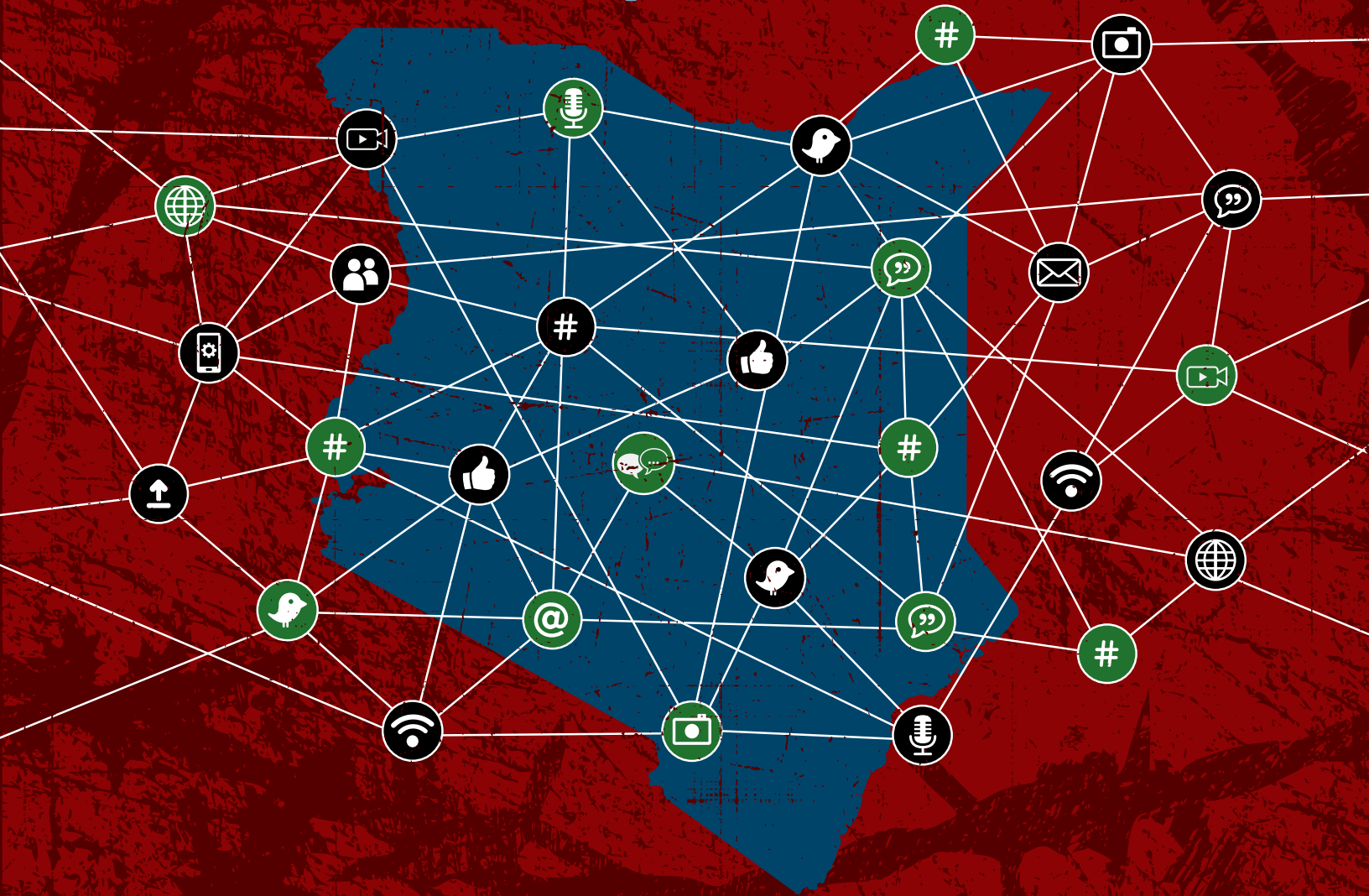# YOUTH AND RADICALIZATION IN
MOMBASA, KENYA

A LEXICON OF VIOLENT EXTREMIST LANGUAGE ON SOCIAL MEDIA

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Background to the Report

The bulk of this study on community responses to violent extremist messaging — the survey, focus groups, key informant interviews, and validation groups — took place from May through July 2017. At that time, Kenya was engaged in a deeply contested presidential election that was marred by hate speech, the fear of post-election violence and increasing polarization along ethnic lines. The communities we engaged with in Mombasa, Kenya (Changamwe, Kongowea, Kisauni, and Likoni) to identify violent extremist hate narratives were also deeply engaged with the elections. Mombasa, located on Kenya's coast, was particularly vulnerable to election violence in 2017, as it was a center of violent clashes in the 2007 elections.

While this study began with a focus on violent extremist hate speech, the larger political context of the Kenyan election cycle showed that research on violent narratives should be comprehensive, even at the community level. Violent groups often exploit a common set of local grievances by connecting them to global narratives of radicalization. Thus, hate speech espoused by different groups can be rooted in similar narratives, referencing community stories and events and manipulating common community perceptions, while also capitalizing on broader extremist themes and terminology. Therefore, the inter-mingling, reinforcement and exploitation of narratives that are used by different violent actors (politicians, criminal and violent extremist groups, religious and ethnic leaders) are inextricably tied together and may yield the most interesting research findings when tracking violent extremist hate speech.

This research project focuses on the use of hate speech language on social media by violent extremists. It builds on research conducted by PeaceTech Lab in South Sudan, which identified specific, local forms of hate speech (derogatory phrases of the other, dehumanizing stereotypes, fear mongering) that were then monitored as a way to track current and emergent enmity between conflict groups, and to understand the roots of that enmity.

The study on which this report is based took place in Mombasa, Kenya. It focused on community and individual resilience to violent extremism and the use of online messaging to vilify other groups and to radicalize youth. It built on the approach and methods of the Lab's South Sudan study.

The study's first phase identified a local lexicon used by violent extremist (VE) groups in Mombasa to radicalize and recruit, and explored whether communities and individuals have developed counter-messages and narratives to this language. In this phase, the Lab also looked at messaging and stories on social media by local constituencies for peace to inspire nonviolent and conflict resolution mindsets and behaviors among youth. The purpose of this study is to establish a lexicon that can inform sophisticated social media monitoring of online hate speech to understand the trends in and levels of hate speech messaging in Mombasa over time. In addition, the study attempts to identify a lexicon used by civil society organizations (CSOs) to promote peace and counter violent extremist (CVE) messaging, once again to foster greater understanding of such language through social media monitoring and analysis. One of the key questions this study asked was whether there was a difference in VE social media messaging between communities that were more resilient and less at risk for VE activity and communities that were less resilient and more at risk for VE activity. Or, did these communities have differences in their peace messaging, which could also affect VE social media messaging and its impact?

Research Methodology[1]

The study took place in four communities in Mombasa. Two of the communities—Kongowea and Changamwe—were identified in a scoping mission conducted in Mombasa as having less VE activity. In the same scoping phase, Kisauni and Likoni were described as having more VE activity. Although other research studies were consulted, the selection of the target communities was based largely on the opinion of local stakeholders, who identified both risk and resilience factors that, for them, explained the differences in the level of VE activity. It was not within the scope of this study to investigate other intervening factors that could explain differing levels of VE activity. For example, the role of the state in these communities and its effect on violent extremism (strong police presence and security, extrajudicial killings and disappearances committed by the police, empowered local government [devolution], etc.) was not researched.

To select the youth participants for the research, the Lab coordinated with local organizations in Mombasa to identify community resource people who were already working in the target communities. These resource people assisted the project team in mobilizing the youth for data collection. In collaboration with the local organizations and the resource people, the following criteria were determined for participant selection in each of the four communities:

CRITERIA FOR PARTICIPANT SELECTION			
Type of Youth	Number	Gender	Person Responsible
Youth in madrassas and mosques	5	3F/2M	Council of Imams and Preachers of Kenya (CIPK)
Youth in colleges/universities	5	3M/2F	Area mobilizer
Unemployed youth	5	3F/2M	Area mobilizer
Employed youth	5	3M/2F	Area mobilizer
Youth of Somali or Arab descent	5	3F/2M	Area mobilizer/PTL team

A shortfall of this study was that it could not recruit Somali participants in the survey and focus group discussions. However, one Somali was interviewed as part of the key informant interviews (KIIs), and three Somalis participated in each of the two validation groups that confirmed the focus group findings.

The study had five parts that took place sequentially in order to validate the lexicon identified in previous phases. The research activities included, in order: 1) a paper survey asking 100 participants to identify hate speech terms and peace messaging used on social media in their community and to describe how they use social media; 2) four focus groups, one in each community, to identify and prioritize hate speech and peace terms, and to describe the context in which they are used; 3) KIIs, two in each community, for additional insight on terms and social media use by youth; 4) validation working groups, one in the communities with less VE activity

and one in the communities with more VE activity, to validate previous findings; and 5) peer review of the draft final document.

