

THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**CHALLENGES OF COUNTERING TERRORISM
IN AFRICA: YOUTH RADICALIZATION IN
SCHOOLS IN KENYA**

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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been submitted to any other university for the award of a degree.

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DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to my family, friends and specifically; my fiancée, who was understanding and supportive all through the process.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to acknowledge the support of the family and friends who encouraged me and of who am deeply indebted. I would like to express appreciation to Lecturers from the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, with thanks to the supervisor Prof. Amb. Maria Nzomo; who endured many questions during the course work, and offered unconditional support all through the study. Finally, I wish to thank the Almighty for giving me the grace and patience to accomplish this task.

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Definition of key terms

- Youth/ Children in School: - Refers children between the ages of 10 – 19 who are under basic education enrollment of the primary and secondary school. In the study, all young adults above this age group will not be considered as a youth.
- Community: - This refers to all the players who support the school system either directly or indirectly. These include the teachers, students, parents, workers and even guests including preachers.
- Radicalization: The phenomenon of people embracing opinions, views and ideas which could lead to terrorism.¹It is a socialization to extremism, which may lead to terrorism. It follows that preventing radicalization is an essential element in counter-terrorist measures, to reduce the threat of radicalized individuals engaging in terrorist activity.²
- Terrorism: Criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act.³
- Violent Extremism: refers to advocating, engaging in, preparing, or otherwise supporting ideologically motivated or justified violence to further social, economic and political objectives.⁴

Abbreviations

ACT: Act Change Transform

¹ (European Commission's Expert Group on Violent Radicalisation, 2008)

² *ibid*

³ (UN Security Council , 2004)

⁴ (USAID Policy, 2011)

AQIM: Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb

BOM: Board of Management

CT: Counter Terrorism

CU: Christian Union

CVE: Countering Violent Extremism

DTS: Development and Training Services

ETA: Euskadi Ta Askatasuna

EU: European Union

Jl: Jemaah Islamiyah

KIE: Kenya Institute of Education

KSCF: Kenya Students Christian Fellowship

MOE: Ministry of Education

MRC: Mombasa Republican Council

NCTC: National Counter Terrorism Centre

POTA: Prevention of Terrorism Act 2012

PTA: Parents Teachers Association

PVE: Preventing Violent Extremism

SCORE: Strengthening Community Resilience against Extremism

TIS: Transition Initiatives for Stabilization

TSC: Teacher Service Commission

UNICEF: United Nations Children's Emergency Fund

USAID: United States Agency for International Development

USIP: United States Institute of Peace

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Abstract

The challenge of countering violent extremism in Africa attributes to the non-inclusion of the various actors and the different spaces that provide vulnerabilities to radicalization and recruitment into terrorism. There is a lot on the topic of radicalization and recruitment happening among school going children based on the increasing disappearances, indiscipline cases and arrests of school going children linked to extremist organizations. However, most of these incidences backed with valuable research and documented data. This research examines and analyzes the key challenges for countering terrorism and in particular the role of the school environment as a space for the youth radicalization and recruitment to terrorism. The research uses conversion theory to examine the processes that underpin radicalization and recruitment into Terrorism by reviewing fieldwork data from eight selected secondary school in Nairobi and Kakamega. The assumption of its application tests the rationality, emotional levels as social factors coupled with other economic and/or political factors in the children are areas of consideration in the radicalization process that leads to terrorism. Using mixed methodology the research found out that radicalization and recruitment processes are taking place in secondary schools; students mention two students as suspects who have joined Al-Shabaab, gangs like the Gaza group, are operational in schools and an average 42% of the students think that the administrations are not aware of what is happening. The research has three categories of recommendations including; oversight authority to is strengthened at the school level, background checks to service providers, review of student transfers and minimized leadership responsibilities to new students until the probation period of one term is done and encourage more responsibilities for the parents. The study also recommends that the government through the ministry of education and the National Counter Terrorism Center provide capacity building on early warning signs, provide a mechanism for reporting and Gazette school to religious institution affiliations for the authorization of preachers and other religious service providers. Finally, the research recommends more research on the relationship between poverty and terrorism, government responses to learning institutions about countering terrorism and the relationship between gangs and terrorism in schools.

1.0 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Terrorism is argued to be one of the most critical challenges after the cold war as compared to global warming. This argument attributes to the fact that a common definition of Terrorism as a term has no single agreement. Different scholars and policy makers have various methods and lenses to which the term has is described and defined. The definitions given to the term is dependent on the actors and the specific interests associated with it. This in-turn affects the actions taken by the government to deal with the challenge, and the human agency involved in the process. Therefore, terrorism can be defined as; a combination of psychological and tactical features where disagreements between two parties results in the minor power using terror and violence as the best alternative with the aim of influencing a larger audience.⁵

A critical look at this definition leans towards the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. To some extent, this definition also attributes freedom fighters to fall within the confines of terrorism. The African Union which is also an actor in counter-terrorism challenges downplays the definition above to the extent that it recognizes the action of that include the struggle of people in accordance with the principles of international law for their liberation or self-determination, including armed struggle against colonialism, occupation, aggression and domination by foreign forces is not in the same basket as Terrorism.⁶

⁵ (Bockstette, 2008)

⁶ (Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity, 1999)

Other stakeholders have come up with other definitions of the term with the aim of developing strategies for dealing with the phenomena and aligning resources. Terrorism is also defined as; “criminal acts, including against civilians, committed with the intent to cause death or serious bodily injury, or taking of hostages, with the purpose to provoke a state of terror in the general public or in a group of persons or particular persons, intimidate a population or compel a government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act.”⁷ The EU has also contributed to the definition by alluding to the outcomes of the terrorist activities from the criminal point of view. In their definition, the results of terrorist acts are criminal to the extent that they may seriously damage a country or an international organization, with the aim of seriously intimidating a population; or unduly compelling a Government or international organization to perform or abstain from performing any act, while seriously destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or an international organization.⁸ The US Criminal Code and the Patriot Act expands the definition of terrorism even further to include; activities that involve violent or life-threatening acts and are in violation of the criminal laws of the United States or any State.⁹

The government of Kenya has contributed to the discussion by defining a terrorist act as; "terrorist act means an act or threat of action which (i) involves the use of violence against a person; (ii) endangers the life of a person, other than the person committing the action; (iii) creates a serious risk to the health or safety of the public or a section of the public; (iv) results in serious damage to property; (v) involves the use of firearms or explosives; (vi) involves the

⁷ (UN Security Council , 2004)

⁸ (The Council of the European Union, 2002)

⁹ (Congress, 2011)

release of any dangerous, hazardous, toxic or radioactive substance or microbial or other biological agent or toxin into the environment; (vii) interferes with an electronic system resulting in the disruption of the provision of communication, financial, transport or other essential services; (viii) interferes or disrupts the delivery of essential or emergency services; (ix) prejudices national security or public safety; and (b) which is carried out with the aim of — (i) intimidating or causing fear amongst members of the public.”¹⁰ It is based on this definition that the National Strategy on Prevention of Terrorism is anchored on. The strategy that aims to provide a roadmap for the challenge of terrorism in the country and is currently being implemented by the National Counter Terrorism Centre.¹¹

Terrorism has evolved over time with the effects of the environment determining the cause of action for responders, participation, and involvement of the primary perpetrators and the audience to which the output of its activities is intended. Africa has had its share of challenges when dealing with the issues of terrorism. These challenges span from not only the agreeable definition of terms as seen above; but also, the methodologies of engagement especially when it comes to balancing between the hard power, the inclusion of partners and finally the process of radicalization recruitment and mobilization into extremist organizations. When dealing with the aspects of terrorism and counter-terrorism, different terminologies come to mind. Most of these terminologies have been used interchangeably and thereby creating more confusion than solution. One of these terms is Radicalization, which due to poor definitions that mostly lean on ideological avenues that propose radical beliefs to be the precursors to terrorism.¹² Even though there is no specific agreed meaning to the term, scholars have adopted a definition that depicts a

¹⁰ (Kenyan National Assembly, 2012)

¹¹ (NCTC, 2016 (Unpublished))

¹² (Sedgwick, The concept of radicalization as a source of confusion, 2010)

“religious” process. Radicalization is, therefore; “pathological outcomes of socialization trajectories where an individual or a group adopts extreme religious views and justifies acts of violence and terrorism based on these views.”¹³ It would, therefore, be prudent to mention that radicalization can also be considered as the process by which people come to adopt beliefs that not only justifies acts of violence but also compel those acts, and the pathways from thinking to action on the convictions.¹⁴ Radicalization and Recruitment are one of the greatest and rather a complex nexus that joins non-violent members of the community into a violent and extreme members of society; with a graduation to terrorism.

Ending or reducing the process of radicalization and recruitment is, therefore, a major issue when dealing security challenge of countering terrorism as it requires more understanding of the variables that contribute it and more specifically on the actors engaged in the process. For a long time, radicalization was tied to revenge and/or grievances of youth who had no identity or engagement after school; but this brings about another term called mobilization that is yet to gain traction in the scholarly debates around countering terrorism. Radicalization has both contributed to and been the subject of the social construction of risk surrounding violence and extremism. To this extent, contemporary discussions of radicalization are related to ideas of vulnerability and susceptibility to extremism include topics that facilitate problematic assertions of internal relationships between challenging ideas and the propensity to violence.

¹³ (USAID Policy, 2011)

¹⁴ (Payne, Winning the Battle of Ideas: Propaganda, Ideology, and Terror, 2009)

Different mechanism, pathways, interests and contexts determine the progress to Terrorism.¹⁵ It should be noted that not all that have radical ideas are necessarily violent extremists in nature and/or lead to terrorism. Trends have shown an increased movement from the general perspective of radicalization of the youth out of schools to a direction resulting in the radicalization of the young people in Schools. The broad question is; how the process of involvement, maintenance and retention of radical ideas as they progress towards Terrorism, happens within these confined settings and whether there are other variables outside these settings that contribute to sustaining the cycle.

Mercy Corps research report noted also took note of radicalization and recruitment of children and state that continuous recruitment of youth in schools increases the threat to preventing terrorism as these young individuals are more malleable and become the worst perpetrators of violence in future.¹⁶ The aim of this research is to critically look at the challenges of countering terrorism in Africa with a specific interest in the radicalization process in the school going children. The outcomes of this study would be used to advise and influence policy within government development partners and contribute to the body of knowledge in Academia.

¹⁵ C. McCauley and S. Moskalenko, "Mechanisms of political radicalization: Pathways toward terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* (2008): 416.

¹⁶ Mercy Corps Youth and Consequences; Unemployment, Injustice and Violence report 2015

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Terrorism is one of the major security challenges in the international system along with other threats posed by weapons of mass destruction including atomic bombs and biological weapons. There are various actors and players in terrorist and terrorism process in general. One of the engines that keep the process continually flourishing is that of recruitment and maintenance of the flow of participation. As early as 2006,¹⁷ this involvement moved and focused on the youth in schools¹⁸ and other younger adults within the communities. There are limited understanding and data on various factors and players involved in terrorism and terrorist activities; including youth recruitment.¹⁹ The continuous sustenance of terrorist activities through recruitment of individuals into extremist organizations continues to be one of the major security challenges to initiatives that would have otherwise dealt with countering terrorism and terrorist activities.

With the focus now shifting to radicalization and recruitment on youth/children in schools, suggestions are being made to shift some attention to the school environment and the actors involved. Various studies have continuously mentioned the importance of concentrating on more research and information gathering among the youth in schools about radicalization and recruitment into terrorism. A study carried out by Development & Training Services in Kenya, Uganda, and Somalia that recommended increased concentration on improved service delivery in schools as a way of dealing with the driving factors and youth vulnerabilities to terrorism.²⁰

¹⁷ (Philip, 2006)

¹⁸ (Bott , et al., April 2009)

¹⁹ (European Paliament , 2014)

²⁰ (Development & Training Services, Inc. (Dts), 2016 (Un- Published))

Other recommendations include the engagement of various actors and stakeholders within the education system; like the members of the community, in the process of countering terrorism.²¹

All these recommendations point to the fact that there is still a gap in knowledge on the role of the school environment in the radicalization and recruitment of youth into terrorist activities. This study seeks to examine and analyze the challenges of countering terrorism and understand the role of the youth and the school environment as a space for recruitment and radicalization into terrorism.

²¹ (Development & Training Services, Inc. (Dts), 2016 (Un- Published))

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What are the driving factors to terrorism and the role of the youth in schools in Africa?
2. In what spaces does radicalization and recruitment leading to terrorism take place within the school environment and how/what actors interact within these spaces?
3. Is the process leading to terrorism influenced by other variables away from the school environment?

1.4 OBJECTIVES

1.3.1 General Objective

To examine and analyze the key challenges for countering terrorism and in particular the role of the school environment as a space for the youth radicalization and recruitment to terrorism.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

1. To examine and assess the driving factors that lead to terrorism and the role of the youth radicalization and recruitment in schools in Africa.
2. To investigate the various spaces that radicalisation leading to terrorism takes place in Kenya and how different actors interact with these spaces
3. To examine, analyze and compare other variables that influence terrorism away from the school environment in Kenya.

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

Terrorism has increasingly become the subject of the international system since the end of the cold war. The state at the time made the emergence of conventional wars extremely costly leading to the spread of terrorist activities that moved from the government to the involvement of the non-state actors demanding for services through somewhat unconventional means.²² In the quest of dealing with the challenge of countering terrorism, there are many questions asked to which the rather “incomplete” answers provided seek to navigate through the rubric of counter-terrorism measures in the international system. Some of these issues move from the origin of terrorism, participation/ actors of terrorists, sustenance, and bulging of terrorist organizations to, the end game of terrorism. There has been a reductionist approach to dealing with the explanation of terrorism to the only feature as a mode of political violence instigation, and different authors have attested to the fact that it is an involvement that goes beyond; to include a specific struggle of a weapon system used by various actors in the international regime.²³

One of the most renowned scholars; David Rappaport, came up with the wave phenomena of modern terrorism that he ascribed it to four different categories. In his article, he mentioned that modern terrorism is assumed to have started in the 1880s in Russia.²⁴ In his article, the author depicts a development of terrorism model; with a proposition that we currently face a religiously motivated form of terrorism that should ideally come to an end around early -to- mid-2025.²⁵ The sad conclusion, however, is the fact that he has a forecast of another inspiring cause for hope; likely to emerge unexpectedly, just as the other wave in the past. A closer look at the resilience

²² (Paul & Stewart, 1987)

²³ *ibid*

²⁴ (Rapoport, Four Waves of Modern Terrorism, 2004)

²⁵ *ibid*

of terrorism and its activities agree with the fact that though the inspiration for a terrorist wave might dry out in time, terrorists regularly invent new ways to conduct their operations.²⁶

Different trends both globally and in Africa point to the changing dynamics in the recruitment processes that have now focused on the youth/children in schools as the target of engagement. These processes assume that all those recruited are necessarily radicalized. However, data shows that some of the individuals finding themselves in extremist organizations are victims of circumstances which in some cases are kidnapped and/or taken without their consent.²⁷ In his categorization, Rappaport mentions the four waves starting with the anarchist wave, then the anticolonial wave, the new left wave and finally, the religious wave; which is the current challenge we now face.²⁸

In each wave, the author mentions a unique attribute associated with it including doctrine formation, new language and domestic amalgamation, excessive internationalization and finally the politics of a common bond within the religious realm.²⁹ Though Islam is at the heart of this wave today, all religions have had a taste of this wave as it provides the justification of organizing in the different states. Christian influenced form of terrorism is not a new issue. In fact, based on the racist interpretation of the bibles that created the Christ Follower Identity, this extreme nature was born. There are documentations to equate the Oklahoma Bombing of 1995 to this wave of terrorism.³⁰

²⁶ (Rapoport , The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism, 2002)

²⁷ (Spillius, Al-Shabaab militia abducting teenage girls to marry fighters, 2012)

²⁸ (Rapoport, Four Waves of Modern Terrorism, 2004)

²⁹ ibid

³⁰ (Rapoport , The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism, 2002)

Globally and in Africa, terrorism has taken different forms of religiously motivated extremism with the spread of forms of violence starting way back during the Christian denomination fights versus the Catholics. It was an opportunity for the natives and the other powers to share a greater common good.³¹ Through organizations such as Guerrillas for Christ, which was young charismatic in eastern Africa in the 1970s, there was a massive radicalization drive that ensured enrollment and participation in different activities in the different countries.³² In Kenya, these organized practices were put in place to challenge the missionary churches, disrupted the regimens of various theological colleges and established vibrant ecumenical movements.³³ This team was led by Balokole youth who were prominent in the western and central regions of the nation and sprawled up different organizations that involved both the greater community and students including; Kenya Students Christian Fellowship (KSCF) that bread the Christian Union (CU) in the 1950s and later became legalists.³⁴ There are shared similarities between this process that happened more than five decades ago and the challenges we are facing today; with relation to Terrorism and Violent Extremism. Both then and now, the narrative that moved the masses into increased participation in the activities of the movements, the recruitment included all the members of the community and transitioned from the engagement of the students to the involvement of the greater community and for those who did not subscribe to the process, were a threat to their cause.

The study of terrorism, therefore, has various approaches used based on political biases and social prejudices and in different contexts. Some approach that is gaining mileage in the recent

³¹ (Aliliki, Charismatic Resurgence of the 1970's: A regional comparison, 2008)

³² Ibid

³³ (Aliliki, Charismatic Resurgence of the 1970's: A regional comparison, 2008)

³⁴ (Aliliki, Charismatic Resurgence of the 1970's: A regional comparison, 2008)

past is that of Psychological approach in general. Various scholars have stated that this comprises of two sub-categories based on the assumptions given. One sub-category has viewed terrorists being mad or irrationally unstable beings. This sub-category contested. The other sub-category looks at the environment, gains and the tactical advantages of the processes involved; as the driving force to terrorism. This second sub-category that understands terrorism from a process-oriented engagement received blame for the growing need to replacing evil regimes with religious ones through violent and extremist means.³⁵ This second subcategory is often viewed as the Psychosocial approach in the study of terrorism.

