COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM IN LAMU COUNTY: AN ANALYSIS OF THE FEAR FACTOR IN THE MESSAGING AND ORAL NARRATIVES

BY

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned hereby affirm that this research report is my original work and has not been previously presented in part or whole to any other institution of learning for the award of any degree or examination. No part of this project may be produced without prior permission by the author or the School of Journalism and Media Studies.

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DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to my husband Mr. Brian Malu for the endless support and and encouragement towards the completion of this study. My children Giselle, Shawn and Baraka, who gave me the love and support throughout my academic journey. The support from my parents, my late dad Mr. David Njuguna, Mr. Joseph Malu, Lydia Wanjiku, Hilda Kibisu and Lulu AbdulKarim who were always there to guide and pray with me.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMISOM   African Union Mission in Somalia

CVE   Counter Violent Extremism

KNBS   Kenya National Bureau of Standards

KYBI   Kiunga Youth Bunge Initiative

KDF   Kenya Defence Forces

KECOSCE   Kenya Community Support Centre

LCIDP   Lamu County Integrated Development Plan

LIPI   Lamu Interfaith Peace Initiative

NPSCAI   National Police Service Civil Affairs Initiative

OSCEG   Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe Guidebook

VE   Violent Extremism

ABSTRACT

This study sought to analyse the fear factor in government messaging of oral narratives amongst local community residents in Lamu County meant to Counter Violent Extremism. The main objective of the study was to analyse the fear factor in messaging and oral narratives in Countering Violent Extremism in Lamu County.To address this question, the study integrated two theories; the Protection Motivation Theory of Rogers which was used in this study to answer the question on whether the fear factor aids in Countering Violent Extremism or not, while the Social Movement Theory explained why people form or join social movements, in this case, why some residents, specifically young people in Lamu County join terror groups making it more difficult to get full community support in Counter Violent Extremism messaging and in addressing grievances passed on in oral narratives amongst residents. Data was collected through Focus Group Discussions and Key Informant Interviews. The Focus Group Discussions comprised of youth aged between 15 and 29 and who belong to a youth group that had been targeted, at least once (and therefore are aware of Counter Violent Extremism), by either the government or Non-Governmental Organisations promoting Counter Violent Extremism messages. The sampling frame for the Focus Groups was a list of youth in the youth groups purposively sampled for this study. Key Informants included chiefs, clan leaders, religious leaders, government security agents and school administrators. The data was transcribed, translated into English (for interviewees who spoke in Swahili), presented, interpreted and analysed under each objective. The information collected was thematically organized. To ensure ethical consideration in the writing of the research, interviewees were coded to conceal their names and locations. Findings show that while the government is committed to ensuring protection of its citizens from terror attacks, its own communication strategy generated fear that hindered acceptance and therefore collaboration from the local community. Results from both the Focus Group Discussions and the Key Informant Interviews confirmed that the messaging and oral narratives contained fear in the way they are constructed which contributed to the continued passing of community narratives of victimisation, intimidation and betrayal that they hold against security actors and the Counter Violent Extremism approaches. This study therefore recommends that message choices and content on Counter Violent Extremism should focus on using more inclusive and beneficiary-friendly language.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

This chapter presents the background of the study, the statement of the problem, research objectives and research questions, justification and the limitations of the study.

1.1 Background of the Study

Messages and narratives are a way of communicating certain aspects of life and reality as we see them in our everyday life. They help us relieve and construct reality and tell a story about our experiences through messages. Different people have different cultures which have different ways of communicating their stories which form a narrative that they hold. Such messages contribute to our view of our world around us and help us make meaning out of what we see, hear and experience. This becomes part of our story. This is how Violent Extremism (V.E) forms or construct reality for their target audiences with a view of calling for an ideological shift in the people's mind.

While narratives give accounts of the events that have been experienced overtime, the messages are words that communicate the meaning of the narratives (Fulton et.al. 2017). Therefore, narratives have messages that they try to pass across to the target audience. One has to depend on the other for the meaning to be communicated.

In the twenty first century the world has become porous and vulnerable to terror activities and religious radical ideologies and narratives due to technological advancements. Questions have been posed as to what is the motivating factor to terrorrism as well as what is the driving force towards acts of terror. As such, several theories and literature have been advanced to try and explain what exactly the basis of terror activities is. Narratives and counter-narratives have also been advanced to

counter the violent ideologies that are linked to increased terror activities globally. Narratives are a core aspect in constructing our view of the environment we live in. We tend to construct our identities through narratives that have been told to us about our traditions, beliefs, and or cultural values. As such every society holds different narratives according to their environment and preheld myths. The terrorists and Violent Extremists organisations form part of this society.

Nation states across the globe have tried to come up with theories to explain what the push factors that lead to terror activities in their states are. Each and every region in the globe have their own dynamic explanation as well as motivating factors that advance such terror activities. Some of the terms related to terrorism include and not limited to V.E, Radicalisation where there are no clear definitions given for these terms as they differ from one place to another.

Violent extremism has been a global concern after the 9/11 attack in the United States. The subsequent terror attacks on western and non-western states recognised the need to apply alternative to repressive strategies of countering radicalisation and V.E as well as terror activities (Koehler, 2017). Furthermore, the involvement and intervention by the United States in Iraq saw a development of rebellion by the Muslim countries who termed the offensive as an oppressive measure towards the Islamic countries. This has seen an emergent Islamic culture that tends to radicalise and further extremist ideologies rather than have a non-extremist stand that furthers ideologies of peace and harmony. The international community has come up with various stopgap measures including campaigns on fighting terrorism to use of force which have borne very little fruits. V.E is an emerging issue with the radical militants inventing new ways of recruiting their victims every single day.

After the 9/11 attack in the United States, the war on terror became more militarised. Most western and non-western countries have embraced a militaristic approach which has not only threatened the democratic order and the sovereignity of the citizenry, but has become a justification for a violent push-back by some who may then be open to terrorrist recruitment (Lombardi, 2015). Furthermore, Lombardi et.al. (2015) states that, in the fight against terrorism, the pursuit of national security and public safety have often become the main focus of government policies implemented to some extent at the expense of human security and human rights.

According to Graaf (2010), terrorism is communication which aims at creating fear and anxiety within a society. As such, V.E narratives use the same communication to further radical and violent ideologies among the target community. Governments have to deal with independent global Media and autonomuos citizenry that are continously producing their own narratives through the new media technologies or other real time instruments. Furthermore, the new media paradigm has led to a shift in the way information about issues and especially terrorism is diffused to the masses. Violent extremists have used these platforms to further their ideologies appreciating the fact that such media is easily accessible to the target audiences.

Various strategies have been designed in the fight against terror and V.E. From the Iraq war to the torture and mistreatment of prisoners at Abu Ghraib and other prisons in Iraq, to the bombings in Pakistan where several civillians were killed, have been some of the strategies that governments (western and non-western states), have tried to employ in the fight against terror (David, 2006). According to the special report by the United States Institute of Peace (2013), counter V.E has become an emergent field of policy and practise that focuses on countering the pull of terrorist recruitment and influence

by building resilience among the populations vulnerable to radicalisation. Furthermore, it is a conglomeration of interventions and policy programmes that are designed as a preventionary measure to individuals from engaging in violence related to extremist ideologies and views. Conditions such as the psychological factors and social interaction aspects are also some of the pull and push factors such extremist capitalise on to reach their target audience.

Furthermore, global risks contain an answer to the question of how new kinds of risk communities based neither on decent nor on spatial presence, can evolve and establish themselves in the roughness of a globalised world. How global risks generate a kind of a 'glue' for diversity and plurality in a world whose boundaries are porous is another aspect that makes terrorism activities and violent extremism more dominant. As Archetti (2013) postulates, collective narratives are developed through social relations which shape our identities. This means that through social interaction we tend to learn and conform to the social groups that we identify with. The reception of the information guides our actions which can also be likened by the violent extremism narratives which inturn informs actions by terror groups/extremist groups.

1.1.1 Understanding Messaging and Oral Narratives

Ahmed, 2013 defines messages as texts and signs that refer to meanings that they interpret. Ahmed, 2013 notes that the eyesight constitutes an important source of message-and meaning-making. The visual images that are mediated on main stream media and social media; Television, YouTube; confer a certain meaning to the stories that they try to bring out. As such therefore, audiences may get different emotions when they watch such images since they might connect them to past experience that could be similar to what they watch.

Furthermore, language is a component of the message and it helps to confer meaning to what is being communicated. Whorfian Hypothesis suggests that language helps to interpret reality which means at times it brings out the issues of social inequality and status (Danesi, 2004). This can be equated to the language used in the context of CVE messages which when analyzed gives a stereotypical reference to the Muslim community as the major suspects of V.E.

On the other hand, narratives are stories held by a person that represents and gives a chronology of events and experiences that have happened over time. They are a form of text-making that provides humans with a powerful means of making messages and meanings. Danesi, 2004 gives a slightly different perspective to the definition of narratives

> …. they are texts that have been constructed in such a way as
> to represent a sequence of events or actions that are felt to be
> logically connected to each other or intertwined in some way
> (Danesi, 2004-pg 142).

This presents a perspective that the events presented by the narratives may be an account of experiences that a certain group of people have gone through. As such, some people may add in fabrications to give emphasis on the truth which Danesi 2004 refers to as the *Othello effect.* Those who are presented in the narratives, are shown as in symbolic ways such as a hero, friend, enemy e.t.c. which reflects the structure of real life events in the given situation.

Marshall Mc Luhan suggests that the message is the medium and this shows that the media is the main carrier and source of messages. Furthermore, Cole (2006) suggests that the media has worsened the sense of marginalization perceived by different cultural and religious groups, specifically, the Muslim community through negative profiling and labelling. Furthermore, the new media has become a platform for the ones in the

5

peripheral to develop and consolidate power and ultimately challenge the authority of the center (Cole, 2006).

Scholars like Carsten (2009) suggest that there is need to tell real and not fictional stories that rely on instincts, feelings, cultural commonalities and shared narratives that will resonate and allow messages to emerge rather than to be stated. As such therefore, narratives of fear towards the terror related organisations should be demistified to ensure a clear understanding on the modus operandi of the extremists and terrorists. Furthermore, not all divergent views and opinion that are considered extremists are actually extremists. Giving a free space and freedom of the population to express their views is better than suppressing their views and labelling them as extremists. In most countries and more so in Kenya, The constitution of Kenya 2010 provides for freedom of speech, expression and worship to all citizenry in equal stature. This does not mean that the freedoms should be abused. Instead, limitations have been clearly stipulated in the document to capture such issues as extremists and radical views. Radicals and extremists consider themselves oppressed and discriminated upon and the only way to air their demands is through social uprising and social recruitment towards their course and demands through violent strategies.

1.1.2 Violent Extremism in Sub-Saharan Africa: Understanding the Issue
In sub-saharan Africa, violent extremism has increased with the formation of new terror groups being emerging. Groups such as Boko Haram in Nigeria, Al Shabaab militia in Somalia has had a bearing on the security situation in the continent. Such groups have been known to have affiliation with the Al Qaida and the ISIS/L (Islamic State of Iraq and Levant/Syria) which have furthered terror related activities and ideologies across the globe. Sub-saharan countries have been a base to such activities which could be

attributed to issues ranging from poor governance to issues of political instability in most of the African states. African states have come up with different strategies to counter V.E and the fight against terrorism in the continent but have faced challenges due to resource based constraints.

In Nigeria and Somalia, violent extremist organisations began as ethnically homogenous movements with purely domestic concerns of overthrowing their respective governments. The groups have mutated over time towards more ambitious goals and more extremists messages and narratives. The groups generally favour border religion due to lower levels of government presence and security which facilitate illicit networks (Afrobarometer, 2016). The links between the national and international jihadist networks have increased in the recent years. According to Afrobarometer 2016, in 2012 Al Shabaab declared allegiance to Al Qaeda terror network but there has been infighting whether to shift allegiance to ISIL. This has led to splinter groups being formed within the network with some paying allegiance to ISIL and others to Al Qaeda.

Furthermore, security led approaches have largely failed to contain the spread of Violent Extremism in sub-saharan Africa. Statistics from the Afrobarometer 2016, depict this situation and shows that the approval of government's response to extremism is low in Kenya at 44%. This means that most approaches that have a connection with the government on security receive a negative response.

According to Afrobarometer 2016, the Al Shabaab insurgency against the Somali government has increasingly bled into the broader East Africa region. In January 2007, the African Union Peace and Security Council created the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), a regional peacekeeping force mandated to support transitional government structures and assist in improving the security environment. In July 2010,

Al Shabaab launched its first major international attack in Kampala, Uganda, which left 76 dead and 70 injured (Al Jazeera, 2010). Since then, the group has targeted countries in the region contributing troops to AMISOM, carrying out attacks in the area.

The East African region which includes Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda has been at the centre of terror activities which has claimed lives of both the citizens and security forces of these countries. In the same breadth, Kenya continues to face the problem of violent extremism especially in the coastal region and Nairobi. Radical militia like the Al Shabaab have continued to penetrate the country and furthering religious teachings that are extremists and recruiting the youth to conform to their ideologies. V.E has been attributed to issues of socio-political paradigms which have given a fertile ground for recruitment.

It is on this basis that the government in 2016 decided to embrace the development of a counter V.E strategy that was to be replicated and tailored to the specification of the counties affected by V.E. The strategy whose blueprint was unveiled in late 2016, has appreciated the involvement of the community in the fight against terrorism and V.E. What has always remained a challenge is the fact that the strategies employed, although having a participatory approach, have left an important aspect on the meaning assigned to V.E by the community as well as why the strategies have been counter-productive to a larger extent.

In the African context, V.E seems to be prevalent due to the socio-economic and political state of the states in the continent. Issues ranging from perceived marginalisation in resource allocation to poor and unstable governance, maybe attributed as the push and pull factors that encourage V.E as well as radicalisation.

The government of Kenya has used coercive approaches and strategies to counter these activities which have otherwise been successful but caused apprehension from the public.In Kenya, various strategies and approaches have been employed to Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) among the youth. These strategies include campaigns spearheaded by the government and other stakeholders who further initiatives on Countering Violent Extremism.

Furthermore, the approaches which are more militaristic and intimidatory in nature have advanced narratives and messages that cause fear among the communities rather than alleviating the fear of terror attacks and extremism. Furthermore, a formative interview conducted with a member of the National Police Service Civil Affairs intiative shows that during Barazas, national government officials including chiefs and county commissioners, approach the issue of identification of extremists with coerciveness. The narrative advanced during the Barazas and public forums is more coercive and intimidatory as well as threatening which causes the community members to respond negatively to the call for community response on V.E.

The messages which have been mediated through social media platforms and traditional media have been tailored to reach the affected individuals and encourage behaviour change among the target audience. However, this campaigns have been carried out especially in parts of the coastal region, it is yet to be established whether the messages have achieved their goals on encouraging behaviour change among the youth which is part of countering V.E.

In Lamu County, various communication forums have been utilised to disseminate the CVE messages. Some of these strategies include; public Barazas, Workshops, Talk shows on the commuity radio, Face to face approaches, sporting activities among others

which have been used to counter-narratives on V.E and encourage social and behaviour change. Despite of all these approaches the youth in Lamu still seems to be continually vulnerable to radicalisation through extremist preachings by some Imams who conform to the V.E ideologies. This fact informed this study to do an analysis on the fear of CVE messages and oral narratives and establish their impact on fostering change within the community.

This study therefore seeks to analyse the fear factor in messages and oral narratives in Countering V.E among the youth in Lamu County. The study further seeks to establish what communication channels have been used to disseminate the messaging and oral narratives to counter V.E in the county as well as how the CVE messages have been communicated by the security actors. It seeks to find out how the messaging in the CVE has potrayed the affected population that is the radicalised and the vulnerable groups to the V.E.

As recent as January 2018, Lamu county government in conjunction with security agencies in the county have engaged youth groups such as Kiunga Youth Bunge to further narratives on countering V.E. Such fora and other face to face engagements have been employed in the fight against terrorism and V.E. Furthermore, the Search for Common Ground initiative spearheaded by the United Nations has sponsored youth engagement forums as well as helped in re-intergrating Al Shabaab returnees into the community.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Security operations in Lamu County have generated considerable fear in the community following terror attacks in the county. While it is known that such operations generally

create fear among locals, it is not evident how such fear is productive, if at all, to communication initiatives to eliminate terror in the county.

The fear in the County has a history. From the time of 1998 US embassy bombings in Nairobi, to the recent attack on Westgate Mall in September 2013, which resulted in 67 deaths and 175 injured and the Garissa University Attack in April 2015, which led to 148 deaths and 79 injured, the country continues to be on high alert on the terror activities. The Government of Kenya established the Linda Boni operation as an offensive against the militia group and advanced the same in Somalia through AMISOM. In June 2014, another attack took place in Mpeketoni Division within Lamu County which led to more than 60 deaths. This led to imposition of curfews in Lamu County which escalated the resistance of the government's response to terrorism by the community in Lamu. The government launched the 'Usalama Watch' as a counter measure which included identifying and dealing with those who were perceived to be supporting the militia, as well as countering the narratives of the terror groups. This operation was majorly carried out in the coastal region and north eastern region of Kenya which were viewed to be the recruitment grounds of the Al Shabaab. The amnesty international report of 2014, reported intimidation, coersion and physical abuse from the security agencies on the communities which created fear and resistance among the community members when the government seeks community involvement in fighting the terror activities.

Source: Retrieved from New Vision news, 2018: photo showing the effects of the attacks in Mpeketoni 2014.

Fear has been noted as a communication barrier in CVE initiatives.This has been demonstrated by Glazzard et.al (2017) who affirm that in Kenya, Somalis from the North Eastern and the Swahilis from the Coastal region view the security forces with distrust and fear. The continued repression by the successive governments as Glazzard; 2017 adds, have accelerated the grievances narrative as advanced by the terrorists (Al Shabaab).

Gaffney et.al (2016), shows that the construction of messages in this regards is that of fear rather than constructing more use-friendly messages. This has been depicted in the quote from the FBI's 2008 CounterTerrorism Analytical Lexicon choice of words quoted in part *'...any ideology that encourages, endorses, condones, justifies or supports the commision of a violent act or crime against the United States government citizens...'* This represents the issue of fear in the messaging through the choice of words.

Further, a policy document prepared by Search for a Common Ground (UNDP) adds that the choice to make V.E conversion an individual problem, depicts community fears that active commitment on matters of V.E may lead to being labelled either as working with the government/security (negatively affecting their status within community and jeopardizing their security) or as supporters of VE actors (making them vulnerable to increased scrutiny from security) (SFCG, December 2017).

This presents a problem which seems to be affecting the response towards CVE messages and oral narratives by the community in Lamu County.

1.3 Research Objectives

1.3.1 Main objective

To analyze the fear factor in messaging and oral narratives in Counter Violent Extremism.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

The following objectives will be the underlying focus of the study:

i.   To find out ways in which security officers present messages to the public on CVE in Lamu County.

ii. To identify the fear narratives held by the community in Lamu County and how they are communicated amongst the public.

iii. To establish the extent to which communicated fear aids (or not) in CVE in Lamu County.

iv. To determine better communication strategies (if any) of communicating CVE messages and oral narratives in Lamu County.

