Report on Youth Radicalization at the Coastal Region of Kenya

Prepared by:
Strategic Africa

For:
MUHURI
MUSLIMS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

27th February 2015
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXECUTIVE SUMMARY</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEFINITION OF TERMS</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.0 INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.0 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE ASSIGNMENT</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.0 STUDY DESIGN AND APPROACH (PROCESS OF DATA COLLECTION)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1. Scope</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2. Design</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 Sources of Data</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 Population Sample</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5 Sampling Strategy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6 The Stakeholder Validation Workshop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.0 FINDINGS</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Thematic Findings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Other Relevant Findings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.0 CONCLUSION</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.0 RECOMMENDATIONS</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.0 BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix A: Terms of Reference</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We take this opportunity to thank all the stakeholders who contributed to this survey. We particularly appreciate all participants who agreed to be interviewed forgiving us their precious time and views. Further, we acknowledge the MUHURI team, experts, and all the references we got to make this survey a success.

Also, we’d like to acknowledge the research team who took up this arduous task with great zest. This report will go a long way in understanding the radicalization issue at the Coast and how to effectively tackle it.

The study on radicalization of youth at the Coast was timely as the Coastal region continues to unravel with developments of exposure of the vice, such as the discovery of grenades and machetes in holy places and massive arrest of youth. It was conducted in all the six counties: Mombasa, Kwale, Kilifi, Mombasa, Lamu, Tana River and Taita Taveta in a period of six weeks.

Objectives of the study included: understand the underlying issues that push the youth towards radicalization from the stand point of community based stakeholders in each county; compile views and suggestions from community based stakeholders on how to check radicalization and spread of terrorism; enhance community based efforts to tackle radicalization and check acts of terrorism; build capacity of communities to engage duty bearers and security officers on matters of radicalization and threat by terrorism; and to gather statistics that will inform future engagement with the government and the community.

The methods used for this study include desk review and key informant interviews. The desk review was ongoing throughout the survey period. It was aimed at assessing the situation, by noting the related events of radicalization and the developments in order to put the study into context. The key informants were people with authority in terms of knowledge on the matter at hand.

The specific sample included: Security Organs, The Political Class, Learning Institutions, Religious Leaders (Priest/Pastors/Bishops/Imams/Gassa Elders/ Kaya elders), NGOs/CBOs working with youth at the Coast including MUHURI representatives, the Private Sector, Women Representatives and Youth Representatives. The sample size was 100.

In the findings it emerged that the main issues that push youth to radicalization included: historical injustices e.g. improper land allocation, political influence, corruption, nepotism and tribalism, as a reaction to the government’s treatment, denial, deception, lack of information and misinterpretation of the holy books, lack of proper communication channels for the youth to air their grievances, negligence on the part of parents, lack of recreational facilities and sports that will keep youths engaged, harassment by police, lure of quick money by the Al Shabaab, lack of education, lack of employment, feelings of religious discrimination, identity crisis and other psychological issues, drug abuse and trafficking, poverty, neglect of the boy child, and cultural connotations—youth at the Coast are accused of being lazy/taking the easy way out/ ‘Mombasa raha.’

On the views and suggestions from community based stakeholders on how to check radicalization and spread of terrorism: there should be proper implementation of the Nyumba Kumi initiative, creation of employment opportunities and consideration of locals in local projects, parents’ roles should be taken seriously, increase intelligence through cooperation of security arms, enhance community involvement, police reforms, the government’s role/use of seminars, conduct a study on youth radicalization, establishment of an inspectorate body that will inspect and investigate what is being taught in religious places, proper vetting of foreigners and monitoring borders.

Enhancing community based efforts to tackle radicalization and check terrorism: there should be more involvement of religious leaders, chiefs, village elders and the general community in checking issues of youth radicalization; holding of education forums; the County Government
should be given more authority; Security agents’ reforms; building of local peace committees and alternative dispute resolution committees; introduction of county policing authority; denying youth visas to work in Arabic Countries and government to pay clerics.

In building capacity of communities to engage duty bearers and security officers on matters of radicalization and threat by terrorism: the relationship between the government, police, NGOs and the community should be improved; the fear of victimization of informers should be addressed; seminars should be done even in the rural areas to inform the residents on how to counter radicalization; establishment of a proper police chain of command; police reforms should be done; establishment of toll free numbers to report radicalization; reminder tests; regular meetings on security by key stakeholders should be held; compensate the informers; hospitals to report gunshot wounds and witness protection programmes for identified informers should be set up.

Concerning the statistics that will inform future engagements with the government and the community, there seems to be secrecy and reluctance with regards to unveiling the number of youth arrested last year on terrorism related charges. Security organs in some counties simply offered ‘no comment’ on that enquiry or gave answers but off the record. However some informed the study that hundreds have been arrested on suspicion of radicalization in their counties. The county with the most number of arrested youth is Mombasa, while the least is Taita Taveta.

The study also unearthed other relevant findings such as: the view on the laws on radicalizations, views on the judiciary handling of terrorism cases, relationship between the government and the community, the relationship between the government and the youth, views of police handling of radicalization, views on the security strategies, views on mosques raids and closure, the role of religious leaders, threats to religious leaders, role of foreigners, submission of arms amnesty, dialogue with radical youth, registration of mosques and churches, devolution and terrorism, on whether radicalization is a cultural/social or political problem, the role of politicians, views on NGOs working with the youth-it’s challenges and achievements, views on the role of women in fighting radicalization-challenges and achievements, views on role of youth organizations-challenges and achievements, and impact of terrorism on businesses.

This report will discuss all these findings, giving snippets of the actual responses from the KIs for corroboration. Recommendations are also given in the concluding section.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBO</td>
<td>Civil Based Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATPU</td>
<td>Anti Terrorism Police Unit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MCA</td>
<td>Member of County Assembly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIPK</td>
<td>Council of Imams &amp; Preachers of Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUPKEM</td>
<td>Supreme Council of Imams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCCK</td>
<td>The National Council of Churches of Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OCPD</td>
<td>Officer Commanding Police Division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAPSET</td>
<td>The Lamu Port Southern Sudan-Ethiopia Transport (LAPSSET) Corridor project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MRC</td>
<td>Mombasa Republican Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KEMYA</td>
<td>Kenya Muslim Youth Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LBO</td>
<td>Lamu Boat Operators</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KTI</td>
<td>Transition Initiative Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CICC</td>
<td>Coast Interfaith Council of Clerics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### DEFINITION OF TERMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sharia</td>
<td>The moral code and religious law of a prophetic religion/Islamic religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrassa</td>
<td>An institution for the study of Islamic theology and religious law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radicalization</td>
<td>A process of adopting an extremist belief system and the willingness to use, support, or facilitate violence and fear, as a method of effecting changes in society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorism</td>
<td>Is the use of violence and threats to intimidate or coerce, especially for political purposes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extremism</td>
<td>Belief in and support for ideas that are very far from what most people consider correct or reasonable.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

- Figure 1: Implementation Process 24
- Table 1: Target Population 26
- Table 2: Tana River KII 27
- Table 3: Taita Taveta KII 27
- Table 4: Kwale KII 28
- Table 5: Mombasa KII 29
- Table 6: Kilifi KII 30
- Table 7: Lamu KII 30
- Table 8: Prominence of Underlying Issues per County
1.0 INTRODUCTION

Radicalization happens when a person’s thinking and behaviour become significantly different from how most of the members of their society and community view social issues and participate politically. Precht (2007, p. 16) in his analysis titled ‘An assessment of the factors influencing violent Islamist extremism and suggestions for counter radicalisation measures’ for the Danish Security Service describes radicalization as “a process of adopting an extremist belief system and the willingness to use, support, or facilitate violence and fear, as a method of effecting changes in society. Radicalization can take place within any extremist group (from left/right wing groups to environmentalist, separatist and terrorist groups). Only small numbers of people radicalize and they can be from a diverse range of ethnic, national, political and religious groups.

As aforementioned when a person radicalizes they may begin to seek to change significantly the nature of society and government. However, if someone decides that using fear, terror or violence is justified to achieve ideological, political or social change—this is violent extremism. This study focused on this type of radicalization.

The Coastal region of Kenya has been a hot bed for radicalization and terrorism. According to various articles, the origin of terror and radicalization activities in Mombasa County can be traced to failure of the state to perform its functions. These include; control of its borders and territory, guaranteeing secure environment, creation of an identity and meeting of the socio-economic demands of her citizenry. This has occurred from the colonial era to the subsequent three post-colonial regimes. For example, according to Kenya Population and Housing Census (2009), all persons at Mombasa County aged three years and above were asked to indicate the school/learning institution attendance status. About 31,391 people (34 per cent) were at school, 257,826 people (53.5 per cent) left school at form four, 42,857 people (8.9 per cent) never attended school and 17,013 people (3.5 per cent) did not state their status. What is apparent from this data is that six years ago, about 62.4 per cent of the population possessed no formal employable skills. In effect they exit formal employment and avail themselves for crime and violence for this case terror activities.

Radicalization poisons young people who are later trafficked to be trained to undertake terrorist activities. Some leading Islamic scholars have called for re-education of the youthful terrorist returnees. They have also called for deepening of scholarship to Imams so as to counsel and guide the youth on the true meaning of the term ‘jihad’. In 2013, 160 Muslims scholars declared a fatwa (decree) on Al-Shabaab in Mogadishu. The Muslim scholars were to congregate again later in 2014 to evaluate the progress of the decree. Accordingly, the meeting was to help think of measures on how to

dissolve radicalization among the young people and thereby start a gradual process of rehabilitating, reintegrating and educating those finding themselves in terror acts.

The first cases of Kenyan youth radicalization, recruitment and trafficking for milita and Al-Shabaab fighting in Somalia was reported in 2006 by civil society organizations in Mombasa and Nairobi. Some places in Mombasa and Nairobi formed the foci of these activities. With time these radicalization activities took root in the country.

In contrast to the bombing of the US Embassy in Nairobi in 1998, all of the suspects involved in the November 2002 Kikambala attacks were Kenyan nationals, with the exception of Abu Talha al-Sudani (a Sudanese). This included the two suicide bombers, Fumo Mohamed Fumo and Haruni Bamusa. During the subsequent investigations another Kenyan national and suspect, Faizel Ali Nassor, killed himself and a Kenyan police officer when he detonated a hand grenade on 1st August 2003 on his way to custody rather than be arrested. These bombings illustrate how extremist ideas and the previously alien concepts of suicide operations and martyrdom had become further embedded within Kenya. It is therefore prudent to try and unearth actual factors that lead to this unnerving trend.

Furthermore, according to findings by the Kenya Community Support Centre (Non-governmental organization based in the Coast) the hot spot areas in regard to youth radicalization include; Mombasa (Kisumu, Mvita, Likoni), Kwale (Mutiuga), Kilifi (Kikambala), Malindi (Malindi town), Lamu (Island, Faza, Kiunga). Moreover there have been reports of overthrowing of moderate religious leaders and occupation of holy places by radicalized youth. Some of the factors include; political drivers (succession agenda), cultural drivers (inter-religious tensions and misuse of religion by a small group to justify their use of violence against innocent; societal view of youth as perpetrators of violence), economic drivers (youth bulge that is 60% of population is youthful without gainful employment, insufficient infrastructure and policies to support and provide financial support), Legal/policy drivers (weak infrastructure, collapse of industries, deep mistrust between policy and communities, high levels of corruption, weak policies etc. In addition, less than 60% of youth with secondary education, huge numbers without identification cards and necessary citizenship documents).

Radical organizations understand and prey upon a combination of political realities, socioeconomic factors and individual characteristics that render youth vulnerable to Violent Extremist Organization (VEO) recruitment.

It is to be noted that radical groups have started inculcating their views on children as young as eight years and youth in colleges. Warucu Ngethe, a clinical psychologist told the Institute for War and Peace Reporting’s (IWPR) that such children become the worst kind of killers. Recently (14th November 2014) clerics under the umbrella of The Council of Imams and Preachers of Kenya (CIPK) have suggested that there should be an amnesty period for the radicalized youth to turn in arms without fear of prosecution. Subsequently, they have urged the youth to appoint their mediators, time and venue for dialogue between them and moderate clerics. This might be a positive way of ensuring the radicalized youth feel that their views are listened to.

Additionally with regards to the clerics, incredibly, there have been many attacks on them, some resulting to deaths such as those of Sheikh Aboud Rogo and Sheikh Salim Bakari Mwanyungi. With every tragic death of these religious leaders there seemed to be heightened tensions in the region. Consequently, there have been many allegations of police involvement in the killings with particular criticism directed to the RECCCE squad. In November 22nd, 2014, Mohamed Ali Abdallah, a former ally of Makaburi was arrested on accusation of radicalizing Muslim youth and inciting violence at the Coast. He adds to the increasing list of suspected religious leaders’ radical recruiters.

Moreover there have been reports of overthrowing of moderate religious leaders and occupation of holy places by radicalized youth, such as Masjid Swafaa, Masjid Musa and Masjid Sakina. Some of these acts like the takeover of Masjid Swafa (October, 2014) have links with Islamic State making the fight against terror not just a national issue but an international one. Non-governmental organizations have also come under criticism of inciting the youth to engage in radical acts. Such allegations have been denied by the respective organizations.

After the Mpeketoni attack (June 2014) there was assertion that the attacks were in fact politically instigated. Is it possible then that there are hidden political interests behind the said radicalization and growing threat of terrorism?

Furthermore, the police handing of radicalization of youths and terrorism suspects has also come under scrutiny in public eye. According to Human Rights Watch (2014) there have been extrajudicial killings as well as enforced disappearances. The forceful storming in into Masjid Musa was also seen as excessive and encouraging even more radical views when seen as disrespect to a holy place. This is in spite of paraphernalia such as Al Shabaab flags and guns being found in the mosque.

In addition to this, the eventual closing down of the four mosques in November (2014): Masjid Shuhadaa-formerly known as Masjid Musa, Masjid Minah, Masjid Swafaa and Sakina Mosque also did not go well with the community at the Coast. The police raid was highlighted with the storming in with shoes and sniffer dogs, both sacrilegious acts to the Muslim faith. As the local leaders such as Mombasa Senator Omar Hassan citing the move as unconstitutional, there was deep fear from the Imams who would have otherwise taken over the mosques. In retrospect the government’s condition of opening the holy places was a formation of new committees to govern each mosque. However some Imams feared that they will be victimized when viewed as collaborating with the government. This led to a stalemate and opening of the mosques much later than was expected (27th November 2014).

