Women and Recruitment in the Al-Shabaab Network: Stories of Women being recruited by Women Recruiters in the Coastal Region of Kenya

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Abstract
The presence of women and girls within the Al-Shabaab is viewed as a security threat within the changing dynamics of recruitment in Kenya. Recruitment of women and girls may be attributed to the needs of the Al-Shabaab terrorist organization where they have specificities on recruiting them in their prominent roles in the Al-Shabaab camps and their missions. This article investigates the recruitment process of women into the Al-Shabaab from the Coastal Region of Kenya. Specifically, the article probes the 'how', 'why' and 'who' of the recruitment process for the Al-Shabaab, discussing the 'recruited' and the 'recruiter' in the recruitment process. Utilizing biographic narratives and an integrated framework – rational choice theory and victimhood approach, the article explores the process of involuntary recruitment of women and girls by the Al-Shabaab using women recruiters. The findings draw on in-depth interviews with women identified as returnees from Al-Shabaab, and thirty-seven key informants on understanding the characteristics of women recruiters and the motivations of women and girls being recruited, in the involuntary nature of the Al-Shabaab's recruitment process to provide essential insight to help counter women and girl's recruitment. The findings reveal that women and girls play a prominent role as recruiters in the Al-Shabaab network. As recruiters they remain key contact personnel in recruiting women and girls for the Al-Shabaab utilizing deceptive recruitment strategies where they play a role as confidant, logistic support and planning within a human trafficking phenomenon.

Keywords: Women and recruitment, radicalization, involuntary recruitment, Al-Shabaab, Coastal Region of Kenya

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Introduction

> I had dreams, dreams to get employment and make some money and eventually get married. Getting a job is not easy here [in Malindi] you have to believe in luck. I tried many job adverts and was not successful as I was young and had no experience. It was during these difficult times [searching for a job], I came across an advert on the wall, which stated women were needed as assistants for an office. The advert specified only the phone number. Desperately, I called the place. A lady answered the phone. After my brief introduction, the lady asked me to come with my school certificate. The next day, I was on my way to meet the lady at … [a particular place] in Malindi. I had no idea of the place, but I found the place. There was no building as I expected, but an empty half-made house. I stood there for a few minutes, and then I saw a car. A lady in the car stepped down and said she was waiting for me. I felt happy as I finally found the person. She spoke for a while and said she will be glad to employ me. She asked my details but did not talk about the job. Next, she asked me to get into the car, as she wanted to show me the place of work. I was scared initially, but as she was a woman and was friendly, I did not feel much uncomfortable. As we spoke on the way, she said the place was a bit far. After we passed Malindi, I still had no idea on where the place was. On the way she asked whether I would like to have some snack as it was past mid-morning. We stopped in a kiosk [small grocery shop] and a young man came towards the car. The lady ordered for sodas [soft drinks]. I was given a soda. I felt faintish after a while. I had fallen asleep. I woke up in the forest and I felt weak. I was asked to walk with two men. The lady was leaving...I followed the men as I was threatened. They said if I did not follow them, I will be killed. I walked for a very long distance in day and night to eventually end up in an open place with many other women [camp[1]] (Susan[2], Interview, 2.5.2017).

Involuntary recruitment of women and girls into the Al-Shabaab involves recruitment using deceptive strategies by the Al-Shabaab network or the Al-Shabaab recruiter. Susan's narrative revealed an involuntary nature of recruitment highlighting deceptive strategies of luring women and girls into the network, and trafficking them across the border. Deceptive strategies such as employment opportunities, education opportunities, and friendship links had been used to lure women and girls who had no idea of where they are about to go or what awaited their lives (Attwood, 2017; Amoroso, 2017; Wabala, 2017). Women and girls involuntarily recruited into the Al-Shabaab from Kenya came

into the spotlight with media accounts describing the nature of this new dynamic in recruitment (Attwood, 2017). Apart from these media accounts, the involuntary dimension of women and girls being recruited from Kenya into the Al-Shabaab is less researched. Involuntary recruitment of women into the Al-Shabaab can be explained through a continuum ranging from forced (which is either girls and women being abducted, coerced, or pressurized using fear) and cases where women are circumstantially motivated based on their needs (Mercy Corps, 2016).[3]

However, not all those recruited were linked to deceptive strategies, in some cases young women went voluntarily to join the Al-Shabaab based on various intrinsic motivations based on materialistic, psychological or spiritual gains shaping their decisions (Badurdeen 2018; Mwaura, 2015; Capital Campus, 2015; IGAD, 2016; Ndungu et al., 2017; HORN Institute, 2017). Perry and Harsi (2014) posit that women join violent extremist organizations voluntarily through sheer will along ideological commitments or financial gains. Similarly, Badurdeen (2018: 159) explains on religious motive of women voluntarily joining the Al-Shabaab as closely tied to the aspect of "being rewarded by God for the work they perform for the Al-Shabaab with regard to the liberation of the Muslim Ummah (Community)". Other personal reasons cited in this study on voluntary recruitment were financial motivation; love for the husband or partner; love for the son and journey of adventure or curiosity. The Horn Institute (2017), in their study on perceptions on women in violent extremism, identified craving for fame and recognition, avenging the death of their male members of the family, among other factors for women joining violent extremist organizations. Similarly, Ndungu and Salifu (2017:5) highlighted the influence of relationships as a key factor, where women tend to follow their husbands to join the extremist group. Avenging the death or torture of their loved ones by the Kenyan security personnel, economic distress, distorted religious messages, and ideological focus on marginalization and alienation were other factors which prompted women to join extremist groups in Kenya. The study also highlighted involuntary recruitment of women as "women being blackmailed, intimidated or kidnapped by people known to them to join the Al-Shabaab". Further, according to this study, women were also pressurized or coerced to join the Al-Shabaab by their spouses.

Against this backdrop, this study aims to understand the recruitment process of involuntarily recruited by the Al-Shabaab in the coastal region of Kenya, with emphasis on the recruitment process and the role of the women recruiter.

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Specifically, the article probes into the 'how', 'why' and 'who' of the recruitment process, with particular emphasis of the recruitment of women into the Al-Shabaab. Also, the article focuses on discussing the women-dimension of the recruitment process for the Al-Shabaab, where women play a pivotal role in recruiting women, a subject often neglected in the terrorist radicalization and recruitment discourse. Following the introduction, the second section of the paper describes the methodology used in the study. The third section contextualizes the causes and magnitude of the problem of women being recruited into the Al-Shabaab in the Coastal Region of Kenya, and describes the framework used in the study. The fourth section comprises the analysis of how women are recruited into the Al-Shabaab network and focuses on the role of the women recruiter in the recruitment process. The fifth section introduces the integrated framework to explain the women-recruitee and women recruiter dynamics in the recruitment process. The final section concludes with specific recommendations.