1.3.3 Research Questions

i. How are messages on CVE presented to the public by security officers in Lamu County?

ii. What are the fear narratives that the community holds of CVE narratives and how are they communicated amongst the public in Lamu County?

iii. What is the extent to which fear aids or not in CVE in Lamu County?

iv. What better communication strategies (if any) can be used to communicate CVE messages and oral narratives in Lamu County?

1.4 Justification

Communication approaches are important in countering violent extremism and the fight against terrorism. Globally, international communities have spearheaded intiatives against V.E such as the campaign on the global war on terror spearheaded by the George Bush's government. The communication strategies are important to counter violent extremism through tailoring approaches and messages that are relevant to the cultural setting within a given environment. It is therefore important to conduct an analysis of the fear factors in CVE messaging and oral narratives as well as establish the communication approaches employed in countering violent extremism and how they affect and inform the narratives of fear among the community members in Lamu County. This will help in demistifying the fear narratives.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study will be useful to the security agencies as a guide in knowing why the community's response towards government based strategies on CVE is negative. This will guide the community members and the government, more so the security actors to

first study the community and understand their needs and the perception they hold in regards to security affiliated approaches to CVE.

It is important to note that, as much as the security agencies main mandate is protection of the citizenry, most of the strategies that have been employed have been counter-productive. They have been more militaristic than humanistic approaches. This has led the affected community to view the approaches as discriminatory, intimidatory and in most cases use of coercion in addressing the problem. They tend to shun security agencies whom in most cases are perceived as inhuman and out to cause pain and suffering on the public.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

The study faced a number of limitations during the data collection process which researcher found ways of overcoming them hence the success in collection of the data. Given the enclosed nature of the community in Lamu, the study faced challenges in getting responses from the respondents on the narratives that they held and the fear there in, in countering violent extremism. The topic which was sensitive in its nature was an issue that the community does not freely engage in. This limitation was overcome by using leaders who are well known to the target population and introduced the researcher to the group hence putting them at ease and creating a rapport with them.

Further, given the low literacy levels among the population in Lamu, the researcher faced a challenge in some of the respondents not being able to give a response in English instead they used their mother tongue which is Bajuni, Swahili and Boni dialects. The reseacher used the services of a translator to overcome this language barrier.

Cultural and religious barriers was another limitation that was experienced during the study. The researcher conducted separate sessions with men and women of elderly ages

during FGDs. This was attributed to the fact the the Islamic Religion and the culture of the community in Lamu does not allow for a mixture of men and women in the same venue.

The fear of victimization was a psychological limitation that was experienced during the study. The participants especially the youth feared being exposed considering that the researcher was a stranger to them and they felt unsafe since the thought she had been sent to profile them. This was overcome by the researcher through production of an introduction letter from the university showing the intention of the study. Additionally, consent and confidentiality forms were issued to the participants which assured them that the information gathered would only be used for academic purposes.

Insecurity was another limitation that the researcher faced due to the recent attack at Milihoi area along the Mokowe-Minjila route which is the main route to Witu and Mpeketoni divisions where the study was to be conducted. This limitation was overcome through engaging security forces for escort during travel periods.

1.7 Operational Definitions

Narratives - Refers to stories that give an account of events that take place in a given society.These also refer to communication either oral or written that define the public's and security actors' definition and understanding of V.E.

Oral Narratives - These are stories that are told through spoken word.

Fear - This is an emotinal response to anything that makes a person feel unsafe or harm could come to them. It can also be defined as the apprehension that terrorism could affect them directly. This feeling is communicated through non-verbal signals as well as verbal signals.

16

Extremism Narratives - These are any stories/accounts that are continously told to person(s) that are directed towards a certain ideological goal or cause rebellion towards a certain policy.

Messages - These are texts that are constructed and communicated through a certain medium to a specific audience who make meaning out of them with a view of getting a response.

Vulnerable groups - These are people who are mostly affected by the violent extremism ideologies. They are easily recruitted and gullible to their messages.

Countering Violent Extremism - Refers to strategies that are employed to persuade and delegitimise ideologies that tend to encourage individuals or group of individuals to engage in terrorism as well as violent extremism.

Jihad - Refers to holy war according to the Islamic religion.

Radicalisation - A gradual process or step by step effort of employing ideological conditioning of individuals and groups to socialise them into violent extremism and recruitment into terrorist groups or campaigns. It takes a form of the end-justifies the means approach in which individuals do not embrace dialogue rather turn to violent approaches to issues that affect them.

Terrorism - According to United States Code of Federal Regulations, it is the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.

Violent Extremism - Refers to the individuals who are prepared to participate in, or actively support acts of violence in continuance of radically intolerant, undemocratic political systems or ideologies.

Madrassa - Informal institution that teaches Muslim teachings to the youth. The institutions teach religious education and nurtures the young generation on spiritual growth.

Quaran - Islamic holy scriptures equivalent to the Bible.

Maskan - Informal meeting spaces where people meet to discuss issues of interest to them as well as socialise.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview

This chapter presents a review of some of the literature written by scholars on the issues surrounding violent extremism, countering violent extremism as well as views and narratives that are advanced on this subject. Many scholars have explored the area of violent extremism and radicalisation as a way of contributing to the literature that could answer the question of violent extremism and the push and pull factors that reinforce the extremists' agenda. Literature on the different narratives held by the community and the government agencies have also been central to the study surrounding Violent Extremism and Counter Violent Extremism.

2.1.1 Fear Factor and the Fear Narratives: The Psychological Outlook versus the Communication Outlook

Veldhuis and Bakker (2013) point out that the essence of terrorism is to spread fear. Terrorists would rather instill psychological damage (fear) with their target population through the mass killings and maiming. This in a sense brings them satisfaction since they are assured of their ideologies having a base in the minds of the victims of target population. Furthermore, fear is an interesting tool for small groups who feel marginalised and discriminated and would never have a platform or an audience for their extremist ideas and demands. This provokes the othering concept where the marginalised see themselves as 'others' confined in a cocoon of desperation to be recognised and accepted by the larger society (them). Extremists and or terrorists' success is banked on the ability of their action to instil fear in the population and trigger emotional and behavioural reactions among the target population. The images mediated by the media after terror acts in themselves prodiuce messages of fear among the

audiences. The relationship between the media and terror groups represents one of convenience in which one depends on the other for survival. The image as depicted below represents a form fear as the scholars argue that the main objective of terrorism is to spread fear among the target population and hence use it as a vehicle to drive their extremists' ideologies. Additionaly this forms a basis of having their grievances and voices heard.

Source: Boni Enclave Team: Photo showing the fear instilled by the terrorists.

While emotional appeal is an important aspect in communication, Colaert et.al (2017) argues that the fear appeal in most messages in the field of crime prevention have resulted in opposite effects. This means that presenting messages with fear appeals may not necessarily dissuade the vulnerable population from joining the violent extremists groups but messages of concern to the victims may be persuasion avenues to counter V.E. narratives.

Graaf (2010) affirms the aspect of fear which according to him, terrorism is communication which aims at creating fear and anxiety within a society. As such

violent extremist narratives use the same communication to further radical and violent ideologies among the target community. Governments have to deal with independent global media and autonomous citizenry that are continuously producing their own narratives through the new media technologies or other real time instruments which have become very relevant to the world of extremism and terrorism.

Psychologists argue that the brain plays a vital role in human experiences of having an identity and of feeling warmth (Laura, 2013). Furthermore, there is a connection between religious beliefs and practices and the cognitive aspect that drives forgiveness or revenge. As such extremists exploit the religious aspect and nature of their target population to further their extremist ideologies which in most cases the narratives instill fear within the population who are forced to conform to the ideologies for fear of the consequences. Additionally, Laura (2013) notes that the media often dwells on sensationalising and dramatizing issues with a view of capturing the public attention. Behaviourists on the other hand argue that understanding the causes of behaviour requires looking at the environmental factors that produce them. They view internal states, like thinking (cognitive aspect), wishing and hoping as behaviours that are caused by external factors as well. They believe that the reward and punishment determine the behaviour of an individual. As such therefore, terrorists and extremists actions and the fear narratives therein are motivated by the reward in them.

According to the Quran, the hadith of the 72 virgins and 84 servants being preached to the Muslim Martyrs is another narrative that is a driving force to violent extremism that leads to terror acts which are considered a holy war 'jihad'. In most cases, rewards are the driving force of people and especially the youth to follow extremist ideologies. Rewards such as monetary gains and the feeling of acceptance and belonging as well

as heroism are some of the forces that persuade the population to adhere to the extremist ideologies. Furthermore, Gunaratna (2013), notes that rather than isolate and alienate segments of the community, it is important to have narratives that affirm and assure the target community by reaching out to them in their vulnerability to partner in the fight. Furthermore, the absence of a main counter narrative that is both territorial and inclusive of the migrant communities, makes them more vulnerable to the terrorist messages. Terror Management Theory holds that when reminded of our own mortality we are more likely to strongly endorse a cultural world view which makes the individual gain sense that their life mattered. In relation to the theory, extremists tend to advance their ideologies in reference to religious beliefs which explain depth and life and the life after death. As such, it creates fear within the target population who would want to conform to such ideologies which are firmly engrained in the religion for fear of being condemned to death. Furthermore, traumatic encounters may also lead individuals to shift to more extreme ideological views and to more collectivist ways of achieving legacy (Kruglanski et.al 2009).

Laura (2013), further notes that much of an individual's behaviour is goal oriented and is influenced by concerns about how others perceive them and their ethnic group. This is evidently seen in the terrorist and extremists narratives which produces the aspect of fear of expression and association in the target population depicting them as marginalised. Thus the concept of 'othering others'. Furthermore, in reference to the availability heuristic, fear is created when a prediction of events is made when an individual easily recalls or imagines the events as they were. Such is the way terror manifests fear and its fear narratives in the target population through abductions, terror attacks and using religious ideologies that create fear in them of death and eternal

condemnation. Tinka and Edwin (2013) add that terrorists exploit fear by terrorising the target audiences into concession.

Fawaz (2009) notes that many of the young Jihadist, including the September 11 hijackers, rebelled against their own families only to find religious ideological nourishment, sustenance and comradeship by joining underground paramilitary groups. As such, the extremists use religious and marginalisation narratives to create a sense of oppression to get support. Furthermore, there also existed a fertile religious environment and a large group of radical clerics who exercised profound impact on the impassioned youths and who instigated not just enjoined, them to migrate and participate in Jihad in those distant lands. Furthermore, the closer the suffering the youths felt the stronger the extremist's narratives became more engrained in them and had more impact on the sense of revenge on their persecutors.

Carsten (2009) indicates that coercion and intimidation of the nearby enemy that is the secular Muslim regimes that receive support from the West and the far away enemy that is the non-believers (Jews) is central in the narratives by the extremists. In the wake of the global technological advancement, extremist groups have taken advantage of the vastness and timeliness of the internet and the new media to disseminate their narratives. They provide fertile grounds for the terrorists and extremists to further their narratives. On the other hand, the media and the terrorist outfits may be seen as having a symbiotic relationship, where the media uses the terroristic acts to gain readership, listenership and viewership therefore it is for economic gains, whereas the extremist use the media to spread fear and affirm their fear narratives on the target audiences whether desired or undesired. Therefore, the media becomes a vehicle of globalised fear which at the end of the day gives credibility to the narratives of fear and acts that

are perpetrated by the extremists. As such the greater the violence and the larger the scale of damage and brutality of the terrorist act, the more the coverage it gets (Carsten 2009). This means that the extremist use these instances to spread fear and advance their ideologies by giving examples of the acts as consequences to those who do not conform to their ideologies therefore seen as traitors. A question may then arise as to whether the fear narratives only scares the target audience or also has an impact on the greater audience. Fear narratives have an impact on the audience's, either intended or unintended at different magnitudes depending on the interpretation of the messages by the audiences. The closer the event is to the audience the more the fear as compared to being a spectator of the same.

According to Archetti (2013), belonging to a certain group means sharing a common collective narrative while at the same time having an individual narrative that is compatible to it. Furthermore, communication is the very enabler of the formation of any relationship and thus narratives within such narratives need to resonate with the individuals in the relationship for the main view of forging an identity. Archetti adds that narratives are social constructs of individual perspectives which interpret the world as the individual views it in their own eyes. As such, narratives advanced by the extremists are in such a way that they focus on perceived marginalisation and deprivation of freedom of the target group, in which the group members feel part of due to their collective perspective of the worlds they live in. This is an entry point of most extremists who exploit this avenues and create a sense of fear while communicating it through actioin and push the target population to fight for their rights. Additionally, the very idea of progress in Counter terrorism and other related strategies appears to be related to both establishing a credible narrative and discrediting the extremist's narratives. As such, Archetti suggests a development of a better story that gives a

different outlook of the extremist ideologies instead of discrediting the pre-held narratives which may instead give credence and advance their impacts.

The different scholars have tried to explain the discourse surrounding fear narratives and the impacts they have on spread of violent extremism. The concept of us versus them has also stood out in this sectionn with authors trying to explain the impact of the concept on the target population. The perspectives of the oppressed and the oppressor may change the poistion of who is 'us' and who is 'them' depending on their point of view. The spectator versus the victim of the suffering is yet to show whether or not the fear aspect affects them and hence the study seeks to establish the nexus. As Gunatra suggests that the involvement of the community vulnerable to extremist narratives is key, the literature has still not answered whether or not this strategy will be useful in demistifying the fear narratives in the target population. Another issues that stands out in the reviewed literature is the impact of reward versus punishment on bringing fear to the target population. The literature however is not clear on whether the reward – punishment aspect actually affects the target population in conforming or not the violent ideologies. Furthermore, while fear is in itself a psychological stimuli, it is manifested and communicated in different ways through acts of terror or violence by the militants.

In view of the fear narratives, a question then arises if the Magic bullet theory of communication may be at play at this point. Does it mean that the messages/narratives being advanced by the extremists have such a direct impact on the target population to the extent that it has psychological damage that is creation of fear on the individual? Is it a concluded fact that an individual who is the central target of information only receives information without questioning and critically analysing it? The discourse on

fear narratives and the subsequent effects on the target population still remains an area that this study seeks to establish.

2.1.2 Counter Violent Extremism Strategies: Different Approaches; Successes, Failures or Work in Progress

Countering violent extremism has been a very important aspect in the fight against radicalisation and violent extremism. Various narratives and counter-narratives have been advanced on the issues surrounding violent extremism which may translate to terror related activities. The subsequent terror attacks on western and non-western states recognised the need to apply alternative to repressive strategies of countering radicalisation and violent extremism as well as terror activities (Koehler;2017). The photo below shows a terror attack that involved police officers in Lamu County.

Source: Researcher 2018, photo of a terror attack on police on 26th July 2018 at Hindi

Counter narratives that affect the way the vulnerable communities view radicalisation and terrorism is an aspect that can be investigated in view of checking on the failure and successful approaches in countering V.E. Caerlester; 2017 suggests several factors

that can be considered when formulating counter-narrative campaign towards de-radicalisation. Some of the aspects suggested include the messages, messenger, the audience, the source and the channel which may determine the success of the campaign.

Carsten (2009) asserts that, narratives are the foundation of all strategies. They are the organising framework that inform policy formulation and the reference for how events are to be argued and described as Emerson (2002) postulates. Additionally, as in any strategic communication planned for a target audience, extremists tailor their narratives to suit the target population as well as employ communication channels that suit and resonate with the target audience. This is informed by audience research carried out to enable proper segmentation and maximum impact of the narratives to their audience.

Guanatra (2013) notes that global response to countering the terrorist ideologies narratives has been weak. This is evident as the efforts put in countering violent extremism have borne little impact if any on the fight against terrorism and violent extremism. He points out four identifiable pillars in countering terrorism which include; counter terrorism intelligence, counter terrorism operations, counter terrorism investigations and terrorist rehabilitation and community engagement terrorism strategies. Furthermore, OSEC, 2014 notes that profiles built on stereotypical assumptions based on religion, "race", ethnicity, sex or socio-economic status are not only discriminatory but also ineffective. As such therefore, stereotypical approaches and strategies need to be revised to ensure that the focus is on countering violent extremism and the narratives therein for effectiveness to be achieved.

Emilio C. Viano (2015) gives an insight of the different approaches that have been employed in countering terrorism. According to Viano, the typical state response to terrorist attacks after the 9/11 was creating the laws which gave greater powers to the

security agencies to counter suspects of terrorism and any other affiliated crimes to terror. The laws which have been adopted by both western and non-western countries have principally aimed at eliminating or reducing the number of possible terrorists by directly confronting whoever was thought or perceived as spreading violent and extremist ideologies. As such, the laws have sometimes infringed on the fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens in the states where the laws are being exercised. Furthermore, approaches in countering terrorism and V.E should be tailored in such a way that the community involvement is felt as well as their participation is felt. Programmes that may seem to have an orientation of security agencies or perceived to be emanating from the government may receive more criticism from the target community which may seem to be a way of the government agencies infiltrating the communities which may lead to more resistance than acceptance. Viano suggests that a society that is actively engaged and committed will be the most effective way of strengthening and reinforcing cohesion and address the underlying causes of V.E.

The factors that lead to youth being indoctrinated to violent ideologies suffice at the onset of the discussion on radicalisation and V.E. As such, Yvon in the excerpt on social inclusion programs for youth, points out that joining an extremist group provides a sense of belonging, fulfilment and self-actualisation for the individuals who decide to do so. Further, Yvon (2015) suggest that the most effective approaches in countering V.E need to be driven by the better understanding of the pathways into V.E and out of the same. Additionally, Yvon asserts that preventive interventions need to focus on the process leading to being indoctrinated and the role the different motivations play as well as emotions and receptivity to violent or criminal ideologies. All these issue revolve around the social-psychological drivers and/or factors. He suggests that some of the driving or motivational factors may be identified as personal identity, social

identification, status seeking and acceptance of revenge as an acceptable goal; as some of the factors that recruiters to violent extremism capitalise on in the process.

Interventions to counter V.E should be focused not only on eradicating the violent extremist's narratives but also on identifying the loopholes being utilised by the violent extremists. Veenkamp and Zeiger (2015), note that although the CVE strategies are still taking shape in the world over, strategies have followed three major methodologies. These methodologies range from identifying the push and pull factors that lead to V.E to designing a targeted intervention programme to address and overcome the above factors as well as implementing the interventions on the vulnerable groups or those already radicalised. They note that not all violent extremists are young people, they may also be elderly people who feel the need to have their voices heard. Furthermore, most interventions as suggested by the two authors detail he need to have CVE narratives and strategies included in the educational institutions (primary, secondary and tertiary levels). However, the specific relevance of education for CVE needs to be analysed on the local context since some communities may not be very keen on education rather on religious studies also known as Madrasas. It is important to note that, while considering CVE strategy embedded in formal education, low literacy levels or perceived marginalisation may be the push and pull factors that lead to vulnerability to violent extremism. Other social-political factors maybe at play.

