INUKA!:
COMMUNITY-LED SECURITY APPROACHES TO VIOLENT EXTREMISM

Conflict Scan to inform Inuka! programming by Search for Common Ground Kenya, in partnership with Kenya Muslim Youth Alliance (KMYA), Muslims for Human rights (MUHURI), and Kiunga Youth Bunge Initiative

CONTACT:
JUDY KIMAMO
Director
Search for Common Ground
jkimamo@sfcg.org

DECEMBER 2017

1. Executive Summary

Context and Methodology

Since Kenyan forces intervened militarily in Somalia in October 2011, a toxic combination of push and pull factors has led to the emergence of a home-grown, Kenyan Al-Shabaab insurgency that is feeding on historical religious and regional divides in the country. Violent attacks have occurred across Kenya, but with greater frequency in the primarily-Muslim coastal region, a part of Kenya that has experienced long-standing political exclusion and economic marginalization as well as active separatist movements. These attacks have devastated the local economy by causing the collapse of the tourism industry in the coastal counties, leaving a large population of idle and unemployed youth with little hope for a positive future.

Recent research and learning by the peace and development field in Kenya[1] has established that heavy-handed security responses involving human rights abuses and the "guilty-by-association" criminalization of the entire Muslim community have led to a lack of trust, communication, and coordination amongst key community, government, and security stakeholders around preventing and countering Violent Extremism (VE). This approach has further exacerbated tensions between communities and security actors, leaving vulnerable populations more susceptible to the influence of radicalization[2].

Entry points to influence the context have been difficult to exploit. This is in part because the spaces used to discuss VE and its drivers are very private, and Search's recent research suggests the influence of Civil Society Organizations (CSO) and community leaders has been overestimated in programs aimed at populations vulnerable to VE. Another Search-led research (2017) found that vulnerable citizens of coastal Kenya use friends and peers for advice on hardships roughly twice as often as family members, and four times as often as religious leaders, and very often on private channels of social media. That same research found that the most common hardships faced were poverty and employment[3].

In this context, Search and partners have embarked on the Inuka! Project, which seeks to build increased trust and collaboration between key community stakeholders to prevent radicalization and VE in coastal Kenya. Within the project design, the team is undertaking a series of Conflict Scans[4] that provide insight into community conflicts and dynamics that can positively and negatively influence implementation and outcomes. Utilized by Search teams around the world, the Conflict Scan uses a fast and lightweight methodology with the aim of monitoring and improving the use of Do No Harm principles and Conflict Sensitivity for Search and its partners: Kenya Muslim Youth Alliance (KMYA), Muslims for Human rights (MUHURI), Kiunga Youth

---

[1] Meet Me at the Maskani: Mapping of Influencers, Networks, and Communication Channels in Kenya and Tanzania, https://www.sfcg.org/tag/kenya-evaluations/; Mirage at Dusk: A Human Rights Account of The 2017 General Election, http://knchr.org/MirageatDuskAHumanRightsAccountofThe2017GeneralElection.aspx; Violent Extremism in Kenya – Rift Valley Forum Meeting Report, http://riftvalley.net/publication/violent-extremism-kenya#.WqrykujFLIU; this list is not exhaustive.

[2] Inuka! Community-Led Security Approaches to Violent Extremism in Coastal Kenya Project Baseline, https://www.sfcg.org/tag/kenya-evaluations/

[3] Meet Me at the Maskani

[4] https://www.sfcg.org/tag/ilt-toolkits/

Bunge Initiative. The conflict scans are intended to be conducted every 6 months with the aim of improving understanding of conflict contexts and evolution of conflict and peace dynamics over time in target areas, enabling all actors to be more effective in their efforts.

Data collection for this first Conflict Scan was undertaken in November 2017 to track the trends and evolutions of conflict dynamics identified in previous studies, determine whether new conflicts have emerged, and assess the level of cooperation between actors at different levels. The methodology used Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with community members (youth, women, and community leaders), and Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) with formal authorities (elected officials at the county and national level, and security sector actors) in the four counties where Inuka! is implemented (Mombasa, Kwale, Kilifi, Lamu).

Key Findings

Of all the conflicts identified, Access to Employment, Access to Land, Culture and Religion, Politics, the 2017 Elections, and Abuses of Power emerged as the most common conflicts and drivers of VE. The specific elements that drive people beyond conflict and into VE are, as a rule, rooted in marginalization. Push factors are feelings of political, economic, and religious marginalization and are compounded by a government response to VE which includes widespread state violence against Muslim communities. Pull factors are economic opportunity and the promise of meaningful inclusion in a cause; these findings are in line with the Inuka! project's baseline study, though with some evolution in how participants framed conflicts. Within these conflict trends, unique experiences of conflict by target group and location were noted.

- Compared to the project baseline study, this Scan shows a significant increase in Politics being identified as a driver of conflict, and a decreased percentage of participants listing "Revenge" (which would be included in this analysis under "Abuses of Power") as a driver of conflict. Political infighting and negative messaging about political opponents, particularly surrounding the recent election, undermines faith in public institutions necessary for Transforming Violent Extremism[5].
- Youth continued to be the most vulnerable population to VE, and also the most likely to report employment, or a lack thereof, as a major driver of conflict. Furthermore, the unemployed/underemployed perceive their economic situation as an unfair result of a corrupt system, and this increases the resonance of narratives portraying VE actors as fighting oppression.
- Communities believe that local peoples of the Coastal region are excluded from political decision making, creating unfair hierarchies of political influence and abuses of power by government and security (including disappearances). This perception was particularly strong in Kilifi and Kwale.
- In Lamu County, conflicts between farmers and herders are increasing, and are taking on religious elements as the Christian farmers accuse the Muslim herders of terrorist activity. Both sides increasingly use religion as a justification for violence against the other.
- In Kwale County, lack of access to both employment opportunities and land are drivers of conflict. The narrative of 'outsiders' entering Kwale to exploit its resources without giving a fair share to the people is fueling tensions.

---

[5] Sometimes also known as Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism (PCVE), specifically in reference to Government National and County PCVE Plans in Kenya.

Seeking opportunities for peace, we find that traditional methods for conflict resolution are seen as insufficient to address new challenges, and modern institutions like the courts and government processes are not trusted, leaving more space for violence as a legitimate option in the eyes of marginalized communities. Across the counties and target groups, participants expressed sympathetic attitudes towards VE actors. These sympathies were divided along three axes:

- VE actors are disciplined,
- They are fighting for their rights and to resist oppression,
- They are fighting for a sincerely held belief - that belief may be good or bad, but it is sincere.