Methodology

The study utilized biographical narratives to generate case accounts of women and girls recruited into the Al-Shabaab by women recruiters. Through a case-based analysis, the narrative biographic method facilitated a retrospective understanding of the private and public lives of the individuals (in this case, the recruited) and their interactions with the changing contexts (the recruitment process) (Wengraf, 2008). Biographic narratives are used to comprehend what individuals experienced in their day to day lives (Charon, 2006), for our case before, during and after stages in the recruitment process of women and girls. Most of what is known about women and girls being recruited into the Al-Shabaab comes through media accounts (Attwood, 2017; Amoroso, 2017; Wabala, 2017; Ndungu and Salifu, 2017) and research findings specific to causal factors (Ndungu et al. 2017; HORN Institute, 2017). Little is known about how women and girls were recruited; how the recruited women and girls lived their lives; and how they told their stories to facilitate mitigation measures aimed at preventing women and girls being recruited into the Al-Shabaab. The focus in biographic narratives is the situational interpretation of lives, rather than the `truth' of what actually happened[4] (understanding of the lived lives as conveyed by the individual) (Chamberlayne, Bornat and Wengraf, 2000), as in this case, the lives of the Al-Shabaab returnees as they described their lives.

The choice to use a narrative approach was made for a number of reasons. First, in the Coastal Region, returnees or the recruited women's life stories in relation

to recruitment have not been subjected to narrative analysis. A narrative analysis could bring in an understanding of the recruitment phenomenon of women, using real lived experiences of the affected. Second, there is a paucity of research on the subject of women's recruitment into the Al-Shabaab network by women recruiters. This study thus makes an important contribution to the small body of research and literature in this field of study. Thirdly, the usefulness of biographical methods in understanding socio-economic and political processes of recruitment of women and girls provides important knowledge in informing mitigation measures and shaping policy discourses.

Data collection for the study occurred over a period of five months (April-September, 2017) where 23 participants were interviewed. Prior experience by the author with some of the participants further assisted the study. Most participants were accessed through community support groups, while others were accessed through community mobilizers. Twenty-three narratives were obtained through purposive sampling. The author used six cases for this study as it enabled in exploring the objective of the role of women recruiters in recruiting women and girls. In order to choose the criteria of narratives, the focus was on analytic depth (Wengraf, 2008), and inclusion criteria of narratives that contained an ordering of events, a sense of the person behind the narrative, the person's voice and perspective coming through the narrative, and the elements of causality (the incident of recruitment to the process) (Plummer, 2005). Further, the cases were based on the representation of number of Particular Incident Narratives (PIN).[5] The six cases had all the inclusion criteria needed for the study.[6]

Each participant was interviewed twice (two sessions) with time ranging from 1.5 to 2 hours depending on the interactions between the researcher and the participant. Some participants were interviewed more than twice. The research was greatly assisted by two community mobilizers.[7] Data was collected using an open narrative structured interview. The study used a two-session interview technique due to the clarifications on the PINs. The two sessions took place on two different days based on the availability of both the researcher and the participant. In the first session, the participant was allowed to open up, by means of asking the participant to tell her story. Here the participant structured her own story, where the interviewer did not interrupt her, only prompting her in places that helped her shape her narrative. On the second day, the participant was asked more in-depth questions about particular PINs, resulting in an interview that was slightly more structured than session one. The
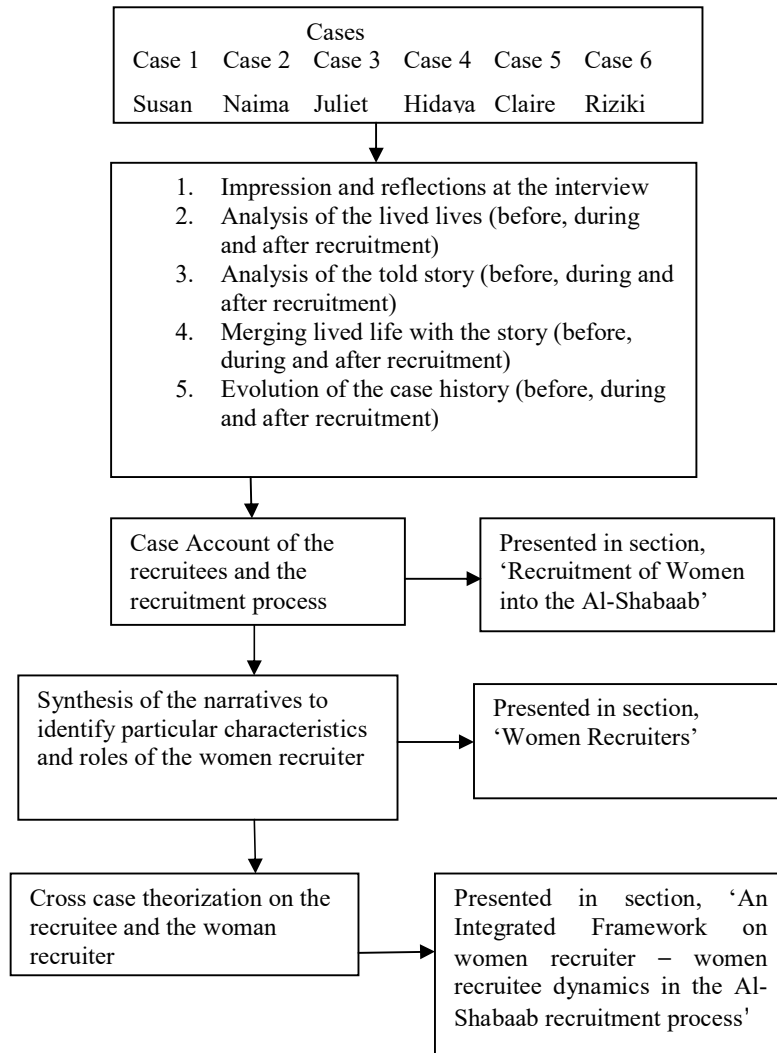
prompting used participants own words within the question, for example, "You said you met the lady early on 12 March in Nairobi. Do you remember any more of that meeting, what happened during the meeting?"

There are some limitations to the study. First is the sample size. Very few were ready to participate in the study due to the context of fear and the trust on the researcher. Despite twenty-three participated, only six cases were selected based on the criteria of women being recruited by women recruiters. Two other cases, selected based on the above criteria were dropped as there was no way of validating from other sources such as the village elder or the law enforcement officials. The numbers limit generalizability to the recruitment phenomenon, however explores into identified preliminary themes for continued research and intervention. Second, the researcher found difficulty in threading into the delicate and sensitive experiences in the interview process, which affected both the researcher and the researched. The inherent nature of emotional encounters of trauma experienced by most returnees of the Al-Shabaab makes the emotional engagement difficult, as experiences are shared in the interview process. Most often discussions are shaped with periods of silence, tears, anger and pauses. Long pauses meant discussions needed a break, and sometimes continued after hours or days or were never discussed. The selective memories of remembering few experiences or part of the experience (as it led to intense pain as in the case of sexually abused or the loss of a child) hindered discussions.