This is a small, experimental study to test the research instruments and the methodology in the context of violent extremism. Although the Lab has identified interesting insights on social media messaging and hate speech, community resilience and vulnerability, and how youth use social media, we also recognize the study's limitations. For example, four communities are a small sample, and conducting research on violent extremism in the lead-up to the August elections in Kenya can influence online narratives. Thus, the research findings are preliminary and need to be replicated and tested with follow-up research (see Recommendations section below).

Summary Findings

The study makes several contributions within CVE research as follows:

- **Provides a Tool.** By closely examining VE hate speech and peace messaging in select communities in Mombasa, the lexicon creates a practical tool and useful data. In addition to identifying potential sources and trends in community-based violence, the lexicon can also be used to conduct evidence-based impact analysis of counter-narratives, or peace-building messaging efforts.

- **VE Hate Speech and Community Risk and Resilience.** The report found that communities with more VE activity had more VE hate speech in their communities. Those with less VE activity had less VE hate speech but were not immune to other kinds of hate speech, most of which were tied to political, rather than religious, grievances. This suggests (but does not prove) that the level and type of VE messaging might indicate a community's vulnerability to specific forms of violence. This hypothesis should be tested in additional and duplicate studies using the social media monitoring and research methodology.

- **VE Hate Speech and Violence.** This report found that communities with more VE activity have more VE hate speech in their communities. That is, these two factors correlate—they are present in the same community. Further research should be structured to test whether there is causality between hate speech and violence.

Systems Approach. By examining VE hate speech on social media, this report finds that social media messaging alone cannot advance VE activism or violent behavior. It is one component of an inter-locking network, which includes, among other aspects, mosque lectures, recorded lectures/sermons on DVDs, graffiti, peer group influences among friends, family members, school mates, etc., which may drive individuals further down the path of radicalization for violence. Based on this finding, the report recommends that a systems-based approach to communicating against violent extremism, which is currently non-existent, be created and tested.

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History of the Conflict

Mombasa is part of Kenya's Coastal region, located in the east of the country on the Indian Ocean. Mombasa, like the Coastal region it is situated within, has a diverse ethnic and religious population. The indigenous African population in this area are known as the Mijikenda and live throughout the Coast. They follow both Islam and Christianity. Mijikenda populations living south of Mombasa are predominantly Muslim, while members of their ethnic group living farther inland and along the Coast are predominantly Christian.[2]

Throughout its history, the Coast has experienced waves of in-migration, from earlier Arab and Persian settlers, who established lucrative trading ventures along the Indian Ocean, to more recent upcountry Kenyans, who have come to Mombasa to acquire land and establish businesses. The migration of upcountry Kenyans has affected community economic life, which has, in turn, increased ethnic tensions.[3] In many Mombasa communities, wealthier upcountry newcomers are buying up property, displacing Mombasa's indigenous families and disrupting their more traditional communal associations and values. Hiring along ethnic lines occurs, with local youth reporting that upcountry businesspeople hire from their own ethnic group, and vice versa.[4]

These demographic shifts have led to an increasing sense of marginalization among African Muslims, along several dimensions. First, in the Indian Ocean region, African Muslims are perceived to be of lower status than those claiming Persian or Arab ancestry. Within Kenya, the ruling elite is mostly Christian and can highlight their religion at public events and political rallies, which can involve prayer or take place in houses of worship.[5] Mombasa's Muslim population has also been affected by the growth of Islamic sects (Salafists, Sufists, Wahabists, etc.), which have divided the faith community. Without a central authority overseeing Islam, mosques on the Coast, which are mostly autonomous and loosely governed by local committees, have been more easily captured by radical imams.[6]

The drivers of conflict in Mombasa are exacerbated by local and national politicians who are inextricably connected to local systems of economic patronage. For example, in Kongowea, politicians control the licensing system for the market, and two factions, led by an upcountry member of parliament and a locally raised country governor, have struggled for control of the market and its revenues.[7] In Changamwe, the construction of a terminus to a national railway system has recently resulted in a collision of national and community political interests with respect to the local economy, igniting tensions around ethnic hiring practices for the station's construction and the impact on the resident trucking businesses with the shift to rail. In Mombasa, these struggles for control of significant economic assets (land, business, infrastructure) and political power by national and local politicians, which can play out along ethnic lines, have deep historical roots.[8] With the advent of a multi-party system in Kenya, Mombasa has had episodes of politically motivated violence since the 1990s.[9] Especially troublesome has been political elite manipulation of youth to carry out the violence; this often leaves communities at the mercy of armed gangs, who engage in criminal activity to raise revenue once the politicians have paid youth to intimidate and attack opponents, and then removed them from their payrolls.[10]

Coastal Muslims are increasingly vulnerable as well to VE radicalization efforts, which liken their ethnic, racial, and religious marginalization to the systematic discrimination of all Muslims worldwide.[11] This discourse has increasingly appealed to Kenyan Muslims on the Coast, effectively expanding al-Shabaab's recruitment beyond the region's Somali population. For

many years, secular Coastal politics have long been concerned with various proposals for some form of Coastal autonomy—from Mwambao in the 1950s, to Majimbo in the 1960s and 1990s, to secession in 2011–2013—to ensure more localized control over land and minerals.[12] Although secessionism today is not supported by most residents of the Coast (Kenya's recent constitutional reform to devolve more political power to local governments has alleviated the pressure to secede[13]), secular political debates over distribution of economic resources in Mombasa continue.

Thus, the region's conflict actors—politicians, violent extremists, ethnic leaders—have very different strategic goals and agendas. However, in Mombasa, they all manipulate the same drivers of conflict—local grievances rooted in economic disenfranchisement and political marginalization along ethnic and religious lines—to achieve them. Distinguishing the different types of conflict in Mombasa, and the grievances that fuel them, is critical to identifying a local hate speech lexicon. Terms and narratives around violence are highly contextual; they are rooted in the ideas, grievances, and issues that frame the specific, local justifications for violence. Furthermore, hate speech is an instrument for achieving group strategies and goals. If VE groups in Mombasa recruit youth on the basis of a global religious ideology, and political groups recruit them to advance their claim to economic resources, it is expected that the hate speech lexicon used by these groups would be very different.[14]

Key Concepts

Hate Speech. Hate speech is any form of expression (speech, text, images) that can increase the risk that its audience will condone or participate in violence against members of another group. Such expressions often have rhetorical similarities across countries and cultures, such as dehumanization; instilling a fear that the "other" is a threat, making violence against them acceptable; labeling others as impure; etc. Some hate speech never directly targets another group; rather, it accuses members of the in-group of being traitors or disloyal, or praises them for being virtuous, because they are willing to commit violence or express hate against others.[15]

Peace Messaging. Peace messaging is a conflict prevention approach that aims to change the attitudes and behaviors of citizens in order to mitigate the risk of violence. Through peace messaging, ordinary citizens speak out against violence or are educated, mostly by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) or community groups, about the human, financial, and development costs of violence. The messaging occurs through various media, such as sports events, art, and advertisements, and on a variety of communication platforms.[16]

VE Groups. VE groups describe their violence as motivated by an inflexible, extremist ideology: "The core problem that extremism presents in situations of protracted conflict is…the closed, fixed, and intolerant nature of extremist attitudes, and their subsequent imperviousness to change."[17]

Resilience. Resilience is the ability of a community, people, state, or region to adopt new processes, norms, and strategies for conducting their lives and new societal relationships in response to a violent shock or uptick in aggression and brutality to prevent, mitigate, or recover from violence. These innovative ways of relating and functioning demonstrate a social system's capacity to self-organize. Thus, resilience, for this study, does not refer to the restoration of the status quo, but rather to learning and adaptation.

Research Findings

The primary purpose of this study is to identify a lexicon employed by VE and peacebuilding groups in four communities in Mombasa (Kongowea, Changamwe, Kisauni, and Likoni) that can be monitored on social media to determine which terms are being used, by which groups, and for what purpose. In this way, the lexicon can identify possible sources of and potential trends in violence, and its potential victims. And, it can validate peacebuilding messaging that can counter, mitigate, or prevent violence.