The old adage 'spare the rod and spoil the child' may be at play at this point, since most young people become rebellious at teenage/adolescent stages of their growing up. Weak family values and strained relations may be a contributing factor that may increase the vulnerability of the youth to V.E. Veenkamp and Zeiger (2015) advocate for involvement of families and communities in the students' education to reinforce values

and lessons learned in school. However, they note that the same families and communities may be fertile recruitment grounds for extremist ideologies due to the factor of perceived marginalisation and exclusion from the national resource allocation as well as service delivery. It is important to note that, families are an integral part of any community and as such the appreciation of the fact that the youth and mothers can be seen as change agents in the community cannot be underestimated. Furthermore, the African culture is one that is more patriarchal than matriarchal which means that women are not held in high esteem in matters family relations. Despite this fact, mothers spend more time with the children and are actually charged with the role of moulding and teaching the children the societal values. The authors therefore emphasize on the need to bring on board women in the Counter Violent Extremism strategies as one of the many strategies that can be adopted.

Further, to reach out to a cross-section of the community it is important to identify and build relationships with well-established fora, networks of groups and individuals. It is important to establish and sustain an engaged relationship with the community, government engagement should be not only with formal but informal representatives of the community providing community views (Gunatra, 2013).

Gunatra 2013 further adds that some of the success stories on strategies used, come from countries like Canada, Singapore, who have embraced community engagement as a way of dealing with V.E that leads to terror acts. Furthermore, the author notes that without building a common understanding and a stable partnership with the community, future stability and peace cannot be achieved nor sustained. As such therefore, he suggests that governments should endeavour to build a collaborative relationship between the community and the government through community engagements.

Furthermore, while stimulating the society to self-police, community engagement actively sought to mobilise the various sections of the community. Additionally, promoting moderation among those at risk of extremism and reconciliation among those who have suffered should be the main focus of community engagement.

The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe Guidebook (2014) suggests a community policing approach to counter terrorism and V.E. It notes that in countering acts of terrorism and V.E that leads to terrorists acts requires a comprehensive and strategic approach relying on a broad range of policies guided by objectives such as; preventing men and women from becoming terrorists; providing opportunities and support to individuals on a path to or involved in V.E and/or terrorism to disengage; preparing for and protecting against terrorist attacks in order to decrease the vulnerability of potential targets;- as some of the guiding factors. Furthermore, states have a duty to protect against acts of terrorism and strategies employed ought to be accountable in all rights including and not limited to human rights adherence. A lack of accountability for the actions of the state may leads to an increased risk of human rights violation which may inturn fuel further terrorism and undermine public trust in and support of CVE efforts (OSCE, 2014).

The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe Guidebook 2014 furthers that some states have embraced a strategy where they bring to the fore voices that promote tolerance and non-violence, to highlight the plight of victims of terrorism and encourage solidarity with them. This however has been challenged by Vivienne (2015) who argues that some of the strategies though well-meant, may be counter-productive due to their connection with the state which may be considered discriminatory and aggressive towards the target population.

Vivienne suggests that some of the strategies that have been employed and worked range from inclusive and partnership with the community strategies where the community has an upper hand in dealing with the extremists issues. Furthermore the author points out that local media reports have shown that in Kenya, the Ministry of Education has launched a counter-radicalisation programme in schools across the country including Nairobi and Mombasa. Government reports have indicated that Al-Shabaab had infiltrated the school system in order to radicalise and recruit students, therefore the programme. This is a fairly recent initiative and the impact of such school-based counter-radicalisation programme has not yet been properly assessed.

The authors have pointed to some of the strategies that have been employed in CVE and have suggested community engagement as part of the strategies in CVE. However, the authors have not indicated the strategies that have been successful in countering V.E narratives as part of the strategies to be used. The up-down approach seems to be the most prominent as government actors and other stakeholders come up with strategies for the affected community. This objective seeks to establish the strategies and approaches that have been successful and establish the lessons learnt from the successes and failures of some of the strategies.

2.1.3 What is the Driving Force of Fear Narratives: Exploring the Push and Pull Factors; the messages as communicated narratives

Violent extremists exploit several avenues to put fear or appeal to their target's population minds. According to OSEC 2014, some approaches that legitimise and enhance the appeal of extremism that leads to terrorism include the use of logic that the ends justify the means arguing that violence is a necessity in the pursuit of imperative social, ideological, political or other goals. Additionally, presenting

terrorism as something exciting and rewarding is also another avenue exploited by the extremists. Furthermore, social interactions and the exposure to ideas and narratives that legitimise terrorism and foster its appeal is critical pull factor.

The Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe Guidebook suggests that simply holding beliefs and views that are considered radical or extremist and do not necessarily lead to violence should not be considered a crime. As such the limitations and freedoms of such view should be well stipulated in the laws of individual countries as in the case of Kenya within the Constitution of Kenya 2010. This may be considered another push factor since the target population may feel targeted by the state agencies.

Furthermore, narratives may be seen as pathways of how people communicate their experiences. Pemberton and Aarten; 2017 agrees that the key aspect of narratives is to identity and gives credence to the view that can be understood as a narrative. This brings in the question of how are these narratives communicated? A narrative being a form of communication, presents with it the aspect of the person communicating the narrative and the focus of the narrative. As such there narrative presents an action of heroism and bravery in the experiences of a given community.

Boltanski (2004) accounts for this factors arguing that what leads to militants to militate, is the issues surrounding accounts of horror of capitalism, the poor children of the world countries, rising prices and repression. Furthermore, the militants are motivated by a disclaimed religious attitude which gives them a sense of sacrifice and an obligation to get their community out of suffering. Further, a desire of promotion which leads to self-importance which may have been deprived due to their social position, as well as desire for power and control. The question of pity and the duty to alleviate the suffering arises at this point. According to Boltanski, the televisual

representation of suffering endured by the victims, of whom humanitarian organisations desire to bring to the fore, may lead to action by the spectators of whom they feel that one of their own is being 'persecuted'. This actions may lead to demonstrations like in the case of Libya in 2011 which gave rise to civil unrest. In the far reaching effects of mediated suffering, Boltanski notes that the over sensitization of suffering by the media plays with the emotion of the spectator which may give rise to conflicts, hatred and misunderstandings towards the 'persecutor'.

Most western and non-western countries have embraced a militaristic approach which has not only threatened the democratic order and the sovereignity of the citizenry but has become a justification for a violent push-back by some who may then be open to terrorist recruitment (Lombardi;2015).

According to a special report by the United States Institute of Peace (2013), counter violent extremism has become an emergent field of policy and practise that focuses on countering the pull of terrorist recruitment and influence by building resilience among the populations vulnerable to radicalisation.

According to the Afrobarometer (2014), lack of trust by the public in the security agencies particularly in their ability to identify armed extremists among the general population could incite civilian support for the extremist organisation. This could also deter the population from engaging with programs targeted at de-radicalisation and CVE for fear of involvement with security forces which will compromise their security and safety. Additionally, the corrupt nature of the police force and the prevalence of the belief that the western countries have a hand in apportioning of arms to the extremists groups may lead to the population pulling away and instead supporting the course of the extremists.

Messages have been defined as texts and signs that refer to meanings that they encode. Ahmed, 2013 notes that the sight constitutes an important source of message-and meaning-making. The visual images that are mediated on main stream media and social media; Television, YouTube; confer a certain meaning to the stories that they try to bring out. As such therefore, audiences may get different emotions when they watch such images since they might connect them to past experience that could be similar to what they watch.

Furthermore language is a component of the message and it helps to confer meaning to what is being communicated. Whorfian Hypothesis suggests that language helps to encode reality which means at times it brings out the issues of social inequality and status (Danesi, 2004). This can be equated to the language used in the context of CVE messages which when analyzed gives a stereotypical reference to the Muslim community as the major suspects of Violent Extremism.

Narrative on the other hand are stories held by a person that represents and gives a chronology of events and experiences that have happened over time. They are a form of text-making that provides humans with a powerful means of making messages and meanings. Danesi, 2004 gives a slightly different perspective to the definition of narratives

> …. they are texts that have been constructed in such a way as
> to represent a sequence of events or actions that are felt to be
> logically connected to each other or intertwined in some way
> (Danesi, 2004-pg 142).

This present a perspective that the events presented by the narratives may be an account of experiences that a certain group of people have gone through as such some people may add in fabrications to give emphasis on the truth which Danesi 2004 refers to as the *Othello effect.* Those who are presented in the narratives, are shown as in symbolic

ways such as a hero, friend, enemy e.t.c. which reflects the structure of real life events in the given situation.

Fulton et.al (2005) define narratives as stories that are presnted in any genre or medium, written or oral, novel or letter which structure and represent lived experiences. The scholars further suggest that stories are narrated from a certain perspective which can be in the past but told in the present. Further, this stories can be repeated overtime and the understanding of these experiences are shaped by the kinds of stories with which one is familiar. This confirms that the experiences as told may either agree with the familiar issues that people have been exposed in their lifetime.

Marshalll Mc Luhan suggests that the messages is the medium and this shows that the media is the main carrier and source of messages. Furthermore, Cole (2006) suggests that the media has worsened the sense of marginalization perceived by different cultural and religious groups, specifically the Muslim community through negative profiling and labelling. Furthermore, the new media has become a platform for the ones in the peripheral to develop and consolidate power and ultimately challenge the authority of the center (Cole, 2006- pg. 46).

It is also important to note that terrorist groups and violent extremists as Braddock & Horgan (2016) argue, that one of the most prevalent communication strategies used by these groups is the use of narratives. These narratives convey ideology, values, justification and are core concerns to sympathisers, would-be members and the greater public to persuade.

The authors Boltanski and Lombardi, have identified religious indoctrinations as part of the avenues exploited by the violent extremists. Does it therefore mean that the target population receive information without really questioning it? This study therefore seeks

to establish the main push and pull factors apart from religious factors, perceived marginalisation and oppression as driving forces to the community. One may wonder if really the factors themselves contribute to the fear narrative or it is the perceived rewards and punishment aspect that contribute to the fear caused by the fear narratives.

2.1.4 Who is the Target of the Extremist Ideologies/Narratives?

Veldhuis and Bakker (2013) points out that the factors which predict who is afraid of the crime might also point to those more likely to be afraid of terrorism. This may make them vulnerable and push them to joining extremists groups for fear of being victimised. Furthermore, unemployment has driven a number of young unskilled labourers and semi-skilled labourers to join Jihad as an alternative employment (Lombardi 2015).

The vulnerability of the youth and the populace at large also becomes a key driving force for furthering extremist ideologies. Louise (2015) reinforces this view and notes that corruption has denied the youth access to necessary and fundamental necessities such as education and employment and they turn to non-state actors such as terrorist groups to provide for their needs. As such, therefore, it can be noted that corruption contributes to a sense of marginalisation and exclusion of the populace who as a result feel the need to challenge the status quo.

Similarly, perceived marginalisation and economic inequality in sub-Saharan African countries have become a fertile ground for the terrorist groups to exploit and drive their ideologies. Louise (2015), further notes that delivery of public services by the terrorist and criminal groups in corrupt environments is a viable tool for survival as it gives the groups legitimacy while furthering their course. Furthermore, the fact that most developing countries are seen as corrupt, the Western states see it as a norm and the

communities living in such states may want to embrace the help given by the militant groups for their own gain, that is, to fight exclusion.

Emerson (2002) adds that according to Kabbani's one of the terror groups chiefs affiliated to Al Qaida, the extremists are developing two ways of understanding the situation of Islam. The first perspective is they think that they have to reform Islam and the second perspective is that they have an obligation to cleanse the world off devils and demons and of countries that suppress them bad oppress them and try to shut them down. This makes the target communities vulnerable since they have been 'brainwashed' into believing that extremist actions are the only way of addressing the social injustices and marginalisation.

Gerges (2009) furthers this and says that the most vulnerable groups are the youth. This has been reinforced by a scenario given that many of the young Jihadist including the September 11th hijackers, rebelled against their own families only to find solace and ideological nourishment, sustenance and comradeship by joining paramilitary groups.

Weak family values and strained relations may be a contributing factor that may increase the vulnerability of the youth to violent extremism. Veenkamp and Zeiger (2015) advocate for involvement of families and communities in the students' education to reinforce values and lessons learned in school. However, they note that the same families and communities may be fertile recruitment grounds for extremist ideologies due to the factor of perceived marginalisation and exclusion from the national resource allocation as well as service delivery.

Additionally, structural conditions of socio-economic and cognitive nature which range from ethnic, national and religious aspects, increases the vulnerability of the populace leading them towards violent extremism to challenge the injustices. Psychological and

cognitive factors such as one's self image, a sense of identity and belonging, expectations, beliefs and attitudes are dynamic and shape how a person experiences and reacts to their environment and events. This is well articulated in reference to the communities that are targets of extremist narratives who perceive the security agencies as persecutors rather than protectors of the citizenry (OSEC, 2014). This has been made worse by the fact that the security agencies approach the community as suspect's and use aggressive approaches as a deterrence measure. This can have a bearing on the individuals feeling of displacement, rejection, relative deprivation, victimization, injustice and frustrations which are a fertile recruitment focus of the extremists. They grapple with their identity and place in the society which pushes them towards violent extremism whom they feel may help them to voice their demands and alleviate their suffering (OSEC 2014).

The authors identify self image and sense of belonging as the major driving force to violent extremism. Additionally, violent extremists have resulted to furthering this ideologies and target the vulnerable population.

2.1.5 Summary of the Reviewed Literature

The literature review indicates the basis of fear narratives as the religious ideologies. The authors have indicated self image, feeling of belonging and identity as some of the major factors driving the violent extremism agenda. Furthermore, fear narratives also base their arguments on the reward-punishment factors that may increase the individual vulnerabilities to the ideologies.

Furthermore, the literature reviewed still does not respond to the question of whether the fear is collectivistic in nature or it is a narrative that only affects the specific individuals in which the violent extremist ideologies are dominant. The fear of

victimization by security agencies and the perceived consequence of being a betrayor in the community has also been central in the literature reviewed. As such therefore the study seeks to identify and or establish the different perceptions and narratives held by the community understudy.

Furthermore, the awareness of the fear within the affected communities may be a motivating factor to them to make efforts to move beyond it or not make any efforts at all. Additionally, the fear of being in danger helps us to avoid dangerous situations. Fear acts as a signal of danger, threat or motivational conflict and triggers appropriate adaptive responses by the affected victims. The messages become avenues of communicating the fear among the target population which becomes a platform of the target population to confer meaning to what they perceive in the perspective of earlier held beliefs. It shapes the audiences belief system and cognitive response towards the messages that conform to what they consider as true. The fear in itself being communicated is presented through horrific images and messages that represent the consequence of holding a divergent view.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

The study has both a psychological and a communication aspect which will guide the study in answering the research questions. This chapter seeks to explore two major theories that will guide the study; The Social Movement Theory (SMT) and The Protection Motivation Theory (PMT).Furthermore, the diagram below represents a connection of how CVE messages and oral narratives contribute to the fear factor.

Figure 2.1: Relationship between oral narratives, the messages and how they contribute to the fear factor
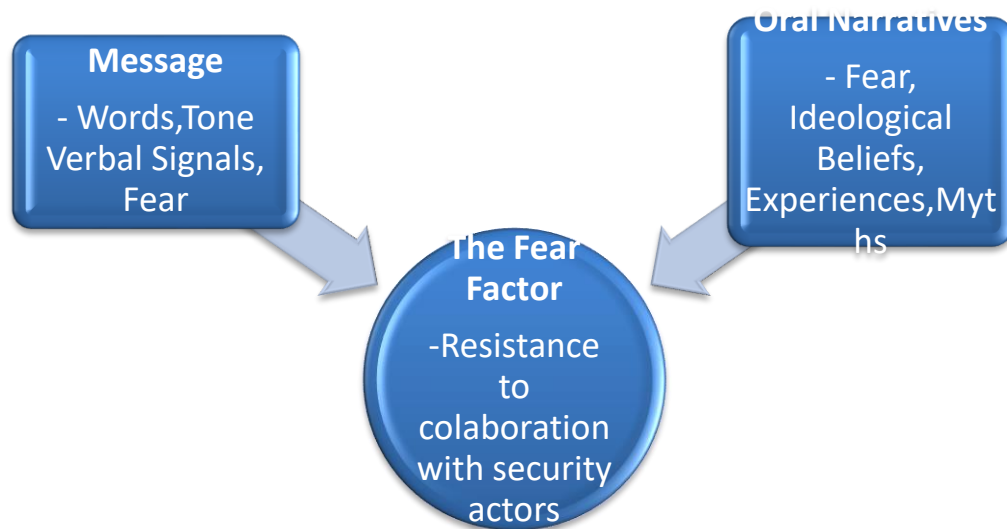
Source; Researcher, 2018

The diagram above (2.2.1) represents the relationship between the messages, oral narratives and their contribution to the fear factor. The messages as have been designed and disseminated by the security actors contribute to the fear factor. This means that the choice of words, the tone used and the verbal connotations from content to the delivery presents a sense of fear.

Furthermore, oral narratives that are held by the target population in this case the youth, are driven by ideological beliefs and experiences that have been passed across to them over time. Additionally, the oral narratives contained in the CVE communication strategies as disseminated by the various security actors also point to a fear factor as the study sought to establish. This raises the question of whether the oral narratives and the messages in CVE actually contribute to the fear factor held by the community in Lamu. This will be explained by the theories as presented in the next section.

2.3 Protection Motivation Fear Appeal Theory

This theory was founded by R.W. Rodgers in 1975 and seeks to understand fear appeals and the people's response to them. It holds that fear appeal intiatives a mental assessment process that considers the severity of the threatening event, the probability of the occurence of the threat and the efficacy of a recommended behaviour response. The theory argues that protection motivation is an aspect that arouses, sustains and directs the suggested behaviour to avoid danger.

Vance et.al (2012), analyses the premise of the theory by arguing that the information as a threat causes a cognitive mediating process in individuals that appraises positive or negative responses. Borrowing from the author, the negative or positive responses to the messages and oral narratives represents the way the population perceive the content of the messages. Furthermore, the rewards point to a physical, psychological or peer approval, which in this study refers to the protection aspect adapted by the population. The population adopts this state so as to avoid the fear factor emanating from the messages which inform the oral narratives held by the population. Additionally, the vulnerability of the population presents the consequences of the population adopting the messages even though the fear factor exists in them.

This theory has been greatly used in attitude and behaviour change in health related issues. Nonetheless, the theory can be used in this study to explain how the fear factor in the CVE messages and oral narratives leads to an adaptation of the avoidance behaviour. Furthermore, as Rodgers puts it, the fear appeal is aroused by the degree of of the threat re-occurring and the efficacy of the suggested ways to deal with the threat.

The foundation of the PMT is that people are inspired to protect themselves from bodily, mental, and social threats. The reaction to a risk is based on two mental processes;

a) Threat assessment (evaluation of the person's individual threat of damage and brutality of harm) and,

b) Coping evaluation (person's views of the suggested response effectiveness and an evaluation of their capability to carry out this reaction).