In another article, De La Corte looks at the psychosocial approach to the study of terrorism by reviewing seven attributes that justify it as the best way of considering the terrorist and terrorism as a process. In his analysis, he reviews the environment by stating that the society and political influence fuels the terrorist idea as illustrated in the Anarchist saying of; “Propaganda by fact.”³⁶ His analysis also moves further and looks at the social interactions that shape the organizational behavior of a terrorist. He highlights the concept of secondary socialization which is the process by which the terrorists become engaged after the joining.³⁷ He also highlights not only the access to specific resources; which form some of the drivers to violent extremism but also the continuous sustenances of the group or its members in the fold. He calls this the legitimization through extreme ideology.³⁸

³⁵ (Merari, 1990)

³⁶ (de la Corte, 2007)

³⁷ ibid

³⁸ (de la Corte, 2007)

The aspect of the actors in the process of radicalization is of keen interest to the body of knowledge. Most journals have spoken of ideology as a leading factor of Radicalization and Recruitment. With reference to the framework of thoughts constructed and held by members of a society to justify or rationalize existing social order embedded in psychological structures of the personality, which most often than not manifests itself in the inner histories and experiences that give rise to questions of subjectivity as individual's needs, drives and passions as well as the changing material condition and social foundations of the society.³⁹

Based on the argument above there is a clear indication that all terrorist activities have some form of process that involves radicalization. It serves not only to recruit, maintain, expand and also justify their actions. Some of the researchers have been able to look at the driving force for the youth into radicalization, but the factors have not been made clear. In a special report by USIP on the driving factors for the youth joining Boko Haram, CLEEN foundations' lead researcher mentions that there have been incidences of youth tearing their certificates and leaving school system to adhere to the movement.⁴⁰ There are no mentions of what drives the young people in the school to radicalization and whether or not the process takes place while they are still in schools. Most of the equivalence is to the situations and scenarios out of school or after school youth.

³⁹ (Darder, Torres, & Baltodano, 2002)

⁴⁰ (Onuoha, 2014)

The security challenges of countering terrorism are put to perspective by a fifth wave phenomenon.⁴¹ This wave provides for seventeen characteristics including; born of hope expressed at the extremes where; some emerge after all hope has been lost, others because the dream is realized, the radical quest for purity, racial, tribal, ecological. Kaplan in his proposal emphasizes on creating new men and women who make the old expendable by providing the logic of genocidal violence with children as the vanguard of the fifth wave as they are the least contaminated by the old society.

Internationally and as early as 2006, the M15 boss Dame Eliza Manningham-Buller stated that extremist organizations related to Al-Qaeda, were recruiting from the schools and engaging these youths in activities including chemical warfare.⁴² By 2009, homeland security institute in a report mentioned the adaptive nature of the adversaries we face in the war against terrorism. The report highlighted some terrorist organizations that utilized the young children to included; Hamas, Hizballah, Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), Al-Qaeda and affiliated groups (primarily includes those active in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, and the United Kingdom), Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA).⁴³

Based on the limited data available, the school is as a fertile ground for the radicalization process, and various actors have played a role in this progression. Lilia I. Bartolomé notes that gaining access to and actively creating methods and materials for the classroom is certainly an important step towards effective teaching. However, this process in most cases; does not examine the teachers' assumption of values and beliefs and how this ideological posture informs;

⁴¹ (Kaplan, 2008)

⁴² (Philip, 2006)

⁴³ (Bott , et al., April 2009)

often unconsciously, their perceptions and actions when working with linguistic minority and other politically, socially and economically subordinated students.⁴⁴ From her journal, the role of the teachers as actors in unknowing indoctrination mentions the extent of having authority over the youth and children in a learning institution environment can shape perceptions of the world around them.

Radicalization and recruitment into terrorism by young people / children has been seen all over Africa with examples of students leaving school to join Boko Haram in Nigeria, other traversing the continent from Somalia to join ISIS and other challenges that face students in Egypt during the uprising; being mentioned. It should be noted, however, that most of these students mentioned are in colleges and universities and therefore the drivers to Terrorism as indicated in the drivers' guide; can apply to them.⁴⁵ There are other mentions of youth in schools from high and primary schools respectively, leaving these institutions to join extremist operations. These mentions have surfaced in Morocco, Libya and other Northern Africa Nations. In a study conducted by Mercy Corps on the relationship between the youth, employment, and violence, boys were learning that girls should not be in school, and mosques and other informal schools like madrasas had become recruiting grounds for al-Shabaab.⁴⁶

On the 22nd of May 2015, Dr. Mustafa Ali in a Pre-Khutba in South Africa alluded to the fact that there is increasing radicalization of youth in Africa and specifically in East Africa. In his speech he reiterated the fact that; "the hatred preached by violent extremists is finding its way

⁴⁴ (Bartolomé, 2004)

⁴⁵ (Denoeux & Carter, 2009)

⁴⁶ (Mercy Corps, 2015)

into schools, and other spaces where children and young people imbibe in this hatred, and this is ‘poisoning’ the minds of many subliminally, subconsciously and knowingly.”⁴⁷ His speech is among many speeches with similar content highlighting the need to investigate the process of radicalization to Terrorism in schools.

Recently in Kenya, there was a story of an 11-year-old who came back home after an extended school day and was jubilant of what they learned in class. This story sent shock waves in the media as the mention of radicalization process happening in their schools had become sort of reality.⁴⁸ Many parents have reported disappearances of their children, to the law enforcement agencies. According to Religious News services, the growing concern over reported recruitment of children is alarming with over 20 youth recruited during the Garissa University incident alone.⁴⁹ This increased concern has also made the government in Kenya to employ a move to vet all the preachers who go to the different school to preach. Though the Kenyan Government adheres to the freedom of worship, the cabinet secretary of education stated the need to get all the preachers undergo a vetting process before being allowed into learning institutions.⁵⁰

Various security reports in Kenya indicate different venues where the Al-Shabaab cells have been seen to congregate including the point between Kiembeni Estate and Kiembeni Primary School.⁵¹ According to an intelligence brief to the Kenyan Government officials, Al-Shabaab fighters are also smuggling weapons to other destinations, particularly Nairobi using paid school

⁴⁷ (Dr. Mustafa , 2015).

⁴⁸ (Gathu, 2014)

⁴⁹ (Onyulo, 2015)

⁵⁰ (Mukami, 2016)

⁵¹ (Situation Report , 2013)

children.⁵² Security reports have also indicated that besides the mosques, recruitment is ongoing in schools, especially in Nairobi Technical School, Highway secondary, Eastleigh High and Sheikh Khalifa in Mombasa. Some Islamic scholars with extremist tendencies have also been conducting programs in schools such as Moi Forces, State House Girls, Limuru Girls, St. George's Secondary, Aga Khan and Eastleigh High within Nairobi. In some of the schools, the changes in the trend witnessed form part of the radicalization process and the effects of various lectures felt by some of the students who demand to be allowed to put on the hijab (veil for girls).⁵³

More information supporting the argument that recruitment is taking place in Islamic schools in Kenya⁵⁴ and various parts of Africa, indicate that 72% of al-Shabaab and 75% of MRC respondents attended public school, followed by 25% of al-Shabaab respondents who attended an Islamic school⁵⁵; meaning that this is an issue also affecting the public schools. Though the discussions are pointing to radicalization processes happening in the school setup, there are other incidences of children who are out of school due to the crisis in their regions may lead to more radicalization. The case mentioned by UNICEF on a situation analysis report of Nigerian case with Boko Haram pushing more than 1 million children as a result of the closure of over 2000 schools, alludes to this fact.⁵⁶

Anneli Botha's concluded comparative survey between the MRC and Al-Shabaab indicates that the majority of MRC (44%) and al-Shabaab (56%) respondents left school between 15 and 19

⁵² ibid

⁵³ (Situation Report , 2013)

⁵⁴ ibid

⁵⁵ (Botha, Assessing the vulnerability of Kenyan youths to radicalisation and extremism, 2013)

⁵⁶ (RT Question More, 2015)

years of age.⁵⁷ It is an age that has been left under the care-ship of the learning institutions with limited interests in their role and place in the Kenyan society other than participating in the core education system. In a report by Mercy Corps, the ages 12 to 19 are identified as the vital time to reach the youth before violent behavioral norm is established.⁵⁸ It is no coincidence Anneli's study in 2004 also identifies that two-thirds of Al-Shabaab's members join between the ages of 15 and 24.⁵⁹ Could this be the reason why the radicalization process leading to Terrorism in schools moving to younger ages due to the psychosocial aspects of the young minds?

The USAID drivers to Terrorism guide⁶⁰ only focuses on the youth out of school. The document skews program activities to focus on individuals above 19 years and affixing them to the government of Kenya stipulated definition of the young people as those between the ages of 18-35 years. Questions ask whether the same political, social, economic and even individual factors affect the children in school. Psychologists have also attested to the fact that radicalized young minds form the worst extremists. The ages 12 to 19 are a vital time to reach youth before violent behavioral norm is established.⁶¹

Due to the skewed understanding of the radicalization process, governments have focused on a religious form of radicalization and have based this on the Islamic schools. It has become so bad to the extent that many worry that madrassas in sub-Saharan Africa may breed Islamic extremism and indoctrination.⁶² In Kenya, the Mahadi Girls Training Institute in Pangani the

⁵⁷ (Botha, Assessing the vulnerability of Kenyan youths to radicalisation and extremism, 2013)

⁵⁸ (Mercy Corps, 2014)

⁵⁹ (Botha & Abdile, Radicalisation and al-Shabaab Recruitment in Somalia, 2014)

⁶⁰ (Denoeux & Carter, 2009)

⁶¹ (Mercy Corps, 2014)

⁶² (Citizen News video, 2016)

manager is quoted stating that he would never have allowed anyone to step into his compound had he known that the topic of discussion is on Madrassa. The school was the subject of several security raids by the government because he is Kenyan of Somali origin and a former civil servant for more than 20 years.⁶³ This trend has also been seen in western Kenya, specifically Kakamega with a form three student at Kakamega High school arrested and confessing to being a member of Al-Shabaab.⁶⁴ Apart from the fact that there is peaceful persuasion at this age, no data has compared the pushing and pulling factor that drive the children in-school into the radicalization process.

1.6 RESEARCH GAPS IN LITERATURE REVIEW

From the literature review, the researcher identifies that there is the goodwill from the development partners, the governments, and other stakeholders to curb terrorism but the organic nature of radicalization in schools and among school going children has become one of the

⁶³ (Athumani, Are madrassas in Africa educating or indoctrinating?, 2014)

⁶⁴ (OSINT Summary, 2015)

greatest security challenges to the process. The literature available lacks enough evidence to support the allegations of the process taking place within the institutions or with the engagement of the youth in schools as the primary actors. To start with, the security briefings which form the guide book illustrating that radicalization is taking place in various schools in Kenya also indicate that the process is expanding to other towns in Kenya including Kakamega but with no factual data to support these claims apart from the assumptions based on the disappearances among students. Therefore, no detailed research has been done and data to support the claims indicated in the security briefings.

Secondly, the USAID drivers guide document of 2009 ⁶⁵ is based on research from other countries including Afghanistan and was focusing on individuals out of school. These programs and initiatives assume that the driving factors for individuals out of school and those in school are somewhat similar bearing in mind that the environment is different. As one of the biggest challenges in countering terrorism, radicalization process has been context specific, and the literature does not provide data to support the drivers within the school environment; which is the context for this study. This study, therefore, seeks to look at the political, economic, individual and social factors that drive the youth in school into radicalization.

Finally, the aspects of pull factors as elaborated in various researchers' mentions the presence of a charismatic Imam; and looks at religion as a utility with the actor being the said religious leader.⁶⁶ Based on the literature review, there is no mention of one specific actor who participates in the radicalization process but rather a myriad of players. The expansion of the

⁶⁵ (Denoeux & Carter, 2009)

⁶⁶ Ibid

players to involve the teachers, parents, sponsors and other stakeholders, are not considered, and therefore, the researcher seeks to look at the expanded actor field of influence, relate their role into the process of radicalization and also review their interactions with others within the school environment.

1.7 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

Terrorism as the manifestation of radicalization has become the major security challenge globally. International organizations and local governments have mentioned that the school institution has been highlighted to be a breeding ground for radical ideas. Though there is a strong correlation between the environment the school provides as an assumed radicalization

ground, other organizations like UNICEF indicate other variables affecting the youth while out of school including humanitarian crises; also play in the pathway to Terrorism as seen in the Nigerian context.⁶⁷ A top government official in Kenya is quoted stating that the school heads should be very vigilant as radicalization was taking root in the schooling system.⁶⁸

There are minimal research and information on the topic of radicalization as a subject of study and more so, of the processes in schools. Most of the information that written about radicalization has a premise on existing literature rather than new empirical evidence.⁶⁹ Also and from available data, not all who have radical ideas are terrorists or participate in violent extremism.⁷⁰ There is, therefore, need to focus more on the non-violent forms of radicalization and the impacts of these processes on the whole body of knowledge on violent extremism.⁷¹ This study seeks to provide new insights to contribute to theory building and in policy making.

1.8 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Though terrorism studies have is seen as a large field of policy-oriented research, there is minimal attribution to various theories that may support its outcomes.⁷² In the study of terrorism, different authors base their school of thought, on categorizing it either as a socio-psycho, political, economic, religious area of study. Due to the different manifestations and presumed

⁶⁷ (RT Question More News , 2015)

⁶⁸ (Gitau & Masha , Our youth are being radicalised in schools, colleges and mosques, 2015)

⁶⁹ (GITHENS-MAZER & LAMBERT, Why Conventional Wisdom on Radicalization Fails: The Persistence of a Failed Discourse, 2010)

⁷⁰ (Atran, Scott :, 2010)

⁷¹ (Task Force on Confronting the Ideology of Radical Extremism, 2009)

⁷² (Ozdamar, 2008)

goals of terrorism and its organization, various theories have been put in place to try and explain the process. Ozgur Ozdamar views terrorism from the political lens and therefore requiring political theories to analyze its manifestation.⁷³

Other lenses see the process with different theoretical perspectives to analyze the phenomenon, including; Instrumental Approach⁷⁴, Organizational approach⁷⁵, Communication approach⁷⁶, Economic approach⁷⁷ and finally Psychological approach⁷⁸ (also encompassing the psychosocial) in its study. Based on the later approach, this study will review terrorism processes through the eyes of individuals whose mindsets are obsessed with a particular world view so powerful that it produces violent acts.⁷⁹ This study will be examining the challenges of countering terrorism in Africa by concentrating on the psychological approaches explaining radicalization through using the conversion theory, to analyze the school as a space for recruitment of youth into extremist organizations.

There are discussions on how radicalization happens as an event while others suggest that it is a process that takes time and patience by the agent. The complexity of the process also suggests that it needs a plan and strategy so that its goals to the target population is realised. Concurrently, the rise of mass media and pervasiveness of propaganda and messages that fueled the different world wars have led the study of terrorism from a political and social processes of change.

⁷³ Ibid

⁷⁴ Long (1990), Landes (1978)

⁷⁵ (Crenshaw, 1995)

⁷⁶ (Crelinsten, 1987)

⁷⁷ (Sandler , 2002)

⁷⁸ (Wilkinson & A, 1987)

⁷⁹ (Ozdamar, 2008)

In our daily lives, messages of persuasion and influence feature in all aspects through the relational, political, economic and social arenas. These suggestions determine how we engage in our environment through a routine characterized as a conversion that forms a behavior. Our survival is based on the understanding of how conversion works and how we attune to the said behavior.⁸⁰ Every individual has his or her philosophy that determines their way of life either as an individual or as a group. When this philosophy changes through the adoption of another philosophy, the process can be explained better as conversion.⁸¹

The researcher will use the Conversion theory in the study through defining human communication that is designed to influence others by modifying their beliefs, values or attitudes.⁸² It anchors on the conversion motifs that the theory develops and puts forward.⁸³ This premise will add to the scholars who contributed to the theory and examined the mystical, experimental, affectional, revivalist and cohesive conversion motifs as the presentation of the different pathways to radicalization as attributed by Lofland and Skonovd.⁸⁴ The researcher has chosen to utilize this theory as it assists in creating justification and mandates of why violent actions are employed while providing an explanation of the social and psychological barriers that may inhibit various assumptions.

Using this theory, the researcher will integrate the predisposing conditions and situational factors that move beyond the dualistic view radicalization and create a much-needed understanding of the process of the process that leads to Terrorism. The use of the theory has support from a broad

⁸⁰ (Lofland & Stark, *Becoming a World-Saver: A Theory of Conversion to a Deviant Perspective*, 1965)

⁸¹ (Kluckhohn, 1951)

⁸² (Wright, 2007)

⁸³ (Snow & Machalek, 1984)

⁸⁴ (Lofland & Skonovd, *Conversion motifs*, 1981)

body of knowledge that spans from the seven component that accounts for all the stages of the process of radicalization while linking up drivers at a context specific avenue.⁸⁵ Based on the model developed by Lewis Rambo; “Context, Crisis, Quest, Encounter, Interaction, Commitment, and Consequences;” the loosely used term of self-radicalizing processes, will also be covered in the study.⁸⁶

1.9 HYPOTHESES

The researcher will explore the direct relationship between terrorism; (dependent variable) and the process of radicalization; (Independent variable), by youth in Schools through an examination of the environment and the actors within the institutional spaces. In his analysis, the researcher will test the following;

1. Peer pressure and the identity crisis within the school system accounts for terrorism in Africa.

⁸⁵ (Rambo , 1993)

⁸⁶ ibid

2. Various social activities within the school system provided by different benefactors present a space for radicalization and recruitment to terrorism in Kenya.
3. Terrorism activities by youth in schools is as a result of other external influence away from schools.

1.10 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.10.1 Research design

The research will adopt a participatory, consultative and collaborative approach which will include adequate involvement of key stakeholders to arrive at the satisfactory output. The research will collect both quantitative and qualitative data through a mix of methods involving a combination of desktop review (secondary) and field research (primary). The researcher will emphasize on field research involving both qualitative and quantitative data.

1.10.2 Data Collection Methods

This survey will incorporate mixed analysis through the use of qualitative and quantitative data.

Quantitative

Quantitative research is used to measure **how many** people feel, think or act in a particular way. Quantitative surveys tend to include a broad cross-section. Structured questionnaires are usually used incorporating mainly closed questions - questions with set responses. This methodology generates numerical data, provides uniformity in data collection, eliminates variations in the way questions will be asked and offers a standard format for recording answers. The data collected will be tabulated and will be further analyzed using statistical techniques including the usage of software like SPSS. The researcher proposes to generalize the findings of the quantitative research to as assumptions on all schools within the target area. Quantitative methods are concerned with measuring 'how many' or 'to what extent,' and rely on statistical theory to judge the significance of results or generalize findings to a broader population. Questionnaires will be the instrument for data collection.

Qualitative

Qualitative research is exploratory and results in depth information. It deals with less tangible and measurable topics and allows for close examination of motives, perceptions, beliefs, and attitudes. Discussions are unstructured, free-flowing, and thus yield in-depth information. Respondents will be invited to articulate details of their experiences regarding various issues associated with radicalization in the school context. The ultimate goal of this phase is to capture the attributes of each component that fully describe what needs to be measured.

(i) *Focus Group Discussions (FGDs)*

It is a qualitative research method in which 8 to 12 respondents are invited to a central location to discuss the subject of radicalization in schools. Projective techniques were in use during focus group discussions to elicit responses from the participants. These will be through indirect interviewing methods which enable sampled respondents to project their views, beliefs, and feelings onto a third-party or into some task/ situation.

