

**KANTIAN PERSPECTIVE IN MITIGATING RADICALISATION IN KENYAN
SECONDARY SCHOOLS**

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research project is my original work, and has not been presented for the award of any degree of this or any other University or College.

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DEDICATION

To my late grandmother Agnes Inyanji though never attended any formal schooling but encouraged me to work hard until my academic star shines on hill tops. Beloved dad Elisha Mwenesi who untimely left us when I was about to complete this project.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the role that education can play in mitigating radicalisation of students. The violent acts of radicalisation have caused diverse effects in education sector in Kenya. The research uses Kant's philosophy of categorical imperative as its theoretical framework. The theory states that we should always treat people as an end rather than means to an end. The research reveals that the focus on training of highly skilled labour at the expense of instilling values in learners, makes it possible for radical elements to target them and use them as means for their political end. As a result of this their dignity is denied. To sort out the problem, the research proposes pedagogical reorientation, a pedagogy that will instill a critical mind to the learners and make them autonomous rather than heteronymous. The study also recommends that Kant's categorical imperative be adopted as a philosophical base for education in Kenya, whereby the curriculum be readjusted to embrace peace education and finally integration of different religions in Kenya so as to be taught as single subject which is to be renamed Religious Studies.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	I
DEDICATION	II
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	III
ABSTRACT	IV
TABLE OF CONTENTS	V
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 Background to the study	1
1.1 Statement of the problem.....	8
1.2 Objectives of the study	9
1.3 Research questions	9
1.4 The theoretical framework.....	10
1.5 Significance of the study	12
1.6 Limitations to the study	12
1.7 Delimitations of the study.....	13
1.8 Assumption of the study	13
1.9 Methodology.....	14
1.10 Organisation of the study/Literature review	15
CHAPTER TWO	17
KANT ON MORAL EDUCATION	17
2.0 Introduction	17

2.1 The concept of moral education	17
2.2 Kantian Deontology.....	23
2.3 Deontology and moral education.....	26
2.4 Kantian’s autonomy and education	28
2.5 Kant’s dignity and education.....	31
2.6 Conclusion.....	34
CHAPTER THREE.....	35
THE CONCEPT OF RADICALISATION	35
3.0 Introduction	35
3.1 Process and components of radicalisation	35
3.3 Radical ideologies.....	41
3.4 Role of the social media in radicalism.....	48
CHAPTER FOUR.....	53
THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN MITIGATING RADICALISM	
BASED ON KANTIAN PHILOSOPHY.....	53
4.0 Introduction	53
4.1 Education for an end.....	54
4.2 Pedagogical re-orientation.....	55
4.3 Curriculum re-orientation	58
4.3.1 Restructuring of religious studies.....	59
4.3.2 Ethics in secondary education.....	60

4.3.4 Literature	61
4.4 Role of parents and teachers	62
4.5 Conclusions	63
CHAPTER FIVE	64
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	64
5.0 Introduction	64
5.1 Summary.....	64
5.2 Conclusion.....	67
5.3 Recommendations	68
REFERENCES	69

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background to the study

In recent times, there has been a worrisome phenomenon which has assumed global dimension and has engaged the attention and concern of governments, civil society, security agencies and institutions; a phenomenon which has been described as radicalisation of ideals. This involves a strong rejection of the status quo by adopting an extreme religious and/or political ideology as well as employing violence as an instrument of actualising its ideological goals and objectives (Margarita and Gray, 2014). The violent aspect of radicalisation has greatly decimated populations, maimed innocent citizens and destroyed unqualified number of property (Nafwor and Nwoga, 2015). This negatively affects the social-economic and political development of affected nations.

The revolution that overthrew the Shah Islam of Iran and the founding of the republic of Iran brought a change in the Islamic world. Following the political, diplomatic and ideological altercations that the leaders of Islamic revolution started having with western powers, especially the US (Paul, 2011). Western powers sought to contain the influence of the Islamic government of Iran which was sending shock waves and inspiring Islamic theocracy across the Muslim world. The Iranian ideology was based Shia ideology (Paul, 2011). The soviet invasion of Afghanistan in the 1980s which led to later emergence of

Osama bin Laden and al-Qaeda also escalated the rise of radicalism (Botha, 2014). Osama bin Laden felt that the west was domineering and interfering with the Muslim world.

This was exacerbated by the Saudi invitation to the west, and the US in particular, to send troops to Saudi Arabia to drive the Iraqis out of Kuwait in 1991, which bin Laden saw as a defilement of holy Islamic territory by infidels (Mecca, the holiest of Islamic sites). Since the al-Qaeda attack in September 11, 2001 in New York, radicalisation into violent extremism among youngsters has been on the ascendancy, spreading so fast to many parts of the world in different guise and forms, for instance in Afghanistan and Yemen they operate as Taliban and Al-Qaeda. In Syria and Iraq there is ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria); in Nigeria Boko Haram (western education is evil), and in Somali and Kenya Al-Shabaab (meaning youth). All these Islamic extremist groups focus on radicalisation of young people with a view to achieving their ambitions through terrorism (Nafwor and Nwoga, 2015).

In this case young men are being used as means to an end by these radical leaders. As noted by Kant children should be seen as persons and not things because they are endowed with freedom. Children just like adults have a right to autonomy and any violation to this right is tantamount to violation of their dignity Giesinger (2011). Kant's philosophy has some bases which he outlines as categorical imperatives. It advocates moral duties for duties sake and not for exterior motives (Obo, 2009).

Institutions in western countries have undertaken research in recent years to understand the causes of youth radicalisation (Odhiambo et al., 2013). For instance, in January 2012, a report from The United Kingdom House of Commons Home Affairs Committee titled 'Roots of Violent Radicalisation' noted that mosques and religious institutions account for less than two per cent of the total cases of radicalisation in United Kingdom (Mohammad, 2011). On the other hand Ploch (2012) observes that radicalisation in western nations is not generally driven by poverty or religious fanaticism nor driven by political oppression. He claims that most of the villains were well educated, middle class and well integrated individuals driven by 'perceived suffering of their brothers in the Islamic world. According to Adam (2014), ISIS has recruited at least 1500 Britons to fight in Iraq and Syria.

As claimed by Kadhi (2014) radicalisation is not a threat to society if it is not connected to violence or other unlawful acts. Nafwor (2010) supports this by stating that Socrates for instance was accused among other things, of corrupting the youths with his teachings. Socrates was described as a villainous miss-leader and corrupter of the youth. This was intellectual radicalisation without any political or religious underpinning which caused Athenian leaders of that time a great concern because the youths who had been radicalised had begun to question some ethical ideals (Okoh, 2003). More so radicalisation can actually be a force for beneficial change. Remarkable historical events have been an outcome of some form of radicalisation and the mindset that accompanies it. Martin Luther King, the great American civil rights activist and leader was considered

a radical as were a host of other people that we now view as important and entirely legitimate historical figures, from Moses in the Bible, Mohamed and Jesus to Gandhi, Nelson Mandela, among many others (Neumann and Rodgers, 2007).

Radicalisation in Eastern Africa has long historical roots and the radical Islam has been the frontier of radicalisation. This has been manifested by the spread of Salafi and Wahhabi ideologies which put pressure on the traditional Sufi practices and the emergence of extremist and terrorist groups influenced by these ideologies (Rabasa, 2009). The development of radical Islam is due to the confluence of a number of socio-political factors including Muslim reaction to perceived threats to Islam; Christian missionary activity, the military coup in Sudan of 1989, the collapse of the Somalia state in 1991 and the onset of the US-led global war on terror (Rabasa, 2009). In early 1990s, Sudan's regime became the first sponsor of radical Islam in Africa. The regime invited Osama bin Laden and several Afghan Arabs to settle in Sudan.

In Kenya, the history of community radicalism in the post-independence era is perhaps longest at the coast, attributed chiefly to historical grievances. For instance, most people at the coast feel the government has marginalised them. There also has been deliberate process of disempowerment in locally generated jobs such as those at the port. These grievances have made youth to be vulnerable to recruitment by radical elements (Kimathi, 2011). Apart from that international religious factors especially the ongoing Jihad in neighbouring Somalia. Politicians and other interested parties are mobilising

young men to adopt extreme views even demanding autonomy for the coast region. The youth are being radicalised to take over from the 'exploiting' class from the upcountry. They erroneously point to the agreement of the 10 mile coastal strip that guaranteed the coast autonomy from the state of Kenya. This led to formation of Mombasa Republican council (MRC). Like many other Muslims in various parts of the world, young Kenyan Muslims have been indoctrinated to join global campaign against Islam. By promoting universal Muslim brotherhood, the Hanbali group of Islam started to oppose the Shafi making the local Muslim starting to feel the situation in Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine as problem affecting all Muslims in the world. So many young men were radicalised to join into the global war against the invasion of the soviet into their Muslim word (Botha 2014).

As a result of radicalisation Kenya has suffered several attacks. A few of these attacks are: When Al-Qaeda simultaneously attacked the United States of America Embassy in Nairobi in August, 1998 and United Embassy in Dar es Salaam that left 213 and 12 people dead, respectively. The 2002 simultaneous attacks in Mombasa on the Israel-owned Paradise Hotel leaving 15 people dead and on an Israel bound aircraft at takeoff from Mombasa international Airport (Odhiambo et al., 2013).

Violent Extremist Organizations (VEOs) like Al-Shabaab terror group cannot sustain themselves without young recruits (Odhiambo et al., 2013). As claimed by Kitur (2015), Al-Shabaab has now changed their approach of radicalisation whereby male students join

the group as combatants and women as Jihad brides. Thunguri & Ndethya (2015) have further supported this argument by asserting that secondary schools in Kenya are under siege of neo-criminal activities which are building up.