Despite flawed mechanisms for conflict management, and low trust between government, security and communities, each target group identified collective responsibility between communities, leaders, government, and security actors as a key concept for conflict resolution and peace.

Recommendations

Adapt Localized Responses to Localized Needs: This scan has identified specific needs for county and target groups. These unique issues, left unaddressed, create openings for VE narratives on marginalization and neglect of communities to take root. For example, the combined pressures of farmer-herder conflicts and proximity to Al Shabab in Lamu bring particular challenges to land conflict in Lamu.

Participants also recommended our programming leverage local cultural events as platforms to encourage peacebuilding. Local festivals and other cultural activities are already unique to communities and regions, and create positive shared experiences that come from within communities.

Frame Peacebuilding Efforts within National and County Strategies: The national and county strategies for Transforming VE have divided all relevant work into pillars to guide different efforts on a common path. Inuka! Partners should adapt current activities and plan future activities to align with these pillars, and should be prepared to describe the activities in those terms when we are discussing our work externally.

Meaningfully Engage Communities in Strategy Development for Transforming VE: Search and partners can use dialogue activities between communities and security actors to gather community input on Transforming VE strategies. The ongoing and upcoming rollout of county specific approaches to VE Transformation makes now a crucial time to re-engage with communities to gather their priorities to inform the implementation of the plans.

Communities view security as a shared responsibility, but lack detailed understanding of the action strategies, the action strategies should be simplified and 'translated' to terms and activities that communities can understand and take active roles in supporting[6].

---

[6] Search partner Haki is already undertaking such an initiative, and should be disseminated through Search and partner networks.

Build Community Ownership of Transforming VE Programs: Research participants reported few to zero community led processes to address VE issues, the small grants initiatives in three of the current Search projects should be geared to encourage and build community led responses to VE that aim for radical inclusion of the population; Research participants shared that current efforts focus on accessing community leaders, and miss many of the most vulnerable to VE. This would create tangible outcomes from the dialogues, would encourage higher level security actors to maintain engagement (responding to another gap identified in the research), and would build community ownership of PCVE programs.

Encourage Respect for Confidentiality of Community Information: Implementing partners and participating security actors must respect the contributions of communities with confidentiality and serious responses. To support this, Search could provide trainings on conflict sensitivity and ethical data collection relevant to partners receiving sensitive information from communities.

Promote Positive Political Engagement: Where possible and relevant, Inuka! Programming should share information and narratives on collective responsibility and positive political engagement to counter political messaging with divisive narratives.

2. Objective of Scan

This Conflict Scan was undertaken in November 2017 to track the trends and evolutions of conflict dynamics identified in previous Search studies, determine whether new conflicts have emerged throughout the year, and assess the level of cooperation between actors at different levels. The findings will inform Search projects' management and activities. The timing of this scan responds to the 2017 Kenyan Elections, wherein the presidential campaigns and results were highly contested. Incumbent Uhuru Kenyatta won the August 2017 presidential election against longtime rival Raila Odinga. The result was annulled by the Supreme Court, citing "illegalities and irregularities". A new election was set for October, but on October 10 Odinga dropped out of the race, and urged his supporters to boycott it, alleging that the changes needed to ensure the integrity of the new election had not been made. The second election went ahead, Kenyatta won and claimed the victory as final, despite low voter turnout.

3. Findings: Recent Evolution of the Conflicts

Understanding Conflict and Violent Extremism

Across the locations and research participant groups, a clear distinction emerged between the definitions of *Conflict* and *Violent Extremism* (VE). Participants defined conflict very broadly, beginning with any sort of disagreement and expanding to encompass marginalization, unequal access to resources, and violence. Violent Extremism is - by name - violent, but was also defined by its adherence to a set of beliefs (not necessarily religious). A few people thought that as both conflict and violent extremism result in destabilization, they should be considered together, but the general consensus was that violent ideology was the divider between *Conflict* and *Violent Extremism*. These findings mirror the March 2017 baseline findings where 79% of research

participants stated that there is no link between regular conflict and VE. This analysis will consider violence and VE as consequences of conflict, and will pull out which conflicts trigger and drive violence.

From previous research we know that communities in the different counties experience push and pull factors towards conflict and violent extremism differently, with the Muslim community consistently perceiving themselves to be marginalized in formal GoK Transforming VE initiatives. This research verified those previous findings. In addition, multiple interviews referenced how policies for Transforming VE fail to account for different community needs, demonstrating a recognition of unique experiences; in particular, cultural and education level differences were shared as examples of what large scale policies fail to accommodate. The chart below illustrates the variations in experiences of conflict across counties[7].

Conflicts by County
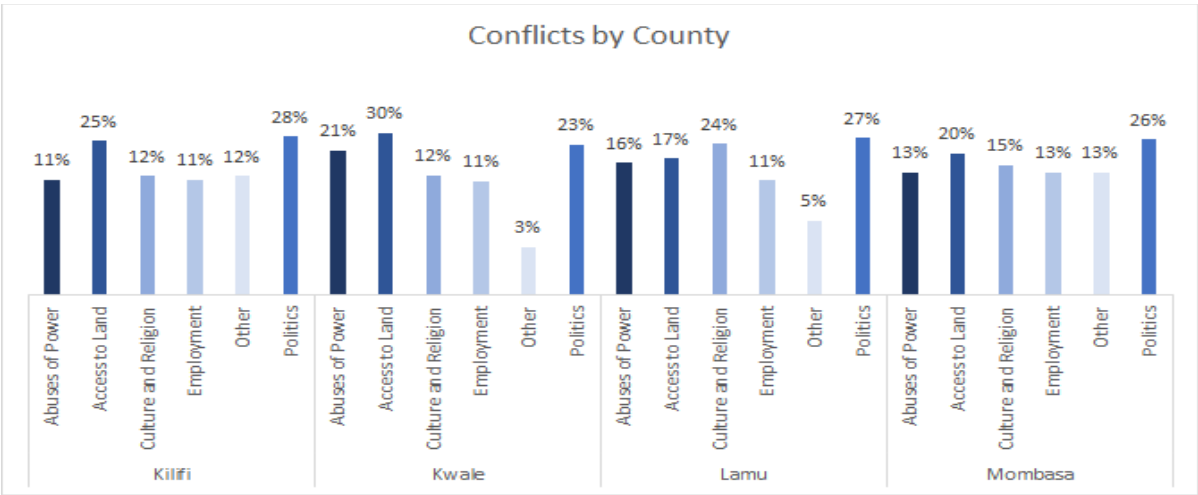
There were suggestions that policies for transforming VE are implemented to include excessive use of force and also fail to protect people who come forward with information on VE, thus creating more conflict. Finally, there was some reflection on how different locations have been subjected to different levels of violence, and so that changes not only their respective push-pull factors, but also their openness to discuss VE, which may have affected the findings in this research.