5. Kenya Community support Centre (KECOSC); Experience by Phyllis Mwena and KECOSC-Mombasa, Kenya: Report on countering violent extremism in Kenya, bottom up leveraging and building grassroot capacities in communities
6. Wanjia Gatuthu; The Star: Islamic Radicalization Threat to Kenyan Children; 11th November, 2014
7. Galgalo Bocha (14/11/2013); The Daily Nation; Clerics seek amnesty for radical youth
8. Al jazeera Documentary: Inside Kenya’s Death Squads; retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lUjOdjdH8Uk on Monday, 8/12/2014
Barely a week from the opening of the four mosques, another mosque, Pumwani Riyadha Mosque was raided by 100 APS at around midnight on 4th December 2014. This time however no weapons were found and the police obliged the mosque treasurer by removing their shoes before entering the mosque. This time also there were no angry youths to protest the raid.

The impact of terrorism in the country is massive. Apart from the loss of lives the economy slows down as businesses come to a standstill such as the situation in Mombasa County every time there is demonstration and radical youth fights with the security agents. The hoteliers in particular suffer losses as tourists in response to travel advisories avoid travelling to Kenya. In fact according to the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, there was a 14.6% decline in the tourism sector’s performance in the 3rd quarter of the year up to a 3.9% decline during a similar period in 2013.

In retrospect each member of the community at the Coast can help in the fight against radicalization and terrorism in the region. The religious leaders, the political class, the security organs can all help. The role of the women of course cannot be ignored. It is believed that they can be influential at the family level. The youth representatives can also act as conduits of passing positive messages in the fight against radicalization of youth at the Coast. The proposed anti terror laws might also help in curbing the vice.

In conclusion, facing the spread and threat of radicalization and terrorism by youth at the Coast is complex and not at all a one day affair. It is important therefore the aspects that facilitate the growth and the decline of the same, as well as the role of all members who will facilitate this be explored into in its entirety therein. This is what Strategic Africa proposed to do while meeting the objectives of the assignment.

This report will provide the approach used in the study, the findings and resulting recommendations.

2.0 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE ASSIGNMENT

The purpose of the study was to deepen understanding on the issues of radicalization of youth and the growing threat of terrorism in the Coast region of Kenya. It was guided by the following objectives:

- To understand the underlying issues that push the youth towards radicalization from the stand point of community based stakeholders in each county.
- To compile views and suggestions from community based stakeholders on how to check radicalization and spread of terrorism.
- To enhance community based efforts to tackle radicalization and check acts of terrorism.
- To build capacity of communities to engage duty bearers and security officers on matters of radicalization and threat by terrorism.
- To gather statistics that will inform future engagement with the government and the community.
3.0 STUDY DESIGN AND APPROACH (PROCESS OF DATA COLLECTION)

3.1. Scope
The study was conducted in all the six counties of the Coastal region: Kwale, Kilifi, Mombasa, Lamu, Taita Taveta and Tana River with over a period of one week.

3.2. Design
In addressing the objectives of the study, Strategic Africa utilized the action research model, focusing on the qualitative research method. This method included gathering first-hand information from select respondents in the six counties at the Coast.

This was preceded by an extensive desk research to inform on the background and context of the study, which consequently also guided the drafting of the appropriate research tools.

These documents included:

- Phelix Ochola (22nd Feb 2014) How to end radicalisation of youth at the Coast; found at http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/article-156337/how-end-radicalisation-youth-coast#sthash.zFw4tSPP.dpuf
- Kenya Community support Centre (KECOSCE); Experience by Phyllis Muema and KECOSCE-Mombasa, Kenya: Report on countering violent extremism in Kenya, bottom up leveraging and building grassroot capacities in communities.

Due to their sheer large number, the rest of the references are listed in the bibliography section.

The study was approached through the utilization of qualitative research and desk review. Qualitative research was selected because it serves to uncover in-depth information for the sources concerning a certain topic. It involves exploring and analyzing unstructured data that help in understanding a certain phenomena with regards to perceptions and views about it. Desk review on the other hand is the revision of published data concerning a certain subject. It is helpful by providing context to a study, and thereby guiding in the selection and formulation of appropriate data collection tools for gathering of accurate data.

In this study on youth radicalization at the Coast, Strategic Africa intended to conduct a preliminary literature review on the subject at hand in order to have a clear perspective of the concept of youth radicalization, the specific area targeted therein, the incidents and published factors that have been suspected to cause radicalization.

3.3 Sources of Data
The main sources of data for this study were both secondary and primary sources. The secondary sources of data were already published/existing information on radicalization in the Coast Region. This was in the form of books, newspapers, journals, newsletters, social media posts etc Relevant documents such as published NGOs reports on the same, Media reports, Government reports, as well as any other relevant internal documents were scrutinized.

On the other hand, primary sources of data are individuals or groups that provide new/first hand information about a particular topic that has never been published before. Unlike the secondary sources the information is ‘fresh’ and there is opportunity for clarifications and probing of extra information the ideas being brought forth. In this study, Strategic Africa utilized primary sources through Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) while ensuring the objectives are met, and in the end provides recommendations on key areas of program focus and most appropriate strategy for program intervention.

In summary, Strategic Africa started with secondary research which was then followed by primary research. However it should be noted that the desk study was a continuous process with the first phase serving to contextualize the study. The references are in the bibliography section.

3.4 Population Sample
As per the Terms of Reference, Strategic Africa targeted the community based stakeholders in the six counties of the Coastal Region of Kenya: Kwale, Lamu, Mombasa, Kilifi, Tana River and Taita Taveta. These stakeholders formed the respondents for the Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) and the subsequent stakeholders’ workshop which was used to validate the study findings. The following table shows the categories of respondents selected for interviews, and subsequent tables highlight the key informant interviews per county.
Table 1: Target Population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Security Organs representatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious leaders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women representatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth representatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGOs /CBOs working with youth at the Coast including MUHURI representatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The private sector representatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning Institutions representatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Class representatives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Tana River

Table 2: Tana River KIIs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stakeholder Type</th>
<th>Category of Respondent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 MCA</td>
<td>Political Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 OCPD, Police Officer</td>
<td>Security Organ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Area Chief, Civil Servant</td>
<td>Security Organ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 MUHURI representative</td>
<td>MUHURI representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 NYC-National Youth Council representative</td>
<td>Youth representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Youth Group</td>
<td>Youth representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 CBO representative</td>
<td>CBO working with the youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 NGO representative</td>
<td>NGO working with the youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Business man-Chairman of a Business association</td>
<td>Private Sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Chairman, Boda boda association</td>
<td>Private Sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Head teacher, Madrassa</td>
<td>Learning Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Lecturer, Kenya Institute of Management</td>
<td>Learning Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Chairlady, Women’s Group</td>
<td>Women representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Sheikh</td>
<td>Religious Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Senior Pastor</td>
<td>Religious Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Gassa elder</td>
<td>Religious leader</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Taita Taveta

Table 3: Taita Taveta KIIs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stakeholder Type</th>
<th>Category of Respondent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Priest</td>
<td>Religious Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 SUPKEM &amp; Interfaith Peace Forum representative</td>
<td>Religious Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Lecturer, Amboseli Institute of Hospitality</td>
<td>Learning Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Lecturer, Coast Institute of Technology</td>
<td>Learning Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Consultant/Part time lecturer, Taita Taveta University College</td>
<td>Learning Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 MUHURI representative</td>
<td>MUHURI representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Executive Director and also a Senior County Staffing Officer in Taita Taveta County</td>
<td>NGO working with the youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Chief Accountant, NGO</td>
<td>NGO working with the youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Business Person and Village Elder</td>
<td>Private Sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Farmer, and CBO mobilizer</td>
<td>Private Sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Inspector, Administration Police</td>
<td>Security Organ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Retired Military Commander. Currently a Security Consultant</td>
<td>Security Organ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 MCA</td>
<td>Political Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Retired Civil Servant, member of Voi County Water Services Board</td>
<td>Women representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Secretary, Youth Group</td>
<td>Youth representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 Chairperson, Youth Group</td>
<td>Youth representative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Report on Youth Radicalization at the Coastal Region of Kenya

#### Study Design and Approach

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stakeholder Type</th>
<th>Category of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Security officer, OCPD</td>
<td>Security Organ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Imam, SUPREM member</td>
<td>Religious Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bishop, Coast Interfaith Clerics</td>
<td>Religious Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Kaya Elder</td>
<td>Religious Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sharia Consultant/Madrassa Teacher</td>
<td>Learning Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Kenya School of Government representative</td>
<td>Learning Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Chairlady, Women’s Group</td>
<td>Women Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. MUHURI Representative</td>
<td>MUHURI Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Chairman, Business Group</td>
<td>Private Sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Group leader-Business group</td>
<td>Private Sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Youth leader-Youth Group</td>
<td>Youth Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Youth leader/Chairperson-Youth Group</td>
<td>Youth Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Nominated MCA</td>
<td>Political Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Chairlady-NGO</td>
<td>NGO working with the youth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Kwale

Table 4: Kwale KIIs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stakeholder Type</th>
<th>Category of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Security oficer, OCPD</td>
<td>Security Organ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Imam, SUPREM member</td>
<td>Religious Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bishop, Coast Interfaith Clerics</td>
<td>Religious Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Kaya Elder</td>
<td>Religious Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sharia Consultant/Madrassa Teacher</td>
<td>Learning Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Kenya School of Government representative</td>
<td>Learning Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Chairlady, Women’s Group</td>
<td>Women Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. MUHURI Representative</td>
<td>MUHURI Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Chairman, Business Group</td>
<td>Private Sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Group leader-Business group</td>
<td>Private Sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Youth leader-Youth Group</td>
<td>Youth Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Youth leader/Chairperson-Youth Group</td>
<td>Youth Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Nominated MCA</td>
<td>Political Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Chairlady-NGO</td>
<td>NGO working with the youth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Mombasa

Table 5: Mombasa KIIs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stakeholder Type</th>
<th>Category of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. MCA</td>
<td>Political Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Nyumba Kumi Ambassador (Mvita, Majengo)</td>
<td>Women Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Programmes Officer, Women Association</td>
<td>Women Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Assistant Chief</td>
<td>Security Organ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Security Analyst, County Government Office</td>
<td>Security Organ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Vice Chairlady, Youth Group</td>
<td>Youth Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Member, Youth Group</td>
<td>Youth Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Member, Youth Group</td>
<td>Youth Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Mount Kenya University, Student welfare member</td>
<td>Learning Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Madrassa</td>
<td>Learning Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Treasurer, CBO</td>
<td>CBO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Program Manager, NGO</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Pastor/Church Elder</td>
<td>Religious Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Imam</td>
<td>Religious Leader</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Kilifi

Table 6: Kilifi KIIs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stakeholder Type</th>
<th>Category of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Chairlady, Women’s Group</td>
<td>Women representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Member, Women’s Group</td>
<td>Women representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. MCA</td>
<td>Political Class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Police</td>
<td>Security Organ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. NGO representative</td>
<td>NGO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. CBO representative</td>
<td>CBO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Kenya Muslims Youth Alliance-Representative</td>
<td>Religious Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Bishop</td>
<td>Religious Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Imam</td>
<td>Religious Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. MUHURI Representative</td>
<td>MUHURI Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Business Lady/Hotelier</td>
<td>Private Sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Businessman/ Tuk Tuk Operator</td>
<td>Private Sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Madrassa Teacher</td>
<td>Learning Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Lecturer, Pwani University</td>
<td>Learning Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Kaya Elder</td>
<td>Religious Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Youth representative, Female</td>
<td>Youth Representative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Youth representative, Male</td>
<td>Youth Representative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Lamu

Table 7: Lamu KIIs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stakeholder Type</th>
<th>Category of respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Senior Chief</td>
<td>Security Organ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Teacher</td>
<td>Learning Institution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Pastor</td>
<td>Religious Leader</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Kadhi</td>
<td>Religious Leader</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.5 Sampling Strategy
Taking into account the data collection approach and the available study duration, the sampling technique adapted was primarily purposive sampling. However Strategic Africa also used convenience sampling in certain circumstances such as in the case of security organs. In retrospect:

1. Key Informant Interviews-purposive and convenience sampling
2. Workshop participants-purposive sampling

3.6 The Stakeholder Validation Workshop
The stakeholder validation workshop targeted representatives from all the six counties and ensured representativeness of all the stakeholders. The list of the participants is attached on Appendix C.

4.0 FINDINGS

The study elicited the following views presented first according to the objectives of the study as well as other crucial pointers.

4.1 Thematic Findings
Understanding underlying issues that push youth towards radicalization from standpoint of community based stake holders:

**Historical marginalization of the Coastal people.** The study found out that there was a feeling of segregation and clear discrimination at the Coast. For example some respondents feel that the Kenya Ports Authority jobs are being given exclusively to upcountry people. The respondents also fear that the LAPSET project will not benefit them and the jobs will be given to ‘foreigner as usual’. In the same line of thought the Coastal land according to respondents has been given to upcountry people in the past, for example the Mpeketoni lands.

In addition to the grievances some respondents feel that the Coastal region has been allocated to fewer resources (for example fewer number of institutions of higher learning) unlike the other parts of the Country like Nairobi. This feeling of being discriminated against intertwined with a feeling of hopelessness is a strong catalyst for the swaying of young minds into radicalization.

“…radicalization is simply the mushrooming of the end product.” (Security Analyst, Mombasa)

“I think it is happening to the youth at the Coast because of historical injustices of land because the youth have been influenced to fight back for their ancestral land that was taken away from them by the inhabitants from other counties that are not from the Coast region.” (Chairperson, Youth group, Kwale)

“Only 16% of the people in Taita Taveta County have title deeds for their land yet the population is increasing. We were told that Tsavo is a game reserve that was supposed to benefit the entire community only to wake up one day to find that … all the money goes to the national government. Even grazing our cattle is an offence yet we face frequent drought. Isn’t this a way of pushing people to the wall? Honestly we feel neglected and oppressed.” (Farmer, Taita Taveta)

Political Influence. There is the suggestion from the respondents that youth delve into radicalization due to unfulfilled political promises. Others believe that
politicians use the Coast residents’ grievances as a pretext to incite the youth to violence and gain political mileage. In this case the said politicians emerge from such situations as the ‘fighter for justice’ with a guaranteed win in elections. Another view from the respondents was that politicians are simply using the youth to gain resources for their counties.

