

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY AS A DRIVER OF  
INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM: A CASE STUDY OF SOCIAL  
MEDIA AND YOUTH IN KENYA**

**BY**

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**DECLARATION**

This research project is an original work presented to the University of Nairobi.

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This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor;

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this project to my dear Mother, Caren Were, my two lovely Aunts, Pamela Were and

Eunice Were, all who raised me. My entire family, cousins, nephews and nieces. I love you all.

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I also thank my Mother and Aunts for their constant support as I embarked on my studies.

## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CBRN.....	Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear
ETA.....	Euskadi Ta Askatasuna
EU.....	European Union
IRA.....	Irish Republican Army
ISIS.....	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
IT.....	Information Technology
KKK.....	Ku Klux Klan
LRA.....	Lord's Resistance Army
NATO.....	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OLF.....	Oromo Liberation Front
PKK.....	Kurdistan Worker's Party
YPG.....	Yekineyen Parastina Gel

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## **ABSTRACT**

Extremist ideologies have been pervasive throughout history be it the extreme right, the extreme left or nationalistic movements. These ideologies usually manifest as physical attacks on groups deemed as enemies of a particular cause or on selected symbolic targets meant to highlight a social grievance.

The main purpose of terrorism is to spread fear and to convey a political message through violent means which involve such methods as suicide bombing. There are concerns as to the spread of religious fundamentalism and one of the main areas under discussion in this study is the use of new sources of communication being the social media.

Social media is a new playground for destructive forces where planning of terror attacks, coordination and propaganda is carried out. As no one person or institution controls the internet, individuals can easily form social networks and recruit other likeminded persons and plan for attacks, pre-emptive and retaliatory. These online tactics will therefore have to be confronted by new counter terrorist measures.

The study therefore is seeking to explore the link between IT, Social media and terrorism in a global context, to analyse the role social media plays in terrorist recruitment of Kenyan youth, to investigate the reasons as to what makes terrorist ideologies attractive and lastly to determine the means by which terrorist ideologies can be prevented from spreading through social media.

The emerging of social media as a tool for terrorist propaganda is explained by the realist theory which highlights the politics of dominance and this theory as used by Hans Morgenthau implies that politics is merely a struggle for power and it can take the form of morality or reason to accomplish its objectives.

In this regard, religious terrorism is a political cause disguised in the form of morality and conservatism that seeks to achieve and maintain dominance over other forms of power notably liberal democracies.

The assumptions rising from this study is that IT and specifically social media influence the spread of terrorism globally, social media plays the most effective role in the recruitment of Kenyan youth into terrorism, inequalities and deprivations are the major

causes of terrorism in Kenya and that the spread of terrorist ideologies can be prevented by monitoring the internet, community policing and employing effective counterterrorism legislation.

The study also employs descriptive survey and data was collected from both primary and secondary sources.

The findings from the study affirmed that indeed social media influences radicalization of the youth in Kenya and that social inequalities influence the decision of deprived youth to participate in terror related activities.

In this regard, policy makers must counter terrorist ideologies by providing alternatives to online terrorist propaganda, promote economic empowerment, promote community policing, employ intelligence both human and computerised to identify terrorist networks, provide support to moderate religious leaders as they influence adherents and implement effective counter terror legislation that does not discriminate on the basis of ethnicity or religion but one that ensures that legitimate terror suspects are prosecuted.

For academics, it is imperative that the use of social media in the context of international politics as a struggle of power should be understood and further implemented to incorporate and build on the existing knowledge to prevent radicalization through the medium.



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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

### 1.0 Introduction

Terrorism is a historical phenomenon and can be traced to a pre modern phase and the modern phase. In the pre modern phase of terrorism there were three distinct groups that emerged. These are the Sicariis also known as Zealots, the Hashashins and the Thugees.<sup>1</sup>

The Zealots emerged from Ancient Israel and they were primarily opposed to the Roman occupation of their land. They normally targeted Roman properties, officials and Jewish collaborators to drive out the Romans and they did this overtly.

This has been a frequent tactic used even by modern terrorists so that everyone can get the message and avoid collaboration or desist from occupation. The zealots were also known as the Sicarii as their primary weapons were small daggers called sica.

The Hashashins were from Arabia and were led by Hassan Sabah. They were primarily a religious sect who opposed invasion into Muslim lands by the Christian crusaders and the rival religious faction of Sunni Islam. In order to effect their message, they assassinated senior members of both groups over a long period of time of 300 years before being defeated by the invading Mongols.

The Thugee of India were also of a religious origin even though there's was more of a cult as they worshipped the goddess of death known as Kali. The act terrorising mass population for the glorification of Kali is what brings their classification as pre modern terrorists. They were eventually defeated by the British through their colonisation of India.

The modern phase came in four waves. *The First wave* (1819-1914), *the Second wave* (1920-1960s), *the Third wave* (1970s-1980s) and *the Fourth wave* (1990s-present)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J.M. Lutz, B.J. Lutz. Terrorism Origins and Evolution. Palgrave Macmillan. 2006.

<sup>2</sup> ) Analysis and Strategies to Counter the Terrorism Threat. NATO Science for Peace and Security Series  
Pg. 4

In the First wave, terrorism was purely ideological and the notion of propaganda by deed was considered to be more effective than issuing books or pamphlets to get political message across and to bring attention to a cause.

The first wave was initiated by the Italian Carlo Pisacani who believed in the said idea of *propaganda by deed* that violence was the only means to bring attention to a cause and that which can provide mass support for a cause or a revolution.<sup>3</sup>

This idea was adopted by the Russian terrorist group Narodnaya Volya (The Peoples Will) who targeted senior members of the Tsarist regime and successfully assassinated Alexander II in 1881. This act led to subsequent annihilation of the group but not before their tactic of targeting senior most government officials spread throughout Europe and America giving influence to the anarchists.<sup>4</sup>

The Second wave of terrorism occurred during the two world wars; World War 1 and World War 2 as such most leanings were mostly realistic, right wing in nature and nationalist separatist.

The anti-colonial movement is also included as part of the second wave in this categorisation and tactics that were mostly employed included guerrilla warfare. The inclusion of anti-colonial movement as part of terrorism brought with it the terrorist-freedom fighter dilemma where one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter and that becomes a matter of perspective.<sup>5</sup>

The Third wave was marked by different forms of ideologies and leanings. It was left-wing, right-wing, separatist as well as State sponsored.

Groups such as the Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) of Turkey were ethnic separatists who advocated for a Kurdish state that represented the Kurds who are found in Syria, Turkey, Iraq and Iran.

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<sup>3</sup> Caroline Cahm. Kropotkin and the Rise of Revolutionary Anarchism, 1872-1886. Cambridge University Press. 1989. Pg. 76

<sup>4</sup> Barry Rubin and Judith Colp. Chronicles of Modern Terrorism. Routledge. 2014. Pg. 15

<sup>5</sup> Frederick, Cooper. Africa in the World: Capitalism, Empire, Nation-State. Harvard University Press. 2014. Pg. 5

The Kurds have recently gained prominence in Syria and Iraq as they are fighting to maintain an autonomous region free from the Syrian government led by the Alawite Bashar al-Assad and also fighting terrorists like ISIS.<sup>6</sup>

Another example of ethnic separatist group is the Basque ETA of Spain, the Irish Republican Army (IRA) who were Irish Catholics distinct from the Church of England and Anglicans of Great Britain who wanted to control their own territory and which led to numerous attacks on England, the Italian Red Brigades who had communistic leanings and were therefore opposed to the government of the day.<sup>7</sup>

The Fourth and final wave is marked by religious extremism and this is the point of focus. It has risen partly due to the failure of capitalism and liberal economic policies employed by World Bank and the IMF in slowly developing countries and with the Post-Cold war lack of Bipolar ideological leaning of communism pitted against capitalism, the religious militants have tried to fill in the gap with their own propaganda.<sup>8</sup>

The dominant terrorist group is Islamic nature, as is evidenced by the rise of the Islamic State, Al-Qaeda, Taliban, Boko Haram and Al-Shabaab.

Christian terrorists have also emerged in the past and an example is the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) who terrorised African Americans by bombing their churches, homes, hanging them from trees and lynching them.<sup>9</sup>

This historical perspective into terrorism captures important aspects such as the use of fear to captivate an audience in order to advance a cause. These means are political and violent and challenge the governments of the day into seceding authority to the demands of the terrorists. It is also good to note that terrorists learn and adopt strategies from each other and these historical activities act as motivators and guide on how to conduct terror for future radicals.

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<sup>6</sup> Islam, Thowhidul. Turkey's AKP foreign policy toward Syria: shifting policy during Arab Spring. International Journal on World Peace. Mar, 2016. Pg. 7

<sup>7</sup> Ethan Bueno and Erick Dickson. The Propaganda of the Deed: Terrorism, Counterterrorism and Mobilization. 2003. Pg. 1

<sup>8</sup> Emanuilov, Rahamim, Yashlavsky, Andrey. Terror in the Name of Faith: Religion and Political Violence. Academic Studies Press. 2011. Pg. 26

<sup>9</sup> Alexander, Charles. C. The Ku Klux Klan in the Southwest. The University Press of Kentucky. 2015. Pg. 21

Terrorists will ultimately use violence for a number of purposes such as propaganda to publicise their cause and build support, extortion in order to coerce governments into making concessions by threatening or committing acts of violence, deterrence which deters governments from pursuing measures against the terrorists or the group that they represent, defeating the security forces of the state by killing soldiers thereby increasing public and political pressure on the state to accede to terrorist demands and breaking the political will of public opinion and governments by using indiscriminate killings and attacking economic targets to increase the cost of war thereby coming to the belief that concession is a better option than unyielding to the terrorists demands.<sup>10</sup>

To reach the much needed wider audience for public support for their cause, social media, than ever before, has offered a global platform in the spread of terrorist propaganda and serves to influence the youth into participating in a cause advocated by these terrorist groups and this project builds on that relationship.

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<sup>10</sup> Cole Benjamin. Changing Face of Terrorism: How Real is the Threat from Biological, Chemical and Nuclear Weapons? I.B. Tauris. 2010. Pg. 66

## 1.1 Statement of the problem

The era of internet and how it influences terror acts is relatively new. One of the biggest hurdles in tracking terrorists via internet is the issue of privacy, individual freedoms versus security and the misuse of surveillance by collecting intelligence not based on the intended purpose of pre-empting terrorist attacks.

Terrorism has been studied in the past through avenues such as funding of terroristic activities, the motivations of terrorists, the suicide tactics used by terrorists, the threat of using chemical, biological and nuclear weapons by militant terrorists, state sponsorship of terrorism and the general development of terrorism.<sup>11</sup>

For instance, in the funding of terroristic activities, it has always been important for terrorists to inflict as many casualties as possible and this can only be done with the purchase of sophisticated weaponry. As an organization, terrorists need payments for equipment in particular communications, transportation, salaries and compensation fund to families of suicide bombers.<sup>12</sup>

As to what motivates terrorists to commit such horrendous acts, it becomes difficult to pin point to one particular motivation or a psychological condition but rather a myriad which can include social and political inequalities, boredom, the need for adventure, sense of belonging and ideological causes and these motivations are not limited to one gender.<sup>13</sup>

State sponsorship of terrorism is also a critical factor. For example the Hezbollah of Lebanon are supported and funded by the Iranian government in their quest to defeat Israel and so are most Shiite rebels in the Middle East.<sup>14</sup> One can also say that the Holocaust in Germany where six million Jews were killed, Slavery and oppression of Africans and subsequent colonialization were forms of State sponsorship of terrorism against 'other' populations which gave rise to violent racist ideologies and superiority complex of one race over another.

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<sup>11</sup> David, Gold. Terronomics. Routledge. 2016. Pg. 145

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., Pg. 146

<sup>13</sup> Sjoberg, Laura, and Gentry, Caron. Women, Gender, and Terrorism. University of Georgia Press. 2011. Pg. 5

<sup>14</sup> Deeb, Marius. Syria, Iran and Hezbollah: The Unholy Alliance and its War on Lebanon. Hoover Institution Press. 2013. Pg. 24

Insurgencies in Iraq are also funded by states in the Middle East. After the fall of Saddam Hussein in Iraq various factions were seeking dominance and the two most prominent were the Shiites and the Sunni who represent the two factions in Islam led by Iran and Saudi Arabia respectively.

States can also shelter terrorists and provide a safe haven where they can plan attacks and have training camps. This has been true of countries such as Pakistan and Afghanistan.

It is important to note that Al Qaeda leader *Osama bin Laden* and Taliban leader *Mullah Akhtar Mansour* were both killed inside Pakistan by American agents of government. The death of Mansour is said to have exposed Taliban's links to Iran as he travelled to the country to seek medical attention and visit family members and was returning to Pakistan when his motorcade was hit by a U.S. drone.<sup>15</sup>

The threat of using lethal weaponry such as CBRN weapons has also been discussed<sup>16</sup> and it is unlikely for terrorists with an agenda to accomplish would decide to go nuclear as this indiscriminate mass killing will seem abhorable even to their supporters and they will experience a massive drop in influence and this will limit their ability to effect their cause.

The role of technology in terrorist recruitment has not been adequately addressed. The issue of fundraising and radicalisation via social media has also not been researched properly by scholars and policy makers.

The strategy for response has not been adequate enough to counter terrorism for instance in terms of adequate legislation that would enable counter terrorist action through social media has been lacking.

Radicalization through social media channels is an emerging phenomenon in international relations which has not been adequately studied thus leaving a gap in knowledge which needs to be addressed.

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<sup>15</sup> Taliban reshuffled; War in Afghanistan. The Economist. May, 2016. Pg. 35

<sup>16</sup> Cole Benjamin. Changing Face of Terrorism: How Real is the Threat from Biological, Chemical and Nuclear Weapons? I.B. Tauris. 2010. Pg. 73



The study seeks to analyse the persisting problem of terrorism and in particular the role of the social media in radicalising the youth in Kenya and proposing possible strategies for minimising the spread of such ideologies.

### **1.2 Research Questions**

- i. What is the link between IT, Social Media and Terrorism globally?
- ii. What role does social media play in the recruitment of Kenyan youth into terrorism?
- iii. Why is the Salafist ideology and other radicalizing ideologies effective in social media recruitment?
- iv. Which prevention measures are effective in countering social media as a terrorism driver?

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

- i) To explore the linkage between IT, Social Media and Terrorism in a global context
- ii) To analyse the role social media plays in the terrorist recruitment of Kenyan youth
- iii) To investigate the reason as to what makes terrorist ideologies attractive
- iv) To determine the means by which terrorist ideologies can be prevented from spreading through the social media

### **1.4 Literature Review**

The Literature of this project is categorised on the motivating factors that spark terrorist activities, the relationship between terrorism, IT and social media and the linkage between terrorist recruitment and its predominant ideologies.

### 1.4.1 Terrorism and its Motivating Factors

To begin with, terrorism has been defined as “the indiscriminate use of violence in order to spread fear and panic among the individuals and societies to shake their confidence in the governments and thus coerce governments and societies to achieve their political objectives,”<sup>17</sup>

Terrorists strive for power and as a means of undermining the state, terrorists resort to ceaseless acts of violence that would force public opinion into pressuring the state to yield to terrorist demands.

Hans Morgenthau, to place the terrorists’ need for power in context, asserts that all politics is a struggle for power because political man is innately a selfish creature with an insatiable urge to dominate others.<sup>18</sup>

Politics thus is a struggle for power over men and whatever its ultimate aim may be, power is its immediate goal and the modes of acquiring, maintaining, and demonstrating it determine the techniques of political action.<sup>19</sup>

In this sense then, terrorism is a technique reflecting a political action used by radical militants to force their political objectives onto states and they use moral ideologies as a mode of acquiring members.

Terrorism becomes a measure of political dominance against states and the states in retaliation conduct counter terror measures to limit and undermine the influence of terrorist groups resulting in war.