A key aspect of the study was to explore the concept of community resilience and risk in relation to levels and types of hate speech and peace messaging. In the initial scoping trip to Mombasa, researchers interviewed community stakeholders, who agreed that two communities—Kongowea and Changamwe—had less VE activity. Kisauni and Likoni were considered more vulnerable and at risk for violent extremism, with higher levels of VE activity. Communities that prevent the emergence of violent extremism and/or cycles of retributive violence after VE attacks have everyday capacities to successfully harness against violence. These resilience capacities have been identified in the works of Ashutosh Varshney, Ami Carpenter, Mary Anderson and Marshall Wallace, and Lauren Van Metre and can include social capital, leadership, access to relevant information, security, and community activism.[18] Communities experiencing higher levels of VE activity may either have less resilience capacity or more risk factors. (Risk factors for violent extremism are commonly separated into push [structural or environmental] and pull [individual recruitment] categories. Both push and pull factors are relevant to community risk and vulnerability to violent extremism.)[19] Thus, resilience can be thought of as relational to risk: It is the capacities and strategies communities employ to mitigate or prevent violence relative to the risk factors that are present in their community. A community may have significant capacity to resist violence but could be overwhelmed by the enormity of the shock or long-term trends buffeting it. It is expected that the two community groups—more resilient and/or less vulnerable Kongowea and Changamwe, and less resilient and/or more vulnerable Kisauni and Likoni—would have differences in their hate speech and peace messaging lexicon associated with violent extremism and countering violent extremism, respectively.[20]

The extensive VE messaging identified by ethnic Kenyans participating in this study (and validated by members of the Somali community) reinforces the fact that groups like al-Shabaab have expanded their recruitment efforts beyond the Somali diaspora in Kenya to the recruitment of Kenyan Muslims. As identified in the conflict analysis above, the multiple marginalizations of Mombasa's and the Coast's Kenyan Muslim communities has made them vulnerable to such recruitment efforts. Additionally, Kenyans frequently switch religions based on employment opportunities, the community they live in, marriage, burials, etc. Christians who convert to Islam are very vulnerable to recruitment because they are often isolated from their former family and friends and are not deeply familiar with the Quran and its teachings. As a result, they can be vulnerable to manipulation by VE recruiters.[21]

Community Resilience to Violent Extremist Messaging

In communities with less VE activity (Kongowea and Changamwe), focus groups did not identify VE messaging (as defined above) as having any notable presence in their community. Instead, hate speech and messages inciting violence focused primarily on the elections and on criminal gang activity.

Kongowea

The lack of VE messaging may be explained by VE risk and resilience factors in Kongowea, as identified by focus and validation group participants. Kongowea is a diverse community that has more Christians than Muslims. The Muslim community has been "strong" against violent extremism due to the presence of a vigilant Islamic Center, mosques, and madrassas, which have not allowed VE groups to penetrate these learning and religious institutions. Kongowea experienced a notable increase in its population as people moved from Likoni, following pre-electoral violence there in 1997. Due to its location, the Kongowea market, Mombasa's largest market, has become a center of ethnic and political competition.

Older settlements in Kongowea still exist—Muslim communities of Swahili, Bajuni, and Arab descent—but with the recent demographic shifts, some of these earlier residents have located to other parts of Mombasa and the Coast. The Kongowea market employs a significant number of the community's youth, mitigating a significant VE pull factor: idle youth, with no status or respect within the community. The market is also heavily guarded; participants felt that the heavy presence of police and security guards was a VE deterrent. Politics dominate Kongowea communal life. Young people are employed by political parties to work in the market, to execute attacks and intimidation against political competitors, and to project fear to the voters so that politicians more easily acquire leadership seats. Like a mafia town where the dons have a monopoly on violence, no other perpetrators of violence, including violent extremists, have a foothold in Kongowea.

However, with an entrenched political network that employs youth to commit acts of violence and intimidation against political opponents, Kongowea is extremely vulnerable to youth and political violence. This "resilience" to violent extremism and vulnerability to political violence may explain why the focus group identified primarily hate speech inciting youth/political violence in this community. Yet, it is also important to note the significant presence of VE hate speech in the secondary list of terms. This suggests that there is a recessive current of VE messaging in Kongowea that, if it became stronger, could indicate that the community was becoming less resilient and more at risk for violent extremism. Also of concern is the threatening language directed at upcountry immigrants throughout the election cycle. Van Metre found robust, healthy, associational relationships across ethnic lines to be a key resilience factor for resisting VE activity. The erosion of this resilience factor in Kongowea as a result of the elections could have implications for the community's capacity to prevent or mitigate VE activity.

PRIMARY LIST OF HATE SPEECH TERMS[22]

Chinja, chinja: A Kiswahili term that means "slaughter/slaughter," this very graphic term appears frequently on social media (primarily WhatsApp and Facebook) with pictures of criminal gang violence, and in neighborhood graffiti. It is used to mark gang territory and instill fear in potential victims. The term is also used to recruit youth to gangs by appealing to their desire to be bold and daring. It is also a term of greeting between gang members. The term is used widely in Mombasa by gangs in different neighborhoods: the Wakali Kwanza and Chafu in

Kongowea; the Ropa in Majengo, Old Town, and Kisauni. According to focus group participants, it is a new term that has emerged with the recent appearance of criminal gangs in Kongowea—gangs that have taken root due to sponsorship by local politicians, or gangs from neighboring communities that shelter in Kongowea to avoid arrest.

Wabara waende kwao, Mombasa ni yetu: A Kiswahili term that means "let the immigrant communities return upcountry; Mombasa is for the Coastal people" (sometimes the word "wabara," meaning outsiders, is replaced with the word "wakuja," meaning newcomers). The phrase could be found extensively on social media in the past, but the government has cracked down on its use in public fora. Currently, it is found in private chat groups and on WhatsApp. According to the focus group participants, this is an old term commonly associated with the Mombasa Republican Council, a group that advocated for the Coast's secession from Kenya based on the Mijikenda's decades of economic and social marginalization. It is currently being used by youth groups and criminal gangs employed by local and national politicians, and by politicians themselves to garner local support during the elections. It is a politically divisive term that further widens the rift between locals and immigrant communities, and different tribal groups in Kongowea. It is used to intimidate upcountry residents of Kongowea and prevent them from voting locally. The term is closely associated with elections and disappears when they are concluded.

Kupiga kura ni Ukafiri: A Kiswahili term that means "participating in the elections/voting is haram/forbidden in Islam," this term is used by the groups Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT) and al-Shabaab. Although the term has been around since the 1950s, it appeared for the first time in Kongowea in the lead-up to the August 2017 elections. It played a prominent role in the elections, calling for Muslim disenfranchisement based on the Quran, which forbids lying. HT leaders argue that politicians make many promises to gain political office and do not fulfill most of those commitments. Voters, then, are complicit when they elect a liar to office. HT supporters want to establish a caliphate, uniting all Muslims globally. (Although HT frequently messages in other Mombasa neighborhoods, it has not, until this election, actively promoted its political agenda in Kongowea.[23]) The focus group perceived HT as an anti-democratic but nonviolent group. This term is not considered hate speech, but it does encourage the political and social marginalization of the Muslim community and, as such, is perceived as nondemocratic.

Democracy ya ukweli ni uisilamu: Meaning "the true democracy is a democracy based on Sharia," the term is also used by HT to propogate the idea of a caliphate that will unify the global Muslim community in one unitary state. The term is used to appeal to Muslim populations who are disillusioned with corruption, marginalization, etc., but focus group participants say it has idealist rather than VE leanings. Also, it tends to be anti-democratic rather than in favor of hate speech.

SECONDARY LIST OF HATE SPEECH TERMS[24]	
Martyr (Shaheed)	A martyr who dies in the way of holy war/jihad and is promised 70 women in paradise. The term is used widely on social media, particularly YouTube and jihadist websites and links, and is discussed locally in closed WhatsApp discussion groups. It is also used generally in mosques and in face-to-face darsas (sermons/classes) when discussing different types of jihad, and is used by al-Shabaab in its pamphlets and magazines.
Jihad	War against your inner self to do good. Holy war against those who attack you/oppress you. This term is often negatively used by radical groups, such as al-Shabaab, to call youth to participate in a "holy" war to fight their oppressors. The term is used widely on social media, particularly YouTube and jihadist websites, and is discussed locally in closed WhatsApp discussion groups. It is also used generally in mosques and in face-to-face darsas (classes) when discussing different types of jihad.
Religious Scholar/Sheikh (Wadaad)	A Somali word that literally means religious people/religious scholars/sheikhs. However, it is sarcastically used to refer to al-Shabaab out of genuine fear of directly referring to al-Shabaab by name due to state agency profiling.
Kill the infidel (Chinja Kafir); Kill the infidel because Allah said (Ua kafiri kwa sababu Allah alisema)	Statements used to provoke young men to kill law enforcement officials (police or the army). Most commonly used by al-Shabaab and its associates whenever there are mobs to oust young men—for example, after the death of radical preachers, such as Aboud Rogo/Makhburi. It is often authenticated with Quranic verses. Variants of the above terms include: Infidels/non-believers will always be infidels and non-believers; slaughter them (Chinja hao, kafiri ni kafir); Slaughter the unbelievers (Chinja makafir).
Kafir	Based on the Quran, technically it means a person who does not follow the laws and commands of God. A Muslim can be a kafir if he, or she, does not pray or fast. Or, a kafir can be a Christian who does not practice his or her religion; it can also be an atheist. However, it has taken on a derogatory meaning in Mombasa to mean those who are not Muslim, and to divide groups along religious lines into us (Muslims) and them (non-Muslims), while implying that Christians are inferior. The term kafir also has a racist meaning; people use it to mean anyone who does not look like an Arab/Somali or Mswahili. During the elections, the term has become very prominent in debates among Muslims about voting for Christian politicians, and whether it is forbidden (or haram) to allow a non-Muslim to lead a Muslim community. Extremist groups, such as al-Shabaab, also use the term to refer to moderate Muslims who do not believe in the al-Shabaab ideology.
We are being oppressed, my brothers; let's go pick up arms, and the unbelievers shall be killed (Twateseka sana majamaa tujitume tushike bunduki makafiri watajauwawa)	Oppression refers to Muslims being marginalized or discriminated against locally in terms of opportunities for employment and education. It also has an international context, referring to the discrimination of Muslims around the world. It is used for recruitment to VE groups where youth will learn to use guns.
If Baba wins, you will all vacate/ move and go back to your communities/homes (Baba akishinda nyinyi mutahama muende makwenu)	Baba, which translates to father, is a reference to Raila Odinga, who is commonly called Baba. This is used by the Coastal people, who, in general, are Raila's supporters, to invoke the (upcountry) Kikuyu to return to their counties of origin. It is a term usually used during elections.
Wakali wao	This is the name of a gang originating from Kisauni and Kongowea that is associated with looting and killing people. The name instills fear in community members, who consider the gang dangerous.