---

[7] Please see Annex 2 to see the responses disaggregated by county and for the unique viewpoints of women and youth.

Conflicts, Actors, and Consequences

Of all the conflicts identified, Politics, the 2017 Elections, Abuses of Power, Access to Land, Access to Employment, and Culture and Religion emerged as the most common conflicts and drivers of VE.

a. Politics

> *"The words you say are greater than the words you mean" - Swahili saying.*

Politics experienced a steep increase as a community divider and conflict driver in Kilifi and Lamu, compared to the baseline.

Negative political messaging emerged as a common driver of conflict that encourages marginalization and distrust between communities. Though this was recognized as a tactic by politicians to motivate a base, the experienced effect is violence in communities. Political messages can act as dog-whistles for violent groups. An example provided in Lamu was of political leaders referring to certain groups within the community as "foreigners", implying they don't belong or have legitimate claims to contested resources like jobs and land. Divisive rhetoric might endear a politician to their constituents, but it does not provide fertile ground for peaceful solution of communal problems.

Political infighting and negative messaging about political opponents also undermines faith in public institutions necessary for Transforming VE. For example, the Governor of Lamu was accused by the president of being behind a 2014 VE attack in Mpeketoni (the case was dismissed)[8]. Kwale Youth identified this kind of intentional stoking of tensions as a driver of VE and said, *"Politicians use the political arena to spread hatred and animosity."* The divisions incited and perpetuated by political attacks contribute to the marginalization identified as a push factor towards VE. Exclusion from political decision making, unfair hierarchies of political influence, and abuses of power by government and security (including disappearances) were prevalent concerns - particularly in Kilifi and Kwale. There were multiple references to how political groups acting "superior" to others incited the "inferior" groups to violence.

Interestingly, disenfranchisement was most mentioned by the Control Groups - this could be explored in future research to see if Search and partner programming effects how program participants feel they have a path to political decision making.

For Coastal peoples, perceived hierarchies were linked to historical grievances - including perceptions of job distribution biased against locals, tribalism that bleeds into elections, marginalized communities feeling ignored by the government, and socio-economic status used to oppress the lower strata. While communities take these concerns seriously, formal authorities consider these sentiments to be extensions of VE. This mismatch of priorities increases feelings of disenfranchisement among Coastal communities, and perhaps serve to legitimize VE narratives that frame VE actors as defenders of the local people.

---

[8] The case was ultimately thrown out. Rumours surrounded the proceedings that the accusation was politically motivated as retribution for the governor's stance on access to land in Lamu that was increasing in value.

b. 2017 Elections

Very few participants tied the elections directly to VE, but it was widely believed that the elections created new conflicts and exacerbates existing tensions. As discussed above, warped political messages around elections and electoral violence increase feelings of marginalization, which taps in the VE drivers of historical grievances around access to justice and opportunity. The tension of the elections creates new marginalization narratives for VE actors to take advantage of. For example, in Mombasa, while electoral or political violence wasn't held responsible for VE, the Control Group stated it creates a narrative that VE recruiters can exploit. The presidential election, and its inconclusive results[9], was singled out as creating enmity and animosity between the followers of each politicians and disrupting peace in the country. As an official in Lamu noted, *"5 of 6 [of the major elective position elections] were done successfully, only the presidential election continues",* and that one (significant) piece detracts from faith in and stability of the entire system.

It also emerged that the political violence was not unexpected. The normalization of violence surrounding elections has a destabilizing effect that spreads and impacts other conflicts. In Kilifi land conflicts intensified when local communities took over the land of absentee landlords[10], the squatters took advantage of the fact that security personnel were busy observing the campaigns and would not be able to prevent the entry. Similarly, farmer-herder conflicts in Lamu went unresolved by the local conflict resolution committees because the committees went on hiatus during the election period, which removed the mechanism for peacefully addressing concerns that Al Shabab was entering the area under guise of being herders[11].

c. Abuses of Power

Kwale reported the most security abuses, specifically aggressive tactics by security forces to gain information about VE and against VE returnees from Somalia. The tactics used to pursue information and the community's perception of subsequent failure to protect informants registers as a deep violation because Coastal communities believe it breaks the promises of the National PCVE Plan around reintegration and rehabilitation of returnees. Additionally, participants in Kwale were the most likely to identify access to land, and the perceived government prevention of local people's access to land via corrupt practices, as an abuse of power.

In Kilifi, communities perceived government as actively involved in displacing local tribes from their ancestral lands[12]. In addition to marginalized communities feeling neglected by national government[13], and

---

[9] Incumbent Uhuru Kenyatta won the August 2017 presidential election against longtime rival Raila Odinga. The result was annulled by the Supreme Court, citing "illegalities and irregularities". A new election was set for October, but on October 10 Odinga dropped out of the re-election race, and urged his supporters to boycott it, alleging that the changes needed to ensure the integrity of the new election had not been made. The election went ahead, and Kenyatta claimed the victory as final, despite low voter turnout.

[10] Mtwapa (Kikambala area) and Malindi area, Kilifi Security Actor Interview

[11] Lamu National Official Interview

[12] Kilifi Control Group FGD

[13] Kilifi Security Actor Interview

youth being excluded from county affairs[14], the community also perceived direct violence from state security in two recent forced disappearances in Kilifi and the death of a mentally ill man at the hands of anti-terror security forces.

The profiling of the Muslim community - particularly youth - as terrorists was a common complaint, and most common in Lamu. Stories were shared of how people disappear and their families never learn the circumstances, so the common belief becomes that their (Muslim) community is being persecuted by the Security forces. The Security Actors and National Actors recognized this perception as damaging efforts to transform VE. The National Actor in Lamu empathized with the community feeling that extrajudicial killings drive VE as a function of community revenge against the government as a fueling VE narratives of oppression. The Security Actors in Lamu and Mombasa put forth counter narratives wherein communities refuse to expose the radical elements within, and Security Actors can not be held responsible for disappearances.