In the field of realism, terrorism is the result of power politics where one less dominant group with few military resources compared to a state results in continuous acts of violence to pressure the state in accepting its demands.

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<sup>17</sup> Ersen, M.U., Kibaroglu, M. Analysis and Strategies to Counter the Terrorism Threat. NATO Science for Peace and Security Series. 2011. Pg. 1

<sup>18</sup> Williams, Michael. Realism Reconsidered: The Legacy of Hans Morgenthau in International Relations. OUP Oxford. 2007.

<sup>19</sup> May Earnest et al. History and Neorealism. Cambridge University Press. 2010. Pg. 3

Terrorism is also caused by other different motivations and these drives in particular are shaped by varied terrorist activities which form a reflection of the eventual tactic to be used by terrorists.

These terrorist activities are *Communal terrorism*, *Ideological terrorism* and *Instrumental/Pragmatic terrorism*.<sup>20</sup>To understand the motivating factors it is critical to analyse these activities and groupings to realise their effects on the society.

Communal terrorism is based on identities such as ethnicity, religion or language. Socially marginalised communities always find a need to emancipate themselves from a majority dominant population and seek to achieve this by resorting to violence or seeking vocal recognition within the state system.

Anti-colonial struggles can be classified as communal terrorism from the point of view of the colonisers especially where violence was applied as this was a political cause for self-governance and communities were mobilised to either fight in the struggle or act as supporters of freedom movement.

Ideological terrorism is steeped in political beliefs and theories either left wing politics that seeks inclusion of every social group regardless of identity or right wing politics that aims at achieving political power and control of resources by the selected few. Both groups use political violence to achieve their goals.

Both the left and right however use different tactics to achieve their own goals. For the left, they use violence in order to elicit harsh government response against suspects and sympathisers and this would enable more people to join in the cause and rebel against the government. The right uses political violence to make governments stricter in terms of limiting freedoms and sealing what they deem as loopholes. Both the left and the right however in their actions eventually create dictatorships where opposing views are restricted.<sup>21</sup>

Instrumental terrorism utilises reason to achieve its ends. This might be the attainment of political power or to maintain status quo as is the case of state terrorism. In this regard,

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<sup>20</sup> J.M. Lutz, B.J. Lutz. *Terrorism Origins and Evolution*. Palgrave Macmillan. 2006.

<sup>21</sup> Heinisch, Reinhard. *Success in opposition-failure in government: explaining the performance of right-wing populist parties in public office*. West European Politics. 2003. Pg. 91

specific targets are chosen to exert violence to influence the majority and to sway public opinion.

These various terrorist activities as highlighted are associated with varied causes of terrorism which is as a result of social inequalities, deprivations, government repression, lack of economic opportunities and inequality and most importantly the resort to terrorism is the lack of adequate response to the said grievances whether they are real or perceived to be so.<sup>22</sup>

The emergence of religious terrorism which is closely linked to communal, ideological and pragmatic activities has many causes. Some of these are *structural*, *facilitating*, *motivational* and *triggering* causes.<sup>23</sup>

*Structural causes* state that terrorism emerges from the environment in which a participant finds himself/herself in. The failure of corporate capitalism which plunders resources; exploits cheap, unorganized labour; and creates pliable, corrupt governments that abandon the common good to serve corporate profit is one of the external factors that provoke acts of terrorism. Other structural forces are globalization, relative deprivation, poverty, democracy and political representation.<sup>24</sup>

Globalization increases inequality in terms of benefits distribution. Economic inequality will cause some to seek better ways of improving themselves and terrorists can seize this opportunity by offering services the government might not be able to offer or are unwilling to.

The promotion of a global culture also creates an opposing backlash as people would sense a loss of their identities and be pulled into extremist ideologies and ethnic separatism as seen in the rise of nationalistic political parties which promote xenophobia leading to acts of violence against immigrants and minorities.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Demetriou, Chares et al. The Mobilization Series on Social Movements, Protest, and Culture: Dynamics of Political Violence: A Process-Oriented Perspective on Radicalization and the Escalation of Political Conflict. Ashgate. 2014. Pg. 6

<sup>23</sup> Magnus, Ranstorp. Understanding Violent Radicalisation: Terrorist and Jihadist Movements in Europe. Routledge. 2010.

<sup>24</sup> Hedges, Chris. Wages of Rebellion. Nation Books. 2015. Pg. 1

<sup>25</sup> Pultar, Gonul. Imagined Identities: Identity Formation in the Age of Globalism. Syracuse University Press. 2014. Pg.

Relative deprivation on the other hand arises as a result of social, economic and political problems. Conflict arises when these demands for equality are not resolved in due time. The public perceives that there are inequalities in the system and they will oppose the authority of the state.

Poverty is also termed as a causative factor although terrorists have been known to have no particular grounding in poor backgrounds. In reality some of the terrorists are from the middle class as they have access to technology especially to social media and can easily access online literature and download videos relating to radical ideologies. The middle class is more exposed to what the ideology means and what they seek to accomplish.<sup>26</sup>

In addition lower income people tend to prioritise material gain over ideology. Poverty of the community and the youth through unemployment however acts as a recruitment tool for people who see little choice but to earn money for their families by engaging in deviant behaviour of terrorism.

Democracy and political representation is vital in terms of promoting freedoms and expressions of all who form a state.

Democracy has facilitated the creation of institutions where frustrations are directed at and resolved in due time. This however is only possible in open proportional systems. In less proportional ones, cracks and fault lines appear where marginalised groups whose interests are shelved may find an outlet in participating in terrorist activities to make people aware of their needs and to pass a message to the governments to turn its attention to their problems.<sup>27</sup>

*Facilitating causes of terrorism* makes it easier to propagate terrorism by error. This means that it is not an intentional cause rather a streamlining one. Some of these causes are developments in the means of transportation and communication, the news media, weak states and to a degree state sponsorship.

Transport and communication has made the world linked and it has become easier to travel long distances in short time and to communicate with each other from one

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<sup>26</sup>Krueger, Alan B. What Makes a Terrorist: Economics and the Roots of Terrorism. Princeton University Press. 2008.

<sup>27</sup> Cox, Dan G., Falconer, John, Stackhouse, Brian. Northeastern Series on Democratization and Political Development: Terrorism, Instability, and Democracy in Asia and Africa. Northeastern. 2010. Pg. 31

continent to another in a touch and click of a button. These developments also mean that terrorism has gone global. Terrorists can communicate with each using social media and post videos to recruit more members. They can also travel to meet up with each other to formulate attacks.

The mass media provides much needed free publicity for the terrorists to act as a recruitment tool and to spread fear among who they consider as their enemies. The responsibility of the media is normally called into question whenever terrorist strikes happen as they can act as unwilling partners in spreading fear and their ideology thus attracting a global audience to their cause.

The media will spend a considerable amount of time reporting events and showing images of terrorist attacks as this will make more viewers to either watch or purchase their publications and this in turn boosts their revenues.<sup>28</sup> This was the case of the West gate mall siege in Nairobi where newspapers published gruesome images of the dead in pools of blood and the victims screaming. This was widely condemned by various sections of the public and such were no longer published.

Weak states and failed states are said to be a perfect hub for terrorists to operate in. Weak states have characteristics that make them susceptible to terrorism and these are poor monitoring systems especially in the financial sector where terrorists can easily engage in money laundering, weak security apparatus where police officers can easily be bribed to allow safe passage of deadly weapon into a country, political tensions that have the potential of developing into full scale war. Terrorists take advantage of such regions to train, to plot for their next move and to claim territory.<sup>29</sup> Countries such as Syria is already host to ISIS as is Iraq, failed states like Somalia harbour groups such as the Al-Shabaab who have carried out sporadic and deadly attacks on Kenyan citizens and the Kenyan army.

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<sup>28</sup> Cottle, Simon. Mediatized Conflict. Open University Press. 2007. Pg. 153

<sup>29</sup> Howard, Tiffany. Failed States and the Origins of Violence: A Comparative Analysis of State Failure as a Root Cause of Terrorism and Political Violence. Routledge. 2014. Pg. 4

*Motivational causes of terrorism* are important as it underlies the motives that make a person want to harm others on a global scale devoid of humanity and empathy. These causes are psychological in nature, ideological and vengeful attitudes.

There is no universal psychology of a terrorist neither are terrorists clinically mental. They are surprisingly rational and strategic in carrying out attacks which are well planned. The targets are well chosen to get their political message across. The psychological causes can be further grouped into individual level explanations and group level explanations.

At the individual level it seems that terrorists are normal people who have varied backgrounds but there is no common psychological personal trait that would be said to endear someone to commit political violence. It is a matter of individual choice.

The individual however when exposed to the internet and constant propaganda develop three characteristics and these are *deindividuation*, *mortality salience* and *an imagined community*.<sup>30</sup>

Deindividuation occurs when other people are perceived as mere objects and this leads to people acting impulsively to misinterpreted social cues. Emotionally there is lack of empathy towards others and a feeling of uncaring of others opinions. This phenomenon has been observed when playing video games and as such internet activities where users can opt to be anonymous attracts even a larger audience who willingly access terrorist website with gruesome videos and thus with time develop aggressive tendencies.

Mortality salience occurs when people are exposed to death related thoughts and images thereby creating the knowledge that death is inevitable and this leads to an existential anxiety, a terror of death. As human beings we counter this by creating meaning in our cultural values believing that we are going to be immortal after death either by creating religious beliefs based on an afterlife or relating and identifying firmly with an in group.

The imagined community or the Ummah can be misinterpreted online giving the impression that the jihadi militancy involves all Muslims and that the ones who die in the

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<sup>30</sup> Analysis and Strategies to Counter the Terrorism Threat. NATO Science for Peace and Security Series

battlefield are heroes. At the group level there is a strong sense of affiliation and group identity where members are committed to their cause and this leads to isolation from the rest of the society even family members.<sup>31</sup>

Ideology makes members have a sense of purpose and enhances further cohesiveness of the group. Ideology makes terrorists think and act alike whether this ideology has racist underpinnings, ethnic separatist or its religious extremism.

Revenge is a powerful motivator for carrying out terrorist attacks. Unresolved historical conflicts can linger on for a very long time.<sup>32</sup> An example is the Israeli occupation of Palestinian land during its formation. The creation of the new Israeli state resulted in the first Arab-Israeli conflict of 1948, the six day war also referred to as Yom Kippur and numerous other conflicts between Israel, Palestine and the Iranian funded Hezbollah. Relatives killed during these many conflicts including mothers, wives, children, brothers, sisters, cousins, uncles, aunties, friends, fathers are not replaceable and their deaths act as a motivator for vengeance against the enemy who bombed, shot or maimed them.

Lastly the *triggering causes of terrorism* are those events that make people turn to terrorism. It may be a war or rise of a divisive leader. An example is the Iraq War by Western forces led by the U.S. and Britain which was widely regarded in the Muslim world as an invasion and the resultant effect was the destabilisation of that country that has not emerged from the war since 2003.

It is also good to note that what makes most young people join sects and cults is spiritual emptiness rather than an empty stomach. There is boredom and the desire for excitement on the one hand, and on the other the thirst for some kind of religion or higher purpose.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> McCoy, Bowen. Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah. Real Estate Issues. 2006. Pg. 56

<sup>32</sup> Pearse, John. Investigating Terrorism: Current Political, Legal and Psychological Issues (1). Wiley-Blackwell. 2015

<sup>33</sup> Laqueur, Walter. New Terrorism. Oxford University Press. 2006



### 1.4.2 Terrorism, IT and Social Media

Terrorist activity on the internet can be divided into seven categories and these are; *Internal communication, external communication, propaganda, recruiting, fundraising, intelligence gathering and information warfare.*<sup>34</sup>

Internal communication via the social media is meant to spread information among members of the group to highlight plans, counter government forces, warn militants of possible attacks, plot their own attacks, spread their quasi-religious ideology and to undermine government advances and strategies and to praise their own successes to encourage each other.

External communication serves the primary purpose of promoting the Salafist ideology among Muslims to usher in a form of apocalyptic war as advocated by ISIS.

Some groups however like the Al Qaeda were more of a nationalist struggle that found religion as a means to advance their agenda and this was the case in Afghanistan where the Taliban and Al Qaeda were seeking to drive out the Russians from their lands as they were viewed as occupiers and imperialistic.<sup>35</sup>

External communication is relatively easy via the social media channels which is virtually accessible through smartphones and computers to billions across the globe.

Recruitment via the internet is simple because barriers are broken and constant 24 hour surveillance is difficult in comparison to face to face meetings. In the recruitment process, once members in a closed forum notice a particular individual or group of individuals who share similar beliefs in an open forum, they are invited to the password protected closed forums where they can discuss their thoughts even more freely and prevent monitoring.

To give an example, *Abu Musab al-Zarqawi*, now deceased, was the leader of foreign insurgents and Al-Qaeda in Iraq and is said to have pioneered the new method of

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<sup>34</sup> Hans, D. Yair, S. Christian, R. Niv, A. Terrorism and the Internet: Threats, Target Groups, Deradicalisation Strategies. IOS Press. 2010

<sup>35</sup> Garner, Ferdinand and Lawson. The Rise of Al Qaeda and Islamic Militancy. Oxford University Press. 2016

communication by embracing the video camera as a tool and uploading them later to film successes for propaganda.<sup>36</sup>

From around 2004 as the result of this development, communication between likeminded terrorists moved from face to face interactions at local halal ethnic restaurants and radical mosques to interaction on the internet.<sup>37</sup> The phenomenon of ‘leaderless resistance’ is one which encourages individuals and small groups to carry out attacks on their own in the name of the same ideology. This concept is easily spread in social media.

Examples of such radicalisation on the internet is manifested by the Madrid bombers who were inspired by an online document posted on the Global Islamic Media Front website and the Hofstad group in the Netherlands who interacted through forums and chat rooms.

The cyber culture promotes anti-censorship which makes it hard to apply any form of control. It is for this reason that terrorists are able to spread their agenda and operate jihadi websites on which they can upload deadly missions to encourage others to follow suicidal attacks.

Jihadi websites also track government activities and helps terrorists avoid being caught and also helps them plan where to attack where the security is sloppy and where not to attack. It enables them to change tactics.

The rise of the Freenet also makes it difficult to monitor the activities of terrorists on social sites as the internet is unregulated and to spread information such as the manufacture of bombs is relatively cheap and fast. Terrorists can also coordinate between organisations and plot attacks given the anonymity of the web it is difficult to track these individuals and groups.

Terrorists may also be developing methods and strategies to conduct large scale digital attacks on financial systems, civilian air traffic, health care and energy systems such as nuclear power plants which can cripple an entire nation and have devastating effects on

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<sup>36</sup> George Michael. *Adam Gadahn and Al-Qaeda's Internet Strategy*. Middle East Policy. 2009

<sup>37</sup> Sageman, Marc. *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century*. University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008

the global markets as they are interconnected<sup>38</sup>. This makes out the internet to be a powerful and extremely dangerous tool when it is manipulated by Jihadists.

### **1.4.3 Terrorist Recruitment and Correlation to radicalizing Ideologies**

Militant jihadists seek to recruit two types of supporters that is soft supporters and hard supporters.<sup>39</sup>

The soft supporters are distinct in that they do not necessarily vote for militants in positions of power or follow them on social sites but they do promote their agenda by being sympathisers. They do this by concealing them in the Muslim community. Soft supporters do not submit crucial information to the police when interrogated about suspects deemed as engaging in terrorist activities which could lead to their arrests and prosecution.

As such terrorists can have the comfort of operating in Muslim communities and act unsuspectingly towards non-Muslims. This makes it very difficult for authorities to gather intelligence concerning terrorist plots.

An example of a soft supporter would be the mother to the San Bernardino terrorist who lived in the same house as her son and his wife and their infant child but apparently after they had shot and killed their colleagues at work said she had no idea of their plans to do so regardless of the fact that the house was small and there was evidence of firearms in that house. Her unwillingness to report the matter beforehand to the police to foil the plot makes her a soft supporter.