Changamwe

The lack of VE messaging in Changamwe, like in Kongowea, may be associated with both risk and resilience factors. Like Kongowea, Changamwe is a predominantly Christian neighborhood. The Somalis in Changamwe are businesspeople and have a direct interest in peace and stability for their businesses to thrive. Members of the Changamwe focus group also emphasized that the community was alert to what was happening in its neighborhoods and with its youth, which is a deterrent to VE groups.

Like Kongowea, focus group discussants felt that they were more at risk for electoral violence, and this assessment is reflected in the lexicon around violence, which emphasized political, inter-ethnic, and gang violence. The main theme raised in the focus group discussions was that party politics are very important in Changamwe during this particular election cycle. The national standard-gauge railway (SGR) being built with Changamwe as a terminus has increased political and ethnic tensions with claims that the new SGR project is hiring people only from Nairobi and upcountry, and not Coastal residents. With the launch of the SGR, the transport sector has been hit hard (buses, trucks, tankers), and transport companies have laid off employees, further escalating levels of unemployment and frustration. Interpel, based in Changamwe, has laid off over 300 staff in the past two months alone. These underlying factors are likely to make the 2017 elections in Changamwe potentially explosive. Focus group participants felt that community-based peace actors would be structurally weak and ill-equipped should tensions escalate.

The study participants' views on the strong risk to their community of political and (related) criminal gang violence were certainly reflected in both the primary and secondary lists of hate speech lexicon. In fact, unlike in Kongowea, there was only one term in the secondary list that referred to VE messaging. The dominant messaging in Changamwe is around political, ethnic, and criminal violence surrounding the elections, with no other type of messaging occurring even as an undercurrent within the community.

PRIMARY LIST OF HATE SPEECH TERMS

No baba, no peace: The term is used by youth supporters of Raila Odinga, the presidential candidate representing the CORD/NASA coalition, who believe that a Raila presidency is the only hope/means to achieve justice and equality. It is used by criminal gangs to glorify violence against members of their political opposition, who they believe will steal the election and their chance to govern. The term is also used by gangs to recruit youth who were employed by politicians. "Raila is an institution, and since he advocates for change, he's earned our respect and loyalty," said one of the participants. The term is used across all social media and in public places, such as maskanis (joints), where the youth meet. It is also commonly used during political demonstrations by opposition supporters using placards and posters.

We must win whether through the ballot or the panga/dagger (Lazima tushinde aidha kupitia kura au risasi): Focus group participants noted that this term is used by the same groups and in the same context as the term listed above (no baba, no peace).

Upcountry communities, return to your counties of origin (Wabara waende kwao); Upcountry people should go home because Mombasa does not belong to them (Watu wa bara warudi kwao kwa sababu Mombasa sio yao): According to the focus group participants, these are old terms commonly associated with the Mombasa Republican Council, a group that advocated for the Coast's secession from Kenya. Such terms are currently being used by local political leaders and youth to polarize the community along ethnic lines.

SECONDARY LIST OF HATE SPEECH TERMS	
Let's finish (kill) the infidels (Tutamaliza hao makafiri)	Video messages by radical groups such as al-Shabaab calling the youth to violence.
The Coastal region is not part of Kenya (Pwani si Kenya)	This message is propagated by secessionist groups, such as the Mombasa Republican Council, and is one of its key themes. The phrase is commonly used during the elections and at times of political crisis, such as over land issues and ownership deeds.
We must win whether through the ballot or bullet (Lazima tushinde aidha kupitia kura au risasi); We will take the political seat by force (Tutachukua hio kiti ya siasa kwa nguvu); This round, there are no games. We are not playing (Roundi hii sio mchezo)	These messages were sent around WhatsApp groups to intimidate political opponents in the lead-up to the elections.
Slaughter/slaughter (Chinja chinja)	These are words/statements often used by youth criminal gangs, such as Wakali Kwanza and Wakali Kwao, to instill fear in the community.
I will spill/shed your blood (Nitakutoa supu (kutoa damu); I will extract soup (blood) from you; I will drink someone's blood (Ntakutoa Supu, kunywa damu ya mtu); We shall not leave them until we spill blood (Hatuwawachi hadi tumwage damu)	Often used by youth criminal gangs in Changamwe when they are robbing someone.
Participating in elections is haram/forbidden. Participating in elections is disbelief (Kura haramu, kura ukafiri)	These are messages by Hizb ut-Tahrir. They have used posters and graffiti to pass on such messages. They also preach at the mosques to discourage Muslims from participating in the national elections.
Kenyans are fools (Wakenya ni wajinga)	Used by gangs and al-Shabaab to demean the Kenyan government, military efforts, and political programs.
We shall finish those unbelievers (Tutamaliza hao makafiri)	Used by al-Shabaab.
We either win or use stones (Aidha tushinde au tutumie mawe)	Used by supporters of a political party or candidate.

Both communities (Kongowea and Changamwe) seemingly have less risk and increased resilience to violent extremism, yet they are identified by focus group participants as extremely vulnerable to political, gang, and inter-ethnic violence. Although this study has a small comparative and data set that cannot offer conclusive findings, the focus group discussions do show a preliminary connection between the levels of messaging around certain types of violence and the propensity for that type of violence in a community. These insights also hold up in the findings on less resilient communities, discussed below.

Based on these observations, could social media monitoring be used to predict and determine anticipated types of violence in a community? For example, spikes in inter-ethnic hate speech and calls to violence could provide some indication of the targets and perpetrators of violence—other ethnic groups—and triggering events, such as holidays commemorating one group's history, etc. Meanwhile, predominant messaging around violent extremism might indicate a rise in youth recruitment, etc., which would be a different set of targets and perpetrators, triggering events, and so on, than acts of ethnic or political violence. If monitoring social media based on this lexicon could demonstrate a relationship between types of hate speech and types and levels of violence, could more targeted interventions be implemented? This study suggests a correlation that should be more deeply tested and validated to establish a more conclusive finding, or to determine whether there is a causal relationship.

Community Vulnerability to Violent Extremist Messaging

Focus groups identified significant levels of VE messaging in communities with more VE activity (Kisauni and Likoni). However, it should also be noted that both communities also identified significant levels of ethnic hate speech (derogatory terms, dehumanizing terms, fear mongering), which appear in both communities' secondary lists. This suggests that multiple types of conflict exist in these communities—VE, ethnic, and political. As in Kongowea, where both resilience and risk factors deterred violent extremism, and in Changamwe, which had significant resilience capacities to resist VE, these communities might be experiencing an interplay between conflict trends and groups. For example, vigilantism in Kisauni might break down or weaken ethnic and religious association across groups, as does Muslim factionalization, which prevents a coherent response to Christian outreach and inter-religious relationships. Significant messaging around marginalization of indigenous groups in Likoni can feed into the sense of global marginalization felt by the Muslim community.

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Kisauni

Kisauni is a highly diverse community made up primarily of Muslims and Swahilis, along with newcomer ethnic groups from upcountry that are mostly Christian. Radicalization and extremist recruitment occur in Kisauni, and the Muslim community is fractured, with high levels of sectarianism. Kisauni has historically had a Shia-Sunni divide, but Muslim groups have further split into Wahhabism, Salafism, and Sufism.

Kisauni residents have organized vigilante groups to combat crimes and exercise justice, usually extrajudicial killings. These killings can often be in response to police brutality, disappearances, and extrajudicial killings in the name of countering violent extremism. The lack of proper police investigation into the killings has enforced the need for the community to exercise its own judgment and provide for its own security. Residents have employed youth to exercise these executions at night. Vigilantism is still the prominent form of community organization around crime.

PRIMARY LIST OF HATE SPEECH TERMS

Islam is the true religion (Dini ya ukweli ni ya ki Islamu): The term is used both positively and negatively. For example, VE groups, such as al-Shabaab, use this phrase to explain Islam as the "only" true religion, demonstrating hegemony over other religions. It also promotes the idea that all other religions are bad or immoral, or subordinate. It is effective in recruiting youth who have limited knowledge of Islam, and people who have recently converted. Moderates also use this phrase to explain the true religion of Islam in deconstructing those parts of the Quran that are manipulated by extremist groups, such as al-Shabaab and ISIS.