"Politics has effect on radicalization because of false promises made by aspirants during elections campaign periods. These promises are never fulfilled leaving people and especially the youths desperate. They then are lured by quick money on the "other side." (Boat Operator, Lamu)

"The leaders whom they feel are helping them as volunteers make them believe kids are supposed to receive and not give." (Pastor, Mombasa)

"Political leaders have made promises that they do not fulfill. For example creation of employment opportunities yet they do not do so. Youths therefore see quick money in joining Al Shabaab not knowing the repercussions." (Project Manager, NGO, Lamu)

Corruption, Nepotism and Tribalism. Youth at the Coast in their struggle to elevate themselves from poverty are faced with a barrier of corruption which in turn allows radicalization to act as an alternative ‘job’. Some respondents claimed that in Mombasa the locals have to pay for bribes to get employment at the port, and since some cannot afford the high fees, they are locked out of the opportunities. There were also remarks that it was actual tribalism and nepotism that was aggrieving the youth in some cases.

As reaction of government’s treatment. Some respondents felt that the government is unfair when dealing with the youth from the Coast in particular. Most notable they claimed was that the government handled the issuing of ID cards to the youth with a lot of suspicion and harassment. This was especially noted form respondents from Lamu County who complained that the youth have not even been issued with Identification Cards for months. Other respondents also claimed that there was a plot to keep the youth at the Coast underdeveloped since so few of them are selected to go to Universities. They even compared the number of higher learning institutions in the region versus the other regions and concluded that in terms of numbers, and quality of education, in their view the Coast region was looked down upon.

"Because of corruption that leads to only one tribe from outside Coast which are [sic] people from the president’s tribe, the youth now feel discriminated against so they revert to extremism." (Youth Leader, Kwale)

Discrimination by government against Coastal people i.e. marginalization, for example, port of Mombasa has never had a Coastal person managing it. Discrimination in getting university slots. Does it mean that students from Coast perform so poorly such that you get very few of them in University? I totally disagree. (Kaadi, Lamu)

"People did not believe there was radicalization. It wasn’t until Kenya Transition Initiative (KTI) did a programme and then people said oh, there is radicalization. People didn’t think there was. " (Woman representative, Mombasa)

"People from upcountry are perceived to have taken all job opportunity or basically been given by the government and people from the Coast region left out. Such issues make the Coast native feel not considered by the government. Due to such issues the youth especially are influenced to fight for what they feel is their right-to be given jobs first before others-so they become radicals." (NGO, Kwale)

Deception. The study found out that some youth are deceived by some hiring agencies. Instead of finding the jobs they went to the foreign countries to do, they find radicalization options. For example some respondents claimed that the youth are promised jobs in Somali such as construction work, only to be taken to join Alshabaab because of their dire poverty and also their need to buy drugs in some cases.

Lack of information on religious teachings for Muslim youths and therefore fall prey to misinterpretation by radicalized preachers. Some respondents claimed that radicalization is purely due to misinterpretation of holy books. Since the youth, they claimed, do not attend madrassas, they don’t even know what the Quran says, so they are easily swayed into radicalization by those who use it inappropriately.

"Because of corruption that leads to only one tribe from outside Coast which are [sic] people from the president’s tribe, the youth now feel discriminated against so they revert to extremism." (Youth Leader, Kwale)

"Most of the youth lack religious education so when they listen to the CDs it gives them strength to do what they want. They believe Alshabaab are doing these things as a way of going to heaven because they are defending Islam but this is not true." (Youth representative, Malindi, Female)
“Radicalization takes the face of religion and being that most youth along the Coast are Muslims; it gets easy for them to be indoctrinated through religious misinterpretations.” (Lecturer, Taita Taveta)

“The interpretation is differently given by different Muslims that jihad is physical war while others believe in spiritual war.” (Student, Mombasa)

Lack of education by the local youths such that they cannot be engaged in meaningful employment and therefore largely unemployed and idle and therefore easily lured to illegal groupings and drug abuse. Some respondents claimed that education (in all levels) at the Coast is not affordable or accessible by many.

“Education has become the preserve of the rich. Bright children who manage to go to national schools cannot afford because they are very expensive unlike the olden days ... there are no opportunities for them because even those who have passed cannot afford university fees which is too high.” (Women representative, Taita Taveta)

“Most people who engage in youth radicalization do not have proper religious background and even not formally educated. They do not understand what the Quran says.” (Teacher, Lamu)

“Lack of information of the right beliefs of the Islam and Christian religions.” (Imam, Kwale)

“The youth problem is because they don’t attend to madrasa and they only know few things about Quran so they are easily swayed to radicalization.” (Youth representative, Mvita)

“Lack of proper technology that result into less work opportunities and poor returns. Some respondents claimed that the youth are not getting opportunities due to lack of technology at the Coast. For example lack of refrigerators for the youth who fish for a living at Lamu.”

“Lack of proper communication channels for the youth to air their grievances. The study found out that there was no proper communication channel that the youth can use to present their grievances to the government. Some respondents claimed that due to their precarious age, the youth need an outlet for their issue, but when ignored that’s when they react violently.” (Youth representative, Female, Taita Taveta)

“Government not having dialogue with the youths and Muslim clerics to get to know their problems.” (Sheikh, Tana River)

Negligence on the part of parents/neglect of the boy child. Some respondents claimed that there is no proper parenting and guidance of the children. The parents do not monitor the activities of their children and are often caught off guard when the children have already been radicalized. For example some parents do not enquire where their children acquire money from. Reasons given for this included that modern parents are usually too busy looking for jobs to notice any untoward behavior in their children. Others added that the boy child has been neglected at the expense of the girl child. Nobody pays attention to the boy child’s activities anymore, except in this case, the radical preachers who use the opportunity to brainwash them.

Lack of recreational facilities and sports that will keep youths engaged and increase integration. The study found out that there were a limited number of recreational facilities that the youth at the Coast can engage in. Apart for beach football and school hosted sporting events, the youth lack such avenues of recreation. To keep busy they sometimes go to religious houses where they find themselves engaging with the radical preachers.

Lack of employment. Even for those educated and semi-educated youth there not enough jobs to absorb all of them into employment. Additionally, there is a mentality that white collar jobs are the only ‘proper’ jobs. Thus the youth keep seeking them exclusively as limited as they are.

Lack of proper technology that result into less work opportunities and poor returns. Some respondents claimed that the youth are not getting opportunities due to lack of technology at the Coast. For example lack of refrigerators for the youth who fish for a living at Lamu.

“Mostly its someone taking advantage of unemployment then takes them to Somali and bring them back. If these people were engaged, they wouldn’t be able to get attracted to terrorism.” (Retired Military Commander, Taita Taveta)

“Fishing industry according to me has no guarantee and is through luck. We do not access to modern techniques for fishing especially in Lamu. The government needs to assist us exploit this potential” (Teacher, Lamu)

“Government not having dialogue with the youths and Muslim clerics to get to know their problems.” (Sheikh, Tana River)

Negligence on the part of parents/neglect of the boy child. Some respondents claimed that there is no proper parenting and guidance of the children. The parents do not monitor the activities of their children and are often caught off guard when the children have already been radicalized. For example some parents do not enquire where their children acquire money from. Reasons given for this included that modern parents are usually too busy looking for jobs to notice any untoward behavior in their children. Others added that the boy child has been neglected at the expense of the girl child. Nobody pays attention to the boy child’s activities anymore, except in this case, the radical preachers who use the opportunity to brainwash them.

Lack of recreational facilities and sports that will keep youths engaged and increase integration. The study found out that there were a limited number of recreational facilities that the youth at the Coast can engage in. Apart for beach football and school hosted sporting events, the youth lack such avenues of recreation. To keep busy they sometimes go to religious houses where they find themselves engaging with the radical preachers.
Harassment by police by arbitrary arrests without proper intelligence or investigation as well as alleged killings of suspects makes the government the enemy and therefore breeds radicalization. The families or friends of those murdered in extrajudicial killings are also easily influenced into radicalization as a means of retaliating for the perceived injustice. “What is happening is beyond radicalization; it’s revenge. So and so was killed and nothing was done. No report on killed religious leaders. People are bitter especially the youth on what is happening.” (NGO, Mombasa)

Lure of quick money by the Al Shabaab. Al Shabaab recruits are promised and given as much as 50,000 Kenyan shillings per month. For an uneducated or unemployed young man the choice is a no-brainer. Since Al Shabaab involves itself in illegal trade of charcoal and piracy, they aquire a lot of money form the aile and ransom. The youth engaged with the are thus guaranteed of pay.

“Because of drugs most local youths will not get job opportunities when the port project kicks off. This is part of a wider scheme to ensure the locals continue being marginalized.” (Fisherman, Lamu)

Drug abuse and trafficking. There are some respondents who believe that terrorism at the Coast is largely driven by the drug business. The youth once addicted to drugs would look for the money from any where possible, including for the radical faction which offers them up to 100,000 for their services. The issue is compounded more by the allegations that the drug barons are part of the government. Therefore any attempt to rectify the problem may be forestalled by the ‘government itself.’

“Radicalization in the Coast is due to drugs. Since the 90s access has increased, non-users are small in numbers compared to drug users among the youths.” (Senior Chief, Lamu)

“They (the youth) are told jihad can help them get money and they need money to buy drugs.” (Nyumba Kumi ambassador, Mombasa)

“Because of drugs most local youths will not get job opportunities when the port project kicks off. This is part of a wider scheme to ensure the locals continue being marginalized.” (Fisherman, Lamu)

Because of the unfinished investigations of what has happened. For example the police have killed someone, maybe he is a family member, no investigations; the youth retaliate, revenge.” (M-MLR representative, Mombasa)

Drug abuse and trafficking. There are some respondents who believe that terrorism at the Coast is largely driven by the drug business. The youth once addicted to drugs would look for the money from any where possible, including for the radical faction which offers them up to 100,000 for their services. The issue is compounded more by the allegations that the drug barons are part of the government. Therefore any attempt to rectify the problem may be forestalled by the ‘government itself.’

“Radicalization in the Coast is due to drugs. Since the 90s access has increased, non-users are small in numbers compared to drug users among the youths.” (Senior Chief, Lamu)

“They (the youth) are told jihad can help them get money and they need money to buy drugs.” (Nyumba Kumi ambassador, Mombasa)

Poverty. Most respondents claimed that despite the Coastal region of Kenya being gifted with vast resources, the youth still have no access to them. Abject poverty then pushes the youth into radicalization. According to some respondents youth at the Coast have no potion is some cases because to them death is inevitable-death by starvation or death by being killed as a terrorist. They choose the latter because them, at least it is the choice that will bring money to their families.

Feelings of religious discrimination. The study showed that there were perceptions of being discriminated against from the Christian and Muslim religions. Some respondents claimed that the youth become radicalized because they think that the government is against Islam because of actions such as the mosque raids. There was also the issue of clerical payment that both sides think the other is being favored.

“Muslim leaders or Muslims are not funded by the Government while Christians and to be precise churches are being supported by the Government and even other religions.” (Sheikh, Tana River)

There are salaries for Imams and you find that Bishops aren’t being considered the same way by the government.” (Sheikh, Kilifi)

Operation Linda Nchi. Some respondents felt that radicalization at the Coast is only an effect from the KDF’s activities in Somalia. They claimed that KDF defeated Alshabaab. In an effort to survive, Al Shabaab strategically withdrew, reorganized themselves and is now engaging in guerilla war fare and trying to cause an insurgency among the youth at the Coast.

Identity Crisis and other psychological issues. The youth are in a delicate age whereby they can be easily influenced as they try to determine who they are who they want to become in future. During this period, the study established from the respondents that radical preachers maliciously fill the youth’s mind with hatred and wrong teachings. Since the youth are looking for a sense of belonging and role models, it is easy for them to be misled.

“There are people who are looking for alternatives because in their psychology they miss something; so someone comes up with fodder and they get to be driven into their subconscious. The religions don’t fulfill the psychological gaps and then someone comes to talks to them the ‘truth’ then they go out there believing that what they are doing is right in the eyes of God.” (Part Time Lecturer, Taita Taveta)

Cultural connotations allegations. Some respondents argued that the blame for the reason so many youth are succumbing to radicalization should be placed squarely on the ‘Coastarian Culture.’ The youth are accused of being lazy, not ready to tire themselves looking for jobs unlike their counterparts in other counties in the rest of the Country.
Strategic location of the Coast as an economic hub. Some respondents argued that Coastarian youth are targeted mainly as a strategic option for the AlShabaab. The Coast has a vital port that serves as a supply route to landlocked countries and an acknowledged tourist destination, the terrorists strategically target the Coast for recruitment and attacks with a predetermined vision of crippling the Kenyan economy.

Influence of war between Israel and Palestine. The study found out that some youth are radicalized by foreign events such as the war between Israel and Palestine. The youth feel bound to support their fellow Muslim brothers and sister and thus take up arms in the process to target any affiliates of the ‘enemy.’

Proximity to Somalia and influence of foreigners. The study established that by the Coast being closer to Somali, there is greater penetration of the terrorists form the board-ers. Besides, other claimed that the radical preachers use the ocean to sneak youth to Somali under the pretense of going fishing. The foreigners were greatly blamed for radicalization. Respondents argued that radicalization is not a Kenyan phenomenon, but one that was sneaked in by foreigners, especially of Somali origin.

