

MANAGING INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS TO PREVENT RADICALIZATION: LESSONS FROM PAKISTANI TRIBAL AREAS

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Abstract

The research investigates the factors affecting Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK), and effect of their delayed repatriation in promoting radicalization. The sample frame comprised of 385 IDPs North Waziristan for the period from June 2014 to December 2016, in the camps located at five different places. 375 questionnaires, duly filled, were retrieved out of the 385 self-administered questionnaires. Results found that social deprivation, push factors, pull factors, delay in repatriation and social deprivation have significant positive effect on radicalization. The research recommends provision of quality living meeting vital requirements of life such as; provision of clean drinking water, rehabilitation of water supply schemes and tube wells etc, provision of reliable and regulated electricity, improvement and up gradation of health facilities, availability of medicines and doctors, reconstruction and improvement of educational institutions and establishment of cottage industries in the area..

Keywords: Internally Displaced Persons, Radicalization, War on Terror, Social Deprivation, Repatriation and Rehabilitation.

Introduction

Pakistani was a tolerant society with regard to discrimination on religion, caste, color and creed.¹ The US War on Terror (WoT) resulted in dislodging Taliban from power, pushing them and their sympathizers, for shelter, to far flung mountains in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The porous border between the two countries played a vital role in uninterrupted cross-border movement of Taliban and their allies. Soon these Taliban's regrouped in to resistant groups and started retaliation against North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces in Afghanistan and Pakistani forces.

The frequent incidents of terrorism and pursuing response from Pakistan's military influenced displacement of local people to safer areas. Besides military actions; persistent poverty, degrading livelihood, and frequent natural disasters added further in to IDPs flow out. The continued military operations against militants in various parts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and Bajour, Mohmand of erstwhile Federally Administered

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Tribal Areas (FATA), and Swat, Dir, falling under Provincially Administered Tribal Areas (PATA) resulted in to near 3 million IDPs.² Some of the locals supported them for politico-religious reasons and some of them opposed due to their difference in philosophy. However, almost all of them left their respective places of residences for fear of becoming the possible victims of the war between the government forces and terrorists.³

It is assumed that there was a broad spectrum of factors that impacted on the IDPs and their households' due to actions against the terrorists, by the terrorists and analyses the scenario developed by fluidity of WoT. The article identifies and analyses these pull and push factors to find out their linkages to the radicalization of IDPs. Primary data, based on the perceptions of the IDPs, obtained from the five major concentrations of IDPs in various districts of KP through self-administered questionnaires, focused group discussion and various interviews with major stake holders.

Operation Terms and Definition Radicalization

Radicalization is defined as an extreme social, administrative, religious or political standards that rejects or undermines the status quo or undermines the existing philosophies of the nation.⁴ In other words, the process of digressing away from equilibrium (which could be legal, political, social and/religious) may be defined as radicalization. Radicalization and extremism are often used interchangeably with little or no difference.

Terrorism

Terrorism, according to the US official definition, is "*premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents or the unlawful use of violence and intimidation, especially against civilians, in the pursuit of political aims*".⁵

War against Terrorism

The term "War on Terror" (WoT) refers to the military campaign from 2001 onwards led by the U.S., UK and its allies against Al-Qaeda and its allies (state and non-state) identified by them as terrorists. Interestingly, the WoT placed disproportionate focus on the above-mentioned groups, ignoring militant movements, which did not threaten the West.

Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs)

Simone defines an IDP as "*someone who is forced to flee his or her home but who remains within his or her country's borders*".⁶ IDPs at times are put in same category as of refugees, however, both terms fall in different legal frameworks.⁷ By end of 2015, numbers of IDPs were assessed as 38.2 million in the world with Pakistan hosting

approximately 1.4 million.⁸ The surge in IDP population was subscribed to post 9/11-armed conflict in Afghanistan and erstwhile FATA.

Push and Pull Factors

A condition that pushes one to leave his/her home, especially in one's country, region, organization, religion, etc. This may include, but not limited to, armed conflicts, natural calamities, threats of genocide etc. In migration studies the term pull factor is considered in contrast to push factor that includes hostile circumstances that motivates an individual to leave their native areas. Connotatively, pull factors are conditions that turn a place attractive for individuals migrating from another region.

