadi Networks, Strategic Insights, IV:4, April 2005, http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/ awcgate/nps/sageman_apr05.pdf.

mothers to recruit.[142]   In Majengo, it was reported that a female recruiter is well known for luring the youth ,young men in particular to join al-Shabaab with the promise of jobs.[143]

Respondents viewed women who played a role as recruiters through the lens of two age-old female stereotypes: mother and temptress. Those who used their influence in the home as the familial 'custodians of cultural, social and religious values'[144]were seen in their domestic roles as mothers and wives; those who recruited in a context external to the home, such as in the refugee camps, were seen as temptresses 'luring' young men with false promises.

Many government respondents reported that women played operational roles as intelligence gatherers and spies for al-Shabaab.[145]   They said women were 'used to collect information and surveillance because they are viewed with less suspicion' and 'pass this information on to others'.[146] One official claimed that 'women are part of Amniyat, the intelligence wing of al-Shabaab'.[147] Women were also seen as playing other supporting roles for violent extremist organizations or for the men who fight for these organizations.[148]

[142]FGD Majengo, Nairobi, 5 October 2016.
[143]Ibid.
[144] N Chowdhury Fink, R Barakat and L Shetret, The Roles of Women in Terrorism, Conflict, and Violent Extremism: Lessons for the United Nations and International Actors, Center on Global Counterterrorism Cooperation, April
2013, 4
[145] Interview with government official, Kwale, 25 September 2016.
[146] Interview with government official, Mombasa,20 September 2016; interview with government official,17 October 2016.
[147]Interview with government official, Garissa, 12 October 2016.
[148] Interview with government official, Mombasa, 20 September 2016.

The kinds of support include providing shelter for or hiding terrorists;[149] taking food to their family members who have been arrested on terror-related charges or preparing food for violent extremists;[150] financing terrorism by arranging financial transactions;[151] and providing medical care in the refugee camp in Dadaab for extremists who have been injured in Somalia. Government officials noted how women may keep terrorists 'company' or 'comfort' them.[152]

In less euphemistic terms, this usually means marriage, which often happens among the extremists' networks of relatives and friends, as reportedby security agents from the Coast Region, Garissa and Nairobi. This reflects Sageman's contention that members of extremist groups tend to solidify their participation by marrying the sisters of other members.[153]

The involvement of women as enablers and sympathisers of violent extremism is a complex issue, and aptly summarised by an Anti-Terror Police Unit (ATPU) officer in Nairobi:

"Some women are caught between a rock and a hard place. They are the caregivers to the terrorist and play a supportive role; they are facilitators because they are least suspected. Mothers quietly try to prevail on their sons and husbands to prevent their involvement, but it is difficult for women to persuade the men to stop. The wave of the ideology is very appealing [and] some people end up believing 100%. When al-Shabaab warns them, they fear the group and cannot talk. No one will protect the women if the information is leaked. Fear [of the police] prevents the disclosure of information especially when police are corrupt and take money from people."[154]

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149 Interview with government official, Diani, 26 September 2016; interview with government official, Nairobi, 4 October2016.
150 Interview with government official, Lamu, 1 October 2016; interview with government official, Nairobi, 4 October 2016
151 Interview with government official, Diani, 26 September 2016.
152 Interview with government official, Nairobi, 4 October 2016; interview with government official, Garissa, 12 October2016.
153 M Sageman, Understanding Jihadi Networks, Strategic Insights, IV:4, April 2005, www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/ nps/sageman_apr05.pdf.
154 Interview with government official, Nairobi, 4 October 2016.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This study aimed to explore, in the context of relevant sites in Kenya, the roles that women play in relation to violent terror groups, the impacts of violent extremism on women, and sociocultural, economic and political factors affecting women as a result of their involvement in terror organizations. In keeping with the study's focus on women, this section provides conclusions and recommendations that pertain specifically to women in the interventions against violent extremism in Kenya.

6.2 CONCLUSION

For some time, women were perceived simply as the victims of violent extremism. As more attention has been paid to the issue, it has become clear that women play multiple and complex roles in relation to violent extremism, along a spectrum

that extends from their roles as perpetrators of violent acts through to their roles in shaping policy to prevent or counter violent extremism.