In terms of prominence of the issues in the counties the following table illustrates the same from the most mentioned issues:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ISSUE</th>
<th>MOMBASA</th>
<th>KWALE</th>
<th>KILIFI</th>
<th>LAMU</th>
<th>TANARIVER</th>
<th>TAITATAVETA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Historical Injustices e.g. improper land allocation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Influence</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corruption, nepotism and tribalism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As reaction of government’s treatment.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denial—not accepting that radicalism is ongoing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deception—on the type of job one is hired to do</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of information and misinterpretation of Holy Books</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of proper communication channels for the youth to air their grievances</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negligence on the part of parents / Neglect of the boy child</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of recreational facilities and sports that will keep youths engaged</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harassment by police</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lure of quick money by the Al Shabaab</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of employment</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feelings of religious discrimination.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identity Crisis and other psychological issues.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug abuse and trafficking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poverty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural connotations-youth at the Coast are accused of being lazy/taking the easy way out/Mombasa raha’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Creation of employment opportunities and consideration of locals in local projects like LAPSET would help keep the youth preoccupied. Respondents felt that fair distribution of the employment opportunities would go a long way in fixing the feeling of marginalization among the youth at the Coast.

The role of parents was also noted with some respondents reiterating that parents should be the first line of defense against radicalization. Because of their relationship with their children, they have greater influence on the decisions their children take and can therefore help extensively in keeping extremism at bay. They can educate their children against radicalization, monitor their activities closely, report suspicious activities and offer guidance and counseling.

“The parents need to teach their children the moral values society values because apart from just attending church on Sunday or mosque on Fridays the parents don’t take the daily lives of their children seriously.” (Bishop, Kwale)

Discussion: Most of the issues raised were crosscutting and interlinked e.g. Due to poverty some parents cannot afford to pay school fees for their children. The uneducated children do not find employment, are idle and therefore susceptible to drug abuse. When addicted to the drugs, the youth then need money to sustain buying of the drugs, and radicalization offers an easy way to make it.

Views and suggestions from community based stakeholders on how to check radicalization and spread of terrorism;

There should be proper implementation of Nyumba Kumi initiative. The study found out that Nyumba Kumi was received well in the various counties it was introduced to with respondents claiming that it will reduce radicalization. However some respondents claimed that the initiative is not well understood by the community. For it to work there needs to be proper sensitization about it. Others also noted that Nyumba Kumi should be depoliticized. It was also suggested that even street children should be incorporated in the programme. However respondents claimed that the initiative would be difficult to apply in urban areas due to the regular migration of neighbors and urban unfriendliness.

“The Nyumba Kumi initiative was a brilliant idea but the implementation was poor because the community was not sensitized enough. The message should have been disseminated step by step to the community by having discussions and exchanging ideas on how to implement it. There is a way the government should uphold the coordination of information because in the Mandera case the Governor is said to have been aware but the way the information was handled led to the disaster because there lacked proper flow and dissemination of the same in the right manner.” (Priest, Taita Taveta)

“People should know who their neighbours are especially through the Nymba Kumi. Like they should be free, like I can check my neighbour’s house if I suspect anything. But now if I try… they fear that you will be killed if you report.” (Women representative, Mombasa)

“By advocating for the Nyumba Kumi initiative even though it has been politicised.” (CBO representative, Kilifi)

“Nyumba kumi initiative should be followed to the latter and community members encouraged to report any strange and suspicious person within the community.” (Gassa Elder, Tana River)

“Parents know your children and don’t tolerate bad behaviors which youth didn’t have before.” (Youth representative, Mvita)

• Intelligence should be increased through the cooperation between security arms.

There was an observation by some respondents that different security organs do not collaborate as much as expected. This eventually leads to slower investigations on the better side or non utilization of information all together.

“The security organs should have proper coordination that allows for the proper gathering of intelligence from the ground.” (Retired Military Commander, Taita Taveta)

• Enhanced Community Involvement. Some respondents noted that to completely eliminate radicalization, community involvement is paramount. While some
acknowledged that it is there, they claimed that unless more effort is put into including the community in facing radicalization through interventions like community policing, then the fight will be eventually lost. According to some respondents the government at times reacts with inappropriate strategies because they don’t have the true picture of the ground that they could have gotten by enquires from the community.

- **Police reforms.** The security organs, especially the police were noted to need extensive reforms in order to be able to eradicate Coastal youth radicalization and prevent terrorism. Such changes would include: having an approachable customer care desk and establishing an intelligence department in National Police Service as well restructuring of the security forces from bottom up.

  “If I was given the powers to make some changes, I would restructure the security sector completely and make a complete change not the cosmetic changes, like sending Kimaiyo home is not a solution because Kimaiyo is not the problem, neither is Ole Lenku because he cannot go and fight anywhere. The problem is the entire set up in the police. There is no clear line of command and nobody knows where to go in case of anything. In Voi Police Station, they close by six and completely seal the gates such that if anything happens after six, one has nowhere to report. Voi police is afraid of Alshabaab, it has reached a place where the police are taking care of themselves and don’t care about anybody else.” (Retired Military Commander, Taita Taveta)

- **Radicalization can be checked when all stakeholders are included but most importantly if community members are enlightened more on the issue of radicalization.”** (Inspector, Taita Taveta)

**“My advice would be that as the National Police Service, we should have our own intelligence department that will go down and deep on the ground to get information and we act on it, this shall seal all the loopholes of radicalization within the youth.”** (Inspector, Taita Taveta)

- **Use of seminars/conferences/forums/classes to enlighten the different Coastal Community segments on youth radicalization and terrorism and how to fight it.** The study found that the community needs to be enlightened on the subject of radicalization, how to spot it and even how to report it. People who lack this knowledge can in no way help and it would be unreasonable to expect them to.

  “To block the supply of radicalisation, the best way is empowering the community by knowledge.” (Lecturer, Kilifi)

  “By spreading the peace messages in conferences...going on the grassroot to create awareness especially on the effects of radicalization.” (Lecturer, Kilifi)

  “Having education seminars on ills of radicalization.” (Business Woman, Hotelier, Kilifi)

- **Police reforms.** The security organs, especially the police were noted to need extensive reforms in order to be able to eradicate Coastal youth radicalization and prevent terrorism. Such changes would include: having an approachable customer care desk and establishing an intelligence department in National Police Service as well restructuring of the security forces from bottom up.

  “If I was given the powers to make some changes, I would restructure the security sector completely and make a complete change not the cosmetic changes, like sending Kimaiyo home is not a solution because Kimaiyo is not the problem, neither is Ole Lenku because he cannot go and fight anywhere. The problem is the entire set up in the police. There is no clear line of command and nobody knows where to go in case of anything. In Voi Police Station, they close by six and completely seal the gates such that if anything happens after six, one has nowhere to report. Voi police is afraid of Alshabaab, it has reached a place where the police are taking care of themselves and don’t care about anybody else.” (Retired Military Commander, Taita Taveta)

- **Radicalization can be checked when all stakeholders are included but most importantly if community members are enlightened more on the issue of radicalization.”** (Inspector, Taita Taveta)

  “My advice would be that as the National Police Service, we should have our own intelligence department that will go down and deep on the ground to get information and we act on it, this shall seal all the loopholes of radicalization within the youth.” (Inspector, Taita Taveta)

- **Use of seminars/conferences/forums/classes to enlighten the different Coastal Community segments on youth radicalization and terrorism and how to fight it.** The study found that the community needs to be enlightened on the subject of radicalization, how to spot it and even how to report it. People who lack this knowledge can in no way help and it would be unreasonable to expect them to.

  “To block the supply of radicalisation, the best way is empowering the community by knowledge.” (Lecturer, Kilifi)

  “By spreading the peace messages in conferences...going on the grassroot to create awareness especially on the effects of radicalization.” (Lecturer, Kilifi)

  “Having education seminars on ills of radicalization.” (Business Woman, Hotelier, Kilifi)

- **Conduct a study on youth radicalization and terrorism.** Some respondents argued that there needs to be more research to unearth the true causes of radicalization and terrorism and how to tackle them. They argued that instead of hearsay the government and other stakeholders can then use the findings to come up with a better solution for tackling radicalization.

  “Studies should be done to get the root cause of radicalization.” (Police, Kilifi)

- **Establishment of an inspectorate body that will inspect and investigate what is being taught in religious places like the mosques and churches.** The study established that there might be need to come up with an acceptable body that will be used to check the mosques and churches activities closely, in order to monitor radicalization. However this was met by criticism whereby some respondents argued that there is already a body like that for the Christians, NCCK, and it should be used for this instead of coming up with an entirely new body.

  Other respondents on how radicalism can be checked at the Coast included: proper vetting of foreigners, monitoring of borders, and using Muslims soldiers to get to know about the cause of radicalization in the mosques and those involved to make arrests without interfering with others.

- **Enhancing community based efforts to tackle radicalization and check terrorism:**

  The study found out that there were already activities that the community had started in combating youth radicalization at the Coast. Following this objective, the research delved further to investigate how these ongoing efforts can be aided.
Holding of education forums. On further enquiry on the low level of involvement by
the different community stakeholders, respondents claimed that it is difficult to help
when they are unaware on how exactly to do it. The community should be invited to
forums with all relevant stakeholders (elders, politicians, security organs) in order to be
enlightened on identification of a potential radical suspect. They should also be empha-
sized to the importance of reporting radical suspects.

“The community should have forums that will address some of these issues like youth groups, women youths, Human Rights groups come together to sing peace songs, have banners for peace...” (Women representative, Maendeleo ya Wanawake, Kilifi)

“Need for sensitization on negative effects of radicalization.” (Police, Kilifi)

“There should be people educating the general public on the effects of terrorism and radicalization, like religious leaders and community on how to stay together regardless of their religious background and people encouraged to report suspicious people within the society to help curb terrorism. These terrorists are just living amongst us and people know them.” (Head teacher, Tana River)

• The County Government should be given more authority in security matters. The Commissioners’ offices should have the face of locals. Some respondents feel that currently it is it run by one community from outside Coast and therefore is not trusted by locals. Additionally they feel that County governments should be given more responsibility on security matters because it affects local economy.

• Security agents’ reforms. Some respondents felt that the security agents should go to the ground and become part of them, part of the community. When the security agents live amongst the community, the members will feel more comfortable in passing along information. Some respondents also argued that the agents especially the police should be retrained in some aspects like human rights and PR so that they can be fair in their handling of the youth at the Coast.

• Building of local peace committees and alternative dispute resolution committees. These can be made up of elders, local leaders and other local authorities to ensure issues that arise in the community are resolved before they mutate into terrorism motivation factors. Some respondents argued that the community members would feel more comfortable and respected if they are allowed to handle their own matters first. If the matters prove difficult or they are unable to solve them, then they can report to the police.

“...they report to Nairobi and not the Governor who is the CEO of the County. It is therefore very difficult to seriously hold local elected leaders to account because security is not their mandate.” (Women Representative, Lamu)

“There is an issue at the national and local level, there is no complete touch. There is disconnect, what the national government may direct to be done, the County level views it as misdirection and come up with their own. The structure of the National Police Services at the national level should be brought to the ground and things will get working.” (Inspector, Taita Taveta)

“They need to solve issues arriving amongst themselves or involve their leaders within the community but if they can’t solve them then there is need to report to security organs like the police.” (Lecturer, Tana River)

• Denying youth visas to work in Somalia Arabic Countries.

The study found out that there is a perception by some respondents that youth are susceptible to radicalization when they go for work in Somalia or Arabic Countries. They claimed that such countries are rife with radicalization, and when the Kenyan youth go there for work, it is inevitable for them to be influenced.

“...to form groups like Sungusungu and be registered for security reasons.” (MUHURI representative, Mombasa)

“Community and government should help families not to send their youths to Somalia. Also government stop (sic) to allow youths to work in Saudia (sic) and other Arab countries because they get radicalized there also.” (Youth representative, Likoni)

“...to form groups like Sungusungu and be registered for security reasons.” (MUHURI representative, Mombasa)

The relationship between the government, police, NGOs and the community should be improved. Currently there is deep mistrust towards the security officers. They seem vicious and non-approachable. Moreover they are accused of arresting even innocent people during their raids making them appear non-friendly.

“Trust between the police and the community members need to be enhanced. They don’t trust each other.” (Youth Leader, Kwale)

“Encourage the community members not to fear the police to provide information to them to help fight radicalization and terrorism.” (Gassa Elder, Tana River)

“There is no trust between youths and government. More so security agents. There

According to a report by Ipsos Synovate(2014) While the military retain a good amount of public confidence (30 per cent), no doubt partly because of ongoing operations in Somalia, the intelligence services garnered only 10 per cent, and the police amassed just 11 per cent. This study explored how the Coastal communities and the duty bearers and security officers can potentially work together effectively to combat radicalization and terrorism.

Building capacity of communities to engage duty bearers and security officers on matters of radicalization and threat by terrorism

• Security agents’ reforms. Some respondents felt that the security agents should go to the ground and become part of them, part of the community. When the security agents live amongst the community, the members will feel more comfortable in passing along information. Some respondents also argued that the agents especially the police should be retrained in some aspects like human rights and PR so that they can be fair in their handling of the youth at the Coast.

• Building of local peace committees and alternative dispute resolution committees. These can be made up of elders, local leaders and other local authorities to ensure issues that arise in the community are resolved before they mutate into terrorism motivation factors. Some respondents argued that the community members would feel more comfortable and respected if they are allowed to handle their own matters first. If the matters prove difficult or they are unable to solve them, then they can report to the police.


**Findings**

“There is mistrust between the community members and the security agents, because when you inform the police on issues of radicalization, later on it will be known that you are the one who reported to the police…so people fear being killed because what they reported to the police will eventually be leaked to the radicalized groups.” (Kaya elder, Kwale)

“The security agents e.g. the police should not leak information they get from informers because with lack of trust the community won’t get involved.” (Kaya Elder, Kwale)

“The police should not threaten or incriminate perceived informers or those who report issues of radicalization because later people get to know about them. They should be protected like the Imams who are being killed anyhowly since they are accused of being hypocrites to the radicalized youths.”

(Chairperson, Youth Group, Kwale)

“Police should invent anonymous reporting channels for the public to report.” (SUPKEM representative, Taita Taveta)

• Seminars should be done even in the rural areas and in counties targeting to inform the residents on countering radicalization. The information about how to identify or spot radicalization should be made available even in the rural areas. So far, some respondents claimed, only the urban areas know about radicalization even though there is radicalization in every area. Besides the rural folk think it is an urban phenomenon even as the radical youth go hiding in the rural areas to avoid arrest.

• Establishment of a proper police chain of command and coordination. While being blamed for lack of a working system on devotion which has resulted into confusion of duties, there seems to be no proper established system of police handling of possible terrorist to arrest. The study found out that to the public, the police structure is complicated and uncoordinated. They don’t know who exactly to approach to report the specific problems.