Hard supporters on the other hand engage directly in terrorist activities. They are the funders who give money to operate or provide general logistics as transport and communication or housing for that matter. Hard supporters are also recruited as part of the militant group and can build sophisticated bombs depending on their level of education and also act as suicide bombers to pay the ultimate price for their beliefs.

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<sup>38</sup> Heickero, Roland. Dark Sides of the Internet: On Cyber Threats and Information Warfare. Peter Lang AG. 2012. Pg. 63

<sup>39</sup> Yair Sharan, Christian Rapp. Terrorism and the Internet. NATO Science for Peace and Security Series-E: Human and Societal Dynamics. Vol.67. 2010

The *Global Islamist ideology* can be traced to the founder of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, *Hassan al-Banna*.<sup>40</sup> The Muslim Brotherhood members were persistently persecuted as they were perceived as threats to the established regime. The brotherhood split into factions when there emerged differences on how to respond to government oppression.

This new faction led by *Sayyid Qutb*, the propagator of Islamic terrorism and his deputy *Muhammad Abdel Salam Faraj* advocated for the violent overthrow of governments in the Middle East that were pro-Western and rejected peaceful means of protest.

The idea of the “Far enemy” and “Near enemy” emerged as a result. The far enemy was the West who were to be eliminated from the Middle East and attacked to stop their support of Middle Eastern governments. The Near enemy was the pro West government that was to be overthrown and in place an Islamic state was to govern the people as per the ancient times of the Prophet.

This Salafist ideology and Wahhabism is attractive because of the perceptions regarding globalisation. Globalisation is interpreted in many parts of the world as westernisation, secularization and as such imperialistic in nature<sup>41</sup> and stands as a competitor of Islamic values creating a clash of civilizations. Globalisation as a Western export is also associated with moral decadence and thus serve to undermine the conservative nature of many Muslim nations.

Another reason as to why the ideology is popular is the perception of military campaigns in the Muslim World. Osama Bin Laden had asserted that terroristic activities were in response to invasions by global powers<sup>42</sup> and he went on further to give examples with Russia in Afghanistan, the U.S. in Iraq and its support for Israel. He also gave the example of Sweden and the reason as to why they don't attack that particular country which was their non-interference nature. The non-discovery of Weapons of Mass

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<sup>40</sup> Sageman, Marc. Leaderless Jihad; Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century. University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008.

<sup>41</sup> A.K. Cronin. Behind the Curve: Globalization and International Terrorism. Journal Article. International Security. 2002.

<sup>42</sup> Smith, Paul. The Terrorism Ahead: Confronting Transnational Violence In the Twenty-First Century. M.E. Sharpe. 2007

Destruction (WMDs) in Iraq does not help matters further and the invasion has been widely seen as America's violent quest for natural resources being Oil.

Terrorist attacks, while necessary, are not sufficient to sustain a movement operating against a determined adversary. Militant extremists also require a dream, an ideal that sustains their movement. Terrorist ideologies serve the purpose of dehumanizing political adversaries by labelling them for instance as the 'Great Satan' in reference to the United States. The victims are considered not as human beings made of flesh and blood, but as symbols and this makes it easier to conduct terror related activities.<sup>43</sup>

The ideology is also attractive because of the oppressive nature of Middle Eastern governments and their reaction to dissent. As they are less impressed by opposition voices, these same alienated people will find outlets in which to vent and terrorist organisations can offer support for their political cause.

Thus the charge of cultural domination via globalisation, invasion of global powers, the crushing of dissent forms a powerful magnetic pull of Muslims to join terrorist groups.

Fund raising among the terrorist is also crucial to their activities. Money is needed for purchasing weapons such as guns, grenades and chemicals to build explosives, recruitment, salaries, paying of bribes to corrupt officials, forged documents such as passports, visas and national identity cards, communication equipment such as computers, laptops, encrypted mobile phones and transportation such as airplane tickets, cars and trains and money to compensate militant suicide bombers' families. Money is thus a fundamental part of the terrorist organisation and states have been known to fund terrorists in their bid to humiliate or defeat their common enemies.<sup>44</sup>

Intelligence gathering on the net is aimed to warning militants of possible attacks at a given time and place. Also intelligence is meant to track government officials and security officials to intimidate them or eliminate them to further their agenda and reach.

Information warfare is meant to promote the global jihadi ideology by undermining the authority of whom they perceive as their enemies. Jihadi websites usually upload videos

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<sup>43</sup> Rabasa, Angel, Chalk, Peter, and Cragin, Kim. Beyond al-Qaeda: Part 1, The Global Jihadist Movement. Santa Monica, US: RAND Corporation. 2002. Pg. 4

<sup>44</sup> Freeman, Michael. Financing Terrorism: Case Studies. Taylor and Francis. 2016. Pg. 8

depicting the killings of civilians by American forces and their allies and deviant acts such as burning the Quran by soldiers or releasing the tortured pictures of Guantanamo bay prisoners suspected to be terrorists.

These images create the impression that the West and their allies are engaging in a global warfare against 1.6 billion Muslims in the world and such serve as a major boost to recruit as many people as possible to carry out attacks against the enemies of Islam as they see it.

Kenya, to have an angle of the impact of international terrorism, has suffered its effects and the reason being the warm relations it has with Western nations, free trade which allows free flow of goods and services even at times harmful and internal instability.<sup>45</sup>

In August of 1998, the U.S. Embassy at the heart of Nairobi's Central Business District was bombed resulting in the deaths of more than 200 people and many more maimed physically and others tortured psychologically.<sup>46</sup> Kenya has two dimensions from these examples. One is that it is a hub and source of terrorists and two it is a victim of terrorism.<sup>47</sup>

Kenya's geographical location makes it to be a source of terrorists. For one, Kenya is surrounded by hostile neighbours. Somali is a failed state with a weak central authority and is bordering Kenya and with the porous borders, it is easy for arms and ammunition to move into Kenya.

The same is the case with South Sudan where there was a civil war, Uganda where the government has been engaged in a conflict with Kony's rebel group Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), Ethiopia in its border war with Eritrea and the Oromo Liberation Front (OLF). All these conflicts necessitate the flow of arms into Kenya and terrorists can have access to these weapons and launch a deadly attack.

Given the free flow of arms across borders and the online radicalisation, would be terrorists have the potential of organising themselves into groups, travel along the porous

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<sup>45</sup> Cox, Dan G., Falconer, John, and Stackhouse, Brian. Northeastern Series on Democratization and Political Development: Terrorism, Instability, and Democracy in Asia and Africa. Northeastern. 2010. Pg. 194

<sup>46</sup> Davis, J. Africa and the War on Terrorism. Routledge. 2007. Pg. 42

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., Pg. 43

border into Somalia, train as part of the Al-Shabaab, then come back into the country undetected and launch a surprise attack on those that they deem as infidels and who have the right to be converted or killed.

### **1.5 Justification**

Social media as a method of communication has been used in the place of television to effectively reach a wider global audience in spreading extremist ideologies. Terrorists by their very nature will always seek an audience in order to advance their *political agenda* after every violent act.<sup>48</sup>

Social media in this regard provides a perfect tool for recruitment purposes, funding, sympathy and online propaganda which leads to various terrorists acts.

Terrorism still persists despite the military efforts meant to eliminate the threat and this is because it has not been considered as a political power play of dominance where various radical Islamic groups want to assert their own power via the social media to replace western civilisation. Once this is realised it will help existing international studies theories to expound on the interconnectedness between terror, power politics and social media.

It is important to note also that radical materials exist online indefinitely even after the death of a terrorist and thus subsequent generations of youth can view the materials online and learn the tactics used by previous terrorists. The internet in this sense is a breeding ground for new recruits and acts as a training camp for jihadists.<sup>49</sup>

The role that social media plays in the advancement of terrorism in this sense of a breeding ground for new jihadists has not been properly understood by scholars in the context of spreading terrorist ideologies and serving as a recruitment tool for the youth.

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<sup>48</sup> Note: Terrorism is a political cause that adopts violent methods to achieve its ends. Religious terrorism emerging from fundamental Islamists seeks to establish an Islamic State governed by Salafism and Wahhabism ideologies, which is political.

<sup>49</sup> Magnus, Ranstorp. Understanding Violent Radicalisation: Terrorist and Jihadist Movements in Europe. Routledge. 2010

Most studies have focused on terrorist social networks that occurs in physical social spaces<sup>50</sup> and the causes of terrorism but only few scholars have managed to explain why terrorism persists through this form of communication where social networks are formed online.

In response to terrorist threats, states have resorted to the use of military force to eliminate terrorists in physical social spaces but the same strategy in weakening the capability of terrorists has not been employed effectively in the realm of social media where the same power politics of dominance are played. This has left a knowledge gap among policy makers that needs to be addressed.

The channels of facilitating radicalization via the social media into forming wide networks that conduct attacks have not been widely researched by scholars.

Thus this research helps in explaining the role of social media on terrorist activities in terms of radicalization that leads to recruitment and committing acts of terror.

This research will also help in determining the effective counterterrorism measures that will assist policy makers in controlling the spread of terrorist ideologies and curtailing the level of attacks that precede indoctrination.

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<sup>50</sup> Sageman, M. Understanding Terror Networks. Pennsylvania Press. 2004



## 1.6 Theoretical Framework

The theory that this research will use is Realism Theory as advocated by Hans Morgenthau.<sup>51</sup>

Morgenthau suggests that all politics is a struggle for power because political man has an innate insatiable urge to dominate others.

Politics is a struggle for power over men and whatever its ultimate aim may be, power is its immediate goal. Consequently, morality and reason are both subordinate instruments in this strive for power.

As a result, Morgenthau argues that ‘reason and morality are merely instruments for attaining and justifying power. Reason serves to choose between conflicting impulses or goals that represent the stakes in a particular power struggle. It also selects the most appropriate means to achieve predetermined ends and to harmonize conflicting means with those ends’.<sup>52</sup>

These beliefs about human nature and political autonomy provide the basis for Morgenthau’s critique of nineteenth-century international liberalism that peace through law and international organization, the spread of education, trade, constitutional government, the virtue of public opinion— which are the result of globalization, Morgenthau argues that all these and other reforms are destined to fail because they represent a mistaken western faith in the universalization of liberal values.<sup>53</sup>

The international context in which politics takes place is structurally distinct from its domestic counterpart, and this accounts for the continuity of international politics as an arena of power politics in its purest form. The coercive power of the state, combined with a network of social norms and community bonds, such as a shared language and history, distinguishes the context of domestic politics as a realm of potential progress. In contrast, all these factors are much weaker internationally.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Griffiths, Martin. Realism, Idealism and International Politics: A Reinterpretation. Routledge. 2013. Pg. 38

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.,

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., Pg. 41

On the basis of his proposition that all states seek to maximize their power, Morgenthau argues that all foreign policies tend to conform to and reflect one of three patterns of activity: defending the status quo and maintaining an overall distribution of power; imperialism and trying to change the status quo; or prestige, which involves impressing other nations with the extent of one's power.

The impression of western imperialism through globalisation has led to a clash of civilisations between western culture and Islamic civilization resulting in the belief that globalisation is used as another form of exploitation.<sup>55</sup>

This sentiment has been felt in the Middle East where Western states led by the US has supported unpopular governments and organised wars to depose leaders that threatened their economic interests in particular Iraq under Saddam Hussein and Libya under Gaddafi.

To counter the political power of the US and Western civilization in the Middle East, militant groups under the guise of ideology and morality found a religious tone that could unify the Muslim world in opposing the West and their allies in the Middle East.

Radical groups' thus resorted to terrorist activities to force the Western backed states to yield to their vision of Islamic State and led a worldwide campaign to undermine Western governments by attacking civilians in their own country and economic structures like the World Trade Centre.

To further their global agenda of a Muslim caliphate to *replace Western civilization*, radicals employed online platforms and social media to radicalize Muslim youth and willing parties to participate in their quest for a political autonomous Muslim caliphate.<sup>56</sup> Terrorism then becomes a form of political violence.

Social media because of its availability, being cheaper and a faster means of communication has become one of the dominant platforms used to recruit the youth globally in terror networks.

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<sup>55</sup> Samuel P. Huntington. *The Clash of Civilizations?* Foreign Affairs. Vol.72. No.3. 1993

<sup>56</sup> Hans, D. Yair, S. Christian, R. Niv, A. *Terrorism and the Internet: Threats, Target Groups, Deradicalisation Strategies*. IOS Press. 2010

In the game of dominance as part of power politics, terrorists have dominated social media in forming their networks and enabling far reach of fatwas calling for jihad against western targets to reach a global audience.

It is thus necessary to reverse these strategic gains made by terrorists in social media by formulating counter terror measures aimed at curbing the spread of ideologies via the medium and in so doing revert power back to the state and achieve a status quo in terms of balancing power.

## **1.7 Hypotheses**

- i) IT and specifically Social Media, influence the spread of terrorism globally
- ii) Social media plays the most effective role in the recruitment of Kenyan youth into terrorism.
- iii) Inequalities and deprivations are the major causes of radicalization of the youth in Kenya.
- iv) The spread of extremist ideologies especially the Salafist ideology can be controlled by monitoring the internet, community policing, effective counterterrorism legislation and reduction of public support for terrorist activities.

## **1.8 Research Design and Methodology**

Research Design process is meant to outline the study design, sampling design, data collection methods and analysis.

It indicates which methods are to be employed in the research and it acts as a blueprint for conducting a study.

### **Study Design**

The study design encompasses the logical structuring of collecting, measuring and analysing data.

Descriptive study was used in the project. Descriptive study observes a phenomenon and it also describes that phenomena which is important to this study.

### **Sampling Design**

A sample is a representative of the entire population. It is usually an analysed group that produces results that reflect a populace characteristics.

There are two types of sampling that is probability sampling and nonprobability sampling.

Probability sampling is specified in that each unit will be included in the sample while for nonprobability it's not guaranteed that each unit will be included.

Nonprobability sample designs are convenience samples, purposive samples and quota samples.

In convenience samples researchers use any units which are available and can include selecting anyone who is willing to participate after deciding on a certain number say the first 50 people.

In purposive samples, sampling units are included depending on the researcher's subjectivity.

Quota samples on the other hand are chosen on the basis that they are similar to the sampling population.

Probability sample designs include simple random sampling, systematic sampling, stratified sampling and cluster sampling.

Stratified sampling enables the representation of different categories of people.

Stratified random sampling was used in order to select persons from diverse backgrounds as this is reflective of modern terrorist groups.

The study targeted persons aged 10-49 years, who are the active members of the population and who can be involved in either countering, spreading extremist views or participating in acts of terror.

The study actively involved only persons who have access to the internet on a more immediate basis such as touch screen phones, desktops, laptops and the cyber cafés.

The total target population was 40 persons.

### **Data collection methods**

The research employed a survey research that includes the use of questionnaires and personal interviews.

Questionnaires are supposed to relay the research objectives into specific questions and the answers received forms data used for testing the hypotheses.

The content, structure, format and sequence of questions are vital in constructing a questionnaire.<sup>57</sup>

The content of a questionnaire is either factual or subjective. Facts are based on the background of the respondent and these questions might seek to know the age, gender, level of education, income level or marital status.

Subjective questions pry into the attitudes and beliefs of the respondents. How they feel about a certain situation or issues.

The research employed both factual and subjective components in the questionnaire to come up with a comprehensive answer.

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<sup>57</sup> Chava, F.N, David, N. Research Methods in the Social Sciences. Worth Publishers. 2014

The research used the inverted funnel sequence as it is pragmatic to answer simpler questions to make the respondent be at ease and be more willing to answer tough questions adequately.

Personal interviews on the other hand are more engaging and inter personal. The research used focused interview whereby the situations under consideration have been studied prior to the interview and the respondents have been involved in one way or another with the topic under study.

Key informant interviews and Focus group discussions were conducted as part of the process.

### **Data Analysis methods**

The data collected was used to answer the research questions and to test the hypotheses. This is only achievable with data analysis.

