THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN INFLUENCING RADICALIZATION

(CASE STUDY OF MAJENGO-NAIROBI, KENYA)

BY

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SCIENCE IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR
MASTER’S DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY-AFRICA

SUMMER 201
STUDENT’S DECLARATION
I, the undersigned, declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other college, or university other than the United States International University- Africa for academic credit.

Signed: _______________________________ Date: _____________________

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This thesis has been presented for examination with my approval as the appointed supervisor

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ABSTRACT
In the past 10 years, Kenya has seen a surge in terror related attacks characterized by unimaginable carnage to human life and property. The Kenyan government has been at the forefront of ensuring that radicalization is halted in all its roots but with the advent of social media at the turn of the century, these efforts have become a Herculean task and new frontiers of thinking needed to beef up the efforts. Radicalization by Al Shabaab operatives in Majengo has predominantly been through several platforms like Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, YouTube and Telegram. Large scale unethical application of technology has led us to a dystopian digital world which is an imaginary digital society that is as dehumanizing and unpleasant. The internet was designed to maximize simplicity of communication not security of communication. Al-Shabaab has exploited social media such as Twitter, Facebook and YouTube to spread their propaganda and recruit new members, they use their online narrative to indoctrinated sympathizers through internet advocacy. This thesis seeks to answer to what is the extent to which social media is an effective tool of recruitment ground for extremist, the online recruitment patterns and recruitment narratives, why Radical Violent Extremist use social media, and what are the policy regulations for responsible use of social media can be used to mitigate radicalization. This research also seeks to answer uncover the trends and how several scholars support that social media plays a huge role in the radicalization of youth in Majengo Nairobi, with the end goal of informing counter-violent extremism strategists of the advancements in digital technology. The study adopted a qualitative research design. It relied on both primary and secondary sources of data. In terms of primary data, the study relied on interviews and questionnaires and included youth, community workers, and faith-based leaders. Data was analyzed through Interpretative and quantitative content analysis.
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DEDICATION

I dedicate this to the Almighty God, thank you for the guidance, strength, power of mind, protection and skills and for giving me good healthy life. All of these, I offer to you. I dedicate this work to my loving parents for their invaluable financial and moral support. Without their determination, the completion of my studies would have not been achieved.
# Table of Contents

STUDENT’S DECLARATION .................................................................................................................. ii

ABSTRACT ........................................................................................................................................ iv

ACKNOWLEDGMENT .......................................................................................................................... v

DEDICATION ......................................................................................................................................... vi

LIST OF FIGURES ............................................................................................................................... x

ABBREVIATIONS .................................................................................................................................... xi

TERMS AND DEFINITION ..................................................................................................................... xiii

CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION ...................................................................................... 1

1.0 Background of the study .................................................................................................................. 1

1.1 Statement of the Problem ................................................................................................................ 5

1.2 Objectives of the study .................................................................................................................... 6

1.2.1 General Objective .......................................................................................................................... 6

1.2.2 Specific objectives ......................................................................................................................... 6

1.3 Research Questions ......................................................................................................................... 6

1.4 Significance of the study .................................................................................................................. 6

1.5 Scope of the Study ............................................................................................................................ 7

1.7 Theoretical Framework ................................................................................................................... 8

1.7.1 Symbolic Communication Theory ............................................................................................... 8

1.7.2 Constructivism Theory ............................................................................................................... 9

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW .......................................................................................... 11

2.0 Introduction ..................................................................................................................................... 11

2.2.1 Radicalization Factors for Extremist .......................................................................................... 11

2.2.3 How Online Radicalization Works ............................................................................................ 16

2.2.4 Recruitment Narratives in Kenya .............................................................................................. 18

2.2.5 Ideological Driven-Religious Identity ....................................................................................... 21

2.2.6 Securitization and Marginalization .......................................................................................... 22

2.2.7 African Union Mission in Somalia-Bombardment .................................................................... 23

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY ............................................................................................. 25

3.0 Introduction ..................................................................................................................................... 25

3.1 Research Design ............................................................................................................................ 25
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Target Population</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 Sampling Design</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 Data Collection and Methods</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 Sample Size</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 Key Informants</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5 Data Analysis</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6 Ethical Considerations</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6.1 Confidentiality</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6.2 Informed Consent</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7 Conclusion</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8 Chapter outline</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND FINDINGS</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.0 Introduction</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Terrorist forums on Social media</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Twitter Radicalization</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 Radicalization through YouTube</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4 Radicalization through other Platforms</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5 Qualitative Interviews</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6 Chapter Summary</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.0 Introduction</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 General Summary and Conclusion</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Recommendations</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.1 Public Participation of Information to Government Bodies</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.2 Capacity building of Cyber Crime Unit</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.3 Introduce new law on Technology, Social Media and Terrorism</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.4 Campaigning against Terrorism using Social Media</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.5 Newly developed Technological Instruments and Adequate Training</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.6 Lend a hand to Developers who Care about Ethics in Development</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.7 User Education on Misinformation and Tech Platforms</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.8 Engage Community and Allies as we do these things</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.9 Promote Ethics in Religious Education</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2.10 Government should Curb Unlawful Killings</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3.7 The Madrassa/Quran Scapegoat ................................................................. 49
References .................................................................................................................. 51
APPENDIX I: COVER LETTER .............................................................................. 58
APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE ONE ................................................................. 59
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.2: Terrorist forums on social media ................................................................. 29

Figure 4.3: Twitter Radicalization ................................................................................. 33

Figure 4.4: Radicalization through Youtube ................................................................. 34

Figure 4.5: Radicalization through youtube ................................................................. 35

Figure 4.6: Radicalization through other platforms ..................................................... 37
**ABBREVIATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AMISOM</td>
<td>African Union Mission in Somalia</td>
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<tr>
<td>ATPU</td>
<td>Anti-Terror Police Unite</td>
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<td>CVE</td>
<td>Counter Violent Extremism</td>
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<td>CAK</td>
<td>Communications Authority of Kenya</td>
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<td>EAC</td>
<td>East African Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>GPS</td>
<td>Global Positioning System</td>
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<td>HSM-PRESS</td>
<td>Harakat Al-Shabaab Al Mujahidin press office</td>
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<td>ISIS</td>
<td>Islamic State of Iraq and Syria</td>
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<td>IED</td>
<td>Improvised Explosive Device</td>
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<td>IP</td>
<td>Internet Protocol</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICU</td>
<td>Islamic Courts Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICT</td>
<td>Information and communications technolog</td>
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<td>KDF</td>
<td>Kenya Defense Forces</td>
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<td>KICD</td>
<td>Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development</td>
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<td>MYC</td>
<td>Muslim Youth Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCTC</td>
<td>National CounterTerrorism Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NACOSTI</td>
<td>National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation</td>
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<tr>
<td>POTA</td>
<td>Prevention of Terrorism Act</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
RP  Respondent

PVE  Preventing Violent Extremism

SPSS  Statistical Package of Social Science

UNODC  United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

UN  United Nations

UNSC  United Nations Security Council
terms and definition

Cyberspace  This is the overall landscape of technology mediate communication. This includes not solely the web and the World Wide Web, however additionally mobile and fixed phone networks, satellite and cable Television, radio, the Global Positioning System (GPS), air-traffic management systems, military rocket steering systems, and device networks, etc. As additional devices return on-line by being connected to every alternative, computer network is quickly covering additional of the physical world and its channels of communication and expression.

Radicalization  This is a gradual or phased method that employs the philosophical acquisition of people and teams to socialize them into violent political theory and enlisting into terrorist teams or campaigns. it's dependent on a fanatical ideology that rejects dialogue and compromise in favor of a ends-justifies-ends approach, significantly within the temperament to utilize mass violence to advance political aims outlined in racial, ethnic, sectarian and non secular terms opposition the democratic principles enshrined in Kenya’s Constitution (Ministry of Interior-Kenya, 2016)

Terrorism  According to the Prevention of Terrorism Act 2012 (POTA), a "terrorist act" means an act or threat of action that involves the employment of violence against a person; endangers the life of a person, apart from the person committing the action; creates a heavy risk to the health or safety of the general public or a section of the public; leads to serious harm of property; involves the employment of firearms or explosives; involves the discharge of any dangerous, hazardous, virulent or hot substance or microrbic or alternative biohazard or poison into the environment; interferes with associate electronic system leading to the disruption of the availability of communication, financial, transport or alternative essential services; interferes or disrupts the availability of essential
or emergency services and prejudices national security or public safety. (Ministry of Interior-Kenya, 2016)

**Violent Extremism** Refers to actions of radicalized individuals who are prepared to engage in, or actively support, acts of violence in furtherance of radically illiberal, undemocratic political systems or ideologies. (Ministry of Interior-Kenya, 2016)

**Mujahideen** Mujahideen is the plural form of mujahid, the term for one engaged in Jihad. Its widespread use in English began with reference to the guerrilla-type military groups led by the Islamist Afghan fighters in the Soviet–Afghan War, and now extends to other jihadist groups in various countries.
CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of the study
Social media has become a new tool for communication especially amongst the young. It is estimated that 88% are Facebook users currently in Kenya (United States International University, 2019). Kenya has a large internet penetration compared to the rest of Africa. In fact, latest statistics by the Communication Authority of Kenya sector statistics report for the first quarter of the financial year 2017/18 (July – September 2017) revealed that the number of mobile subscriptions stood at 41.0 million up from 40.2 million reported in the preceding quarter, marking a growth of 1.9 per cent over the period. Subsequently mobile penetration rose by 1.7 percentage points to reach 90.4 per cent from 88.7 per cent recorded during the previous quarter. The 10 most downloaded Apps in Kenya were found to be Uber, Instagram, Facebook, Branch, Facebook Messenger, Trucaller, Tala, Facebook Lite, WhatsApp and Opera Mini. CA reported that data/internet subscriptions witnessed a growth of 4.3 per cent to stand at 30.8 million subscriptions from 29.6 million subscriptions reported the previous quarter, with mobile data/internet subscriptions contributing 99.0 percent of the total data/internet subscriptions. (Wamathai, 2018).