Application of Relevant Theories

Two theories are considered most relevant to the IDPs situation and possibilities of radicalization. These theories explain the phenomenon where individuals, due to feelings of deprivation, opt for choices to use other means to achieve their perceived or real legitimate requirements. Firstly, Relative Deprivation Theory, which was established by sociologist Samuel A. Stouffer (1900 -1960).⁹ Based on data collected after World War II, Stouffer theorized in his study "The American Soldier" that discontentment and feelings of deprivation are related to legitimate expectations. A justifiable need once turned into an expectation not fulfilled either by the society or the government can turn into relative deprivation. Most of the social movements came from the collective feelings of deprivation.¹⁰

Through the prism of a Marxist, societal class and disparity are the outcomes of social make-up, which is built on clash of interests (scarce resources) and conflicts (of interest). As per social conflict theory, such contradictions and conflicts amongst human groups lie at the core of social diversification and undercurrents.¹¹ The upper or governing class always attempts to preserve their position of advantage and dominance, influence, eminence and societal place by undermining or utilizing all available resources, systems, policies for protection of their overall privileges while ensuring limited access to resources for rest of the community. However, the under privileged class has very different interests and faces difficult choices for survival. Since this category is not in possession of definite systems of wealth which is required to be protected, their primary focus and attention remains in acquisition of enough capitals and wealth controlled by higher class. To this end, the under privileged class may instrumentalize education, seek democratization, decentralization of power and resources.

Causal Factors of Radicalization

The commonly declared roots of radicalization (in broad) are; geo-politics, relative deprivation¹², oppressive regimes¹³, identity politics¹⁴, poor socio-economic and political cohesion¹⁵, feelings of embarrassment, and other psychological apparatuses.¹⁶ In Pakistan, it was identified that there are four vital factors interplay to breed radicalization as its significant predictors. These include:

- Conflict in Afghanistan,

- Relative deprivation,
- Sense of vengeance,
- Subversion of religious teachings and effectiveness of terrorism as a tactic.¹⁷

The intensive literature review exercised led to the summing up of following list of pull and push factors that counted in to the frequency of ID IDPs movement and their relative deprivation and greater degree of radicalization:

Push Factors			
Ser	Factors	Ser	Factors
1.	Terrorism and civil unrest condition	8.	Lack of safety
2.	No job or poorly paid jobs	9.	Lack of services
3.	War and conflict	10.	Poverty and isolation
4.	Political persecution	11.	Lack of humanitarian aid
5.	Food and water shortages	12.	Congestion
6.	Poor education and medical care	13.	Pollution (air noise and visual)
7.	Crime, unstable law and order situation and hazards	14.	Lack of livelihood

Pull Factors			
Ser	Factors	Ser	Factors
1.	Peace and harmony	8.	Less risk of natural hazards
2.	Better health care and availability of services	9.	Better service provisions
3.	Varied employment opportunities	10.	Better education facilities
4.	Better future prospects	11.	Peaceful environment
5.	No social compulsions	12.	Better humanitarian support is available
6.	Better standards of living	13.	Better recreational facilities are available
7.	Safer atmosphere	14.	Less population and cleaner environment

Deprivation			
Ser	Factors	Ser	Factors
1.	Homeless people	6.	Street noise
2.	Vandalism and deliberate damage with property	7.	Pollution, grime or other environmental problems
3.	Poor socio-economic condition	8.	Lack of open public spaces
4.	Racism and religious comfortability	9.	Terrorism risk and poor mitigation facilities
5.	Poor street lighting	10.	Racial harassment

Repatriation	
1.	Home Lifestyle
2.	Home Culture
3.	Training program
4.	Support

Research Techniques Applied

The population frame for the study includes 10000 IDP's living in 5 areas of KPK, as per following details:

S #	Cities	Population
1	Bannu	2295
2	Bazen Khel	2313
3	Karak	1764
4	Lakki Marwat	1679
5	Sperka Waziran	1949
	Total	10000
	Source (IDP's)	

The sample size “N” having 95% confidence interval was determined as follow:

Population	Total
$n = N/1+N*(e)^2$ $n=10000/1+10000*(.05)^2$	$n = 385$
Sample	385

Total of 385 Questionnaires were administered to the DPs of each locations for collection of data. All measurements were done through 5 point Likert Scale measurement scale where 1 is taken as strongly disagree and 5 as strongly agree. The scale was adapted from the study of Abidkadir¹⁸ for the measurement of social deprivation; Push factors; Pull factors; delay in repatriation and radicalization.