Word cloud of most repeated themes across all interviews and focus groups.

d. Access to Land

Access to land was noted as a high contributing factor to all conflict in all counties, though it is experienced differently in each county. In each county except for Lamu, land disputes as a driver of conflict has increased since the baseline (9% to 25% in Kilifi; 6% to 30% in Kwale, 9% to 20% in Mombasa, and 37% to 17% in Lamu).
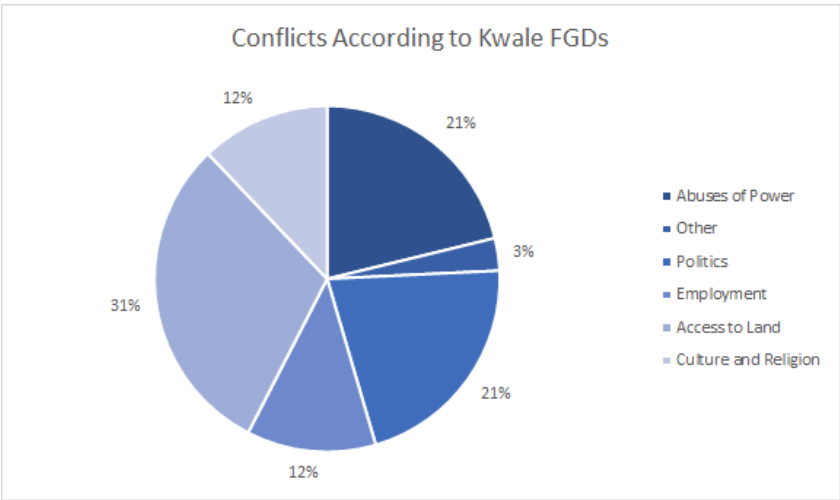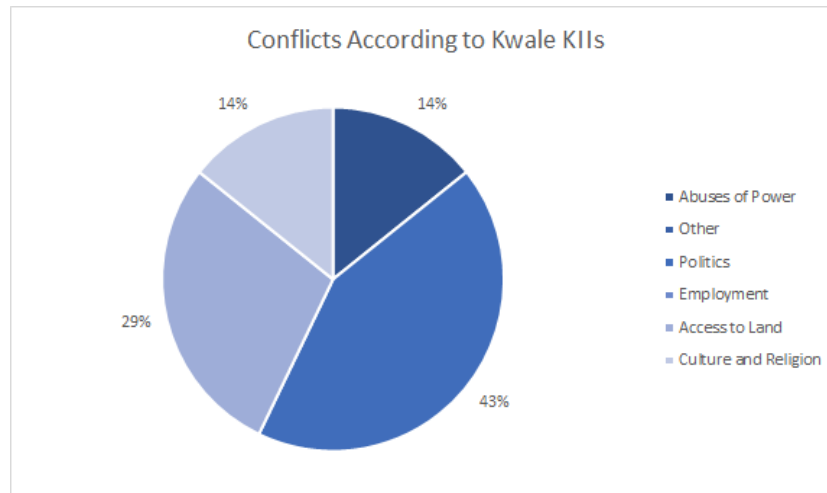
---

[14] Kilifi County Official Interview

"Land and boundary issues are most common and most violent because they endanger our communities by affecting our relationship with our neighbors… It leads to enmity between people belonging to different communities. Eventually, conflict could cause war which will affect the economy and unity of the entire county."-Mombasa Security Actor, KII

The highest number of land conflicts were in Kilifi, where conflicts between youth and community over inheritance and access to land often lead to violence. Young people in Kilifi are accused of killing members of the older generation as a way to take their land, underlining the perception also found in youth unemployment as a driver of VE (discussed below under **Access to Employment**) that youth are ready to engage in violence for personal gain.*"It is very common in Kilifi for youth to kill old people under the pretext that they are practicing witchcraft, but really they want their land" - KII, Kilifi Security Actor.*

In Kwale, land conflicts was between the community and the government. Government eviction of local people, who the community consider to be rightful tenants, came alongside accusations of corruption, and multiple mentions that locals did not have access to the deeds to their property.

There was a divide between community concerns and formal authority concerns around land. Every FGD in Kwale presented land conflicts as injustices against local peoples, and connected access to land to abuses of power and employment (effectively removing community responsibility to address land conflicts from their own perspective). The KIIs on the other hand, comparatively under-recognized abuses of power and access to land, ignored employment issues, and over-recognized politics as a driver of conflict. Where KIIs did recognize access to land as a conflict, they defined it as a problem with squatters (suggesting a dismissal of local claims to their land) or as intra-family issues due to polygamy (absolving the government of any responsibility from their own perspective).

Conflicts According to Kwale FGDs

- Abuses of Power — 21%
- Other — 3%
- Politics — 21%
- Employment — 12%
- Access to Land — 31%
- Culture and Religion — 12%

Conflicts According to Kwale KIIs

- Abuses of Power — 14%
- Other — 14%
- Politics
- Employment — 43%
- Access to Land — 29%
- Culture and Religion — 14%