Now, this becomes a challenge for policing of virtual spaces. Considering that many youths are uneducated in the country. The Government has encouraged free education leading to an upsurge of intake of the number of youths going to school. However, there is also high levels of unemployment and others living below the poverty line considering, the number of youths leaving colleges and other academic institutions of higher learning are not able to secure jobs making them vulnerable to recruitment.

The internet as an aspect of cultural globalization can be considered as one of the largest and widest spread features. From the western capitals of the world to the interior of Africa to rural areas of the Middle East, the internet seems to have become available to
everyone. As said by the former United Nations secretary General Ban Ki-Moon, the internet is a prime example of how terrorist can behave in a truly transnational manner (UNODC, 2012, p. 56). This statement is an ideal example of how to fully understand the war on terrorism. Social media is the largest amplifier of terrorism now, terrorism no longer means tanks and bombs alone, the media has many other directions through which it influences its audience (Liimets, 2016).

The internet and especially social media are not only used for supposedly good purposes, for example the recruitment of new members and dissemination of ideologies of terrorism also takes place in the media. However, the fight against terrorism also makes use of the same tools. Social media plays a significant role in terrorism: The media are partly responsible for the people’s panic reaction; for example, fear enhances precautionary measure anger prevents them. Without a letter of confession, a farewell video of the assassin, an enemy captive or a last posting in the social media of a bomb attack would be nothing else than a capital crime. In 2016 Al-Shabaab released a propaganda video on the attack on the Kenya Defence Forces camp at El-Adde, Somalia. In the 50-minute footage, the terrorist group claims to have killed more than 100 Kenyan soldiers during the dawn raid. After the attack they also released a short clip of KDF soldier who were captured during the attack. Another perfect example is how Islamic state influence the minds of the young audience through recruitment videos. “Flames of War” is a 55-minute video released by islamic states in 2014 that promoted and encouraged the start of revolution. The video uses well adjusted graphics, live footage and night -vision scenes, which highly resembles a hollywood styles action movie. The message in the video encourages the youth to join revolution, which the islamic state is trying to achieve (Ruble, 2014).

Through this strategy, the crime turns into a terrorist act. However, terrorists do not rely on media-makers, themselves become the agent of the game and there is a reason for this
therefore, social media offers the advantage of immersion which means there is merger of more message circulation. The credibility of terrorist narrations is strengthened by spreading it about supposedly reliable portals like YouTube thus, it feels as if terrorist are one of us by using the same communication channels (weapon) as the recipient (Reuter, Patsch, & Runft, 2017). Not only does YouTube serves as propagator, in recent years twitter became the most popular internet platform for terrorist (Neer & O, Toole, 2014).

Groups with very different political goals but united in their readiness to employ terrorist tactics started using the network to distribute their propaganda to communicate with their supporters, to foster public awareness of and sympathy for their causes, and even to execute operations. By its very nature, the internet is in many ways an ideal arena for activity by terrorist organizations (Weimann, 2004).

The use of social media as a new communication platform introduces serious security and privacy concerns, with over 600 million internet users worldwide in 2005, today the Internet is recognized as a powerful instrument and has played a role in the spread of violent extremism and terrorism. (Resnick, Luke, & Toulouse, 1999)

Regarding the ways in which social media platforms have evolved, academics, socializing, and as a mode of entertainment and passing of information, The Influence of Social media has and continues to affect both regional and global security including new vectors for cyber-attack that the government and the military cannot ignore. Al-Shabaab, regularly use social media websites to disseminate propaganda with sole intention to reach out, recruit and radicalize their target audience. Al Shabaab use Social media to send false information, alarming messages, to the public to catch the attention of their sympathizer. Most of the social media users stay anonymous and cannot be easily traced. States therefore are faced with tough challenges to track, monitor and contain the use and
misuse of social media; Social media therefore poses major threats to the nation. This can be seen by the number of countries attacked through terrorist attacks over the past 20 years. Several terrorists, including Omar Mateen, who attacked the Pulse Gay nightclub in Orlando, Florida, murdering forty-nine people and injuring fifty-three others, were radicalized through the availability of social media (Alexander, 2017).

The attacks in Paris 2015, Brussels, Nice, and Berlin in 2016, and Istanbul in 2017, to mention a few current examples, did not only claim many victims but also had great political consequences. The so-called Islamic States (IS) which committed the attacks, especially use social media in a professional way to recruit new fighters and to advertise for their ideology (Reuter, Patsch, & Runft, 2017).

Social Media are bound together in an inherently symbiotic relationship, each feeding and exploiting the other for their purposes”. Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher commented that media provides terrorists with “the oxygen of publicity.” Media certainly provides terrorists with the useful link with their audience. If the media did not exist, terrorists would have to invent them. This has prompted terrorist expert Walter Lacquer to conclude that “the media are a terrorist’s best friend” (Hoffman, 2006).

Terrorists regard the media as a weapon of war. They identify the media as potential supplements to their arsenal. When terrorists successfully and violently manipulate important symbols, relatively weak movements can influence governments and entire societies. Even when a terrorist unit fails to complete its mission, intensive media exposure can lead to a propaganda victory (Gus, 2003, p. 295).
1.1 Statement of the Problem

Internet is the most suitable media used today by entirely everyone to achieve their goal be it in communication, learning, businesses etc. Social media is a collection of internet websites, services, and practices that support collaboration, community building, and participation through networking websites, such as Facebook, Myspace, and Twitter. Many western scholars stress that the World Wide Web, especially social media, has become a knowledge resource of unprecedented depth and richness, not just for journalists, but also for the public (Junco, Heibergert, & Loken, 2011).

Terrorist groups realizing those advantages, radical individuals and groups who utilize Internet for radical purposes flourished. The growing of modern radical and terrorist on the Internet is at the nexus of two key trends: the democratization of communications driven by user-generated content on the Internet and the modern terrorists’ growing awareness of the Internet’s potential for their Purposes, However, with the enormous growth in the size and use of the network, utopian visions of the promise of the Internet were challenged by the proliferation of pornographic and violent content on the web and by the use of the Internet by extremist organizations of various kinds.

Internet grants its users a measures of anonymity, a feature which has contributed in enabling immediate communication of decentralized network of terrorism (Enver, 2017, p. 16). Knowing the problem, is it difficult to monitor and police the internet? If terrorist are able to use the internet effectively then there is a problem with the regulation and social media sit attack was a Christian who recently converted to Islam, quoted this on her facebook profile “Jihadist wife” if only the Kenyan Intelligence payed attention to theses and not ignoring her for the fact that she doesnt won an Islamic name they could have prevented the attack from happening. There is therefore need to investigate the role
of social media in contributing to the spread of radicalization in order to develop policy recommendation to the security agencies in their fight against terror.

1.2 Objectives of the study

1.2.1 General Objective
The main objective of this study is to examine:

To what extent is social media (Facebook, Twitter) an effective method of recruitment used by extremists in Kenya.

1.2.2 Specific objectives
The following are the specific objectives:

i. To examine online recruitment pattern and recruitment narratives in Kenya.

ii. To examine the reason why Radical Violent Extremist, use social media.

iii. Recommend policy-oriented regulation for responsible use of social media

1.3 Research Questions
The following are the research questions that are used to answer this study:

i. What is the extent to which social media (Facebook, Twitter) is an effective method of recruitment ground for extremist in Kenya?

ii. What are some of the online recruitment patterns and recruitment narratives?

iii. Why do Radical Violent Extremist use social media?

iv. What are the policy regulations for responsible use of social media?

1.4 Significance of the study
The purpose of this study is to uncover the threats that the terrorist groups possess and the influence of social media. While traditional terrorism has affected governmental policy, and inflicted physical damage to people and infrastructure across the world, computers and the Internet could facilitate organization as well. This research is significant because
Radicalization and terrorism is an ever present reality for Kenya and this research seeks to understand the threat of Radicalization in Kenya and how social media contributes to it with the goal of using the information accrued to inform the generation of possible regulatory policies. Although, there is wide body of literature that is emerging in the Kenyan context on various facets of how radical group use social media, few studies have explored on why Radical Violent Extremism group use social media particularly in Majengo, Nairobi county. This work is therefore important for building on new knowledge drawing experiences from the Kenyan context. The study findings will be useful for both academic and policy reasons.

The research also intends to establish mechanism to counter radicalization through social media to fight terrorism. It is hoped that the government will realize the loopholes that the Al-Shabaab are using to conduct their terror and fortify its intelligence. Overall, this research is crucial as it shall create a better understanding on how social media is used in propagating radicalization in Kenya and terrorism as a whole. This study comes at a time when world peace is threatened by terrorism in different parts of world like Syria, Iraq, Pakistan, India, Philippines, Nigeria, Somalia, France, Kenya and many more. Currently, policy makers are seeking solutions to the increasing problem of radicalization, therefore, the research would contribute to this perspective because the Computer Misuse and Cybercrimes Act, 2018 centric interventions are hardly working. This study is therefore relevant to peace and conflict studies as it attempt to answer the questions of the study.