Kuua kafir ni jukumu ya kila muislamu; Kuua Makafiri ni haki ya kila mwisilamu: This term means that the "killing of non-believers is the right/responsibility of all Muslims." It is used by al-Shabaab in Kisauni, specifically, as a call to avenge the extrajudicial killings and disappearances by the police.

Mujahideen: Mujahideen are persons engaged in jihad. VE groups use the term to refer to their members and to glorify their war victories as those of heroes (Rogo/Makhburi) and heroines. It is a very effective recruitment message and makes youth want to be part of a bigger community—an Islamic emirate. It is used to recruit young people into this community, or brotherhood, of jihadists (staunch believers).

Quranic verse: "Men are the protectors and maintainers of women, because Allaah has made one of them to excel the other, and because they spend (to support them) from their means. Therefore, the righteous women are devoutly obedient (to Allaah and their husbands) and guard in the husband's absence what Allaah orders them to guard (e.g., their chastity and their husband's property). As to those women on whose part you see ill-conduct, admonish them (first), (next) refuse to share their beds, (and last) beat them (lightly, if it is useful); but if they return to obedience, seek not against them means (of annoyance). Surely, Allaah is Ever Most High, Most Great."

The verse is used to recruit women, as wives are considered to be followers of their husbands; some are even asked to follow their husbands blindly. It admonishes husbands to take control of their wives to set them on the correct path (such as to Somalia or jihad).

SECONDARY LIST OF HATE SPEECH TERMS	
Muslims are al-Shabaab	Words meant to conflate all Muslims as members of a terrorist organization. This stereotype has an impact on members of Kisauni's Somali population because it leads to systematic profiling by security forces, which, in turn, can increase radicalization.
Kill the kafir/infidel (Chinja kafir); Slaughter the unbeliever (Chinja Kafiri)	Statements used by radical groups, such as al-Shabaab, to incite violence by its recruits against Christians. Kafir, which means infidel, is a derogatory term used to refer to people who do not follow the Muslim (true) faith. Technically, according to the Quran, it is anyone, Muslim or non-Muslim, who does not practice his/her faith.
Muslims should reject the directives of the Kadhi on Eid (Waisilamu hawafai kusikiza mawaidha ya Kadhi wakati wa Eid)	This was a message sent by al-Shabaab ordering the community not to follow the directive of the Chief Khadi to mark the moon, which signifies the Eid festival for Muslims (that is, a new year). Al-Shabaab spread the message that the Chief Khadi was not considered a role model for Muslims; hence, his directives should be ignored. They labeled him a "Shifu Kazi," or a non-serious Kadhi, because al-Shabaab considers the Chief Kadhi to be a puppet of the government.
The Coastal region is not Kenya (Pwani si Kenya)	Sentiments spread and propagated by the Mombasa Republican Council, a secessionist group.
Mijikenda are fools/lazy (Wa Mijikenda ni wajinga/wavivu); Luos suck/are stupid (Wajaluo ni wajinga)	These are stereotypes used by people from upcountry to demean Coastal/Swahili/tribal communities and to justify systems of ethnic discrimination that exclude local populations from jobs, claiming that, as a people, they are uneducated and unreliable.
No Raila, no peace (Bila Raila, hakuna amani)	These are election messages in opposition strongholds.
Mombasa is for the Coastal people; the visitors should return (Mombasa ni yetu wabaara waende kwao)	A secessionist call usually promoted by the Mombasa Republican Council in the Coastal region of Kenya.
Fuck Ropa (Tomba Ropa)	Ropa is an area in Mombasa.
Chop chop/Slash slash (Kata Kata)	Gangs use this term when they are robbing people of their jewelry, money, or phone.
Kingdom/leadership (Uthamaki)	This is a Kikuyu word used in reference to Uhuru Kenyatta's leadership.
001 Five Again (001 Tano Tena)	001 is the county code for Mombasa, and "five again" refers to re-electing a political leader to serve for five more years. This is a campaign slogan used during the 2017 general elections.

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Likoni

Likoni was the site of some of the worst ethnic violence in Kenya. In 1997, indigenous groups attacked upcountry groups in Likoni (Kikuyu, Luo), killing an estimated 104 people, injuring 133, causing extensive damage to buildings and infrastructure in the region, and expelling 100,000 from their homes. The violence was connected to political leaders who manipulated Mijikenda into perpetrating the violence as a way to reclaim lost land and status. Mijikenda youth then seized the land and homes abandoned by upcountry families fleeing the violence. Long considered a refuge for the Mombasa Republican Council, Likoni is also increasingly vulnerable to violent extremism. Families escaping neighboring Majengo, which has experienced police raids against its mosques, are bringing instability and ties to VE groups with them.

PRIMARY LIST OF HATE SPEECH TERMS

Kafir: Based on the Quran, technically it means a person who does not follow the laws and commands of God. A Muslim can be a kafir if he, or she, does not pray or fast. A kafir can also be a Christian who does not practice his or her religion, or it can be an atheist. It can also be a derogatory term in Mombasa, meaning those who are not Muslim. It divides groups along religious lines into us (Muslims) and them (non-Muslims), while implying that Christians are inferior. The term kafir also has a racist meaning; people use it to mean anyone who does not look like an Arab/Somali or Mswahili. During the elections, the term has become very prominent in debates among Muslims about voting for Christian politicians and about whether it is forbidden (or haram) to allow a non-Muslim to lead a Muslim community. It is also used by al-Shabaab to refer to moderate Muslims who do not share al-Shabaab's ideological beliefs.

Jihad: A personal struggle against one's own evil inclinations, a sacrifice to achieve a higher aim, or the exercising of self-restraint in the face of adversity. In this sense, jihad is a personal struggle for moral betterment. Jihad can also mean a struggle for the truth (greater jihad) and for protecting what is rightfully yours, such as your land or a traditional way of life. This does not necessarily mean that a jihad is violent, but more of a protection of what is just and truthful (lesser jihad). Radicals, however, define jihad as an armed struggle, or the use of violence against non-believers; it is a call to a holy war to defend Islam by inciting, recruiting, and calling people to acts of violence and armed struggle. The term is used on social media in closed groups, and during darsas and religious classes. There are three types of mosques: 1) the jihad mosques, which are associated with al-Shabaab; 2) mosques supported by the government and Supkem, which are often seen as politicized; and 3) twariqa, or regular mosques, which have no political affiliations and are open to the general public. In the jihad mosques, which are affiliated with al-Shabaab, imams glorify heroes of the prophet in the Quran and the Hadiths, who have conducted holy wars, or jihads, to attract potential recruits. In the other mosques, jihad (ul Nafs) refers to acts of moral betterment.

Mujaheed: It means a person engaged in jihad and can even be a personal name given to a child because of a mother's struggle to give it birth, or for the parent's desire that the child struggle for moral good. However, it is also a term used by radicals to describe their followers, and to glorify them in conjunction with videos showing them conducting beheadings and other acts of violence. It is effective in providing recruits and followers a sense of belonging and brotherhood. It can also be a derogatory term used to conflate all Muslims with al-Shabaab.

Quranic verse: I asked the Messenger of Allah (peace be upon him), "Which action is dearest to Allah?" He replied, "Performing As-Salat (the prayer) at its earliest fixed time." I asked, "What is next (in goodness)?" He said, "Kindness towards parents." I asked, "What is next (in goodness)?" He said, "To participate in jihad in the cause of Allah." The meaning of this hadith is that jihad is a way to earn rewards and attain purity. The verse demonstrates how violent extremists often conceal messages within a Quranic verse or hadith to recruit new members and advance their agenda. The verse is used by both moderates and extremists.

Moderates use this verse to explain which acts are dearest to God, such as prayer and kindness to parents. Jihad is the third act, which is also recognized. This means the two acts—prayers and kindness to parents—take precedence over the act of jihad. Hence, the other two acts are more dear to God.

Extremists use this to highlight jihad as the act most important to God. The extremists conceal the other acts, so that only the act of jihad stands out. They even say that parents should not know about youths' involvement with jihadists and their participation in a jihadist holy war, demonstrating that the jihad takes precedence over obeying parents.