According to Rodgers (1983), "fear may be considered a relational construct, aroused in response to a situation that is judged as dangerous and towards which protective action is taken". This means that the fearful content of the message encourages the individual to think about ways of protecting themselves, and the decision to make a turning point is not only feelings of fear. PMT proposes that a fear/threat appeal brings about two mental processes: threat assessment and coping assessment. There are four motivation variables herein: seriousness of the threat; probability of reoccurrence of the incident if no adaptive action is implemented; accessibility and efficacy of a coping reaction that influence a reduction of the fear/threat, and the entity's perceived capability to perform the coping behavior.

In reference to this theory, Williams K. suggests that the most dominant aspect of the theory is the capability of a person or individual to assess the influence of a coping reaction or response. This means that if the recommendations in the messaging create fear, then the individuals may tend to adopt a protection-motivation attitude. Furthermore, Rodgers (1975) argues that the fear emanates from the communicated recommendations that is the messages that arouse cognitive responses to act on them.

Vance et.al (2010), suggest that, the another important aspect of the theory is the individuals perceived efficiency of the recommended action in the message which in this case presents the reward and benefit aspect. This means that a person's decision to adopt a certain recommendation in a message is gauged by the rewards or benefits attached to it. If the recommendations bring a greater reward then the individual can adopt them while if the reward is negative and no benefits reaped from it, then they adopt a protective approach motivated by the consequences of the recommendation.

This theory is appropriate in this study as it will help to explain the effects of the fear factor in the CVE messages and oral narratives and the response adapted by the target population as coping behavior. Therefore this study anchors its findings on the two main aspect of theory; the threat assessment and the coping assessment.

2.4 The Social Movement Theory

The social movement theory borrows heavily on classical models. The models posit that linear causal relationship in which structural strains produce psychological discomfort which in turn produces collective action. Furthermore, perceived modernization and industrialization has brought with it structural strains to the populace and given rise to scarcity of resources presenting an economic crisis.

Quintan (2004), adds that various strains brought about by industrialization and modernization disrupt social life and accepted routines thereby creating a degree of social and normative ambiguity about how to respond to changing conditions.

Furthermore, psychological sense of isolation, marginalisation and inequality in the wake of societal changes is believed to prompt individuals to join social movements. These movements are considered escapists strategies through which people regain a sense of belonging, identity and empowerment. As such, structural strains have

contributed to discomfort and a sense of discrimination and perceived historical injustices hence the offshoots of various movements.

Most arguments go a step further and argue that this process of cultural imperialism is a conscious western strategy to weaken Muslim societies for economic, political and military purposes. Consequently, the success of Islamic groups to a larger extent derives from the reputation of frame articulators and the use of publicly recognised symbols and language gap into cultural experiences and collective memories.

2.5 The Nexus

The two theories explain why individuals become part of society and how they perceive the situations presented to them as well as how they cope with the same. In view of PMT by Rodgers, the target population responses to the VE ideologies vis-a-vis the response to the CVE messages and oral narratives by the security actors dependes on the two aspects of the theory; the threat assessment and the coping assessment.

Furthermore, the social movement theory tries to validate why people form movements to address certain socio-cultural issues that affect them. This theory can best be used to explain why violent extremists employ fear to endear to their target audiences with a view of building a response which in this case is resistance by bring out social struggles that affect them. It explains how the social movements construct realities informed by the two cognitive processes that the individuals go through in assessing the rewards and benefits of the recommended response to VE as proposed in CVE messages and oral narratives.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

This chapter presents the methodology that was used in the study. The chapter has the following sections; the research design, the research methods, research instruments, sampling procedures and the sample size and data analysis.

3.1 Research Design and Approach

3.1.1 The Research Design

The study sought to analyse the fear factor in CVE messages and oral narratives among the youth in Lamu County. The study employed an explanatory research design to explaining the fear factor in the messages and oral narratives and how the target population responds to it as well as identify better ways of presenting the messages. Furthermore, the study carried out an inquiry in the most natural setting of the target population so as to have a clear description of the narratives and how they perceive them in CVE.

3.1.2 The Research Method

The study used a qualitative approach. This approach is more appropriate than the quantitative approach owing to the nature of the study which required in-depth responses from the respondents who selectively gave information in case of quantitative approach. This method of inquiry focused on exploring and understanding the meaning individuals assign to a social or human problem in this case CVE. The central focus of the qualitative method was to learn about the problem from the participants' perspective (Creswell, 2009). Through this method of inquiry, the researcher was able to collect data on the perceptions and attitudes of the target population in their natural setting.

The qualitative data was obtained through in-depth interviews with key informants which were conducted using key informant interview question guides and Focus Group Discussions. The study used a face to face approach which gave a chance to the researcher to observe non-verbal signals which demonstrated the fear factor. The key informant interviews and Focus group Discussions were conducted with the respective Key Informants and FGD participants to get a deeper understanding on how the narratives are structured to suit a given CVE strategy in line with the objectives of the study.

3.2 Target Population

Population refers to the entire group of individuals under consideration with common attributes in a field of inquiry (Mugenda, 2003). Further, Kothari 2004 notes that the population in which a study targets is referred to as a finite universe. The study targeted the youth in Lamu County who make up 65% of the total population. The total population is approximately 101,500 (KNBS, 2015). Lamu County has two constituencies, Lamu East and Lamu West. The study concentrated on Lamu West, which has a total of 7 wards. This constituency is one of the most affected constituency with a higher risk of being targeted for V.E and radicalisation. The total population in this sub-county (constituency) is approximately 82,700, where the youth make up approximately 4% of the population in the constituency (CIDP, 2016).

The target population was the youth between the age of 15 and 29 years. While others who included security agents (the Anti-Terror Police Unit officers) (dealing with security), the clergy, school administrators, men (aged between 35 and 55 years) and women/mothers (ages of 35 and 55 years). A total of 55 participants were selected from the aforementioned population. This population was considered to be better placed to

give clarity on their perceptions regarding the CVE narratives and the fear (if any), involved in responding to the narratives.

The population was divided into three main categories; the youth, who represented the target population and provided in-depth explanation of the fear towards CVE narratives; the security agents and chiefs, since they are charged with the responsibility of disseminating CVE messages and oral narratives as well as implementing policies on CVE; community (parents and the clergy) the parents are the first people who the youth confide in and are more conversant with their children's behaviour, the clergy provided spiritual guidance to the youth in the mosques and become more of role models to the youth; school administrators, provided guidance in education matters as well as life skills.

3.3 Sampling Procedure

Sampling refers to the procedure that is used to select a sample from the target population in a study (Kothari, 2004). The study employed a non-probability sampling method. It used more than one sampling technique which enabled the researcher to collect the appropriate data for the study.

The researcher employed the snowball technique to get to the KIIs, which was useful to get to the target population due to the enclosed nature of the society as well as the sensitivity of the topic understudy. This was essential to the study as it provided a chance for participation by the participants giving them a sense of safety.

The study also employed purposeful sampling technique, which helped the researcher to get to the target population. It was useful as it enabled the researcher overcome the constraints of distance and security in case of the selected institutions. The study employed purposeful and convenience sampling techniques to get to the security

officers and the provincial administration officers (chiefs) who sit in security committee meetings as well as engage the community on the CVE agenda.

3.3.1 Sample Size

Sample size refers to the sub-set of the population understudy (Mugenda, 2003). The study targeted youths between the age of 15 and 29 years drawn from secondary schools who also attended informal institutions also known as madrassas and had a membership with the KYBI. This group represented the most vulnerable population in the county due to their demographics according to CIDP, 2016.

The sample size was selected from a list of names obtained from the Kiunga Youth Bunge group showing the membership of the youth. This was based on the aspect of attendance of workshops and involvement in CVE initiatives and an understanding of CVE. The youth selected as the sample size were drawn from 4 most affected wards which include; Witu, Hindi, Bahari and Mkunumbi wards out of the total 7 wards within Lamu West Sub-county and attended the public secondary schools in the area as well as religious institutions.

The study concentrated on the selected wards due to their closeness to Boni Forest which is border line for the Al Shabaab militants who further violent extremists' ideologies hence making the area a high risk area for radicalisation and violent extremism. Additionally, the areas have also witnessed frequent Al Shabaab attacks and disappearance of the youth as indicated in a policy report by Search For Common Ground, 2018. Furthermore, due to the distance between one ward to the other and the issue of language barrier the researcher settled on the selected wards due to their accessibility as well as cosmopolitan nature. The sample size was reached through key

informants in this case school administrators, in the respective schools who refered the participants to the researcher.

The study targeted responses from 8 school administrators drawn from the four wards where each ward produced 2 participants; 8 women from the Lamu Maendeleo Ya Wanawake group ; 8 clergy drawn from 2 mosques and members of the CIPK in the 4 wards and 8 security actors who sit in the Sub-county Security Intelligence Committee forums. The participants provided clarity and evidence on collected information from the target population.

3.4 Data Collection Methods

The study used several data collection methods which are key informant question guides and focus group discussions. The study targeted respondents from 4 public secondary schools and who have a membership with KYBI in the 4 selected wards that are mostly affected by violent extremism and radicalisation, due to their closeness to the Boni Forest which makes them a high risk area for violent extremism and radicalisation targets.

According to a baseline study conducted by Search for Common Ground on community led approaches to CVE (2017), the youth were identified as the most vulnerable population to VE attributed to unemployment which furthers the narratives that represent the VE players as rebelling repression. This informed the researcher on selection of the sample.

The participants from the institutions were referred to the researcher by the school administrators based on the past exposure to violent extremism, radicalisation and or terror related activities. This posed an ethical challenge where the researcher sought consent from the administrators to interview the affected youth. They were selected

from each of the 4 wards selected from a total of 7 wards within Lamu West Sub-County. The researcher collected data using tape recorders and note taking and was assisted by one research assistants and a translator who helped in taking down notes and translation during the interviews and discussions.

The key informant interviews were conducted in the offices of the respective key informants. The researcher used tape recorders and note book to record the proceedings of the interviews with the assistance of one research assistant. Key informant interviews were conducted with the youth group leader who represented CSO's, from Kiunga Youth Bunge to get an understanding of who is vulnerable to violent extremism and the labels given to the strategies when being implemented or being disseminated to the community. The clergy, who explained what are the drivers of VE and their perception of the CVE messages and narratives. Two security actors drawn from the NPCAI and the ATPU, identified how the messages and oral narratives are communicated to the public as well as provided an insight of how they perceive the community. The school administrator provided data on issues of curriculum and the way in which the youth in the schools have been affected by the VE. Somali headman gave an explanation of the fear narratives that exist among the community members and how they receive CVE intiatives in the area. The chief explained the platforms used to disseminate the messages and oral narratives ad the language used during the forums or barazas.

Focus group discussions were conducted with the clergy, men, women, security actors, school administrators and the youth and discussions were recorded to assist the researcher capture all aspects or issues raised during the discussion. Consent was obtained from the participants for the researcher to tape record the discussions. Further,

services of 1 research assistants and 1 translator were utilised to take down notes and translate so as not to lose any information during the discussions.

3.4.1 Key informant Interview Guides

The key informant interview guide was the main data collection tool which was administered to security agents that is ATPU and National Police Service (NPSCAI), provincial administration representatives (Chiefs), the school administrators, youth leader representing the CSOs, the clergy and a clan elder to give a clearer picture of the CVE narratives. 7 key informant interview question guides, had six (6) open-ended questions which required an in-depth explanation of the CVE narratives and how they are disseminated to the community. These respondents were essential to the study as they are the ones who implement policies on CVE as well as engage with community on the same platform. Furthermore, school administrators directly engage with the youth at an educational level and are in a position to give an indepth explanation of how the youth in the institutions respond to topics that touch on CVE.

3.4.2 Focus Group Discussions

Focus group discussions is a qualitative data collection method which aims at gaining an in-depth understanding of a social issue from a purposefully selected group of individuals (Nyumba et.al, 2018). Six focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted with the clergy, women, men, scchool administrators, security actors and youth groups. The groups had eight (8) members in each case.

Invitation letters were mailed out to the contact persons of each group in good time which allowed the leaders to prepare the members to attend the discussions. The discussions were conducted in the natural setting such as under the trees in the major centres of the targeted location. During the discussions, the researcher introduced

herself as well as the research assistant and the translator and the topic understudy to create rapport with the members to make them feel at ease to participate in the discussion. Interview guides with open ended questions guided the discussions.

The FGDs were conducted separately owing to the different capacities that the members held in the community since they all have a different narrative and explanation in regards to the topic understudy. This was helpful in getting the participants definition of the CVE narratives and establish their attitudes and responses towards CVE narratives.

Furthermore, FGDs were helpful in generating a way forward on formulation of CVE strategies that may compliment the already existing ones. This helped in getting a better understanding of the historical view of the community on the genesis of the violent extremism and activities related to the issue. These perspectives were helpful in analysing the factors that make the population understudy vulnerable to violent extremism and cause fear towards the CVE narratives. The face to face interaction used during the discussions, gave the researcher to observe non-verbal signals such as the body language of the participants which helped in establishing the unspoken manifestation of fear.

3.5 Piloting the Data Collection Instruments

The data collection instruments were tested before embarking on the main data collection process. This was done with 5 people that had been identified by the researcher. A mini-FGD was conducted with 3 persons and 2 key informant interviews conducted with 2 KIIs. The pilot results were meant to help the researcher test the reliability and validity of the research instruments in line with the objectives of the study. The pilot respondents were asked to indicate which part of the questions were

not clear and the question on how fear is an aid or not in CVE,was pointed out to be unclear. The necessary corrections were made and adjustment made to the question on fear through consultations with the supervisor.

3.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

The data collected was transcribed and analysed guided by the objectives of the study. The data has been presented using narrations and direct quotes from the participants and interviewees. It involved analysing the data through narratives which has description of the target populations attitudes and perception on CVE narratives as the main component of the study. The researcher has been guided by the objectives of the study, where within each objective, the key issue has been thematised in analysis of the data collected. Furthermore, the themes generated from the objectives were discussed in relation to the theories that guide the study.

3.7 Reliability and Validity

In any study reliability and validity are the two main components that qualify a study to be relevant to the problem under study. Creswell, 2014 defines reliability as the extent to which the results of the study or a score of an item can be replicated or generalised while validity refers to the extent to which instruments produce the required results.

The validity and reliability of the instruments in this study were measured by pre-testing the instruments before the actual administration of the instruments in the study. This enabled the researcher to check for any inconsistencies or any ambiguity (if any) in the instruments to help in improving the instruments and correct them for the main administration.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

In every research ethical norms must be highly considered, Resnik (2011). Norms promote the aims of research, such as knowledge, falsifying or misrepresenting research data promote the truth and avoid error. Moreover, since research often involves a great deal of cooperation and coordination among many different people in different disciplines and institutions, ethical standard promote the value that are essential to collaborate work, such as trust, accountability, mutual respect and fairness.

William (2006) lists some of the ethical issues as, informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity. Given the importance of the ethical issues in several ways, the researcher recognised other scholarly works through quotation and citation. In this study, copyright and aspects of patenting have been respected and a plagiarism of any form was avoided. An originality report was obtained to ascertain the originality of the work (See Appendix VI). In the entire research period, respondents' identity and confidentiality was observed such that, any data obtained was not disclosed to any other person and was used for the purposes of this study.

The study sought to analyse the fear factor in messaging and oral narratives surrounding the communication in countering violent extremism. As such this is an area that brings with it ethical considerations from data collection to the way the participants will be treated through out the study span as in any other research.

Informed consent was also an ethical issues that was considered during the study. The researcher obtained consent from the participants for involvement in the study. This included giving a detailed description of the content of the study (See Appendix I). Additionally, opportunity to withdraw for the participants was given to allow a window period to withdraw should they feel at risk by providing information.

Cultural aspects presented an ethical issue where being a Muslim-populated area, cultural and religious aspects were put into consideration. This enabled the researcher to provide a platform that is comfortable for the participants to participate in the study.

The researcher obtained a field work certificate to aid in the collection of the data (See Appendix IV). As an ethical consideration, the researcher obtained a certificate of corrections to show that all the necessary corrections had been made on the document (See Appendix V).

CHAPER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Overview

The main objective of the study is to understand and analyse the fear factor in messages and oral narratives in CVE among the youth in Lamu County. The study sought to understand the myths and narratives that the community holds with regards to CVE strategies and understand how those messages (CVE messages) are disseminated by the security actors. Before going further into this section, the following terms have been defined; fear factor, oral narratives, messages, myths and stereotypes; as applied in the study.

Fisher W. (2011) asserts that human beings are story telling animals and they do so as a form of socialization and create a relationship between one another in form of narratives. The communication can be aimed at not only passing information or saying something new, but also maintaining the relationships already formed. Narratives in this study as Fulton H. *et. al.* (2005), refers to ways of structuring and representing lived experiences. This can be done through any medium or genre, oral or written, novel or letter. On the other hand, Fulton defines myths as stories in which people interpret truths about themselves and their society.

Additionally, messages in this study as Griffin (2011) defines them are contents that have been constructed, invented, planned, crafted, constituted or selected and transmitted to an audience. In this case they are texts that whether spoken or written that are constructed with meaning then transmitted to the target population on CVE.

Stereotypes are references or words used to refer to a certain group of people who are considered to have the same character traits on religious, cultural, ethnic and or racist grounds. This has been affirmed by Semin G.R. (2011) who argues that these are results as socially situated interactions between individuals rather than a product that resides within the head of an individual. People hold certain stereotypes that may shape a story that they tell about a certain event or historical event. Stereotypes are different from messages and narratives in that the former refers to preconceived labels given to a certain person on religious, appearance, ethnicity, race, social status. They become an identifying unit to refer to a certain section of the society. This may equally shape the way messages are crafted and presented which shape the narratives held in reference to the people who are being refered to.

Therefore, in this study, narratives will be used in the oral genre to mean any oral stories that have been told to the community over generations giving accounts of events that have led to the fear factor towards the CVE strategies. While messages in this study will be used to mean information or content that is communicated on CVE to the target population. On the other hand, myths will be used to mean any beliefs that have been communicated over time to refer to truths that they hold on issues of V.E. and CVE. Additionally, Stereotypes will be used to mean any references that are used to refer or label the people being referred to.

The findings have been presented, organised and guided by the objectives of the study. The data is presented in Kiswahili as the original language and translated into English. The researcher conducted 6 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and 7 Key Informant Interviews.

The study sample comprised of a total of 48 FGD participants where each FGD comprised of 8 participants with gender balance. The youth FGD comrised of youth between the age of 15 and 29 years as the target population while 7 key informants were interviewed. This made a total of about 55 respondents in the study.

In the next section, findings and analysis of the study will be presented and organised under sub-headings in reference to the research objectives. The findings have been presented, interpreted and analysed under each specific objective. As much as the study faced the limitations as earlier indicated, the study was able to use the available respondents at their natural settings.