As actors, women commit, support, facilitate, prevent and counter violent extremist acts. The findings of this study show that the roles women play are intricately connected to their broader socio-economic, individual, cultural and political contexts, but at the same time these roles are deeply nuanced and cannot be generalized across the board. However, the motivation and the extent of this phenomenon requires further interrogation.

The social and psychological impact of violent extremism on women in Kenya requires urgent attention if the cycle of victimization and violence is to be stopped. This includes efforts aimed at healing the trauma of women who have been affected by violent extremism, and initiatives geared towards repairing tears in the social fabric of Kenyan society.

Taking into account the development-security nexus as well as the dynamic formed from the interdependent web of drivers, impacts and responses, it is imperative that stakeholders in this sector in Kenya adopt a broader socio-economic approach to the problem, but at the same time ensure that efforts at the community level are context-driven and multi-method-based.

Urgent attention is needed to prioritize women in the context of violent extremism in Kenya and to widen the lens through which women's connections with violent extremism are perceived. Failure to do so will hamper efforts to comprehensively address the changing nature of violent extremism as well as the multifaceted impact of violent extremism in Kenya. It would be a missed opportunity to fully engage women in effective efforts to counter violent extremism in society.

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 terrorismin 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.

6.3 Recommendations

The study makes the following academic and policy recommendations:

6.3.1 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.

6.3.2 Policy Recommendations

The Ministry of Interior and Co-ordination of National 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.

6.4 Areas for further study

This study recommends that further research be conducted on the effectiveness of the Kenya and Nigeria'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.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Introductory letter

Dear respondent,

The questionnaire and interview guide is aimed at collecting data for research purpose on the assessment of the THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN TERROR ORGANIZATIONS IN AFRICA: KENYA AND NIGERIA. The research will be in the fulfilment of the requirement for the award of the degree of Master in Arts in International Conflict Management. 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,

Elvis Githinji Mwangi

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INTERVIEW GUIDES FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Appendix 1: Focus Group Questionnaire for Women

Date:………………………………………………………….

Venue:………………………………………………………….

Participants during interview: ……………………………….

Language of interview:…………………………………………

Questions:

1. Have you encountered terrorism in your community? Describe the nature of the experience?

2. Through what processes do women/people become involved in terrorist activity?

3. In your experience, has terrorism brought about any changes in your community and has this benefited or damaged your community? (physical, psychological and economic impact)

4. If it has caused damage, how do you cope?

5. In your experience, how do other women in your community cope with problems caused by terrorism?

6. In what ways are women participating in terrorism in your community?

7. In your view, how are girls involved or impacted by terrorism?

8. In your view, what impact, if any, have counterterrorism efforts had in your community?

9. What do you think needs to be done to address the problems experienced?

10. What are women doing to address the situation? Are these activities working?

Appendix II Questionnaire for Returnees from The Terrorist Groups

Venue: …………………………………………..

Interview participants: …………………………………

Age of respondent:…………………………………………..

Language of interview: ……………………………………………………

Was the informed consent procedure completed: Yes/No

1. Where were you born (place of birth)?..

2. Did you grow up with both your parents? If not, who?..

3. Please describe your childhood, Home circumstances – rural, urban, settlement type, financial

4. circumstances of family (was there enough money for school fees, food, clothes etc.)

5. Did you have a stable home or did you move geographically? If so, how many times, and from where to where?

6. Who did you socialize with growing up (extended family, friends of parents, school friends etc.)?

7. Was there any parental substance abuse or domestic violence in the home?

8. Was there any loss/death of parents or other family members?

9. What type of school did you attend: public, private, religious (Christian or Islamic)?

10. What was the emphasis at the school you attended (regular curriculum, religious teachings)?

11. How many years did you attend school? What level did you reach? What did you study?

12. Describe your relationship with your peers at school, including any intimate relationships and any instances of bullying.

13. Please describe your relationships with your teachers, including discipline or physical abuse at school.

14. Have you ever been employed? If so: when, for how long, in what job, and why did you leave that job? If unemployed: did you stay at home or did you actively seek work?