SECONDARY LIST OF HATE SPEECH TERMS	
Your tribe and ethnicity is Islam (Kabila lako ni Uisilamu)	This is usually used by al-Shabaab to show that there is no tribe in Islam and that all are Muslims, showing equality among the radicalized or recruited. This resonates with converts who were marginalized or neglected because they are members of a particular tribe. Al-Shabaab accepts them all as Muslims.
Christians are pagans, and their necks should be worked on (Wakristo ni Kafiri na shingo zao zafaa zifanyiwe kazi)	Radicals use this to brainwash Christians, who are not familiar with their own religion, in order to convert them to Islam. They also use this phrase to incite Muslims to kill Christians, whom they equate with polytheists, or idol worshipers.
Muslims are terrorists (Waislamu ni Magaidi)	A derogatory term used to identify Muslims. Usually this phrase appears when there is a terrorist attack or incident.
Madude	A colloquial term used to describe people who are not part of the Coastal community. Some use the term to mean "useless" people, or individuals who are not members of the Mijikenda community. The term caused ethnic divisions during the election period when local politicians used the term to "other" the non-Mijikenda residents. Local youth used WhatsApp groups to drum up support for local "Mijikenda" politicians.
They did not come from the Coast (Ha wajakuja/wabara); Visitors (Wa kuja); Luos should go back to their village homes (Wajaluo waende kwao); Leave us as we are (Tuacheni kama tulivyo)	These terms also refer to individuals and tribes who come from upcountry and are not indigenous to the Coast. The terms were used in public WhatsApp groups, such as "sauti ya vijana likoni," where local Mijikenda youth often discussed grievances that were rooted in ethnic divides and group marginalization.
Mageryenge	This word is used to demean local communities who do not belong to Coastal communities (Mijikenda). It refers to individuals not from the Mijikenda community and is used by local politicians during the elections to sow ethnic divisions between indigenous and upcountry groups in Likoni.
Kikuyus are thieves (Wakikuyu ni Wezi)	Kikuyus are categorized derogatorily by other groups as people who indulge in immoral behavior, such as stealing. They do anything for money.
Luos are not circumcised (Waluo hawajatahiriwa)	This is used by politicians to demean political leaders of the Luo tribe in order to cast them as inferior. Usually the term is found on Facebook pages, primarily those of Raila supporters.

In both Kisauni and Likoni, two communities where violent extremists were more active, there was a significant VE lexicon that was both universalist and localized. Pauline Hope Cheong and Jeffrey Halverson describe the construction of a global, radical identity for Muslim youth as a VE discursive strategy to ignite an international revolution. To accomplish this, jihadists have constructed a cohesive identity based on an Islamic revival bound to revolutionary action, such as fighting for disputed territories, or against tyrannical or corrupt regimes. Cheong and Halverson's analysis shows that extremists construct youth identity globally in three ways: 1) as a vanguard for militant action to establish a just Islamic order against unjust and un-Islamic systems of government; 2) as a "special" pious group of the global ummah that subverts the traditional authority of parents and elders in Muslim society and summons youth to engage secretly in jihad and sacrifice their lives, and 3) to use the Muslim youth bubble as

a resource for the Islamist movement.[25] The lexicon in both Kisauni and Likoni tracks with this global discourse designed to call Muslim youth to global revolutionary action. Interestingly, in Kisauni, the lexicon also contained terms that spoke to the local context, including messaging specifically directed toward the recruitment of women and retribution for heavy-handed police actions in Kisauni.

Additional Secondary List of Hate Speech Terms

Research partners in Mombasa identified these terms as commonly used hate language. However, these terms were not found in the data collection or in the validation workshops. Due to the changing nature of language and the context of hate speech, the Lab will maintain a working list of hate terms as a "living lexicon." The terms identified below are the initial contributions to this living lexicon, although further validation is recommended prior to monitoring these terms on social media.

HATE TERM	CONTEXT
Ngawira	Refers to accessories of all sorts.
Munafikin	Refers to hypocrites.
Waiyoo	Refers to one who must surrender.
Takfiri (terrorist)	In Arabic, "takfiri" refers to the act of pronouncing/passing judgment on who is a real Muslim and who is not, a concept that is antithetical to mainstream Islam. The term clearly denotes a distinction from mainstream Islam.
Muhajir	Refers to a migrant seeking Allah. This term can reference those who seek a place where "true" Islam is practiced, including those who travel to Somalia from Kenya and later become recruiters in Coastal communities.
Qatilu (fight)	A term used in reference to Quran 9:29: "You shall fight the ones among those who received the scripture who do not believe in God, nor in the last day, nor prohibit what God and His messenger have prohibited, nor abide by the religion of truth, until the jizyah (penalty) is enforced on them and they are humbled." This has been misinterpreted to promote war against all non-Muslims, simply because they are non-Muslims.
Wasaliti	Refers to traitors.
Ghaneema	An Arabic word referring to items or goods recovered after Jihad. Youth in Majengo (Mombasa) have referred to items collected after robbing people as "Ghaneema." The term can also be used to justify acquiring property from non-believers (non-Muslims) as a lawful act.

Peace Messaging

None of the four community focus groups, or two validation groups, identified any ongoing, sustained peace messaging focused on countering violent extremism in their communities. There have been some NGOs that preach peace, but they come to the community only when they have funds. They run a few programs and do not have any social media presence. The mosques and madrassas do engage in peace messaging around violent extremism, but only through word of mouth and not on Internet sites. However, discussants noted that many of the youth in these communities have lost trust in the leadership of mosques because they are seen as too political or allied with the government.

The focus group discussions took place in the lead-up to the Kenyan presidential elections, when communities and citizens were intensely focused on the election outcome and the possibility of electoral violence. Each focus group instead identified peace messaging occurring in their communities that was aimed at preventing electoral violence. Each of the four community focus groups could not state with certainty that such peace messaging was effective with regard to electoral violence because 1) the elections, where the uptick in violence was expected, had not yet occurred; and 2) peace messaging generally occurred in the immediate lead-up to the election and was not, in their communities, a sustained effort to ameliorate the deep ethnic tensions at the root of such violence.

In the weeks leading up to the August 8 election, the timing of the focus groups may have swayed the discussions. However, the enumerator team felt confident, based on participants' discussions, that the timing of the study did not explain the fact that the focus groups did not identify any CVE messaging in their communities. According to the enumerators, peace messaging on violent extremism in these communities, like messaging on elections, tended to be punctuated and event-based, often taking place after incidents of terrorist violence.

Focus group insights reinforce a key finding of a recent U.S. Institute of Peace research study on electoral violence and peace messaging. In a study of five countries, similarly at risk for electoral violence but experiencing differing levels of electoral violence, it was inconclusive whether peace messaging had prevention effects. This was due to the fact that, in general, such messaging occurred in the immediate lead-up to the election. Its short duration was thought to contribute to its ambiguous effects.[26]

This suggests that 1) peace messaging, in any context of violence, should be further tested, including longer, more sustained campaigns; and that 2) peace messaging, specifically in the context of violent extremism, is limited to periods of post-extremist violence. Donors should consider a sustained focus on peace messaging vis-à-vis violent extremism, testing the effectiveness of delivery modes, the timing and duration of the interventions, specific types of messaging, and the authority and legitimacy of those doing the messaging.

The peace messaging lexicon used in each of the four communities contained terms that had been used systematically through several electoral cycles; it also contained several new terms. The older terms tended to focus on building Kenyan unity in the face of ethnic divides that are exacerbated in elections where candidates are seen primarily as representatives of their tribe or ethnic group; the older terms also were generic calls for peace. (Please see the list below.) It is interesting that the newer lexicon is different. It directs youth not to engage in specific types of violence or be manipulated by politicians, and can be accompanied by images of violent incidents from previous elections.

The shift in peace messaging suggests an interesting follow-up use for the lexicon and subsequent social media monitoring. Peacebuilding organizations can test the effectiveness of their messaging (for peace vs. against violence) in different regions using PeaceTech Lab's monitoring system. If certain messages are picked up and repeated in other social media and resonate in surveys and focus groups, then organizations could measure impact and use peace messaging more effectively.

PRIMARY LIST OF PEACEBUILDING TERMS

Pamoja tudumishe Amani: Used primarily in Likoni and Kongowea, this is an old term used in election cycles that means "let's maintain peace."

Tribe Kenya, tribe peace: A term found in Changamwe that has been used for a long time to call on Kenyans to think of themselves as one larger Kenyan tribe.

Amani na uwiano: An old term used in Likoni that means peace and unity.

One Kenya, one nation: Identifed by focus group participants in Kisauni, this is an old term used by many peace actors.

Kura ni ya misimu amani ni ya kudumu: Another old term identifed by the focus group in Kongowea that means "elections are cyclical; peace should be everlasting."

Kataa kutumika: A new term identified by participants in Likoni and Changamwe, this is a direct call to youth to say no to political manipulation; it means "say no to being used for violence."

Piga kura usipige mtu: Another new term that means "cast your vote; don't (lay your hands on) beat anyone." It was considered a very catchy, new phrase by participants in Kisauni.

Rusha jiwe, kosa kazi: This new messaging, identifed by participants in Kisauni, is a warning about the costs of violence; it means "throw a stone, lose your job."

Piga kura Linda jirani: This new term, identified in Changamwe and Kongowea, calls on citizens not to engage in ethnic violence. It means "cast your vote and defend/protect your neighbor" and was especially effective when combined with television footage of the 2007 electoral violence.

Individual Resilience to Social Media Hate Messaging

In addition to exploring aspects of social media messaging and community resilience, the Lab conducted a small set (eight) of key informant interviews (KIIs) to look at how individuals interact with social media hate speech. What strategies do they adopt to remain resilient to its effects? Are there community resources available to help individuals navigate social media and hate speech? The KIIs validated community categorizations that 1) Kisauni and Likoni have more VE activity because they have more risk factors and fewer resilience factors; and 2) that Kongowea and Changamwe have less VE activity because they have fewer risk factors and more resilience factors.

As for interviewees' responses about VE messaging, they did not feel that VE messaging on social media on its own was a significant factor for recruitment, incitement of violence, and harassment and intimidation of others. It is part of a systems approach:

- Social media messaging creates a communications and narrative environment that youth can immerse themselves in.