4.1 To find out ways in which security officers present messages to the public on CVE: The definitions

The respondents and participants gave their definition of CVE and the strategies that they are aware of that have been implemented in Lamu County. The informants defined CVE as efforts, actions or measures of causing person (s) with extreme views to adopt more moderate positions on political, religious or social issues. Other definitions that came up from the interviews also included a strategic plan with measures aimed at curbing or reducing the participation of Kenyan youths in violent activities such as terrorism. The respondents also defined CVE as strategies that allow a level of agreement on differences of ideologies between the security actors and the community members. The quote below represent the definition from the participants;

> *These are plans or ways of governmnet getting participation*
> *from the community on issues of CVE. They are plans aimed to*
> *counter violent ideologies. (All FGD Participants)*

They also defined violent extremism as the beliefs and actions of people who support or use ideologically motivated violence to achieve radical, ideological, religious or

political mileage. Several respondents however gave a slightly different definition of V.E. as the extreme interpretation of the religious ideologies and a state where ideologies clash hence bringing different responses.

They identified narratives of oppression and marginalisation by the government as some of the driving force in a clash of ideologies of inclusivity as the state actors makes the community understand.

> *In our area the community calls it GUMEYSI or DULMI, which refers to ways of coercing and intimidating the community into accepting government policies as well as injustice to the community members. (KII 3)*

Most KIs identified some of the strategies that the have been spearheaded in the county as emanating from mainly NGOs whom they identified as being in the forefront in CVE initiatives. This has been presented in the quote below;

> *Some of the initiatives include sporting activities like the Lamu Youth group football team which holds monthly tournaments and the winner is given cash prizes and trophies. This become one of the engagements that the NPSCAI engages in to reinforce community confidence in the security actors. (KII 2 (b))*

The national government who in this study refer to the state actors were only implementers of the strategies. They identified some of the strategies as sensitization programmes being carried out to counter V.E and radicalisation spearheaded by INUKA Mkenya, inter-religious sporting activities, creation of government projects where some youth get engaged among other forums.

The aspect of labelling came out, where the key informants indicated that the state driven initiatives being implemented in the county had been labelled by the community amounting to shaping the narratives that they held of the CVE messages and narratives.

The quotes below depict the references given to CVE narratives and the perceptions that the community holds of the same.

> *The strategies on CVE being spearheaded in the county have been given labels and especially those that are perceived to emanate from state actors. They refer to them as strategies to cover up for their failures, which means the community perceives them as ways of the government to cover up for wrongs that the government has done including marginalising the community which they term as too late a response'. (KII 1)*
>
> *In our area the community calls it GUMEYSI or DULMI, which refers to ways of coercing and intimidating the community into accepting government policies as well as injustice to the community members'. (KII 3)*

It is important to note that, in all the above, the narrative of marginalisation and injustice being the main agenda, is what is held by the community on CVE strategies and narratives. This therefore creates the fear that once they engage in the strategies, there will be no liberation from the oppression that has historically affected them. The fear factor is attributed to the approach that the state actors, in this case the security actors, use to implement the initiatives among the community members.

Majority of the interviewees first came across CVE initiatives from workshops and seminars that had been conducted by NGOs such as Red Cross, Aga Khan Foundation, the county government, religious leaders' forums where they sensitize the community and especially the youth on the effects of V.E. on development. According to the participants, the engagement from state actors was very minimal on matters CVE initiatives in the county. The security actors have not come out well enough to sensitize the community on CVE.

Most respondents agreed that the way in which the messages are presented and the language used was understandable. However, they also indicated that although the

messages give hope to the community of a change in CVE matters, conflicts which was one of the sources of V.E was not addressed. They noted that conflicts such as farmer-herder conflict which was rampant in especially Witu and Bahari wards needed to be addressed as it had taken a religious turn before initiating CVE initiatives/messages.

> *The farmer herder conflict has been blown out of proportion and has been turned into a religious warfare. This conflict has further escalated the labelling of the Herders as being terrorists and Farmers as being on the side of the government and being protected by the government at the expense of the indigenous community. This has created a rift between the two religions especially in Bahari and Witu wards. (KII, 5)*

Moreover, according to the respondents, the security actors have actually detached themselves from the community in a way that they look at the issues affecting the community as spectators as shown in the quote below.

> *The security actors who work in the county are mostly non-locals and non-Muslims who have a perception that they are only here for work and therefore what affects the community does not affect them since Lamu is not their home.(KII 2)*

Most respondents agreed that when security actors were disseminating the messages to the community, the tone used was one of intimidation for the community to cooperate with the government on CVE issues. The quote below has been attributed to a speech from a security commander in Lamu County.

> *Msipo shirikiana na vitengo vya usalama, basi mtachukuliwa hatua kwani usalama wenu ni muhimu pia kwa nchi (quoted from a public Baraza)*

The quote above represents an oral message with a fear factor. This has made the community and especially the youth interpret the messages as coercive and therefore need to come out and protect their community from aggression and oppression from the state actors hence condoning and conforming to V.E. ideologies.

Another interesting aspect that came out from the respondents was that security officers in Lamu County have not been in the forefront in CVE programmes. Their contribution in CVE is through arrests and apprehension of persons promoting violent extremism which is considered brutal and inhumane by the youth who are the most vulnerable to these incidents.

Additionally, the respondents noted that low levels of literacy among the community members was a block to them understanding the context of the messages. They noted that more than often they based their understanding on their pre-held narratives about security actors.

Moreover, the security actors during their engagement with the community members and especially the youth, used slogans such as *'askari ni binadamu'* meaning a policeman is also a human being. This is meant to reduce the fear factor attributed to the security forces who are mostly given the responsibility of enacting the strategies at the grassroots level where they engage with public in the course of duty.

Additionally, the community and specifically the youth, hold narratives of fear towards any state driven CVE strategy or action as depicted by comments from one of the youth FGD participant.

> *How would you feel when you are wrogly accused of a crime you have not committed? This is what happens when the security actors come to our villages and harrass us in the pretext of looking for Al Shabaab suspects. They beat us to an extent of sexually torturing us in our private parts. So, do you expect us to be nice to them and offer free assistance whenever they come calling? (FGD, 1 Male Youth)*

Further, the way the security actors communicate issues on CVE seems to be more stereotypical than genuine since they have tones of coerciveness and labelling the youth as suspects.

> *When delivering the messages to the youth, the messages have a clear reference to Muslim as a driver of terrorism.(FGD, 4, Clergy)*

In relation to the rebellion and vulnerability of the target population, the youth have labelled the security agencies as animals and inhumane beings who are out to cause more harm to offenders and would be offenders. This has led to cautious approach towards initiatives like URAIA spear headed by KECOSCE, which is perceived as driving the agenda of the state actors out to arrest them.

> *Hawa askari wanatudhulumu kiasi ya kwamba afadhali kunyamaa na habari yeyote kuhusiana na ugaidi, kwani ntu atashikwa mwenyewe ukipeeka hizi habari. (FGD 1,2,3 Participants)*

Although the community is ready to work with state actors on matters terrorism and violent extremism, they feel comfortable with the militants who give them a message of hope and acceptance if they happen to visit them. This is an interesting aspect that conflicts with what some scholars who have argued that the terrorists are out to create fear to get more support from the communities they target.

Further, the messages disseminated during public barazas are presented in a language that most community members and especially the older generation may not fully understand. As shown in the quote below;

> *Tunahudhuria baraza ya chief au Kaunti Kamishna, wakati mwingi watumia kiswahili lakini wachanganya na kizungu. Mimi sijasoma sana na hiyo huwa shida kubwa kwani hatuelewi mambo mengine kuhusiana na usalama wanapotuelezea. (FGDs 2 and 3 Men and Women)*

This quote shows that low literacy levels among the community members exists which affects the reception. Therefore, the language used to present messages and oral narrative is sometimes not understandable by the community members.

Moreover, in connection to messages as a way of communication, most of the messages that are disseminated especially during public barazas normally point to a sense of marginalisation and discrimination on the economic fronts. The security actors most of the times connect economic activities such as night fishing to the rise in spread of radicalisation and violent extremism narratives. This has been in the table below;

Table 4.1: FGD Men, Fisherman

Direct Quote from Fisherman	Translation
'Mimi ni mvuvi na kawaida tunapendelea kuvua nyakati za usiku ambapo inaturuhusu kupata samaki wakubwa kwani bahari huwa shwari wakati huo. Hawa navi wanapo kupata habari kwamba kunao wavuvi wameonekana wakienda uvuvi au wanavua nyakati hizo, hua watushika na kutupiga, na kutuchukulia kuwa sisi ni washukiwa wa ugaidi kwamba twaeneza sera za ugaidi ama twaenda kuepeeka chakula kwa magaidi katika bahari kuu. Hii yatufanya tuogope hata kuwapa serikali sana sana hawa wanajeshi habari ambao wanatupa jukumu la kueneza sera na ujumbe kwa vijana wetu kuhusiana na upingaji wa ugaidi na sera zao. Kwa hivyo, sisi kama wazee twashauri vijana wetu kutohusiana na vitengo vya usalama kwani watadhulumiwa na kuhusishwa na ugaidi ilhali hawanahatia.'	Am a fisherman and I prefer carrying out fishing at night. If you are accousted in the ocean at night by the security forces, we are harrassed and treated as suspects. This brings a bitter taste towards the security forces who at times depend on us for information and spread of CVE messages to especially the younger generation. So we end up telling our youth to avoid being associated with the security forces for fear of losing them and harassment. "(FGD 2, Male 57 years)

The table (4.1.5) above represents the comments by a fisherman. This shows the strained relationship between the security agencies and the community. Moreso, it depicts the nature in which the security actors deal with the community members with pre-held stereotypical perceptions. This goes contrary to the main objective of the CVE and instead gives rise to disapproval.

The community has also objectified the security officers, in this case the police officers, as punishment machines. This has led to a strained relationship between the community members and the security officers leading to fear of being associated with security agencies by fellow community members. The comment below represents this aspect;

> *Hawa askari wanatudhulumu kiasi ya kwamba afadhali kunyamaa na habari yeyote kuhusiana na ugaidi, kwani ntu atashikwa mwenyewe ukipeeka hizi habari. (FGD 1,2,3 Participants)*

The objectification and stereotypical labels seems to run across both the security actors and the community.

> *The community is a hub for the VE ideologies. They have continually denied this but the reports received through government agencies point to this fact.(KII 2a and 2b)*

On the other hand, the continued stereotypical labelling and victimization of the youth by the security agencies is in-it-self a fear factor that pushes them to keep information from them and not participate or have minimal participation in CVE forums. The two quotes below depict this aspect;

> *Our leaders have continually associated violence with the youth. They attached violence to the youth and labelled them as drivers of violence. The continued profiling and labelling on religious lines have also contributed to the youth's fear of coming out to support efforts or initiatives geared towards CVE. (FGD 1, Youth Male)*

> *When delivering the messages to the youth, the messages have a clear reference to Muslim as a driver of terrorism. (FGD, 4, Clergy)*

4.1.1 Analysis

The findings from both the FGDs and the KIIs indicated that most messages that are disseminated by the security actors are done during public meetings also known as public barazas. The national government officials are charged with the responsibility of talking to the community on matters CVE. The findings brought out the aspect of the messages being regarded as tools of oppression by the public due to the kind of

67

language used which is intimidatory and coercive as shown in the quotes from the data. This affirms what Viano (2015) writes that the typical state response to terror related activities since the 9/11 attack was creating laws that gave more power to the security agencies which have borne rebellion rather than achieve the objective of CVE.

Additionally, the results from the KII and FGD participants indicated that the community actually referred to any messages on CVE as strategies that were only tailor made to intimidate the Muslim community and coerce them into accepting that they are terrorists. This agreed with the PMT theory aspect of how people respond to messages that have a fear factor. In this case, the community has continually assessed the messages and oral narratives that are presented to them and find them to have a fear factor. This is supported by the community members and especially the youth response to the messages on CVE that have been spearheaded by state actors negatively. The PMT theory affirms this aspect which it refers to as the coping aspect of the threatening situation. This was attributed to the narratives they hold that they are out to infiltrate the community rather than offer a helping hand and solutions to terrorism and V.E.

Furthermore, the current norm of the CVE messages being stereotypical and negative in nature has led to the target population looking at them as tools to further injustices. The language that is used is one that brings feeling of fear and discrimination on religious grounds.

The CVE messages have continually received different responses depending on who is disseminating them. All participants in the study agreed that the messages if being presented by security actors were more intimidatory and used a top-down approach rather than a participatory-involvement approach. This agrees with Carsten 2009 who indicate that coercion and intimidation of the nearby enemy (the West and Secular

Muslim regimes), is central to the narratives that the V.E. exploit. Messages of being targeted by the same government that should be protecting them overshadow the CVE messages.

On the other hand, OSCE 2014 report gives a different approach and supports the approaches being used by the security actors. The paper suggests that the state has a duty to protect against acts of terrorism and this could be the guiding principle in delivering the messages to the target audience. Furthermore, securitisation of the borders coupled with Lamu being a border county, is considered as part of CVE strategies.

Similarly, messages are designed with the target audience, content, source and channel in mind. This has been buttressed by Carsten; 2009 who suggests that in messages that are designed to counter narratives of violent extremism and radicalisation should be put in such a way that they awaken enthusiasm as compared to feelings of fear. This should be done through carefully researching on the target audience to inform the content that should be disseminated through a trusted source and through a medium that the audience appreciates and accepts. This aspect was corraborated by the FGD and KII findings which show that the presentation of messages by the security actors breeds contempt and fear.

These stereotypical deductions have been seen to be a reference point of the youth coupled with the attitudes that CVE is more of a securitization programme rather than a counter-narrative programme has made it difficult to reach the target audience. The tone and the tone in the construction of the messaging contributes to the fear factor and furthers the narratives of intimidation and being a suspect community. This brings in a

question as to what are the fear narratives held by the target population. This is presented by the second objective as presented in the next section.

4.2 To identify the fear narratives held by the community in Lamu county of CVE: The perspectives and Definition

During the discussions, the participants gave their own definitions of what fear is. This fear was defined from the perspective of the security actors and the target population as presented below.

The Security Actor's perspective: The security actors defined fear as a feeling that they had of being targeted by the community due to the labels given to them as being inhuman. From the participants perspectives they viewed the community and especially the youth as having a negative attitude, to an extent of contemplating harm on the officers hence lead to feeling of being unsafe while carrying out their duties. As we see in the text below;

> *We have been mandated with the responsibility of ensuring a secure environment for all Kenyans regardless of their backgrounds through maintenance of law and order. This therefore means that we engage a lot with the community in the course of our duty but we are always cautious since we have heard community members referring to us as inhuman and devils out to attack and harass them. (FGD 6, Security Officers)*

The above comments indicate that the fear factor has formed part of the narratives that the security actors hold informed by the way the community members perceive the security actors. Furthermore, the carrying of arms during light duties in this case patrols in the village actually indicates a sense of fear as shown in the respondent's comment below;

The fact the community members refer to us as inhuman, lead to feelings of fear and feeling unsafe to the extent of walking with arms regardless of how minor the duties we are to carry out as a way of protection from attacks. (FGD 6, Security Officers)

The above comments confirm that indeed fear exists among the security actors due to attitude that the target population have about them. This being the case therefore, they are forced to always remain alert and the first reaction towards an aggressor is brutality. The way fear is manifested as a feeling is even communicated in their body language. This has been communicated through non-verbal signals through alertness and brutal response to an aggressor. Similarly, the community perspective of fear seemed to agree with the definition above as brought out below.

Community Perspective of Fear: Similarly, participants gave the community perspective of fear as the feeling of being vulnerable, not being able to be free and carry on with their lives which made them have a feeling of slavery in their own country. During the discussions the aspect of how fear as unspoken or spoken action was also an issue linked to the definition of fear. The discussants responded to feelings of fear through unwillingness to report crime once they came across one. This made them unwilling to do so because of the fear that the same security actors who are supposed to protect them were actually against them. Additionally, the issue of reporting crimes then becomes a manifestation of fear as they might be taken to be perpetrating the crime due to the stereotypical perceptions that all Muslims are terrorists. This is presented in table below.

Table 4.2 (a): Quote from Youth FGD

Kiswahili Quote	Translation
'Juzi kumekuwa na tukio hapa kwetu Bajuri, ambapo nilikuwa na habari kwamba kijana mmoja alikuwa akiwasaidia magaidi kupata chakula na vile vile kuwaficha. Yule jamaa ni rafiki yangu tu lakini tumejuana pale maskani tukila miraa. Basi mimi nilifikiria kwenda kuwaeleze hawa police wa ATPU lakini nikakumbushwa na wenzangu kwamba ni kipeeka hizo habari basi huenda nisirudi. Hii ni kwa sababu watanichukulia kama mshukiwa wa kwanza.'	'The other day I had an issue that came from our area Bajuri where I had received information that one of the youth was helping the terrorist to get food as well as housing them every time they were in town. The guy is a person that we have met at the local meeting places when eating miraa. I contemplated going to the police from ATPU to report the matter, but when I shared with my friends they reminded me of the kind of reception I would get from the security officers if I reported the case. They told me that I might not even come back once am associated with them and will be taken as the first suspect.' (FGD,1, Youth)

Source: Research Survey 2018

The table above (table 4.2(a)) depicts the kind of reception the youth are accorded by the security actors. This according to the sentiments contributes to their fear of the CVE messages as the youth as well as gives them a good reason to join Al Shabaab with a view of fighting the injutsices and unfairmess of the government.

Table 4.2 (b): Quote from Youth FGD

Kiswahili Quote	Translation
'Huu uoga tunao sisi kama vijana imetatiza jinsi tunavyo husiana na hawa maaskari. Sisi twatoroka kila mara tukiwaona hawa polisi'.	'This fear that we have as the youth towards the security forces has affected our relationship with them.'(FGD,1, Youth)

Source: Research Survey 2018

In relation to fear, the response towards the security actors goes to an extent of self-imposed curfews by the community members, where after ten o'clock at night they remain indoors for fear of being arrested and charged with false charges. The extent to

which fear affects the target population leads to them running away when they see the police during patrols since if they are arrested, they will either be asked for bribes and if they do not have, false charges will be preferred upon them by the police.

Furthermore, in a case where there are two conflicting parties or an issue that needs a legal approach, the discussants choose to settle maters outside the official jurisdiction of the courts. They convene kangaroo courts which deal with the issues instead of seeking legal assistance for fear of the issue being blown out of proportion once it reaches the law enforcers. These actions show the way the community communicates fear through unspoken actions. This has been shown in the table below.

Table 4.2 (c): Quote from Men FGD

Direct Quote from Men	Translation
Sisi kama wazee tunaonelea ni bora Zaidi kusuluhisha mambo kinyumbani kuliko kuhusisha watu wasioelewa mila na tamaduni zetu. Hawa polisi sisi twachukulia kama wageni ambao wamekuja kuhudumu tu na hiyo ndiyo sababu wanapojaribu kusuluhisha kesi inayotuhusu huwa wanaichukulia kama jambo kubwa sana kiasi ya kwamba wengine wanafungwa jela. Basi imechangia pakubwa kwa sisi kuita vikao vya wazee wanaotusaidia na kusluhisha mambo haya.(FGD, Men)	As men we prefer solving issues that affect the community through local arbitration instead of involving strangers who do not understand our traditions and belief systems. We take the police officers as strangers who have come to serve for a shortwhile. That is the reason as to why when we involve them in our cases, they tend to blow them out of proportion to an extent of arresting and jailing the parties. We therefore prefer having a sitting with the elders of a given area to solve the issue amicably and keep it to ourselves.