Data Analyses

Table-1: Demographic Detail of the Sample

Gender	Frequency	Percent
Male	297	79.20
Female	78	20.80
Total.	375	100.00
Age	Frequency	Percent
20-35 years	162	43.20
36-50 years	180	48.00
51 and above	33	8.80
Total.	375	100.00
Program	Frequency	Percent
Under Graduate	235	62.70
Graduate	140	37.30
Total.	375	100.00

Table-1 represents that 297 males responded symbolize 79.2% and 78 females represent 20.8% of the complete sample.

Summary - Exploratory Factor Analysis and Test of Assumptions

Table-2: Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) and Bartlett's Coefficients

Push Factors (The reason of my migration is)	KMO	Bartlett's Test		
		<i>Chi</i> ²	<i>Df</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
1. Terrorism and civil unrest condition				
2. No job or poorly paid jobs				
2. War and conflict				
3. Political persecution				
4. Food and water shortages				
5. Poor education and medical care				
6. Crime, unstable law and order situation				
7. Lack of safety	.526	131.67	6	.000
8. Lack of services				
9. Poverty and isolation				
10. Lack of humanitarian aid				
11. Congestion				
12. Pollution (air noise and visual)				
13. Lack of livelihood				
14. Lack of green spaces				
Pull Factors (The reason of my migration is)	KMO	Bartlett's Test		
		<i>Chi</i> ²	<i>Df</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
1. Peace and harmony				
2. Better healthcare and availability of services				
3. Varied employment opportunities				
4. Better future prospects				
5. No social compulsion				
6. Better standard of living				
7. Safer atmosphere	.510	143.23	3	.000
8. Less risk of natural hazards				
9. Better service provision				
10. Better education services				
11. Fear of being victim of terrorism				
12. Better humanitarian aid				
13. Green house and better recreational facilities				
14. Less pollution and cleaner air				
Deprivation (The place from where I migrated was surrounded with)	KMO	Bartlett's Test		
		<i>Chi</i> ²	<i>Df</i>	<i>Sig.</i>
1. Homeless people				
2. Vandalism and deliberate damage with property				
3. Poor socio-economic condition				
4. Racism and religious comfortability				
5. Poor street lighting				
6. Street noise	.514	19.78	3	.000
7. Pollution, grime or other environmental problems				

8. Lack of open public space					
9. Terrorism and risk					
10. Racially harassment					
11. Poor terrorism risk mitigation facilities					
Radicalization (is largely influenced by)	KMO	Bartlett's Test			
1. Terrorism, Extremism, poverty and unemployment		<i>Chi</i> ²	<i>Df</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	
2. Economic crises, political instability					
3. Social and economic injustice	.526	131.67	6	.000	
4. Ignorance of people					
5. Selfishness of rulers					
6. Frustration, tension, foreign invasion, lawlessness, suppression					
Repatriation	KMO	Bartlett's Test			
1. I feel stressed to readapt to my home		<i>Chi</i> ²	<i>Df</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	
2. I feel accepted by the local people in the culture					
3. I wish to escape again from my home					
4. I feel chaotic regarding my identification when I returned	.655	303.59	6	.000	
5. I have received support from government agencies					
6. I have attended relocation training program					

The outcomes denote that the $0.50 \leq KMO \leq 0.60$ and $0.61 \leq KMO \leq 0.72$ in 4 and 1 factors indicating sampling suitability methods as mediocre and middling correspondingly. Above-mentioned table also illustrates that the likelihood of the Bartlett's statistic for complete factors is $p < 0.01$ i.e. less than or equivalent to the level of significance of 0.05. Outcomes disclose that the supposition of sphericity is fulfilled and entire data sets are appropriate for factor examination.

Communalities

Table-3: Rotated Component Matrix and Communalities

Push Factors	Factor Loading					Com	Variance
	1	2	3	4	5		
1. Terrorism and civil unrest condition	.81					.83	31.48
2. No job or poorly paid jobs	.79					.66	89.10
2. War and conflict	.91					.87	8.80
3. Political persecution	.66					.64	1.90
4. Food and water shortages	.87					.82	42.77
5. Poor education and medical care	.70					.53	25.95
6. Crime, unstable law and order situation and hazards	.58					.83	22.24
7. Lack of safety	.74					.84	9.02
8. Lack of services	.62					.62	25.23

9. Poverty and isolation	.65	.65	26.23
10. Lack of humanitarian aid	.67	.68	25.25
11. Congestion	.61	.65	25.23
12. Pollution (air noise and visual)	.76	.68	23.30
13. Lack of livelihood	.62	.60	63.92
14. Lack of green spaces	.90	.85	22.78
<i>Rotation has converged in 5 Iteration</i>			