“There is lack of coordination from the concerned security departments because each department is answerable to a separate head yet we are told that all are supposed to work as one department. As an example, if I reported a case to the CID to investigate, I shall be taken through circles because each department does not want to take responsibility if anything goes wrong. The security organs ought to be harmonized to make them be at the same level and answerable to one boss.” (Farmer, Taita taveta)

“Whistle blowers are normally treated as the suspects so the community will tend to hold information which is often useful to the police. The government should look for ways of relating with the community so that there is prevention of these vices before they occur.” (SUPKEM representative, Taita Taveta)
Security needs to have coordination between the security arms at grassroots level. The different arms of police are reading from different scripts. Previously the APs were a preserve of the Chiefs and the DOs and the lack of coordination makes the former Provincial Administration lack operational procedures. There are cases in Taita Taveta County where regular police have locked horns with the administration police and it’s the community that suffers. The two departments need to harmonize their working relationship. (MUHURI representative, Taita Taveta)

The Government should put an anonymous telephone number where people can report about radicalization and terrorism with no fear of being ‘marked’ by the police. According to some respondents that would ensure the community feels confident to report suspects and more would. Another suggestion was use of texts to encourage cooperation.

“Security needs to have coordination between the security arms at grassroots level. The different arms of police are reading from different scripts. Previously the APs were a preserve of the Chiefs and the DOs and the lack of coordination makes the former Provincial Administration lack operational procedures. There are cases in Taita Taveta County where regular police have locked horns with the administration police and it’s the community that suffers. The two departments need to harmonize their working relationship.” (MUHURI representative, Taita Taveta)

The Government should put an anonymous telephone number where people can report about radicalization and terrorism with no fear of being ‘marked’ by the police. According to some respondents that would ensure the community feels confident to report suspects and more would. Another suggestion was use of texts to encourage cooperation.

“Secure needs to have coordination between the security arms at grassroots level. The different arms of police are reading from different scripts. Previously the APs were a preserve of the Chiefs and the DOs and the lack of coordination makes the former Provincial Administration lack operational procedures. There are cases in Taita Taveta County where regular police have locked horns with the administration police and it’s the community that suffers. The two departments need to harmonize their working relationship.” (MUHURI representative, Taita Taveta)

The Government should put an anonymous telephone number where people can report about radicalization and terrorism with no fear of being ‘marked’ by the police. According to some respondents that would ensure the community feels confident to report suspects and more would. Another suggestion was use of texts to encourage cooperation.

“Secure needs to have coordination between the security arms at grassroots level. The different arms of police are reading from different scripts. Previously the APs were a preserve of the Chiefs and the DOs and the lack of coordination makes the former Provincial Administration lack operational procedures. There are cases in Taita Taveta County where regular police have locked horns with the administration police and it’s the community that suffers. The two departments need to harmonize their working relationship.” (MUHURI representative, Taita Taveta)

The Government should put an anonymous telephone number where people can report about radicalization and terrorism with no fear of being ‘marked’ by the police. According to some respondents that would ensure the community feels confident to report suspects and more would. Another suggestion was use of texts to encourage cooperation.

There should be active free hotlines where the wazananchi can report any cases of radicalization without their identities being revealed. (MUHURI representative, Taita Taveta)

“We can also have updates being sent by Safaricom that encourage and motivates people the service should be a free service in form of texts messages, once these happens people will be encouraged to be empowered.” (Women representative, Malindi)

Regular meetings on security by key stakeholders. The study found out that there needs to be regular meetings of county stakeholders to discuss security matters. These meetings should be progressive, with resolutions being met. Some respondents claimed that these meetings will serve to remind the community and keep it on toes in matters of eliminating radicalization especially in the times when there is a full in terrorist activities and people have relaxed in vigilance.

Compensate the Informers. Some respondents noted that the individuals who inform the government on radicalization and terrorism issues in the community should be compensated. They feel this will be a motivating factor for more to offer information.

“Those who report where terrorist are hiding should be paid some money to encourage even others to do so.” (MCA, Tana River)

“After encouraging people to report any suspicious acts or person then those informers should be paid to even encourage others to report such cases.” (Chairman, Youth Group, Tana River)

Other response on how to build capacity of communities to engage duty bearers and security officers on matters of radicalization and threat by terrorism included: hospitals to notify the government on suspects of gunshot wounds and establishing a witness protection programme for identified informers.

Statistics that will inform future engagements with the government and the community.

There are split responses; some did not know such laws exist, some satisfied while other dissatisfied with them. For those in support of the laws, there was much praise for them citing the results of the same such as the finding of terror suspects in the mosques and their prosecution. They insist that the laws must be made more stringent since some terror suspects are released on bail only to commit more acts of terror.

On the other hand, there are those who do not support the current laws, their sentiments are that the laws are oppressing and discriminatory. Others simply do not know if even such laws exist. A significant number in fact.

“I don’t know about the laws there for radicalization.” (Pastor, Mombasa)

“I think even the law is challenged because some of these suspects are minors as young as 11 years old and it’s difficult to separate the wheat from the chaff. Some only go there to support their elder sisters and brothers and end up being rounded up as suspects while they are not the real suspects”. (SUPKEM representative, Taita Taveta)

There were split responses; some did not know such laws exist, some satisfied while other dissatisfied with them. For those in support of the laws, there was much praise for them citing the results of the same such as the finding of terror suspects in the mosques and their prosecution. They insist that the laws must be made more stringent since some terror suspects are released on bail only to commit more acts of terror.

On the other hand, there are those who do not support the current laws, their sentiments are that the laws are oppressing and discriminatory. Others simply do not know if even such laws exist. A significant number in fact.

“A terror suspect should remain behind bars without bail until there is enough proof that they are not associated with any form of crime whatsoever. I feel our constitution on suspected terrorists needs to be revisited to allow them stay behind bars till investigations are complete.” (Priest, Taita Taveta)

“I think the law is fine.” (Youth Representative, mentor, Lamu)

“I think even the law is challenged because some of these suspects are minors as young as 11 years old and it’s difficult to separate the wheat from the chaff. Some only go there to support their elder sisters and brothers and end up being rounded up as suspects while they are not the real suspects”. (SUPKEM representative, Taita Taveta)
Views on the Judiciary handling of terrorism cases

The responses were split with some wholly supporting the judiciary, other supporting the judiciary but blaming the laws while other view the judiciary as just another institution deep in the murk of corruption and injustice, incapable of helping in the eradication of youth radicalization and terrorism. In fact some perceived the courts as a puppet of the government meant to depict the Islamic religion as terrorist.

Furthermore the police were alleged to be contributing to the poor work of the judiciary by doing shoddy investigations.

“What fails our judiciary is poor investigations by our security agencies. This leaves room for culprits to evade justice not only for terrorism related cases but also for fight against drug abuse.” (Youth Representative, mentor, Lamu)

“I think the judiciary is not doing well to provide bail or bond to the suspects because some disappear after bail.” (MCA, Tana River)

“It is unfair the way judiciary is handling cases because suspects are detained without trial and no action is taken. They are supposed to follow the constitution by arresting and taking suspects to court within 24 hours.” (Madrasa Teacher, Kilifi)

“The judiciary are very slow in handling of cases. Cases on terrorism should be tackled fast and there is no case the judiciary has found somebody guilty yet so many cases are lying in the courts especially on terrorism.” (Youth representative, Malindi, Male)

“The judiciary is compromised; they need to make independent judgments not to incriminate the accused then. They just need to listen to the grievances of the accused persons whether terror suspects or not.” (Chairman, Business Group, Kwale)

“It is a bit tricky because even the late “Samantha” white widow was in court but later released maybe due to lack of evidence or there is no abiding law which can sentence her to jail.” (CBO representative, Kilifi)

Problem with judiciary is that there is corruption even in drug fight which is a contributing factor to youth radicalization.” (Senior Chief, Lamu)

“When we arrest and take suspects to court we hear that they have been given bail or bond and the cases don’t continue, so I think judicial systems should not give bail or bond to cases of such magnitude.” (OCPOD, Tana River)

“I think there is failure on conducting proper investigations. I think if there were proper investigation that would provide water tight evidence then we would not have been seeing cases being thrown out due to lack of evidence or having bail-able offences.” (Chairman, Youth Group, Lamu)

Views on the Funding of Terrorism

According to some respondents the main funders of terrorist activities are politicians and business men. There are also foreign funding from Middle East countries like Saudi Arabia, although it emerged that in such cases the funders use local agents to channel the money into recruitment and training of the youth. Others mentioned were people of Somali or Arab origin. However there were allegations that the government assumes that all foreign funding directed to the mosques is linked somehow to radicalization.

Views on the Relationship between Government and Community

The study found out that the relationship is wanting (from most of the respondents). The government was also accused of not doing enough to counter radicalization. Instead it has been accused of taking a reactionary approach and heavy handedness. Additionally it has been accused of perpetrating terror specifically to religious leaders it suspects to be radicalizing the youth.

“The relationship between government and community is not good because when the government enhances security through curfew; locals do not want and migrants want it.” (Pastor, Lamu)

“The relation is poor because of perceived historical marginalization that even continues to date. The problem has grown so bad that the region has tried ways to secede from Kenya. These are signs of the failures of the governments that have been there since independence.” (Kadhi, Lamu)

“At the moment the relationship of the government and the community is wanting because there is mistrust, no protection of informers. If you report a crime you never know when you are safe or not.” (Bishop, Kwale)

Views on the Relationship between the Youth and the Government

The study found out that this relationship was in even worse state than the relationship between the government and the community as a whole. Some respondents based this on their claims that government arrested some youth and later on the youth were found either killed or jailed in foreign counties. Additionally they claimed that even the 30 % tender allocated that was supposed to be for women and youth has been hijacked by older citizens. To be noted however, some respondents claimed that discrimination with respect to religion religion was a factor in this relationship.

“It’s poor because you find that the youths arrested of radicalization some of them never return
Views on the Police handling of radicalization

The study found out that the perception toward the police on the ground is overwhelmingly negative. Only a handful of respondents notably mostly from the security sector though the police have responded adequately even ‘softly’ to the issue. The rest claimed the police have been brutal and completely callous in their approach. This is especially so in the arbitrary arrest of radicalization suspects and their deplorable conditions when held in cells.

“The police have not been fair to these youths when they are being arrested and we see them being handled very in an inhuman way.” (Youth representative, Male, Taita Taveta)

“They are harsh, they beat people even in the streets before arresting. In cells, when they are arrested some are sodomized. Some are tortured with needles and electricity to give information.” (Women representative, Mombasa)

“You know when these guys commit crimes they go hide in rural area, not urban…you know the strategies police are using are far urban not rural.” (NGO representative, Kwale)

“The police are harsh especially the ATPU, they are harsh. They should employ dialogue first.” (MUHURI representative, Kilifi)

“The police are not fair in their arrest. They just storm and arrest without having proper evidence of who is causing and whether it is the people in the mosque causing this radicalization.” (Women representative, Kilifi North)

“Police are harassing people even in their houses at night even sleeping. They bang your door or even break it, demand for ID cards and sometimes they beat people.” (Spare Seller, Mombasa)

“The police are not doing their work professionally. They detain suspects longer than the stipulated time. They end up arresting the wrong people due to wrong information or investigations. Worst is that innocent lives have been lost in the process.” (Programme Manager, NGO, Lamu)

On whether the security strategies are working to combat youth radicalism:

Some respondents thought they are working citing the Nyumba Kumi initiative. However most agreed they need to be reviewed. To be noted, most the security sector representatives blamed the circumstances for the strategies they choose to apply. For example an Inspector in Taita Taveta argued that Kenyans do not know the law and how to interact with the police. When the suspects are caught they are very uncooperative and hence the police have to at tough to extract crucial information.

“The (security) strategies are obviously not working. They are not working because we are seeing an increase of youths taking arms against the government. So many youths are crossing to Somalia without their parents’ knowledge to get trained by Al Shabaab.” (County Development Officer, Lamu)

“Handling a criminal in Kenya and the criminals’ perception of the police in Kenya is totally different from Western countries. In the West, citizens have read the constitution and understand it to the latter. They understand and know what they need to do when they are in the wrong to justify their action. A criminal or suspect known very well they are on the wrong because they have been caught red handed but still doesn’t want to be arrested. They cannot even answer to the simple questions an officer is asking and the police are human and will get agitated. How do I find you with a weapon or grenade then you tell me you don’t know? Tempers will flare up and things will happen and it should be clear that it’s not in the training of the policeman that they mistreat or mishandle suspects.” (Inspector, Taita Taveta)

“There are different ways of handling suspects, the suspects who steal chicken cannot be handled the same way you handle...with leniency in a police station and the next thing all the policemen will be dead and they are on the way going.” (Retired Military Commander, Taita Taveta)

Views on the Police Mosque Raids and Mosque Closure

The study established that the police raids and closure of mosques was not done respectfully according to respondents. Even the ones who supported the raids were quick to note that in such situations, respect to holy places should have still been observed. For example the police could have removed their shoes or simply asked Muslim police to conduct the raids as they would know how to handle it without arising much anger. Such respondents argued that such actions served to radicalize the youth more was viewed as an attack on the Islamic religion. There was still a handful though who wholly supported the move claiming unavoidable circumstances. Others however also claimed by having weapons in the mosques had removed the sanctity of the places, so it was okay.