Data was analyzed in five stages. First, the case was studied on how women and girls had lived their lives during the stages of recruitment. Second, the author analyzed how they narrated their stories, which enabled the author to study the women and girl's meaning-making process. Third, the above two stages were synthesized to generate a single case evolution (Rupp, 2002), which is presented in section three. The fourth stage analyzed the data further to understand the characteristics and the role of women as recruiters (section three). The final stage was the cross-case analysis of the six cases (section four). Figure 1 below provides a conceptual method used in generating case accounts.

Figure 1: Conceptual method used in generating data

Cases					
Case 1	Case 2	Case 3	Case 4	Case 5	Case 6
Susan	Naima	Juliet	Hidaya	Claire	Riziki

1. Impression and reflections at the interview
2. Analysis of the lived lives (before, during and after recruitment)
3. Analysis of the told story (before, during and after recruitment)
4. Merging lived life with the story (before, during and after recruitment)
5. Evolution of the case history (before, during and after recruitment)

Case Account of the recruitees and the recruitment process → Presented in section, 'Recruitment of Women into the Al-Shabaab'

Synthesis of the narratives to identify particular characteristics and roles of the women recruiter → Presented in section, 'Women Recruiters'

Cross case theorization on the recruitee and the woman recruiter → Presented in section, 'An Integrated Framework on women recruiter – women recruitee dynamics in the Al-Shabaab recruitment process'

Source: Author

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Recruitment of Women and girls in the Coastal Region of Kenya
The Coastal Region of Kenya is made up of six counties, namely: Mombasa, Kwale, Kilifi, Lamu, Tana River and Taita Taveta. The Coastal Region has grappled with youth being radicalized into extremist organizations, including Al-Shabaab and ISIS, due to its poor socio-economic context, which is a result of successive development failures since independence (Badurdeen, 2012; Botha, 2013, ICG, 2012). The Coast Region also has the known presence of radical entrepreneurs and community members sympathetic to extremist ideologies (Badurdeen, 2016). Amidst this milieu of Al-Shabaab radicalization and recruitment, serious concerns were raised on the radicalization and recruitment of women and girls into extremist organizations. Since 2015, there is growing evidence regarding women and girl's involvement in extremist organizations in Kenya (Ondieki, et al. 2016). In March 2015, three girls were arrested trying to cross over to Somalia, from Kenya at a border town in El-Wak. The Citizen News (1.4.2016) reported that the girls planned to fly from Mogadishu to Turkey and eventually to Syria. However, the intentions were unclear on which terrorist organization they were to join. According to the Star media (11.12.2015), the girls were suspected of their intention to join the Al-Shabaab. Despite the conflicting reports on their allegiance, the girls confessed they were recruited online (The Citizen, 1.4.2016). Among the three girls, two of them hailed from Malindi in the Coastal Region of Kenya (Goldberg, 2015; Mwahanga, 2015).

This phenomenon of women and girls being recruited into extremist organizations is a co-opting strategy used by the Al-Shabaab along the wider trends on women and girls being linked to terrorist organizations such as the ISIS and Boko Haram. Terrorist organizations have made increasingly use of women and girls due to their roles in spreading propaganda, working as spies, combatants and recruiters (Agara, 2015; Bloom, 2012; Bloom and Matfess, 2016; OSCE Secretariat Report, 2011; Martin, 2011; Cragin and Daly, 2009). However, women and girl's roles as combatants in extremist endeavours in Kenya came to the forefront after three women carried out an armed attack in the Central Police Station in Mombasa. While their intention or the association to the terrorist group is unclear, the attack raised alarms into the role of women and girls as combatants in extremist organizations (Capital News, 2016; Onsarigo and Mkongo, 2016).

While the involvement of women and girls in the Al-Shabaab is noted in media accounts (Attwood, 2017; Mwaura, 2015; Wabala, 2017), much less has been well documented and thoroughly researched. Hence, there is a lack of data and

knowledge based on systemic studies conducted on the gendered dimension of radicalization and recruitment into Al-Shabaab (Villa-Vicencio, Buchanan-Clarke and Humphrey, 2016). In particular, there is a dearth of knowledge on the recruitment process of women and girls into Al-Shabaab. This study addresses the gap in research on women and girls being recruited into the Al-Shabaab, using an integrated framework to understand the phenomenon. The study concentrates on the involuntary dimension of women and girls being recruited into the Al-Shabaab. However, the author acknowledges the voluntary dimension in women and girls being recruited into the Al-Shabaab (Badurdeen, 2018).The study hinges on a theoretical framework built across an integrated framework in explaining the recruitment of women and girls into the Al-Shabaab. Rational choice theory and a victimology paradigm were integrated to understand the recruitment process of women and girls into Al-Shabaab. An integrated framework was used to analyse the recruitment process, which was an outcome of several causal factors. Rational choice theories explain criminals as rational beings making decisions on committing crimes based on cost and benefits involved. Hence the decision-making processes are based on the will, observation of opportunities and circumstantial situations affecting the successful perpetration of the crime (Lanier and Henry, 2004). The rational decision-making also involves the choice of the victims as determined by the type of the crime, modus operandi, the location and timing of the crime based on the vulnerability of the victim (Brown, Esbensen and Geis, 2008). In this paper, the two variables – rational decision-making of the recruiter and the cost and benefits – were integrated into a framework to understand the role of recruiter in the recruitment process. The victimology paradigm explains why certain women and girls become more vulnerable to recruitment than others based on vulnerability proneness, recruiter-recruitee interactions and lifestyle factors of the recruitee. The two approaches are driven by the demand offered by the extremist organization.