In Lamu most land conflicts are farmer-herder conflicts. Farmer-herder conflicts involve majority Christian farmers, majority Muslim herders, and government and security actors enforcing boundaries. Many of the conflicts begin because of unclear demarcation of grazing and farming fields, which communities see as a failure of the government to provide an effective plan for land management. The farmer-herder conflicts regularly turn violent, and are increasingly connected to religious conflict. Christian farmers have begun to view Muslim pastoralists as part of terror groups or as aiding terrorist to launch attacks in the region, which in turn is used to justify violence as an acceptable response to land conflicts between the two groups.
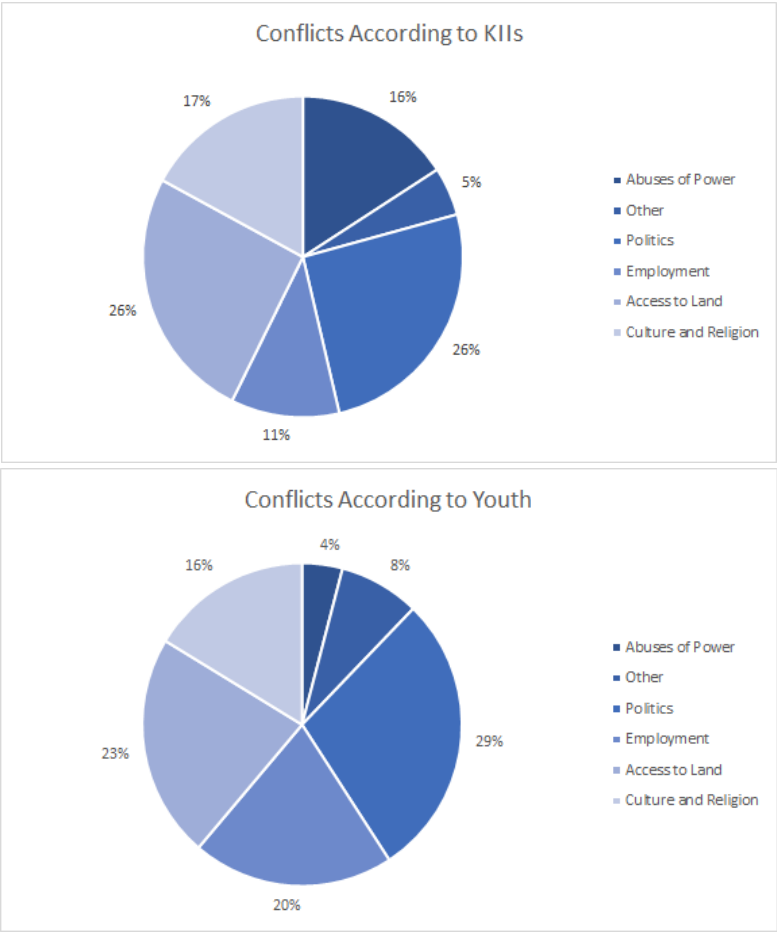
e. Access to Employment

Community members across locations shared struggles with negative stereotypes of Coastal people that prevent them from accessing jobs. Many of these stereotypes were around Coastal people's education levels and work ethic. Titanium mining in Kwale provides a telling example, where residents feel they are not receiving benefits from the introduction of mining in their area and report the exclusion of local people from employment opportunities. Participants did not provide detail on who is getting the jobs, but it is worth noting their perception that jobs are only going to "outsiders" suggests the creation of in-group / out-group divisions between newcomer haves and local have-notes. There was also the feeling among FGD participants that government jobs at the county level are not allocated fairly, with too many jobs given out based on political favors and corrupt practices, and that any economic growth in the region is not being experienced by local communities.

Access to employment is a particularly strong driver of conflict and violence for youth. Youth in each county were the most likely to report employment, or a lack thereof, as a major driver of conflict. Unemployment makes youth more responsive to financial enticements to engage in violence. Furthermore, widespread unemployment creates rifts between those who have jobs and those who don't. The unemployed/underemployed perceive their economic situation as an unfair result of a corrupt system, and this increases the resonance of narratives portraying VE actors as fighting oppression.

That dynamic also contains potential for constructive change, as providing job opportunities can disrupt economics as a driver of conflict and violence. In Kilifi youth reported that positive changes in VE dynamics were

connected to employment, *"The [VE dynamics] that improve are due to youth empowerment through employment. [Whereas the VE dynamics] that don't change are as a result of unresolved issues and injustices."* - *Kilifi Youth Group FGD*

Similar to the issue of access to land, while employment was referenced by a majority of the FGDs across counties as a driver of conflict, it was not referenced by formal authorities during KIIs with national level officials in Mombasa, Kwale, or Lamu. This is an important disconnect because employment is rated so highly by youth as a crucial factor in getting involved in violence[15]. The charts below illustrate the disconnect between KIIs and Youth perceptions of the conflicts.

Conflicts According to KIIs

16%
5%
26%
11%
26%
17%

- Abuses of Power
- Other
- Politics
- Employment
- Access to Land
- Culture and Religion

Conflicts According to Youth

4%
8%
29%
20%
23%
16%

- Abuses of Power
- Other
- Politics
- Employment
- Access to Land
- Culture and Religion

f. Culture and Religion

Cultural conflicts were mentioned less frequently than other conflicts, but consistently. Cultural conflicts also saw decreases from the baseline as percentage of reported conflicts for every county except for Kilifi, which held steady. These included conflicts between traditional norms and modern law (for example, female genital mutilation), and what some participants saw as the dissolution of family values, whereby parents and communities were blamed for youth violence because they failed to discipline them.

---

[15] The consequences of the government approach are far reaching when one considers that the government is strongly encouraging NGOs and CSOs to align their activities with the recent National and County PCVE strategies.

Religion was considered a conflict mostly by the Muslim community who believe themselves to be in conflict with government and security actors. FGDs report security forces broadly target and criminalize Muslim communities under the auspices of anti-terror operations (discussed in greater detail above under **Abuses of Power**). These experiences lead some members of that community to use violence as means to exercise autonomy and control over their situations. This interpretation was particularly prevalent in Lamu.

A National Official from Lamu shared a story where a member of parliament was refused entry to the statehouse for wearing Islamic garb. They reflected, *"if that can be done to a leader, all other people are suspicious...Indigenous people feel like if Al Shabab comes and attacks, maybe that is coming to help them. Because they are ignored by other Kenyans [and the government]."*

Some research participants also reported that religion was a driver of violence for VE recruits who were not well versed in Islam, and can be manipulated into believing that they can support Islam through violence - something every interviewee who raised the topic of religion strongly disagreed with.

Community Perceptions of Violent Extremism

The principal actors in the VE conflict are seen as youth, government security, and - depending on who you are talking to - outside instigators of VE or community members cooperating with VE. Community groups describe the most violent and destructive VE actors as people coming from outside the community and entering and disrupting the peace. Government and security actors on the other hand were more likely to believe that co-conspirators and complicit cooperation with VE was coming from within communities.