“Police should come in mosques but should respect mosques. They should not harass people. They should not enter mosques with shoes.” (Imam, Mombasa)

“Police should come in mosques but should respect mosques. They should not harass people. They should not enter mosques with shoes.” (Imam, Mombasa)

“Most of those killed were small kids-18-20 years I believe there were no arms in mosques only knives and pangas. The youths din’t attack when they asked...5 times and sometimes they beat people.” (Spare Seller, Mombasa)

“They are harsh, they beat people even in the streets before arresting. In cells, when they are arrested some are sodomized. Some are tortured with needles and electricity to give information.” (Women representative, Mombasa)

“Police are not doing their work professionally. They detain suspects longer than the stipulated time. They end up arresting the wrong people due to wrong information or investigations. Worst is that innocent lives have been lost in the process.” (Programme Manager, NGO, Lamu)
“According to me provision of security to religious leaders and everyone else is fine but not taking arms like some pastors in Mombasa were saying, I think the government is trying with the limited resources they have but gathering of intelligence on threats and countering the threats before they happen should be the best way of providing security.” (Pastor, Lamu)

“As it is the few killed Sheiks and no suspects have been arrested. Others are being threatened. We fear for our lives but only God can protect us not even a bodyguard. Youth are misled by the cleric telling them about jihad. They tell them that the government and USA are against Islam so if we work with the government we are not real Islam” (Madrasa Teacher, Mombasa)

“Islamicists are very strict people so if some clerics are found to be working with the government then they shall be eliminated unless they are taken to the Hague through the witness protection that is when they can survive.” (Retired Military Commander, Taita Taveta)

Views on the Role of Foreigners

The study established that foreigners are in fact the main culprits of the spread of radicalization. They fund and teach radicalization to the youth who would have otherwise not bothered with such ideology. Some respondents argued that the radicalization and terrorism at the Coast is funded from sources as far as the Middle East, form Countries like Yemen and Saudi Arabia as well by Al-Qaida members.

“These activities are funded from the Middle East by countries like Yemen and Saudi Arabia. These people are funded by people who are known, some are al-Qaida members. There could be others from other countries … because these are devout Muslims and if you track them you will find that the root of their training is in Saudi Arabia and Middle East where the governments are Muslim run.” (Retired Military Commander, Taita Taveta)

“Foreigners have created all this mess but to be accused is Mosque committee members who allow foreigners with negative influence kenyan Imams and even youths into their Mosque and have a platform for youth radicalization.” (Senior Chief, Lamu)

“Foreigners are the ones who brought these ideologies that radicalize our youths. These are issues that were not there before. They try to sell ‘eye for eye’ ideology that law what our Muslim brothers are facing in Stammak should be revered here in Kenya.” (Teacher, Lamu)

“They play a role because radicalization is not a Kenyan ideology. It’s a foreign thing that affects us today. Foreigners influence the youth a lot, if you see those that are arrested for terrorism and radicalism their leaders are foreigners mostly.” (OCPD, Kwale)

“None here in Garsen but in Mombasa they face threats because they are being killed.” (Senior Pastor, Tana River)

“Foreigners like Sheikh Ramathan Juma also come with radical and wrong teachings which influence kenyan Imams and even youths into radicalization.” (OCPD, Tana River)

“I haven’t met them. Maybe they come for business.” (OCPD, Kwale)
Findings

Report on Youth Radicalization at the Coastal Region of Kenya

There are some who come to give mawaidha (preaching) in certain mosques just like Christian priests other bishops from other countries to preach in their churches.” (Madressa Teacher, Mombasa)

Views on Dialogue with Radical Youth

The study established that the idea was overwhelmingly welcomed but some cautioned that it must be done in total secrecy and if possible without directly involving the government. This is because the government is suspected of eliminating suspects. The youth would fear being ‘marked.’ In addition some respondents felt that the police would not view the exercise in good light as it would seem to weaken their role in combating the menace.

“It is a positive intervention but it is very minimal because the criminals will not have the courage to give arms in public. Maybe they can be allowed to give secretly in the mosques. Or they can come up with a toll number that is free of charge to say ‘tumeziwacha mahali,’ or they can give a Human Rights Officer because the youth trust them like MUHURI and HAKI Africa.” (Learning Institution representative, Mt. Kenya University, Mombasa)

“It is good. It will give room but it is tricky because they are afraid of being victimized.” (Lecturer, Kilifi)

“It is a positive move and is a way of supporting the security arm. If the youth could give themselves up it could be a good way to reduce radicalization.” (Police, Kilifi)

“There is a problem because some came up and were arrested by police and sued so no one is ready to come out. Maybe they can drop at the gate then the mosque or the church report to police and come and collect it.” (Imam, Mombasa)

“Situation has reached point of no return because the damage is already done by the ill done by security agencies that has made the government the ‘bad guy.’” (County Development)

“It is difficult for a suspect to turn in arms without fear of prosecution. There will always be hunted and killed by the security agents if they do so.” (Fisherman, Lamu)

“It has happened before but it has not worked. Some who brought weapons at a crusade were arrested like in Nakuru. Also the police felt their role will be weakened.” (Pastor, Mombasa)

“I think it’s a good idea but only if they do it in good faith and return all the arms without some remaining.” (OCPD, Tana River)

“It’s a good idea but they should talk to the youths because the youths trust the clerics so much and what they say is what the youths do. The radical preachers need to tell the youths to return from those acts and return the arms.” (Gassa Elder, Tana River)

“Amnesty will also help because the youth will know that if they don’t take advantage of the period to surrender then the after effects may not be too good on them.” (SUPKEM representative, Taita Taveta)

“Good idea to register but proper channels and well researched ways are to be followed to avoid infringing on the freedom of worship.” (Teacher, Lamu)

“I think that is a good idea because the government will have track on all churches and mosques within the country. It’s easy to deal with registered churches and mosques because they will not engage in such acts due to fear of deregistration.” (Chief, Taita Taveta)

“Dialog is a thing of the past. Having dialogue without action will not work. Lets try to understand what can be done to the youth interns of entrepreneurs that will get them out of their ‘mabuni’ because they are smoking bhang due to that they lack something to do. Having dialogue won’t work. Action on how youth will put food on their table will work.” (KEMYA representative, Kilifi)

“Dialogue is a waste of time as well. They need a tough hand because once they reach that stage of terrorism, they cannot easily come out of it. They need an iron fist to come out of it. Even if they were to come out, it would be a withdrawal tactic, surrender into a corner if they sense danger then regroup. Worse still most of them live in Somalia so if you dialogue with those in Kenya, what will happen to those who are in Somalia?” (Retired Military Commander, Taita Taveta)

Views on Submission of Arms Amnesty

The study established that this was also overwhelming supported with some respondents arguing that lack of substantial dialogue is what led to radicalization in the first place. If the radicalized youth could be given a communication channel to air out their concerns, then that would ensure that they are addressed and thereby reducing the influence of radicalization. However some feel the initiative is too late and other strategies should be looked into.

“You know most of the radicalised youth in the Coast are Digo and you know Digos strongly believe in agreement. So if there can be a dialogue the promises for peace and such things are not met then there can be worse repercussions. So we must think through it and there is need to approach it with a very sober mind to handle such issues of dialogue.” (OCPD, Kwale)

“CIPK will not be able to hold dialogues because the youth sees them as old and their education is analogous hence they need youthful imans who can relate with them.” (Gassa Elder, Tana River)

“CIPK and the government know how many churches and mosques that are in place and monitor their activities... it will work because those doing wrong things would fear of being disregistered.” (OCPD, Tana River)

There is a rumour that CIPK is sponsored by Americans and therefore their proposal can be viewed with suspicion and cannot work.” (Teacher, Lamu)

There is a problem because some came up and were arrested by police and sued so no one is ready to come out. Maybe they can drop at the gate then the mosque or the church report to police and come and collect it.” (Imam, Mombasa)

“Situation has reached point of no return because the damage is already done by the ill done by security agencies that has made the government the ‘bad guy.’” (County Development)

“Dialogue is a waste of time as well. They need a tough hand because once they reach that stage of terrorism, they cannot easily come out of it. They need an iron fist to come out of it. Even if they were to come out, it would be a withdrawal tactic, surrender into a corner if they sense danger then regroup. Worse still most of them live in Somalia so if you dialogue with those in Kenya, what will happen to those who are in Somalia?” (Retired Military Commander, Taita Taveta)

Views on Registration of Churches and Mosques

According to the study some respondents do agree that religious places should be registered for record keeping and as measure of deterring radicalization in holy places. However the suggestion given by the government to register religious places was considerably leaning to the negative with some respondents saying the places are already registered or even that the exercise will be in futility. Those not in support argued that radicalization is not taking place under trees; it is taking place in registered holy houses, so reregistering will make no difference.
“All mosques are registered so there shall be nothing new if they are registered again. A mosque that promotes radicalization will do so whether registered or not. Instead the government should devise ways of getting intelligent information from the common mwananchi to help curb insecurity.” (SUPKEM representative, Taita Taveta)

“It is null and void. It has never happened. You can't register God, God registered government. It is faith and you can't set standards.” (Pastor, Mombasa)

“I do not understand because my church is registered and the government knows about it. We even have a constitution; the Attorney General has our constitution. Isn’t this what happens in other churches and Mosques? I’m not seeing anything new here.” (Pastor, Lamu)

“Registering of mosques and churches won’t help, Kenya is a secular state. They are supposed to support guidelines and policies that will help the institutions adopt, accept and protect the constitution.” (KEMYA representative, Kilifi)

“This is a wrong move since these are matters to do with faith and not business. It could be a way to start collecting taxes from religious organizations which to me is not acceptable.” (Kadhi, Lamu)

“Registration of churches and mosques will have any effect on reducing radicalization, because the mosques that are used in influencing the youth into radicalization are big mosques with formal structures of leadership but radicalization still happens in them.” (Sharia Consultant/ Madrassa Teacher, Kwale)

Views on Devolution and Tackling of Terrorism

The study found that devolution is viewed as a small antidote to radicalization. Due to the expected redistribution of resources, the respondents think that finally the issues that draw youth to radicalization will be addressed permanently. However some cautioned that devolution might actually increase radicalization. For example Taifa Taveta County had 37 advertised county jobs; of those employed as a result only three were of the Muslim faith. This could be viewed as discrimination which is actually a main catalyst of radicalization.

“Security will be decentralized. The counties will take charge of county security then leave a national body to oversee what is happening in every county…The county government should be involved in the security issues because the national framework of security is not working very well.” (Lecturer, Kilifi)

“In real devolution where there is proper and pure distribution of resources and power. …the county government will be in full control of security matters which are still under the national government.” (Madrassa Teacher, Kilifi)

“Devolution will help if it comes with money to the grass roots. The money should be used for income generating activities, programmes on youth empowerment to help keep the youth busy and off of radicalization.” (Hotelier, Kilifi)

“If security functions could have been devolved then it would have been easy to take leaders into account. The chiefs and assistant chiefs have a better contact with community and should therefore be involved more on security matters.” (Boat Operator, Lamu)

“Securitiy will be decentralized. The counties will be in full control of security matters which are still under the national government.” (Madrassa Teacher, Kilifi)

“Funds for facilitation will be easily accessible through the county government since it has got allocations. By the county government funding the community it will strengthen it since the youth can engage in income generating activities and be self employed. The county government should engage the youth on matters of development and keep them busy to avoid being involved into radicalization.” (MCA, Kilifi)

“I think strategy to create job for the youth at county level will work to reduce radicalization.” (Deputy Director, Kwale)

“I think through devolution the youth are able to get tenders that are being advertised by the government of the county because the law requires 30% of the tenders must be left for youth and women. So I think through that it will be able to engage the minds of the youths when they win the tenders and in turn reduce radicalization of the youths.” (OCPD, Kwale)

Views on Learning Institutions

From the study it emerged that some respondents believe there is radicalism going on in some learning institutions. The only difference is the level and motivation for radicalization. Some respondents argued that radicalization is being spread in schools by peer pressure. The administration was however not mentioned as a factor in the spreading of radicalization.

Others however were not aware of any radicalization in learning institutions. Others simply refute the claim citing that it is impossible to do this in classes full of children with different religions.

“...schools like Maganyankulo in Mombasa radicalization happens and even in the madrassa in the Coast region some of them radicalise the youth.” (OCPD, Kwale)

“Yes indeed. It is being spread in learning institutions e.g a teacher either in madrassa or any learning institution that brings up with such extreme ideologies and teachings engage the pupils by teaching them in schools or college. Definitely those youth will be influenced to be radicals. Imagine a class 2 pupil tells a teacher by drawing a map of Kenya excluding the entire Coast region in the map. You know this pupil is telling you that Coast is not part of Kenya. So those are young minds that have been radicalised.” (Sharia Consultant/ Madrassa Teacher, Kwale)

“Yes, because youths in institutions and schools are most vulnerable.” (KEMYA representative, Kilifi)

“These movements are very clandestine and its very difficult to know what takes place within the student body. It is a secretive organization and it would be very difficult to know if they actually exist.” (Priest, Taita Taveta)

“It is penetrating in schools, colleges and universities. In some schools there are writings on the walls that Alshabab, Jihad is the answer. Khalifa is not democracy it is hypocrisy hence you know that there is radicalization. In universities and colleges it is through the internet.” (Lecturer, Kilifi)

“It is there in schools but not much.” (MCA, Kilifi)

“Yes, it’s being spoken in schools by students loudly.” (Youth representative, Kisumu)
“It has started but the government was able to stop it.” (CBO, Mombasa)

“I have not heard of radicalization happening in schools and colleges here in Lamu. Maybe in other areas. If it is happening there must be outsiders who are aiding it since these are young minds.” (Kadhi, Lamu)

“In Lamu I have not heard of such a thing. May be elsewhere not in Lamu.” (Women group treasurer, Lamu)

For those who claimed that there was radicalization in learning institutions that it can be ended by:

- Having F.G.D.’s for students to be given platforms at school to discuss and air their views, for them to be addressed in future.
- Holding debates, shows and discussions with the youth so as to gauge the level of radicalization.
- Establishment of peace and justice clubs at schools where people can discuss about peace and peer educators can be used to educate other members from the school.
- Development of a youth friendly material on radicalization at schools and put them in libraries. Some scholars should make CDs on moderate views just like radical clerics have made CDs that young people are much interested in listening and are made available in libraries, DVDs etc.

Teachers need to be empowered, trained, given capacity building on how to handle the young. Some like in madrassas are traditionally trained and times are changing.

Views on Whether Terrorism is a Cultural/Religious/Political Issue

From the respondents it emerged that radicalism and terrorism is not in entirety linked to religion. It is used as a pretext to lure the youth. The terrorists it seemed that the terrorists try to deflect their intentions to portray a religious war in order to recruit youth easily. Other respondents claimed that politicians are part of radicalization as they are the ones who bail out terror suspects. In their claims of the political angle respondents noted the massacres in Mpeketoni and Mandera.