Recruitment of Women into Al-Shabaab

Poverty stricken environments, where the entire motive of women and girls is to seek means and ways to find employment, provides conducive environment for Al-Shabaab recruiters (Field Discussion, 16.5.2017). The case of Susan in the beginning of the article illustrates the case of a need for a job, as Susan's family depended on her, luring her to the recruiter unknowingly. For Susan, it was a chance to get a job after failing many times. In the case of Juliet, she was an orphan and had to fend for herself. She did not continue her studies, as she failed grade eight and did not want to repeat the grade,"I looked for

employment and found a job as a house-help". Juliet never thought that her house-lady was an Al-Shabaab recruiter. For Claire, the need for a suitable income to look after her two children lured her from her present job at a hotel to another promising job as domestic help. As in the case of Juliet, Claire did not know the house lady was involved in recruiting women and girls into Al-Shabaab. For Hidaya (a tailor), she found her new lady client exciting, as the lady helped her business grow. All Hidaya wanted was to expand her tailoring business. Her income was not sufficient to feed two children and her sister. She never expected her new client to be an Al-Shabaab recruiter. The four cases highlight family dependence on women and girls for income and the need for jobs as the main point of encounter with the recruiters.[8] Further, the cases reveal a context of unawareness that their close associate was a recruiter, and a need for an income that made them become more dependent on the recruiter (Herz, 2012; Elliot, 2015).[9]

The case of Riziki and Naima was different, as their main contention for the need for jobs was to be independent. Riziki and Naima came from middle-income families, and both of them wanted jobs to enable their independence. Riziki wanted a better job that could prove her self-worth "I wanted to be recognized by my husband [who had left me for another woman] and my family that gave preference for boys". Similarly, Naima wanted a job outside the country. She did not want to work in Kenya, "I was tired with jobs in the hotel sector where jobs were seasonal and I wanted to go out of the country. I have got used to the white people and their culture and wanted a job abroad [in Europe]". She wanted to prove to her husband, parents and friends, that she could get a job outside the country. She never wanted a job in the Middle East, but it was a second option and she had applied online for a job in Dubai. When she got the opportunity (a call conveying that she was selected to the post applied to go to Dubai) she was thrilled.

The need to fulfil the role of breadwinner in the family, earning income for their families, financially independency, a better life or proving their self-worth to those who devalue them and seek recognition in their families, made these women to venture out for better opportunities such as jobs. At the same time, these specific needs of women and girls have been used by the recruiter to entice and entrap them. Unaware, they fall trapped towards available opportunities crafted by recruiters or recruiter networks of the Al-Shabaab. Opportunities, which come, disguised as 'jobs' where the sole intention of the Al-Shabaab recruiter is to recruit these women and girls to their organization.

These deceptively crafted strategies in the form of jobs or income opportunities entail women and girls trusting the recruiter, not knowingly the bigger strategy on Al-Shabaab recruitment. In the process of addressing the need, there is a component of trust built between the recruiter and the recruitee. This trust is built in varied ways. In all cases, the recruiter 'being a woman' was a key factor in building this trust. As explained by Susan and Naima, "the initial contact person was a lady" who answered the phone at the recruitment bureau. In both cases, it was the lady who constantly spoke to them addressing their queries. Initially, as Susan found the place, where she was asked to come by the woman, to an unknown place (which looked like a half built house), she was scared and was not sure. However, when she saw the lady in a parked car outside, she was relieved. As Susan had spoken to her earlier, she felt like she knew the woman. After the discussion, when she was asked to get into the car, Susan still trusted her "I was scared initially, but as she was a woman and friendly, I did not feel much uncomfortable".

Similarly, in the case of Naima, the initial contact person was a woman. Naima did apply for jobs abroad and was waiting for a positive feedback. One day, Naima received a call from a woman saying that she was responding to the application for a job in Dubai. She even read out the personal details of Naima, so Naima knew the call was serious and she was on to her dream of finding a job outside the country, even if it was not in Europe:

> They sounded serious and was well conversed in the job recruitment procedures of jobs abroad. I was asked to go and get the passport. I was also asked to go and get the details from their office. She also said that there are other things that need to be done prior to leaving for the job. When I asked them on where and when I should visit their office, the lady said she will call back with the date and the location details. After a week, she called me again and said that I need to get verifications from the Immigration Office, and I need to get a certificate of good conduct from the Police. She said they [the office] will assist on it and would send a relevant officer to assist me. I asked on the expenses that I would have to incur and then she said the office will bear the expenses and will deduct from my monthly salary for a period of six months. All that was needed was signing the agreement. I was happy at the proposed suggestion. I felt my dream was coming true, even if the job was not based in Europe (Naima, Interview 11.7.2017).

Naima had been contacted four times and she trusted the lady. Hence when two officers came to her house to take her with them for verifications (certificate of good conduct) she completely trusted them as they said they were asked to come from the office and they had all her details given to them from the lady at the office.

For Hidaya, the client (who was a middle aged Somali lady) had an interest of assisting her expand her business of making dresses:

> I used to make dresses for kids and women and sell them in different places. Sometimes I travel to different places to sell the clothes. One day in …, I met a woman customer who bought all my clothes. She told me she had a business in Garissa, and she was going to sell the dresses there. So I made her a discount. She was happy and asked for my number, as she said that she would call for more. After a few days she called me again and asked me for more dresses. She sent me money by Mpesa. I made the clothes and sent it to Garissa as a parcel by bus. This was how she had instructed me to send clothes. I was happy at the deal as it was a good deal, with a person I could trust (Hidaya, Interview, 12.7.2017).

Trust building is the first step to lure a woman and then convince her to travel to the designated place. In the case of Hidaya, this trust was the client made her eagerly wait for her calls to expand her business. In early July 2015, the woman (recruiter) sent her ksh 30, 000 (300 USD) through Mpesa to make dresses. She made the clothes within a week and called the lady on how she needed it to be delivered this time. This time, the woman (recruiter) wanted Hidaya to come with the delivery as she had clients in Garissa who wanted more dresses to be made. As the woman convinced her saying, "It would be better if you could be here [Garissa] and do the stitching". Hadiya was excited, as she felt as she would have a better income, "finally I would have a better income… She had even paid my fare to Garissa, she was there to receive me…" Revealing that, the woman (recruiter) after convincing her, arranged for her logistics, so that Hidaya could travel to the place, and made sure Hidaya was picked by her. This study found that the woman recruiter takes control of all the arrangements on logistics and travel to the destination.

Similarly, in the case of Riziki, a one month long friendship online with a friend (a woman recruiter) resulted in communicating via phone. The constant

communication made her share all her information with the woman (recruiter). Riziki was trained as a hair designer and had her own salon, but she was not content with her job. Riziki wanted was a new job and a new life. The lady (recruiter) was "…very helpful, as she listened to my need [job] and asked me to visit her in Nairobi". The lady recruiter convinced her to go to Nairobi saying, "Nairobi is better than Malindi for jobs because in Malindi you depend on your known clients [at the Salon] and the income was not stable. I will look for a job for you in Nairobi". Even the logistics and travel expenses were borne by the woman (recruiter) and the woman was waiting to receive Riziki on the other end, "She sent me ksh 3000 (30 USD) via Mpesa for my busfare…I reached Nairobi…, and she was there at the bus stage to pick me up". However, before Riziki went to Nairobi, the recruiter had told her she had other things to discuss and would like to share it with her directly and not by phone. From Nairobi, they travelled together to … and stayed there. It was during her stay in … that the recruiter started explaining herself. Riziki said, "She [recruiter] told me she is a recruiter for Al-Shabaab, going on and off to Somalia and had contacts there. She made a good income working for them. The income is sufficient to make her, 'live a good life in Nairobi' and she has been doing this job [recruiting youth for the past three years]". Initially it was a shocking revelation for Riziki, however, the recruiter knew how to convince her, as she knew Riziki's story of not being recognized by her husband and her family:

> So if I agreed, she would take me to Somalia to start a new life there. I will be trained to become stronger and defend myself and no one will look down on me [previously I had told about my husband who had left me for another woman and had not given me Talaq (divorce) nor comes to visit me. He left me to fend for myself with my two kids; the kids are now with my parents. My family did not value me since I am a girl and not made enough money]. Thinking on my family and husband, I agreed… (Riziki, Interview, 16.8.2017).