Data collected for analysis is always coded, stored, retrieved and analysed using computerised systems.

Data editing and cleaning was done before the data entry and after to eliminate any possibility of errors which might affect the final results.

The raw data collected required data entry into a statistical program where the information was stored. The program the research utilised was Statistical Packages for Social Sciences (SPSS).

### **1.9 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

The study focused its attention on individuals and groups who have access to social media and have knowledge on terrorism.

The study involved approximately 40 people from Kibera, Nairobi County, who were willing to participate in the study through voluntary consent.

## **Limitations of Study**

Some participants refused to participate in the study because of the sensitivity of the researched topic.

As the topic touches on extremism and religion, it can be misconstrued as targeting a particular ethnic group or the religion. Privacy was thus of utmost concern and through the use of a consent and a surety thereafter in regards to the confidentiality of the participants, much ground was yielded.

Time was also limited in that the participants came from a wide age bracket between 10-49 years who are active members of the society and most were either at school or at work.

The study therefore had to be conducted over fluctuating periods to accommodate the respondents' leisure time.

Funding is important as there are travel costs, stationery costs and incentives for participants in the field for studies such as Focus Group Discussions.

This was therefore a limiting factor where some of the respondents expected to be funded in order to participate in answering questionnaires. The resultant respondents however were willing to participate without the need for money.

Some of the respondents feared being targeted by extreme elements of the society due to the information being given and as such were unwilling to participate.



## **1.10 Chapter Outline**

### **Chapter One: Introduction to the Study**

This chapter outlined the statement of the problem, research questions, objectives, literature review, justification, theoretical framework, hypotheses, methodology and the scope and limitations of the research.

### **Chapter Two: IT, Social Media and Global Terrorism**

This chapter tries to explain the link between social media and global terrorism and how its accessibility to other forms of communication makes it a facilitator in the spread of terrorist ideologies.

### **Chapter Three: Social Media and Terrorist Recruitment**

The chapter deals with the crucial role that social media plays in the recruitment of terrorist activities.

### **Chapter Four: Terrorism and Social Inequalities**

This chapter explains the most critical mobiliser and motivator into terrorism and social inequality provides the basis for terrorist propaganda in bringing in new people into their organisation to further their agenda.

### **Chapter Five: Counterterrorism Measures in the New Age**

The chapter delves into providing effective measures into how states should respond adequately to the problem of global terrorism and its spread via social media platforms.

### **Chapter Six: Data Analysis; Chapters Two, Three, Four and Five: Conclusions and Recommendations**

The chapter will provide the research findings and relevant recommendations necessary for policy makers

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **IT, SOCIAL MEDIA AND GLOBAL TERRORISM**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

The advent of Information technology has brought with it the emergence of new terror threats previously underestimated such as the threat of cyberterrorism where active terrorist cells all over the world need not to travel miles to have a negative impact on the society. Cyberterrorists can stage global attacks on computer systems and the resultant aftermath of such attacks would disrupt global markets and plunge the world into short term chaos.

The effects of globalization has also had a negative reaction to the perception of western imperialism in Muslim nations and this opposition normally takes the form of terrorism as laid out in the chapter.

This chapter will seek to look into this threat and form a relationship between IT, Social Media and the rise in Global Terrorism.

#### **2.2 Globalization and Terror links**

Globalization perceives the world as being nationless and borderless where goods, services and people can move freely. <sup>58</sup>This implies that trade is universalized in international world bodies such as the World Trade Organization that discourages protectionism.

In regards to terror, it is good to question which aspect of globalization are Muslim communities and in particular radical jihadists opposed to because it is not the technological advancements as they use modern ways of communication to spread their ideologies and it is not capitalism as they use money to fund their organisations and facilitate payments.

This means that jihadists embrace some aspects of western culture especially the technology as they use social media for radicalization and rely on mass media for

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<sup>58</sup> Stapley, Lionel F. Globalization and Terrorism: Death of a Way of Life. London, GB: KarnacBooks. 2006. Pg.78

propaganda. They however, reject what they perceive as a decadent lifestyle associated with western culture and they reject the secular modern state with its laws to reach out to all Muslim hearts and unite them against infidels.<sup>59</sup>

The opposition is to the concept of democracy which appears to be another way of forcing 'other' societies to be more like western civilization and this at times can be forceful.

Democracy can be interpreted not only as accepting electoral reforms but also some aspects of western culture such as gay marriage which is in opposition not only to Muslim lifestyle but other societies reject it as well.

Huntington interprets this as an era of Muslim wars that have replaced the cold war era of communism and capitalism. He further states that 'The causes of contemporary Muslims wars lie in *politics*, not seventh century religious doctrines', and are a response to modernization and globalization, and reflect 'a great sense of grievance, resentment, envy and hostility toward the West and its wealth, power and culture.' And 11 September 2001 demonstrated that 'the makings of a general clash of civilizations exist'.<sup>60</sup>

The bombing of the World Trade Centre in New York symbolised the anger against globalization and its imposition of western culture onto Muslim culture. The target was thus symbolic in the way that it communicated maintenance of Islamic lifestyle.

This brings us to a situation where Muslim societies are fighting to preserve their way of life as a result of the effects of Globalization and responding by committing acts of global terrorism against the West and Western societies fighting to preserve their way of life against those acts of terror and responding by an attack on Iraq an intrusion in Afghanistan and a war on terror.<sup>61</sup>

The story of Sayyid Qutub also exemplifies the relationship between globalisation and the spread of religious terrorism. Sayyid had travelled to the United States to further his studies and as a conservative Muslim of Egyptian origin he was appalled with what he

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<sup>59</sup> Scruton, Roger. West and the Rest: Globalization and the Terrorist Threat. Intercollegiate Studies Institute. 2002. Pg. 127-128

<sup>60</sup> Stapley, Lionel F (2006) Globalization and Terrorism: Death of a Way of Life. London, GB: Karnac Books.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., Pg.36

saw as western decadence where sexes mixed as men and women something which his interpretation of Quran had forbidden.<sup>62</sup>This was his experience of a culture shock.

Sayyid later moved back to Egypt where he voiced his discontent with American culture by publishing numerous books and giving sermons and joined what is known as the Muslim brotherhood.<sup>63</sup>

His vocal opposition to the Nasser government in Egypt by aligning himself with Western authorities and his condemnation of the same against various Muslim nations in the Middle East led to his subsequent capture and later execution by Egyptian authorities.

His death only served to fuel the fervour of the now growing Muslim fundamentalism in the Middle East as his ideas spread. This came to fore in 1979 when the Iranian Shah was overthrown by the conservative Muslim cleric Ayatollah and thus the Middle Eastern governments were in turmoil. Further to this Gaddafi overthrew the monarchy in Libya and the Iraqi monarchy was also overthrown.

King Khalid Al-Saud of Saudi Arabia therefore to preserve the monarchy allowed radical elements particularly the clerics a free hand to preach openly even in schools and Wahhabism became a distinct Saudi ideology.<sup>64</sup>

Wahhabism unfortunately has similar ideological leanings to Salafism. In Saudi Arabia women are not allowed to drive to this day and public executions such as beheadings are common as is public lashing for offences such as adultery.

The Wahhabi ideology spread to other Sunni dominated Muslim nations and influenced the need for strict version of Sharia law. Given that the clerics are funded by Saudi oil money which is controlled by the royal family, the clerics can easily travel in the Middle East and support extremists.

In today's dynamics, the Wahhabi ideology can easily be accessed through the internet or on the news media whenever these stories of public beheadings take place. It is also good

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<sup>62</sup> Fareed, Zakaria. Why They Hate Us. CNNOpinion. 2016

<sup>63</sup> Aboul-Enein, Youssef H., Aboul-Enein, Youssef. Militant Islamist Ideology : Understanding the Global Threat. Naval Institute Press. 2011. Pg. 126

<sup>64</sup> Qureshi, Emran, Sells, Michael A. The New Crusades: Constructing the Muslim Enemy. Columbia University Press. 2003. Pg. 16

to note that Osama bin Laden was from Saudi Arabia and that the majority of those who bombed the twin towers were of Saudi origin.

Thus to limit the spread of Wahhabi ideology, the Saudi Arabian government needs to limit their support of extreme Muslim clerics.

Cyberterrorism has also emerged as a new threat and is closely linked to globalisation and IT as the world has become more interconnected so have the computer systems.

Alessia Ceresa (2009) defines cyberterrorism as the subversive activity perpetrated by person/s with a high skill and knowledge of technology, who is/are capable to find first and then exploit the weak-points of the IT programs (software) through the use of technological instruments (hardware).<sup>65</sup>

These cyberterrorists can use their personal computers or go to cybercafés and launch an online attack on virtually every system that runs on computer chips such as medical equipment, transport facilities like traffic and air control, military equipment like nuclear arsenal and water treatment plants.<sup>66</sup>

To this end, cyberterrorism is an effective terrorist tactic that could be used in the future and governments should be prudent enough to install firewalls and secured systems to prevent hacking and stealing of government data which could be a form of domestic attack.

### **2.3 Social Media as a Facilitator of terrorism**

The growth of the internet is regarded as a powerful medium for free speech and open communication. Online presence enables individuals and groups to share ideas, experiences and information which was previously limiting when it came to others forms of communication.<sup>67</sup> The global jihad movement rooted in the early sources of Islam and strict doctrine of the Salafist readership requires a sense of legitimacy on the part of clerics and scholars in the form of interpretations, rulings and teachings to revive the Islamic civilization and this process can only take place publicly where restrictions are

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<sup>65</sup> Alessia, Ceresa. *New Technology: Terrorism and an International Prevention-Repression Strategy*. Nova. 2009

<sup>66</sup> Canter, David. *Faces of Terrorism: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. Wiley. 2009. Pg. 250

<sup>67</sup> Yar, Majid. *Cybercrime and Society*. Sage Publications Ltd. 2006. Pg. 98

limited and this means that the internet is the most efficient and effective tool for jihadist propaganda.<sup>68</sup>

The soft power of Jihadists is the Internet and there are several factors as to why the internet as a means of communication, propaganda and indoctrination is of great use to Jihadi movements, groups, clerics and scholars. For one most Arab and Muslim nations are faced with oppression and access to publishing books and giving open lectures is severely limited thus the internet becomes the only viable means of spreading intended messages.<sup>69</sup>

Secondly, the Jihadist ideology is concerned with the creation of a transnational global solidarity within the Muslim nation also referred to as Ummah and the internet is the best facilitator in this quest and this the reason as to why Jihadists circulate clips, photos, audio, books and military manuals so as to indoctrinate Arabs and Muslims and recruit them in their cause of fighting the infidels.

The same way the Western culture uses globalization to spread its values through global media, so have the jihadists adopted the same technology although to an effective way of spreading their terrorist ideologies through social media. Information technology has therefore become a battleground for competing ideals, that of Western lifestyle and that of Islamic culture influenced mainly by Wahhabism and Salafism.

Thirdly, the internet is surfed by a great majority of people and this means that every Jihadist event or proclamation is picked by many people including the global media who relay the message to everyone else who didn't view the material. The internet thus acts as a global madrassa for Muslims where Jihadi internet scholars indoctrinate potential supporters and sympathisers in the struggle for establishing a Muslim caliphate.<sup>70</sup> Another important factor is the rise of new technologies such as internet banking and internet payments which also facilitates the funding of terrorist activities.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> D.T. El Houdaigui, Rachid. Contemporary Suicide Terrorism: Origins, Trends and Ways of tackling it. IOS Press. 2012. Pg. 34

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., Pg. 35

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., Pg. 36

<sup>71</sup> Zerzan, Andrew. New Technologies, New Risks?. Herndon, US: The World Bank, 2009. Pg. 31

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **SOCIAL MEDIA AND TERRORIST RECRUITMENT**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

Social media is one of the many effective ways terrorist organisations use to recruit potential terrorists and to spread propaganda against a perceived enemy.

Social media is what separates the ancient terrorism, pre modern terrorism and the modern terrorism as the audience is far much bigger and accessibility to propaganda is in an instant where interested readers can read and over time become radicalised.

#### **3.2 Interactivity**

Social media platforms like Twitter, Facebook, WhatsApp, are very popular among the tech-savvy modern youth and it is interactive in that people can talk to each virtually, share videos, discuss events, form groups and keep in touch.

It is this interactivity that the terrorists have had an upper hand on. They can upload videos depicting their successes in the battlefield and urge others to take arms but their failures are largely ignored giving a false impression that they are winning.<sup>72</sup>

Interactivity is engagement and it requires concentration and absorption in the materials being observed. Repeated interactions through discussions will lead to arguments, agreements and a mutual consensus that forms a new reality and this becomes an enlightenment that needs to be shared with friends. This conversational mode is addressed to a network which is personal.<sup>73</sup>

Relationships are formed online and these are more intimate than off line relationships as they develop because social media is more intimate and exchanging ideas makes it even more personal.

In the case of disagreements, internet users can simply switch to other forums where their positions and biases are validated by others with common interests. Social media in this

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<sup>72</sup> Sageman, Marc. *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century*. University of Pennsylvania Press. 2008

<sup>73</sup> Weller, Katrin, Bruns, Axel, Burgess, Jean. *Digital Formations: Twitter and Society*. Peter Lang Publishing Inc. 2014

regard allows almost uncontrollably the feeding of hardened convictions. The followers of these radical sites are the ones with control as they have the ability to join whichever forum they want to.

*Adam Gadahn* is an example of an internet user who converted to Islam after coming across sermons in the internet. After his conversion and visitations to a local mosque, he began a friendship to two radicals, *Hisham Diab* and *Khalil Deek* who radicalised him into the Salafist ideology.<sup>74</sup>

The Hofstad group from Netherlands exemplify this phenomenon as they interacted through jihadi forums and encouraged other young Muslims to join their global agenda after exchanging views through these forums.

The internet is interactive in nature and through this teenagers and young adults engage with each other in this virtual world and can convince each other into forming a radical idea.

The interactivity of the internet itself is what makes recruitment possible. The internet has come to be known as a place for e-jihad.

### **3.3 Social Network Analysis**

There is a traffic jam of conversation on the information superhighway facilitated by e-mail, Facebook, MySpace, YouTube, Flickr, LinkedIn, Twitter, Skype and Wikipedia, as well as many other social networking tools (often collectively called Web 2.0) that facilitate discussion, debate, and the exchange of ideas on a global scale. This unprecedented capacity to listen and respond is inexorably restructuring the ways in which information is created and used.<sup>75</sup>

This information superhighway can be described by social network analysis where groups of people are considered as a network, that is, a collection of nodes connected through links.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> George Michael. *Adam Gadahn and Al Qaeda's Internet Strategy*. Middle East Policy. 2009

<sup>75</sup> Carafano, James Jay. *Wiki at War : Conflict in a Socially Networked World*. College Station, US: Texas A&M University Press. 2011. Pg. 4

<sup>76</sup> Sageman, M. *Understanding Terror Networks*. Pennsylvania Press. 2004



Nodes which are more linked and connected to others are called hubs and are of great significance when considering a terrorist organisation.

Small world networks differ markedly from hierarchical terrorist network whereby if the leader of the network is killed then the whole organisation collapses. For small world networks there is interconnectivity via the hubs and the only way to collapse this type of organisation is by targeting the hubs.

Once the hub is captured, then the information obtained can be used to trace other jihadists and arrest them before they commit any atrocities.

The most efficient way to break up the interconnectivity into isolated units is to eliminate at least up to 15% of the hubs at once. This ensures to destroy the network as the hubs are interlinked with many other nodes.

If this does not happen then new hubs will certainly appear to take over from the eliminated ones and the network will still be maintained.

Social network analysis focuses on physical social places where hubs and nodes can meet and strategize on how to mobilise and recruit new members and how to carry out an attack.

In social media, this analysis is limited as internet users can all act as hubs connecting with each other through social forums.