Focus group discussions will be conducted with the students from the selected schools, teachers, and stakeholders in order to gather perception data on the main issues based on the objectives as required. A recruitment questionnaire will be used to recruit participants in the FGDs. Three (3) focus group discussions were done per county.

Region	Students, teachers, and Stakeholders
Nairobi	3
Kakamega	3
Total	6

(ii) Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)

Key informant interviews were conducted with selected key decision makers representing various stakeholder organizations such as Representatives from the Ministry of Education;(both at the county and the national level), Local government leaders, religious leaders, opinion leaders, Parent Teacher Association representatives, School Board, School Subordinate Staff and Student leaders. A total of 28 in-depth interviews at most will be conducted to collect data.

1.10.3 Sampling procedure

A subset of the entire population will be used to gather data from the general population.⁸⁷

According to the data by Shule Yetu website, Kakamega County has a total number of 276 secondary/high schools while Nairobi County has a total of 338 high schools, with an average student population of 102 and 135 students per school respectively. Based on the mean population of students per school in each of these counties, this study will purposively select eight schools. It accounts for an average target population of 2040 students.

Kakamega County Student Average = 120

Nairobi County Student Average = 135

Total target population $(120+135) * 8 = 2040$

The researcher will use the formula below to determine the sample size for the questionnaire respondents in the schools⁸⁸ as shown below:

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

Where:

n = sample size

N = Average Number of Students in the 8 secondary / high schools of Nairobi
and Kakamega County

E = maximum limit of tolerable error (0.08)

Hence, $n = 2040 / (1 + 2040 \times 0.08^2) = 13.0624$

$$n = 156.17$$

⁸⁷ (Yin, 2009)

⁸⁸ (Yamane, 1967)

n = 156

The study selected a higher sample size of 20 Students per school instead of 19.5 per school in Nairobi and Kakamega County.

1.10.4 Data Processing and Analysis

1.10.4.1 Data Processing

The researcher will analyze and report survey responses using descriptive statistics. Factor analysis/ component analysis based on groups of related statements will also be used to make comparison across the core study factors with correlation and various statistical tests. Data processing will entail data cleaning, coding, definitions of variables, data entry, analyses, and interpretations, in that order. Data analysis and interpretation was done on SPSS and MS Excel Platform.

1.10.4.2 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher will sort approval from all the authorities involved starting with the National Council for Science and Technology. Approvals were given by the Ministry of Education, and the Various School Heads. The researcher also sort approval from own opinion leaders, religious leaders, and other stakeholders, informing them of the research while getting their consent to be involved in the study. Apart from the questionnaire tool to the students in the schools, the researcher scheduled focus group discussions on the questions that will need more in-depth understanding and to gather more qualitative data. Also, the researcher conducted key informant interviews based on an interview guide template.

1.10.5 Piloting

The researcher carried out a pilot to the study which will include a pre-testing of the tools to determine their validity and reliability. The pilot will also review whether there are language barriers that needed addressing. This pilot process for the survey was done with representatives from of Eastleigh division of Kamukunji constituency in Nairobi. (Duggan & Kriel, 2016)⁸⁹

1.10.6 Ethical considerations

The researcher recognizes the importance of informed consent in any research process. The researcher observed ethics by respecting the rights of every person, informing each that they have the right to stop at any time during the study, seek informed consent from the respondents and assure confidentiality on the data collected. The study sort responses from children. The researcher worked with the parent teachers' association supervision from the teacher during the administration of the questionnaire.

⁸⁹ (Orodho, 2002)

1.11 CHAPTER OUTLINE

The report to this study is organized in five chapters as depicted below;

i. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY.

This chapter covers the background to the study, the literature review, and gaps. It also covers the objectives that will guide the research process and the justification of the research. This chapter concludes with a research methodology used in the survey.

ii. CHAPTER TWO: THE NEXUS BETWEEN YOUTH RADICALIZATION AND TERRORISM IN SCHOOLS IN AFRICA. (OBJECTIVE 1)

This chapter will provide background data for radicalization and recruitment of children/ young people in schools; globally, in Africa and Kenya. It will test the hypothesis whether the relationship between peer pressure and the problem of an identity crisis to be the driving agency to radicalization process in schools. Also, this chapter will compare the similarities and/or differences between the drivers to radicalization between the children/youth in school and those out of school.

iii. CHAPTER THREE: HUMAN AGENCY AND RADICALIZATION LEADING TO TERRORISM; IN SCHOOLS (OBJECTIVE 2)

This chapter will analyze the spaces where radicalization and recruitment in the schools may be taking place. This chapter will cover the different groupings within the school including; clubs, sports and other social setups that may be used by the process. It will also cover the various actors in these spaces and how they interact with the youth while within the learning institution.

iv. CHAPTER FOUR: OUT OF SCHOOL VARIABLES AND THEIR INFLUENCE TO TERRORISM. (OBJECTIVE 3)

This chapter will review other environments out of the school as spaces where radicalization process takes place. This analysis will also be based analysis of youth engagement, especially during the holiday period.

v. CHAPTER FIVE: DATA PRESENTATION

This chapter will cover the basic analysis of the data from the field work

vi. CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE FINDINGS.

It is the final chapter of the research which will cover an analysis of the data from the field. It will also have recommendations on how to engage and deal with the challenge of terrorism and radicalization in schools.

2.0 CHAPTER TWO: THE NEXUS BETWEEN YOUTH RADICALIZATION AND TERRORISM IN SCHOOLS IN AFRICA.

2.1 INTRODUCTION:

Facts and data have a way of showing and predicting a future that is at times very grim. In the discussions about international relations, what remains to be factual is the datum that extremist organizations are in competition with one another for recruits. The engagement of the young fighter seeks to fight for “Islam” want to go to the dusty, difficult terrain in the Horn of Africa; Somalia to be specific, or to a place where chunks of territory have already captured. This competition can be said to be the reason why Alshabaab is a bit sluggish or unable to fully declare allegiance to either one international extremist organization or the other. Available data shows that Al-Shabaab as an extremist organization has not decided on whom to pay allegiance to; with one faction supporting Al-Qaeda while the other struggles to link up with ISIS. What the extremist organizations agree on however is the need to provide sustenance to their activities especially through the engagement of more recruits and passing off propaganda that has formed the core of their narratives.

Every extremist organization is in one way or the other seeking more foot soldiers to advance its activities across the regions. That said, this chapter covers an overview of extremism globally and expands the lenses to the regional and more specifically Kenya with the aim of looking at the radicalization processes leading to the challenge of terrorism. Based on the hypothesis, this chapter illustrates that radicalisation leading to terrorism may be somewhat similar with the youth above the age of 19 years and out of school but Peer Pressure and identity crisis play a major role in the process. This chapter concludes with data from the field work with insights as to what happens in schools.

2.2 OVERVIEW OF TERRORISM

Many terrorist and/or extremist organizations are threatening peace and security globally and in Africa. These terrorist organizations have global links courtesy of the call to action for the global “jihad” as seen in the case of motivated religious extremism. The terrorism index 2015 indicated that there is a sharp increase in terrorist activities of an average 80% with an estimated 14,574 deaths recorded in 2013 to 2014.⁹⁰ Though the report stressed on terrorism activities to be focusing on five countries globally including; Iraq, Nigeria, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Syria, there are an additional six countries that have come to the limelight including; Somalia, Ukraine, Cameroon, Central Africa Republic, South Sudan, and Yemen.⁹¹ It creates a need to focus more on these organizations now than before. Currently, these organizations are using children to do their bidding. The data from the terrorism index 2015 also shows an increased concentration of

⁹⁰ (Institute for Economics and Peace , 2015)

⁹¹ ibid

terrorist activities in Africa with the three of the six new countries that face extremist activities coming from this continent.

Africa has regional divisions including North, South, East, West and Central Africa. For international relation interests and regional organizations; Africa has also been divided further into broad categories including Northern Africa, Horn of Africa, Eastern Africa, Central Africa and Southern Africa. The lists and rational of these divisions may not be exhausted, and yet it still faces the challenges of post-colonialism even with the recent birth of a young democracy like South Sudan. Globally, 2016 has had its share if terrorism incidents. From January 2016 to date, there has been over 1098 incidents around the world; with more incidents happening in Africa during this period.⁹²

The Counter Terrorism Guide website has six extremist organizations that have been categorized as the most challenging ones yet; operating on the continent at the moment. These organizations include Ansar Al-sharia in North Africa, Al-Murabitun in the North and West Africa, Lord Resistance Army in East and Central Africa, Al-Shabaab in the Horn of Africa, Boko Haram, Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb, Ansar Bayt Al-Maqdis.⁹³ There is data to suggest that these organizations have links to other global extremist organizations including ISIL and Al-Qaida affiliates around the world.

The growing nature of democracies in Africa and the continued militancy wars facing its people seem to provide an avenue for these extremist organizations to flourish. The factors leading to

⁹² (Source, 2016)

⁹³ (Counter Terrorism Guide, 2016)

terrorism through the process of radicalization still continue to expand with more challenges facing the people within those states. Internationalization of conflict has not made it easy either; as a matter of fact, this has created the commonality of purpose with the call of specific forms of “jihad” and other cases of religiously motivated extremism. For instance, since the Arab spring of 2011, terrorist organizations have exploited the weaknesses in governments in the north of Africa to instigate their propaganda at the expense of the suffering of citizens in these nations.

Even more critical is the recruitment process, engagement policies and the target population participation shifts. A 10-year-old Kazakh boy using a gun to execute for the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS), the twin suicide bombings in the northern part of Nigeria, involving three girls, who appeared to have been only 10 years old, a nine-year-old girl and an Afghan Taliban commander detained and confessing of being forced to wear a suicide belt; are the many indications that the use of the youth who are in / or should be in schools, by extremist organizations; is a reality that we have to deal with both locally and globally.⁹⁴ The so-called cubs of ISIL have been used to commit atrocities internationally and a recent affiliation of a 14-year-old child as a suicide bomber in a wedding in Turkey that left 51 individuals dead and scores of others injured; is prove enough that we are in crisis.⁹⁵

General scholarship had always focused on the political, economic and social drivers to terrorism, but the participation of schools going youth in extremist organizations calls for a closer look at the role of education and the institutions to radicalization and recruitment.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ (Bloom & Horgan, 2015)

⁹⁵ (Hunter & Newton, 2016)

⁹⁶ (Clifford, 2015)

2.3 RECRUITMENT AND EXPANSION:

Across Africa, there is a lot of data and segregated documentation indicating the participation of youth in school and their links to terrorist activities and organizations. The information spans from Northern Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa to the Horn of Africa. Most of the youth in schools are either; lured, abducted, or smuggled into terrorist organizations. The Lord's Resistance Army is estimated to have captured over 100,000 children from 1987 to 2012 and displaced over 2.5 million people according to a United Nations report.⁹⁷

There are different data sources pay tribute to the process of joining with indications that some of the Chibok girls from Nigeria⁹⁸ were abducted and are usually served to be wives to the terrorists. Some of the children are also sold by unknowing parents to extremist organizations in the pretext that the buyers would provide these youths who are supposed to be in school; with the Qur'anic teachings in better learning institutions. Mali has been notorious in the smuggling and/or selling of the youth in schools to extremist organizations. Extremists with the names; Battar al-Ansari, Abu Muhammad al-Buqali al-Ansari, and Ahmed al-Fulani al-Ansari, are just but a few examples of youth who were sold to terrorist organizations in the pretext of furthering education, and have already committed atrocities.⁹⁹

There is another twist that reviews the nexus between education and radicalization with Algeria and Tunisia being the best examples of this.¹⁰⁰ This nexus discusses the concept of patriotism vs. the linkage to the colonial power. In the countries mentioned above, there is evidence that a

⁹⁷ (United Nations, 2013)

⁹⁸ (Amnesty International, 2015)

⁹⁹ Obaji, 2016

¹⁰⁰ (Joffe, 2012)

closed system in one created a breeding ground for radicalization while the other; the open system provided more insights into the learning process. Conventionally, education may oblige as a de-facto source of radicalization. However, when delivered with sincerity to ideas and the identities of those to whom the system desires to educate, it can also aid as a deterrent.

That said, we should take note that the latter can only apply in situations where radicalization processes relate more to the economic, social, and political gripes rather than interpretations of religious texts that may lead to violence.¹⁰¹ In the Horn of Africa and closer home, available data suggests that the use of youth who are supposed to be in school as child soldiers as witnessed by Al Shabaab extremist organization and Lord Resistance Army. Most of the children who have been detained by the Puntland government in Somalia are estimated to be between 10 and 15 years of age. According to a CNN article on child soldiers indicate numbers ranging from 60 to 100, to be children who are currently participating in Al-Shabaab activities.¹⁰²

2.4 UNDERSTANDING TERRORIST ORGANIZATION

In the Horn of Africa, Alshabaab has been gaining traction even with the activities of Amisom and other regional government initiatives. There are different theories on the birth of this organization that has now become one of the most dangerous extremist organizations in the Horn of Africa. To be able to deal with the challenges posed by the extremist organization would require a deeper understanding of their development and how they mobilize.

¹⁰¹ (Joffe, 2012)

¹⁰² (Kriel & Duggan, 2016)

William Donohue and Moty Crystal have analyzed the organizational life cycle of the extremist organization to include four transformational stages that range from; Incubation which is the conception and development stage, Strategic Violence Stage, Political Violence Stage and finally the Stability Stage.¹⁰³ At each stage, the organization has to pass through different levels of indoctrination, commercialization stage for it to gain “customer attraction and acceptance, a proportion of political presence and finally a transformational ability; respectively. For the purpose of this study; The researcher would like to concentrate more on the Strategic Violence and the Political Violence Stages of extremist organizations.

2.4.1 Strategic Violence Stage

It is the second stage in the organizational cycle of extremist organizations. Under this stage, the extremist organizations have the mandate to gain acceptance within the community and acts in a self-organizing system that begins to commit certain forms of violence to achieve its goals. During this stage, the organizations also solidify leadership over its rivals and develop formal rules of engagement in the society. It is during this period that they maintain much support from external donors while retaining some form of command and control structure which enables the process of recruitment, resource security, and targeted attacks.¹⁰⁴

2.4.2 Political Violent Stage

The success of an extremist organization is its ability to provide a buffer against threats and external activities. In most cases, extremist organizations use this stage to establish legitimacy

¹⁰³ (Donohue & Cristal)

¹⁰⁴ (Donohue & Cristal)

within the community from a political point of view through establishing social services at the community level and gaining a buy into its activities. These activities increase the shared grievance narrative especially in areas where the government seems not to be providing the services required at the community level. At this level, the extremist organizations weigh the benefits and gains it will receive in human resources for its activities vs. the attacks. It does not mean that it puts the violent activities on hold but rather develops a dualistic method of handling both sides of the sword effectively.

Alshabaab can be said to be working in between these two levels of its organization cycle based on the activities it is engaged in and also the need to increase its human resource through radicalization and recruitment.

2.5 THE CASE OF KENYA:

The 1998 bombing of the US embassy in Nairobi was a targeted attack against the western interests in the region. Kenyan casualties were collateral damage and not necessarily the major goal of the attackers. In the recent times and with the foothold of KDF in Somalia, Al-Shabaab declared war to the western interests and also to other allies of Amisom including Kenya. In an article by the Crisis group, Al-Shabaab declares that they are already in the country Kenya, and even the setup of security apparatus including the wall will not protect the nation from its activities.¹⁰⁵

Scholarly data has indicated different origins to the most dangerous extremist organizations in the Horn of Africa. The latest book by Stig Jarle Hansen; Al-Shabaab in Somalia, depicts the origins of this organization to be around the UNISOM II (1993-1995) due to the jihad fights that

¹⁰⁵ (Crisis Group, 2012)

instigated for the protection of the Muslim Umma against the western interests.¹⁰⁶ Other scholars have moved the history to a much later date of around 2003 for a meeting in Hargeisa.¹⁰⁷ To date, predictions have been made suggesting the demise of the organization that seems to flourish even with the pounding they received from the Amisom activities in Somalia and the takeover of their economic base in the port of Kismayu.¹⁰⁸

Al-Shabaab's activities are on the rise in the region and estimations on mobilization and recruitment indicates that most of the recruits into the organization are mostly foreigners.¹⁰⁹ One of the recruitment strategies has been via historical development and online platforms including; Hegaan in the spring of 2007 Kataaib, Al-hesba, and Al-qimmah.¹¹⁰ The organization has had foreign members within its ranks including Muktar Robow and Godane Shongola beefing up the engagement of international recruitment and engagement.¹¹¹

Since 2011, the majority of the attacks that have taken place in the region have not had any organization claim responsibility. However, those attacks that have had a party assume responsibility for the actions has included the Westgate attack and others like that of Garissa University. The region has had other extremist organizations that have been in existence even before the public operations of Al-Shabaab in the region. These organizations have long pledged allegiance to Al-Shabaab including Al-hijra and Kaworja.¹¹² Though the actions of Lord's

¹⁰⁶ (Hansen , 2016)

¹⁰⁷ ibid

¹⁰⁸ (Hansen , 2016)

¹⁰⁹ ibid

¹¹⁰ (Hansen , 2016)

¹¹¹ ibid

¹¹² (Hansen , 2016)

Resistance Army remain prevalent in the region, Al-Shabaab seems to have more foothold both in activities, radicalization narrative and in the recruitment processes.

Kenya is an economic powerhouse in the region, and as a result of this prestige, it is an ally of most Western interests but also a target for extremist organizations too. Apart from the attacks recorded in Somalia from Al-Shabaab, Kenya has witnessed a lot more attacks than any other country in the Horn of Africa from the same extremist organization and its affiliates. Various reports indicate that the recruitment processes are now taking root in Kenya, with Al-Shabaab becoming smarter in its processes of engagement.

Also, Kenya is one of the countries that have contributed more young people into to the organization. A story by CNN on the state of affairs in the region paints a bleak future for the various agencies and institutions dealing with the process of de-radicalization in Kenya. In an article titled; One year after Garissa, schools are recruiting grounds for extremists,¹¹³ various organizations claim that radicalization is happening in different high schools in Kenya.

The National Intelligence Service has stated that this extremist organization has added; Rift-Valley, Western, and Nyanza to its original Coastal, North Eastern and Nairobi interests, as recruitment areas.¹¹⁴ An intelligence report warns that terror groups are now targeting university and secondary school goers to create a pool of radicalized youth, who could easily be deployed. “A protracted state of instability, long porous borders and coastline have made Somalia a haven

¹¹³ Duggan & Kriel, 2016

¹¹⁴ (Som M. , 2016)

for international terrorist's recruitment, training and launch pad for conducting operations across the region," observes the 42-page State of National Security Annual Report to Parliament.¹¹⁵

Al-Shabaab has unquestionably penetrated Kenya's institutions of higher learning, radicalizing and recruiting students. There are reported cases of parents especially in the border towns complaining of the actions and the pain they have faced after losing their children to Al-Shabaab. One parent called Halima Hassan stated that her son requested her for around \$40 for a school trip and that was the last time she saw her son.¹¹⁶ She is one among many parents who have complained about the impact of the extremist organizations in the areas of Isiolo Kenya. Some of them have categorically mentioned that their sons arrested by law enforcement agencies en-route to joining Al-Shabaab, while others have received phone calls from their lost sons claiming that they are okay and are with the extremist organization.¹¹⁷ The same article indicates that an average of 200 young school going youth/children are missing and have allegedly joined the extremist organization.