Why would they target the learners? Then there should be a gap in the education system that is making this violent extremists capitalise on learners. It is quite alarming to find out that a brilliant university graduate with a bright future was among the terror group that killed 147 students in Garrisa University. Somalia's Al-Shabaab militants are recruiting heavily in north-eastern Kenya as noted by Allen (2015). The recruitment marks a new tactic for Al-Shabaab, underscoring fears as voiced by Kenyan intelligence services and members of parliament (MPs).

Mukinde (2015) reported that information from government security agencies had at least six schools which were under scrutiny after some of their students dropped to join the terrorist groups in Syria and Somalia. Among these were: Isiolo boys high school, Marsabit mixed secondary school and Moi girls Secondary school in Marsabit. Others from western were Koseka secondary, Birunda PAG primary and St Patrick Bumula secondary school.

Several measures have been put in place to counter radicalism in Kenya however these measures have not borne meaningful results that fully tackle the issue. Munyangwa et al. (2012) noted that although the countries in East Africa have made significant progress to develop coherent counter terrorism approaches in the region, many challenges still

remain. Among them is youth radicalisation. Others are lack of state capacity, competing national priorities, political instability among others.

The government of Kenya has always been accused of using excessive force in dealing with the problem. Odhiambo et al. (2013) noted that following such attacks by terrorist, security forces react heavily and this leads to a spate of riots. For example, the killing of two controversial Muslim clergy believed to be behind the jihadist ideology led to serious riots in Mombasa. Such riots have resulted in the burning of churches and the killing of people thought or suspected to be Christians. Political factors have pushed Muslim youths to join extremist groups as a counter-reaction to or in retaliation against what they see as 'collective punishment' driven by a misguided perception around the world that all Muslims are terrorists or potential terrorists (Odhiambo et al., 2013). The politicization of the issue of terror also makes it had to tackle the menace (Okari, 2014). As part of the Kenyan government's efforts to enlist the help of the Muslim community to fight the radicalisation of Kenyan youth, an amnesty has been offered to young Kenyan men who have been lured into joining Al-Shabaab. However there is widespread mistrust of the security agencies and this hinders progress (Allen, 2015).

Kant states that we should respect the humanity in others and should always act in accordance with rules that would hold for everyone (Platon, 1971). He further notes that people should always be treated as an end and never simply as means to an end. This study adopts Kantian's Principal of categorical imperative as one of the approach in

mitigating radicalisation in Kenyan secondary school. The basic principal of education according to Kant is that children should be educated as ends themselves and not used as means to an end. Their dignity should be respected.

1.1 Statement of the problem

Radicalisation of the students is alarmist in education sector in Kenya today. Cases of young people quitting schools and joining Violent Extremists Organisations and later come to execute several terror attacks in various parts of the country is causing concern. The effects of radicalisation that lead to terrorism have negatively affected the country in several ways; the travel advisory given by western countries have adversely affected the country's tourism sector which has been one of the major sources of revenue in the country, more so, the education sector in terror prone parts of the country has been negatively affected, nonresident teachers have been transferred to other places due to insecurity. Several measures have been taken into account to address the issue of radicalism such as provision of amnesty to those who joined the extremist groups, the use of security forces to fish out the gang and their sympathisers and the use of religious clerics such as the sheikhs. All these have had little or no effect in addressing the vice since the security forces have been accused of using excessive force and some of the religious leaders mostly the Sheikhs are used in recruiting the terror gang. The terror gang now targets learners in Kenyan secondary as their recruits and later use them to come and commit terror attacks in the country.

The study proposes Kantian perspective in mitigating radicalisation in Kenyan secondary schools. Kantian perspective is a deontological ethics. According to deontologists morality is a matter of duty. The study focuses on Kant's maxim which states that we act generally in such a way that we treat humanity as an end but not as a means to an end. This should be the basic ethical principal of education in Kenya. Children should according to this principle be educated as ends in themselves and not used as mere means for the ends. Their dignity should be respected.

1.2 Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study were:

- i) to explain the causes of radicalising of students in Kenyan secondary schools;
- ii) to examine the role played by education in mitigating radicalisation; and
- iii) to determine possible ways of mitigating radicalisation through education in Kenyan secondary schools based on Kantian philosophy.

1.3 Research questions

This study attempts to answer the following three questions:

- i. What are the causes of radicalisation of students in Kenyan secondary schools?
- ii. What role does education play in mitigating radicalisation in Kenyan secondary schools?

- iii. What are the possible ways of mitigating radicalism in Kenyan secondary schools through Kantian philosophy?

1.4 The theoretical framework

The study was based on deontology as a moral theory. Deontological ethics or deontology from the Greek word *deon* meaning obligation or duty is the normative ethical position that judges the morality of an action based on the action adherence to a rule or rules (Darwall, 2006). Giesenger (2012) notes that an action done from duty derives its moral worth not from the maxim by which it is determined and therefore does not depend on the realisation of the object of action, but merely on the principle of volition by which the action took place without referred to any object of desire. Paton (1971) on the other hand asserts that obligation is the necessity of free action when viewed in relation to a categorical imperative of reason. In nature of being rational agent that is having possession of practical reason we are obliged to follow the moral law that practical reason prescribes.

This study therefore put emphasis on the categorical imperative of reason. This is a universal principle stating that one should always respect the humanity in others and should always act in accordance with rules that could hold for everyone (Paton, 1971). It is a way we determine what our duties are. What we should do and should not do. The research focused only on two maxims of categorical imperative.

The first formulation states that, act only in accordance with that maxim through which you can at the same time will that become universal law (Paton, 1971). This implies that whatever our actions are they should meet the approval of morals across the entire world. A maxim in this case is a general rule that can be used to determine particular courses of actions in particular circumstances. This universal law formulation indicates that an action is morally permissible only if the maxim on which an action is based could be affirmed as a universal law that everyone obeys without exception. For instance you can't make it a law to kill others if you are frustrated.

The second formulation, act in such a way that you treat humanity, whether in your own person or in person of another always at the same time as an end and never simply as a means to an end (Paton, 1971). This implies that people should be treated with dignity and not as mere instruments. We treat people as an end whenever our actions towards them reflect inherent value of the recipient.

On the contrary people are treated as means to an end whenever we treat them as a tool to achieve something else. Stealing your neighbours' car is treating them as a means since it would be treating them as means to achieve our own happiness. The theory also regulates morality of actions that affect's individuals and this makes it relevant for this study. Suicide for instance is wrong since it would be treating individual's life as a means to the alleviation of one's misery.

Actions should be based on duty and not emotions, pleasure and inclination. Pleasure cannot be the main part of your motivation for duty and the action.

It is worth noting that most of the radical groups have leaders who have been harbouring deep desires within their hearts to hold power and dominate others (Rosenbaum, 1975). This makes this theory relevant. These leaders secure blind submission of their compatriots by promoting a particular ideology. They would therefore want to use this by recruiting followers to achieve their ends. Botha (2013) argued that the radical groups were using new recruits who did not have full knowledge of the Koran to carry out terror attacks.

1.5 Significance of the study

This study addresses the philosophical approach to the issue of terror and radicalisation of students in schools and how education can be used to tackle the problem. The suggestions given to the study on how to mitigate the threat of radicalisation will benefit the stake holders among them teachers, education managers and guardians. The study can be used to enhance the development of a curriculum that addresses the issue of radicalism in schools.

1.6 Limitations to the study

Limitations are issues outside the study that we cannot control. The study focuses on how radicalisation can be mitigated through education more so in secondary schools, however

there are other forces outside education system that influence radicalisation which the study cannot address. These are:

- i. Radicalisation that takes place through Madrasas by some of the Islamic clerics.
- ii. Porous borders at Kenyan Somali boarder that makes it easy for A-Shabaab to cross into the country and carry out attacks.
- iii. Corruption that takes place on our Kenyan borders and refugee camps which makes it easy for non- Kenyans access the national identity card.

1.7 Delimitations of the study

Delimitations are issues within the study that we have control over. The study is restricted to education. It is further narrowed down to philosophy of education as a discipline. This paper discussed only the aspects of radicalisation and how education can help in its mitigating.

1.8 Assumption of the study

This study assumes that the following statements are true and valid:

- i. Human nature is inherently evil.
- ii. Although humans have a natural propensity to do what is right, the tendency is constantly overshadowed by propensity to engage in morally corrupt behaviour.

1.9 Methodology

The critical method is applied in this study with the view of formulating a practicable strategy for mitigating radicalism in Kenyan secondary schools. As Njoroge and Bennaars (1986) state, the critical method in philosophical inquiry is based on a questioning attitude. The method was propounded by Socrates, the great philosopher.

As noted by Rosen and Brethren (1982) the critical method is a careful analysis of premise to find issues that have been overlooked and the assumptions that underlie the argument. The method also questions currently held positions, the assumptions made and it challenges the already laid principles (Gray, 2014).

The critical method is characterised by reflective thinking. It is a process of searching for the basis of beliefs. It does not encourage the taking of any idea or phenomenon for granted. As a method of inquiry, the critical method encourages honesty of thought, and seeks to protect people from fanaticism, intolerance and dogmatism (Njoroge and Bennaars, 1986).

The term critique is derived from the Greek verb *Krinein*, which means to judge (Njoroge and Bennaars, 1986). To provide a philosophical critique is not a matter of assessing something in a negative manner; rather, it involves evaluating a problem through careful reflection. It is possible to critically evaluate radicalism in Kenyan secondary schools in

philosophical terms so as to come up with the working solutions that will help in mitigating it.