### **3.4 Social Media accessibility and Influence on Terrorist Recruitment**

The question now is why the social media has become a platform that is making an impact on terrorist agenda and the answer lies with *how the youth and teenagers consume and access information in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.*<sup>77</sup>

Instead of reading printed newspapers, the youth access information through social media, in blogs, forums and from friends and family via phone chats and instant messaging apps.

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<sup>77</sup> Note: Information is power and in the Information age, groups which can get their message across effectively across social platforms have an advantage over the competition.

Social media creates the imagined community where new members are exposed to propaganda and incrementally are drawn into the perceived cultural conflict between Western civilization and Islam becoming soft or hard supporters.

Through forums and engaging with virtual friends and real friends, these youths develop a sense of belonging and arrive at a common consensus coming to believe what the jihadi militants tell them online that the Muslim community or Ummah exists and that they should take up arms to defend it against the perversion of Western morals and values.

Terrorism is also a social phenomenon that cannot operate in a vacuum and it requires persuasion and special conditions which is common in religion. These factors are a strict authority to God; the belief that religious leaders are Gods representatives on earth; religious leaders have the right through Gods will to serve as judges on human affairs; and opposing religious leaders is deemed as being in opposition to God.<sup>78</sup>

Religious followers who access these religious sites and fail to analyse and weigh allegations against a perceived or real enemy will ultimately follow the radical teachings as espoused by religious fanatics online.

Religion in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has replaced previous dominant ideologies such as Communism, Capitalism, Socialism and Nationalism and the internet has created somewhat of virtual churches, mosques and temples where visitors can go to websites and access sermons from preachers. It has become more of a social movement. These sermons at times take on a political tone coupled with defiance against westernization in an attempt to either counter it or to bring back the golden age of Islam or religion is used in the guise of nationalistic attempts.<sup>79</sup>

The appearance of the lone wolf is also a development in terror analysis and one which is difficult to prevent attacks as opposed to hubs and networks. In this modern age, individuals can access social sites and engage with terrorist ideologies then travel and train with Jihadists and come back to their country's of origin and carry out attacks alone.

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<sup>78</sup> Emanuilov, Rahamim, Yashlavsky, Andrey. Terror in the Name of Faith: Religion and Political Violence. Academic Studies Press. 2011. Pg 63

<sup>79</sup> Winfield, Richard Dien. Modernity, Religion, and the War on Terror. Routledge. 2007. Pg.116

In the deadliest shooting in U.S. history, *Omar Mateen*, an American born with Afghan roots opened fire at a gay club in Orlando Florida on 12<sup>th</sup> June 2016 and went on to kill 50 people and injuring 53 others. He was later killed in a shootout with the police. At the gay club whilst in the killing spree, Omar Mateen dialled 911 and claimed allegiance to ISIS. Such domestic terrorists are easily radicalised online through social sites where they can download videos and engage in forums.<sup>80</sup>

The Kenyan youth being active on Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram, You tube, Twitter (Kenyans on Twitter; KOT) websites and chat rooms and facing unemployment can be lured into terrorist ideologies online. This has proved true along the Kenyan coast where the Muslim youth have been incorporated in terrorist groups such as Al-Shabaab.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Who was Omar Mateen? UWIRE Text. June, 2016. Pg. 1

<sup>81</sup> Patterson, William. Islamic Radicalization in Kenya. Joint Force Quarterly. 2015. Pg. 16

## CHAPTER FOUR

### TERRORISM AND SOCIAL INEQUALITIES

#### 4.1 Introduction

Social inequalities are wide ranged and include general perceptions of unfairness in competition when an ethnic group is denied economic opportunity, social status, political voice and rights or cultural expressions<sup>82</sup>

#### 4.2 Distribution of Resources and Alienation

Inequalities emerge in the distribution of scarce resources among a population which leads to social stratification. It is this creation of second class citizens whose rights and privileges have been denied or taken away and whose grievances are not well responded and acted upon by the government who become more susceptible to political violence to draw attention to their plight in demand for equity.<sup>83</sup>

This has been true for ethnic Armenians most of whom were Christians who were massacred by the Ottoman Empire in 1915 in the present day Turkey in what is now considered widely as genocide and *State sponsored Terrorism* but not within Turkey itself. This was an extreme case where systematic and planned social deprivation led to mass murder.<sup>84</sup> Such instances can spark a backlash where minority groups realise that the only way to defend themselves is violently.

This Armenian defence through calls for autonomy and the formation of Social Democrat Hunchakian Party, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation and the Armenakan was in response to the inequalities and the creation of the Hamidiye, a Kurdish-Turkish paramilitary group established by the then Sultan Abdul Hamid II aimed at resisting reforms in the Empire which were meant to allow the Armenian minorities more freedom

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<sup>82</sup> Williams, Robin. M. Jr. *The Sociology of Ethnic Conflicts: Comparative International Perspectives*. Annual Review of Sociology. 1994

<sup>83</sup> Rinehart, James F. *Apocalyptic Faith and Political Violence: Prophets of Terror*. Palgrave Macmillan. 2006. Pg. 115

<sup>84</sup> Peter, Balakian. *The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response*. Harper Perennial. 2003

and right to worship and ownership and thus become a threat to the Empire which advocated for Pan-Islamism.<sup>85</sup>

The Hamidiye frequently harassed the Armenians by forcing them out of their lands and implementing over taxation to force the Armenians into rebellion and provide a justification for later massacres such as the Hamidian massacres (1894-1896) where up to 300,000 people were killed. The Hamidiye were protected by the Empire and thus no action was taken against them and they were rewarded for their services.

A reference to a counter strategy by the Armenians in response to the non-action through military non-involvement by the Great powers at the time was to seize an Ottoman bank in 1896 although this only led to condemnation against the Sultan but military involvement was not forthcoming. This is because those nations did not want to wage a war against someone they were doing business with. They had economic interests as well as political interests whereby they did not want to see Russia make gains in the Ottoman Empire after the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-78.<sup>86</sup>

The Armenians later felt liberated when the Sultan was overthrown in the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 in response to his brutality.

The Syrian civil war arising from the Arab spring is another case of conflict arising from social inequalities. These inequalities were heightened due to the free market policies of Bashar's father, Hafez al-Assad who came into power after a coup and continued under Bashar. This led to high rates of unemployment among the youth and only certain groups benefitted namely the Alawites and Shia groups<sup>87</sup>. The Sunni majority and the Kurds were effectively disgruntled and marginalised.

The Arab spring sought to address these inequalities by means of peaceful prolonged protests which would eventually force autocratic governments from power. This was true in Tunisia and in Libya where the protesters turned rebels were aided by France, the UK and the U.S. after Gadhafi mounted a counter attack against his own people.

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<sup>85</sup> Klein, Janet. *The Margins of Empire: Kurdish Militias in the Ottoman Tribal Zone*. Stanford University Press. 2011

<sup>86</sup> Peter, Balakian. *The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response*. Harper Perennial. 2003

<sup>87</sup> Leverett, Flynt. *Inheriting Syria: Bashar's Trial by Fire*. Brookings Institution Press. 2005 Pg. 27

The Syrian protests also took a similar turn when the government of Bashar al-Assad forcefully tried to dispel the protests using the Alawite dominated army and Shia groups. This turned quickly into sectarian violence similar to Iraq where the Sunnis are now pitted against the Shia.

The Sunnis are being supported by other powers such as Saudi Arabia and the U.S. whereby the Alawites and the Shias are supported by Iran, Hezbollah from Lebanon, Iraq and Russia. This has also turned into a proxy war between the Saudis and the Iranians and the U.S. and Russia.

Turkey also is involved in the warfare as they are targeting the YPG, the People's Protection Units, a Kurdish group in Syria who are supported by the U.S. in their fight against the Syrian army and the widely recognised terrorist groups ISIS and Al-Nusra Front.<sup>88</sup>

Turkey views the YPG as an extension of the PKK and is fearful that if they succeed in forming an independent state in Syria they can influence the PKK to do the same in Turkey.

This has complicated relations between the U.S, the E.U. on one side and Turkey which is also a NATO member.

The continued bombing of the YPG in Syria and other Kurdish forces in Iraq in the notion that they are linked to the branded terrorist organisation the PKK, has enabled the Salafist leaning ideologists ISIS terror group to make gains in both countries and make it easier to maintain a territory in their quest to form an Islamic state. Their successes are widely shared over modern avenues such as the social media through videos and chat rooms.

Syrian government which is backed by Russia has also condemned Turkey of violating its sovereignty by carrying out attacks in its territory. It is thus helpful to note that Turkey downed a Russian warplane in the pretext that it violated its air space and this led to the weakening of ties between Russia and Turkey.

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<sup>88</sup> Young, William, Stebbins, David, Frederick, Bryan A. Spillover from the Conflict in Syria. Rand. 2014 Pg. 23

### **4.3 Marginalisation as a basis for Terrorist Propaganda**

In Kenya since Independence there have been marked social inequalities between the political class and the mass population, between different ethnic groups and between regions.

This has expressed itself in terms of political violence during elections in what appears to be ethnic clashes seeking to correct violently structural economic inequalities.

Starting with the Shifta war right after independence in 1963, ethnic Somalia in Northern Kenya called for a union between that region and Somalia and that led to a nationalist-separatist movement of Shifta. The then Kenyatta government waged a warfare against the Shiftas and it is only in 1967 that there was ceasefire after Jomo Kenyatta and the Somali Prime Minister Mohamed Egal signed a peace treaty.<sup>89</sup>

The present day Harakat al-Shabaab al-Mujahidin or simply Al-Shabaab was formed by the Islamic Courts of Somalia that controlled most of Somalia to deal with the constant clan fighting in 2006. By 2007, Somali and Ethiopian forces had defeated the Somali Council of Islamic Courts but their militant wing of Al-Shabaab continued to be an insurgent group.

The Al-Shabaab became affiliated with Al-Qaeda in 2013 and became a bonafide terrorist group seeking to exert control over Somalia and to violently attack its enemies.<sup>90</sup>

Kenyan Somalis have felt ethnically marginalised since independence and resentment towards the Kenyan government has resorted to many of the Somali youth to be easily recruited into the ranks of the terrorist organisation of Al-Shabaab. Somali refugees in camps such as Daadab have also been recruited into Al-shabaab forcing the Kenyan government to counter this by recruiting the refugees to fight in Somalia.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Burgess, Stephen. Stabilization, peacebuilding and sustainability in the Horn of Africa. Strategic Studies Quarterly. 2009 Pg. 81

<sup>90</sup> Daniel E Agbibo. Terrorism without Borders: Somalia's Al-Shabaab and the global jihad network. Journal of Terrorism Research. 2014

<sup>91</sup> Avery, Burns. Feeling the pinch: Kenya, Al-Shabaab and East Africa's refugee crisis. Refuge Spring. 2010 Pg. 5

In addition the implication of Islam in terroristic activities only seeks to alienate moderate Muslims and legitimizes the terrorist's actions pushing many Muslims to the point of being radicalised.<sup>92</sup>

Non-Somali Muslim converts from Kenya are also increasingly being assimilated in Al-Shabaab and the reason is that they are young, economically disadvantaged and thus disillusioned. These non-Somalis have become a problematic new development for the Kenyan government as they easily blend with the locals, act normally and thus attack with surgical precision because they know the security details and peoples movements.

The Al-Shabaab have effectively used the social media to taunt Kenyan security forces and to spread their Salafist and Wahhabi ideology. In 2011, they opened an English twitter account, the HSMPress where they engaged in conversations with the Kenya Defence Forces spokespersons and the public in general. The HSMPress was apparently created to counter any press releases that seemed to undermine the group's efforts and successes and to present what they believe is the true representation of Jihad in Somalia.<sup>93</sup>

In 2013, the account was suspended but the Al-Shabaab quickly opened another account. Twitter then got on a back and forth with suspending and the opening of other accounts.

This is the perfect example of how difficult it is to control content on the social media. Companies like can close accounts but others will soon emerge to publish content meant to influence the Muslim youth in taking arms to join the global jihad.

The forceful integration of Muslim communities to western culture has led to the mutual feeling of resentment between Muslim communities and western communities.

This resentment can lead to actions such as the banning of the burqini by French mayors arguing that Muslims should accept secularism as that is French culture and suggesting that Muslim nations also impose their lifestyle on foreigners to accept Muslim lifestyle in their countries.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Saul P. Feldstein. Terrorist Ideology and the Implications of Radicalization. Nova. 2009 Pg. 7

<sup>93</sup> Gupta, Ravi, Brooks, Hugh. Using Social Media for Global Security. Wiley. 2013. Pg.11

<sup>94</sup> <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-37293201>



## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **COUNTER TERRORISM MEASURES IN THE NEW AGE**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

Prevention measures should include targeting the financial income of terrorist organisation and stopping completely capital flow and monitoring of the internet.

#### **5.2 Intelligence gathering**

Intelligence is an important aspect when it comes to countering terror related activities.

Intelligence relies on information gathering and how this data is utilised to prevent attacks and to capture terrorists.

The phases of intelligence process are collection, processing, utilisation, analysis and production, dissemination and consumption then feedback. Intelligence collection or collection disciplines are of various types and these are Signals intelligence (SIGINT), Communication intelligence (COMINT), Electronic intelligence (ELINT), Imagery intelligence (IMINT), Measurement and signature intelligence (MASINT), Human intelligence (HUMINT) and Open source intelligence (OSINT).<sup>95</sup>

Signals intelligence involves interception of signals and can be used to locate terrorist training camps around the world and listen in on conversations to have prior knowledge of intended targets to foil such attempts. Communication intelligence is a source of SIGINT.

Electronic intelligence involves gathering information from electronic devices and is also linked to SIGINT.

Imagery intelligence gathers images on precise locations of terrorists from around the globe and assists in monitoring movements of militants so as to carry out such functions as drone strikes. Satellites provide most of these images.

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<sup>95</sup> Ersen, M.U., Kibaroglu, M. Analysis and Strategies to Counter the Terrorism Threat. NATO Science for Peace and Security Series. 2011

Measurement and signature intelligence is linked to IMINT and SIGINT and utilises each of their resources.

Human intelligence involves employing human agents to participate in spying and infiltrate enemy lines to gather first hand crucial information on terrorist activities and their present and future plans. Human intelligence should also employ the public in participating by giving information on suspicious persons and activities around their neighbourhood.

Open source intelligence includes the media that is newspapers, publications and media houses, public data such as government reports and academic discourses. This form of intelligence relies mostly on analysing collected data in the field and coming up with adequate strategies to eliminate the threat.

All the seven components should be used effectively to either tap on phone conversations with the radio signals and detect enemies or infiltrate enemy lines by the use of human intelligence.

### **5.3 Internet Monitoring**

One of the other ways to counter online terror related activities is by monitoring conversations and the content of the message exchanged.

The content may expose terrorist plots, tactics to be used and the targets chosen, but it is also difficult to separate online banter and real terrorist activity.

The threat of downloadable content of manufacturing explosives is however real and radicalised individuals and groups can access that material and organise themselves to carry out violent mission as is the case of the Madrid bombers.

### **5.4 Legislation**

Countries that have flexible gun laws such as America are also victims to violent extremism as home grown terrorists who are recent immigrants or have even been born in the same country get online courses on gun handling and types of deadly guns and ammunitions to use. They can utilise this knowledge to enrol further in gun practise

excursions of which they become more skilled and dangerous. Their ability to mingle with the rest is what makes monitoring difficult as security officials and the general population try to avoid stereotyping terrorists.

Virtual contacts online and interactivity through discussions should be considered a real threat like any social contact at the Mosque, restaurants or houses. Security forces in the past regarded these interactions as discussion on plans to carry out attacks and intelligence gathering of the security apparatus. Individuals who join these forums automatically have chosen to be part of an organisation that seeks to exert violence to further their agenda and should be charged in courts of law as per the prescribed legislation.

### **5.5 Effective Measures**

Alan B. Krueger (2008) regards terrorism as a market having two sides; a supply side and ad demand side.<sup>96</sup>

People in groups or as individuals supply their services to terrorist organisations who recruit, train and send them out on missions.