In 2010, the Daily Nation published a report indicating that the law enforcement agencies in Kenya were now aware that the target population for recruitment by Al-Shabaab extremist organization included the youth in schools.¹¹⁸ In this report, they mention police reports indicating an arrest of two young men from secondary education with a Nigerian, in Kizingitini Lamu county; while trying to cross into Somalia.¹¹⁹ In August 2015, the same media daily

¹¹⁵ (Som M. , 2016)

¹¹⁶ (Yusuf, 2015)

¹¹⁷ *ibid*

¹¹⁸ (Nation Media Correspondent, 2010)

¹¹⁹ *ibid*

published another article stating that at least six learning institutions had been in the limelight for having students quit to join extremist organizations both in Somalia and Syria.

The institutions included; Isiolo Boys High School with 10 of its students quit to join Al-Shabaab in Somalia, Marsabit Mixed Secondary School and Moi Girls Secondary in Marsabit, Koseka Secondary, Birunda PAG Primary and St Patrick's Bumula Secondary School in Western Kenya.¹²⁰ The article identifies Abdalla Bin Abdalla alias Maalim Burhan and Hassan Omondi Owiti alias Budalang'i and Tawfiqa Dahir and Salwa Abdalla as male and female respectively students who have joined extremist organizations.

The capital city has not been left behind as reports from the National Intelligence Service in Kenya indicated that some schools within the nations' capital were recruiting grounds for Al-Shabaab in Kenya. It also extended examples of other schools in the coastal part of the nation too. The schools mentioned included; Moi Forces, State House Girls', Limuru Girls, Nairobi Technical School, Highway Secondary, Eastleigh High school, St George's Secondary, Aga Khan and Sheikh Khalifa in Mombasa.¹²¹ In the month of October 2015, reports emerged of a 14-year-old boy registered to sit for his Kenya Certificate of Primary Education, who was rescued from the recruitment ring that was operating near his home in one of the leafy suburbs in Nairobi. The boy also mentioned that 20 other young children had already crossed to Somalia after mastering the minimal training.¹²²

¹²⁰ (Nation Media Correspondent , 2015)

¹²¹ (Geller, 2013)

¹²² (Nation Media Correspondent, 2015)

2.6 WHERE IS THE NEXUS?

Research also shows that the youth in schools consider the approval of their peers at this stage in life more than that of the adults in their lives.¹²³ It makes them more susceptible to its influence peer pressure and the search for identity. The basis of the researchers' argument, therefore, looks at peer pressure and the identity crisis within the school system, to accounts for radicalization into terrorism in schools in Africa. Radicalization and recruitment into extremist organizations is a complex phenomenon that has a myriad of drivers and factors to explain it. Apart from the effective recruitment of children into the ranks of Al-Shabaab through kidnapping; the extremist organization has also seen the recruitment through the component of indoctrination, peer pressure and the filling the gap in the search for identity.¹²⁴

2.6.1 Peer Pressure in Radicalization and Recruitment:

The first time for the peer radicalization documented in 2015 included six members of the same Somali community arrested on charges for joining ISIS, and the FBI were quick to point out that the group “recruited each other” in what is known as radicalisation by peers.¹²⁵ The impact of government scrutiny and surveillance using a top-down approach has created more fear and forced a change of strategy in the process of radicalization and recruitment. This hostile environment has created an outcome largely driven by underground key figures in recruitment seen as an activist rather than the self-styled imam or the radical organization that has been the norm. The end game of this new shift has developed a horizontal as opposed to the top-down

¹²³ (Tahiri & Grossman, 2013)

¹²⁴ (Canada: Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, 2013)

¹²⁵ (Shane, 2015)

process of recruitment through an entrepreneurial type peer group leader who recruits on their initiative among family, friends, members of the social network and in this case, schools.¹²⁶

Innumerable reports indicate that the process of radicalization and recruitment has taken place with the aid of individuals known to the participants. These people included the teachers, parents, family members and other peers who impact pressure to be part of something within the environment that the youth engage. Even though “some youths living in poor neighbourhoods gain attraction to the promise of money and material reward; others believe in the jihadist ideology, some have lost faith in dysfunctional politics, others look for adventure and for a clear set of rules and norms to follow, and yet others join because of peer or even family pressure.”¹²⁷

Peer influence in the process of radicalization and recruitment, consequently, plays an important role as the youth in school needs approval both at the institution level and at the broader community level. Peer pressure and/or influence also contribute to the dynamics of the individual from self to group. A study, produced by the International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Science (ICSR) indicates that local networks, friendships, and social circles were the “decisive influence” in radicalizing young men and women to join Islamic State (also known as ISIS, or ISIL) for the British youth.¹²⁸ This case can also be used to explain the need that most youths had in associating with “Britaini Brigade Bangladeshi Bad Boys,” the nickname attributed to the group of jihadists from Portsmouth.¹²⁹

¹²⁶ (Dalgaard, 2010)

¹²⁷ (Hellsten, 2016)

¹²⁸ (RT Question More, 2014)

¹²⁹ *ibid*

In an article about the sustenance of the terrorist rhetoric, Gina states that psychological factors play an important part in determining the success and prevalence of terrorism. Some of these factors include group dynamics, pressure from peers, fear of isolation, and the quest for significance; which contribute to the greater goal of violent extremism.¹³⁰ It consequently, is a clear indication that involvement in violent acts is not necessarily premised on or driven by adherence to radical beliefs, but either motivated by personal or group loyalty or peer pressure. Therefore, radicalisation takes place in smaller groups where bonding, peer pressure, and indoctrination gradually change the worldview of an individual through a process of cognitive opening as seen in most of the psychosocial theories.¹³¹ It can be analyzed in to find out why youth in schools join extremist organizations.

2.6.2 Ideology and Identity Crisis in Radicalization and Recruitment:

Many data point to the fact that Islamist radicalisation is related to identity dynamics where the process of search for identity through understanding radicalisation dignity and meaning to perceived discrimination, grievances and pressure on Islam which induces receptiveness toward the radical worldview of militant Islamists.¹³² The potential to resort to violent means is an inherent possibility in all forms of collective identity where its prominence forms around the belief that it is overwhelmed by an existential threat resulting to culture and survival crisis.¹³³

¹³⁰ (DeJacimo, 2015)

¹³¹ (Wiktorowicz, 2004)

¹³² (Dzhekova, et al., 2016)

¹³³ (Berntzen, 2014)

An article in the journal for strategic studies depicts the importance of social identity in the whole process of radicalization. The author states that; identity stands at the fore of the radicalization process where its success or failure lies partially in the recruiters' ability to provide the radicalized individual with distinctive identity that is based on a puritanical interpretation of the religion and imbued with a sense of moral and spiritual superiority, that sets him/her aside above the rest of society.¹³⁴ This argument can be used to support the process of recruitment of children from schools into Al-Shabaab that is on the rise with the recruiters preying on their feeble minds to impact their ideology.

The European committee on social affairs health and sustainable development report takes note of the fact that “an increasing number of children and young people being drawn into extremist movements in their search for identity and a meaningful place in society.”¹³⁵ In an interview, Ms. Farah Pandith indicates that in the 80 countries that she traveled to as a special representative, her consistent finding was that the Muslim millennials are having a crisis of identity. She states that most youths are asking questions about culture versus religion, being modern and Muslim; and the people who are answering their identity crisis questions are not parents or family or community voices that in the past may have helped young people navigate their identity.¹³⁶ Her interview clearly highlights the gap that lies among the youth and specifically children as they seek to belong.

A research report by Anneli Botha also contributes to the discussion around identity and the process of radicalization into the extremist organization. In her report, she points out the internal

¹³⁴ (Raffie, 2013)

¹³⁵ (Ms Sevinj FATALIYEVA, 2016)

¹³⁶ (Phillips, 2015)

factors that lead young people to the extremist organization. The concept of identity search becomes central in the whole process as those young people who are unsure of their identity can easily be manipulated. It then makes it easy for the identity of an organization; in this case extremist organization, can become the identity of an individual; with the feeling of belonging to the terrorist group becoming the most important component of the Individual.¹³⁷ Membership to an organization provides some form of identity especially to those whose base identity is flawed.¹³⁸ Also, the need for belonging can be used to analyze the various components of self-radicalization process found in schools in Kenya.

Scholarly work has identified the importance of both religious and ethnic identities in the process of radicalization. Also, discussions and moving toward how identity formation can become maladaptive and whether certain cognitive propensities can combine to create a mindset that presents a higher risk in the roadmap to radicalization and recruitment.¹³⁹ A proposed argument illustrates the search for personal and group identities among those who feel undermined by rapid social change can increase the vulnerability of the young to radicalisation.¹⁴⁰

2.7 FINDINGS:

Fieldwork data indicates that a larger percentage of the youth in schools are radicalized and recruited due to peer pressure and the need for identity. The names of the two students mentioned in Kakamega county and the linkage to organized crime group; Gaza, in both sites indicates a need to provide more guidance to the students in schools.

¹³⁷ (Botha, Assessing the vulnerability of Kenyan youths to radicalisation and extremism, 2013)

¹³⁸ Ibid

¹³⁹ (Allan, Glazzard, Jespersen, Reddy-Tumu, & Winterbotham, 2015)

¹⁴⁰ ibid

2.8 CONCLUSIONS:

This chapter looked at the identity crisis and peer pressure as some of the drivers to terrorism. These two factors do not work in isolation; in fact, data indicates that they work with together with other factors including; poverty as seen in the case of lack of fees, social media engagement and the need for justice to the ills of society. All the different factors should, therefore, be considered when developing a counter to the challenge at hand.

3.0 CHAPTER THREE: HUMAN AGENCY AND RADICALIZATION LEADING TO TERRORISM; IN SCHOOLS

3.1 INTRODUCTION:

The appeal of extremist organizations to the young people across the globe is rising. ISIS is one of the global extremist organizations that has increased children engagement in its organization. The former British Prime Minister; David Cameron got concerned about this trend and was in the past quoted saying that; "It needs every school, every university, every college, every community to recognize they have a role to play. We all have a role in stopping people from having their minds poisoned by this appalling death cult."¹⁴¹ His concern was directed to the society as a whole but also specifically to the learning institutions in particular. Recently, learning institutions globally, have been put on notice after the realization that they are breeding grounds for terrorism. Also, the presence of individuals who act as enablers by preying on the vulnerabilities of the children/youth in school pushes the risks even further.

¹⁴¹ (Mullen, 2015)

This chapter recognizes the presence of vulnerabilities and/or risk factors defined as; attributes, characteristic, condition or context, that increases the probability of support for, or involvement in, Terrorism. It underscores the fact that though the contextual factors may enhance a school society's vulnerability to Terrorism involvement, the grievances and opportunities involved may not create significant risks in the absence of organizations, ideologies, and entrepreneurs that can frame and channel the relevant grievances in violent directions. Consequently, this chapter is cognisant of the role of the human agency in the process of engagement into terrorism. This chapter will cover the areas within the learning institution as a space that has been used to radicalize and recruit youth into extremist organizations. It will highlight the social activities the children are engaged in while in school and the dangers that unchecked activities pose not only to the institution but also security as a whole.

3.2 RADICALIZATION AND RECRUITMENT IN LEARNING INSTITUTIONS:

There is a mutual agreement around the world that edification has a resolve. This role is crucial not only in ensuring the current situation changes but also a sanctuary of our future generations is also secured. Through education, human beings can be able to achieve goals and visions they set for themselves by continuously exceeding, continually achieving the best, and satisfying the endless curiosity to know the outer universe while enriching their inner consciousness. To this end, all knowledge is constantly gathered, experimented and applied to the welfare of humankind through a mechanism of transferring knowledge and skills to the next generation in learning institutions.

These learning institutions have been put in place to mold and shape human behavior from a very tender age. This environment refers to the social, academic and emotional contexts and how it is perceived by students, staff, and community. This climate is influenced by a broad range of factors, from disciplinary policies to instructional quality to student and teacher morale.¹⁴² The challenge comes in when the very institution that should be used to mold values among children and youth can be used to parade extremism and other vices in the community. Even worse, some of the extremist organizations have institutions of learning where the processes of indoctrination take place. In a report by UNAMI/OCHR, ISIL, and some associated armed groups are actively recruiting children as young as 13 as fighters and are undergoing mandatory military training organized by ISIL in Mosul.¹⁴³

A human rights report pushes the questions on the process further by indicating that the use of children by armed opposition groups has not been confined to one group, or to certain ideologies or ethnicities. Children interviewed by Human Rights Watch reported serving in brigades and battalions associated with the Free Syrian Army (FSA), extremist Islamist forces such as the Jabhat al-Nusra, the Islamic State of Iraq and Sham (ISIS), Yekîneyên Parastina Gel (YPG) military and Asayish police forces in Kurdish-controlled parts of northern Syria.¹⁴⁴

Another report by the Global Coalition to Protect Education from Attack indicates that with intensified fighting in Mogadishu in mid-2010, the dwindling ranks of Al-Shabaab in the region forced them to recruit children either by force or by other forms of enticements. The report also sites that the recruited children stated that most of those who recruited them into the extremist

¹⁴² (Blum, MD, MPH, PhD, , 2005)

¹⁴³ (UNAMI/OHCHR, 6 July – 10 September 2014)

¹⁴⁴ (Human Rights Watch, June 2014)

organization were teachers who had taught them before in their institutions of learning.¹⁴⁵ This report documents that Al-Shabaab had abducted a total of around 2,000 children for training in 2010 and at least another 948 children recruited in 2011, from schools and madrassas. It documents that the recruitment processes have had a variety of implementation strategies including youth targeted as they went to schools.¹⁴⁶ The report points out a worse and unfortunate environment for the children because it mentions that some of the adults who had been given the responsibility to take care of the children, became the recruiters. It mentions anti-government elements within the learning institutions would receive orders from Al-Shabaab and radicalize the children for recruitment.

The Quilliam Foundation has also released a report indicating that schools and the education system are essential to influencing the hearts and minds of the next generation. According to this account, there is indoctrination that begins in schools intensifies in training camps, where children between the ages of 10 and 15 are instructed in sharia, desensitized to violence, and are taught specific skills to serve the state best and take up the banner of jihad.¹⁴⁷ At a national level and within different contexts, data show that certain extremist organizations have invested heavily in the learning institution with the aim of indoctrination through schooling.

The course to becoming an adherent of radical Islam is fundamentally a didactic process, where from a very young age, Palestinians who share in the Hamas Duwaa, both as agents and subjects; are instructed in the language of radical Islam, schooled in its rationalizations and apologies, and

¹⁴⁵ (GCPEA, 2014)

¹⁴⁶ *ibid*

¹⁴⁷ (Benotman & Malik, 2016)

taught its supreme virtue and boundless promise. Such an education program requires the student to be constantly supervised, mentored, cajoled, threatened, and praised.¹⁴⁸

Evidence of this process seen in 2001 where the Islamic Society in Gaza held a graduation ceremony for the 1,650 children and the photographs of the graduands show pre-school aged children wearing military uniforms and carrying mock rifles and other mock up activities.¹⁴⁹ The process of radicalization and recruitment has been beefed up through the use of clubs including; the Hamas Islamic Student Movement in the Bethlehem, which distributed to young students "Instruction Cards," bearing the pictures of Hamas suicide bombers and others killed carrying out terrorist attacks, and encouraging Palestinian youth to follow in their footsteps.¹⁵⁰ In Birmingham, reports have surfaced of parents noticing and revealing that a school their children were going to was radicalizing them. Both Oldknow Academy and Park View have mentioned the management and the former head of drama, respectively; to be radicalizing children by providing subsidized tours to Mecca, discouraging children against celebrating Christmas, asking children to learn Arabic while publicly appreciating the doctrine as proposed by Anwar al-Awlaki.¹⁵¹

Near home, the situation is not any different. The major extremist organizations have identified the importance of early age indoctrination. Various intelligence has indicated that the children have been abducted or pushed into Alshabaab even as they go to school. Other students who remain persistent in search of knowledge through the proper education system and learning have

¹⁴⁸ (Levitt, 2007)

¹⁴⁹ (Levitt, 2007)

¹⁵⁰ (Levitt, 2007)

¹⁵¹ (The Telegraph , 2016)

now remained the targets of the extremist organization in Somalia. This targeting from Alshabaab has also moved to their teachers and their school buildings.¹⁵²

In Kenya, reports have indicated that certain schools used as radicalization and recruitment avenues for children. According to an article on the International War and Peace Reporting website, an eight-year-old boy arrived home from school one Friday evening excited by what he had learned that day. The boy told his mother that his science teacher had taught the class how to dismantle and reassemble a gun. In the same lesson, he also learned how to shoot at targets and practiced firing at the blackboard with a toy pistol. This lesson was to prepare the students to defend themselves against terrorists.¹⁵³ The same article also highlights another case where a teacher at another school, praised attacks in Kenya carried out by the Islamist group al-Shabaab and informed a class of 11-year-olds that it was honorable for them to die to fight.¹⁵⁴ The situation is even worse as it seems that other institutions have parents who are quietly supporting the process of radicalization and recruitment. The Kenyan Court system has sentenced a few recruiters recently and Samuel Wanjala Wabwile alias Salim Mohamed Wabwile sentenced to 20 years in jail for allegedly recruiting seven boys from Gadini Primary School into Al-Shabaab by Magistrate; Ms. Diana Mochache, is an example.¹⁵⁵

3.3 EXPLOITATION OF VULNERABILITIES BY THE HUMAN AGENCY:

Apart from those institutions that have either been built to serve extremist purposes through indoctrination and military training, to those that have been taken over by extremists as seen in

¹⁵² (Breitenbücher, 2015)

¹⁵³ (Gathu, 2014)

¹⁵⁴ *ibid*

¹⁵⁵ (Reuters Correspondent, 2016) (Kariuki, 2015)

the case of certain schools in Somalia.¹⁵⁶ There are other institutions that have elements or social activities that use this space as a radicalization and recruitment platform for the children who attend these institutions. Various social events within the school system provided by different benefactors have presented a space for radicalization and recruitment to terrorism in Kenya. These social events have either been taking place under the noses of the administration and due to the laxity of engagement in activities that the children/ youth in schools are engaged. Interestingly, some of the radicalizing parties are the teachers and other institutional “heads” who are ideally supposed to guide the youth/children in schools.