- This communications milieu begins to change how youth reframe their political, social, and individual experiences in ways that align with the international, radical narrative of Muslim marginalization.

- Social media messaging is supplemented with CDs, mosque lectures, etc., which creates a relationship with a specific preacher. It also localizes and personalizes the grievances and recruitment appeals and links them to ideas of international and national justice. The messaging shows local grievances (corruption, marginalization) as one part of greater Muslim suffering around the world and offers youth an opportunity to fight for a just cause.

- Recruitment does not occur except through individual contact, primarily through friendship groups.

- Thus, social media messaging alone cannot advance VE activism; it is one component of an interlocking network.

There is no such interlocking system when it comes to CVE and peace messaging. This suggests the importance of a systems approach to communicating against violent extremism that should be tested through application, monitoring, and evaluation.

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Recommendations

1. **Building Capacity for Research.** Kenya remains a fertile environment for research and testing approaches to monitoring and preventing violent extremism because of its relative security, a plethora of educated youth, and activist CSOs. However, in the course of this study, it became apparent that building additional local capacity for research, experimentation, and testing is imperative, especially enumerator and note-taker training and structuring focus groups to support research methodologies. Supporting a local university or CSO to conduct such training would be ideal.

2. **Combining Research with PeaceTech Lab's Hate Speech Monitoring Tools.** This study found that VE activity is high in communities with a higher incidence of VE terms. However, we have been clear that these two variables correlate—that is, they appear together in two communities. This study does not establish causality. It does not claim that a high level of VE hate speech results directly in high levels of VE activity. As PeaceTech Lab improves its tools to monitor hate speech in order to support conflict prevention efforts, these tools could also be used to support further applied research on conflict.

   ■ By collecting data on incidents of violent conflict in regions where PeaceTech Lab is monitoring hate speech, it may be possible to structure a research study that tests whether there is a causal relationship between hate speech and levels and types of violence.

   ■ By monitoring how and if social media pick up and amplify peacebuilding messaging, it is possible to test how long messaging must be sustained to be effective, and what types of messaging (positive or negative) resonate with communities and audiences.

Appendix A

Purpose, Goals and Research Methodology

This study focused on community and individual resilience to violent extremism and the use of online messaging to vilify other groups. The study's first phase identified a local lexicon used by VE groups to radicalize and recruit, and explored whether communities and individuals have developed counter-arguments and narratives to this messaging. In this phase, we also looked at messaging and stories on social media by local constituencies for peace to inspire nonviolent and conflict resolution mindsets and behaviors among youth. In this way, the study attempted to identify a two-sided lexicon for monitoring in a later phase—both VE terms and narratives, and a set of terms and narratives that counter them. The purpose of this study was to establish a lexicon set that could be monitored by PeaceTech Lab's social media and hate speech monitoring tools to understand the impact of hate speech messaging in communities over time. In addition, the study attempted to identify terminology used by CSOs to promote peace and CVE messaging that could also be monitored by PeaceTech Lab.

The study took place in four communities in Mombasa; two have less VE activity (Kongowea and Changamwe), while the other two have more (Kisauni and Likoni). Although the presence or absence of VE risk factors may explain the difference between the communities, it is possible that resilience factors may also play a role. Again, the findings of this study are not meant to be definitive, but to lay the foundation for social media monitoring, as described above.

Goals of the Study:

1. To acquire a deeper understanding of the terms and narrative stories that VE groups use on social media to incite hate for and fear of certain groups and individuals, and to recruit members; the study also seeks to understand the counter-narratives used against them.

2. To identify messaging and narrative stories[27] on nonviolence and peace on social media sites. *(These resilience terms and stories will then be monitored on social media to determine how often they are used and whether there is a pattern of use.)*

3. To determine which social media sites VE groups use most frequently to promote hate and violence, and where and how this VE messaging is countered.

4. To determine which social media sites the peacebuilding and nonviolence community uses to proactively communicate to youth.

5. To explore the idea that certain communities that have less VE activity might be more resilient to social media VE messaging—whether through active counter-narration or peace and nonviolence messaging, or both, or neither—through a small set of KIIs. And, to explore the idea that communities with more VE activity have stronger links to radicalizing language on social media.[28]

6. To explore what capacities individuals and communities might use to resist hate and radicalization messaging by VE groups (i.e., individual and community resiliencies).

Building on Previous Research

Narratives and Collective Action: With the advent of social media, people have changed from being consumers of information to creators of information and evaluators of informational relevance. This has generated a great deal of research on responsible use of social media, and when and how speech on these platforms can be dangerous, such as catalyzing or amplifying violence by one group against the other. A recent study identifies certain variables that affect the "dangerousness" of speech: 1) great authority of the speaker with a given audience; 2) a high level of audience fear; 3) the use of narrative plots or rhetorical devices that persuade the audience to act; 4) the social and historical context; and 5) the mode of dissemination.[29]

Individual Resilience: For many years, the resilience of individuals was defined in terms of personal characteristics. That is, resilient individuals were those who had specific personality strengths. Recent research, however, shows that resilience is an interaction between risk factors and protective factors (which can be composed of individual or societal factors) that support adaptation and learning. For individuals to experience resilience, they must have been exposed to some risk and have adapted positively via access to protective factors that might mitigate that risk. The building of skills, capacities, and a support network is emphasized based on these new insights on individual resilience.[30]

Community Resilience to Violence: Violent extremism often spreads through localized grievances, with extremist groups manipulating them to gain position and traction. Understanding how local communities undermine and regulate VE groups helps assess local risk and vulnerability for improved targeted support. A recent U.S. Institute of Peace study in Kenya showed that high levels of Christian-Muslim association and high-functioning, community-led and -focused security initiatives reduce levels of VE activity—that is, they are key resilience factors.[31] These findings validate research by Ashutosh Varshney and Ami Carpenter, who identified the same resilience factors in India and Iraq, respectively.[32]

Research Methodology

To select the youth participants for the research, the Lab coordinated with local organizations in Mombasa to identify community resource people who were already working in the target communities. These resource people assisted the project team in mobilizing the youth for data collection. In collaboration with the local organizations and the resource people, the following criteria were determined for participant selection in each of the four communities:

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CRITERIA FOR PARTICIPANT SELECTION			
Type of Youth	Number	Gender	Person Responsible
Youth in madrassas and mosques	5	3F/2M	Council of Imams and Preachers of Kenya (CIPK)
Youth in colleges/universities	5	3M/2F	Area mobilizer
Unemployed youth	5	3F/2M	Area mobilizer
Employed youth	5	3M/2F	Area mobilizer
Youth of Somali or Arab descent	5	3F/2M	Area mobilizer/PTL team

This research study had five parts. Each discrete activity further validates findings in the previous activity and also explores new topics, such as resilience and narrative frameworks. The in-person survey and focus group discussions were conducted in the four communities.

Part One: In Person-Survey: A survey administered in person (paper and pen) asked 100 youth participants (25 in each community) to identify terms used to counter VE messaging and about their use of social media. This is the initial step in identifying a resilience lexicon that provides the basis for social media monitoring to determine when and how often these terms are used.

Research Questions:

■ How do participants use social media technology?

■ Which social media platforms do they use?

■ On which social media platforms and sites do they see VE messaging?

■ On which social media platforms and sites do they see counter-narrative and peace messaging?

■ What are some of the terms and stories VE groups use to recruit, demean other groups, and create a support network?

■ What are some of the terms and stories individuals and groups working for peace and nonviolence use to promote peace and reconciliation?

Part Two: Focus Group Discussions: Focus group discussions, including the same 25 youth participants, took place in each community after the in-person survey. The purpose of the focus groups was to more deeply explore the VE terms and counter-narrative terms that were identified in the survey. In addition, the focus group discussions identified social media sites that employ pro-peace and nonviolence messaging. The end product of the focus group should be an extensive list of terms, an ordering of which terms are most influential (in the eyes of focus group participants) and most broadly used, and a solid understanding of their meaning and the context in which they are used.

Research Questions:

- Which venues do VE groups use most to mobilize members and recruit youth? Is social media an important communication outlet comparatively, and, if so, how specifically is it used?

- Which venues do nonviolent and peace groups use to mobilize members and influence youth? Is social media an important communication outlet comparatively, and, if so, how is it used?

- Is there a local lexicon used by VE groups?

- Is there a local lexicon used by individuals and groups promoting peace and nonviolence and opposing violent extremism?

Part Three: Key Informant Interviews: After a preliminary review of the survey and focus group data, we conducted eight to 10 KIIs. Six to eight of the interviewees were adults who work in some capacity around VE and youth—for example, teachers, CSOs, religious leaders, etc. We selected one or two from each of the four communities. The KIIs were an opportunity to ask additional, unanswered questions about the lexicon and narrative frames identified in the survey and focus group discussions. In addition, we asked about community resilience factors to VE messaging on social media. Two of the interviewees were youth who participated in the focus group discussions. For these interviews, we focused on individual resilience to VE use of social media. The focus on resilience is the most exploratory element of our research. Given the sample size, it is impossible to establish valid research findings. However, the interviews might establish if further research is warranted. That is, in the process of establishing a social media lexicon that advocates for either violence or peace, it is important to ask whether social media use is even a (protective or risk) factor in these communities.