The critical method focuses on the need to examine a claim from all possible perspectives, with a view to ascertaining its truth or applicability with the highest degree of objectivity possible within the confines of human finitude and objectivity.

The critical method identifies and evaluates arguments. It is a way of searching for meaning and truth. Accordingly, a philosopher may prescribe what ought to be done when people are facing a crisis.

1.10 Organisation of the study/Literature review

The study is organised in five chapters. Chapter one is an introductory section to the study. At this point, a brief discussion on the background information, statement of the problem, research questions, the theory and the philosophy that formed the theoretical framework of this research, that is philosophy of Kantianism and categorical imperative on Kant's point of view, significance of the study, research methodology and this discourse utilised one method of study in philosophy; that is critical method, also the limitations of the study and delimitations are dealt with, the assumptions of the study and finally in this chapter definitions of operational terms is outlined.

Chapter two focuses on an in-depth study of the theory of Kantian deontology, the concept of moral education, deontologist's view on moral education, Kant's autonomy

and moral education and finally Kant's dignity and moral education. The chapter focuses on the need of education to produce an individual who is autonomous and rational in nature who cannot be easily influenced by negative external factors, an individual who values his or her dignity.

Chapter three deals with the process and components of radicalisation, radical ideologies and the role of propaganda in radicalisation with a view of finding how they influence the young people and how education can help them not to be misled with such ideologies.

Chapter four discusses possible suggestions on how to mitigate radicalisation in Kenyan secondary schools by using Kantian perspective.

Chapter five is the final one in this study. It therefore presents summary of what has been discussed and ends with conclusion and recommendations of the study

CHAPTER TWO

KANT ON MORAL EDUCATION

2.0 Introduction

This chapter delves into the diversity of literature related to moral education basing on Kant's philosophy. In a nutshell, the study posits that morality is the final stage of the education process. Education should be an end in itself and not as a means to an end. It should produce learners who are autonomous and who value their dignity so that they cannot be used by radical elements. The chapter is of the view that morality is a matter of duty of an individual. An education system that prepares learners for job market without inculcating morality is a kind of system that is used as a means and not an end in itself.

2.1 The concept of moral education

Moral education refers to the processes through which the relevant knowledge, attitudes, values and skills are transmitted and developed in children (Akanga, 2014). It focuses on the development of the cognitive, social and emotional skills which are necessary for moral thinking, acting and feeling (Akanga, 2014). It therefore concerns with practices and strategies that socialising agents use to equip children with resources to address issues about right and wrong in their everyday life. Therefore, the aim of moral education in schools is to help students become autonomous decision makers and all the time create an attachment to fundamental values like respect and responsibility which are the

products of autonomous moral self (Nwogu & Nwafor, 2014). Liu (2014) agrees to this by stating that, moral development is concerned with movement from heteronomous morality to autonomous morality. This study focuses on the need of inclusive moral education as a way of mitigating radicalism.

Wringe (2006) notes that a sensitive moral agent will have regard for religious commitments and susceptibilities for others. He further argues that the ability to think morally, as well as simply act innocently is particularly important as young people mature into adult citizens. In the current education system, morality has been emphasised mostly on the teaching of religious studies. However, there have been instances where the same religion has been used to indoctrinate the young people luring them into violent extremist organisations. More so, these subjects are optional hence more emphasis is placed on the scientific subjects and commercially oriented subjects because of the lucrative prospects to the detriment of moral education.

As noted by Akanga (2014), the level of scientific discovery and technological innovation in countries are recognised measures of the success or failure of educational enterprise. This tends to leave a moral vacuum or a sort of moral crisis. The role of education in character development cannot be sacrificed for material development. In Aristotle's moral theory, he asserts that moral virtue means excellence of character as well as of intellect. He has two types of virtues namely, intellectual virtue or virtue of the

mind and moral virtue, which are virtues of character (Nyabul, 2009). This implies that education should develop both the intellectual and moral aspect of the learner.

Moral philosophy is a fundamental part of Dewey's theory of education. He holds the view that creative imaginations, reflective thoughts and action experimentation should be central features in education (Dewey, 1932). Education should focus on promoting the moral judgment of a learner. Mitias (1976) believes that, the aim of moral education is to stimulate student's development of moral judgment. He proposes dilemma discussion and the just community as an effective approach to moral education as opposed to traditional character education which only focuses on the training of good habits of honesty and responsibility (Liu, 2014). Dilemma discussions encourage students towards higher stage of moral reasoning through peer discussion and interactive exchange of ideas. He further states that schools should aim at creating a moral atmosphere through the practice of democratic governance and building of community solidarity. Dilemma discussion can be adopted whereby learners can be grouped together irrespective of their cultural, religious or social background. Through the discussions they can learn to appreciate each other and become religious tolerant with each other.

Mitias (1976) notes that moral responsibility without autonomy tends to split a person into two disconnected parts. this means that individuals can subscribe to values given by society or religious body and yet those values are not within themselves. They become products of manipulative or distorting external forces. For Kohlberg the highest moral

stage of an individual should focus on the dignity of human beings and treatment of persons as ends rather than means. Dewey supports this assertion by stating that the moral responsibility should be subjected to a higher principle and that is common good. A learner should grow within the school environment with the aspect of valuing the dignity of others. Their conduct should be focused on the common good of themselves and those surrounding them.

In order to achieve this, moral development in learners cannot be solely left on the teacher and the school environment. This requires collective responsibility between the school and the family. As noted by Lickona (1996) parents are the first moral educators of the child. Some parents may not realise this, or see themselves in this role, but they do in fact provide moral lessons through what their children see and hear them do and say. Thomas Lickona identified nine dimensions of the parent's role. For the sake of this study, four of these aspects are adopted.

First the parent as a moral educator communicates an understanding of the moral domain, a domain in which respect and responsibility are central concepts. Respect includes recognising the worth of the self, acknowledging the equal worth of others, and taking into consideration the complex web of natural life around us. Responsibility extends the notion of respect, meaning that people should fulfill the obligations they have to help and care for others.

Secondly, parents can foster mutual respect in their children, by doing such things as giving everyone a chance to be heard in a given situation. Settling a conflict involves not just figuring out what the right resolution is, but also showing children how people treat each other fairly in the process of working it out.

Thirdly, moral education is often taught by example, so parents provide children with a model with which they may identify. Whether they realise it or not, parents constantly display by their actions how they think life should be lived, and their children see this.

Fourthly, parents can teach moral education by talking with their children. They can tell their children directly what is right and what is wrong, and say why for instance calling people names is wrong, because it hurts. They can also engage their children in dialogue by asking them questions about the moral features of actions and prodding them to start thinking about moral questions.

Lickona asserts that children who felt obliged to follow through on their moral judgments were distinguished by having parents who felt strongly about ethical conduct and expressed their moral indignation or disappointment when their children were in the wrong.

Teachers are also centrally involved in moral education, once the child begins to go to school. By word and deed, they are also models for moral education, extending the adult influence over the child that was first begun by the parents. Pritchard (1988) speaks of the

formation of conscience in terms of its several voices; he describes the teacher's objective as attempting to stimulate the conversation among those voices. This will encourage children to develop their capacity for critical judgment of their own and other people's performances which may lead them to improve their ability to act well.

The cooperation between the school and the parents can help mitigate radicalisation of the students in a greater way. The greatest achievement of moral education can be realised when the two work together. Botha (2014) states that family helps the child to become aware of ideologies associated with authorities and learns obedience to the state or political authority. He further notes that by forming basic loyalties and identifying with political systems, the child also learns to sort people into social categories: linguistic, racial class to occupational or geographical. Children learn to classify people according to certain characterisation and to behave differently towards them depending on how they are classified. Botha (2014) further states that, the first loyalties and identification are the strongest and most difficult to change. These feelings are seen as the foundation upon which subsequently acquired orientation are built. Therefore, moral education should not only be centered at school environment but also at family level. The children should be brought up as moral beings that value the dignity not only of themselves but of those around them. They should learn to respect the religious, political and the cultural orientation of those around them.

Moral education is indeed necessary in this study since it focuses on holistic development of an individual learner. As discussed above, moral education aims at developing moral virtue, which entails excellence of character as well as of intellect. It develops the cognitive, social and emotional skills that are necessary for moral thinking actions and feelings. Can moral education assist learners to think beyond the ideologies used by radical elements to lure them into violent extremist groups? Can they fall prey into their propaganda when they have fully developed the excellence of character as well as intellect?

2.2 Kantian Deontology

Deontologists believe that morality is a matter of duty. Whether something is right or wrong doesn't depend on its consequences but on the action itself (Wringe, 2006). Kant believes that human inclinations, emotions and consequences should play no role in moral action; therefore, the motivation behind an action must be based on obligation and well thought out before the action takes place (Cohen, 1996). He further points out that, moral duties should be based on duty sake and not for exterior motives. Do radicalised individuals act out of duty or exterior motives?

Reason and good will are very instrumental in the achievement of moral duty. As claimed by Loosman (2013) reason is the most prominent faculty in Kantian deontology. It forms the necessary basis of the existence of ethics for it is the only possible origin of an agent's good will. The function of reason is to bring about a will that is good in itself.

Kant refers to this as good will. A good will is unaffected by possible outcomes of actions, personal preferences or any other individual purposes; what matters is its intrinsic goodness (Loosman, 2013). Goodwill therefore forms the condition for the fulfillment of any other end or existence of virtue or duty. Kant (1952) notes that individuals require the capacity to form moral judgment.