The next day, they took a bus to Garissa and then took an off-route by boda-boda [bike], walking through the thick forest and reached Somalia by late night. The case of Riziki highlights a volunteer dimension of going into Somalia to join the Al-Shabaab, pegged into financial needs and a need to prove herself. Riziki knew nothing about the ideology or what awaited her in the other end, which was life in the camps with Al-Shabaab.

Not all cases of women or girls who left to Somalia like that of Riziki, where the women or the girl was convinced or the recruiter looked for their approval, showing a more volunteer nature. The other cases involved coercive and deceptive strategies. Juliet had been living with a family for four years, as a domestic worker looking after the family's four children and the house. The house lady treated her well and she was like part of the family:

> The house lady treated me well and I was part of the family. I looked after the kids [four children] and the house while she was away. I was converted to a Muslim and was asked to wear the buibui [the Muslim cloak and face cover]. I stayed with the family from 2010 to 2013 in Mombasa. I later traveled with the family to Lamu, I thought she had her husband there, but never saw him…I stayed with the family in Lamu the whole of the year 2014 to the end of 2015. In late January 2016, one day the lady told me to get ready as we were shifting to Garissa as she had got a new job there. The next day I woke early in preparation to the journey and was getting the kids ready when she said she is leaving the kids with her parents. She told me that "It's only both of us that will travel". Previously, there were two elderly women who had come to visit her. She didn't take the kids to the parents, instead she left them with the two elderly women. We went to Garissa and stayed there for two days in a house close to the Garissa town. The house had two Somali men. Whenever I asked her on what we were doing in Garissa, she asked me to be patient. One day, early February 2016 she left me with the two men and told me that these men will take me to a new house, which will be my new employer. I was shocked, as I did not expect it. The two men said not to worry. They asked me to use a bike to reach the place. They said they will meet me there [at the destination]. The motorbike drove very fast in a main road for around two hours, then stopped and the rider asked me to get down and follow him into the forest path. I asked him where, he said to follow. After few minutes two other men approached us [they were different from the others whom I expected] and looked frightening in their clothes. By now, I knew something was wrong, and I asked them where we were heading. I was asked to shut up…one man was already having a knife [to clear some bushes]. I was scared. I was crying. I had anger on the house lady. I asked myself on why did she do this to me? …I arrived close to the camp [this I knew later], but did not live in the camp, for I had to stay in a separate dark [ruins] hole with an elderly man, Arab

looking…later I knew I was brought for him, to cater to his needs and only saw the others during trainings…' (Juliet, Interview, 3.8.2017).

Similarly, the case of Susan and Hidaya revealed coercive strategies in recruitment with a well-knit ring of people involved in the recruitment process. For Susan, the woman recruiter took her pass Malindi, where they had a brief stopover for snacks after which she felt dizzy and slept. When she woke up all she remembered was the woman had left and she was alone with four men. She was asked to walk, with brief stop-overs to rest. "I was asked not to talk. But just to walk. I didn't have any idea where I was, or where I was going to until I reached the camps [tents]. I was exhausted …"

The same was the case of Naima. For Naima, the two people sent from the fake travel office wanted to take her for the verification process. She trusted them because they had her details and she was waiting for them as the corresponding lady had said to do. She went with them, but the vehicle did not stop at the police station but proceeded onward. When she inquired the man, the man said that they were to pick another lady planning to go abroad through their agency, and together they will go for the verification process before they head to Mombasa. They drove very fast. On the way, Naima was offered water and soda. She felt dizzy and asked them to stop the vehicle. They said she will be ok. She fell asleep. The next day she woke up amidst a group of six unknown people three men and three women. She later learned she had been taken to a place … belonging to Al-Shabaab.

For Hidaya, it was different. The women recruiter convinced her she had an opportunity of making her business successful and having a good income. The woman recruiter picked her from Garissa and took her to a house that had two men and three other women. The woman introduced Hidaya to all of them and convinced Hidaya that all of them are working together in the business of making dresses. The next day, they took all the clothes that Hidaya had sewn and brought from Malindi and left in the car. The woman whom she had been communicating did not join them. Hidaya did not understand why the lady (woman recruiter) did not join and the significance of others traveling with her until she ended in up in the Al-Shabaab camp:

> I had no idea, but my excitement of expanding my business made me remain quiet. I asked the men, and they said they were going to Somalia because that was where they lived and had their business. They even

> said they knew the way and could not pass the checkpoint because I did not have the necessary documents (permit to enter Somalia), hence we need to use an off route (this was my first time on this road and I had no idea of where it was). Then they stopped at a place and asked me to get down with my luggage. I was left with one woman (she was in her forties, knew Kiswahili and was quiet, she spoke rarely and never had eye contact while talking). We waited for around ten minutes, when we saw a man approaching. He took our bags and asked us to follow him. We walked for the entire day with no food, just water. We had brief stopovers, till we reached a place called …camp. This was a camp holding more than 200 people. Most of the houses were made with temporary cloth [tent] and wood' (Hidaya, Interview, 12.7.2017).

These cases reveal a complex process of dynamics at play in the recruitment process, with well-calculated moves until they reached their destination, i.e., the camps. All the six cases revealed the recruitment of women or girls as a well-organized series of phrases, where the recruiter had been a woman. A woman who was the initial contact of the recruitment process had the ability to build trust with the recruitee, lure with false promises, deceive them, convince them to travel, and arrange the logistics for their travel. Five cases revealed the nature of deception in forced recruitment. One case of the recruited revealed deception, but also revealed that the woman agreed to go in the mid-way of her journey as she was convinced by the lady recruiter, revealing a forced to a voluntary dimension of recruitment. Clearly, forced recruitment is not ideologically driven and even the one woman who agreed or volunteered to go into a situation she did not fully understand was not driven by ideology.