1.5 Scope of the Study
This study revolved around how the social media influences youth radicalization in Kenya, The study sites chosen was Majengo areas in Nairobi. In terms of justification for the study areas, Majengo informal settlement which borders the Eastleigh area which has
been constructed as a site of youth radicalization. In the Pumwani area, the activities of Al-Hijra- the wing of the Al-Shabaab operations in Kenya and formerly led by Sheikh Ahmed Imani Ali who established the Nairobi’s Muslim Youth Center (MYC) in the mid-2000s has been claimed in multiple literature as the site of youth recruitment (Anderson & McKnight, 2014).

Majengo has been securitized by the state for a variety of crime issues including terrorism. It is found in the capital city of Nairobi and has regional and global connections in terms of security. Mosques in Majengo has been used as sites of radicalization and hence it was relevant to assess the community responses to this challenge. In term of time scope, the research was conducted between January 2019 to July 2019.

1.7 Theoretical Framework
The theoretical foundation underpinning of this study is the Symbolic Communication Theory and Constructivism Theory

1.7.1 Symbolic Communication Theory
Communication scholars conceptualize modern terrorism within the framework of symbolic communication theory (Dowling, 1986). Dowling argues that “as a symbolic act, terrorism can be analyzed much like other media of communication, consisting of four basic components: transmitter (the terrorist), intended recipient (target), message (bombing, ambush) and feedback (reaction of target audience).” Others have even argued that terrorism is a theater aimed at not the actual victims, but rather at the people watching by the sides. Thus, modern terrorism can be understood as an attempt to communicate messages through the use of orchestrated violence (Weimann & Winn, 1994). Constructivism is interested in how the national interest, threat to those interest and their relationship to one another. Individuals interact with the surrounding environment is dependent on their understanding and analysis of the environment and its
events, in a way that the people create a kind of cognition plan and a mental framework in their mind from the surrounding social political environment and these assumptions determine their identity and behavior instead of the concrete and external reality (Borum, 2007, p. 14).

Jihadi ideology with applying the ideal images accelerate the radicalism. The extremists’ beliefs based on the unfairness of the current political-social relations and cruelty of the actions of the West causes they think of themselves as victims and oppressed (Borum, 2007, p. 27)

1.7.2 Constructivism Theory
Constructivism theory is interested in how actors define their interest threat to those interest and their relationships to one another. In the constructivism studies the institutionalized norms have a key role in determining the players’ interests and identities. These norms guide the action of the actors. The norms are in fact the same common mental expectations and are based on the values organizing the players’ behaviors. From this view the execution of the players is done according the principles and the norms which are themselves based on the mental and historical cultural experience background. In such an atmosphere, the assumption that the actors’ behavior is legal and predictable is meaningful in the context of the principles, beliefs and the social norms. The two increasingly accepted tenets of constructivism “that the structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than materials forces and that the identities and interest of purposive actors are constructed by these shared ideas rather than given nature (Hamed & Ali, 2017, pp. 189-192).

The most important elements of the identity violence are internal tribal-ethnical struggles, religious claims, and ideological hegemony. The religious beliefs form the ideological-intellectual aspects of the identity which are the static aspects of the a devoted and fanatic
person. The system of the religious beliefs works as the conceptual base of the devoted person and makes the life predictable for him and gives him a double faith and reliance. The person feels comfortable and secure due to these conditions. The violence occurs when the person feels the conceptual base of his identity is in danger or at least he/she thinks so. In these conditions the aggressive or the protective reactions are formed to avoid the elimination. Accordingly, the radical groups in different regions see the growth of the other identities as a danger to their conceptual base of their identity and the issue enforces them to perform the radical and terroristic actions.
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction
This chapter presents literature related to the topic as particularly conceptualized under the objectives of the study. It covers review of theoretical literatures and studies that have been conducted on the effect of social media in the contribution of radicalization. The related literature review will be obtained from books, websites on the internet, seminar papers, journals, periodicals and newspapers. The purpose of this literature review is to form a basis for the present study and to show knowledge gaps which this research seeks to address. It will also bring forth the dynamics and complexities as well as factors surrounding violent extremism.

2.2.1 Radicalization Factors for Extremist.
Terrorism refers to political violence that target civilians deliberately or indiscriminately beyond this basic definition, other criteria can be applied but definitions became politically motivated: One person’s freedom fighter is another’s terrorist. Traditionally, the purpose of terrorism is to demoralize a civilian population in order to use its discontent as leverage on national government or other parties to a conflict. Related to this is the aim of creating drama to gain media attention for a cause (Goldstein & Pevehouse, 2006, p. 207).

The literature dealing with the unique threat posed by terrorist on the use of social media and other digital media has developed slowly over the past decade as the world has grown accustomed to the ubiquity of these technologies in society. Several terrorism experts have recognized that the Internet and other digital media represent important tools now available to terrorists around the world. Emerging communication technologies, and social media platforms in particular, play an increasingly important role in the radicalization and mobilization processes of violent and non-violent extremists. Terrorist
using social media is not new, after the events of 9/11 the antiterrorism movement that followed, many terrorist groups moved to cyberspace, establishing thousands of websites that promoted their messages and activities (Weimann, 2014).

Wide-reaching, both policy and research pay a lot of attention to violent extremism, and violent radicalization as the process leading to violent extremism. Internet as a facilitator of radicalization is nothing new to researchers and policy makers. The globally distributed network has created new opportunities for terrorists to research a potential target. For example, it is often possible to find for free on the Internet detailed building schematics, photographs and even satellite imagery. In 2006 an organization linked to Al-Qaida reportedly produced a 26-page manual providing detailed instructions on how best to exploit the Google search engine (UN, 2011, p. 19).

With arriving at a new era of terrorist recruiting propaganda the terrorist group Daesh (‘Islamic State’) has nevertheless provided an astonishing account of highly effective online recruitment and radicalization mechanisms by proxy, convincing thousands of foreign fighters around the world of the group’s cause and to join their fight. Internet to explain why and how individuals moved from non-violent to violent political and religious activism, it is in most cases unclear how the mechanisms behind online based radicalization work. The current crisis in Syria has led to several Britons travelling abroad to fight with such groups as ISIS, Isis are now increasingly fighting an online cyber war, with the use of slick video, online messages of hate and even an application that aim to radicalize and creates a new generation of cyber jihadist. These modern-day tools are helping terrorist spread propaganda and ideology to thousands of online sympathizers across the world. The group has been using social media site such as Twitter, Facebook, Telegram and YouTube to recruit new members. (Awan, 2017)
The use of social media tools by individuals and organizations to radicalize individuals for political and social change has become increasingly popular as the Internet penetrates more of the world and mobile computing devices are more accessible. To establish a construct for radicalization, the power and reach of social media will be described so there is common understanding of what social media is and how it is utilized by various individuals and groups (Robin, 2011).

Modern terrorism began in France in the 1880s and within a decade appeared in western Europe, the Balkans and Asia. A generation later the wave was completed. Anarchists initiated the wave, and their primary strategy, assassination campaigns against prominent officials, was adopted by virtually all the other groups of the time, even those with nationalist aims in the Balkans and India. Significant example of secular rebel terror existed earlier, but they were specific to a particular time and country. The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) for example, made a striking contribution to the decision of the federal government, but the KKK had no contemporary parallels or emulators (Rapoport, December 2001).

Terrorist groups are increasingly using internet as an instrument for propaganda, radicalization and recruitment. The internet allows terrorists to convey their messages to international and distant audience with whom it would otherwise be difficult to communicate. The days are gone where, terrorists needed to travel far to make contacts and acquire skills on how to build bombs has rapidly decreased. Social media forums have now become a means for example, Twitter and Facebook now provide a ready-made Rolodex of sources (Osaherumwen, 2017).

The recruitment of violent extremists through social media remained central to ISIS’s terrorist campaign in 2016. The United States and its partners worked closely with social
media companies and others to lawfully counter and curtail use of the internet for misinformation purposes. According to Terrorist Risk Index for fall 2014-2017, it indicates that the statistic presents information on the Twitter presence and activity of ISIS as of Fall 2014. During the survey period it was found that ISIS supporters and members generated approximately 200,000 tweets and retweets per day. The Twitter accounts used by ISIS supporters in Fall 2014 was about 45,000, Number of Twitter accounts one ISIS supporter has had suspended was about 100, Number of supposed official accounts was 12.

Africa is also affected by this issue of endemic terrorism. According to the terrorist risk index for 2010-2011 the entire East African community (EAC) faces the same terror risk level as Uganda, which is placed among the high risk countries in the World. In 2012 the African Union force backing Somalia interim government was increased from 12,000 troops to nearly 18,000. These included the Kenyan troops who entered Somalia in 2011, in pursuit of Al-Shabaab militants. Therefore the troops were repeatedly threatened with revenge attacks in which the Kenyan government accuses the Islamic fighters as being behind the attacks. That latter have since unleashed various kidnapping on Kenyan soil and destabilized the border (Otiso, 2009).

Social medial has and still continues to affect both regional and global security, Today, terrorist groups are influencing, recruiting, inspiring, and guiding global strategies not just by internet operations but through an organized, steady infusion of Social Media or propaganda videos and messages circulated via social media platforms, such as blogs, Facebook, YouTube, Twitter, and Instagram, Flickr, are now spreading to newer media as they develop (Osaherumwen, 2017).
According to (Arda, 2012) citing Rohner and Frey stated that, there are “mutually beneficial relationship between terrorist organizations and the media. As some remarkable terrorist attacks in history indicate, whether it is in Africa, United States (US), Europe, or the Middle East, it is by and large the case that the architects of terrorism exploit the media for the benefit of their operational efficiency, information gathering, recruitment, fund raising, and propaganda schemes”

The use of social media is front and center in tracking online and offline crimes, especially terrorist activity. As reported by (Lohrmann, 2016) the Orlando killer was inspired by online extremism and information was also revealed about Omar Mateen’s posts on Facebook before the attack, and also in Kenya During in 2013 Westgate attack Al-Shabaab’s usual fast-paced style, the group’s media division used Twitter to get their message out, ‘live-tweeting’ the attack and posting audio online, allegedly of phone calls with the attackers inside the mall, who explained that Kenyan troops needed to leave Somalia and stop ‘killing their children.’