On the demand side, terrorist organisations choose more able and ideologically driven individuals because of the fact that they want to succeed. These individuals form the core of the organisation and tend to be well educated and from middle class backgrounds.

Krueger suggests that to tackle terrorism effectively, it is pragmatic to do it from the demand side as opposed to supply side as the latter has varied motivations which make people turn into terrorists and dealing with one leads to many others open.

Turning attention to the demand side means dismantling terrorist's financial and technical capabilities and by respecting people's right to protest peacefully thus reducing the need to turn to terrorism to air out frustrations.

An ineffective counter-terrorism method would be to discriminate Muslim community by the public, the police and through government action. Discrimination of Muslims will

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<sup>96</sup> Krueger Alan B. What Makes a Terrorist: Economics and the roots of terrorism, Princeton University Press. 2008

lead to resentment and this will serve as a massive recruitment propaganda tool by the jihadists who will influence them to believe that their cause is justified as government forces are engaged in a warfare with Muslims.

Various counterterrorism efforts have proved to be slightly effective in the past as meetings were held face to face and it was easier to track hubs and eliminate them. In a hierarchical organisation, this can deal a heavy blow. However when it comes to the internet it is harder to track random social groups as they mostly use encrypted codes to block non-members and the conversations are unpredictable.

Terrorist groups are capable of substituting people from different backgrounds to carry out terroristic attacks.<sup>97</sup> Thus when it comes to counterterrorism efforts of de radicalization, governments should target this vast representation and not only focus on persons from lower social economic status. As a matter of fact those who plan and implement terrorist acts tend to be educated and highly skilled and are from the middle class. This was the case in the Garissa University attack by Al-Shabaab operatives in April 2015 where one of the organisers was *Abdirahim Mohammed Abdullahi*, a former Law Student at Nairobi University and he came from a well to do family.<sup>98</sup>

The strengthening of institutions is also crucial in the fight against terror. Terrorist thrive on weak states where they can bribe their way into a country to conduct meetings and recruit even more members. States in this regard can act unwittingly as hubs for terrorists.

Institutions such as the Police service and the Judiciary in particular need to be strong in order to capture suspected criminals and bring them to book speedily.

States should also do their part in providing essential services to all its citizens within its borders as the isolated minority are very easily susceptible to recruitment where the terrorists through various charity organisations provide these same services thus acting as a replacement of the government.

African states should also be supported in the defeat of terrorism as the continent is the most vulnerable given such issues as underdevelopment, HIV/AIDs, porous borders,

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<sup>97</sup> Krueger, Alan B. *What makes a Terrorist: Economics and the roots of terrorism*. Princeton University Press. 2008

<sup>98</sup><https://citizentv.co.ke/news/learned-terroristthis-man-abdirahim-mohamed-abdullahi-69222/>

corruption, ethnic hostilities and state instability. African states can therefore be supported by the ending of marginalization of African institutions such as the AU and IGAD which by strengthening them would resolve security and development concerns and by prioritizing African issues as aforementioned to prevent easy recruitment of disillusioned youths in the terrorist organizations.<sup>99</sup>

In the end, terrorism is an ideological warfare and bombing them will kill the members at that said moment but not the ideology which is already accessible in the Internet. Also the internet preserves these terroristic activities which even if other members are eliminated, others will pick up from where they left from. Ideologies therefore cannot be bombed or shot, they can only be countered.

Governments can thus do this by posting failures of terrorist activities and successes of their own. Governments can also use social media to interact with the public and post pictures of wanted criminals where the public can help identify them.

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<sup>99</sup> Davis, J. Africa and the War on Terrorism. Routledge. 2007. Pg. 82

## CHAPTER SIX

### DATA FINDINGS, ANALYSIS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 6.1 Introduction

This section will provide a brief summary of the findings, analyse the data collected in relation to chapters two, three, four and five and draw conclusions and recommendations.

The socio-demographic indicators of the respondents as part of the data collected are also included.

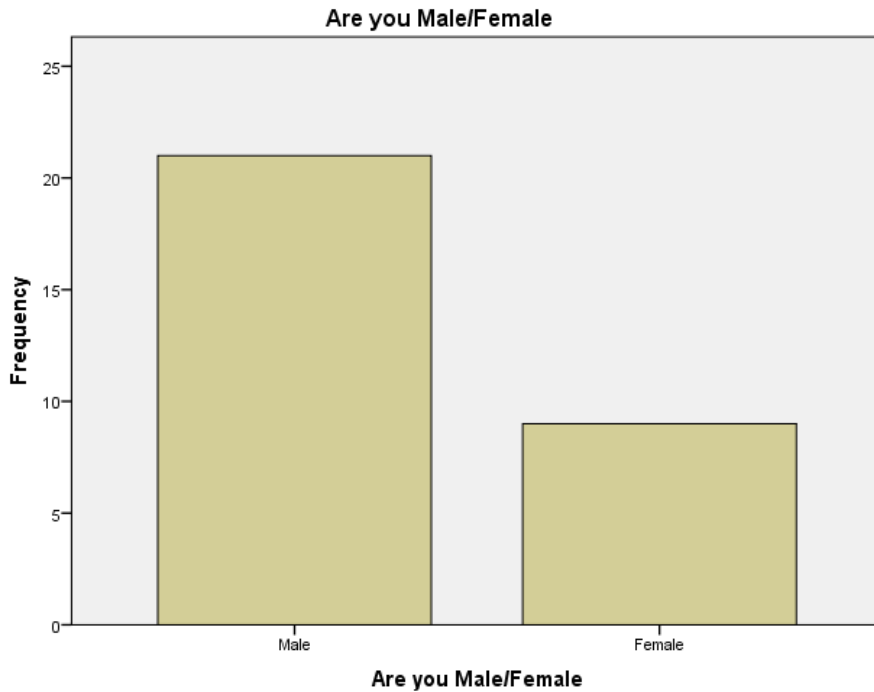
#### 6.2 Data findings and chapter analysis

##### Social Demographics

##### Gender of Respondents

##### Are you Male/Female

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	21	70.0	70.0	70.0
	Female	9	30.0	30.0	100.0
	Total	30	100.0	100.0	



**Figure 6.1**

The project sought out to establish the demographics of the respondents and as per the findings 70% of the respondents were male and 30% were female. This means that 21 of the respondents who answered the questionnaires were male while 9 were female.

This shows that the majority of the respondents were male and this reflects the social structure of the study area which was Kibera.

This also reflects the basic fact that most terrorist recruits are male as they are easily accessible from the community.

## Age

### How old were you at your last birthday?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	10	1	3.3	3.3	3.3
	13	1	3.3	3.3	6.7
	17	1	3.3	3.3	10.0
	18	3	10.0	10.0	20.0
	19	2	6.7	6.7	26.7
	20	3	10.0	10.0	36.7
	23	2	6.7	6.7	43.3
	25	2	6.7	6.7	50.0
	26	1	3.3	3.3	53.3
	30	1	3.3	3.3	56.7
	32	1	3.3	3.3	60.0
	37	1	3.3	3.3	63.3
	no answer	11	36.7	36.7	100.0
	Total	30	100.0	100.0	





**Figure 6.2**

From the project findings, the majority of the respondents were teenagers and in their early youth as represented by the percentages obtained from the graphical presentations.

This is the age group who are mostly associated with social networking and are a good information source when it comes to the usage of social media.

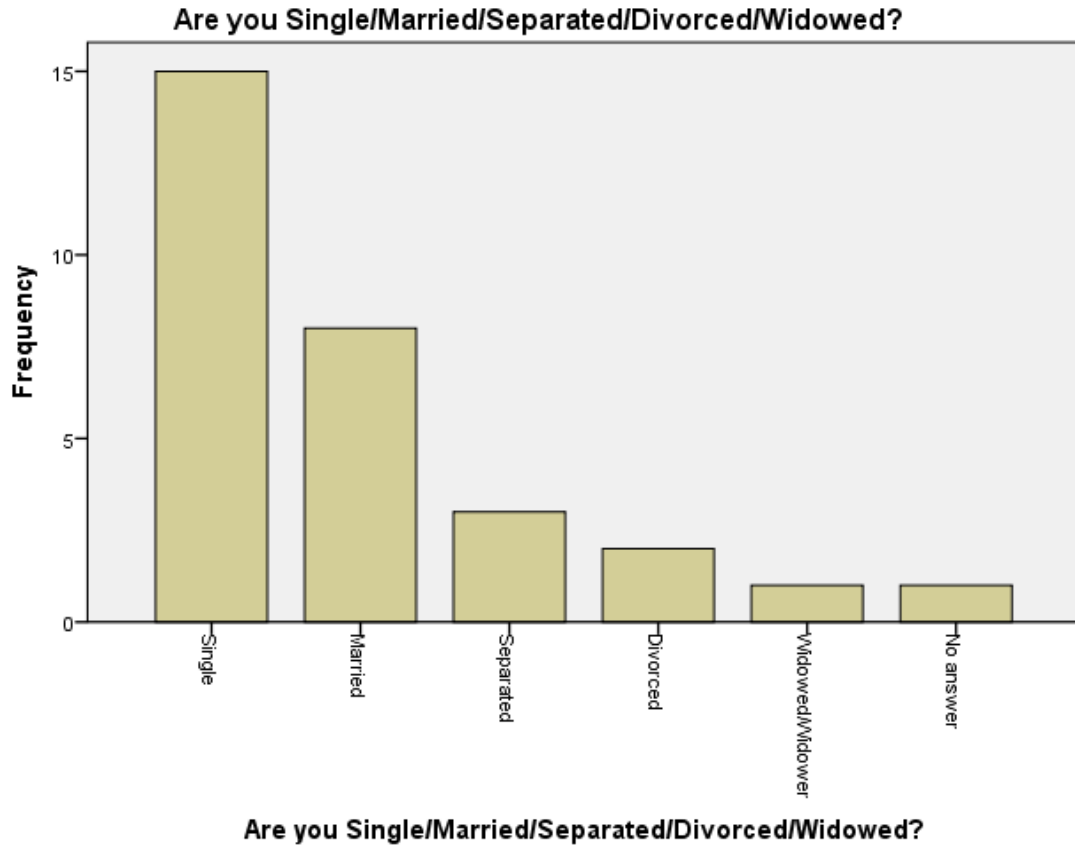
The study had sought to find out the impact of social media on youth radicalization in Kenya and as such with the majority falling into the category of 18-25 years, the data was well representative of the Kenyan youth.

The information received from the data collected also was therefore necessary to the study topic.

## Marital Status

### Are you Single/Married/Separated/Divorced/Widowed?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Single	15	50.0	50.0	50.0
Married	8	26.7	26.7	76.7
Separated	3	10.0	10.0	86.7
Divorced	2	6.7	6.7	93.3
Widowed/Widower	1	3.3	3.3	96.7
No answer	1	3.3	3.3	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	



**Figure 6.3**

Figure 6.3 shows the marital status of the respondents. 50% reported as single, 26.7% were married, 10% were separated, 6.7% were divorced while 3.3% were widowed or were widowers.

This means that out of the 30 who filled in the questionnaires, half were single and this translates to 15 respondents.

The majority of the respondents were thus single and unmarried.

This demographic aligns with the fact that most of the respondents were the youth and were single.

## Highest Level of Education

What is the highest level of education you completed?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Primary	8	26.7	26.7	26.7
Secondary	18	60.0	60.0	86.7
College/University	4	13.3	13.3	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	

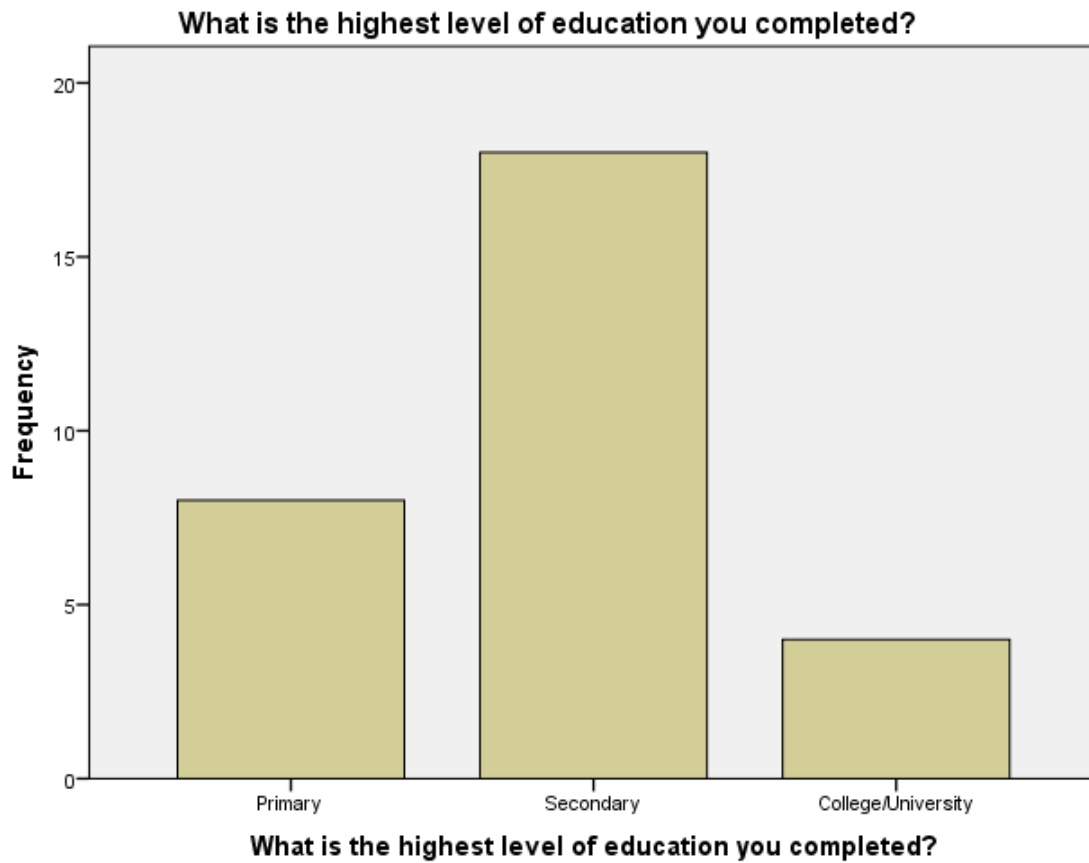


Figure 6.4

From the figure, 26.7% of the respondents reached primary school, 60% secondary schooling while 13.3% had reached College/University.

The majority of the respondents, 18 out of 30 from the analysis thus were in Secondary school.

This shows that the respondents were educated and knowledgeable in a range of issues including on social media and terrorism and the data on terrorism reflected this understanding of the issue.

## Occupation

### What is your occupation?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Unemployed	8	26.7	26.7	26.7
Studying	11	36.7	36.7	63.3
Formally employed	4	13.3	13.3	76.7
Informally employed	2	6.7	6.7	83.3
Self employed	5	16.7	16.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	



**Figure 6.5**

The study found that 26.7% of the respondents were unemployed, 36.7% were studying, 13.3% were formally employed, 6.7% informally employed while 16.7% were self-employed.

From the findings, the majority of the respondents were studying.