Pull Factors	Factor Loading					Com	Variance
	1	2	3	4	5		
1. Peace and harmony		.81				.83	31.48
2. Better healthcare and availability of services		.85				.82	44.17
3. Varied employment opportunities		.67				.59	32.77
4. Better future prospects		.76				.76	23.05
5. No social compulsion		.81				.83	31.48
6. Better standard of living		.82				.71	48.93
7. Safer atmosphere		.83				.67	31.65
8. Less risk of natural hazards		.70				.51	19.41
9. Better service provision		.70				.70	56.59
10. Better education services		.85				.85	32.48
11. Fear of being victim of terrorism		.63				.68	10.92
12. Better humanitarian aid		.68				.69	39.09
13. Green house and better recreational facilities		.88				.88	31.80
14. Less pollution and cleaner air		.68				.59	17.54
<i>Rotation has converged in 3 Iteration</i>							

Deprivation (from where I migrated)	Factor Loading					Com	Variance
	1	2	3	4	5		
1. Homeless people			.54			.88	54.63
2. Vandalism and deliberate damage of property			.63			.66	43.54
3. Poor socio-economic condition			.54			.88	32.07
4. Racism and religious comfortability			.69			.59	24.37
5. Poor street lighting			.54			.88	56.63
6. Street noise			.69			.59	24.37
7. Pollution, grime or other			.72			.84	13.03

environmental problems			
8. Lack of open public space	.54	.88	5.95
9. Terrorism and risk	.64	.69	25.37
10. Racially harassment	.52	.74	40.58
11. Poor terrorism risk mitigation facilities	.71	.56	33.53
<i>Rotation has converged in 3 Iteration</i>			

Radicalization (is largely influenced by)	Factor Loading					Com	Variance
	1	2	3	4	5		
1. Terrorism, Extremism, poverty and unemployment				.65		.65	26.23
2. Economic crises, political instability				.67		.68	25.25
3. Social and economic injustice				.61		.65	25.23
4. Ignorance of people				.76		.68	23.30
5. Selfishness of rulers				.62		.60	63.92
6. Frustration, tension, foreign invasion, lawlessness				.90		.85	22.78
<i>Rotation has converged in 4 Iteration</i>							

Repatriation	Factor Loading					Com	Variance
	1	2	3	4	5		
1. I feel stressed to readapt to my home					.66	.64	1.9
2. I feel stressed to readapt to my home					.87	.82	42.77
3. I feel normally acknowledged by the native people					.70	.53	25.95
4. I wish to escape again from my home					.58	.83	22.24
5. I feel chaotic about my identification when I am returned					.74	.84	9.02
6. I have received support from government agencies					.62	.62	25.23
7. I have attended relocation training program					.66	.64	1.90

Rotation has converged in 4 Iteration.

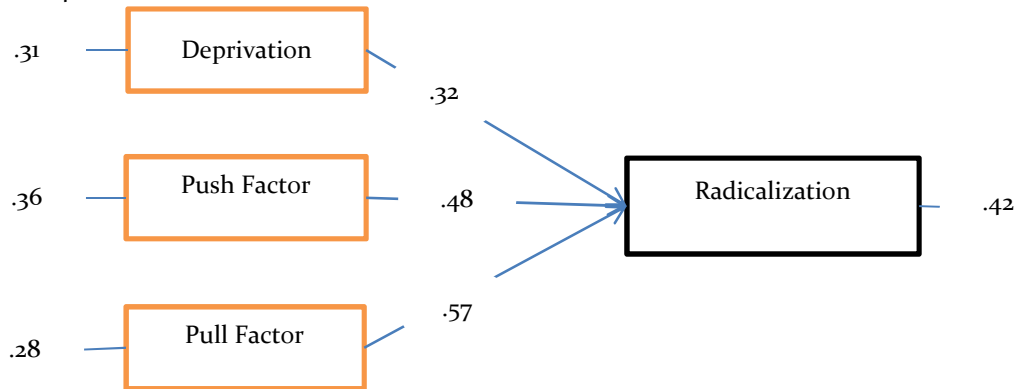
Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factor Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

Abovementioned table shows a summary of modules for every variable along with number of iterations executed on communalities and rotated component matrix. Thus, for 52 items of 5 variables, a total of 19 iterations were executed for communalities and rotated components matrix (5, 3, 3, 4 and 4 respectively). Due to this, none of the item is excluded because all the computed values of communalities are larger than .50 and statistical outcome of rotated component matrix also indicates that maximum of the elements had solid loading from 2 and 3 factors.