(Laqueur, 1999) Observed that no amount of email sent from the Baka Valley to Tel-Aviv, from Kurdistan to Turkey, from the Jaffna peninsula to Colombo, or from India to Pakistan will have the slightest political effect nor can one envisage how in these conditions virtual power will translate into real power.” Laqueur says that audio-cassettes of Khomeini smuggled into Iran during his exile in Najaf and subsequently Paris significantly impacted the Iranian revolution. So (Laqueur, 1999) readily admits the fact that audio-cassettes changed the course of Iranian history but cannot see how Internet technologies could fundamentally change anything in relation to terrorism (Conway, 2017).
Twitter will never be a substitute for grassroots activism. In much of the Islamic world, social media is only for super-connected local elites or supporters in far-off countries. Neither is much use on the ground, where it counts. Social media can bring in donations or some foreign recruits. It can aid communication with some logistics and facilitate propaganda operations, but it is not much use in a fire fight, Twitter won’t help al-Shabaab retake Mogadishu or the Taliban reach Kabul in any meaningful way (Burke, 2004).

Burke seems to think social media activity cannot be a substantive form of “grassroots activism, “He continues to says that Twitter is “not much use on the, ground, where it counts,” while at the same time admitting that it can bring in donations, so it has a financing aspect; can attract so-called foreign fighters, so it has a recruitment function; and can also aid in communication, logistics, and propaganda.

According to a recent NATO provisional study 114, future conflicts will occur in more and more connected environments, which will be characterized using new communication and information technologies, Social Media included. It is a few years since Social Media have been employed by the Armed Forces in several countries, and now they are ready to be employed more and more frequently to accompany traditional offensive means.

2.2.2 How Online Radicalization Works
There are numerous examples of people who have been radicalized through the Internet. Experts have identified six processes and dynamics that explain online radicalization that is, how the Internet promotes extremist beliefs and/or violent methods.

The first two of these processes deal with the consequences of being exposed to extremist content. No single item of extremist propaganda is guaranteed to transform people into terrorists. Rather, in most cases, online radicalization results from individuals being
immersed in extremist content for extended periods of time, the amplified effects of graphic images and video, and the resulting emotional desensitization. According to one expert, social psychologist (Pyszczynski, 2006, pp. 525-537) for example, constant exposure to discourses about martyrdom and death combined with videos of suicide operations and beheadings can produce “mortality salience,” an overpowering sense of one’s own mortality, which increases support for suicide operations and other, often excessively brutal, terrorist tactics. Similarly, the powerful and (often) emotionally arousing videos from conflict zones for example, those depicting alleged incidents of torture, rape, and other atrocities by Western troops can induce a sense of moral outrage, which another expert, terrorism analyst (Marc, 2008, p. 144) has identified as an important trigger for mobilization into violent action.

The third and fourth explanations of online radicalization emphasize the social environment in which people are exposed on the Internet. For (Marc, 2008), this is the most significant and most problematic aspect of the internet: It is based on interactivity between the members, which makes the participants in the extremist online forums change their mind. Some of the participants get so worked up that they declare themselves ready to be terrorists. Since this process takes place at home, often in the parental home, it facilitates the emergence of homegrown radicalization, worldwide.

One reason why extremist forum whips up such enthusiasm is that participants are surrounded by other extremists. If people end up spending too much of their time in virtual communities, the online forums come to function. Online forums become like echo chambers, in which all moderating influences are removed, and violent voices are amplified. As a result, people acquire a skewed sense of reality so that extremist attitudes and violence are no longer taboos but rather are seen as positive and desirable.
The fifth process involved is an offshoot of explanations that emphasize the social and interactive nature of the Internet. As researcher (Kathrine B. , 2007, pp. 530-535) has shown, cyberspace enables people to role-play their idealized selves, projecting traits and characteristics they aspire to but do not possess. According to (Jarret & Alix, 2011, p. 41) over time, this process of role playing becomes painful and depressing as people realize the discrepancy between their actual selves and the roles they are playing.

The sixth explanation for online radicalization is far more basic. It relates to one of the Internet’s core functions, which is connecting people with similar interests, even across great distances and with no prior interaction, with the help of the Internet, people find it easier to meet terrorists and connect into terrorist networks, especially those who have no real-world contacts in the violent extremist milieu. In the absence of radical mosques (or their non-jihadist equivalents), so-called self-starters and people in remote areas rely on the Internet to link up with terrorist structures and turn their terrorist aspirations into reality. For terrorist recruiters, in turn, the Internet offers a pool of potential members that can be tapped into with less risk than would be involved in approaching an individual in the real world.

It seems obvious; therefore, that the Internet has evolved into a unique and significant arena in which radicalization plays out. Violent extremists themselves have recognized this and become adept at using the new technology to their advantage. What the government and other actors can do to counter their efforts both online and offline to counter radicalization. (program, countering online radicalization in America, 2012, p. 19).

2.2.3 Recruitment Narratives in Kenya
Radicalisation is a complex phenomenon and studies show that the reasons for joining extremist organisations vary between social groups, The major refugee camps in Kenya,
such as Dadaab or Kakuma, have traditionally been recruiting grounds for terrorists. Now recruitment is much more widespread, due to the increasing criminal, divers wide spread of social media and terrorist activities in the region. (Hellsten, 2016, p. 3)

The Kenyan security agencies in the post 2010 period have considered *Imams* and younger activists linked with the MYC as dangerous fundamentalists. The activities of the MYC in the post October 2011 invasion of Somalia by the Kenyan defence forces relied on the _narrative_ of waging a jihad against the Kenyan state. The claims to mount a jihad being explained to claims of Muslim oppression in the country including waging a defence for the Muslim *Ummah* (Anderson & McKnight, 2014)

Al-Shabaab through *Al-Hijra* network in Kenya in 2012 launched an online magazine *Gaidi Mtaani* (terrorist in the street) in Kiswahili but with English commentary on topical issues such as the Kenya's military invasion in October 2011 to Somalia and the operation *Usalama* Watch launched in April 2014. The latter security operation was perceived as targeting Somalis and Muslims in various environs in Nairobi under the cover of counterterrorism. *Gaidi Mtaani* has hence in the past managed its propaganda towards a call for arms to defend the Muslim *Ummah* that is under threat from the Kenyan nation (Anderson & McKnight, 2014). The debates being teased around themes of Muslim economic deprivation, political marginalization, including social oppression complete with historical analysis since independence. The intention being to rationalize the activities of the Al-Shabaab as a defence of the Muslim community with claims of oppression from the Kenyan state (Anderson & McKnight, 2014).

Prior to the launch of the *Gaidi Mtaani*, an online platform had been the distribution of the print newsletter, the *Al-Misbah* which has since been discontinued owing to state crackdowns (Amble & Hitchens, 2014). This weekly newsletter was distributed in slums
in Mombasa and Nairobi and was carefully crafted to appeal to Muslims to take up radical causes in East Africa. This was justified on claims of their plight (marginalization, oppression realities while linked to other global threats against Muslims (Amble & Hitchens, 2014).

Al-Sahbaab completely disregard the Quranic conception of human brotherhood and peaceful relations between Muslims and non-Muslims. The Quran states, “O Mankind. We created you from a single pair of a male and a female and made you into nations and tribes that you may know each other. Verily the most honored of you in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you. And God has full knowledge and is well acquainted with all things” (49:13). The Quran urges the embrace of people from different religious affiliations, cultural backgrounds and racial origins, Yet the radical groups insist that anyone who rejects their extremist ideology is a legitimate target who may be killed. The radical groups narrow the concept of jihad and restrict it to combat and slaughter while claiming that such distortions represent the jihad legislated by God, when in fact it means of seeking individual spiritual understanding of God’s path for us, or guidance.

It is delusional for these terrorists to think that those who were killed in the line of “duty” are viewed as martyrs and will be remunerated with paradise.

The popular rhetoric across radical group ideology is their dislike for non-Muslim communities and disliked Muslim groups. Revisiting their rejection of nationalism, they push the ideology that the Muslim community is under siege and yet they frame their religious community as a nation. This variant of Islam is not unified in terms of practices and tactics and there are often divisions and ideological differences in between groups (Byman, 2013).