“This is a political problem camouflaged in religion. These are terrorists who are taking cover in Islam because they are all Muslims and when hit hard, they want it to be seen as if the government is against Muslims. That is why if they go to Mandera and Mpeketoni, they will kill Christians because they want it to be seen as a religious war which is not true. Kenya did not send its forces to Somalia because of religion; it was because of criminal activities that were now crossing in to Kenya.” (Retired Military Commander, Taita Taveta)

“...I feel there is political and religious influence since in Coast, Mombasa, radical leaders in the church are the youth into radicalisation and like the Mpeketoni attacks it was perceived to be politically instigated and even the governor arrested for questioning, MRC came up as political incitement as some people say it was MRC attacks in Mpeketoni, so that’s why I say it was politically instigated.” (Security Organ, Tana River)

“There is a political and religious aspect in the issue of radicalization of youth. Radicalization comes with a religious face to solve a political problem. The many issues that the youth get recruited to handle are not religious issues but political... Religion just finds itself intertwined in this because most of the Coastal community belong to the Islamic faith but their issues are not any different from other regions”. (Priest, Taita Taveta)

Views on the Impact of Terrorism on Business

Change of business operating time. The business people have been forced to open their businesses late and close them early since the customers themselves do not venture out for longer hours as before for fear of terror attacks.

“The business opens late and closes early yet most customers are people who work in offices and can only get time in the evenings when businesses have already closed for fear of being attacked.” (Business Woman & Village elder, Taita Taveta)

Low returns. As a result of irregular business hours and low number of customers, businesses have had to contend with extremely low returns. According to a Tuk Tuk Owner in Kilifi, the situation keeps getting worse and business is becoming unsustainable.

Unemployment. Due to low returns many businesses have run at a lose and closed down thereby creating immense unemployment.

Investors’ migration. Business investors due to travel advisories, higher insurance among other risks brought about by radicalization and terrorism threat continue to leave for other countries. Their confidence level is decreasing. One can only imagine how much revenue is being lost this way.

“Business totally is affected because if you find an area especially in Kwale, business you find the business people close their shops earlier than schedule time due to fear because those that are killed are at times business people.” (Chairman, Business Group, Kwale)

“The rate of unemployment has gone up extremely because all the people who were employed in the tourism sector have lost their jobs after businesses stopped operating when tourists stopped coming to the Coast for fear of being attacked.” (Business Woman & Village elder, Taita Taveta)
Security agents’ harassment and mistrust. There has been a lot of security deployment in the Coastal region. However this has also brought friction between the security officers and the community in their daily activies. The fishermen at Lamu for example feel they are harassed especially when mistaken for pirates.

“When we go for fishing, two groups are after us in the ocean; the pirates and Alshabab. Due to the presence of Navy in the waters the fishing industry has been greatly affected because of the confusion between genuine fishermen and pirates. There is harassment. Other businesses have been affected even by the curfew. Example speed boat engines are stolen yet there is curfew. Are the police charged with enforcing the curator involved?” (Fisherman,Lamu)

Views on how different stakeholders can eliminate youth radicalization at the Coast

On The Religious Leaders

All respondents agreed that religious leaders have a crucial role in fighting radicalization and terrorism. However some noted the efforts of the leaders are slowly being eroded by the threats the face and at times, their own greed.

- Engagement with the youth-the religious leaders should talk with the youth and enquire about the issues they face. They should preach peace among the youth and try to educate them on the ills of radicalization, how to spot it and what to do about it.

“As SUPKEM and religious leaders we always believe to prevent radicalization through better moral teachings of the Koran and beliefs that are positive and change the life of a youth not to engage themselves in such bad influence.” (Imam, Kwale)

“As Christians we teach youths to stay in Christ. This includes how people interact with one another in the community and with the government.” (Pastor,Lamu)

- Call for dialogue- the religious leaders should call the radical leaders and youth in order to speak with them and thereby find a way in ending radicalization. From the study it was noted that such a strategy has not born fruits so far as the radical youth and leaders shy away from such meetings. The religious leaders can also liaise with the government and NGOs/CBOs in order to build a substantive network that will net the problem.

“Islamic Religious leaders in Kenya through SUPKEM,CIPK and the Council of Muslim Ulamas (Islamic scholars) try calling on people who support and perpetuate extremism and terrorist ideology to come on board to have a productive and objective dialogue based on what the scripture says if Islam is under trial or attack.how should Muslims respond as a community.” (SUPKEM Representative, Taita Taveta)

- Using interreligious forums-the religious leaders invite youth into interreligious forums and teach them tolerance. In these forums they can also teach them the similarities in religions so that the youth end up with a view that they are not so different from each other, and that they can live together in peace. Some respondents however don’t think much has been gained form this.

“We have also tried addressing the issue from an interfaith platform by engaging members of other religions to get their views to have their stand neutralized.” (SUPKEM representative, Taita Taveta)

“In Kilifi they (religious leaders) are working as a team. They are coming together through groups called Christian Interfaith Council for maintaining peace, love and goodwill. There is no religious difference.” (MEWA representative, Kilifi)

- Proper translation of Holy verses-it is the responsibility of the religious leaders to translate and interpret the contentious verses in holy books that influence the youth into radicalization. There were suggestions that those tasked with teaching the holy books should be trained and helped in translating the books.

“They should come out clearly and translate the radical verses and explain what the verses mean ‘Islam means peace’ and some verses were revealed with some reason. Supporting madrassas teachers look at the verses with experts in Islam religion(scholars) come up with a common syllabus taught in all madrasas.” (NGO, Mombasa)

- Strengthening of committees e.g mosque committees: The study found out that there was need to strengthen the committees in holy places so that they are...
in a better position to ensure only appropriate content reaches the believers.

While most religious leaders were credited for trying some are accused of hypocrisy, using the holy places for their own benefit and being bad role models.

"The religious leaders should come up with committees in their mosques so as to evaluate what is being taught in the mosque. The committees has the mandate to give permission and if you go astray while preaching they tell you to sit down." (MUHURI representative, Kilifi)

"Religious leaders have similarly failed. They have been fine tuned to political and social status. Instead of them transforming the cause desire of the society they do it as a business. Churches are income generating companies not churches. The religious leaders view the society as service providers. They bleed the stock and feed themselves."

"(Pastor, Mombasa)"

"First of all people see religious leaders nowadays-Christians as businessmen and Muslim as radicalisers. Let the religious leaders behave themselves first. Some are even seen drinking alcohol at clubs. Then they can teach the true teachings of the bible and Quran? Let the religious leaders be examples that youths would like to emulate." (Youth representative, Kisauni)

"Other Sheikhs or pretenders to be Sheikhs with self interest come and teach the wrong Quran." (Youth representative, Mvita)

The Role of Kaya Elders/Gassa Elders

Regarded as traditional religious leaders, the Kaya elders have a big role to play in ending radicalization. As emerging from the study, they are:

- **Having awareness programmes**—they can have their own forums where they educate the communities around them about radicalization, and on the ways to stop it. This was suggested by the Kaya elders themselves, although they claimed they would need financial support to effectively do it.

- **Talking to parents in barazas**—they can target parents whose youth have been identified as radical. They can call them into barazas and advise them on how to handle it before the problem becomes too big for the community. Only then should they notify the security organs.

- **Having dialogue with the youth** (mouth to mouth)—since they know most residents in their community it is easier for them to talk to the youth on a persona, or private level. According to a Kilifi Kaya elder, they have started to do peace walk. In such instances they pass the message in more personal manner.

  - **Security meetings with key stakeholders**—they can meet with other security stakeholders and come up with practical ways of ending radicalization in the context of their counties. Additionally they can engage the government to provide them with resources that would enable them to make a bigger impact in preaching against radicalization.

Role of Politicians in fight against radicalization

In the study apart from the politicians themselves, most of the respondents argued that politicians are not doing enough to combat radicalization. In fact, some insisted that politicians are part of the problem. The politicians need to monitor what they are saying since sometimes it is their utterances that fuel radicalization in the youth, set up bursaries for needy students, host tournaments that will keep them the youth happy and engaged as well as opening avenues for the youth to easily access them as their leaders.

The political class has a role to play by preaching peace to the people they represent and encourage them to work together and avoid such acts which might create tension and slow development in the region. Politicians also should create laws in the county assembly and the national assembly to have stiffer penalties for those engaged in such activities. They should organise forums where the youths, the religious leaders and security organs meet regularly to know the root cause of such problems and find ways on how to stop such acts by involving those parties concerned so that they can feel that they are also involved into solving issues that affect them. They should encourage people in their areas to live peacefully and learn to...
stay together irregardless of their political or religious background.

Views on NGOs Working With the Youth

There was general positive perceptions of the NGOs working with the youth at the Coast. However it seemed the government does not share in the community’s perceptions.

Their roles include: sensitization of youth and children through forums/seminars; giving humanitarian assistance—although not directly tackling radicalization, but by providing this it alleviates poverty which is one issue that radicalism; helping in building capacity for alternative livelihoods—by providing training sessions or paying for the youth to be trained; through ‘bunge la usalama’ and women forums—platforms where youth and women can air out their grievances and be educated about radicalization as well as drug abuse; and providing legal assistance for those suspected of radicalization.

The challenges that the NGOs have faced so far in their fight against radicalization include: Lack of adequate funds to carry out their activities, being targeted by security officers as sometimes they are assumed to be protecting the radical youth, some youth not understanding the messages because of illiteracy, insults and threats from radical youth, and mistrust especially of Christian NGOs.

However NGOs have made several achievements despite their challenges. Such include: creation of awareness about radicalization, rehabilitation of radical youth, acquittal of prosecuted youth and creation of local networks that are essential in fighting against radicalization.

On The Role of Women in the Fight against Youth Radicalization

• Teaching and counselling children. Women have great influence in their children since they are often their primary care takers. It imperative then that from a young age they advise their children against radicalization by educating them right at the family level before other factors come into their lives. They can also emphasize the importance of education to their children in order to better their chances of being employed in the future.

• Report cases. In the study it emerged that women have a role of reporting incidences of radicalization since they are the ones mostly at home with the children. The only problem is that women find it difficult to report their own sons due to their maternal nature.

• Changing mindsets on the perception of having odd jobs. From the study it emerged that women need to advise their children to take up whatever jobs they find. The women tend to look down upon some jobs and influence their children to do the same, sometimes unknowingly thereby locking them away from potential jobs.

• Creating an open relationship with children. Women should have a free and open relationship with their children. This way they can easily find out what is going on in their children’s lives and be able to point them in the right direction before things get out hand.

• Organizing seminars. Women can also hold forums to discuss radicalization among themselves and educate other women. They can also hold them targeting the youth and the community as a whole. The government can facilitate this by provision of funds and advertisement. Influential women in the government can also hold these forums as they are bound to attract attention.
**Offering help in self employment.** Since unemployment is a vast problem and one of the main factors that push youth into radicalization, these organizations can help youth start income generating activities. They can do this by helping them identify their niche and assisting them with getting capital.

**Mentoring.** The youth who have made it in life can act as role models for the rest of the youth trying to make a living. They can talk to them in forums and do a follow up on the activities they have started to better themselves. They will serve as an inspiration.

**Peer education.** The youth can be used to talk to each other about radicalization because they tend to find it easier to listen to people in their own age bracket. Reformed youth can help convince the youth who are radicalized to stop it or even the ones who have not yet been radicalized not to consider it.

**Holding Consultative events.** Youth organizations can hold forums with the youth and the government, acting as the go between. By doing this they can act the go between informing the government of the youths emerging grievances and informing the youth on the actions the government intends to take.

The challenges youth organizations face in tackling radicalization include: Lack of adequate funds to carry out their activities, logistical difficulties, reluctant leadership some politicians are not willing to speak out against radicalization, rehabilitation hampered by security agents, mistrust radicalized youth do not trust that the youth organizations are working in their best interest. They think they work for the government and curfew restrictions, especially for the Lamu youth.

Despite this they have had various achievements such as: sponsoring of youth, election of some youth to be MCAs, establishment of peace clubs in primary and secondary schools, rehabilitation of radical youth, and training of youth to be life guards (as alternative employment).
The role of the private sector

From the study, the private sector is not doing enough to tackle radicalization at the Coast. Some respondents even felt that it is not the job of the sector to fight radicalization but the government’s. However some claimed that every business person can tackle radicalization in their own individual capacity by for example speaking to the customers, associations and their own families about the ills of radicalization. They can also come up with business ideas that can help the youth.

5.0 CONCLUSIONS

The study, which took 6 weeks, unearthed significant issues from the Coast that keep pushing the youth further away from tolerance into radicalization. This report shows that there is still a big problem at the Coast and it is increasing day by day especially in Mombasa, Kilifi, Kwale, and Lamu. Only Tana River and Taita Taveta had lower rates even when it came to the number of arrested suspects. This can be attributed to among other reasons their geographical location since it was overall argued that foreigners are the ones who bring this extreme ideology and that proximity to Somalia (where Alshabaab is fighting radicalization). However it is only a matter of time until it spreads to them since radicalization is still being spread by technology i.e. videos on the internet, and CDs on radicalization being easily available.

The government’s approach to radicalization to radicalization was noted to be poor, just like the police. The security strategies put in place need a complete overhaul. For the religious leaders, it was suggested that they should be given security and that they should do more in their role as spiritual leaders. Learning institutions also have a big role to play by educating children on radicalization and life skills.

In addition to this, women organizations were noted to be playing their role well except for the major barriers that can be addressed. The main challenge is to enable that woman at home to speak about radicalization and life skills.

The Kaya/Gassa elders also play an integral part in fighting radicalization. Their main challenge is funds to reach more youth. Since the private sector is affected catastrophically whenever terrorist acts occur, they also have a role in fighting radicalization from their own families and customers.

On issues that require further research, there is need to do research on; why even learned people who have jobs engage in radicalization; how do children as young as 12 become radicalized when they don’t face issues such as unemployment; effects of radicalization on the girl child and why youth from counties that are not near Somalia get radicalized e.g. youth from Western Kenya or Central Kenya.