15. With whom, where and under what circumstances do you currently live?

16. Have you ever used or abused substances (drugs, alcohol)?

17. What do you do for fun, relaxation, and recreation?

18. Was your family religious when you were growing up? Which religion did you practice? Was anyone in your family actively involved in your religion or considered a religious leader?

19. Did you have contact with people from other religions while you were growing up (at school or socially)? Did you have friends from other religions while you were growing up?

20. What is your current religion? How important is your religion to you?

21. Have you ever converted from one religion to another? If so, what were your reasons for converting?

22. Do you believe your religion is under threat? If yes, what type of threat (discrimination, violence, ideological)? Who is the main agent of the threat (government, other enemy, external enemy)?

23. What do you feel about other religions? Do you have friends from other religions? Would you ever marry someone from another religion?

24. What ethnic/tribal group do you belong to?

25. Do you feel discriminated against for belonging to this particular ethnic/tribal group?

26. Do you believe that your tribal/ethnic group is currently under threat? If yes, what type of threat (discrimination, violence, ideological)? Who is the main agent of the threat (government, other enemy, external enemy)?

27. At what age did you become involved in an extremist organisation?

28. Can you describe the circumstances and thought processes that led you to become involved in an extremist organisation?

29. What was your primary reason for joining the organisation (i.e. religious,economic, political, adventure, personal)? Did you travel to join the group? Can you describe your journey there?

30. Was anyone in your family aware of your involvement? If yes, who? Did they support your involvement? If no, what was their reaction when they found out?

31. Did you join the group with anyone else?

32. Did you recruit anyone else (including family) to join the organisation?

33. Did you feel a sense of belonging once you joined the organisation? what aspects of the organisation or people in the organisation gave you this sense of belonging?

34. Can you explain why and how you left the extremist organisation?

35. Can you describe your journey home?

36. Can you describe the reaction of your family and community when you returned home?

37. Do you still feel yourself to be a part of the organisation, or have you severed ties with the organisation?

38. What do you think of the current initiatives in your community that work to counter extremism/the activities of organisations such as those you joined?

39. What do you think should be done in your community about groups like the one you were part of?

40. What kind of support do you think is needed in your community and for women like you to respond to the actions of groups like the one you were part of?

Appendix III: QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS

Date of focus group:

Location:

People present during interview:

Language of interview:

Was the informed consent procedure completed: Yes/No

Questions:

1. How are civil society organisations currently contributing to preventing and responding to violent extremism in Kenya?

2. What interventions are specifically focused on matters relating to gender, or focused on women and girls specifically?

3. How do current civil society programmes specifically identify what roles women play in violent extremism and terrorism?

4. Do you think that the many roles that women and girls may play, and the impacts on them, are fully addressed?

5. What are the current general strengths and weaknesses of civil society programmes relating to preventing and responding to the threat of terror groups activities?

6. In what ways do donors and civil society actors work with or complement government efforts in addressing radicalisation and terrorism in Kenya? Is this sufficient, and what else should be done?

7. In your view, what impact are current counterterrorism efforts having? Is this sufficient, and what more needs to be done?

8. What are your recommendations for future actions to address women and girls involvement in terrorism acts in Kenya?

Appendix IVQUESTIONNAIRE FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Date of interview:

Location:

People present during interview:

Language of interview:

Questions:

1. Can you describe to us what the government understands by the concept of terror organizations?

2. How do terror organizations manifest in Kenya?

3. In your view, how has these terror organizations impacted on women and girls in Kenya general?

4. In your views, what are the different roles that women and girls play in the context of terrorism in Kenya? How do you know this?

5. Which regions and communities have been directly and most significantly affected by terrorist activity?

6. From your knowledge, what are the current government initiatives to respond to terrorism in Kenya and affected communities?

7. Are women (government or otherwise) involved in conceptualising, formulating, drafting, or implementing government programmes or initiatives to respond to terrorism in Kenya?

8. Do current policies and programmes adequately address the many ways that women and girls are involved or affected?

9. What more, in your view, should be done in relation to empowering women and girls in affected communities? Who should do this?

10. What kind of support do women need to respond to terrorism?

11. What kind of support does the government need to respond to terrorism?