“...Aboud Rogo would argue that a Muslim is a brother to another Muslim and therefore a true believer should not leave their brother to be assaulted... He would use the case of
Somalia since Kenya’s 2011 invasion... foreign governments including Kenya he observed did not want an Islamic state to thrive there, since the collapse of the Islamic Courts Union (ICU) in 2007... He would argue that in the context of post 2011 Kenya’s engagement in Somalia and together with her American friends had made them enemies of Islam and thus they needed to be fought... The links with violence being placed on the suffering of the Somali people out of these foreign interventions.... the question being why a Christian nation should intervene ...” (Mwangi, 2018)

Hence, the above quote reinforces how a call to violence has been framed as a response to Kenya’s military intervention in 2011. In order to persuade recruitment, Kenya’s intervention was equated to a Christian army invasion on an Islamic land. This invasion narrative was adopted as a rallying call urging Muslims in Kenya and beyond to mobilize violence against the Kenyan state. In the above perspective, it is this carefully cultivated narrative that obligated Muslims to fight the constructed enemies. (Rink & Kunaal, 2016)

### 2.2.4 Ideological Driven-Religious Identity

This varies from individual to individual, for some it is a primary driver to protect Muslim from non-Muslim threat and for others it is not a driver or is secondary to their drivers. (BRICS, 2018, p. 17) When a young Muslim is faced with question of whether or not he/she wishes to fill the command of Allah and live a life of Islamic purity, the answer will simply be yes, since being against the will of Allah is against the Islamic law and what she/he has grown up with. This becomes a critical point for the person, as she/he will be more inquisitive about following Allah in the correct manner and supporting fellow followers. Terrorist aims at recruiting young viable individuals, whom are easy to persuade in their religious paths as well as whose capabilities are ideal for fighting in the Islamic state army. (Kathrine, 2016, p. 23)
The videos that Terrorist group share online are not only limited to fighting and criticizing the west they also have gone out of their way to have the videos include extract for a softer audience, the female Muslim community. In order to widen the Caliphates and creates and everlasting society, female recruits are just as essential. These social media posts and videos aimed at recruiting young women and promote a few key factors, which have become an attraction point for them. (Katherin, 2016, p. 23) Terrorist believes that Islam is under attack and Jihad (Holy War) is a religious obligation.

2.2.5 Securitization and Marginalization

Kenya’s security has been on the decline since 2011. There has been an upsurge in violent attacks in the country from Al Shabaab, a terror group in Somalia. On the May of 2016, the Kenyan government published an official statement on its position to hosting refugees within its borders. The then Interior permanent secretary stated that putting into consideration the country’s national security, refugees were now required to go back to their countries (Kibicho, 2018) The decision made was to initially close down all the camps in the country which are the Kakuma and Dadaab camps. But the decision was later reversed to closing down the Dadaab camp only. This was followed by a brief explanation that after their investigations, the government had observed that the Dadaab camp was being used as a hideout place by the Al Shabaab, a terror militia group in Somalia. The Somali community in Kenya on the other hand feels that they have become scapegoats in Kenya’s counter-terror operation known as ‘Usalama Watch’. Thousands of Somalis have been subjected to arbitrary arrest, harassment, extortion and ill-treatment since Operation Usalama Watch began in early April 2014. Over a thousand individuals have been forcibly relocated to overcrowded, insecure refugee camps in the North of Kenya. Hundreds of others have been deported back to Somalia, a country that has been
in conflict for over 22 years, and where security is again deteriorating (International, 2014, p. 4)

This conflation between refugees and terrorists is discriminatory and violates founding human rights obligations of non-discrimination, equality before the law and equal protection of the laws as provided for under Articles 2 and 3 of the African Charter, and Article 27 of the Constitution of Kenya. Harassment of Somali refugees by the Kenyan security services has led many others to return to Somalia and other joining the terrorist groups, When people feel they have no option other than to return, this is not a voluntary choice, and amounts to a forced return

2.2.6 African Union Mission in Somalia-Bombardment

Following Kenya’s invasion in Southern Somalia in October 2011, Al-Shabaab intervened with a series of retaliatory attacks but which some analysts contend to be a now a full-scale insurgency in the Kenyan territory (Anderson & McKnight, Mwakimako, & Willis, 2015;2014). It has periodically hit Kenya’s borderlands and Southern Somalia. It has also sought to exploit divisions among Christians and Muslims in the Kenya’s borderlands while engaging in radicalization of mainly the Islamic youth to join its ranks

AMISOM, built intense hatred toward Somalis living in Somali and Kenyans that is why Kenya is payin a huge price. The destruction of property and life is a great cause of distress. Somali joining Al-Shabab in the name of seeking revenge as well as to “protect themselves and their families.” It was stated by the Al Shabaab spoke person in a Youtube video that was conducted by Al jazeera in 2014 after the westgate attack “ We pleaded with the Kenyan government to leave our country and they refused by that we had to spill blood to show that their children are not better than ours” (Anderson & McKnight, Mwakimako, & Willis, 2015;2014).
Upon Kenya’s armed forces invading southern Somalia in the midst of a severe local famine and a regional drought. Their purpose was to capture the port city of Kismayo and to crush the Al-Shabaab Islamist militia. The first aim was accomplished after more than a year of slow progress and sometimes hard fighting, but with the second aim seemingly as remote as ever after a third year of war, the capture of Kismayo looks increasingly like a hollow victory. Al-Shabaab reacted with gun, bomb, and grenade attacks against targets in Nairobi, Garissa, and other Kenya towns, most notorious among them the assault upon Nairobi’s prestigious Westgate shopping mall (Anderson & McKnight, 2014).
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction
This chapter discusses the basic research methods applied and the type of methodology that was used in this study under the following sub headings: Research design, Population, Sampling Design, Data collection method, Data Analysis, and finally, Key informant and Ethical Consideration. This helps the study to focus and come up with reliable information which is useful in making conclusion and recommendation for the study.

3.1 Research Design
A research design gives a framework for the data collection and analysis which guides the whole research process (Bryman, 2012). It therefore enabled the researcher to make meaning of the phenomenon by being able to understand the social interactions between the phenomenon and the people. The research design that was applied for this study was a case study research design. The study was conducted within the Kenyan context to try understand how social media influence radicalization. A case study research attempted to investigate a phenomenon within its actual context. The whole essence of the case study was to try and explain why a certain situation unfolds in the way it does, the decisions taken, implementation and how the outcome of the whole thing. With this the researcher understands the real world case and hence able to conclude the findings in different context. Hence, a case study approach was the best design to use. Case study helped the research to focus on the actual events taking place in the context by examining the different actors involved in the study.
3.2 Target Population
In this segment (Cooper & Schindler, 2003) terms population as the whole sets of elements grouped as sum total of sets where researchers make deductive analysis process. Therefore, a population provides a basis where a sample is acquired.

For purposes of gathering primary data, the target population were Security officers, Youths, Religious leaders based in Nairobi and who were more familiar with social media, and more particular in specialized units of operation. The composition of the population consisted of all ages from 18 years and above, with diverse qualifications, gender, career mix and exposure.

3.3 Sampling Design
Sample frame as a composition of sum total of population list, which provides researcher with point of deduction in data collection process it also identifies, selects and gains access to the appropriate subjects of study. This indicates that an inclusive member list of the population under study needs to be available to increase the level of reliability of the findings (Cooper & Schindler, 2003). The study took a non-probability approach, where the researcher concentrated on working with purposive and snowballing sampling to identify key informants. Purposive sampling is applied in particular situations where the researcher deliberately selects participants or events likely to produce the most reliable data based on the characteristics of the population while snowball sampling refers to a process of seeking references from one person to another. Snowballing also makes it possible for the referees to be asked to nominate people on the basis of such characteristics as age, gender, occupation and the role they play in that community (Denscombe, 2007).
3.4 Data Collection and Methods
Forty-seven Questionnaires and eight interviews were the main methods that was used to collect data. The questionnaires were given and picked from the users of social media to ensure a higher Percentage of responses. In situations where time and distance was a challenge, technology were embraced by way of using emails and whatsApp social media to reach out to the intended respondents. The information gathered from secondary sources was scrutinized through a deductive approach, where content analysis was applied. (Bryman, 2016 )indicates that content analysis is mostly effective where existing elements within a given duration can be compared.

This research used both primary and secondary methods of data collection. In terms of primary data methods, the research utilized semi-structured interviews, and observation. For the semi-structured interviews, a number of guiding questions were drawn from the research objectives to frame the discussions. The questions were broad enough to elicit wide and detailed responses. Archival data was also obtained from several sources. These included newspaper reports and press reports of terror attacks and background information on the study areas.

3.4 Sample Size
The research respondents included community members, government security, religious leaders, affected families, youth, and key academic experts. All interviews were conducted in either Kiswahili or English language depending on the respondents' preferences. Furthermore, prior to the interviews, the researcher made clear the intent of the research and sought verbal consent. For confidentiality reasons. Interviews were held between January 2019 to July 2019.
3.4 Key Informants
This refers to the person with whom an interview about an organization, social program, problem, or interest group is conducted. The key informants were selected based on their roles in the society on matters touching on security sector reforms security and terrorism, their level of knowledge and to a limited extent organizational representation.

3.5 Data Analysis
In terms of data analysis techniques, the textual and the interview data were analyzed through the content analysis technique alongside relevant Social Science theories such as constructivism theory. This deductive approach where the convenient content approach was applied was hastened through introducing focus groups where interviews were conducted on thematic areas of interest. The direct approach or content analysis intended to validate or extend conceptual theory by offering flexible points of analysis through giving a platform for easy prediction of associations between variables thus enhancing the process of convenient application of content analysis. The interviews were voice-recorded, but not all interviews were tape recorded owing to the sensitivity of the research topic it was also a way of making the research participants comfortable. The recorded data was listened and transcribe thoroughly. Transcripts were translated from Swahili to the English language. While transforming the findings into the required outcome, the research objectives were overviewed as an analytic process. The unstructured interview provided interviewees freedom to express their thoughts and experiences. The interviewees also presented real-life examples in connection to the topic to support the facts that they presented during interviews.

3.6 Ethical Considerations
Research studies have a number of ethical and moral dilemmas that need to be identified and addressed prior to the conduct of any research study. Prior to embarking on fieldwork, a research permit from the National Commission for Science, Technology and
Innovation (NACOSTI) was obtained by the researcher. The permit number was NACOSTI/P/19/268. The researcher received written authorization or stamp approvals before the fieldwork from United States International University-Africa. The ethical considerations under this research included the avoidance of deception. As indicated by (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003) fundamental issues emerge from social research since it involves individuals and they should be protected from any mischief whether physical or psychological that may arise from the wrong information. For instance, if a question was posed and suggested a form of anxiety, the researcher tried to be calm and politely moved to the next question. If a discomfort persisted, then the research process was halted for a moment or abandoned altogether.