Source: Research Survey 2018

The table 4.1.2 (b) represents the sentiment by an elder who gave the insight of the community on the security actors. It is evident from the foregoing that security actors are considered strangers hence do not understand the traditions of the people and community Lamu.

This coupled with the cautious approach when dealing with strangers, (in this case security officers)who are not part of the community, has contributed to continued anger and dislike of the security actors as a manifestation of their fear which is communicated through actions. This brings out the following narratives as a key issue as identified from the findings.

4.2.1 The Narratives Fear

Participants identified some of the narratives fear associated with CVE as those of disappearance with no trace which they blamed on the security officers.

> *Recently my small brother was taken to task by security agents on whether he knew a certain person who had disappeared from Witu on the night of the first day of Ramadhan this year (2018). He indicated that he knew him and he had his cell phone number. (FGD, 1 Youth)*

Additionally, as a way of respoding to CVE strategies the participants are willing to come out and engage in campaigns such as INUKA which are spearheaded by non-state actors rather than those that are spearheaded by state actors whose messages are more intimidating than persuasive and participatory. This is depicted in the participants quote below;

> *NGOs like UNDP and Aga Khan have held forums in the county. As a youth leader I have witnessed the number of participants who attend these forums as compared to those spearheaded by the NPSCAI. When I approach the youth in my organisation to participate in those forums they indicate that the forums are just a way of the police to profile them. A good example is one forum which was organised by MUHURI inconjuction with the NPSCAI. The registration was at 30% from the expected 90% attendance. This is an indicator of the perception of the youth. (KII, 1)*

The fear is instilled in them during security operations through forcibly being told to admit that they are radicalised or involved with the terror groups, make them afraid to even join in programmes that are geared towards CVE.

> *My brother was arrested for this and was labelled as being an associate to a terrorist. Since then I have been living in fear that the security agencies have been watching me and my brother and we are always harassed when we meet with them. (FGD 1, Male Youth)*

Although the security forces perceive fear as a major way of deterring rogue behaviour and or crime in the county, in this case it becomes counter-productive as the community members need to have a sense of acceptance from the government to cooperate in offering information.

Table 4.2 (d): Quote from Youth FGD

Direct quote	Interpretation
'After the 2014 Al Shabaab in Mpeketoni, a neighbour of mine whom we had grown up together had disappeared and the parents had actually indicated that he could have been lured to join the militants since he had changed his name and converted to Islam. The parents confided in me that they were afraid of going to the police to report the issue for fear of being victimised and arrested for being associated with the issue. I then decided to take up the matter and went to the police to report on the same. A senior police officer took time to listen to me as I narrated the story, but soon after he directed his juniors to hold me at the police station saying that I had valuable information and I might be linked to the terror act that took place at Mpeketoni. I was taken for interrogation at the ATPU centre where I was interrogated for four days but they still held me at the station saying that I was lying and I must be hiding some crucial information from them. After further investigations I was released and I was told that they were watching me and not to talk to anyone else about this issue. This has made me very afraid and the trauma that I went through during the interrogation still haunts me to date". (FGD1, Male youth, Bahari Ward)	***Shows the fear towards the security actors and the subsequent reception from the security actors.***

Source: Research Survey, 2018

The table (4.2 (d)) above represents the fear factor among the youth which emanates from the security actors and gives an insight of the kind of reception they get from the security actors.

The continued referencing of the youth as radicalised and supporting terrorism in the county, has further led to the fear towards any security actors' initiative or sponsored programmes such that they do not engage or if they do, they have minimal participation. Further, the fear comes from excessive use of force from the security actors when implementing security operations as part of CVE strategies in the area.

Most respondents defined fear as a state of mind where a person feels insecure or unsafe in their environment which breeds uncertainty and sense of danger. According to the respondents, the fear is two-fold; fear affecting the implementers of the CVE strategies and fear affecting the community. It therefore affects both the implementer which in this case the state actors and the recipients of the messages which is the community members. As shown below;

> *To the CVE implementers, the fear therein is whether the programmes/initiatives will be successful and achieve its objective in reducing V.E and countering the ideologies in the community. While on the other hand, the community is afraid of responding to the messages and participating in the initiatives for fear of betraying their religious ideological belief which may lead them being branded as snitches or betrayers. (KII 3)*

Whereas communication can take both a verbal and non-verbal dimension, fear is communicated in both ways. Fear is communicated through acts of cowardice in the case of the community and use of intimadory language as the spoken fear to coerce the community to embrace the messages and come forth with information on suspects or suspect activities.

Most respondents identified some of the narratives held by the community on CVE messages as those of victimization and furthering state strategies that do not involve the community in their formative stages that is formulation. As shown in the participants quote below;

> *This is the government trying to make money out of us and*
> *not for the good of this community. (KII 3)*

This informs the narratives that the community holds of victimization where the state actors are blamed for targeting the community and having misconstrued perceptions that anyone in the county who is a Muslim must have a connection with the V.E groups or aiding terror activities in the county.The frequent labelling and stereotypical references made towards the community members by the state actors, also leads to narratives of infringement on religious freedom.

> *They have continually targetted us even in the way they*
> *handle us during searches and interrogations.(FGD 1,2*
> *and 4)*

The community feels that the CVE programmes and the messages there in have a certain inclination to the Muslim religion and are viewed as perpetrators and supporters of violent extremism. This is shown in the quote below;

> *I agree that some of the radicalisation processes and violent*
> *extremism ideologies are furthered within the precincts of*
> *mosques and madrassas. But this is not enough to label the whole*
> *Muslim community in Lamu County as violent extremists. This*
> *has eroded our confidence in the state actors who we see mainly*
> *targeting our youth and instead creates fear towards such*
> *initiatives. (KII 4)*

Some respondents held the notion that some narratives that are linked to the CVE messages are those that indicate that the oppressor in this case the government, has come back to impose on them strategies that only benefit the ones in power. Some of the projects being implemented in the county such as the LAPPSET project and the Oil Exploration project are some of the strategies that the government is using to continue to oppress them and have a lasting presence in the county but are not to benefit the community. This creates fear that they will continually be accused of harbouring the violent extremists as well as terror elements.

Most viewed CVE strategies as a tool of impunity being used by the government which leads to killing and kidnapping of Muslim youth on grounds of false accusation that they are terrorists. The narratives of marginalisation and unjust land invasion by the down country people (non-indigenous population) also came up from the responses.

In relation to the messages and the messaging content the participants identified some of the issues as related to the messages. The messages on CVE although being disseminated, they are not tailor made to suit the needs and the situation of the community. In reference to the context of the messages, they did not address issues of conflict which are some of the driving forces of the violent extremism in areas like Bahari and Witu wards. The narratives furthered on the farmer-herders conflict in the area were those of the Christians (farmers) versus Muslims (herders) which accelerates hatred and negativity among the two religious communities. These issues are not addressed therefore it breeds narratives that the policies and messages being disseminated only suit and protect the non-local population at the expense of the indigenous population who are Bajuns and Muslims.

The respondents gave different perspectives on the narratives held by security actors on CVE. One of the perspectives was that the initiatives on CVE were counterproductive in that they felt that trying to rehabilitate or remove the violent ideologies from a victim is impossible as their minds have been tuned to a certain belief that is difficult to let go. This is presented in the quote below;

> *We believe that the community knows what is ailing them in that they harbour this militants. This is a very close-knit society and they do not divulge information that they feel will affect them negatively or will be considered as betrayal. They therefore keep crucial information from us hence hindering our operations. (KII 2a)*

This is the reason as to why some victims are re-radicalised even after going through de-radicalisation programmes which is part of the CVE strategies.

The other perspective was one that the security holds narratives of CVE being a pathway to terrorise the Muslim youths to abstain from violent extremist ideologies and terrorism. The narratives of the issues affecting the community as unique to the community and not affecting the security actors are also other narratives that came out during the interviews. The security actors believe that they have to spread the CVE messages as work and not an obligation to save the community from further being involved in V.E.

> *After an attack, even the most recent where five of our KDF soldiers were killed, the culprits are not accosted. We have done our background checks and found out that after the attack they fizzle out into the villages hence our belief that the community is protecting them. (KII 2 (a))*

Another narrative that was identified is that the security actors spread the CVE messages or implement the strategies as a way of identifying those perpetrating the ideologies of V.E. through attendance and later profile them as radicals or as suspected violent extremists.

Most respondents agreed that there is fear among the youth who are the most vulnerable and are targeted on CVE initiatives. This comes from past experiences where they have experienced security actors' brutality during security operations. These narratives calling the youth to stand and protect themselves are normally communicated through social media platforms where the reach is wider. They also talk about this issues during informal meetings at the local meeting places which they refer to as the *'maskan'*.

4.2.2 Analysis

The results from FGD and KII agreed on the community's uniform definition of narratives which they indicated as stories that emanate from experiences that they continually pass from generation to generation within the community. This agrees with the definition that the narrative as defined at the begining that it is an oral story where accounts of events are orally presented to depict the intent of the agent performing the action (Pemberton & Aarten; 2017). In this case, the action is carried out by the oppressor and the victim who is the oppressed. In this study, the reference made to the oppressor meant the security actors while the oppressed refers to the target population. The results from the discussions and interviews pointed to the most prevalent narratives that exist among the target population that shapes their perceptions towards any state driven initiative. They include; marginalisation, skewed employment opportunities, security actors violence towards the Muslim community, intimidation and brutality by the security actors; which is defined as discrimination by the target population as shown below.

a) *Marginalisation and Skewed employment opportunities*

The perceived marginalisation by community was majorly blamed on the state actors. It was established that poor infrastructural status in the county and the slow pace of the completion of mega projects like the LAPSSET and the Mokowe-Minjila road was a clear indication that the state does not give much attention to the community since they are already connected to terrorism. The narrative that the projects being implemented in the county were only to benefit the non-locals hence the development of the mokowe-minjila road was one prevalent narrative that was corraborrated from the FGDs and KIIs conducted with the youth, men, women and the clergy.

The youth feel that during recruitment especially by the security agencies (KDF and NPS), the stakes are set too high such that most of them are locked out and hence feel hopeless to ever serving their country in security matters. This makes the youth shun any government initiative for fear of being turned away.

b) *Security actors violence against Muslim community*

The study established that the security actors had a pre-conceived notion that V.E was majorly a Muslim problem and anyone conforming to the Islamic religion was a suspect and needed to be dealt with. The violence meted on the Muslim population and especially the youth during security operations was an indicator that the Muslim is being targeted.

c) *Intimidation and brutality of the security actors*

The use of intimidation and brutal force by the security in the exercise of their duties is an aspect that causes fear among the youth who are more vulnerable during the operations as well as to VE.

The findings from the FGDs and KIIs confirms the argument by scholars on the use of corecion as presented in the literature review, that the approaches that have been used from the onset of CVE interventions, have shaped the way the target population responds to the messages. Most of the time fear has been one of the emotions that the target population has when engaged in CVE narratives. The key theme in this case was fear factor emanating from past experiences where the community members have gone through security actors brutality while exercising securitised CVE strategies. Furthermore, the security actors considers V.E. a security problem and subsequent CVE interventions as a securitization strategy which lead to use of intimidatory approaches which breeds fear among the target population.

On how the narratives of fear are communicated, the study established that informal meeting places known as *"maskan"* and Mosques were the areas these narratives were furthered while calling for the community to stand against oppression. This confirms that the narratives are communicated during these meetings where the discussions are held. Furthermore, the calls for standing against the oppression confirms the argument that SMT theory explains how and why people form social movements.

The feelings of oppression and persecution by the state actors were the overriding narratives held by the community and the target population. This was an agreeable aspect by all participants which drives people to rather join movements that will be platforms to articulate their grievances. This agrees with the SMT which notes that through movements, people are able to feel more secure and get their grievances addressed by the authorities or also spearhead a revolutionary approach to their plight. According to Lombardi, 2015, corruption has denied the youth access to necessary and fundamental necessities such as employment which makes them turn to non-state actors to provide for their needs. Therefore the aforementioned fear narratives agrees with Lombardi 2015 where the youth turn terrorists groups and others like MRC and Wakali, in search of employment and/or avenge for their plight.

This on the other hand contradicts Emerson, 2002, who notes that the fear does not necessarily guide the conformity to terrorists' acts and ideologies, rather it is the perspective that V.E. hold that they have to cleanse the world off devils and demons that do not conform to their religion. This is affirmed by the PMT theory which argues that people attend to messages of fear differently. The arguments on the extent of the benefit and rewards in attending and accepting the recommendation is anchored on assessing the severity of the threat. To this end therefore, choice of response by the

target population is based on religious indoctrination and interpretation of the scripture. While the repsonses to the recommendations in the CVE messages is informed by past experiences and the severity of the past experiences as identified in the quotes. This therefore raises the question of whether the fear factor is actually an aid or not in CVE as presented in the next section.

4.3 To establish the extent to which communicated fear aids (or not) in CVE.

Most respondents agreed that although fear is a deterrent measure to offenders and would be offenders, to a larger extent it does not help when dealing with violent extremism. The security actors are known for using fear to coerce the youth into admitting a connection with violent extremism or giving information to that effect. The quote from the security actor depicts the fear factor as shown below;

> *Do you expect the war against such elements such as the terrorists to be sugar coated? No, that will never happen we have to use force so that they conform to the laws of Kenya since they are Kenyans like any other and those are criminal elements perpetrating this attacks. (KII 2b)*

The above quote represents the kind of perception that the security actors have of the community which in-turn informs their response.This does not help and instead breeds narratives of contempt and hatred towards the very security forces charged with the responsibility of enacting the CVE strategies and disseminating the messages. Another perspective that came out was that the psychological trauma that the youth go through during security operations is driving factor that make them fear as shown in the quote below.

> *The security forces have at some point come to our houses and beaten us to submission. My daughter was raped by one KDF officer during an operation. When I reported to the seniors, I was told that no officer was capable of doing that. This has made my daughter shy from being in the company of other women who have continually castigated her for what happened.(FDG, Men)*

The above quote brings in the issue of the pshychological effect the operations have on the target population which in itself is a fear factor. Furthermore, the community and especially the youth, decide to keep off from forums that are related to CVE as they see it as a way of being identified and profiled in connection with the group.

Several respondents were in agreement that the fear factor emanates from the approaches used by the security forces which accelerates the narratives of continued marginalisation and harassment for belonging to the Muslim religion.

> *Sometimes it is important to use coerciveness on the violent elements to get information. This to some extent has led to discovery of information that otherwise could not have been revealed through soft approaches.(KII, Chief)*

This is an indicator that the approaches are acceptable among the security actors. This instead builds frustrations and alienates the very individuals the CVE targets. They noted that if it is unchecked it becomes one of the vulnerabilities violent extremists prey on or take advantage of to increase their membership. Therefore, fear instead breeds rebellion among the youth who want to stand up against the oppressors of the community who in this case are the security actors.

Several respondents contradicted the earlier views in that fear actually aids in CVE as one is more cautious on the steps taken during the whole process and one is able to plan on how to approach aspects of CVE that are not harmful to both the perpetrator and persons involved in the programme.

4.3.1 Analysis

The results from the KIIs and FGDs depicted two sides to the fear; one which is fear of the CVE messages by the youth and two the fear that the CVE approaches may not achieve the desired impact by the security actors. This is analysed below;

a) *The youth*

The youth are afraid of the CVE initiatives in that they see them as a strategy of profiling them and later being accosted by the security forces on grounds that they are connected to V.E or have been radicalised. Furthermore the findings from the KII and FGDs confirmed that the fear factor to a certain extent does not aid in CVE rather it acts as a catalyst to the efforts being put or strategies that are being implemented on CVE. The FGD and KII confirmed that security actors mostly use fear in order to intimidate the residents into giving information on any V.E activities or sightings. This on the other hand does not work as it makes the target population choose to remain quiet rather than be subjected to harassment and brutality all in the name of getting information from them.

As Lombardi; 2015 postulates, most states have embraced a more militaristic approach in dealing with terrorism and V.E. hence leading to a violent push-back by the target community. This has been affirmed by the study that in actual sense the youth feel threatened and unsafe when engaging with security actors which leads them to create an attitude of resistance to fight or counter the brutality from the police.

The fact that the community does not actually fear the militants instead they fear the security forces who continue to label them as terrorists during implementation of the CVE strategies was an interesting aspect. This was corraborated by the findings from the FGD conducted with men.

Veldius and Bakker (2013) note that the essence of terrorism is to spread fear which has been affirmed by the respondents who noted that when attacks happen within the county, it brings a sense of fear and insecurity. The findings from the KII and FGD confirmed that the fear factor is two fold; the fact that they are actually living with the

86

enemy and could be the next targets and on the other hand that the security forces will conduct an operation which will expose them to brutality and other social injustices such as the women being raped.

The findings pointed to a sense of being the target to the security actors which is attributed to the fear factor in the messaging and the oral narratives as presented during public barazas.

b) *Security actors*

Another aspect that came out from an engagement with the security forces that they are forced to use force and coercion so as to get information that would help them act and strategize. They however agreed that this causes psychological damage to the victims who they treat as suspects as Veldhius and Bakker, 2013 indicates.

The findings pointed to the association of the Muslim community to V.E activities from the onset of the fight against terrorism, has resulted in the security actors translating the CVE strategies as part of the security measures. This therefore leads to use of brutal force and intimidatory language and tones when delivering the messages with a view to ensuring that the desired objectives is achieved. Moreover, it was established the fear of the CVE strategies not achieving the desired impact on the target population, and consequences during the security actors appraisals was a factor that drove them to use force.

Therefore, the fear to a greater extent does not aid in CVE rather it creates rebellion and furthers narratives of marginalisation on religious grounds by the target population. This affirms the Social Movement Theory postulates that people form social movements as platforms to address social injustices as well as to have a sense of identity.

This has been pointed out by several authors such as Veenkamp and Zeiger (2015), Gerges (2009), who noted that structural conditions and socio-economic inequalities and weak family values may be fertile grounds of the youth's vulnerability to V.E. On the flip side, Boltanski and Lombardi differ from this view noting that the major driving factors into V.E extremism is religious indoctrination which is mostly exploited by the groups while recruiting.

Furthermore use of force on coercion by the security forces may a different entry point to the V.E. that they exploit which differs from the perspective of the target population. Viano (2015) notes that the typical state response to terror after the 9/11 terrorist attack led to creation of laws which have given more power to security actors to deal with the issue which to some extent have borne fruits. So this supports the approach that the security actors employ during implementation of the CVE strategies.

4.3.2 The Definition of fear and how it is manifested among the target population and Security Actors

The study found out that both the security and the target population and the community as a whole are affected by fear and have given almost similar definitions to fear. From the perspective of community, the fear emanates from the way the security actors treat the community embers when dealing with issue of V.E. The narratives of brutality, harassment and stereotypical labels when addressing suspects are some of the driving factors of fear as well as the way fear is communicated by the respondents.