In each county the community FGDs, and even many of the KIIs, expressed sympathetic attitudes towards VE actors. These sympathies were divided along three axes: 1) VE actors are disciplined, 2) They are fighting for their rights and to resist oppression, 3) They are fighting for a sincerely held belief - that belief may be good or bad, but it is sincere. Overall, there was as sentiment that VE attracts a higher class of criminal than gangs or political violence - similar to the baseline findings. Words to describe VE recruits included: innocent, calm, fine fellows. Whereas gang members were characterized as drug-users, rowdy, and chaotic. In a pair of examples from Kilifi and Lamu, VE recruits were described in terms more favorable than the security actors were; Youth in Kilifi valorize VE actors as people who, *"Follow strict rules and conditions to achieve their goal"* while in contrast, in Lamu the Control Group FGD shared that there is an informal curfew in effect, and, *"security agents take advantage of the situation and engage in drinking alcohols and many other things which are against the community."*

VE actors were seen as misguidedly seeking revenge, though with legitimate grievances - such that communities sympathize with the ends but not the means. In Kwale the Control Group FGD listed, *"oppression, where the lesser groups in society are undermined and neglected in sharing of resources and job opportunities hence they retaliate for them to be recognized"* as a driver of VE. In Kwale, drivers of VE were identified as religious beliefs and the marginalization of Coastal residents.

VE was often defined as connected to something immovable or unshakeable, suggesting that their faith, good or bad, was sincere. A participant in the Lamu Community Leaders FGD said, "*VE is where people have taken a stand and willing to stand by it even if it's not right*". The Lamu Security Actor said, Al Shabab, *"are recruiting youth, radicalizing them [with a] warped ideology… Those fellows [Al Shabab recruits] are not using drugs or alcohol, they are fine fellows whose thinking has been warped."*

Another aspect of this sympathy for the push and pull factors that attract recruits to VE, was a strong current to blame the youth for conflicts and VE. In Kilifi and in Mombasa some groups even defined conflict and VE respectively as *"when the youth are incited to violence (Kilifi) / radicalization (Mombasa)."* In Kwale the Security Actor bemoaned a, *"national crisis of moral decay. Young people lack morals and focus thus get involved in VE."*

It is unclear though who is perceived to be at fault for youth's participation in VE. Poverty and unemployment are major concerns, and lack of parental guidance continued (from the baseline) to be identified as a cause of engagement with VE. Additionally, a lack of educational opportunities for many coastal youth removes them for considerations for any positions with advanced qualifications. Perhaps most pressing, religious profiling by security forces against Muslim youth make so many young people guilty by association that they become more receptive to VE messages.

Youth are understood as both vulnerable victims and as perpetrators. Communities in Kwale, where this research found the most report of security abuses, believe there is need to reach out to the most at risk population starting with the youth who are vulnerable to be radicalized or engage in VE. They suggest empowering youth groups by creating initiatives that enhance their growth in knowledge and skills *"to avoid idleness which may trigger VE since they can be easily targeted and manipulated."- Community Leaders FGD, Kwale*

Local Mechanisms for Conflict Resolution

This research found no public initiatives for peace originating from within the community. While participants said public figures in the religious, local leadership, and security sphere do promote peace, people usually choose to address VE in intimate spaces and at the family level. This choice to make VE transformation a personal matter reflects community fears that active engagement on issues of VE will make them either branded as working with the government/security (negatively affecting their status within community and jeopardizing their security) or as sympathetic to radicals (making them vulnerable to increased scrutiny from security).

Religious institutions, NGOs and CSOs, and Government platforms for dialogue were all mentioned as mechanisms for conflict resolution and addressing VE. It is worth noting that Community and Religious leaders were the most likely to recommend Community and Religious leaders as the most effective mechanism for conflict resolution, 15% more frequently than any other group. Likewise County Officials and Security Actors were the most likely to recommend working with Security Actors as the best option for conflict resolution at the community level.

Government initiatives have taken the form of new efforts, like Nyumba Kumi (NK)[16], and the leveraging of old platforms, like Barazas[17]. Barazas are being used for government purposes to communicate about efforts to transform VE. Both structures were often referenced by communities as a mechanism for conflict resolution, but their effectiveness is limited because it both efforts are understood to be intelligence collecting devices for security actors. The mistrust between communities and security actors dissuade communities from engaging openly with these mechanisms.

Even for those who do wish to engage in these platforms, communities believe that the issues they bring to them are not responded to adequately. Community members who want to cooperate with security are dissuaded from doing so because they see little respect for confidentiality, they find that they themselves then become targets of suspicion, and security does not act quickly on information so there is no tangible positive result from their engagement. While ostensibly open platforms, there is a feeling, particularly in Kwale, that they are used for one-way communication from security to the community[18].

Opportunities for Peace

Despite limited local mechanisms for conflict management, and low trust between government, security and communities, each location and each type of interview identified Collective Responsibility between communities, community leaders, and security actors as a key concept for conflict resolution and peace. The chart below visualizes how different groups provided both examples of community unifiers and suggestions for improving conflict resolution, and to what extent each group promoted Collective Responsibility. Perhaps unsurprisingly, participants who saw more unifiers of their communities provided more suggestions to improve conflict resolution. Youth and the Control Group were the most likely to identify Collective Responsibility as a key to peace, this sense of shared responsibility could be an entry point to encourage deeper engagement with measures to transform VE.

County PCVE Strategies have recently been implemented in all the target counties (Kwale in February 2017, Kilifi in April, Lamu and Mombasa in March 2017) are a good opportunity to adjust how county and national level efforts are coordinating with community level needs.

Cultural activities like marriages, sports, and religious events were all suggested by communities as opportunities for conflict resolution and productive VE transformation. The Annual Lamu Cultural festival that

---

[16] NK is government initiative. In NK, groups of 10 houses are created within communities, and each group is managed by an elected coordinator. This coordinator then works with other similarly elected coordinators to form a neighborhood watch organization to protect against criminality and radicalization

[17] Barazas are a traditional platform for citizens to engage with their leaders of community concerns, in the most basic sense they are open meetings meetings between leaders and community member

[18] An example from the Barazas was that a mid-level Security Actor would come and command the platform for some time, and as soon as he was done talking would leave the discussion and questions from the community to a more junior officer. This made the community feel devalued, and disincentivized participation. Other examples included descriptions of how people accused of engaging in violent behavior were able to bribe their way out of security custody. This corruption again serves to disincentivize communities from turning to Security forces for help, and instead they may take up violence themselves in retaliation for a personal attack or ignore the violent actor in the case of VE.

was going on during the research provided a positive example of culture being used not only as a unifier but also as an economic driver, simultaneously achieving two points of action to bring communities together. Another example of an activity that simultaneously responds to multiple aspects of the conflict comes from Kilifi[19], where employment forums were used to share work opportunities and also sensitize attendees on the importance of peace and dangers of VE.