3.6.1 Confidentiality
This was aimed at protecting all participants from perceived and potential harm. The study addressed this issue by ensuring that ethical behaviour was upheld. The protection of the privacy of research participants was realized by making sure that the anonymity of individuals and organizations that participated in the research was maintained as well as their general welfare due to the sensitivity in discussing security information.

3.6.2 Informed Consent
The study objectives and methodology was explained to those who participated in the research study. The principle of voluntary participation and the requirement of informed consent were emphasized to ensure confidentiality is upheld. Any information collected were handled confidentially. To protect interviewee’s confidentiality, the timing and the location of the interview was not disclosed to anybody else. Their personal details and identification was kept confidential and all interviewees were guaranteed, for instance a respondent was refered to RP meaning resondent. This helped to stimulate the interviewees
to participate in the research. All permits needed to be able to conduct the interviews were attained beforehand.

3.7 Conclusion
This chapter explored the methodology and the methods used in the study. The chapter examined among others key methodology aspects. One is that it explored the methods of data collection. These included interviews, observations, primary and secondary data used. In addition to the data collection, the chapter also covered aspects of sampling and choice of study respondents. Key aspect of the methodology captured is the data analysis process.

It also offered the researcher's reflection of the process including the ethical issues that were considered. Key ethical issues in the chapter included confidentiality and anonymity in the data analysis process. This section on the research ethics also outlined the strategies that were put in place to minimize personal harm to the researcher, the assistants and respondents.

3.8 Chapter outline
This chapter brought out the elements that was initiated in the research methodology. Elements such as sample design, population, data collection method, data collection procedure, as well as data analysis, and ethical issues discussed in the chapter. This as well brought out how the findings of the study were arrived on in the subsequent chapter.

This chapter therefore provided the methodology that this research used from the sample design, the population, and techniques. It further explained the data that was collected in this research and explained how that data was analyzed and interpreted. Finally, the paper explained the ethical issues involved in the research.
CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter focused on the content analysis of secondary data and primary data acquire through questionnaire, focus group discussions and interviews. The thesis first looked at the influence of social media on radicalization in Majengo, Nairobi county. Secondly, it examines online recruitment pattern and recruitment narratives in Kenya where focus group interviews and various participants opinion on identified themes were taken into consideration. It then disclosed the findings on the why use social media by analyzing the objectives; Finally, the chapter concluded with the chapter summary. The findings reveal a pattern of indoctrination through various channels most notably through the use of WhatsApp Messenger and Facebook. 67% of the correspondents who were interviewed through the administration of the questionnaire preferred both because they are easy to use and easily accessible. The data further reveals the educational background of most of the correspondents who are susceptible to the online recruiters on social media.

4.1 Terrorist forums on Social media

According to (Weimann, 2014) most of the terror groups and their affiliates have moved their online presence to YouTube, Twitter, Facebook, and WhatsApp (for Arab and African countries) to spread propaganda and seek to recruit innocent minds. From the data collected, this study will break down the usage of the four major applications preferred by the online recruiters (Weimann G.2004) further observes that new communication social media enables anyone to publish information freely hence cutting on cost of printing publishing of journals to front extremist ideology. In 2011, the “Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah” Facebook page first post stated in English “O Allah, Please clean this world from Jewish contamination” (Weimann, 2014) This was seen amongst the counter terrorism sphere as a rally call to jihadists to take up arms to fight the “insolence” present.
in the modern world. The pie chart below illustrates the penetration of Facebook versus the education level amongst the youth of Majengo, Nairobi.

![Pie Chart](image)

Source: Primary data – Figure 1

(Awan, 2017) in his report observes that individuals learn deviant behaviours from other groups which may lead to extremist learning that is categorised by association, definition, differential reinforcement and imitation. In the case of Majengo, Nairobi 45% of the correspondents interviewed through questionnaires used Facebook and came into contact with radical ideologies through this medium. Out of that percentage the larger population was the one that was semi-educated or attained secondary school. They learnt how to use small arms and the art of constructing explosive materials primarily from Facebook. The theoretical framework that supports this behaviour is the Symbolic Communication Theory opined by (Dowling, 1986) which backs that the transmittor which in this case is the application at play and the target are the feeble minds who access the site seeking information. He further asserts that for the message to reach the intended target, it needs
to be coined in the best possible way and in this case show the affliction of the muslim community within the Eastern African region and the Arab Peninsula. The target audience that this research targeted manifested a high affinity to Facebook cutting across all educational divides. Facebook provides free space of anonymity which motivates individuals speak out or act in a manner suggesting that they are radicalized. This is manifest in the primary data in the way the youth are more vocal in pages like “Dandora Crime Free” where some of the Majengo youth are targeted as potential “threats” or “menaces to society”, 'Unknown' handlers of this Facebook group often posts specific identity of the apparent gang or individual 'criminal'. Often they warned of the implications if they don't stop engaging in such acts. This is done in most cases and if the apparent targeted group does not withdraw from their criminal activity they are 'hunted' down and gunned to death. It is after this that the pictures of their bodies are paraded on the public forum to act as a warning to the others who might want to engage in the such acts.

4.2 Twitter Radicalization

Al-Shabaab has actively pursued its online presence by ensuring that they appeal to the youth in Majengo through Twitter by the provision of timely and continuous propaganda narrative to its adherents (Avino, 2013). In April 2010, the Jihadist propaganda center “Da’wat Al-Haqq Lil-Dirasat Wal Buhuth” which operates under the jurisdiction of Al-Shabaab published a booklet titled “A Real, Living Model of the State Envisioned by Al-Qaeda” on various platforms on social media (Avino, 2013) During the Westgate attack, Al-Shabaab used several accounts on Twitter to relay information real time and seemed to taunt the Kenyan government in their choice of words and total disregard of humanity. The following series of tweets were beamed out by RP1 to the best of the researcher’s
knowledge. According to (Kate, et al., 2018) only two percent of the 556 tweets issued from Al-Shabaab’s eight Twitter accounts during the attack involved communicating directly with individual Twitter users, and none of those tweets led to a discussion.

Source: Twitter – Figure
This was manifest in the interview the researcher did in Majengo, Nairobi county. RP1 disclosed that he enjoyed the real time information relay by Al-Shabaab through their @hsm_prooffice

Source: Twitter – Figure 3

He further asserts that he has been on the frontline fighting for Al-Shabaab either through financing their presence in Majengo, Nairobi County or taking in fighters like in the case of the Dusit attack. He confided in the researcher that he offered logistical assistance to the Mujahideen and he attributes his sympathetic views to the way the Kenyan government clamped on the youth over trampled up extremist charges. This is in turn left him with no choice but to be the sole administrator of a Twitter page (HSM-Press) for the armed wing of the Al-Shabaab within the precincts of Majengo, Nairobi County. According to (Kate, et al., 2018) they reaffirm that Twitter penetration in the region as compared to the other radical factions of Boko Haram and ISIL is fairly present and widespread. The graph below is a representation of the same
Figure 4 is a representation of the distribution of extremist tweets by the three (3) major extremist faction. The researcher focussed on Al-Shabaab especially during the Westgate Mall attack. Throughout the Westgate attack Al-Shabaab were primarily concerned with controlling the narrative of the attack and retaining an audience. In addition, the tweets were aimed at a specific geographical audience, indicating that the Westgate attack was primarily motivated by territorial concerns.

4.3 Radicalization through YouTube

YouTube is a video sharing platform that allows users to watch and upload videos within the policy of the website. It has the advantage of being difficult to trace the identity of people posting if the remain anonymous, while offering the possibility for users to generate comments and share contents (Conway & McInerney, 2008, pp. 108-118) The article further reveals that the major reasons for creation of video messages by violent extremists are praising “martyrs”, promoting suicide bombing and delivering propaganda
in favour of extremist ideology (Conway & McInerney, 2008) RP1 used YouTube predominantly to piece together IEDs (Improvised Explosive Device) and to offer “spiritual guidance” as prescribed by Sheikh Ahmed Iman Ali, who also hailed in Majengo, Nairobi County before his alleged demise through a joint operation between the United States of America government and the Kenyan Government. Ali specialised in giving most of his radicalised discourse on YouTube. As posited by (Alava, Frau-Meigs, & Ghayda, 2017) the videos target a sympathetic audience and it reaches the intended audience that is disenfranchised and segregated from society. RP2 during the qualitative interview had a contrary opinion citing that YouTube was predominantly used to radicalise him even though he attended a local university. He doesn’t describe himself as disenfranchised nor segregated from society because he wanted to “help” the Muslim community through the extremist videos he found on YouTube from the hands of the “oppresors”. RP2 reiterated the need for educated Muslim men to take up knowledge through the various radicalised channels on YouTube and he cites one particular video on YouTube pieced together by K-24, a local media house in Kenya highlighting how the slain muslim cleric by the name Sheikh Abubakar Shariff a.k.a “Makaburi” was slain for apparently advocating for the rights of the oppressed Muslims in Mombasa. These videos have long been used in the Majengo region to ensure that the fact that Jihadism is captured in the holy Quran, it holds a lot of bearing to solidify their veracity to want to join the extremist faction of Al Shabaab. The pie chart below show the usage and penetration levels of Youtube amongst the youth of Majengo, Nairobi County.
Figure 5 illustrates how the various age sets within the interviewed demograph consumed content on YouTube with a prime focus on the online radicalization within the same platform. According to the primary data collected by the researcher, it is evident that the demograph less than 18 years old consumes YouTube more hence making them a susceptible target for online recruiters affiliated to Al-Shabaab. Furthermore, that the lesser demograph being above 31 years old, comprised of university graduates who in 35% of their responses were more inclined to a humanly interaction rather than opting for an anonymous faceless individual on the internet. This was manifested by the low percentage on YouTube consumption amongst that demograph.