Research Questions:

Individual Resilience and Risk

- Does an individual's level of use and type of social media interaction impact that person's ability to analyze and counter VE messaging?

- Do protective factors exist in the community and family that help youth navigate social media content?

Community Resilience

- Is VE use on social media a risk factor for this community?

- Does the community have the resilience capacities to resist VE social media as a risk factor?

- What are those resilience factors, and how are they used?

Part Four: Validation Working Groups: In the fourth phase of the study, two groups were organized (Kongowea and Changamwe/Kisauni and Likoni) to validate the lexicon identified in the focus group discussions and to confirm some of the findings regarding community resilience and risk factors. For these meetings, there were 40 participants (10 from each location). The groups were roughly gender equal (a few more men than women); the age distribution was from 18 to 45, with representatives attending from each age group. Some participants from the original focus group were invited, in addition to new discussants, to ensure that the lexicon was described accurately and could be confirmed by additional community members. Although Somali members of the community did not show up for the focus group discussion, members did attend the validation group meetings.

Part Five: Social Media Monitoring and Reporting: The Lab will use the terms identified in the VE lexicon as the basis of innovative social media monitoring. For example, the VE terminology from the lexicon will be used as search terms by both human monitors and software tools (such as Crimson Hexagon) that can track historic uses of these terms. The software will generate visualizations of how the terms are represented in broader narratives around VE. Through additional analysis of who is using the terms online, additional software can be used to map "influence networks" of potential extremist recruiters and their intended youth recruits. The Lab can also analyze geo-location data at the regional, county and city level to map the concentration of posts in Mombasa and Coastal Kenya.

The Lab will then develop a report format for providing data visualizations and analysis on a regular basis. These reports will also include data on real-time instances of VE incidents in Mombasa County, the volume of posts using terms from the VE lexicon and the sources of those posts. Reports will also chart how language changes over time, including by identifying new terminology as it arises on social media channels.

The Lab will produce six social media monitoring reports following the completion of the VE lexicon.

28

Endnotes

1   The full research methodology is provided in Appendix A.

2   Hassan Mwakimako and Justin Willis, "Islam, Politics, and Violence on the Kenya Coast," *Observatoire des Enjeux Politiques et Securitaires dans la Corne de l'Afrique,* Note 4, July 2014.

3   Justin Willis and George Gona, "Pwani C Kenya: Memory, Documents, and Secessionist Politics in Coastal Kenya," *African Affairs,* Jan2013, Vol. 112 Issue 446, p48-71 and Justin Willis and Ngala Chome, "Marginalization and Political Participation: The Kenya 2013 Elections," *Journal of Eastern African Studies,* Volume 8, Issue 1, 2013, p 115-13.

4   Lauren Van Metre, *Community Resilience to Violent Extremism in Kenya* (United States Institute of Peace: Peaceworks no. 122, September 2016).

5   Kai Kresse, "Muslim Politics in Post-Colonial Kenya: Negotiating Knowledge on the Double Periphery," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute,* 15 (3): 76–94, 2009.

6   Mwakimako and Willis, "Islam, Politics, and Violence on the Kenya Coast."

7   Van Metre, *Community Resilience to Violent Extremism in Kenya.*

8   Jeremy Prestholdt, "Politics of the Soil: Separatism, Autochthony, and Decolonization on the Kenya Coast." *Journal of African History*, 55 (2), 2014: 249–270

9   Alamin Mazrui, *Kayas of Deprivation, Kayas of Blood: Violence, Ethnicity, and the State in Coastal Kenya* (Nairobi: Kenya Human Rights Commission, 1997).

10 Van Metre, *Community Resilience to Violent Extremism in Kenya.*

11 Jeffrey Haynes, "Islamic Militancy in East Africa," *Third World Quarterly,* 26 (8): 1321–1339, 2005.

12 Ngala Chome, peer review of this paper, September 28, 2017.

13 Mwakimako and Willis, "Islam, Politics, and Violence on the Kenya Coast," p. 15.

14 Paul James and Manfred Steger "Ideologies of Globalism" in *Globalization and Culture,* 4, 2010, and Van Metre, *Community Resilience to Violent Extremism in Kenya*.

15 https://dangerousspeech.org/the-dangerous-speech-project-preventing-mass-violence/

16 "Preventing Electoral Violence, Greater Awareness, but Still Falling Short," United States Institute of Peace website: https://www.usip.org/preventing-electoral-violence-greater-awareness-still-falling-short.

17 Andrea Bartoli and Peter T. Coleman, "Addressing Extremism" (New York: International Center for Cooperation and Conflict Resolution, 2003), p. 3.

18 Ashutosh Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindu and Muslims in India* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002); Ami Carpenter, *Community Resilience to Sectarian Violence in Baghdad* (New York: Springer, 2014); Mary B. Anderson and Marshall Wallace, *Opting Out of War: Strategies to Prevent Violent Conflict* (Boulder, CO: Lunn Reinner, 2012), Van Metre, *Community Resilience to Violent Extremism in Kenya*.

19 An extensive list of risk (push and pull) factors for violent extremism can be found in Guilain Denoeux with Lynn Carter, "Guide to the Drivers of Violent Extremism" (Washington, DC: USAID, 2009) and include porous borders; insularity; institutionalized marginalization and government repression; bad neighborhood; radical ideologies; cultural threat perceptions; youth poverty and unemployment; protracted violent conflict; historical injustices; search for adventure, financial gain, sense of belonging or status; and availability of means to perpetrate violence.

20 As stated earlier, it was beyond the scope of this study to identify other possible intervening variables in these communities that could explain levels of VE activity, such as the presence and actions of the Kenyan state.

21 Van Metre, *Community Resilience to Violent Extremism in Kenya.*

22 These terms were identified by focus group members as the most prevalent hate speech being used in their communities.

23 Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT) is a pan-Islamic political organization founded in 1953 by Palestinian judge Sheikh Mohammed Taqiuddin al-Nabbani with the goal of unifying all Muslim countries into a single caliphate governed by Islamic law under the guidance of a supreme leader. HT is banned in a large part of the Arab world by secular leaders, who see the group rallying masses against them. HT emerged in Kenya in the 1990s; it has a small following in Kenya and is prominent on the Coast, where it denounces violence and seeks to present Islam as a religion of peace. Its leaders have spoken out against the assassinations of Muslim clerics in Mombasa, the corruption of the Kenyan government, and the United States' war on terror as a war on Islam. Yasin Kakande, "Westgate and Kenyan Preacher's Fiery Sermons: Preacher Arkanuddin Yasin uses Pan-Islamic Political Organisation Hizb ut-Tahrir to Denounce the Kenyan Government", *Al Jazeera,* September 24, 2014.

24 The secondary lists are made up of terms that were identified in the community survey, as well as in focus group and validation workshops that participants saw in their community. However, there was not group consensus that these were currently prominent terms, unlike those identified in the primary lists.

25 Pauline Hope Cheong and Jeffry R. Halverson, "Youths in Violent Extremist Discourse: Mediated Identifications and Interventions," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism,* 33 (12), 2010: 1104–1123.

26 Jonas Claes, *Electing Peace: What Works in Preventing Election Violence* (Washington, DC: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 2016).

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27 Narrative stories (mythical histories, religious parables, heroes and villains) are common rhetorical devices used by group leaders to outline groups' grievances and prescribe a course of remedial (often violent) action. Although the focus of this study is on identifying VE and CVE terms used on social media, we will try to identify a few stories currently in use by VE groups and communities to influence youth. There is a body of research that suggests these stories inspire collective action—both violent and nonviolent—and could provide the basis for further analysis, beyond this study, of the links between speech and community and individual behavior.

28 We recognize that this is a quick, exploratory research project that cannot establish such a link. However, we might be able to establish whether such a link is worth exploring in a more in-depth research study involving these communities.

29 Benesch, Susan, "Dangerous Speech: A Proposal to Prevent Group Violence." Available from: http://www.worldpolicy.org/susan-benesch (accessed Sept 15, 2017).

30 Katarina Kolar, "Resilience: Revisiting the Concept and Its Utility for Social Research," *International Journal of Mental Health Addiction,* 9, 2011.421-433.

31 https://www.usip.org/publications/2016/10/community-resilience-violent-extremism-kenya

32 Ashutosh Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002); Ami Carpenter, *Community Resilience to Sectarian Violence in Baghdad* (New York: Springer, 2014).

ABOUT PEACE TECH LAB

PeaceTech Lab works for individuals and communities affected by conflict, using technology, media, and data to accelerate local peacebuilding efforts. An independent non-profit organization, the Lab's mission is to amplify the power of peacetech to save lives through earlier warnings and smarter responses to violence. The Lab's programs emphasize a data-driven, cross-sector approach, engaging everyone from student engineers and citizen journalists to Fortune 500 companies in scaling the impact of peacetech.

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