4. Lessons Learned

There are very few actors working toward non-violent approaches to transforming VE. Therefore, even though CSOs and NGOs were found to be relying too heavily on community leaders to enter communities, they were still identified as playing important roles in positively changing conflict dynamics. CSOs and NGOs were credited with bringing people together, *"to enlighten them on issues concerning V.E… and leading to reduced prevalence of VE," - Mombasa Control Group, FGD.* In response to questions about Search and Partner activities, participants from communities and formal authorities recommended the activities continue and increase. This lack of depth to responses on how to change peacebuilding programming underlines the importance of ongoing practices to capture unintended outcomes of peace and development work, positive and negative.

One potential outcome that should be further researched comes from Lamu. In Lamu Search and partners helped orchestrate the lift of the night fishing ban. The night fishing ban had been enforced to discourage VE fighters moving freely at night, but had negatively affected local fisherman in Lamu town. We have lauded this as a success, and as an effective response to the needs of the coastal community in Lamu. During the research it became clear that we should also consider how interior communities feel about such a change. There is a belief in the interior, especially in the area surrounding Mpeketoni which experienced the large VE attack in 2014, that Al Shabab smuggles their members into Lamu on night boats, and the lifting of the night fishing ban makes them feel less secure. This example of unintended consequence is a reminder that we must be reflective and intentional about who we consider when examining the externalities of our activities.

---

[19] Kilifi Control Group FGD

ANNEX 1

STUDY LOCATIONS
- Mombasa
- Kwale
- Kilifi
- Lamu
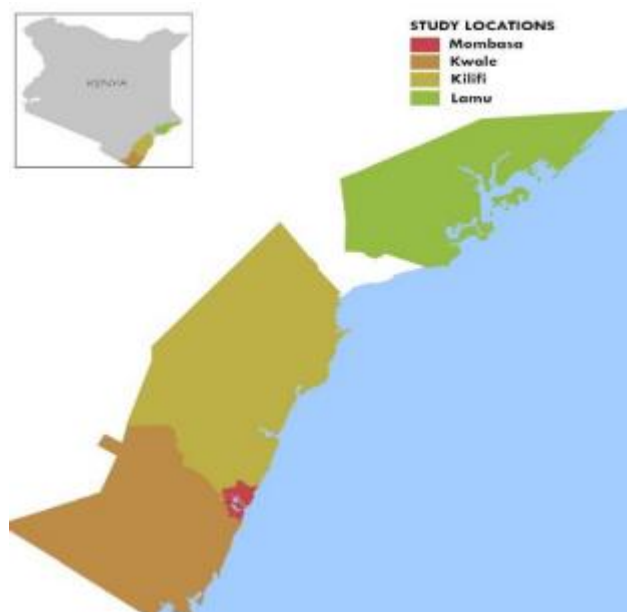
The methodology used Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) with community members (youth, women, community leaders, and control groups of project non-participants), and Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) with formal authorities (elected officials at the county and national level, and security sector actors). A participatory, qualitative method was intentionally chosen to enable dialogue and trust-building among stakeholders.With the support of Inuka! partners, four communities were identified to target for the research (one for each county where the project is operating). The following communities were chosen because they have populations that are vulnerable to VE: Mombasa, Likoni[20]; Kwale, Ukunda[21]; Kilifi, Malindi North and Bahari (combined to one location)[22]; Lamu, Witu[23]. The research reached 139 people in total for data collection; 128 via FGDs and 11 via KIIs, as detailed in the table below. There was also an online survey component for Inuka! partners, but the response level was so low that that data is not included in this analysis.

Number of Participants, Search Conflict Scan, November 2017

Target Groups	Number of KIIs	Number of FGDs	Number of participants
Youths (Male and female)		1 per location (4)	8 per FGD (4)
Wives and mothers		1 per location (4)	8 per FGD (4)
Religious and Community leaders		1 per location (4)	8 per FGD (4)
Control group, mixed		1 per location (4)	8 per FGD (4)
State Security actors (in person)	1 per county (4)		
Elected officials (national)	1 per county (4)		
Elected officials (county)	1 per county (Kwale was		