4.4 Radicalization through other Platforms.

After the realization that the major social media platforms were compromised, Al-Shabaab resorted to third party applications that would substitute the ilk of Facebook and Twitter because of end to end encryption. According to (Kate, et al., 2018) they explain
the end to end encryption as moving from the open platforms to more private channels such as WhatsApp and Telegram. In others these groups by pass the more open platforms and concentrate the activities on Telegram and more closed networks. (Kate, et al., 2018)

The top leadership used WhatsApp calls and messaging to communicate, plan, execute on operations in and around the East African region with Kenya being the base of their operation. The researcher integrated this information in her research and the findings were that 41% of the semi-illiterate demograph used WhatsApp as a means of communication. This information has not been scarce to the radicalized recruiters who seek to shift their minds to manufacture online hate towards “infidels”. According to (Awan, 2017) recruiters may use more interactive internet technology looking possibly for enlisting support from vulnerable people. Owing to the end to end encryption that WhatsApp incorporates within its algorithm, RP1 preferred the application in dissemination and disbursement of extremist information within his sphere of influence.

The Social Movement Theory in support for RP1’s social activity states that the primary task of any organization is to maintain its own survival which requires that members add and maintain supporters and expand in capacity and influence. The recruiters therefore, must locate vulnerable targets and offer them social, economic or political benefits to persuade recruits into joining their cause. (International Peace Support Training Center, 2016)

Figure 6 shows the variations in which WhatsApp enjoys as a platform amongst the youth.
The less than 18 years old demograph exhibit a considerable low percentage when it comes to the usage of WhatsApp owing to the reason of still being in secondary school and lack of money to get smart phones. The researcher found out that these demograph had a low turnout on WhatsApp because of the low income levels they couldn’t afford high end smart phones with internet capabilities. (International Peace Support Training Center, 2016) observed that unemployment crisis in Kenya has made it possible for Al Shabaab to recruit the youth in Majengo, Nairobi County to radical violent extremism. The report continues to note that young people are more prone to conflict and radical violent extremist organization than older people. This finding resonates with the data collected in the field by the researcher since it is manifest that the older generation have a lower pull to WhatsApp than the younger clique of individual.

4.5 Qualitative Interviews
The researcher conducted seven interviews with a sample select of the whole population representing divergent views on radicalization on social media in and within Majengo,
Nairobi County. For purposes of confidentiality, the researcher named the respondents RP1, RP2, and RP3. During the study, RP1 exhibited high levels of extremist opinion with his leftist ideas and responses in the questionnaire. One of the questions the researcher posed to him was his social media usage and how the Al Shabaab tried to recruit him. He affirmed to the researcher that he used YouTube to learn more from his ‘mentor’ Sheikh Ahmed Iman Ali who would post videos of ‘conquests’ whenever Al Shabaab would wage an attack on the Kenyan Defence Forces. These videos as he had observed served as a major radicalization tool towards his leftist ideologies and taking up of arms in Somalia and helping fellow ‘mujahideen’ through issuance of a safe passage in Kenya and provision of vital information on the security apparatus and status in the country.

RP2 on the other hand was a university graduate who got radicalised through interaction with online discourse on Telegram an online App that allows users to join mailing channels where they receive information based on their topic of interest. He further said that the information he got from Telegram was reinforced with Skype calls and WhatsApp chats and video calls from the fighters in Somalia. He however doesn’t mention if any of the social media applications have pushed him to committing any of the terrorists acts in the country. According to (Speckhard, 2019) she posits that when terrorist recruitment processes happens entirely online an individual’s interest is first tweaked by encountering terrorist propaganda on the mainstream platforms of Twitter, Facebook and YouTube, often the interested parties move to WhatsApp, Skype or Telegram for a more private setting.

RP3 holds a more level opinion on radicalization on social. He stated that he was a victim of harassment by the Al Shabaab sympathisers within the Majengo environs who wanted to take away his warehouse for purposes of storage and as a base for most of their local
operations. RP3 was adamant in the effort with which the Kenyan government ought to have in combatting terror and terror based groups who have morphed under the guise of ‘tabliq’ that teach on the doctrines of Islam but some times skew their teachings to fit the narattive of oppression and unwarranted Jihad against ‘infidels’. Various scholars hold varied opinions on the “sit on the fence” moderates who have no issues with online radicalization. (Seraphin & Hassan, 2019) observed that video messages have witnessed a long standing of summary in the sense they want to attract a more vibrant crowd whose concentration span seem to be held for a few minutes and get lost in “long boring lectures” about how to best perform jihad. This is in great contrast to the way RP1 was recruited because he mentioned that the lectures by the slain cleric Aboud Rogo drove him to convert to Islam and to take up arms. Another scholar who see this phenomena differently is (Avino, 2013) who posits that individuals who have radicalised on social media and who play an active role in Jihadist cyberspace usually form networks which are often more internationally oriented and much larger than the physical Jihadist networks. As was the case with RP3 he said that two destrange men of them being white and one of Arabic descent threatened him and his family should he fail to avail the warehouse for their own savage intentions.

4.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the results and findings of the study on the research objectives with regards to the data collected from the respondents, journals, reports, and books. The first section covered pattern of indoctrination through various channels through the use of WhatsApp Messenger and Facebook. The second, third and fourth section covered the aspects with respect to the research objectives of the study. The subsequent chapter presents a summary of findings, discussions, conclusions as well as recommendations.
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction
This chapter reviews the research that has been carried out a brief review of the research is presented in this part, and makes an in-depth analysis of the findings guided by the research objectives. By doing so, the study will provide results that will pave the way for a conclusion. Finally, the discussion on the direction for future research are presented.

5.1 General Summary and Conclusion
The study was guided by the following objectives: To examine online recruitment pattern and recruitment narratives in Kenya, To examin the reason why radical violent extremist use social media and lastly, recommend policy orianted regulation for responsible use of social media in Kenya.

The population of this study was three interview question from the people of Majengo, Nairobi county. The sampling frame for this study constituted of locals, local leaders, youth and individuals The study adopted a case study research design which was appropriate for the study because it was flexible and the researcher could ask questions of all type. The data analysis was content analysis since it took a social constructivism.

Social media platforms provide an environment where people can freely engage in discussions. Unfortunately, they also enable several problems, such as online harassment. It is clear that increased communication capability, through social media and the internet are a far reaching benefit that has revolutionised operating methods of terrorist organizations, with minimum effort and supervision social media allows communication
with terrorist and potential recruiter and with the public audience who are prone to Radical Violent Extremism (RVE).

(Aly, 2016) explains the communication exchange between a transmitter and receiver as being dynamic and interactive. Accordingly, if counter-narrative messages are to be effective in engaging an audience, the interactive and adaptive nature of social media must be the delivery mechanism through which these counter-narratives are delivered. Platforms such as Facebook and Twitter are interactive by design and encourage exchange between audience and transmitter, as well as being dynamic in meeting the needs of a changing target audience.

By viewing the social media presence as a tool for collecting intelligence, conducting digital counter-operations and also overtly discrediting terrorist organization advanced space, counter-terrorism fanaticism strategists and policy makers may make gains against terrorist organization. These equivalent correspondence points of interest can be acknowledged by states and non-government organizations, thus counter-violent extremism systems that incorporate computerized stages as correspondence and effort points of interest are the place counter-measures should start.

Monitoring hateful content is constantly troublesome and even the most exceptional frameworks inadvertently miss a few. In any case, during terrorist attacks the big platforms face especially huge difficulties. As research has shown, terrorist attacks encourage immense spikes in online hate, overwhelming platforms’ detailing frameworks who upload and share this content also know how to deceive the platforms and get around their existing checks.

Aside from anything else, they know about the reputational dangers of being related with terrorism and other destructive substance such as pornography, suicide, and pedophilia.
Hateful content should be removed immediately for instance The deadly attack on two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, that took place in 2019 in which 50 people were killed and many others critically injured, was streamed live on Facebook and was then quickly shared across social media platforms. Versions of the livestream attack video stayed online for a worrying amount of time. The reason why it took Facebook long to pull it down was because it was positioned in a manner that was one could think it was a video game, it took Facebook maximum of 12 minutes to pull it down, and a minute on social media is a lot, and a lot can be done in seconds.

Social media is qualified as a dynamic owing to increased internet access. Moreover, this national strategy notes that radicalization was occurring across various spheres. These included educational institutions, prisons, online platforms, religious institutions (Mosques, madrassas, Islamic charities) and among others refugees’ camps (Kakuma and Daadab) (Governement of Kenya, 2016).

This study calls for a deeper interrogation of the global security assemblage and the rise of non-state actors in security provision in Kenya. Adopting single case studies such as community policing could help deepen and orient new ways of theorizing security provision from below. This would proceed in an open manner where the state would no longer be seen as a normative category in the provision of security. Therefore, it would be important for future researchers to explore in much more details, the rise of multi-security providers that operate sometimes without the collaboration of the state.

5.2 Recommendations

5.2.1 Public Participation of Information to Government Bodies

Most of the young people in the region are known to be secretive and not forthcoming with vital information regarding radicalization moreso when it comes to reporting social
media users who violate the policies of such applications like Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp. The government ought to encourage the youth to come forward freely with information instead of coercing them to ‘rat’ out the perpetrators. This in turn will weed out the fear by most of the young people on police and more specifically anti terro police unit who have a negative image towards the masses in this region. There will be a considerable turnover on the prevention of radicalization and young people resorting to going to battle fields under the pretext of Jihad.