This has been manifested in the way the community responds to security actors' presence which includes self-imposed curfews, flight on seeing a police officer or law enforcer among other human actions. This kind of manifestations have continuously informed the myths that the community holds of fear. Some of these myths range from

the police being devils or ghosts who have come to destroy the community hence the inhumane approaches they used. This can be likened to a very recent incident when the KDF soldiers in Ijara tortured some herders on allegations that they were involved in the terror attack that took place at Bodhei area where five KDF soldiers were killed.

On the other hand the security forces definition of fear emanates from the way the community holds negative attitudes towards them and the way the society has labelled the community being Muslims as terrorists. Additionally, the fear manifests in different ways such as the security officers always being suspicious of small incidents such as being approached by a Muslim lady who has covered her eyes leads to a lot of interrogation.

This has also informed the myths held by security actors that they should always be cautious of any Muslim person whose face is either covered in case of a lady or if they keep long beards in case of a male Muslim . The narrative behind this is they symbolise an involvement with the Mujahidin or Al Shabaab. One could begin to question, are these myths or are they narratives being told by the community? In essence, the researcher found out that the myths that had been held of police being the oppressor have continually informed their emotional response towards the security forces while still informing the communicated narratives of fear.

The definitions as given by the participants to a larger extent agrees with the operational definition of the study. A pertinent issue emanates from the narratives of fear among the security actors, how they expect the community to respond to them. As such therefore it is unrealistic for the security actors to expect warm reception from the target population given the approaches they use during their engagement with the community. On the other hand as much as the community is justified to respond with fear and

apprehension towards the CVE narratives, policy makers should approach the fears with an understanding and assure the community to partner in the fight as Gunatra, 2013 suggests.

The question is therefore, are the fears of both the community and the security actors founded? To some extent they are as the narratives of fear continue to be told to the new generations in the community. The fact that the security actors use excessive force and brutality is already a basis for the fear held by the community. Furthermore, border securitization has continuously escalated the fear as everything from social, political to economic aspects of Lamu are viewed from the lens of terrorism. Therefore this agrees with the SMT that has anchored this study that such fears can drive people to form movements to address their plights in this case the fear.

In view of the FGD and KII, it is evident that the different narratives held by the community that translate to definitions of fear, are founded to some extent when referring to the militaristic and coercive approaches used by the security actors. On the other hand for a safe and secure environment for the community, the community needs to change their perceptions and attitudes towards the security actors and the security actors to have a more participatory rather than isolate and alienate the community on stereotypical grounds.

The perception on the communication approach used held by the community members is shown in the next section informs their narratives and myths.

4.3.3 Public's pereception of CVE messages

The participants came to know of the CVE strategies through public Barazas where the national government officials such as the chiefs and the county commissioner talked about the issue as shown in the quote below;

> *During public barazas the chief tells us to freely offer any information on any suspected activity in the area especially related to terrorism and violent extremism. (FGD 2, Men, 49 years)*

> *NGOs such as the UNDP and Aga Khan foundation invite us to forums that discuss issues on CVE as well as give us a chance to share with them our views on the same. This how we come to know of these initiatives.(FGD 1, Youth Female)*

This represents the platforms which the chiefs and other security actors use to diseminate messages on CVE. They are open forums where the chiefs and other national governmnet representative convene to address the public while NGOs organise workshops where they invite the youth to discuss issues on VE as well as share with them messages and oral narratives of countering the VE. .

Most of the issues related to violent extremism and terrorism are usually discussed in hushed tones for fear of being associated with the groups which may lead to arrests and subsequent punishment by the security officers. Below is quote from a participant showing the extent to which fear is engraved in the community to an extent of choosing to withdraw from any issue or messages that touch on security.

> *During the barazas, the chief being a representative of the government uses threatening words such as 'if you do not point out the suspects and criminals the government will hold you responsible for harbouring them'. This makes us feel threatened to the extent of making us very afraid to even talk about matters security and cooperate with security officers for fear of being labelled terrorists.(FGD 2, Man 49 years)*

The quote of the message as indicated in the above quote represents communicated fear which has been attributed to the chief as a representative of the government. This therefore informs the responses to the messages by the community.

As defined by the study that narratives are stories told of events and experiences, some of the narratives that they have held of the CVE strategies are those of victimization

and coerciveness from the state actors including the security officers. The fear is towards the CVE messages that are normally more aggressive in nature than friendly which makes them label them as 'state driven policies'. As shown below;

> *I have personally been labelled Samantha by some security officers who were manning a roadblock at Witu since I was wearing my Ninja. They asked me why I had not taken it off and commanded me to do it. (FGD 1, Youth Female Witu)*

The above quote however, brings in a question of stereotypical labels which in this case is more dominant. This on the other hand informs the narratives that the community holds on being labelled as terrorists and sympathisers to the VE actors.

The community and especially the youth have been labelled as drivers of terrorism and violence in the area by the security actors. This has brought the fear of CVE narratives and messages that have been or being implemented by the state actors and furthering of fear narratives among themselves.

Further, the weak partnership between the government and the community as well as the youth has added to the fear of the latter in speaking out in case of suspected extremist activity in the areas. They prefer keeping quiet for fear of being labelled as Al Shabaab or as sympathisers of the violent extremists which may lead to death at times.

The narratives of marginalisation by successive governments as held by the participants has been a strong entry point when it comes to responding to CVE strategies. The strategies although well meant, are perceived as government machinery targeting the Muslim community at the coast. This grows contempt and bad blood towards any security driven agenda towards CVE as part of countering terrorism in the area.

Additionally, although the CVE messages are frequently disseminated in different forums, the narratives held by the community affects the spread and acceptance of messages among the community members. During the discussion the aspect of land invasion by non-indigenous came out as one of the major narratives that affects acceptance of the government initiatives such as CVE narratives. This has brought about a sense of marginalisation and discrimination by the successive governments which are some of the narratives that the community members hold. They accuse the government of being silent on the issues that affect them hence the acceleration of the number of youths joining the militant groups as a way of avenging their suffering. This brought out a narrative of avenging the perceived historical suffering and marginalisation that the community members have experienced. These are some of the major narratives that represent the fear factor.

4.4 To determine better communication strategies (if any) of communicating CVE messages and oral narratives.

The participants and respondents identified the following push and pull factors as the main drivers of VE and/or Terrorism. Further own definitions of what the messages mean to them was presented as shown in the findings.

4.4.1 The push and pull factors of the violent extremism

During the discussions, the participants identified some of the pull factors into joining extremist groups as the feeling of belonging, financial gains, the fear of being victimised by other members who conform to the V.E. ideologies and religious heroism. Some of the narratives that are furthered during radicalisation/violent extremism sessions are those that make them feel appreciated and give them a sense of belonging since they already feel left out and isolated by the government of the day. The promises of financial gains once they join and push the violent extremists agenda makes them

want to participate in activities that may earn them some cash. The members of the extremists groups woo them with narratives of being famous religiously and becoming heroes even after death and rewards that are more precious than those who only practise normal faith.

Further, the fear of being avoided by family members who already conform to the V.E. ideologies plays a part in pushing them to joining or conforming to the ideologies and shunning the strategies on CVE. Partipant of FGD 4 shows this below;

> *The Quaran in Sura Touba which gives the elements of engaging in Jihad has outlines clearly these tenets that lead to the Holy war. Some of the tenets include, an aspect of non-conformity to the Islamic rules, the war is tow fold; spiritual war (Jihado Nafsi) and Physical war, consent from the parents incase of a young person. The V.E. therefore misinterprete this sura (chapter) which also indicates that every human being has a devil within him which has to be fought and translate it to a call for war against those who are considered as Kafirs (non-muslims) as the devil that needs to be eliminated.(FGD, 4 Imam)*

The mis-interpretation of the holy scripture together with the push and pull factors becomes a fertile recruitment ground for V.E. as brought out in the discussion.

4.4.2 The role of women in CVE messaging and oral narratives

The main persuaders and advisers of the youth are women who in the case of the community are considered as the backbone of the family this is a point that the researcher saw of concern. This is shown in the table below;

Table 4.4.2 (a): Direct quote from FGD 5, Women/mothers

Direct quote from participant	Translation
Sisi wanawake tumepewa jukumu la kuwalea watoto wetu kwani waume wetu hawataki kuhusishwa na ulezi wa watoto. Wamepewa jukumu la kuhakikisha kwamba akina mama na watoto wapata lishe yao, mavazi na mengineo ya muhimu katika maisha. Basi hii inakuwa tatizo kubwa kwani watoto wengi wa kiume watuona sisi kama mama zao kama hatuna ruhusa kuwaonya. Kwa hivyo ingekuwa vyema kama waume watajihusisha kwa ulezi wa haswa vijana wa kiume. Pia jambo linguine la kusikitisha ni kwamba mila na utamaduni wa kiislamu, haituruhusu sisi wanawake kuwa na sauti katika kuchangaia kwenye mambo yanayotukera. Wakati mwingi huwa waume wahusishwa sana kwenye kutengeeza sera kuhusiana sana na masaala ya kupigana na ugaidi".	As women have been charged with the responsibility of bringing up our children since men want little to do with this responsibility. They have been charged with the responsibility of providing for the family and ensure provision of basic needs. Therefore, this becomes a challenge since the boy child requires an authority from the father. Another issue that is worrying is the fact the women are minimally involved in policy formulation on matters security and fight against terrorism attributed to the Islamic traditions that women are a minority members of the society and should not be involved in major decision making." (FGD, 5 Women/Mother)

Source: Research Survey, 2018

The table (4.4.2 (a)) shows the vital role that the women/mother play in the upbringing of their children. The responsibility bestowed on them is clearly affecting the partipation of men in the upbringing of the children. This therefore brings in the aspect of lack of a disciplining and authority figure in the family who in most cases men are charged with it.

Furthermore, the community in Lamu County has actually given more responsibility to the women who are expected to guide their children in terms of religious nourishment which includes telling them to attend madrassas. Therefore, this means that whatever advice a mother gives to her children remains the truth and expected to be followed to the letter. Moreover, women are with the children from birth and this follows that they have been charged with a major responsibility of bringing up the children.

Additionally, the youth joined violent extremists groups with a view of protecting their mothers whom they feel indebted to. Employment is perceived as a strategy by the state actors to discriminate the youth which leads them to join such radical groups with a view of avenging for their marginalisation and also as employment.

Low literacy levels among community members led to them being gullible to the V.E narratives and ideologies. The V.E are aware that illiteracy and ignorance by most community members are a fertile ground to exploit in driving their ideologies and messages for quick action. Below is a quote representing this aspect;

> *The issue of low literacy level has actually been a huge entry point for the violent extremists. They exploit the illiteracy of the community and the lack thereof of information to push their ideologies. Formal education in this county among the community members is not considered as very important and more effort is put in informal education where children are required to attend madrassas from a very young age. Some of these institutions do not teach these children the holy book (the Quaran) as it should, they engrain in them ideologies and narratives of revenge against the oppressor who in this case is the government. They encourage them to further jihadist thoughts and activities as a way of making them pure and atonement of their sins or sins committed by others. (FGD 3, School administrator)*

The prestige attached to joining the violent extremists groups and especially the Al Shabaab becomes an identity status of the youth. The ones who join the groups are called *'Simba'*, meaning lion which metaphorically means a strong one. This symbolises a person of valour and one who can protect their own. This was identified as another pull factor into joining the groups and furthering acts of violence and terrorism.

The respondents defined terrorist/violent extremists groups, as individuals advocating, engaging in, preparing, or otherwise supporting ideologically motivate or justified violence to further social, economic or political objectives. This is done through

instilling fear and use of coercive means to gain membership or credence among the target population. They noted that this has been utilised in Lamu where the groups have actually done this in Hindi and Kiunga wards where, they have visited the locals and preached to them and warned them not to divulge any information to the security machinery failure to which they will kill the residents of those villages.

According to most respondents the mostly used communication platforms was social media mainly what's app and Facebook as well as google the internet which gave the youth a wide array of information on issues of terrorism and radicalisation. These groups which the members indicated as ISIL, Al-Qaeda, Al Shabaab, Wakali group with roots in Lamu and Mombasa Republican Council, are aware that these platforms are the most effective platforms in driving their agenda.

> *Our main worry is that the preaching have gone technological and the most adhered to and referred to preacher is the google. The technological advancement has made the youth more vulnerable to misleading preaching and interpretation of the Quran which is mostly done on the internet.' (KII 4)*

Most respondents noted that the use of cyber space has been effective in the V.E groups increasing and maintaining their membership. This had been made possible due to lack of stringent cyber space laws in the country as well as the hard-to-monitor aspect of the internet. Some of the websites that have been utilised by the groups as indicated by the respondents include Al Kataib which is a platform where the groups uploads videos of past attacks that they have accomplished within the county. The respondents noted that this kind of communication shows a sense of heroism of the terror groups which is employed by the groups to gain more membership and show their supporters that they are action oriented.

Further, the misinterpretation of the scripture and most specifically the Sura Touba which talks about Jihad is also another way the terrorist groups gain membership. The misinterpret the scripture on jihad to mean that the activities and continued attacks that

97

they carry out are a holy war (jihad) towards the Kafir (non-believers) who have continually oppressed the Muslim community in Lamu county. They present the messages to show that they are defenders of the weak and marginalised hence the continued attacks. The violent extremists indoctrinate the youth and the vulnerable population through wrong interpretation of the scripture.

Most respondents identified the following push and pull factors as driving forces towards violent extremism by the youth as shown in the table below;

Table 4.4.2 (b): Push and Pull factors of V.E

Push factors	Pull factors
Marginalisation	Employment opportunities being offered by the violent extremists
Poverty	Financial gains from joining the groups and therefore alleviate poverty in the families
Historical land injustices	Come together to fight for their rights and chase the non-locals who have occupied the land belonging to the indigenous
Jihad (holy war)	To fight the Kafir who has come to oppress them and continued to infiltrate their land instead of joining their religion
Police brutality and stereotypical connection with the terror groups	Fight the brutality by joining the violent extremists groups who are more understanding and further the right ideology

Survey Research 2018

Corraborated mentions of MRC whose roots are in the coastal region showed that it has been successfully used by the terrorists groups using the narrative of land injustices hence are out to fight for the land to be given back to the indigenous communities at the coast. This has also been supported by the SMT theory which sanitizes the reason for formation of social movements. This has been successful in Lamu County as the issues of land injustices such as encroachment of land by the non-locals has been an issue that the local community feels that the government of the day has not addressed

and instead continues to allocate land to the non-locals and non-indigenous communities in the county. This has been one of the driving narratives of the youths to join the terror networks with a view to avenging past injustices and also to be heard.

Furthermore, poor education standards and the collapsing social fabric was also identified as a push factor in to violent extremism. Other factors as identified by some respondents were socio-economic issues that had not been addressed such as the farmer-herder conflicts in areas of Witu and Bahari wards. The farmers have continually referred to the herders who are mainly of Somali origin as those that harbour terrorists and carry out attacks. Consequently, these labels have also been held by the security forces who accuse the herders of harbouring terrorists and engaging in terror activities. This has brewed a sense of hatred towards the farmers and the herders (who are mostly Muslim) whom the indigenous community feel that the CVE strategies are just a way of protecting the non-locals in the area instead of benefiting the whole Lamu community regardless of where they come from.

4.4.3 Analysis

The findings affirmed that the use of social media platforms such as Facebook accounts, whatsapp chats and youtube have been the most utilised communication platforms that the terrorist groups and V.E. to recruit and maintain their membership. Al Khataib is one of the websites that was mostly identified with a wide reach where they upload videos of past attacks that they have carried out hence glorifying themselves. The issue of unmonitored informal religious institutions also known as *'madrassas'* was identified by the respondents as radicalisation platforms targeting the youth. As Carsten, 2009 puts it 'the greater the violence and the larger the scale of damage and brutality of the terrorist act the more coverage it gets'. The instances where the

communication platforms become a source of justifying why the target audience should join the groups, becomes a way of showing might and heroism which agrees with Carsten's view.

The media was continuously mentioned as one of the platforms that the terrorist groups and V.E use to get a wider coverage and communicate their intentions that result to fear in the target audiences. It was established that the more the media reports on such activities the more credence it gives to these acts and such cause fear. A very interesting aspect that was brought out in this view is that the media and terror groups/V.E. rely on each other for survival. This therefore is a marriage of convenience as Javier Delgado Rivera in his journal article *'The symbiotic relationship between the western media and terrorism'* argues that the media has continually mediated terror activities hence making them get more attention from the public. The Framing Theory which posits that audiences form frames of mind from what they get from the media as well everyday experiences affirms this fact that the more the media highlights issues on terror acts the more it legitimizes the acts unknowingly. As the media is charged with a responsibility of setting the agenda of the day which is closely related to the media, it continually sets an agenda for terrorists as well as they continually give more airtime to acts of terror which then translates to a globalised fear.

The push and pull factors that were dominant in the findings revolved around socio-economic injustices that were the main shapers of the narratives held by the target population. The injustices include; skewed employment, marginalisation, unfair land allocation and encroachment by non-indigenous community which were blamed on the successive governments. Other factors that were identified were issues on police

brutality and use of intimidation where the youth were guilty by being associated with radicalised persons or family members.

The results from the FGD with the youth confirmed that the youth try to address these issues through joining the terror groups and being vulnerable to V.E ideologies with a view of fighting for their rights. The findings also indicated that through such acts the government will be forced to listen to their messages and cry for justice.

As indicated by the KIIs, the government amnesty on Al Shabaab returnees in the county had not been fully implemented and has contributed to the fear factor and lack of surrendering to the authorities.The study established that the community in Lamu does not have confidence in the messages of hope and calls for being reintegrated into the community. Rather they see them as messages to trap the returnees to be accosted and prosecuted to an extent of disappearing without trace.

The combination of the communication platforms affirms Marshall McLuhan concept developed in the 1970's, of the world being a global village. The question of a globalised fear and risk comes up which the study found out that the speed, interactive and open nature of the communication platforms such as social media platforms has made it very easy for the recruiters to access the vulnerable population. This has been attributed by the fact that a bigger population of the youth own smartphones and regardless of their literacy levels can navigate through social media and other technological platforms to get information.

Furthermore, the most interesting aspect is that the community talks freely and shares information among themselves on either attacks that have taken place, what the government says about them or what they have gathered from social media platforms. This negates the issue that V.E issue are spoken in hushed tones among themselves. A

question then arises as to whether the social media and other forms of media have made them more vocal in such issues. Could it be the fact that the media that are used may maintain anonymity? Arguably this can be a point for further investigations as policies in the country on social media use may not actually give the users full anonymity.

4.5 Conclusion: Themes

During the analysis of the fear of CVE messages and narratives among the youth in Lamu, three major narratives came out that form the beliefs of the community towards CVE. These narratives are communicated and also form part of a communication strategy during peace meetings, public baraza, informal meetings (*maskan*) as well as on the media. Koenig Kellas and Kranstuber Horstman 2015, indicate that people use narrative constructions to understand experiences and build identity in conversation with others. Furthermore stories communicated help people to make sense of previous events that took place within their communities. As such families are the smallest unit in a community and is at the apex of communicating the narratives to the young generation. Therefore, these narratives have been continually communicated over generations to relieve and make the younger generation aware of what the community has gone through.