## Chapter Two; Data Presentation and Analysis

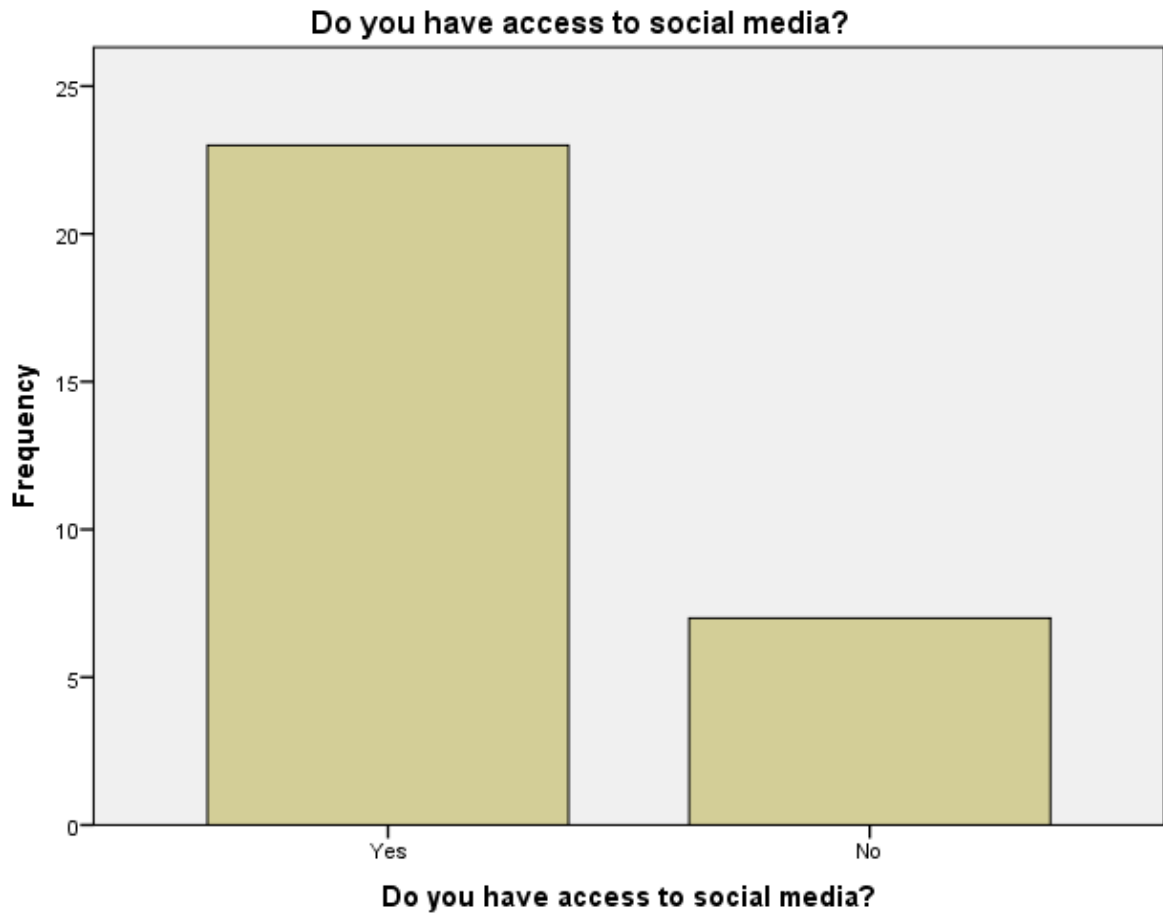
The chapter focused on IT, Social Media and Global terrorism. The data collected therefore was meant to find out the link between social media and global terrorism and this was represented by analysis on access to social media and knowledge of terrorism.

### Access to Social Media

#### Do you have access to social media?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	23	76.7	76.7	76.7
	No	7	23.3	23.3	100.0
	Total	30	100.0	100.0	





**Figure 6.6**

From the study group, 76.7% of the respondents had access to social media while 23.3% did not.

This is represented by 23 out of 30 respondents who answered the questionnaires.

This confirms that the majority were aware of the social media services and were actively using it for communication, most on a daily basis.

The respondents were therefore in a position to answer relevant questions in relation to the impact of social media on youth radicalization.

## Knowledge of terrorism

Do you know what Terrorist groups advocate for?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	21	70.0	70.0	70.0
	No	8	26.7	26.7	96.7
	No answer	1	3.3	3.3	100.0
	Total	30	100.0	100.0	

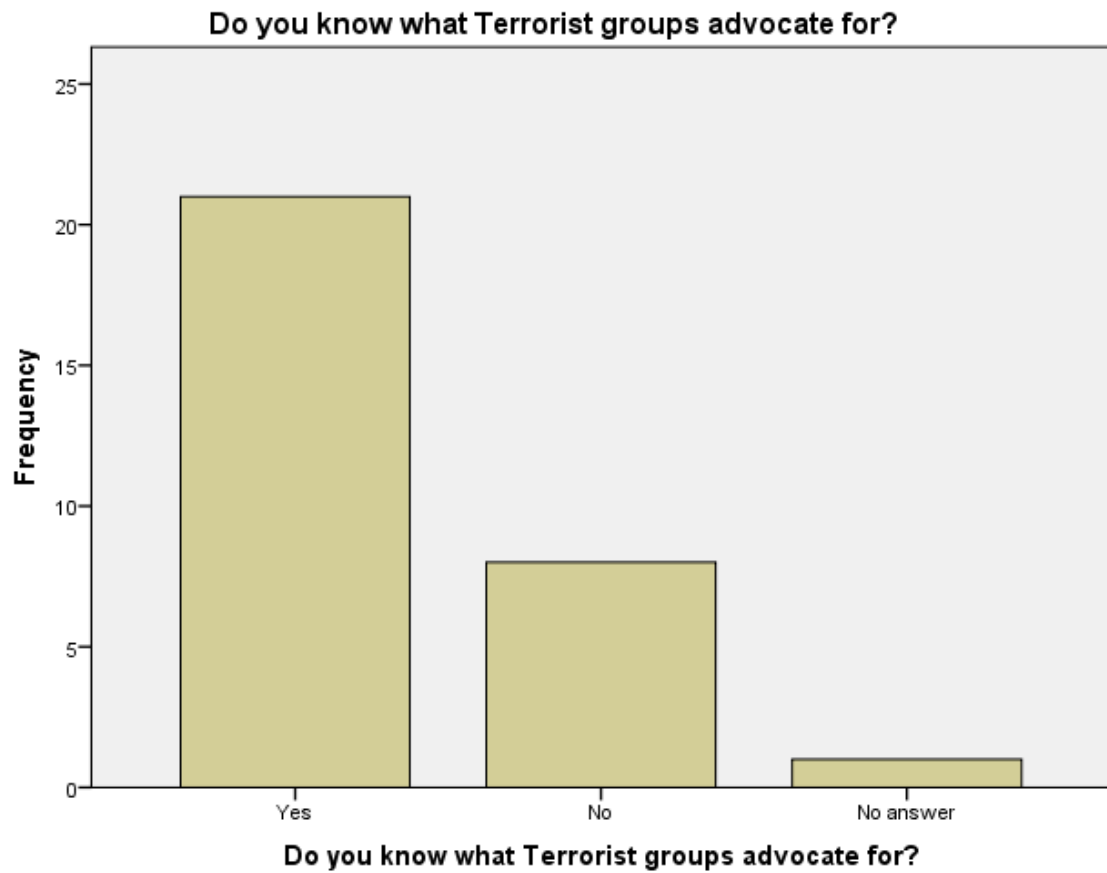


Figure 6.7

The figure shows the knowledge of terrorist ideologies and what terrorists hope to achieve through violence. 70% of the respondents said they were aware of what the terrorists advocated for while 26.7% said they weren't aware while 3.3% were unresponsive to the question.

This implies that the majority were aware of terroristic aims and ideologies which are borderless and pervade many countries.

Most of the respondents also acknowledged that they first heard of terror groups such as ISIS, Boko Haram, Al-Qaeda through social media and this is an important factor in the confirmation of the globalizing impact of terror propaganda and terror related activities.

This analysis also affirms the hypothesis that social media influences the spread of terrorism globally.

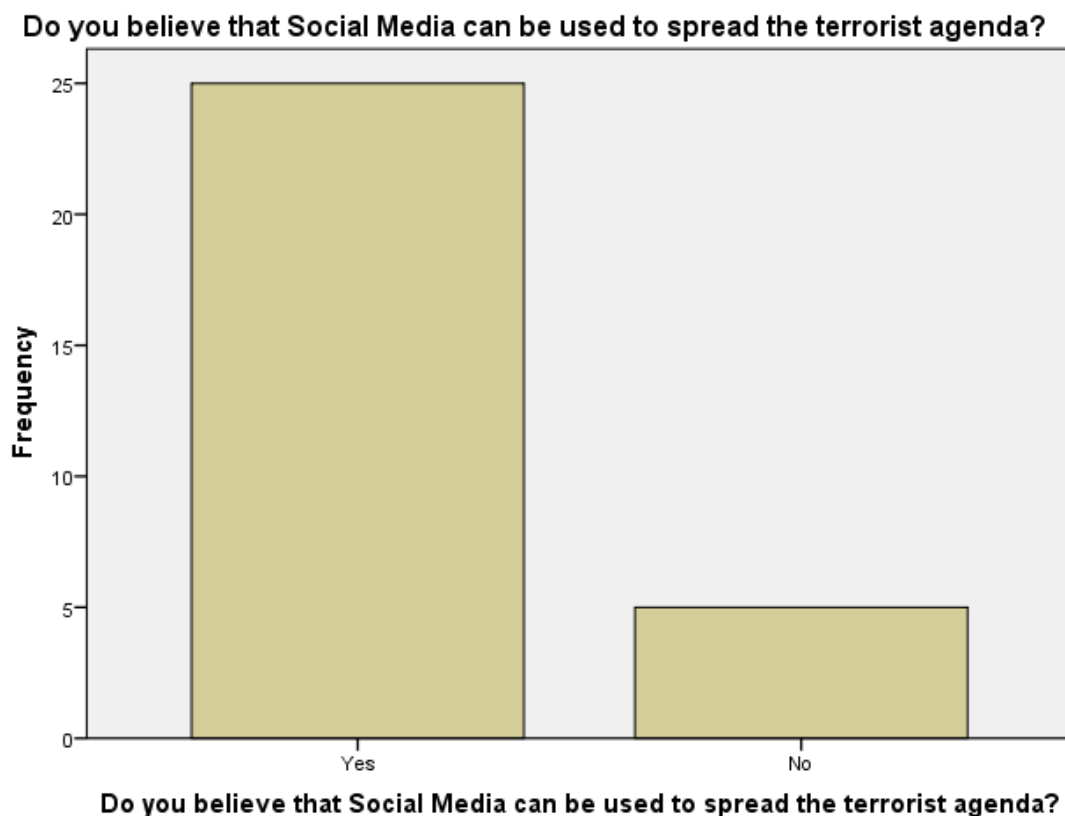
### **Chapter Three; Data Presentation and Analysis**

The Chapter deals with social media and the role it plays in terrorist recruitment.

#### **Social Media and spread of terrorist Ideologies**

##### **Do you believe that Social Media can be used to spread the terrorist agenda?**

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	25	83.3	83.3	83.3
	No	5	16.7	16.7	100.0
	Total	30	100.0	100.0	



**Figure 6.8**

83.3% of the respondents confirmed that social media could be used to spread terrorist ideologies while 16.7% said otherwise.

This means that out of the 30 who filled the questionnaire, an impressive number of 25 respondents responded in the affirmative that social media is used to spread the terrorist agenda.

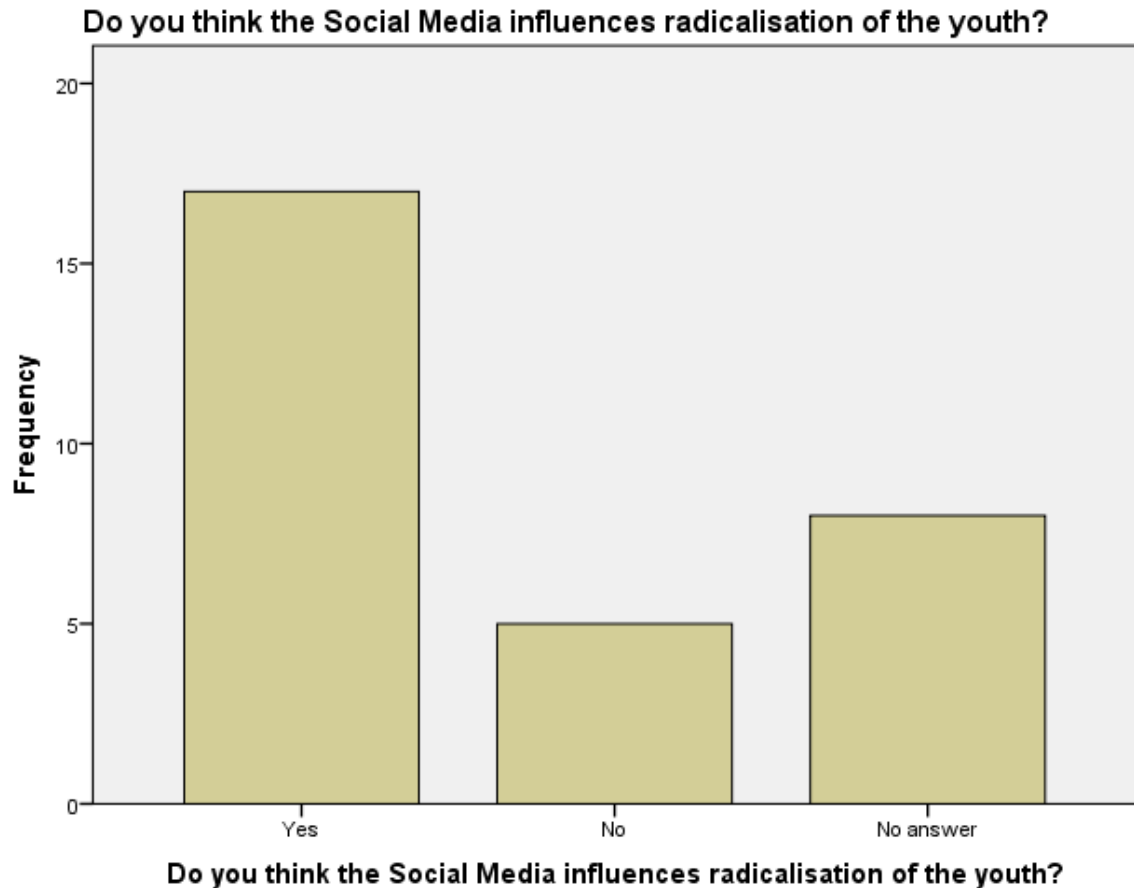
The focus group discussions had a unanimous opinion that social media is the fastest and easy way for recruitment and that almost everyone was on social media making it a viable and accessible method to spread propaganda.

The study had also hypothesized that social media plays the most effective role in the recruitment of Kenyan youth into terrorism and this data confirms that the majority of respondents believe that social media could be used to spread terrorist ideologies.

### **Social Media and Youth radicalization**

**Do you think the Social Media influences radicalisation of the youth?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	17	56.7	56.7	56.7
No	5	16.7	16.7	73.3
No answer	8	26.7	26.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	



**Figure 6.9**

56.7% of the respondents believed that social media influences radicalisation of the youth which is essential for recruitment purposes.

16.7% of the respondents did not believe that social media has any influence on youth radicalisation while 26.7% of the respondents were unresponsive.

The majority of the respondents believe that social media has an effect on youth radicalization and from the focus group discussions and questionnaires, they reiterated that fact and provided recommendations on the way forward.

This data further complements the hypothesis that social media plays the most effective role in terrorist recruitment.

## **Chapter Four; Data Presentation and Analysis**

The data collected in this chapter was qualitative and was reflected from the Key Informant and in focus group discussions.

The chapter deals with terrorism and social inequalities.

The Key Informant from Kibera Hamlet affirmed that poverty lures the youth into violence as it becomes an easy route for them and also added in subsequent questions and answer segment that radical groups and individuals promise the youth with employment through the mosques and this makes the unemployed youth vulnerable.

The respondents from the focus groups highlighted the fact that the lack of jobs motivates the youth into joining terrorist groups where they are offered large sums of money to plan, coordinate and attack civilians and security agents.

This data confirms that inequalities and deprivations are the major causes of radicalization of the Youth in Kenya.

## Chapter Five; Data Presentation and Analysis

The chapter is concerned with counter terrorism measures that need to be enacted to prevent radicalization online especially via social media.