Kant (1952), therefore, believes that morality presents itself to human agents as categorical imperative and all our specific moral duties are derived from it. He holds that the fundamental principle of our moral duties is a categorical imperative. It is an imperative because it is a command which commands us to exercise our wills in a particular way or not to perform some action or other. It is categorical since it applies to us unconditionally and simply because we possess it as a rational will without reference to any antecedent end or goal for ourselves. The categorical imperative is the true moral imperative. We should always strive at highest good. This end which grounds for moral duties is rational in nature. The highest good consists in a world of universal, maximum virtue, guaranteeing universal and maximum happiness. Kant's account for the highest good is important in that it emphasises that virtue is unconstitutionally good, whereas happiness is conditionally good this implies that happiness is good when and only when it is pursued and enjoyed virtuously. The two are heterogeneous in that no amount of happiness can make up for a deficit of virtue, and no amount of virtue despite its unconditioned goodness can make up for a deficit of happiness (Stumpf, 1977). The highest good requires both. Categorical imperative commands actions that are good in themselves

and not actions as means to another good. For instance, the act of killing others as a way of getting reward in the next world is not categorical imperative in nature. Actions which are good in nature as Stumpf (1977) points out, is imperative because of its instant application to all rational beings, and it is imperative again because it gives the principles on which all humans actions ought to be based.

Stumpf (1977) on Kant's morality argues that the qualities of universality and necessity are the marks of a priori judgments, and this further confirms Kant's view that the principles of behaviour are derived by the practical reason a priori. Reason must be guided. Therefore as Stumpf (1977) puts it, duty implies that we are under some kind of obligation, a moral law. As rational beings, we are aware of this obligation as it comes to us in form of an imperative. Duty helps us to recognise some obligations towards certain actions or moral laws. Rational nature exists as an end in itself. All human beings everywhere want to be considered as persons instead of things or animals for the same reason. Reason orders that they act accordingly. It is therefore valuable for a learner to realise that it is their moral responsibility to act out of duty when dealing with others. Duty entails that our action should be driven by reason and not by emotions and impulses. Children should learn to treat others as an end. They should value the dignity of others. A child's reasoning should therefore be developed, for therein lies the ultimate foundation of ethics altogether. As Wringer (2006) points out, moral self-perfection is developed by children through studying the moral of their maxims in different scenarios through training.

Learners are therefore, to be taught to recognise the importance of our conduct and our judgments of the conduct of others, being consistent and reasonable considering the point of view, concerns and feelings of others and striving for harmony with others who are prepared to do the same (Wringe, 2006).

Deontology focuses on the act itself as a basis of morality. This study therefore takes a deontological view on addressing the issue of radicalisation and violent extremism and considers the act to be absolutely wrong. Can acting out of duty address the vice?

2.3 Deontology and moral education

Reath (2006) describes moral education and states that it should aim at developing good moral character and thus creating good people. He prescribes that children should not be trained for the present but for the improved condition in future. According to Kant, children are to be taught on how to make rational judgment. By learning to think, human begins to act according to fixed principles and not at random. The development of reason and duty as well as a reserved attitude towards distractive emotions and feelings are acquired through of practical education (Loosman, 2013).

According to Kant, individuals require the capacity to form moral judgments, a skill or discipline in which they should be trained through practice and education (Wringe, 2006). Kant says that it is through education that human individuals and human species as a whole can be morally improved (Allison, 1990). Child's moralisation, according to Kant,

is the final stage of education process. Moralisation means that the persons who are being educated must develop an attitude so as to choose good purposes only. Good purposes are those which necessarily secure universal approval and may at the same time be the purposes of everyone (Kanz, 1999). It raises a lot of concern when a student who has graduated with a bachelor's degree in law from the University of Nairobi and has a bright future turns into a terrorist and kills fellow students in Garissa University in Kenya. Was this student moralised? The educational process which seeks to promote the moral character of children and young people has a moralising function.

The children should be educated to perform their duties to themselves and others. The duty to oneself, however, resides in the fact that the human being preserves the dignity of mankind in his own person (Kanz, 1999). In all their actions, the children or persons to be educated must have in mind the fact that human beings bear within themselves a certain dignity that makes them nobler than all other forms of life. The notion of duty to others implies that the respect for, and compliance with the rights of mankind must be imparted to the child at a very early age (Kanz, 1999).

This study addresses the issue of youth radicalisation and how education can help in mitigating the vice. Can education system manage to inculcate sense of duty among the learners? This study intends to tackle this within its scope and limitations.

2.4 Kantian's autonomy and education

Kant defines autonomy as the property of the will by which it is law to itself independently of any property of the objects of volition (Darwall, 2006). Peters in Wilson (1977) states that it is the willingness of the individuals to govern themselves, based on reason and critical thinking. This implies obedience to what is reasonable as opposed to conformity and servility. Dearden (1968) describes personal autonomy based on reason which according to him includes: testing the truth of things for myself, whether by experience or by critical estimate of the testimony of others and forming intentions and choosing what is good and proper in accordance with scales of values. The values the learner chooses should be the ones that they can themselves appreciate. Liu (2014) holds that moral development is concerned with the movement from heteronymous morality to autonomous morality. On this, he agrees with Dewey who insists that moral responsibility is the product of autonomous moral self (Liu, 2014). Mitias (1976) holds that moral responsibility without autonomy tends to split a person into disconnected parts. In essence, autonomy could be seen as moral idea which is linked or bound up with a specific notion of moral freedom to make a reasonable or rational decision, and choices which will not be prejudicial to the wellbeing of both the individual and society in which they live (Nwogu & Nwafor, 2014).

Reason is paramount in an autonomous individual. However, the question is: Do criminals reason before they commit a crime? Do they make choices? And so are they

autonomous? The argument here focuses on the premise of good will. This will enable a learner to wisely choose from the scale of values endorsed by the society. Rational human wills are autonomous. Kant saw this as the key to understanding and justifying the authority moral requirements have over us. A person can be considered free when bound only by their own will and not by the will of another. Their action then expresses their own will and not the will of someone or something else (Gregor, 1996).

It is worthy to point out that students have been quitting school to join radical groups in our country. Do such kind of actions emanate from heteronymous or autonomous will? Autonomy entails that the authority of the principles binding their will should not emanate from external to their will. It comes from the fact that they willed them. Does our education system produce an autonomous individual in life? Deci & Flaste (1995) point out that in a way, it is all quite ironic. Parents, politicians and school administrators all want students to be creative problem solvers and to learn material at a deep, conceptual level. But in their eagerness to achieve these ends, they pressure teachers to produce. These educational organisers tend to create and foster domineering ownership on the part of the teacher. They want to see them produce results. Hence the teachers have to take over more and more controlling of the process of helping the learners so that they can show results demanded by their superiors (Deci & Flaste, 1995). As a result, the teachers are pushed to by educational administrators to fulfill the result based requirements by drilling students to pass the standard tests.

As Henry (1990) points out, an autonomous will emerges from a consideration of the idea of a will that is free. He further states that the concept of a rational will is of a will that operates by responding to reasons. Therefore reason is paramount in making a decision. This is the concept of a will that does not operate through the influence of factors outside of this responsiveness to reasons. For a will to be free, it has to be physically and psychologically unforced in its operation. Gregor (1996) states that choices made because of obsessions or thought disorders are not free. An autonomous person should be an inner-directed person, who has internalised a set of generalised but destined goals and standards. They must be as Feinberg (1975) puts it, having a capacity for self-regulation, otherwise they suffer anomie. Admittedly, human beings cannot internalise a set of generalised destined goals and standards in a vacuum, they must be products of a given social milieu as Nwogu and Nwafor (2014) put it. As a result, they must imbibe the norms and tenets of their society and the process of by which the internalisation of societal values is done involves education. Autonomy has to do with making choices, taking decisions and actions based on one's interests, opinions and judgments. For example, emphasis should always be on the interests of the child in relation to curriculum and choice of subjects; if children exercise this right then they are autonomous in relation to their educational development. Bottonwood (2003) asserts that education should be concerned with getting children to understand and act on good reasons as these apply in various spheres of life. Nwogu and Nwafor (2014) note that education encourages self-reliance in all its ramifications, and preserves what is best in any culture, hence the best

way to educate for autonomy lies to a large extent on selecting on traditional works that pose the thoughtfully radical challenge to prevailing modes of thoughts, feelings and judgment.

Autonomy is relevant to this study in that it emphasises that an individual should make decision out of inner directed motive that arises from critical thinking and reason. Can critical thinking and reason help in addressing the issue of young intellectuals giving in to propaganda and the radical ideologies used by radical elements in recruiting them into violent extremist groups? An autonomous agent should act on reasons they give to themselves as opposed to being the vehicle for some other forces or the will of someone else. However, there could be instances where decisions made out of an autonomous will, cannot automatically lead to the good purpose that can be universally accepted as morally upright. To address this, this study emphasises on decision that emanates out of a good will.

2.5 Kant's dignity and education

Apart from autonomy, dignity is one of the essential values that a good education system should address. It is considered to be one of the core principles of Kant's moral philosophy. According to Kant, children should be as persons not as things because they are endowed with freedom (Gregor, 1996). Since they are persons, the formula of humanity of the categorical imperative can be applied to them , so act that you use humanity, whether in your own person or in the person of any other, always at the same

time as an end, never as means to an end. Children should, according to this principle be educated as ends in themselves and not used as mere means for the ends.