The government in Kenya for a long time viewed radicalization and recruitment to be taking place in religious learning institutions and not in other secular and private learning institutions. For this reason, many programs focus on the Duksis and Madrassas and even mosques; with the aim of rooting out the problem. Recently, reports suggest that other social activities including religious activities within the institutions of learning serve as a vulnerability that the extremist organizations and individuals can use. A directive from the Ministry of Education through the cabinet secretary concluded that the shepherds whose aim is to win souls when still young, and operate mostly as itinerant preachers, will now have to be cleared by the important religious leaders before being allowed to step into any school with the purpose of talking to students.¹⁵⁷

3.3.1 Radicalization and Recruitment by religious preachers in schools

The surge of the Islamic State group globally, as well as the growing influence of Al-Qaeda-linked militants and Salafists, has different parts of the system working around the clock. Threat

¹⁵⁶ (Breitenbücher, 2015)

¹⁵⁷ (Kajilwa, 2016)

levels are on the rise with organizations publicly claiming to have support for radical institutions through the support of public funds. One such organization in Melbourne Australia has come out to say that they will be building an institution to provide education on Duwaa to young children with the aim of preaching and sharing information to the non-Muslims.¹⁵⁸

In Algeria, the Women Imams also called; Mourshidates have their goal of spreading the good word of Islam and a message of tolerance, helping those who have strayed from it, set for them. Part of their responsibility is to deal with the rise of the fake prophets who seek to indoctrinate the young in different spheres of living environments including the schools.¹⁵⁹ The growing need to keep tabs on all the activities involving prayer in learning institutions has stressed the need to have a closer look at the activities happening in schools.

Internationally, various countries have focused on ensuring and including some checks and balances in the process of preventing radicalization by rogue preachers and religious activities in learning institutions. Epping Boys in Sydney has one of the examples where an interfaith group has pointed out that quality control of school prayer groups was necessary because of the empty minds; as far as religion is concerned, that can be swayed into this ideology at a tender age of between 15 to 16 years.¹⁶⁰

Trojan Horse scandal is yet another example where Sheikh Shady Al-Suleiman; an extremist imam was invited to speak in a students' assembly meeting at Alum Rock's Park Academy in

¹⁵⁸ (Baxendale, 2014)

¹⁵⁹ (Dunya News , 2015)

¹⁶⁰ (ABC News, 2015)

Birmingham.¹⁶¹ According to the investigations, the preachers invited to the school by the administration; who had called on God to punish all those who were against Islam through Jihad. He also stated that the answer to all the challenges was through the Quran (Iqra).¹⁶²

In Kenya, an article by the Standard newspaper takes note of the shepherds whose aim is to win souls when still young, and operate mostly as itinerant preachers, will now have to be cleared by the important religious leaders before being allowed to step into any school with the purpose of talking to students. According to the minister for education, it is important to students to be shielded from destructive religious ideas and ideologies.¹⁶³ In an another article by the same News Paper, scholars in Lamu and Kilifi Kenya mentioned that scholars and leaders admitted that young people were becoming radicalized in school with an accusing figure pointed to the radical imams. Also, the target for the process of radicalization and recruitment was on Muslim students who were living away from their parents and in boarding schools.¹⁶⁴

3.3.2 Radicalization and Recruitment by teachers and education instructors in Schools

The teacher has a specific responsibility to mold and shapes the children under their care into responsibility citizens of the society. George Lucas sums up this responsibility well through an article where he mentions that the title conveys the highest accountability of adults towards

¹⁶¹ (Birmingham Mail, 2015)

¹⁶² ibid

¹⁶³ (Kajilwa, 2016)

¹⁶⁴ (Gitau & Masha, Concern Raises over Terror in the Coast, 2014)

children. He reinforces the fact that teachers; more often than not, have done the most to shape in shaping and molding the ideas and opinions of the children in life.¹⁶⁵

Angela Lumpkin in an article about teacher's character and teaching of virtues illustrates that the community has for a long time expected some high level of moral character from the teachers. It is because these virtues are transferred to the children by this authority in the learning institutions.¹⁶⁶ It also presupposes that teachers are the first role models the children/youth in schools have. Though this may be a positive thing for those who are led by morally right educators, it also serves as a detriment for as other teachers act as recruiters and therefore use the student's vulnerabilities for the benefit of extremist organizations.

A research piece by Doret points out that the level of engagement teacher/ student determined the outcome of the influence. He indicates that the education received from the instructors in school and another level of authority goes beyond academic; to the degree of behavior formation.¹⁶⁷ He writes from the assumption that teachers who have radicalized or extremist persuasions aim to transmit these ideals and values to the children they are responsible for because these convictions serve as their moral truths.

He hypothesizes that this value system is then passed on to the children because all fundamentalist, radicalized and extremist educators share the propensity to indoctrinate.¹⁶⁸ An example of a teacher in Kenya who allegedly taught students on how to dismantle firearms and

¹⁶⁵ (Lucas, 2001)

¹⁶⁶ (Lumpkin, 2008)

¹⁶⁷ (Pels & de Ruyter, 2012)

¹⁶⁸ (Pels & de Ruyter, 2012)

dealt with non-believers serves as an example of the indoctrination process.¹⁶⁹ This style of indoctrination follows different models including; redefining harmful conduct by moral justification, euphemistic labeling of acts, minimizing or misconstruing the consequences, dehumanization of the other or attribution of the blame on the victim.¹⁷⁰ This process is categorized as Moral Disengagement.

3.3.3 Radicalization and Recruitment by other service providers

Learning institutions depend on certain services to survive. These services either fall into the category of running the institution or ensuring that those who come out of the institution have links for growth in the job market and also the common setup. In an article on; 88 ways to recruit international students, the author mentions that current students are just one of the many resources the extremist radicalization processes focus. However, former students can help with the radicalization and recruitment efforts through direct recruitment activity, identifying new business targets, and assisting with internships.¹⁷¹

Intelligence reports in Kenya have also indicated a similar trend in learning institutions at the Coast of Kenya. In the report, the extremist organizations mention using young school going children to deliver certain goods and pass information for payment.¹⁷² It is because they are not easy suspects by either the law enforcement agencies and the community. Also, a specific area

¹⁶⁹ (Gathu, 2014)

¹⁷⁰ *ibid*

¹⁷¹ (ICEF Monitor, 2012)

¹⁷² (Situation Report , 2013)

around Kiembeni has is highlighted as a meeting point for Al-Shabaab operatives.¹⁷³ This area is near a learning institution which they suspect involvement of youth from a school around this area to be used in the information sharing and other extremist activities. There is little or no data on this sub-area of radicalization and recruitment with some of the extremist culprits either paying for the services they need from the youth in schools or having their operations happen undercover and within the learning institutions.

3.4 FINDINGS:

The human agency as an agent of interaction in learning institutions is high. From the teachers to the subordinate staff and even within the student population itself. Data from the field indicate that though the lens is on radicalization and recruitment of youth in schools, the interactions and impartation of ideals and beliefs by those in authority within the learning institutions, have a greater impact on behavior shaping and outcomes of the children in school.

Also, the data of a teacher who was radicalizing students in a school in Mumias is an example of the poor role some of the educators have taken up. The onus is therefore on the administration and other stakeholders from the school to provide guidelines and advice on how to handle such situations when they occur. The same effort and oversight should also be given to the junior staff because they not only interact with the students but serve the students with illegal material including access to the internet via their mobile phones and drugs.

¹⁷³ ibid

3.5 CONCLUSIONS:

Even though there is no way to limit the interactions between the students and other stakeholders within the learning institution, oversight for this engagement should be provided to avoid the challenges we now face in schools. Discussions with the teachers during annual audits should also assist in getting information about what they believe in. This will help in determining the information passed onto the youth in schools who look up to these individuals as their mentors.

4.0 CHAPTER FOUR: OUT OF SCHOOL VARIABLES AND THEIR INFLUENCE TO TERRORISM

4.1 INTRODUCTION:

Information on the processes of radicalization shows an increasing interest in extremist organizations targeting the younger population more than ever. There are reports that these organizations have strategically placed themselves to target all the avenues of the children/ youth in school. This strategic placement has targeted the learning institutions through the use of peer to peer engagement and other social activities that introduce another actor who radicalize them. On the other hand, the learning institutions cannot take all the blame for the process of radicalization.

As the researcher has argued in the previous chapters, the school environment only provides a conducive space and a ready market for the extremist organizations to exploit the vulnerabilities of the children/youth. However, other instances contribute to the process of radicalization and

recruitment into terrorism. These instances happen out of the school environment; in the community setup. This chapter seeks to look at other activities that the children/ youth in school engage in and how those activities lead to radicalization and recruitment into violent extremism.

4.2 RADICALIZATION IN OUR COMMUNITIES:

Globally, different learning institutions have various timelines for engagement in school activities, and various breaks/holiday for the students to come home and stay with parents. The duration of the specific holidays or breaks may depend on whether the institution is a boarding, and the only come back during the longer holidays, or whether the institutions is a day school; making the children commute every day. The interactions children have during these breaks are critical as recruiters have found hiding places in our communities. From this backdrop, these children and young people can be exposed to the messages of extremist groups or drawn into violence through a myriad of avenues. The community, in general, has variables that may make it even more conducive to the children in school vulnerable to radicalization and recruitment into violent extremism.

These vulnerabilities and variable basket include exposure through the influence of family members or friends, direct contact with extremist groups and organizations and increasingly, through the internet. They can also be engaged in extremist organizations through different social events and service providers in the community; including the “religious events.” The

community's limits in taking up the responsibility of raising these children have also made the vulnerability gap expand because the youth/children in schools now feel either empowered to do and/or engage in activities without the fear of the watchful eye of the community. Also, the need for care and protection from the community makes them engage even further with individuals who pretend to provide such support; mostly from the extremist organizations who aim to radicalize and recruit them.

4.3 INTERACTION OF OUT OF SCHOOL VARIABLES AND TERRORISM

Terrorist attacks and actions are not a one side single stranded operation that the outcome may be. They are usually a well-coordinated, non-isolated and community embedded operation that has its roots in the social and political milieu of the society. This same attribute is shared across the process of radicalization and recruitment progressions of the youth/children in schools.¹⁷⁴

4.3.1 Radicalization in Enclosed Spaces:

Apart from the formal western education, Madrassas are for a long time considered an out of school or an after school activity; that youth/children participate in to enrich their knowledge of religious principles and teachings. It has also been the case for the Duksis depending on the different references given to these institutions. For most of the students who are day scholars or during the long holidays; they have always found a need to have the religious, social identity provided within the confines of these out of school spaces. Even though these institutions have had well-meaning intentions, figures continually state that Madrasas and Duksis have been the conduit for the recruitment of youth.

¹⁷⁴ (Haque, 2014)

In Nigeria for instance, the Almajiri schools in the northern part of the country have been criticized to be the cause of Boko Haram menace in the country.¹⁷⁵ On the flip side, however, most of the institutions that data may refer to madrasas, may not be necessarily an approved institution for that specific purpose but rather a makeshift gathering in an enclosed space with the intention to radicalize and recruit. The researchers argument therefore, is on the gullibility of the community; specifically, the parents while looking at the non-questionable nature of religious teaching and/or religious instructors. Identifying this challenge and using it against the community features as one of the gains the extremist organizations have in the community. It is because the extremist organizations operate in sync with other players within the community in a cycle that feeds into each other in the form of a pyramid.

This relationship and the rise of religious extremism is formulated in a pyramid format. This formats' relation cycle that has the terrorist at the top, the religious-political organizations in the middle and the Islamic missionary organizations at the bottom; with feedback loops piggybacking on this model to ensure a sustained radicalization and recruitment process.¹⁷⁶ Though the question of identity is central to the process; in particular for the youth in school, at the community level, there is a different form a universal fitting that depicts itself in the shape of religious, social identity, which morphs into militancy and other forms of extremist engagements. The case in Pakistan clearly depicts the different levels of the cycle and how it fits and a conduit for radicalization and recruitment.

¹⁷⁵ (Kriesch, Scholz, & Bauchi / sh, 2014)

¹⁷⁶ (Haque, 2014)

According to Raheem ul Haque in his review of the case in Pakistan; Tableeghi Jamaat, allows for literature of all levels to be distributed, and political and militant activists have the opportunity to interact with lower level sympathizers. It provides an opportunity for first engagement that follows with a bridging pool through linkages with more militaristic organizations including the Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) is a religious-political party which acts as the political representative of the vast Deobandi mosque-madrassa network, composed of various missionary organizations.¹⁷⁷ It also acts both as an ideological guide as well as a channel for youth volunteers to join Taliban militant actors. It is the same faction led by Maulana Sami-ul Haq that closed its madrassa schools to allow students to participate in the Afghan civil war alongside the Afghan Taliban in the early 1990s.¹⁷⁸

This same institution has a strong national student organization, the Islami Jamiat-e-Talaba, and is connected with activist organizations such as Hizbul- Mujahideen. At the top of the process is the expansion of the model through social networks to form large organizational form. It is done through the provision of support to organizations through non-governmental institutions that have a specific agenda. In most cases, they would provide madrassas and other forms of assistance to the community while exploiting their agenda of radicalization and recruitment. In the case of Pakistan, the Jamaat-Ud-Dawa which acts as a proselytizing actor with a network of mosques and educational institutions serves as a good example.¹⁷⁹

This pyramid is not different with what is happening all over the globe. Various institutions having links to extremist organizations have now exploited the madrassas institution and are

¹⁷⁷ (Haque, 2014)

¹⁷⁸ ibid

¹⁷⁹ (Haque, 2014)

known to be using this as radicalization grounds. In Kenya, madrasas have been dominated by well-resourced Wahhabi charities and foundations since the late 1970s. The Primary (idadi) and secondary (thanawi) level madrassas, teaching Arabic and the Wahhabi creed, have existed in all the main urban centers for decades. In fact, a larger number of mosques in Eastleigh; as from early 2012 looked deserted at times between the five obligatory prayers as a special Muhadhara and Halaqa sessions conducted away from mosques.¹⁸⁰ Subjecting young impressionable students to these different values contributes to youth maladjustment and alienation often exploited by jihadi radicalisers.

4.3.2 Radicalization and Recruitment in the Digital Era:

Development, Globalization, and the changing trends in information technology has made it easy to communicate and conduct business all over the world. It has made the store and transfer of data from one point to the other; very easy and convenient. The movement from floppy disks to the use of CDs, DVDs and even flash disks, have expanded both the quality and quantity of data we utilize today. The internet has, for instance, has provided an opportunity for different members of the community and the world all over to be in sync with what is happening around us. The rate of internet use in the 21st century surpasses other forms of conventional medium such as books, magazines, and television to become the leading inquiry and entertainment platform. To date, social media has made it easier to share information and be part of news presentation avenues with little or no cost to the users. news. Just as the internet is used for the right intentions of data mining, information sharing, and social networking, terrorist and extremist organizations use the same medium for these needs and more.

¹⁸⁰ (Crisis Group, 2012)

According to a Gabriel Weimann; “the Internet is an efficient tool for modern terrorism to achieve moral disengagement from, the displacement and diffusion of responsibility for their violent and distractive actions.”¹⁸¹ This author has clearly indicated the communicative, planning, learning and even the radicalizing uses of the internet to the terrorist organizations. Studies have shown that the web has also assisted the extremist organizations to reach out to the unreachable populations either because of the challenge of engaging them face to face or because of the issues.¹⁸² It has been through online chat sites, online magazines and journals that proclaim certain ideologies or through different calls to action. The children/youth in school have for a long time been categorized as a hard to reach population for a myriad of reasons. The school has long been a barrier between the extremist organizations and these target populations. The internet has now made this process even easier. In recent times, more discussions are now linking to the fact that self-radicalization is not only a possibility but also a reality courtesy of the internet acting as a starting point for the whole process.

Online journals and news sites have become a regularly utilized communications platform for most extremist organizations. Inspire, the al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) online magazine whose aim was to inspire the audience to take up the action, provided long, detailed instructions on how to plan and execute bomb attacks, and lone individuals and groups acting on behalf of AQAP.¹⁸³ According to the online manual of Al-Qaeda Vol 1; the radical organization calls all the “brothers to join the great training camps in their respective countries and start the implementation of the training program supported by the Al-Battar training camp.”¹⁸⁴ It is just

¹⁸¹ ibid

¹⁸² (Stevens & Neumann, 2009)

¹⁸³ (Khan, 2013)

¹⁸⁴ (Weimann, 2006)

but one of the many calls propagated by different extremist organizations across the globe. The internet has made it possible for radicalization to not only flourish but also expand its activities. It has been through the sharing of how to manuals for explosive development, call for the global jihad/the oneness of the Muslim Umma and also through networking social media chat rooms and sites.

The targeted approach employed by radical organizations point to a well-thought strategy that focuses on every sector of the community but specific needs of the youth/children in schools. Internationally, data available from early 2006 discuss how websites created by terrorist groups were meant to draw in younger generation through the use of online gaming technology.¹⁸⁵ The Quest for Bush; a game released by Global Islamic Media Front, is an example of such media platform where the players fight Americans and proceed to different levels including ‘Jihad Growing Up’ and ‘Americans’ Hell.¹⁸⁶

In Kenya, various articles and documents have indicated that the process of radicalization is taking place through the internet. According to a researcher at the Institute of Security Studies with an office in Nairobi; the extremist organizations have been using the internet to lure youth into terrorism.¹⁸⁷ This information also adds to a more detailed scenario where the national police service held a 14-year-old child who was to sit for his exam after intelligence information showed that this youth was being radicalized and was about to be sneaked into Somalia. According to the article by the Daily Nation newspaper, one of the parents discovered that he had a Facebook account, and an e-mail one, even though the 14-year-old did not own a personal

¹⁸⁵ (CNN World News, 2006)

¹⁸⁶ *ibid*

¹⁸⁷ (Jamah, 2015)

computer or a mobile phone. He allegedly also frequently communicated with people in Saudi Arabia and Syria.¹⁸⁸ The parent now understands why the boy habitually sneaked into the house help's room at night to use her mobile phone to access the Internet and through his accounts, it was also clear that the boy was received photos and videos of AK-47 rifles plus radical teachings.¹⁸⁹

4.4.3 Radicalization in other Social Places out of School:

The internet has not only created linkages and connections that do not only span regions and also global in nature. Though the meet and greet between the recruiter and the youth/children in school may start from the internet, the process needs some form of sustenance for it to take root and for it to be successful. The sustenance model has become different and sophisticated depending on the level of support, target audience and the medium of use. Most extremist organizations have not only used spies in the various regions, but it has also use magazines, articles, video CDs and even the human agency to propagate the process.

Based on the hypothesis above, the children/ youth in school spend time in the community; an environment with all the variables included. Radicalization and Recruitment of these young people /children, therefore, can also take place not only through the internet but also through interaction with the other members and variables present in the community. Some of these variables span the religious institutions, informal gatherings, sporting activities and other social events that pull the youth together. Globally, religious institutions like madrasas and Duksis have are allegedly in use as radicalization dens by specific exploiting individuals in the community.