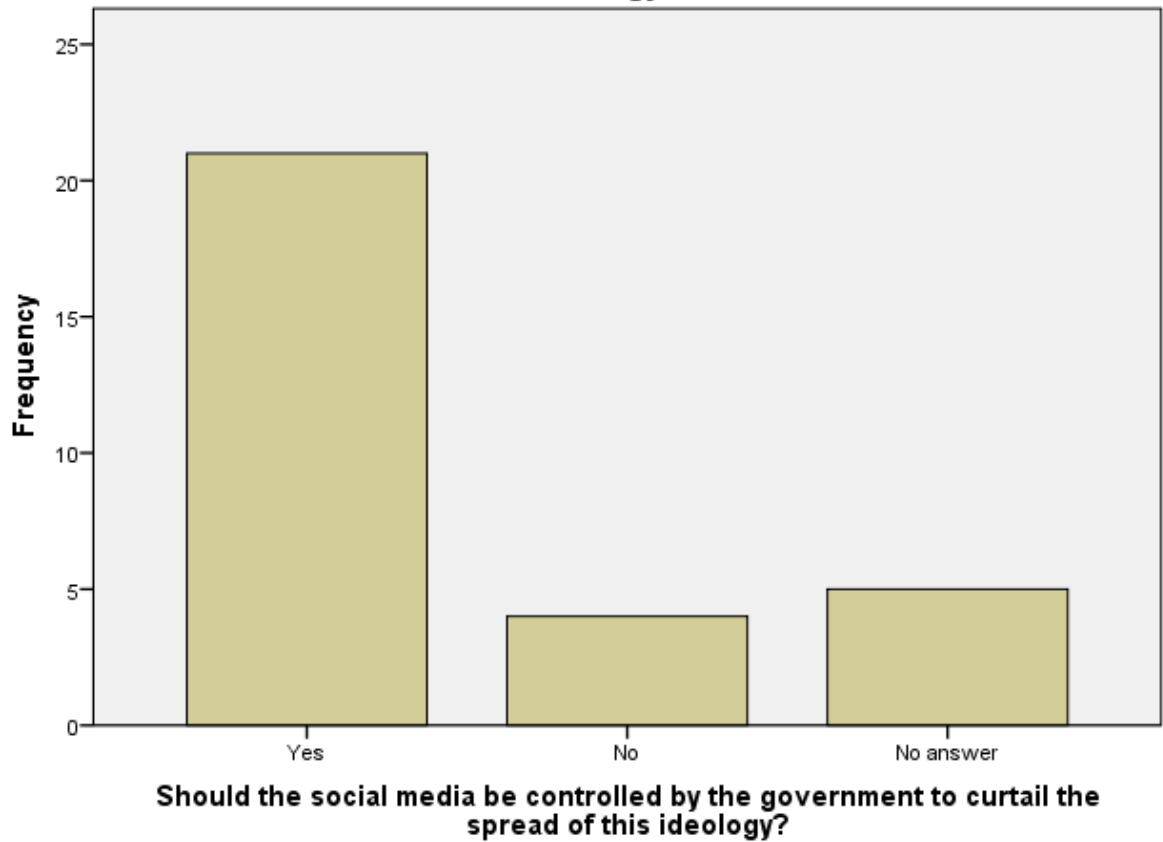
### Government Monitoring

**Should the social media be controlled by the government to curtail the spread of this ideology?**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Yes	21	70.0	70.0	70.0
No	4	13.3	13.3	83.3
No answer	5	16.7	16.7	100.0
Total	30	100.0	100.0	



**Should the social media be controlled by the government to curtail the spread of this ideology?**



**Figure 7.0**

Majority of the respondents suggested that the government should control and monitor the online sites to deter terrorists from their radicalizing agenda.

This translates to 21 out of 30 respondents and 70% of the total.

Some respondents also suggested the participation of all religious leaders and followers regardless of whether they are Muslims or Christians to counter terrorism together.

This data thus validates the hypothesis formed that the spread of extremist ideologies can be controlled by monitoring the internet and reducing public support for terrorist activities.

### **6.3 Conclusion**

The majority of respondents in Kibera are aware of the impact of social media as a driver of terrorism and its causes in the society but the government was perceived as doing less in counterterror efforts.

This was evidenced by the lack of any seminars or terror prevention activities initiated by the government in communities around Kibera.

The hypotheses of the study were however confirmed to be true based on the chapters' data findings and analysis. These hypotheses were that:

IT and specifically social media influence the spread of terrorism globally.

Social Media plays the most effective role in the recruitment of Kenyan youth into terrorism

Inequalities and deprivations are the major causes of radicalization of the youth in Kenya

The spread of extremist ideologies can be controlled by monitoring the internet, community policing, effective counterterrorism legislation and reduction of public support for terrorist activities.

### **6.4 Recommendations**

The following are the recommendations drawn from the study:

Laws should be passed in Parliaments that make it easier to monitor the internet and this will limit the possibility of propaganda.

Legislation that enforces prosecution of terrorists should also be enacted and implemented to deter people in engaging in acts of terror.

Laws that touch on terrorist activities such as financing via money laundering should also be put in place to suppress financing to the organisations.

Decryption is necessary for hand held devices such as encrypted mobile phones that secure conversations between terrorists. Companies such as mobile phone operators

should be able to hand over sensitive data which seem to recruit new members into terrorist groups to the government for scrutiny.

Economic empowerment should be a top priority for any government that is concerned with its security. The high number of unemployed youth is a ticking time bomb as they can be easily recruited into terror groups when they are offered financial assistance individually and to their families.

Provision of online alternatives to terrorist propaganda by setting up of online accounts that counter terrorist claims should be considered as a viable strategy as the public would be able to analyse both sides of the conflict and come to a reasonable judgement.

Government initiated programs that create public awareness on terror groups and their strategies of luring the youth should be conducted throughout the country the same way as health related programs such as HIV/AIDs are given priority.

Governments should support and encourage moderate voices to neutralise angry reactionary responses from extreme sections of the Muslim population. This will offer people alternatives that they can listen to.

Any call for deporting ethnic minorities affiliated with Islam should be discouraged as this will create feelings of resentment and act as a recruiting tool for the Jihadists.

Community policing is an important aspect in counterterrorism efforts and it applies to the Muslim community and the public at large.

Community policing involves the report of suspicious persons and activities to the police who in turn will act on the information relayed and judge the level of the threat.

The use of legitimate force by the state remains a viable option in the war against terrorism especially against high value targets such as leaders of terrorist groups and should be encouraged by the public.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX I: INFORMED CONSENT FORM**

Thank you for taking your time. My name is Bildad Hawi. I am a Masters student at Nairobi University (Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies).

#### **Purpose of the study**

The purpose of this research is to understand the role of social media as a driver of international terrorism with a focus on the youth in Kenya.

#### **Selection participation**

You have been selected randomly to participate in this study because you are more likely to use social media in your everyday communication.

Your participation is entirely voluntary and you are free to respond to any questions or not to do the same.

Your answers are also confidential to protect your privacy and as such personal identities will not be compromised in any way during the research.

#### **How long will the interview last?**

The interview will be approximately 30 minutes.

#### **Consent**

Do you consent to participate in this study?

Yes

No



Name of Respondent.....

The study participation has been read or I have read and understood its requirements. I agree to take part in this study.

Signature of Respondent.....

Date.....

Interviewer

Name.....

Signature.....

Date.....

## APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE

### SECTION A: GENERAL INFORMATION

#### INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

##### I. Demographics

1. Are you      Male

Female

2. How old were you at your last birthday?

3. Marital Status Single

Married

Separated

Divorced

Widowed/Widower

4. What is the highest level of education you completed? None

Nursery

Primary

Post Primary

Secondary

College/University

5. What is your Occupation? Unemployed

Studying

Retired

Formally employed

Informally employed

Self employed

II. Knowledge of Terrorism and access to Social Media

6. Have you ever heard of any of these groups; Al-Shabaab, Boko Haram, Al-Qaeda, ISIS?

Yes

No

If No, end the evaluation

7. If yes, where did you hear of them?

At School

In the Media (T.V, or Social Media)

Family members

At work

Peers

8. Do you know what they advocate for?

Yes

No

9. Do you have access to Social Media? Whatsapp, Twitter, Facebook?

Yes

No

10. Do you believe that Social Media can be used to spread the terrorist agenda?

Yes

No

III. Attitudes and Perceptions

11. Do you think the methods they use for their cause is appropriate?

Yes

No

12. If yes, why?

13. If no, why?

14. In your Opinion, why do you think the Muslim youth are attracted to this ideology?

15. Do you think the Social Media influences radicalisation of the youth? In what way(s)?

16. Should the social media be controlled by the government to curtail the spread of this ideology?

17. What other ways do you think are appropriate in managing the terrorist threat?

#### IV. Impact

18. Have you been personally affected by a terrorist attack?

Yes

No

19. If yes, in what way?

20. Do you know of anyone affected by a terrorist attack?

Yes

No

Any comments/questions/suggestions

Thank you for your participation.

### **APPENDIX III: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE**

1. Can you give a brief description of your organisation?
  
2. What role do you play in tackling urban poverty?
  - a. What strategies are being employed?
  - b. How can you describe the coordination by other actors; civil society groups and the government?
  - c. What support systems have been initiated by the government?
  - d. Would you say you have achieved your objectives?
  - e. What are the organisations achievements to date?
  
3. Are you aware of the impact of social inequalities to the spread of terrorism?
  - a. To what extent do you think urban poverty is linked to terrorism?
  - b. What strategies is the organisation engaged in when it comes to preventing youth recruitment?
  - c. What is the success rate in achieving prevention and radicalisation?
  - d. Which gender group and age brackets are most vulnerable?
  
4. To what extent do you think social media plays in terrorist recruitment of the youth in Kenya?
  - a. What role do you think it plays in youth radicalisation?
  - b. Which strategies has your organisation initiated in countering youth radicalisation via the social media?
  - c. How effective has the organisation been in this regard?

5. What do you think plays the most effective role in terrorist recruitment among the youth?
  - a. Which means are mostly used by terrorists?
  - b. How many youth have been affected in terms of radicalisation and recruitment?
  - c. Which gender group and age brackets have been recruited or attempts been made for recruitment the most?
  
6. What measures have you put in place to counter the spread of terrorist ideologies?
  
7. To what extent are these counter measures sustainable over the long term?
  
8. What are some of the lessons to be learnt in implementing these counter terrorist measures?
  
9. Are there any best practises that you have identified?
  
10. What are your recommendations going forward?

Thank you for your Participation.

## APPENDIX IV: FGD GUIDE

1. Can you discuss the phenomenon of terrorism in detail?
  - a. What do you know about terrorism?
  - b. Which groups are you conversant with?
  - c. Which specific attacks are you aware of?
  - d. What do you know about the recruitment process?
  - e. How does recruitment take place?
  
2. Tell me about your knowledge of social media
  - a. Which platforms are you familiar with?
  - b. How often do you access these platforms?
  - c. How helpful is it in terms of communicating?  
Probe for speed; data storage; sharing images; sharing information; expense
  
3. What effect do you think social media has on terrorism?
  - a. How has it been used to spread propaganda?
  - b. How effective has it been?
  - c. Why do you think terrorists use social media?
  
4. Have you ever come across online propaganda?
  - a. Which setting were you able to access these propaganda?  
Probe for social media accessibility via the smartphones, cyber cafes, personal computers or at friends and relatives homes, or at the workplace.
  - b. Which form of messages were displayed?  
Probe for content; images and type of videos



5. Which means of terrorist recruitment do you think is the most common?

6. What do you think, in your opinion, leads to terrorist recruitment?

Probe for factors that lead to terrorist recruitment among the youth.

Probe for the most facilitating factor.

7. Which counter measures do you think are the most productive?

8. Have you ever attended any seminar related to terrorist recruitment prevention?

a. What lessons were learnt?

b. What proposals were suggested?

9. What are your recommendations in preventing terrorist recruitment?

Thank you for your Participation.

## APPENDIX V: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW

11. Can you give a brief description of your organisation?

*Kibera Hamlet is a youth organization targeting orphan youth and children. It started seven years ago.*

*It has four programs*

- *Sports and Education*
- *Girl child empowerment*
- *Tour and maintenance*
- *Art and theatre*

*Education is in all areas. Primary and secondary. Reproductive health among girls. Education on art, acrobatics, poetry and HIV/AIDs. The core area is education and empowerment.*

*We have board of management, a director, program officers, volunteers and beneficiaries.*

12. What role do you play in tackling urban poverty?

f. What strategies are being employed?

*We have entrepreneurship, income generating activity. Girls empowerment; they do bead work. Taking youth to school to gain knowledge to become independent. Tour program; visitors donate, Sports program; activities like soccer where they nurture their talents and end up becoming sustainable.*

- g. How can you describe the coordination by other actors; civil society groups and the government?

*From civil society it has been positive, the Government too because of legal consent*

- h. What support systems have been initiated by the government?

*Access to education program. Working under the policy of the government. Education Act Policy. Advisory support policy but not financially.*

- i. Would you say you have achieved your objectives?

*Achieving objectives. Some of the youth who have been in the program actually support it like website construction.*

- j. What are the organisations achievements to date?

*60-65% of the youth have been successful. In business. In scholarships. We prevent early pregnancies. Sport programs in good team for example Jesse Were is in the League.*

13. Are you aware of the impact of social inequalities to the spread of terrorism?

- e. To what extent do you think urban poverty is linked to terrorism?

*In Kibera, its poverty stricken. Most youths engage in violence. It becomes easy for them to be lured into violence.*

- f. What strategies is the organisation engaged in when it comes to preventing youth recruitment?

*We've kept youth busy in activities. Those in sports, some are in the league. Art programs, dances, poetry, spray painting, girl's empowerment in beadwork, baskets, trained on financial management, reality tour where people come in and pay to show how positive Kibera is.*

- g. What is the success rate in achieving prevention and radicalisation?

*It's around 75% because Kibera slums compared to other areas is better off in terms of terrorism prevention.*

- h. Which gender group and age brackets are most vulnerable?

*Gender groups is male. 17-25 years.*

14. To what extent do you think social media plays in terrorist recruitment of the youth in Kenya?

- d. What role do you think it plays in youth radicalisation?

*Social media is the quickest way. Anyone with a phone can go to Facebook/twitter. It is easier and it is efficient to communicate.*

- e. Which strategies has your organisation initiated in countering youth radicalisation via the social media?

*To encourage positive things. Do marketing. To use social media to market what they are doing and to speak positive about what they are doing.*

- f. How effective has the organisation been in this regard?

*Effective in terms of organising forums. Peace forums through sports, art, encouraging sports to bring the society together.*

15. What do you think plays the most effective role in terrorist recruitment among the youth?

- d. Which means are mostly used by terrorists?

*They mostly use promise like employment through mosques.*

*I believe it happens face to face because of dialogue.*

- e. How many youth have been affected in terms of radicalisation and recruitment?

*We do preventative measure. I can't say we have a specific number*

- f. Which gender group and age brackets have been recruited or attempts been made for recruitment the most?

*No answer.*

16. What measures have you put in place to counter the spread of terrorist ideologies?

*Creating employment by involving them in activities. Investing in their lives for the future.*

17. To what extent are these counter measures sustainable over the long term?

*If well planned and well execute it becomes sustainable.*

*Programs and activities will result in income generation and concentrating on studies.*

*This will depend on how the youth themselves execute this.*

18. What are some of the lessons to be learnt in implementing these counter terrorist measures?

*Lessons we've learnt is that unless we have a good coordination from the government and civil society, we will face difficulties. It is not a one sided institution affair be it churches, NGO's or human rights.*

19. Are there any best practises that you have identified?

*Creating good coordination between Muslims and Christians. There is peace building forums, interdenominational conferences. At some point, tension reduced because of forums.*

20. What are your recommendations going forward?

*Government should play oversight role to bring institutions together. It is the role of the government.*

Thank you for your Participation.