According to Kant, children must be educated to perform their duties to themselves and to others. The duty to oneself, however, resides in the fact that the human being preserves the dignity of humankind in their own person. Their worth should be recognised and developed as they go through the education system. The system which does not only emphasise scientific and technological advancement, but also instills values such as dignity in the learners. As Njoroge & Bannaars (1986) put forward the modern education encourages neutrality and objectivity which is inspired by the rules of science, technology and a rationalised economy. Democratic principles that over protect individuals rights leaves students to make choices of which most do not adhere to standard morals stipulated by the society. at the end this creates a moral vacuum. Therefore an education system that is geared towards producing learners who meet the industrial needs of a particular country without instilling values and morals tend to deny them of their dignity and is not being used as an end itself but as means to an end. According to Kant, human beings have a certain dignity within themselves which ennoble them before all creatures, and it is their duty not to deny this dignity of human in their own person (Gerald, 1988).

Children should therefore be educated for dignity. Their sense of self-worth should be awakened and through this they can develop the capacity for moral autonomy. When

practices of all kinds of immoderation such as using students as means of an end to carry out terror attacks is dignity being accorded to them? What role should education in Kenya do to address this gap? When terror groups target them for radicalism are they not being robbed of their respect and credibility of which everyone should have? It is a duty to realise one's dignity and education should help in realising this in learners.

It is noteworthy that several recommendations have been put in place to make sure that the system of education in Kenya instills moral values in the children. This is to mean that they are to be educated for dignity. However, this has not been fully put into consideration. For instance, the report of the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies of 1976 made observations that religious education as taught then under the provision of the Act (1968) had not fully achieved the objectives of inculcating national moral consciousness. It recommended, therefore, the introduction of common course on moral education which would be available to all students irrespective of religious identity. This led to introduction of social education and ethics Mugambi (2003). However, this subject is no-longer in secondary schools. As Mugambi (2003) notes, moral education has been pushed to backwaters of educational pursuit in secondary schools. This poses danger to the learner especially in recent times when the challenge of radicalism and terrorism is on the rise especially in the secondary schools in Kenya. O'Neil (1989) asserts that once the standards of morals have been established they always become helpful to the learners when they face day to day challenges.

As discussed in this chapter, children should be seen as persons not as things that can be manipulated by others for their own desire. Human beings can only become human through education, hence this becomes very relevant for this study. Education for dignity makes individuals to develop dignity for themselves and for others. Can education for dignity help individuals realise their worth? There is need to prevent young people from degrading themselves below the dignity of humanity by allowing themselves to be lured into violent extremist organisations and be used as a means to an end by radical elements.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to elucidate the concept of moral education. It points out that moralisation is the final stage of education system. Students who quit school and are lured into radical groups that lead violence are viewed according to this chapter, to have lacked the sense of autonomy and dignity for themselves and others as well. The education system as well has lacked the capacity to educate them as an end. The next chapter deals with radicalism. It explores the radical ideologies and propaganda that is used to students into violent extremist organisations.

CHAPTER THREE

THE CONCEPT OF RADICALISATION

3.0 Introduction

This chapter delves into literature related to radicalisation. It looks at the in-depth process that individuals undergo before they are fully radicalised. The chapter also discusses in detail the genesis of radicalisation in Kenya, role of propaganda and ideology in radicalising the students. The chapter finally looks into the role played by the social media in radicalising the students. Misuse of religion, is seen to be the most effective tool for spreading propaganda. In order for radical elements to achieve their political ends, religion is used as a means rather than an end.

3.1 Process and components of radicalisation

The Collins English dictionary defines radicalisation as a process by which an individual or group comes to adopt increasingly political, social or religious ideals and aspirations that reject or undermine the status quo, or reject or undermine contemporary ideas and expressions of freedom of choice (Collins English Dictionary, 2012). On the other hand, Mohammad (2014) defines radicalisation as a process in which a person gets indoctrinated by others or self-motivation into rigid ideology or otherwise, equipped with set of goals and plans that may eventually lead to extremism, militancy and terrorism

aiming at national and/or international systematic change for governance and regulating human lives.

From the above definitions, it is agreed radicalisation does not occur spontaneously, there is a process through which an individual undergoes before they are fully radicalised. Different scholars have come up with stages individuals go through before they are fully radicalised. The process differs from one individual to another, depending on the environment be it political or religious. The key thing that is required here is the presence of a charismatic person who is capable of delivering persuasive speeches not only in Mosques but also in schools, universities or even prisons (Pretch, 2007)

Borum (2014) observes that radicalisation begins when an individual feels aggrieved by perceived injustice attributed to their policies or institutions. As a result, they begin to withdraw themselves, with an ulterior motive of demonising the persons or institutions that have sidelined them and therefore feel justified to adopt violence to redress the anomaly.

McCauley & Moskalkenko (2008) propose that for one to be fully radicalised, they are motivated by factors which they refer to as ‘push’ factors. These factors include grievances against the system of government or institutions or their policies. To be fully convinced, the target groups are attracted with money or material gain. They refer to these incentives as ‘pull’ factors. They further point out that homes, kinship bonds, schools, religious institutions and prisons serve as the ground for recruitment. These

individuals undergo gradual progression of becoming violent as time goes by. At this point, they are introduced to ideologies based on a narrative that gives an ugly picture about something being wrong and some persons or institutions are to be blamed for it. Van san& de Winter (2013) point out that youngsters are easily lured into extremist ideologies because they feel they need a sense of belonging.

Is it possible for parents and teachers to notice when these students are being indoctrinated? Can the problem of identity crisis that most young people suffer from be addressed? These are some of the questions this study intends to address in relation to radicalism.

3.2 The genesis of radicalisation in Kenya

Radical Islam has been the frontier of radicalisation in the whole world. It is worth to note that this study is of a view that the extremists do not represent Islam and Muslims. However an important question here is where do the extremists interpretation of the Islam originate? The radical elements have politically motivated actions which they desire to achieve. Politics according to (Mansoor, 2010) is the exercise of power, allocation of values, and resolution of conflict the competition among individuals, groups, or states pursuing their interests. Marxists on the other hand view politics as the struggle between social groups in particular social classes. Basing on political motivation in relation to radicalism, it is important to note that the leaders of this groups usually have a fairly

specific ideology with clear political objectives but many of their followers are never aware of it (Drake, 1998). They mainly hide behind religion so as to appear relevant.

Religious rhetoric has always been used as a method of legitimising their politically motivated actions and lure the Muslim society (Botha, 2014). Therefore the youth are lured into this conflict without knowing the motive behind their radical leaders. They end up being used as a means to their political end. This study seeks to address this vice of luring young people into politically driven actions

Several geopolitical factors, contribute to the genesis of radicalism in Kenya. As pointed out by (Cannon, 2016) Kenya has the presence of western interests, investments, installations, diplomatic corps and the headquarters and international agencies such as UN. More so, the country has close military relationships with a host of western countries e.g. US, Britain, France and Israel (Cannon, 2016) this comparatively large western presence is the main attraction and target of anti-western terrorist groups such as Al-Qaeda.

The second geopolitical factor that contributes to radicalisation and terrorism in Kenya is its close ties to Israel, a country that Muslims around the world dislike for its persecution of Palestinians (Otiso, 2009). This relationship is a major irritation to foreign and native Muslims who have repeatedly but unsuccessfully been calling for the severance of the relationship. The strong relationship goes back in 1976 when Kenya decided to offer Israel crucial logistical support in its raid on Entebbe Airport in order to free Israeli

hostages held there by Palestinian hijackers allied to then Ugandan dictator Idi Amin (Otiso, 2009). Also during the 1998 attack in Kenya by terrorists, the Israel team was the first to arrive from abroad. Given that one of Al Qaeda's major grievances against the US is its support of Israel at the expense of Palestinians, it is not surprising that Kenya's long pro-Israel stance is viewed by Al Qaeda as evidence of Kenya's support of US policy in the Middle East. Whether right or wrong, this makes Kenya a bona fide Al-Qaeda target (Otiso, 2009).

More so, the Kenya's tourism sector according to (Cannon, 2016) is also a major contributor to radicalisation. Tourist are mostly attracted at the coastal region of the country, this is at odds with at local Islamic culture and custom for instance, Islam teaches that women should cover their bodies except the eyes while in public and also prohibits consumption of alcohol. However, the tourists walk barely naked and alcohol is sold at the bars for tourists. These facilities are oriented to Western tourists whereas most locals practice an—Arabized Muslim lifestyle that is largely incompatible with the norms of Western style tourism (Botha, 2014). This dis-junction between tourism and the dominant local culture have created anti-tourism sentiments in the coastal regions of Kenya. The Kenyan government has not shown enough sensitivity to this issue because its hands are tied given the many economic benefits of tourism. This has made it easier for groups like Al-Qaeda and Al-Shabaab to infiltrate the area in the guise of providing solutions to poverty and local Islamic cultural erosion. Moreover, in targeting Kenya's

tourism facilities, Al-Shabaab hopes to increase its chances of intimidating prospective tourists (Otiso, 2009).

More so, many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa have a large Muslim populations, however Kenya stands out with predominantly Christian population and relatively large economy. This presents a major stumbling block to radical Muslims who desire to play a larger role in regions affairs by offering Sharia law as a solution to regions socioeconomic challenges (Otiso, 2009)

The failed state of Somalia has also led to spread radicalism of in different parts of East Africa, Kenya being one of them. The rise of Al-Shabaab which had links with Al-Qaeda has contributed a lot to youth radicalisation in Kenya (Botha, 2014). The US led global war on terror is one of the contributing factors to this. Kenya has been on target because she sent her troops in Somalia and also its perceived support of the US. .

The terror gang looks keenly on the challenges that young people in Kenya face and exploit them thus making them vulnerable. Therefore it is important to point out that radicalism is mainly driven behind sociopolitical agenda. The youth are the main target of the radical elements that have a big desire to achieve their political end. This becomes relevant to this study as it seeks to address the role education can play in empowering young people to be self-sufficient and not easily fall prey to this extremist ideology.