In conclusion, there was general consensus that radicalization can be ultimately defeated in Kenya, in the long run, if everyone plays their part.
6.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

• **Historical Injustices** e.g. improper land allocation. The government should review its land allocation policies to address the land problem that has been there since President Jomo Kenyatta’s reign in office. It can incorporate recommendations from the reports of the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (2013) Vol IIB on historical injustices as well as other documented reports that have been done regarding the same. Additionally, each county should have data about the youth: those in schools, those employed e.t.c. This would help the authorities, the government in particular, to tackle the youth issue with actual figures at hand.

• **Political Influence.** It is important that the National Cohesion and Integration Commission to be given more teeth to prosecute politicians perpetrating hate speech. Furthermore, it needs to reinvent its image as a platform that treats all equally because as per now, it seems that politicians go almost scot free e.g. Moses Kuria, while the common wanianchi suffers more like Alan Wadi who is jailed for one year after insulting the President on social media. Additionally the Uwezo fund as well as the 30% tender allocation for the youth should not be politicized.

• **Corruption, nepotism and tribalism.** There is urgent need to combat this through empowerment of people, educating them about their rights, implementing structures that will stop this e.g. all employees should be registered and a government inspector to be checking if there is any relationship that may have led to nepotism (for hire). In addition, fines for those caught bribing should be increased.

  The suggestion to increase fines for those caught bribing was however contentious as some respondents thought that by increasing the fines, the proponents will simply in correlation increase the ‘kitu kidogo.’

• **As reaction of government’s treatment.** The government was noted to be extremely harsh in dealing with the community. It needs to involve the very community through community policing like Nyumba Kumi, holding dialogue with radical youth and Imams to uncover their actual problems, come up with proper laws to fight radicalism, highly monitor the Somali-Kenya border, monitor hiring agencies that give jobs in Arabic Countries, put up an anonymous toll free line to report radicalization and advertise it to the community in radios. From the study some respondents were aware of the existence of such a number but argued since it is advertised on the television many people do not get access to it. In addition there was a recommendation that the government should liaise with telecom service providers such as Safaricom to send citizens sms that would remind them on procedures of reporting radicalization as well as motivating them to do so.

  On the view that the government should enact stricter laws to combat radicalization, it should be noted that this study was done prior to the introduction of the Security Amendment Bill, Act 2014.

• **Denial.** There is need to organize seminars/workshop to educate the community about radicalization and how to stop it, especially in the rural areas where most do not yet know how to spot it until it is too late. Parents should also be educated and encouraged to spot radicalization behavior in their children and report it as their civic duty. They should be made to understand the importance of their role in saving lives.

• **Lack of employment.** The government should provide job opportunities for the youth at the Coast. In allocation of employment recruitment, the residents of the Coastal region should be given a fair share I order to combat the feeling of marginalization as well as alleviate poverty in the region. In addition it can provide funds like Uwezo funds, but on that they should also educate on how such money can be well managed. A module about financial management could be introduced for the youth. Most youth it emerged, do not know how to invest the money well/productively.

• **Lack of information and misinterpretation of Holy Books.** The youth should be advised to read the Holy books by themselves first and understand them. There should also be a body that inspects what is being taught in the churches and mosques discreetly.

  Another suggestion was to incorporate surveillance camera and records what is going on in the holy places. This however elicited a lot of concern with regards to who will do the monitoring, who will protect the cameras form being stolen and the feeling that prayer should be a private affair not privy to the public. In addition others pointed out that Westage had surveillance cameras, the place Hon. Muchai was killed also had surveillance cameras yet they did not help.

  Those supporting the suggestion however noted that it would serve as a scare tactic for the would-be radicals as they know they will be caught on tape easily by the government.

• **Lack of education.** Education should be made affordable and accessible to the youth. In addition it should also be quality education, at par with the rest of the Country. The government should invest in more teachers and bursaries for gifted children because as now the burden is on NGOs and the private sector. In addition, the current curriculum should be reviewed to add a topic about radicalization so that children grow up fighting it. The religious leaders should also go to schools and give lectures once in a while about life and radicalization. Furthermore, there should more vocational training opportunities for children who do not pass as much as to go to campus after form four. And finally, the youth should be taught on how to manage their finances well e.g. the Uwezo fund.

• **Deception.** Youth should be advised to find out where the money freely given to them is coming from and for what. Parents should also try to develop a close
relationship with their children so that they can enquire where such money is from, and to be able to note the signs of radicalization in their children. Prior to travelling in to any foreign country, the youth should be taught on what to do once they find themselves stranded there. They should be some form of insurance that they can have such that if anything untoward happens in the foreign country they can afford to get themselves back home.

- **Lack of proper communication channels for the youth to air their grievances.** The government should provide avenues of dialogue with the youth through forums or delegation of youth being sent to State House to present their case. The youth representatives in the parliament should be vocal and advocate issues that also affect the ones living in the Coastal region.

- **Negligence on the part of parents/ Neglect of the boy child.** Parents should spend quality time with their children in order to know what is going on their lives. Despite their busy schedules parents should set aside time to be with incorporated in the activities their children are getting into. They should be able to ascertain where their children are at all times and report to the police if anything suspicious happens. Parents and the government should also focus on the boy child just like the girl child. The boy child at the Coast feels neglected and chooses radicalization as a way to be heard.

- **Lack of recreational facilities and sports that will keep youths engaged.** In every County there should be a good stadium, and other recreational facilities to engage the youth’s minds. Youth should also be encouraged to pursue sport as and an alternative career choice.

- **Harassment by police.** The police should undergo total reforms from the bottom up (firing Kimayo was not the issue if the traffic cop still asks for bribes from mama mboga). They should be retrained in PR and handling suspects well. At the moment in the Coastal region the police are viewed with fear and contempt with stories of harshness and accusations of extrajudicial killings being linked with them. They should also have a caring customer care desk, have a proper chain of command, and have sophisticated weapons to fight terrorism (rungu vs machine gun).

- **Lure of quick money by the Al Shabaab and Poverty.** This can be solved by employment. Creation of jobs should be done by the government and private sector. Once the youth get jobs such cash will not be as alluring to them. A programme should be started on how the youth can find avenues for employment in years to come. It should feature ideas on how even future employment can be found for the growing children. There should also be holding of forums to educate the youth on ills of the radicalization.

- **Drug abuse and trafficking.** The government should tighten its nose on those peddling drugs at the Coast. The barons should be investigated and brought to books. But since many respondents argue that some barons have links to the government, NGOs and schools can educate youth on this through CDs and plays. These should be aimed at discouraging drug uptake among the youth. However for those already addicted to drugs, there should be a regional programme that would ensure they would get the rehabilitation they need.

- **Identity Crisis and other psychological issues.** There should be free guidance and counselling for the youth in their delicate age. Religious leaders should also play a role in guiding them as they grow, as they listen to them more, sometimes more than they heed their parents.

- **Cultural connotations.** The youth at the Coast are accused of loving the easy way out and being lazy. Exchange programmes should be done to ensure youth grow in a multicultural society of hard work and tolerance and exchange ideas. It should be a nationwide initiative occurring at least twice a year. In addition influential youth from the Coast who have made it, should have forums with rest on how to succeed and dispel the myth.

- **Feelings of religious discrimination.** The government should not been seen as targeting one religion. At the moment according to the study, members of the Islamic religion feel unfairly targeted and discriminated against. They should protect the religious leaders from all sides, conduct proper investigations, and include all religious leaders in their strategies to combat terrorism.
7.0 BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Phelix Ochola (22nd Feb 2014) How to end radicalization of youth at the Coast; found at http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/article-156337/how-end-radicalisation-youth-coast#sthash.zFw4tSPP.dpuf


5. Wanja Gathu (11th November, 2014) The Star: Islamic Radicalization Threat to Kenyan Children


7. Calvin Onsarigo (20th November 2014) The Star: Police find weapons in Mombasa mosques


15. MUHURI website


17. Ramadhan Rajab (5th December, 2014) The Star: 100 GSU, APs raid Riyadha Mosque


APPENDICES

Appendix A: Terms of Reference

TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR THE MUHURI STUDY ON RADICALISATION

1.0 Background

Radicalization is a major problem facing Kenya today and hindering her effective development. In the recent years the government and nongovernmental organizations have been concerned about radicalization of the youth and its presumed link with the growing threat of terrorism. While terrorist attacks in Kenya have over the years targeted Western interests such as the American Embassy in Nairobi, the Israeli Beach Hotel in Kikambala (North of Mombasa) and the Westgate Shopping Mall in Nairobi associated with Westerners and the Kenyan elite, recent attacks associated with terrorism have expanded their scope to include small scale attacks on local targets such as grenade attacks on buses and busy areas such as the massive Gikomba Wholesale and retail market. The most shocking attack took place in Mpeketoni Township in Lamu on the night of June 16 and 17. Over sixty people were massacred in that operation.

Is there a link between these acts of terror and radicalization of youth? What could be the material conditions fueling radicalization and acts of terrorism? What could be the subjective or ideological factors likely to fan the embers of radicalization and terrorism? What could be the hidden political interests behind the said radicalization and growing threat of terrorism?

These are the un-answered questions that MUHURI proposes to answer by commission a study with a view to deepen our understanding on the issues of radicalization of youth and the growing threat of terrorism in the Coast region of Kenya.

2.0 Scope of study

The study will be conducted in all the six counties of the Coast region.

3.0 Methodology

The study will take an Action-Research approach. It will involve participation of community based stakeholders on discussing the key questions and search for related solutions. The process will be accompanied by technical persons who will summarize views from stakeholders and subsequently validate those views with the same stakeholders. The second stage will focus on desk study to contextualize (more information including statistics as well as relevant analysis) the views and solutions expressed by stakeholders’ at community level. The final product by technical persons will be final report on each county. This report will be used to engage government at county and national level to influence policy on community participation in enhancing security through de-radicalization of youth and check the spread of terrorism.

4.0 Objectives

- To understand the underlying issues that push the youth towards radicalization from the stand point of community based stakeholders in each county.
- To compile views and suggestions from community based stakeholders on how to check radicalization and spread of terrorism
- To enhance community based efforts to tackle radicalization and check acts of terrorism.
- To build capacity of communities to engage duty bearers and security officers on matters of radicalization and threat by terrorism.
- To gather statistics that will inform future engagement with the government and the community

5.0 Conclusion

To actualize the above, MUHURI will seek collaboration with institutions or agencies that have had a history of studies/surveys on security challenges at the Coast of Kenya.

6.0. Duration of Assignment

- 30 Working Days broken down into:
  - Desk Review: 5 Days
  - Writing of Inception Report: 2 Days
  - Field work: 15 Days
  - Data Analysis: 4 Days
  - Report Writing: 7 Days
  - Validation Workshop: 2 Days
  - Revision of Report: 3 Days

7.0. Responsibilities

7.1 Responsibilities of MUHURI International

- MUHURI will be responsible for the following:
  - Provide relevant program documents and essential contacts in the communities
  - Timely review and approval of consultant’s work, reports, templates and such other necessary materials. Assist the Consultant in contacting and bringing together MUHURI implementing partners during the research process.
7.2 Responsibilities for the Consultant

The consultant in consultations with MUHURI and its implementing partners will be responsible for carrying out the following activities:

- Review relevant project documents and background information.
- Develop detailed work plan for the county participatory workshops for review by the Program team.
- Develop the county workshop guidelines in consultation with Project team.
- Conduct county Participatory Workshops with community residents and stakeholders working and living in the different Coastal Counties.
- Draft 1st assessment report, including contact details of persons interviewed for review by MUHURI team.
- Participate in the dissemination of the final assessment report, which will be arranged by MUHURI.
- Update MUHURI PSD Project Officer on the progress of the TOR on a weekly basis.

8.0 Required Skills and Experience

- At least 8 years of professional experience in development management with in-depth knowledge of the Coastal region;
- Demonstrated experience in designing and conducting participatory action research workshops;
- Demonstrated knowledge of radicalization and counter violent extremism and be familiar with community engagement in sensitive areas;
- Good understanding of land and religious issues;
- Excellent documentation, presentation and communication skills at all levels of stakeholders required;
- Knowledge of the Coastal political and socio-economic context will be an advantage.

9.0 Application

Interested and qualifying parties should submit no more than 5 pages proposal (Proposals should be in Word documents using 12 point font) outlining the following:

- Proposed work plan with timeline.
- Realistic and reasonable detailed budget for the assessment including a narrative describing and justifying expense such as daily rates for proposed team members, number of days, and other direct costs. The proposal should be clear on treatment of taxes as may be applicable.
- A summarized schedule indicating the anticipated positions, the names and qualifications of the proposed individuals proposed to perform the requirements described in the Scope of Work and their respective LOE.
- Signed Curriculum vitae of proposed Core team up to two pages each (this will not count against the 5 page limit for the proposal).
- Mandatory Legal documents as applicable (P.I.N, Certificate of Registration/ incorporation, VAT Certificate) where applicable
- Three Letters of support for previous similar work undertaken within the last three (3) years.

The level of effort (LOE) is estimated at 30 Man days. The proposal and all correspondence and documents relating to the proposal shall be in English. All prices shall be quoted in Kenya Shillings.

10.0 Evaluation Criteria

Proposals submitted will be evaluated on the basis of technical strength and financial strength as follows:

A. Technical Strength (50 points) - This entails the evaluating the applicant on:

- The extent that proposal demonstrates a clear and effective overall technical approach to performing the requirements described in the SOW.
- Qualifications of Proposed Personnel (Demonstrated expertise, experience, and availability of personnel to meet the requirements of the SOW).
- Capabilities and Relevance of past Experience of the Organization, Including demonstrated capabilities and experience in working in the Coastal region.
- Reference Checks Relevance on tasks previously undertaken by the applicant including Quality of service, cost control, timeliness of performance, and meeting goals and targets, and customer satisfaction with performance.

B. Financial Strength (30 points) -

The lowest price cost proposal will receive the highest score for cost. Higher priced
cost proposals will receive a correspondingly lower score. To assist in evaluation and comparison of cost proposals, MUHURI may ask an Applicant for clarification or further breakdown of the Applicant’s price.

C. Interview with the proposed Teams (maximum 20 points)

11.0 Submission guidelines

The bids must be received no later than 10th October 2014 at 5.00 p.m. East African time. Bids shall be submitted by email to info@muhuri.org. Bids received after this day and time shall not be accepted. Failure to furnish all the information required for submission of this proposal may result in a rejection of such proposal.