However, the recruitment process and their stay in the camp after recruitment have the possibility of imparting ideology leading them to embrace the ideology willingly or unwillingly. For example, a respondent explained that after continuous trainings and discussions on the Al-Shabaab ideology in their trainings, you fall into a context, where you tend to accept the ideology, and feel the state is responsible for all the problems you have undergone. If we had the Shariah law, guided by good Muslims "we will not be discriminated because of being Muslims [Muslims in the coastal region living in poverty] and would have Muslim leaders take care of our plight. We would have equality in the society" (Field Discussion, 19.6.2017). Similarly, another respondent explained how ideology was forced upon, through strenuous trainings on a daily basis, "reading their [Al-Shabaab] materials, constantly reading and explaining the

materials with less or no room for discussions, videos of torture and violence" where we accept the ideology because we have to survive there and had lost hope in returning back to our homes and fear the repercussions of not accepting it [ideology](Interview, 11.8.2017). Others stayed at the camp because of fear, that if they leave, they could be hunted down by either the Al-Shabaab or the Kenyan Defense Forces (KDF) (Interview, 21.6.2017).

Women Recruiters

Women as recruiters play an important role in the terrorist organization as they seek to recruit new members into the organization. Terrorist organizations such as ISIS operationalize women in their roles as recruiters to recruit new members. The role of women as recruiters is profound as they have the ability to penetrate grassroots networks and filter volunteers for recruitment. Also, terrorist organizations use women to recruit new members through family or kinship networks or their relationships with peers or students (Hoyle, Bradford and Frenett, 2015). Women have the ability to recruit both men and women due to their roles and positions in the family and peer networks. Building of trust and socializing is relatively easier for women recruiters in promoting sisterhood and belonging (Saltman and Smith, 2015). Cragin and Daly (2009) in their study on twenty-two terrorist and insurgency groups, found out that seven groups used women specifically to recruit members. In their study, they identified two basic patterns in terrorist recruitment by women: recruiting members from families and kinship networks; and the ability of women to seek out for individuals with specific skills. Similarly, Ndungu and Salifu (2017) in their study in Kenya "*The Role of Women in Violent Extremism*" highlighted women recruiters along two female stereotypes: the motherly role, where women had the ability to influence family member for recruitment and; the role of a temptress, where they had the ability to lure young men with false promises and recruit them.

Women as recruiters have been aided through online means. Forest (2018) explains that the internet "offers women an opportunity to gather and inform themselves, since in many countries they can't congregate freely" (Interview cited in Braw, 2018). For example, Sally Jones was an ISIS recruiter who used various social media accounts to recruit women and provided them with information and practical advice on how to travel to Syria (Weaver, 2017). Similarly, in the Kenyan case of Halima Ali, Khadija Abdul Kadir, Mariam Aboud and Ummul Khayr (infamously referred to as the Jihadi brides of Kenya) it was reported that the girls were recruited through a chat room on the Internet

(Oketch and Bwana, 2015). It was also reported that, among the girls, Ummul Khayr confirmed during the initial police investigation that she was recruited online by a female agent of a terrorist group. The case could not establish a clear link to ISIS via Al-Shabaab however; Ummul Khayr reported she joined Al-Shabaab in October 2016, before she started recruiting other Kenyans. It was stated "they were lured by a Syrian female contact to join the Al-Shabaab" (The Citizen, 1.4.2016). The ability of women as recruiters to lure other women and girls into the network is well explained by Bloom (2018), who highlights that female recruiters have the ability to adept at lowering the girls guard and putting them at ease. Through a series of online interactions, the recruiters will establish rapport, build trust and create an environment of secrecy and exclusion of other friends and family members.

This study concentrated on women recruiting other women or girls into the Al-Shabaab network. The involuntary recruitment of women and girls into the Al-Shabaab reveals a pattern where there is a chain of people involved. The cases revealed particular characteristics of women as the 'recruiter' aiding the recruitment process of women and girls into the Al-Shabaab network. Women recruiters are relied on from the initial contact[10] to the final destination - in taking the women or girl recruitees to the camps. The case analysis reveals recruiters were motivated by financial gains, as in the case of Riziki, who explained how the recruiter convinced her saying that "she [the recruiter] makes a good income working for them [the Al-Shabaab]." Others were motivated by ideology, where a respondent revealed that the recruiter [woman] was "spending and investing on religion promotion [ideology] in inviting people to gain rewards in the hereafter" (Interview, 14.6.2017). However, not all motivations of recruiters were clear. As in the case of Claire, who could not clearly spell out the motivation of her recruiter, and stated that she was unable to understand the motivation of the recruiter as ideologically driven or financially driven:

> I could not understand what made her do this job [recruiting], she was a well-mannered person…It was when I went to Lamu, I gathered she had no husband [as she usually did not like to discuss on it and said that her husband was in Dubai, but I never saw him since I had worked for her more than four years]. So I am not sure, how she had money [financial stability], to pay for the house [house rent] and having four kids…she was very religious too [she never spoke about the Al-Shabaab or their

ideology at home]. She only spoke about Islam and how to be a good Muslim (Claire, Interview, 22.8.2017).

While the intention of motivation was unclear, Juliet revealed her recruiter as having recruited others before her. Juliet narrated how she recalled an incident where an elderly lady in the street close to her employer's house, asked her to leave the place stating, "My daughter, why don't you go away before you get killed or disappear? You want also to be 'Wakali Kwanza' like the others who disappeared and have never come back?" At that moment, Juliet did not believe a word, as she liked her employer. Similarly, all other cases revealed that the recruiters have been well verses in their job, had prior experience recruiting other women and girls and were well connected into a networked, multi-step, international process. This included various aspects of the recruitment process such as renting houses, linking up intermediaries, traveling and expenditure, which reveals money being driven into the system with careful planning (Field Discussions, 22.8.2017).

In the study, all women recruiters had a religious orientation of being Muslims and propagating the religion. In the case of Riziki, the recruiter was a convert, "She was a Kikuyu lady, converted to be a Muslim". She told me that she has seen Islam as a true good religion. She also looked well off as if working in a well-reputed organization in Nairobi. Not only was the recruiter of Riziki religious, but also portrayed the income stability of a well-off background. All cases revealed that their recruiter 'had money' and was 'always willing to help' most often by giving money. Their financial ability and willingness to help made them attractive to the women and girl recruitees, as they seemed like individuals that the women and girls could depend on for financial and psychological support. The case of Riziki reveals how she depended on her online friend, 'for a job' and 'psychological support' in terms of guidance for her broken marriage and the humiliation of her husband leaving her for another woman.

All interviewees explained a major common factor of the woman recruiter as being 'very friendly' and 'willing to help'. This was clearly evident in the case of Riziki, where the recruiter was very friendly and offered herself in assistance to find a job in Nairobi. Similarly, in the case of Juliet, the recruiter was very friendly as she made her feel at home during her work as a domestic worker. This trust was shown by entrusting Juliet for days with her kids and the house.