3.3 Radical ideologies

Rosand and Miller (1975) define ideology as the beliefs, values, principles, and objectives however ill-defined or tenuous - by which a group defines its distinctive political identity and aims.

According to Karl Marx, an ideology is a widely held body of ideas systematically biased towards the real or imagined interests of a particular sex or social group or class within society, it is a set of beliefs through which people are deceived or deceive themselves (Cranston, 2014). He further points out that ideology is a false consciousness. Marx states that people, who do not have the means of production, are subject to the ruling class and this ruling class spread false ideas among them. They control thinkers and historians and rewrite history and falsify facts (Taha, Zahra & Al-khaoli, 2008).

Marx postulates that all ideological systems are the products of social and economic conditions. The material interests of the ruling class determine how people look at their social conditions, their real existence and their ideas (Terry, 1976). Laws for example, are not products of divine reasons but are made in a way which fits the personal interests of the dominant class, they spread some false ideas in society in order to change the formula of existence. These ideas play a significant role in shaping the ordinary people's mentality. The ideas appear objective so as it may hide the self-interest of the dominant class (Taha, Zahra & Al-Khaoli, 2008).

What makes people to give in to these false ideas? Terry (1976) considers ideology as inescapable; it lives in us and constitutes us. On the other hand, Mattei (1994) argues that ideology differs from philosophy since it is accepted uncritically and is not articulated intellectually, he further points out that it operates at the level of group suggestions rather than individual thinking.

The main function of ideology in radicalisation is to provide a motive and framework for action. It makes the terrorists justify their violence by displacing the responsibility to their victims whom in ideological terms they hold responsible for the state of affairs which the terrorist claim led them to adopt violence (Drake, 1998). It is therefore a key part of the radicalisation process as it offers doctrinal arguments that serve to legitimise extremist positions.

The radicalised individuals are made to believe that acts committed in the name of faith will be forgiven and perhaps rewarded in the next world. Violence is legitimised as long as it is an expression of the will of one's deity (Rotberg, 2005). Mostly, the terror warlords masquerade as devoted religious leaders, they will want to dominate under the pretense of submission to a greater cause or set of principles. However, most of them are atypical warlords, harbouring deep desires within their hearts to hold to power and dominate others (Rosand & Miller, 1975). The warlords grossly misinterpret religion and use it to appeal to people's soft spot. Their ideology is faith-driven and spread through exploitation of the religious sentiment of the masses. Botha (2013) notes that those who

are mostly used are new young converts to Islam who don't understand Koran very well. In most cases school-aged youth have fallen prey to their ideologies and have been used to carry out terrorist attacks or serve on the front line in battles against the opposing forces. This is because they are more likely to evade detection by security forces and also they are not willing adults (Bott, 2009).

Kant's ethical philosophy opposes such kinds of actions of manipulating or exploiting people for our own interests. He states that act so that you treat humanity, weather in your own person or in that of another, always as an end and never as means only (Rachael,1986). This implies that people are never to be manipulated or be used to achieve particular purposes, no matter how good those purposes may be.

Kant in his *critique of pure reason* written in 1781, Kant himself expressed his unwavering belief in the existence of God and a future life. However, according to him, the belief in God, freedom and immortality, which brings happiness to man and foster world peace, cannot be rationalised, indoctrinated and turned into ideology (Kanz, 2014).

As discussed, ideology as related to this study is a false consciousness it is a set of belief that people use either to deceive themselves or even others. Radical ideologies have been employed by terror gang to lure young people to engage into acts of terror. Through the use of ideologies, the intrinsic worth that is the dignity of humanity is tampered with and people are used as means and not as an end. Can adherence to Kant's categorical

imperative help to solve this moral problem? This is one of the questions this study battles with to attempt an answer within its scope and limitations

3.4 The role of propaganda in radicalisation

Propaganda can be defined as the employment of non-logical, or affective, appeals in the public dissemination and modification of ideas, attitudes, and beliefs (Pratkanis & Aronson, 1991). The term propaganda became widely used during early twentieth century during World War I, and was later employed to describe the persuasive tactics of totalitarian regimes (Pratkanis & Aronson, 1991). They further state that after World War I, the term soon came to denote the influence through the manipulation of symbols and the psychology of the individual, with the ultimate goal of having the recipient of the appeal come to voluntarily accept a position as if it were their own.

Throughout history, religions have been effective vehicles for propaganda, especially when it comes to disseminating political and social ideas (Jowett & O'donnell, 2006). Religious rhetoric has always been used as a method of legitimising politically motivated actions. For instance, the Islamist radical groups like the Al-Shabaab use religion as a vehicle to achieve its political agenda. The group claims that it wants to foster the noble cause of reinstating religious values. The group has sought to establish a theocratic state based on sharia law (Kissinger, 2011). It utilises religion, brainwashing and indoctrination to enlist support. Religious teachings are also used to justify or explain

their political and sometimes violent acts. It uses religion to generate the support of Muslim people (Botha, 2014).

Al-Shabaab, normally recruits its members through religious socialisations and through economic incentives (Botha, 2014). The group is said to identify people inclined to be sympathetic of Islamist group. The recruitment is voluntary in the sense that the recruits are not openly compelled to join. The group will always entice new members by showing them an alternative way of life. These recruits go through indoctrination and training, and are ultimately given terrorist assignments to carry out (Botha, 2014). Poverty, youth alienation and very high levels of youth unemployment in East Africa, are the main reasons that some of these young people leave their countries to join Al-Shabaab which remunerate them with a lot of money (Kissinger, 2011). Kant's categorical imperative commands actions that are good in themselves and not actions as means to another good. Religion should just be good in itself but not as means to another good that cannot be universally accepted as moral law (Kanz, 2014).

According to Torres et al. (2006) there are three themes found throughout most Jihad propaganda. The first is a political theme that stresses the importance of establishing an Islamic state that can place religious values at the center of society and state affairs. In order to obtain this political reality, sympathisers are encouraged to support the removal of western supported regimes to ultimately end the west's corruptive influence in Muslim countries (Torres et al., 2006).

The second is a religious theme which reminds supporters of a golden age in Islamic societies. The recruits are encouraged to return to a more pure, pious society of which they are promised rewards in their second life if they adhere to that (Torres et al., 2006). The third and final theme is instrumental, which promotes the necessary actions in order to arrive at an ideal political and religious society. Believers are directed to use force against western oppressors in order to restore the reputation of Islam, even if it entails certain death by suicide bombing.

In order to achieve their goal, the radical elements commonly utilise one or many of the following four methods: persuasion, which assumes that an individual's behavior is shaped by his or her own ideas; a direct emotional appeal that targets certain sentiments intended to compel an individual towards a particular behaviour; direct suggestion, which uses repetition of emotionally toned ideas to evoke action; and indirect emotional appeal, which presents the propaganda as entertainment or news in order to inspire particular behaviors (Biddle, 1931)

Terrorists often justify their violent acts by making claims that they are performed for a higher societal need, which can be understood in the context of social cognitive theory (Weimann, 2008). According to this theory, one may be emotionally impacted upon by the content they are consuming, but they are in no way just reactive organisms shaped and shepherded by environmental events or inner forces (Bandura, 2001). Instead,

behavior is derived from a combination of personal agency and socio-structural influences that promote self-development, adaptation, and change (Bandura, 2001).

As a result of this one may be motivated to act due to the anticipated self-satisfaction gained from fulfilling valued standards and evaluative reactions that stem from performing a particular action (Bandura, 2001). This is especially true when it comes to moral behaviours. There are two aspects of moral agency that every individual experiences, one inhibitive and the other proactive. Bandura proposes that individuals ought to be self regulative and self reflective. These allow the process of thinking, acting, and predicting occurrences that may result from individual behavior (Bandura, 2001). The adequacy of one's predictions is then judged on how well their thoughts matched with the real outcome, a process referred to as thought verification (Bandura, 2001).

The main aim of propaganda is to manipulate the thinking and the emotion of individual through indoctrination. On contrary, moral autonomy is the capacity to deliberate and give oneself the moral law, rather than merely heeding the injunctions of others (Young, 1986). It is the aspect of having authority over one's actions rather than letting the principles by which we make decisions be determined by political leaders, pastors, or society. Kant proposes the will should be the guiding principle for itself, thus connecting the idea of self-government to morality, instead of being obedient to an externally imposed law or religious precept; one should be obedient to one's own self-imposed law.

In Kant's essay on *Enlightenment* (1781) he describes enlightenment as the human being's emergence from his self-incurred minority and called on his readers to have the courage to use their own understanding without direction from another (Kant, 1952). However, Kant opposes the notion of emotions, feelings, and other non-intellectual features from determining our decisions. He feels that when they determine our actions then they are heteronomous rather than autonomous.

Freedom of the will is very essential in determining our morality. This study addresses the issue of propaganda and how religion and politics are used as means of achieving the propaganda of the radical elements. Can individual autonomy be a solution to this?

3.4 Role of the social media in radicalism

Terror groups such as Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and Al-Shabaab are trying to radicalise and recruit young people through an extensive use of social media and the Internet. Young people, some as young as 14 years old, have joined Al-Shabaab after being radicalised on media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, You Tube, Instagram, among others. Thompson (2011) affirms to the above argument by stating that nowadays home grown terrorism, spread of propaganda messages and recruitment into radical sects are perfectly actualised by the use of the Internet. Nwafor & Nwogu (2015) point out that the use of social media is replacing the Mosques and as a result, the influence of radical Imams is on decline.