Structure Equation Modeling and Confirmatory Factor Analysis

4.2.1.5 CFA for Model 4.

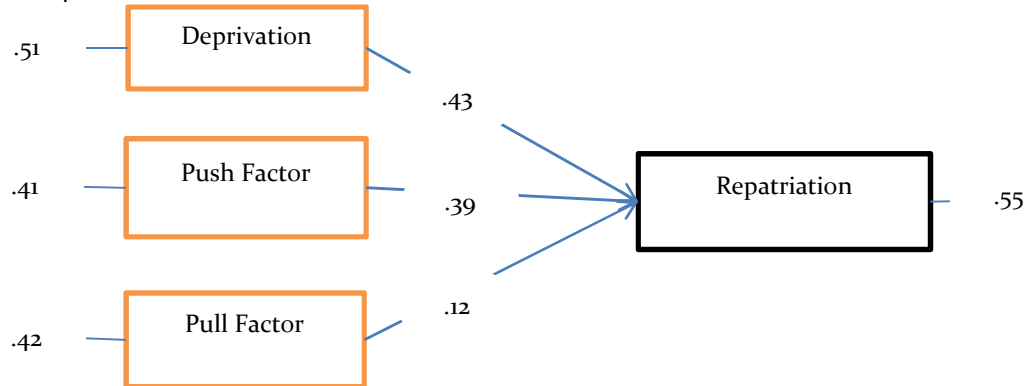
Result of 4 factor model.



Chi-Square=15.23, df=6, P-value=.018, RMSEA=0.074

Structural Analysis for Deprivation, Push/Pull Factors and Repatriation 4.2.2.6 CFA for Model 8.

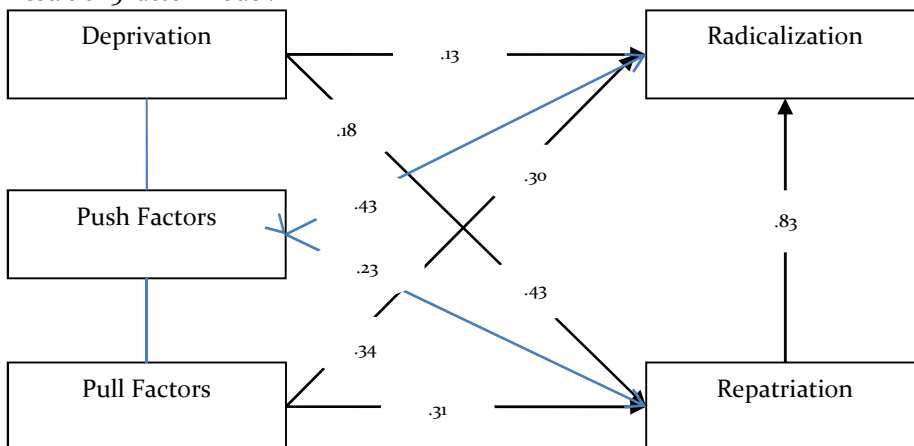
Result of 4 factor model.



Chi-Square=12.23, df=5, P-value=.000, RMSEA=0.071

4.2.2.6 CFA for Model 9.

Result of 5 factor model.



Chi-Square=14.23, df=5, P-value=.000, RMSEA=0.071

Table-4: Goodness of Fit for Overall Models

Models	NFI	AGFI	RMSEA	GFI	RMR	CFI	X ² /df
Standard Value (Usluel et al., 2008)	>.9	>.8	<.08	>.9	<.1	>.9	<.3
Model 1	.98	.96	.07	1.0	.04	.99	2.4
Model 2	1.0	1.0	.06	1.0	.01	1.0	2.1
Model 3	1.0	1.0	.07	1.0	.01	.99	2.8
Model 4	.91	.97	.07	.91	.03	.93	2.9
Model 5	.93	.87	.06	1.0	.03	.96	2.3
Model 6	.97	.92	.07	.99	.01	.99	2.2
Model 7	.95	.90	.06	.93	.03	.94	2.8
Model 8	.93	.88	.06	.96	.01	.93	2.3
Model 9	.92	.84	.07	.98	.02	.95	2.8

X² = chi-sqr, df = degree of freedom, GFI = goodness of fit index AGFI = RMR = root mean error of residuals RMSEA = root means sqr error of approximation, CFI = comparative fit index, NFI = normed fit index

Seven fit abovementioned indices i.e. (X²/d.f, GFI, AGFI, NNFI, CFI, RMSR, RMSEA) were utilized for measuring the goodness of fit for entire substitute models. The outcomes of CFA’s evaluation display the exclusivity of variables. The outcomes of all the substitute models illustrated that entire values indicate its own meaningful loadings and all substitute models are good fit.