In the case of Claire, the recruiter portrayed a well-integrated life 'being with her husband'. However, not all cases revealed a well-integrated lifestyle. In the case of Juliet, the woman recruiter lived in constant fear of the police:

> My mum [house lady] was always inquiring me on whether the police came to the house. Whenever I asked her on why she asked so, she [houselady] usually said that she was expecting them. But now, I understand why she feared the police (Claire, Interview, 22.8.2017).

In the case of Claire, the house owners were constantly shifting houses and she did not clearly know what they did for a living or when and where they would move.

An Integrated Framework to Understand Women Recruiter /Women and Girl Recruitee Dynamics

An integrated framework drawing on rational choice theory and the victimology paradigm facilitates exploring the women and girls recruitment process by Al-Shabaab. The framework highlights recruitment has multiple phases and connections. The cases in this study highlighted three explanatory factors in the decision-making process for women recruiters in recruiting women and girls involuntarily: the recruiters economic and/or ideological motivation; the demand for women and girls by Al-Shabaab (hence the recruiter addresses the demand); and the ability to exploit the needs and aspiration of the women and girls recruitee.

The recruitment process is reliant on the following six factors, which happen prior to the recruitment of women: Firstly, women recruiters choose to engage in this crime of recruiting other women and girls rationally by calculating the costs and benefits (financial and or ideological benefits). The case of Riziki revealed the recruiter's financial motivation as the recruiter was making money through the recruitment process. This included costing each and every phase of recruitment, logistical arrangement for travel, supporting the recruitee at each phase financially or by utilizing her time [an ear to hear their issues and problems]. The risk associated with the punishment for the crime is included in this cost calculation. For example the available legal regulations to prevent recruitment such as harbouring of persons committing terrorist acts or aiding terrorist acts (under the Prevention of Terrorism Act 2012 and the Security Amendment Act 2014). However proving guilty beyond doubt in cases which involve harbouring or persons, possession of property for commission of

terrorist acts or aiding terrorism is constrained by the difficulty in implementing laws where proving the intent or motive necessitates prolonged evidence generation by the law enforcement. Most often, the recruiters go scot free due to the inability of proving the recruiter's role as well as recruitees will not testify due to the fear element from the Al-Shabaab (Interview, 3.9.2017). As cases revealed, there exists a careful planning and networked systems used in recruiting. However, there should be caution when using rational decision-making approaches to understand the motives of the recruiter, as some recruitment is based on impulse or by the use of force for reasons such as their own freedom or safety of their families. Similarly, in a different case, the girl's freedom was granted if she could recruit others – and she facilitate the recruitment of her two friends (Field Discussion, 21.7.2017). Women and girls were also asked to recruit others to show their loyalty to the Al-Shabaab organization. One such instance was that the lady was asked to recruit her two brothers. She was allowed to go home only in return; she should come with her brothers. She was also threated that if she did not comply, her entire family would be killed (Field Discussions, 29.6.2017).

Secondly, the recruiter addresses the demand of Al-Shabaab in selecting women and girls that would fulfill the organizations' needs. As explained by Juliet, "…young girls are needed not only to cook and clean, but mainly for sex purposes. We are asked to cater to their [men] needs at any time they ask for it". The case of Hidaya (a trained tailor), revealed her expertise as a tailor was needed in the camps, "I use to sew clothes and repair the worn out clothes. It was my main job in the camp."

Third, by understanding different needs and ambition of women, the recruiter crafts strategies to lure women and girls for the Al-Shabaab. Deceptive strategies to lure these women are devised based on a particular need, desire or ambition associated to their wellbeing. For example, some women and girls looked forward to be financially independent and have a better life. Juliet was an orphan who grew with her aunt, and had to fend for herself after she failed her schooling exams. She wanted to be financially independent. Similarly, Riziki needed financial stability as she had separated from her husband, and neglected by her parents. Her desire for financial stability and revenge on her husband and family made her look forward for opportunities to come out of her misery. She outpoured her desires of wanting a job to her new friend online. She also discussed on her hatred towards her husband (Riziki was lured by an online friend). Online recruitment by women, who come in the disguise of friends is a

contributory factor in recruitment as women and girls tend to share personal details online (Field Discussion, 11.6.2017). As in the case of Claire, details were provided on a job portal, making it easier for the recruiter to convince Claire on the new job deal abroad (in Dubai).

Fourth, the recruitment process highlights a power difference between the recruiter and the recruitee shaping the recruiter-recruitee interactions. Rational choice theory along with theories such as constitutive criminology and lifestyle exposure models in victimology reveals that for recruitment to occur, the initial phases should show an unequal power difference between the recruiter and the recruited. The power difference explains the recruiter always was in a better convincing or bargaining positioning (Henry and Milovanovic, 2000) with the recruitee. For example, the recruiter's particular characteristics of being rich, religious and stability facilitated in luring the recruitee who is in the receiving end with her particular need or desire. Further, the recruitee should have the ability to access her ways to achieve her needs through the recruiter. The recruiter should be able to assess the need of the recruitee and strategically device a way to address her need or desire (Shelley, 2010). The case of Hidaya (a tailor) revealed that she was lured by showing an increasing business opportunity by the recruiter. Hidaya was lured step by step with small business opportunities initially, before she was asked to travel to the destination of Garissa, for a bigger business opportunity. Later she was convinced deceptively to cross border to expand her business, prior to her journey to the camps in Somalia.

Fifth, the patterns of recruitment reveal the moment of convincing as crucial in the recruitment process. The recruiters' use the optimum time of the 'point of no return' where the recruitee cannot turn back and leave to where she had come from to convince the recruitees purpose in the journey. This is the point, in which the recruitee is told about being recruited into the Al-Shabaab or her mission to serve the Al-Shabaab. For Hidaya, it was after crossing the border. It was then the other members told her the purpose of the journey. She could not return home, for she was far away from home in a strange place with strange people. For Riziki, discussions on being recruited took place when she met her recruiter. She was far from home and was constrained financially to go back. Later, the recruiter started to convince her on the benefits of joining the Al-Shabaab.