Through the Internet, radical elements are able to meet their main operational levels which include spread of sociopolitical ideologies which they use to lure young people, and also form a global clique that that will propel their agenda(Thompson, 2011). The Internet helps to build interconnections with other radical sects and this makes radicalism and terrorism being likened to branches from the same stem because of their similarities in operation from one region to another (Botha, 2014).

It is worth noting that the radical groups have opted for virtual means, particularly Facebook and You Tube to spread radical preaching as these are safer and the possibility of their getting tracked and caught by law enforcers is lower. Moreover a larger target can be reached using fewer resources, less time and less energy, when these techniques of online radicalisation are adopted by mainstream radicals (Horgan, 2012). The radicals are always updating their strategies and tactics as technologies tend to improve day by day. It is also believed that the propaganda of the radicals is at present more organised and far more appealing to their targets, especially via extensive use of the Internet (Horgan, 2012).

The Internet plays a central role in the evolution of gangs and radicalisation because of the ability to broadcast key symbols, images and rhetoric worldwide in a matter of minutes (Thompson, 2011) and therefore, there is persistent issue of recruitment and passing of propaganda messages on the net and everyone seems to be susceptible. It is

important to note that the terror gang frequently sends articles in form of e-newsletters to their loyalists and every interested individual.

O'Rourke (2007) notes that the internet helps in intensifying and accelerating radicalism, it can provide the user with the information they are looking for to confirm their beliefs. The information is in form of videos and images which reinforce a particular world of view and can be powerful sparks for radicalism. It allows individuals to find like-minded people where they are not able to do so offline, creating an online community (O'Rourke, 2007). While doing so, it normalises abnormal views and behaviours, such as extreme ideologies views or the use of violence to solve problems and address grievances. They also give religious justification for murder. As Pantucci (2007) argues, the increasing prevalence of the Internet and the easy availability of extremist material online have fostered the growth of autodidactic extremist. Horgan (2012) argues that exceptionally risky behaviours such as engaging in violence or crime always require social networks in order for perceived cost/benefit calculation to tip in their favour. Involvement in violence needs to be preceded by a prolonged process of socialisation in which the perception of personal interest diminishes and the value of group loyalties and personal ties increase.

According to Bandura (2001) despite the fact individuals have capacity to self-regulate and self-reflect upon their actions, their lives are not entirely autonomous of outside influences. He asserts that individuals are capable of learning from external influences by means of observation. Though this form of learning can occur unintentionally, many

human values, ideas, and behaviors can be gained from the extensive modeling in the symbolic environment of the mass media (Bandura, 2001). Observational learning suggests that a single model can influence the ideas and behaviors of countless people in widely dispersed locales (Bandura, 2001). With the advent of new technologies such as the Internet, once inaccessible ideas, behavior patterns, and values are now being disseminated across the globe by symbolic modeling (Bandura, 2001). Individuals are thus becoming more influenced by these electronic, symbolic environments, which are reconstructing social realities and public consciousness in return. Though there are many social benefits to be derived from the popularisation of electronic technologies, they also come with costs (Bandura, 2001). The components that make new technologies like the internet so wonderful such as its anonymity, absence of censorship, and broad scope can also be abused for more sinister purposes. In fact, the nature of the Internet may serve as an ideal platform for moral disengagement to occur among groups and individuals (Rubin, 1994).

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has analysed the concept of radicalisation with great focus on secondary school students. The radical elements target them because they cannot be easily be suspected by security forces. The terror war lords use them as means to achieve their political end. They achieve this through radical ideologies and the use of propaganda. In this case religion has been misused or misinterpreted by them so as lure the youth. The

mass media is being used as a point of contact. Can adherence to Kant's categorical imperative help solve this problem? Is it possible for education in Kenya to instill a sense of autonomy and dignity in learners and make them rational beings that will not fall prey to whatever literature they find on social media? These are some of the questions this study entails to unravel.

Chapter four propounds how education in Kenya can mitigate radicalism basing on Kant's philosophy.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN MITIGATING RADICALISM

BASED ON KANTIAN PHILOSOPHY

4.0 Introduction

Radicalisation into violent extremism has great implication for Kenyan education. As discussed in chapter one the methods used to counter radicalisation and violent extremism have borne little fruits. In fact some of the strong and forceful measures put by the security agents have spearheaded the rise of radicalism. The gaps found in the education system in Kenya today have made it possible for radical elements to infiltrate into schools and influence school aged youth through indoctrination and have lured them into acts of terrorism.

We have seen that the current system of education is geared towards cognitive development of the learner and much focus is to meet the industrial needs of the society. According to Njoroge and Bennaars (1986), the modern school system is concerned with training of a productive labour force and highly skilled manpower. However it is not directly interested in the traditional education which enforces its moral and religious values without compromise. Modern education encourages neutrality and objectivity which is inspired by the rules of science, technology, and a rationalised economy. When much emphasis is placed on industrial and scientific development alone and leaving out

the moral aspect, the radical elements can capitalise on this by providing what would seem morally right for them and indoctrinate the very high skilled learners and use them to commit terror acts. They will use the very skills the learners have acquired in schools to meet their own ends. Modern education hence tends to leave the student in a moral vacuum, a sort of moral crisis. Kant states that moralisation is the final stage of education process. Kant's philosophy of categorical imperative therefore becomes one of the essential remedy in addressing the issue of radicalisation. This study proposes an end type of education system that will address radicalisation. A system that will inculcate the sense of autonomy and dignity in the learner.

4.1 Education for an end

It has been pointed out in this study that the current education system tends to leave the learner in a moral vacuum; this is because much emphasis is placed on meeting the industrial needs of the society. With this in mind learners go through rigorous training so as to meet what the society demands. Most of their time is spend on books. School holiday calendar is never fully adhered to since the school system is in competition to produce the needs of the society. This research finds this to be a gap in education system in Kenya, it is of a view that learners are being used as a means to achieve the economic development of the country. Therefore such kind of education can be referred to as an education as means.

This study suggests an end type of education system that will help in mitigating radicalism in Kenya. An end type education system, adopts Kant's philosophy of categorical imperative and it proposes that this should be the philosophy that drives all forms of learning in Kenyan institutions. This education should be geared towards achieving its final stage, that is moralisation. Education in Kenya should not only aim at producing learners who are competent for the job market but also who are moralised. Focusing on white collar jobs alone make the purpose of education to be a means to an end rather than an end in itself. The state educates the learners for the sake of getting manpower who will meet economic requirement of the state but they cannot fit well in the society. The state should therefore strive at instilling a sense of duty to learners, duty to themselves and others also. To achieve this, the state has a duty of providing free and compulsory secondary education to all Kenyan students. This can be realised through the county government. The ministry of education should be devolved and be managed by county governments, this will help address the problem of marginalisation of some areas in terms of educational resources. The research has also come up with other reforms that should be undertaken so as to realise an end type system of education that will mitigate radicalism.

4.2 Pedagogical re-orientation

This study is of a view that in order to mitigate radicalism in Kenyan secondary schools, there is need for methods of teaching to be thoroughly re-assessed and refined. Teachers

in this current error of radicalisation should be equipped with effective skills. They need to instill in the learners the ability to exercise their independent judgment and ability to assess and criticise. They ought to teach in critical manner so as to foster independent minded students. This will at the end bring out an autonomous individual who is able to act rationally and think critically in all spheres of life. This is because as found out in this study, radicalisation process employs indoctrination which blind radicalised elements from rational thinking and from differentiating between belief and truth, between reality and fantasy (Nafwor & Nwogu, 2015). The pedagogical method that should be employed should be able to bring out an autonomous individuals, it should awaken the free will of the learner and make them critical thinkers. As pointed out by (Sihna, 1995) the educator should not manipulate the learner but should not also leave them for their own fate, they should allow students to make and remake their worlds and become more human. The students should not just sit in class and wait for the teacher to come and dictate for them notes but their sense of autonomy should be rejuvenated so that they can also go and do research on a particular topic and come and enlighten the rest.

It is on this basis that this study proposes Paulo Freire's problem based learning to be part and the main teaching method in all Kenyan secondary schools.

Freire criticised the banking model of education because he believed that it makes the students into passive objects to be acted upon by the teacher (Freire, 1970). He argued

that the goal of 'banking education' is to demobilise the people within the existing establishment of power by conditioning them to accept the cultural, social, political status quo of the dominant culture (Freire, 1970).

To challenge the banking education model, Freire proposed a problem-posing model of education. In this model, the teacher and the learner discuss and analyse their experiences, feelings and knowledge of the world together. Instead of the belief that learners' and teacher's situation in the world is fixed, as the banking model suggests, the problem-posing model explores problems or realities people find themselves in as something which can be transformed (Freire, 1970). It is not the job of the teacher to provide answers to the problems, but to help the learners achieve a form of critical thinking about the situation.

This study basing on the above concept has tried to come up with how the teaching method can be adopted. As sample of teaching of literature has been highlighted.

As discussed the learners are part of the source of knowledge. In the reading of the set text together with the teacher they generate the issues or themes discussed in the text Freire refers to this as Problemitisation. Learners can outline them as the teacher writes on the board.

The second step is codification this mainly involves discussions. The teacher can pair learners in groups and assign them to make presentations on the themes they generated

Step three in the learning process is the inductive questioning process. They should link the problem and their day to day life experiences. How is the problem related to them? For instance if the problem identified is drug abuse. They should relate it to their day to day life. Does it also affect them?

The learners should in the next step be able to analyse the situation. Why did it occur to that particular character in the text? How is the problem perpetuated? What is the effect? Then finally they should come up with solution to the problem.