---

[20] The area reported 2017 election violence which saw one person killed. In addition the area has reported presence of criminal gang group activities (looting, use of crude weapons, attacking local shops).
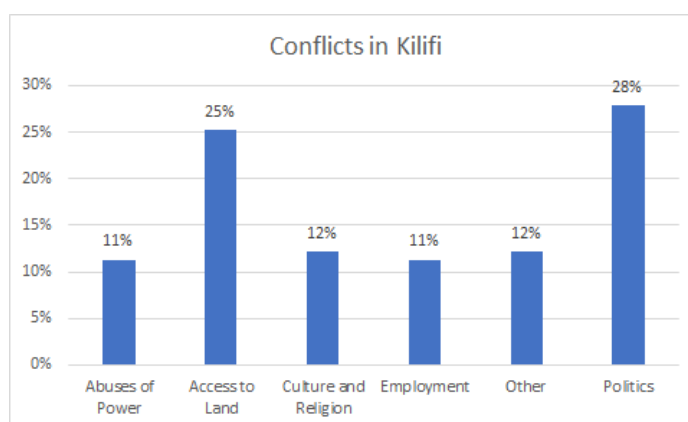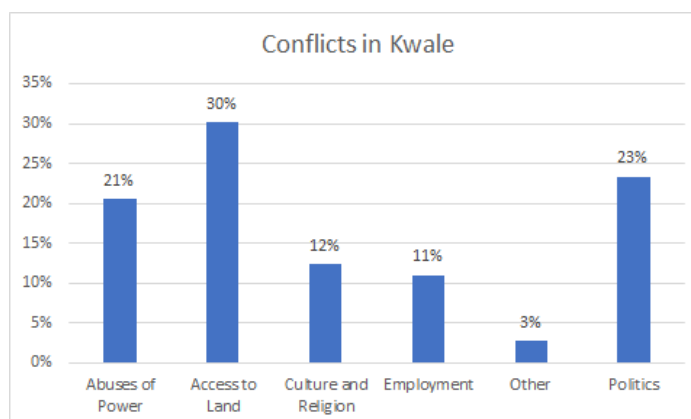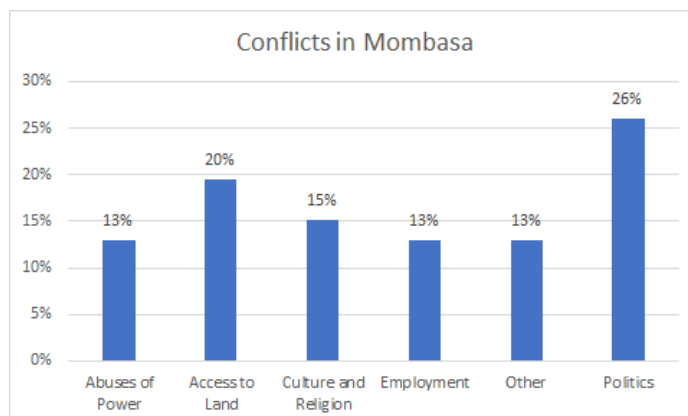
[21] The area has been identified as a hotspot for recruitment to VE groups and has seen killings of police officers.
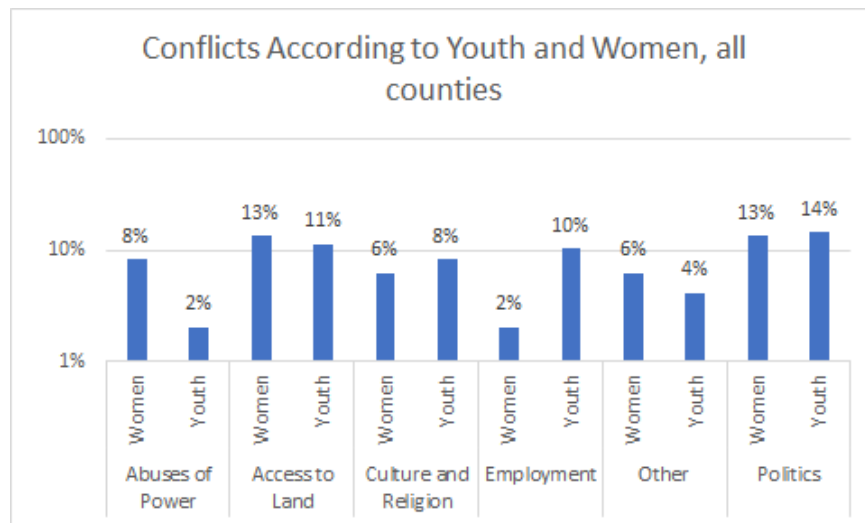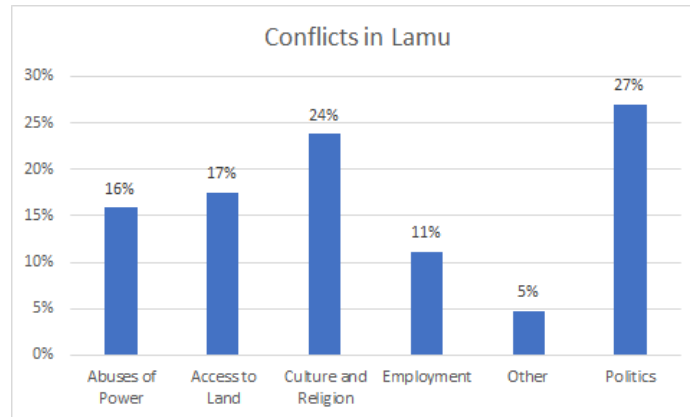
[22] Malindi has also been identified as hotspot for recruitment to VE and young male and female youths arrested while crossing to join AS.

[23] The area experiences terror attacks and ongoing farmer-herder conflicts over land and natural resources.

unavailable) (3)			
Total	11	16	128

ANNEX 2

Conflicts in Mombasa

	Abuses of Power	Access to Land	Culture and Religion	Employment	Other	Politics
%	13%	20%	15%	13%	13%	26%

Conflicts in Kwale

	Abuses of Power	Access to Land	Culture and Religion	Employment	Other	Politics
%	21%	30%	12%	11%	3%	23%

Conflicts in Kilifi

	Abuses of Power	Access to Land	Culture and Religion	Employment	Other	Politics
%	11%	25%	12%	11%	12%	28%

Conflicts in Lamu

Conflicts According to Youth and Women, all counties

ANNEX 3

Inuka! Conflict Scan Reporting Template for Enumerators, FGDs and KIIs

For each FGD or KII completed, please use this form to organize your notes and analysis. Submit this completed form alongside a copy of your original notes (either a Word document, or a photo/scan of handwritten notes). While your notes may be in Swahili, this form should be filled in English. All documents are due Friday, 5PM, 17 November 2017 to aaidan@sfcg.org.

Name of Interviewer:

Name of Notetaker:

Where is the location (town and county)?:

Date and Time of Interview:

Which Interview is this? Choose one:

·   FGD Women
·   FGD Youth
·   FGD Community Leaders
·   FGD Control Group, non-participants
·   KII Security Actor
·   KII National Level Elected Official
·   KII County Level Elected Official

Instructions: Collect the responses received for each question, and translate them here with as much detail as possible. Where relevant, include your observations on how the conversation went in-person, if someone hesitates to provide an answer, or tries to take the conversation in a different direction, mark that.

The development of the conflict(s), including trends and related risks

1.   What does "Conflict" mean to you?

2.   What types of disagreements are considered "Conflict?"?

3.   What starts conflicts?

4. What types of conflict exist in this community? Can you give examples of how one of these became a conflict?

5. Which conflicts are most common, most violent, and the most prone to endangering the future of the community?

6. Now that we've discussed conflicts, what does VE mean to you?

7. What are the drivers of VE?

8. What unifiers and dividers shape VE dynamics in communities?

Monitoring conflict dynamics and peace mechanisms within the targeted communities

1. Are any of these conflicts driving VE changing?

2. Do people talk about VE?

3. What do people in your community do to try to resolve conflicts?

4. What are the principal mechanisms for local peaceful conflict resolution by the population?

5. Are there any initiatives or collaborations from within the community to address VE?

Recommendations for how to address conflict(s), including who should be involved and how

1. Whose responsibility do you think it is to prevent or manage conflicts?

2. What are possible changes to better address VE?

3. Are there any people or ways to promote peace you know of that aren't being used?

Do No Harm

1. Are you aware of the organization SEARCH FOR COMMON GROUND or MUHURI?

Analysis

Here please share your own analysis of the interview, what themes emerged? What insights would you like to add about this community or target group? Do you have any recommendations for the report or for future research that came from this interview?