¹⁸⁸ (Nation Media Correspondent , 2015)

¹⁸⁹ ibid

In Kenya, this reality has become one of the difficult areas to deal with the challenge of terrorism. Eastleigh which is the hub for Somalis in the capital; Nairobi, has bookshops like al-Huda Islamic bookshop, a closet-sized stall nestled near one of Eastleigh's radical mosques, sells lectures and debates that glorify the neighborhood's radical Somali preachers.¹⁹⁰ This challenge is backed with the free to find Radical DVDs being peddled easily through the right individuals to the youth in the community. These DVDs have messages that glorify radicalization and recruitment. An example of this includes a message by an imam that categorically says that; "Our religion calls on us to kill everyone who does not believe in Allah and his Prophet Muhammed deeply."¹⁹¹

Some of the youth/children have been introduced into the process of radicalization by their parents without knowing. Some parents have been lied to by so called "teachers" who have pulled resources to bring children who are in holiday season into a training camp allegedly to have a religious education. It has not always been the case. Early this year, residents of Seneca Flats in Athi-river sub-county in Kenya were shocked to find children between the ages of two years and seventeen years radicalized in a house.¹⁹² The Madrasa teachers are primary suspects of radicalization and recruitment. Their actions have not only been mentioned by the moderate religious leaders but also by the children/youth who have confessed to their activities in the community.

A news article in 2015 indicated that some children blamed their religious instructor or madrasa teacher of teaching them to avoid not only non-Muslims in the community but also kill them.

¹⁹⁰ (Raghavan, 2010)

¹⁹¹ ibid

¹⁹² (Nzioki, 2016)

These confessions were made public in Kilifi when they stated that they were converted to Islam by Mohamed; a discovery made when they started turning against their parents. Some children also indicated how these teachings determined their behavior in the community; including cutting ties with their Christian friends.¹⁹³

Apart from the cases of the religious institutions and the radical madrasa teachers, there have been instances where the extremist cells have infiltrated the fabric of the society to the extent that they live with us and interact with our children in plain sight. The case of the 14-year-old youth who was to sit for exams is an excellent example of this.¹⁹⁴ According to the news article, the militants planned to sneak the boy into Somalia at the end of the year to join fighting units of the Al-Qaeda affiliated terrorist group. The boy was an easy target because the extremist organizations had set up camp in a house next to his home in a gated community in the upmarket estate. Their activities included meeting with the youth after school in a group of about 20 other teenagers in the house where they were radicalized.¹⁹⁵

4.4 FINDINGS:

The findings from the field indicate that radicalization and recruitment also happen out of school. The process is then shifted into the school through transfers of new students, engagement, and discussions during holidays and also through social activities like inter-school clubs. Data also indicate that interaction at sporting sites and video games have also been conduits from radicalization and recruitment in Nairobi and Kakamega county.

¹⁹³ (Chweya, 2015)

¹⁹⁴ (Nation Media Correspondent , 2015)

¹⁹⁵ ibid

4.5 CONCLUSIONS:

We live in a complex society with different interactions and interests shared. The responsibility to bringing up responsible citizens in our communities depend on the parents. Monitoring most if not all, the activities the youth are engaged in during the holiday is important as it helps us to determine the path the take and advise them when they go wrong.

5.0 CHAPTER FIVE: PRESENTATION OF THE DATA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This study utilized mixed methodology to collect data from the field. A total of 57 respondents from Nairobi and 80 respondents from Kakamega; of the anticipated 160 respondents in total, participated in the study. The difference in numbers was as a result of the difficulty in getting information from schools in Nairobi. The research also covered 30 KII from both Nairobi and Kakamega with 6 FGDs focusing on the teachers, students and other stakeholders within the education system. From Kakamega County; Mumias Boys, Mumias Girls, Mukumu Boys and Mukumu Girls; were selected for this study. In Nairobi County; Kamukunji High school, Maina Wanjigi secondary, St Teresa's Girls and St Teresa's Boys were selected for this research.

5.2 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study had various limitations on the data collected. These restrictions were statistically and methodology oriented. This research overarching objective is to examine and analyze the key challenges for countering terrorism and in particular the role of the school environment as a space for the youth radicalization and recruitment to terrorism. This research, therefore, serves as

a baseline and provides general information and a situational analysis in selected schools in counties of Nairobi and Kakamega.

One of the limitations of the research hinges on the ability for the data to be generalized. The research focused on two sites including Nairobi County and Kakamega County. Though it focused on learning institutions that have a harmonized structure setup according to the government, the data from the field cannot be comparable to each other as the research could not account for most of the variables. The purpose of the research was only to find out the challenges of terrorism in schools and provide a benchmark for more study and valuable action to deal with the challenge.

Some of the findings were context specific including the drivers and the causes of engagement at the learning institution level. Also, the community environment and knowledge base on the issues of violent extremism, radicalization, and recruitment in Nairobi County, for example, is higher compared to the knowledge base on the same topic in Kakamega County. Even though this came out clearly from the data from the field, there was also an indication and a cause for alarm on the rate of information flow and information being shared in Kakamega County.

The other limitation of the study was that of not having a control group. Due to the time available for the field work, the approval challenges, and resources, the research could not have a control group. Also, the research did not want to have an assumption that there are certain themes in the community that needed a review. Therefore, though this serves as a judgment issue it also reduces biases from the information received from the field on this research.

Finally, the researcher recognizes that though the selection of the schools avoided biases, the school makeup in the two counties and the diversities involved in terms of stakeholder participation, environment around the school, services provided in the schools and the economic makeup of the students in this schools also pose another limitation on providing a generalized feedback to cover some of the drivers. However, the similarities shared within the generation between the ages of 12 – 19 who are in school makes the research findings to be a valuable starting point to discuss and engage further.

5.3 CHALLENGES TO THE STUDY

The field work had a couple of problems with the collection of the data. To start with, matters dealing with radicalization, recruitment, and terrorism; are considered security only matters which should not be shared without approval. Getting the approval to collect data from the field was one of the biggest challenges as the approving officers within the government were not willing to append a signature or stamp a document stating that they were okay with the process taking place in their jurisdiction. Due to the sensitivities related to the subject matter, the responses from the schools were also very low, and in some cases, the learning institution heads found a diplomatic way of denying the researcher access to the students or the institution as a whole. According to the institution heads in Nairobi for example, they said that the government directive on the subject was strict and unfair to them and they risked painting the institution in a wrong way and also losing their jobs.

Another challenge was that of teacher presence and trust building with the respondents of the study. Due to possible blow back on the institution that was providing respondents and also on

the respondents themselves, most of the FGD's and questionnaire responses, had the specific school administrator present to observe. It made it very uncomfortable for the respondents, and some of them did not provide enough information as the researcher would have expected. Some of the interviewees decided to utilize some form of coding to indicate that there was a problem or the name of certain organizations operating within the learning institution. The responses on the data sheets also focused on the challenges the learning institutions faced in general. These challenges may have an indirect effect on Radicalization and Recruitment, but more information is needed to generalize those findings.

The other challenge for the research falls on the examples provided by the respondents. From the data collected, a lot is happening in the learning institutions and the community level relationships on Radicalization and Recruitment. The data from the field provides a generalized feel of the issues that come up with little examples on the specifics of the process. It is because the ideal process of data collection for research like this would involve and ethnographic immersion into the community to get more information.

5.4 DEMOGRAPHICS

5.4.1 Sex of the Respondents

Analysis and data on radicalization, recruitment, and participation on terrorism has been seen to be within the confines of the male and not so much on the female. Previously, data indicated women to be victims of terrorism and not necessarily the participants in extremist organizations.¹⁹⁶ This thesis is currently changing, and more women are getting engaged in extremist organizations for a myriad of reasons. This research also covered the sex of the

¹⁹⁶

respondents as data collected from the field with the aim of ascertaining whether; the women had an idea of what was happening in their learning institutions, they participated in the processes involved, or they were just innocent bystanders as another narrative suggests.

	Frequency	Percent
MALE	40	50.0
FEMALE	40	50.0
Total	80	100.0

Table 1(Sex of Respondents; Kakamega County)

The research ensured a representation of 50:50 for the male and female in Kakamega. The data from the fieldwork also showed that the female respondents in the school also had an idea of what was happening with regards to terrorism and specifically radicalization. The respondents from Muslim girls, for example, kept on referring to **225** when asked questions on knowledge of existing extremist activities, groups or linkages within the institution. More than three respondents used the same code to the same issues provided in the questionnaire.

	Frequency	Percent
MALE	35	61.4
FEMALE	22	38.6
Total	57	100.0

Table 2(Sex of Respondents; Nairobi County)

Nairobi county did not have an equal representation of the males and the female students in the research. It was because of the fear associated with providing information on what was happening in the selected schools. A school like Al- Nisar in Shauri Moyo Kamukunji

constituency agreed to the study but later refused to allow the interviews and in a diplomatic way requested us to come back next year.

5.4.2 Religion of the respondents

There are different forms of motivated extremist activities that have been violent globally, regionally and in the country Kenya. To date, religiously motivated extremist activities are on the rise. To be more specific, Islamic form of terrorism is increasing, and more people from other religious are converted for selfish terrorism gains. The research wanted to find more information about the religious makeup of the institutions and how this may serve as an influencing factor and a call to action through the process of radicalization and recruitment.

	Frequency	Percent
MUSLIM	30	37.5
CHRSTIAN	48	60.0
HINDU	1	1.3
OTHER	1	1.3
Total	80	100.0

Table 3 (Religion of Respondents; Kakamega County)

	Frequency	Percent
MUSLIM	18	31.6
CHRSTIAN	35	61.4
OTHER	1	1.8
Total	54	94.7

	Missing	3	5.3
Total		57	100.0

Table 4 (Religion of the respondents; Nairobi County)

Apart from assisting in generating the makeup for the respondents in the selected schools in the two counties, information on religion also assisted in getting and making sense of the data on questions around role model. From the fieldwork data, most of the respondents had their role models as an individual who shared the same beliefs with them and more so from the religions they shared. It is a clear indication that the individual religious beliefs also help in shaping our worldviews.

5.4.3 Age of the respondents

This study focused on a young demographic with an age range of between 12 – 19 years old. This purposeful selection of the demographic mentioned in various reports as being the deadliest if engaged and molded into terrorism, yet it is not included in the responses of development partners and government in their initiatives to grade the drivers,¹⁹⁷ and activities. This demographic is also at the center of the research because it serves as the demographic that attends the learning institution level where the research will be focusing.

	Frequency	Percent
12-15	10	12.5
15-19	67	83.8
OVER 19		
Total	77	96.3
Missing	3	3.8
Total	80	100.0

Table 5(Age of Respondents; Kakamega County)

¹⁹⁷ (Denoeux & Carter, 2009)

	Frequency	Percent
12-15	7	12.3
15-19	48	84.2
OVER 19	1	1.8
Total	56	98.2
Missing	1	1.8
Total	57	100.0

Table 6 (Age of Respondents; Nairobi County)

More than 40% to 50% of the interviewees featured individuals from the ages between 15 – 19 years from Kakamega County and Nairobi County. These people had more information on what was happening in the learning institution but also had a way of censoring what they thought would put them out to dry. This demographic also had information on meeting points, those who have disappeared and those who allegedly have joined extremist organizations; from their schools.

The age range of between 12 -15 mostly concentrated on the simple behavior change issues that are also important if early detection and reporting on radicalization and recruitment should be done. As far as responsibility is concerned, this demographic had little or no information on the secret meetings but was also naïve and very vulnerable to recruitment processes. A specific focus on prevention mechanisms should best be suited for this demographic as they seek to acclimatize into the new school system. Finally, most of the age range between 12 – 15 years fall in Form one and Form two classes in the learning institutions.

Religion also influenced the role model selection among the different students in the various schools both in Nairobi and Kakamega County. Some of the responses included names of; Prophet Muhammed, His wife, doctors, specific teachers and even sports personalities. One respondent from Kakamega County seemed fascinated by the actions, groupings and relationships that Muhammad Gadhafi had. According to him, this man was his role model, and the actions that led to his death should be revenged in one way or the other.

5.4.4 Qualitative Data

For the qualitative responses, there was limited demographic information to be collected. Most of the data provided were by sex and economic/political and or social affiliations. The research, therefore, focused on teachers, students themselves, government officials and other community members who were regarded as stakeholders of the school as an institution of learning.

Situation Analysis: The FGD and KII data indicated that information about missing students was available both within the learning institution and in the rural areas. However, the parents were not forthcoming to share this information with relevant agencies involved. Some of the students who have been sent home for lack of school fees have engaged with other groups in the community and have gone missing. Transfers to different schools both in Nairobi and Kakamega county have been based on disciplinary issues and also on religious grounds. Some religious leaders in Nairobi and Kakamega county are under investigations for radicalization and recruitment. The mode of punishment in schools is also contributing to the process of radicalization with the narrative of revenge shared across the board. The use of mobile phones in the learning institutions is also contributing to the process of radicalization and recruitment through the Internet.

Drivers: Most of the drivers mentioned for the community included;

1. Peer pressure
2. Media
3. Social value decay
4. Belief and religious inclinations (search for identity)
5. Poverty (especially for those students who have fee arrears)
6. Teacher guidance: there was a specific mention of a teacher in Muslim Girls who was giving the wrong interpretation of the religious teachings and inciting the Muslim students against the Christian students. Though the said teacher was transferred to Mandera, the effects of his activities are still felt within the institution.

5.5 THEMATIC AREAS OF FOCUS

The research used the mixed methodology of study based on different themes. The topics are advised by the three objectives of the study, and they focused on an analysis of the subject matter and the variables that influence it. In order to understand the challenges of countering terrorism in Africa, the research concentrated on the following thematic areas;

5.5.1 Behaviour Change

Different factors influence the behavior of students in school. These influences range from the teacher-student engagement, peer to peer engagement and also the occurrences around the communities they live in. The research tool asked questions to determine the different norms within the learning institution and find out whether the youth in schools were able to identify changes in behavior, respond to these changes and the actions that the administration took to

counter the new behavior. Most of the influencing activities within the learning institution were influenced by participation in clubs and other social activities including sports.

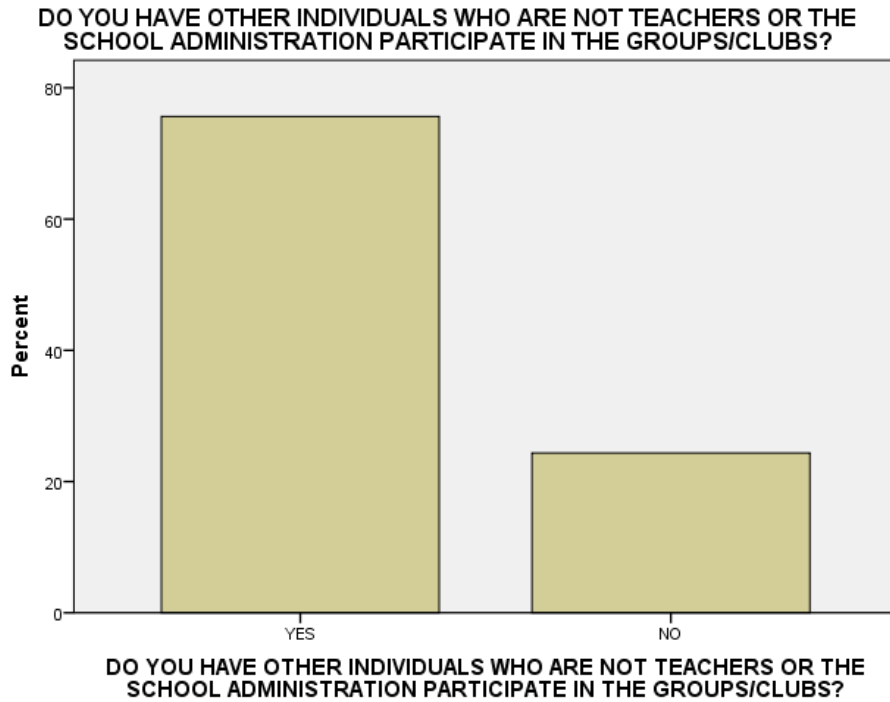


Figure 1 (Participation in groups and clubs by non-administration officials; Kakamega County)

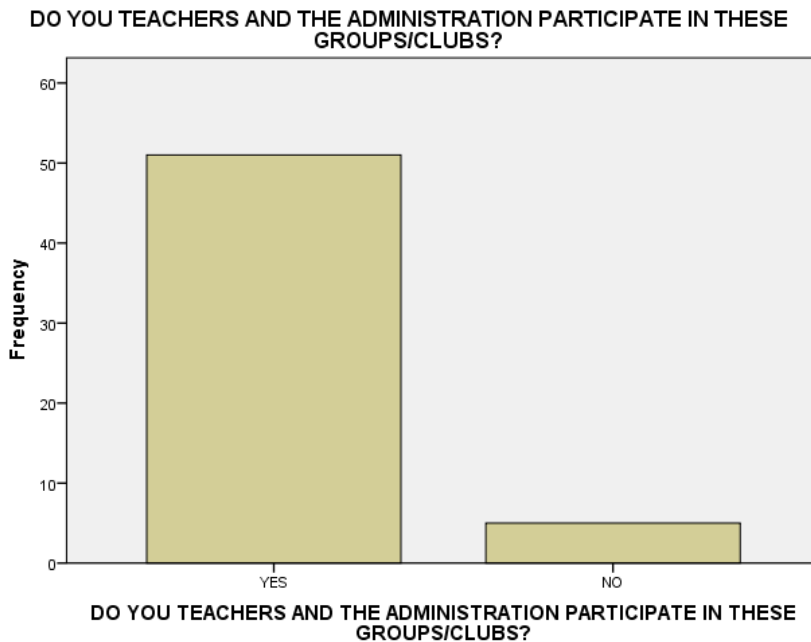


Figure 2 (Participation in Groups and Clubs by non-administration officials; Nairobi County)

Non-administration officials did an average of around 75% of the participation in activities mentioned in the school. Some of those who participated in those activities included individuals known to one teacher and not the whole administration. Examples of non-teaching staff included the cleaners and matrons, given approval by the institution; some of whom came into the institution through the fence as seen in the case of sporting activities, while others claimed to be members of clubs with local links.

5.5.2 Movement and Leadership

Radicalization and Recruitment processes into terrorism have gone a notch higher with student disappearances creating more questions than answers. The field data found out that an average of around 31% from Kakamega County had an idea that some students had gone missing from their institutions. When questioned further, the response was that most of them either went home for fees or as a result of the punishment and never came back to school.

DO YOU HAVE ANY OF YOUR CLASSMATES, OR OTHER STUDENTS GONE MISSING FROM THIS SCHOOL?