The teacher can take the first lesson to generate the problem together with the learners and then let them go and do research in groups. The second lesson can be used for codification and analysis. This method can enhance critical thinking in the learners and they can apply problem solving techniques in addressing their day to day challenges they face in life

4.3 Curriculum re-orientation

The rise of radicalisation that leads into violent extremism calls for the readjustment in curriculum. There is need for a curriculum that will embrace peace education in order to curb violence and conflict of any kind. More so the curriculum content should strengthen citizenship education which will enable learners to know the duties to themselves and others. As stated earlier in this chapter, the main driving force behind this curriculum

should be Kant's philosophy of categorical imperative. This can be achieved through the focusing in the following areas:

4.3.1 Restructuring of religious studies

As observed in previous chapters, religions have been effective vehicles for propaganda, especially when it comes to disseminating political and social ideas. Religion has been used to justify politically motivated actions. Contrary to this, the main essence of religion is to make peace between people and their maker and also others. According to Tripathi (2009), religious belief plays a significant role in the development of the individual. For him, religion has been the greatest force propelling civilisation. Almost all world religions teach love, brotherhood and unity, and claim to be established for the promotion of justice and human welfare. Does religion still play its role in society? Does it foster peace in the current world? This study postulates that religion has lost its main function in society and it has become a base of most conflict in the world. Therefore religion is being used as means rather than an end itself. It is being used as means to achieve politically motivated ends by people who have thirst for power and other political gains. How then can religion then be used as an end so as it fosters peace and inculcate moral values to the learners? According to Kant religion in any society should achieve the highest good for everyone.

It is worth to note that in Kenyan curriculum, religion is studied in different entities such as Islamic Religious Education, Christian Religious Education, Hindu Religious

Education among others. In this case Muslims learn Islam under a trained teacher probably a Muslim and Hindus the same. This study found out that, most young people are influenced by religious leaders and even some their teachers. In order to curb this, the study proposes that religion in high schools should be taught as a single entity. Different religions in Kenya should be integrated together and the subject be referred Religious Studies or Religious Education. One of its main objectives should be to make learners appreciate all forms of religious entities and develop tolerance with others who embrace different religious views. Through this, students in Kenyan secondary schools will have wider scope of the views of different religions; they will learn to live in peace and harmony with others. more so, this research is of a view that learners will have a wider scope of moral values that different religions teach and they will not develop animosity with others.

4.3.2 Ethics in secondary education

Such a critical moment of radicalism, calls for critical decisions in education sector. There is therefore need for emphasis on moral and values in education, the young people should be taught on the type of decisions they make and their consequences as much as they should embrace autonomy, the young people should be guided on how to make the right choices. As pointed out by (Nduku & Iheoma, 1983) through education system, the learners should imbibe a full dose of values re-orientation which would guide them as core national values; honesty, right attitude to work, courage discipline and concern for

the interest of others and nation consciousness. The emphasis on scientific and technological skills has watered down on moral values in schools in Kenya. With regard to this, there is need for introduction of another subject that will embrace philosophy as an area of study in high schools. Oruka (1990) observes that a study in ethics equips young learners with the ability to undertake a critical analysis of the rationale for moral values. Learners who have been exposed to ethics will resolve dilemmas that confront them in the course of their interaction both in school and in the society. Evaluation on this subject should be mainly focused on acquisition of moral skills rather than the cognitive aspect.

4.3.4 Literature

Literature is the mirror of society and the thematic concerns of literary books should embrace on current issues in society. Most books that are studied in high school still talk of past issues which would add little value to current situation. For instance the River and the Source by Margret Ogolla is concerned with colonialism struggle for independence among others, the previous book which precedes it that is the River between by Ngugi wa Thiong'o is concerned with the struggle for independence and the coming of the white man. Such kind of literature remains irrelevant especially when terrorism is on the rise. There is there need select books that will tackle the current crisis. Authors should be encouraged to write on issues that are at hand and books that tackle such vices like radicalism should be embraced by the ministry as the set texts in Kenyan secondary schools.

4.4 Role of parents and teachers

As found out in this study moral development needs both the collaboration of teachers and parents. It is worth to note that learners are left in a moral vacuum since teachers are pressurised to produce result and parents on the other hand have no time for their children since they are busy all the time to catch up with the competitive world, left with no one to monitor them they become easy prey for radical elements who indoctrinate them and use them as means of committing terror acts. Botha (2013) notes that most of young people who were found radicalised had no parents or had been raised by single parents. The family structure therefore needs to be strengthened so as to address the issue of radicalisation. The function of the association of teachers and parents in schools is mainly focused on the development of infrastructure in schools, more so parents are called and only given the academic development of learners little is discussed on their moral development.

This research therefore suggests that there is need to strengthen the Parents Teachers Association (PTA) and their focus should not only be PTA "projects" but also look into their learner's moral judgment and development. The performance chit they are given should not only have the academic progress but also their moral development. The ban on holiday teaching should be emphasized so as parents should have time with their children. They should be taught on the importance of having time with their children and monitor how they are progressing morally and how they handle crisis.

4.5 Conclusions

This chapter has tried to tackle how education can be one of the solutions in mitigating radicalism. So as to achieve this, the chapter emphasises the adoption of Kant's philosophy of categorical imperative as one of the philosophical base of Kenyan education. Through this, the learners will embrace the value of duty to themselves and others. For education to be used as an end in itself, the chapter has proposed pedagogical re-orientation and curriculum readjustment that will adopt peace education in the current crisis of radicalism. The role of parents and teachers in bringing out their children in a morally upright environment has also been proposed. The next chapter delves into summary conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, we present a summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

5.1 Summary

This study is to seeks the possible ways of mitigating radicalism in Kenyan secondary schools based on Kantian philosophy. We note that radicalism is a worrisome phenomenon which has assumed global dimension. Several measures have been put up especially by security agencies to curb the menace, however these measures have not yielded meaningful fruits on the contrary, they have even escalated the vice and it has even been found out that radical elements now target students for recruitment and use them to carry out acts of terrorism. The education sector has been really affected especially in the North Eastern part of the country that is prone to terror. Most of non-native teachers have been forced to seek transfer to safer places due to insecurity. It is important to note that the measures put up in place have not been effective enough, therefore, there is need then for education to try to offer solution to the problem. In order

to achieve this, there is need for a philosophical approach in education system that will help in addressing the vice.

Consequently, the study analyses the causes of radicalisation of students, the role played by education in mitigating radicalism and the possible ways of mitigating radicalism bases on Kant's philosophy.

Chapter 1 is an introduction to the study. It presents the background to the study, research problem, scope of the study, research objectives, research questions, justification of the study, and the methodology used.

Chapter 2 examines the concept of moral education based on Kant's philosophy. He postulates that moralisation is the final stage of education process however it is noted that the current education system in Kenya is geared towards instilling technological and scientific skills to the learners thereby, fails to reach the final stage proposed by Kant. The chapter proposes that there is need for education to instill the sense of duty to learners. Also they should be able to value their dignity and that of others, they can only achieve this if their will is awakened through education and they develop a sense of autonomy that will help them question into the radical ideologies that are used to lure them.

Chapter 3 assesses the concept of radicalisation. It delves into the genesis of radicalisation in Kenya and the ideologies that are used by radical elements to lure young people into their gang. Religion is seen to be the main basis used to spread their propaganda. The terror warlords misinterpret the Koran and uses it lure the new converts. It is also found out that radicalism is a sociopolitical phenomenon rather than a religious divide as perceived by many. Therefore there is need for education to be an eye opener to the students who embrace different religious beliefs and make them not vulnerable to the propaganda of radical groups.

Chapter 4 provides the possible ways of mitigating radicalism in Kenyan secondary schools based on Kant's philosophy. To arrive at this the philosophical concept of categorical imperative should be the drive behind the education sector in Kenya. The study proposes several adjustments in education so as to realise this. Pedagogical re-orientation is one of the suggestions put forward by this study, it proposes that there is need change of approach in teaching, a change that will produce critical thinkers that will be able to question rather than give in any kind of thought that is placed to them. There is also need for the curriculum content to in-cooperate peace education. Religious education therefore should not be taught as a different religious entities such as Christian Religious education, Hindu Religious Education but rather should be named Religious Study and should in-cooperate all forms of religion in Kenya. Ethics should also be taught in

Kenyan secondary schools.

5.2 Conclusion

This study found no notable success in the government of Kenya's initiatives to counter radicalism in schools. As was highlighted in chapter one, this failure is manifested by the prevalence of students joining radical gangs. We note that the government has in the past used lot of force to counter terrorism thereby triggering rebellion among the Muslim communities in Kenya. The education sector in Kenya has high premium put on the science and technology subjects at the expense of the socially-oriented subjects in Kenyan schools.

The aspect of moral development is silently sidelined and this makes it possible for radical elements to infiltrate in schools and lure young people into their gang. There is therefore need for education system in Kenya to instill the sense of dignity in the learners, awaken their free will and instill an autonomous aspect that will make them critical thinkers who are able to make rational judgment to the challenges they encounter both in school and society. This can be achieved through pedagogical re-orientation. Learners should be involved in the teaching and learning process. To counter radicalism also there is need for peace education and education for citizenship being embraced in the curriculum. Curriculum readjustment is there-by needed. A curriculum that will instill a sense of duty to the learner and those around them.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on its findings, this study arrived at the following recommendations:

- i. Kant's categorical imperative be adopted as a philosophical base for education in Kenya.
- ii. There is need for curriculum adjustment so as to embrace peace education, this should adopt Kant's categorical imperative into it as a guide for curriculum in its formulation.
- iii. Religious subjects be integrated and not taught as single entities, much emphasis be placed on acquisition of moral skills rather than cognitive skills. The integrated subject to be renamed religious education.

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