Narrative of being a lesser community

The narrative of being a lesser community is held by a majority of the community members in Lamu. It was established that the community feels discriminated upon by successive governments such that they connect this to issue of unemployment. Some of them actually held a belief that during recruitment process of the security agencies, the applicants are dismissed on insubstantial grounds which then translates to the youth feeling left out from serving their country. Such a narrative came the youth and the

clergy who indicated that during recruitment, the youth turn out in large numbers only to be turned away due to crooked dental formula, height among other issues. This was communicated by the youth through frustrations and the way they respond to initiatives which shows rebellion and is perceived as radicalisation by the security actors. Historical land injustices affecting the community where in the 70's the kikuyus settled in Mpeketoni and are said to have been allocated the land by the Late Jomo Kenyatta's government, has continuously been told to the generations. Such accounts once communicated therefore reinforces the narrative of marginalisation being perceived as the 'other' as Boltanski puts it.

This brings a contradiction on questions of who is the oppressor and who is the oppressed. The point of view of who is suffering and who is not, the proximity of the suffering are also other issues that emerge from this. Depending on which point of view a person looks at this narrative it may be a spectator or a victim and the response in this sense depends on whether the suffering has had an emotional effect on the person. This may be the case between the community –'the oppressed' and the government –'the oppressor' and the vice versa in the case where the governmnet that is the security actors become the oppressed and the community becomes the oppresor as shown in the two quotes below.

> *The fact that the community members refer to us as inhuman, lead to feelings of fear and feeling unsafe to the extent of walking with arms regardless of how minor the duties we are to carry out as a way of protection from attacks. (FGD 6, Security Officers)*

> *Hawa askari wanatudhulumu kiasi ya kwamba afadhali kunyamaa na habari yeyote kuhusiana na ugaidi, kwani ntu atashikwa mwenyewe ukipeeka hizi habari'. (all FGD Participants)*

This may be a difficult narrative to deal with as it appears from both the security actors and the community members depending on whose perspective it is. This therefore

agrees with the PMT theory which argues that responses to situations and/or messages is determined by the severity of the issue and the capability of the individuals to cope and respond to them.

Narrative of Betrayal

This narrative is two fold where the community believes that the security actors have betrayed their trust and hence lost confidence in anything that they try to implement for the good of the community. The community believes that the security forces are just deployed to the county to safeguard the interests of the government and not necessarily ensure safety for the community members. This is cemented by the stories that are told in regards to the development projects in the county. The community have always said that the projects although mega and well meant, they will not benefit the people of Lamu. Betrayal narratives have played out as they believe that the government has not involved them during the formative stages of the projects, not involved in decision-making levels but has been forced on them. They have singled out projects like the Lamu Coal Power plant saying that this is one of the projects that will not only have a negative impact on the environment but also on the health of the residents.

> *'The projects as we see them are just a goverment machinery being used to continually oppress us. This is because none of those projects have actually absorbed us as the youth.' (FGD 1, Youth)*

On the other hand, anyone seen working closely with the security agencies is seen as a betrayer of the community. This is a narrative that is communicated among the old generation who continuously warn their youth to avoid involvement with security actors as shown in the quote below.

> *'Hawa askari wanatudhulumu kiasi ya kwamba afadhali kunyamaa na habari yeyote kuhusiana na ugaidi, kwani ntu atashikwa mwenyewe ukipeeka hizi habari'. (All FGD Participants)*

104

A question may arise then if this belief informs the narrative? After the Mpeketoni attack in 2014, a security operation was launched and the community members were sharing information with the security agencies. This however, became strained once the youth who had collaborated with the security agencies started disappearing. Therefore, the narratives of how the security agencies have continuously harassed and brutally treated the youth to an extent that they shoot them and dump them in Boni forest have been passed on as experiences over to generations.

Narratives of Victimisation

As scholars have noted, narratives are a way of communicating the beliefs, account of past experiences, traditions which forms a part of socialisation. This aspect therefore comes out in the narratives that the community members of victimisation. Over the generations the stories that have been told are that the successive governments have continuously labelled the community as terrorists. These stereotypical references have made them candidates and vulnerable of continued marginalisation. Stories have been told of how some members of the community have been tortured by the security agencies for being connected to the militants or any V.E. group.

The narratives of some being harrassed and tortured have played out. The harrowing experiences and accounts continuously narrated over time forms a belief that the security agencies are up to no good and always see the youth as suspects.

Furthermore Lombardi; 2015, states that Most western and non-western countries have embraced a militaristic approach which has not only threatened the democratic order and the sovereignty of the citizenry but has become a justification for a violent push-back by some who may then be open to terrorist recruitment. This presents an aspect of use of main stream methods and strategies in CVE other than creating a dialogical

platform between the community and the security actors as the recommendations from the community members.

Summarily, the identified narratives that were most dominant form communication of stories about their plight hence calling for an urgent response to address their plight. It is important to note that as narratives are an important part of socialisation so does communication form an important aspect in socialisation and formation of identities. Hence the communicated narratives continuously shape the beliefs and attitudes that the members of the target community hold of the CVE approaches and messages as depicted by the KIIs and FGDs.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.0 Introduction

This section presents a summary of the findings and discussions, conclusion and recommendations.

5.1 Summary and Discussion of the Findings

In summary, the study found that the fear factor in the messaging and oral narratives in the CVE approaches emanate from the onset of the implementation of the approaches due to the approach that have been used in the past which are more militaristic in nature. While the CVE messaging and oral narratives may be clear and straight forward, to some extent they invoke feelings of fear among the target community hence informing the narratives that they hold shaping their beliefs and truths in regards to the CVE strategies. The feelings of fear emanate from the brutality and harassment approaches and narratives of inhumane nature of the security agencies among the youth. Additionally, fear as seen in this study has become a barrier to communication in CVE. This has been attributed to the continued attacks by both the militants as mediated and recorded and the security actors during operations.

Nonetheless, the use of soft and participatory approaches have been employed by NGOs who have been in the forefront in formulating CVE strategies. However, feelings of fear continue to be seen in the stories told through the generations hence shaping their response to the CVE messages.

The findings reveal that the fear of the CVE messages and narratives have been engrained in the communicated narratives (the stories) told to the generations of historical injustices and brutality of the police. As Veldhius & Baker puts it, terrorism

creates a sense of fear which they capitalise on to drive their ideologies. On the other hand, Danesi (2004) argues that narratives present characters in symbolic ways such as a hero, enemies which reflects that structure of real life events. As such therefore according to the findings the narratives that are held by the community on CVE messages and narratives and the actors that implement them differ from the perspective. This means a security actors implementing or disseminating the message is seen as an enemy by the target community while the youth who engage in terror acts and other violent extremists activities are viewed as heroes and avengers of their plight.

The feelings of appreciation and narratives among the youth cause a shift in their narratives of fear and apprehension.

Fear of the CVE message and narratives by the community is founded since, frames of reference play an important role in interpreting risk messages (Walaski, 2011). The reference of the community as an antagonist of the CVE continually inform the approaches used by the security actors and on the other hand affect the response to the messages by the community.

5.2 Conclusion

In view of the study on analysing the fear of CVE messages and narratives by the youth in Lamu county, it is evident that fear exists among the community members and specifically the youth. This emanates from the approaches used by the security actors that represent coerciveness and intimidation while maintaining a stereotypical reference of the community.

Furthermore, the analysis shows that though the messages and narratives are clear, it is still difficult to erase the community's held narratives that inform their cautious response to the messages and narratives as presented by the security actors.

Furthermore, if the messages of CVE are well constructed according to the participants, why then do the messages get a negative response from the audience? As Rodgers in the theory of Protective Motivation suggests, that people attend to fear messages by first assessing the extent of the threat and determining whether the responses they adopt are appropriate to the extent of the threat. Similarly, Erving Goffman, suggests that frames of mind are shaped by the experiences and held perceptions of the issue being communicated. This issue which is closely related to the agenda setting theory may be a reflection of how the community responds to the CVE messages. This frames are shaped by the myths and narratives around CVE strategies that they are a tool of oppression and harrassment by the government.

Rodgers in his theory of PMT argues that individuals tend to assess the severity of the threat and chose the response to accord it. Similarly, the target population in Lamu county has chosen to adopt an avoidance coping aspect due to the perceived magnitude of the threat if they adopted the approaches.The belief that the security actors are just puppets of the government of the day drives them into being vulnerable to the ideologies and calls to join the militancy (Al Shabaab) as a way of addressing their grievances as it has been argued by Social Movement Theory.

Moreover historical injustices have actually been turned into religious warfare. In reference to land invasion by the perceived outsider and the subsequent response by the community, the youth become the avengers of these injustices to the extent that they commit terror acts in order to get attention from the government. This confirms the Social Movement Theory argument which puts grievances and perceived oppression as the central reason authenticating the formation of social movements. In this case therefore, the central reason and argument given is the perceived oppression from the

successive governments to the community. Additionally, the messages to a certain extent do not give context of the conflicts that are seen as driving force of V.E in the county. Conflicts such as farmer- herder conflicts have been turned into conflicts that involve Christians and Muslims where the Muslims are now labelled terrorists.

A very interesting aspect that has been established in this case is the fact that fear does not emanate from terrorism rather from the approaches used by security actors. Take for instance the situation where one of the participants narrated an instance where the Al Shabaab militants came to their village and they gave hopeful messages, rather than threaten them, prayed with them rather than condemned them. In this case therefore, this contradicts Veldhius and Bakkers assertion that the main function of terrorism is to create fear to the victims and the spectators as well. This is a complete contradiction since the security actors now are seen as terrorists rather than saviours and answers to the plight of the community. The aggressive nature of the approaches and use of intimidatory messages confirms this.

The role of women as mothers and as the backbone in the community was also a key aspect that needs further investigations. Mothers are seen to shape the young people from the time they are born to the time they are adults. Does this therefore mean that there is little or no influence of men as fathers in shaping the young people? This is a pertinent question that has come out during the dicussions with the participants who to an extent believe that men are only supposed to provide for the families and the biggest burden of bringing up children is on the women. The character of the youth is seen to be shaped from a tender age and the mothers in this case seem to be doing a chunk of the work. This is an area that has not been investigated indepth to establish whether the

women have actually a say in the youth's vulnerability to the V.E and the negative responses towards the CVE strategies.

In deed, the centrality of women in shaping the perception of the community on issues that affect them and are of importance to them comes out. The myths and narratives as seen earlier in in the initial chapter as defined, have been used to communicate experiences that affect them over time. This means they give the accounts of experiences that bring in the chronological order as they happened. As much as the women play this vital role, the presence and action of the men folk may be paramount to have an authority in shaping the character of the young people.

Therefore, as much as the CVE strategies where the messages are crafted in the context of the fight against terrorism, it may still have a long way to go as the context may have to change as time goes by due to the emergent nature of terrorism and V.E. Additionally, Pemberton & Aarten; 2017, argue that a frame may highlight the organisation's essence as a remedy for a given problem or seek to glorify the movement's heroes. These frames of mind as posited by the framing theory inform how the terrorists or violent extremists may use framing techniques to package ideologies in reference to their interpretation of the problem, the action that they should take to tackle the problem and the motivation to purse the act of violence. Therefore, the likely hood of repackaging the messages with contents that appreciate the concerns of the victims without bothering them, should be considered to improve the response towards these strategies by the community.

5.3 Recommendations

The recommendation presented in this section have been guided by the findings as presented in the previous chapter. Although security is paramount for a functional government to prevail, the securitization aspect and narrative therein may not

necessarily yield much in CVE. Through the analysis of the fear that the community has of CVE messages and narratives.

5.3.1 Formulation of Messages in the context of prevailing conflicts and try to demystify the narratives of fear

The formulation of the messages and narratives on CVE should take into consideration the underlying conflicts such as farmer-herders conflict and deal with the issue before addressing the larger problem of V.E in the county. These conflicts as identified in the findings range from farmer-herder conflicts where the issue has taken a religious angle. The continued stereotypical approaches and labelling of the conflicts such as the aforementioned as a religious problem goes further to affect the response to the messages and growing narratives of hatred towards the security agencies.

This borrows from Vance et.al (2012), who offers an analyses of the premise of the theory by arguing that the information as a threat causes a cognitive mediating process in individuals that appraises positive or negative responses. This means that, the negative or positive responses to the messages and oral narratives represents the way the population perceive the content of the messages. Using this premise the security actors can borrow from this aspect and come up with messaging approaches that have a more focused on inclusive and beneficiary-friendly content.

5.3.2 Use of more friendly-community based messaging approaches

While fear is used as a deterrence measure for criminal and would be criminals, the strategies being used by the security actors in CVE are counter-productive. It is therefore important for the security actors and the CVE policy makers to continually engage in research that will inform the approach to be used. The connection between the mothers/women and the role they play in demystifying or spreading the fear should

be studied to understand the influence they have on the youth and the community at large.

It is also important to note that terrorist groups and violent extremists as Braddock & Horgan (2016) argue, that one of the most prevalent communication strategy used by these groups is the use of narratives. These narratives convey ideology, values, justification and or core concerns to sympathisers and would-be members and thegreater public to persuade. The suggestion made by the scholars on formulating and disseminating narratives that could counter the V.E. narratives could be adapted while paying specific attention to the entry points exploited by the V.E. groups for persuasion.

5.3.3 Revision and Adoption of more Inclusive CVE Strategies

The policy on CVE strategies need to be revised to bring a more inclusive and participatory approach with the community members. Furthermore, the militaristic approaches that include harassment and torture is counter-productive as it makes the youth and by extension the community become more radical than supportive of the messages. The participants recommended that during security agency recruitment exercises the regulations should be suited to accommodate the people in Lamu since each county has conditions that are unique to it.

5.3.4 Curriculum formulation to include CVE messages

In matters education, the curriculum that is in place does not provide for the inclusion of issue of CVE as such therefore, the curriculum should be formulated in a way that it embraces issue on CVE which will give a better understanding from a tender age. Furthermore, continuous monitoring of the informal institutions such as Madrassa is important to ensure that they are not infiltrated by messages of violent extremism and radicalisation.

5.3.5 Recommendation for further studies

The role of women in shaping the youth is central in informing the oral narratives that the community holds with regards to CVE approaches in Lamu County as found out during the study. Women being central in the society in Lamu County have been charged with the responsibility of bringing up children as indicated by the participants. Furthermore, this an area that the study found of importance and hence recommends it as an area for further studies. The role of women in shaping the oral narratives, perecptions and attitudes in responding to the CVE messages should be an area for further investigation in the future.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Letter of Introduction

University of Nairobi
Faculty of Arts
School of Journalism and Mass Communication

Dear Respondent,

I am a student at the University of Nairobi pursuing Master degree in Journalism and Mass Communicaiton. As part of the requirement of the programme, I am writing a research paper on analysing the fear in messages and oral narratives of communication in Countering Violent Extremism among the youth in Lamu County.You are kindly requested to respond to questionnaire items provided. Your responses will be treated with utmost confidentiality. The findings will be used strictly for accomplishing academic goals. Please note that there is no right or wrong answer. The information will be highly appreciated as they will contribute to my academic work.

Your honest response will be highly appreciated
Yours sincerely,

Esther Muthoni

Appendix II: Key Informant Interview Question Guide

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW QUESTION GUIDE

Counter violent extremism definition

1. What do you understand by counter violent extremism?
2. What are some of the strategies that you know of that the government has spearheaded as part of CVE in Lamu County?
3. What are some of the labels given to CVE strategies by the community in Lamu County?

Ways in which security officers present messages to the public on CVE

1. How did you first come to know of CVE?
2. In your opinion, what do you think of the language used when presenting the messages?

Narratives of CVE narratives and how they are communicated to the public

1. What are some of the labels given to CVE narratives?
2. What are the narratives that the community holds of CVE?
3. What are the narratives that the security actors hold of CVE?
4. How are those narratives communicated?
5. Do people talk about violent extremism freely?

Extent to which fear aids (or not) in countering violent extremism

1. What do you understand by the word fear?
2. Do you think fear helps in countering violent extremism?
   a) If yes, explain how
   b) If no, explain how
3. What is your opinion on the CVE strategies that state actors have implemented in Lamu County?
4. Have they been successful in achieving their objective?

Communication platforms terrorist groups/ violent extremists use to recruit and maintain membership

1. What are terrorists groups/ violent extremists?
2. Name some of the terrorist groups that you know of in your area
3. What are the communication platforms do they used to communicate their messages?
4. Do you think they are effective?
5. Which factors lead the youth in Lamu to be vulnerable to the Violent Extremist/Terrorist Groups ideologies?

Suggest ways you think will be appropriate in communicating CVE messages and any other strategies that will be useful in countering violent extremism in Lamu.

Give your views.

Thank you for your time. The response is highly appreciated.

Appendix III: THE FGD TOOL

My name is Esther Muthoni, a Masters student from the school of Journalism at the University of Nairobi. Am conducting a study on the Communication strategies that have been used in CVE. I welcome you to this discussion and kindly feel free to discuss issues on this topic. The following sections will guide our discussion;

1. The definition of fear and how it is manifested and communicated:
a) The Security Actor's perspective
b) Community Perspective of fear
2. The fear factor in CVE: is it an aid (or not) in CVE
3. The CVE messages and narratives: Public's pereception on how they are communicated
4. Presentation of the CVE Messages to the Public by the Security Actors
5. What better approaches can you suggest in handling CVE iniatives?
6. How best can the messages and oral narratives be communicated?

Thank your for your responses and time. The participation is highly appreciated

Appendix IV: Certificate of Field Work

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REF: CERTIFICATE OF FIELDWORK

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on 20/07/2018 in respect of M.A/PhD. Project/Thesis Proposal defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project can be allowed to proceed for fieldwork.

Reg. No: K50/8871/2/2016

Name: ESTHER MUTHONI NJUGUNA

Title: ANALYSING THE FEAR OF COUNTER VIOLENT EXTREMISM MESSAGES AND NARRATIVES IN LAMU COUNTY

Dr Elias Mokua
SUPERVISOR

SIGNATURE

20/8/2018
DATE

Dr Samuel Siringi
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

SIGNATURE

21/8/2018
DATE

Dr. Ndeti. Ndati.
DIRECTOR

SIGNATURE/STAMP

23-8-18
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Appendix V: Certificate of Corrections

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This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on _05|10|2018_ in respect of M.A/PhD. Project/Thesis defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project/thesis can be allowed to proceed for binding.

Reg. No: _K50/88712/2016_

Name: _ESTHER MUTHONI NJUGUNA_

Title: _COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM IN LAMU COUNTY: AN_

ANALYSIS OF THE FEAR FACTOR IN THE MESSAGING AND ORAL NARRATIVES

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_17/10/2018_
DATE

Dr Samuel Siringi
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SIGNATURE

_09/11/2018_
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Dr. Ndeti Ndati
DIRECTOR

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Appendix VI: Originality of the Work

Originality Report

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