Code	Frequency	Percent
	2	2.5
1(Yes)	25	31.3
2 (No)	53	66.3
Total	80	100.0

Table 7(Missing Students; Kakamega)

A follow-up question was asked to find out more information on the number of students who had come back to the school after being away. 26% reported having noticed some wired behavior

from the students who had come back to school from Kakamega County and 22% from Nairobi County. According to the respondents, drug abuse featured first on the list of uncomfortable behavior. Also, they mentioned that some of the students used to have secluded meetings for an extended period of time in different rooms alone to discuss issues.

DO YOU HAVE ANY STUDENTS WHO HAS COME BACK FROM HOME BEHAVING DIFFERENTLY OR SUSPICIOUSLY? (EXPLAIN)

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	YES	21	26.3
	NO	50	62.5
	Total	71	88.8
	Missing	9	11.3
Total		80	100.0

Table 8(Suspicious Behaviour; Kakamega County)

		Frequency	Percent
	Yes	22	38.6
	No	34	59.7
	Total	56	98.2
	Missing	1	1.8
Total		57	100.0

Table 9 (Suspicious Behaviour; Nairobi County)

On the question of leadership, most of the respondents did not have an issue with the new students who had been given these roles. According to them, these student leaders served as influencers in the school. Only 1% of the respondents stated that the school has to monitor the

behavior of the students first before giving them leadership positions. The rest of the interviewees from Kakamega County schools mentioned that the “new prefect” was hardworking and they came with new rules that they tried to implement in the schools.

The research tool also had questions on transfers of students from other schools to the selected learning institution. Most of the students mentioned that there were regular transfers into their institutions and most of those who transferred into the institution were regarded as pace setters in almost all the avenues in school. It included; class performance, games engagement, friendships, behavior change or in activities that would be contrary to the norms of the institution. The respondents also talked of group formations by the new students and mentioned the presence of organized gang group; GAZA, having a membership of an average ten students from the school.

5.5.3 Conflict Resolution

Every establishment has a way of dealing with conflicts when they arise. Conflicts in themselves are not bad, but how individuals deal with the issues causing the conflict determines the outcome of relationships. Conflict is a way of life and its presence keeps life interesting and development on course.¹⁹⁸ The same can also be reflected on the minor issues that arise within the learning institution. In Kakamega County schools, most of the respondents recognized that there were different conflicts in the institutions. There was a myriad of responses to questions around conflicts and conflict management in general;

- a. WHAT FACTORS MAKE YOU FEEL UNCOMFORTABLE IN THIS SCHOOL AND IN SCHOOL IN GENERAL? Most of the respondents focused their answers on the performance issues, punishment from the teachers, poor school conditions, and

¹⁹⁸

other matters to do with the food. A smaller percentage of the students' responses focused on the limits of expression of opinions and the need to force that to change.

- a. DO YOU THINK VIOLENCE IS EFFECTIVE IN ADDRESSING GRIEVANCES IN GENERAL? 30% of the respondents from Kakamega schools and 21.1% from N

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	YES	6	7.5
	NO	56	70.0
	NOT SURE	10	12.5
	Total	72	90.0
Missing	System	8	10.0
Total		80	100.0

i county chose between yes and not sure to this question.

Table 10 (Grievances; Kakamega County)

	Frequency	Percent
YES	7	12.3
NO	41	71.9
NOT SURE	5	8.8
Total	53	93.0

	Missing	4	7.0
Total		57	100.0

Table 11(Grievances; Nairobi County)

- b. PLEASE EXPLAIN YOUR ANSWER? From the 51.1%, most of the respondents explained that sometimes it was to ensure that there is evidence of the conflict, or, when you use violence people will be afraid of asking what the problem is, or, when there is no audience, violence can and should be applied, or finally, it depends on with the authority. One critical response to application of violence was that; “If diplomacy Fails force has to be implemented; though precaution is suitable.”

5.5.4 Drivers into terrorism

This study also focused on the factors that lead youth in school into terrorism through radicalization and recruitment. This question gathered much interest from the respondents in Kakamega county. They included many reasons why their colleagues in school were engaged in terrorist activities. Some of the excellent reasons focused on the issues of peer pressure and seeking identity.

WHAT WOULD YOU SAY ARE THE THREE MAJOR FACTORS THAT DRIVE THE YOUTH FROM YOUR SCHOOL TO JOIN THESE OUTLAWED GROUPS?

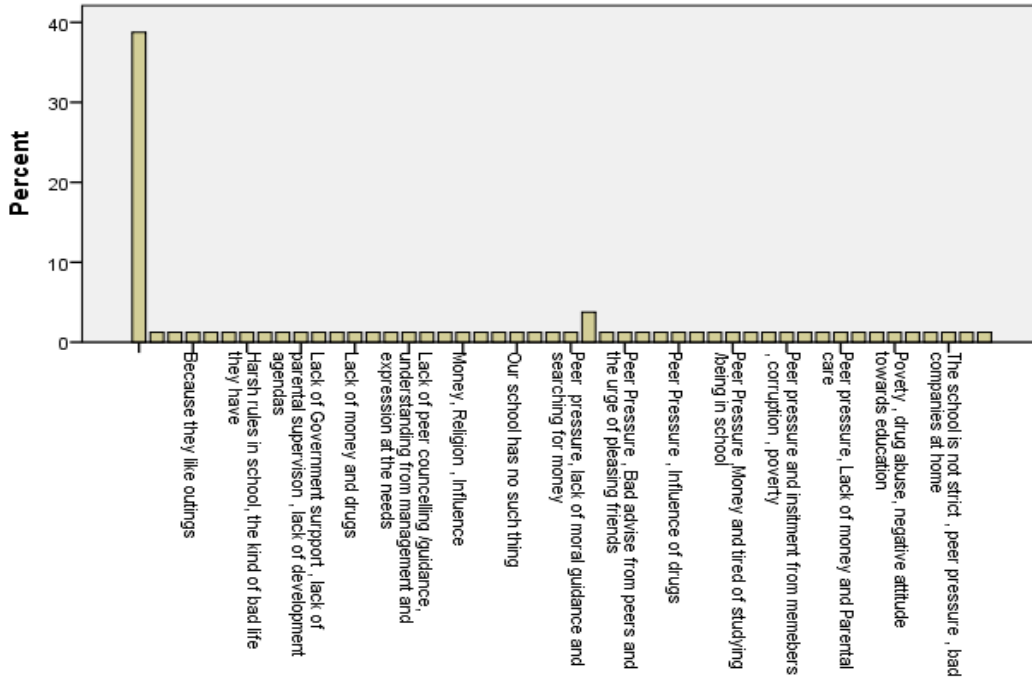


Figure 3 (Outlawed group drivers; Kakamega County)

WHAT WOULD YOU SAY ARE THE THREE MAJOR FACTORS THAT DRIVE THE YOUTH FROM YOUR SCHOOL TO JOIN THESE OUTLAWED GROUPS?

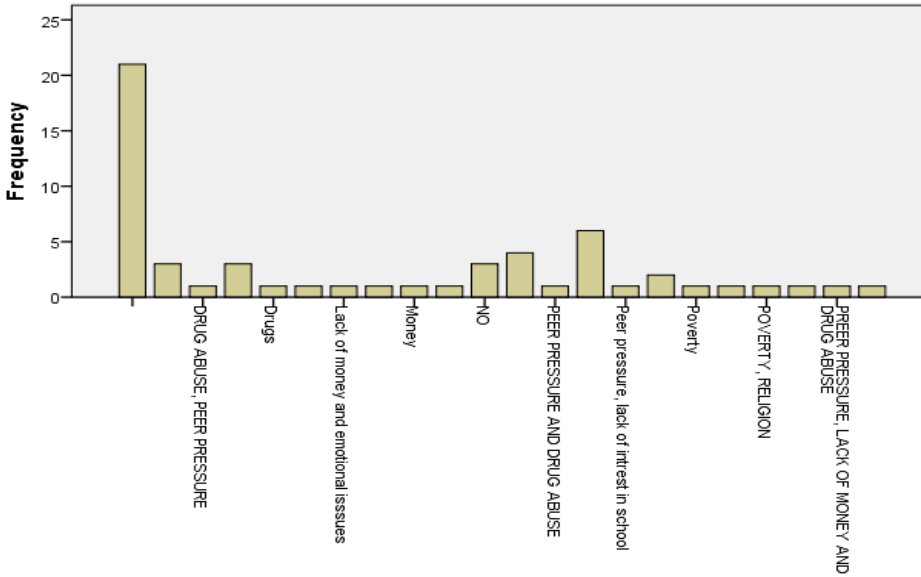


Figure 4 (Outlawed Group Drivers; Nairobi County)

Peer pressure was indicated to be one of the issues that caused bullying in schools. On the question of identity, most of the students needed to fit and relate well with their peers in the schools. This need made them want to do things that were otherwise out of the norm.

WHAT IS THE SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT WAY THAT YOU IDENTIFY YOURSELF IN SCHOOL?

	Frequency	Percent
RELIGION	12	15.0
AGE GROUP	1	1.3
FAMILY/CLAN NAME	9	11.3
POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS	1	1.3
GRADES	26	32.5
GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION	4	5.0
OTHER	23	28.8
Total	76	95.0
Missing	4	5.0
Total	80	100.0

Table 12(Identity; Kakamega County)

	Frequency	Percent
RELIGION	22	38.6
AGE GROUP	3	5.3
FAMILY/CLAN NAME		
POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS		
GRADES	17	29.8
GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION	1	1.8
OTHER	14	24.6
Total	57	100.0

Table 13(Identity; Nairobi County)

For those students who chose other, the explanation given included;

- a. I only identify myself with certain groups or activities in this school

- b. I do not like people knowing what am doing or who am doing it with
- c. This is a Christian school, and I am not and so I do not feel comfortable and do not fit in well.
- d. The issues with religious affiliations also came out so strongly in Nairobi county with 38.6% of the respondents seeking to identify themselves with religion.

A follow-up question was asked to the students to find out their understanding of certain terms.

The responses to the question; *WHAT COMES TO YOUR MIND WHEN YOU HEAR THE TERM TERRORISM, RADICALIZATION, AND RECRUITMENT?* Included;

1. Al Shabaab, Boko Haram and Al-Qaida
2. An organization I would like to join
3. Being Treated equally
4. Death and bad things
5. Certain group discussions in the school
6. Burning Dorms and terrorizing students
7. Bloodshed and loss of life
8. Tarnishing the name of Islam

Two responses from the students were of particular interest one of the replies was; “I do not know, and I feel like my life is in danger,” while the other was; “Excitement. It gives a picture of how hard life is and prepares me for the future.” It is a clear indication that there is a challenge in the learning institutions that need to be addressed.

5.5.5 Information sharing on the subject matter and participation

The topic of the research is very sensitive, and most of the respondents fear or have a hard time passing information about some of the issues that occur around them. To ascertain activities happening in the schools, the research tool asked to find out whether the students were aware of some of the organizations operating within the institution.

ARE THERE GROUPS YOU ARE AWARE OF OPERATING WITHIN YOUR SCHOOL IN RELATION TO THE TERMS ABOVE?

		Frequency	Percent
	YES	28	35.0
Valid	NO	43	53.8
	Total	71	88.8
Missing	System	9	11.3
Total		80	100.0

Table 14 (Knowledge of group operations; Kakamega County)

		Frequency	Percent
	YES	15	26.3
	NO	40	70.2
	Total	55	96.5
Missing	System	2	3.5
Total		57	100.0

Table 15 (Knowledge of group operations; Nairobi County)

61% of the respondents in schools in Nairobi and Kakamega know of a group or an affiliation with their learning institution. When asked to name some of the organizations, the respondents mentioned the following;

1. Gaza Group

2. New Organizations
3. Al-Shabaab
4. 225 (from a Girls School)

They also mentioned names of two individuals who are associated with the new groups and have suspicious behavior. These people included;

- a. Daniel Kimathi
- b. Ian Mbugua

A follow-up question focused on how the students responded to interactions with the said groups. The respondents stated that they mostly related to them well if needed and at other times they never talked much with them as they behaved as agents and spies in the school. The research tool also asked whether the administration within the institution was aware of the organizations operating within the learning institution;

DOES THE ADMINISTRATION OF YOUR SCHOOL KNOW THAT THEY EXIST?

	Frequency	Percent
I don't think so	1	1.3
No	10	12.6
Not Sure	3	3.8
Yes	12	15.1
Total	80	100.0

Table 16 (Administrations' response to extremist groups in school; Kakamega County)

In Explaining their answers, only one school mentioned the boarding master as one of the administration officials who took note of the issues and was responding in their ways.

	Frequency	Percent
I do not think so	6	10.5
NO	7	12.3
Not Sure	1	1.8
YES	9	15.8
Total	57	100.0

Table 17(Administrations' response to extremist groups in School; Nairobi County)

23% of the students in Nairobi and Kakamega county said that they thought the administration was not aware of what was happening in the schools.

5.5.6 Stakeholder engagement

Terrorism and driving activities are influenced by the environment around the students while in school but also when interacting when out of school. As a result of that, the responsibilities of the parents of taking care of the children when they are not in school is critical. Some of the youth in the school participate in other social activities when they are not attending school, and these activities put them at risk of radicalization and recruitment into terrorism. Some of the youth from Nairobi county go to school in Kakamega county and Vis Versa.

The engagement with the other members of the community and/or with activities within one community is transferred to the school by the students when they go back after holidays. One notable example is seen with the Gaza group that is very vibrant in Nairobi County; Korogocho slums, that has groupings within schools in Western Kenya courtesy of engaging with the students while they are on holiday. When the research tools asked about engagement with organizations at the community level, the responses were varied depending on the environment the students were in;

ARE THERE GROUPS OR INDIVIDUALS WHAT SEEM TO HAVE AN INTEREST IN YOU OR YOUR FRIENDS DURING THE LONG HOLIDAYS? (IF YES WHICH ONES)

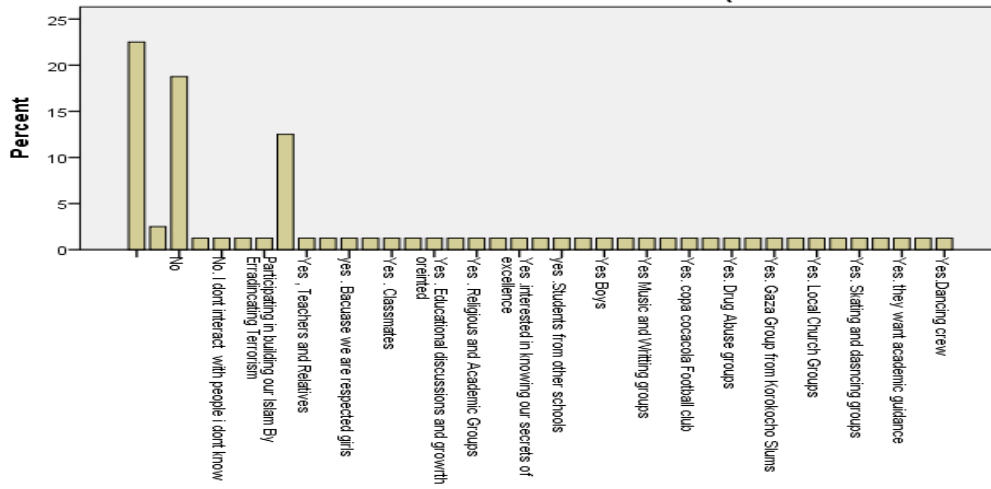
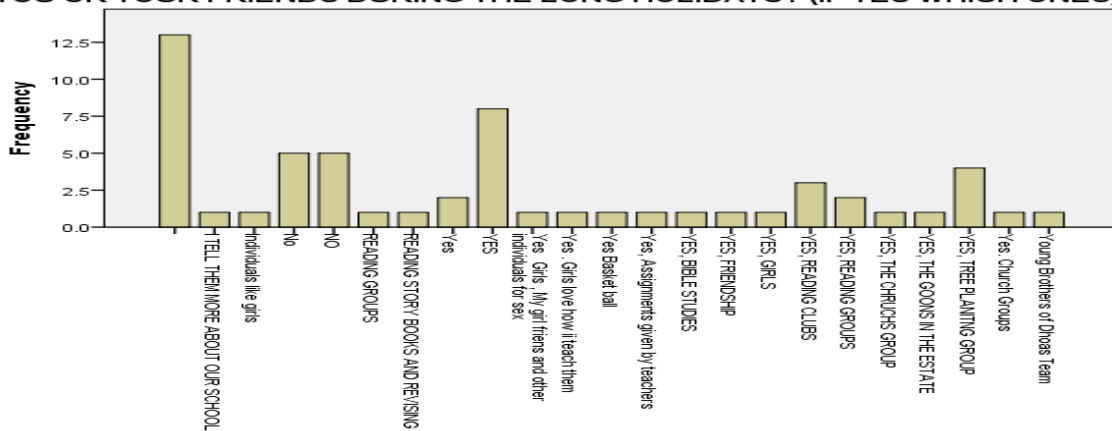


Figure 5 (Group Engagement during Holiday; Kakamega County)

Parental guidance and counseling play a major role in the development of the youth in school while engaging with different groups and individuals who have diverse interests. Guidance, therefore, is advised by knowledge shared with the parents on the activities their children are involved in during the holidays and also while in school. Most of the respondents did not see the importance of letting their parents know what they were involved in during the holiday period. The responses from the female school students indicated that their parents were well aware of what they were involved.

ARE THERE GROUPS OR INDIVIDUALS WHAT SEEM TO HAVE AN INTEREST IN YOU OR YOUR FRIENDS DURING THE LONG HOLIDAYS? (IF YES WHICH ONES)



ARE THERE GROUPS OR INDIVIDUALS WHAT SEEM TO HAVE AN INTEREST IN YOU OR YOUR FRIENDS DURING THE LONG HOLIDAYS? (IF YES WHICH ONES)

Figure 6 (Group Engagement during Holiday; Nairobi County)

The male school students, however, did not share so much about their activities and always assumed that because the parents did not ask of what they were engaged in, it was okay for them to continue doing whatever they were doing. Some of the activities they mentioned include; Stealing, Smoking, not listening to what any person is saying and finally Terrorism and torching schools.

The students also interact and share information with one another when during the holidays. Over 90% of the students from schools in Kakamega County mentioned that the holidays were the best time to catch up with the other students and also exchange ideas on what was happening around them. This percentile represents data of students from Nairobi county who mentioned that it is during this period that mobile phone communication and social media interaction starts.