Discussions and Recommendations

The data was organized, examined and understood by using a suitable statistical instrument through the up-to-date type of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and Liseral software. Regression Model was used to find out

relationship between dependent and independent variables. The regression helps to know the change in dependent variable brought by the one unit change in the independent variable. The research also used paired sample T-test for comparing the mean scores of various camps¹⁹

The result of Measure of Sampling Adequacy (MSA) built on Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) coefficients indicates that the $0.50 \leq KMO \leq 0.60$ and $0.61 \leq KMO \leq 0.72$ in 4 and 1 factors indicating sampling suitability measures as mediocre and middling respectively. Abovementioned table also indicates that the likelihood of the Bartlett's statistic for all the factors is $p < 0.01$ i.e. less than or equal to the level of importance of 0.05. Outcomes indicate that the assumption of sphericity is satisfied and all data sets are suitable for factor evaluation. Statistical examination further indicates entire items with higher factor loadings. Seven fit abovementioned indices i.e. ($X^2/d.f.$, GFI, AGFI, NNFI, CFI, RMSR, RMSEA) were used for ascertaining the goodness of fit for all substitute models. The outcomes of CFA's analysis display the exclusivity of variables. The outcomes of all the substitute models showed that all values have own meaningful loadings and all substitute models are good fit. Outcomes of the study established that social deprivation has meaningful positive consequence on radicalization. The outcome of the research was constant with the earlier studies of Alan H. et al.²⁰ Push factor has meaningful positive outcome on radicalization. The outcome of the study was constant with the earlier study of Ali.²¹ Pull factor has meaningful positive outcome on radicalization. The outcome of the research was steady with the earlier findings of Amnesty International.²² Delay in repatriation has noteworthy positive outcome on radicalization. The outcome of the research was reliable with the prior studies of Archick, Kristen et al.²³

Social deprivation has noteworthy positive result on delay in radicalization. The outcome of the study was constant with the previous studies of Archick, Kristen et al.²⁴ Push factor has unimportant positive outcome on delay in repatriation. The outcome of the research was steady with the earlier studies of Archick, Kristen et al.²⁵ Pull factor has noteworthy positive outcome on delay in repatriation. The outcome of the research was steady with the prior studies of Alan H. et al.²⁶

Findings of Study:

Following are the findings of the study: -

- Social deprivation was found as a significant predictor of radicalization.
- Push factor was found as a significant predictor of radicalization.
- Pull factor was found as a significant predictor of radicalization.
- Delay in repatriation was found as a significant predictor of radicalization.
- Social deprivation was found as a significant predictor of delay in repatriation.
- Push factor was found as a significant predictor of delay in repatriation.
- Pull factor was found as a significant predictor of delay in repatriation.

Recommendations

- Since integration of erstwhile FATA has been done, there is need of a long term sustainable development programs to bring these areas into mainstream.

- De-weaponisation of the area including control on personal weapons.
- Registration of all non-custom paid vehicles as most of these vehicles have been used for suicide attacks against law enforcement agencies and other gatherings.
- All resident must have their national Identity card prepared and verified from NADRA.
- Presence of foreigners must be strongly resisted and regulated. All those local ladies who have married foreigners should be registered with Deputy Commissioner Tribal district office and verification of their spouse must be done at later stage.
- Removal of individual transformers from the houses and arrangements be made to put in a system in place on usage of electricity.

Conclusion

The statistical result of the study reveals that amid social deprivation, push, pull factors, delay in repatriation and radicalization there exists significant positive relationship with IDP movement, their radicalization and delay in repatriation. To ensure that IDPs are rehabilitated in their own areas, some economic and social measures are required to be undertaken in the target areas. The research recommends to be extended for comprehensive analysis of more IDPs cases all over the country. The future research may also review the existing hypotheses on longitudinal basis through a large sample size with some relevant moderation and mediation.

NOTES

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