5.2.2 Capacity building of Cyber Crime Unit

The government needs to heavily invest in a proactive cyber crime unit that is well trained and monetarily motivated so as to sniff out the radicals who prey on the innocent minds that have no clue on what terrorism is. With this the fight will be taken to the extremists who are online and flagging of their Internet Protocol (I.P) addresses will help in tracing their physical locations easily and breaking down those networks even before they take root in the sprawling slums of Majengo. As it is the cyber crime unit is under equipped and having a well motivated human resource and technical know how will go a long way in ensuring that the terrorists do not come out victorious.

5.2.3 Introduce new law on Technology, Social Media and Terrorism

There is a law on ICT that gives the government the power to spy on emails, calls and texts messages if there's reasonable proof that a person is involved in terrorism and terror activities, and if we don’t have then there is need to introduce of new laws will help to regulate and curb what is passed around on social media sites, this will limit people access to terrorist social media sites. This law should be put in place as quickly as possible in order to stop terrorist activities on social media platforms. If the laws are in
place they should be revised and stiffened up and harsh penalties be placed on anyone going against those laws.

5.2.4 Campaigning against Terrorism using Social Media

Increases awareness on the available legal instruments at national, regional and international level specifically on technology, social media and terrorism

How do you intend to increase awareness? Is it through the same social media or traditional media? If it's through social media create programs that really get the TA and not the normal barazas. In other words, the government should Increase awareness among the people of the people of the country through different initiative.

5.2.5 Newly developed Technological Instruments and Adequate Training.

Set up and strengthening special intelligent units tracking terrorist activities on social media. In addition to the anti-terrorism agencies, should include experts and researchers particularly to prevent and control the terrorism using social media, Adequate training initiatives in preventive measures against the social media terrorism and also Equipping the ATPU and the local police service to better their operations and bettering their pay.

5.2.6 Lend a hand to Developers who Care about Ethics in Development.

Develop and finance a social media monitoring unit within the security forces and intelligence agencies. This will be useful because a great number of talents will be able to work with the government in doing something beneficial rather than stay idle and do something destructive.

5.2.7 User Education on Misinformation and Tech Platforms
Create awareness through capacity building projects, and through social media platforms and educate the public on the need of harmony and peaceful coexistence. This will be useful in taming both radical youths and potential ones. The government needs to make use of hackers rather than convict them. This would give the government a "set a thief to catch a thief" approach in combating online radicalism especially by pseudo accounts owners.

5.2.8 Engage Community and Allies as we do these things.

Invest in knowledge by tapping onto PhD candidates who want to pursue research in Computer Science. This will come in handy as they will inform policy and become essential in creating more professionals.

5.2.9 Promote Ethics in Religious Education

Invest in religious respected leaders to spread messages of peace and shun radicalisation, by use of social media. This will go far in creating a relationship with radicalised minds in bending their view, as it is caused by misinformation in the first place. Violent Extremist groups seem to be especially adept at using social media to create a sense of social connection. Initial contact for new recruits is usually done through social media (messaging, Facebook, snapchat etc.). ISIS alone reportedly has hundreds of online platforms including at least 46,000 Twitter accounts (Berger & Morgan, 2015). Yet, there is very little research on the role that social media can play in education programs supporting CVE interventions and or the impact that they have had. Even though education programs target some of the biggest users of social media the youth they very rarely use these effective and innovative means of educational communication.

Additionally, a study conducted in Australia on community perceptions of radicalization and violent extremism emphasized the role that Muslim community leadership could play
in countering violent extremism. One is that the religious leaders could counter extremist violence through counter-narratives. The call for Muslim religious leaders’ engagement in portraying a concise understanding of the Islamic religion was linked to the broader credibility that they enjoyed within their faith (Grossman & Tahiri, 2015).

5.2.10 Government should Curb Unlawful Killings.

The Kenyan security agencies have overly situated the Muslim identity in Kenya as being responsible for terror attacks that have intensified in the post 9/11 period. This has led to some sections of the Muslim community being subjected to arbitrary arrests and detentions, including extra-ordinary rendition for the new security approach (community resilience) for counter terrorism security to work effectively it must be acceptable to community actors in a specific place (Githigaro, 2018). Community resilience as a strategy to deal with terrorism while incorporating community voices have been more of information sharing rather than more meaningful community engagement. This has further served to securitize the City of Manchester UK. This was also raised by one of the respondents that the government is using a wrong approach of countering terrorism that is why the youth tend to join radical group to respond the t extrajudicial killing of a certain community in Kenya.

5.3.7 The Madrassa/Quran Scapegoat

Terrorist groups who flagrantly use religion as a cloak to cover up acts of violent extremism cannot hide their serious ideological flaws. These groups have the audacity to dismiss any Quranic verses that don’t fit their claims.

Since terrorist group interpret the Quran selectively to suit their own agendas, their deviant ideology must be debunked by intellectual responses, for example, the United Nations report also linked Ahmed Iman Ali as the leader of the Al-Hijra in Kenya (who
was Rogo’s student) and claims that the Pumwani Riyadha Mosque Committee in Majengo, Nairobi had been supportive of Al-Hijra activities in Kenya. The Mosque Committee at the Riyadha Mosque had been accused of funding and aiding recruitment of Al-Shabaab, including related logistical coordination, a claim that the Mosque has previously denied (United Nations Security Council, 2013)

The battle will be more grounded with the help of the international media and academia in publishing and broadcasting the voices of authentic Muslim scholars who can counter the fanatics' bogus cases and their twisted understanding of the Quran. The fight will also be stronger if the curriculum of the Madrassa could be controlled by Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development (KICD) and the teachers to be directly under the ministry and Quality Assurance And standards to keep tabs with what they offer the children and even youth. The Kenyan government will need to focus on three different aspects of the madrasa if at all they are willing to reform it: the financing, the curriculum, and the state's authority over the institutions.
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**APPENDIX I: COVER LETTER**

P.O. Box 146-00517

Nairobi, KENYA

TEL: + 254 723 594 862

Dear Respondent,

**RE: PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH**

I am a postgraduate student pursuing a Master of Arts Degree in International Relations majoring in Peace and Conflict studies at United States International University – Africa.

I am currently conducting a research study titled “**THE ROLE OF SOCIAL MEDIA IN INFLUENCING RADICALIZATION: A CASE STUDY OF MAJENGO, NAIROBI COUNTY**” as one of the major requirements. In this regard, you have been selected to take part in this study as a respondent in an interview question. This study will investigate your perceptions how social media influence radicalization.
Kindly do answer all the questions freely. You cannot be identified from the information you provide and no information about individuals will be given to any organization or institution. The data collected will be used for the purposes of this academic research only.

Your participation is important for the success of this project and I profoundly appreciate your contribution.

Sincerely,

Nestah Hussein Mohamed Hubi

APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE ONE

PRELIMINARY INFORMATION:

Socio-Economic and Background Characteristics (tick as appropriate)

Gender

Male  □  Female  □

Age

Less than 18  □  19-22  □  23-26  □  27-31  □  Above 31 year □

Level of education

Primary □  Secondary □  College □  University □

STRATEGIC INFORMATION (tick as appropriate)

1. Who do you live with?
2. Length of period you have used social media?

- Less than 1 year □
- 1-4 years □
- 5-10 years □
- Over □

3. Are you employed?

- Yes □
- No □

If yes, what is the form of employment?

- Self-employed □
- Working for others □
- Permanent □
- Contractual □
- Casual □
- Other (Specify) ……………………………………………………………………………………………

4. How long have you lived in Majengo? (Tick as appropriate)

- Less than 5 years □
- 5-10 years □
- More than 10 Years □

**TYPES AND FORMS OF CRIMINAL ACTIVITIES.**

1. Do you understand the term Radicalization? (Tick as appropriate)

- Yes □
- No □

2. Do you ever encounter terrorist propaganda while on social media?

- Yes □
- No □

If yes explain how
3. Which social media platform do you use?
   Facebook
   WhatsApp
   Twitter
   YouTube
   Others..........................

4. What are the dangers of watching or sharing videos propagating terrorist violence?
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5. Are you adequately equipped and prepared to discredit terrorist propaganda once detected online?
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6. What would you do if a terrorist recruiter started talking to you over social media?
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61
7. Do you think Social media has enhanced communication between terror groups?

Yes  No

explain how

The following are likely to be the most causes of Radicalization activities in this country.

(PLEASE TICK WHERE APPLICABLE)

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<td>Government failure and political instability</td>
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6. Do you have any comments on the type of activity youth are involved in after radicalization?

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APPROACHES AND STRATEGIES TO REDUCE RADICALIZATION.

1. Have you ever taken steps to use social media as platform to fight radicalization? If yes, explain how?

2. What do you feel watching videos shared by Terrorist groups?

3. Who are involved in these efforts and initiatives?

4. Do you think you could be convinced to carry out a suicide mission or any other terrorism activity?
5. Can we stop vulnerable individuals from accessing Al Shabaab and other violent extremist groups’ propaganda, and if so, how?

6. How can we address terrorist propaganda that is constantly shifting (e.g. onto new and diverse platforms; quantity of information exchanged, both in private and public spaces, etc.)?
7. What mechanisms have been put in place to deal with Radicalization in your community?

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8. Do you think the government monitors terror groups efficiently and effectively through social media?

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9. Do you have any other comments that you think are important for the study?

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(The Police Officers, Religious Leaders, Locals, Local Administration Members.)