Sixth, these cases reveal that recruiters play a role in conditioning the recruitee to accept their offers (Beeson, 2015). This entailed knowledge on the lifestyle of the recruitee – socio-economic status, ethnicity and the preferences. For Riziki, her need was an opportunity to have a better job, a higher income and prove herself her capability to be financially independent. She also wanted to be recognized in her family and to prove herself as doing better, after her traumatic experience with her separation from her husband. The recruiter used it to condition her in accepting her journey towards the camps. The recruiter used Riziki's plight of the need to prove herself amidst a strained marital relationship, where Riziki joing the Al-Shabaab would assist her to be stronger financially and mentally. In these cases, there is a thin line between voluntary and involuntary recruitment. Most often the recruitee does not know the agenda of the recruiter and treads on the path with trust on the recruiter in fulfilling their need (jobs). As in the case with Riziki, later she was offered false promises, deceiving her into agreeing to join the Al-Shabaab (Interview, 4.6.2017). Further, the use of force had been discussed among respondents at the latter stages of the recruitment process. Both Susan and Naima were forced to follow 'the men in the forest'. The men used threats and knives to inculcate fear in forcing the women to walk with them. Other forceful recruitment at initial stages included threatening loved ones (Field Discussion, 17.6.2017).

Conclusion

Utilizing biographic narratives and an integrated framework - rational choice and victimology - the article described the process of involuntary recruitment of women and girls by the Al-Shabaab using women recruiters. The framework explains the recruitment process where the recruiters and the demand driven by Al-Shabaab for women and girls play a pivotal role in women recruiting women and girls using deceptive strategies. The women and girl recruitees supply the needs of Al-Shabaab organization. The need and desire of women and girls for a better job, a better lifestyle, financial independence or a better life for her kids are often used to lure women and girls into these networks. However, the demand was also catered by a few who go willingly (Badurdeen, 2018; Horn Institute, 2017). The study revealed that there is no clear profile for women recruited involuntarily into the Al-Shabaab network. Recruited women were driven by need and desire for a better life, a higher income, self-worth or recognition from the family or loved ones. The study also revealed that women recruiters follow a rational decision-making approach, driven by an economic approach calculating the strength of the punishment versus the financial incentives or rational decision based on ideology where the gains are in the

hereafter (life after death). Recruitees are always on the receiving end as they experience suffering, emotional loss, and loss of family and community stigmatization after return.

The covert nature of recruitment entails sophisticated methods of detecting 'recruiters'. This includes an understanding on the characteristic of recruiters who often have money and time to invest in recruitees [for example, all of a sudden the recruiter becomes a friend who has a lot of time to invest in mere talks and send money to sort out problems to an unknown stranger]; and an understanding of existing trafficking networks where recruiters operate in phases, where different individuals take over from one location to another (Interview, 18.7.2017). Surveillance should be on financial transactions within these networks and recruitee transporting vehicles such as *bodaboda* and heavy vehicles transporting goods which often take roads leading to border towns in Lamu or go in and out of Somalia (Interview, 22.8.2017).

Community support is vital in detecting these recruiters, for example, the women harbouring other women and girls (recruitees) in their houses for short periods of time. As expressed by a respondent, lateral surveillance by community members has assisted in exploring some recruiters within communities. However, the covert nature of the recruitment systems needs more knowledge and should focus on kingpins of the network (Interview, 26.8.2017). Sensitization on how these recruiters could exploit friendship or peer networks and family networks is important. There is a need for increased public awareness on women and girls being recruited into extremist organizations as most cases go under-reported due to family or community stigmatization. Recruitment via social media networks, employment scams, friendship links need to be probed to understand the functioning of the Al-Shabaab recruitment networks. Involuntary recruitment needs to be viewed in line with women and girls trafficking across borders as both inhibit similar characteristics of using deceptive strategies such as employment and marriage scams to lure women and girls. Hence there is a need to build awareness on the human trafficking context in terrorist recruitment among law enforcement professionals, civil society and community members. There is also the need to ensure law enforcement professionals and the judicial system do not re-victimize these women who were forced into these extremist networks. However, the blurred boundaries of women's intent within the involuntary and voluntary recruitment contexts have created difficulties in assessing the true nature of the case of women and girls who had returned from the Al-Shabaab

(Interview, 22.8.2017). Further there is a need for more research on women and girls recruited into the Al-Shabaab, mainly in understanding the women and girls, recruitee turned women recruiter relationship and, the recruiter network dynamics for effective mitigation of involuntary women and girls' recruitment.

Notes

1. Camps refer to Al-Shabaab militant camps in Somalia used for trainings or hosting members of the organization, some camps are usually transit camps in the Boni forest bordering Somalia.
2. Pseudonyms have been used to maintain confidentiality of the respondents. Some dates were not provided by the respondents as they did not reveal or in some cases forgotten.
3. The study borrows the spectrum of participation of individuals into violent extremist organization based on the 2016 study, 'Motivations and Empty Promises: Voices of former Boko Haram combatants and Nigerian Youth' conducted by the Mercy Corps.
4. Usually a critique levied against research work on interviewing extremists or terrorists is the mere taking up stories based on face value and the need to explore in-depth analysis through elaborate discussions (Khalil, 2017). Appropriate triangulation of data, and having interviews beyond one meeting could indeed give a clearer picture of the context, which the respondents (in this case the Al-Shabaab returnee) intend to convey. Research ethics encapsulate the researcher working in an ethical manner, than go beyond words to decipher the truth of the respondent. Often, researchers finding themselves taking up the roles to become investigators, harming both the researcher and the researched in the process. The 'her story' of the Al-Shabaab woman returnee has meanings which the respondent intend to convey as it makes meanings to her life. These meanings provide in-depth analysis into the lives what they make meanings of or portray an expected future (Field notes, Discussion with academics working on the topic of radicalization and recruitment, 4.9.2017).
5. PINs included the following: respondent meeting the recruiter for the first time; the respondent's relationship with the recruiter in the first meeting; the first feeling of trust on the recruiter; recruiter convincing the respondent to travel to meet her; the feeling of being betrayed by the recruiter; meeting new people during the trafficking incident; and, finding herself in the Al-Shabaab camp or group.

6. The interviews generated fifty two pages of transcribed data from the six case studies. The author refrained recording, as many respondents felt uneasy in the use of a recorder. Most of the discussions were written down in field notebooks.

7. The community mobilizers assisted in introducing the researcher to the respondent, provided a background of the individual prior to the interviews, assisted in translations, and sought permission from family members of the respondent for conducting interviews with the respondent. Some interviews were also aided with the presence of a counselor, due to the conveying of traumatic events, where interventions of a counselor was needed.

8. A similar recruitment dynamic is found in human trafficking networks, where poverty-related, lack of job opportunities is associated to the phenomenon of feminization of poverty. Women are main providers of the family in the loss of a male household head, gender discrimination in education and professional opportunities making them look for jobs, a better life, which is craftily tapped by the web of traffickers (Ryle, 2015).

9. Zhang (2002) explains that people who either trust or are dependent on trafficking networks victimize many women.

10. Similar studies on women being trafficked have shown that the initial contact personnel is usually a known person such as a friend, relative or the employer as in human trafficking or gangs. If the initial contact is a stranger, he or she is able to gain considerable trust with the recruitee (Alejano-Steele, 2013).

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