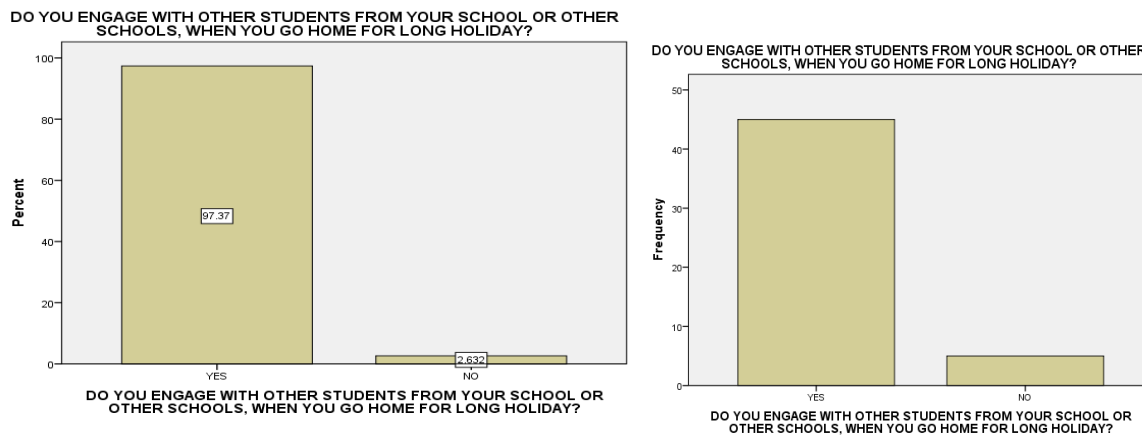


Figure 7 (Engagement with other students during holidays; Kakamega (left) Nairobi (right) County)

5.6 THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

The results from the fieldwork show that radicalization is a process that can be mapped and tracked based on the activities at the institutional level and the responses from the students. This can be used as early warning signs and indicators of the process.

Based on the context of human communication designed to influence by modification of beliefs, values, and attitudes,¹⁹⁹ the school provides an integrated and predisposing condition through the day to day peer interactions and the authority figure following that be presented either by school prefects (a form of leadership) or the teachers in the institution.

For those students who have been radicalized and recruited as a response to a problem, the theory provides a crisis mechanism as the process leading to radicalization through the exploitation of the vulnerability which in this case is a lack of school fees and revenge to the punishment in school; including suspensions. It can also add to the self-radicalizing process as seen with those students who do not want to be identities in school as seen in Table 12 and Table 13 for Kakamega and Nairobi County respectively.²⁰⁰

In conclusion, the seven components accounting for the process of radicalization and recruitment to terrorism,²⁰¹ have been satisfied by the field data including; Context (school environment), Crisis (punishment or fees issues), Quest (need for revenge of fit in through identity issues), Encounter (communication transfers as seen in the case of Gaza group), Interaction (holiday engagement between the students and transfer of ideologies), Commitment (being part of a team and having secret meeting in school), consequence (last stage of the process that involves disappearances of students from the School.)

¹⁹⁹ (Wright, 2007)

²⁰⁰ (Rambo , 1993)

²⁰¹ (Rambo , 1993)

5.7 CONCLUSIONS

Data from the fieldwork indicate that there are issues that need addressing in the learning institutions. This research adds to the body of knowledge on the driving factors, challenges of engagement, and provides a call to action by the policy makers. Though the percentages of the responses related to terrorism activities are low from both sites of Nairobi and Kakamega County, these numbers indicate that there is a simmering problem that needs addressing before it blows out of proportion.

Also, the analysis of the data based on the theoretical framework of the research indicates the need to concentrate more on individual human behavior, group mentality seen in the case of peer pressure and the search for identity and finally the role of stakeholders. The framework has

support from data that covers the lone-wolf extremist activities by highlighting the concept of self-radicalization and encouraging the role of information sharing.

6.0 CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS AND RECCOMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The challenges of countering terrorism in Africa keep changing, and the field of engagement keeps expanding. Different stakeholders are now getting engaged in the process but with limited knowledge on where to participate or how to participate. This chapter gives recommendations based on the field work data available; to different levels of the society. The general recommendations are to the core level of society and the close stakeholders involved in the processes in school at the community level.

The policy recommendations fall within the roles of the government and the different bodies that assist in the school set up. This level of recommendations proposes checks and balances on the activities proposed by the different bodies while also giving a road map for interactions and a

way of finding solutions to the problem. Finally, this chapter also gives recommendations to expand the body of knowledge and also provide an avenue to get data for implementing programs and also affect policy decisions.

6.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

8.2.1 General Recommendations

The challenges of preventing and countering terrorism are complex and fluid. The changing strategies employed by the extremist organizations make it difficult to engage with one avenue of the society and leave the other. This research focused on one avenue involving the youth in schools who are very malleable and vulnerable to terrorism and its vices. The fieldwork, indicates that radicalization and recruitment processes are happening in schools and this process is being facilitated by the student interactions during the outings and holiday periods, service providers in schools and in the home environments, teachers who are charged with the responsibility to moulding the students into better citizens in society and other social activities they are engaged in when in school. This study, therefore, makes recommendations to the following areas;

- a. **Administration:** Co-curricular activities are necessary for the students to participate in while in school. Data shows that these activities have lacked oversight and are continuously expanding and their engagement with other students even out of school has made them feel like the new socially acceptable thing in the school. Participation in this activities by non-teaching staff has done some of the activities to be used as conduits for radicalization and recruitment as seen in the case of 225, Gaza group expansion in Kakamega county schools. As a proposal, all learning institutions should take an audit of

the activities happening in their institutions and give responsibilities to certain staff members to give oversight on those activities.

- b. **Service providers:** The Ministry of Education in Kenya sounded an alarm over the presence of preachers who radicalize students in learning institutions through the approval of the administration without having background checks. The proposal by the ministry to have checks and balances to preachers before they gain access to the learning institutions should be strengthened to make it difficult for them to conduct recruitment in learning institutions.

- c. **School transfers and Leadership:** The fieldwork data provides a picture of establishments having limited information and background data for students who come in from other schools. According to the data, most students are admitted on the premise of good performance or discussions with the principals. The data also shows that those who come into the institution, over 50% are given responsibilities to be school prefects and captains within the shortest time periods. This data also indicates that the level of influence the new students have is very high and most of them come in with new cultures. As a recommendation, this study proposes to have a quarantine period for the new students who come into the schools. It also proposes to have background checks done on the students before they are fully admitted into the school. Leadership roles should be retained until the students are fully engaged in the activities of the new school.

- d. **Parents and larger Society:** The responsibilities of bringing up children lie on the parents and the society as a whole. Parents should be more involved in the activities that the students are engaged in. These activities would range from sports to simpler activities as using the mobile phones. Data shows that information shared during the holidays, activities the youth engage in during this period and the interactions they have, determine the outcome at school. The case of Gaza group from Korogocho slums in Nairobi county is a good example of the transfer of activities to learning institutions in Kakamega County.

8.2.2 Policy Recommendations

The education system in Kenya has different stakeholders involved at different levels. Apart from the Ministry of Education, there is the employer; TSC, whose mandate is to employ the teachers who provide services to the students in school. There is also the BOM that is tasked with the responsibilities of managing the school with the assistance from the school principal. The BOM also hires and fires the non-teaching staff, and in some cases, they have taken up the responsibilities of hiring some teachers who are not under the TSC (Teachers Service Commission). The school also has some other bodies including the PTA (Parents Teachers Association), that is tasked with the responsibilities of defending the interest of the teachers and the parents within the learning institutions. Finally, there is the curriculum development board works with Kenya Institute of Education (KIE), to develop Curriculum for the schools.

The institutions through the ministry of education are now under the influence of the National Counter Terrorism Centre whose mandate is to coordinate counter-terrorism activities in the country. The launch of the National Counter Terrorism Strategy provides an avenue to engage the education system through one of the pillars that focus on education.

To achieve positive results on this front this research proposes the following;

- Provide capacity building to the teachers to enable them to understand some of the behavior changes that may relate to radicalization and recruitment in schools
- Provide avenues for reporting and next step actions to allow students and teachers interact and provide information on the situation in schools
- Develop a checklist of background checks to students planning to transfer to other schools or for those who have already transferred to other institutions
- Provide guidance on the type of religious education curriculum to be used in the learning institutions
- Gazette the religious leaders affiliated with the various learning institutions to avoid unauthorized preacher to student interactions
- Encourage guidance and counseling sessions in learning institutions from specialized doctors or hospitals to ensure a public health perspective in dealing with terrorism in schools, and
- Work with development partners in the different communities to provide a harmonized system of dealing with the challenges of countering terrorism.

6.2.3 Academia recommendations (Proposals on More Areas for Study)

This research covered different themes including; the influence of behavior, responses to conflict, drivers to violent extremism, environmental issues, knowledge and information sharing and their relationships to violent extremism and general perspectives to violent extremism. These thematic areas provide a situational analysis of what is currently happening in the schools and points out to some of the sectors that need specific data and more research. Some of these areas include;

1. The relationship between poverty and terrorism for youth in schools.

The fieldwork data indicates some connection between the poverty, school dropout rates and the need to find alternative ways to survive. Whether the need to survive is the mobilizing factor behind the recruitment into extremist activities or not; was not within the scope of this research. It would be critical especially when developing the linkages at the macro level.

2. Service providers at the community level and terrorism among the youth in schools

This study majorly focused on the human agency engagement at the institution level. The fieldwork data indicates that some of the students come back to school having a radical idea and with the intention to radicalize the students in the institution. There is a clear indication of targeted process that has been influenced by inter-school transfers or the engagement with different service providers within the community. It is another area that needs thorough research to find out these relationships.

3. Government responses to learning institutions and its impact on detecting, reporting and deterring radicalisation leading to terrorism in schools

I mentioned the challenge from the government on getting approvals and active support due to the sensitivities of the subject. Fieldwork data also indicates that some of the responses from within the learning institutions included a transfer for teachers who could not be “supervised” because of fear from the school head. The government responses have created a blockage of information flow on the topic. It makes the processes of detecting, reporting and acting early enough almost impossible. With the release of the National Counter-Terrorism Strategy, more research needs to be carried out to find out a better response for the government on the issue.

4. Guidance and Counselling activities and its impacts of dealing with radicalization and recruitment activities in School.

Though the study focused on the challenges of terrorism and had the youth in schools as the target population; while looking at the topic from a security perspective, there is a need to have the processes of countering/preventing terrorism to include a public health perspective. From the fieldwork data, it was clear that behavior change served as a starting point for engagement and development of response from the smallest level of student relations. The data also indicated that peer pressure arising from the need to fit in and the challenges of adolescents also pose a threat of easy and quick engagement by the youth in schools. The researcher proposes more studies on the role of guidance and counseling as a starting point of dealing with radicalization and recruitment in learning institutions. This information would

also highlight some of the signs to look out for when developing responses to address the challenge of Preventing/Countering Terrorism.

5. Linkages between gangs and terrorism

There is increasing data showing that there is limited information linking terrorism to organized crime. A recent study covering community resilience to violent extremism; indicate that the vulnerabilities that enable or make it easy for young people to be engaged in violent extremism also make it easy for them to be influenced into organized crime and vice versa.²⁰² This information indicates that the engagement of organized crime to violent extremism is therefore at an individual level and that no whole organized crime organization can be said to have ties to terrorism. The fieldwork data provides a different perspective as the perceptions from the community indicate a stronger relationship than available data seem to suggest. However, this data is too general to have substantive linkage with examples. The researcher proposes more study on this topic with a specific bias to the individual organized crime groups in Kenya including Supa-Power, Gaza and other organized crime groups that always appear as the nation comes closer to the election period.

6.3 CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, this study has provided a baseline and a broader perspective of what is happening in selected schools in Nairobi and Kakamega County. The data mentions some linkages with organized gangs, mentions names of students who are engaged with extremist organizations and also provides a roadmap to the development of solutions to counter the challenge. It should only

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be used as a guide to future engagement in research and development of activities intended to combat terrorism in schools.

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8.0 APPENDICES

Appendices 1: Letter of introduction

Scofield Yoni Muliru

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Dear Participant:

Ref: Questionnaire to review the Challenges of Countering Terrorism in Africa: Youth Radicalization in Schools in Kenya

In partial fulfilment for the award of a Masters of Art in International Conflict Management Degree at the University of Nairobi, I would like to conduct a study on Challenges of Countering Terrorism in Africa. I am conducting a study that will collect data from sample schools within Nairobi and at the Kakamega, and compile a report for submission to my supervisor.

The survey will take about 25-35 minutes to complete. I am inviting you to participate in this research study by responding to the questionnaire. There is no compensation for responding nor is there any known risk and all information will remain confidential. Participation is strictly voluntary and you may refuse to participate at any time. The data collected will provide useful information to the government and development programs by assisting in the development of policy and programs that will assist in curbing terrorism in Africa and in Kenya with a specific view of the youth in schools. It will also assist academia in ascertaining the factors that push or pull children into extremism through radicalization process.

If you are not satisfied with the manner in which this study is being conducted, you may choose to end the process at any time. Thank you for taking the time to assist me in the survey.

Sincerely,

Scofield Yoni Muliru

Appendices 2: Questionnaire tool

Questionnaire No: □□□□

RESPONDENTS: CHILDREN BETWEEN 12 – 19 YEARS OF AGE

PART 1: IDENTIFICATION

101: SITE CODE (01= NAIROBI; 02= KAKAMEGA)

102: SCHOOL NAME.....

103: RESPONDENT CODE

104: SEX OF RESPONDENT (1=MALE, 2=FEMALE)

105: DATE OF INTERVIEW.....

106: NAME OF INTERVIEWER.....

PART 2: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

201	203	204
What is your age	Religion	Ethnic group
1= below 12 Years 2= 12- 15 Years 3 = 15-19 years 4 = Over 19 years	1=Muslim 2=Christian 3=Buddhist 4=Hindu 5=Atheist 6=Other (specify) -----	Specify -----

PART 2:

Tell me more about your school?	
Who is your role model?	
Do you have any of your classmates, or other students gone missing from this school?	1 = Yes 2 = No 3 = Other.....
If Yes, how many?	
What has the school done about	

the situation?	
Do you have any students who has come back from home behaving differently or suspiciously? (explain)	1 = Yes 2 = No 3 = other.....
How many students have transferred to your school in the past term?	_____ _____ _____ _____
(Do you know why they were transferred to your school? And from which school?)	
How do they relate with other students?	_____ _____ _____ _____
Of those transferred into your school, have any of them been selected to be a school leader or prefect? (if yes, how is there leadership or engagement style?)	_____ _____ _____ _____
What do you do in your free time in school? (starting with most preferred.)	_____ _____ _____
Do you have groups/clubs in your school?	1 = Yes 2 = No
What happens in these groups/clubs?	_____ _____ _____
Do you teachers and the administration participate in these groups/clubs?	1 = Yes 2 = No 3 = Other
Do you have other individuals	1 = Yes

<p>who are not teachers or the school administration participate in the groups/clubs?</p>	<p>2 = No 3 = Other.....</p>
<p>If yes, how do they get access to the school?</p>	<p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
<p>Does the school administration monitor their activities?</p>	<p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
<p>Have you seen anything unusual happening within your school? If yes, what was it exactly?</p> <p>Eg. (Change in behaviour, new groupings, weird meetings etc)</p>	<p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
<p>What exactly do they do?</p>	<p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>
<p>What is the single most important way that you identify yourself in school?</p>	<p>1 = Ethnicity 2 = Religion 3 = Age group 4 = Family/Clan Name 5 = Political affiliations 6 = Grades 7 =Geographical location 8 = Other----- 9: I don't like identifying myself</p>
<p>If You don't like identifying yourself (above), please explain your answer?</p>	<p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>

What factors drive you or make you feel comfortable in school?	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
Do you have personal goals in terms of education, career etc.?	1 = Yes.....(explain) 2 = No.....(explain)
What factors make you feel uncomfortable in this school and in school in general?	
What Conflicts are present in school?	
What are the Causes of these conflicts?	
How does the school handle them?	
How is peer pressure in your school?	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
Are youth in your school bullied?	1 = Yes 2 = No 3 = Other
If yes, how do the victims deal with the situation? (Would you like to give examples?)	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
If yes, how does the school deal with the situation? (Would you like to give examples?)	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>
Is violence acceptable to support in the institution?	1 = Yes 2 = No 3 = depends
Explain your answer?	<hr/> <hr/> <hr/> <hr/>

Do you think violence is effective in addressing grievances in general?	1 = Yes 2 = No 3 = Not sure
Please explain your answer?	_____ _____ _____ _____
What comes to your mind when you hear the term terrorism, radicalization and recruitment?	_____ _____ _____ _____
Are there groups you are aware of operating within your school in relation to the terms above?	1 = Yes 2 = No
If yes, how do they interact with the students?	_____ _____ _____ _____
Does the administration of your school know that they exist?	_____ _____ _____ _____
What would you say are the three major factors that drive the youth from your school to join these outlawed groups?	_____ _____ _____ _____
Are there any students that have left school to join the groups mentioned above? (please include the name of the group and number of students)	_____ _____ _____ _____ (if the respondent is comfortable, he/she could also mention the names of those who may have been engaged)

who have joined)	
Do you engage with other students from your school or other schools, when you go home for long holiday?	1 = Yes 2 = No 3 = Other
If Yes or Other, how often, when and where does the engagement occur?	_____ _____ _____ _____
Are there groups or individuals what seem to have an interest in you or your friends during the long holidays? (if yes Which ones)	_____ _____ _____ _____
How do they convince you and your friends to be part of their activities?	
What are some of the activities they tell you to engage in?	
Do your parents know how you spend your time during the holiday? (explain)	

THANK YOU!!!

FGD Respondents: Opinion leaders, PTA of selected schools, Student leaders, and religious leaders and teachers)

KII Respondents: (Local Officials, Ministry of education representatives, Religious leaders, Police, Area Chiefs, CSO reps, Opinion leaders.)

Good morning / afternoon.

I am conducting a survey on radicalization of school going children in Africa; a case of Nairobi & Kakamega Kenya. The discussion usually takes about 45 minutes to 1 hour. Participation in the survey is completely voluntary. However, we hope you will participate in the survey since your views are important. Whatever information you provide will only be used for general reporting. No response will be associated with you or any group.

i) What is happening?

- Are there recognizable changes in the behaviour of children in this school?
- How about the service providers (e.g. Shop, games, religious leaders), how do they engage with the children in the school?
- Are there students who have gone missing from the institution?
- Are there transfers into this school or to other schools by the students?
- How does the school administration deal with these issues?

ii) Drivers

- Why do you think the children engage the way they do in school?
- How are the students recruited in schools?
- What is the response of the children to the different punishment methods used in school?
- What recommendations can you make on the intervention programs from the government?
- What recommendations can you make on the intervention to the school?

iii) Other critical issues

- Would you have an idea of activities the children are engaged in while out of school?
- Are there individuals who recruit students when they are out of school?
- What alternative intervention programs should be adopted in preventing and managing radicalization in schools?

- Any feedback on the report mentioning this school with the linkages to radicalization and recruitment?
- Would you be having anything else to add?

Thank you for taking your time to answer my questions